

**Civilians at War:
William Henry Drake and the Commissariat
in the Crimean War**

by

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Summary

This dissertation examines the performance of the British Commissariat during the Crimean War of 1854-56, through the documents of William Henry Drake and his wife, Louisa, for which it received much criticism. While agreeing with much historical comment and analysis that has gone before, the Drake papers cast a new light on the conduct of the Commissariat during that war. The life and career of Drake is also presented. Drake, a commissary whose career was very successful, in no way epitomises all other Commissariat officers - there were few whose careers were more successful, and most did not excel as he did. The first chapter briefly examines the history of the Commissariat prior to the Crimean War. The second looks at, with commentary from other sources, the conduct of the war, up to the fateful hurricane of 14 November 1854. The third chapter investigates the effect of the hurricane on the supply of the British Army. The fourth and final chapter explores how Drake's career was positively affected by his conduct during the war, as well as the changes wrought to the Commissariat as a result of it. The dissertation argues that the Commissariat, despite being cleared of all wrongdoing in two of the three Commissions of Inquiry held into their conduct, did indeed share in the blame for the disasters which befell the British Army during the Crimean War.

Table of Contents

Chapter	Page
List of Maps and Illustrations	iii
Statement	iv
Acknowledgments	v
Abbreviations	vi
Introduction	1
1 Before the Crimean War	9
2 To the Crimea	25
3 After the Hurricane	46
4 After the War	78
Conclusion	91
Appendix 1.1: Drake Family	A1.1-1
Appendix 1.2: Purkis Family	A1.2-1
Appendix 1.3: Wood Family	A1.3-1
Appendix 2: Commissariat Officers	A2-1
Appendix 3: Commissariat Department Duties and Regulations	A3-1
Appendix 4.1: Commission of Inquiry (Extracts): <i>Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the Army before Sebastopol</i> , (London, 1855). [Chairman J.A. Roebuck.] [<i>The Times</i> , (London, 19 Jun 1855), pp.5:b-6:d.]	A4.1-1
Appendix 4.2: Commission of Inquiry (Extracts): <i>Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed</i> , (Constantinople, 1855); & (London, 1856). [Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch.]	A4.2-1
Appendix 4.3: Commissary-General William Filder's Reply to the Report of Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch. [<i>The Times</i> , (London, 17 Mar 1856), p.10:a-e.]	A4.3-1
Appendix 4.4: Commission of Inquiry (Extracts): <i>Report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch</i> , (London, 1856).	A4.4-1
Bibliography	B-1

List of Maps

Map		Before page
1	Western Australia (Adapted from Rica Erickson (comp.), <i>The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. IV R-Z</i> , (Nedlands, WA, 1988, Inside front cover.)	17
2	Europe (Adapted from Kenneth Macksey, <i>For want of a nail: The impact on war of logistics and communications</i> , (London, 1989), p.11.)	27
3	The Black Sea Theatre of War (Adapted from R.L.V. French Blake, <i>The Crimean War</i> , (London, 1971), Inside front cover.)	30
4	The Crimea (Adapted from R.L.V. French Blake, <i>The Crimean War</i> , (London, 1971), Inside back cover.)	38
5	The Crimean Campaign (Adapted from James Barbary, <i>The Crimean War</i> , (London, 1972), Facing p.1.)	40

List of Illustrations

Illustration		Before page
1	William Henry Drake's father, Commissary-General John Drake (1782-c1867)	15
2	William Henry Drake's mother, Maria Drake (née Story) (1783-1876)	15
3	Three of the Drake children: John Drake (1838-1877), Charlotte Augusta Dring Drake (1838-c1922), and Louisa Maria Drake (1836-1876)	18
4	Commissariat Store, 40 Macquarie Street, Hobart - Built 1808	20
5	William Henry Drake (1812-1882) as a young man	24
6	One of William Henry Drake's sisters, Charlotte Augusta Drake (1818-1905)	24
7	Commissary-General William Filder (1855)	29
8	Organisation Chart: Commissariat (August 1854)	34
9	The crowded harbour of Balaklava, from the north-west (From Alan Palmer, <i>The banner of battle: The story of the Crimean War</i> , (London, 1987), between pp.146 and 147.)	41
10	Louisa Drake (née Purkis) (1814-1862)	55
11	Louisa Maria Drake (1836-1876)	71
12	William Henry Drake (1812-1882) (c1856)	76
13	Charlotte Augusta Dring Drake (1838-c1922)	79
14	Elizabeth Lucy Drake (née Wood) (1841-1907)	87
15	Sir William Henry Drake (1812-1882)	89

Statement

I declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Megan Stevens

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¹ Crimean War Research Society's web site is at <http://www.medal.net/crimean.htm>, Accessed 19 May 2000.

² Crimean War eGroup is at <http://www.egroups.com/community/CrimeanWar>, Accessed 15 May 2000.

Abbreviations

CC	Commissariat Clerk
DACG	Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General
ACG	Assistant Commissary-General
DCG	Deputy Commissary-General
CG	Commissary-General
CB	Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath
KCB	Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath

Introduction

“Why?”, was often the first question people asked, when told that I was researching the British Commissariat’s role in the Crimean War. Part of the reason stemmed from an interest in family history, and from being a migrant in Australia. Lucy Frost explains it best. She says migrant women often suffer “peculiar psychological effects” from growing up “on one side of the globe” before moving to a “strange environment tens of thousands of miles away from ‘home’.” This move, she suggests, seems to cut one’s life into two, “as though one were a fictional character who had got oneself into two different novels”. She argues that humans have a “desire for unity, for an integrated personality” and that this desire “makes a woman yearn to merge the two novels into a single continuous narrative”. As a migrant herself, she concluded that this unity could not be achieved.¹

As a fellow migrant, I understand this yearning to merge my two lives into one. The subject of my thesis, my great-great-great grandfather William Henry Drake, provided me with the means of doing so. When I arrived in Australia in 1981 I was not aware that ancestors of mine had been here before me, or that any of them had spent such a considerable time here. I found that Drake had arrived in Western Australia in 1831. His wife-to-be, Louisa Purkis, had arrived in 1830.² Henry and Louisa Drake eventually left Australian shores in 1850.³ Finding out more about them and their lives (and that I am technically a sixth-generation Australian) made me feel more at home in my “strange environment”, knowing that I was walking in the footsteps of my ancestors. Contrary to Lucy Frost’s views, I believe that learning of their lives has given me unity in mine. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important for me to establish clearly the link I have with Drake, and my motivation for writing his life.⁴ Leon Edel has suggested that biographers should be truthful, yet respectful, and should try to develop a measure of uninvolved understanding of their subjects.⁵ I have therefore tried to be an impartial observer of Drake’s life and actions, but it is up to others to judge whether I have succeeded in this.⁶

I learnt of Drake’s letters while visiting relatives in New Zealand in 1989. My mother’s cousin, Paul Taylor, asked me to re-transcribe the originals of letters (of which there are 62 extant) written by Drake to his wife while he was stationed with the British Army in

¹ L. Frost, *No place for a nervous lady: Voices from the Australian bush*, (Fitzroy, Vic., 1984), p.4.

² R. Erickson (comp.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. II D-J*, (Nedlands, WA, 1988), p.892; R. Erickson (comp.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, p.2547. For further detail of William Henry Drake and his family, see Appendix 1.1: Drake Family. For further detail of Louisa Purkis and her family, see Appendix 1.2: Purkis Family.

³ Lucy Frost, Letter (Hobart) to Megan Stevens (Melbourne), (15 Apr 1998); & *References to the Drakes in unpublished sections of Annie Baxter Dawbin’s journal*, (14 Apr 1998); R. Erickson (comp.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, p.2547.

⁴ L. Edel, *Writing lives: Principia biographica*, (New York, 1987), p.13.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp.33, 41.

⁶ Leon Edel referred to this struggle for impartiality as the biographer’s need to be a “participant-observer”: *Ibid*, p.29.

Greece, Bulgaria and the Crimea from 20 May 1854 until Louisa and their eldest daughter, Louisa Maria, joined him at Balaklava on 18 May 1855.⁷ Louisa then wrote to her mother-in-law, Maria. There are 15 letters of hers extant for the period 7 December 1855 to 26 June 1856. Drake arrived at Balaklava on 26 September 1854, and remained in the Crimea until the end of the war. He departed on 19 June 1856.⁸

I subsequently received a copy of a transcription of Drake's *Journal* through my late cousin, Lynne Bryer, who had obtained it from Brig. A.C.F. Jackson, a grandson (still living) of Drake by his second marriage to Elizabeth Lucy Wood.⁹ The *Journal* covers the period 20 May 1854 to March 1867. Drake's entries for the Crimean period are fairly extensive, but tend to be *aides-mémoire* for his letters. It does, however, cover periods for which no letters survive. The transcription of Drake's *Journal* is not as accurate as it could be, with many names suffering many spellings in transcription, thereby making it difficult to have complete confidence in the text. I was, however, unable to gain access to the original of the *Journal*, and therefore had to rely on what I had. I also received copies of transcriptions of other Drake letters written from the Crimea from Brig. Jackson via Lynne. Other letters from different members of the family and periods in the family's life have also survived, some of which were transcribed by me from the originals.

I transcribed the originals of the Drake letters as they were, sometimes consulting previous, less complete, transcriptions as a guide. Some of the letters, as was common at the time, were written crossed on the paper, and some were obviously written in a hurry, making them difficult to decipher. The Drakes did not often use punctuation, paragraphs, or capital letters at the beginning of sentences. I have tried to reproduce these idiosyncrasies accurately, thereby maintaining the flavour of expression in the letters by not correcting the spelling and by keeping the punctuation (or lack of it) as it is. I have put in extra spaces, where it was obvious that a sentence has ended, so that the eye gets some respite from the block of text. My study of the Crimean War and those who took part in it, however, assisted greatly in obtaining relative accuracy in my transcriptions.

While transcribing the letters, I realised that they were not only of importance for the family's history, but were also significant for students of the Crimean War, as not much has been written about the history of the Commissariat in that war. John Sweetman, in his book *War and administration: The significance of the Crimean War for the British Army*, devotes a 35-page chapter to 'Transport and supply: The Commissariat and Ordnance Departments'. Of this, 18 pages cover the history of the Commissariat, both before and during the Crimean War.¹⁰ He did not, however, give attention to individual Commissariat officers, or on the effect the war had on them and their careers. The British Public Record Office has published

⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (18 May 1855).

⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (26 Sep 1854), (19 Jun 1856).

⁹ For further detail of Elizabeth Lucy Wood and her family, see Appendix 1.3: Wood Family.

¹⁰ J. Sweetman, *War and administration: The significance of the Crimean War for the British Army*, (Edinburgh, 1984).

a more succinct four-page history of the Commissariat (to 1854), written by Michael Roper, in their Handbook No. 29: *The records of the war Office and related departments 1660-1964*.¹¹ Detail of later incarnations of the Commissariat can be found in the chapter on the War Office after 1855.¹² Not many records of the Commissariat's time in Australia survive either. The Archives Authority of New South Wales, in their *Guide to the State Archives* on the Commissariat, contend that this is due to the fact that many of the department's records were sent to England for "inspection or investigation", and most were never returned.¹³ As I conducted my research in Australia, I could not use the Commissariat records in the Public Records Office (PRO) at Kew, London.

Some insight into the life of a commissary can be found in two other publications. *On the road with Wellington: The life of a war commissary*, by August Schaumann, details Schaumann's experiences during the Peninsular War, 1808-1814,¹⁴ and *The diaries and letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes*, cover Boyes' service in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, 1820-1832.¹⁵ Copies of other material, such as William Filder's *The Commissariat in the Crimea* (1856), E.B. de Fonblanque's *Treatise on the administration and organisation of the British Army, with especial reference to finance and supply* (1858), and J. Fortescue's *The history of the Royal Army Service Corps* (1930) were also unavailable to me.

Henry and Louisa Drake's documents depict life within the Commissariat during the Crimean War. The only publication, as far as I have been able to ascertain, which deals in some way with the life of a Commissariat officer during that war, is *Some records of the life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B.*¹⁶ Only a small section of this book, 71 pages out of 563, deals with Blackwood's time in the Crimea. Blackwood was a young Treasury official, who volunteered to go to the Crimea as Acting Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General.¹⁷ This book, though drawing on "his own Letters and Notes", was "compiled by a friend and edited by his widow",¹⁸ and therefore falls into the category of secondary source material. I have not been able to locate any other primary source material, other than the Drake family papers, covering the role of the Commissariat in the Crimean War. These papers, therefore, are intrinsically important for the study of the Commissariat in that period.

The absence of personal accounts from Commissariat officers is surprising, since, after the Crimean War, many contemporaries, including soldiers, cavalry men, sutlers, doctors,

¹¹ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, (Kew, Surrey, 1998), pp.53-9.

¹² *Ibid*, pp.95-124.

¹³ Archives Authority of New South Wales, *Guide to the State Archives: Record Group NC 11: Commissariat, 1788-1870: Preliminary inventory*, (Sydney, 1963), p.7.

¹⁴ A.L.F. Schaumann, *On the road with Wellington: The diary of a war commissary*, (London, 1999). [Originally published in German in 1924.]

¹⁵ P. Chapman (ed.), *The diaries and letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes: Vol. I 1820-1832*, (Melbourne, 1985).

¹⁶ Stevenson Arthur Blackwood (1832-1893): Anon., *Some records of the life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B.*, Pop. ed., (London, 1897).

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.39; & Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (7 Dec 1855).

¹⁸ Anon., *Some records of the life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B.*, Title page & p.[vii].

reporters, or just visitors to the scene of the war, published their accounts of the Crimean experience. A.W. Kinglake, who had visited the Crimea, published a nine-volume treatise, *The invasion of the Crimea*.¹⁹ Others, such as Lt.-Col. S.J.G. Calthorpe,²⁰ Lt.-Col. Anthony Sterling,²¹ and the indomitable sutler, Mary Seacole,²² also published their accounts. Sergeant Timothy Gowing regularly went round Lancastrian industrial areas after the war, selling his book, *A voice from the ranks*, to local office and factory workers.²³ It was in this climate that Drake and members of his family decided to keep his *Journal*, as well as the letters he and his wife, Louisa, had written from the Crimea.²⁴ This cache of documents would have been divided and subdivided among descendants, possibly accounting for breaks in continuity, as some kept their share, while others discarded theirs. One can only speculate about whether Drake and Louisa hoped that some day someone would publish *their* memoirs based on the writings they had kept.

There was obviously a great demand for these first-hand accounts of the war, which even Queen Victoria acknowledged had been “popular beyond belief”.²⁵ The Victorian public’s interest may have been sparked by the regular, and often critical, reports sent back by the first war correspondent, William Howard Russell of *The Times*.²⁶ Russell’s despatches brought

¹⁹ Alexander William Kinglake (1809-1891): David Kelsey, ‘Potted biographies: Who was who in the Crimean War’, *Crimean texts: Some documents of the Crimean War*, at <http://www.kelsey-family.demon.co.uk/backgrnd.biogs.html>, Accessed 27 Nov 1998; C. Hibbert, *The destruction of Lord Raglan: A tragedy of the Crimean War*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1961), p.81; A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea: Its origin, and an account of its progress down to the death of Lord Raglan*, 6th ed., (Edinburgh, 1877).

²⁰ In 1860 Major Hon. Somerset John Gough Calthorpe, 5th (Princess Charlotte of Wales’s) Regiment of Dragoon Guards, had served 9 years on full pay, and 3 years and 4 months on half pay. Cornet (purchase) 23 May 1848, Lt. (purchase) 23 May 1851, Capt. (purchase) 14 Sep 1855, Bt. Major 2 Nov 1855, Major 22 Jul 1856. He served the Eastern campaign of 1854-55 as Aide de Camp to Lord Raglan, including the battles of Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, and siege of Sebastopol (Medal and four Clasps, Brevet Major, and 5th Class of the Medjidie): H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, (London, 1860), p.133; S.J.G. Calthorpe, *Cadogan’s Crimea*, ill. Gen. Sir George Cadogan, (New York, 1980). [Text first published in 1856 under the title *Letters from Headquarters*.]

²¹ In 1860 Col. Anthony Coningham Sterling, C.B. was serving as Military Secretary to the Commander in Chief, East Indies. Ensign 29 Jan 1826, Lt. 14 Apr 1829, Capt. 11 Oct 1839, Major 9 Nov 1846, Lt.-Col. 20 Jun 1854, Col. 17 Oct 1857. He served the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, first as a Brigade-Major and afterwards as Assistant Adjutant-General to the Highland Division, including the battles of the Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, and siege of Sebastopol (Medal and Clasps, C.B., Officer of the Legion of Honor, and 4th Class of the Medjidie): H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.38, 47g; A. Sterling, *The story of the Highland Brigade in the Crimea: Founded on letters written during the years 1854, 1855, and 1856*, (Minneapolis, 1995). [First published in London as *The Highland Brigade in the Crimea* in 1895.]

²² Anon, ‘Mary Jane Seacole (1805-1881)’, <http://www.netsrq.com/dbois/seacole-mj.html>, Accessed 2 Mar 1999; M. Seacole, *Wonderful adventures of Mrs Seacole in many lands*, Z. Alexander & A. Dewjee (eds.), 2nd ed., (Bristol, 1984). [First published in 1857.]

²³ Timothy Gowing (c1834-1908): K. Fenwick, ‘Introduction’, in T. Gowing, *Voice from the ranks: A personal narrative of the Crimean campaign by a Sergeant of the Royal Fusiliers*, (London, 1954), p.xiv.

²⁴ Despite Drake’s obvious education and his eagerness to express his opinions in his letters and *Journal*, he was not keen to express these opinions outside the confines of his family. According to *The Wellesley index to Victorian periodicals 1824-1900*, he, unlike other Victorians of similar character, did not write any articles for publication: *The Wellesley index to Victorian periodicals 1824-1900*, Vol. 5, J.H. Slingerland (ed.), (Routledge, 1989).

²⁵ E.M. Spiers, *The army and society 1815-1914*, (London, 1980), p.97.

²⁶ William Howard Russell (1821-1907), British journalist, born in Ireland. He acted as correspondent for *The Times* during the Crimean War, and created a sensation by his exposure of the mismanagement of the campaign: *The Wordsworth dictionary of biography*, (Ware, Herts., 1994), p.376; P. Knightley, *The first*

the Crimean War into the living rooms of the British people, much as television brought the Vietnam War into the living rooms of those living over a hundred years later. Through his descriptive prose, the war obtained an immediacy. Russell, moreover, did not recoil from writing the truth about what he saw. He, himself, argued that “although it may be dangerous to communicate facts likely to be of service to the Russians, it is certainly hazardous to conceal the truth from the English people”.²⁷ The significance of Russell’s reports are also made clear by Henry and Louisa Drake in their letters. Even though they were in the thick of things in the Crimea, they both wrote of not always knowing what was going on until they had read the reports in *The Times*.²⁸

The Crimean War turned out to be an administrative disaster, as supplies did not get through to the soldiers at the front, leading to many deaths due to starvation and exposure. The Commissariat was heavily implicated in this catastrophe. The war highlighted various other deficiencies in the Army, and these were brought to the attention of the public through the despatches of Russell, and many other correspondents. Questions were asked about promotion in the Army,²⁹ “aristocratic hauteur” among Army officers,³⁰ as well as the Commissariat’s efficiency. British public opinion therefore demanded change in their armed services after the war. The Crimean War was therefore the catalyst for much change in the British Army. In his book *War and administration*, Sweetman argues that the real success of the war did not lie in the military successes at Alma, Balaklava, or Inkerman (or the legendary charge of the Light Brigade, as described in Tennyson’s well-known poem), but lay in the reorganisation of the Army administration.³¹

The Commissariat Department was severely criticised for perceived shortcomings during the Crimean War, both by contemporary and later commentators. Russell at first spoke well of the Commissariat, saying at Malta in March 1854, that “the commissariat is well attended to, and complaints are almost unheard of”.³² His tone changed rather quickly. The next month he wrote from Gallipoli that “amid the multitude of complaints . . . , the most prominent are charges against the commissariat”.³³ Dr. Douglas Reid, who joined the Crimean campaign in January 1855, was unimpressed by the appearance of Commissariat officers who travelled with him on board the *Clyde* to the Crimea. He was of the opinion that they looked “as much

casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The war correspondent as hero, propagandist, and myth maker, (London, 1975), p.4.

²⁷ W.H. Russell, ‘Before Sevastopol, Nov. 25’, A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1994), p.144.

²⁸ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854): “All matters are kept profoundly Secret here & you know them generally from the Times as early as we do”: Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (1 Feb 1856): “we have not heard any particulars, and shall not, I suppose till we see it in the Times”; & (29 Feb 1856): “I very seldom read any papers, but the Illustrated, but am now obliged to become a Times reader, to know the news of the day”.

²⁹ A Regimental Captain, ‘Promotion in the Army’, *The Times*, (London, 24 Jan 1855), p.10:d.

³⁰ *The Times*, (London, 23 Dec 1854), p.9, quoted in E.M. Spiers, *The army and society 1815-1914*, p.101.

³¹ J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.1.

³² W.H. Russell, ‘Malta, March 17’, in A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, p.17.

³³ W.H. Russell, ‘Gallipoli, 13 April’, in *Ibid*, p.20.

like convicts as anything else” and was “not anxious to make their acquaintance”.³⁴ Lord Palmerston also attacked the character of commissariat officers serving in the Crimea.³⁵ Latterly the editors of Dr. George Lawson’s letters queried the cause of the great loss of life from cold and disease during the winter of 1854-55, asking “Whose fault was it - the Commissariat’s?” They added that “the Commissariat was nailed for hopeless inefficiency and wastage”.³⁶ Even current fiction writers subscribe to the idea that Commissariat officers during the Crimean War were “as dismal a crew as you would ever hope to meet - shifty broken down clerks and arrogant shopboys that no respectable business would employ”.³⁷ Commissariat officers had the reputation of being “sharp” fellows, who took advantage of every “little” opportunity which came their way.³⁸ George MacDonald Fraser, author of the popular fictional series on the 19th century coward with humour, Harry Flashman, writes in *Flashman at the Charge*, of him being dressed “like a common commissary person”,³⁹ and of “the mismanagement of an untrained commissariat” in the Crimea.⁴⁰ Drake’s papers will be used to test the validity of these criticisms, and how the ambiguous position of Commissariat officers - both in social class and as civilians in a military sphere affected their work.

In the thesis, I will be examining the role of the Commissariat during the Crimean War through Drake’s eyes, and comparing his views to those around him and to those held by latter-day historians. In the absence of other accounts written by Commissariat officers, I believe that Drake offers a new perspective on the role of the Commissariat - that of one of the more senior Commissariat officers in the Crimea at the time - and is therefore relevant to all those who study the history of the Crimean War and the administrative disasters which took place.

A biographical approach, combining the story of Drake’s life with that of the Commissariat, seemed the best option for using the sources available to me. As Drake was middle-class, and therefore the kind of person who often escapes attention in biographies, an approach following the “Great Man theory of history” would have been inappropriate.⁴¹ It was also inappropriate to confine the narrative to Drake’s public life as this would only reveal part of his character. The “totality” of his life had to be examined, including his relationships with

³⁴ Douglas A. Reid (1833-1924): D.A. Reid, *Soldier-surgeon: The Crimean War letters of Dr. Douglas A. Reid 1855-1856*, (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1968), pp.1, 23, 29.

³⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #55 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Mar 1855).

³⁶ G. Lawson, *Surgeon in the Crimea: The experiences of George Lawson recorded in letters to his family 1854-1855*, V. Bonham-Carter & M. Lawson (eds.), (London, 1968), pp.119, 120.

³⁷ M. Knott, *The soldier’s daughter*, (Crimean War Research Society, Bedford, 1996), p.15.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p.19.

³⁹ G.M. Fraser, *Flashman at the Charge*, (London, 1973), p.14.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.52.

⁴¹ John Rickard argued that the middle-class often escaped attention in historical study: J. Rickard, ‘Biography in Australia’, in *Canberra Historical Journal*, Sep 1986, p.15; Robert Skidelsky says that the “Great Man theory of history” has been largely rejected by most historians: R. Skidelsky, ‘Only connect: Biography and truth’, in E. Homberger & J. Charmley (eds.), *The troubled face of biography*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire, 1988), p.2.

those closest to him, his family.⁴² Whereas Drake's experiences in the Commissariat were not typical, they do "convey the feel" of a commissary's life in the Crimea.⁴³ Understanding Drake's life provides a window into the operations of the Commissariat and the lives of other Commissariat officers.⁴⁴ A chronological approach, instead of a thematic approach, was considered the best option for the telling of the story, as it allowed the different themes - of class structures within Victorian society, of how Drake was perceived by those around him, of the relationships Drake had with his family, the operations of the Commissariat, and others - to emerge more clearly.⁴⁵

In the first chapter of this thesis there is a brief examination of the history of the British Commissariat Department before the Crimean War of 1854-1856, both in war and in the colonies, as well as an examination of the life and career of William Henry Drake before the Crimean War. In doing so I am not suggesting he was a typical Commissariat official. The second chapter examines the conduct of the Crimean War before the fateful hurricane of 14 November 1854, mainly through the letters and *Journal* of Drake and through the letters of his wife, Louisa. The third chapter studies the effect this storm had on the Army and the Commissariat, using the same sources, and ends with the close of war. While agreeing with much historical comment and analysis that has gone before, the Drake papers cast new light on the conduct of the Commissariat. The fourth and final chapter examines how Drake's career was affected by his conduct during the Crimean War, as well as the changes wrought to the Commissariat as a result of the war. It concludes with Drake's death, which took place not long after the Commissariat was metamorphosed into the Control Department.

There are a number of appendices to this work, designed to assist the reader by providing background material. The first provides background on the families of Drake and his wives, Louisa Purkis and Elizabeth Lucy Wood. The second consists of an alphabetical database of many of the Commissariat officers who served throughout the world. It can be consulted for information about these officers, and also indicates their locations at different times. The third and fourth appendices contain information, not readily available, on the duties of the Commissariat at various times, and extracts from the reports and evidence of the various Commissions of Inquiry on the Crimea, including Commissary-General Filder's response to the Inquiry of Commissioners McNeill and Tulloch.

The maps used portray the localities of many places not generally known, and the photographs put a face to the people and places mentioned in the text. The photograph of Commissary-General William Filder is, I think, of particular interest, as, despite the crucial role he played in the Crimea, few know what this elusive character looked like.

⁴² Philip Ziegler, 'Biography: The narrative', in I. Donaldson, et al, *Shaping lives: Reflections on biography*, (Canberra, 1992), p.225, 226.

⁴³ E. Homberger & J. Charmley (eds.), *The troubled face of biography*, p.xi.

⁴⁴ Philip Ziegler, 'Biography: The narrative', in I. Donaldson, et al, *Shaping lives*, p.233.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p.230.

Ultimately, this is the story of one officer of the Commissariat, Drake, who served in the Crimean War, and played a leading role in providing supplies to the British Army in that conflict. The officers of the Commissariat, however, were civilians who were responsible to the Treasury, not to the Army - hence my title, *Civilians at War*.

Chapter 1

Before the Crimean War

Napoleon has often been quoted as saying that an army marches on its stomach.¹ It follows therefore that the provision of food to an army is of paramount importance. In order to understand the importance of the commissariat and its officers in this role, the meanings of the words “commissariat” and “commissary” need to be examined. These have subtly different meanings today than they did a hundred years ago. Nowadays we visualise a “commissary” as a canteen on a Hollywood film set or a Soviet government department.² During the nineteenth century, a commissary was defined in two ways, first, as “an officer made occasionally for a certain purpose; a delegate; a deputy”; and, secondly, as “an officer who draws up lists of an army, and regulates the procurement of provision”³ At that time the role of the commissary was therefore not necessarily a permanent one, even though his duties related to the provisioning of an army. By the end of the 19th century the arbitrary nature of the role of a commissary had disappeared, but the duties still remained. A commissary was defined as “a deputy; a commissioner; an officer having charge of a special department, especially that of providing subsistence”.⁴ The current meaning of the word is much broader.⁵

Before the Crimean War, the Commissariat had been through many guises. Under Oliver Cromwell, the duties of transport and feeding the army were performed by two permanent officers, whose final duties were to deal with the expense of disbanding the Parliamentary Army in 1662.⁶ After the restoration of the monarchy, the duties of the Commissariat were placed in the hands of civilian officers. John Sweetman suggests this was done because, if the Army were to rely on civilians for “movement and sustenance, it would be less likely to indulge in unpalatable political adventures”.⁷ This situation remained until the Crimean War.

After the Restoration, Army regulars were fed by their regiments, who deducted expenses from the soldiers’ pay, and were billeted at local establishments - “inns and alehouses”.⁸ In 1685 a Commissary General of Provisions, John Shales, was appointed by James II. His duties included providing, paying for, issuing and pricing soldiers’ provisions and forage for horses; paying for warehousing and for the quarters and provisions for “sick and wounded

¹ C. Ammer, *Fighting words: Terms from military history*, http://204.243.96.169/MHQ/articles/2000/winter002_text.htm, Accessed 18 June 2000.

² *Funk & Wagnalls standard desk dictionary: Vol. 1 A-M*, (United States, 1964), p.127.

³ S. Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*, Folio ed., (London, 1823), p.118.

⁴ *The household dictionary of the English language*, (London, [before 1893], p.118.]

⁵ A commissary can either be an officer of the commissariat; a military, mining, or lumber camp store; a deputy; a bishop’s delegate; a Russian commissar; or a French police official: *The Macquarie dictionary*, 2nd ed., (Sydney 1991), p.363.

⁶ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, (Kew, Surrey, 1998), p.53.

⁷ J. Sweetman, *War and administration: The significance of the Crimean War for the British Army*, (Edinburgh, 1984), p.42.

⁸ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, p.53.

soldiers“; licensing, regulating and assisting sutlers;⁹ appointing and paying subordinate officers, butchers, bakers and wagon conductors; providing accounts to the “High Treasurer” and Paymaster General for “victuals, clothing and forage provided to regiments”; selling “surplus provisions and forage”; and following “the orders and instructions of the King or Commander-in-Chief”.¹⁰ In 1688 a new position was created and Israel Fielding was appointed as Comptroller-General of the Provisions, where this left Shales is uncertain. Fielding’s duties were “to inspect the quantity and quality of provisions and ‘necessaries’ and to take stock of any remaining on removals of camp or quarters.”¹¹ By 1692 the office of Commissary-General had lapsed, and from 1694 onward Commissaries-General of Provisions were appointed when and where needed.¹² In 1793 the Commissariat Department was re-established under the control of the War Office.¹³ In the intervening period the duties of the Commissariat Department were performed by either a Treasurer-at-War or Treasurer of the Army, who was appointed for each particular expedition or campaign.¹⁴

The Peninsular War led to the establishment of a more permanent Commissariat Department, whose members were recruited as young civilians to the rank of Commissary Clerk.¹⁵ They came from all backgrounds. Some, like August Schaumann, had a military background.¹⁶ Unlike the regular army, where promotions could be purchased, promotion in the Commissariat Department occurred according to seniority, after service of a minimum period at each rank.¹⁷ Commissaries were appointed by the Treasury Department, and their appointments were ratified by the War Office. The ranks in the Commissariat, and their equivalent ranks in the Army were as follows: Commissary-General (CG) - Brigadier General; Deputy Commissary-General (DCG) - Lieutenant-Colonel or Major (under three years’ service); Assistant Commissary-General (ACG) - Captain; Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General (DACG) - Lieutenant; and Commissary Clerk (CC) - Ensign.¹⁸ A Clerk had to be between the ages of 16 and 30 for entry into the Commissariat.¹⁹ There were also “subordinate” staff, consisting of Assistant Clerks, Storekeepers, Assistant Storekeepers, Issuers, Temporary Clerks, Writers, Office Keepers, Messengers, Artificers,

⁹ Sutlers: those who sell provisions and liquor in a camp: S. Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*, p.634.

¹⁰ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, p.53.

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp.53-4.

¹² *Ibid*, p.54.

¹³ Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Class T39: Treasury: Accounts of Commissariat (later Treasury) Chest Fund*, <http://www.pro.gov.uk/>, Accessed 24 Feb 2000; & M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, p.54.

¹⁴ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, p.53.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.55.

¹⁶ B. Cornwell, ‘Introduction’, in A.L.F. Schaumann, *On the road with Wellington: The diary of a war commissary*, (London, 1999), p.v. [First published in German in 1924.] For further detail of Schaumann’s career, see Appendix 2: Commissariat Officers.

¹⁷ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, p.55.

¹⁸ *Ibid*.

¹⁹ Treasury, *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*, (London, 1852), p.5.

Muleteers, Drivers, Boatmen, Labourers, and interpreters were required occasionally.²⁰ There existed a distinct class division between the ranked officers, and the “persons in subordinate capacities”.²¹ The ranked Commissariat officers considered themselves “gentlemen”, while, to those outside the Commissariat, all Commissariat staff were considered lower class.

By the start of the Peninsular War in 1809, a Commissary-General had been appointed, under instruction from both the Treasury and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, to superintend the running of the Commissariat Department both at ‘home’ and overseas. The Department, based at 35 Great George Street, London, had two branches: the Store Branch, responsible for procuring and issuing stores and providing transport; and the Account Branch, responsible for auditing the accounts of the Store Branch.²²

In the early stages of the Peninsular War the Duke of Wellington felt this new department lacked efficiency, writing that though the Commissariat “gentlemen” were “very new to their business” he would not complain as he believed they did “their best”, but felt he had “grounds of complaint of their want of intelligence”.²³ He later commented that commissaries were not treated with “the common respect due to the character of a gentleman”, because of societal “prejudice”.²⁴ This view that commissaries were not “gentlemen” persisted.

Schaumann gives some idea of a commissary’s duties during the Peninsular war. He supplied quartermasters with “bread, oats, hay, rum and rice”, slaughtered bullocks, and baked biscuits (of which he issued about 25,000 lbs. daily) in requisitioned ovens.²⁵ Foraging was also undertaken.²⁶ For these duties he received the salary of seven shillings and sixpence a day, rations, and forage for his horse.²⁷

During the early stages of the Peninsular War, supply problems emerged, as they did later in the Crimean War. Wellington wrote from Portugal he only had £10,000 to provide for the “monstrous demands” of his whole army.²⁸ Other officers also complained. General Payne questioned the efficiency of the commissaries because they struggled to find forage. He suggested commissaries who performed their onerous duties properly “could not possibly remain alive”, and as none had died, they were “not doing their duty!”²⁹ By the end of the War, under the “admirable” Commissary-General, Sir Robert Kennedy,³⁰ supplies became

²⁰ *Ibid*, pp.26-9.

²¹ *Ibid*, p.26.

²² *Ibid*.

²³ WD iv 473 to Huskisson, 28 Jun 1809, quoted in M. Glover, *Wellington as military commander*, (London, 1968), p.243.

²⁴ WD vii 55 to Gordon, 19 Dec 1810, quoted in *Ibid*, p.18.

²⁵ A.L.F. Schaumann, *On the road with Wellington*, pp.37, 85-6.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p.276.

²⁷ A.M. Lucovici, ‘Translator’s preface’, in A.L.F. Schaumann, *On the road with Wellington*, p.x; B. Cornwell, ‘Introduction’, in *Ibid*, pp.vi-vii; A.L.F. Schaumann, *On the road with Wellington*, p.5.

²⁸ WD iv 302 to Huskisson, 5 May 1809, quoted in M. Glover, *Wellington as military commander*, p.74.

²⁹ A.L.F. Schaumann, *On the road with Wellington*, p.198.

³⁰ Sir John Fortescue, *Wellington*, (London, 1927), p.214.

more assured and the troops were fed and housed adequately.³¹ There were 552 men in Portugal in 1812 engaged in provisioning the army, of whom 86 were ranked Commissariat officers, ranging from Deputy-Assistant Commissaries-General to Commissaries-General.³²

Army regulations listed the duties of the Commissariat. Commissaries supplied meat ($\frac{3}{4}$ lb. per day) and bread (6 lbs. every four days) to the soldiers,³³ as well as 3 lbs. of wood per day. Other officers could draw additional rations of this allowance depending on their rank.³⁴ One truss of straw of 36 lbs. was allowed “to each Paillasse for two Men, *being a full bedding*”.³⁵ Variable rates applied to this commodity as well. The Commissariat also supplied forage (oats, hay, and straw) to the Cavalry horses.³⁶ The ration consisted of 14 lbs. of hay and 10 lbs. of oats - a sliding scale existed depending on the function of the horse and on the rank of the owner of the horse.³⁷

There were strict regulations pertaining to requisitions, to be certified by the Commanding Officer of a Corps, and then sent to the Commissariat Officer on the day prior to delivery of the articles.³⁸ The goods were to be of a proper quality and weight. Various forms and certificates had to be signed and counter-signed before goods could be issued or returned.³⁹ Sir John McNeill and Colonel Alexander Tulloch, in their Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea later concluded:

“The system upon which the Commissariat accounts of receipts and issues have for some years been kept, appears to be well adapted for service in the field, and hardly to admit of being made more simple.”⁴⁰

Contemporaries often believed Commissaries were involved in self-enrichment and corruption. Manning Clark suggested the Commissaries in New South Wales gave preferential treatment to favourites.⁴¹ These suggestions of corruption were not without foundation. During the Peninsular War Commissaries Alexander Davidson and Valentine Jones were found guilty of “misconduct” and imprisoned.⁴² And in 1823 DACG Frederick

³¹ M. Glover, *Wellington as military commander*, p.113.

³² Return of Persons employed in the Commissary General’s Department in Portugal:- 3 Commissaries General, 9 Deputy Commissaries General, 2 Acting Deputy Commissaries General, 21 Assistant Commissaries General, 10 Acting Assistant Commissaries General, 39 Deputy Assistant Commissaries General, 2 Acting Deputy Assistant Commissaries General, 185 Clerks, 61 Storekeepers, 10 Interpreters [sic], 28 Issuers, 114 Conductors, 22 Coopers, 3 Bricklayers, 2 Wheelwrights, 3 Carpenters, 2 Blacksmiths, 1 Farrier, 37 Bakers: *The Times*, (London, 1 May 1812), p.3:d.

³³ Adjutant General’s Office, *General regulations and orders for the army*, Facsim. ed., (London, 1970), p.169. (First published 1816.)

³⁴ *Ibid*, pp.170-1.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp.171-2.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp.161-8.

³⁷ *Ibid*, pp.172-7.

³⁸ Further details of the regulations regarding the provisioning of troops and the duties of the Commissariat can be found in Appendix 3: Commissariat Department: Duties and Regulations.

³⁹ Copies of these forms can also be found in Appendix 3.

⁴⁰ *Second Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed*, (London, 1856), p.47 (p.43 of the Report). [Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch.] [Monash Microcard #5, Vol. 20.]

⁴¹ C.M.H. Clark, *A history of Australia: Vol. I: From the earliest times to the age of Macquarie*, (Melbourne, 1963), pp.145-6, 244, 251.

⁴² P. Chapman (ed.), *The diaries and letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes: Vol. 1 1820-1832*, (Melbourne 1985), p.41.

Drennan, at that stage head of the Colonial Commissariat, misappropriated a sum in excess of £6,000.⁴³ This act led to the transfer of Commissary George Boyes,⁴⁴ a Peninsular veteran, to Australia. Boyes' diaries and letters allow a glimpse of the experiences and duties of a Commissariat officer in the colonies, however, not in much detail. He wrote about doing his "regular Commissariat duties" as well as taking on other roles in the colonies where he served.⁴⁵

In early nineteenth century New South Wales the Commissariat had to keep and submit numerous records annually for audit, namely a Victualling Book; a Clothing and Slop Expense Book; a Receipt and Expense Book; a Store Purchasing Book (for purchases from settlers); a Purchasing Book (for purchases from masters of vessels and others); a Book of Particular Expense; a list of births, deaths, and absentees amongst the settlers; and a Weekly Victualling and Store-issue Book. The Commissary also furnished "a general return of the inhabitants and a return of expenditure and remains of government stock" to be sent to England by every ship travelling there.⁴⁶ This list was not static. Subsequently they also had to record the sale of "surplus perishable stores to free settlers at a profit".⁴⁷

In 1849 James Wood published *The Tasmanian royal kalendar, colonial register and almanack*,⁴⁸ in which he documented the Commissariat's duties, outlined in 1810, particularly those of officers at colonial stations. They were charged with safekeeping "the whole of the funds required to carry on the foreign expenditure of the mother country". The Commissariat were therefore in charge of the chest of money provided to pay for the supply of "provisions, forage, fuel, and light for the use of all the different branches of the service abroad". They also controlled land and water transport.⁴⁹

Thus the Commissariat was bound by numerous regulations and instructions, from either the Treasury in London, or from the Governors of the colonies elsewhere. The 1816 regulations for the Commissariat are contained within 25 pages of the 441 page *General regulations and orders for the Army*,⁵⁰ while Wood devoted a mere two pages to the duties of the Commissariat. This contrasts quite markedly with the 350 page *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*, published in 1852.⁵¹ This was the rule book William Henry Drake took to the Crimea with him - his code of conduct.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.13.

⁴⁴ George Boyes (1786-1853).

⁴⁵ P. Chapman (ed.), *The diaries and letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes: Vol. 1 1820-1832*, pp.13, 110, 215.

⁴⁶ Archives Authority of New South Wales, *Guide to the State Archives: Record Group NC 11: Commissariat, 1788-1870: Preliminary inventory*, (Sydney, 1963), pp.9-10.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.11.

⁴⁸ J. Wood, *The Tasmanian royal kalendar, colonial register and almanack 1849*, (Hobart, 1849), pp.97-8. The details of these duties can be found in Appendix 3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*.

⁵⁰ Adjutant General's Office, *General regulations and orders for the army*, pp.151-85.

⁵¹ Treasury, *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*.

According to Commissary-General Sir Randolph Routh (whose son served with Drake in the Crimea),⁵² “a really capable Commissariat Officer” was “a complete Man of Business”. He needed to be able to deal “with persons of every nation and character”, calling for “the most varied attainments and powers of mind”. He concluded young commissaries would “do well to acquire during peace the experience and knowledge which will be indispensable to enable them to acquit themselves well in the critical emergencies of war.”⁵³ The view of Lord Raglan, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in the Crimea, differed from Routh’s. Raglan believed the peace-time duties of commissaries did not adequately equip them for field-service during a war.⁵⁴ At this point, the Commissariat relied on training *in situ*, despite calls for a more formalised training structure. As early as 1806 General Don had suggested the Commissariat undergo “realistic Field training” during peacetime, and a permanent Commissariat be set up to deal with contingencies as they arose.⁵⁵

The lack of structured training, and permanence of the Commissariat as a whole, would create problems for the supply of adequate services to the British Army during the Crimean War. Experience and training, or the lack of it, was to be a crucial factor in the success of the various Commissariat officers during the Crimean War. In Drake’s case these factors seem to have led to his success during the war, and to his further advancement afterwards. He was immersed in the culture of the Commissariat from birth.

At the time of his birth on 29 September 1812 in Coimbra, Portugal,⁵⁶ Henry Drake’s father, John, was a Commissariat officer serving with the Duke of Wellington’s army. Wellington had recently besieged the Spanish town of Burgos. This operation, however, failed miserably, and was lifted the next month.⁵⁷

John Drake joined the Commissariat in early 1805,⁵⁸ and was awarded the Peninsular War Medal with two clasps (for Corunna and Busaco, the actions for which took place in January

⁵² ‘Obituary. Commissary-General Leonce Routh’, *The Times*, (London, 26 Aug 1905), p.4:e; Drake makes a great number of references to Leonce Routh both in his *Journal*, and in the letters he wrote from the Crimea. The contemporaneous presence of Leonce Routh in the Crimea is also established in H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list and militia list for 1856*, (London, 1856), p.384.

⁵³ Sir Randolph Routh, *Observations on commissariat field service*, (London, 1845), p.67, quoted in P. Chapman (ed.), *The diaries and letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes: Vol. 1 1820-1832*, p.42.

⁵⁴ Raglan to Newcastle, 24 Jul 1854, RMP 6807/282, quoted in J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.49.

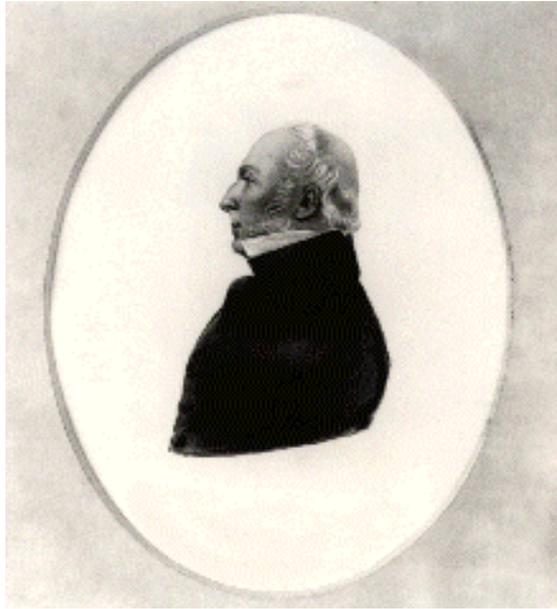
⁵⁵ Don, quoted in E.B. de Fonblanque, *Treatise on the administration and organisation of the British Army, with especial reference to finance and supply*, (1858), quoted in J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.49.

⁵⁶ I have been unable to verify William Henry Drake’s place of birth exactly, but it is given as Coimbra on an undated and unsourced family tree. His grandson, Brig. A.C.F. Jackson, also says that Drake was born at Coimbra in an undated manuscript listing Drake’s curriculum vitae. The *Biographical index of South Australians 1836-1885* (J. Statton (ed.), Marsden, SA, 1986) gives Drake’s birthplace as Portugal. The year of Drake’s birth is given as 1812 in his obituary in *The annual register: A review of public events at home and abroad, for the year 1862*, (London, 1883), p.114. *The dictionary of Australasian biography*, by Philip Mennell (London, 1892) concurs (p.139). Drake himself gives his birthday as 29 September. He says: “[Letter] N^o. 12 was of 28 Sept. the next day was my birthday”: William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #13 - Louisa Drake (London), (3 Oct 1854).

⁵⁷ J. Fortescue, *Wellington*, 2nd ed. (London, 1927), p.144-5.

⁵⁸ *Parliamentary Papers, 1859, Session 1, Vol. 15*: ‘Royal Warrant, Dated 28th October 1858, and Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the existing Organization of the Commissariat Department with Evidence and Appendix’. This document lists members of the Commissary as at that date. “John Drake

ILLUSTRATION 1



**William Henry Drake's father,
Commissary-General John Drake (1782-c1867)**
(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

ILLUSTRATION 2



**William Henry Drake's mother,
Maria Drake (née Story) (1783-1876)**
(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

1809 and September 1810 respectively).⁵⁹ He also distinguished himself in 1814 by entering, at great risk, the French-held city of Santona under a flag of truce to buy back clothing taken from the British army.⁶⁰ John Drake was promoted to Commissary-General in August 1833 and retired on half pay before 7 February 1840.⁶¹ He then lived near Regent's Park,⁶² until his death in the 1860s.⁶³

Nothing is known of Drake's childhood or schooling, but it can be presumed these years were spent where his father's Commissariat appointments took the family. These details are scant, as the Army Lists of the time did not provide this information for Commissariat officers.⁶⁴ Records at the Public Record Office, however, indicate John Drake was stationed with the Commissariat in the Netherlands and France in 1815, in Jamaica from 1823 to 1826, and in the Windward and Leeward Islands from 1827 to 1834.⁶⁵

Drake had a good education. He wrote English fluently and eloquently, spoke French,⁶⁶ and performed duties requiring a high level of numeracy.⁶⁷ He subsequently also tried to learn modern Greek.⁶⁸ He was exposed to the workings of the Commissariat by watching his father. This would have helped him in his later career. Drake and his father appear to have shared a passion for their work. This is demonstrated by Drake's practice of writing separate letters, of which few survive, to his father from the Crimea to discuss Commissariat matters with him. Drake, however, made notes in his *Journal* about some of them.⁶⁹

Drake's working life started in 1828 at age 15 in Barbados.⁷⁰ In August 1831, he was transferred to the new colony on the Swan River, founded in 1826.⁷¹ He arrived in Perth with

age 77 years, 25 years 2 months on full pay, 28 years 8 months on half pay." [My thanks to Colin Smith who e-mailed me this information.]

⁵⁹ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1856*, pp.499 & 500; & H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, (London, 1860), pp.527 & 528.

⁶⁰ F.S. Larpent, 'Headquarters St Jean De Lux, January 18th, 1814, from *The private journal of F.S. Larpent*, vol. 2, (London, 1853), p.122. [Transcript supplied by Lynne Bryer, from Brig. A.C.F. Jackson, grandson of William Henry Drake.] Santona could possibly be Santander, on the north coast of Spain, in the Bay of Biscay.

⁶¹ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list ...for 1840*, (London, 1840), p.405.

⁶² In his Will, John Drake bequeathed his house at 27 Park Village East to his wife, Maria, and on her death, to their unmarried daughter, Charlotte Augusta Drake: J. Drake, *Will*, (London, 11 Dec 1861).

⁶³ John Drake's death date is not known, though the Drake Family Tree suggests that he died around 1867.

⁶⁴ See e.g. H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list ...for 1840*, pp.305-8,405-6.

⁶⁵ Public Record Office Catalogue, <http://www.pro.gov.uk/>, Accessed 8 June 2000. A search of the catalogue found the following documents: AO 1/131/286, AO 1/538/318, AO 1/538/319, AO 2/13, AO 2/17, AO 2/19, AO 2/23, AO 2/31, AO 2/33.

⁶⁶ Drake stated that he spoke French: William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (30 Jun 1854).

⁶⁷ For further details on the duties of a Commissariat officer, see Appendix 3.

⁶⁸ William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (30 Jun 1854).

⁶⁹ For example, on 9 Aug 1854 Drake said in his *Journal*: "wrote letter to my father about the state of affairs"; and on 2 Mar 1855 he wrote: "I send a rough Memorandum for the C.G. [his father] just to Show where the faults of this Campaign should lie & not with the Commissariat": William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #52 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Mar 1855).

⁷⁰ Drake states that he "entered the Service in 1828": William Henry Drake (Balchik Bay) #7 - Louisa Drake (London), (6 Sep 1854). John Drake's mother, Sarah (née Chadder), wrote a letter to him in Barbados in 1827: Sarah Drake (London) - John Drake (Barbados), (30 Oct 1827). Drake's sister, Charlotte Augusta Drake, makes it clear that Drake did work in Barbados, saying: "Mr. Weir, who is a friend of ours of many years standing, &, knew Henry intimately in Barbados, will be his Chief": Charlotte Augusta

63 other passengers (including John Purkis⁷² and David Dring), on board the *Egyptian*.⁷³ Drake and John Purkis had much in common. They were close in age, and were both Commissariat officers.⁷⁴ David Dring,⁷⁵ though older, must have developed a good relationship with Drake, as Drake's second daughter, Charlotte Augusta Dring Drake, was named after him.⁷⁶ Also on board was 38-year old John Lewis, Drake's superior officer, who was appointed Commissary-General in December 1831.⁷⁷ They joined a small number of European settlers - a mere 1,489 in 1832.⁷⁸

These men were probably among the first Commissariat officers sent to Western Australia. The first governor, Sir James Stirling, had taken out £1,000 (without a Commissariat) and had been instructed to call upon the Commissariat in Sydney or the Treasury in London for further funds.⁷⁹ In 1831 a Commissary (probably John Lewis) was eventually despatched to the colony, taking with him £5,000 in silver, and with the power to draw bills.⁸⁰

John Purkis probably introduced Drake to Louisa (Purkis's younger sister), who had arrived at the Colony with her parents, James and Elizabeth Sarah Purkis, and three of her siblings, Elizabeth, Frederick and Emma, on 13 February 1830, on board the *Egyptian*.⁸¹ Henry Drake and Louisa Purkis married in Perth on 23 September 1833,⁸² 21 months after Drake's arrival. Drake was close to 21, and Louisa, nearly 20.

Louisa's father was judged by C.T. Stannage to be "one of Perth's leading merchants and politicians",⁸³ having arrived with goods to the value of £1,155:9:6, and six servants.⁸⁴ Louisa's mother was described as "a very clever, highly educated gentlewoman", apparently quite unsuited to "a country inhabited by savages."⁸⁵

Drake (London) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854). For further details of the career of Thomas C. Weir (and other Commissariat officers), see Appendix 2: Commissariat Officers.

⁷¹ N. Green, 'Aborigines and white settlers in the nineteenth century', in C.T. Stannage (ed.), *A new history of Western Australia*, (Nedlands, WA, 1981), p.76.

⁷² Drake's brother-in-law John Purkis (1812-1882).

⁷³ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888, Vol. I A-C*, (Nedlands, WA, 1988), p.xviii; P. Statham (comp.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I: Early settlers 1829-1850*, (Nedlands, WA, 1979), p.94, 95, 275.

⁷⁴ P. Statham, (comp.), *Supplement to the dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914, Vol. 1: Early settlers 1829-1850*, (Nedlands, WA, 1981), pp.38, 99.

⁷⁵ P. Statham (comp.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914, Vol. I*, p.95.

⁷⁶ It is quite possible that David Dring was Charlotte's godfather. Pat Jalland (*Women, marriage and politics 1860-1914*, (Oxford, 1986), p.157) suggests that "Usually the baby was named after several or even all of the godparents - a custom responsible for some of the ugly strings of names which encumbered unfortunate babies."

⁷⁷ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888, Vol. III: K-Q*, p.1857.

⁷⁸ W. Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical statistics*, (Sydney, 1987), p.26.

⁷⁹ S.J. Butlin, *Foundations of the Australian monetary system 1788-1851*, (Sydney, 1968), p. 379.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p.380.

⁸¹ P. Statham (comp.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I*, p.275.

⁸² R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888, Vol. II D-J*, p.892.

⁸³ C.T. Stannage, *The people of Perth: A social history of Western Australia's capital city*, (Perth, 1979), p.16.

⁸⁴ P. Statham (comp.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I*, p.275.

⁸⁵ L.L. Shenton, 'Mrs. Purkis', in J. Cowan, 'Some pioneer women', *Western Australian Historical Society Journal & Proceedings*, 1:10, 1931, p.50.

MAP 1: Western Australia



(Adapted from Rica Erickson (comp.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. IV R-Z*, (Nedlands, WA, 1988, Inside front cover.)

¹ The location of Drake Creek (34°50'51"S 117°15'04"E) is from Australian Geographic Place Names (Gazetteer) at <http://kaos.erin.gov.au/database/MAN200R.html>, Accessed 4 Jan 1999.

Life was difficult for these early settlers. Contemporary observers, Rev. J.R. Wollaston⁸⁶ and Georgiana Molloy,⁸⁷ wrote of the unrelenting hard work performed by immigrants used to a more leisurely life in Britain. The colonists also spoke of the difficulty and expense of obtaining stores and clothing,⁸⁸ and the high cost of living.⁸⁹

Adequate medical attention was also difficult to find. Wollaston discussed the difficulty of obtaining the services a sober, competent and available doctor (out of a possible six) to attend Molloy's confinement in December 1842.⁹⁰ Elizabeth Purkis also suffered due to this lack of proper medical attention, preferring to return to England with her husband on board the *Houghton-Le-Skerne* in January 1843 rather than submit to an operation, of unknown nature, in the colony. They returned on board the *Unicorn* in August 1844.⁹¹ She also suffered a double fracture of her wrist, which due to being badly set, worried her for the rest of her life.⁹² Her health, however, never fully recovered, and she died suddenly in July 1849.⁹³

Henry and Louisa Drake's five children - John, Louisa Maria, Charlotte Augusta Dring, Laura Mary, and Emily Caroline - were all born at the Swan. Four were born and baptised in Perth. Charlotte was born at King George's Sound,⁹⁴ but baptised in Perth.⁹⁵ Two months after Charlotte's birth, in April 1838, George Fletcher Moore was sent to King George's Sound by Governor Sir James Stirling for an enquiry by a board of Council. While there he "lived with Mr. Drake",⁹⁶ so life for the Drakes was not without company.⁹⁷

By the time of Laura's birth in 1843 the Drake family had returned to Perth. In April 1841 John Lewis, Drake's superior officer, committed suicide due to the unspecified difficulties of his public duties.⁹⁸ The direct effect of Lewis's suicide on Drake is unknown.

Drake did well while stationed at the Swan. Stannage has argued Government officials like him formed a socio-political elite in the budding colony, who invested their Government

⁸⁶ J.R. Wollaston, *Wollaston's Picton journal (1841-1844)*, (Perth, [n.d.]); J.R. Wollaston, *Wollaston's Albany journal (1848-1856)*, (Perth, [n.d.]).

⁸⁷ A. Hasluck, *Portrait with background: A life of Georgiana Molloy*, (Melbourne, 1955).

⁸⁸ J.R. Wollaston, *Wollaston's Picton journal (1841-1844)*, p.103; & A. Hasluck, *Portrait with background*, pp.132, 234.

⁸⁹ J.R. Wollaston, *Wollaston's Picton journal (1841-1844)*, p.141.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p.126.

⁹¹ P. Statham (comp.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I*, p.275.

⁹² L.L. Shenton, 'Mrs. Purkis', in J. Cowan, 'Some pioneer women', *Western Australian Historical Society Journal & Proceedings*, 1:10, 1931, p.51; & P. Statham (comp.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I*, p.275.

⁹³ James Purkis (Perth) - William Henry Drake (Hobart), (21 Jul 1849). The transcript of this letter is in the Battye Library, Perth [acc. no. 367a/1a].

⁹⁴ The birth certificate of Charlotte Augusta Dring Drake's daughter, Charlotte Louisa Marshall (b. 23 Feb 1859, Glengallan, Queensland), gives Charlotte Augusta Dring Drake's birth place as King Georges Sound.

⁹⁵ Baptismal certificate of the children (John, Louisa Maria, Charlotte Augusta Dring, Laura Mary, and Emily Caroline) of William Henry and Louisa Drake, dated 7 Oct 1847, and signed by B. Wittenoom, Colonial Chaplain, Perth. [I have not sighted the original of this document, but have a copy of a transcript made by Lynne Bryer.]

⁹⁶ G.F. Moore, *Diary of an eventful life of an early settler in Western Australia*, (London, 1884), p.341-2.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p.186.

⁹⁸ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III*, p.1857.

ILLUSTRATION 3



**Three of the Drake children:
John Drake (1834-1877)
Charlotte Augusta Dring Drake (1838-c1922)
and Louisa Maria Drake (1836-1876)**
(Photograph provided by Danie & Shasta Ackermann; origin unknown)

income well and prospered.⁹⁹ During his seventeen years in Western Australia, Drake served as executor of G.F. Johnston's will in 1832.¹⁰⁰ Later, in concert with John Lewis, he served as executor of the estate of Captain Richard Daniell of the 21st Regiment.¹⁰¹ In 1845 he benefited from the will of George Edwin Cameron, a Commissariat storekeeper.¹⁰² Drake served on the Boards of both the Western Australian Bank and the first Town Trust. He received goods from England on board the *Advocate* in September 1841, and the *Trusty* in June 1844. In September 1846 he acted as a race steward at York.¹⁰³ Drake was obviously viewed as trustworthy and competent by those around him.

Drake engaged in numerous land transactions. Though permitted to select 1,920 acres, he elected in June 1832 to select only 684 acres in the Canning region. In May 1833, 107 acres in the Swan region were transferred to Drake following the death of Charles Churchman. He purchased two Perth town lots in 1835, and in 1837 sold one of them to John Lewis for £16 2s 6d. In June 1841 he purchased a further two Perth town lots (for £50 and £47 respectively), but that year a Fremantle lot owned by Drake reverted to the Crown. In 1844 he sold a Bunbury town lot for £25.¹⁰⁴

Drake's superiors thought highly of him. In 1835 Lewis recommended Drake be promoted from Treasury Clerk to DACG, stating Drake's conduct had been "highly exemplary ..., meeting all the difficulties of the various duties he has had to perform with alacrity and attention", and expressing the view that if Drake received the promotion, he would "conduct the duties imposed upon him with zeal for the public good and satisfaction to their Lordships".¹⁰⁵

Drake's duties, like those of other Commissariat officers, would have included "the charge" of the Military Chest, negotiation of Bills, receipt and remittance of money, advancing funds to the Regimental Paymasters to pay the Troops, and paying the Staff and pensioners. Commissaries also contracted and paid for provisions, forage, fuel, and light, and issued them. They were "under the order of and responsible for the execution of their duties to the General or Officers commanding at the various stations" but received their instructions from the Treasury in London.¹⁰⁶ Drake's particular duties are unclear, but they included signing

⁹⁹ C.T. Stannage, *The people of Perth*, p.48.

¹⁰⁰ P. Statham (comp), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I*, p.94; & *Supplement to the dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914, Vol. I*, p.38.

¹⁰¹ Capt. Richard Daniell (1791-1835): G. Blackburn, *Conquest and settlement: The 21st Regiment of Foot (North British Fusiliers) in Western Australia 1833-40*, (Carlisle, WA, 1999), p.252.

¹⁰² George Edwin Cameron (1801/1802-1845): R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1888, Vol. I*, p.447.

¹⁰³ P. Statham (comp), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I*, p.94; & *Supplement to the dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914, Vol. I*, p.38.

¹⁰⁴ P. Statham (comp), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I*, p.94; & *Supplement to the dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914, Vol. I*, p.38.

¹⁰⁵ John Lewis (Perth) #423/32 - Hon. James Stewart, (9 Apr 1835). ["Outward letterbook from John Lewis (DACG) as from 7/12/1838 (ACG) - 12/9/1834 - 18/10/1839". Battye Library, Perth, AN 369/1, acc. no. 123.]

¹⁰⁶ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list ... for 1840*, pp.307-8.

and calling for meat tenders in December 1840;¹⁰⁷ serving as Chairman of the “Committee appointed to superintend the repairs of the causeway over the flats” to Guildford in 1843;¹⁰⁸ and ascertaining and reporting on the reduction of coin in the Colony from £25,000 to £9,000 in 1844 (at the time of the depression in the eastern Australian colonies), the bulk of which had been exported to the east.¹⁰⁹

In May 1848 Henry and Louisa Drake, their four daughters and two servants boarded the *Arpenteur*, to travel to Hobart via South Australia.¹¹⁰ Their 14-year old son, John, did not travel with them as he had left for Glasgow in July 1847,¹¹¹ presumably for schooling. By the time of the Drakes’ departure the European population of Western Australia had grown to 4,622.¹¹²

The Drakes spent about two years in Hobart. The length of time they spent there is, however, unclear. According to the Monthly Army Lists, Drake was stationed there from around June 1846 to around December 1849.¹¹³ The baptismal record of the Drake children, however, is dated 7 October 1847, and was signed by B. Wittenoom, Colonial Chaplain of Perth.¹¹⁴ *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians* states he left Western Australia for South Australia in May 1848.¹¹⁵ The *Biographical index of South Australians* concurs, stating Drake arrived in South Australia in 1848.¹¹⁶ The shipping report of the Schooner *Sisters* indicates the Drakes arrived in Hobart in June 1848.¹¹⁷ Maybe Drake received orders to transfer to Van Diemen’s Land in 1846, but only arrived two years later.

A few days after their arrival in Hobart, the *Colonial Times* printed a report on the conditions at the Swan River Colony. No source was given, but it is possible Drake or another recent

¹⁰⁷ P. Statham (comp.), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I*, p.94.

¹⁰⁸ *Report of the Committee appointed to superintend the repairs of the causeway over the flats*, Perth 4 Oct 1843 & 24 Jan 1844. [Battye Library, Perth, acc. no. 69.]

¹⁰⁹ S.J. Butlin, *Foundations of the Australian monetary system 1788-1851*, p.399.

¹¹⁰ P. Statham (comp), *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914: Vol. I*, p.94; & *Supplement to the dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914, Vol. I*, p.38.

¹¹¹ A section of a handwritten document entitled *Journal of a Voyage from Freemantle [sic] Western Australia to Glasgow commenced in the Colonial Schooner "Champion", Commanded by Lieut. Helpman R.N. to Angier Point in the Island of Java and from thence to Glasgow in the Brig "Derwent" Captain Steele*, is owned by Paul Taylor. This *Journal* covers the period 29 Jul 1847 to 25 Aug 1847. I presume this *Journal* was written by John Drake, son of William Henry Drake. According to *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888, Vol. II*, (R. Erickson (ed.), p.892) “A son [of William Henry Drake] dep. 7.1848 per Champion for Singapore.” The dates differ, but I presume that John Drake would have been correct when writing 1847 instead of 1848.

¹¹² W. Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical statistics*, p.26.

¹¹³ *Monthly Army Lists*, Jun 1846, p.80; Dec 1846, p.81; Jun 1847, p.81; Dec 1847, p.81, Jun 1848, p.73; Dec 1848, p.73; Jun 1849, p.79; Dec 1849, p.69. [My thanks to Graeme Marfleet, of the Crimean War Research Society, who consulted the *Monthly Army Lists* (published before 1859) and the publications of *The new annual army list, and militia list* (published in 1851, and between 1859 to 1883) at the State Library of New South Wales and sent me a synopsis of where Drake was stationed from Jun 1835 until his death was recorded in 1883.]

¹¹⁴ The baptismal record of the Drake children made by Lynne Bryer from the original.

¹¹⁵ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1888, Vol. II*, p.892.

¹¹⁶ J. Statton (ed.), *Biographical index of South Australians 1836-1885*, (Marsden, SA, 1986).

¹¹⁷ The Report of the Arrival at the Port of Hobart Town of the Schooner *Sisters*, June 21st 1848 (Archives, Hobart) listed A.C.G. Drake and his family and servants as the only cabin passengers, with two other passengers in steerage.

ILLUSTRATION 4



Commissariat Store, 40 Macquarie Street, Hobart - Built 1808
(Currently housing the Administration of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery)
(Photograph by Megan Stevens - December 1993)

arrival provided the information for publication. The report suggested the colonists at the Swan were not “going ahead” in a “remarkable manner”, but they were exerting themselves “to their advantage”, which would hopefully “render that distant province worthy of the abode of Britons”.¹¹⁸ Drake, however, commented in 1854, after receiving report of the colony in a letter from Rev. Wollaston, the Swan had “certainly not progressed much” since their departure.¹¹⁹

The European population of Van Diemen’s Land was greater than in Western Australia. In 1847 it was over 70,000. This figure remained fairly constant while the Drakes were in Hobart.¹²⁰ Drake’s responsibilities, therefore, would have increased. His duties were probably similar to those at the Swan. In 1849 he was listed as performing “general duties”. In 1852 the “nature and description” of general duties were as follows:

“To raise, keep, imprest or disburse, and bring to account the whole of the Funds required to be supplied on the spot through the medium of a Government Agent, to meet the Expenditure defrayed from the Revenues of the United Kingdom in the Colonial Possessions of the Crown, and in places occupied by a British Army.

To provide, by means of Contract or otherwise, and when necessary, to keep in Store and issue the Provisions, Forage, Fuel, and Light, for the use of all the branches of the Land Service abroad.

To purchase or contract for all Supplies and Stores required to be provided on the spot, for the use of the several Departments of the Army abroad, and, when called upon to do so, those also for the Naval Service.

To provide all necessary transport by land and inland navigation, including boat-hire in port and on the coast, for the use of all the Departments of the Army abroad; and in the absence of a duly authorized Naval Agent, to engage passages in sea-going vessels, and take up and enter into agreements for the hire of such vessels.”¹²¹

The more senior Commissariat officers on staff in Van Diemen’s Land were DCG George Maclean (in charge of the department), Assistant Commissaries-General Fletcher, Thomas Swan, Lempriere, and Drake. The total Commissariat staff in Van Diemen’s Land in 1849 numbered thirty-six, of whom only fourteen were ranked Commissariat officers.¹²²

Annie Baxter Dawbin met the Drakes in Hobart and described Louisa as being “a queer, good-humoured, vulgar little woman, rides well I think - but snubs her daughters!” She added, however, that Louisa's house was “a really pleasant one, and the garden so pretty.”¹²³ Annie expressed regret when the Drakes left on board the *Wellington* in January 1850, saying “they were such nice persons = and one can ill afford to lose agreeable Society in a Colony.”¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ *Colonial Times*, Hobart, 30 Jun 1848, p.3.

¹¹⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #30 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Dec 1854).

¹²⁰ W. Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical statistics*, p.26.

¹²¹ Treasury, *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*, (London, 1852), p.30. Further details of the duties are included on pages 30-88.

¹²² J. Wood, *The Tasmanian royal kalendar, colonial register and almanack 1849*, p.96. By 1854 this figure had fallen to 10: ‘Number of officers of each rank on full pay, and established clerks at each of the stations abroad, on the 1st of February, 1854 ...’, *Third report from the Select Committee of the Army before Sebastopol: Appendix No. 3*, (London, 1855), p.360. [Chairman J.A. Roebuck.]

¹²³ *Ibid*, (11 Jan 1849).

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, (16 Jan 1850).

On leaving Hobart, Drake had a temporary posting to St. Helena (off the coast of Africa),¹²⁵ then on to Nova Scotia until December 1853.¹²⁶ While reportedly stationed in Nova Scotia, the family seem to have actually lived at St. John, New Brunswick.¹²⁷ Drake also bought New Brunswick Debentures and Bonds, on which he still received interest in 1857 and 1858.¹²⁸ Drake's transfer to North America was probably another step up the ladder, as the total population for New Brunswick was substantially larger than at the Swan or at Van Diemen's Land - the 1851 census counted 193,800.¹²⁹

In 1853, while in St. John, tragedy struck. Their youngest daughter, seven-year old Emily, died,¹³⁰ of what, is not clear. Her death affected Drake profoundly. A year later, in Greece, he attended the funeral of the son of one of his suppliers.¹³¹ Drake admitted in his *Journal* that he "cried like a child", as it had been "the first funeral" he had attended "since poor little Emily". He felt as if he "were burying her again".¹³²

In April 1854 Drake was posted to London.¹³³ He travelled ahead, but before his family could join him, he was rerouted to accompany the Army to the "East" - and ultimately to the Crimea. They sailed in May 1854 under "sealed orders, to be opened off Gibraltar"; though his sister, Charlotte Augusta Drake, believed he was en route for Greece.¹³⁴

Drake was stoical about this change in their plans. He probably become accustomed to these sudden moves as a child when his father served in the Commissariat. Commissariat officers were transferred quite frequently.¹³⁵ He was leaving his family behind in London for an unspecified time. His daughters had not seen life outside the colonies, having been raised at the Swan, Van Diemen's Land, and New Brunswick. Louisa had last seen England when she

¹²⁵ Drake's grandson, Brig. A.C.F. Jackson, lists that Drake was posted to St. Helena in May 1850 in his undated manuscript listing Drake's curriculum vitae. The *Monthly Army List* for Jun 1850 does not give a station for Drake for that date (p.77).

¹²⁶ The *Monthly Army Lists* for the following dates list Drake as being stationed at Nova Scotia: Dec 1850, p.77; Jun 1851, p.77; Dec 1851, p.77; Jun 1852, p.87; Dec 1852, p.87; Jun 1853, p.87; Dec 1853, p.79.

¹²⁷ St. John is just over the Bay of Fundy from Nova Scotia. From their writings, it is clear they spent time at St. John: William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (27 Jul 1854, 18 Dec 1854, 31 Jan 1857); William Henry Drake (Off Ireland) - Louisa Drake (en route to London) (7 Apr 1854); William Henry Drake (On board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (en route to London) (29 May 1854); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #21 - Louisa Drake (London) (13 Nov 1854); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #29 - Louisa Drake (London), (18 Dec 1854); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #35 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Jan 1855); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #37 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Jan 1855); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #39 - Louisa Drake (London), (18 Jan 1855); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #42 - Louisa Drake (London) (24 Jan 1855).

¹²⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (11 May 1857, 6 Jul 1857, 26 Aug 1857, 19 Apr 1858).

¹²⁹ 'Population of New Brunswick', *The Times*, (London, 1 Dec 1852), p.8:f.

¹³⁰ Emily Caroline Drake (28 Feb 1845 - 28 Oct 1853).

¹³¹ Drake's supplier was Mr. Black, whose 24 year old son was working as an interpreter on H.M.S. *Triton* and died of "typhus fever": William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (11 Jul 1854).

¹³² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (12 Jul 1854).

¹³³ Drake's grandson, Brig. A.C.F. Jackson, lists that Drake was posted to the United Kingdom in April 1854 in his undated manuscript listing Drake's curriculum vitae.

¹³⁴ Charlotte Augusta Drake (London) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (9 May 1854).

¹³⁵ See Appendix 2: Commissariat Officers, for details of their careers.

left its shores for the Swan in 1829.¹³⁶ He commented on this unanticipated change in their lives, saying he was disappointed he would not be there to meet them, but was “comforted” they would “be in the midst of [his] kind Family, now no longer strangers, but [their] Sincere Friends”. He mused about how different his life would be from that which he “had anticipated for 12 mo^s. in Gloucester Place”,¹³⁷ but resolved they should “make the best of [events] as they turn up”.¹³⁸

But what sort of man was Henry Drake? Who was this Commissariat officer who embarked with the British Army for the Crimea?

Drake was a man of his time, a man who held fast to many of the attitudes of the Victorian era - optimism, dogmatism, forcefulness, morality, and hypocrisy.¹³⁹ He was an optimistic man, who felt, despite one’s circumstances, one should “keep as happy” as one could, as happiness assisted “in keeping well”.¹⁴⁰ He was dogmatic and opinionated - he believed in carrying out orders in his “own way” and did not brook interference.¹⁴¹ He was forceful, and worked hard at getting his own way, sometimes using connections with others to do so - he ensured he was not “palmed off in to a Second Class berth” on board the *Nil* by blustering “a little” and threatening to ask his “Friend” Admiral De Tinian¹⁴² to see that what he got “was right”.¹⁴³ He lived a moral life and was courteous. He was monogamous, he hardly gambled,¹⁴⁴ and did not seem to drink to excess.¹⁴⁵ He lived by the “maxim” that the Commissariat were “paid to be civil” and “to oblige if possible”.¹⁴⁶ It seems he was also hypocritical, at least to some extent. He often criticised his superior officer, William Filder, privately, but does not seem to have done so openly, as this would probably have had an adverse effect on his future career in the Commissariat. In fact, Drake publicly defended the Commissariat, and by implication, Filder.¹⁴⁷

¹³⁶ Louisa had arrived at the Swan River Colony on board the *Egyptian* on 13 Feb 1830, together with her parents and three siblings: P. Statham (comp.), *Dictionary of Western Australians: Vol. I*, p.275.

¹³⁷ 1 Gloucester Place, London (W1), south-west of Regent's Park, between Park Rd and Seymour St. Drake had taken a 12 month lease on the house: Charlotte Augusta Drake (London) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854); William Henry Drake (On board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854).

¹³⁸ William Henry Drake (On board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854).

¹³⁹ W.E. Houghton, *The Victorian frame of mind 1830-1870*, (New Haven, 1957) p.394.

¹⁴⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #27 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Dec 1854).

¹⁴¹ William Henry Drake (Varna) #3 - Louisa Drake (London), (19 Aug 1854); & William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #24 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Nov 1854).

¹⁴² A.D. Lambert, *The Crimean War: British grand strategy, 1853-56*, (Manchester, 1990), pp.56, 70, 72.

¹⁴³ William Henry Drake (Constantinople) - Louisa Drake (London), (28 Jul 1854).

¹⁴⁴ Drake wrote that Louisa knew that he “never” played or understood games like Rouge et Noir: William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #29 - Louisa Drake (London), (18 Dec 1854).

¹⁴⁵ Drake wrote of drinking claret and champagne (e.g. William Henry Drake (on board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (London), (29 May, 1854), & William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #116 - John & Maria Drake (London), (10 Nov 1855)), but said that he did not drink rum and seldom drank spirits (William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #53 - Louisa Drake (London), (5 Mar 1855)).

¹⁴⁶ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #14 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Oct 1854).

¹⁴⁷ Evidence of this will emerge in Chapters 2 and 3.

Drake considered himself a gentleman,¹⁴⁸ and may have been an ardent admirer of Samuel Smiles's views on "Self-Help" through application, perseverance, energy and courage.¹⁴⁹ Drake was "determined" to obtain his advancement in life by putting his "shoulders to the Work", coupled with the influence of "good Friends" "in the right place at Home".¹⁵⁰ Drake felt strongly about the need to speak other European languages, and demanded his daughters also learn Italian and French,¹⁵¹ He advocated the "benefit of an English Education" for his school-age daughters, which explains why, of his daughters, only the eldest, 18 year-old Louisa Maria, journeyed with her mother to Balaklava to join Drake in the latter stages of the Crimean War.¹⁵²

Drake was a conventionally religious man. Though he attended the Anglican church and was an active member of Masonic lodges, he did not often mention church or religion with great fervour. He also did not have much to say about church services he attended, other than to say he had been to church.¹⁵³ He did however, conform to religious expectations of the time,¹⁵⁴ and was a member of the Anglican church - his children were baptised in Perth by Anglican clergyman and Colonial Chaplain, Rev. J.B. Wittenoom.¹⁵⁵

Drake was an ardent Freemason. His involvement included "getting up a new Lodge" in Grahamstown, South Africa, which, Louisa said, was "to be very popular".¹⁵⁶ He also "acted on behalf of [the] Masonic body" when H.R.H. Prince Alfred laid the foundation stone of Alfred's Tower of the Grahamstown Cathedral.¹⁵⁷ He was also involved in dedicating a Masonic Hall for the Zetland Lodge.¹⁵⁸ The family oral history claims he was a founding member of the first Masonic Lodge in Perth.¹⁵⁹ This, however, is unsubstantiated.¹⁶⁰ Drake's membership of the Freemasons probably assisted him in his career, through the patronage of other members - "masonic networking".¹⁶¹

¹⁴⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #55 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Mar 1855). Further discussion of this will be found in Chapter 3.

¹⁴⁹ S. Smiles, *Self-help: With illustrations of conduct and perseverance*, Rev. ed., (London, 1908). [First published 1859.]

¹⁵⁰ William Henry Drake (on board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854).

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*; William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Jul 1854).

¹⁵² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #17 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Oct 1854).

¹⁵³ Drake's letters only contain two references to him attending church: William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (11 Jul 1854); & William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854). His *Journal* mentions 10 visits during the two years he was serving in the Crimea (28 May 1854), (9 Jul 1854), (13 Aug 1854), (27 Aug 1854), (8 Jul 1855), (5 Aug 1855), (12 Aug 1855), (19 Aug 1855), (28 Oct 1855), & (21 Mar 1856).

¹⁵⁴ W.E. Houghton, *The Victorian frame of mind 1830-1870*, pp.395-404.

¹⁵⁵ Baptismal certificate of the children (John, Louisa Maria, Charlotte Augusta Dring, Laura Mary, and Emily Caroline Drake) of William Henry and Louisa Drake, dated 7 Oct 1847, and signed by B. Wittenoom, Colonial Chaplain, Perth. [I have not sighted the original of this document, but have a copy of a transcript made by Lynne Bryer.] John Burdett Wittenoom (1789-1855), *Australian dictionary of biography: Vol. 2: 1788-1850 I-Z*, (Melbourne, 1967), pp.618-9.

¹⁵⁶ Louisa Drake (Grahamstown) - Maria Drake (London), (13 Dec 1860).

¹⁵⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (9 Aug 1860).

¹⁵⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (14 Oct 1863).

¹⁵⁹ A.C.F. Jackson (grandson of William Henry Drake), *Interview by Megan Stevens*, (Hermanus, South Africa, 7 Nov 1992).

¹⁶⁰ Drake's brother-in-law, Francis Lochée, was apparently persuaded by Governor John Hutt "to become the first Freemason initiated in the [Swan River] colony". The Lodge of St. John was consecrated at Perth on

ILLUSTRATION 5



William Henry Drake (1812-1882) as a young man
(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

ILLUSTRATION 6



**One of William Henry Drake's sisters,
Charlotte Augusta Drake (1818-1905)**
(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

The Freemasons claim their Society “is not a religion - neither is it a creed or a sect, nor a substitute for religion”.¹⁶² “The Ancient Landmarks of the Order”, the basic notions of Freemasonry, are as follows: A Mason “must be male, free-born and of mature age”, who “possesses a belief in God, the Supreme Being, the Great Architect of the Universe”, “owes allegiance to the Sovereign and to the Craft”, and “believes in the immortality of the soul”, and that “the Volume of the Sacred Law is an essential and indispensable part of the lodge, to be open in full view when the brethren are at labour”.¹⁶³

Drake must have subscribed to these notions to qualify for entry into a Lodge. He was a mature man of free birth. He believed in God, and the soul was immortal. (This is clear from his *Journal* entry for the day he attended the funeral of Mr. Black’s son. Drake wrote “as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.”)¹⁶⁴ His link with the Sovereign (Queen Victoria) was clearly expressed, though he was rather dismissive. He commented he was “much pleased” Louisa had “got a good look at Her Majesty & Prince Albert as well as the Great Nobility”. He added: “It is well worth seeing once, at all events.”¹⁶⁵

This, then, was the commissary who “took leave” of his Father and Mother, and his sister, Charlotte, “at 1/2 past 9” on Saturday 20 May 1854.¹⁶⁶ This was the civilian who went to experience war first-hand in the Crimea.

4 April 1843. Drake was possibly also initiated as a Freemason around the same time as Lochée: M.H. Tauman, ‘Lochee, Francis (1811-1893)’, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography: Vol. 2*, p.122; H.B. Mathews, ‘Freemasonry’, in *The Australian encyclopaedia: Vol. IV: Fairbairn to Hoskins*, (Sydney, 1962), p.208.

¹⁶¹ E. Hobsbawm, *The age of capital 1848-1875*, (London, 1997), p.286.

¹⁶² L.G. Gatt, ‘The nature and purpose of Freemasonry’, in K.W. Henderson, *The Masonic grand masters of Australia*, (Melbourne, 1988), p.4.

¹⁶³ H. Carr, *Six hundred years of craft ritual*, (London, 1983), quoted in K. Henderson, *The Masonic grand masters of Australia*, p.9.

¹⁶⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (12 Jul 1854).

¹⁶⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #33 - Louisa Drake (London) (1 Jan 1855).

¹⁶⁶ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (20 May 1854).

Chapter 2

To the Crimea

The ostensible origins of the Crimean war lay in a dispute between Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic priests as to who had “the right of first access to certain holy Christian places” in the Turkish-controlled holy cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem in 1850.¹ Tsar Nicholas I wanted recognition from the Turkish Sultan for what he felt was his right to represent and protect Christians in Turkey.² In reality the war came about because of the Russian desire to gain access to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, an area controlled by the Turkish Empire.³ After failed negotiations between the Russians and the Turks, Russian troops invaded the Turkish Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia on 3 July 1853. No fighting eventuated, but the Turks issued an ultimatum to the Russians to withdraw their troops. When this had not taken place by 5 October 1853, Turkey declared war on Russia.⁴ In November the Russian fleet sank the entire Turkish flotilla in the Black Sea port of Sinope, killing at least 2,000 Turks, with minimal losses on the Russian side.⁵

The British and French governments objected angrily to the “massacre”, and supported Turkey.⁶ The British policy was to protect Turkey from the Russian fleet,⁷ fearing Russian influence and expansion in the Baltic, and into the Bosphorus.⁸ Louis Napoleon, who had taken the title of Emperor of France in 1852,⁹ had been snubbed by Tsar Nicholas I, who refused to accept him as Napoleon III.¹⁰ The French also feared Russian influence in the Baltic.¹¹ War seemed inevitable. The first British troops left London on 14 February 1854 to guard against that contingency.¹² In March the British and French governments sent a joint ultimatum to the Russians, demanding their withdrawal from the Principalities. When Russia did not reply, the British and the French declared war on Russia at the end of the month.¹³ Sardinia joined the fray on the side of the allies (Turkey, France, and Britain) in May 1855.¹⁴

¹ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory: The legacy of the Crimean War*, (Boulder, Colorado, 1999), p.12.

² C. McEvedy, *The Penguin atlas of recent history: Europe since 1815*, (London, 1982), p.16.

³ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, p.13.

⁴ *Ibid*, p.15.

⁵ D.M. Goldfrank, *The origins of the Crimean War*, (London, 1994), p.241.

⁶ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, pp.16-7; N. Rich, *Why the Crimean War?: A cautionary tale*, (Hanover, New England, 1985), p.97; P. Kerr et al, *The Crimean War*, (London, 1997), p.15.

⁷ D.M. Goldfrank, *The origins of the Crimean War*, p.234.

⁸ A.D. Lambert, *The Crimean War: British grand strategy, 1853-56*, (Manchester, 1990), p.6; P. Kerr et al, *The Crimean War*, p.10.

⁹ A.W. Palmer, *A dictionary of modern history 1789-1945*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1964), p.231.

¹⁰ A.D. Lambert, *The Crimean War: British grand strategy, 1853-56*, p.10.

¹¹ J. Barbary, *The Crimean War*, (London, 1972), p.12.

¹² *Ibid*, p.17

¹³ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, p.17; *The Times*, (London, 30 Mar 1854), p.7:b.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.65.

While all these diplomatic preliminaries took place, Drake travelled from Halifax, Nova Scotia, to Liverpool, and on to London, to take up his position as ACG there.¹⁵ Drake clearly had a loving relationship with his wife, writing he felt “rather mopy, wanting [her] to have a chat with, about things around.”¹⁶ His sojourn in London was cut short as he was “ordered away very suddenly”.¹⁷ His departure occurred some time after that of many other commissaries. ACG J.W. Smith had joined the expedition on 12 March, and Commissary-General William Filder, on 15 April.¹⁸ On Saturday 20 May Drake joined Mr. Jackson of the Treasury at the South West Railway Station, his first step in the journey which ultimately led him to the Crimea. They took with them £10,000.¹⁹ Even though Drake did not say what this money was for, it was probably Treasury money for the purchase of supplies for the army. Drake travelled to Southampton, where he joined the 97th Regiment, under Peninsular veteran Lt.-Col. Lockyer,²⁰ on board the *Orinoco*. They steamed off under “sealed orders”.²¹ By 26 May they reached Gibraltar, where Drake’s superior officer, DCG Thomas Weir (with whom Drake and his father had served in Barbados)²² joined them.²³

Drake’s ambitious nature and determination were already showing - throughout the war he focused on the prospect that his experiences would lead to his promotion. He and Weir concluded this would not be difficult for those who “put [their] shoulders to the Work”, something Drake was “determined to do”, as promotion was “worth a strong effort”. He was hesitant, however, saying, though he wrote “about it”, he did “not expect anything so liberal”.²⁴

On 4 June they berthed at Piræus. Drake was “uncertain” about his movements, but explained the reasons for their landing in Greece, saying:

“We are to go to the Piræus 5¹/₂ miles from Athens principally ... as a demonstration Force or one of occupancy only conjointly with a somewhat larger number of French troops ... - Again we know not whether the Greek Govt. are amicable & desirous of us or not, as, we are ... to force a landing At the end of the Greek affair it seems undoubted that the 97th will go on to Turkey & I presume Weir & I will be sent there also - how long we may be in Greece is purely conjectured & I confess I should prefer being there at least six months to going on to Turkey.”²⁵

¹⁵ William Henry Drake (at sea off Ireland) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (7 Apr 1854).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Charlotte Augusta Drake (London) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (19 May 1854).

¹⁸ *Fifth report from the Select Committee of the Army before Sebastopol: Appendix No. 3*, (London, 1855), p.362.

¹⁹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (20 May 1854).

²⁰ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1856*, (London, 1856), pp.311-2.

²¹ Charlotte Augusta Drake (London) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854); & William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (20 May 1854).

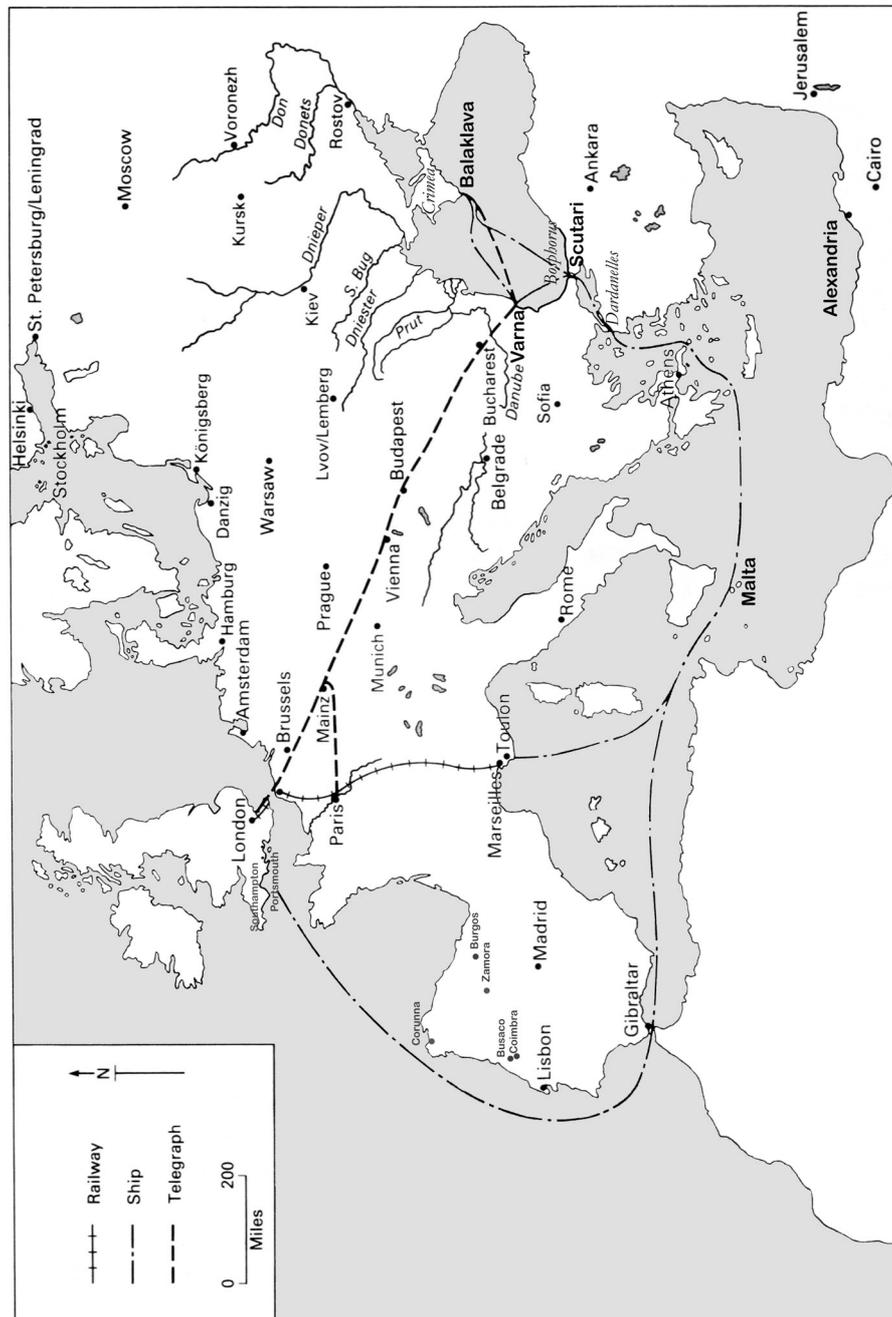
²² Drake’s sister, Charlotte Augusta Drake, wrote: ‘Mr. Weir, who is a friend of ours of many years standing, & knew Henry intimately in Barbados, will be his Chief’. {Charlotte Augusta Drake (London) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854). For details of the careers of the various commissariat officers, see Appendix 2.

²³ William Henry Drake (On board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854).

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

MAP 2: Europe



(Adapted from Kenneth Macksey, *For want of a nail; The impact on war of logistics and communications*, (London, 1989), p.11.)

This “demonstration Force” was sent to Piræus to keep the Greeks in check - Captain Hedley Vicars of the 97th described their purpose as “bringing King Otho²⁶ to his senses”.²⁷ Greece favoured Russia in the fight against Turkey, and Britain and France wanted to put a stop to that.²⁸

Weir put Drake in “charge of the Stores & Supply & Transport branch”,²⁹ but kept the cash himself.³⁰ Over the next few days they landed stores, and entered into contracts for the supply of bread, meat, forage, wood, water, and “Lighters for landing the horses” with Mr. Black,³¹ and carts from another supplier.³²

Drake spent the next month and a half in Piræus, leaving there on 22 July.³³ On 23 June he felt unwell, with “pains like rheumatism”, followed by a “thick rash”, but recovered relatively quickly.³⁴ He found the heat oppressive, and complained of “fleas, bugs, mosquitos & midges”.³⁵ His colleagues, however, went down with dysentery,³⁶ around the time cholera struck the French troops for the first time.³⁷ Within a week it spread to the British soldiers, killing one of the 97th Regiment within six hours.³⁸ The French were particularly badly affected, with around 700 troops and five officers dying.³⁹

²⁶ Otto of Bavaria (1815-1867) was King of Greece from 1832 to 1862. His acquiescence to the British and French occupation of Piræus during the Crimean War of 1854-1856, to prevent a Greco-Russian alliance, was a factor in his lack of popularity with the Greek people: *Funk & Wagnalls new encyclopedia, Vol. 12*, ([United States], 1971), p.180. As the 17-year old son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, he was selected by the European powers as the first king of independent Greece. He was overthrown by a popular revolt: *The Wordsworth dictionary of biography*, (Ware, Herts., 1994), p.328.

²⁷ Author of “The Victory Won”, *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, Ninety-Seventh Regiment*, New ed., (London, 1879), p.156.

²⁸ C. McEvedy, *The Penguin atlas of recent history: Europe since 1815*, p.16; & *The Encyclopedia Britannica: Vol. 10*, 14th ed., (1929), p.788. [My thanks to Tom Downs of the Crimean War Research Society for the last reference.]

²⁹ William Henry Drake (On board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854).

³⁰ William Henry Drake (On board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (4 Jun 1854).

³¹ Drake made much of the fact that Mr. Black had married “Lord Byron's Maid of Athens” who was “now a respectable elderly Matron just like any French or Spanish lady of same age”: William Henry Drake (on board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (4 Jun 1854). This is confirmed by Alexis Soyer: A. Soyer, *A culinary campaign*, (Lewes, East Sussex, 1995), p.75. [Originally published in 1857.] George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron, (1788-1824), English poet. In 1815 he married mathematician Anne Milbanke (1792-1860) by whom he had a daughter, separating from her a year later amid much scandal. He engaged in Italian revolutionary politics, and sailed for Greece in 1823 to further the Greek struggle for independence, but died of fever at Missolonghi: *The Wordsworth dictionary of biography*, p.71 In late 1809 Lord Byron lodged in Athens with Mrs. Tarsia Macri, widow of the former 'British' vice-consul. He was impressed by her three daughters, all under fifteen. His favourite was the youngest, Theresa, then twelve. In early 1810 he wrote a poem about his love for her: *Maid of Athens, 'ere we part, / Give, oh give me back my heart!*. He was, however, unwilling to marry or buy Theresa, whose mother reserved the right to push her into marriage or to take money in lieu of it. Byron therefore left this lodging. In April that year he rejected Mrs. Macri's last offer of Theresa for 30,000 piastres: E. Longford, *Byron*, (London, 1976), pp.28-38.

³² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (5 Jun 1854).

³³ William Henry Drake, (Constantinople) - Louisa Drake (London), (28 Jul 1854).

³⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (23 & 24 Jun 1854).

³⁵ *Ibid*, (2 Jul 1854).

³⁶ *Ibid*, (10 & 11 Jul 1854).

³⁷ *Ibid*, (9 Jul 1854).

³⁸ William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (17 Jul 1854).

³⁹ Author of “The Victory Won”, *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, Ninety-Seventh Regiment*, p.181. Cholera continued to cause great morbidity and mortality amongst the troops during the campaign against the Russians, leading to the deaths of two-thirds of the British soldiers who contracted it in the Crimea:

The proximity of the French Army prompted Drake to compare their preparedness for war with that of the British Army. He felt the British troops “were much behind them [the French] as warriors, in equipment in activity & in adapting ourselves to the ways of the Country but superior in strength, cleanliness & courtesy to the inhabitants”.⁴⁰ Lt.-Gen. Sir John Burgoyne also felt the French were better prepared. In comparison to the British, he considered their organisation worth emulating.⁴¹ A correspondent to *The Times* argued the main reason the French army was superior to the British, was because promotion was “by merit” rather than “by favour and money”, thereby criticising the system of purchasing of rank within the British Army. This, he argued, created a feeling of equality, rather than one of inequality based on privilege.⁴²

Later, Drake still felt the French system was better than that of the British.⁴³ (Unlike the British Commissariat, entry into the French Commissariat was only open to serving military officers.)⁴⁴ Others have corroborated Drake’s view. R.L.V. French Blake has argued their *Intendance* (administrative service) was “a model to the rest of Europe”.⁴⁵ Filder agreed, arguing that the French Commissariat was successful because “the establishments on which so much of Commissariat success depends” were not “discarded at the termination of a period of active warfare”, as had happened to the British Commissariat after the Peninsular War. “The ‘Intendant Général’ had no new establishments to create, nor any change to make. It was only necessary to let things go on in their ordinary course.”⁴⁶ William Howard Russell concurred, writing:

“The French have a perfect baggage train, and carry off all their stores and baggage to their camps the moment they land, while we are compelled to wait till a proper number of araba⁴⁷ carts have been collected, instead of having an organised administration and train department to do what is required.”⁴⁸

First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed, (Constantinople, 1855), p.43 (p.39 of the Report). [Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch.] [Monash Microcard #5, Vol. 20.]

⁴⁰ William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (30 Jun 1854).

⁴¹ In 1860 Sir J. Fox Burgoyne had served for 62 years on full pay. In Jan 1854 he proceeded to Turkey on a special mission, and prior to the sailing of the expedition to the Crimea, was appointed Lt.-Gen. On the Staff of the Eastern Army; was engaged at the battles of Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, and conducted the British portion of the siege of Sebastopol until ordered home in Feb 1855 (Medal and four Clasps). For his services at the siege of Sebastopol he was created a Baronet and promoted to the rank of General; he also received the 1st Class of the Turkish Order of Hishid Medjidie, and the decoration of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. He was also a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath: H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, (London, 1860), pp.399, 405-406; Burgoyne to Sir Francis Head, 27 Dec 1854, in E. Sanger, *Englishmen at war: A social history in letters 1450-1900*, (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1993), p.280.

⁴² An Anglo-Parisian, ‘The French and English Armies’, *The Times*, (London, 4 Jan 1855), p.10:c.

⁴³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #28 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Dec 1854).

⁴⁴ A.R. Reeves, ‘The French commissariat, or Intendance Militaire, and the Choice Corps or Companies’, in *Colburn’s United Service Magazine and Naval and Military Journal*, Pt. 2 (Jul 1855), p.386.

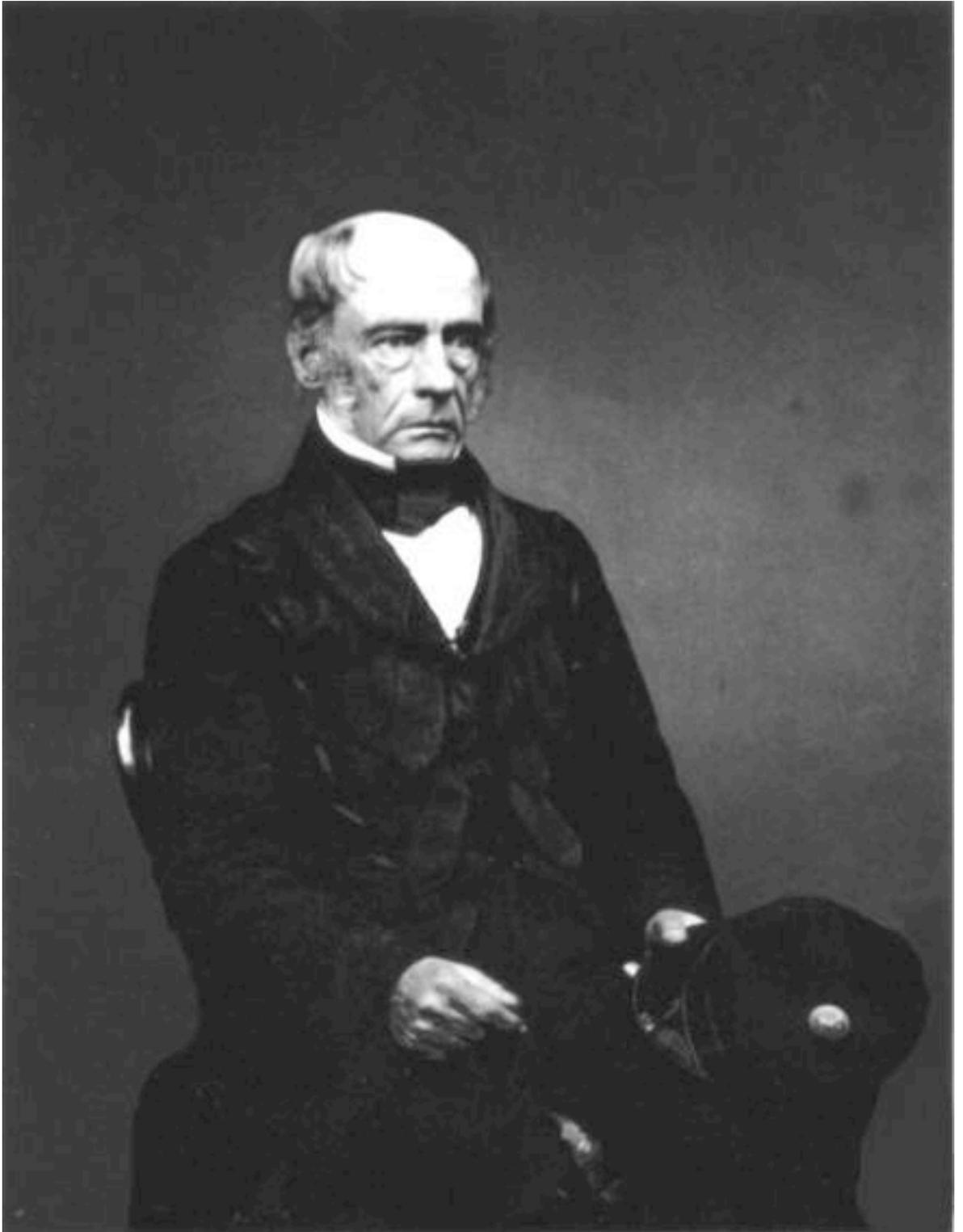
⁴⁵ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, (London, 1971), p.107.

⁴⁶ W. Filder, ‘The Crimean Report: Mr. Filder’s reply’, *The Times*, (London, 17 Mar 1856), p.10:a, 10:b.

⁴⁷ Drake described arabas as being “the ox carts” of the Crimea: William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #14 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Oct 1854).

⁴⁸ W.H. Russell, ‘Gallipoli, 13 April’, in A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1994), p.20.

ILLUSTRATION 7



Commissary-General William Filder (1855)
(Photograph by Roger Fenton)
The Royal Archives © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

On 12 July Drake received orders from the Treasury to report “without delay” to Constantinople, there to await the orders of CG William Filder. He was then to proceed to either Varna or Schumla. “All the Great People”, including Filder and Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, Lord Raglan, were at Varna.⁴⁹ The army had been there since the beginning of June.⁵⁰

En route to Turkey on the steamer *Nil*, Drake made contact with other commissaries posted along the way - Turner and Mitchell at Gallipoli, and J.W Smith, Edwards, Willan, Stickney, Montunaro, Downes, and Potgieter at Constantinople. Smith gave Drake a foretaste of things to come - suggesting the administrative problems which nearly ruined the British Army were already present. Drake wrote:

“Mr. Filder seems generally detested & as far as may be despised Everything goes on badly, no System, discourtesy & abuse are our Lot. a pleasant prospect for me ... Everybody in the Department is most sincerely disgusted at the Service here - 1st at Mr. Filder whose treatment of them individually has been bad & his system of Work disgracefully bad & unbusinesslike.”⁵¹

Smith was not the only person critical of Filder. One British colonel commented he had “never ... met so disagreeable a coxcomb and so utterly impracticable an official as this little viper”.⁵² Sir George Cathcart described Filder more indulgently - as “a man of detail but not enlarged ideas”⁵³ - obviously considering Filder not very intelligent. In April, Russell of *The Times* also suggested there were too few commissaries at Gallipoli, who, as they lacked interpreters, had difficulty dealing “with the natives”. Interpreters were being sought, but Russell felt “it was rather a late thought”.⁵⁴ Adjutant-General Estcourt also noticed the “want of organization” in the Commissariat, complaining in July about variations in the quality of rations received by various Divisions.⁵⁵

The Commissariat was headed by sixty-four-year-old Commissary-General William Filder,⁵⁶ described by Acting DACG Arthur Blackwood as a “thin spare little man”.⁵⁷ Filder had

⁴⁹ William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Jul 1854).

⁵⁰ W.H. Russell, ‘Varna, 2 June’, in A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, p.24.

⁵¹ William Henry Drake (Constantinople) - Louisa Drake (London), (28 Jul 1854).

⁵² G. Regan, *Someone had blundered ...: A historical survey of military incompetence*, (London, 1987), p.207, quoted in R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, p.114.

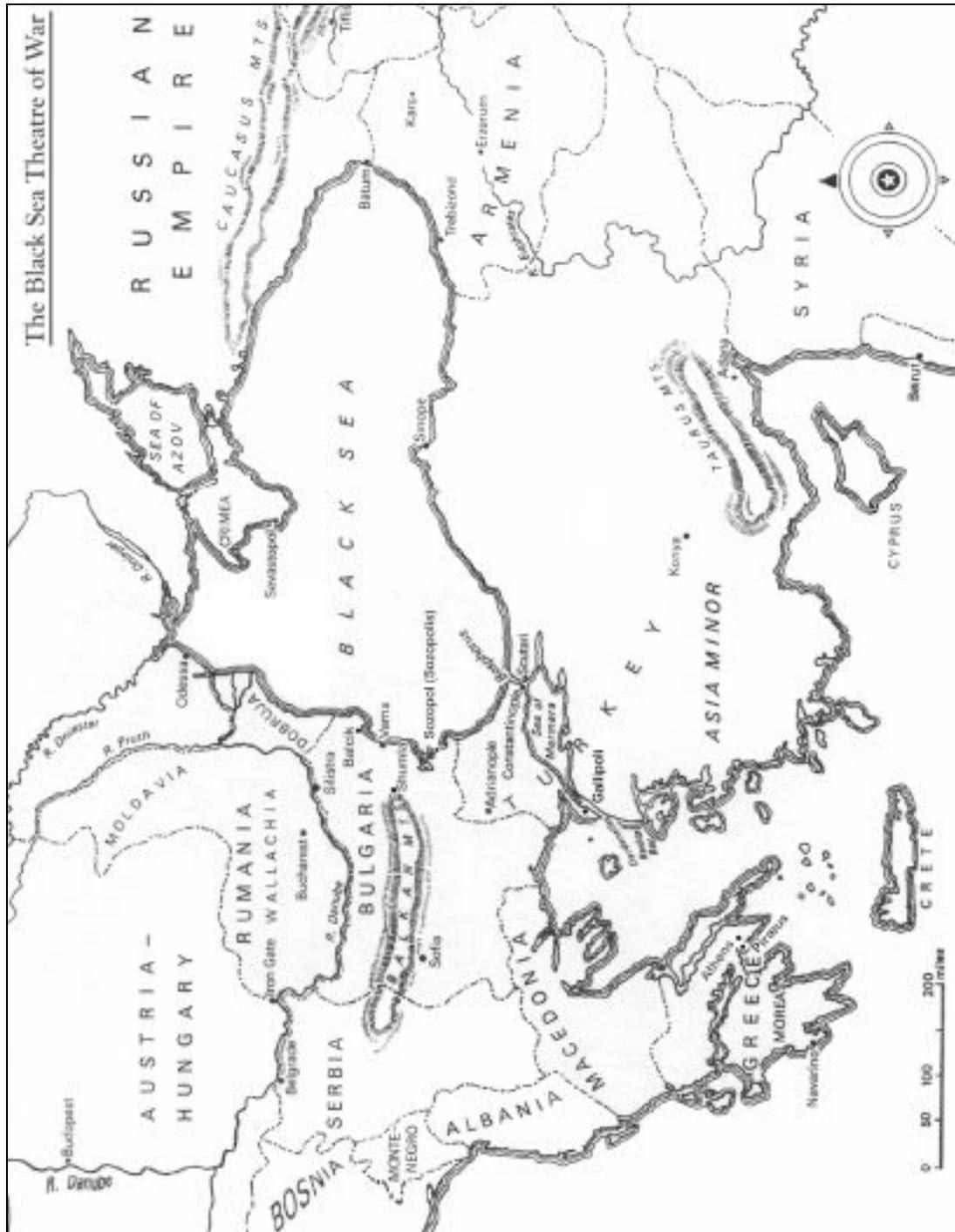
⁵³ Sir George Cathcart papers, Cathcart to Earl Cathcart, 22 May 1851, quoted in H. Strachan, *Wellington's legacy: The reform of the British Army 1830-54*, (Manchester, 1984), p.200.

⁵⁴ W.H. Russell, ‘Gallipoli, 13 April’, in A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, p.20.

⁵⁵ Estcourt said that the Light Division got “excellent bread”, whereas that provided to the Cavalry was not as good, but that that received by the 2nd Division was “execrable!”: J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, (London, 1993), p.205.

⁵⁶ Some confusion seems to exist in some modern historical texts regarding Filder’s first name. John Sweetman (*War and administration: The significance of the Crimean War for the British Army*, (Edinburgh, 1984), p.44) gives Filder’s name as “James”, as do Robert B. Edgerton (*Death or glory*, p.113), and Trevor Royle (*Crimea: The great Crimean War 1854-1856*, (London, 1999), pp.139, 503.) Contemporary documents however make it clear that his name was “William”, e.g. H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1856*, p.384. Drake concurs with this. He mentions a note received from Filder in his letter William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #22 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Nov 1854), in which he says the note was signed “William Filder”. Filder himself wrote letters to *The Times*,

MAP 3: The Black Sea Theatre of War



(Adapted from RLV French Blake, *The Crimean War*, (London, 1971), Inside front cover.)

served in the Peninsular war, and was recalled from retirement in February to lead the proposed field force of 40 Commissariat officers needed to supply a proposed British army force of 10,000 men.⁵⁸ One of the Crimean commissaries later suggested, however, “not even 40 officers of all ranks” could be found.⁵⁹ These figures did not include “subordinate” staff.⁶⁰

Ultimately forty-four commissaries were despatched to the Crimea. Filder, however, felt the number required was nearer fifty-four “officers and clerks, exclusive of subordinates”.⁶¹ (During the campaign over one hundred commissaries were to serve in the Crimea at one time or another.)⁶² Ideally there needed to be an ACG for each division, and a DACG and Clerk for each brigade. In order to meet this need, retired commissaries, such as Cowan⁶³ and Ramsay, were sent to the Crimea.

Many raw recruits, including officers from the Metropolitan police and Irish Constabulary,⁶⁴ were also despatched. Filder complained to Sir Charles Trevelyan of the Treasury, he had “more than enough people of one sort or another, but not enough of the right sort”.⁶⁵ Drake also commented on the unsuitability of these recruits and on the fact the Commissariat had not been kept up to standard in the period since the Peninsular War, saying:

“From what we have seen of this body of men & previous experience, I am satisfied that, though they would be very valuable at a station where they could, after work, obtain their comfort & relaxation, [they] are totally unfit for the Dept. in time of War & being under the disadvantage of being at an age where they have long entered life, to begin to learn the rudiments & forms of their new service, in the present case they have found innumerable difficulties & great privations & hardships in common with all of us & they have given way in the proportion of 6 out of 7, while only 3 of ours have actually succumbed. Old age in one case & previous weak constitutions in the other 2 having induced them to go home while several have really knocked up in harness & have suffered from severe illness. It is a very difficult case to decide as to where others are to be obtained if the Department is not kept on a war footing or something resembling the Medical Regimental & Staff Officers be adopted.”⁶⁶

The age and experience of the commissaries was an issue. Drake felt Filder was “too old & too feeble for this duty & service”.⁶⁷ Sidney Herbert, Secretary-at-War under Lord

signing them as “William Filder”: *The Times*, (London, 2 May 1856), p.12:c; *The Times*, (London, 17 Mar 1856), p.10; *The Times*, (London, 20 May 1856), p.12:c; *The Times*, (London, 2 Feb 1857), p.5:d; & *The Times*, (London, 14 May 1857), p.5:f.

⁵⁷ Anon, *Some records of the life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B.*, (London, 1897), p.44.

⁵⁸ J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.44.

⁵⁹ An Officer of the Commissariat, ‘The Camp before Sebastopol’, *The Times*, (London, 31 Jan 1855), p.6:c.

⁶⁰ Treasury, *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*, (London, 1852), pp.26-9.

⁶¹ Quoted in J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.45.

⁶² See Appendix 2: Commissariat officers.

⁶³ Cowan did not remain with the Crimean Army for long. By 10 Aug 1854 he had already returned to England on sick leave: William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Aug 1854).

⁶⁴ J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.45.

⁶⁵ Quoted in J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.45.

⁶⁶ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (11 Aug 1854).

⁶⁷ William Henry Drake (Balcik Bay) #7 - Louisa Drake (London), (6 Sep 1854).

Aberdeen, and Florence Nightingale's confidante,⁶⁸ later called for Filder to be replaced by someone with "youth and energy".⁶⁹

Drake himself, at 42 years of age, was one of the youngest commissaries of his rank.⁷⁰ After the promotions came through in January 1855, including his own to DCG, Drake noted the ages of many of his colleagues, saying Swan, McFarlan, Wybault, Smith,⁷¹ Ackroyd, Wilson, Swain⁷² and Coxworthy were all over 60; J.W. Smith, close to 50; Graham, 55; and Mylrea, 56.⁷³ Not all these officers served in the Crimea. C.B Smith, J.W. Smith, and C.O. Swain were the only ones. Later Drake commented he was the only DCG under 50, and compared the age structure of the British Commissariat with that of the French, and the British experience during the Peninsular War:

"The French have none above 60 Abroad & this may possibly be adopted for Active Service with us but if so we have no C.G. & only 6 D.C.G. under that age - People were not so old in the Peninsula. The C.G. was a D^y. at 27 or 28 and consequently was not much above 30 at Waterloo & of course fit to be a C.G. by parity of reasoning I may be a C.G. in a Short time if this abominable war lasts & I hold out, I would rather have peace & be a Deputy - things are very different from those good old days but they must revert to the plan of having younger officers"⁷⁴

Drake was not the only Commissariat officer to feel existing commissaries "with a rank equal to a field-officer" were too old - "old enough to be your grandfather". Another anonymous commissary wrote to *The Times*, complaining of just that.⁷⁵

Some of the more senior Commissariat officers were possibly too old for service in the Crimea. They may have lacked stamina, and had difficulty coping with the rigours of a campaign. Cowan, appointed a DACG in 1811, and probably aged around 60 years, was invalided "home" while they were stationed at Varna.⁷⁶ He died in 1859.⁷⁷ Drake obviously thought younger officers were needed, but this view could have been a product of his ambition, and feeling the older officers stood in his way of promotion.

Others thought the commissaries were too young and inexperienced - this could have been the case with the more junior Commissariat officers. Lt.-Gen. Lord Lucan, who commanded the Cavalry Division,⁷⁸ in particular complained the commissaries were "all of them young men, and very few with any experience whatever". He argued they "were allowed to ride

⁶⁸ Sidney Herbert, 1st Baron Herbert of Lea (1810-1861), *The Wordsworth dictionary of biography*, p.201; & S.M. Goldie, 'Introduction', in F. Nightingale, *Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea 1854-1856*, S.M. Goldie (ed.), (Manchester, 1997), pp.3-4.

⁶⁹ Quoted in J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.56.

⁷⁰ Drake was born on 29 September 1812.

⁷¹ I am unsure which Smith this is. Possibilities are Robert Henry Smith (at the Cape of Good Hope in 1856), or Charles Bagot Smith (with the Eastern Army in 1856). See Appendix 2 for further details.

⁷² Whether this was Charles Swain or Charles O. Swain is unclear.

⁷³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #41 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Jan 1855).

⁷⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #52 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Mar 1855).

⁷⁵ An officer of the Commissariat, 'The Camp before Sebastopol', *The Times*, (London, 31 Jan 1855), p.6:c.

⁷⁶ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

⁷⁷ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.559.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.144.

about the country, bidding and competing against each other for the forage, naturally raising the price very much, and adding very much, by the confusion, to the difficulty of obtaining supplies". He felt this "showed more mismanagement - more total absence of all order, and all forethought, and all arrangement" than anything else.⁷⁹

In April 1854 young Arthur Blackwood also commented on the make-up of the Commissariat recruited for the Crimean campaign and on Filder's reaction to it. He wrote:

"They say Filder is sulky at not having a sufficient staff of men to carry on the work; and indeed they have sent him here, as if it were one of the Colonies, where there is a regular established Commissariat Department, and everything on a proper footing, instead of Turkey, where the whole establishment must be organised from the very foundation, and where proper men cannot be found to fill inferior posts. He urged the importance of bringing them ready-made from home most earnestly upon the Government before he left England; but they paid no attention to his recommendations, and I should not wonder if the whole thing were to go smash in consequence."⁸⁰

Blackwood agreed with Lucan's assessment that the commissaries "of the different Divisions and Brigades" continually struggled with each other to obtain "the supply of meat, bread, or wood before the others".⁸¹

But these problems were still to come. In the meantime Drake was at Constantinople, seeing the sights.⁸² On 29 July he boarded the steamer *Tonning*, arriving at Varna on 2 August,⁸³ unimpressed with what he saw. Varna was "a wretched place dirty & disagreeable". Here the commissaries were "overworked and many .. knocked up". Their offices consisted of "rotten old buildings". Drake's impressions of Filder were more favourable, finding him "very civil". Filder told Drake there was "no Special duty" for him as yet, but he would be sent with "an Expedition ... to be Sent Somewhere". Drake was pleased to announce he was "to be in Charge of the Expeditionary Commissariat" and "to have the Charge & Superintendence of the whole Field Force", with "an A.C.G. for each Division & D.A.C.G.s & Clerks for the Several Brigades". "Nothing", he said, would "meet [his] Views better" as he saw "the faults of the doings" at Varna, and would therefore do his best "to remedy them".⁸⁴

Drake estimated the Commissariat staff at Varna consisted of "about 70 officers & Treasury Clerks". He gave a fairly extensive list of the distribution and duties of Commissariat officers employed in the expedition at this stage. Unfortunately he confined his list to "big

⁷⁹ *Report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and the evidence taken by them relative thereto, animadverting upon the conduct of certain officers on the General Staff, and others in the Army; together with the minutes of evidence taken by the Board, and an appendix*, (London, 1856), p.38 of the Proceedings. [Monash University, Microcard #5, Vol. 21.]

⁸⁰ Anon, *Some records of the life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B.*, p.48.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.51.

⁸² William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

⁸³ William Henry Drake (Varna) #1 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

wigs or Friends”. This list has been converted into the accompanying Organisation Chart, giving some idea of the organisation of the Commissariat in the Crimea.⁸⁵

Drake concluded his first letter from Varna with a prescient statement about transport - indicating he was already aware of problems which were to cause great adversity for the Army in the Crimea. He already felt transport was “the main difficulty”, but that was “all but impossible with such people as Turks”.⁸⁶ This issue had also been raised by Russell at Gallipoli. The situation had worsened in July by the desertion of araba drivers, who claimed ill-treatment.⁸⁷ Transport difficulties in the Crimea were compounded by the decision of British generals to leave more than 5,200 horses behind at Varna, as there was insufficient room for them in the ships going to the Crimea.⁸⁸ Filder later testified he “could only bring 70 carts and 70 mules”.⁸⁹ The result was the Commissariat only had those carts and mules, some Maltese carts, and 80 captured Russian carts to service the transport needs in the Crimea.⁹⁰

Drake’s driving ambition once again became clear in Varna, despite the difficult working and living conditions. He wrote to Louisa about how he planned to obtain his promotion, saying:

“while in Turkey I am doing what I always told you I would do for my Promotion - I work early & late from 6 A.M. to 7 & 8 P.M. - & really work very hard both actively & in writing & I assure you it is no joke as we have no comfortable home to fall back on - bare Walls - I have neither bedstead Washstand Chair or table - Bed on the Floor (no sheets, Bugs, Fleas, Flies & Cockroaches) my Seat a box my Table a larger box my Wash stand, a nitch in the wall - much glass broken in the Windows.”⁹¹

At Varna the Commissariat suffered another setback. On 10 August a fire broke out near the Turkish Powder Magazine. It consumed what Drake called “all the business part of our forage Corn Store with some millions pounds Barley, & some biscuit” before being contained. Drake said plenty of barley remained, but they could ill-afford the loss of the biscuit. “Carted out to a Camp about 2 miles out”, the Commissariat money was saved.⁹² In Varna around 40 Commissariat staff fell ill with or died from diarrhoea, dysentery, fever, and ptomaine.⁹³ The realities of the situation depressed Drake. People were dying, albeit of disease. Cholera even prevented the fleet from landing. Drake queried whether he would achieve his goal of promotion from this expedition, despite these dangers. He argued, unless Commissariat officers were promoted, they would “not work as we do”. As commissaries had “none of the Glory of War”, it would be no disgrace if they left the Army “in the lurch

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* For further details of the careers of these commissariat officers, see Appendix 2.

⁸⁶ William Henry Drake (Varna) #1 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁸⁷ J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, p.206.

⁸⁸ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, pp.75, 77

⁸⁹ ‘Commissary-General Filder, examined’, in *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed*, (Constantinople, 1855); & (London, 1856), p.123 (p.59 of the Evidence). [Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch.] [Monash Microcard #5, Vol. 20.]

⁹⁰ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.106.

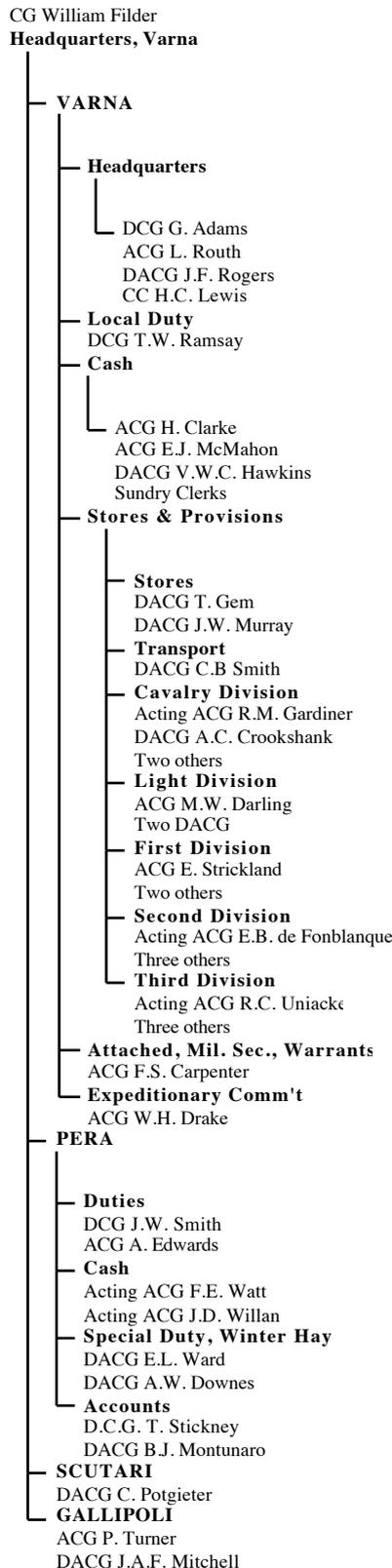
⁹¹ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

ILLUSTRATION 8

Organisation Chart Commissariat (August 1854)



¹ Compiled from William Henry Drake (Varna) #1 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854); H.G. Hart, *Army Lists* [various]; & Treasury, *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*, (London, 1852).

while fighting & go home sick”. This, he said, would “continue to be the case” without the “stimulant” of promotion.⁹⁴ Drake and his fellow commissaries, despite their strong sense of duty, were, after all, civilians, and motivated by promotion, not military honour. They obviously felt no need to share the soldiers’ hardships.

In early August, Drake expressed his uncertainty about the imminent transfer of control of the Commissariat from the Treasury to the War Department, saying “What will our new Masters do & what system adopt”.⁹⁵ He had previously said “No one knows what to think of our transfer from my Lords [at the Treasury] to my Lord Duke [of Newcastle],⁹⁶ whether it will benefit us or not - Time only can show”.⁹⁷ Another commissary hoped this move would prove beneficial, and the new Minister would infuse the Commissariat with “thorough practical commissaries” as “it was well known ... that a miserable policy had kept the commissariat down nearly to the expiring point in respect of numbers”.⁹⁸

The transfer eventually took place on 22 December,⁹⁹ though Newcastle had announced the move in July.¹⁰⁰ Sweetman says “the timing of the ultimate transfer of control, December 1854, superficially suggests that deficiencies in the theatre of war led to it”, but “examples of ineffectiveness at the front had no direct responsibility for this”.¹⁰¹ The transfer followed the establishment of the position of a Secretary of State for War, to replace the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. The aim was to bring all the different civil branches of the Army under control of the War Department.¹⁰²

Hew Strachan has argued the transfer of the Commissariat from the Treasury to the War Department was hastened by the later catastrophes in the Crimea, saying, “Newcastle disclaimed responsibility for the move, saying altruistically that it had been long planned. However, there is a distinction between considering a change and actually arranging its implementation,”¹⁰³ which suggests the final decision for the transfer took place during the winter of 1854-55. Examination of Strachan’s sources, however, clearly suggests the transfer was in progress before December. He quotes Newcastle as justifying the move to Aberdeen in July 1854,¹⁰⁴ and Cathcart saying the Commissariat should be under the Minister of War also in July 1854.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Fifth Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for War: J. Barbary, *The Crimean War*, p.10.

⁹⁷ William Henry Drake (Varna) #1 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁹⁸ An Officer of the Commissariat, ‘The Camp before Sebastopol’, *The Times*, (London, 31 Jan 1855), p.6:c.

⁹⁹ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, (Kew, 1998), p.95.

¹⁰⁰ Newcastle to Aberdeen, 5 Jul 1854, Newcastle MSS. NeC 12515, quoted in O. Anderson, *A liberal state at war: English politics and economics during the Crimean War*, (London), 1967), p.57.

¹⁰¹ J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.50.

¹⁰² M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, p.95.

¹⁰³ H. Strachan, *Wellington’s legacy*, p.260.

¹⁰⁴ Newcastle papers, NeC 12515, Newcastle to Aberdeen, 5 July 1854, quoted in H. Strachan, *Wellington’s legacy*, p.260.

¹⁰⁵ Newcastle papers, NeC 10568, memo by Cathcart, 25 July 1854, quoted in *Ibid.*

Strachan writes “the Treasury predictably put up a stiff rearguard action”,¹⁰⁶ which it did. Sir Charles Trevelyan, Assistant Secretary at the Treasury, argued in June 1854, the Commissariat should stay with the Treasury, saying, though the situation could be improved, the practice worked well, and there should not be a hasty change.¹⁰⁷ (Jenifer Hart, however, has also suggested that Trevelyan was not aware of the Commissariat’s failings.)¹⁰⁸

Drake was aware of the failings within the Commissariat and of its officers, but he himself was complimented on the performance of his duties. He wrote to Louisa, telling her he was happy to report he was doing well, as Commissariat and “other officers have repeatedly said that there has been a marked change in the arrangements since they were left with me & while before they experienced the greatest rudeness & incivility that Mr. D does all in his power to oblige.”¹⁰⁹

Drake, at this stage, commented favourably on Filder, saying:

“He is very civil never abusive or Vulgar to any one nor even snappish - he has an unpleasant voice & crotchety manner but is very civil to me & has even asked me to stop & take some of his dinner - a favor I understand not before extended to anyone I was too busy doing his work & could not but it shows the civil intention of the man.”¹¹⁰

Drake was more negative about commissaries Ramsay and Adams, saying they were “rough & hot tempered & the latter vulgar & abusive”. However Drake prided himself on his ability to work well with these “Gentlemen”.¹¹¹ Drake was still critical of the Commissariat’s performance, saying its work was “most unsatisfactory all hurry, confusion & mismanagement - little done compared to the noise of doing it”.¹¹²

Filder now confirmed Drake’s duties for the “talked of Expedition”. Drake was “to have the Superintending Charge of the whole of the Force with Division Assistants & Brigade D.A.C.G. or Clerk under me with a Head Quarter Chest & Magazine while the C.G.¹¹³ with Adams exercise a Supervision & keep up their correspondence”. Drake, however, made clear he would “not have any interference with my arrangements” but, if he received an order, he would “carry it out my own way”.¹¹⁴

The Army’s sojourn in Varna drew to a close. Drake and commissaries Filder, Adams, Leonce Routh, Carpenter, Willan, Rogers, Palmer, Hawkins, and Thompson boarded the steamer *Hope*, to accompany the Army in the convoy of steamers and sailing vessels

¹⁰⁶ H. Strachan, *Wellington’s legacy*, p.260.

¹⁰⁷ J. Hart, ‘Sir Charles Trevelyan at the Treasury’, *The English Historical Review*, 75:294, Jan 1960, p.102. (Hart then goes straight on to say that “This was six weeks after the first reports of scandals in *The Times*, which Trevelyan regarded as unreliable.” But the Army only went to the Crimea in September 1854, so I question her last statement too.)

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.92.

¹⁰⁹ William Henry Drake (Varna) #3 - Louisa Drake (London), (19 Aug 1854).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹¹² *Ibid*.

¹¹³ CG Filder.

¹¹⁴ William Henry Drake (Varna) #3 - Louisa Drake (London), (19 Aug 1854).

departing from Varna on 5 September to invade the Crimea.¹¹⁵ At least seven of the vessels contained supplies for the Army and the horses.¹¹⁶ Drake was selected to go on board the *Agamemnon*, the flag ship of Rear-Admiral Edmund Lyons, to obtain the instructions for the “sailing, anchoring, rendezvous of the Fleet”.¹¹⁷

The confines of the journey and the proximity of his superior officer, Filder, prompted Drake to seek assurance that his efforts were not in vain, and his promotion would be forthcoming. He wrote a rather obsequious letter to Filder, saying, “while on shore” he had “refrained from addressing” Filder regarding himself personally as he “was fully aware of the important & arduous duties” Filder needed to attend to.¹¹⁸ Drake continued:

"The favor that I w^d. request at y^r. hands is I well know not a slight one, but if the favor is great my gratitude for it will be proportionate, It is, that in nominating me to the Superintendence, under your directions, of the Commissariat embarked with this Expedition for Field Service, you will be pleased to advance me to the rank of Acting D.C.G."¹¹⁹

Drake detailed his service record - saying he had “entered the Service in 1828”, and he had served the Department since June 1831 “without intermission”. He added, such a promotion would not be “in strict accordance” with the Regulations, but felt it “would be gratifying to the Officers of The Dept. as manifesting to them, that amidst the dangers & privations they have lately encountered their Services had been at least appreciated by their own Chief”. He did not promise to work harder, as he felt he had always done so, but he acknowledged it would probably lead to “more onerous duties”, which he would endeavour to perform to Filder’s satisfaction.¹²⁰

Filder took to his cabin with an asthma attack. Drake was despondent, feeling promotion slipping out of his grasp. Here Drake clearly displayed a sensitivity to the inequality of status between Army and Commissariat officers. Many Army officers evidently viewed the civilian commissaries to be of a lower class. This, Drake felt, was unjustified, as the Commissariat “were to be respected”. He let loose his feelings of frustration to Louisa, saying:

“I cannot say I count much on it but at least I have given him to understand what I want & in the present state of the Dept. here, daily insulted by General Officers, Snubbed by all, Sickness, Privation and Discontent, he may think it advisable to do something to shew he supports us - All the Dep^t. know I supported him at the finish in Varna - Suffered neither Snub nor insult & while trying to oblige all, let them know we were to be respected But we shall see before I close this. You remember I said I never would let a high chance go by & now you see I have not. ... Up to this time the C.G.¹²¹ has given no Order about my duties, who I am to have to assist me or anything else, the consequence will be a grand confusion, Delay, procrastination & indecision wreck every movement & tend to paralyze the best efforts of the Dep: everything being unarranged at the last moment all in hurry, confusion & of course is badly done - No Officer under him has the slightest chance of making a good arrangement for

¹¹⁵ William Henry Drake (Balcik Bay) #7 - Louisa Drake (London), (6 Sep 1854); R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.44.

¹¹⁶ William Henry Drake (Varna) #6 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Sep 1854).

¹¹⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (5 Sep 1854).

¹¹⁸ William Henry Drake (Balcik Bay) #7 - Louisa Drake (London), (6 Sep 1854).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ CG Filder.

carrying on his duties - I have not heard from him in reply to my Letter yet, but I expect no good from it at all, He has but one paltry object in view & of the interest of others is to say the least apparently indifferent - He is civil to us but yesterday he was regretting that all his best Sherry was gone & it was the universal remark afterwards, "You drank it all yourself never asking a single person in or out of the Dep^t. to taste it & par consequence its finale was no object of interest to the community at large"¹²²

Five days later Filder called Drake in and told him he would have to "postpone the consideration" of his letter until they had "taken Sevastopol or some such event", after which he would recommend him for promotion, sure it would be ratified by the Treasury.¹²³ This did not assuage Drake's anxiety. He concluded, hoping against hope:

"So much for my chance of Promotion, ... - without being sanguine it is far from being improbable and the reply was more gracious than I expected. I think if we, that is the Army take Sevastopol, my Lords would scarcely refuse it & what a difference will it make to me!!"¹²⁴

Throughout Drake's letters his moods swing, as do his feelings about Filder. In some he is quite positive, and in others he is quite vocal in his antagonism towards him. It has to be remembered Drake's letters, although addressed to his wife, Louisa, would probably also have been read by his father, John Drake, a contemporary and colleague of Filder. What this suggests about John Drake's views about Filder cannot be ascertained, but it might suggest John Drake shared Henry Drake's perceptions, as Henry Drake was openly critical of Filder in his letters. It is also entirely possible Henry Drake's shifting views about Filder were just that - changeable - and he used his letters home to release pressures he could not release at work. After all, in order to gain his eagerly sought promotion, he had to display publicly his loyalty to the Commissariat and to his superior officer, Filder, in whose power lay recommendation for promotion or not. That does not mean, however, that his negative views about Filder should be dismissed as irrelevant. Henry Drake was a senior Commissariat officer of mature years, with some twenty-six years' experience, who had been immersed in Commissariat lore his whole life. His analyses therefore have value and should be taken seriously.

On 15 September the Fleet anchored off Eupatoria.¹²⁵ The situation in the Crimea was different from that in Portugal and Spain during the Peninsular War, where the Army and the Commissariat had last been tested in war. The distance between England and the Iberian peninsula is not great, so communication was of necessity quicker, despite not having access to steamships or the telegraph at that time.¹²⁶ The distance between Portsmouth and Balaklava is in excess of 3,000 miles,¹²⁷ and took between sixteen and eighteen days to cover by

¹²² William Henry Drake (Balcik Bay) #7 - Louisa Drake (London), (6 Sep 1854).

¹²³ *Ibid.*

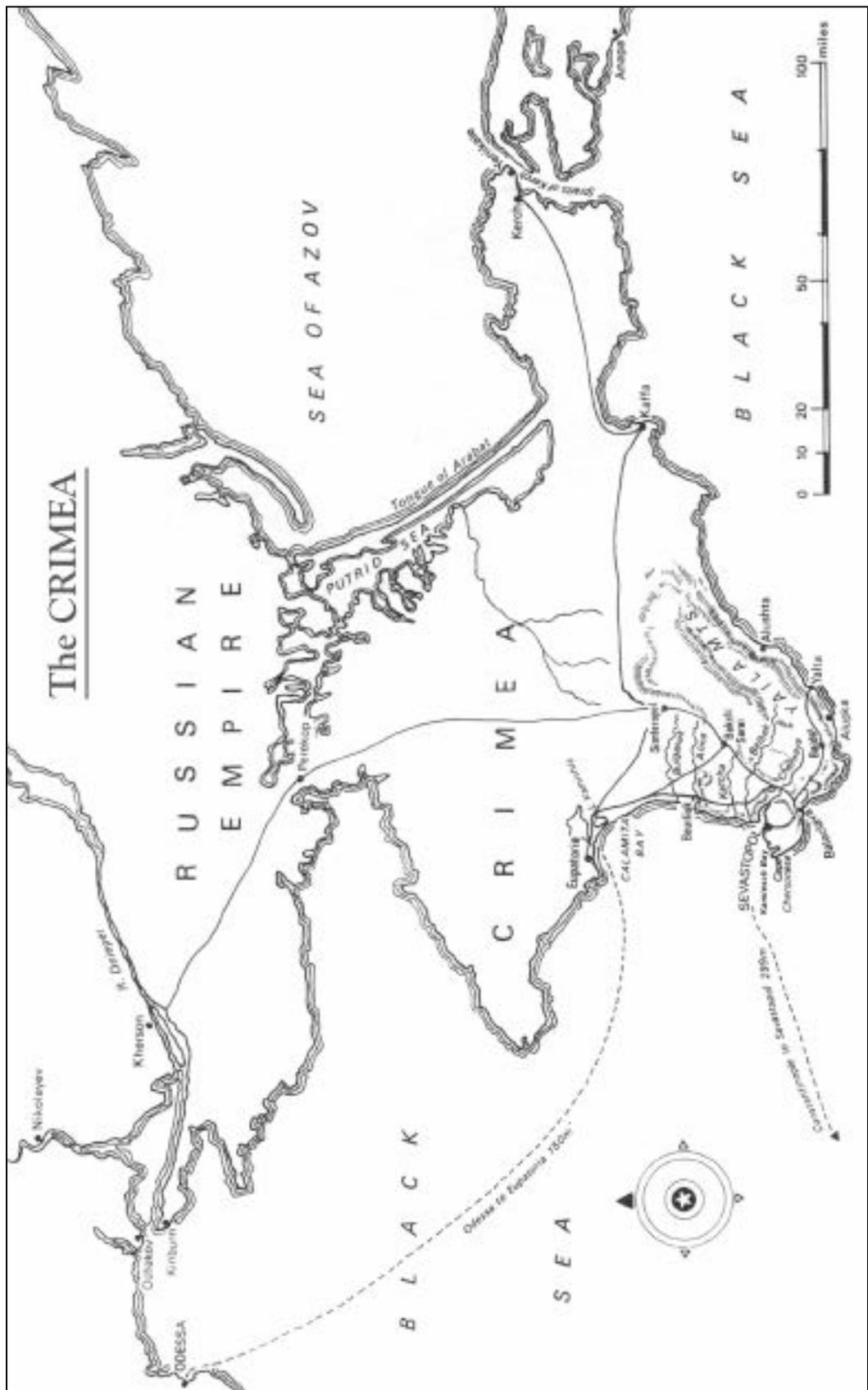
¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ William Henry Drake (Kamuschu [Kamiesch?]) #8 - Louisa Drake (London), (15 Sep 1854).

¹²⁶ The earliest steam warship was *Demologos* of the U.S. Navy, built in 1812: *The new Encyclopædia Britannica: Macropædia: Vol. 12*, 15th ed., (Chicago, 1984), p.890; The patent for the electric telegraph was taken out in 1837 by Sir William Cooke and Sir Charles Wheatstone. *Ibid: Vol. 18*, p.44.

¹²⁷ *The Times*, (London, 16 Feb 1855), p.8:c.

MAP 4: The Crimea



(Adapted from RLV French Blake, *The Crimean War*, (London, 1971), Inside back cover.)

steamship.¹²⁸ In the Peninsular War the British forces supported a largely cooperative local population against the invading French, whereas in the Crimea they were the invaders, facing a potentially hostile population.¹²⁹ Finding ready suppliers in the Crimea would therefore be more difficult. Geographically Spain and Portugal are also more hospitable. Commissioners McNeill and Tulloch later suggested the British had “occupied, as it were, a barren island” in the Crimea, making it difficult to find supplies *in situ*.¹³⁰ The number of ranked Commissariat officers in the Peninsular war also exceeded that in the Crimea: 86¹³¹ compared to 44.¹³² The Board of General Officers also concluded the Commissariat in the Crimea “was without a sufficient number of hands”.¹³³

Drake foraged near Eupatoria that day with an interpreter and three officers, and landed 50 kegs of rum, being “more than one days supply”. Drake also caught the attention of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Raglan, which pleased him.¹³⁴ His work was very physical in nature. He described it as follows:

“I have been incessantly at work from 4 A.M. till long after dark The Army numbers nearly 30000¹³⁵ with some 3000 followers all to be supplied with Biscuit Salt meat Rum Rice Sugar Coffee & Scotch Barley!! Tea occasionally - This duty I have & the general Superintendence of The Supply Branch not a day but I have been once or oftener up to my waist in the Surf which is very heavy occasionally, in Kalamita Bay - Yesterday morning the Army moved on 7 miles M^r. Filder & others went on - I was left in charge to reship all the supplies which had been landed. I had to go some three miles & as the Transports had landed much without my knowledge or order from me (or other Comm^t. Officer) all hands Navy & others had to work very hard to get them off which we however did by 10 or 11 at night except 45 bags damaged Bread & 170 Barley I was certainly very tired the walking being just like that in the middle of the Streets of Perth in old times¹³⁶ ... With all my hard work & duckings I am quite well perhaps a little thinner but if at all very little & I can spare it yet”¹³⁷

¹²⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #32 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Dec 1854).

¹²⁹ On 9 October 1854 Lord Raglan ordered the “whole male population” of Balaklava to leave the town, as evidence suggested that the local inhabitants were going to set fire to their houses simultaneously with a Russian attack: Constantin Guys, *Constantin Guys: Crimean War drawings 1854-1856*, K.W. Smith (ed.), (Cleveland, Ohio, 1978), pp.17, 72; & William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #15 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Oct 1854).

¹³⁰ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, pp.25-6 (pp.21-2 of the Report).

¹³¹ ‘Return of Persons employed in the Commissary General’s Department in Portugal’, *The Times*, (London, 12 May 1812), p.3:d.

¹³² Quoted in J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.45.

¹³³ *Report of the Board of General Officers...*, p.xxxi (p.xxix of the Report).

¹³⁴ William Henry Drake (Kamuschu [Kamiesch?]) #8 - Louisa Drake (London), (15 Sep 1854).

¹³⁵ The French numbers were “from 20 to 22000 & 6000 Turks”: William Henry Drake (Kamuschu [Kamiesch?]) #8 - Louisa Drake (London), (15 Sep 1854).

¹³⁶ Commissary George J. Webb described the streets of Perth as follows: “The streets of Perth are rather unique - something characterises them that is peculiar to themselves, and which it is therefore difficult to describe. One circumstance that tends towards this impression is the paucity of wheel tracks; but this is accounted for by the character of the soil, which is sand, and (comparatively speaking), the little occasion there is for much land carriage, even in the principal street of the capital of the colony, and the seat of Government. ... As for driving for pleasure through Perth, it is quite out of the question - I have never seen it even attempted”; “the sand is so very heavy that our horses almost plough their weary way through it”: *The Swan River News, and Western Australian Chronicle*, No. 39, (London, 1 Mar 1847), pp.118-9, at National Library of Australia, Australian Periodical Publications 1840-1845: Australian Cooperative Digitisation Project, <http://www.nla.gov.au/acdp/>, Accessed 4 Apr 2000.

¹³⁷ William Henry Drake (Kalamita Bay) #9 - Louisa Drake (London), (20 Sep 1854).

As he wrote this letter on 20 September, “some miles down the Coast” from Eupatoria, the first battle of the Crimean War, the battle on the Alma River, commenced. The British forces attacked and sent the Russians fleeing in full view of the commissaries going about their business.¹³⁸ At this stage the Commissariat still performed its duties well, with Drake reporting both Sir George Brown¹³⁹ and the Duke of Cambridge¹⁴⁰ as saying “they have never wanted supplies yet”. Drake worked “hard that they should not”.¹⁴¹

In late September Drake met one of the more influential figures of the Crimean War, William Howard Russell, correspondent for *The Times*. Russell had “been unwell with fever, lost his horses & baggage & [was] in a fix”, and Drake helped him as much as he could.¹⁴² Russell described what could well have been this incident:

“It was cold and dreary and if I could intrude the recital of the sorrows of a tentless and baggageless man wandering about in the dark from regiment to regiment in hope of finding his missing traps. ... They were thrown out of the commissariat araba in which they had been placed by order of the Commissariat-General and were abandoned to the Cossacks, so I never saw them again. It was found necessary to make room for some of the reserve ammunition which had been stowed in arabas that broke down on the march.”¹⁴³

Drake was more optimistic about his role again, and happy with his performance. He still had “the Supply of the Army”, reporting to Filder and Adams. He felt they worked well together, mainly because Filder and Adams did not “know their work”. Drake intimated to them his intent to do things his “own way”, and apparently Filder and Adams acquiesced to that suggestion. Drake felt the Commissariat was now more efficient than at Varna, as “from the first day ... the whole army has been well supplied with Biscuit Meat Salt or Fresh Tea Rum Sugar Coffee & Rice & Scotch Barley!!”¹⁴⁴

Drake was also complimentary about Raglan, saying that the Army’s march from Katska River to Balaklava was “one of the finest on record as to strategy”.¹⁴⁵ The British had had access to few maps, so a compass was used for the march through dense scrub.¹⁴⁶ The choice of Balaklava as the staging post for the army has, however, been criticised. R.L.V. French Blake suggested Raglan made the wrong decision in choosing Balaklava (with its narrow

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*; & M. Hargreave Mawson, *Military operations of the Crimean War*, <http://www.hargreave-mawson.demon.co.uk/cwrs2.html>, Accessed 12 Jun 2000.

¹³⁹ Sir George Brown, aged 66, was commander of the 5th (Light) Division. He had served in the Peninsula, and had recently been appointed Adjutant-General: R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.40.

¹⁴⁰ George William Frederick Charles, 2nd Duke of Cambridge (1819-1904), British Field-Marshal. He served in the Hanoverian Army (1837), but first saw action at Alma in the Crimean War (20 Sep 1854), when he commanded a division. He commanded the 1st Division at Balaclava (25 Oct 1854); and then succeeded Lord Hardinge as C-in-C of the British Army (1856), and was created Field-Marshal in 1895. He remained C-in-C until his retirement in 1895: R. Parkinson, *The encyclopedia of modern war*, (New York, 1979), pp.33-34.

¹⁴¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #12 - Louisa Drake (London), (27 Sep 1854).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

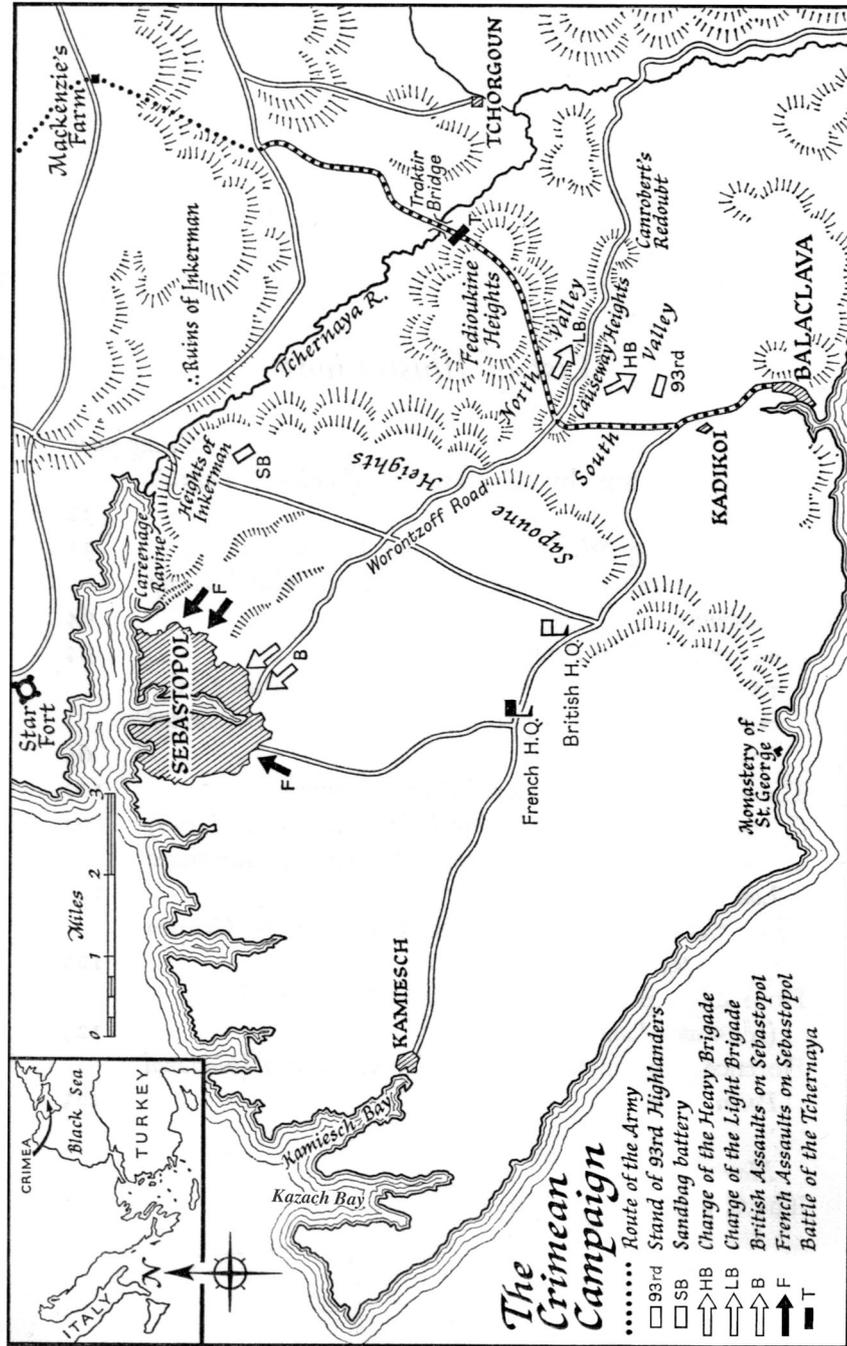
¹⁴³ W.H. Russell, *Russell's despatches from the Crimea 1854-56*, Nicolas Bentley (ed.), (London, 1966), pp.74-5.

¹⁴⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #13 - Louisa Drake (London), (3 Oct 1854).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ W.B. Pemberton, *Battles of the Crimean War*, (London, 1962), p.73.

MAP 5: The Crimean Campaign



(Adapted from James Barbary, *The Crimean War*, (London, 1972), Facing p.1.)

inlet)¹⁴⁷ over Kamiesch and Kazach to the west, better suited as supply ports, leaving them for the French.¹⁴⁸ Fanny Duberly, who accompanied her husband to the Crimea, wondered “how the ships got in, or ... out” of Balaklava harbour, as it looked as if they had “been hoisted over the cliffs”.¹⁴⁹ Drake also commented that the crowded harbour made landing supplies difficult.¹⁵⁰ The size of the wharf hampered operations. Up to the end of November 1854 there was “only about 25 yards wharfage accommodation for landing the supplies for the whole of the army”, where “all stores, excepting guns and ammunition, shot and shell” had to be unloaded.¹⁵¹

Unlike the troops, camping in tents, Drake had a house, “close to [the] Wharf small but clean”.¹⁵² On 5 October, Raglan and the Headquarter Staff left Balaklava for “a Farm House about 4 miles nearer Sevastopol”. Filder was still in Balaklava, but Drake hoped he would go soon, despite working “very well together”, which Drake still attributed to himself having his “own way in essentials”. He felt this was proper, as he only had the “interest of the Service in View & the proper Supply of the Army”.¹⁵³ The scene around Balaklava was becoming more frenetic. Drake described it and his attitude as follows:

“I have about 7 different Ships landing Supplies at this moment, a busy scene the Wharf crowded with Artillery Engineers Soldiers, Mule Carts - Arabas ... Pack horses, Sailors Maltese Greeks Turks French & Tartars I employ about 20 to 24 Ass^t. Storekeepers & although my Accounts are very heavy & every one says I am incessantly marching about the Wharves, I have no Clerk & yet my accounts are not yet in confusion though not very regular as to form & most receipts are in pencil on duty scraps & backs of letters - Since I have had the Superintendence the only complaint I have had was ... f. a young Spoon that the men c^d. not drink their coffee as they had no sugar - The C.G. said to Routh yesterday - I managed to keep him free from Complaints worry & annoyances than he had ever been before - in fact, he never heard of one - he was terribly worried in Varna by things wh: sh^d. never have gone to him - I fear neither General nor responsibility & as they begin to know & feel this they come to me very Kindly & Civilly & we manage to pull through You know my old maxim That we are paid to be civil & that to oblige if possible is a part of our peculiar duty Well I act up to it rigidly enforcing it among the Division & Brigade Officers & I may say as regards the Regular Comm^t. they support me in it & work most manfully - in fact ... our duty is arduous & difficult in the extreme only hard work and determination has pulled us through both the

¹⁴⁷ A. Palmer, *The banner of battle: The story of the Crimean War*, (London, 1987), p.112.

¹⁴⁸ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.66.

¹⁴⁹ E.E.P. Tisdall, *Mrs Duberly's campaign: An Englishwoman's experience in the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny*, (Chicago, 1963), p.82. The accompanying illustration of the crowded harbour of Balaklava [Illustration 9], taken from Palmer's *The banner of battle*, portrays the nature of the harbour well. Other contemporary photographs by Roger Fenton and James Robertson also depict this: H. & A. Gernsheim (eds.), *Roger Fenton: Photographer of the Crimean War: His photographs and his letters from the Crimea*, (London, 1954), plates 16, 17, 18, 28; L. Green & M. Walker, *Roger Fenton: Photographer of the 1850s*, (London, 1988), plate 53; L. James, *Crimea 1854-56: The war with Russia from contemporary photographs*, (Thame, Oxfordshire, 1981), plates 70, 71, 72, 74, 76; & D. Clammer, *The Victorian army in photographs*, (Newton Abbot, Devon, 1975), p.66.

¹⁵⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #49 - Louisa Drake (London), (19 Feb 1855); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #50 - Louisa Drake (London), (23 Feb 1855); & William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #56 - Louisa Drake (London), (16 Mar 1855).

¹⁵¹ *Report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and the evidence taken by them relative thereto, animadverting upon the conduct of certain officers on the General Staff, and others in the Army; together with the minutes of evidence taken by the Board, and an appendix*, (London, 1856), p.122 of the Proceedings. [Monash University, Microcard #5, Vol. 21.]

¹⁵² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #13 - Louisa Drake (London), (3 Oct 1854).

¹⁵³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #14 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Oct 1854).

ILLUSTRATION 9



The crowded harbour of Balaklava, from the north-west
(From Alan Palmer, *The banner of battle: The story of the Crimean War*, (London, 1987),
between pp.146 and 147.)

C.G. & Adams Good men of Business are not au fait at the "Supply Branch" & run too much to detail and minute points of form but both have fortunately sense to see it won't do at present & they do their best to pull on too."¹⁵⁴

Drake obviously felt confident enough to do his work without feeling compelled to follow procedure blindly, concentrating rather on "the proper Supply of the Army".¹⁵⁵ Others did not share Drake's preparedness to bend the rules. The rigid adherence to regulations was one of the major complaints against the Commissariat. In January 1855 Russell complained the Army was "cursed by a system of requisitions, orders, and memos, ... enough to depress an army of scribes".¹⁵⁶ Russell also reported a case of a commissary who was more particular about procedure than Drake was, refusing to issue Government stoves to a medical officer. The commissary demanded a properly filled-out requisition, properly counter-signed, before issuing the stoves. Despite the medical officer's entreaties that this delay would cause the death of more of his patients, the commissary would not relent.¹⁵⁷ J.H. Elphinstone wrote to *The Times* about this incident, saying it illustrated the difficulties "the system of accounts" created and placed little value on the soldiers' lives.¹⁵⁸

By now, the soldiers' appearance was more ragged, primarily due to the fact that their knapsacks, containing "clothing sufficient to admit of at least one change" were left in the transports when the Army disembarked in the Crimea before the Battle of Alma. On average, it took more than six weeks for these knapsacks to be returned to their owners, some of them "only after they had been plundered of a great part of their contents".¹⁵⁹

The armies were now established in the Crimea, the Russians in Sebastopol, and the allies outside of the city. The siege of Sebastopol commenced on 17 October.¹⁶⁰ Winter quarters for the Army therefore became an issue. Drake was sure he was "likely to winter Somewhere in these parts". Whether and when Louisa would join him was also discussed, as well as what was to happen with their children if she did. Drake wrote:

"If I am at Constantinople Louisa¹⁶¹ might come with you, the same if at Malta or Corfu but if at Varna or this place which may be it would be better for her to remain at home ... I think Constantinople & its vicinity the most probable place myself."¹⁶²

Meanwhile, fighting intensified. On 25 October, the second major battle, the Battle of Balaklava, took place. This battle included the now legendary charge of the Light Brigade.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ W.H. Russell, 'Jan. 2', in A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, p.156.

¹⁵⁷ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, pp.114-5.

¹⁵⁸ J.H. Elphinstone, 'A defence of "The System"', *The Times*, (London, 19 Feb 1855), p.12:c.

¹⁵⁹ *Second Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea ...*, p.27 (p.23 of the Report). [Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch.]

¹⁶⁰ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (17 Oct 1854).

¹⁶¹ Drake's eldest daughter, Louisa Maria Drake (1836-1876).

¹⁶² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #17 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Oct 1854).

¹⁶³ W.B. Pemberton, *Battles of the Crimean War*, pp.73-123.

Despite the Russian attack and British loss of ground,¹⁶⁴ Drake was compelled to go to the Turkish entrenchment, having “just sent large convoys of Supplies out” and had to “go & look after them”.¹⁶⁵ Two commissaries, Johnson¹⁶⁶ and Kerr, were taken prisoner by the Russians shortly before this engagement.¹⁶⁷ Drake was either unaware of this, or did not want to alarm his family, and did not mention it at all. He did, however, mention a close shave he had while taking supplies out:

“as I rode out several Cannon Balls crossed the road within my Sight. a shell killed an Art^y. Horse just before me, I sent on the Carts & to avoid Shot & Shell rode nearer the fight but more under Shelter of the Hill, in safety but I must needs go up & see it so I went to the battery of a Friend in the Art^y. & saw it all well, Charge of Scots Greys &c. While there a Horse about two yards from me was killed by a cannon ball so I only stayed to see the Russ^s. go over the opposite Hill & I retired never intending from curiosity to put myself in such a chance again I w^d. not like to own I was frightened as I did not really feel so knowing the uncertainty of long shots but I thought I was a noodle f^r. curiosity to risk anything - So off I went Carpenter whom I joined near this & I then went on top of a high hill overlooking the whole scene & perfectly safe, being out of range & not in the line of fire, in future I take up such positions always - curiosity satisfied. At night I had to get Supplies up to the Division encamped on the Field, & passed thus over a Second Field of Battle, less bloody than Alma & much less distressing in the nature of the Wounds generally, I never wish to see another but if we take Sevastopol I fear a worse fight awaits us.”¹⁶⁸

Russian attacks on Balaklava continued, causing alarms to sound at unpredictable times, and leading to disruption in the lives of the inhabitants, civilian and military.¹⁶⁹ The weather was turning cold. The strain on Drake was showing:

“We are turned out once or twice every night & the night before last, I, who have to look after the safety of some 70 Storekeepers & Labourers for whom M^r. F has made no arrangement whatever he himself having gone off to a Village near H^d. Q^{rs}., turned out hot & went in again Cold next morning I c^d. hardly move: yesterday very bad: today a little better I have not given up Work on either day but moved about like a Veritable "Chelsea"¹⁷⁰ ... the night before we had ice so that is a very broad hint to the Generals that this state of things cannot go on much longer The Russians count on the advance of the Winter to make a Second Moscow.”¹⁷¹

Drake was now more strident in his criticism of the Commissariat, and of his superiors, especially of Filder. He was unhappy about the treatment commissaries received, despite his “maxim” regarding civility and being obliging.¹⁷² The Commissariat officials were probably

¹⁶⁴ M. Hargreave Mawson, *Military Operations of the Crimean War*, <http://www.hargreave-mawson.demon.co.uk/cwrs2.html>, Accessed 12 Jun 2000.

¹⁶⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #18 - Louisa Drake (London), (27 Oct 1854).

¹⁶⁶ Either Edmund or C.F. Johnson. C.F. Johnson was listed as having been taken prisoner in ‘Statement showing the numbers, ranks, names and date of joining the Army in the East of the several Commissariat officers and subordinates, from the commencement of the war until the close of the year 1854’, *Third report from the Select Committee of the Army before Sebastopol: Appendix No. 3*, (London, 1855), pp.362-373. [Chairman J.A. Roebuck.]

¹⁶⁷ Ken Horton & Mark Conrad, ‘Were men of the Commissariat captured in the Charge?’, in *The War Correspondent: The journal of The Crimean War Research Society*, 17:4, Jan 2000, p.39. The commissaries’ names are given as Edmund Johnson and James Kerr.

¹⁶⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #18 - Louisa Drake (London), (27 Oct 1854).

¹⁶⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #19 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Nov 1854).

¹⁷⁰ Drake obviously felt he was moving around like a Chelsea pensioner, as “to get Chelsea” meant to obtain the benefit of Chelsea military hospital: E. Partridge, *A dictionary of historical slang*, (Harmondsworth, 1972), p.172.

¹⁷¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #19 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Nov 1854).

¹⁷² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #14 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Oct 1854).

regarded in the same light as merchants and shopkeepers of the time, as parasites.¹⁷³ Drake complained:

“Our Dep. is a disgusting one - Officers are frequently insulted by General Officers in the most ungentlemanly way & without any redress for M^r. Filder submits to any insult himself & never tries to support his Officers in any way A man more disliked & despised it w^d. be very difficult to find - Every other head of Dep^t. has recommended his Staff for Promotion & brought their Claims forward - He has done nothing & will not do anything for us If we are to get neither Promotion or thanks we may as well be at a Station as Slaving our lives out amidst Cholera & Death & I for one can only say I shall object strongly to such a state of things continuing Several of our very best Officers have fully made up their minds to quit the Service & most w^d. if they could ... Our work rather increases than diminishes & yet our ridiculous noodle of a Chief sits & purs & grins after his old fashion.”¹⁷⁴

On 5 November the Russians attacked again at the Battle of Inkerman. Despite the loss of life, which, according to Drake, was “worse than Alma”,¹⁷⁵ the allies held their ground.¹⁷⁶ Drake was philosophical about the effect the battles had on the Commissariat’s workload, saying “Our work is of course increased by all this business but it cannot be helped”.¹⁷⁷

Despite the lateness of the year and the day-time weather turning “cool & the nights Cold”, there was still uncertainty as to where the Army would winter. On 7 November Drake wrote “Report said ... that we were to Winter in the Crimea - now report says nothing on the Subject”.¹⁷⁸ A week later Drake wrote with a certain disbelief, “they really think of Wintering as we are”. The weather was “very wretched ... nothing but rain & blow”, causing “much damage to the Shipping & mud ankle deep” making Balaklava very “dreary”, and increasing the Commissariat “difficulties ... very much”. The roads were “very much cut up”, the animals “in bad condition”, and landing stores hampered. A priority now became to provide huts for the army. A DACG and Engineer were despatched “to buy all sorts of Timber”, and “Nails Hammers &c.” were ordered from Constantinople. The Maltese labourers were “all dying or giving up”, so Filder wrote “to England to ask them to ship 200 or 300”.¹⁷⁹

Drake’s experience and foresight led him to predict the consequences of this late decision, saying “all these arrangements are made so late that the probability is we shall lose more men by exposure that we should by Storming the City” of Sebastopol, adding:

“L^d. Raglan does not seem to have forseen any such Contingency & to be quite unprepared But, the worst of all, is that had he after Alma pressed on the place would have been evacuated or had he [pressed on] the day after reaching this the 27 Sept. the enemy were quite unprepared

¹⁷³ Mark Sheehan writes of merchants being middlemen, who made “their money off the sweat of others”, and being viewed as “parasitic, venture capitalists”: M.D. Sheehan, *You can get it if you really want it: Shops and shopping in Victorian England*, <http://www.gober.net/victorian/reports/shops/html>, Accessed 29 April 1999.

¹⁷⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #14 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Oct 1854).

¹⁷⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #20 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Nov 1854).

¹⁷⁶ M. Hargreave Mawson, *Military Operations of the Crimean War*, <http://www.hargreave-mawson.demon.co.uk/cwrs2.html>, Accessed 12 Jun 2000.

¹⁷⁷ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #20 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Nov 1854).

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #21 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Nov 1854).

- While we were getting ready so were they & for one Gun we placed they mounted 3 or 4 We allowed them to throw up Earth works the Guns f^r. which have puzzled & damaged more than any other & are as yet unsilenced - It could not have been done worse by us.”¹⁸⁰

Other commissaries agreed. One of Drake’s colleagues said that Sebastopol “ought to have been carried by a *coup de main* while the panic of the Alma defeat was strong upon the enemy”.¹⁸¹ Later analysis has shown Sebastopol was susceptible to assault during September 1854. Sweetman argues that if Sebastopol had been attacked shortly after the Battle of the Alma, it would have fallen. Only 2,000 Russians secured the city at that time, and the defences of the city were inadequate.¹⁸²

But worse was to come. Illness, mainly cholera, claimed thousands of lives. Before landing in the Crimea 7,000 allied soldiers had died, and 12,000-15,000 were hospitalised.¹⁸³ It was cold,¹⁸⁴ but the troops were still adequately provisioned. Russell praised the Commissariat for supplying the Army, now close to 45,000,¹⁸⁵ well: “No army was ever fed with more punctuality, and no army ... was ever so well fed under such very exceptional circumstances.”¹⁸⁶ The Commissariat had wanted to establish depots of reserve provisions at the various divisions, but their transport was requisitioned to move ammunition to the trenches. Instead, due to “the crowded state of the harbour”, supplies were stored in ships.¹⁸⁷ The wharf only measured 25 yards.¹⁸⁸ This proved to be a fatal mistake.

At around 6 a.m. on 14 November “one of the most destructive hurricanes that can be imagined” hit the Crimean peninsula.¹⁸⁹ Drake said “Such a Hurricane” had “not visited the Crimea since 1812”.¹⁹⁰ The wind blew at around 100 kilometres per hour,¹⁹¹ and lasted for most of the day.¹⁹² Drake, half-dressed, took shelter in the sitting-room of his house,¹⁹³

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ An Officer of the Commissariat, ‘The Camp before Sebastopol’, *The Times*, (London, 31 Jan 1855), p.6:c.

¹⁸² J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, p.227 (cont.)

¹⁸³ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, p.74.

¹⁸⁴ Drake recorded the “1st Ice” in his *Journal* on 2 Nov 1854.

¹⁸⁵ Weekly State of Army, 26th of March, 1855 [43,318]; and, 3rd June, 1855 [48,039], in S.J.G. Calthorpe, *Cadogan’s Crimea*, (London, 1979), pp. 270-3.

¹⁸⁶ W.H. Russell, ‘Letter to *The Times* of 8 November 1854’, quoted in G. Lawson, *Surgeon in the Crimea: The experiences of George Lawson recorded in letters to his family 1854-1855*, V. Bonham-Carter & M. Lawson (eds.), (London, 1968), p.119.

¹⁸⁷ Sir Edmund Lyons was quoted as suggesting that “the crowded state of the harbour and its attendant inconvenience, [added] to the delay in removing cargoes from the ships to the camp”: ‘State of the army before Sebastopol’ [Roebuck committee report], *The Times*, (London, 19 Jun 1855), p.6:a; W.H. Russell, *Russell’s despatches from the Crimea 1854-1856*, p.152.

¹⁸⁸ *Report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and the evidence taken by them relative thereto, animadverting upon the conduct of certain officers on the General Staff, and others in the Army; together with the minutes of evidence taken by the Board, and an appendix*, (London, 1856), p.122 of the Proceedings. [Monash University, Microcard #5, Vol. 21.]

¹⁸⁹ S.J.G. Calthorpe, *Cadogan’s Crimea*, p.115.

¹⁹⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #24 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Nov 1854).

¹⁹¹ “the whirlwind flew round with a velocity said to have reached to nearly a mile in the minute”: A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea: Vol. VII*, 6th ed., (Edinburgh, 1883), p.142.

¹⁹² W.H. Russell, *Russell’s despatches from the Crimea 1854-1856*, p.147.

¹⁹³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #16 - Louisa Drake (London), (17 Oct 1854).

as his front window was blown in off its hinges, as well as two back windows. His verandah and part of his roof were then carried away. He was fortunate, as he and his interpreter then moved his “traps” into another smaller house which was still standing. Despite this shelter he was soaked through and suffered from lumbago for some days afterwards.¹⁹⁴

Russell and his companions did not fare as well. Russell was lying half-awake when the storm picked up in intensity. The sides of the tent, though weighted down, lifted up and the pegs were pulled out. Muddy water swirled through, saturating their blankets and clothes. The tent pole snapped under the strain, bringing the tent down. Around them other tents and marquees suffered similar fates. The wind lifted up blankets, hats, coats, tables, chairs, quilts, tubs, and bedclothes, and blew them “like leaves” around the camp-site. Wagons, ambulances, and commissariat carts were overturned. Trees were uprooted. Terrified horses broke loose. Torrents of rain soaked all to the skin. Russell and others took refuge in the remnants of a stable. Though without a roof, it offered some protection. The rain turned to hail, sleet, and then snow. They had difficulty lighting fires for warmth or for cooking. During that day they ate buttered biscuits with whatever else they could lay their hands on - a bit of pork or ham - washed down with some warm tea or rum.¹⁹⁵

The soldiers in the flooded trenches fared the worst.¹⁹⁶ Many were later stretchered into camp “paralysed by cold”, and several died of exposure.¹⁹⁷ Their only food was biscuit crumbs and boiled “mouldy ham”, taken with either melted snow or their ration of grog.¹⁹⁸ Likewise, the wounded and sick in the hospital tents were exposed to the elements. The animals also suffered. Twenty-four of the Artillery, and 35 of the Cavalry horses died.¹⁹⁹

For the next three months the armies were subjected to a different battle, the battle to stay alive in the Crimean winter of 1854-1855.²⁰⁰ This European winter was the coldest on record.²⁰¹ In the first five days of January 1855 the temperature at Balaklava ranged from 19°F (-7°C) to 50°F (10°C).²⁰² It was naturally colder on the plateau before Sebastopol where the army was encamped.²⁰³ Normally the Crimean winters are fairly mild, with a rare frost, and snow virtually unknown.²⁰⁴ But the coldest part of winter had to be faced with diminished provisions and services due to the storm.

¹⁹⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #22 - Louisa Drake (London), (17 Nov 1854); & William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (14 Nov 1864).

¹⁹⁵ W.H. Russell, *Russell's despatches from the Crimea 1854-1856*, pp. 143-148; W.H. Russell, ‘Before Sebastopol. Nov. 14’, in A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, pp.134-141.

¹⁹⁶ A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea: Vol. VII*, 6th ed., p.144.

¹⁹⁷ S.J.G. Calthorpe, *Cadogan's Crimea*, (New York, 1980), p.115.

¹⁹⁸ G.P. Evelyn, *A diary of the Crimea*, (London, 1954), p.110.

¹⁹⁹ S.J.G. Calthorpe, *Cadogan's Crimea*, p.115.

²⁰⁰ A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, p.134.

²⁰¹ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, p.101; C. Woodham-Smith, *The reason why*, (Bungay, Suffolk), p.271.

²⁰² Edward Pearce, ‘The weather in the Crimea’, *The Times*, (London, 24 Jan 1855), p.10:d.

²⁰³ A. Sterling, *The story of the Highland Brigade in the Crimea: Founded on letters written during the years 1854, 1855, and 1856*, (Minneapolis, 1995), p.82. [First published London, 1895.]

²⁰⁴ *Fodor's Russia & the Baltic countries*, (New York, 1993), p.304.

Chapter 3

After the Hurricane

The “great disaster” was a turning point for the Commissariat.¹ Sir Charles Trevelyan, senior Treasury official,² stated there had been sufficient provisions until the hurricane. Subsequent shortfalls had been “caused by bad roads, exposure, and fatigue after the hurricane, and by the helplessness and exhaustion of the native drivers and horse-lifting”.³ It is debateable whether the Commissariat and the Army ever fully recovered, as the hurricane destroyed vital stores at a crucial time - the onset of winter. George Palmer Evelyn, 4th Division, wrote the “amount of damage suffered by troops and shipping may prove sufficient to be fatal to the expedition”.⁴ Russell felt the hurricane “gave for the time the *coup de grâs* [sic] to our hopes”.⁵ The hurricane certainly contributed greatly to the criticism the Commissariat was to suffer later on, regarding lack of food, and transport chaos. The French, however, had “suffered no losses”, and their Commissariat carried on as before.⁶

The hurricane had wreaked havoc. The Commissariat sheds were severely damaged.⁷ Stores of food and forage were exposed by the storm, and either lost or spoiled, but the worst long-term damage was done at sea. Much of the supplies were stored on ships, ten of which were lost, with only some of their crews surviving.⁸ The ammunition ship *Resolute* sank with “no less than ten million rounds” on board.⁹ The loss of the steamer *Prince*, which only arrived the day before, was particularly keenly felt.¹⁰ On board was around 500 tons of warm winter clothing and “warlike stores of every description, surgical instruments”; as well as £140,000 worth of gold, needed to purchase provisions for the Army.¹¹ Fortunately the *Jura*, which survived, contained some warm clothing, but insufficient for the thousands who needed it.¹² The Commissariat lost about 20 days’ worth of provisions, and all the hay for the animals.¹³

¹ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed*, (Constantinople, 1855), p.25 (p.21 of the Report). [Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch.] [Monash Microcard #5, Vol. 20.]

² J. Sweetman, *War and administration: The significance of the Crimean War for the British Army*, (Edinburgh, 1984), p.57. Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807-1886) was an ardent advocate of reform in the British civil service, being co-author of a report into the organisation of a new system of admission into the service: G.C. Boase, ‘Trevelyan, Sir Charles Edward’, *The dictionary of national biography, Vol. XIX: STOW-TYTTLER*, Sir L. Stephen & Sir S. Lee (eds.), (London, 1921-2), pp.1135-6.

³ J. Sweetman, *War and administration*, p.58.

⁴ G.P. Evelyn, *A diary of the Crimea*, (London, 1954), p.109.

⁵ W.H. Russell, *The great war with Russia*, (London, 1895), p.219.

⁶ W. Filder, ‘The Crimean Report: Mr. Filder’s reply’, *The Times*, (London, 17 Mar 1856), p.10:b.

⁷ W.H. Russell, ‘Before Sevastopol. Nov. 14’, in A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1994) p.136.

⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #22 - Louisa Drake (London), (17 Nov 1854).

⁹ A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea: Its origin, and an account of its progress down to the death of Lord Raglan, Vol. VII*, 6th ed., (Edinburgh, 1883), p.145.

¹⁰ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory: The legacy of the Crimean War*, (Boulder, Colorado, 1999), p.102.

¹¹ G.P. Evelyn, *A diary of the Crimea*, p.110; A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea: Vol. VII*, pp.144-145; William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (14 Nov 1854).

¹² A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea: Vol. VII*, p.146; G.P. Evelyn, *A diary of the Crimea*, p.110.

¹³ W.H. Russell, *Russell’s despatches from the Crimea 1854-1856*, (London, 1966), p.153.

A “wretched scene” confronted the British Army.¹⁴ Conditions were so difficult that the first recorded desertion took place a day later - a 79th Highlander went over to the Russians. There was much debris. The harbour was afloat with “bales and boxes, offal and corpses”, broken masts and spars. Hay lay sodden on the beaches. The already muddy roads turned into quagmires. Dead horses and cattle lay where they fell.¹⁵ The Army had lost provisions, ordnance, clothing, equipment, animals and men. Then on 28 November cholera broke out again, killing at least 60 men per day.¹⁶ In December Fanny Duberly painted the grim picture of Balaklava:

“If anybody should ever wish to erect a “Model Balaclava” ... I will tell him the ingredients necessary. Take a village of ruined hovels and houses to the extremest state of all imaginable dirt; allow the rain to pour into and outside them, until the whole place is a swamp of filth and ankle deep; catch about, on an average, 1000 sick Turks with the plague, and cram them into the houses indiscriminately; kill about 110 a day, and bury them so as to be scarcely covered with earth, leaving them to rot at leisure. On to one part of the beach drive all the exhausted *bat* ponies, dying bullocks and worn-out camels, and leave them to die of starvation. They will generally do so in about three days. Collect together from the water of the harbour all the offal of the animals slaughtered for the use of about 100 ships, to say nothing of the inhabitants of the town - which together with an occasional floating human body, whole or in parts, and the driftwood of wrecks, pretty well covers the water - and stew them all together in a narrow harbour, and you will have imitation of the real essence of Balaclava.”¹⁷

Raglan consulted Filder and Quartermaster-General Sir Richard Airey; and an officer of the Quartermaster-General’s Department was sent to Constantinople to purchase all possible blankets and greatcoats. The Commissariat was to use “every effort” to replace the lost provisions “at any price”.¹⁸ At that time, Filder said, the Commissariat ceased supplying forage to the cavalry as “the roads to their camp became impassable”.¹⁹

The hurricane led Drake to suggest to Louisa that she “stay quietly & comfortably in London” until his promotion was finalised.²⁰ The anxious wait for his “step” began as Filder sent in “his Annual Report to the Treasury”. Drake reflected on this, saying Filder could have ensured his promotion if he had elevated him to Acting DCG when he gave him “the most responsible duties of the whole Army” over Ramsay and Adams. Drake was relieved he had been left “very completely” to himself, finding it difficult to work “if controlled or interfered with”. He had “never feared” responsibility and was “determined to deserve” his promotion “by working so hard as to ensure success”. He felt the Army had, up till then, “wanted nothing”. He explained he had “acted Courteously to all” and felt convinced the Commissariat therefore had “risen in the estimation of those capable of judging”. If he did not get the promotion, despite “Slaving and facing danger both from

¹⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #24 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Nov 1854).

¹⁵ S.J.G. Calthorpe, *Cadogan’s Crimea*, (New York, 1980), pp.115, 148, 149.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp.153-4.

¹⁷ E.E.P. Tisdall, *Mrs Duberly’s campaigns: An Englishwoman’s experiences in the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny*, (Chicago, 1963), p.115.

¹⁸ S.J.G. Calthorpe, *Cadogan’s Crimea*, p.115; A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea: Vol. VII*, p.146.

¹⁹ *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed*, (Constantinople, 1855); & (London, 1856), p.125 (p.61 of the Evidence).

²⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #22 - Louisa Drake (London), (17 Nov 1854).

Cholera ... but also from the Enemy”, having had his “Supplies frequently under fire”, he concluded it was useless working “to evince Zeal & deserve the reward of Merit”. He would then “look to being relieved by some of those Officers who have been quietly living in a Colony enjoying their comparative ease & luxury, not Separated from their families”, as his “health would not hold out much longer” working tirelessly for “no reward & no appreciation of ones Services”. All had been “in the hope” of his promotion. If that did not eventuate, he would “at once request or rather insist on being relieved” from his duties.²¹

In his anxiety Drake recounted every positive remark he received. James Wilson, Financial Secretary to the Treasury,²² wrote, enclosing transcripts of letters Wilson had received from Sir Charles Trevelyan and another Treasury official, Petrie. Drake valued their opinions, and quoted their letters verbatim. Trevelyan, he said, was gratified by Drake’s “Strength of character & general ability”, and Petrie assured Wilson they were “fully alive to [Drake’s] merits, which will no doubt be confirmed by Mr. Filder when he reports on his Officers.”²³

Fellow commissaries also spoke well of Drake. Leonce Routh related his wife’s account of Commissary Robinson’s opinion of Drake. Robinson felt the Army “at all events, [had] one good Commissary”, and Drake was “one of the best [Robinson had] ever met, and certainly the very best for undertaking Field Service”. Drake commented he only told Louisa about it as she could not “see his blushes”.²⁴

These favourable assessments of Drake are confirmed by Lt.-Col. Anthony Sterling, who wrote “whenever and wherever a really good Commissariat officer was met with, he was always treated with respect”. He named a few “gentlemen who held the superior situations”, namely Drake, Carpenter, and Young, who were “both liked and respected by everyone who knew them, or who had to transact business with them”.²⁵

There was also criticism. On 14 December Raglan wrote to Filder, complaining that an officer, on requesting potatoes for his regiment, was told by a commissary at Balaklava that the minimum issuable amount was two tons. Raglan demanded Filder act “to place the supply of the army upon a more satisfactory footing or the worst consequences may follow”, adding he could not “help feeling that there is not infrequently a flippancy in the answers

²¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #24 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Nov 1854).

²² James Wilson (1805-1860) founded *The Economist* in 1843. He served as a Liberal M.P. from 1847-1859, and as Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1855-1858. In 1859-1860 he was a Financial Member of the Council of India: M. Wright, *Treasury control of the Civil Service 1854-1874*, (Oxford, 1969), p.10; J.W. Cell, *British colonial administration in the mid-nineteenth century: The policy-making process*, (New Haven, 1970), pp.223, 224, 229, 231, 235, 236; & H. Roseveare, *The Treasury 1660-1870: The foundations of control*, (London, 1973), p.205.

²³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #25 - Louisa Drake (London), (25 Nov 1854).

²⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #32 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Dec 1854).

²⁵ A. Sterling, *The story of the Highland Brigade in the Crimea: Founded on letters written during the years 1854, 1855, and 1856*, (Minneapolis, 1995), p.ix. [First published as *The Highland Brigade in the Crimea*, (London, 1895).]

given without consideration”.²⁶ As officer in charge of the Balaklava depot, Drake was ultimately responsible, whether actions were taken by subordinates or himself.

The clamour for supplies followed. Drake’s room was “crowded with people” as he worked.²⁷ By 25 November the *Trent* was despatched to Constantinople to fetch approximately 300 “very necessary” pack animals. Live cattle were also needed. By then Drake had received close to 10,000 bags of biscuit and a quantity of rum, and had “17 vessels discharging & nearly as many ... coming, going, cleared or not yet begun”.²⁸ Hay arrived at last. Drake wrote: “Now we have abundance of every article of food for Man & Horse”. By the beginning of December Drake acknowledged supplies were abundant in Balaklava and although these were eventually reaching some regiments they were being “badly supplied with rations”.²⁹

Drake now felt there was no hope of “taking Sevastopol until the Spring”,³⁰ and that this would not take place without “a sad loss of life”.³¹ The winter weather set in, it rained continuously. The road to the camp near Sebastopol was “all but impassable, the Streets of Balaklava knee deep & every Tent in Camp ankle deep in mud”.³²

Drake reassured Louisa he was safe and warm. He acknowledged he was “among those most comfortably off”, as his two-roomed house was “tolerably wind & Water tight”. His servants “all bolted”, but a Maltese boatman assisted him. Drake received gifts of provisions from various ship’s captains, and therefore had the following provisions, over and above his rations, on hand: corned pork, preserved meat, tea, cocoa, sugar, rice, soups, biscuit, potatoes, onions, and flour.³³ He later obtained port, sherry, brandy, bottled ale, raspberry jam, butter, plumb pudding, bread, and cheese.³⁴ As a civilian in a war zone, he plainly felt no need to share the misfortunes of those in the trenches.

Dr. George Lawson was less fortunate, living in a tent, and struggling to keep his feet dry, as “the whole place [was] almost a swamp”.³⁵ Lt. Temple Godman found, among his “great many discomforts”, the warmest place was in bed, and that the lumps of fat salt pork of his ration were inedible. He complained they could “seldom wash”.³⁶ Another officer suggested “to sleep in a room seems ... almost too great a luxury to indulge in, even in imagination”.³⁷

²⁶ J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, (London, 1993), p.268.

²⁷ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #22 - Louisa Drake (London), (17 Nov 1854).

²⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #25 - Louisa Drake (London), (25 Nov 1854).

²⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #26 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Dec 1854).

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #25 - Louisa Drake (London), (25 Nov 1854).

³² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #26 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Dec 1854).

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #30 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Dec 1854).

³⁵ G. Lawson, *Surgeon in the Crimea: The experiences of George Lawson recorded in letters to his family 1854-1855*, Victor Bonham-Carter & Monica Lawson (eds.), (London, 1968), p.111.

³⁶ R.T. Godman, *The fields of war: A young cavalryman’s Crimea campaign*, Philip Warner (ed.), (London, 1977), p.97.

³⁷ An Officer, ‘Letters from the Crimea’, *The Times*, (London, 5 Jan 1855), p.7:b.

Gradually their accommodation improved, becoming “well off for tents”, but lacking “fresh meat” and resorting to eating “biscuit soaked in water and then fried in salt butter”.³⁸ This contrast in living conditions possibly accentuated divisions between the Commissariat and the Army.

With the extremes of exposure and lack of supplies, the troops also had to contend with what they perceived to be an aloof Commander-in-Chief. In December Drake wrote of the dissatisfaction felt by the Army in general about its “disorderly state”. Apparently Raglan had not inspected the conditions of the camp before Sebastopol “since the 5th of last month!”, causing disappointment amongst the men.³⁹ The veracity of this is unclear. Raglan was apparently a man who rode around “as inconspicuously as possible, never with more than three companions”, and “often after dark”, wearing a cloak which concealed his amputated right arm. Some did not recognise him.⁴⁰ Raglan’s reputation suffered, as many criticised him.⁴¹ Rumours abounded that Raglan had “gone to Malta for the winter”.⁴² Sir Colin Campbell felt that the truth was kept from Raglan, by “those about him” who were “in the habit of making things pleasant to him”.⁴³ The Cavalry was now “nearly defunct” and the Artillery “very very badly off”. Horses were “dying from Cold, exposure & hunger”.⁴⁴

The Commissariat was criticised for scarcity of supplies. Mr. H. Drummond, M.P., suggested in Parliament it was “no wonder” the “troops could not get anything to eat”, as “the whole feeding of the army was intrusted to Lord Aberdeen and the clerks of the Treasury”. He claimed, erroneously, that, during the Peninsular War, Sir Thomas Picton had wanted Filder hanged for incompetence, and questioned why Filder was “still at the head of the commissariat at Sebastopol”.⁴⁵ Other letters to *The Times* criticised the Commissariat and told of the dreadful conditions in the Crimea.⁴⁶ The editorials added fuel to the fire, by

³⁸ R.T. Godman, *The fields of war*, p.101.

³⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #26 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Dec 1854).

⁴⁰ C. Hibbert, *The destruction of Lord Raglan: A tragedy of the Crimean War 1854-5*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1961), pp.257-8.

⁴¹ Sir Francis Head wrote to *The Times*: “You have published so many anonymous accusations against Lord Raglan ...”: F.B. Head, ‘Sir Francis Head and Lord Raglan’, *The Times*, (London, 12 Feb 1855), p.10:f; A surgeon wrote that Raglan was “very much disliked”: An Assistant-Surgeon, ‘The camp before Sebastopol’, *The Times*, (London, 19 Jan 1855), p.8:a; William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #27 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Dec 1854).

⁴² ‘Letters from the Crimea’, *The Times*, (London, 2 Jan 1855), p.10:c.

⁴³ Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde (1792-1863), British Field-Marshal. He served in the Peninsular War (1810-1813), the West Indies (1819-1826), China (1842-1846), fought in the Second Sikh War (1848-1849), and remained as a divisional commander in India until the outbreak of the Crimean War, when he received command of the Highland Brigade: R. Parkinson, *The encyclopedia of modern war*, (New York, 1979), p.34; Colin Frederick Campbell, ‘Letters from camp, Jan 17 [1855]’, in J. Keegan (ed.), *The Penguin book of war: Great military writings*, (London, 1999), p.197.

⁴⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #27 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Dec 1854).

⁴⁵ *The Times*, (London, 27 Jan 1855), p.5; J.W. Wilkinson, ‘Mr. Commissary-General Filder’, *The Times*, (London, 6 Feb 1855), p.9:b.

⁴⁶ Examples are ‘Life in the Crimea’, *The Times*, (London, 25 Dec 1854), p.8:a; C.B., ‘The Commissariat of the Crimea’, *The Times*, (London, 24 Jan 1855), p.10:d; One of the Anxious, ‘Commissariat by contract’, *The Times*, (London, 16 Feb 1855), p.7:b; ‘Correspondence relative to the coffee sent to the Crimea’, *The Times*, (London, 19 Feb 1855), p.10:b; A Civilian, ‘The loss of our Light Brigade by starvation’, *The Times*, (London, 19 Feb 1855), p.10:a; One of the People, ‘Our Commissariat’, *The Times*, (London, 23 Feb 1855), p.5:d.

questioning whether anybody did not empathise with the soldiers living “among the varied scenes of misery which every tent and every hut of our camp contain”.⁴⁷ Russell graphically described the appalling conditions suffered by the troops. He said of the Commissariat that “no one would take ‘responsibility’ upon himself even to save the lives of hundreds”, and the army was being “ruined by etiquette, and by ‘service’ regulations”.⁴⁸ These scenes of misery were relayed into 61,000 British homes repeatedly from the pages of *The Times*.⁴⁹ Florence Nightingale was also critical of the Commissariat and argued that reform was necessary.⁵⁰ She maintained this view after the war, arguing that the current Commissariat was “made ... to destroy an Army”.⁵¹

Drake, admitting he was not “a Military character”, was frustrated. He had little control over events, and felt Raglan exacerbated matters by “sending snagging snarling letters” to Filder, who relayed them to Drake. Drake then wasted “much valuable time”, better spent “on attending to the Wants of the Men”, replying to these “useless recriminations”. He was disgusted that, despite doing all he could, though “insufficient”, he then had to “explain & write & waste time in such letters”. He hoped he would “not to be bothered again”, as he had “sent them such a Stinger on the last occasion”.⁵² In the same letter he commented on conditions, saying:

“we are very much Straitened for land Transport - Knowing this we sent a Steamer the Jason to Constantinople for 250 Horses we had there but The Services pull so badly under some of the high people that Admiral Boxer⁵³ took that opportunity to dock the Jason for repairs & thus I have no hesitation in saying of killing some hundreds if not thousands of our men for they will not stand Severe cold on half rations.”⁵⁴

Commissary Smith at Constantinople also said Admiral Boxer⁵⁵ had hindered the Commissariat in the supply of vessels. On 14 December Smith wrote:

"If some change be not effected in the naval administration here, the army will be reduced to a state of starvation. I can do nothing with Admiral Boxer, who seems to be perfectly reckless and desperate."⁵⁶

⁴⁷ *The Times*, (London, 16 Feb 1855), p.8:c.

⁴⁸ W.H. Russell, *Russell's despatches from the Crimea 1854-1856*, p.155.

⁴⁹ O. Anderson, *A liberal state at war: English politics and economics during the Crimean War*, (London, 1967), p.71; W.H. Russell, *Russell's despatches from the Crimea 1854-1856*, pp.150-64; A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, pp.134-67.

⁵⁰ F. Nightingale, *Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea 1854-1856*, Sue M. Goldie (ed.), (Manchester, 1997), p.82.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.290.

⁵² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #27 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Dec 1854).

⁵³ Rear-Admiral Edward Boxer (1784-1855); J.K. Laughton, ‘Boxer, Edward’, *The dictionary of national biography: Vol. II BEAL-BROWELL*, pp.995-6. He was the Agent of Transports at Constantinople; *Report of the Board of General Officers to inquire into Statements in Reports of Sir J. McNeill and Col. Tulloch, on Conduct of Officers on General Staff and others in Army*, (London, 1856), p.292. He was subsequently transferred to Balaklava (William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #51 - Louisa Drake (London), (26 Feb 1855; William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (23 Apr 1855; William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (26 Apr 1855).

⁵⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #27 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Dec 1854).

⁵⁵ Boxer was then also at Constantinople, but was later appointed Admiral-Superintendent of the harbour of Balaklava: J.K. Laughton, ‘Boxer, Edward’, *The dictionary of national biography: Vol. II BEAL-BROWELL*, (London, 1921-1922), p.996.

⁵⁶ *Report of the Board of General Officers ...*, p.360 of the Proceedings.

Filder, however, came to Boxer's defence, saying he had assisted him greatly, and "Nothing could exceed his zeal and activity in forwarding all things connected with the commissariat."⁵⁷ Raglan, by all accounts, did not share Filder's confidence. He complained of Boxer's apparent inability to keep proper records, and wrote: "No man can make him a man of arrangement".⁵⁸ After Boxer's death of cholera in June 1855, Raglan remembered him more kindly, saying he had "applied himself incessantly to the discharge of his arduous duties", and had "rendered a most essential service to the army by improving the landing-places and establishing wharves on the west side of the port [of Balaklava]".⁵⁹ Drake remained ambivalent about Boxer. After criticising him in December,⁶⁰ he conceded in February 1855 that Boxer was "a queer old stick"⁶¹ - Boxer apparently regularly introduced himself as "bloody old Boxer"⁶² - with whom most people had difficulty working, but whom he had not found "difficult".⁶³ They dined together,⁶⁴ and Drake shared a gift of turbot with him.⁶⁵ By befriending him, Drake tried to ensure greater cooperation and efficiency from Boxer.

The "transport power" of the Commissariat was reduced to a third. Commissary Adams, in charge of Commissariat transport, stated it was at its lowest "between the 10th and 16th December".⁶⁶ Filder despatched the *Jason* to Constantinople on 26 November, twelve days after the hurricane. It took twenty days to complete the return journey, five days longer than expected. The mules on board "had been badly cared for, and many were utterly useless",⁶⁷ thereby contributing to the transport crisis. Filder blamed the "diminution" of the land transport on three factors: "Bad roads, exposure, and fatigue".⁶⁸ In mid-December Raglan "ordered the Cavalry" to supply 500 horses, to carry 240 bags of bread each day to the camp.⁶⁹ Commissary Crookshank, attached to the Cavalry Division, had tried unsuccessfully since soon after the hurricane to have cavalry horses sent down to Balaklava to collect forage.⁷⁰ The officer commanding, Lord Lucan, said he "could not permit a horse to leave the lines".⁷¹ On 30 September, in an incident illustrating the tension between the Commissariat and the Army, Crookshank was arrested by Lucan and faced court martial for

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p.381 of the Proceedings.

⁵⁸ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, p.111.

⁵⁹ J.K. Laughton, 'Boxer, Edward', *The dictionary of national biography: Vol. II BEAL-BROWELL*, p.996.

⁶⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #27 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Dec 1854).

⁶¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #51 - Louisa Drake (London), (26 Feb 1855).

⁶² R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, p.111.

⁶³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #51 - Louisa Drake (London), (26 Feb 1855).

⁶⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (23 Apr 1855).

⁶⁵ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (26 Apr 1855).

⁶⁶ 'Deputy Commissary-General Adams, examined', in *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, p.132 (p.68 of the Evidence).

⁶⁷ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, pp.21-2 (pp.17-8 of the Report).

⁶⁸ 'Commissary-General Filder, examined', in *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, p.124 (p.60 of the Evidence).

⁶⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #29 - Louisa Drake (London), (18 Dec 1854).

⁷⁰ *Report of the Board of General Officers ...*, p.208 of the Proceedings.

⁷¹ 'Alexander Crookshank, Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General', in *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, p.111 (p.47 of the Evidence).

allegedly disobeying Lucan's orders and lying to him. Lucan claimed Crookshank had been "most neglectful in the provisioning of the 4th Light Dragoons".⁷² After a week, Raglan ordered Crookshank's release.⁷³ Lucan was well-known for his troublesome character, his quick temper, and for the passionate hatred he and his brother-in-law and fellow officer, Lord Cardigan, shared.⁷⁴

The French helped the stricken British army by transporting to Balaklava some of the sick to be shipped to Scutari.⁷⁵ Drake complimented the French, saying they behaved "carefully & tenderly" towards the British soldiers. He still felt their system was better than that of the British.⁷⁶ The French also assisted the British to make a road, enabling the British get their siege guns "up to the front".⁷⁷

By mid-December supplies "of all sorts" were plentiful in Balaklava, "the only thing wanting" was "Transport to Camp".⁷⁸ *The Times* agreed.⁷⁹ Problems relating to the supply of green coffee for the soldiers had emerged, and Drake worked with Captain Leopold Heath R.N. of the *Sanspareil*⁸⁰ "in a plan for roasting Coffee",⁸¹ using "the damaged funnels of steam-vessels".⁸²

Drake felt overworked, and complained that he and Smith were overloaded. Drake again criticised Filder, saying "his failing" was "want of extension or the inability to embrace many topics in an enlightened way". He protested that Filder delegated "every kind of work" to him, but he had "positively refused some of the duties". Drake was still adamant that while he had his own way, it would be "well & good".⁸³ Despite feeling "rather seedy & rheumatic", Drake persisted and continued his work.⁸⁴

His appearance, and that of others at Balaklava, was becoming rather unkempt. He referred to this jocularly, saying:

"We are a queer looking set I have not touched a razor for above a month & have a great mind not to until you see what a beauty your old Hub is with a long red beard & moustach."⁸⁵

⁷² *Ibid*, pp.222-3 of the Proceedings.

⁷³ *Ibid*, pp.225-6 of the Proceedings.

⁷⁴ C. Woodham-Smith, *The reason why*, (Bungay, Suffolk, 1953), p.145. Woodham-Smith's book recounts the strong antipathy Lucan and his brother-in-law and fellow officer, Lord Cardigan, had for each other, as well as Lucan's many altercations with those around him.

⁷⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #28 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Dec 1854).

⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

⁷⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #28 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Dec 1854).

⁷⁹ Temporary Correspondent, 'The British Army in the Crimea', *The Times*, (London, 8 Jan 1855), p.7:b.

⁸⁰ 'Stations of the Royal Navy in commission', in *Colburn's united service magazine, Pt. 1*, (London, 1855), p.150.

⁸¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #28 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Dec 1854).

⁸² W. Filder, 'The Crimean Report: Mr. Filder's reply', *The Times*, (London, 17 Mar 1856), p.10:c.

⁸³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #28 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Dec 1854).

⁸⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #29 - Louisa Drake (London), (18 Dec 1854).

⁸⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #29 - Louisa Drake (London), (18 Dec 1854).

Shortly before Christmas, Drake missed Louisa so profoundly, he begged for her photograph. She had refused this before, as he had “the original to look at”.⁸⁶ By this time they had been separated for about seven months. He received her “likeness” on 22 March.⁸⁷ Henry and Louisa Drake also exchanged about 50 private letters. Unfortunately none has survived. However, Drake made jottings in his *Journal* about their contents, and these references provide glimpses of the depth of feeling they had for one another. His feelings for Louisa were unambiguous, writing that Louisa was in the “double capacity of Mistress & Wife.”⁸⁸

On Christmas Day Filder invited Drake and Adams to dinner - “The first invitation he has given since he left England!!” Drake said he and Filder now got on “very Smoothly” in their “Official relations”. He felt Filder knew he was “Slaving” and that the work he did would aid Filder to receive the knighthood he coveted.⁸⁹ Filder never received this honour (only receiving a CB) which must have been a matter of great disappointment to him.⁹⁰

Filder, Adams, and Drake were joined by Archer. Filder, though “not an amiable host”,⁹¹ provided “a good dinner - Soup - Boiled Turkey - Roast Mutton, Queen's own Pig - Pease pudding Potatoes - Plumb pudding Coffee Creams! Sherry Champagne Porter”.⁹² Once again this repast contrasted with that received by the troops and others. Dr. George Lawson wrote of his Christmas dinner, consisting of “a plum pudding made as good as our material would allow, and a piece of roast beef, washed down with a port wine and ration rum”⁹³

Nonetheless the Commissariat’s work was hard and unrelenting. Shelter for the troops was becoming possible, as wooden huts started to arrive. Drake, however, stated quite baldly, that due to the conditions of the road, these could not “be got to the front”.⁹⁴ The Commissariat had enough difficulty getting provisions to the men. A “few planks” were issued to “those who can get them up & they are building Huts ... for Sick & Convalescents”.⁹⁵ Winter, however, had “set in”, with Drake conceding those in Balaklava would not “feel it very cold” compared to those in the camp. Warm clothing arrived for the troops and had been issued, but Drake feared men would still “perish from cold by hundreds & hundreds in the Trenches”.⁹⁶ This was confirmed by Sergeant Timothy Gowing.⁹⁷

⁸⁶ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #30 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Dec 1854).

⁸⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (22 Mar 1855).

⁸⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (29 Jan 1855).

⁸⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #30 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Dec 1854).

⁹⁰ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1856*, (London, 1856), p.384; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, (London, 1860), p.527. Saul David erroneously states that Filder was made a Knight Commander of the Bath on 7 July 1855; S. David, *The homicidal Earl: The life of Lord Cardigan*, (London, 1998), p.445.

⁹¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #51 - Louisa Drake (London), (26 Feb 1855).

⁹² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #31 - Louisa Drake (London), (25 Dec 1854).

⁹³ G. Lawson, *Surgeon on the Crimea*, p.111.

⁹⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #32 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Dec 1854).

⁹⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #35 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Jan 1855).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ T. Gowing, *Voice from the ranks: A personal narrative of the Crimean campaign by a Sergeant of the Royal Fusiliers*, Kenneth Fenwick (ed.), (London, 1954), p.68.

ILLUSTRATION 10



Louisa Drake (née Purkis) (1814-1862)
(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

Drake complained of incessant work, the worst aspect of which was “being bored by long complaints sent thro' L^d. Raglan about some man not getting barley for his horses until late or not at all & having to reply to them”. Drake did not take kindly to these complaints, and still “sent them a Stinger or two in reply”.⁹⁸ Drake’s new complaint of Filder was the mail was not being despatched on time. Filder seemed to be punctilious, altering “every Letter so often that he is seldom ready”.⁹⁹

The irregularity in the mail continued. In February Drake concluded this had two causes:

“First our bags not being sent in time to catch the Steamer going to Constantinople & 2nd The[n] sending a Slow Stea^f. from this & consequently not arriving in time to catch the Steamer leaving for Marseilles The first fault often lies with M^f. Filder who is very dilitary & always changing his mind & thus never has his Officials ready & then they sometimes send the Vessel off to the Fleet before the appointed time.”¹⁰⁰

Change was in the air, bearing a familiar face. Suggestions were being made that Sir George Maclean (then “employed on Special Service learning the Comm^t. System of Austria & Prussia,” and who had served with Drake in Hobart) was to be sent to the Crimea by the Secretary of State for War, the Duke of Newcastle, to set them “all to rights”.¹⁰¹ These rumours persisted for some time¹⁰² before becoming reality.

Meanwhile the people of Britain responded to the reports of privation. Contributions of provisions and clothing flooded into the Patriotic Fund,¹⁰³ and started to arrive in the Crimea by January 1855. These goods were distributed by the Commissariat. Drake was unhappy, complaining their already heavy workload was increased “in consequence of the humbug of potted game & plumb puddings sent out”. He dismissed these goods as “trash” and “unfit for Soldiers in the field”, and said they could not transport them to the camp. He also felt the ships containing the goods crowded the harbour so much they could not “work the Vessels with the actual necessaries of life on board”.¹⁰⁴ Later that month Drake complained again, when “Lord Ellesmere’s Yatch [sic]”,¹⁰⁵ the *Erminia*,¹⁰⁶ arrived “with good things sent by Crimean Fund,¹⁰⁷ ... & other necessaries for Soldiers Working in the Trenches”.¹⁰⁸ In

⁹⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #32 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Dec 1854).

⁹⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #33 - Louisa Drake (London), (1 Jan 1855). Mike Hinton, a fellow member of the Crimean War Research Society, has had the opportunity to look at the WO62 correspondence Filder at the Public Record Office, and formed the impression Filder was “fairly efficient in the way he ran his office”: Mike Hinton (Tunbridge Wells) - Megan Stevens (Melbourne), e-mail dated 31 Mar 2000. Drake stated that he wrote letters for Filder, after Filder referred letters from Raglan to him. Drake complained that he had “to explain & write & waste time in such letters”. He does not state whether he or Filder signed these letters: William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #27 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Dec 1854).

¹⁰⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #47 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Feb 1855).

¹⁰¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #33 - Louisa Drake (London), (1 Jan 1855).

¹⁰² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #52 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Mar 1855).

¹⁰³ *The Times*, (London, 25 Dec 1854), p.4:a.

¹⁰⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #36 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Jan 1855).

¹⁰⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #43 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Jan 1855).

¹⁰⁶ A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea, Vol. VII*, p.343.

¹⁰⁷ The Crimean Army Fund was situated at 18 Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London, and accepted contributions in provisions, clothing, etc. Queen Victoria donated £1,000 and Prince Albert £500. By Christmas 1854 the amounts already advertised came to £279,825 2s. 2d: *The Times*, (London, 25 Dec

February, Drake felt that his working conditions were further complicated by Fortnum and Mason sending goods, “Claret - Paté Diable - Bloaters game Pies & other necessaries in Seige operations”, which the Commissariat sold to Officers. Drake exploded, wishing “Fortnum & Mason & their game pies were at the bottom of the Sea”.¹⁰⁹

Kinglake described the activities of the Crimean Army Fund more favourably, saying the *Erminia*'s arrival provided a “small, doubtful germ of hope”, bringing with her “nothing less than an Embassy ... of affection and gratitude from our people at home to the survivors of that valiant army which had borne the privations and hardships of November, December, and January, and was still locked in strife with its foe”.¹¹⁰

Raglan's reputation still suffered. He visited Balaklava and some of the Divisions encamped before Sevastopol for “the 1st time for many weeks”. Drake concluded Raglan was “no favorite with his Army”.¹¹¹ *The Times* joined the clamour against Raglan and his Staff.¹¹² Drake was rather dismissive of Raglan's habit of dating his despatches “Camp before Sevastopol”. Drake felt he “might as well do the same”, as Raglan and his Staff lived “in a very excellent house ... 3 miles from Sevastopol & 3¹/₂ from” Balaklava.¹¹³

Drake's low mood continued, despite news of a Crimean War Medal. He felt “something more than a medal [was] wanting”, and the reasons for the War were unjustified.¹¹⁴ The major aggravating factor for Drake was waiting for news about the promotions. On 14 January, two weeks after they had been promulgated in General Orders, Filder received a letter from the Secretary of State for War. Drake at last received what he had been striving for. His delight at his promotion to Deputy Commissary-General (and the increase in pay) showed:

“Mine is a very acceptable New Years Gift to me - It makes my Pay nearly double¹¹⁵ - Pay for this Month is more than £70 - ... you may on the Strength of it be generous & buy each of the Chicks a ... gift from the D.C.G.”¹¹⁶

Filder, “the little man”, congratulated Drake, saying that in his recommendation of Drake to the Treasury, he had confirmed Drake “had the most arduous & responsible duties of the Dep^t. & exhibited great talent & energy in conducting them!!”¹¹⁷ Subsequently Drake found

1854), p.4:1.

¹⁰⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #43 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Jan 1855).

¹⁰⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #47 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Feb 1855).

¹¹⁰ A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea, Vol. VII*, p.343.

¹¹¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #43 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Jan 1855).

¹¹² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #37 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Jan 1855).

¹¹³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #44 - Louisa Drake (London), (1 Feb 1855); F.B. Head, ‘Sir Francis Head and Lord Raglan’, *The Times*, (London, 12 Feb 1855), p.10:f; *The Times*, (London, 16 Feb 1855), p.8:e; *The Times*, (London, 19 Feb 1855), p.10:e.

¹¹⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #37 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Jan 1855).

¹¹⁵ The ordinary daily full pay for an Assistant Commissary-General was 14/3, with extra war pay of 5/0. The ordinary daily full pay for a Deputy Commissary-General was 1/8/6, with extra war pay of 9/6: Treasury, *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*, (London, 1852), p.9.

¹¹⁶ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #38 - Louisa Drake (London), (14 Jan 1855).

¹¹⁷ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #39 - Louisa Drake (London), (18 Jan 1855).

he had been specially selected for promotion, and had passed over at least another ten Assistant Commissaries-General.¹¹⁸ This confirmed Drake's views of his own competence and vindicated his obsequiousness to Filder.

Changes were under way for the Commissariat. Responsibility for the Department had transferred from the Treasury to the War Department.¹¹⁹ Peninsular veteran Sir Randolph Routh was "employed in London to organise a Transport Establishm^t. for the Crimea"; fellow veteran William Hewetson was "to lure laborers for [the Commissariat] in Ireland"; and Sir George Maclean was "to institute enquiry on the Continent as to their Systems".¹²⁰ Complaints were levelled against the Commissariat by other departments also under attack; the Adjutant and Quartermaster-General's Departments. Drake dismissed these complaints as "frivolous" bickering, saying, even if these had been "well founded", they would not be exonerated for their own "blunders".¹²¹

Soldiers were ill and dying ("more than 3,000 deaths per month").¹²² Drake was appalled at the high mortality and morbidity rates, feeling "much might have been avoided by timely precautions",¹²³ and they would "not have lost so many men by any assault of Sevastopol", a loss still to be faced if Sevastopol were to fall. Even though huts were "coming out daily", they were arriving "too late". The roads were still impassable.¹²⁴ Drake attributed the "whole of the Misery of the Army" to two things:

"1st Not knowing we were to Winter here & that when Lord Raglan thought of it he did not communicate with the Comm^y. General to procure supplies of every thing necessary for Winter & 2^{ndly} The gross neglect of the Quarter Mast: Gen^l. Dep^t.¹²⁵ in not making a road from this to the Camp."¹²⁶

One of Drake's colleagues agreed the Quartermaster-General had failed them by not building a road "from the point of supply [Balaklava] to the point of consumption [the camp before Sevastopol] ... before the rains set in", and their "crying evil" was the "insufficiency of transport of a permanent kind".¹²⁷ Drake's colleague also suggested depots "of everything necessary to keep the men in vigour" should have been formed at an early stage. He blamed policy decisions in days gone by, suggesting "a regular waggon corps" should have been organised before the Army's embarkation to the Crimea. The Commissariat, he felt, had not been properly staffed for some years. They therefore lacked trained and experienced officers able to seek out supplies in places of which they "hardly knew the names, much less the

¹¹⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #41 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Jan 1855).

¹¹⁹ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, (Kew, Surrey, 1998), p.56.

¹²⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #38 - Louisa Drake (London), (14 Jan 1855).

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #43 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Jan 1855).

¹²³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #38 - Louisa Drake (London), (14 Jan 1855).

¹²⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #43 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Jan 1855).

¹²⁵ General Richard Airey was the Quarter Master General: J. Barbary, *The Crimean War*, (London, 1972), p.40.

¹²⁶ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #44 - Louisa Drake (London), (1 Feb 1855).

¹²⁷ An officer of the Commissariat, 'The Camp before Sevastopol', *The Times*, (London, 31 Jan 1855), p.6:c.

resources”. These decisions were made by the Treasury to save money, but all they had done was to undervalue the lives of soldiers in the Crimea - they had not realised “the £.s.d. value of the man as he stands effective before Sebastopol”. If they had considered the value of the soldier “their first consideration would have been his preservation, as far as food, raiment, and shelter” were concerned.¹²⁸ Raglan himself had given evidence before a Parliamentary Commission in 1850, arguing against the maintenance of a permanent Commissariat in peace-time.¹²⁹

A practical, if rather belated, solution to the transport problems was sought. On 5 December the Duke of Newcastle requested Treasury authorise payment of up to £45,000 “for stock, plant and material” and £55,000 “for transport and food for the staff”, so a railway could be built at Balaklava.¹³⁰ The Principal Engineer for the project, James Beatty,¹³¹ arrived at Balaklava in mid-January 1855.¹³² A Board was established “to enquire into the feasibility of the Railway” with Sir Colin Campbell as President. Raglan told Filder that Drake should serve on the Board, which pleased Drake considerably. Drake knew Beatty (or at least of him), as he had also been at St. John in New Brunswick.¹³³

Supplies and transport were improving. Eighty mules were sent daily to the front “with Houses or rather parts of them”. By the end of February Drake felt the “abundance” of warm clothing they had received was “enough for three Winters”, and much of it would have to be returned to Constantinople because of the risk of it rotting in Balaklava.¹³⁴ Troops were now supplied with “their full daily rations”, consisting of “Bread, Meat, rum, Sugar, Roasted Coffee & Rice”. Supplies were plentiful. The Commissariat now had “30 days of each of them [at Balaklava] & some 3 days in each Camp with a reserve half way at Lord Raglans of 8 days Bread (in biscuit) Meat Rum & 4 days Roasted Coffee Sugar & Rice”.¹³⁵ Scurvy, however, was a problem, and the Commissariat was asked to issue a non-regulation item, lime juice, to every regiment.¹³⁶ The weather was fining up, with “slight frosts at night” tending “to dry up the roads a little”. Balaklava was, however, still “a regular mud hole”.¹³⁷ Drake continued his criticism of Filder and Adams, saying:

“Our Chief has no administrative talent & if I were made a C.G. tomorrow wd. keep me at the same work as now M^r. Adams has done little or nothing since we have been in the Crimea, not f^r. his own wish, he does all he can but M^r. F gives him no work all he does do is of his

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ J.S. Omond, *Parliament and the army 1642-1904*, (Cambridge, 1933), p.89.

¹³⁰ B. Cooke, *The Grand Crimean Central Railway: The story of the railway built by the British at Balaklava during the Crimean War of 1854-56*, 2nd ed., (Knutsford, Cheshire, 1997), p.24.

¹³¹ James Beatty (c.1821-11 Mar 1856): P. Marsh, *Beatty's railway: A historical reconstruction Crimea 1854-56*, (Oxford, 2000), p.226.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.32.

¹³³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #42 - Louisa Drake (London), (24 Jan 1855).

¹³⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #51 - Louisa Drake (London), (26 Feb 1855).

¹³⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #44 - Louisa Drake (London), (1 Feb 1855).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #43 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Jan 1855).

own seeking - Up to this time Mr. Filder has not made a Single change in consequence of the Promotions and I don't think he contemplates any.”¹³⁸

By 5 February every Division had “its Hospital Huts”, but forage was still insufficient. No hay had arrived from England since 30 November. The situation was dire. Small amounts were obtained from Turkey, Bulgaria and elsewhere, and chopped straw (not a good substitute) was provided. The French Army now suffered similar difficulties.¹³⁹

Fresh vegetables (not normally part of the soldiers' rations) were issued “gratuitously” to the Troops.¹⁴⁰ Drake felt the situation was absurd, as after giving a soldier “a bag of ‘praties’ & a few onions” he had to “sign certificates for Vessels covering many thousands of Pounds”. He jocularly suggested to Filder “a blue apron” be included as part of their new uniform to go with his new persona of “a very respectable greengrocer”.¹⁴¹ Due to the distances the vegetables had to be transported, much of it arrived “unfit for use”.¹⁴² Extra sugar was also issued to the troops. Sufficient stores were in place giving the Commissariat “at least 2 months' Supply” of some things - but hay was still wanting.¹⁴³ Later in February, Drake complained the harbour of Balaklava was “so crowded with Ships with Huts & Warm Clothing they quite impede the landing of Supplies for the Army & Huts encumber the whole Wharf & Village” - the huts, he said, had “become quite a nuisance”.¹⁴⁴

By this stage, Drake longed for normality in his life, and wrote:

“let us sing out for Peace ... - Chacun pour Soi¹⁴⁵ - I have got all I can from the War & of course shall be glad to see it finished and get the charge of a quiet Station there to live respectably!!”¹⁴⁶

The war had benefited Drake financially. He saved virtually all his pay, “now very handsome”, as he lived on his “rations” and his “Friends”.¹⁴⁷ What he earned, he sent back to his family in London for their upkeep.¹⁴⁸ The war, he believed, especially “so far as the Winter Campaign” was concerned, had not been glorious, “after the way our men have

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #45 - Louisa Drake (London), (5 Feb 1855).

¹⁴⁰ During the month of February 538,925 lbs. of fresh vegetables were issued: W.H. Drake, ‘Memorandum’, (22 May 1855), from *Report of the Board of General Officers...*, p.374 of the Proceedings.

¹⁴¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #45 - Louisa Drake (London), (5 Feb 1855).

¹⁴² W.H. Drake, ‘Memorandum respecting the Vegetables, ex "Harbinger", &c.’, from *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, p.116 (p.52 of the Evidence).

¹⁴³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #46 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Feb 1855).

¹⁴⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #49 - Louisa Drake (London), (19 Feb 1855).

¹⁴⁵ Chacun pour soi: everybody for themselves: *The Collins paperback French dictionary: French-English English-French*, (London, 1988), pp.62, 285, 343.

¹⁴⁶ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #45 - Louisa Drake (London), (5 Feb 1855).

¹⁴⁷ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #46 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Feb 1855). Drake’s “Friends” were the Captains of “almost any Ship in Harbor, especially among the Great Mercantile Steamers” where he was “a very welcome, nay an honored guest”: William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #27 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Dec 1854).

¹⁴⁸ Drake makes many references in his letters and his *Journal* to the money he sent home, e.g. in William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (11 Jul 1854) and William Henry Drake (Varan) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854); William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (7 Jul 1854), (14 Aug 1854).

died here”. It had been dominated by “Bad arrangements No discipline No headwork Official disputes & growling”. He blamed “inactivity, hard work, no heads Shewing or taking interest in the army - Want of regularity in the Mails to & from England”¹⁴⁹

The disasters regarding supply caused an outcry in Britain, leading to the fall of Lord Aberdeen’s coalition government of Whigs and Peelites in late January 1855, when a motion by John Arthur Roebuck, a backbench M.P., calling for an impartial inquiry into the conduct of the Crimean War and the conduct of Government departments “whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army”,¹⁵⁰ was passed by 305 votes to 148.¹⁵¹ Queen Victoria called on the leader of the Conservatives, Lord Derby, and then on Lord John Russell, Aberdeen’s former Leader of the House, to form new governments. When they refused, she called on Lord Palmerston, who, with the support of the Whigs and Peelites, agreed to do so.¹⁵² This change in government led Drake to make one of the few political comments he recorded. He wondered whether Palmerston would “go for Peace or War”, and added:

“If the former I shall be one of their party in future - think what they would gain by my adherence.”¹⁵³

After an inauspicious beginning in Parliament, with “the house ... bewildered and disorganized”, Palmerston was unable to convince Roebuck to drop his mission for a select committee.¹⁵⁴ Palmerston placated Roebuck,¹⁵⁵ by appointing him to chair the Select Committee on the Army before Sebastopol,¹⁵⁶ which took evidence from a number of witnesses, including the Duke of Cambridge, Lt.-Gen. De Lacy Evans, and Sir Charles Trevelyan.¹⁵⁷ The Committee concluded:

“the suffering of the army resulted mainly from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The Administration which ordered that expedition had no adequate information as to the amount of the forces in the Crimea. ... They were not acquainted with the strength of the fortresses to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful, and, as

¹⁴⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #47 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Feb 1855).

¹⁵⁰ *The Times*, (London, 27 Jan 1855), p.4:c.

¹⁵¹ John Arthur Roebuck (1801-1879): W.F. Rae, ‘Roebuck, John Arthur’, *The dictionary of national biography: Vol. XVII ROBINSON-SHEARES*, (London, 1921-22), pp.95-7; T. Royle, *Crimea: The great Crimean War 1854-1856*, (London, 1999), p.327; O. Anderson, *A liberal state at war*, p.43; A. Wood, *Nineteenth century Britain 1815-1914*, (London, 1960), pp.185, 201.

¹⁵² O. Anderson, *A liberal state at war*, pp.54, 60; R.M. Rayner, *Nineteenth century England*, 2nd ed., (London, 1931), pp.182-3; A. Wood, *Nineteenth century Britain 1815-1914*, p.201; E.F. Malcolm-Smith, *Palmerston*, (London, 1935), p.89.

¹⁵³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #47/2 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Feb 1855).

¹⁵⁴ A. Briggs, ‘John Arthur Roebuck and the Crimean War’, in A. Briggs, *Victorian people: A reassessment of persons and themes 1851-67*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1965), p.78.

¹⁵⁵ A. Palmer, *The banner of battle: The story of the Crimean War*, (London, 1987), p.179.

¹⁵⁶ The final report of Roebuck’s committee on the ‘State of the Army before Sebastopol’ was published in full in *The Times*, (London, 19 Jun 1855), pp.5:b-6d. The sections pertaining to the Commissariat can be found in Appendix 4.1: Commissions of Inquiry: Roebuck’s Select Committee of the Army before Sebastopol.

¹⁵⁷ E.M. Spiers, *The army and society 1815-1914*, (London, 1980), p.111; B. Bond, ‘Prelude to the Cardwell Reforms, 1856-68’, in *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, Vol. 106, Feb-Nov 1961, p.230; ‘State of the Army before Sebastopol’, *The Times*, (London, 7 Mar 1855), p.7:d; & *The Times*, (London, 21 Apr 1855), p.10:f.

they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made no provision for a winter campaign.”¹⁵⁸

As to the Commissariat, the Committee concluded the “system” gave the Commissariat “no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the army, or of ministering to its wants”, therefore it lacked the necessary experience “to furnish supplies”, whereas the Army “being often ignorant of the proper duties of the Commissariat, consider this department responsible for everything they may require”.¹⁵⁹ The Committee acknowledged, as they had “not been able to examine Commissary-General Filder or Rear-Admiral Boxer”, they could not decide who to blame regarding deficiencies in forage.¹⁶⁰

The Times denounced Roebuck’s Committee, saying “the country has some reason to be disappointed in the manner in which this inquiry has been conducted”. Its style of examination had been “desultory and rambling”. The Committee, therefore, had not taken advantage of the opportunity “for striking a heavy blow at corruption and incompetency”. They succeeded in extracting “from each witness the admission that nobody was to blame, and that the system alone was in fault”, but “who”, asked *The Times*, “made the system”. The Committee would prove to be an “obstacle rather than an assistance to the promotion of a necessary reform”, and would “falsify the teachings of history”.¹⁶¹

Drake’s ambiguous views about Filder continued. He felt, though they “always hit well together”, Filder tended to be “very disagreeable to most juniors”.¹⁶² This gruff manner did not alienate “young” Blackwood,¹⁶³ who supported Filder. Blackwood felt Filder had become a “scapegoat” for the “disasters which befel” the troops, adding:

“Scapegoats were sought in every direction; and the one least worthy of blame was the one who, I fear, received the most. That was our good little Commissary-General, Filder.”¹⁶⁴

General Sir Edward Hamley agreed with Blackwood’s view. He also felt Filder was a scapegoat for “a military system so deficient ... no arrangement of forethought with the scope of human intelligence could have averted the disaster which followed”.¹⁶⁵ Raglan himself blamed “the machinery”, and not the individuals, for the “irregularity in the issue of rations, and of the inadequate supply”. He felt the lack of adequate roads and transport, and

¹⁵⁸ ‘State of the Army before Sebastopol’, *The Times*, (London, 19 Jun 1855), p.6:d.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p.5:f.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.6:b.

¹⁶¹ *The Times*, (London, 16 May 1855), p.9:a-b.

¹⁶² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #47/2 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Feb 1855).

¹⁶³ Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (7 Dec 1855).

¹⁶⁴ Anon., *Some records of the life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B.*, Pop. ed., (London, 1897), p.91.

¹⁶⁵ A.I. Shand, *The life of General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley KCB, KCMG: Vol. 1*, (Edinburgh, 1895), pp.82, 84. [My thanks to Mike Hinton of the Crimean War Research Society for this reference]; In 1860 Lt. Col. Edward Bruce Hamley, Royal Artillery, had served 17 years on full pay. 2nd Lt. 11 Jan 1843, 1st Lt. 15 Sep 1843, Capt. 14 May 1850, Lt.-Col. 2 Nov 1855. He served the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, including the affairs of Bulganac and McKenzie’s Farm, the battles of Alma (horse shot), Balaklava, and Inkerman (horse killed), the siege and fall of Sebastopol, and repulse of the sortie on 26 Oct 1854 (Medal and Clasps, Brevets of Major and Lt. Col., Knight of the Legion of Honor, Sardinian Medal, and 5th Class of the Medjidie); H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.374.

shortage of staff were the cause, rather than the personal failings of Filder and the Commissariat.¹⁶⁶

There definitely were factors out of Filder's control, such as the hurricane, which contributed to the breakdown of supplies. Many, like Blackwood and Hamley, felt Filder was singled out for blame for all that went wrong. They probably did not know Filder as well or work as closely with him as Drake did. Drake, however, was ambitious, and probably had some feeling that the sexagenarian Filder stood in his way of further advancement.

Besides Filder's "disagreeable" nature, Drake again emphasised his indecisiveness. Filder's "present plan" was for Weir to be transferred to Pera and for Turner to "Superintend the Depots of Stores &c." Drake wondered whether this would actually occur, as Filder was "so undecided & Changeable it [was] impossible to say what he may do next week". Drake added:

"He certainly is not the man for this Service nor do I think any one Department better conducted - The Quarter Master Generals is the worst by far ... It seems as if a general apathy had fallen on our leaders & their time frittered away in complaints against the Commissariat wh. are mostly unfounded but by which they hope to avert blame from themselves."¹⁶⁷

The worst example of Filder's "dilatatory & indecisive" behaviour, in Drake's opinion, led to an "immense outlay of money & waste of time ... as regards Shipping". Drake explained it as follows:

"On Monday a Steamer is Sent express & conveys an order & on Tuesday another express Steamer is Sent to countermand the orders Sent by the first this occurs very frequently I have known it twice in one WEEK!"¹⁶⁸

By mid-February Balaklava was still muddy. The railway - "a tram way merely" - was coming along apace and had reached Kadikoi, about 2 miles from Balaklava. Drake felt they could have saved the estimated cost of £125,000 if they had spent "some £10000 in making the road in the outset".¹⁶⁹ The Crimean transport system was being reworked. Col. McMurdo,¹⁷⁰ Director-General of the Land Transport Corps, had arrived in Balaklava and took "charge of all the Transport". Drake was confident McMurdo, "a very zealous and

¹⁶⁶ E.M. Spiers, *The army and society 1815-1914*, p.105.

¹⁶⁷ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #50 - Louisa Drake (London), (23 Feb 1855).

¹⁶⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #53 - Louisa Drake (London), (5 Mar 1855).

¹⁶⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #47/2 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Feb 1855).

¹⁷⁰ Director General Land Transport Corps, Eastern Army, Col. William Montagu Scott McMurdo, Unattached: H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list for 1856*, p.414. In 1860 he was Colonel Commandant of the Military Train, a position he had held since 1 Apr 1857. He had 23 years service. Ens. 1 Jul 1837, Lt. 5 Jan 1841, Capt. 7 Jul 1843, Brev. Maj. 18 Feb 1848, Bt. Lt. Col. 21 Oct 1853, Col. 28 Nov 1854, Maj. 12 Oct 1855. He served as Assistant Quartermaster-General of the Army under Sir Charles Napier during the campaign in Scinde in 1843 (Medal), and was present in the battle of Meeanee, - in which his horse was shot under him - skirmish with the enemy while conducting Major Stack's Brigade from Muttaree to form a junction with Sir Charles Napier's force at Hydrabad; and battle of Hydrabad, where he received a sabre wound in the right breast. He again served as Assist. Quartermaster General to Sir Charles Napier's Army during the campaign against the Mountain and Desert tribes on the right bank of the Indus, early in 1845. Served in the Eastern campaign as Director General Land Transport Corps (Medal and Clasp for Sebastopol, Officer of the Legion of Honor, and 4th Class of the Medjidie): H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list for 1860*, pp.156, 157.

intelligent Officer”, would improve the situation. Filder, though, was in “a regular quandary”, as he felt McMurdo would “interfere very much” and “impair the working & efficiency” of the Commissariat.¹⁷¹

The time was ripe for Drake to suggest to Louisa “to come out”. The weather had improved and “a great change [had] taken place in all things for the better”.¹⁷² Balaklava was being cleaned up, old houses pulled down, “and the materials being used for the Streets”.¹⁷³

Then news of the unexpected death on 7 March 1855 of Nicholas I, Emperor of Russia,¹⁷⁴ reached the Crimea. He had died, many said, of despair at the Russian army’s inability to defeat the enemy.¹⁷⁵ His son and successor, Alexander II, was, however, considered to be more liberal in his views.¹⁷⁶ Drake was convinced Nicholas’ death had to “be of Service to the Allies either as one of a Master Mind has been removed from opposing them or perhaps better still there may be a Peace Spring from it”.¹⁷⁷

Drake reported Filder was now “in hot water with the Authorities at ... Head Quarters”.¹⁷⁸ More rumours of change spread - this time that a commissioner, Sir John McNeill, was “to make enquiry into Commissariat matters”. Drake was “glad of it” and did not “fear any investigation”, although he contended Filder would not like it. Drake thought perhaps an inquiry might “shelve the Sexagenarians” and give him “a lift up the list”.¹⁷⁹ By 9 March Sir John McNeill reached Constantinople.¹⁸⁰ His arrival was imminent, when another bombshell hit the Commissariat Department.

On 19 February, the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston,¹⁸¹ made a speech in Parliament, saying “the difficulties ... were greater than were anticipated”. He defended the Government for not having had a separate land transport corps at the beginning of the war, as it had been a “great inconvenience” that supplies and transport had been combined “under the commissariat”. He contended “the deficiencies arose from the want of arrangements for conveying to the men and to the horses things that were sent for them”.¹⁸² He responded to criticisms that the Army had not been as “successful as it ought to have been”, due to “the great number of gentlemen who are officers in it”, officers who were members of the

¹⁷¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #53 - Louisa Drake (London), (5 Mar 1855).

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #55 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Mar 1855).

¹⁷⁴ Nicholas I (6 Jul 1796 - 2 Mar 1855), Tsar of Russia from 1825: *The Wordsworth dictionary of biography*, (Ware, Herts., 1994), p.317.

¹⁷⁵ A. Palmer, *The banner of battle*, p.185; R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory*, p.172.

¹⁷⁶ J. Barbary, *The Crimean War*, p.81.

¹⁷⁷ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #54 - Louisa Drake (London), (9 Mar 1855).

¹⁷⁸ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #52 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Mar 1855).

¹⁷⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #53 - Louisa Drake (London), (5 Mar 1855).

¹⁸⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #54 - Louisa Drake (London), (9 Mar 1855).

¹⁸¹ Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865), initially a Tory, was in Parliament from 1807. He was secretary-at-war 1809-1828. He broke with the Tories in 1830 and sat in the Whig cabinets of 1830-1834, 1835-41, and 1846-1851 as foreign secretary. He was prime minister 1855-1858 and 1859-1865. He succeeded to an Irish peerage in 1802: *The Wordsworth dictionary of biography*, p.331.

¹⁸² ‘Lord Palmerston’, *The Times*, (London, 20 Feb 1855), p.5.

“aristocracy”. He suggested that, unlike people like Lord Cardigan, who had taken part in “the glorious charge of the cavalry at Balaklava,”¹⁸³ the Commissariat belonged “to neither the Aristocracy or to the Gentry”.¹⁸⁴ He made the following statement:

“I think ... that where your system has broken down - that where evil has arisen from the want of capacity, of energy, of intelligence, or of the accurate and zealous performance of duty - it was not that the gentry, nor the aristocracy, not that the noblemen in the army were in fault, but persons belonging to other classes of the community. It is in the medical department, the commissariat department, and the transport department, which nobody contends are filled with the sons of the aristocracy or the gentry. It is there that your system has broken down - it is there that the service has failed; and this it is that has been the main cause of the suffering of which we are all complaining.”¹⁸⁵

The suggestion that commissaries were not gentlemen, and this was why the system had failed, struck at the core of Drake’s being. He would have considered that he displayed all the necessary qualities of a gentleman - morality, selflessness, courage, self-control, independence and responsibility.¹⁸⁶ He and his fellow commissaries were incensed. Drake fumed:

“I claim to belong to the Gentry of England just as much as any Temple¹⁸⁷ that ever lived & certainly as much so as the offspring of Miss Mee¹⁸⁸ who I should fancy not a very aristocratic personage by birth.”¹⁸⁹

He added it was “just like their usual ignorance on all matters connected with the Commissariat”, and that that lack of understanding would remain until they had a Chief with some influence.¹⁹⁰ Drake called Palmerston’s statement “Scurrilous lies”, adding he would be “delighted to see his ill consorted bankrupt in talent Ministry Kicked out”. He continued:

“After saying we are neither Aristocrats or Gentlemen, the first I deem little honor if it or they lie as he does, he goes on to say we failed for want of ability intelligence Zeal and proper attention to our duties - this is a manifest & palpable lie - nothing less - If we failed it was from the Cursed red tape System of the Aristocrats of Office & their compères & minions here - in not ordering & not making roads & now their gross jobs are so glaring in their desperate attempts to hold on by the loaves & fishes that every body must see them.”¹⁹¹

¹⁸³ *The Times*, (London, 20 Feb 1855), p.4:b.

¹⁸⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #55 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Mar 1855).

¹⁸⁵ ‘Lord Palmerston’, *The Times*, (London, 20 Feb 1855), p.5.

¹⁸⁶ G. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875*, (London, 1971), p.247.

¹⁸⁷ Lord Palmerston’s family name was Temple. See above.

¹⁸⁸ The maiden name of Lord Palmerston’s mother, Mary, was Mee. She was the daughter of a London merchant, Benjamin Mee of Dublin. The meeting between the 2nd Viscount Palmerson and Mary Mee was unorthodox, as Palmerston was carried to the Mee house after falling from his horse in Dublin, and was nursed back to health by the sympathetic Mary. They married in January 1783. Mary was the 2nd Viscount’s second wife, his first wife having died in 1767: D. Judd, *Palmerston*, (London, 1975), pp. 2-3; & K. Bourne, *Palmerston: The early years 1784-1841*, (London, 1982), p. 1.

¹⁸⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #55 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Mar 1855).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #56 - Louisa Drake (London), (16 Mar 1855).

All the commissaries at Balaklava wrote to *The Times*, as did other aggrieved commissaries.¹⁹² They challenged Palmerston, saying:

“If we have not acquitted ourselves to the satisfaction of our superiors, we invite inquiry into our conduct; but ... we are confident that we have at least exerted ourselves to the utmost”.¹⁹³

The Times considered the commissaries were “incontestably right on one point, but ... less so on another”. They were “mistaken ... in having taken so much offence at the observations made about their relative gentility”. Palmerston’s “language” may have “conveyed unavoidably some unpleasant insinuations, but, upon the whole, what he said was unquestionably the truth”. Palmerston had, *The Times* asserted, “stated nothing more than the fact”, however “awkward-looking”, that the commissaries were not aristocrats and did “not belong ... as officers of the fighting branches of the army”. Nobody, however, doubted the commissaries were “just as true ‘gentlemen’ as the rest”. If Palmerston had questioned this, “the assertion would have implied a serious reproach”, but what he had said was “profoundly harmless”. The commissaries had been right, however, to denounce the suggestion “individual officers” were responsible for “the disaster”. The Department had failed, *The Times* said, “because no raids were made, no depôts established, and no proper means of transport provided”. “Confusion” had “pervaded the whole service from one end to the other”. Even if the Commissariat, Medical, and Transport Departments had been “filled with men from the ranks of the aristocratic gentry”, the system would “have broken down as it did”. It was “ungenerous in the extreme” to blame “the faults of a whole system of administration and government “on officers “whose exertions have ... been described as highly meritorious”.¹⁹⁴ Whether this appeased Drake and his colleagues, we do not know.

As a result of the continuing criticisms, the Government established a *Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, headed by Sir John McNeill and Col. Alexander Tulloch.¹⁹⁵ Sir John McNeill had studied medicine at Edinburgh, and had worked as a doctor for the East India Company, and as diplomatist in Persia. In 1845 he was appointed chairman of the supervisory board for the implementation of the Scottish Poor Law Act, a position he held for 33 years. He had conducted a special inquiry into conditions

¹⁹² A Commissariat Officer, ‘Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat’, *The Times*, (London, 3 Apr 1855), p.10:e.

¹⁹³ ‘Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service’, *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c. The letter was signed by D.C.G. G. Adams, D.C.G. W.H. Drake, A.C.G. L. Routh, A.C.G. F.S. Carpenter, A.C.G. W.S. Archer, A.C.G. E.J.M. Mahon [McMahon], A.C.G. M.W. Darling, A.C.G. J.D. Willan, A.C.G. J.P. Lundy, A.C.G. W.T. Power, A.C.G. R. Cumming, D.A.C.G. G.J. Webb, D.A.C.G. H. Bartlett, D.A.C.G. G.S. Blane [Blanc], D.A.C.G. C.B. Smith, D.A.C.G. J.B. Thompson, D.A.C.G. J.H. Sale, D.A.C.G. H.J. Brownrigg, D.A.C.G. J. Murray, D.A.C.G. J. Marsh, D.A.C.G. R. Booth, C.C. A. Clerk, D.A.C.G. J. Bailey, D.A.C.G. J.S. Sutherland, D.A.C.G. A.F. Cookesley, D.A.C.G. F.C. Colquhoun, D.A.C.G. G.R. Primrose, C.C. A.L. Baynes, C.C. W.U. Green, C.C. A. Petrie, C.C. A. Chaplin, C.C. H.C. Lewis, C.C. W.F.G. Servantes, and C.C. J. Manning.

¹⁹⁴ *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.6:b-c.

¹⁹⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #56 - Louisa Drake (London), (16 Mar 1855); & *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*.

during the potato famine in Ireland. He had also written a pamphlet on the importance of the autonomy of Turkey and Persia to England.¹⁹⁶

Col. Alexander Tulloch had been educated as a lawyer, but followed a military career in Burma and India. In India he had questioned the suitability of the rations given to his corps, and ensured they received fresh meat, soft bread, and vegetables, which improved their health. His study of the death rate of soldiers in India led to improvements in their conditions. He also questioned the practice of paying soldiers with depreciated coin.¹⁹⁷ Tulloch was a man who questioned established practice.

McNeill and Tulloch arrived at Scutari on 6 March. There they “examined the Purveyor and Principal Medical Officer”, and found “the sick ... were nearly all suffering from diseases chiefly attributable to diet, and that the food ..., consisting principally of salt meat and biscuit, with a very insufficient proportion of vegetables, was calculated ... to produce those diseases”.¹⁹⁸ They arrived at Balaklava on 12 March, and proceeded with their inquiry the next day, examining the Army, surgical and medical, commissariat, and quartermaster-general’s officers. Notes were made in the presence of the witnesses, which were then sent to them “for correction and signature”. Questionnaires were given to the Commanding Officer and the Surgeon of each corps.¹⁹⁹ Their manner of inquiry was quite basic, and certainly seemed to lack rigour. The officers were asked how long they had been in the Crimea and when they had assumed command of their corps. Other questions related to the rations of food and forage, irregularity in the issue of rations, cooking of food, quality of rations, issue of soft bread, sickness and cause of sickness, issue of fresh meat, issue of soft bread vs. biscuit, issue of vegetables, satisfaction about rations, preference for porter over rum, issue of fuel, issue of warm clothing or blankets, and hutting of the troops.²⁰⁰ Medical officers were asked the same questions, but also about supply of medicines and medical comforts, issue of potatoes, fresh or preserved vegetables, and lime juice, cooking of rations, and whether drunkenness aggravated sickness amongst the men.²⁰¹

Unfortunately, few of Drake’s letters after 16 March 1855 survive, leaving us with short *Journal* entries to follow his thoughts about life in the Crimea. On 30 March he was “examined” by McNeill.²⁰² Drake did not expand on the experience, but his evidence was published in the voluminous Commission report. Drake stated he had “been in charge of the executive duties of the Commissariat since the army arrived in the Crimea” and he had

¹⁹⁶ H.M. Chichester, ‘McNeill, Sir John (1795-1883)’, *The dictionary of national biography: Vol. XII LLWYD-MASON*, pp.693-5.

¹⁹⁷ E. L. Calverley, ‘Tulloch, Sir Alexander Murray (1803-1864)’, *The dictionary of national biography: Vol. XIX STOW-TYTLE*, pp.1233-4.

¹⁹⁸ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, p.5 (p.1 of the Report).

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp.5-6 (pp.1-2 of the Report).

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, pp.62-3 (pp.vi-vii of the Evidence).

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 64 (p.viii of the Evidence).

²⁰² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (30 Mar 1855).

“always been able to supply the requisitions for rations”.²⁰³ While not referring to the hurricane directly, Drake attributed delays to shipping or the weather. But, he said, there had never been “a deficiency of any of the articles included in the regulated ration”.²⁰⁴

After 25 December 1850 the ration was fixed “under all circumstances, to a pound of meat and a pound of bread, or three-quarters of a pound of biscuit, except in the field, when the quantity was to be increased to one pound and a-half of bread, or one pound of biscuit”.²⁰⁵ It has to be remembered the “fixed ration” was not permitted to be changed “except in very special cases” by “the Officer Commanding”.²⁰⁶ Vegetables did “not constitute a part of the soldier's rations” and “therefore, no part of the ordinary duty of the Commissariat”.²⁰⁷ After Drake was ordered to provide fresh vegetables to the troops “about the end of October or beginning of November”, he had “purchased all that he had an opportunity of purchasing”. Some vegetables had arrived “in a dreadful state of putridity”, but that which could be salvaged had been “issued gratuitously”. General orders of 15 November and 27 December respectively, had notified rice was not, and again that it was, part of the ration. Fuel and light had initially not been issued to the troops “by general order”, but after these had been included in the ration in December, the Commissariat had done so.²⁰⁸

Drake mentioned circumstances which had hindered the issue of rations, such as the inability to get to the particular ration stowed on a ship until other stores had been unloaded, or because the wharf was too small. He also mentioned the problems resulting from “a deficiency of transport”.²⁰⁹ As far as forage was concerned, Drake stated there had “never been a deficiency of barley” and there had “always been chopped straw”, but hay had “been deficient”. After the hurricane they had tried “to secure” that which was “floating in and about the harbour”. Much was salvaged, “but for the most part it was found to be unserviceable”. Chopped straw had been an unacceptable substitute for hay. Grain had been available since mid-February.²¹⁰

The evidence of other Commissariat officers was in similar vein. Supplies had been sufficient before the hurricane, but after that there were distinct shortages of forage, which led to transport animals dying, and meant there were insufficient animals left to transport provisions from Balaklava to the front. The situation was exacerbated by the lack of a proper road between Balaklava and the camp. Transport animals and men had great difficulty traversing

²⁰³ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, pp.115-6 (pp.50-1 of the Evidence). Drake's evidence is given in full in Appendix 4.2: Commissions of Inquiry: McNeill and Tulloch's Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pp.115-6 (pp.50-1 of the Evidence).

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p.49 (p.45 of the Report).

²⁰⁶ Treasury, *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*, (London, 1852), p.161.

²⁰⁷ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, p.12 (p.8 of the Report).

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp.115-6 (pp.50-1 of the Evidence).

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, pp.115-6 (pp.50-1 of the Evidence).

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp.115-6 (pp.50-1 of the Evidence).

the steep, muddy terrain,²¹¹ sometimes taking between “24 to 36 hours in reaching their respective divisions”.²¹²

Given Drake’s private criticisms, it seems his evidence was not candid, as he did not volunteer any of his concerns about the Department or Filder. This was as much a function of the Commissioners’ methods - McNeill and Tulloch could have been more probing - as well as Drake’s loyalty to his Department. He had grown up with the Commissariat and it was really all he knew. Given his ambition, he was not about to criticise the organisation in which his future lay.

McNeill and Tulloch’s First Report was published at Constantinople on 10 June, and examined quantities in store, short rations, deficiencies, fresh meat, vegetable food, lime-juice, fresh and preserved vegetables, fresh bread, green coffee, defective cooking, fuel, improper diet, abundance of cattle, importance of fresh meat, supplies of vegetables, responsibility for the diet of the army, substitution of porter for rum, abundance of food in March 1855, baggage horses and mules, land transport, supply of hay, want of forage in the Light Cavalry Brigade, and loss of horses during the winter.²¹³ Mortality among the transport animals had been high - reaching nearly 40 percent.²¹⁴

The Commissioners stated they did “not mean to infer that the Commissary-General, or the other officers ..., have failed to make any exertion of which they were capable to provide ..., according to the measure of their ability and foresight”. There were, however, “serious defects in the arrangements of the Commissariat ... as well as the consequences that have resulted from these defects”. The duties the Commissariat had had to perform were “unusual” in that the Army had “occupied, as it were, a barren island” which supplied “nothing except water and a limited quantity of fire-wood”. They concluded the Commissariat had been short-staffed “for some time”, and that “the tempest of the 14th of November was a great disaster, and the peculiarities of the harbour of Balaklava ... created constant difficulties, especially in landing the vast supplies required for the army”. The inadequacy of “the road from Balaklava to the front ... was unquestionably a most influential cause of many defects in the arrangements”. Had the campaign been of short duration, as was expected, the Commissariat would have had sufficient resources. They then alluded to Filder:

²¹¹ Balaklava was only about 7 miles from the British encampment before Sebastopol: E.R. Wetherall, *The Times*, (London, 19 Feb 1857), p.9:f. There was a steep incline 600 ft. high to the plateau where the camp was positioned: B. Cooke, *The Grand Crimean Central Railway*, p.3.

²¹² ‘Deputy Commissary-General Adams, examined’, in *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, p.132 (p.68 of the Evidence). Some of the evidence given by Commissariat officers can be found in Appendix 4.2: Commissions of Inquiry: McNeill and Tulloch’s Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea.

²¹³ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, pp.25-6 (pp.21-2 of the Report).

²¹⁴ ‘Deputy Commissary-General Adams, examined’, in *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed*, (Constantinople, 1855); & (London, 1856), p.133 (p.69 of the Evidence).

“A man of comprehensive views might probably have risen superior to these disadvantages, and created an organization suited to the circumstance. He would doubtless at once have perceived that the established practice of procuring all supplies by tenders and contracts is not calculated to draw forth the resources of Turkey, or to make them available when required. Finding that his supplies must be drawn from provinces of the resources of which he had little knowledge, and to the inhabitants of which he was unable even to communicate his wants in any language which they could understand, he would probably have turned to good account the knowledge of the country and its resources, possessed by a large and respectable body of public servants, Her Majesty's Consuls, and he would then have found those resources more ample and more easily available than till lately they were believed to be. But it is unreasonable to expect that every man who may rise to the head of so limited a department, even after a long course of meritorious service, is to display, whenever the occasion may demand it, inventive resources and administrative capacity of a very high order.”²¹⁵

This statement was at the crux of Filder's claim his conduct had been 'animadverted' and why he demanded redress before the Board of General Officers the following year.²¹⁶

As for the rest of the Commissariat, McNeill and Tulloch found “the purely executive duties of the department ... to be well performed”, and the commissaries “attached to divisions and brigades” ... “generally intelligent and efficient”, with several of them being “men of considerable capacity”. They had, “with few exceptions”, performed their duties satisfactorily, and some, especially ACG Power, had received “high commendation” from the Generals commanding divisions and brigades.²¹⁷

The Second Report dealt largely with non-Commissariat matters, such as clothing and tents. It did, however, report on the Commissariat accounting system and receipts for rations. The Commissioners concluded, whereas the system had been in place “for some years” and was simple to use, there had been defects “in the practice regarding the receipts for rations issued to the troops”. Full rations of meat, forage, and fuel had not necessarily been issued, even though signed for. Sometimes the “deficiency of transport” had contributed to this. The Commissioners concluded the system was “obviously questionable”. They did not, however, question the integrity of the commissaries, but felt it was, “notwithstanding, desirable that the receipts for rations should always represent the quantity really issued”.²¹⁸ McNeill and Tulloch received belated recognition for their report in 1857 when Tulloch was created a KCB, and McNeill a Privy Councillor.²¹⁹

After giving evidence before McNeill and Tulloch, Drake continued with his duties. His short *Journal* entries about his daily activities tell of the weather, the state of the siege of

²¹⁵ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, pp.25-6 (pp.21-2 of the Report).

²¹⁶ *Report of the Board of General Officers ...*, p.XXXI (p.xxix of the Report). Filder's reply to McNeill and Tulloch's report was published in *The Times*, (London, 17 Mar 1856), p.10:a-e. For a transcript of this, see Appendix 4.3: Commissions of Inquiry: Filder's reply to the McNeill and Tulloch Inquiry.

²¹⁷ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, pp.25-6 (pp.21-2 of the Report). The conclusions relating to the Commissariat can be found in Appendix 4.2: Commissions of Inquiry: McNeill and Tulloch's Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea.

²¹⁸ *Second Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, pp.47-8 (pp.43-4 of the Report).

²¹⁹ E.M. Spiers, *The army and society 1815-1914*, pp.114-5.

Sevastopol, with whom he had dined, when he had written letters and received them. In early May Filder informed Drake he was “to have charge of the Expedition about to start” for Kertch - Drake was to head the Commissariat force.²²⁰ French Commander-in-Chief, Canrobert, had heard a report of strong Russian forces in the area.²²¹ Drake boarded the *Hope* in preparation for the fleet’s departure on 4 May.²²² The next day they were ordered back to Balaklava.²²³ Canrobert had recalled the Expedition “without intimating it to Lord Raglan”.²²⁴ This failed expedition led to Canrobert’s resignation as Commander-in-Chief of the French force on 19 May, and the elevation of General Pélissier to the position.²²⁵

The return to Balaklava gave Drake the opportunity to prepare for the arrival of Louisa and their daughter, Louisa Maria. He had his house “whitewashed & thoroughly cleaned”,²²⁶ and waited. There were “no tidings”²²⁷ until 17 May when Drake was informed they had “come up in the *Ottawa*”.²²⁸

Another expedition to Kertch was organised, with Drake again in charge of Commissariat matters.²²⁹ Louisa and Louisa Maria joined him on board the *Hope*, together with *Times* correspondent Russell, and commissaries Cumming, Booth, Moore, Turner and Thompson,²³⁰ and photographer Roger Fenton.²³¹ The fleet sailed on 23 May, with 7,000 French, 3,000 British, and 5,000 Turks on board.²³² Palmerston said “the capture of Kertch and the occupation of the Sea of Azov [would] greatly cripple the operations of the Russians”, as it would cut Russian supply lines to Sebastopol.²³³ On 30 May Sir George Brown ordered Drake “to buy up the flour at Kertch” and to “try to get off the grain from there”. Drake, however, “could not make out who had taken it”. He later “received some bags & left Mr Thompson at Kertch to get them filled & search for Grain”.²³⁴ Before the fall of Kertch, the Russians destroyed “upwards of 4,000,000 lbs. of corn and 500,000 lbs. of flour”, but Drake managed to get hold of “3 boats of Flour”.²³⁵ On 6 June Drake’s party

²²⁰ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (2 May 1855).

²²¹ J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, p.303.

²²² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (4 May 1855).

²²³ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (5 May 1855).

²²⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (6 May 1855).

²²⁵ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, (London, 1971), p.125.

²²⁶ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (7 May 1855).

²²⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (11 May 1855), (12 May 1855), (15 May 1855), (16 May 1855).

²²⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (17 May 1855). Louisa and Louisa Maria Drake had left Southampton on 20 April 1855: William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (12 Apr 1855).

²²⁹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (21 May 1855); H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.437-438.

²³⁰ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (22 May 1855) & (23 May 1855).

²³¹ A. Palmer, *The banner of battle*, p.195. Neither Russell nor Fenton mentioned the presence of the ladies in their letters from Kertch: A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, pp.197-210; & H. & A. Gernsheim (eds.), *Roger Fenton, Photographer of the Crimean War: His photographs and his letters from the Crimea*, (London, 1954), pp.76-88.

²³² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (23 May 1855); J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, p.306.

²³³ J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, p.232; A.D. Lambert, *The Crimean War: British grand strategy, 1853-56*, (Manchester, 1990), pp.230-4.

²³⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (30 May 1855), (31 May 1855) & (1 Jun 1855).

²³⁵ W.H. Russell, ‘June 4’, in A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, p.210; William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (1 Jun 1855).

ILLUSTRATION 11



Louisa Maria Drake (1836-1876)

(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

landed at Yenikale, where Drake recorded a “tiff” between Sir George Brown and Admiral Stewart regarding setting fire to the remaining grain at Kertch. Eventually they decided the corn should be burnt, but Kertch should be saved. Despite this decision, four days later the fire at Kertch was “still raging”. They returned to Balaklava on 14 June.²³⁶ Russell described “the success of the expedition” as “complete, rapid, and glorious”.²³⁷

The war began in earnest again. In an effort to break the defences around Sebastopol, the allies attacked the Redan and Malakov Forts on 17 June. Drake admitted he was “fidgetty” all night about the attacks. The next day he wrote “the Allies were repulsed with great loss & quite downhearted at their defeat”.²³⁸ The British lost 1,500 men.²³⁹

The Drakes settled down to what domesticity they could find, putting their house “in order”.²⁴⁰ Two weeks after McNeill and Tulloch published their First Report,²⁴¹ Drake reported Filder was ill. The next day he was hospitalised at the old Monastery of St. George.²⁴² Filder was not the only officer who was ill: Raglan had felt the British losses at the Redan deeply,²⁴³ and died on 28 June, after suffering from diarrhoea for some days.²⁴⁴ That night, officers of the Quartermaster-General’s Department approached Drake “about lead for a Coffin for Lord Raglan”.²⁴⁵ Raglan, it seems, had died of dysentery and not cholera.²⁴⁶ On 3 July his body left the Crimea on board the *Caradoc*.²⁴⁷ He was buried at Bristol on 28 July with great ceremony.²⁴⁸ General Sir James Simpson was appointed Commander-in-Chief in his place. He resigned on 11 November, and was succeeded by Sir William Codrington.²⁴⁹

Filder returned to work at Balaklava on 30 June, but was still unwell. Three days later he applied for a “Medical Board”. He was invalided home on board the *Lion* on 26 July.²⁵⁰ Drake met with Simpson and his staff, and they decided Drake should take charge of the Commissariat until Filder’s replacement, Drake’s superior officer from Hobart, Sir George Maclean, arrived.²⁵¹ Drake’s period in charge was short - only from “18 to 31 July”,²⁵² and

²³⁶ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (6 Jun 1855), (8 Jun 1855), (9 Jun 1855), (13 Jun 1855) & (14 Jun 1855).

²³⁷ A. Lambert & S. Badsey, *The Crimean War: The war correspondents*, pp.202, 205.

²³⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (17 Jun 1855) & (18 Jun 1855).

²³⁹ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.126.

²⁴⁰ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (25 Jun 1855), (26 Jun 1855), (28 Jun 1855).

²⁴¹ McNeill and Tulloch published their First Report at Constantinople on 10 June 1855; *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, p.5 (p.1 of the Report).

²⁴² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (24 Jun 1855) & (25 Jun 1855).

²⁴³ J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, p.315.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.318.

²⁴⁵ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (28 Jun 1855).

²⁴⁶ J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, p.322.

²⁴⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (3 Jul 1855); & J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, p.329.

²⁴⁸ J. Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea*, p.332.

²⁴⁹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (4 Jul 1855); R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.141.

²⁵⁰ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (30 Jun 1855), (6 Jul 1855), (10 Jul 1855), (17 Jul 1855), (26 Jul 1855).

²⁵¹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (20 Jul 1855), (21 Jul 1855), (27 Jul 1855), (28 Jul 1855).

²⁵² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (6 Aug 1855).

in line with regulations, Drake held a Board of Survey on the Military Chest to ascertain “the exact quantity and description of Cash”²⁵³ to enable him to transfer it to CG Maclean.²⁵⁴

Preparations commenced for the winter of 1855-1856. Drake made plans to set up winter depots,²⁵⁵ and returning to his former duties, went on a three-day foraging trip “in search of Fuel & Timber, Forage and Cattle”.²⁵⁶ He complained of the heat,²⁵⁷ but was settled in his house with his wife and daughter. They received and paid visits on other ladies, including Mrs. W.H. Russell, wife of *The Times*’ correspondent.²⁵⁸ Horse riding and dinners on board ship and with friends were enjoyed.²⁵⁹

Since the siege had begun, Sebastopol had been bombarded regularly, but since the defeat of the allied forces at the Malakov and Redan, there had been little bellicose activity.²⁶⁰ On 16 August, however, the Russians attacked at the River Tchernaya. They “were repulsed by the French and Sardinians with great loss”.²⁶¹ The next day the allies commenced bombarding Sebastopol again. In September, following “heavy firing” and bombardment over consecutive days,²⁶² the French managed to secure Fort Malakov.²⁶³ Some of Drake’s companions to the Crimea, officers of the 97th Regiment, were killed in the battle at Fort Redan, which the British lost. During the night “the Highland Brigade advanced upon the Redan & found it deserted”, and “took possession”.²⁶⁴ The following night there were “frequent explosions” as the Russians blew up “the public buildings & forts, [and] fired the whole town of Sebastopol & passed over to the North Side”.²⁶⁵ It had been a hard, long fight, leaving the British feeling exhausted and depressed. Henry Clifford wrote he “stood in the Redan more humble, more dejected and with a heavier heart” than he had felt since he had left home.²⁶⁶ Sebastopol fell on 10 September 1855,²⁶⁷ after a siege which began on 17 October 1854.²⁶⁸

Peace seemed close, but decisions had to be made regarding the administration of Sebastopol, to be divided between Britain and France. The *Commission Mixte* was established, consisting

²⁵³ Treasury, *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*, (London, 1852), pp.30-1.

²⁵⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (1 Aug 1855), (31 Jul 1855).

²⁵⁵ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (29 Jul 1855), (30 Jul 1855), (24 Aug 1855), (29 Aug 1855).

²⁵⁶ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (8 Aug 1855), (9 Aug 1855), (10 Aug 1855).

²⁵⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (22 Jul 1855), (23 Jul 1855), (24 Jul 1855), (25 Jul 1855), (28 Jul 1855), (3 Aug 1855), (4 Aug 1855), (5 Aug 1855), (6 Aug 1855), (7 Aug 1855), (10 Aug 1855), (12 Aug 1855), (13 Aug 1855).

²⁵⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (12 Aug 1855), (14 Aug 1855).

²⁵⁹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (7 Jul 1855), (22 Jul 1855), (12 Aug 1855); (27 Jun 1855), (19 Jul 1855), (3 Aug 1855), (5 Aug 1855), (6 Aug 1855).

²⁶⁰ Sebastopol had been bombarded on 17 October, 9 April, 6 and 17 June: R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, pp.147-151.

²⁶¹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (16 Aug 1855); & J. Barbary, *The Crimean War*, p.142.

²⁶² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (2 Sep 1855), (3 Sep 1855), (4 Sep 1855), (6 Sep 1855), (7 Sep 1855).

²⁶³ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (8 Sep 1855); & R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, pp.130-1.

²⁶⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (8 Sep 1855).

²⁶⁵ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (9 Sep 1855), (12 Sep 1855).

²⁶⁶ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.131.

²⁶⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (10 Sep 1855); & A. Palmer, *The banner of battle*, p.221.

²⁶⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (17 Oct 1854).

of General Adolphe Niel (President) and other French officers and officials; Major-General Sir Richard Dacres²⁶⁹ and other British officers, and Henry Drake. This would have pleased Drake, although, surprisingly, he did not comment about it in his *Journal*.²⁷⁰ Other work kept Drake busy. He was sent to Sebastopol by Maclean “about Fuel”, and was appointed “one of a Board to inspect & report on the Wharves of Balaklava under Adml Freemantle”.²⁷¹ On 1 October the *Commission Mixte* signed the *Proces Verbal*, and orders were received for the embarkation of some troops.²⁷² The Drakes, however, took time off to visit the battleground in and around Sebastopol.²⁷³

The war was not yet over, and on 13 October Maclean ordered Drake to lead the Commissariat on an expedition to Eupatoria. They departed on 18 October. Drake embarked on the *Oneida*, which ran aground at Eupatoria the next day.²⁷⁴ It was refloated, and a Court of Enquiry was held “respecting her going aground”.²⁷⁵ This expedition was probably to support the attack on 17 October on the fort at Kinburn to the north of Eupatoria. The Russian fort fell the next day, and was garrisoned by the allies.²⁷⁶ The *Oneida* turned back for Balaklava on 22 October. En route Drake saw the destruction caused by the expedition, with various villages on fire, and saw the remnants of Russian resistance to the allied military domination. Drake arrived back in Balaklava on 26 October.²⁷⁷

Drake spent his time on Commissariat matters - enquiring about the “alleged loss of Coffee”, going to “Head Quarters” to see other officials, and visiting the various divisions and regiments.²⁷⁸ But change was afoot, with Sir William Codrington taking command.²⁷⁹ Other changes which took place were the departure of Quartermaster-General Sir Richard Airey, replaced by Colonel the Honourable P. Herbert, a man in his mid-thirties, who, Drake felt, was a “good Zealous Officer”.²⁸⁰

²⁶⁹ In 1860 Sir Richard Dacres, KCB, Royal Regiment of Artillery, had served 43 years on full pay. 2nd Lieut. 15 Dec 1817, 1st Lieut. 29 Aug 1825, Capt. 18 Dec 1837, Br.-Maj. 11 Nov 1851, Br.-Col. 17 Aug 1855, Maj.-Gen. 29 Jun 1855. Served the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, including the affairs of Bulganac and McKenzie’s Farm, and battles of Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman (horse killed); commanded the Royal Artillery at the repulse of the Russians in the sortie from Sebastopol on the 26th October; succeeded to the command of the Royal Artillery at the siege and fall of Sebastopol after Br.-General Strangways was killed at Inkerman on the 5th Nov. 1854. (Medal and Clasps, KCB, Commander of the Legion of Honor, Commander 1st Class Military Order of Savoy, and 2nd Class of the Medjidie): H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.13, 370, 389.

²⁷⁰ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (14 Sep 1855), (25 Sep 1855), (15 Sep 1855).

²⁷¹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (19 Sep 1855), (20 Sep 1855), (21 Sep 1855).

²⁷² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (1 Oct 1855).

²⁷³ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (17 Sep 1855), (27 Sep 1855).

²⁷⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (13 Oct 1855), (15 Oct 1855), (18 Oct 1855), (19 Oct 1855).

²⁷⁵ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (19 Oct, 1855), (21 Oct 1855).

²⁷⁶ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.142.

²⁷⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (22 Oct 1855), (23 Oct 1855), (24 Oct 1855), (25 Oct 1855), (26 Oct 1855), (28 Oct 1855).

²⁷⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (30 Oct 1855), (31 Oct 1855), (2 Nov 1855), (5 Nov 1855), (3 Nov 1855), (5 Nov 1855).

²⁷⁹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (9 Nov 1855); & William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #116 - John & Maria Drake (London), (10 Nov 1855), William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #117 - John & Maria Drake (London), (13 Nov 1855).

²⁸⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #117 - John & Maria Drake (London), (13 Nov 1855).

Meanwhile further changes were afoot in the Commissariat. In November Drake wrote to his father saying he had seen a note written by “Mr. P. Hughes, N^o. 2 to Petrie,”²⁸¹ which read, in part:

"The Financial part of Comm^t. is to be retransferred to Treasury & they will do the work with Officers under them of their own, selected from the Comm^t. Dep^t. and Ordnance. The rest are to be amalgamated with Ordnance & have charge solely of the Supply Branches & called something, perhaps Commissaries of Ordnance."²⁸²

Trevelyan had at last managed to secure some concession in the transfer of the Commissariat to the War Department.²⁸³ The “banking business” of the Commissariat was eventually returned to the control of the Treasury in 1856.²⁸⁴

On 5 December Drake was “ordered to inspect [Commissariat depots at] Sizopolis & Baltzic”, near Varna in Bulgaria. He arrived on the 8th on board the *Cormorant*, and “inspected the Chest, stables, coal, etc.” and “took a ride round the country and inspected the sheep”.²⁸⁵ Louisa wrote he was instructed to enquire “about the resources of the Country” as “most of our Cattle for the Army comes from there now I think”. The trip took about “30 hours by Steamer” from Balaklava.²⁸⁶ The ship was buffeted by gales and snow, making the trip arduous.²⁸⁷ Drake arrived back in Balaklava on 17 December,²⁸⁸ after “a terrible trip as to weather, blowing, raining and now snow to perfection”, but brought with him “all sorts of good things for Christmas, A splendid Bustard, ... Hares, small birds; and live Ducks; Geese, & Turkeys”.²⁸⁹ The war came to a standstill. It was winter again, and many “old friends” left the Crimea, “creeping home for Christmas if they can”.²⁹⁰ The Drakes stayed on in the Crimea.²⁹¹

At last the promise of peace was in the air. Drake had first mentioned “constant rumours of peace” back in January 1855, and expressed his hearty wish “to see them realized”.²⁹² *The Times* also entered the call for peace, and on 15 January 1855 talked of “the possibility of reopening negotiations for peace”.²⁹³ On 16 December 1855 the Austrian government, after consultation with the British and French, issued an ultimatum to the new Russian Tsar, Alexander II. Their terms were that the Danubian principalities and the River Danube be free,

²⁸¹ Mr. Petrie was a Treasury official in London: William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (17 Jul 1854).

²⁸² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) - John Drake (London), (24 Nov 1855).

²⁸³ Memoranda of Trevelyan and W. Anderson, 13 Oct 1855, W.O. 43/99; *P.P.*, 1860, VII, I, questions 85-97: quoted in O. Anderson, *A liberal state at war*, p.59.

²⁸⁴ O. Anderson, *A liberal state at war*, p.59.

²⁸⁵ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (5 Dec 1855), (8 Dec 1855).

²⁸⁶ Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (7 Dec 1855).

²⁸⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (6 Dec 1855), (12 Dec 1855), (13 Dec 1855), (14 Dec 1855), (15 Dec 1855), (16 Dec 1855), (17 Dec 1855).

²⁸⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (17 Dec 1855).

²⁸⁹ Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (17 Dec 1855).

²⁹⁰ Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (7 Dec 1855).

²⁹¹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (25 Dec 1855).

²⁹² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #37 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Jan 1855).

²⁹³ *The Times*, (London, 15 Jan 1855), p.6:1-2.

that the Black Sea should be neutral, and that the rights of the Christian subjects of Turkey should be guaranteed.²⁹⁴ These terms were accepted on 16 January 1856.²⁹⁵ The Russians made a last attempt to reclaim Sebastopol on 29 January.²⁹⁶ Louisa wrote, “of course they were obliged to return”. The allies then blew up the docks, barracks and forts at Sebastopol, which, Louisa felt, would make Sebastopol “a wretched place” when the Russians returned.²⁹⁷ Those in the Crimea waited anxiously for more news.²⁹⁸

On 25 February the Paris Peace Conference opened.²⁹⁹ In March Louisa expected “to hear some more certain news”, saying they had to “try and be patient”, but they would be sadly disappointed if the War continued.³⁰⁰ She did not have long to wait, as the Treaty of Paris was signed on 30 March.³⁰¹ The news took a while to reach the Crimea - on 2 April Drake joyfully exclaimed “PEACE!!! proclaimed”.³⁰² The Treaty was eventually ratified on 27 April, formally signalling the end of the war.³⁰³

In total, more than 111,000 British soldiers served in the Crimea. From the disembarkation in the Crimea to September 1855, their losses were as follows:

	Officers	Men
Killed in action	158	1,775
Died of wounds	51	1,548
Deaths from cholera (up to the end of 1855)	35	4,244
Deaths from other diseases	26	11,451

A further 322 men died from wounds or disease in the beginning of 1856. Lord Panmure, Secretary of State for War, stated 19,584 deaths had occurred, of which fewer than 10 percent were caused by military action. The French losses were greater, with 10,240 killed in action, and about 70,000 deaths from wounds or disease.³⁰⁴

Many men had died because of administrative failures, particularly during the first winter of 1854-55. The situation improved during the winter of 1855-56. Sergeant Timothy Gowing wrote “although the second winter was far colder than the first, we had the means to resist the cold”.³⁰⁵ The French system, however, collapsed. Lt. Temple Godman told of French soldiers now going to the British camps “to buy, beg, and steal the rats our men kill in order to eat them”.³⁰⁶ They had been badly affected by typhus and cholera, and, while those who

²⁹⁴ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.144.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (1 Feb 1856).

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.151.

³⁰⁰ Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (17 Mar 1856).

³⁰¹ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.151.

³⁰² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (2 Apr 1856).

³⁰³ R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.151.

³⁰⁴ A. Palmer, *The banner of battle*, p.244.

³⁰⁵ T. Gowing, *Voice from the ranks*, p.152.

³⁰⁶ R.T. Godman, *The fields of war*, p.196.

ILLUSTRATION 12



William Henry Drake (1812-1882) (c1856)²
(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

² The photograph was probably taken shortly after Drake's return to London in August 1856. On the extreme right is his medal signifying his appointment as Companion of the Bath, which honour he received in February 1856. Next to that is his Crimean medal, with clasps for service in Balaklava, Sebastopol, and Inkerman.

had returned to Paris were celebrated, those remaining in the Crimea had become “the forgotten army”.³⁰⁷

Drake was rewarded for his hard work. He was appointed an “Ordinary Member of the Military Division of the Third Class” of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath (CB).³⁰⁸ This pleased Drake greatly, “as well for [his] own Self ... as for the recognition of the Department”.³⁰⁹ Drake was decorated on 19 June with his “Cross as C.B. by Sir W. Codrington”.³¹⁰ Drake was pleased he “got it before leaving the East” and said Codrington had made him “a very handsome say on the occasion. He [Codrington] wished it had been the K.C.B.”, and added he hoped Drake would still “obtain that”.³¹¹ As well as this honour, Drake received the French Chevalier Cross of a Knight of the Legion of Honor. Drake said he was “the first selected & approved for it” in the Commissariat Department.³¹² He was also appointed an Officer of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus (Sardinian award), and received the Turkish medal, 4th Class of the Medjidie, as well as the Crimean War Medal, with Clasps for Balaklava, Inkerman, and Sebastopol.³¹³

Apart from these decorations, his career path took a turn for the better. On 22 March the incumbent CG, Sir George Maclean, returned to England due to ill health.³¹⁴ Drake was directed by “the commdr. of the Forces ... to act [as CG] until orders from England for the permanent arrangement of the Dept.” arrived.³¹⁵ This arrangement only stayed in place until DCG George Adams arrived at Balaklava on 23 April to take over from Sir George Maclean.³¹⁶ Drake had also criticised Adams when he was at Balaklava earlier in the war.³¹⁷ Maybe Drake also thought Adams too old for the position. Adams was about 14 years older than Drake, and therefore stood in his way of promotion as well.³¹⁸

The war was now effectively over. Celebrations took place, including races, balls, theatrical performances, and military reviews.³¹⁹ The first troops embarked from the Crimea in May,³²⁰

³⁰⁷ A. Palmer, *The banner of battle*, p.234; S.J.G. Calthorpe, *Cadogan's Crimea*, pp.266-7.

³⁰⁸ ‘The New Order of Merit, War Department, Feb. 5’, in *The Times*, (London, 6 Feb 1856), p.7:d-e.

³⁰⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #142 - John & Maria Drake (London), (23 Feb 1856).

³¹⁰ Gen. Sir William Codrington took over as Commander in Chief on 11 Nov 1855. He succeeded Lt.-Gen. Sir James Simpson: R.L.V. French Blake, *The Crimean War*, p.141.

³¹¹ William Henry Drake (Pera) #168 - John & Maria Drake (London), (23 Jun 1856).

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.437-438.

³¹⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (22 Mar 1856).

³¹⁵ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (18 Mar 1856).

³¹⁶ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (23 Apr 1856).

³¹⁷ William Henry Drake (Varna) #3 - Louisa Drake (London), (19 Aug 1854); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #24 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Nov 1854).

³¹⁸ George Adams was appointed a DACG on 19 Jul 1821, whereas Drake was appointed on 16 Apr 1835. It is therefore possible that Adams was at least 14 years older than Drake: H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list for 1856*, p.384.

³¹⁹ Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (24 Mar 1856); William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (19 Mar 1856, 1 Apr 1856, 10 Apr 1856, 17 Apr 1856); D.A. Reid, *Soldier-surgeon: The Crimean War letters of Dr. Douglas A. Reid 1855-1856*, J.O. Baylen & A. Conway (eds.), (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1968), p.134, 135-6, 139; M. Seacole, *Wonderful adventures of Mrs Seacole in many lands*, 2nd ed., Z. Alexander & A. Dewjee (eds.), (Bristol, 1984), p.216; ‘Theatricals in the Crimea’, *Colburn's United Service Magazine, and Naval and Military Journal, Pt. II*, 1856, pp.78-82.

³²⁰ *Soldier-surgeon: The Crimean War letters of Dr. Douglas A. Reid 1855-1856*, p.243.

but Drake and his family had to wait, departing for Constantinople on 19 June from Kertch, where Drake had been sent to close down the Commissariat.³²¹ They stayed at Constantinople for about three weeks, then travelled to Paris, arriving home in London on 9 August 1856.³²² Drake had not seen his younger daughters, Charlotte (18) and Laura (13), since he left Halifax in April 1854.³²³ Louisa had last seen them in April 1855.³²⁴ She had missed them, and commented wistfully that Laura, “the little pet”, would have grown when she saw her again.³²⁵ Life was returning to normal.

³²¹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (19 Jun 1856).

³²² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (29 Jul 1856 - 9 Aug 1856).

³²³ William Henry Drake (Off Ireland) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (7 Apr 1854).

³²⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (12 Apr 1855).

³²⁵ Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (18 Jan 1856).

Chapter 4

After the War

The cost of the Crimean war was great, about 20,000 men did not return.¹ Britain was left with a new debt of “only” £40,440,000.² For some, the emotional cost was high. Both the Duke of Cambridge, commander of the Brigade of Guards, and Florence Nightingale may have suffered from what is now known as “post-traumatic stress syndrome”.³ This does not seem to have applied to Drake. He settled down to the normality for which he had long desired.⁴ He went on half pay, and took up residence at 21 Regents Park Terrace.⁵ He reported to the War Department, and joined the Junior United Services Club,⁶ as well as the Athenaeum, Burlington, and Colonial Clubs.⁷ A year after their return to London, Henry and Louisa Drake celebrated the marriage of their second eldest daughter, Charlotte, to Charles Henry Marshall, a pastoralist from the Darling Downs, Queensland.⁸ They also heard their son, John, now resident in Sydney, New South Wales, was marrying Matilda Elizabeth Ormiston.⁹

Before Drake’s return to London, complaints were made by several officers, Lt.-Gen. Lord Lucan, Maj.-Gen. Lord Cardigan, Maj.-Gen. Sir Richard Airey (Quartermaster-General), Col. the Hon. Alexander Gordon (Deputy Quartermaster-General), and CG William Filder, that Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch had wrongly criticised their conduct in the Crimea. They wanted redress. Drake arrived back in London too late to give evidence before the Board of General Officers (presided over by General Sir Alexander Woodford) which inquired into McNeill and Tulloch’s statements.¹⁰ The Board sat from 3 April 1856 and reported on its proceedings in Chelsea on 4 July 1856, before Drake’s return.

¹ A. Palmer, *The banner of battle: The story of the Crimean War*, (London, 1987), p.244.

² ‘Cost of the war’, *The Times*, (London, 20 May 1856), p.5:c.

³ R.B. Edgerton, *Death or glory: The legacy of the Crimean War*, (Boulder, Colorado, 1999), pp.242-3; J. McDonald, *Florence Nightingale: Timeline, Part 2: 1850-1910*, <http://www.countryjoe.com/nightingale/history.htm>, Accessed 1 December 1998.

⁴ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #45 - Louisa Drake (London), (5 Feb 1855).

⁵ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (19 Aug 1856).

⁶ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (11 Aug 1856).

⁷ R.H. Muir (ed.), *Debrett’s Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage*, (London, 1882). [My thanks to Michael Hargreave Mawson of the Crimean War Research Society for this information.]

⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (23 Sep 1857); Charles Henry Marshall (1818-1874): [Family documents.]; H.J. Gibbney & A.G. Smith (comp.), *A biographical register 1788-1939: Notes from the name index of the Australian Dictionary of Biography: Vol. II L-Z*, (Canberra, 1987), p.83.

⁹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (3 Aug 1857), (19 Nov 1857); Louisa Maria Drake (Overton) - Charlotte Augusta Dring Drake (London), (18 Aug 1857); Certified copy of the Marriage Certificate of John Drake & Matilda Elizabeth Ormiston, dated 13 Aug 1857, Sydney.

¹⁰ *Report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and the evidence taken by them relative thereto, animadverting upon the conduct of certain officers on the General Staff, and others in the Army; together with the minutes of evidence taken by the Board, and an appendix*, (London, 1856), p.XXXII (p.xxx of the Report). [Monash University, Microcard #5, Vol. 21.]

ILLUSTRATION 13



Charlotte Augusta Dring Drake (1838-c1922)
(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

One of the officers whose actions were enquired into was Filder, particularly relating to his role in the supply of vegetables, lime juice, fresh bread, tea, green coffee and rice,¹¹ as well as fuel, land transport and hay.¹² McNeill and Tulloch had alluded to Filder in their report, saying “a man of comprehensive views might ... have risen” above the difficulties in the Crimea.¹³ Filder “objected to the tone and spirit of the whole Report [of McNeill and Tulloch], as well as to the more precise charges contained in it, and contended it was not justified by the actual facts”, and “complained that no inquiries were made of himself ... or of his officers when examined, which could have shown them where the Commissioners thought there had been neglect or omission, or could have given them an opportunity of clearing up any misapprehension which might exist in the minds of the Commissioners”. He also felt the Commissioners “had not taken into account the particular difficulties of his position; and that their Report ... was a misrepresentation in many parts, and exaggeration in others”.¹⁴

In their “Chelsea Report”,¹⁵ the Board of General Officers exonerated Filder and the Commissariat (as well as the other officers inquired into) from all blame for the disasters relating to supply. They concluded Filder had faced various difficulties, namely, the “barren” nature of the Crimea, lack of sufficient staff, the destruction caused by the hurricane of 14 November, the inadequacy of Balaklava as a harbour, and the lack of a proper road between Balaklava and the front. They found it hard to believe “that any man of even the highest inventive resources and administrative capacity, could have effectually provided beforehand for daily and ever-increasing demands” which were “beyond the limits of all previous commissariat administration”, and which could not be foreseen. Another problem was that the decision for the army to winter in the Crimea was made at such a late stage, “only a very few days before the weather broke”. Filder’s conduct, they added, was not “justly liable to the unfavourable animadversion” in McNeill and Tulloch’s report, and was not “justly responsible, as regards the supplies, for the unsatisfactory state of Your Majesty’s army in the Crimea during the winter of 1854-5”.¹⁶

Yet, as shown before, Drake had foreseen many of the difficulties that occurred. In July 1854 he had suggested the Commissariat had “no System”;¹⁷ in August, complained many commissaries were “totally unfit for the Dept. in time of War”;¹⁸ and, in October, that some

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.XXIII (p.xxi of the Report).

¹² *Ibid*, p.XXVIII (p.xxvi of the Report).

¹³ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, pp.25-6 (pp.21-2 of the Report). McNeill and Tulloch’s report is covered in more detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁴ *Report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch*, p.XXII (p.xx of the Report). Filder’s reply to McNeill and Tulloch’s report was published in *The Times*, (London, 17 Mar 1856), p.10:a-e. For a transcript of this, see Appendix 4.3: Commissions of Inquiry: Filder’s reply to the McNeill and Tulloch Inquiry.

¹⁵ ‘Col. Tulloch’s Review of the “Chelsea Report”’, *The Times* (London, 3 Feb 1857, p.6; 6 Feb 1857, p.10; 18 Feb 1857, p.7).

¹⁶ *Report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch*, pp.XXX-XXXI (pp.xxiii-xxix of the Report).

¹⁷ William Henry Drake (Constantinople) - Louisa Drake (London), (28 Jul 1854).

¹⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (11 Aug 1854).

ran “too much to detail and minute points of form” instead of concentrating on “the proper Supply of the Army”.¹⁹ He had suggested Filder was “too old & too feeble for this duty & service”.²⁰ In August 1854 he had already recognised that transport was “the main difficulty”, as proved to be the case during the bleak winter of 1854-55²¹ Even before the hurricane of 14 November 1854, he felt Raglan’s decision to winter in the Crimea was made too late, and the British would “lose more men by exposure” than they would “by Storming the City [of Sebastopol]”.²² It is, however, doubtful whether Drake would have told Commissioners McNeill and Tulloch about his criticisms of Filder and the Commissariat even if asked. In private, however, he certainly thought so.

Trevor Royle views Woodford’s board of inquiry as both “time-consuming” and “farcical”. McNeill refused to attend, and Tulloch eventually withdrew from it due to illness.²³ This opinion was clearly shared by many as this inquiry also became known as the “White Washing Board”.²⁴

Filder did not appear to believe he had been adequately exonerated. Before the Board reported, he wrote a letter to *The Times*, questioning their reporting of the Proceedings and his evidence regarding the quantity of hay sent out to the Crimea.²⁵ In February 1857 Tulloch published a review of the “Chelsea Report”.²⁶ He was scathing in his criticism of their conclusions reached, and questioned the ability of the members of the Board. He felt they lacked his and McNeill’s experience, relating to “the mode of making up the Commissariat accounts”,²⁷ and that they lacked first-hand knowledge of what actually went on in the Crimea, as “not one of the seven Members composing the Board had ever been in the Crimea”.²⁸ Tulloch did not spare Filder or what he perceived as his lack of ability to do his job properly. He wrote:

“It is somewhat remarkable that Mr. Filder should have been accessory to the suffering of the army from scorbutic affections in no less than three different ways:-
1st. By the absence of a proper supply of fresh meat.
2nd. By the absence of vegetables.
3rd. By not duly reporting to Dr. Hall himself, or to Lord Raglan, the arrival of the lime-juice from England.”²⁹

He questioned whether Filder had actually fulfilled his “duty to furnish the ration according to the order of the General Commanding”, which, according to the Board, was the “only” duty Filder had. He felt Filder had had a higher duty “to keep the General Commanding

¹⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #14 - Louisa Drake (London), (8 Oct 1854).

²⁰ William Henry Drake (Balcik Bay) #7 - Louisa Drake (London), (6 Sep 1854).

²¹ William Henry Drake (Varna) #1 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

²² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #21 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Nov 1854).

²³ T. Royle, *Crimea: The great Crimean War 1854-1856*, (London, 1999), p.504.

²⁴ C. Woodham-Smith, *The reason why*, (Bungay, Suffolk, 1953), p.276.

²⁵ W. Filder, [Letter], *The Times*, (London, 20 May 1856), p.12:c.

²⁶ A. Tulloch, *The Crimean commission and the Chelsea Board: being a review of the proceedings and report of the board*, (London, 1857).

²⁷ *Ibid*, p.104.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.v.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.128.

informed of the supplies, of every description, in his possession which could be rendered available for the use of the army, and to call his attention to the expediency, from time to time, of making such changes as they admitted”.³⁰ His reasons for demanding more from Filder were as follows:

“Mr. Filder was a highly-paid official, holding one of the most responsible appointments with the army. He was highly paid - not to do merely what he was ordered, but in the expectation that, when difficulties arose, he would show himself equal to the emergency, by departing from the usual course, and exercising that discretion and intelligence which the public has a right to expect from a person holding so distinguished a position.”³¹

He thought Filder had lacked foresight by not transporting cattle for fresh meat. He felt Filder had known “so early as October” that the army would winter in the Crimea, but he had not organised sufficient warm clothing or shelter. He had also not transported sufficient baggage animals. Green coffee was issued to the troops “for nearly three months”, despite Filder being aware that the troops had “not the means of preparing it”. For several months he did not supply fresh bread, despite having ovens in Balaklava “in which fresh bread was baked during the greater part of the winter, and which was purchased daily by himself and other officers for their own use”. He had “failed to provide any adequate supply” of vegetables, and “prevented any use being made” of lime juice, even though he knew these were “the best of all known specifics to arrest the progress of the scurvy prevalent in camp”. Tulloch argued “all these arrangements required - not the ‘highest inventive resources and administrative capacity,’ but the ordinary exercise of common reason”. He felt the conclusions of the Board were incorrect, because “it was ultimately found practicable to bring to the Crimea all that was required for the subsistence of our own, as well as the Sardinian army”, a number three times larger than the size of the British army in the Crimea during the winter of 1854-55.³²

Drake’s papers suggest that Tulloch’s claim that Filder knew “so early as October, that the army must winter in the Crimea” was incorrect. The decision to winter in the Crimea obviously came as a surprise to Drake. In August 1854 he was discussing wintering at Pericop.³³ Later that month Odessa was the likely destination.³⁴ In late October and early November all he said was they were “likely to winter Somewhere in these parts”.³⁵ He stated Raglan only made the decision to winter in the Crimea in the middle of November 1854; and that that belated decision was one of the major contributing factors to “the whole of the

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.110.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.134.

³² *Ibid*, pp.146-8.

³³ William Henry Drake (Varna) #1 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854). Perekop, now Krasnoperekopsk, is on the western side of the isthmus connecting the Crimean peninsula to the mainland, 45.57N 33.47E.

³⁴ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

³⁵ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #17 - Louisa Drake (London), (22 Oct 1854); & William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #20 - Louisa Drake (London), (7 Nov 1854).

Misery of the Army”,³⁶ as even after Raglan had “thought of it he did not communicate with the Comm^y. General to procure supplies of every thing necessary for Winter”.³⁷

Drake also cast doubt on Tulloch’s claim that the Commissariat could have dealt with an extra “2,000 baggage animals” in Balaklava. He wrote an anonymous letter, signed “Commissary”, to *The Times* defending the Commissariat.³⁸ It is clear Drake wrote this letter, as on 24 January 1857 (the same date given for the letter published in *The Times*) he noted in his *Journal* that he had written a “letter to [the] Times”. “Commissary” “set right” James Fergusson, who had written a letter regarding “Transport in the Crimea”. Fergusson had suggested all baggage animals should have been “stabled and picketed at Balaklava”, instead of trudging from the camp to collect supplies at Balaklava. He argued the horses “would not have had the extra labour of carrying their forage to the front”, nor “been exposed” to the extreme weather, being “sheltered by the cliff which overhangs the town”. The horses would have been “fresh for their day’s work, and arrived in camp in daylight”, allowing “the much-required articles they carried” to be distributed “the same day”. Instead, “the unfortunate animals ... struggled ... through the deep and tenacious clay to Balaklava, hustled, and fought, and waited on the crowded wharf for hours, till, as the ... day was ending, they set out on their weary journey home”.³⁹

“Commissary’s” letter countered, “Balaklava was a small village, affording only limited space for picketing horses, and that objections were strongly urged against keeping a large number there on sanitary grounds”.⁴⁰ It also showed bitterness about the position in which Commissariat officers found themselves after the war, saying:

“how can the intelligence of the Commissariat be expected to remain at all times equal to all emergencies (for it is to this department that every duty, not purely military or medical, is in time of war assigned), when we see those officers who were promoted for their zeal and exertions in the Crimea⁴¹ now rusting on half pay,⁴² with small prospect of active employment? ... No department requires a more careful training than the Commissariat, none needs a more thorough revision, and none is at this moment more dispirited and dejected.”⁴³

“Commissary” did not comment on any other aspects relating to the Commissariat in the Crimea.

Filder objected strongly to his conduct being questioned again by Tulloch, and hoped the public would be good enough to “suspend the judgment on the statements of Colonel

³⁶ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #44 - Louisa Drake (London), (1 Feb 1855).

³⁷ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #21 - Louisa Drake (London), (13 Nov 1854).

³⁸ ‘Commissary’, *The Times*, (London, 26 Feb 1857), p.10:d.

³⁹ J. Fergusson, ‘Transport in the Crimea’; *The Times*, (London, 23 Feb 1857), p.12:b.

⁴⁰ ‘Commissary’, *The Times*, (London, 26 Feb 1857), p.10:d.

⁴¹ Drake had been promoted to Deputy Commissary-General on 1 Jan 1855.

⁴² At the time Drake was on half pay. In a C.V. prepared by Brig. A.C.F Jackson for Drake, he states that Drake was “on half pay about a year” from 8 Aug 1856.

⁴³ ‘Commissary’, *The Times*, (London, 26 Feb 1857), p.10:d.

Tulloch”.⁴⁴ By March 1857 Filder was ill, and his “medical attendant” prevented him from writing to *The Times*.⁴⁵

The Commissariat still faced criticism. Tulloch’s fellow commissioner, McNeill, added his voice in 1860. When asked by the Select Committee on Military Organization, whether “the defects, or rather the miscarriages which occurred in the Crimea, were very much to be traced to [the Commissariat] department”, his reply was unequivocal. He said, “Undoubtedly”.⁴⁶

Filder and his family, however, remained silent until 1863, when J.M. Filder (possibly Filder’s son) wrote a letter to *The Times* questioning A.W. Kinglake’s portrayal of William Filder, now “deceased”, in his opus, *The invasion of the Crimea*.⁴⁷ J.M. Filder said Kinglake seemed “to have no knowledge of the evidence, given before the Chelsea Board”, and that William Filder’s name was being impugned.⁴⁸ Later, in 1867, eleven years after the end of the Crimean War, J.M. Filder was still trying to clear William Filder’s name. *The Times* published an exchange of letters between J.M. Filder and Viscount Hardinge. J.M. Filder questioned whether Hardinge had said in the House of Lords that William Filder had “hampered” the movements of Raglan during the Crimean War. Hardinge’s friendly and reassuring reply read:

“My remarks were simply intended to show that a system under which the General commanding in the field was unable to take advantage of a decisive victory was defective, and for which the head of the Commissariat Department was not responsible.”

J.M. Filder seemed relieved that Hardinge had concluded that it was “the system, and ... the system only” which had been at fault, even though what Hardinge had said previously “conveyed an imputation on a man who sacrificed his life in the performance of his duty - a duty which he had unwillingly undertaken, and that entirely at the earnest solicitation of the Government.”⁴⁹

Interestingly enough, no obituary for William Filder has been found, either in *The Times* or elsewhere, and despite the major role he played in the Crimean War, no biography on him was published in the *Dictionary of National Biography*,⁵⁰ or in *British and Irish biographies 1840-1940*.⁵¹ He seemed to have disappeared from public view.

⁴⁴ W. Filder, *The Times*, (London, 2 Feb 1857), p.5:d.

⁴⁵ W. Filder, *The Times*, (London, 14 Mar 1857), p.5:f.

⁴⁶ *Reports from the select committee on military organization, together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix*, (London, 1860), p.225.

⁴⁷ A.W. Kinglake, *The invasion of the Crimea: Its origin, and an account of its progress down to the death of Lord Raglan*, 6th ed., Vols. 1-4, (Edinburgh, 1877); Vols. 7, 8, (Edinburgh, 1883); Vol. 9, (Edinburgh, 1892).

⁴⁸ J.M. Filder, ‘The late Commissary-General Filder and General Airey’, *The Times*, (London, 25 Feb 1863), p.9:f.

⁴⁹ J.M. Filder & Viscount Hardinge, ‘The Commissariat’, *The Times*, (London, 8 Jul 1867), p.11:a.

⁵⁰ *The dictionary of national biography*, Sir Leslie Stephen & Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), (London, since 1917).

⁵¹ *British and Irish biographies 1840-1940* [microfilm]: index, (Cambridge, 1990-).

Olive Anderson has asserted that the Crimean War “ruined the reputation of many men, and made the reputation of none”.⁵² The former is definitely true of William Filder. Contrary to Anderson’s view, the careers of other Commissariat officers, like Drake, were enhanced by the war. By 1864 William Power, the only Commissariat officer mentioned favourably by McNeill and Tulloch,⁵³ was CG-in-Chief. He had also been knighted. Power’s advancement in the Commissariat was rapid. At the commencement of hostilities in the Crimea his rank was that of DACG. He was promoted to ACG on 1 January 1855, to DCG on 1 August 1856, to CG on 1 April 1863, and to CG-in-Chief on 1 January 1864.⁵⁴ This rapid rise in rank was despite prevailing regulations relating to promotions in the Commissariat, which stated an ACG should serve five years at that rank before becoming eligible for promotion, and a DCG, three years before promotion to CG.⁵⁵ In 1860 then CG-in-Chief J.W Smith stated that promotions in the Commissariat were “regulated as far as possible by seniority”. Sometimes exceptional circumstances prevailed which could alter this rule. Smith added:

“in some cases, when the nature of the service requires it, we should promote an officer specifically; but the general rule is, that it should be done by seniority, if there is nothing against the party who is first for promotion, and he is otherwise fit in every respect for higher rank”.⁵⁶

Power’s second-in-command in 1868 was CG Drake, followed by F.B Archer, and H.S Jones. The DCGs were Morse, Leonce and Randolph Routh, Carpenter, Maturin, Horne, Strickland, Lardner, Watt, Palmer, Goldie, De Fonblanque, Gardiner, Lundy and Uniacke. Of this group only Maturin, Randolph Routh, Horne, Lardner, Palmer and Goldie were not veterans of the Crimean War. Drake had been friendly with many of them (as indicated by the number of times he mentioned them in either his letters or his *Journal*), particularly with Archer, Morse, Leonce Routh, Carpenter, Strickland, Watt, De Fonblanque, Gardiner, Lundy and Uniacke. They had heeded Drake’s catch-cry of “Chacun pour Soi,” and like him, had “got all” they could “from the War”.⁵⁷

Drake, therefore, was one of the more efficient Commissariat officers, and was much praised by his contemporaries. These views assisted him in his later distinguished career. He also enjoyed a good relationship with Russell of *The Times*, even after the war.⁵⁸ Russell, a major

⁵² O. Anderson, *A liberal state at war: English politics and economics during the Crimean War*, (London, 1967), p.37.

⁵³ McNeill and Tulloch had written: “The officers attached to divisions and brigades are generally intelligent and efficient; several of them are men of considerable capacity. The Generals commanding divisions and brigades, with few exceptions, expressed their satisfaction with the exertions and services of those officers, and used terms of high commendation in speaking of some of them, especially of Mr. Power, attached to the Second Division, who was absent on duty, and whom we therefore did not see”: *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed*, (Constantinople, 1855); & (London, 1856), p.26 (p.22 of the Report). [Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch.] [Monash Microcard #5, Vol. 20.

⁵⁴ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1868*, (London, 1868), p.419.

⁵⁵ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1856*, (London, 1856), p.386.

⁵⁶ *Reports from the select committee on military organization, together with the proceedings of the committee, minutes of evidence, and appendix*, (London, 1860), p.222.

⁵⁷ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #45 - Louisa Drake (London), (5 Feb 1855).

⁵⁸ William Henry Drake *Journal*, (26 Aug 1854), (19 Jan 1855), (4 May 1855), (23 May 1855), (12 Aug 1855), (14 Aug 1855), (20 Aug 1855), (7 Sep 1855), (10 Apr 1856), (7 Jul 1856), (9 Jul 1856), (26 Sep

critic of the Commissariat, presumably would not have kept up this friendship if he had felt Drake had in any way shirked his duty.

In April 1858 Drake was posted to Gibraltar,⁵⁹ replacing DCG Dinwiddie. The family remained there until Drake's promotion to CG on 21 June 1859, after which they were transferred to the Cape of Good Hope, arriving in Grahamstown at the end of October 1859. Louisa was not too pleased at leaving London. In the 1860s she felt she had "lived so long in uncivilised places".⁶⁰ By this time her health was deteriorating. Between September 1855 and 1857 Drake commented periodically on her ill-health.⁶¹ It was, however, after his posting to Gibraltar, that her condition gradually deteriorated. In February 1859 she was "very ill".⁶² By 16 October 1862 her condition was critical. While on a regional tour of inspection, Drake was recalled home to Selwyn Castle in Grahamstown,⁶³ where his "dear wife" died on 20 October.⁶⁴ His letter to Louisa Maria, in London visiting family and friends, said she had been "in a very unsatisfactory state" since February, and had been "very weak, but without any particular pain".⁶⁵ What Louisa's illness was, is unknown. She said "the Doctor ... thinks [it] proceeds from the Stomach".⁶⁶ Drake said he "was led to believe that nothing was amiss with her, beyond the Ordinary maladies incident to her time of life", and that "she herself was of this opinion".⁶⁷

Drake's grief at Louisa's death was obviously sincerely felt. He wrote to Louisa Maria, for forwarding also to Charlotte, saying "any recurrence to this Sad event is of necessity most harrowing to me". Everything "was done that could be, but it was God's Will to take her". Drake was thankful that she "was free from the torture of pain" and that he was there "to close her eyes".⁶⁸ He bore his grief with great fortitude, and expected the same from his children.⁶⁹

1856), (30 Oct 1856), (29 Dec 1856), (30 Dec 1856), (31 Dec 1856), (1 Jan 1857), (8 Feb 1857), (13 Feb 1857), (16 Feb 1857), (24 Feb 1857), (26 Apr 1857), (2 May 1857), (14 May 1857), (15 May 1857), (16 May 1857), (15 Jan 1858); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #12 - Louisa Drake (London), (27 Sep 1854); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #43 - Louisa Drake (London), (29 Jan 1855); Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London) (7 Dec 1855), (17 Dec 1855), (18 Jan 1856), (17 Mar 1856); William Henry Drake (Pera) #172 - John & Maria Drake (London) (7 Jul 1856).

⁵⁹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (26 Apr 1858).

⁶⁰ Louisa Drake (Graham's Town) - Charlotte Augusta Dring Marshall (Queensland?), (13 Aug 1862).

⁶¹ William Henry Drake *Journal*, (16 Sep 1855), (6 Jun 1856), (10 Mar 1857), (12 Mar 1857), (14 Mar 1857), (15 Mar 1857), (2 Jun 1857), (9 Jan 1858).

⁶² William Henry Drake *Journal*, (2 Feb 1859).

⁶³ Robert Stanes (Graham's Town) - William Henry Drake (on tour), (16 Oct 1862), (17 Oct 1862).

⁶⁴ William Henry Drake *Journal*, (20 Oct 1862).

⁶⁵ William Henry Drake (Graham's Town) - Louisa Maria Drake (London), (Nov 1862).

⁶⁶ Louisa Drake (Gibraltar) - Maria Drake (London), (12 Mar 1859).

⁶⁷ William Henry Drake (Graham's Town) - Louisa Maria Drake (London), (Nov 1862). Unfortunately Louisa died before deaths had to be registered in the Cape Colony (in 1895), so the cause of her death cannot be verified: C. Mercer, *South African sources of information*, <http://home.global.co.za/~mercon/sources.htm>, Accessed 19 Dec 1998.

⁶⁸ William Henry Drake (Graham's Town) - Louisa Maria Drake (London), (Nov 1862).

⁶⁹ William Henry Drake (Graham's Town) - Charlotte Augusta Dring Marshall (Queensland?), (13 Nov 1862).

Despite the loss of his “dear and best friend for thirty years”,⁷⁰ he remarried within a year, to Elizabeth Lucy Wood, who, at 21, was younger than his two elder daughters (Louisa Maria and Charlotte), and only two years older than the youngest (Laura). Drake apparently met his young bride at a ball, where she was being pestered by an inebriated young officer. Drake “rescued” her, and married her “within a few weeks”.⁷¹ Drake did not need a mother for his children, but professionally, as Commissary-General, he would have found a competent hostess of great value. Elizabeth came from a well-connected family. Her father, the well-respected and wealthy George Wood, served as Member of the Legislative Council of the Cape of Good Hope for many years.⁷²

Drake’s sudden marriage drew strong criticism from his daughters, who questioned him on the propriety of this move. He rebuked Charlotte, saying he was “accustomed to manage [his] own affairs from a very early age & hitherto have done so successfully”. He was not “yet too aged” to know what made him happy, but was aware of the effect his marriage would have “on others”. He complained that Louisa Maria and Laura “were both distressed”, and were not “yet reconciled to the change”. This, he hoped, would change in time. Elizabeth, he said, was ideally suited to bring about this change, as she was “almost weakly amiable”, and had not antagonised them, wishing “to act & do everything that is kind towards them both”. Elizabeth, he added, was “simple & affectionate in her ways”, though “too yeilding & reliant on others”.⁷³

Louisa Maria (who had returned to Grahamstown from London in January 1863)⁷⁴ and Laura’s resistance to the marriage seems to have been sustained.⁷⁵ Drake seemed to have a different type of relationship with his second family compared to that which he had with his first. In the early parts of his *Journal* he made frequent references to the birthdays of Louisa and their children. He spoke of Louisa as “his dearest wife” on her birthday,⁷⁶ and drank the health of his daughter, Laura, on hers.⁷⁷ Conversely, he made little comment about his second wife, Elizabeth, and their children in his *Journal*. The first time he mentioned Elizabeth was on their wedding day. His full entry for that day reads: “I married Elizabeth Lucy Wood, went to Fort Brown Hotel Gardner.”⁷⁸ His only comment on her birthday is “Elizabeth’s

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ A.C.F. Jackson, *The Drake family connection*, [unpublished ms., 1988?].

⁷² George Wood (1806-1884): I. Mitford-Barberton & V. White, *Some frontier families: Biographical sketches of 100 Eastern Province families before 1840*, (Cape Town, 1968), pp.293-6.

⁷³ William Henry Drake (Graham’s Town) - Charlotte Augusta Dring Marshall (Queensland?), (16 Nov 1863).

⁷⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (27 Jan 1863).

⁷⁵ When Drake was ordered to New Zealand in December 1863, Louisa Maria and Laura did not stay at the same lodgings in Cape Town as their father and stepmother. They stayed with “Major and Mrs. Jones at the Castle”, while Drake, Elizabeth and baby Ella stayed at Leinster Hall with Mrs. White. Even when the family returned to London in 1865, the girls stayed with Drake’s parents, while Drake and his new family stayed with his new sister-in-law, Eleanor Kiell: William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (14 Dec 1863, 10 Feb 1864, 31 Jan 1865).

⁷⁶ William Henry Drake *Journal*, (28 Jan 1855).

⁷⁷ William Henry Drake *Journal*, (1 Jun 1856).

⁷⁸ William Henry Drake *Journal*, (1 Sep 1863).

ILLUSTRATION 14



Elizabeth Lucy Drake (née Wood) (1841-1907)
(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

birthday”.⁷⁹ He did not mention the birth of Ella, their first child.⁸⁰ One can only presume he felt closer to Louisa than Elizabeth. Louisa had, after all, been the partner of his youth, and they had shared much in their marriage of 29 years, which had spanned four continents.

In December 1863 Drake was posted to New Zealand,⁸¹ presumably in Commissariat charge of British forces sent to assist local settlers in the Maori Wars. He arrived there on 23 July 1864.⁸² A month later he received orders to return “Home”.⁸³ The family arrived back in London in January 1865.⁸⁴ His next posting was to Dublin in 1867, as Controller for Ireland. But the department which Drake had served so loyally for so long was about to change. In February 1869 a small notice in *The Times* heralded the end of the Commissariat. It read:

“The Commissariat Department of the Army will cease to exist as a separate establishment after the 1st of April. Thirty of the present staff of officers are placed on half-pay from that date.”⁸⁵

The transformation of the Commissariat was part of the far broader re-organisation of the Army introduced by Prime Minister Gladstone’s Secretary for War, Viscount Cardwell.⁸⁶ These changes, the ‘Cardwell Reforms’, were the result of the problems experienced during the Crimean War,⁸⁷ and included the abolition of purchasing of Army commissions.⁸⁸ In 1870 the War Office was divided into four departments: the Military Department controlled the discipline, distribution, training, and staffing of the Army; the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance controlled “all the civil administrative duties” and was responsible for the purchase, storage and issue of military stores and for the transport of the troops; the Financial Secretary prepared the annual estimates and accounted for expenditure; and the Central Department looked after everything not covered by the other three departments.⁸⁹ The aim of the reforms was to unite the Army under the Secretary of State.⁹⁰

In October 1869 Drake had given evidence before the “Committee appointed to inquire into ... the conduct of business in the army departments”.⁹¹ He said he had “the initiation of [the Control] system into Ireland”, under direction from Lord Strathnairn.⁹² The introduction of

⁷⁹ William Henry Drake *Journal*, (16 Oct 1864).

⁸⁰ Drake first mentions baby Ella in his *Journal* on 24 Oct 1864, when he says that “Elizabeth, Baby, Louisa, Laura & W.H.D. embarked on Str. ‘Hero’ for Melbourne.” Unfortunately I do not know when Ella was actually born.

⁸¹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (14 Dec 1863).

⁸² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (23 Jul 1864).

⁸³ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (22 Aug 1864).

⁸⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (29 Jan 1865).

⁸⁵ *The Times*, (London, 11 Feb 1869), p.11:f.

⁸⁶ Viscount Edward Cardwell (1813-1886), Secretary for War under Gladstone 1868-1874: R. Parkinson, *The encyclopedia of modern war*, (New York, 1979), pp.34-5.

⁸⁷ B. Bond, ‘The effect of the Cardwell Reforms in Army organization, 1874-1904’, in *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, Vol. 105, Feb-Nov 1960, p.515.

⁸⁸ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, (Kew, Surrey, 1998), p.103.

⁸⁹ H. Gordon, *The War Office*, (London, 1935), p.58; & M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, p.102.

⁹⁰ H. Gordon, *The War Office*, p.59.

⁹¹ *Reports of a committee appointed to inquire into the arrangements in force for the conduct of business in the army departments*, (London, 1870).

⁹² *Ibid*, pp.44-5.

this system, being trialed in Ireland, “had been most satisfactory” and “there had been no single hitch” in the two years since Drake had implemented it. The purpose of the system was:

“to concentrate the duties of the various departments in myself, as to the Military Stores, the Purveyors, the Barrack Department, the Commissariat, and the duties of Quartermaster-General, in respect to inland transport.”⁹³

This system saved “a considerable number of processes” regarding requisitioning of stores - “two in place of eight”. The combination of departments under one officer would, Drake felt, in time result in “great advantages”.⁹⁴ This system was then expanded to Great Britain, with Drake being appointed Controller for Great Britain.

The Control Department came into being on 1 January 1870, and Drake was the leading Commissariat officer in the new department. Drake joined Surveyor-General of the Ordnance and Under-Secretary of State, Major-General Right Hon. Sir Henry Knight Storks (Controller-in-Chief), and, Director of Artillery and Stores, Brigadier General John Miller Adye (joint Assistant-Controller with Drake), in the triumvirate who ran the department.⁹⁵ In September 1871, shortly after being appointed an Ordinary Member of the Military Division of the Second Class, or Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath,⁹⁶ Drake was appointed Director of Supplies and Transport of British Army.⁹⁷

Drake retired in 1872,⁹⁸ after a career which had started in Barbados in 1828. His pension was probably in excess of £2 per day, that being the pension of a retired Commissary-General in 1860.⁹⁹ His career had taken him to Australia, Canada, the Crimea, Gibraltar, South Africa, Ireland, and “home” to London.

Sir William Henry Drake died “suddenly” of “syncope¹⁰⁰ 1 hour, gouty dyspepsia¹⁰¹ 12 mo^s., & distended colon 24 hours” at his home at 10 Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, on 28 January 1882.¹⁰² He had been married to Elizabeth for 18 years, and she was now a 40-

⁹³ *Ibid*, p.45.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*.

⁹⁵ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, militia list, and Indian civil service list, for 1872*, (London, 1872), p.366; M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, p.102.

⁹⁶ ‘The Order of the Bath’, *The Times*, (London, 20 May 1871), p.5:b. [I have been told by Drake’s grandson, Brigadier Jackson, that this last honour (KCB) was a reward for his good work: A.C.F. Jackson, *Interview by Megan Stevens*, (Hermanus, South Africa, 7 Nov 1992).

⁹⁷ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, militia list, and Indian civil service list, for 1872*, p.366. Unfortunately Hart does not list the equivalent military rank for Drake’s position, nor the pay scales for the different ranks in the Control Department.

⁹⁸ *Debrett’s Baronetage, Knightage and Companionship*. [My thanks to Michael Hargreave Mawson of the Crimean War Research Society for this information.]

⁹⁹ ‘Regimental pay, &c.’ in H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, (London, 1860), p.467-8.

¹⁰⁰ Syncope: A fainting or swooning: *The household dictionary of the English language*, (London, [before 1893], p.778.

¹⁰¹ Dyspepsia: Indigestion and heartburn. Heart attack symptoms: Edward Burrows, *Modern names or definitions of illnesses of our ancestors*, <http://www.genrecords.com/library/diseases2.htm>, Accessed 7 June 1999.

¹⁰² *The Times*, (London, 31 Jan 1882), p.1:a; Certified copy of the Death certificate of William Henry Drake, died 28 Jan 1882, Kensington.

ILLUSTRATION 15



Sir William Henry Drake (1812-1882)

(Photograph by Danie Ackermann from the original owned by George & Nova Coetzee)

year old widow of considerable means. On his death he left all of his estate of over £27,000 to her.¹⁰³ She eventually returned to her roots in South Africa, living in the very house, Selwyn Castle, where the first Mrs. Drake had died.¹⁰⁴ It is not known why he left nothing to the children of his first marriage, despite the closeness he had shared with their mother. Possibly their resistance to his marriage to Elizabeth contributed to his decision.

Few of Drake's ten children consolidated his social rise. Of his first family, Emily, Louisa Maria, and John had predeceased him, with John and Louisa Maria dying in fairly straitened circumstances.¹⁰⁵ Laura and Charlotte had fared better - they married well and lived comfortable lives.¹⁰⁶ The fortunes of Drake's second family were also mixed. Bernard had no "settled profession", working as a "waggon driver".¹⁰⁷ Ella married twice - to a lawyer and a military man.¹⁰⁸ Kitty also married a lawyer. Ella and Kitty's brother Henry worked as a lawyer in South Africa and Kenya. Lucy married a military man, Brig. S.C.F. Jackson in India. Interestingly, Lucy's son, Brig. A.C.F. Jackson, suggests Lady Drake returned to South Africa for two reasons - homesickness, and since "she was probably hard up as the pension ... in those days was quite inadequate to bring up a family".¹⁰⁹ He seems to have been unaware of the large legacy Drake left her. Some of Drake's children therefore maintained his middle-class gentility, but few seem to have benefited from his accumulation of wealth.

Drake's life had been dedicated to service of the Commissariat in its various guises. In his 44 years of loyal service he had seen and contributed to great change within the Department. He had entered a Commissariat run down by cost-cutting. By 1860 Drake had overtaken eight commissaries with longer service records,¹¹⁰ and by 1872 had few contemporaries left, of whom only Randolph Routh (son of former Commissary-General Sir Randolph Routh),

¹⁰³ William Henry Drake, *Will*, (London, 31 Jul 1878); & 'Wills & bequests', *The Times*, (London, 6 Apr 1882), p.7:a.

¹⁰⁴ My grandmother, Margaret Reed (née Ayliff), said that she was born at Selwyn Castle on 5 June 1894 when Lady Drake still lived there.

¹⁰⁵ John Drake died in Sydney, New South Wales, in 1877. In 1874 he had written to his sister, Charlotte, asking for a loan of £11:9:7 as he "really had not the Money": John Drake (Sydney, NSW) - Charlotte Augusta Dring & Charles Henry Marshall (England?), (23 Sep 1874). Louisa Maria died in Dunedin, New Zealand, in 1876. She had approached her father for a loan of between £500 to £1,000 to help her husband build a brewery at Timaru: Louisa Maria Lathbury (Dunedin) - Sir William Henry Drake (London), (6 Mar 1876).

¹⁰⁶ Laura married Dr. James Good in 1865: Drake family tree, [unpublished manuscript]. Charlotte's husband, Charles Henry Marshall, bequeathed £20,000 to her on his death in 1874: Charles Henry Marshall, *Will*, (10 Aug 1870); Proved London, 26 Aug 1874; & New South Wales, 13 Aug 1884. In her will, Charlotte listed legacies to her maid, parlour maid, housemaid, cook, gardener and undergardener, so obviously lived very comfortably: Charlotte Augusta Dring Knighton, *Will*, 24 Feb 1921.

¹⁰⁷ [A.C.F. Jackson], *The Drake family connection*. [Supplied by Lynne Bryer, from Brig. Jackson, grandson of W.H. Drake.]

¹⁰⁸ Ella married Alfred Caldecott in 1887, and Captain Richard Codrington in 1905. Caldecott was a lawyer, who served as Attorney-General and Public Prosecutor in Rhodesia, and Codrington was apparently awarded an M.B.E.; *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*. In 1852 the yearly pension of the widow of a Commissary-General was set at £120: Treasury, *Code of regulations and instructions for conducting the duties of the Commissariat Department*, (London, 1852), p.22.

¹¹⁰ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.435.

Strickland, and F.E. Watt remained.¹¹¹ As Assistant Controller to the Controller-in-Chief and Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, Drake had reached the highest rank a Commissariat officer could achieve. He retired from the Control Department, which now had a greater degree of permanence and governmental support than the Commissariat had ever had (when the position of Surveyor-General was created in 1870, the intention was for it be held by a prominent soldier who was also a Member of Parliament).¹¹² Drake had also witnessed a period of great change for the British Army, and served throughout a war which, though won, had cost the country dearly.

In his last years, Drake achieved the dream of middle-class Victorians - respectability and independence. Respectability came from “a proper respect for morals and morality”, as well as “some degree of formal Christianity”; independence from “an accommodation of expenditure to income as would make possible the respectable style of life”.¹¹³ Drake clearly had achieved both of these through hard work and dedication. He also demonstrated social mobility was possible in the new Britain - the son of a middle-class Commissariat officer had become a Knight of the realm.¹¹⁴ He was 69 years old when he died.

¹¹¹ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, and Indian civil service list, for 1872*, p.366.

¹¹² M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, p.102.

¹¹³ G. Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75*, (London, 1971), p.256.

¹¹⁴ E.C. Black (ed.), *Victorian culture and society*, (London, 1973), p.270; & E. Hobsbawm, *The age of capital 1848-1875*, (London, 1997), p.270.

Conclusion

It has been established that there was a breakdown of Commissariat services during the Crimean War, especially during the winter of 1854-55. As a result, thousands of soldiers and animals died. Lord Panmure, Secretary of State for War, stated there had been over 19,000 deaths, of which over 15,000 were due to disease rather than wounds.¹ For an Army with a standing force of around 30,000,² this proportion was sizeable.³ Mortality among the transport animals had also been high - reaching nearly 40 percent.⁴

There were various reasons for the breakdown in supplies to the Crimea. Some of these were covered in the three Commissions of Inquiry held - chaired by Roebuck;⁵ Commissioners McNeill and Tulloch;⁶ and held by the Board of General Officers.⁷ Some conclusions were shared by all three inquiries. They all felt that the terrain occupied by the Army was barren and inhospitable, and that Balaklava harbour was unsuitable. It was well recognised that there was a shortage of transport, as well as adequately trained commissaries, and that the lack of a proper road between Balaklava and the front posed an almost insurmountable problem. Raglan's tardiness in deciding where the Army would winter also contributed to problems of supply, as the Army and Commissariat were therefore unprepared for the winter, which came on suddenly, and with devastating effect, on 14 November 1854, with the hurricane.

Both the Roebuck inquiry and that of the Board of General Officers felt that "the system", rather than individuals, were to blame. Commissioners McNeill and Tulloch, however, were critical of Commissary-General Filder, suggesting he was not as resourceful as he might have been, and did not adapt his approach to overcome the problems.⁸ They also felt that the situation was exacerbated by the Commissariat's lack of knowledge of the area and its people and language.⁹

¹ A. Palmer, *The banner of battle: The story of the Crimean War*, (London, 1987), p.244.

² William Henry Drake (Kamuschu(?)) #8 - Louisa Drake (London), (15 Sep 1854).

³ A. Palmer, *The banner of battle*, p.244.

⁴ 'Deputy Commissary-General Adams, examined', in *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed*, (Constantinople, 1855); & (London, 1856), p.133 (p.69 of the Evidence). [Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch.] [Monash Microcard #5, Vol. 20.]

⁵ *First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Reports from the Select Committee of the Army before Sebastopol; with the proceedings of the Committee, and an appendix*, (London, 1855). [Chairman J.A. Roebuck.] [Monash Microcard #5, Vol. 9.]

⁶ *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, (Constantinople, 1855); & (London, 1856).

⁷ *Report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and the evidence taken by them relative thereto, animadverting upon the conduct of certain officers on the General Staff, and others in the Army; together with the minutes of evidence taken by the Board, and an appendix*, (London, 1856). [Monash University, Microcard #5, Vol. 21.]

⁸ *First Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea*, pp.25-6 (pp.21-2 of the Report).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.25 (p.21 of the Report).

Commissariat officers themselves blamed the Staff of the Army, saying they were too old and lacked intelligence. The Army itself was blamed for not seizing their advantage and attacking Sebastopol before the winter. The Treasury was blamed for trying to cut costs by not organising a proper waggon corps before they embarked for the Crimea, thereby causing insufficient transport, and for insufficient staffing in the Commissariat Department. The road should have been constructed by the Quartermaster-General's Department, and the Commissariat should have been allowed to set up depots closer to the front.¹⁰

Some of these and other failures were systemic or caused by those outside the Commissariat. The decision to leave so many transport animals behind when the Army embarked for the Crimea from Varna was not made by the Commissariat. The decision that the troops should leave their knapsacks behind on the transports when they disembarked in the Crimea, was also outside the Commissariat's sphere of influence. The decision to use Balaklava and its inadequate harbour was made by Raglan, not by Filder or other Commissariat officers. The road from Balaklava to the front should have been constructed by the Quartermaster-General's Department at an early stage of the occupation. The decision to winter in the Crimea could possibly have been made or communicated earlier. Given later intelligence, Sebastopol could have been attacked and secured before the winter of 1854-55. The Treasury could have responded more quickly to demands for supply from the Crimea.¹¹ All these things compounded the problems of the Commissariat, and pushed up demand for supply. The Crimean expedition was also struck by sheer bad luck. The hurricane of 14 November 1854 could not have been foreseen or planned for, catching everyone off guard and destroying much of the accumulated supplies at a critical time, just as winter was setting in. All these things were essentially out of the control of the Commissariat and its officers. Maybe it was also easier to blame the civilian Commissariat officers, who lacked standing in the community, rather than aristocratic Army officers with the force of the establishment behind them.

Despite his public statements in evidence before McNeill and Tulloch and his wholehearted support of the Commissariat in his letter to *The Times*,¹² in private Drake also suggested that Filder contributed to the administrative disasters by his incompetence. He delayed mails, and therefore requisitions, to the Treasury. He suggested that Filder and some other Commissariat officers lacked efficiency, sticking rigidly to the regulations while soldiers and animals were dying of starvation and exposure. Due to his loyalty to the Commissariat and his desire to protect his position within the Department, Drake probably would have had difficulty admitting that, in essence, he agreed with the conclusions of Commissioners McNeill and Tulloch,

¹⁰ An Officer of the Commissariat, 'The camp before Sebastopol', *The Times*, (London, 31 Jan 1855), p.6:c.

¹¹ *Report of the Board of General Officers ...*, pp.XXVIII-XXX (pp.xxvi-xxviii of the Report).

¹² 'Commissary', *The Times*, (London, 26 Feb 1857), p.10:4.

Drake also predicted some of the proven problems, particularly relating to the lack of adequate transport.¹³ Given Drake's seniority and proven competency, his allegations were serious indeed. Drake, however, obviously felt that his confessions about Commissariat mismanagement would not be made public - and yet he and his family decided to keep his papers, and possibly hoped that, like so many others before him, these would eventually be published. No other private papers of a senior Commissariat officer who served in the Crimea, survive, and Drake's views, therefore, add to the telling of the Crimean story. Drake's evidence casts new light on the disasters in the Crimea and suggests, that though there were unavoidable problems, such as the hurricane, and problems caused by factors from outside the Commissariat, the Commissariat did indeed share in the blame for what happened.

Drake also sheds new light on when the transfer of the Commissariat from the Treasury to the War Department was actually decided. This transfer was clearly already in progress when the war broke out, though some current commentators on the Crimean War, such as Hew Strachan, suggest that the difficulties in supply during the winter of 1854-55 hastened this event.¹⁴ This was not the case. Drake was aware that the transfer was imminent in August 1854, before the Army had even set foot in the Crimea.¹⁵ Sweetman agrees with this assessment.¹⁶

Further unanswered questions have been raised regarding the effect the transfer of the Commissariat from the Treasury to the War Department in December 1854 had on the staff in those departments. How much did this transfer distract the Treasury and the War Department from delivering efficient service to the Commissariat in the Crimea? The Treasury officials were obviously unhappy about the proposed transfer, and must have tried to stop it happening, thereby taking their minds off the task of responding to requests from the Commissariat in the area of operations. They must have wondered how this transfer would affect their own careers, rather than concentrating on the despatches about lack of supplies in the Crimea. Likewise, the War Department, politically speaking, would probably have preferred the transfer of an inefficient Commissariat from the Treasury, thereby illustrating the need for the transfer, and this possibly prevented them from developing a co-operative relationship with the Treasury. The question is therefore how much this political manoeuvring contributed to the failure of the Commissariat in the Crimea.¹⁷

Despite the failings of the Commissariat, Drake's career was very successful. It spanned a period of 44 years, covering the era of increasing professionalism in the Commissariat Department and its successors - from a time when the Commissariat had been "kept ...

¹³ William Henry Drake (Varna) #1 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

¹⁴ H. Strachan, *Wellington's legacy: The reform of the British army 1830-54*, (Manchester, 1984), p.260.

¹⁵ William Henry Drake (Varna) #1 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854); & William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

¹⁶ J. Sweetman, *War and administration: The significance of the Crimean War for the British army*, (Edinburgh, 1984), p.50.

¹⁷ My thanks to Rodney Robinson of the Crimean War Research Society who raised these questions in an e-mail dated 5 May 2000.

down” and “out of sight”,¹⁸ to one when the necessity for an properly organised logistical framework was recognised; from a time when the Commissary-General in the Crimea submitted “to any insult himself & never [tried] to support his Officers in any way”,¹⁹ to one when the Government appointed what Drake called “a Chief recognized as ... head man”, who would be able to inform the powers-that-be properly about Commissariat needs.²⁰ Drake himself performed well, and his excellence was recognised by being honoured with a KCB, and being promoted to the highest level, to Director of Supplies and Transports. Palmerston, and others, asserted that commissaries were not gentlemen,²¹ but this is not the picture that emerges from the papers of Henry and Louisa Drake. Drake, and many of his colleagues, come across as civilised, well-educated, and competent gentlemen. Drake proved himself a member of “the Gentry of England”.²² He embodied the characteristics of this class - the bourgeoisie - as described by Eric Hobsbawm. He was “‘someone’; a person who counted *as an individual*, because of his wealth, his capacity to command other men, or otherwise to influence them”.²³

Drake, it seems, was one of the more efficient commissaries, receiving many accolades regarding his ability, including from Lt.-Col. Anthony Sterling.²⁴ These opinions would have assisted him in his rise through the ranks of the Commissariat. Drake survived and prospered in a system different from that which he had entered. He weathered the changes, displaying a level of competence recognised and rewarded by those around him.

¹⁸ An officer of the Commissariat, ‘The Camp before Sebastopol’, *The Times*, (London, 31 Jan 1855), p.6:c.

¹⁹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #19 - Louisa Drake (London), (2 Nov 1854).

²⁰ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #55 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Mar 1855).

²¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #55 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Mar 1855); ‘Lord Palmerston’, *The Times*, (London, 20 Feb 1855), p.5.

²² William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #55 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Mar 1855).

²³ E. Hobsbawm, *The age of capital 1848-1875*, (London, 1997), p.286.

²⁴ A. Sterling, *The story of the Highland Brigade in the Crimea: Founded on letters written during the years 1854, 1855, and 1856*, (Minneapolis, 1995), p.ix. [First published as *The Highland Brigade in the Crimea*, (London, 1895).]

Appendix 1.1

Drake Family

1 John DRAKE (the CG)

Birth: 11 Nov 1782, Exmouth, England¹

Retirement: before 7 February 1840.²

Death: abt 1867, London, England³

Occupation: Commissary-General⁴

Father: John DRAKE (1720-1797)⁵

Mother: Sarah CHADDER (1743-1830)⁶

ADDRESS:

27 Park Village East, Regents Park, London, England⁷

Spouse: Maria STORY

Birth: 17 Nov 1783⁸

Death: 3 Feb 1876⁹

Father: George STORY¹⁰

Married: 7 Dec 1805, London, England¹¹

Children:

John Minshull (1807-1861)

William Henry (1809-1810)

William Henry (1812-1882)

Caroline (1816-?)

Charlotte Augusta (1818-1905)

Maria Harriet (Molly) (1821-?)

1.1a John Minshull DRAKE*

Birth: 31 May 1807¹²

Death: Nov 1861, Dinapore, India¹³

Occupation: Lt-Col, 10th Reg, Indian Army¹⁴

¹ The Drake Family Tree lists John Drake as having been born in Exmouth in 1782; Jackson also gives his birth year as 1782; William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #117 - John & Maria Drake (London), (13 Nov 1855); William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (11 Nov 1854), (11 Nov 1855), (11 Nov 1857).

² H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list ... for 1840*, (London, 1840), p.405. It seems however that John Drake had joined the Commissariat in Jan 1805 and had retired in Feb 1830. The 'Royal Warrant, Dated 28th October 1858, and Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the existing Organization of the Commissariat Department with Evidence and Appendix' lists the members of the Commissariat at that date. John Drake was then aged 77 years, had served 25 years 2 months on full pay, and 28 years 8 months on half pay; Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1859, Session 1, Vol. 15. [My thanks to Colin Smith for this information.]

³ Drake Family Tree, undated and unsourced.

⁴ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list ... for 1840*, (London, 1840), p.405.

⁵ Drake Family Tree; [Jackson, A.C.F.], *The Drake family connection*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (10 May 1854); William Henry Drake (Piræus) - Louisa Drake (London), (30 Jun 1854); John Drake, *Will*, (London, 11 Dec 1861).

⁸ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (16 Nov 1854): "Tomorrow is my mother's [birthday]."

⁹ Louisa Maria Lathbury (Dunedin) - Sir William Henry Drake (London), (6 Mar 1876): "Poor old Granny seemed very changed - & I fear c^d. not last long."

¹⁰ Drake Family Tree.

¹¹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (7 Dec 1854): 49th anniversary; (7 Dec 1855): 50th anniversary; (7 Dec 1855): 51st anniversary.

¹² Drake Family Tree.

¹³ G.T. Dick (comp.), *Birth, death & marriage announcements in the Sydney Mail, 1860-1861*, (Glenbrook, NSW, 1990).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Spouse: Margaret ?¹⁵

Children:

Reginald
Alice
Lucy (1843-?)
Dennys

Other spouses: Second wife¹⁶

1.1a.1 Reginald DRAKE

1.1a.2 Alice DRAKE

1.1a.3 Lucy DRAKE

Birth: 21 Apr 1843¹⁷

1.1a.4 Dennys DRAKE

1.2 William Henry DRAKE

Birth: 29 Jan 1809¹⁸

Death: Apr 1810¹⁹

¹⁵ William Henry Drake (On board the *Orinoco*) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), (29 May 1854): Drake writes of what could be his sister-in-law Margaret. He says: "I cannot help associating her [Mrs. Weir] in my fancies with our Sister in law, Margaret. The more so, as what Weir tells me of his wife, coincides with my preconceived ideas of our sympathetic & literary Sister. It is fortunate in such cases to be, as we are, among the every day Scrubs of life."

¹⁶ John Drake, *Will*, (London, 11 Dec 1861): "To the four children of my late son [John Minshull Drake] by his first marriage, namely Reginald, Alice, Lucy and Dennys Drake share and share alike, One full share equivalent to what would have devolved on their late Father had he survived."

¹⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (21 Apr 1857): Drake writes: 'Lucy Drake 14', which implies to me that that date was her 14th birthday.

¹⁸ Drake Family Tree.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

1.3a Sir William Henry DRAKE*

Birth: 29 Sep 1812, Coimbra, Portugal²⁰

Honours: 4 Feb 1856, CB²¹

Honours: 19 May 1871, KCB²²

Retirement: 1872²³

Death: 28 Jan 1882, 10 Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, London, England²⁴

Occupation: CG; Director of Supplies & Transport, War Office, London, England²⁵

Hair: Ginger²⁶

Cause of death: Syncope 1 hour; Gouty dyspepsia 12 mos. & distended colon 24 hours.²⁷

Spouse: Louisa PURKIS

Birth: 28 Jan 1814, England?²⁸

Death: 20 Oct 1862, Graham's Town, Cape of Good Hope²⁹

Father: James PURKIS (1783-1853)³⁰

Mother: Elizabeth Sarah VINER (c.1780-1849)³¹

Married: 23 Sep 1833, Perth, Swan River Colony³²

Children:

John (1834-1877)

Louisa Maria (1836-1876)

Charlotte Augusta Dring (1838-c.1922)

Laura Mary (1843-1919)

Emily Caroline (1845-1853)

²⁰ I have been unable to verify William Henry Drake's place of birth exactly, but it is given as Coimbra on an undated and unsourced family tree. His grandson, Brig. A.C.F. Jackson, also says that Drake was born at Coimbra in an undated manuscript listing Drake's curriculum vitae. The *Biographical index of South Australians 1836-1885* (ed. J Statton, Marsden, SA, 1986) gives William Henry Drake's birthplace as Portugal. The year of William Henry Drake's birth is given as 1812 in his obituary in *The annual register: A review of public events at home and abroad, for the year 1862*, (London, 1883), p.114. *The dictionary of Australasian biography*, by Philip Mennell (London, 1892) concurs (p.139). Drake himself gives his birthday as 29 September. He says: "[Letter] N^o. 12 was of 28 Sept. the next day was my birthday"; William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #13 - Louisa Drake (London) (3 Oct 1854).

²¹ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #142 - John & Maria Drake (London), (23 Feb 1856); 'The Order of the Bath', *The Times*, (London, 6 Feb 1856), p.7:e.

²² 'The Order of the Bath', *The Times*, (London, 20 May 1871), p.5:b.

²³ Sir William Henry Drake, in R.H. Muir (ed.), *Debrett's Baronetage, Knightage and Companionship*, (London, 1882). [My thanks to Michael Hargreave Mawson of the Crimean War Research Society for that information.]

²⁴ *The Times*, (London, 31 Jan 1882), p.1:a; Certified copy of the Death certificate of William Henry Drake, died 28 Jan 1882, Kensington.

²⁵ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, militia list, and Indian civil service list, for 1872*, (London, 1872), p.366.

²⁶ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #15 - Louisa Drake (London), (12 Oct 1854): Drake described himself as having a "long red beard".

²⁷ Certified copy of the Death certificate of William Henry Drake, died 28 Jan 1882, Kensington.

²⁸ The year of Louisa's birth is given as 1814 in R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, (Nedlands, WA, 1988), p.2547. Drake wrote that her birthday was on 28 January; William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (28 Jan 1855), (28 Jan 1857), (28 Jan 1858). Louisa's parents, James Purkis and Elizabeth Viner, were married at St. Michael's Church, Bath, England, on 17 April 1808, and migrated to Australia in 1830; L.L. Shenton, 'Mrs. Purkis', in J. Cowan, 'Some pioneer women', *Western Australian Historical Society Journal & Proceedings*, 1:10, 1931, p.50; & R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, p.2547.

²⁹ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (20 Oct 1862).

³⁰ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, p.2547.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888, Vol. II D-J*, p.892.

Other spouses: Elizabeth Lucy WOOD

1.3a.1 John DRAKE

Birth: 15 Sep 1834, Perth, Swan River Colony³³

Death: 1877, Sydney?, NSW³⁴

Occupation: Merchant's Clerk³⁵

Religion: Church of England³⁶

Spouse: Matilda Elizabeth ORMISTON

Birth: abt 1837, Sydney, NSW³⁷

Death: 14 Feb 1878, 1 Harnett St, Woolloomooloo, Sydney, NSW³⁸

Father: Robert ORMISTON³⁹

Mother: Matilda Ann FULLOON⁴⁰

Married: 13 Aug 1857, St James' Church, Sydney, NSW⁴¹

Children:

John Henry (Harry) Marshall (1859-1900)⁴²

son (1861-?)⁴³

Louisa Fanny (1862-?)⁴⁴

Laura M. (1864-?)⁴⁵

Percy O. (1866-?)⁴⁶

Constance Z. (1868-1869)⁴⁷

Alfred R. (1870-?)⁴⁸

1.3a.2 Louisa Maria DRAKE (Miss Lu)

Birth: 18 Jul 1836, Perth, Swan River Colony⁴⁹

Death: 16 May 1876, Dunedin, New Zealand⁵⁰

Burial: 19 May 1876, Northern Cemetery, Dunedin, New Zealand⁵¹

Religion: Church of England⁵²

³³ *Ibid.*; & Baptismal certificate of the children (John, Louisa Maria, Charlotte Augusta Dring, Laura Mary, and Emily Caroline) of William Henry and Louisa Drake, dated 7 Oct 1847, and signed by B. Wittencoom, Colonial Chaplain, Perth. [I have not sighted the original of this document, but have a copy of a transcript made by Lynne Bryer.]

³⁴ Drake Family Tree.

³⁵ Certified copy of Marriage Certificate, John Drake & Matilda Elizabeth Ormiston, Sydney, 13 Aug 1857.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Her age is given as 20 years at the time of her marriage; *Ibid.*

³⁸ Certified copy of Death Certificate, Matilda Elizabeth Drake, Sydney, 14 Feb 1878.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Certified copy of Marriage Certificate, John Drake & Matilda Elizabeth Ormiston, Sydney, 13 Aug 1857.

⁴² Certified copy of Birth Certificate, John Henry Marshall Drake, Sydney, 8 Mar 1859.

⁴³ G.T. Dick, *Birth, death & marriage announcements in the Sydney Mail, 1860-1861*, (Glenbrook, NSW, 1990).

⁴⁴ G.T. Dick, *Birth, death & marriage announcements in the Sydney Mail, 1862-1863*, (Glenbrook, NSW, 1991); & NSW Pioneers Index 1788-1888: Births, Deaths, & Marriages.

⁴⁵ NSW Pioneers Index 1788-1888: Births, Deaths, & Marriages.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888, Vol. II D-J*, p.892; Baptismal certificate of the children (John, Louisa Maria, Charlotte Augusta Dring, Laura Mary, and Emily Caroline) of William Henry and Louisa Drake, dated 7 Oct 1847, and signed by B. Wittencoom, Colonial Chaplain, Perth.

⁵⁰ Certified copy of Death Certificate, Louisa Maria Lathbury, Dunedin, New Zealand, 16 May 1876.

⁵¹ Northern Cemetery Burial Register, Dunedin, New Zealand.

⁵² Certified copy of Marriage Certificate, William Henry Lathbury & Louisa Maria Drake, Sydney, 18 Oct 1873.

Spouse: William Henry LATHBURY (Willie)

Birth: Burton-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, England⁵³

Father: John LATHBURY⁵⁴

Mother: Ann TAYLOR (?-c.1876)⁵⁵

Married: 18 Oct 1873, Christ Church, Sydney, NSW⁵⁶

Children:

Charles (1874-1874)⁵⁷

Charles James (1876-1876)⁵⁸

1.3a.3a Charlotte Augusta Dring DRAKE* (Pop)

Birth: 10 Mar 1838, King George's Sound, Swan River Colony⁵⁹

Death: abt 1922, Hastings St Leonard, England ?⁶⁰

Spouse: Charles Henry MARSHALL

Birth: 12 Dec 1818, Mauritius⁶¹

Death: 10 Aug 1874, Lewisham, Kent, England⁶²

Father: William MARSHALL (?-1828)⁶³

Mother: Louisa BENTHALL (?-1822)

Married: 23 Sep 1857, St Pancras, London, England⁶⁴

Children:

Charlotte Louisa (Louie) (1859-1937)⁶⁵

Amy (1860-c.1950)⁶⁶

Thornton (1862-1894)⁶⁷

Hawtrey Charles (1864-1927)⁶⁸

Bertram (Bertie) (1868-1901)⁶⁹

Charles Henry (Charlie) (1874-ca1950)⁷⁰

⁵³ *Ibid.*; & Certified copy of Birth Certificate, Charles James Lathbury, Dunedin, New Zealand, 6 May 1876.

⁵⁴ Certified copy of Marriage Certificate, William Henry Lathbury & Louisa Maria Drake, Sydney, 18 Oct 1873.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Certified copy of Birth Certificate, Charles Lathbury, Sydney, 29 Nov 1874; & Certified copy of Death Certificate, Charles Lathbury, Sydney, 17 Dec 1874. See also Louisa Maria Lathbury (Hobart) - Sir William Henry Drake (London), (24 Jan 1875).

⁵⁸ Certified copy of Birth Certificate, Charles James Lathbury, Dunedin, New Zealand, 6 May 1876, & Certified copy of Death Certificate, Charles James Lathbury, Sydney, 5 Nov 1876.

⁵⁹ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888, Vol. II D-J*, p.892; Baptismal certificate of the children (John, Louisa Maria, Charlotte Augusta Dring, Laura Mary, and Emily Caroline) of William Henry and Louisa Drake, dated 7 Oct 1847, and signed by B. Wittenoom, Colonial Chaplain, Perth.

⁶⁰ Family oral history.

⁶¹ Marshall Family Tree, undated and unsourced; H.J. Gibbney, & A.G. Smith (comp.), *A biographical register 1788-1939: Notes from the name index of the Australian Dictionary of Biography: Vol. II L-Z*, (Canberra, 1987), p.83..

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Marshall Family Tree.

⁶⁴ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (23 Sep 1857).

⁶⁵ Certified copy of Birth Certificate, Charlotte Louisa Marshall, Glengallan, near Warwick, Queensland, 23 Feb 1859; Ayliff Family Tree, undated and unsourced.

⁶⁶ Marshall Family Tree; Louisa Drake (Grahamstown) - Maria Drake (London), (13 Dec 1860): "I hope my dear girl [presumably Charlotte Augusta Dring Marshall] is in England and well over her trials long before this. [Amy Marshall was born in 1860.] We are very anxious for the letters by this Mail, now daily expected."

⁶⁷ Marshall Family Tree; "Marshall son of Mrs CH 19 Jun 1862 birth": Crosse-Dunleavy index DDM 1861-1869; "I want to hear of Charlotte's safe confinement, anxious to know how she gets over it": Louisa Drake (Grahamstown) - Maria Drake (London), (9 Jun 1862).

⁶⁸ Marshall Family Tree.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Other spouses: William KNIGHTON

1.3a.3b Charlotte Augusta Dring DRAKE* (See above)

Spouse: William KNIGHTON⁷¹

Birth: 1824

Married: 1883

Other spouses: Charles Henry MARSHALL

1.3a.4 Laura Mary DRAKE (Miss Loll)

Birth: 1 Jun 1843, Perth, Swan River Colony⁷²

Death: 1919, Cape Colony⁷³

Spouse: Dr. James GOOD⁷⁴

Death: 1890

Married: 1865

Children:⁷⁵

Ethel (1867-?)

Maud

Stafford (1872-1906)

Kathleen (1877-?)

Violet (1887-?)

1.3a.5 Emily Caroline DRAKE

Birth: 28 Feb 1845, Perth, Swan River Colony⁷⁶

Death: 28 Oct 1853, St John, New Brunswick, Canada⁷⁷

1.3b Sir William Henry DRAKE* (See above)

Spouse: Elizabeth Lucy WOOD

Birth: 16 Oct 1841, Graham's Town?, Cape Colony⁷⁸

Death: 1907, Graham's Town?, Cape Colony⁷⁹

Father: George WOOD (1806-1884)⁸⁰

Mother: Susan GARBETT (1810-1889)⁸¹

Married: 1 Sep 1863, Graham's Town, Cape Colony⁸²

⁷¹ Drake Family Tree; [Jackson, A.C.F.], *The Drake family connection*.

⁷² R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888, Vol. II D-J*, p.892; Baptismal certificate of the children (John, Louisa Maria, Charlotte Augusta Dring, Laura Mary, and Emily Caroline) of William Henry and Louisa Drake, dated 7 Oct 1847, and signed by B. Wittenoom, Colonial Chaplain, Perth; & *The Swan River news and Western Australian chronicle*, No. 1, (London, 1 Jan 1844), p.8, at National Library of Australia, Australian Periodical Publications 1840-1845: Australian Cooperative Digitisation Project, <http://www.nla.gov.au/acdp/>, Accessed 4 Apr 2000.

⁷³ Drake Family Tree.

⁷⁴ Drake Family Tree.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888, Vol. II D-J*, p.892; Baptismal certificate of the children (John, Louisa Maria, Charlotte Augusta Dring, Laura Mary, and Emily Caroline) of William Henry and Louisa Drake, dated 7 Oct 1847, and signed by B. Wittenoom, Colonial Chaplain, Perth.

⁷⁷ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (28 Oct 1854), (28 Oct 1855).

⁷⁸ [Jackson, A.C.F.], *The Drake family connection*; I. Mitford-Barberton & V. White, *Some frontier families: Biographical sketches of 100 Eastern Province families before 1840*, (Cape Town, 1968), p.296.

⁷⁹ Family oral history.

⁸⁰ I. Mitford-Barberton & V. White, *Some frontier families*, pp.293-6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (1 Sep 1863).

Children:⁸³

Ella Wood (c.1864-?)
Lucy Beatrice (1867-?)
William Bernard (1871-?)
Kate Alice (Kitty) (c.1876-?)
Henry

Other spouses: Louisa PURKIS

1.3b.1a Ella Wood DRAKE*

Birth: bef 24 Oct 1864

Spouse: Alfred Edward CALDECOTT

Death: 1894, Salisbury (Harare), Rhodesia
Married: 1887

Children:

Selby Drake (1888-1980)

Other spouses: Richard CODRINGTON

1.3b.1b Ella Wood DRAKE* (See above)

Spouse: Richard CODRINGTON

Death: 1935
Married: 1905

Other spouses: Alfred Edward CALDECOTT

1.3b.2 Lucy Beatrice DRAKE

Birth: 1867, Dublin, Ireland

Spouse: Brig. S.C.F. JACKSON

Married: Jan 1898, Poona, India

Children:

Philip S.F. (1901-?)
A.C.F. (c.1901-?)

1.3b.3 William Bernard DRAKE

Birth: 1871

Occupation: Wagon driver (transport rider?)
No children.

1.3b.4 Kate Alice (Kitty) DRAKE

Birth: bef Apr 1876
No children.

Spouse: Dudley NEVILL

1.3b.5 Henry DRAKE

Occupation: Solicitor

Spouse: Kate (Katie) GRANVILL/GLANVILLE

Children:

1 son
1 daughter

⁸³ [Jackson, A.C.F.], *The Drake family connection*.

1.4 Caroline DRAKE⁸⁴

Birth: 1816

Spouse: Bernard Manning BROWNE⁸⁵

Children:

Emily

Charles

1.4.1 Emily BROWNE⁸⁶

1.4.2 Charles BROWNE⁸⁷

Spouse: Harriette ?⁸⁸

1.5 Charlotte Augusta DRAKE [3]

Birth: 30 Apr 1818

Death: 1905, London, England⁸⁹

Burial: 22 May 1905, Highgate, London, England⁹⁰

Unmarried.⁹¹

1.6 Maria Harriet (Molly) DRAKE [3]

Birth: 17 Jan 1821

Spouse: Arthur WHITE⁹²

Married: 1 Oct 1844⁹³

Children:

baby 1

baby 2

1.6.1 baby 1 WHITE⁹⁴

1.6.2 baby 2 WHITE⁹⁵

⁸⁴ Drake Family Tree.

⁸⁵ John Drake, *Will*, (London, 11 Dec 1861).

⁸⁶ An Emily Browne is mentioned in a number of the Drake documents: William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (11 Aug 1856), (20 Sep 1856), (6 Oct 1856); Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (4 Jan 1856); Louisa Drake (Grahamstown) - Maria Drake (London), (13 Dec 1860); Louisa Drake (Grahamstown) - Maria Drake (London), (9 Jun 1862).

⁸⁷ A Charles Browne is mentioned in a number of the Drake documents: William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (19 Jan 1858); Louisa Drake (Grahamstown) - Maria Drake (London), (13 Dec 1860); Louisa Maria Drake (On board the *Renown*) - William Henry Drake (London), (19 Oct 1875); Louisa Maria Lathbury (Dunedin) - Sir William Henry Drake (London), (19 Oct 1875).

⁸⁸ Possibly mentioned by Louisa Maria Lathbury (Dunedin) - Sir William Henry Drake (London), (19 Oct 1875).

⁸⁹ E.H. Fletcher (Ealing, London) - Charlotte Augusta Dring Knighton (London), (22 May 1905).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ John Drake, *Will*, (London, 11 Dec 1861).

⁹² John Drake, *Will*, (London, 11 Dec 1861).

⁹³ "Maria's wedding day (1844)"; William Henry Drake, *Journal*, (1 Oct 1856).

⁹⁴ Mention is made of Maria's baby in the following letters: William Henry Drake (Varna) #1 - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854); William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #12 - Louisa Drake (London), (27 Sep 1854); Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (18 Jan 1856); Louisa Drake (Balaklava) - Maria Drake (London), (18 Feb 1856).

⁹⁵ Louisa Drake (Grahamstown) - Maria Drake (London), (13 Dec 1860): "You do not say if dear Maria's little one is a boy or a girl. I am so glad to hear they are getting on so well. That is the chief thing. Give my kind love to her when you next write. I fear she will not get a line from me this mail."

Appendix 1.2 Purkis Family

1 James PURKIS*

Birth: 1783¹

Death: 4 Dec 1853, Perth, Swan River Colony²

Occupation: Merchant

Spouse: Elizabeth Sarah VINER

Birth: 1788³

Death: 18 Jul 1849, Perth, Swan River Colony⁴

Married: 17 Apr 1808, St Michael's Church, Bath, England⁵

Children:

James (1809-1824)

Anna (1810-1811)

John (1812-1882)

Louisa (1814-1862)

Elizabeth (1815-1901)

Ellen Mary (1817-1825)

Frederick George (1819-?)

Emma (1821-1908)

Other spouses Mary Ann ?

1.1 James PURKIS

Birth: 8 Apr 1809⁶

Death: 20 Nov 1824⁷

1.2 Anna PURKIS

Birth: 4 Oct 1810⁸

Death: 18 Sep 1811⁹

1.3 John PURKIS

Birth: 12 Jul 1812¹⁰

Death: 27 Dec 1882, Sydney, NSW¹¹

Spouse: Fanny Delia KELLY¹²

Birth: NSW¹³

Married: 7 Aug 1850, Sydney, NSW¹⁴

1.4 Louisa PURKIS

[For further details about Louisa Purkis see Appendix 1.1: Drake Family.]

¹ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, (Nedlands, WA, 1988), p.2547.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*; Certified copy of Death Certificate, Elizabeth Purkis, Perth, 18 Jul 1849; James Purkis (Perth) - William Henry Drake (Hobart), (21 Jul 1849); & Francis Lochée (Perth) - William Henry Drake (Hobart), (22 Jul 1849). (Both these letters are in the Battye Library, Perth.)

⁵ L.L. Shenton, 'Mrs. Purkis', in J. Cowan, 'Some pioneer women', *Western Australian Historical Society Journal & Proceedings*, 1:20, 1931, p.50.

⁶ Biographical index, Battye Library, Perth.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, p.2547.

Spouse: William Henry DRAKE

[For further details about William Henry Drake see Appendix 1.1: Drake Family.]

Children:

[For further details about the Drake children see Appendix 1.1: Drake Family.]

John (1834-1877)

Louisa Maria (1836-1876)

Charlotte Augusta Dring (1838~1922)

Laura Mary (1843-1919)

Emily Caroline (1845-1853)

1.5 Elizabeth PURKIS

Birth: 28 Jun 1815, England¹⁵

Death: 2 Jun 1901, Albany, Swan River Colony¹⁶

Spouse: Alfred HILLMAN

Birth: 21 Nov 1807, England¹⁷

Death: 31 Jan 1883, England¹⁸

Married: 18 Nov 1840, Church of England, Perth, Swan River Colony¹⁹

Children:²⁰

Alfred James (1841-1884)

Elizabeth (1844-1844)

John De Courcey/Courcy (1845-1886)

Ellen (1846-1883)

Charles Augustus (1848-1849)

Joseph (1851-?)

Frances (1853-1873)

Bessie (1855-1857)

Francis Josiah (1859-1859)

1.6 Ellen Mary PURKIS

Birth: 2 Oct 1817²¹

Death: 17 Sep 1825²²

1.7 Frederick George PURKIS

Birth: 1819²³

Death: Victoria²⁴

Spouse: Ellen DOOR²⁵

Married: 1854²⁶

Children:

son

daughter

1.8 Emma PURKIS

Birth: 7 Aug 1821²⁷

Death: 18 Jun 1908, Perth, Swan River Colony²⁸

¹⁵ Biographical index, Battye Library, Perth.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; & R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. II D-J*, p.1483.

¹⁷ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. II D-J*, p.1483.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Biographical index, Battye Library, Perth.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ NSW Pioneers Index 1788-1888: Births, Deaths, & Marriages.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Biographical index, Battye Library, Perth.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Spouse: Francis LOCHÉE

Birth: 8 Mar 1811, London, England²⁹

Death: 22 Nov 1893, Perth, Swan River Colony³⁰

Father: John LOCKEE (?-bef. 1830)³¹

Mother: Louisa KING (?-bef. 1830)³²

Married: 27 Aug 1846³³

Children:³⁴

Alfred Henry (1847-1887)

Louisa (1850-1878)

Emma Caroline (1851-1865)

Isobel (1854-1854)

Charlotte Elizabeth Vigors (1855-1944)

Mary Ellen Landor (1860-1934)

Constance (1862-1896)

Frances Laura (1864-1865)

1 James PURKIS* (See above)**Spouse: Mary Ann ?³⁵**

Married: 8 Nov 1851 Perth, Swan River Colony³⁶

Death: 7 Apr 1893 Perth, Swan River Colony³⁷

Other spouses: George MARTIN³⁸**Other spouses: Elizabeth Sarah VINER**

²⁹ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, p.1881; & M.H. Tauman, 'Lochee, Francis (1811-1893), in *Australian dictionary of biography: Vol. 2: 1788-1850 I-Z*, (Melbourne, 1967), pp.121-2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ M.H. Tauman, 'Lochee, Francis (1811-1893), in *Australian dictionary of biography: Vol. 2: 1788-1850 I-Z*, pp.121-2.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*; R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, p.1881; & *The Swan River news and Western Australian chronicle*, No. 39 (London, 1 Mar 1847), p.124, at National Library of Australia, Australian Periodical Publications 1840-1845: Australian Cooperative Digitisation Project, <http://www.nla.gov.au/acdp/>, Accessed 4 Apr 2000.

³⁴ Biographical index, Battye Library, Perth.

³⁵ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, p.2098.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Index to Registry of Deaths 1841-1896, Battye Library, Perth.

³⁸ R. Erickson (ed.), *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australians pre-1829-1888: Vol. III K-Q*, p.2098.

Appendix 1.3 Wood Family

1 George WOOD¹

Birth: 1 May 1805

Death: 1 Nov 1884, *Woodville*, Beaufort St, Graham's Town, Cape Colony

Occupation: Member of the Council, Cape of Good Hope

Spouse: Susan GARBETT²

Birth: 1810

Death: 14 Feb 1889, *Woodville*, Beaufort St, Graham's Town, Cape Colony³

Father: ? GARBETT

Mother: Susannah ? (~1794-)

Children:

George Samuel (1828-1884)

John Edwin (1829-<1901)

William (1831-1856)

Joseph Garbett (1833-)

Susannah Martha (1834-1890)

Eleanor Jane (1836-)

Henry Richard (1838-1921)

Harriet Porter Rhodes (1839-)

Benoni Horace (1840-)

Elizabeth Lucy (1841-1907)

Lydia Roberts (1844-)

Alfred Jesse (1848-)

Garbett (1852-1871)

1.1 George Samuel WOOD

Birth: 1828

Death: 1884, Graham's Town, Cape Colony

Spouse: Frances Elizabeth (Fanny) HOOLE⁴

Birth: 1829

Death: 1908

Father: James HOOLE (1789-1843)

Mother: Jane COTTERELL

Children:

George Alfred

Harriet

Charlotte

Frances Garbett

Nora

Josephine Ethel (1874-1965)

1.2 John Edwin WOOD

Birth: 22 May 1829, Graham's Town, Cape Colony

Death: bef 20 Jul 1901

Spouse: Charlotte WRIGHT⁵

Death: 1892

Father: William WRIGHT (~1792-1857)

Mother: Rosa STRATFORD (~1793-1867)

¹ *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa: Vol. II TUR-ZWE*, (Cape Town, 1973), p.491; & I. Mitford-Barberton & V. White, *Some frontier families: Biographical sketches of 100 Eastern Province families before 1840*, (Cape Town, 1968), pp.293-6.

² I. Mitford-Barberton & V. White, *Some frontier families*, pp.293-6.

³ Reuben Ayliff, *Journal*, (14 Feb 1889). [Unpublished ms.]

⁴ I. Mitford-Barberton & V. White, *Some frontier families*, pp.170-2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.302-3.

1.3 William WOOD

Birth: 1831

Death: 1856

Spouse: Emily WRIGHT

Death: 1894

Father: William WRIGHT (~1792-1857)

Mother: Rosa STRATFORD (~1793-1867)

1.4 Joseph Garbett WOOD

Birth: 1833

Occupation: Estate Agent

Spouse: Lydia COCK⁶

Birth: 1829

Death: 1924

Father: William COCK (1794-1876)

Mother: Elizabeth TOY (1793-1875)

Children:

2 sons

8 daughters

1.5 Susannah Martha WOOD

Birth: 1834

Death: 1890

Spouse: Jonathan AYLIFF⁷

Birth: 17 Jun 1829, Salem, Cape Colony

Death: 20 Oct 1885, St. Thomas's Hospital, London, England⁸

Father: Rev. John AYLIFF (1797-1862)

Mother: Jane Catherine DOLD (1799-1889)

Married: 1854, Graham's Town, Cape Colony

Children:

Alfred (1857-1859)

Sidney (1858-1858)

Susan Helen (1859-1939)

Edwin Horace Samuel (1859-1933)

Eleanorah Jane (1861-1863)

John (1864-1945)

Harriet Maud/Maude (1869-)

Alice (1866-1957)

George Wood (1872-1874)

Henry (Harry) (1875-1949)

1.6 Eleanor Jane WOOD

Birth: 1836

Spouse: George/J.M.? KIELL

1.7a Henry Richard WOOD*

Birth: 1838

Death: 24 Jul 1921

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.75-7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.20-4; R. & N. Musiker, 'Ayliff, John', in *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa: Vol. I: AAN-BAC*, pp.625-6; *Dictionary of South African biography: Vol. II*, (Cape Town?, [n.d.], pp.17-8; J. Ayliff, *The journal of John Ayliff: I: 1821-1830*, P. Hinchcliff (ed.), (Grahamstown, 1971); J.S. Coko, *Coko: Reminiscences of Joseph Scotch Coko: A Grahamstown resident*, (Grahamstown, 1973).

⁸ *The Times*, (London, 26 Oct 1885), p.6:d.

Spouse: Lettie IMPEY

Children:

sons
Maud
girls

Other spouses Mildred SLATER

1.7b Henry Richard WOOD* (See above)

Spouse: Mildred SLATER

Father: Josiah SLATER

Children:

Mildred Dorothea (Bay) (1901-1995)
Arthur?
Mary?

Other spouses Lettie IMPEY

1.8 Harriet Porter Rhodes WOOD

Birth: 1839

Spouse: G. CROZIER

1.9 Benoni Horace WOOD

Birth: 1840

Occupation: Farmer in Natal

Spouse: Florence HUDSON

Children:

sons

1.10 Elizabeth Lucy WOOD

[For further details about Elizabeth Lucy Wood, see Appendix 1.1: Drake Family.]

Spouse: Sir William Henry DRAKE

[For further details about Sir William Henry Drake, see Appendix 1.1: Drake Family.]

Children:

[For further details about the Drake children, see Appendix 1.1: Drake Family.]
Ella Wood (<1864-)
Lucy Beatrice (1867-)
William Bernard (1871-)
Kate Alice (Kitty) (<1876-)
Henry

1.11a Lydia Roberts WOOD*

Birth: 1844

Spouse: George IMPEY

Other spouses ? TEMPLETON, Sir George PEACOCK

1.11b Lydia Roberts WOOD* (See above)

Spouse: ? TEMPLETON

Other spouses George IMPEY, Sir George PEACOCK

1.11c Lydia Roberts WOOD* (See above)

Spouse: Sir George PEACOCK

Married: bef 3 Feb 1889

Other spouses George IMPEY, ? TEMPLETON

1.12 Alfred Jesse WOOD

Birth: 1848

Occupation: Professional artist in London

Spouse: Hannah GREEN

1.13 Garbett WOOD

Birth: 1852

Death: 1871

Appendix 2

Commissariat Officers

Before 1 Jan 1870 the ranks in the Commissariat Department, and their equivalent military ranks,¹ were as follows:

CG in Chief	Commissary-General-in-Chief	
CG	Commissary-General	Brigadier General
DCG	Deputy Commissary-General	Lieutenant-Colonel; Major (under 3 years' service)
ACG	Assistant Commissary-General	Captain
DACG	Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General	Lieutenant
CC	Commissariat Clerk	Ensign

After 1 Jan 1870 the Commissariat Department was amalgamated with the Ordnance, Stores, and the Purveyor-General's Departments into the Control Department. The ranks were as follows:

Controller-in-Chief
 Controller
 Deputy Controller
 Assistant Controller
 Supply and Transport Sub-Department: Commissary
 Supply and Transport Sub-Department: Deputy Commissary

The information below has been extracted from the following sources:

- (1840) Hart, H.G., *The new annual army list ... 1840*, (London, 1840), pp.305-8, 405-6.
- (1849) *The Tasmanian royal kalendar, colonial register and almanack 1849*, James Wood (comp.), (Hobart, 1849), pp.96-98.
- (1851) "Commissariat Department - British Army 1851", Transcribed from the Army List for January 1851 (pp.69-70) by Ted Wildy in Auckland, New Zealand, <http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/COMM1851.txt>, Accessed 30 Jul 1999.
- (1854) 'Statement showing the numbers, ranks, names and date of joining the Army in the East of the several Commissariat officers and subordinates, from the commencement of the war until the close of the year 1854', *Third report from the Select Committee of the Army before Sebastopol: Appendix No. 3*, (London, 1855), pp.362-373. [Chairman J.A. Roebuck.]
- (1856) Hart, Henry G., *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1856*, (London, 1856), pp.384-7, 499-501.
- (1860) Hart, H.G., *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, (London, 1860), pp.435-8, 527-8.
- (1868) Hart, H.G., *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1868*, (London, 1868), pp.419-21a.
- (1870) Hart, H.G., *The new annual army list, and militia list, and Indian civil service list, for 1870*, (London, 1870), pp.370-1a.
- (1872) Hart, H.G., *The new annual army list, and Indian civil service list, for 1872*, (London, 1872), pp.366-71b.
- Cell, J.W., *British colonial administration in the mid-nineteenth century: The policy-making process*, (New Haven, 1970).
- Drake family documents (as footnoted).
- Ellis, W.F., "Lempriere, Thomas James", in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol 2: 1788-1850: I-Z*, (Melbourne, 1967), pp.105-6.
- Grey, Jeffrey, *A military history of Australia*, (Cambridge, 1990).
- "Lempriere, Thomas James (1796-1852)", Bright Sparcs, <http://www.asap.unimelb.edu.au/bsparcs/biogs/P002137b.htm>, Accessed 28 Apr 1999.
- The Times*, (London) [as footnoted].

¹ M. Roper, *The records of the War Office and related departments 1660-1964*, (Kew, Surrey, 1998), p.55; & J. Wood (comp.), *The Tasmanian royal kalendar, colonial register and almanack 1849*, (Hobart, 1849), pp.97-98.

Notes:

- Officers of the Commissariat Department who served in the Crimea are listed with **their names in bold with black shading**.
- The names of Commissariat officers who were referred to by the Drake family in their letters or in their journals are prefixed by an asterisk*. (It is not always clear whether these are exactly the officers referred to, but their locations at the time of the letters or journal entries suggest that they are probably the correct ones.)
- By 1872 the Commissariat was part of the larger Control Department, which brought together the various supply departments of the Army under one banner. The entries below of officers coming from other departments (other than the Commissariat) are *italicised*.²

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Abbott, Blair			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>14 Jul 1855</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>London</i>
<i>Deputy Purveyor (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
*Ackroyd, Robert			
DACG (1840)	14 May 1829	1851	Mauritius
ACG (1851)	16 Dec 1845		
Died ³	Before 16 Feb 1855		
Adams, Arthur Fulford			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Jun 1842	1856, 1860	New Zealand
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	16 Dec 1845	1868	Bermuda
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1870, 1872	Chatham
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
*Adams, George, CB			
DACG (1856)	19 Jul 1821	1851	Dublin
ACG (1856)	24 Dec 1841	1854	From Ireland
DCG (1851, 1854, 1856)	29 Dec 1849	1854 (22 Apr)	Eastern Army
CG (1860)	27 Mar 1856	4 Aug 1854 ⁴	Varna HQ
Retired on full pay (1860)	?	17 Mar 1855 ⁵	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
(1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1860) Eastern campaign, Crimea, 1854-55, battle of Alma, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps, CB, 4 th Class of the Medjidie).			
Adams, Joseph Hollingworth			
CG (1840, 1856, 1860)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with Clasp for Talavera.			
Adamson, Saunders			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>25 Aug 1855</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Jamaica</i>
<i>Deputy Purveyor (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		

² Former Commissariat Department officers only have been entered into this list following the heading "Deputy Commissaries (Supernumerary, till absorbed ...)" from p.368.

³ William Henry Drake (Balaklava) #48 - Louisa Drake (London) (16 Feb 1855): "I see the death of Ackroyd".

⁴ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁵ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Adey, Brig.-Gen. John Miller, Royal Artillery, Director of Artillery & Stores			
2 nd Lieutenant Royal Artillery (1840, 1860)	13 Dec 1836		
1 st Lieutenant Royal Artillery (1840, ⁶ 1860)	7 Jul 1839		
Captain Royal Artillery (1860)	29 Jul 1846		
Brevet Major Royal Artillery (1860)	22 Sep 1854		
Brevet Lieut.-Col. Royal Artillery (1860)	12 Dec 1854		
Lieut.-Col. Royal Artillery (1860) ⁷	29 Aug 1857		
Assistant to the Controller in Chief (1872)			
(1860) Served the Eastern campaign of 1854-56 as Assist. Adj. General of Royal Artillery, & was present at the affairs of Bulganac & McKenzie's Farm, the battles of the Alma, Balaklava, & Inkerman, capture of Balaklava Castle, siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps, C.B., Officer of the Legion of Honor, & 4 th Class of the Medjidie). Served in India in 1857-58 as Assist. Adj. General of Royal Artillery, & was present at the action of Pandoo Nuddy 26 Nov, operations before Cawnpore under Gen. Windham 27 th , 28 th , & 29 th Nov, battle of Cawnpore & defeat of the Gwalior Contingent 6 Dec 1857 (three times mentioned in despatches, Medal).			
Alder, S. Benjamin			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
Died (1860) ⁸	Before 29 Dec 1859		
Allan, David			
DCG (1840, 1856)	13 Jun 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)			?
Allinson, John Hiram			
DACG (1851, 1856)	28 Dec 1847	1851	St. Kitts
Retired on half pay (1856)			?
Allsop, Robert			
ACG (1840)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
Alpian, Sharash			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (27 Apr)	Eastern Army
Anderson, Alexander Williams			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Jan 1861	1868, 1870	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Feb 1862	1872	Ireland
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Anderson, John David			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	11 Oct 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)			?
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with Clasp for Salamanca.			
Anderson, Richard John			
DCG (1840)	16 Aug 1811		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
*Anderson, T.C.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854 (1 Aug)	Eastern Army
Died (1854)	?		

⁶ John Miller Adey, Royal Artillery, 2 years service full pay, H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, ... 1840*, (London, 1840), p.272.

⁷ John Miller Adey, Royal Artillery, 24 years service full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.52, 373, 391.

⁸ Joseph Thomas Barrington, 9 years service; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.559.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Angell, John Charles			
First commissioned rank (1872)	15 Jan 1854	1872	No station listed
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Archdeacon, E.M.			
DACG (1840)	5 Oct 1832		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
*Archer, Francis Bisset			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860, 1868)	2 Jan 1834	1851	St. Helena
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868)	16 Dec 1845	1856	Eastern Army
DCG (1856, 1868)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Ionian Islands
CG (1868)	11 Oct 1862	1868	Canada
Archer, Francis Gordon			
First commissioned rank (1872)	15 Feb 1861	1868, 1870, 1872	Honduras
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jun 1862		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Archer, William Spearman			
DACG (1840, 1851, 1856, 1860)	28 Jun 1838	1851	Ionian Islands
ACG (1854, 1856, 1860)	28 Dec 1850	1854 (20 Nov)	Eastern Army
		17 Mar 1855 ⁹	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Malta
(1860) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp).			
Armstrong, Francis Hugh			
First commissioned rank (1872)	15 Feb 1861	1868, 1870	China
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jun 1862	1872	Woolwich Arsenal
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Arnold, Thomas			
ACG (1840)	28 Jun 1838		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Ashton, Henry			
DACG (1849, 1851, 1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840	1849	Hobart
ACG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853	1851	Van Diemen's Land
		1856	Tasmania
		1860	Western Australia
(1849) In charge of Southern, or Hobart Town district.			
*Atkinson, George			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	23 Dec 1842	1851	Ionian Islands
ACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Portsmouth
		1863 ¹⁰	Cape of Good Hope
Auther, William			
DCG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			

⁹ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

¹⁰ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, 15 Dec 1863: "Transferred Charge to A.C.G. Atkinson WO No. 371 53/Est/116g of 5 Nov. 1863."

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
<i>Bagenal, Henry Sedley Rice</i>			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	1 Oct 1840	1872	Guernsey
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	12 Feb 1870		
*Bailey, James, CB			
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	6 Jan 1854	1854 (29 Jun)	Eastern Army
ACG (1868, 1870)	15 Feb 1861	17 Mar 1855 ¹¹	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Bermuda
		1868, 1870	London
(1860, 1868, 1870) Kaffir war (Medal). Eastern campaign, Crimea of 1854-55, battle of Alma, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 2 Clasps, Turkish Medal).			
Bailey, Michael			
ACG (1840, 1856)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Bailey, William			
DACG (1840)	10 Jan 1814		
ACG (1840, 1856)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Bain, George			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	20 May 1828		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 3 Clasps for Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse.			
Baker, George			
Acting CC (1854)	?	1854	From Audit Office
		1854 (26 Jul)	Eastern Army
Baker, Robert			
DACG (1856)	17 Oct 1844	1851	Berbice
DACG (1851, 1860)	24 Dec 1844	1856	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1860	The Curragh
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
<i>Baker, Robert Cattley</i>			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	15 Aug 1855	1872	Straits Settlements
<i>Deputy Purveyor (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	12 Feb 1870		
Baldy, William			
DACG (1840)	5 Oct 1832		
Ball, William Clare			
First commissioned rank (1872)	20 Nov 1849	1856, 1860	Western Australia
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	14 Feb 1852	1868	Curragh
DACG (1856)	2 Jul 1852	1870	No station listed
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Aug 1862	1872	London
Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Banon, E.J.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
		1854 (1 Aug)	Eastern Army
		1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home

¹¹ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Barker, Richard			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (8 Jun)	Eastern Army
Barlee, John B.			
CC (1854)	?	1854 (14 Apr)	Eastern Army
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	28 Feb 1855	17 Mar 1855 ¹²	Balaklava
ACG (1868, 1870)	1 Nov 1865	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Cape of Good Hope
		1868, 1870	Dublin
(1860, 1868, 1870) Served with the 4 th Div. throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, including the battles of Alma & Inkerman & siege of Sebastopol (Medal & 3 Clasps), & Turkish Medal.			
Barney, Richard			
DCG (1840, 1856)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 2 Clasps for Corunna & Busaco.			
Barrington, Joshua/Joseph Thomas			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	10 Aug 1856	1872	Gibraltar
<i>Lieutenant Royal Artillery (1860)¹³</i>	10 Aug 1856		
<i>Captain Royal Artillery (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Acting Asst. Controller (on probation) (1872)</i>	1 Jan 1870		
Bartlett, Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Apr 1844	1851	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	26 Dec 1846	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁴	Balaklava
		1854 (31 Mar)	Eastern Army
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	2 Jan 1856	1856	Eastern Army
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1860	New Zealand
		1868	Tasmania
		1870	Manchester
		1872	Woolwich
(1860) Served with the 4 th Div. at the battles of Alma & Inkerman & siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps; has also received the Medal for the Kaffir war). (1868, 1870, 1872) Served in the field with Col. Somerset's division during the last 14 months of the Kaffir war in 1846-47; also throughout the Kaffir war of 1850-53 (Medal). Had Commissariat charge of the 4 th Division on landing in the Crimea & at the battles of Alma & Inkerman & siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 3 Clasps, & Turkish Medal); served during the Maori war at Taranaki, New Zealand, in 1840-41 & was present in several affairs.			
Battiscombe, Walter Ernest Sax			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	6 Jan 1860	1872	ASC
<i>Lieut. Military Train (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	15 Feb 1870		
*Bayley, Henry Addington			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
ACG (1856)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Retired on half pay with honorary rank of	15 May 1859		
DCG (1860)			
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Bayley, Henry Lambert			
DACG (1851)	23 Dec 1842	1851	Tobago

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, (London, 1860), p.380.

¹⁴ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Bayley, Thomas			
DACG (1840, 1856)	10 Aug 1811		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
*Baynes, Arthur Stuart			
First commissioned rank (1872)	8 Jun 1854	1854 (8 Jun)	Eastern Army
CC (1854)	?	Aug 1854 ¹⁵	Varna
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	9 Jun 1855	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁶	Balaklava
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Sep 1866	1856	Eastern Army
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1860	China
		1868	Special Service
		1870	Dublin
		1872	Ceylon
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Eastern campaign, Crimea, 1854-55, with Light Div., battles of Alma & Inkerman, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 3 Clasps, Turkish Medal). (1868, 1870, 1872) Also served in the operations, China, 1857-61, capture of Canton, action with Braves near White Cloud Mountains (Medal with Clasp).			
Baynes, Sir E. Stuart, KCMG			
DACG (1840, 1856)	16 Dec 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Consul-General at Tunis (1856)	?		
Beale, Oswald Frederick			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>14 Jun 1855</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Nova Scotia</i>
<i>Deputy Purveyor (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Beamish, William			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1863	1868, 1870	Canada
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	21 Feb 1866	1872	ASC
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Beech, William			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	24 Feb 1810		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Beltz, Samuel			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	31 Mar 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Bennett, George B.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	26 Dec 1846	1856, 1860, 1868,	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	28 Dec 1850	1870, 1872	
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	15 Jun 1861		
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
Bennett, William D.			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>8 Dec 1854</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Jamaica</i>
<i>Dep. Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>1 Jan 1871</i>		
Bent, Thomas Hamlyn			
DCG (1840, 1856)	19 Mar 1807		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		

¹⁵ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Beswick, A.S.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	25 Apr 1844	1872	Halifax
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Commissary (1872)	1 Jan 1871		
Bethune, John D. (Lieut.-Col.)			
CG (1840)	18 Jul 1799		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Beverley, C.W.			
DACG (1840)	15 Jan 1814		
ACG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
Billings, Francis Thomas			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	9 Sep 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Bindon, H.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
		1854 (8 Aug)	Eastern Army
*Birch, Augustus			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Birney, George (Ireland)			
ACG (1840, 1856)	25 Jun 1808		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Birnie, William Jones			
First commissioned rank (1872)	14 Jul 1855	1872	Portsmouth Gun Wharf
Deputy Purveyor (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Bishop, William			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	13 Jul 1824	1851	Van Diemen's Land
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	24 Jul 1834	1856	Tasmania
DCG (1851, 1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1849	1860	Malta
CG (1860)	1 Apr 1850		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Bisset, Sir John, KCH			
CG (1840)	31 Jul 1811		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Blacker, Lathan William			
First commissioned rank (1872)	14 Apr 1846	1856, 1860	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	28 Dec 1850	1868	No station listed
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 May 1861	1870	Straits Settlements
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1872	Portsmouth
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
*Blackwood, Stevenson Arthur¹⁷			
Born	22 May 1832	1854	From Treasury
Acting DACG (1854)	1854	1854 (8 Apr)	Eastern Army
Died	2 Oct 1893		

¹⁷ Some records of the life of Stevenson Arthur Blackwood K.C.B., (London, 1897).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Blades, W.H.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Stationery Office
		1854 (28 Aug)	Eastern Army
Blakeney, Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	7 Mar 1850	1872	Edinburgh
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
<i>(1872) Served throughout the Crimean war of 1854-55 & was on the personal Staff of Lord Raglan at [?]; Medal with 4 Clasps, & Turkish Medal).</i>			
*Blanc, Charles Garrow			
DACG (1856, 1860)	8 Dec 1848	1851	West Indies
DACG (1851)	9 Dec 1848	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁸	Balaklava
ACG (1860)	1 Aug 1856	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	No station listed
<i>(1860) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp).</i>			
Bland, John			
DACG (1840, 1856)	1 Jun 1821	1856	Jamaica
ACG (1840, 1856)	8 Mar 1831		
DCG (1856)	26 Dec 1846		
Retired with honorary rank of CG (1860)	15 May 1859		
Blunt, Francis Charles			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1855	1860	Jamaica
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jan 1856	1868	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1870, 1872)	1 Aug 1868	1870, 1872	Dublin
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Blurton, John			
First commissioned rank (1872)	6 Sep 1866	1868, 1870	Canada
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	6 Mar 1867	1872	ASC
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Booth, Robert			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1848	1851	Nova Scotia
		1854 (18 Nov)	Eastern Army
		17 Mar 1855 ¹⁹	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Cape of Good Hope
<i>(1860) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp).</i>			

¹⁸ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Booth, William, CB			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	18 Dec 1818		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 10 Clasps for Corunna, Talavera, Busaco, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse.			
Bovell, John William			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	20 Jan 1837	1851, 1856	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1846	1860	Tasmania
Bower, Rupert B.B.			
DACG (1851. 1856)	28 Dec 1847	1851	Jamaica
		1856	New South Wales
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
*Bowers, Henry			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Jun 1812	1851	West Indies
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814	1856	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	13 Dec 1833	1860	No station listed
DCG (1851, 1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1844		
Died (see below)	30 Sep 1879		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> . (1856, 1860) War Medal with Clasp for St. Sebastian. <i>The Times</i> , (London, 4 Oct 1879), p.11:f: "DCG Bowers died on Tuesday last in his 84 th year. He was an officer whose services dated from the time of the Peninsular war, having entered the Army in 1812. Henry Bowers was born in 1796, & was a son of Mr. Peters [sic] Bowers, who filled the post of private & confidential secretary to Warren Hastings while Governor-General of India. He was a nephew of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Arbuthnot, M.P. for Oxford, a Cabinet Minister of his day, & two other of his uncles were Generals on the Staff of the Duke of Wellington during the Peninsular campaign. The deceased .. in 1813 was on active service in Canada during the American war. He also served in Belgium & the North of France in 1814, & was with the British Army which afterwards occupied Paris. Subsequently Mr. Bowers was in charge of the Commissariat at the Bahamas, Bermuda, Gibraltar, Barbadoes, & the Cape of Good Hope, & when he retired he had completed 47 years of active service. The veteran officer had unflinching good health until within a few days of his death."			
Bowman, William Flockhart			
DACG (1840)	4 May 1814	1851	Malta
ACG (1840, 1851)	20 Jan 1837		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Boyes, George Thomas William Blaney			
DACG (1840, 1856)	3 Feb 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Boyes, Robert			
DCG (1840)	7 Nov 1809		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Boyes, William Greyson			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>16 Apr 1852</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Fort George</i>
<i>Dep. Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>7 Jul 1870</i>		
Brackenbury, Langley			
DACG (1840, 1856)	7 Jun 1825		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Brathwaite, Frederick			
DACG (1851, 1856)	1 Jul 1840	1851, 1856	New Zealand
ACG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Brereton, Thomas Sadleir			
First commissioned rank (1872)	6 Jul 1861	1868	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1870, 1872)	1 Apr 1863	1870	Mauritius
DACG (1868)	1 Apr 1868	1872	No station listed
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Brew, C.²⁰			
Acting DACG (1854)	1854	1854 (1 Aug)	Eastern Army
Bridgman, Frederick Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	21 May 1866	1868	Curragh
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	21 Nov 1866	1870	Jamaica
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	ASC
Bridgman, William			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Jan 1861	1868	Canada
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Apr 1862	1870	Aldershot
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	ASC ²¹
Bridgen, Charles			
DACG (1840)	1 Jun 1821	1849	Battery Pnt, Hobart
ACG (1849, 1851)	1 Jul 1840	1851	Van Diemen's land
Bridgett, Gregson			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Apr 1857	1860	London
Purveyor (1860) ²²	1 Apr 1857	1872	London
Principal Purveyor (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Aug 1871		
Brock, John Savery			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
*Broughton, T.M.²³			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	1854	1854 (25 Jun)	Eastern Army
Brown/Browne, Joseph Steere			
DACG (1840)	1 Jun 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Brown, Richard			
DCG (1840)	29 May 1793		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Brown, Sidney Reynett			
First commissioned rank (1872)	15 Jan 1855	1860	Canada
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868, 1870, 1872	Cape of Good Hope
Commissary (1872)	1 Jan 1871		
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served in Commissariat charge of the expedition in the operations before Canton from Oct 1856 to Jan 1857. In Jul 1857 he raised the Chinese Coolie Corps, & finally commanded the ambulance company at the assault & capture of Canton on 29 Dec 1857 (Medal with Clasp).			

²⁰ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

²¹ ASC: Army Service Corps.

²² H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.445-6.

²³ William Henry Drake, *Journal*, 9 Aug 1854.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Brown/Browne, Thomas			
DACG (1849, 1851, 1856)	26 Dec 1846	1849 1851 1856	Tasman's Peninsula Van Diemen's Land No station listed
(1849) In charge of district of Tasman's Peninsula.			
Brown, William			
DCG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
*Brownrigg, Henry John			
First commissioned rank (1872)	10 May 1850	1854 (Apr)	Eastern Army
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jul 1852	Aug 1854 ²⁴	Varna
DACG (1856)	5 Jan 1853	17 Mar 1855 ²⁵	Balaklava
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	8 Oct 1862	1856	Eastern Army
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1860	Bermuda
		1868	No station listed
		1870	Edinburgh
		1872	Ceylon
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Served throughout Eastern campaign, 1854-55, with 3 rd Div., battles of Alma, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & 3 Clasps, Turkish medal).			
Brunett, George Augustus			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Oct 1847	1872	Cape of Good Hope
Dep. Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Buchanan, John L'Estrange Lenny			
First commissioned rank (1872)	20 Jan 1855	1860	Corfu
Purveyor (1860, ²⁶ 1872)	13 Oct 1855	1872	Japan
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Burnaby, Alexander Dickson			
First commissioned rank (1872)	14 Aug 1854	1872	Woolwich Arsenal
2 nd Lieut. Royal Artillery (1860) ²⁷	14 Aug 1854		
1 st Lieut. Royal Artillery (1860)	8 Dec 1854		
Captain Royal Artillery (1872)	?		
Acting Asst. Controller (on probation) (1872)	17 Oct 1871		
(1860) Served at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp). Served in India in 1858, & was present at the siege & capture of Lucknow, & actions of Sirsee & Nawabgunge (Medal & Clasp).			
Byndloss, Edward			
DACG (1840)	31 Dec 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Cacopardo, P.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 1854 (12 Jun)	From Ionian Islands Eastern Army
Calder, Patrick			
DACG (1840)	2 Jan 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Callaghan, F.W.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (9 May)	Eastern Army

²⁴ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.445-6.

²⁷ Alexander Dickson Burnaby, 6 years service full pay, *Ibid.*, pp.378, 398b.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Cameron, Kenneth			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Never		
DACG (1840)	25 Apr 1815		
(1840) Transferred from Storekeeper General's Dept. (Assistant Storekeeper General 25 Apr 1815).			
Camm, John Philip			
DACG (1840)	28 Jun 1838		
Campbell, James			
DACG (1840)	15 Jan 1822		
ACG (1856)	26 Dec 1846		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Carey, Tupper			
ACG (1840)	10 Aug 1811		
DCG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
CG (1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1844		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 7 Clasps for Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onor, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Orthes, & Toulouse.			
*Carpenter, Frederick Stanley			
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	24 Dec 1841	1854 (1 Aug)	Eastern Army
ACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	29 Dec 1849	4 Aug 1854 ²⁸	Attached, Military
DCG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jan 1856		Secr. for Warrants, Crimea
		17 Mar 1855 ²⁹	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Gibraltar
		1868	Great Britain
		1870	Dublin
(1860, 1868, 1870) Eastern campaign, Crimea, 1854-55, battle of Alma, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 2 Clasps, Knight of the Legion of Honor, 4 th Class of the Medjidie, Turkish Medal).			
Carr, Samuel			
DACG (1840)	1 Jun 1821		
ACG (1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1841		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Carr, T.P.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
		1854 (18 Oct)	Eastern Army
Carruthers, David			
ACG (1840, 1856)	24 Feb 1810		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Casolini/Casolani, Frederick			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Malta
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1855	1854 (15 Apr)	Eastern Army
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Ionian Islands
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	23 Aug 1870	1868	Special Service
		1870	Malta
		1872	Malta
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, & Turkish Medal).			

²⁸ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

²⁹ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Castle, Slodden			
DACG (1840, 1856)	13 Jan 1829		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
*Castray, Luke Richard			
First commissioned rank (1872)	5 Jan 1853	1856, 1860	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855	1868	Sydney
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Sep 1866	1870, 1872	Tasmania
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
Cattell, Edward			
First commissioned rank (1872)	.....	1860	No station listed
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Sierra Leone
Deputy Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	No station listed
		1872	Dublin
Cellem, Robert			
DACG (1856, 1860)	27 Feb 1851	1856	St. Lucia
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Chalmers, Andrew			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 4 Clasps for Salamanca, Vittoria, Nivelle, & Nive.			
Chambers, William Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	17 Apr 1855	1872	Edinburgh
Dep. Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	1 Oct 1871		
(1872) Served in the Royal Navy on board <i>H.M.S. Neptune</i> , <i>Valorous</i> , & <i>Sanspareil</i> in the Baltic & Black Sea & was present at Bomarsund & Sebastopol (Baltic, Crimean, & Turkish Medals).			
Chaplin, Arthur Lewis			
CC (1855)	?	17 Mar 1855 ³⁰	Balaklava
DACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Tasmania
(1860) Served at the siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp).			
Charlier, Charles William			
DACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1860	St. Helena
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
Charlier, Joseph			
DACG (1840, 1856)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 5 Clasps for Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse.			
Charters, Robert			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
ACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Chase, Richard Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	10 Oct 1854	1872	Purfleet
Dep. Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	1 Jan 1871		

³⁰ *Ibid.*

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Chew, George			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Emigration Office
		1854 (28 Aug)	Eastern Army
		1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
Chiaranda, Francis Leonard			
ACG (1840, 1856)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
(1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Child, George			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	4 May 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Chislett, William Oakley			
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	11 Nov 1859	1860	New Zealand
		1868	Portsmouth
		1870	Newfoundland
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Christie, Walter Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	10 Dec 1866	1868, 1870, 1872	Malta
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	10 Jun 1867		
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Christo, Edward T.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Oct 1866	1870	South Australia
DACG (1870, 1872)	24 Oct 1868	1872	Portsmouth
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Clarke, Charles Anthony			
DACG (1840, 1856)	15 Dec 1812	1856	Canada
ACG (1840, 1856)	23 Nov 1827		
DCG (1856)	16 Dec 1845		
Retired with honorary rank of CG (1860)	15 May 1859		
Clarke, Douglas Bennet			
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	19 Dec 1843	1851	Barbados
DACG (1851)	23 Dec 1843	1856	Sierra Leone
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jan 1855	1860	Cork
		1868	Nova Scotia
Clarke, James Alleyne			
First commissioned rank (1872)	10 Aug 1867	1870, 1872	West Indies
DACG (1870, 1872)	10 Feb 1868		
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Clarke, Henry			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	27 Aug 1837	1851	Honduras
DACG (1840, 1851, 1856)	27 Aug 1838	1854 (22 Jun)	Eastern Army
ACG (1854, 1856, 1860)	28 Dec 1850	4 Aug 1854 ³¹	Local duty, Cash, Crimea
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
		1856	Eastern Army
(1860) Kaffir Medal.			

³¹ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Clarke, Thomas			
DACG (1840)	10 Aug 1811		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
*Clerk/Clerke, Alexander			
CC (1854)	?	17 Mar 1855 ³²	Balaklava
First commissioned rank (1872)	29 Mar 1854	1854 (9 May)	Eastern Army
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	30 Mar 1855	1856	Eastern Army
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Nov 1865	1860	New Zealand
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1868	Edinburgh
		1870	Bermuda
		1872	Dover
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Eastern campaign, 1854-55, Crimea, with Light Div., battles of Alma & Inkerman, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 3 Clasps, Turkish Medal).			
Cleeve, Charles Kerr			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Jul 1846	1860	Tower
Deputy Military Storekeeper (1860) ³³	?	1872	China
Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
Coates, George			
First commissioned rank (1872)	7 Sep 1867	1870, 1872	Jamaica
DACG (1870, 1872)	7 Mar 1868		
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Coates, William			
DACG (1840, 1856)	1 Oct 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Cocksedge, Henry			
CG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Coffin, Sir Edward Pine			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Never		
DACG (1840)	Never		
ACG (1840)	1 Aug 1809		
DCG (1840)	4 Aug 1814		
CG (1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 3 Clasps for Corunna, Vittoria, & Toulouse.			
Colquhoun, A.C.			
DACG (1860)	?		
Resigned (1860) ³⁴	Before 29 Dec 1849		

³² 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

³³ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.464.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.557.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Colquhoun, Francis Crossley			
CC (1854)	?	1854 (8 Jun)	Eastern Army
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jan 1855	17 Mar 1855 ³⁵	Balaklava
ACG (1868)	6 Oct 1866	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Cape of Good Hope
		1868	Belfast
(1860, 1868) Eastern Campaign, 1854-55, Crimea, with 2 nd Div., battles of Alma & Inkerman, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 3 Clasps, Turkish Medal).			
Colvill, Robert (Ireland)			
ACG (1840)	23 Feb 1809		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Comper, John Thomas			
DACG (1856)	17 Oct 1844	1851, 1856	Barbados
DACG (1851)	24 Dec 1844		
ACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
*Connell, Henry			
DACG (1851, 1856)	17 Oct 1844	1851, 1856	Western Australia
DACG (1860)	24 Dec 1844	1860	New Zealand
ACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856		
Cook, Francis John Gilbert			
First commissioned rank (1872)	29 Mar 1866	1868, 1870	Dublin
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	29 Sep 1866	1872	ASC
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Cokesley, Augustus Foulkes			
CC (1854)	?	1854 (22 Apr)	Eastern Army
DACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855	17 Mar 1855 ³⁶	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Cape of Good Hope
(1860) Served with the Head Quarters of the army throughout the Eastern Campaign of 1854-55, including the battles of Alma, Balaklava, & Inkerman, & siege of Sebastopol (Medal & 4 Clasps).			
Cooper, John Richard			
DACG (1840)	1 Jun 1821		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Cooper, William Robertson			
DACG (1851)	24 Dec 1844	1851	Cape of Good Hope
Coppinger, W.P.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854 (29 Jul)	Eastern Army
Couche, Edward			
DCG (1840, 1856)	12 Aug 1806		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Courtenay, George Townsend			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	26 Sep 1806		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		

³⁵ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Courtney, Edward			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Registrar-General's Office
First commissioned rank (1872)	.....	
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1854 (23 Sep)	Eastern Army
Married ³⁷	~ Dec 1860	1860	Cape of Good Hope
Deputy Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1868	Plymouth
		1870	Gibraltar
		1872	Woolwich
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
*Cowan, Edward Alphonso Frederick			
DACG (1840)	5 Aug 1811	1851	Demerara
ACG (1840, 1851)	4 May 1836	1854 (14 Jun)	Eastern Army
DCG (1854, 1856)	29 Dec 1850	Aug 1854 ³⁸	Varna
Retired on half pay (1856)	?	1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
Died (1860) ³⁹	Before 29 Dec 1859		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 2 Clasps for Vittoria & Toulouse.			
*Coxworthy, Ferguson Thomas			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	20 Dec 1819	1851	Quebec
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	7 Jun 1825	1856	New South Wales
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1841	1860	No station listed
DCG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855		
(1840) Transferred from Storekeeper General's Dept. 20 Dec 1819.			
Coxworthy, James			
DACG (1851, 1856)	26 Dec 1846	1851	Honduras
		1856	Gambia
Cramer, Henry John			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	4 May 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Crawford, Charles Robert			
First commissioned rank (1872)	12 May 1860	1872	ASC
Lieut. Military Train (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	15 Feb 1870		
*Crookshank, Alexander Crowder			
First commissioned rank (1872)	27 Jan 1844	1851	Demerara
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	26 Dec 1846	1854 (25 May)	Eastern Army
		1856	Eastern Army
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	2 Jan 1856	4 Aug 1854 ⁴⁰	Cavalry Div.,
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		Crimea
Died, Dublin (see below)	Apr 1877	1860	Chatham
		1868, 1870	Ceylon
		1872	Home District
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Served throughout Eastern campaign, 1854-55, in Commissariat charge, Cavalry Division from landing in Crimea, affairs of Bulganac & McKenzie's Farm, battles of Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman, & Tchernaya, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 4 Clasps, 5 th Class of the Medjidie, Turkish Medal). China expedition, 1857-58, in Commissariat charge of Expeditionary Field Force, present at capture of Canton (Medal with Clasp).			
<i>The Times</i> , (London, 17 Apr 1877), p.12:a: "DCG A. Crowder Crookshank, C.B., District CG, whose			

³⁷ Louisa Drake (Graham's Town) - Maria Drake (London), (13 Dec 1860).

³⁸ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

³⁹ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.559.

⁴⁰ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
death at Dublin was recorded yesterday, .. He was for some years stationed to Ceylon as ACG, & was appointed to Dublin in December, 1872. In consideration of his valuable services in the Control Department he was, in 1873, made a Companion of the Order of the Bath."			
Crookshank, George			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	3 Aug 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
*Cumming, Robert			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jan 1855	1854	From Ireland
Died (see below)	27 Oct 1894	1854 (24 Mar)	Eastern Army
		17 Mar 1855 ⁴¹	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Canada
		1868	Special Service
(1860, 1868) Kaffir war (Medal); Crimea, at siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal). <i>The Times</i> , (London, 30 Oct 1894), p.10:b: "ACG Robert Cumming died on Saturday last, at Bridge of Allan, near Stirling, aged 71. He served first in the Kaffir war, for which he received a medal, .."			
Cumming, William			
DCG (1840)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Curren/Curran, Boaventura Rom.			
DACG (1840, 1856)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Curll, Henry			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	17 Oct 1844	1851	Van Diemen's Land
ACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1856	Hong Kong
		1860	West Indies
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
Dalrymple, Sir Charles			
CG (1840)	29 Jan 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Died (see below)	1 Dec 1849		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. <i>The Times</i> , 7 Dec 1849, p.2:f: "The late CG Sir Charles Dalrymple - This gallant officer, who died at Maidstone on the 1 st inst., after a very short illness was the son of the late General William Toombes Dalrymple, & took an active part in the duties of his department during the late war, first with the expedition to the Helder, in the year 1799; he served in Germany in 1800 & 1801, & on his return was advanced to the rank of DCG, & proceeded to Madeira. At the breaking out of the war in 1803, he served in England to the year 1808, when he accompanied an expedition under Sir John Sherbrooke to Cadiz, & afterwards joined the army in Portugal, in which country, & in Spain & in France, he served till the end of the war. He was appointed CG in 1812, & received the honour of knighthood from the Prince Regent as a reward for his services. The duties which fell to his lot in the Peninsular war were of an active & confidential nature, during which he co-operated with the late Sir Robert Kennedy, who had the chief charge of the commissariat department. Sir C. Dalrymple received the medal for his services at Talavera, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse. He has left issue four sons & one daughter."			
Dalrymple, William Henry			
DACG (1840, 1856)	20 Jan 1837	1851	Montreal
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1849	1856	Gibraltar
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		

⁴¹ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Daniel, John Edgcombe			
ACG (1840)	23 Nov 1827	1851	Gibraltar
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
DCG (1851, 1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1846		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 7 Clasps for Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse.			
Daniell, Francis			
DCG (1840)	2 Feb 1807		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
*Darling, Henry Charles			
DACG (1840)	12 Sep 1816	1851	Western Australia
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
*Darling, Montague William			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1840	1851	St. Lucia
ACG (1854, 1856, 1860)	6 Jan 1854	1854 (22 Apr)	Eastern Army
DCG (1860)	1 Aug 1856	4 Aug 1854 ⁴²	Light Div., Crimea
		17 Mar 1855 ⁴³	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	No station listed
(1860) Eastern campaign, 1854-55, Crimea, with Light Div., battles of Alma & Inkerman, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps, Knight of the Legion of Honor, 5 th Class of the Medjidie).			
Davenport, John Salusbury			
DACG (1840, 1851, 1856, 1860)	28 Jun 1838	1851	Montreal, Canada
ACG (1856, 1860)	28 Dec 1850	1856	Trinidad
		1860	Cape of Good Hope
(1856, 1860) Served the Syrian campaign of 1840 (Medal).			
David, John			
DACG (1840)	11 Oct 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Davidson, John			
DACG (1840)	25 Nov 1813		
ACG (1840, 1856)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Davidson, Peter Fraser			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Davies, Peter			
DACG (1840, 1856)	15 Jan 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Davis, Lionel			
DACG (1840)	4 Jan 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		

⁴² William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁴³ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*De Fonblanque, Edward Barrington			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	23 Dec 1842	1851	Jamaica
Acting ACG	4 Aug 1854 ⁴⁴	1854 (7 May)	Eastern Army
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855	4 Aug 1854 ⁴⁵	2 nd Div., Crimea
DCG (1868, 1870)	11 Oct 1864	1856	Eastern Army
Died, Bourne End (see below)	14 Jun 1895	1860	China
		1868	War Office
		1870	Dover
(1860, 1868, 1870) Crimea, with 3 rd Div., battles of Alma & Inkerman, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 3 Clasps, 5 th Class of the Medjidie, Turkish Medal).			
<i>The Times</i> , (London, 15 Jun 1895), p.11:f: "Mr. Edward Barrington de Fonblanque died yesterday at Abney-house, Bourne End, the residence of his friend, Miss Hammersley, to which he was removed from London some weeks ago, after a long & painful illness borne with extraordinary patience & fortitude. He was born in 1821 & was the son of T. de Grenier de Fonblanque, Consul-General at Belgrade, & nephew of Albany de Fonblanque. His grandfather on his mother's side was Sir Jonah Barrington, from whom he inherited apparently the witty readiness & humour which distinguished him in society. In 1854 he proceeded to the East as DCG, & was soon noted for the energy & ability with which he performed the onerous duties of a departmental officer engaged in making bricks without straw in the Crimean war. He was detached to assist in the formation of the "Italian Legion", for which he was fitted by his attainments as a linguist, but the force was never called to the East. At the close of the war he was promoted in the commissariat & was soon selected for service with the British Army in China, where he was remarked for his zeal & ability during the operations. Eventually he became CG, & was employed at the War Office when the incident for which he was, as many thought unjustly, blamed in connexion [sic] with the sufferings of a detachment of troops on the march from the extraordinary heat of the weather led to his retirement from the service on half-pay, to which was due in some measure the literary activity of his later years. He was educated at Bonn, travelled much, & observed shrewdly & closely. Such works as the "Treatise on the Administration of the British Army" (1858), "Episodes, &c., from the Life of the Right Hon. J. Burgoyne" (1876), "Lives of the Lords Strangford" (1878), "Nippon & Pecheli" (1862), "The House of Percy", "Lives of the Dukes of Northumberland" attest the diligence & research which characterised him; but an immense mass of writing on a great variety of topics is lost in the anonymous contributions to periodical literature, in which, despite much bodily suffering, he was incessantly engaged. He met many years back with an accident whilst out riding, of which the effects, at first only visible in a slight lameness, increased year after year, and, although he was able to make a voyage to Venezuela & back only a year or two ago, he soon afterwards was obliged to lie up, & some months ago submitted to an amputation of the leg, which was inevitable, in the opinion of his medical advisers, as the only chance of saving his life. A charming companion at his best, well-informed, quaint, & pleasant, he was endeared to his intimates by the genuine goodness, & by the kindness of heart which those who only knew him at the Athenæum or the Naval & Military never fully realized. He passed quietly away at last in the house where he was tended with the tenderest of care by a life-long friend, with an old companion in the Crimea & in China by his side, on the bank of the river which he fondly loved."			
*De Gernon, C.J.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854 (1 Aug)	Eastern Army
*De Smidt, Johannes			
DACG (1840, 1856)	29 Aug 1836	1851, 1856	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1844		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
(1860) Kaffir Medal.			
De Smidt, John Pascal Larkins			
DACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		

⁴⁴ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Deare, George Beresford			
First commissioned rank (1872)	25 Feb 1867	1868, 1870	West Indies
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	25 Aug 1867	1872	Barbados
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Des Barres, Joseph F.W.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	10 Mar 1854	1868, 1870, 1872	Fermoy
DACG (1868, 1870)	4 Jul 1860		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served with the late Turkish Contingent at Kertch, & has received the Turkish War Medal for the Crimea.			
Devine, John			
First commissioned rank (1872)	20 Feb 1857	1872	ASC
Lieut. Military Train (1860, ⁴⁶ 1872)	20 Feb 1857		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	15 Feb 1870		
(1860, 1872) Served the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, in the Royal Artillery & Turkish Contingent, including the battles of Alma, Balaklava, & Inkerman, sortie of 26 Oct, attacks on the Redan on 18 Jun & 8 Sep, siege & fall of Sebastopol, & capture of Kinbourn (Medal with 4 Clasps, Knight of the Legion of Honor, & Turkish Medal). Served in the Indian campaign of 1857-58, & was attached to the 9 th Lancers at the advance on the Dilkoosha & Le Martiniere & throughout the operations resulting in the relief of Lucknow by Lord Clyde; present during the occupation of the Alumbagh under Outram with the several engagements there, fall of Lucknow, relief of Azimghur, capture of Jugdespore, & affair near Reotee. (1872) Served with the Shahabad Field Force, & present at the action on 14 th , 17 th , 20 th , 21 st , & 23 rd Oct 1858 (Medal with 2 Clasps, & a year's service for Lucknow).			
Dickens, James			
CG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
Dilke, William			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)			?
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 5 Clasps for Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, & Orthes.			
Dillon, William (Ireland)			
ACG (1840)	25 Jun 1803		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
*Dinwiddie, Gilbert Hamilton			
DACG (1856)	5 Sep 1814	1851, 1856	Gibraltar
ACG (1840, 1851, 1856)	28 Jun 1838		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
DCG (1856)	5 Jan 1853		
Retired with honorary rank of CG (1860)	15 May 1859		
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with one Clasp for Vittoria. (1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , & has received the War Medal with Clasp for Vittoria; also the Syrian Medal.			
*Dobree, John Suamarez			
DCG (1840, 1851)	7 Jun 1825	1851	Dublin
CG (1856, 1860)	1 Jun 1852		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)			?
(1840, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 8 Clasps for Sahagun & Benevente, Barrosa, Vittoria, St. Sebastian, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse.			

⁴⁶ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.156, 157.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Dougan, George Augustus			
DACG (1856, 1860)	28 Dec 1850	1856	Gibraltar
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Doveton, Frederick Bazett			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Feb 1867	1868	Canada
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	23 Aug 1867	1870	Bermuda
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	North Britain
*Downes, Arthur William			
First commissioned rank (1872)	19 May 1847	1854 (7 May)	Eastern Army
DACG (1854, 1860, 1868, 1870)	29 Dec 1851	4 Aug 1854 ⁴⁷	Special Duty,
DACG (1856)	14 Feb 1852		Winter Hay, Crimea
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	27 Oct 1858	1856	Eastern Army
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1860	Gibraltar
Died (see below)	19 Sep 1905	1868	Special Service
		1870	Gibraltar
		1872	South East District
(1868, 1870, 1872) Eastern Campaign, 1854-55, Crimea (Medal with Clasp for Sebastopol), specially mentioned in General Orders for services rendered with Turkish Contingent (Turkish Medal). China Expeditionary force, 1857-59, promoted for this service; present at attack & capture of Canton (Medal with Clasp).			
<i>The Times</i> , (London, 20 Sep 1905), p.4:b: "The death occurred yesterday, at Earl's-court-square, of CG Arthur William Downes, C.B. He had attained the age of 78 years, having been born in 1827, the son of the late William Downes, of Ludlow. After joining the Army, he served in the Crimean campaign ... He retired on full pay in 1880. In 1867 he married Alice Mary, daughter of the late C.J. Longcroft, of Hail-place, Havant. CG Downes was a justice of the peace for London & Middlesex."			
Downman, John Thomas			
First commissioned rank (1872)	Mar 1854	1860	Norwich
Barrack Master (1860, ⁴⁸ 1872)	?	1872	Dublin
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Drake, John			
CG (1840, 1856, 1860)	30 Aug 1833		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 2 Clasps for Corunna (16 Jan 1809) & Busaco (27 Sep 1810).			

⁴⁷ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁴⁸ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.465.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Drake, William Henry, CB, KCB			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	16 Apr 1835	Jun 1835-Jun 1840 ⁴⁹	Swan River
ACG (1849, 1851, 1856 1860, 1868, 1870)	16 Dec 1845	Dec 1840-	
DCG (1856 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855	Dec 1845 ⁵⁰	Western Australia
CG (1860, 1868, 1870)	21 Jun 1859	Jun 1846-Dec 1849 ⁵¹	Van Diemen's Land
Controller, Asst. to Controller in Chief.	3 Sep 1871	1849	Hobart
Director of Supplies & Transports (1872)		Jun 1850 ⁵²	No station listed
Died, London (see below)	28 Jan 1882	Dec 1850-Dec 1853 ⁵³	Nova Scotia
		1851	Nova Scotia
		29 May 1854 ⁵⁴	London
		Jun 1854 ⁵⁵	Archipelago
		1854 (25 Jul)	Eastern Army
		Dec 1854-Jun 1856 ⁵⁶	Turkey
		17 Mar 1855 ⁵⁷	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		Dec 1856-Dec 1857 ⁵⁸	No stations listed
		Jun 1858-Jun 1859 ⁵⁹	Gibraltar
		Dec 1859-Dec 1860 ⁶⁰	Cape of Good Hope
		1860	Cape of Good Hope
		1860-1864 ⁶¹	Cape of Good Hope
		1865-1867 ⁶²	No stations listed
		1868	Ireland
		1870	Great Britain
		1870-1874 ⁶³	Great Britain
		1875-1876 ⁶⁴	No stations listed

(1849) General duties, Hobart. (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Served throughout Eastern campaign, 1854-55, Crimea, Commissariat charge of Expedition to Kertch (Medal & 3 Clasps for Balaklava, Inkerman, & Sebastopol, CB, Knight of the Legion of Honor, Officer of St. Maurice & St. Lazarus, 4th Class of the Medjidie, Turkish Medals).

The Times, (London, 31 Jan 1882), p.1:a: "On Saturday, the 28th inst., suddenly, at 10 Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, Sir Wm Hy Drake KCB."

***Draper, John**

First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Dec 1855	1860	New Zealand
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868, 1870	Manchester
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	Jamaica
(1872) Crimea, 1855 (Medal with Clasp for Sebastopol, Turkish Medal). [?], 1857-67 (Medal).			

⁴⁹ *Monthly Army Lists*, The State Library of NSW. (My thanks to Graeme Marfleet of the Crimean War Research Society for this information.)

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Charlotte Augusta Drake (London) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), 29 May 1854.

⁵⁵ *Monthly Army Lists*, The State Library of NSW. (My thanks to Graeme Marfleet of the Crimean War Research Society for this information.)

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

⁵⁸ *Monthly Army Lists*, The State Library of NSW. (My thanks to Graeme Marfleet of the Crimean War Research Society for this information.)

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Hart's *Army Lists*, The State Library of NSW. (My thanks to Graeme Marfleet of the Crimean War Research Society for this information.)

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Drummond, James			
CG (1840)	25 Aug 1808		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Drury, G.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Feb 1864	1872	Bermuda
Barrack [?] Clerk (1872)	?		
Assistant Commissary (1872)	18 Feb 1870		
*Du Bourdieu, G.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854 (1 Aug)	Eastern Army
Died (1854)	?		
Dundee, Robert Handley			
First commissioned rank (1872)	17 Apr 1854	1860	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1860, 1868)	2 Jan 1856	1868	New Zealand
ACG (1868, 1872)	1 Jul 1867	1870, 1872	Mauritius
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Dunmore, Thomas, CB			
CG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with Clasp for Corunna.			
Dunn, Edwin			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Mar 1856	1860	Melbourne
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	New Zealand
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870, 1872	West Indies
Dwight, George Sheerman			
DACG (1856)	28 Dec 1850	1856	Honduras
Died (1860) ⁶⁵	Before 29 Dec 1859		
Dwyer, Edmond Keogh			
First commissioned rank (1872)	27 Dec 1847	1872	No station listed
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Commissary (1872)	1 Aug 1871		
*Edwards, Alexander			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	20 Jan 1837	1851	Nova Scotia
ACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1849	1854 (7 May)	Eastern Army
		4 Aug 1854 ⁶⁶	In Charge of Duties, Crimea
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Dublin
Edwards, James Frere			
First commissioned rank (1872)	3 Dec 1849	1872	Priddy's Hard.
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Eichbaum/Eichbauen, Charles William			
First commissioned rank (1872)	12 Aug 1841	1849	Battery Pnt, Hobart
DACG (1849, 1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Hong Kong
		1856, 1860	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868, 1870	Western Australia
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Aug 1871	1872	No station listed

⁶⁵ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.559.

⁶⁶ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Elliott, Joseph			
First commissioned rank (1872)	10 Aug 1854	1872	Trinidad
Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Elmes, Jonathan William			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Aug 1861	1868, 1870	Limerick
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	18 Jan 1862	1872	Gibraltar
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Elphinstone-Holloway, C.W.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Aug 1855	1872	Bull Point
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1872) Served with the Field Train in the Crimean campaign of 1854-55 (Medal with 2 Clasps, & Turkish Medal).			
Ely, Ernest			
ACG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Engelbach, Thomas Lewis			
ACG (1840)	1 May 1801		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Eppes, W. Randolph			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	24 Dec 1811		
DACG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
ACG (1840)	7 Jul 1827		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Erskine, Hon. James Augustus			
DACG (1840, 1851, 1856, 1860, 1868)	28 Jun 1838	1851	New South Wales
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	28 Dec 1850	1856	Barbados
		1860	No station listed
		1868	Dover
(1856, 1860, 1868) Served as a Capt. of the 8 th Regt. Anglo-Spanish Legion in 1835-6, & has received a Medal for St. Sebastian, 5 May, & the Cross of First Class of the Order of San Fernando for Altza, 6 Jun 1836.			
Estridge, Edward			
DACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1860	West Indies
Evans, William Thomas			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1863	1868	Chatham
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jan 1865	1870, 1872	Cape of Good Hope
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Eveleigh, Colonel Frederick Charles, CB			
Ensign 20 th Foot (purchase) (1840) ⁶⁷	1 Jul 1836	1872	ASC
Lieut. 20 th Foot (purchase) (1840)	10 Nov 1837		
Retired 20 th Foot (1860) ⁶⁸	12 May 1858		
First commissioned rank (1872)	18 Apr 1860		
District Barrack Master (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
(1860, 1872) Served with the 20 th Regiment the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, & was present at the battles of Alma, Balaklava, & Inkerman, both attacks on the Redan, & through the whole of the siege operations			

⁶⁷ Frederick Charles Eveleigh, 4 years service full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, ... 1840*, (London, 1840), p.171.

⁶⁸ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.103, 110.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
<i>before Sebastopol without being absent from a single tour of duty in the Trenches; also at the capture of Kinbourn. Embarked for India with the 20th Regiment, was made a Brigadier, & was present at the following actions & affairs:- Chanda, Umeerpore, Sultanpore, siege of Lucknow. Also commanded an independent force at Mohan, Hussengunge, Meeangunge, Poorwah, Murrowmow, capture of Fort Simree, Berah, Buxarghat, & the fort of Oomero. Was mentioned about 15 times in despatches; thanked twice by the Governor General in Council; has the Crimean Medal with 4 Clasps, order of CB, Legion of Honor, 4th Class of the Medjidie, Turkish Medal & Indian Medal with Clasp.</i>			
Ewing, Alexander			
First commissioned rank (1872)	.....	1860	China
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Nova Scotia
Deputy Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870, 1872	Aldershot
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served throughout the Campaign of 1860 in the North of China (Medal). Also during the operations against the Taepings in the vicinity of Shanghai in 1862, resulting in the taking of the Stockade of Nahzian, capture by [?] of the walled cities of Kahding, Tsingpoo, & Taolin, & the fortified town of Nahjow.			
Eyl, John George			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 3 Clasps for Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca, & Vittoria.			
Fagan, William John			
DACG (1851)	9 Dec 1849	1851	No station listed
DACG (1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1849	1856	Western Australia
		1860	Aldershot
Faxardo, Augustus Maria Gaux			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Feilde, Fulford Bastard			
DACG (1840, 1856)	7 Jun 1825	1851	Prescott, Canada
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	23 Dec 1843	1856	Canada
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Fernandes, Alexander			
DCG (1840)	21 Mar 1805		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Festing, Augustus Morton			
First commissioned rank (1872)	.....	1860	Honduras
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Ireland
Deputy Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1872	1870, 1872	Cork
*Filder, William, CB			
ACG (1840, 1856)	10 Aug 1811	1854 (Apr 15)	Eastern Army
DCG (1840, 1856)	26 Oct 1816	4 Aug 1854 ⁶⁹	Varna HQ
CG (1854, 1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840	1856	No station listed
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
(1840, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 9 Clasps for Talavera, Albuhera, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelles, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse. (1860) Commanded Commissariat of Expeditionary Force, Crimea, until end Jul 1855, battles of Alma, Balaklava, & Inkerman, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps, 3 rd Class of the Medjidie).			
Finley, John			
DACG (1840)	23 May 1810		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		

⁶⁹ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Fitzgerald, James David			
DACG (1840, 1856)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
*Fletcher, J.L.			
CC ⁷⁰ (1854)	1854	1854 (22 Apr) 1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Eastern Army Invalided home
Fletcher, William			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Jun 1812	1849	Hobart
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816	1851	Van Diemen's Land
ACG (1849, 1851)	1 Jul 1840		
DCG (1856, 1860)	6 Jan 1854		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1849) In charge of commissariat chest & payments, Hobart.			
Foote, Francis Robert			
DACG (1840)	30 Apr 1814		
ACG (1840)	23 Nov 1827		
Forbes, Charles D'Oyly			
First commissioned rank (1872)	.....	1860	China
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	No station listed
Deputy Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870, 1872	Colchester
Forbes, Charles John			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Jul 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Forbes, John			
DCG (1840)	25 Jul 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Fosbery, W.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854 1854 (2 Aug)	From Ireland Eastern Army
Foster, Charles			
First commissioned rank (1872)	13 Mar 1848	1856	Eastern Army
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	6 Jan 1854	1860	China
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	15 Feb 1861	1868	Mauritius
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1871	1870, 1872	Manchester
(1860, 1868, 1870) Served in the Kaffir war (Medal), also at the siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp). (1872) Served in the Crimean campaign from 6 Sep 1855 (Medal with Clasp, & Turkish Medal). Also with the China Expeditionary Force in 1857-61, including Commissariat charge of an expedition to [?] 1858 (Medal, & promotion to ACG).			
Francklin, James Bontineau			
ACG (1840)	31 Mar 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Fraser, Thomas			
DACG (1840)	25 Apr 1815	1851	No station listed
ACG (1851)	1 Jul 1840		
Freeborn, John			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		

⁷⁰ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Freeman, Luke			
DACG (1851)	29 Dec 1848	1851	Cape of Good Hope
Fryer, William			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Emigration Office
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Sep 1855		
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	4 Jul 1860	1854 (28 Aug)	Eastern Army
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1868	Athlone
		1870	Dublin
		1872	Aldershot
(1872) Served with Expeditionary Forces employed in Western Africa up the River Gambia in Feb 1861, [?] Epé, Lagos Territory, in 1862.			
Fuller, John Foster			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Mar 1862	1868	Bermuda
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	5 Jul 1864	1870	Canada
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	Portsmouth
Fuller, William Ross			
First commissioned rank (1872)	May 1855	1872	Windsor
Barrack Master (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Furey, Thomas			
Acting Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
Died (1854)	?	1854 (29 Jun)	Eastern Army
Furmidge, William			
ACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
*Furse, Paul George Frederick			
First commissioned rank (1872)	15 Jan 1855	1860	No station listed
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Special Service
Commissary (1872)	1 Mar 1871	1870, 1872	London
Galletly, Frederick Adam			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Apr 1832	1860	Chester
Assistant Military Storekeeper (1860) ⁷¹	?	1872	Manchester
Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
Gallwey, John Blood			
DACG (1856, 1860)	20 Dec 1851	1856	Jamaica
DACG (1868)	29 Dec 1851	1860, 1868	No station listed
ACG (1868)	1 Jan 1865		

⁷¹ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.464.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Gardiner, Robert May			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	19 Dec 1843	1851	Antigua
Acting ACG	4 Aug 1854 ⁷²	1854 (14 Jun)	Eastern Army
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855	Aug 1854 ⁷³	Varna
DCG (1868, 1870)	1 Apr 1866	4 Aug 1854 ⁷⁴	Cavalry Div., Crimea
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Curragh
		1868	West Indies
(1860) Served in the Kaffir war (Medal); also at the siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp). (1868, 1870) Served in Canada during the rebellion of 1838-39. Was sent on a perilous expedition in the winter of 1843 from Montreal to Cape Chat, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to succour a party of the 1 st Royals left there after the main body had been rescued from the wreck of the "Premier" transport, & was promoted for this service. Served in South Africa in 1852-54 during the Kaffir war (Medal). Was in Commissariat charge of the Cavalry Division in Turkey in 1854, & with Lord Cardigan on his reconnoissance to the Dobrudsha & Silistria (mentioned in despatches). Landed with the sailors & Marines at the occupation of Eupatoria, & was present at the numerous affairs there during a period of 5 months (Medal with Clasp for Sebastopol, & Turkish Medal).			
Gaudet, Joseph M.			
DACG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853	1856	Barbados
ACG (1860)	1 Aug 1856	1860	Gambia
Gauntlett, William			
DCG (1840)	18 Mar 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Gathey, Francis William Braithwait			
First commissioned rank (1872)	15 Feb 1865	1868	Bahamas
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	15 Aug 1865	1870	Chatham
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	ASC
Gelston, Thomas (Ireland)			
ACG (1840)	25 Jun 1803		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
*Gem, Thomas			
First commissioned rank (1872)	19 May 1842	1851	No station listed
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1868, 1870)	16 Dec 1845	1854	From Ireland
ACG, (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jan 1855	1854 (14 Apr)	Eastern Army
Retired on half pay (1860)	?	Aug 1854 ⁷⁵	Varna
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	4 Aug 1854 ⁷⁶	Stores, Crimea
		1856	Eastern Army
		1868	Cape of Good Hope
		1870	Mauritius
		1872	No station listed
(1872) Turkey & Crimea, 1854-56 (Crimean & Turkish Medals).			
Gerundi, Raffuele			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Malta
		1854 (8 Aug)	Eastern Army

⁷² William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁷³ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

⁷⁴ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁷⁵ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Gibbons, David			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1855	1872	Alderney
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Commissary (1872)	1 Oct 1870		
(1872) Medal for the war of 1857 in China.			
Gibbs, Archibald Robinson			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Apr 1861	1868	Jamaica
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Dec 1864	1870	Dublin
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	ASC
*Gibson, George Rawstorne			
DACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Honduras
Gilbert, Henry			
ACG (1840)	9 May 1817		
Gilbert, Thomas Morley			
DACG (1840)	4 May 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Gillespie, Joshua			
DACG (1840)	24 Jan 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Gilmor, Robert			
ACG (1840)	10 Jan 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Goldie, Thomas William			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868)	26 Dec 1840	1851	St. Kitts
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jan 1855	1856	Canada
DCG (1868)	14 Sep 1864	1860	Bahamas
		1868	Bermuda
Goldrisk, James (Ireland)			
ACG (1840, 1856)	1 Jan 1799		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
*Goldsmith, Oliver			
DACG (184, 1856)	17 Dec 1814	1851	Newfoundland
ACG (1840 1851, 1856)	28 Jun 1838	1856	Ionian Islands
DCG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Gomm, Richard Stonier			
ACG (1840)	1 Nov 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Goodsir, J.T.			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
Goold, James Knight			
First commissioned rank (1872)	21 May 1839	1851	Toronto, Canada
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	19 Dec 1843	1856	West Indies
DACG (1851, 1856)	23 Dec 1843	1860	Bermuda
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jan 1855	1868	Canada
Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	No station listed
		1872	Nova Scotia

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Goold, V.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854 1854 (2 Aug)	From Ireland Eastern Army
Gordon, Henry William, CB			
First commissioned rank (1872)	3 Aug 1855	1860	Woolwich
Principal Military Storekeeper (1860) ⁷⁷	?	1872	Woolwich
Principal Superintendent of Stores (1870)	?		
Controller (1870)	1 Jan 1870		
<i>(1860, 1872) Joined the Army in the Crimea in Mar 1855, having, when a Captain on half pay, been appointed by the Secretary of State for War to superintend the collection of surplus clothing & stores. In Aug 1855 he was appointed Ordnance Storekeeper, & in that capacity on peace being proclaimed, was ordered to superintend the embarkation of the material & stores of the several departments of the Army, with the exception of that of the Commissariat, but including those of the Medical, Land Transport, & Army Works Corps, as well as the Railway, so that every article with the Army might be accounted for by him to the War Department.</i>			
Graham, Charles			
DACG (1840)	5 Sep 1814		
ACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
Graham, Frederick			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Graham, Ivan Ran. C.C.			
DACG (1860, 1868)	11 Nov 1859	1860 1868	Jamaica New Zealand
*Graham, Thomas			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	11 Dec 1834	1851	Grenada
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	15 Jun 1844	1856	Cape of Good Hope
DCG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855	1860	Nova Scotia
(1860) Kaffir Medal.			
Granet, Augustus			
CG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Grant, Alexander			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Grant, John (Ireland)			
ACG (1840)	1 Apr 1800		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Granville, Sydney George			
First commissioned rank (1872)	8 Sep 1865	1868, 1870	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	8 Mar 1866	1872	Canterbury
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Green, Henry			
ACG (1851, 1856)	29 Dec 1849	1851	Cape of Good Hope
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		

⁷⁷ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.464.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Green, William			
DACG (1840)	16 Mar 1813	1851	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1840)	10 Sep 1830		
DCG (1851)	16 Dec 1845		
CG (1856)	1 Jan 1855		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Green, William			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>6 Oct 1856</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>Pimlico</i>
<i>Assistant Military Storekeeper (1860)⁷⁸</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>No station listed</i>
<i>Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
*Green, William/Walter Elfreville/Umfreville			
CC (1854)	?	1854 (29 Jun)	Eastern Army
DACG (1860, 1868)	2 Jan 1856	17 Mar 1855 ⁷⁹	Balaklava
ACG (1868)	3 Nov 1867	1856	Cape of Good Hope
		1868	Woolwich
(1860) Served in the Kaffir war (Medal), also at the siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp). (1868) Crimea, from Nov 1854, Light Cavalry Brigade, battle of the Tchernaya, siege & fall of Sebastopol, operations at Eupatoria (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal). North China campaign, 1860 (Medal). Operations against Taeping rebels in vicinity of Shanghai in [?], taking of Entrenched Camp at Wongdadza, town of Tserpoo, affair at Nahzing, & storm of the walled city of Kahding.			
Greenway, Theophilus			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>4 Feb 1856</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>ASC</i>
<i>Ensign Military Train (1860)⁸⁰</i>	<i>4 Feb 1856</i>		
<i>Quarter Master Military Train (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>15 Feb 1870</i>		
<i>(1860, 1872) served the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, including the battles of Alma & Inkerman, siege & fall of Sebastopol, bombardment & surrender of Kinbourn (Medal with 3 Clasps, & Turkish Medal). Served in the Indian campaign of 1857-58, including the relief of Lucknow by Lord Clyde, occupation of the Alumbagh under Outram with the several engagements there, fall of Lucknow, relief of Azimghur, capture of Jugdespore, & subsequent operations. (1872) Was shipwrecked in the Spartan on the Dog Rocks, coast of Africa, 5 Jul 1856, when returning with [?] from the Crimea. Served in the Indian campaign of 1857-58; served with the Shahabad Field Force, & present in action on 14th, 17th, 20th, 21st, & [?] 1858 (Medal with 2 Clasps, & a year's service for Lucknow).</i>			
Greenwood, E.F.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	>	1854	From Ionian Islands
		1854 (12 Jun)	Eastern Army
Greenwood, Edward Frederick George/E.F.O.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Ionian Islands
First commissioned rank (1872)	.....	1854 (12 Jun)	Eastern Army
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Melbourne
Deputy Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1868, 1870, 1872	Malta
Greig, William			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Apr 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 3 Clasps for Vittoria, Orthes, & Toulouse.			

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

⁸⁰ Theophilus Greenway, 4 years service full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.157, 158.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Greig, William Isaac			
DACG (1840, 1856)	13 May 1814	1856	West Indies
ACG (1840, 1856)	28 Jun 1838		
DCG (1856)	29 Dec 1849		
Retired with honorary rank of CG (1860)	17 Sep 1859		
Greive, William			
DCG (1840)	3 Feb 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Grellier, George			
ACG (1840, 1856)	3 Feb 1807		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)			?
Grindlay, Robert			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	30 Jul 1825		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)			?
Grindley, Edward Thomas			
DACG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
Grist, James Bond			
DACG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
Gunning, Charles			
DACG (1840)	24 May 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
Hackman, Henry William			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Sep 1855	1860	Bahamas
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	No station listed
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	Portsmouth
		1872	Parkhurst
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Hagenau, John Frederick			
DCG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
Haines, Gregory			
CG (1840)	30 Aug 1833		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Hale, C.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)		1854	From Registrar-General's Office
		1854 (22 Dec)	Eastern Army
*Haliburton, Arthur Lawrence			
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Nova Scotia
		1868, 1870	War Office
Hall, James			
DACG (1868)	11 Nov 1859	1868	No station listed

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Hall, Samuel William			
First commissioned rank (1872)	Jun 1851	1860	Portsmouth
Barrack Master (1860) ⁸¹	?	1872	Curragh Camp
Principal Barrack Master (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
(1860, 1872) Served as Lieut. in the 73 rd Regiment during a portion of the Kaffir war of 1847 (Medal); & was Barrack Master of British Kaffraria during the war of 1852-53.			
Hamley, Joseph Osbertus, CB			
First commissioned rank (1872)	4 Apr 1838	1860	Auckland, N.Z.
Assistant Military Storekeeper (1860) ⁸²	?	1872	Chatham Gun Wharf
Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1871		
(1872) In charge of the Military Store Department in New Zealand from 1847 to 1870, & present during the war in the Southern District in 1847, & in the 2 wars in the Northern District in [?] & 1863-65 (Medal & CB).			
Hanagan, William (Ireland)			
ACG (1840)	24 May 1798		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Hankins, R. (jnr.)			
Acting CC (1854)	?	1854	From Queen's Remembrancer's Office
		1854 (9 May)	Eastern Army
Hansord, Solomon Edman			
DACG (1840, 1856)	20 May 1828		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Harper, Charles			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Harris, Anthony Charles			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Harrison, H.C.			
Acting CC (Storekeeper) (1854)	?	1854	From Stationery Office
		1854 (14 Apr)	Eastern Army
*Hawkins, Villiers William Cæsar			
First commissioned rank (1872)	8 Apr 1842	1851	Bahamas
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1868, 1870)	16 Dec 1845	1854 (7 May)	Eastern Army
DACG (1860)	19 Dec 1845	4 Aug 1854 ⁸³	Local duty, Cash, Crimea
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855		
DCG (1870, 1872)	1 Aug 1868	1856	Eastern Army
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1860	West Indies
		1868	Western Australia
		1870	Cape of Good Hope
		1872	No station listed
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, & Turkish Medal).			

⁸¹ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.465, 466.

⁸² *Ibid*, p.464.

⁸³ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Hayter, Owen Edward			
DACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Cape of Good Hope
(1860) Served at the siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp).			
Hayward, William			
DCG (1840, 1849, 1856)	20 Jan 1837	1849	Battery Pnt, Hobart
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
(1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 7 Clasps for Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse.			
Hazard, Joseph			
DACG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Head, Sir George			
ACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Healy, Richard Calvert			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>11 Oct 1844</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Dublin</i>
<i>Ensign 16th Foot (1860)</i>	<i>9 Apr 1855</i>		
<i>Lieutenant 16th Foot (1860)</i>	<i>19 Nov 1856</i>		
<i>Captain 16th Foot (purchase) (1860, 1872)⁸⁴</i>	<i>24 May 1859</i>		
<i>Acting Asst. Controller (on probation) (1872)</i>	<i>1 Feb 1870</i>		
Hemsworth, W.H.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
		1854 (18 Oct)	Eastern Army
*Hewetson, William			
DACG (1840)	23 May 1810		
ACG (1840)	31 May 1814		
DCG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
CG (1856, 1860)	23 Dec 1843		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Died (see below)	28 Oct 1867		
(1856, 1860) Midshipman in the East India Company's marine before entering Commissariat in 1806, present in 1804 on board <i>Earl Campden</i> , Commodore Dance, in action & repulse by China fleet of the French squadron, under Adm. Linois, off Straits of Singapore (grant from Patriotic Fund). In 1806, at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope, received a severe contusion when in command of a boat landing troops in Lospardo Bay, subsequently present with a party of seamen at battle of Blueberg. In 1811-12, on Frontier in Commissariat charge with force under Col. Graham, employed in expelling Kaffirs from Zeurfeldt. In 1814-15 in American War with army in North America, on termination of hostilities on a special mission into the US. In 1815, joined army in France.			
<i>The Times</i> , (London, 4 Oct 1867), p.1:a: "On 28 th Oct., suddenly at Cambridge Terrace, Hyde Park, William Hewetson, Esq. CG to Her Majesty's Army in the 72 nd year of his age."			
Hewetson, William			
DACG (1856)	17 Oct 1844	1851	Newfoundland
DACG (1851, 1868)	24 Dec 1844	1856	Ionian Islands
ACG (1860, 1868)	2 Jan 1856	1868	Pembroke
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		

⁸⁴ Richard Calvert Healy, 5 years service full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.207.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Hewitt, Henry Horatio Rathbone			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	7 Aug 1870	1872	Weedon
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	7 Aug 1870		
<i>(1872) Served throughout the Crimean campaign of 1854-55 (Medal with 2 Clasps, & Turkish Medal); [?] also the campaign of 1860 in China (Medal with Clasps).</i>			
Heydinger, William Charles			
ACG (1840, 1856)	25 May 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Hill, Hugh			
DCG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Hillier, Augustus			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	21 Feb 1850	1872	Aldershot
<i>Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	1 Oct 1870		
Hodson, James			
DACG (1840, 1856)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Hoffay, Ernest Albert			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
ACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Holmes, James			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	23 Dec 1854	1860	Gibraltar
<i>Purveyor (1860)⁸⁵</i>	13 Oct 1855	1872	Edinburgh
<i>Principal Purveyor (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	12 Feb 1870		
Hopkins, Samuel			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Horne, Charles A.			
DACG (1851)	1 Jul 1840	1851	No station listed
*Horne, George			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jul 1840	1849, 1851	Norfolk Island
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	5 Jan 1853	1856, 1860	Malta
DCG (1868)	15 Jun 1861	1868	Melbourne
<i>(1849) In charge Norfolk Island. (1868) Kaffir war, 1834-35 (Medal). In Commissariat Charge, expedition, 1858 at first taking of Natal. In Commissariat Charge with forces during operations in China in vicinity of Shanghai, 1862, resulting in capture of walled & fortified cities of Kading, Tsingpo, & Nahjow, & taking of stockade of Nahziah.</i>			
Horne, James			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		

⁸⁵ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.445-6.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Hozier, Henry Montague			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Oct 1857	1872	Aldershot
Lieutenant Royal Artillery (1860) ⁸⁶	1 Oct 1857		
Captain 3 Dragoon Guards (1872)	?		
Acting Asst. Controller (on probation) (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
Howard, Charles			
DACG (1840)	1 Jun 1821		
Howe, William			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
Hughes, Emilius			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Oct 1862	1868	China
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Oct 1864	1870, 1872	Dover
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Hughes, William (Ireland)			
ACG (1840)	25 Sep 1806		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Humphreys, John Thomas			
DCG (1840)	2 Apr 1810		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Hunt, Henry P.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Mar 1842	1872	Tower
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Hunter, Henry Lannoy			
DCG (1840)	31 May 1798		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Hunter, Robert Edward			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Emigration Office
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Sep 1855		
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1854 (28 Aug)	Eastern Army
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1860	Gold Coast
		1868	West Indies
		1870, 1872	Plymouth
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, & Turkish Medal). In commissariat charge in Quiah, Western Africa in 1861, until relieved by DACG Thompson, & took part in the affairs at the town.			
Huntley, Henry Ferrars			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Jul 1867	1870	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1870, 1872)	16 Jan 1868	1872	Preston
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Hurst, R.S.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Registrar-General's Office
		1854 (23 Sep)	Eastern Army
Huxham, T.W.C.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Registrar-General's Office
		1854 (22 Dec)	Eastern Army

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p.380.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Ibbettson, Denzil			
DACG (1840)	Never		
ACG (1840)	5 Oct 1810		
DCG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
DCG (1856)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 2 Clasps for Roleia & Vimiera.			
Ibbetson, Edward Archibald			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Barbados
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	29 Dec 1848	1856, 1860	Ionian Islands
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	14 Jun 1860	1868	Malta
Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870, 1872	Gibraltar
Ibbetson, Frederick Henry			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	23 Dec 1842	1851	Ionian Islands
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855	1856	Canada
		1860	West Indies
		1868, 1870	New Zealand
Inglis, Richard			
DACG (1840)	30 Oct 1827	1851	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1851)	24 Dec 1844		
*Ingram, George William White			
DACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Gibraltar
Ingram, Matthew John			
First commissioned rank (1872)	21 Sep 1854	1872	Purfleet
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1872) Served in New Zealand since 1861 during the whole of the late war (Medal).			
Innes, Francis			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Malta
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	11 Nov 1859	1854 (14 Apr)	Eastern Army
		1860	Aldershot
		1868, 1870	New Zealand
Irvine, John			
DACG (1840)	9 Sep 1814		
ACG (1840)	2 Jan 1831		
Irvine, Matthew Bell, CMG			
First commissioned rank (1872)	30 Mar 1848	1856	Eastern Army
DACG (1856)	1 Jan 1855	1860	Bermuda
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	6 Jan 1854	1868	Aldershot
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Feb 1865	1870	London
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1872	Great Britain
(1872) Served in Turkey & the Crimea during the latter part of the Russian war in 1855-56. [?]-ceeded as Senior Control Officer with the Red River Expedition of 1870 from Canada under Sir Garnet Wolseley.			
Jennings, John			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Jennings, William			
DACG (1840)	2 Mar 1812		
ACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Johnson, C.F.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (24 May)	Eastern Army
Taken prisoner (1854)	Before 31 Dec 1854		
Johnston, George			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>14 Jul 1855</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Ireland</i>
<i>Deputy Purveyor (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Johnston, John Kent			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>25 Aug 1855</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Ireland</i>
<i>Deputy Purveyor (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Johnston, John Tremehere			
First commissioned rank (1872)	18 Jul 1861	1868, 1870	Western Australia
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	18 Jan 1862	1872	Ceylon
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Johnstone, Edmund John			
DACG (1860, 1868)	11 Nov 1859	1860	No station listed
		1868	Gold Coast
*Jones, Humphrey Stanley			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jul 1840	1851	Amherstburg
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	5 Jan 1853	1856	Eastern Army
DCG (1868)	14 Jun 1860	1860	New Zealand
CG (1868)	4 Jun 1865	1868	No station listed
(1860, 1868) Crimea. 4 th Class of the Medjidie & Turkish Medal for services with the late Osmanli Cavalry.			
Jones, William Frederick			
DACG (1840)	5 Oct 1832		
*Julyan, Primrose G.			
DACG (1851, 1856)	28 Dec 1847	1851	Malta
ACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1856	Eastern Army
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Kay, Arthur			
DACG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853	1856, 1860	Cape of Good Hope
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
Kearney, Daniel			
DACG (1840)	10 Aug 1811		
ACG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
DCG (1840, 1856)	13 Dec 1833		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 6 Clasps for Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse.			
Kearney, Thomas			
ACG (1840, 1856)	10 Aug 1811		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Keen, Alfred			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>2 Sep 1859</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Tipner</i>
<i>Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Kennedy, Sir R.H., KCH, KC			
CG (1840)	3 Nov 1808		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Kent, John			
DACG (1840)	5 Oct 1832	1851	Jamaica
ACG (1851)	16 Dec 1845		
Keogh, Lynch John			
<i>First commissioned rank (172)</i>	<i>21 Sep 1855</i>	1872	ASC
<i>Lieutenant Military Train (1860)⁸⁷</i>	<i>21 Sep 1855</i>		
<i>Captain Military Train (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>15 Feb 1870</i>		
King, William Michael			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>22 Sep 1841</i>	1860	Malta
<i>Assistant Military Storekeeper (1860)⁸⁸</i>	?	1872	Straits Settlements
<i>Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Assistant Controller (1872)</i>	<i>1 Jan 1870</i>		
<i>(1872) Served in China from 1857 to 1858 (Medal).</i>			
Kirkland, Sir John			
DACG (1860)	4 May 1815		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Knapp, Charles Barrett			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>20 Jan 1855</i>	1860	China
<i>Purveyor (1860)⁸⁹</i>	<i>10 Mar 1857</i>	1872	Netley
<i>Principal Purveyor (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
<i>(1872) Served in the Eastern campaign from Jan 1855 (Turkish Medal). Also throughout the [?] war from 1857 to 1860, & was present at the action of Sinho, taking of Tangku, capture of the Taku Forts, surrender of Peking (Medal).</i>			
Knight, Thomas Davis			
DACG (1840)	1 Jun 1821		
Knowles, Francis Edward			
DACG (1840)	5 May 1812		
ACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
DCG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
*Knowles, Francis Edward			
DACG (1851, 1856)	23 Dec 1843	1851	Sierra Leone
ACG (1854, 1856, 1860)	14 Feb 1853	1854 (14 Apr)	Eastern Army
Retired on half pay (1860)	?	Aug 1854 ⁹⁰	Varna
		1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
		1856	London
Kuper, Augustus			
ACG (1840)	28 Nov 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		

⁸⁷ Lynch John Keogh, 5 years service full time; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.156.

⁸⁸ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.464.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p.445-6.

⁹⁰ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Laidley, John			
DACG (1856)	11 Jan 1812	1851, 1856	Mauritius
ACG (1856)	22 Oct 1816		
DCG (1840, 1851, 1856)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
CG (1860)	2 Jan 1856		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Died ⁹¹	1874		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 3 Clasps for Fuentos d'Onor, Ciudad Rodrigo, & St. Sebastian.			
Laidley, W.H.			
DACG (1849)		1849	Hobart
(1849) Under orders for embarkation for another station or England.			
Laidley, William			
DCG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired in half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the south of France.			
Lambert, G.F.			
Temporary Junior Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Stationery Office
Reduced (1854)	?		
		1854 (3 Aug)	Eastern Army
Lamont, William Robert Alexander			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	5 Oct 1832	1851	Bytown, Canada
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845	1856	Barbados
		1860	Pembroke
Lane, James			
DACG (1851, 1856)	1 Jul 1840	1851	Nova Scotia
ACG (1856)	5 Jan 1853	1856	Bermuda
Lane, John			
ACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Died (1860) ⁹²	Before 29 Dec 1859		
Lane, John			
DACG (1840, 1856)	31 Jan 1814	1856	Bermuda
ACG (1840, 1856)	20 Jan 1837		
DCG (1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1849		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Lardner, George Darley			
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jul 1840	1851	West Indies
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868)	29 Dec 1849	1856	Demerara
DCG (1868)	1 Jul 1862	1860	Honduras
Died (see below)	Jan 1902	1868	Ireland
<i>The Times</i> , (London, 18 Jan 1902), p.9:f: "The death occurred at Southampton on Tuesday, in his 84 th year, of CG G.D. Lardner. He was the eldest son of Dr. Doinysius Lardner, who was known in the early part of the 19 th century in the circle of Lady Blessington as a man of letters. CG Lardner was born in Dublin & was educated at Epsom School, Surrey, & in Paris. He was studying at the French University for the medical profession when he was offered a commission in the Commissariat Department, at that time under the Treasury. He accepted it & served at the Cape & in New Zealand, where he took part in the first New Zealand war, for which he received the medal. He afterwards served in the West Indies for many years at the			

⁹¹ Deaths: CG John Laidley. [*The Times*, (London, 23 Sep 1874), 5:f.] [This is the reference given in *Palmer's index to The Times 1790-1905* (CD-Rom), but I was unable to locate the article.]

⁹² H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.559.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
heard [sic] of his Department, & also at home, retiring on a pension after 30 years' service. He occupied his leisure in literary & scientific pursuits."			
Laurie, Henry			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	20 Dec 1819		
DACG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
ACG (1840)	19 Mar 1838		
(1840) Transferred from Storekeeper General's Dept. 20 Dec 1819.			
Lawrence, Edward Daniel			
DACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1860	No station listed
Lazarus, A.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (1 May)	Eastern Army
Le Geyt, William Bel			
First commissioned rank (1872)	20 Jan 1855	1872	Harwich
Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1872) Serve in the New Zealand war of 1863-65, & was present at the attack of the Orakau Pah, assault & capture of Gate Pah, & action at Te Ranga (Medal).			
*Le Maitre, A.W.			
CC ⁹³ (1854)	1854	1854	From Paymaster-General's Office
		1854 (8 Jun)	Eastern Army
		1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
Le Mesurier, Henry			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	4 May 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Le Mesurier, Thomas Augustus			
First commissioned rank (1872)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Nova Scotia
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868, 1870	Canada
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	No station listed
Le Mesurier, William			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	23 Dec 1842	1851	Gambia
ACG (1856, 1860)	17 Sep 1850	1856	Western Australia
		1860	No station listed
(1856, 1860) Present at the storm & destruction of the chief's town "Bambacoo" up the Gambia 6 May 1849; also at the storm & partial destruction of the chief's town "Keenung" on the following day, & during the action & defeat of the enemy on 8 May, on the Plain of Quenella.			
Leach, Cecil Francis			
First commissioned rank (1872)	15 Feb 1861	1868, 1870	Bermuda
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jun 1862	1872	Manchester
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Ledwith, William (Ireland)			
ACG (1840, 1856)	25 Mar 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Lee, David Ross			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	7 Jun 1842	1851	Pen-tauguishene ??
Retired on half pay (1860)	?	1856	Canada
Lee, Robert			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		

⁹³ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
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NOTES

Leech, Robert Stockham Brydges

Ensign 24 th Foot (purchase) (1860)	8 Oct 1855	1872	Mauritius
Lieutenant 24 th Foot (1860) ⁹⁴	29 Oct 1858		
First commissioned rank (1872)	20 Oct 1866		
Barrack Master (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		

Lefevre

The Times, (London, 15 Sep 1820), p.2:c: “[From the *Sierra-Leone Gazette* of June 29.] It is with melancholy & painful feelings we notice the sudden & accidental death of ACG Lefevre, from his fowling-piece. His remains were interred on Thursday last, & attended by Sir George Collier, the officers of the navy & army, & the whole of the Europeans & respectable inhabitants.”

Leggatt, John

DACG (1840)	25 Nov 1813		
ACG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		

***Lempriere, Thomas James⁹⁵**

Born, Hamburg	11 Jan 1796		Maria Island,
Married, Hobart	29 May 1823	1826	Macquarie Harbour
Joined Commissariat	1826	1831	Hobart
CC	1831	1849	Oatlands, VDL
DACG (1840)	20 Jan 1837	1851	Hong Kong
ACG (1849, 1851)	24 Dec 1844		
Invalided home	1851		
Died on board ship to Aden	6 Jan 1852		

(1849) In charge of the district of Oatlands, VDL.

‘He was a regular diarist & gathered his observations of the convict stations at which he served for publication under the title ‘The Penal Settlements of Van Diemen’s Land’. This was published in part in the *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science* during 1842 & 1846 & later issued in full by the Northern Branch of the Royal Society of Tasmania in 1854. His artistic talent was well known & he was commissioned to paint landscapes & the portraits of many prominent settlers. He also maintained a keen interest in natural history & was prominent among the early collectors who provided specimens of Tasmanian animals & plants for study in England.’

***Lewis, Henry Clutterbuck**

Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (9 May)	Eastern Army
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jun 1855	Aug 1854 ⁹⁶	Varna
CC	4 Aug 1854 ⁹⁷	4 Aug 1854 ⁹⁸	Varna HQ
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jan 1856	17 Mar 1855 ⁹⁹	Balaklava
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Apr 1867	1860	China
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1868	Ceylon
		1870	London
		1872	Western Australia

(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).

⁹⁴ Rob. S. Brydges Leech, 5 years service full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.228.

⁹⁵ W.F. Ellis, “Lempriere, Thomas James“, in *Australian Dictionary of Biography, vol 2: 1788-1850: I-Z*, (Melbourne, 1967), p.105-6; “Lempriere, Thomas James (1796-1852)“, Bright Sparcs, <http://www.asap.unimelb.edu.au/bsparcs/biogs/P002137b.htm>, Accessed 28 April 1999.

⁹⁶ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

⁹⁷ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ ‘Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service’, *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Lewis, John¹⁰⁰			
DACG	9 Apr 1835	9 Apr 1835	Perth, Swan River Colony
Lilley, John Isaac			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>1 Aug 1844</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>Pimlico</i>
<i>Assistant Military Storekeeper (1860)¹⁰¹</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>No station listed</i>
<i>Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Assistant Controller</i>	<i>1 Oct 1871</i>		
<i>(1860, 1872) Served in the Field Train of the Royal Artillery the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, & was present with the 1st Division in the affair of McKenzie's Farm, battles of Alma, Balaklava, & Inkerman, throughout the siege & the fall of Sebastopol & capture of Kadikoi (Medal with 4 Clasps, Knight of the Legion of Honor, & Turkish Medal). In Dec 1855 was appointed Deputy Storekeeper in the War Department, & assisted Capt. Gordon in carrying out the duties until the evacuation of the Crimea.</i>			
Lindsay/Lindsey, J. Mainwaring			
First commissioned rank (1872)	17 Aug 1852	1860	Gold Coast
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	7 Nov 1854	1868, 1870	Gibraltar
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	12 Jun 1865	1872	Portsmouth
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1868, 1870, 1872) Turkish War Medal. Served at the Gambia in 1855, when the stockaded town of Sabagee was taken & destroyed.			
Lindsay, Robert			
DACG (1840)	13 Jul 1814	1851	Jamaica
ACG (1840, 1851)	3 May 1838		
DCG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Lister, Amos			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Never		
DACG (1840)	20 Dec 1819		
ACG (1840)	22 Mar 1819		
(1840) Transferred from Storekeeper General's Dept. (Assistant Storekeeper General, 20 Dec 1819).			
*Litchfield, Edwin			
DACG (1860, 1868)	1 Aug 1856	1860	Cape of Good Hope
		1868	Melbourne
Lithgow, William			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Lluftrin, Bartholomew			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Lockyer, Thomas Gerard			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>12 Oct 1860</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>ASC</i>
<i>Lieut. Military Train (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>15 Feb 1870</i>		

¹⁰⁰ See John Lewis (Perth) #423/32 - Hon. James Stewart, (9 Apr 1835) [Taken from the 'Outward letterbook from John Lewis (DACG) as from 7/12/1838 (ACG) - 12/9/1834 - 18/10/1839'. Battye Library, Perth, AN 369/1, acc. no. 123.]; JL (Perth) #518/72 - Hon. JS, 14 Nov 1835 [Taken from the 'Outward letterbook from John Lewis (DACG) as from 7/12/1838 (ACG) - 12/9/1834 - 18/10/1839'. Battye Library, Perth, AN 369/1, acc. no. 123.]; & William Henry Drake, *Journal*, 12 Aug 1854, 28 Mar 1857, 23 Apr 1857, 25 Apr 1857.

¹⁰¹ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.464.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Long, James			
First commissioned rank (1872)	2 Mar 1847	1856	Bahamas
DACG (1856, 1861, 1868, 1870)	20 Dec 1851	1860, 1868	Dublin
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	18 Sep 1861	1870, 1872	Cork
Assistant Controller	1 Jan 1870		
*Looker, William			
DACG (1840)	15 Jul 1826	1849	Hobart
ACG (1849, 1851, 1856, 1860)	23 Dec 1843	1851	No station listed
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Died, Melbourne (see below)	2 Jul 1872		
<i>The Times</i> , (London, 1 Sep 1872), p.4:f: "A Waterloo Veteran. - Melbourne papers record the death, at St. Kilda, on the 2d of July, of ACG William Looker, who joined the British Army in Holland in 1814, & was present at the operations of Bergen-op-Zoom, afterwards served with the army of occupation in France, was present at Quatre Bras, Ligny, & Waterloo, & subsequently did duty in Canada, the West Indies, & Australia."			
Low, Isaac			
DCG (1840)	25 May 1797		
Retired in half pay (1840)	?		
Low, Robert			
DACG (1840)	28 Jun 1838		
Low, William			
DACG (1840)	17 Dec 1814		
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	28 Jun 1838		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Lukin, William			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	2 Sep 1814		
Retired in half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
*Lundy, James Bell			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Apr 1840	1851	Nova Scotia
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	24 Dec 1844	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁰²	Balaklava
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855	1856	Eastern Army
DCG (1868, 1870, 1872)	8 Apr 1867	1860	Belfast
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1868, 1870	Jamaica
		1872	Dublin
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Luscombe, Thomas Popham			
CG (1840)	15 Aug 1826		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Lutyens, Charles			
DCG (1840)	26 Jun 1809		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
*Macauley, Hector John			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	17 Oct 1844	1851, 1856	Malta
ACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Melbourne
Macbreedy, J. Kenneth			
DACG (1840)	25 May 1812		
ACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		

¹⁰² 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Macdonell, Hugh ACG (1840) Retired on half pay (1840)	1 Aug 1809 ?		
Mackay, William DCG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
Macken, William <i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i> <i>Deputy Purveyor (1872)</i> <i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	1 Apr 1857 ? 12 Feb 1870	1872	Colchester
Maclean, Donald DACG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853	1856 1860	Cape of Good Hope No station listed
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
*Maclean, Sir George, KCB			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Jul 1812	1849	Hobart
DACG (1840, 1856)	22 Oct 1816	1851	No station listed
ACG (1840, 1856)	24 May 1834	1856	Eastern Army
DCG (1849, 1856)	23 Dec 1842		
CG (1851, 1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1849		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1849) In charge of Commissariat Dept., Macquarie St., Hobart. (1856) War Medal with 2 Clasps for Orthes & Toulouse. (1860) Served in the Peninsula & South of France, received the War Medal with 2 Clasps for the battles of Orthes & Toulouse. Served in the Kaffir War of 1851-53 (Medal) & was knighted in recognition of his services on returning from the Cape in 1854. Served as Chief of the Commissariat with the Army in the East during the latter part of the siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp, KCB, Commander 2 nd Class of the Sardinian Order of St. Maurice & St. Laazarus, & 4 th Class of the Turkish Order of the Medjidie).			
Macpherson, James DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Major, Francis William A.C. DACG (1840)	29 Apr 1812	1851	Nova Scotia
ACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
DCG (1851, 1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 6 Clasps for Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Orthes, & Toulouse.			
Major, Robert Clement First commissioned rank (1872)	27 Aug 1842	1851	Grenada
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	19 Dec 1843	1856	Heligoland
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jan 1855	1860	West Indies
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1868	Bahamas
		1870, 1872	Malta
*Malassez, Charles Thomas DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	20 May 1828	1851	Bahamas
Retired on half pay (1840)	?	1856, 1860	Malta
ACG (1851)	29 Dec 1848		
ACG (1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1849		
Malassez, Maximilian DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	28 Jun 1838	1851	Bermuda
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1846	1856, 1860	Jamaica

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Malassez, Nicholas			
DCG (1840, 1856)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Manning, John Fitzmaurice			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1855	1854 (9 May)	Eastern Army
CC (1855)	?	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁰³	Balaklava
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Newfoundland
Commissary (1872)	1 Oct 1870	1868, 1870	Nova Scotia
		1872	Curragh
March, Gerald Edward			
First commissioned rank (1872)	29 Jan 1855	1872	No station listed
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Marsh, Joseph			
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868)	5 Jan 1853	1854 (27 Nov)	Eastern Army
ACG (1868)	1 May 1863	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁰⁴	Balaklava
Died (see below)	10 Oct 1888	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Malta
		1868	London
(1860) Served in the Kaffir war (Medal), also at the siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp). (1868) Served in the 2 nd Lancers & on the staff of the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain, & has the Cross of the 1 st Class of St. Fernando for the action of Artaban; commanded a squadron of Lancers from Nov 1836 to Oct [?] attached to Gen. Espartero. Served in the Kaffir war of 1851-53 (Medal); also in the Eastern campaign of 1854-55 (Medal with Clasp, & Turkish Medal).			
<i>The Times</i> , (London, 15 Oct 1888), p.10:f: "Obituary. ACG Joseph Marsh, of the Commissariat Department of the Army, whose death occurred on the 10 th inst. at 37, St. James's-road, Kingston-on-Thames, at the age of 79, was the eldest son of the late Mr. Richard Marsh, of Farthingloe, Dover, Kent. The deceased served in the 2d Lancers on the staff of the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain, & was present with them in the action of Artaban, for which he received the decoration of the Cross of the 1 st Class of St. Fernando. He was next given the command of a squadron of Lancers attached to General Espartero, which position he held from November, 1836, to October, 1837. Mr. Marsh served throughout the Caffre war of 1851 & 1853, receiving for his services a medal; & also in the memorable Eastern Campaign of 1854 & 1855. For his services at the latter he received a medal with clasp & Turkish medal."			
Marshall, Thomas Sutton			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Aug 1853	1860	China
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	New Zealand
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	1 Aug 1870	1870, 1872	Woolwich
Marshall, William Henry Sutton			
DACG (1860, 1868)	11 Nov 1859	1860	China
		1868	Cape of Good Hope
Marston, John Bates			
DACG (1868, 1870)	1 Nov 1861	1868, 1870	Canada
Marter, Thomas Peter			
DACG (1840, 1856)	4 May 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Died (1860) ¹⁰⁵	Before 29 Dec 1859		

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.559.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Martindale, Ben Hay, CB			
First commissioned rank (1872)	17 Jun 1843	1872	Nova Scotia
2 nd Lieutenant Royal Engineers (1860)	17 Jun 1843		
1 st Lieutenant Royal Engineers (1860)	1 Apr 1846		
Captain Royal Engineers (1860) ¹⁰⁶	17 Feb 1854		
Lt.-Col. Royal Engineers (1872)	?		
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
Mason, James			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
ACG (1856)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Mason, James			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Apr 1855	1872	Natal
Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	7 Jul 1870		
Matthews, Robert Lee			
First commissioned rank (1872)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Jamaica
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868, 1870	Canada
Deputy Commissary (1872)	1 Aug 1871	1872	No station listed
Matthey, Alphonso			
ACG (1840, 1856)	9 Nov 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Maturin, William			
DCG (1840)	10 Sep 1830		
Maturin, William Henry, CB			
First commissioned rank (1872)	19 Sep 1834	1851, 1856	South Australia
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	20 Jan 1837	1860	War Office
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	26 Dec 1846	1868	Cape of Good Hope
DCG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1870, 1872	Ireland
Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
Maule, Henry			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868)	28 Dec 1847	1851	Barbados
ACG (12 May 1860)		1856	Jamaica
		1860	Tasmania
		1868	Special Service
McCann, Thomas			
DACG (1851)	24 Dec 1841	1851	Quebec, Canada
McClintock, Theodore Ernest			
First commissioned rank (1872)	28 Jan 1846	1851	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1851)	9 Dec 1849	1856	Dublin
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	29 Dec 1849	1860	China
ACG (1870, 1872)	18 Oct 1860	1868	Cape of Good Hope
Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	Chatham
		1872	Manchester

(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Received the Medal for the Kaffir war of 1851-52. Was in Commissariat charge of a strong force which marched from Natal to the Orange River Sovereignty to the assistance of troops at Bloemfontein against the Basuto chief Moshesh, from Aug 1851 to Jul 1851.

¹⁰⁶ Ben Hay Martindale, 17 years service full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.401.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
McCulloch, John R.			
DACG (1851)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Barbados
*McFarlan, John			
DACG (1840, 1856)	15 Jul 1826	1851	Wm Henry Can E.
ACG (1851, 1856)	23 Dec 1843	1856	Ionian Islands
McFarlane, John			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>22 Jan 1855</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Woolwich Arsenal</i>
<i>Purveyor (?) (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
McKenzie, Charles William Beverley			
First commissioned rank (1872)	22 May 1866	1868, 1870	Canada
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	22 Nov 1866	1872	Bermuda
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
McKinstry/McKinstry, Walter T.			
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	6 Jan 1854	1856	Newfoundland
ACG (1868)	1 Feb 1865	1860	West Indies
		1868	Nova Scotia
McLean, Archibald Donald			
DACG (1851)	9 Dec 1849	1851	Gibraltar
DACG (1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1849	1856	Bermuda
		1860	No station listed
McLeod, Donald			
ACG (1840, 1856)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	<i>?</i>		
(1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 6 Clasps for Roleia, Vimiera, Busaco, Albuhera, Salamanca, & Vittoria.			
*McMahon, Edmund John			
DACG (1840)	28 Jun 1838	1851	St. Vincent
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840	1854 (25 Jun)	Eastern Army
ACG (1854, 1856, 1860)	6 Jan 1854	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁰⁷	Local duty, Cash, Crimea
		17 Mar 1855 ¹⁰⁸	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Nova Scotia
(1860) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp). 5 th Class of the Medjidie.			
McNab, Duncan			
ACG (1840)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1840)	<i>?</i>		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Mellish, George Whittaker			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>24 Nov 1854</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>Montreal</i>
<i>Purveyor (1860,¹⁰⁹ 1872)</i>	<i>1 Nov 1856</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Woolwich Arsenal</i>
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
<i>(1872) Served on the Red River Expedition of 1870 & had Control charge of the Hudson Bay [?] Frances, during Aug & Sep.</i>			

¹⁰⁷ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

¹⁰⁸ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

¹⁰⁹ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.445-6.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Mends, William Fisher			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	1 Jul 1936	1851, 1856	Western Australia
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1837	1860	West Indies
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	15 Jun 1843		
DCG (1856, 1860)	6 Jan 1854		
Meade, Robert			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>1 Jan 1852</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Devonport Gun Wharf</i>
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Mercer, Henry Heyhoe			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Jan 1861	1868, 1870	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Apr 1862	1872	No station listed
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Meyer, Albert			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Dec 1862	1868	Bermuda
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Dec 1864	1870	Canada
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	Stirling
Middleton, Henry Boucher Arthur			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Feb 1856	1860	West Indies
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	No station listed
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1872	1870, 1872	Sydney
*Midwood, Thomas Wroot			
DACG (1849, 1851, 1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840	1849	Hobart
ACG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853	1851	Van Diemen's Land
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	China
(1860) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp).			
Miles, George			
DCG (1840)	8 Sep 1810		
Retired in half pay (1840)	?		
Miller, Colin			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Miller, Mansell Octavius			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>24 Jun 1850</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Dublin</i>
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Miller, William			
DACG (1840)	5 Aug 1811	1851	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
DCG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
CG (1851, 1856)	29 Dec 1849		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 3 Clasps for Salamanca, Vittoria, & Toulouse.			
Milliken, William			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Mills, Ezekiel			
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	5 Jan 1853	1856	Van Diemen's Land
ACG (1868)	22 Oct 1862	1860	Malta
		1868	Plymouth

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Milne, James			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	23 Nov 1855	1872	ASC
<i>Ensign Military Train (1860)</i>	23 Nov 1855		
<i>Lieutenant Military Train (1860)¹¹⁰</i>	1 Feb 1856		
<i>Captain Military Train (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	15 Feb 1870		
<i>(1860, 1872) Served at the siege & fall of Sebastopol in 1855 (Medal with Clasp, & Turkish Medal).</i>			
*Mitchell, James A.F.			
DACG (1851)	16 Dec 1845	1849	Battery Pnt, Hobart
DACG (1849, 1854, 1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1851	1851	Van Diemen's Land
		1854 (Apr)	Eastern Army
		4 Aug 1854 ¹¹¹	Gallipoli, Turkey
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Sierra Leone
Mitchison, Thomas R.			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
<i>(1840) Served in the Peninsula, or the South of France.</i>			
Molony, Charles Mills			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	24 Sep 1855	1872	Portsmouth Gun
<i>Lieutenant Royal Artillery (1860)¹¹²</i>	24 Sep 1855		Wharf
<i>Captain Royal Artillery (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Acting Asst. Controller (on probation) (1872)</i>	1 Jan 1870		
Monk, Frederick Souter			
CC (1854)	?	1854 (1 Dec)	Eastern Army
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jan 1856	1860	South Australia
ACG (1868, 1870)	8 Apr 1867	1868	Nova Scotia
<i>(1860) Served in the Kaffir war (Medal), also at the siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp).</i>			
Montanaro, Alfred			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	9 Apr 1850	1872	Ceylon
<i>Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	12 Feb 1870		
*Montunaro/Montanaro, Benjamin J.			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Ionian Islands
		1854	Eastern Army
		4 Aug 1854 ¹¹³	Accounts, Pera
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Malta
*Montgomerie, Frederick			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Moore, George			
DCG (1840)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired in half pay (1840)	?		
<i>(1840) Served in the Peninsula, or the South of France.</i>			

¹¹⁰ James Milne, 5 years service full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.156, 158.

¹¹¹ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

¹¹² H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.380.

¹¹³ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Moore, James			
First commissioned rank (1872)	6 Oct 1856	1872	Dover
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Commissary (1872)	10 May 1871		
*Moore, Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	2 Aug 1844	1851	Trinidad
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	26 Dec 1846	1856	Eastern Army
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Mauritius
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Nov 1871	1868	Newfoundland
		1870	Plymouth
		1872	Western District
(1872) Crimea from Apr 1855 (Medal with Clasp for Sebastopol, & 5 th Class of the Medjidie, Turkish Medal).			
Moore, Thomas Forsyth			
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	28 Dec 1850	1856	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1868)	1 Jan 1861	1860	Ionian Islands
		1868	Cork
Moore, William Worthing.			
DACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Cape of Good Hope
Morgan, Charles			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Never		
DACG (1840)	25 Apr 1815		
(1840) Transferred from Storekeeper General's Dept. (Assistant Storekeeper General 25 Apr 1815).			
Morley, George Lyddon			
First commissioned rank (1872)	30 Dec 1864	1868	Mauritius
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	30 Jun 1865	1870, 1872	Curragh
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Morris, Edward			
First commissioned rank (1872)	11 Aug 1854	1860	Aldershot
Purveyor (1860) ¹¹⁴	13 Oct 1855	1872	West Indies
Principal Purveyor (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
*Morse, Henry Brown/Browne			
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jul 1840	1851	Canada
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868)	8 Dec 1848	1856	Eastern Army
DCG (1860, 1868)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Jamaica
		1868	Malta
(1860, 1868) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, 5 th Class of the Medjidie, Turkish Medal).			
Munro, George Gunn			
First commissioned rank (1872)	19 Oct 1842	1860	Woolwich
Assistant Military Storekeeper (1860) ¹¹⁵	?	1872	Dublin
Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Aug 1871		
Died ¹¹⁶	1892		
(1872) In charge during New Zealand war of 1844-45 (Medal). Served in the Crimea in 1855 (Medal with Clasp for Sebastopol, & Turkish Medal).			

¹¹⁴ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.445-6.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.464.

¹¹⁶ *The Times*, (London, 19 Feb 1892), p.5:a. [This is the reference given by *Palmer's index to The Times 1790-1905* (CD-Rom), but I was unable to locate the article there.]

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Murray, George C.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	15 May 1854	1872	Singapore
Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Murray, Herbert			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854 1854 (22 Apr)	From Treasury Eastern Army
*Murray, James William¹¹⁷			
First commissioned rank (1872)	8 Nov 1850	1854 (29 Jun)	Eastern Army
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	3 Mar 1853	Aug 1854 ¹¹⁸	Varna
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Oct 1864	4 Aug 1854 ¹¹⁹	Stores, Crimea
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Nov 1871	17 Mar 1855 ¹²⁰	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Cape of Good Hope
		1868	China
		1870	Aldershot
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Crimea, with Heavy Cavalry, battles of Balaklava & Inkerman & siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 3 Clasps, Turkish Medal).			
*Murray, John			
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860)	21 Dec 1852	1854 (8 Jun)	Eastern Army
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	London
*Mylrea, Frederick Thomas			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	10 Sep 1830	1851	Belfast
ACG (1851)	6 Dec 1838	1856	Nova Scotia
ACG (1856, 1860)	6 Dec 1839	1860	Melbourne
DCG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855		
Nangle, Walter Chidlock			
First commissioned rank (1872)	19 Dec 1849	1872	Devonport Gun Wharf
2 nd Lieutenant Royal Artillery (1860)	19 Dec 1849		
1 st Lieutenant Royal Artillery (1860)	24 Jul 1851		
Captain Royal Artillery (1860, ¹²¹ 1872)	23 Feb 1856		
Acting Asst. Controller (on probation) (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
(1860) Served at the siege & fall of Sebastopol in 1855 (Medal & Clasp).			
Napier, Duncan Campbell			
First commissioned rank (1872)	2 Mar 1847	1856	Bermuda
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	20 Dec 1851	1860	Colchester
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jul 1862	1868	Gibraltar
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	Portsmouth
		1872	Cape of Good Hope
Neill, George James			
DACG (1868)	4 Jul 1860	1868	No station listed

¹¹⁷ It is difficult differentiating between James William Murray and John Murray when no initials are given, especially as they held the same rank at the time of the Crimean War. Some of the details (other than Army List details) I have attributed to James William could actually apply to John.

¹¹⁸ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

¹¹⁹ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

¹²⁰ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

¹²¹ Walter Chidlock Nangle, 11 years service full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.376, 397.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Neill, Robert			
DACG (1840)	20 Jan 1837	1851	Berbice
ACG (1851)	26 Dec 1846		
Newland, William Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Jan 1856	1860	London
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	9 Jun 1858	1868, 1870	Western Australia
ACG (1870, 1872)	17 Jan 1869	1872	Ireland
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Newsome, H.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (21 May)	Eastern Army
Resigned (1854)	?		
Nicholson/Nicolson, John			
DACG (1849, 1851, 1856)	23 Dec 1843	1849	Launceston
Retired on half pay (1856)	?	1851	Western Australia
(1849) Provision duties, Launceston.			
Nightingale, Allen Jackson			
ACG (1840)	23 Nov 1827		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Noake, Robert Douglas			
First commissioned rank (1872)	12 May 1863	1872	ASC
Lieut. Military Train (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	15 Feb 1870		
Nugent, George Stephen N. Hodges			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 5 Clasps for Roleia, Vimiera, Talavera, Busaco, & Fuentes d'Onor.			
*O'Connor, Charles Davis			
First commissioned rank (1872)	22 Aug 1854	1860	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	7 Sep 1856	1868	Jamaica
ACG (1870, 1872)	1 Oct 1868	1870, 1872	Sierra Leone
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) With detachments of 1 st , 2 nd , & 3 rd West India Regts., from Gambia, Oct 1854, to assist troops besieged in Christianborg Castle, Gold Coast, expedition against Kings & Chiefs of Moriah country, Western Africa, Nov 1854.			
Ogilvie, James			
DCG (1840, 1856)	22 Mar 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 3 Clasps for Albuhera, Salamanca, & Orthes.			
Ogilvy, William			
DACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Canada
O'Meara, William			
DACG (1840)	9 Mar 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Oriel, Henry Francis			
DACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825	1851	London, Canada
ACG (1851)	23 Dec 1843		

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Osborn, Kean			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1841	1851	Dublin
ACG (1856, 1860)	6 Jan 1854	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Aldershot
(1860) Kaffir war (Medal); Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp, Knight of the Legion of Honor, 5 th Class of the Medjidie).			
Osborn/Osborne, Thomas			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	28 Jun 1838		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Owen, Stephen			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	5 Oct 1832	1851	New South Wales
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845	1856	Tasmania
		1860	No station listed
Oxley, John			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>8 Jul 1846</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>China</i>
<i>Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>7 Jul 1870</i>		
Paille, Peter Francis			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840	1851, 1856	Mauritius
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Palmer, Charles			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Never		
DACG (1840)	Never		
ACG (1840)	4 May 1815		
DCG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
(1840) Deputy Storekeeper General 4 May 1815, transferred to the Commissariat with the Storekeeper General's Dept. in 1819, taking rank as ACG from date of Commission as Deputy Storekeeper General.			
*Palmer, Charles			
First commissioned rank (1872)	3 Jan 1845	1851	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1868, 1870)	29 Dec 1848	1854 (12 Mar)	Eastern Army
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Aug 1856	Aug 1854 ¹²²	Varna
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Devonport
		1868, 1870	Canada
		1872	Belfast
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Kaffir war (Medal). Crimea (Medal with Clasp for Sebastopol, Turkish Medal).			
Palmer, Constantine John			
ACG (1840)	4 Feb 1806		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Palmer, William			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jul 1840	1851	Mauritius
ACG (1868)	29 Dec 1849	1856	Bermuda
ACG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853	1860	Nova Scotia
DCG (1868)	24 Nov 1862	1862	Mauritius
(1868) Kaffir medal.			
Parish, Sir Woodbine, KCH			
DACG (1860)	30 Apr 1814		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		

¹²² 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Park, Walter Brisbane			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Jul 1862	1872	Cork
Barrack Master (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
<i>(1872) Captain Park served with the Cameronians in the China war under Lord Gough & was present at the attack & capture of Amoy, Koolongsoo, Ningpo (defence of), Tscke, Segoan, Chapoo, Wooung, Shanghae, & Chin [?] Poo, & investment of Nankin (Medal).</i>			
Parker, Frederick Saintbury			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1846	1851	Kingston, Canada
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Parkyn, George John			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Dec 1862	1868	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1868, 1870)	1 Dec 1864	1870, 1872	China
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Parkyn, William Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	4 Oct 1837	1860	Woolwich
Deputy Military Storekeeper (1860) ¹²³	?	1872	Woolwich Arsenal
Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1871		
Parr, James			
DACG (1840)	20 May 1828		
Parrott, William Read			
DACG (1849, 1851)	16 Dec 1845	1849	Hobart
		1851	New Zealand
<i>(1849) Under orders for embarkation for another station or England.</i>			
Paty, John			
DACG (1840)	20 May 1828		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Peel, William			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Apr 1849	1872	Bermuda
Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Pennell, Croker Lovell Baker			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Jun 1854	1860	Jamaica
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jan 1856	1868, 1870	Canada
ACG (1870, 1872)	1 Jan 1868	1872	Dublin
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Pennell, Lovell			
DACG (1840)	23 May 1812	1851	Jamaica
ACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
DCG (1851)	26 Dec 1840		
<i>(1840) Served in the Peninsula, or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 4 Clasps for Vittoria, Nivelles, Orthes, & Toulouse.</i>			
Penno, William Lanyon			
First commissioned rank (1872)	21 Mar 1839	1860	Bermuda
Deputy Military Storekeeper (1860) ¹²⁴	?	1872	Devonport Gun
Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		Wharf
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		

¹²³ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.464.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Penrice, Charles Walter			
First commissioned rank (1872)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Nova Scotia
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868, 1870	Canada
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	No station listed
Petrie, Alfred Ernest			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jun 1854	17 Mar 1855 ¹²⁵	Balaklava
CC (1855)	?	1860	Tasmania
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Aug 1856	1868	Aldershot
ACG (1870, 1872)	9 Sep 1868	1870, 1872	Bermuda
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Died, Dorset (see below)	17 Dec 1896		
<i>The Times</i> , (London, 21 Dec 1896), p.9:e: "The death is announced of ACG A.E. Petrie, who served in the Crimea in 1855 & in the New Zealand war of 1863, receiving the medal for both campaigns. He died at Upper Parkstone, Dorset, on Thursday, at the age of 60."			
Petrie, Samuel, CB			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Petrie, William			
CG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
*Phillips, George Hutchison			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Oct 1855	1860	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	16 Oct 1857	1868, 1870	China
ACG (1870, 1872)	1 Jan 1869	1872	Devonport
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Pigott, Augustus William			
<i>First commissioned rank</i>	<i>25 Aug 1854</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>Curragh</i>
<i>Purveyor (1860)¹²⁶</i>	<i>22 Feb 1855</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Cape of Good Hope</i>
<i>Principal Purveyor (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Assistant Controller (1872)</i>	<i>1 Jan 1870</i>		
Pirkis/Purkis, George Ignatius			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>22 Feb 1850</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Hong Kong</i>
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>7 July 1870</i>		
<i>(1872) Medal for the war of 1857 in China.</i>			
*Plant, Henry William Woodforde			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1840	1851, 1856	Nova Scotia
ACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855	1860	Canada
Porter, Basil			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1864	1868	Canada
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jul 1864	1870	Canada
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	West Indies

¹²⁵ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

¹²⁶ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.445-6.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Potgieter, Conrad			
First commissioned rank (1872)	3 Jan 1845	1851	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	26 Dec 1846	1854 (8 Apr) 4 Aug 1854 ¹²⁷	Eastern Army Scutari, Turkey
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Jan 1855	1856	Eastern Army
Deputy Controller (1872)	5 Sep 1871	1860, 1868 1870 1872	Cape of Good Hope China Eastern District
(1860) Kaffir Medal. (1868, 1870) Siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, & Turkish Medal). (1870, 1872) Kaffir wars, 1835, 1846, 1851-53 (Medal), with force that proceeded to Ungozie & which ultimately took possession of Port Natal; with force against insurgent Boers beyond NE boundary of Cape Colony, 1848, present at action at Boem Plaats. Turkey, Apr 1854 - Sep 1856 in charge of several Depots of Stores, on Bosphorus, for Army in Crimea (Medal with Clasp, & Turkish Medal).			
Powell, Reuben Hill			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Nov 1853	1872	ASC
Ensign Military Train (1860)	9 Oct 1857		
Lieut. Military Train (1860, ¹²⁸ 1872)	30 Jun 1858		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	15 Feb 1870		
*Power, William James Tyrone, CB, KCB			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	24 Dec 1844	1851 1854 (1 Aug)	No station listed Eastern Army
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855	Aug 1854 ¹²⁹	Varna
DCG (1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Aug 1856	17 Mar 1855 ¹³⁰	Balaklava
CG (1868, 1870)	1 Apr 1863	1856	Eastern Army
CG-in-Chief (1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1864	1860 1868, 1870	London No station listed
(1860) Served in the Kaffir war (Medal. Served the Eastern campaign of 1854-55 with the 2 nd Div. at the battles of Alma & Inkerman, & siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps, & 5 th Class of the Medjidie. (1868, 1870) First China Expeditionary Force at Amoy & Chusan (Medal). New Zealand & Wanganui, 1846-47. Kaffir war, 1851-53 (Medal). Eastern campaign, 1854-55, Crimea, with 2 nd Div., battles of Alma & Inkerman, siege of Sebastopol, at taking of Kinbourn (Medal with 3 Clasps, Turkish Medal, 5th Class of the Medjidie). At attack & capture of Canton, 1857-58 (Medal with Clasp)			
Priaulx, Henry			
DACG (1849, 1851, 1856)	1 Jul 1840	1849	Launceston
ACG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853	1851	Van Diemen's Land
Retired on half pay (1860)	?	1856	No station listed
(1849) In charge of provision duties, Launceston.			
Price, Edward Thomas			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Nov 1861	1868	Channel Islands
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	23 Nov 1863	1870	Chatham
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	ASC
Price, John Banner			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
ACG (1840)	9 Feb 1827		
DCG (1840)	5 Jun 1838		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			

¹²⁷ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

¹²⁸ Ruben Hill Powell, 3 years service full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.156.

¹²⁹ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

¹³⁰ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Price, John Banner			
DACG (1856, 1860)	17 Oct 1844	1851	Barbados
DACG (1851, 1868, 1870)	24 Dec 1844	1856	New South Wales
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Canada
		1868, 1870	War Office
*Price, Richard Stephenson			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Emigration Office
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Sep 1855		
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1854 (28 Aug)	Eastern Army
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1868	Aldershot
		1870	Ceylon
		1872	Plymouth
Priestley, William Henry			
ACG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Primrose, George Ramsay			
CC (1854)	?	1854 (24 Dec)	Eastern Army
DACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855	17 Mar 1855 ¹³¹	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	West Indies
(1860) Served in the Kaffir war (Medal), also at the siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp).			
Prissick, Thomas Butterworth			
First commissioned rank (1872)	7 Feb 1855	1860	Nova Scotia
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868, 1870	Canada
Commissary (1872)	1 Aug 1871	1872	Athlone
*Probyn, Charles Edward			
DACG (1854, 1856)	29 Dec 1851	1854 (14 Apr)	Eastern Army
		Aug 1854 ¹³²	Varna
		1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
		1856	London
Pryce, Josiah			
ACG (1840, 1856)	25 Oct 1827		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Retired on half pay with honorary rank of DCG (1860)	15 May 1859		
Rae, Thomas			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814	1851	Quebec
ACG (1851)	3 Jun 1838		
ACG (1840)	5 Jun 1838		
DCG (1856, 1860)	5 Jan 1853		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Ragland, William			
ACG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Ragueneau, Charles			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Rains, Stephen Walter			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	2 Jun 1855	1872	Ireland
<i>Deputy Purveyor (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	12 Feb 1870		
Ralph, Charles			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	Jan 1850	1872	No station listed
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	12 Feb 1870		
*Ramsay, Thomas Warton/Wharton			
DCG (1840, 1851, 1854)	28 Jun 1838	1851	New South Wales
Retired on half pay (1840)	?	1854 (14 Apr)	Eastern Army
CG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855	Aug 1854 ¹³³	Varna
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?	4 Aug 1854 ¹³⁴	Local duty, Cash, Crimea
Ramsey, George			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	12 Jan 1856	1872	ASC
<i>Lieut. Military Train (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	15 Feb 1870		
<i>(1872) Served in the Royal Artillery throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, including the affairs of [?] & McKenzie's Farm, battles of Alma, Balaklava, & Inkerman, siege & fall of Sebastopol, & re-[?] the sortie on 26 Oct, & expedition to Kinbourn (Medal with 4 Clasps, & Turkish Medal).</i>			
Ramsbottom, R.J.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
		1854 (18 Oct)	Eastern Army
		1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
Ramsden, F.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Emigration Office
		1854 (28 Aug)	Eastern Army
Randall, John Henry			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	1 Jan 1856	1860	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	No station listed
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	12 Feb 1870	1870	Ceylon
		1872	Devonport
<i>(1868, 1870, 1872) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).</i>			
Rattle, John Manley			
DACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1860	West Indies
Raven, Newcome Richard			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	1 Jan 1850	1872	Chatham Gun Wharf
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	12 Feb 1870		
Ravenhill, John Smith			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	28 Feb 1855	1872	Ireland
<i>Purveyor (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	12 Feb 1870		

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Ravenscroft, William Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Apr 1861	1868	Canada
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Aug 1862	1870	Aldershot
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	ASC
Rayner, Thomas			
DACG (1840)	22 Apr 1813	1851	Bermuda
ACG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
DCG (1851)	29 Dec 1849		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Reed, James William			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
ACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with Clasp for Vittoria.			
Rees, Walter Crawford			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Feb 1864	1872	ASC
Lieut. Military Train (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	15 Feb 1870		
Reeves, Henry Spencer Edward			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Jan 1861	1868	Curragh
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Apr 1862	1870	Bermuda
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	No station listed
Relph, Charles C.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	21 May 1855	1872	Dublin
Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1872) Served in charge of his Department throughout the operations in Quiah, Western Africa, & was present at the capture & destruction of Massougha on 10 Dec 1861, was also present in charge of the Field [?] at the capture of the stockades at Madonkia on the 27 ^h of the Fetish town of Robeah on 28 Dec 1861, [?] accompanied the expedition up the Ribbie river on 17 Jan 1862 (mentioned in despatches).			
*Rennie, George			
First commissioned rank (1872)	28 Dec 1847	1856	Eastern Army
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	5 Jan 1853	1860	Western Australia
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	17 Jun 1864	1868	Bermuda
Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	Edinburgh
		1872	Westminster
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Kaffir war (Medal). Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Ricard, Henry Longfield			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Sep 1867	1870	Ceylon
DACG (1870, 1872)	16 Mar 1868	1872	Plymouth
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Richardson, Francis Mosely/Moseley			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Riddell, Archibald			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 4 Clasps for Salamanca, Vittoria, Orthes, & Toulouse.			

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Roberts, Peter			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Jun 1812		
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
ACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with Clasp for Nive.			
*Roberts, W.B.			
Acting CC (1854)	?	1854	From Audit Office
		1854 (12 Apr)	Eastern Army
Robertson, Henry Lewis C.			
DACG (1851)	9 Dec 1849	1851	Cape of Good Hope
Robertson, James Scott, CB			
First commissioned rank (1872)	7 Apr 1855	1860	London
Purveyor in Chief (1860, ¹³⁵ 1872)	7 Apr 1855	1872	Southern District
Controller (1872)	5 Sep 1871		
(1872) Served as Purveyor in Chief with the Army in Turkey & the Crimea in 1855-56 (Crimean & Turkish Medals).			
*Robertson, John Leslie			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Dec 1855	1860	Tasmania
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Dublin
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	Athlone
		1872	Honduras
(1868, 1870, 1872) Crimea, siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Robinson, Augustus Facey			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Apr 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Robinson, Edward Cooke			
DCG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Robinson, Henry, CB			
First commissioned rank (1872)	19 Feb 1844	1851	Kilkenny
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	26 Dec 1846	1856	London
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jan 1856	1860	China
DCG (1870, 1872)	1 Aug 1868	1868	Special Service
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1870, 1872	Aldershot
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
Robinson, Wellesley Gordon Walker/W.W.G.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Apr 1855	1860	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868, 1870	Aldershot
Commissary (1872)	5 Sep 1871	1872	No station listed
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, & Turkish Medal).			
Robinson, William			
DACG (1840)	3 Apr 1827	1851	Cape of Good Hope
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		

¹³⁵ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.445-6.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Robinson, William Henry			
DACG (1840)	2 Nov 1812	1851	Canada
ACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
DCG (1851)	26 Dec 1840		
CG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Rodney, Hon. Mortimer			
DACG (1840, 1856)	27 Aug 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Rogers, Henry Francis			
DACG (1851)	28 Dec 1847	1851	Limerick
*Rogers, John Francis			
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868)	28 Dec 1847	1854	From Ireland
ACG (1860, 1868)	1 Aug 1856	1854 (22 Apr)	Eastern Army
		4 Aug 1854 ¹³⁶	Varna HQ
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	China
		1868	Canada
(1868) Served throughout Eastern Campaign, 1854-55, Crimea (Medal with Clasp for Sebastopol, Turkish Medal). With expeditionary force, China, 1858-61 (Medal). Temporarily employed, Asia Minor, 1855, & Japan, 1860.			
Rogers/Roger, Neill			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Sep 1865	1868, 1870	Canada
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	9 Mar 1866	1872	ASC
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Rogers, Samuel Ormsby			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>15 Mar 1854</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Portsmouth Gun Wharf</i>
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Rogers, William Maule			
First commissioned rank (1872)	3 Aug 1847	1856	Trinidad
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	5 Jan 1853	1860	Canada
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	24 Nov 1862	1868	Aldershot
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1870	Woolwich
		1872	Portsmouth
Rogerson, Ralph			
ACG (1840)	31 Mar 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
*Rolleston, Philip			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1848	1851	Gibraltar
ACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1854 (25 May)	Eastern Army
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Edinburgh
(1860) With 1 st Div. throughout Eastern campaign of 1854-55, Crimea, battles of Alma, Balaklava, & Inkerman, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps, 5 th Class of the Medjidie).			
Ross, David Robert			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>22 Jan 1861</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Dublin</i>
<i>Barrack Master (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		

¹³⁶ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Ross, Robert Dalrymple			
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	17 Sep 1858	1860	No station listed
ACG (1870)	1 Feb 1869	1868	South Australia
		1870	No station listed

Ross, Robert William			
DACG (1856)	22 Feb 1842		
Retired on half pay (1856)			?

Ross, William			
DACG (1840)	3 Nov 1814		
ACG (1840)	28 Jun 1838		
Retired on half pay (1840)			?

*Routh, Leonce			
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	1 Jul 1840	1851	Montreal, Canada
Married ¹³⁷	3 Nov 1846	1854 (7 May)	Eastern Army
ACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868)	29 Dec 1849	Aug 1854 ¹³⁸	Varna
DCG (1860, 1868)	2 Jan 1856	4 Aug 1854 ¹³⁹	Varna HQ
Died, Anerley (see below)	18 Aug 1905	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁴⁰	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Bermuda
		1868	Nova Scotia

(1860, 1868) Eastern campaign, 1854-55, Crimea, battle of Alma, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with two Clasps, 5th Class of the Medjidie, Turkish Medal).

The Times, (London, 26 Aug 1905), p.4:e: "CG Leonce Routh, who died at Anerley on August 18, was the son of the late CG Sir Randolph Routh, K.C.B., & was born at the Royal Palace, Fontainebleau, on December 5, 1820. He entered the Commissariat Department as a Volunteer in 1836, during the insurrection in Lower Canada, & was appointed DACG in December, 1839. After quiet was restored, he went to Hong-kong in 1842, very shortly after it had been ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Canton, & was of signal use in establishing control among the Chinese. In 1846 he was detailed for special duty in Ireland during the potato famine, & from there he went to Canada, in charge of the Commissariat headquarters. In 1854 he was ordered to the Crimea, & accompanied the allied armies to Bulgaria in order to relieve Silistria, which was then closely invested by the Russians. During this expedition he rendered good service during the terrible outbreak of cholera at Varna. After the relief of Silistria he returned to the Crimea, marching with the army under Lord Raglan to Sevastopol, & served before the enemy at Bulzenac, at the battle of Alma on September 20, 1854, & at the capture of Balaklava. At the restoration of peace he was appointed principal cash accountant to wind up the local finances of war. .. In 1859 he was appointed to the commissariat charge in Bermuda, & to a similar post in Nova Scotia in 1861. During his seven years' service there he was highly commended for the rapid transport of 8,000 troops to Canada through New Brunswick in anticipation of trouble with the United States over the "Trent" affair. He retired from active service in 1869, receiving special thanks & a special retiring pension for his long & meritorious services, & was given, as further evidence of his appreciation, the honorary rank of CG."

Routh, Randolph			
First commissioned rank (1872)	17 Nov 1834	1851	Limerick
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	20 Jan 1837	1856	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	26 Dec 1846	1860	Mauritius
DCG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Aldershot
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1870	London
		1872	Northern District

(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Kaffir Medal.

The Times, (London, 12 Apr 1897), p.8:b: "Obituary. CG Randolph Routh, C.B., died at De Ruda, Ealing,

¹³⁷ William Henry Drake said in his *Journal* entry for 3 Nov 1855 that that day was Leonce Routh's 9th wedding anniversary.

¹³⁸ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

¹³⁹ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

¹⁴⁰ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
on Thursday, aged 77. He received his first appointment in 1837, & retired in 1879. In the earliest years of his service he was engaged in the suppression of the insurrection in Canada, & from 1850 to 1853 in the Kaffir War, including the attack on the Amatola Mountains, the fighting at Waterkloof, & the battle of Berea. He was a son of the late Sir Randolph Isham Routh, K.C.B., & was twice married, first, in 1846, to the second daughter of Mr. W. Hall, collector of Customs, Montreal, Canada; & secondly, in 1883, to the widow of Mr. John Hilton.”			
*Routh, Sir Randolph Isham, KCB			
Treasury Clerk (1840)		Never	
DACG (1840)		Never	
ACG (1840)		13 Nov 1805	
DCG (1840)		9 Mar 1812	
CG (1840, 1856)		15 Aug 1826	
Retired on half pay (1856)		?	
Died ¹⁴¹		Nov 1858	
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 3 Clasps for Busaco, Albuhera, & Nivelles.			
Routh, W.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)		?	1854 (27 Nov) Eastern Army
Rowland, John Christian			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1842	1860	Hong Kong
Deputy Military Storekeeper (1860)		?	1872 Malta
Acting Barrackmaster (1860) ¹⁴²		?	
Superintendent of Stores (1872)		?	
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
(1872) Served in the campaign of 1860 in China (Medal).			
Rumbold, Charles Hale			
First commissioned rank (1872)	Nov 1847	1872	Cape of Good Hope
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)		?	
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Rushton, Mark William Rooksby			
First commissioned rank (1872)	29 Oct 1866	1868, 1870	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	29 Apr 1867	1872	China
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Russell, Horatio Albert			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jul 1847	1872	No station listed
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)		?	
Commissary (1872)	1 Jan 1871		
(1872) Served throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854-55 (Medal with 2 Clasps, & Turkish Medal).			
*Ryland, Ashley Cowper			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Sep 1855	1860, 1868	Tasmania
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1870	Clonmel
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	Aldershot
(1868, 1870, 1872) Crimea, siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			

¹⁴¹ *The Times*, 2 Nov 1858, p.6:f. [I was unable to find this reference, but this was the reference given in *Palmer's index to The Times 1790-1905*. (CD-Rom)]

¹⁴² H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.464.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
St. George, James Dorrington Niblett			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	6 May 1835	1860	Hyde Park
<i>Deputy Military Storekeeper (1860)</i>	?	1872	North Britain
<i>Acting Barrackmaster (1860)¹⁴³</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Assistant Controller (1872)</i>	1 Jan 1870		
St. Remy, P.C. Lelievre de			
DCG (1840, 1856)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
*Sale, John Henry			
DACG (1851)	9 Dec 1849	1851	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868)	29 Dec 1849	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁴⁴	Balaklava
ACG (1868)	14 Jun 1860	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Tasmania
		1868	Chatham
(1860, 1868) Kaffir war (Medal); Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Salwey, Alfred			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1844	1851	Cork
ACG (1856, 1860)	15 Jan 1854	1856	No station listed
		1860	London
(1856, 1860) Present at the storm & destruction of the Native Mandingo Town of Sabajee on the Gambia 1 Jun 1853.			
Sanders, Gilbert Howard			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	May 1858	1860	Parkhurst
<i>2nd Lieutenant (1860)</i>	15 Dec 1854	1872	Woolwich Arsenal
<i>Lieutenant (1860)</i>	17 Aug 1855		
<i>Half pay (1860)¹⁴⁵</i>	31 Aug 1858		
<i>Barrack Master (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	22 Dec 1870		
<i>Died (see below)</i>	Jul 1885		
(1860, 1872) Served in the Austrian Army in 1849-51; was present at the battle of Novara, & served the campaign against Garibaldi in the Roman States, for which he has a Medal. Served as Adjutant in the 30 th Regiment at the siege of Sebastopol in 1855; was in the Trenches at the attacks of the 8 th & 18 th June, & was twice severely & once slightly wounded at the assault of the Redan on 8 Sep - left leg amputated, for which he [?] receipt of a Captain's pension for wounds, viz., £100 per annum - mentioned in despatches (Medal with Clasp, [?] & Turkish Medals). The Times, (London, 23 Jul 1885), p.10:f: "CG G.H. Sanders, senior Commissariat officer at Chatham, died at his official residence at Chatham on Tuesday morning. The deceased officer had seen considerable service, & lost one of his legs during the Crimean war. He was in possession of the Crimean, Sardinian, & Turkish war medals."			
Sanford, George C.			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
ACG (1840)	5 Jun 1838		

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

¹⁴⁵ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.465, 466, 495.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Satchwell, Thomas Alfred G.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Apr 1847	1860	Purfleet
Assistant Military Storekeeper (1860)	?	1872	Woolwich Arsenal
Acting Barrackmaster (1860) ¹⁴⁶	?		
Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
Saunder, Edward Charles			
First commissioned rank (1872)	17 Aug 1870	1860	China
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Ceylon
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	17 Aug 1870	1870	Straits Settlements
		1872	Manchester
Schaumann, Augustus/August Ludolf Friedrich¹⁴⁷			
DACG (1840)	26 Dec 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Schiaden, Angelo			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (21 Jul)	Eastern Army
Schmidchen, Augustus			
DCG (1840)	27 Jul 1812		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Schmitter, John Solomon			
DACG (1840, 1856)	3 Feb 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
(1840, 1856) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Sclater, William Salusbury			
DACG (1840)	3 Apr 1827		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Scobell, Thomas			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
ACG (1840)	5 Jun 1838		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Scott, James Alexander			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Apr 1856	1872	Portsmouth
Deputy Purveyor (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Scott, William Henry Horatio			
First commissioned rank	1 Nov 1847	1860	Graham's Town
Assistant Military Storekeeper (1860)	?	1872	Bermuda
Acting Barrackmaster (1860) ¹⁴⁸	?		
Deputy Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
(1860, 1872) Received the Medal for the Kaffir wars.			
Sedgwick, Thomas			
DACG (1840)	12 Jul 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.464.

¹⁴⁷ A.L.F. Schaumann, *On the road with Wellington: The diary of a war commissary*, (London, 1999). [First published in 1924 in German.]

¹⁴⁸ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.464.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Seel/Seele, C.M.			
CC (1854)	?	1854 (5 Jul)	Eastern Army
DACG (1860)	?		
Died (1860) ¹⁴⁹	Before 29 Dec 1859		
*Selby, Robert Grey Donaldson			
First commissioned rank (1872)	2 Mar 1848	1854 (16 Nov)	Eastern Army
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	6 Jan 1854	1856	Eastern Army
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	15 Mar 1865	1860	Ionian Islands
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1868, 1870	Cape of Good Hope
		1872	Natal
(1868, 1870, 1872) Crimea, 24 Jan - Apr 1855 (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Serrurier, John P.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Nov 1847	1872	Gibraltar
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Servantes, William F.G.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (25 Jul)	Eastern Army
CC (1855)	?	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁵⁰	Balaklava
DACG (1860, 1868)	2 Jan 1856	1860	China
		1868	China
(1860, 1868) Served with the Heavy Cavalry at the battles of Balaklava & Inkerman & siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps). (1868) Over 10 years in 96 th & 6 th Regts. before entering Commissariat. [?] Interpreter to Forces in New Zealand, rebellion of Southern Tribes, present at attack on fortified position in Horokiwi Valley 6 Aug 1846 (mentioned in despatches), on retirement of troops from there in command of friendly tribes with whom followed up & dispersed rebels after a severe encounter with them on summit of Ponawha Mt. Wanganui [?], New Zealand, in same capacity, present at affair of St. John's Wood, Jul 1847 (mentioned in despatches). Crimea campaign from 1 Oct 1854 (Medal with three Clasps). With Heavy Cavalry, battles of Balaklava & Inkerman & siege of Sebastopol. China, commanded company of Chinese coolies "Bamboo Rifles" at capture of Canton. Present at that city during attacks on it, 1858, with expedition repulsed at Taku Forts, 1859 [?]. With forces, North of China, 1860 (Medal with Clasp).			
Seymour, J.F.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Registrar-General's Office
		1854 (22 Dec)	Eastern Army
Shell, Charles H.			
DACG (1856)	17 Oct 1856	1851	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1851, 1860)	24 Dec 1844	1856	Nova Scotia
ACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1860	No station listed
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
*Shepherd, George			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	20 Jan 1837	1851	Nova Scotia
ACG (1851)	16 Dec 1845	1856	Malta
ACG (1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1846	1860	Ionian Islands

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p.559.

¹⁵⁰ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Shervinton, Charles Robert			
First commissioned rank (1872)	20 May 1842	1872	ASC
Ensign (1860)	20 May 1842		
Lieutenant (1860)	6 Jul 1845		
Captain (1860)	22 Sep 1854		
Major (1860)	6 Jun 1856		
Brigade Major Military Train (1860) ¹⁵¹	?		
Brevet Lt.-Col. Unattached (1872)	?		
Acting Asst. Controller (on probation) (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
(1860, 1872) Served in the 46 th Regiment throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854-55, including the battles of Alma, Balaklava & Inkerman, sortie of the 26 th Oct., siege & fall of Sebastopol. Having served uninterruptedly throughout the siege he was appointed to the Staff at Balaklava, & subsequently to the command of the 1 st Battalion Land Transport Corps (Medal with 4 Clasps, Brevet of Major, 5 th Class of the Medjidie, & Turkish Medal).			
Shortt, Foster			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Mar 1856	1868	Jamaica
DACG (1868, 1870)	10 Nov 1859	1870	Dover
ACG (1870, 1872)	1 Feb 1869	1872	Shorncliffe
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Silveira, Francisco Candido P.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	12 May 1852	1872	China
Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1872) Medal for the war of 1857 in China.			
Simcot, J.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (9 Nov)	Eastern Army
Singer, Paulus Æmilius (Ireland)			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	1 Apr 1800		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Sisson, Marcus Jacob			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal for Salamanca, Vittoria, & the Pyrenees.			
Skelton, Thomas Lourey			
ACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Skinner, George Alexander			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Cape of Good Hope
ACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1856	Hong Kong
		1860	London
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
Skinner, James Tierney			
First commissioned rank (1872)	8 Dec 1866	1868	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	8 Jun 1867	1870	Melbourne
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	Western Australia
Skyrme/Skryme/Skyrine, James			
DACG (1840)	28 Nov 1827	1851	St. Johns, Canada
ACG (1851, 1856)	16 Dec 1845		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		

¹⁵¹ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.81, 94, 156.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Slade, James S.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854 1854 (14 Apr)	From Treasury Eastern Army
*Smith, Charles Bagot			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	29 Dec 1848	1854 (11 Apr) Aug 1854 ¹⁵²	Eastern Army Varna
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Aug 1856	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁵³	Transport, Crimea
Assistant Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁵⁴	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Cape of Good Hope
		1868	Canada
		1870	No station listed
		1872	Jamaica
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Kaffir war, 1846-47; also 1850-53, actions of Barns Hill & Block Drift (Medal). Eastern campaign, 1854-55, Crimea, battle of Alma, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with two Clasps, Turkish Medal).			
Smith, Henry			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>1 Jan 1846</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Tynemouth</i>
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Smith, Herbert Chamb.			
DACG (1868, 1870)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Shorncliffe
ACG (1870)	5 Nov 1869	1870	Shorncliffe
Smith, John Josiah			
DACG (1840)	28 Jun 1838		
*Smith, John William			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	1 Dec 1833	1851	Hong Kong
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1844	1854 (12 Mar)	Eastern Army
DCG (1854, 1856, 1860)	30 Dec 1854	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁵⁵	In Charge of
CG (1860)	27 Nov 1858		Duties, Crimea
CG-in-Chief (1860)	?	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	London
(1860) CB, Knight of the Legion of Honor.			
Smith, Robert Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Mauritius
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	28 Nov 1847	1856, 1860	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1868, 1870)	28 Dec 1848	1868	Canada
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	26 May 1860	1870, 1872	Plymouth
Paymaster (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1860, 1868, 1870) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
Smith, Sydney Lancy Davies			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>24 May 1854</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Cork Harbour</i>
<i>Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		

¹⁵² William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

¹⁵³ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

¹⁵⁴ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

¹⁵⁵ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Smith, Thomas Storrar			
First commissioned rank (1872)	24 Nov 1864	1868	St. Helena
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	24 May 1865	1870, 1872	China
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Smith, Thomas Tringham			
DACG (1840, 1856)	9 Nov 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Snow, William Roger			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Feb 1856	1860	Aldershot
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Canada
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	Curragh
		1872	ASC
(1868, 1870, 1872) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Somerville, Alexander			
DCG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Sparkes, Thomas			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Feb 1853	1872	Pembroke Dock
Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Sparrow, John Bodychan			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1852	1872	No station listed
Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Spearman, Sir Alexander Young, Bt.			
ACG (1860)	10 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Spurrier, John			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Squarey, Robert			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Apr 1861	1868	Gambia
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Aug 1862	1870	No station listed
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	Aldershot
Standen, David			
First commissioned rank (1872)	28 Dec 1847	1856, 1860, 1868	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	5 Jan 1853	1870, 1872	
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	10 Sep 1864		
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
*Stanes, Robert			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Registrar-General's Office
First commissioned rank (1872)	12 May 1855		
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	11 Nov 1859	1854 (23 Sep)	Eastern Army
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1860	Cape of Good Hope
		1868	Special Service
		1870, 1872	Colchester
Staniforth, J.			
CC (1854)	?	1854 (22 Apr)	Eastern Army

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Stanton, William			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Retired on half pay with honorary rank of DCG (1860)	15 May 1859		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Stanton, William			
DACG (1840, 1856)	2 Jan 1831	1851	Toronto, Canada
ACG (1851, 1856)	16 Dec 1845	1856	Canada
Stayner, Thomas Allen			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	11 May 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Stevens, William			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
ACG (1856)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Retired on half pay with honorary rank of DCG (1860)	15 May 1859		
Stewart, Randal			
Assistant Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
		1854 (29 Jun)	Eastern Army
		1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
Stewart, Thomas Brown			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Jul 1867	1870, 1872	Jamaica
DACG (1870, 1872)	24 Jan 1868		
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
*Stickney, Thomas			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816	1854 (12 Apr)	Eastern Army
ACG (1840)	5 Jun 1838	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁵⁶	Accounts, Pera
DCG (1854, 1860)	11 Aug 1846	1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
CG (1856)	1 Jan 1855		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
Storks, Major General Right Hon. Sir Henry Knight, GCB, GCMG, Surveyor General of the Ordnance & Under Secretary of State			
<i>Ensign (purchase) (1840, 1860)</i>	<i>10 Jan 1828</i>		
<i>Lieutenant (purchase) (1840, 1860)</i>	<i>2 Mar 1832</i>		
<i>Captain (purchase) (1840,¹⁵⁷ 1860)</i>	<i>30 Oct 1835</i>		
<i>Major (1860)</i>	<i>7 Aug 1840</i>		
<i>Lieutenant-Colonel (1860)</i>	<i>15 Sep 1848</i>		
<i>Colonel (1860)</i>	<i>28 Nov 1854</i>		
<i>Half pay (1860)</i>	<i>13 Jul 1854</i>		
<i>Lord High Commissioner Ionian Islands (1860)¹⁵⁸</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Controller in Chief (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>(1860) Served as Assistant Adjutant-General at the Cape of Good Hope during the Kaffir war of 1846-47 (Medal).</i>			
Stow, Benjamin			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	Jun 1825		
DACG (1840)	3 Apr 1827		

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Henry Knight Storks, 38th Foot, served 13 years full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, ... 1840*, p.189.

¹⁵⁸ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.30, 47b.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Strachan, Alexander			
DCG (1840)	10 Sep 1830		
Retired on half pay (1840)		?	
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Streatfield, William Sandeforth			
DACG (1840)	4 May 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840)		?	
Street, George Morris			
DACG (1868)	15 Aug 1865	1868	Gibraltar
*Strickland, Edward, CB			
First commissioned rank (1872)	15 Feb 1838	1851	Malta
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860, 1860, 1870)	26 Dec 1840	1854 (12 Apr)	Eastern Army
ACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1860, 1870)	6 Jan 1854	Aug 1854 ¹⁵⁹	Varna
DCG (1868, 1870, 1872)	18 Sep 1861	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁶⁰	1 st Div., Crimea
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1854	To Piræus
		1856	Greece
		1860	No station listed
		1868	Manchester
		1870	Nova Scotia
		1872	No station listed
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Crimea, with 1 st Div., battle of Alma (Medal & Clasp). (1868, 1870, 1872) Turkish Medal. (1870, 1872) In Commissariat charge in field, New Zealand, 1864-66 (CB, Medal). Jeffrey Grey, <i>A military history of Australia</i> , (Cambridge, 1990), p.276; Strickland, Major General Sir Edward (1821-1889). British regular soldier. Joined Commissariat department 1838. Service in Canada, New South Wales, Tasmania, Malta, Turkey, Greece & in the Crimean War 1854-56, New Zealand Wars 1864-67 & Zulu War 1879. Appointed Commissariat-General [sic] 1878. Retired to Sydney & first suggested publicly that a contingent be dispatched to avenge Gordon in the Sudan 1885.			
Strickland, Thomas			
DACG (1851)	28 Dec 1847	1851	Cape of Good Hope
Stuart, William Tyler			
First commissioned rank (1872)	20 Oct 1848	1872	Aldershot
Ensign (1860)	20 Oct 1848		
Lieutenant (1860)	3 Mar 1853		
Captain (1860) ¹⁶¹	10 Mar 1858		
Major half pay 17 th Foot (1872)		?	
Acting Asst. Controller (on probation) (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
Studdert, J.F.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854 (3 Aug)	Eastern Army
*Sutherland, James Stewart Calder/J.A.C.			
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	6 Jan 1854	1854 (8 Jun)	Eastern Army
ACG (1868, 1870)	26 May 1865	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁶²	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Nova Scotia
		1868	Colchester
		1870	No station listed
(1860, 1868, 1870) Crimea, with Light Cavalry, battles of Alma, Balaklava, & Inkerman, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 4 Clasps, Turkish Medal).			

¹⁵⁹ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ William Tyler Stuart, 17th Foot, served 12 years full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.210.

¹⁶² 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
*Sutherland, John M.M.			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845	1851 1856, 1860	New Zealand Western Australia
*Swain, Charles			
DACG (1840)	1 Jun 1821	1851	Barbados
DACG (1856)	19 Jul 1821	1856	No station listed
ACG (1851, 1856)	24 Dec 1841		
DCG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
*Swain, Charles O.			
First commissioned rank (1872)	26 Sep 1845	1851	Gibraltar
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	29 Dec 1848	1854 (8 Jun) Aug 1854 ¹⁶³	Eastern Army Varna
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	9 Jun 1860	1856	Eastern Army
Assistant Controller	5 Sep 1871	1860 1868, 1870 1872	Gibraltar St. Helena No station listed
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) With 2 nd Div., Bulgaria, 1854, with 4 th Div. from the landing at Old Fort, present in Crimea at battles of Alma & Inkerman, & siege of Sebastopol (Medal with three Clasps, Turkish Medal). Charge of Military Chest & Staff Paymaster's duties, Scutari, until breaking up of that establishment, Aug 1856.			
Swainson, William			
ACG (1840, 1856)	20 Mar 1813		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Swan, Frederick George			
Treasury Estimate Clerk (1849)		1849	Hobart
DACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	28 Dec 1850	1856	St. Helena
ACG (1868, 1870)	8 Jul 1861	1860 1868, 1870	Shorncliffe West Indies
(1868, 1870) Senior Commissariat Officer in Canada West in Jun 1866 when the Fenians invaded the Province, & was in Commissariat charge of the Field Force on the Niagara frontier on that occasions.			
*Swan, Thomas George S.			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	20 Dec 1819	1849	Launceston
DACG (1840, 1856)	7 Jun 1825	1851	Van Diemen's Land
ACG (1849, 1851, 1856)	24 Dec 1841	1856	Tasmania
(1840) Transferred from Storekeeper General's Dept. 20 Dec 1819. (1849) In charge of general duties, commissariat chest & payments, Launceston.			
Sweetland, John			
DCG (1840)	16 Nov 1802		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Swinney, George			
ACG (1840)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Tarquand, Peter			
CG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		

¹⁶³ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Tatum, Henry, CB			
First commissioned rank (1872)	29 Apr 1844	1860	Malta
Military Storekeeper (1860) ¹⁶⁴	?	1872	War Office
Principal Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
Died (see below)	Mar 1895		
(1872) Joined the Army at the Bosphorus in Mar 1855, as Ordnance Storekeeper, remained in charge of [?] Department at that station until the close of the Russian war, & until the whole of the Ordnance Stores [?] charge had been shipped & duly accounted for.			
The Times, (London, 18 Mar 1895), p.10:c: "CG Henry Tatum, C.B., died at Bedford on Friday. He served as an ordnance storekeeper during the Crimean War, & after fulfilling other offices at Weedon, at Malta, & at the Tower, he became assistant-director of artillery & stores at the War Office in 1871. In 1876 he was appointed CG at Portsmouth, & held that post till 1879."			
Taylor, Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	9 Apr 1855	1872	Portsmouth Gun Wharf
Deputy Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	10 May 1871		
Taylor, Nathaniel			
First commissioned rank (1872)	11 Nov 1859	1860	China
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	11 Nov 1859	1868	Enniskillen
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	Belfast
		1872	Bermuda
Taylor, William Richard			
First commissioned rank (1872)	27 Apr 1855	1872	Malta
Deputy Purveyor (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	1 Aug 1871		
Teckell, John (Musters)			
DCG (1840, 1856)	19 Nov 1805		
Retired on full pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Telfer, Buchan Fraser			
DCG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Telfer, Buchan Fraser			
DCG (1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1845		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with Clasp for Corunna.			
Telfer, George Home			
CC (1854)	?	1854 (23 May)	Eastern Army
First commissioned rank (1872)	11 Apr 1854	1868	Western Australia
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870, 1872)	2 Jan 1856	1870, 1872	Straits Settlements
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Telfer, Patrick N.			
DACG (1851)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Quebec
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Tench, John			
DCG (1856)	16 Dec 1814		
(1856) War Medal with Clasp for Guadaloupe.			

¹⁶⁴ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.464.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Tench, John			
DACG (1840)	25 May 1812		
ACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Tennent, James			
DACG (1840)	23 Sep 1827		
Tharp, Horace Neville			
DACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1860	London
*Thompson, Alfred Robert			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (17 Jul)	Eastern Army
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Jan 1855	Aug 1854 ¹⁶⁵	Varna
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jan 1856	1860	West Indies
ACG (1870, 1872)	1 Aug 1868	1868	Straits Settlements
Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1870	Melbourne
		1872	Woolwich
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Crimea, battle of Alma, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 2 Clasps, Turkish Medal). (1868, 1870, 1872) Relieved DACG Hunter in commissariat charge, Quiah, Western Africa, present at storming & destruction of stockades & war fence at Madonkia, 19 Dec, capture & destruction of stockades at Madonkia, night of 27 Dec, of Fetish town of Robea, 28 Dec 1861, accompanied expedition up the Ribbie river, 17 Jan 1862.			
Thompson, G.H.			
Temporary Junior Clerk (1854)	?	1854	From Stationery Office
Reduced (1854)	?		
		1854 (3 Aug)	Eastern Army
*Thompson, James			
DACG (1840)	2 Nov 1812		
ACG (1840)	23 Nov 1827		
DCG (1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
*Thompson, Justus Henry			
DACG (1851)	9 Dec 1849	1851	Cape of Good Hope
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868)	29 Dec 1849	1854 (31 Mar)	Eastern Army
ACG (1860)	14 Jun 1860	17 Mar 1855 ¹⁶⁶	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Manchester
		1868	Malta
(1860, 1868) Eastern campaign, 1854-55, Crimea, with 2 nd Div. at battles of Alma & Inkerman siege of Sebastopol (Medal with 3 Clasps, Turkish Medal).			
Thomson, Edmund			
DACG (1856)	3 Dec 1842		
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Thomson, John			
First commissioned rank (1872)	10 Nov 1851	1872	Cape of Good Hope
Purveyor (?) (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Thomson, Tannat H.			
DACG (1840)	8 Dec 1812		
ACG (1840)	10 Sep 1830		

¹⁶⁵ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

¹⁶⁶ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Thomson/Thomson-Sinclair, William			
DACG (1856)	28 Jun 1813	1856	No station listed
ACG (1856)	10 Sep 1830		
DCG (1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1846		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Thornhill, H.B.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
		1854 (18 Oct)	Eastern Army
		1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
Thornton, Charles			
DACG (1840, 1856)	13 Jul 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Thynne, Henry			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Tidmarsh, Charles			
DACG (1840)	29 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Tinling, Widdrington			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1846	1851	St. Vincent
		1856, 1860	Barbados
Toller, Charles Henry			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>1 Apr 1854</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Barbados</i>
<i>Purveyor (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Tomes, John			
DACG (1849, 1851, 1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1841	1849	Hobart
Retired on half pay (1860)	?	1851	Van Diemen's Land
		1856	New Zealand
(1849) Under orders for embarkation for another station or England.			
Towesland, Samuel Joseph			
DACG (1840)	18 Sep 1827		
Travers, Henry Fane			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>10 Feb 1847</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Jersey</i>
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	?		
<i>Deputy Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Travers, Horace			
DACG (1856)	1 Jan 1855	1856, 1860	Western Australia
DACG (1860)	6 Jan 1854		
Trew, Thomas Eggar			
Treasury Clerk (1840)	20 Dec 1819	1851	Niagara
DACG (1840)	7 Jun 1825		
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	24 Dec 1841		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)	?		
(1840) Transferred from Storekeeper General's Dept. 20 Dec 1819.			
Trimmer, John			
DACG (1840, 1856)	28 Jun 1838	1851	No station listed
ACG (1851, 1856)	29 Dec 1849	1856	Eastern Army

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Trotter, Alexander			
ACG (1840, 1851)	20 Jan 1837	1851	Dominica
Retired on half pay (1840) ?			
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Troup, John Igglesden			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Oct 1862	1868	New Zealand
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Apr 1863	1870	Tasmania
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	Dover
Trouton, G.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
Died (1854)	?	1854 (18 Oct)	Eastern Army
Tubby, James Hardy			
DACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1846	1851	Barbados
ACG (1860)	11 Nov 1859	1856	Cape of Good Hope
		1860	Newfoundland
(1860) Medal for the Kaffir war.			
Turnbull, Edward			
DACG (1860)	2 Jan 1856	1860	Gambia
*Turner, Alexander William/Walter			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 Jul 1847	1854 (24 Dec)	Eastern Army
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	19 Jan 1850	1856	Eastern Army
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Nov 1860	1860	Canada
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1868	Sierra Leone
		1870	No station listed
		1872	Bahamas
(1860, 1868, 1870, 1872) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
*Turner, Philip			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	28 Jun 1838	1851	New Zealand
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	26 Dec 1846	1854 (12 Mar)	Eastern Army
DCG (1854, 1860)	2 Jan 1856	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁶⁷	Gallipoli, Turkey
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	China
Turner, Thomas			
DACG (1840)	22 Oct 1816		
Retired on half pay (1840) ?			
Tweddell, R. Wharton			
DACG (1840)	3 Apr 1827		
Twining, George			
DACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jan 1855	1856, 1860	Bermuda
Uniacke, Crofton James			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Mar 1863	1868	Gibraltar
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	4 Apr 1865	1870, 1872	Nova Scotia
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870		

¹⁶⁷ William Henry Drake (Varna) - Louisa Drake (London), (4 Aug 1854).

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Uniacke, Redmond C.			
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	19 Dec 1843	1851	No station listed
DACG (1851)	23 Dec 1843	1854	From Ireland
Acting ACG	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁶⁸	1854 (8 Jun)	Eastern Army
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁶⁹	3 rd Div., Crimea
DCG (1868, 1870)	1 Jul 1867	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	London
		1868	China
		1870	No station listed
(1860, 1868, 1870) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Ussher, William H. Bernard			
DACG (1851, 1856)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Quebec
Retired on half pay (1856)	?		
Verfenstein, Joseph			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
ACG (1840)	18 May 1838		
Walcot, Charles Thomas			
DACG (1851, 1856)	28 Dec 1847	1851	Jamaica
		1856	No station listed
Waldron, Frederick William			
DACG (1849, 1851, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	26 Dec 1846	1849	Hobart
		1851	New South Wales
ACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	2 Jan 1856	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Bermuda
		1868	Manchester
		1870	No station listed
(1849) Under orders for embarkation for another station or England. (1868, 1870) Turkish Medal for service with the late Turkish Contingent in Turkey & the Crimea.			
Walker, Billingsley Edm.			
DACG (1851)	9 Dec 1849	1851	New South Wales
Walker, Thomas			
DACG (1840)	13 Jul 1824		
Walton, Clifford Elliot			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Oct 1862	1868	No station listed
DACG (1868, 187, 18720)	1 Oct 1864	1870	Cape of Good Hope
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	Dublin
*Ward, Edward Lindsay/Linder			
First commissioned rank (1872)	17 Oct 1848	1854 (5 Jul)	Eastern Army
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	8 Feb 1851	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁷⁰	Special duty, Winter Hay, Crimea
ACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 May 1862		
Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Woolwich
		1868	Nova Scotia
		1870	Jamaica
		1872	Cork

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Warneford, William John			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Apr 1861	1868	West Indies
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	1 Apr 1864	1870	Shorncliffe
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	Ireland
Warner, Biddulph Lee			
First commissioned rank (1872)	5 May 1863	1872	ASC
Lieut. Military Train (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	1 Feb 1871		
Wasey, Willough. Clem.			
DACG (1840)	28 Jun 1838		
Wathen, Augustus			
DACG (1840)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Watkins, J.S.			
Acting DACG (1854)	?	1854	From Ireland
		1854 (3 Aug)	Eastern Army
		1854 (Bef 31 Dec)	Invalided home
*Watt, Fitzjames Edward			
First commissioned rank (1872)	30 Jul 1839	1851	No station listed
DACG (1854, 1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	19 Dec 1843	1854	From Royal Mint
DACG (1851)	23 Dec 1843	1854 (14 Apr)	Eastern Army
Acting ACG ¹⁷¹	4 Aug 1854	4 Aug 1854 ¹⁷²	Cash Account,
ACG (1856, 1860, 1868, 1870)	1 Jan 1855		Crimea
DCG (1868, 1870, 1872)	20 Oct 1862	1856	Eastern Army
Deputy Controller (1872)	1 Jan 1870	1860	War Office
		1868, 1870, 1872	Gibraltar
*Watt, James Duff			
DACG (1840, 1856)	4 May 1814	Aug 1854 ¹⁷³	Varna
ACG (1840, 1856)	20 Jan 1837	1856	Dublin
DCG (1856)	29 Dec 1849		
Retired with honorary rank of CG (1860)	15 May 1859		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856) War Medal with 6 Clasps for Salamanca, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse. (1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , received the War Medal with 6 Clasps for Salamanca, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, & Toulouse; also the Kaffir Medal.			
Webb, Edward William Henry			
First commissioned rank (1872)	29 Oct 1858	1872	ASC
Ensign (purchase) (1860) ¹⁷⁴	29 Oct 1858		
Captain Military Train (1872)	?		
Commissary (1872)	15 Feb 1870		

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ William Henry Drake (Varna) #2 - Louisa Drake (London), (10 Aug 1854).

¹⁷⁴ Edward William Henry Webb, 58th Foot, served 2 years full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.279.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
*Webb, George Joseph			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845	1851	No station listed
ACG (1860)	1 Aug 1846	1854	From Malta
		17 Mar 1855 ¹⁷⁵	Balaklava
		1854 (24 Jul)	Eastern Army
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Cape of Good Hope
(1860) Crimea, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasp).			
Webb, William			
DCG (1840)	15 Jan 1822		
Retired on half pay (1840)		?	
*Weir, Thomas Christie Bartram			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	15 Jul 1826	c1828-31 ¹⁷⁶	Barbados
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	11 Apr 1836	1851	Corfu
DCG (1851, 1856, 1860)	29 Dec 1849	1856	Eastern Army
CG (1860)	1 Apr 1859	1860	Canada
Weldon, F.W.			
Acting CC (Bookkeeper) (1854)		?	1854 From Ireland
		1854 (12 Apr)	Eastern Army
Wemyss, Charles			
DACG (1840)	25 Apr 1815		
ACG (1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840		
Retired on half pay (1856, 1860)		?	
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 4 Clasps for Salamanca, Vittoria, Nivelle & Nive.			
Wemyss, William			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)		?	
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 10 Clasps for Roleia, Vimiera, Corunna, Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes d'Onor, Salamanca, Vittoria, Nivelle, & Nive.			
West, Arthur Thesiger			
DACG (1856, 1860)	6 Jan 1854	1856	Canada
		1860	Curragh
Wethered, Thomas			
DCG (1840, 1856)	21 Mar 1807		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)		?	
(1856) War Medal with Clasp for Guadaloupe.			
White, George			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	20 Nov 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)		?	
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
White, Thomas			
ACG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)		?	

¹⁷⁵ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1855), p.7:c.

¹⁷⁶ Charlotte Augusta Drake (London) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), 29 May 1854.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
White, Voltaire			
First commissioned rank (1872)	22 May 1855	1872	Manchester
Purveyor (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	12 Feb 1870		
Whitehead, Henry Lowe			
DACG (1840, 1856)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)	?		
Wickens, James			
DACG (1840)	5 Feb 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
*Wild, Henry James			
ACG (1856)	4 May 1815	1851, 1856	Malta
DCG (1840, 1851, 1856)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
CG (1856, 1860)	6 Jan 1854		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Wild, Henry John			
First commissioned rank (1872)	1 Apr 1855	1872	No station listed
DACG (1872)	?		
Commissary (1872)	1 Nov 1871		
Wilkinson, Henry John			
First commissioned rank (1872)	23 May 1848	1872	Cork
Ensign (purchase) (1860)	23 May 1848		
Lieutenant (purchase) (1860)	31 Aug 1851		
Captain (1860) ¹⁷⁷	6 Jan 1855		
Major half pay 9 th Foot	?		
Acting Asst. Controller (on probation) (1872)	1 Jan 1870		
(1860) Served in the Crimea from 27 Nov 1854, including the siege & fall of Sebastopol, & assault on the batteries on 18 Jun (Medal & Clasp). 5 th Class of the Medjidie.			
*Wilkinson, John Philip			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (8 Jun)	Eastern Army
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Gibraltar
		1868, 1870	Canada
(1868, 1870) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Wilkinson, John Walter			
ACG (1840)	10 Aug 1811		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
*Willan, James Douglas			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860)	23 Dec 1842	1851	No station listed
Acting ACG	1 Jan 1855	1854	From Ireland
ACG (1856, 1860)	?	1854 (14 Apr)	Eastern Army
		4 Aug 1854 ¹⁷⁸	Cash Account, Crimea
		17 Mar 1855 ¹⁷⁹	Balaklava
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	St. Helena
(1860) Crimea, battle of Alma, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps).			

¹⁷⁷ Henry John Wilkinson, 9th Foot, served 12 years full pay; H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, pp.190, 191.

¹⁷⁸ Charlotte Augusta Drake (London) - Louisa Drake (en route to London), 29 May 1854.

¹⁷⁹ 'Lord Palmerston and the Commissariat Service', *The Times*, (London, 10 Apr 1955), p.7:c.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
NOTES			
Williams, Charles			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814	1851	Trinidad
ACG (1851, 1856, 1860)	1 Jul 1840	1856	Hong Kong
DCG (1856, 1860)	6 Jan 1854	1860	Western Australia
Williams, Edward Wilmot			
First commissioned rank (1872)	4 Dec 1865	1868	Gibraltar
DACG (1868, 1870, 1872)	4 Jun 1866	1870	Aldershot
Deputy Commissary (Supernumerary) (1872)	12 Feb 1870	1872	ASC
Williams, Richard			
DCG (1840)	28 Jun 1838		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
*Williams, Thomas			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856, 1860)	16 Dec 1845	1851	Bermuda
ACG (1860)	1 Jan 1856	1854 (22 Jul)	Eastern Army
		1856	Eastern Army
		1860	Curragh
(1860) Kaffir war (Medal). Eastern campaign, 1854-55, Crimea, battle of Alma, siege of Sebastopol (Medal & Clasps).			
Williams, W.J.			
DACG (1860)	5 Nov 1816		
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
*Wilson, James			
DACG (1840, 1856)	25 Dec 1814	1856	London
ACG (1856)	1 Jul 1840		
DCG (1856)	1 Jan 1855		
Retired with honorary rank of CG (1860)	15 May 1859		
(1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Wilson, Thomas			
DACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	10 Sep 1830	1856	Eastern Army
Retired on half pay (1860)	?		
Wiltmer, L.			
Temporary Clerk (1854)	?	1854 (26 May)	Eastern Army
Reduced (1854)	?		
Wilton, Walter Thomas Cowley			
First commissioned rank (1872)	16 Mar 1857	1872	Aldershot
Deputy Purveyor (1872)	?		
Deputy Commissary (1872)	23 Jun 1870		
*Wingfield, Frederick Basset			
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Cape of Good Hope
		1868, 1870	London
(1868, 1870) Served in the Crimea at the siege & fall of Sebastopol (Medal with Clasp, Turkish Medal).			
Winter, Matthew			
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	17 Feb 1855	1860	China
ACG (1868, 1870)	1 Aug 1865	1868	Aldershot
		1870	London
Withers, George			
DACG (1840)	11 Mar 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		
Wood, Sir Gabriel			
CG (1840)	8 Jul 1806		
Retired on half pay (1840)	?		

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Wood, James Charles R.			
DACG (1851, 1856)	24 Dec 1844	1851, 1856	New Zealand
ACG (1856)	1 Jan 1855		
Wood, John			
ACG (1840)	25 Apr 1815		
Retired on half pay (1840)		?	
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Woodhouse, James, CMG			
DCG (1840, 1856, 1860)	7 Jun 1825		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)		?	
*Woodley, James Wilkinson			
DACG (1851, 1854, 1856)	28 Dec 1847	1851	Jamaica
Received a commuted allowance (half pay) (1860) ¹⁸⁰	Before 29 Dec 1849	1854 (22 Jul)	Eastern Army
		1856	Eastern Army
Woolcombe, Frederick Peter			
DACG (1856)	28 Dec 1850	1856	Demerara
*Woolrabe/Woolrane, Frederick George			
Treasury Estimate Clerk (1849)		1849	Hobart
DACG (1851)	9 Dec 1849	1851	Van Diemen's Land
DACG (1856)	29 Dec 1849	1856	Eastern Army
Woolrabe, John			
ACG (1840, 1856)	20 Jan 1837		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856)		?	
Resigned (1860) ¹⁸¹	Before 29 Dec 1849		
Wrench, Charles Edward			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	24 Nov 1854	1860	Ceylon
<i>Purveyor (1860,¹⁸² 1872)</i>	19 Nov 1858	1872	Glasgow
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	1 Aug 1871		
Wrentmore, George Joseph			
DACG (1856)	1 Jan 1855	1856, 1860	New South Wales
DACG (1860)	6 Jan 1854		
Wright, Charles			
CG (1840)	19 Jul 1821		
Retired on half pay (1840)		?	
(1840) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			
Wright, William Frederick			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	2 Jan 1850	1872	Chester
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>		?	
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	1 Oct 1871		
(1872) Present at the bombardment & capture of Canton in 1857.			
*Wybault, Joseph William			
DACG (1840, 1856)	23 Sep 1827	1851, 1856	Nova Scotia
ACG (1851, 1856)	24 Dec 1844		
DCG (1860)	2 Jan 1856		
Retired on half pay (1860)		?	
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France.			

¹⁸⁰ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, p.557.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid*, p.445-6.

RANK (SOURCE)	DATE ACHIEVED	DATE	STATION
Wybault, Patrick Robert			
ACG (1840, 1856, 1860)	25 Dec 1814		
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
(1840, 1856, 1860) Served in the <i>Peninsula</i> , or the South of France. (1856, 1860) War Medal with 3 Clasps for Busaco, Fuentes d'Onor, & Salamanca.			
Wylde, Henry John			
DACG (1860, 1868, 1870)	11 Nov 1859	1860	Canada
		1868, 1870	West Indies
Yeoland, George			
ACG (1840, 1851, 1856, 1860)	10 Sep 1830	1851	Jamaica
Retired on half pay (1840, 1856, 1860)	?		
Young, Alfred Horatio			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>1 Jan 1840</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Manchester</i>
<i>Asst. Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Commissary (1872)</i>	<i>12 Feb 1870</i>		
Young, William Loweriston Mackelcan, CB			
<i>First commissioned rank (1872)</i>	<i>28 Jan 1833</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>Portsmouth Gun Wharf</i>
<i>Superintendent of Stores (1872)</i>	<i>?</i>		
<i>Deputy Controller (1872)</i>	<i>1 Jan 1870</i>		
<i>(1872) Was in charge of the Field Train throughout the Crimean war (Medal with 4 Clasps, CB, Knight of the Legion of Honor, 5th Class of the Medjidie, & Turkish Medal). Served in China from 1857 to 1860 (Medal).</i>			

Appendix 3

Commissariat Department

Duties and Regulations

1810¹

The Commissariat raises, keeps, and disburses, according to fixed regulations, the whole of the funds required to carry on the foreign expenditure of the mother country.

Certain classes of payments are made under specific directions from the Treasury; other payments are made under warrants from the officers commanding, or (as in the case of the convict expenditure) of the governor of the colony. It is the duty of the Commissariat officer to call the attention of the officer commanding, or of the governor, as the case may be, to every instance in which a payment may be authorised at variance with the established regulations, or with any particular direction of this Board, as well as to report on the subject to the Treasury.

An account is constantly kept open, by means of the Commissariat chests, between the mother country and its dependencies in every part of the world (except India and Ceylon), and between all these dependencies; so that if a sum has to be received or paid in Canada, Australia, or China, for any branch of the public service, it may be done by a transfer in the Commissariat chest account, without any remittance. The Commissariat officers act, in effect, as sub-treasurers to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury in the foreign possessions of the Crown.

The financial functions performed by the Commissariat renders it indispensable that the officers of the department should act under the immediate orders of the Treasury, which cannot transfer to others the responsibility of the various operations connected with the provision, the custody, and the due appropriation of the funds which are required for carrying on the public service.

The Commissariat also provides, keeps in store, and issues the provisions, forage, fuel, and light for the use of all the different branches of the service abroad.

Salt meat, coals, candles, and some other articles, are procured by the Commissariat through the medium of the Admiralty and the Ordnance, while the fresh provisions are purchased on the spot.

The materials of various kinds required by the Ordnance, are also purchased by the Commissariat.

All description of transport, both land and water, is in the charge of and under the control and direction of the Commissariat Depmt.

The following is the authority for its present organization:-

Commissary-in-Chief's Office,
March 19, 1810.

His Majesty has been pleased to command that the following regulations should be established and acted upon in all future promotions and appointments in the Commissariat.

That the gradation of rank be "Com-Gen", "Dep Com-Gen", "Asst Com-Gen", "Dep Asst Com-Gen", "Clerk". No person to enter but as clerk - to serve 1 year before eligible for promotion. Deputy Asst to serve 4 years, or 5 from entrance as clerk before eligible. Assist 5 years as Assist, or 10 years from entrance as clerk before eligible. Dep to be 3 years in that rank before eligible. Service to be counted as actual service on full pay. No person to be appointed clerk previous to the age of 16.

¹ J. Wood (comp.), *The Tasmanian royal kalendar, colonial register and almanack 1849*, (Hobart, 1849), pp.97-98.

Appointments held under the Royal Sign Manual

The comparative ranks are Com-Gen as Brig-Gen; Dep as Lt-Col, under three years as Major; Asst as Capt; Dep Asst as Lieut; Clerk as Ensign. See Army Regulations.

Rates of Full and Half Pay

Rank	Ordinary full pay	Extra war pay	Extra climate pay to be drawn by officers serving in W. Indies & on the coast of Africa	Charge pay	Half pay	Half pay after twenty years service as an officer and five years in last rank
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
Com.-General	4 14 11	1 18 0	.....	..... To the offi. in charge, in the windw. & leew. is. comd.	1 9 3 After 1 m. serve as Com-Gen. 1 19 3	.....
Dep.-Com.-Gen.	1 8 8	0 9 6	0 9 6	1 8 6 At other stations 0 9 6 At stations where climate pay is allowed 0 4 6	0 14 8	0 19 0
Asst.-Com.-Gen.	0 14 3	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 4 6 At other stations 0 5 0	0 7 4	0 9 6
Dep.-Assist.-Com.-Gen.	0 9 6	0 5 0	0 2 6	0 2 6	4 4 11	0 6 4
Com.-Clerk	0 7 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

1816²

Requisitions are to be transmitted to the Commissariat Officer, certified by the Commanding Officers of Corps, on the Day preceding that fixed upon for the first delivery of the Articles in Camp, and regularly every Day preceding the issuing Morning, afterwards according to the Forms A. and B. accompanied with the Pay-Master's Returns of the Effectives present in the Field, and the exact number of Persons of each rank actually present with the Corps, as well as the number of Horses: which Returns are also to be signed by the Commanding Officer.

When Detachments are stationed at a distance from the Head-Quarters, and out of the reach of the Regimental Pay-Master, like Certificates are to be furnished by the respective Commanding Officers thereof, and the same shall be admitted as the Voucher to the Officer of the Commissariat, on the deliveries to be made by him.

General Officers and Staff are to cause Requisitions to be as early as possible sent to the Commissariat Officer, on the Troops going into Camp, and regularly every Day preceding the issuing Morning afterwards above directed, according to Form C.

Articles bad in their Kind, or deficient in Weight, are not to be received by the Troops; the Badness or Deficiency to be ascertained before taken from the Magazine or a Commissioned Officer, and the Commissariat Officer; but Articles once taken from the Magazine cannot be returned but with the Approbation of the Commissary.

The Settlements are to take place Monthly, from the 25th day of the Month to the 24th day of the ensuing Month, both days inclusive; and Returns of the number of Effectives, with the quantity of bread and Meat received, and the name of the Contractor who delivered the same, also the periods for which they were issued, are to be transmitted by the Pay-Masters, as soon as possible after the 24th day of the Month in which such Bread and Meat were furnished, to the Superintendents of Military accounts, according to the Forms D. and E. Pay-Masters of Cavalry are also to transmit Returns of Forage supplied according to Form F. It is to be observed, that the returns of Men encamped are to be distinct from those for Men in any other Situation. The Commissary-in-Chief to pay the Contractor upon such Returns being received by him from the Superintendents of Military Accounts.

The Regimental Pay-Masters to pay the Contractors, by Bills on the Agents, the amount of Stoppages on Forage delivered for the Horses of Field Officers and Captains of Cavalry, and they will take care, that the amount of the Stoppages on Bread and Meat supplied to Servants not being Soldiers, and Washer-women, both of Cavalry and Infantry, be punctually paid to the Contractor, or other proper Person, at the Regular Periods of Settlement. The Quarter-Masters of Regiments are at the same time, to sign a General Receipt for all the Articles of Supply delivered from the Magazine to their respective Corps during that Period, according to Forms G. and H. The settlement for the Generals and Staff is also to take place Monthly. The Aides-du-Camp to sign Receipts for the Supplies delivered to the respective Generals and Suites according to Form I. Physicians or Surgeons to sign Receipts for Supplies delivered for the Use of the General Hospital.

The Commissary-in-Chief will take care that these Regulations are observed by all Persons employed in Deliveries to the Troops.

² United Kingdom, Adjutant General's Office, *General regulations and orders for the army*, Facsim. ed., (London, 1970), pp.174-186. (First published 1816.)

A.
REQUISITION for
Encamped at _____ **to** _____ **Regiment of**
Days' Bread, Meat, Wood, Straw, and Forage, for the
CAVALRY.
18 , both Days inclusive.

No. of Troops	Signatures of Officers drawing Forage		Rank		No. of Effective Horses to be inserted by each Individual Officer	No. of Officers' Horses paying Shoppage		No. of Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, and Troop Horses, not paying Shoppage		No. of Officers' Horses paying Shoppage		Officers' Horses paying Shoppage		Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, and Troop Horses, not paying Shoppage		Total Number of Rations of Forage of 10 lbs. Oats, and 14 lbs. Hay.		Forage, Rations of 10 lbs. Oats, 14 lbs. Hay, Straw, Rations of 4 lbs																	
No. of Troops	Signatures of Officers drawing Forage		Rank		No. of Effective Horses to be inserted by each Individual Officer	No. of Officers' Horses paying Shoppage		No. of Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, and Troop Horses, not paying Shoppage		No. of Officers' Horses paying Shoppage		Officers' Horses paying Shoppage		Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, and Troop Horses, not paying Shoppage		Total Number of Rations of Forage of 10 lbs. Oats, and 14 lbs. Hay.		Forage, Rations of 10 lbs. Oats, 14 lbs. Hay, Straw, Rations of 4 lbs																	
Bread, Leaves of 6 lbs.						Bread, Leaves of 6 lbs.						Wood, Rations of 12 lbs.						Wood, Rations of 12 lbs.																	
No. of Leaves for Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, and Privates						No. of Leaves for Serjeants not Holders, & Washer-women						Total Number of Leaves						No. of Pounds for Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, and Privates						No. of Pounds for Serjeants not Holders, & Washer-women						Total Number of Pounds					
Total						Total						Total						Total																	
Straw for Bear & Quarter Guard Sick in Hospital						Straw for Bear & Quarter Guard Sick in Hospital						Straw for Bear & Quarter Guard Sick in Hospital						Straw for Bear & Quarter Guard Sick in Hospital																	
No. of Men						No. of Men						No. of Men						No. of Men																	
Total						Total						Total						Total																	

I certify the above Quantities of Wood and Straw drawn for the Sick in Hospitals are necessary.

Signature of the Surgeon.
Signature of the Colonel or Commanding Officer.

Received by an Order on the Contractors, the under-mentioned Supplies

Bread, Leaves of 7 lbs.
Pounds of Meat.
Wood, Rations of 12 lbs.
Straw, Trusses of 20 lbs.
Forage, Rations of 10 lbs. Oats, and 14 lbs. Hay.
Forage, Rations of 6 lbs. Oats, and 14 lbs. Hay.
Straw, Rations of 4 lbs.

Signature of the Quarter-Master.

³ Ibid, p.176.

C. STAFF.

Camp at

Requisition for from _____ Days' Wood, Forage, and Straw, for _____
to _____ 18__ , both days inclusive.

Names of Officers.	Rank.	No. of effective Horses.	Wood rations of 3lbs. each.	Forage rations of 10lbs. Oats and 14lbs. Hay.	Straw rations of 6lbs. each.
	Total ..				

Received by an Order on the Contractors the under-mentioned Supplies :

Wood Rations of 3 lbs. each.
Forage Rations of 10 lbs. Oats, and 14 lbs. Hay.
Straw Rations of 6 lbs. each.

{ *Signature of the Aide-du-Camp,
or proper Officer.*

⁵ *Ibid*, p.178.

E.

ACCOUNT of MEAT supplied to the Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, Drummers, Fifers, and Privates, of the Regiment of _____ encamped between the 25th day of _____ and 24th day of _____ 18____, both days inclusive.

Places where supplied, and Names of Contractors.	Dates when supplied.	Number of Days for which supplied.	No. of Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, Drummers, Fifers, and Privates entitled to receive Meat.	Number of lbs. supplied at each Delivery.	Total Number of lbs. supplied at each Place.	Rate of Stoppage per lb.	Amount of Stoppage.			REMARKS.
							£.	s.	d.	
Total										Total

Total Number of Pounds of Meat supplied in each District.	
Names of Dis-tricts.	No. of lbs. of Meat.

We certify, upon honor, that the Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, Drummers, Fifers, and Privates, for whom a Charge is made in this Return, were effective and present at the Places stated, and were not victualled by the Inn-keepers, nor receiving Rations of Provisions on board Ship, during any part of the respective Periods herein specified; and that the quantity of Meat, as stated, was actually delivered to them agreeably to His Majesty's Regulations.

Dated at _____ this _____ day of _____ 18____.

Commanding Officer. *Adjutant.* *Pay-Master.*

N. B. One Copy of this Account is to be sent to the Office for Military Accounts, and another Copy with the Word "Duplicate" written on the Docket, to the Office of the Commissary-in-Chief, on or before the 1st of the Month succeeding that in which the Supplies were furnished.

⁷ Ibid, p.180.

F.

ACCOMPT of FORAGE supplied in Camp, to the of , from the 25th day of of , 18 , both days inclusive.				Regiment , to the 24th day			
TROOPS.	Number of Days for which supplied with Rations of Forage in Camp by Contractors.		We do hereby certify upon honor, that the Horses stated in this Account, have been actually effective for the Number of Days specified, and have been supplied with Rations of Forage in Camp for the Number of Days stated herein, and that the claims of the Contractors for Stoppages, in aid of the expense of Rations for Horses of Field Officers and Captains, have been duly paid.				
	IN CAMP.						
	Officers' Horses.	Troop Horses.					
Field and Staff-Officers.			* Signatures of Officers Commanding Troops.		REMARKS.		
Total of each Column							
Total							
Total in Camp		Rations					
DISTRIBUTION of the Number of Days, for which Horses have been supplied with Forage in Camp, and Statement of the Quantity of Forage supplied.							
Names of Contractors who supplied Forage to Camp.	DISTRICTS.	IN CAMP.					
		Number of Days.		Number of Forage Rations.	Quantity of Forage supplied.		
		Officers' Horses.	Troop Horses.		lbs. Oats.	lbs. Hay.	lbs. Straw
	Total						
Rations supplied in Camp		} Total		Rations.			
We do hereby certify upon honor, that the above Account is justly and correctly stated, as to the situation of the Horses of Officers and Troop Horses, and the number of days for which they have been effective, as shown by the Muster Roll of the Corps for the period, and that no Horses are included therein, that were not bona fide the property of the Officers, as belonging to whom they were mustered, or of any Officers, entitled to allowance for Forage, as being on the Staff, or drawing Forage for their Horses in Recruiting Districts, or that exceeded, for each Officer, the number limited by the King's Regulations.							
<i>Commanding Officer.</i>		<i>Adjutant.</i>		<i>Pay-Master.</i>			
We do hereby certify upon honor, that the quantity of Forage, stated in this Account, has been supplied for the days above stated, and that the Horses were not, during any part of the above period, supplied with Rations of Forage on board Ship, at the expense of the Victualling or Transport Board, and that the claims of the Contractors for Stoppages, in aid of the expense of Rations for Officers' Horses have been duly paid.							
<i>Commanding Officer.</i>		<i>Pay-Master.</i>		<i>Quarter-Master.</i>			
Dated at this day of 181 .							
* If any Troops be detached from Head-Quarters, separate Certificates from the Officer Commanding such Troops, are to be attached, Forms of which may be had, if required.							
N. B. One Copy of this Account is to be sent to the Office for Military Accounts, and another Copy with the word "Duplicate" written on the Backet, to the Office of the Commissary-in-Chief, on or before the 1st of the Month succeeding that in which the Supplies were furnished.							

⁸ Ibid, p.181.

G. CAVALRY. GENERAL RECEIPT.

Camp at
RETURN of Supplies delivered to the
from the _____ to the _____
both Days inclusive.

18

Number and Period of Deliveries.		Bread, Loaves of 6 lbs.			Pounds of Meat.			Wood, Rations of 12 lbs.		Straw, Trusses of 36 lbs.		Forage, Rations of 10 lbs. Oats, 14 lbs. Hay.		Total No. of Rations.		Forage, Rations of 6 lbs. Oats, 14 lbs. Hay.		Straw, Rations of 4 lbs.	
No.	From To.	No. of Loaves for Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, and Privates.	No. of Loaves for servants not Soldiers, & Washer Women.	Total No. of Loaves.	No. of Pounds for Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, and Privates.	No. of Pounds for servants not Soldiers, & Washer Women.	Total No. of Pounds.			Officers' Horses paying Stoppage.	Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, Trumpeters, & Cavalry Horses not paying Stoppage.	Total No. of Rations.							
Total....																			

I say, Bread, Loaves of 6lbs.
Pounds of Meat.
Wood, Rations of 12lbs
Straw, Trusses of 36lbs.
Forage, Rations of 10 lbs. Oats and 14 lbs. Hay.
Forage, Rations of 6 lbs. Oats and 14 lbs. Hay.
Straw, (for Cavalry and Artillery Horses) Rations of 4 lbs.

Which I certify to have been actually delivered in kind by
for the use of _____ for the above-mentioned period, in conformity
to the Regimental Requisitions signed by the Commanding Officer given in to
and corresponding orders of Delivery issued by the said
on the said Contractor, now taken up and destroyed in my
Presence, in exchange for this General Receipt.

*Signature of the
Commissariat Officer.* }

{ *Signature of the
Quarter-Master.*

Paid by the Regimental Pay-Master {
 Stoppages for Bread delivered to Servants not Soldiers and Washer Women at 5d. per loaf } £
 Ditto for Meat ditto ditto 6d. per lb.
 Ditto for Forage delivered for Horses of Field Officers and Captains, at 6d. per Ration.... }

Total.....£

⁹ Ibid, p.182.

£ _____

Camp at

18

Received of
Pay-Master to the _____ the Sum of
being the Amount of Stoppages for Bread and Meat
issued to Servants not Soldiers and Washerwomen, and
for Forage issued to Horses belonging to Field Officers
and Captains, in respect to the foregoing Deliveries,
which I acknowledge to have received on Account and
in Deduction of the Contract Price to be paid by
Government for the said Deliveries, for which I sign
Two Receipts of the same Tenor and Date to serve as
one

In the Presence of

Contractor.

*Signature of the }
Commissariat Officer. }*

**N. B. One of these Receipts to be delivered to the
Pay-Master, and the other to the Commissariat Officer.**

10

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p.183.

H. INFANTRY.

GENERAL RECEIPT.

Camp at

RETURN of SUPPLIES delivered to the
from the _____ to the _____ of
18 ____ both Days inclusive.

Number and Period of Deliveries.		Bread, Loaves of 6 lbs.		Pounds of Meat.			Wood, Rations of 12 lbs.	Straw, Trusses of 36 lbs.	Forage, Rations of 10 lbs. Oats, and 14 lbs. Hay.	Forage, Rations of 6 lbs. Oats, and 14 lbs. Hay.	Straw for Artillery Horses, Rations of 4 lbs.
From	To	No. of Loaves for Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, and Privates.	No. of Loaves for Servants not Soldiers, & Washer Women.	Total Number of Pounds.	No. of Pounds for Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, and Privates.	No. of Pounds for Servants not Soldiers, & Washer Women.	Total Number of Pounds.				
Total											

I say, Bread, Loaves of 6 lbs.
Pounds of Meat.
Wood, Rations of 12lbs.
Straw, Trusses of 36lbs.
Forage, Rations of 10lbs. Oats, and 14lbs. Hay.
Forage, Rations of 6lbs. Oats, and 14lbs. Hay.
Straw, (for Artillery Horses) Rations of 4lbs.

Which I certify to have been actually delivered in kind by _____ for the use of _____ for the above-mentioned period, in conformity to the Regimental Requisitions signed by the Commanding Officer, given in to _____ and corresponding Orders of Delivery issued by the said _____ on the said Contractor, now taken up and destroyed in my Presence in exchange for this General Receipt.

} *Signature of the*
Quarter-Master.

} *Signature of the*
Commissariat Officer.

Paid by the Regimental Pay-Master..... } Stoppages for Bread delivered to Servants not Soldiers, and Washer Women, at 5d. per loaf } £
Ditto for Meat ditto ditto at 6d. per lb.

Total.....£ _____

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.184.

I. STAFF.

GENERAL RECEIPT.

Camp at
RETURN of SUPPLIES delivered to _____ of _____ to the _____ of _____ 18__ ,
 from the _____ of _____ to the _____ of _____
 both Days inclusive.

Number and Period of Deliveries.			To whom issued.	Wood.	Forage.	Straw.
No.	From	To		No. of Rations 3lbs. each.	No. of Rations 10lbs Oats. 14lbs Hay.	No. of Rations 6lbs. each.
			Total....			

I say

Wood Rations of 3lbs.
 Forage Rations of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 10\text{lbs. Oats.} \\ 14\text{lbs. Hay.} \end{array} \right.$
 Straw Rations of 6lbs.

Which I certify to have been actually and bonâ fide delivered in kind,
 by _____
 for the use of _____
 for the above-mentioned period, in conformity to the accompanying
 Requisitions.

*Signature of the Aide-du-Camp,
 or proper Officer.*

*Signature of the
 Commissariat Officer.* }

¹³ *Ibid*, p.186.

1840 & 1856¹⁴

The Commissariat are charged with the following duties:- In the Field they have hitherto had the custody of the Military Chest, and provided and paid for everything necessary for the subsistence and transport of an army. At the present time, on stations abroad, they have the charge of the Military Chests, negotiation of Bills for their supply, and receipt of all surplus monies arising from various sources in the hands of public departments, as also monies for remittance to England. They make advances to Regimental Paymasters on account of the Pay of the Troops, and to the Heads of the Ordnance and Naval Departments, on account of their respective services. They pay in detail the Staff, all money allowances and contingencies; also the Half-Pay and retired allowances, Chelsea Pensions, Widows' Pensions, Compassionate allowances, and Naval Pensions, &c., to all persons resident at the several stations. They contract and pay for Provisions required on the spot for the supply of the Troops, and for land and water transport. In the West Indies they pay in detail the Assistant Commissioners and Stipendiary Magistrates under the Provisions of the Slave Compensation Act: at some stations they perform the duties of Naval Agents. In Canada, Nova Scotia, and Jamaica, they pay the Ecclesiastical Establishments, and at the former they have the custody and issue of Indian Presents, and charge of the Locks and Collection of the Tolls on the canals connected with the St. Lawrence. In New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, they supply Provisions, Clothing, and Stores, of all descriptions for convict services. They enter into contracts for Ordnance Stores, Building Materials, &c., on the spot, and provide and pay for supplies for Army Hospitals, superintend the issue of provisions, forage, fuel, and light in kind made by Contractors, and issue such articles of Provision as are sent out for the use of the Troops from England. Their duties are blended with the Army, Ordnance, Navy, and many other branches of the public service. They are under the orders of and responsible for the execution of their duties to the General or Officers commanding at the various stations, and receive their instructions from the Board of Treasury, with whom they correspond through the Secretary on all points of service on which they are engaged.

See Report of Commissioners appointed to enquire into the expediency of Consolidating the Civil Departments of the Army, dated 21 July, 1837.

The following is the authority for its present organization:-

Commissary-in-Chief's Office, 19 March, 1810. His Majesty has been pleased to command that the following regulations should be established and acted upon in all future Promotions and Appointments of the Commissariat.

That the Gradation of Rank, be "Commissary-General", "Deputy Commissary-General", "Assistant Commissary-General", "Deputy Assistant Commissary-General", "Clerk". No person to enter but as Clerk, - to serve One year before eligible for Promotion. - Deputy Assistant to serve Four years, or Five from entrance as Clerk before eligible. - Assistant, Five years as Assistant, or Ten years from entrance as Clerk before eligible. - Deputy to be Three years in that rank before eligible. - Service to be counted as actual service on Full Pay. No person to be appointed Clerk previous to the age of 16.

The comparative ranks are Commissary-General as Brigadier-General. - Deputy as Major; after three years, Lieutenant-Colonel. - Assistant as Captain. - Deputy Assistant as Lieutenant. - Clerk as Ensign. See Army Regulations.

¹⁴ H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, ...1840*, (London, 1840), pp.307-8; & H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list for 1856*, (London, 1856), p.386.

1860¹⁵

	Full Pay.		Charge Pay.	Half Pay.	Retired Pay.	Length of Full Pay Service to give a claim to Retirement.	Age at which, in the absence of exceptional circumstances, Retirement shall be compulsory.
	On attaining the Rank.	After five years' Service in last Rank.					
Commissary General	£ s. d. 3 0 0	£ s. d. 3 0 0	£ s. d. ..	£ s. d. 1 10 0	£ s. d. 2 0 0	30 years.	65 years.
Deputy Commissary General	1 10 0	1 10 0	0 10 0	0 15 0	1 5 0	do	60 years.
Assistant Commissary General	0 15 0	1 0 0	0 5 0	0 10 0	0 15 0	do	55 years
Deputy Assistant Commissary General	0 10 0	0 12 0	0 2 6	0 6 3	0 9 4	do	55 years

¹⁵ 'Regimental pay, &c.' in H.G. Hart, *The new annual army list, and militia list, for 1860*, (London, 1860), p.467-8.

Appendix 4.1

Commissions of Inquiry: Roebuck's Select Committee of the Army before Sebastopol

Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the Army before Sebastopol, (London, 1855). [Chairman J.A. Roebuck.] [Monash Microcard #5, Vol. 9.] [The full text of the fifth and final report of the Committee was published in *The Times*, (London, 19 Jun 1855), pp.5:b-6:d.]

THE TIMES, (London, 19 June 1855), pp.5:b-6:d.

STATE OF THE ARMY BEFORE SEBASTOPOL.

Mr. ROEBUCK brought up the report of the Select Committee upon the state of the Army before Sebastopol, which, on the motion of Mr. DISRAELI, was ordered to be read.

Sir DENIS LE MARCHANT then read as follows:-

“The complicated nature of this inquiry, the variety of subjects investigated, the number of witnesses examined, and the frequent inconsistency and contrariety of the evidence render it no easy task to present a clear, definite, and just exposition of the matters submitted to your committee.

“The difficulty of this task has been enhanced by the impossibility of summoning some persons as witnesses who might have furnished important information. From the same cause some persons are left under imputations, in regard to which your committee regret that they can pronounce no conclusive opinion. The fulness [sic] of the investigation has, moreover, been restricted by considerations of State policy, so that in the outset of this report your committee must admit that they have been compelled to end an inquiry which they have been unable satisfactorily to complete.

“Having offered this preliminary explanation, your committee will endeavour to state, as shortly as the subject will allow, the opinions which they have formed in regard to the following heads of their inquiry - namely:-

- “The condition of our army before Sebastopol.
- “The conduct of the Departments, both at home and abroad, whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army.

“I.

“THE CONDITION OF OUR ARMY BEFORE SEBASTOPOL.

“An army encamped in a hostile country, at a distance of 3,000 miles from England, and engaged during a severe winter in besieging a fortress which, from want of numbers, it could not invest, was necessarily placed in a situation where unremitting fatigue and hardship had to be endured. Your committee are, however, of opinion that this amount of unavoidable suffering has been aggravated by causes here after enumerated, and which are mainly to be attributed to dilatory and insufficient arrangements for the supply of this army with necessaries indispensable to its healthy and effective condition. In arriving at this opinion, they have made allowance for the unexpected severity of the storm on the 14th of November, and they have not been unmindful of the difficulties which a long period of peace must inevitably produce at the commencement of a campaign.

“In order to obtain an adequate notion of the painful condition of the army, the evidence must be perused; and your committee will only refer to such details as may be requisite to sustain their opinions.

“From the 16th of September, when the army landed in the Crimea, until the end of October, or, as some witnesses state, until about the middle of November, the troops suffered from overwork and from dysentery, but were not, upon the whole, ill-provided with food; even at this period there was a want of clothing for the men in health, and a painful deficiency of all appliances for the proper treatment of the sick and wounded. As the season advanced, the causes of sickness increased, and the army, with its number of effective men daily diminishing, became more and more disproportioned to the amount of duty which it had to perform.

“From the middle of November this army was, during a period of many weeks, reduced to a condition which it is melancholy to contemplate, but which was endured both by officers and men with a fortitude and heroism unsurpassed in the annals of war. (Cheers.) They were exposed, under single canvas, to all the sufferings and inconveniences of cold, rain, mud, and snow, on high ground and in the depth of winter. They suffered from overwork, exposure, want of clothing, insufficient supplies for the healthy, and imperfect accommodation for the sick.

“The fatigue necessarily resulted from the inadequacy of the force for the task assigned to it. The British army was a portion of an allied force. The whole scheme of the siege, the extent of front to be defended, the positions to be maintained, and the works to be undertaken depended on military considerations, and were decided upon in conjunction with our allies. Your committee regard these matters as beyond the limits of their inquiry.

“The other causes of suffering will be reviewed under the following heads:-

“II.

“THE CONDUCT OF THE DEPARTMENTS BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD WHOSE DUTY IT HAS BEEN TO MINISTER TO THE WANTS OF THE ARMY.

“THE CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNMENT AT HOME.

...

“THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

...

“THE SECRETARY AT WAR.

...

“THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

...

“THE TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT AT HOME.

“The sea transport between this country and the seat of war has been conducted by the Board of Admiralty, under the immediate superintendence of Captain Milne, one of the Lords of Admiralty. This business was formerly transacted by a Transport Board, which was abolished many years since. During the past year requisitions for transport were sent to the Admiralty from several different quarters: the inconvenience of this system was so great, that Sir James Graham says he deemed it indispensable, with the view to regularity and promptitude, to bring these requisitions to one common centre, from which the Admiralty might receive orders. This change had not, however, been completed before he left office. The Duke of Newcastle says that no system will work well until the sea transport is placed under the management of the Minister for War. Such a course Sir J. Graham and Captain Milne consider objectionable; it would, they say, divide authority, increase correspondence, and lead to confusion; whereas now the whole service afloat is united together in one link of responsibility.

“Sir J. Graham was, however, induced to reconstitute the Transport Board, for the reasons which will be found in his evidence.

“The mode in which ships were taken up is stated by Captain Milne, and, considering the urgent pressure of the public service, this business appears to have been ably conducted. In pronouncing this opinion, your committee advert to the magnitude of the operations executed. Within a year somewhere about 150,000 men and above 7,000 horses were conveyed principally by steam, a large portion of them to a point 3,000 miles distant from this country; besides which, vessels had to be provided for stores to an enormous amount, for the purposes of war, for the sustenance of both army and navy, and for the effective maintenance of a steam fleet. Sudden requisitions for huts, and other urgent necessaries, had also to be met.

“There is, it is said, an obvious error in comparing the transport service between England and the Crimea to a mercantile arrangement for the conveyance and delivery of a given amount of tonnage. The transports, when sent to the Crimea, could not deliver their stores and return; a large number were

permanently detained, from military considerations, and many others were kept at Balaklava because there were no warehouses on shore to receive their cargo.

“Many complaints were made to your committee of the mode in which stores were sent to the East. The mode in which stores were sent depended on the nature of the requisition. Naval stores were apparently sent under a satisfactory system. When the Ordnance Board apply, a vessel is placed at their disposal, provided they require it; and latterly a similar system has been adopted with the medical department. The chief complaints have arisen in reference to mixed cargoes. The captains of the vessels, according to the Admiralty instructions, have charge of the cargo; but it is admitted that when large passenger steamers were employed in this service the captains were often unaccustomed to these duties, and in such cases the appointment of a supercargo would have been beneficial. Until December it appears that a cargo-book was not regularly kept. A Treasury minute, dated the 12th of December, 1854, states that some articles sent out to the Crimea have been taken back to England in the same vessels, and brought out again to the Crimea before they have been delivered; and that in other cases, where the vessels have remained with the army, it has been three or four months before they had been received by the Commissariat. Ships were also so loaded that on arriving at the port to which part of the cargo was destined the position of that part of the cargo was unknown, and the ship had to proceed on her voyage, carrying with her things that ought to have been delivered at the intermediate port. Much suffering was the consequence of this faulty mode of proceeding, the sick at Scutari being in need of stores, which, in consequence of bad arrangements, were carried to Balaklava.

“The unnecessary sufferings of the soldiers directly referable to this neglect form one of the most painful portions of the evidence; but on what department the blame should rest - whether on the office of the Commander-in-Chief, or of the Secretary at War, or of the Secretary of State for War - your committee are unable to decide.

“Dr. Menzies had also, in a report to Major Sillery, the commandant, dated the 7th of August, directed attention to this subject.

“No steps having apparently been taken in pursuance of this suggestion, or of that of Dr. A. Smith to the Military Secretary, on the 25th of May, 1854, Sir J. Graham, on the 25th of October, at the instigation of the Duke of Newcastle wrote a private letter to Vice-Admiral Dundas, requesting him, after conferring with Lord Raglan, to have two large steamers fitted for this service. On the receipt of this letter, Admiral Dundas did not, as he states, act, because every one expected to be in Sebastopol in a few days, and moreover he did not consider the transports to be under his superintendence.

“Thus it appears that the preparation of ships for the conveyance of the sick and wounded was at first forgotten, and subsequently, neglected. When it is remembered that out of the limited number of the British army 13,800 were removed sick or wounded between the 30th of September and the 17th of February, the dreadful consequences of this neglect may be imagined. No foresight, it is said, could have provided for this large number. Some ships should, however, have been specially fitted for a service which it must have been known the casualties of war would render indispensable.

“THE TRANSPORT SERVICE IN THE BLACK SEA.

“The evidence exhibits a marked contrariety of opinion as to the responsibility for the transport service in the Black Sea. Sir James Graham said that the naval Commander-in-Chief, Vice-Admiral Dundas, had, under the Queen’s regulations, authority over the whole of the transports, and he cited, in confirmation of this statement, sundry minutes of the Board of Admiralty; and he added that Lord Raglan had a concurrent authority over this service.

“Vice-Admiral Dundas, on the contrary, alleged that he had nothing to do with the transports. According to his statement, they were entirely under the management of Lord Raglan, Rear-Admiral Boxer, and Captain Christie.

“Captain Milne, the member of the Board of Admiralty who had the superintendence of the transport department, stated that the admiral commanding in the Black Sea was responsible for the transport service in that sea. A supreme power was, however, given to Lord Raglan, who had a veto over the movement of all the transports, and a concurrent authority with the naval Commander-in-Chief.

“The difficulties of performing various services connected with the army are ascribed to the want of sea transport while the evidence of Captain Milne shows that no application" was made to the Admiralty for additional transports in the Black Sea. Numerous witnesses testify to the want of arrangement in the harbour of Balaklava, and to the disorder of the shore from the want of any sufficient landing places and wharfs.

“In Balaklava there was a division of authority; the transports were under the immediate direction of Captain Christie; the harbour was under the management of another naval officer, and the shore was subject to military authority. Absence of regularity and arrangement on the shore or in the harbour necessarily delayed the service of the transports; in such cases it was not easy to ascertain on which of these three authorities the blame should rest.

“The narrow limits of the harbour, which is described by Admiral Dundas as a mere ditch, rendered it, under the best system of arrangement; an inconvenient place for landing the vast quantities of stores required for the army, including guns, ammunition, engineer stores, fascines, gabions, camp equipage, Quartermaster-General’s stores, and commissariat supplies.

“The want of system which prevailed on the shore is generally admitted; the harbour was not governed with the authority necessary for the maintenance of order, and the transports were compelled to anchor outside the harbour, an anchorage which naval men justly considered to be unsafe.

“THE TRANSPORT SERVICE IN THE BOSPHORUS.

“All transports, upon their arrival in the Bosphorus, were placed under the orders of Rear-Admiral Boxer. This officer had been specially selected for this duty by Sir James Graham, on account of his professional character and experience in matters connected with the embarkation [sic] and disembarkation [sic] of troops. He was placed, in the first instance, under the orders of Vice-Admiral Dundas; but a separate power was afterwards given to him within the limits of the Bosphorus, subject always to his reporting to the naval Commander-in-Chief.

“As early as the 8th of September, Rear-Admiral Boxer applied for a ship to be attached to himself, with an experienced master, three good warrant officers, and a small gang of artificers and mechanics. A compliance with this request would, he said, obviate delay and unnecessary expense in works which could otherwise only be executed by hired artificers. To this application the Board of Admiralty replied, that ‘the service being temporary, they were not prepared to send out a receiving ship, with its establishment.’ On the 20th of November he repeated his application, but before it had been received the board had reconsidered its decision, and had ordered a vessel, the *Melampus*, to be got ready for this service. The *Melampus* accordingly sailed in December. Sir James Graham says he regrets that the first application was not acceded to; and when the hurricane of the 14th of November, with all its disastrous consequences, is remembered, it is obvious that this unfortunate decision may have increased the difficulties of that deplorable crisis, and may have subjected Rear-Admiral Boxer to some of the charges brought against him.

“It must be observed, however, that Rear-Admiral Boxer had permitted Commander Borlase, on account of his knowledge in gunnery, to join the forces in the Crimea, although this officer, having been for three years in the Turkish service, had been specially chosen to assist him. The Rear-Admiral thus lost the person best fitted to communicate with the Turkish authorities, at a time when his assistance would have been most useful.

“Under such disadvantages, he was required to repair the damages of the hurricane, and to forward to the Crimea supplies of every kind in lieu of those which had been lost. Deputy Commissary-General Smith, anxious to fulfil the duties of his office, thought that vessels were delayed for coaling and watering, and that they were left in positions where the loading was rendered unnecessarily difficult. This mismanagement he ascribed to Admiral Boxer; hence differences arose between them, and both Lord Raglan and Mr. Commissary-General Filder were eventually applied to on the subject.

“Your committee are of opinion that there was some unnecessary detention of transports at Constantinople, and that the arrangements for coaling were very deficient; but, as they have not been able to examine Admiral Boxer, they cannot pronounce an opinion as to his share of the responsibility. His letters in the appendix show that he exerted himself strenuously to discharge duties for which it is admitted that his means were inadequate, and, if he failed under these difficulties, his subsequent endeavours in the harbour of Balaklava appeared to have been successful.

“THE COMMISSARIAT DEPARTMENT AT HOME.

“The Commissariat has been, during many years, a subordinate department of the Treasury; and although nominally transferred to the Secretary for War in the summer of 1854, it was not placed under his immediate control until the 22d of last December; when a Treasury minute was issued authorizing this arrangement.

“Up to that period Sir C. Trevelyan, the Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury, was practically the head of this department. He stated that the forms of the Commissariat had been improved and simplified some years since, and that although persons might misunderstand any regulations, yet he did not believe these forms were to be blamed. He would willingly submit them to any practical accountant for his opinion. Deputy Commissary-General Smith says, that as long as regulations are required, none could be made of a more simple form than those applicable to the Commissariat; and he had never heard any complaints arising out of the observances of these forms.

“THE COMMISSARIAT DEPARTMENT IN THE EAST.

“It is the duty of the Commissariat to furnish the army, when in the field, with provisions for the men, forage for the animals, and land transport.

“Commissary-General Filder was appointed by the Treasury to superintend the establishment of the Commissariat in the East. He was selected, it is said, on account of his experience and special fitness for the charge; and authority was given to him to provide such persons as might be required for the service; ample funds were also placed at his disposal, and ships were provided and ordered to act under his exclusive directions.

“With these large powers, heavy duties were imposed upon him according to an arrangement which appears to have been injudiciously adopted at the commencement of the campaign. It was determined that there should be only one store department with the army, and that this should be under the care of the Commissariat. From this decision it followed as a consequence that the Commissariat was expected to make good the deficiencies of many distinct departments. All the miscellaneous articles of equipment which come under the name of Quartermaster-General’s stores were given in charge to the Commissariat, and, in addition to these extraneous duties, this department was required not only to keep a large amount of Ordnance stores, but also to purchase materials and tools in the East for the purpose of the siege.

“The military system in this country affords the Commissariat no opportunity of becoming acquainted with the army, or of ministering to its wants; so that in a campaign the officers of this department find themselves called upon to furnish supplies in regard to which they may have had no experience; while the officers and men, being often ignorant of the proper duties of the Commissariat, consider this department responsible for everything they may require.

“LAND TRANSPORT.

“From the first the system of the land transport was found to be imperfect. No adequate measures were adopted for its improvement, so that the army, when encamped before Sebastopol, depended for all its supplies upon a service defective in its organization and in its superintendence.

“The army landed in the Crimea without the animals necessary for the conveyance of the baggage, or for the removal of the sick and wounded; much inconvenience and suffering resulted from this deficiency; but if, as stated to your committee, every available vessel was employed for other purposes, the Commissariat cannot be held responsible.

“When the army had encamped before Sebastopol mules and baggage animals were brought over from Varna. On the 5th of October Commissary-General Filder asserted that he had transport sufficient for all the purposes of the army, and submitted to Lord Raglan a scheme for disposing of above 2,000 animals, which were at Varna, and which he said were not wanted, and would only be an encumbrance in the Crimea. During this same period Sir Edmund Lyons writes, that the transport animals, though in fair condition, were not sufficient in number.

“On the 8th of November Commissary-General Filder was informed that he must prepare for wintering in the Crimea. At this period he still possessed a large number of baggage animals, and a considerable amount of hay and forage, on board ships, in or near the harbour of Balaklava.

“About this period the Commissary-General became alarmed, foreseeing that the conveyance of guns and ammunition for the siege and for the defence of our position, the removal of the sick and wounded, the distribution of rations, of forage, of clothing, of fuel, of medicines, and of medical comforts, besides numerous other supplies, which, in the position of the army, were scarcely less important, would all be imperilled by a failure in the land transport; while the service was itself seriously endangered from the want of shelter and forage for the animals during the approaching winter, and from the bad condition of the roads between Balaklava and the camp.

“Your committee are not aware that any measures were adopted for the protection of the animals from the inclemency of the season; Sir John Burgoyne thinks there was a great want of care, and that in a few instances, where the animals were attended to, they were preserved. The drivers were inefficient, and, being without proper superintendence, lost, or indolently neglected, the animals intrusted to their charge.

“THE ROAD.

“So much of the suffering of the troops has been ascribed to the wretched, or, as some witnesses state, the almost impassable condition of the seven miles between Balaklava and the camp, that your committee endeavoured to ascertain who was responsible for the maintenance of the roads, and what insuperable obstacles impeded their repair.

“When the army reached the heights above Sebastopol they found two principal roads from Balaklava to Sebastopol, one the fine Government road, called the Woronzoff road; the other further to the left, a useful farm road. The army held the Woronzoff road up to the time of the Battle of Balaklava, in October. Immediately after that action it became necessary to draw in the outposts, which lost to the army the use of that road; the other road, however, remained, and was available for all purposes until the rains commenced.

“On the 13th of November Commissary-General Filder wrote to the Quartermaster-General, expressing his apprehension, and calling attention to this important subject.

“The duty of making and maintaining roads for the army falls upon the department of the Quartermaster-General. This officer was about this time disabled by severe illness. Sir J. Burgoyne, the chief engineer officer on the staff, and other military authorities state that the soldiers could not be withdrawn from the trenches for the repair of the road. The men were already overtasked by military duties; they were growing weaker from day to day, while their difficulties were increasing. An attempt was made to employ Turkish troops on this work, but it was soon abandoned.

“From the 14th of November, the date of the hurricane, the land-transport was gradually reduced in strength, until it almost ceased to exist. The Commissary-General writes:- ‘The men and beasts perished owing to the fatigue they underwent in struggling through the deep mud with supplies, and from exposure to wet and cold.’ To repair these losses recourse was had to the depôt at Constantinople; but the waste and consumption of animals exceeded the supply, and the service of the land transport could no longer be performed by the Commissariat.

“The horses of the cavalry were then employed, and thus valuable animals, trained for the duties of the cavalry and artillery, were used and worked to death in services which should have been performed by animals purchased for about 5*l.* or 7*l.* each.

“The broken road and the want of land transport increased the confusion of the harbour. Sir E. Lyons ascribes the crowded state of the harbour and its attendant inconvenience, to the delay in removing cargoes from the ships to the camp.

“As far as the information obtained enables your committee to form an opinion, it appears to them that in this matter there was a want of due foresight and decision. Early in November, when the probable necessity of wintering in the Crimea was contemplated, energetic means should have been taken to provide and maintain an effective communication between the camp and Balaklava. The road had then already been injured by the traffic, and its condition had excited the apprehensions of the Commissary-General, who had called attention to the subject; if a military force could not be spared, measures should have been taken to obtain other labour in the East, or application should have been made to the Home Government, who might have sent labourers from England. Such precaution would have saved much loss of time and many valuable lives, and would have contributed to maintain the land transport service in an effective condition. The probable failure of the communication was not, however, brought to the notice of the Duke of Newcastle until too late to enable him to take measures in England to prevent the serious calamities which subsequently arose.

“DEPOTS IN THE EAST.

“The consequences resulting from the failure of the transport service would have been in some degree obviated by the formation of depôts in the neighbourhood of the camp, or between the camp and Balaklava.

“The establishment of depôts is a duty specially noticed in the Commissariat regulations. Sir C. Trevelyan states, that in October Commissary-General Filder was engaged in the formation of a depôt near the camp, in order that he might be secure against the contingencies of weather; but after the action of Balaklava the Commissariat chest was ordered on board ship, and the transports were sent out of the harbour. At this time the abandonment of Balaklava was contemplated. After this followed the battle of Inkermann, when the transport service was occupied in bringing up ammunition, and a few days later came ‘the hurricane and the catastrophe.’ From this time forward all the available animals were employed for the daily requirements of the army, and the establishment of depôts was relinquished.

“At Constantinople Deputy-Commissary-General Smith established extensive magazines; he states that the supplies under his charge were sufficient, and the arrangements for the custody and delivery of stores unobjectionable. In August, or early in September, he entered into contracts for a supply of fuel, and could have procured enough for the army throughout the winter, but he was not able to obtain transports for its conveyance; at the same time the quantity which did reach Balaklava was more than could be carried to the camp.

“He tried to hire native vessels for the service; but after the hurricane the masters of three vessels could not be induced to attempt the voyage. According to his evidence, it would appear that at Constantinople he had in store all the supplies which the army could require. No blame can justly be attached to Deputy Commissary-General Smith, nor can he be held responsible for the difficulties and distress which occurred in the Crimea.

“COMMISSARIAT SUPPLIES.

“FOOD FOR THE MEN.

“The Commissariat Department obtained an abundant supply of salt meat, biscuit, and rum from England. This was furnished by the victualling department of the Admiralty, on requisition from the Treasury, and the duty of the Commissariat as to these supplies consisted merely in keeping the account and in arranging the distribution. Fresh meat was chiefly procured from Eupatoria, from Constantinople, and from Smyrna. Deputy Commissary-General Smith stated that he had at Constantinople 4,000 head of cattle during

the winter ready for the consumption of the army, besides 2,000 at Smyrna, and that if he could have obtained sea transport he thinks he could have sent a regular supply to the army.

“The witnesses are not agreed as to the quantity of fresh meat supplied to the army; the regularity of the distribution depended partly on the zeal and energy of the several Commissariat officers, and also on the position occupied by the troops. Until the end of October the rations, it is said, were furnished with regularity, and consisted of fresh meat twice or thrice in the week. Mr. Parker, chaplain to the First Division from the 28th of November till the 23d of January, states that during this period the hospitals were supplied with fresh meat almost every day; but the troops did not receive it, he thinks, above once a-week; he never knew them, however, to be without rations. Other witnesses say that the soldiers, during the winter months suffered occasionally from want of their rations, and more frequently from the irregularity of the issue. In the Appendix a statement by a board of officers will be found, in which it is affirmed that the men for days and weeks together went to the trenches with an insufficient meal, and oftentimes with none at all, save a little biscuit and rum. Any result deprived from an average of rations issued is delusive, because privation on one day is not compensated by superfluity on another. Even when the men received a sufficient meal, the proportion of salt meat without an accompanying supply of vegetables was greater than was consistent with the health of the troops. This deficiency of fresh meat, the most wholesome, as well as the cheapest food, is ascribed to the failure of the sea-transport, the ships having been disabled by storms, and then delayed for repairs; in one instance all the cattle on board perished from the inclemency of the weather, or from the violence of the waves.

“Vegetables which, [?]ding to the intentions of the Government, should have been issued gratuitously, were very scantily supplied; indeed, several witnesses assert that none were ever seen in the camp. One shipload of vegetables was detained in the harbour until the cargo was decayed; and at Eupatoria, it is said, there was an immense store of onions lying on the wharf, while disease, from want of vegetables, was spreading through the camp. The Deputy Commissary-General states that he had an abundant stock of rice at Constantinople during the time when it was wanted even for the hospitals in the Crimea. Preserved potatoes were, it is said, early in the autumn offered to the soldiers, but rejected; later in the winter, when the supply of vegetables was essential, it does not appear that the offer was repeated. Coffee, which had been ordered as an extra ration, was distributed to the troops in a green state, and (there being no means of roasting it) was of little use. The explanation offered to your committee on this point is not satisfactory. The more immediate comfort of the troops appears to have been overlooked, while ingenious arguments on the volatile aroma of the berry and on the Turkish mode of packing coffee were passing backwards and forwards between Commissary-General Filder and the Treasury.

“FORAGE.

“When the army first encamped before Sebastopol stacks of forage were found in the neighbourhood; these were soon consumed, and henceforward there appears to have been much difficulty in obtaining fodder for the horses. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, who left the heights on the 7th of November, said that his baggage animals were frequently without food, and that on one occasion he was obliged to kill 24 ammunition ponies, which he had not the means of feeding. The Earl of Lucan, commanding the Cavalry Division, complained repeatedly, from the 29th of September to the date of his departure, of the condition to which the horses were reduced from want of food. Lord Cardigan mentions the same difficulties, but did not find the pressure so severe until after the 5th of November, when his brigade was posted on the heights. After the hurricane the supply of forage failed, and, under the combined effects of work, exposure, and insufficient food, the cavalry gradually ceased to exist as an effective force.

“To what extent the Commissariat is responsible for the deficiency in all these supplies is a question to which it is not easy to give a definite answer.

“Sir C. Trevelyan, speaking as the head of the Commissariat, and desirous of relieving the department from responsibility, affirms their conduct throughout to have been irreproachable, and ascribes blame to other persons. According to his opinion, the Quartermaster-General, for whose good intentions he made full allowance, ought to bear the chief responsibility. ‘This officer,’ he says, ‘is responsible for the road to the camp and for the road along the border of the harbour at Balaklava. By him also buildings should have been appropriated for magazines and stables for the baggage animals should have been provided.’

“Sir C. Trevelyan also states that the endeavours of the Commissariat were frustrated by the mismanagement of the transports, that there was a want of proper arrangements in the harbour of Balaklava, and still worse disorder at Constantinople. ‘Rear-Admiral Boxer did not, he says, ‘possess the administrative qualifications requisite for that important station, and he delayed the transports in the Bosphorus or appropriated them to other services.’ In confirmation of this statement he mentioned the Rockliffe transport and the Jason, which last, he said, had been detained three weeks at Constantinople. Some letters from Rear-Admiral Boxer will be found in the appendix, denying this assertion. Admiral Boxer also, it appears, in December, remonstrated against the irregular system pursued by the Commissariat in the Crimea, and requested the interference of the Commander of the Forces. He suggested that some of the largest transports should be strongly moored in Balaklava harbour as floating depôts, and that the smaller steamers should be told off for the special duty of conveying supplies.

“Your committee have not been able to examine Commissary-General Filder or Rear-Admiral Boxer, and they cannot therefore decide upon whom this blame should rest.

“Both these officers were apparently convinced that the transport system in the Black Sea had been ill-conducted. Whether, however, the vessels had been injudiciously detained as store-depôts by the Commissariat, or improperly employed in other services by the Admiral at Constantinople, are questions which your committee cannot satisfactorily answer. These arrangements might with propriety, have been reviewed by the high naval and military authorities. They alone had the means of deciding these differences, and of enforcing such a system as might best secure the conveyance of supplies with regularity and despatch.

“Before closing their observations on the Commissariat Department in the East, your committee notice with pleasure the willing testimony which many witnesses have borne to the zeal and energy which some subordinate officers of the Commissariat displayed in procuring supplies, and in relieving, as far as they were able, the distress of troops during a period of trying exigencies.

“THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT AT HOME.

...

“THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT IN THE EAST.

...

“THE HOSPITALS AT SCUTARI.

...

“Your committee have now adverted to the chief points contained in the replies to above 21,000 questions, and in noticing these various subjects they have divided them under distinct heads, in order to apportion the responsibility.

“Your committee report that the suffering of the army resulted mainly from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The Administration which ordered that expedition had no adequate information as to the amount of the forces in the Crimea. (Hear, hear.) They were not acquainted with the strength of the fortresses to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful, and, as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made no provision for a winter campaign. (Hear, hear.)

“The patience and fortitude of this army demand the admiration and gratitude of the nation on whose behalf they have fought, bled, and suffered. Their heroic valour, and equally heroic patience under sufferings and privations, have given them claims upon their country which will doubtless be gratefully acknowledged. (Cheers.)

“Your committee will now close their report with a hope that every British army may in future display the valour which this noble army has displayed, and that none may hereafter be exposed to such sufferings as are recorded in these pages.” (Loud cheers.)

The report, which occupied an hour and 25 minutes in reading, was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Appendix 4.2

Commissions of Inquiry: McNeill and Tulloch's Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea

Great Britain, *First and Second Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the Supplies of the British Army in the Crimea, with the evidence annexed, (Constantinople, 1855); & (London, 1856).*
[Commissioners Sir John McNeill and Colonel Alexander Tulloch.]
[Monash Microcard #5, Vol. 20.]

FIRST REPORT.

Constantinople, June 10, 1855

[Some of the conclusions read:]

While we have considered it our duty to point out what appear to us to be serious defects in the arrangements of the Commissariat with the army in the Crimea, as well as the consequences that have resulted from these defects, we do not mean to infer that the Commissary-General, or the other officers of that Department, have failed to make any exertion of which they were capable to provide for the exigencies of the public service, according to the measure of their ability and foresight; and it is but just to direct attention to the unusual nature of the duties required of them, where a large army occupied, as it were, a barren island which furnishes nothing except water and a limited quantity of fire-wood. The Commissariat, which appears for some time to have been without a sufficient number of hands, had also serious difficulties to encounter which could not have been foreseen. The tempest of the 14th of November was a great disaster, and the peculiarities of the harbour of Balaklava, whatever may be its advantages, created constant difficulties, especially in landing the vast supplies required for the army. The breaking up of the road from Balaklava to the front, and the impossibility of sparing from their military duties a sufficient number of men to make it practicable for Commissariat carts, had not been anticipated or provided for, and the belief, apparently shared in by the Commissariat, that Sebastopol would speedily fall, and the campaign in the Crimea terminate, though not much insisted upon by the witnesses whom we examined, was unquestionably a most influential cause of many defects in the arrangements. It appears to have been assumed, till the beginning of November, that any present inconvenience could be but of short duration, and that any expedients by which the emergencies of the moment could be overcome, were sufficient for the occasion. A man of comprehensive views might probably have risen superior to these disadvantages, and created an organization suited to the circumstance. He would doubtless at once have perceived that the established practice of procuring all supplies by tenders and contracts is not calculated to draw forth the resources of Turkey, or to make them available when required. Finding that his supplies must be drawn from provinces of the resources of which he had little knowledge, and to the inhabitants of which he was unable even to communicate his wants in any language which they could understand, he would probably have turned to good account the knowledge of the country and its resources, possessed by a large and respectable body of public servants, Her Majesty's Consuls, and he would then have found those resources more ample and more easily available than till lately they were believed to be. But it is unreasonable to expect that every man who may rise to the head of so limited a department, even after a long course of meritorious service, is to display, whenever the occasion may demand it, inventive resources and administrative capacity of a very high order. The purely executive duties of the department appear to be well performed. The officers attached to divisions and brigades are generally intelligent and efficient; several of them are men of considerable capacity. The Generals commanding divisions and brigades, with few exceptions, expressed their satisfaction with the exertions and services of those officers, and used terms of high commendation in speaking of some of them, especially of Mr. Power, attached to the Second Division, who was absent on duty, and whom we therefore did not see.

[pp.25-6 (pp.21-2 of the Report)]

SECOND REPORT.

London, January, 1856.

[Some of the conclusions read:]

Commissariat Accounts.

The system upon which the Commissariat accounts of receipts and issues have for some years been kept, appears to be well adapted for service in the field, and hardly to admit of being made more simple. The accounts of the Commissariat officers attached to Divisions and Brigades consist, in the first instance, merely of consecutive entries, or jottings, of all receipts and issues, at their dates, accompanied by the requisite vouchers. The materials from which accounts in any form that may be desired, can afterwards be prepared, are thus secured. These materials are put into the hands of an experienced officer of the Department, stationed near the scene of operations, and, in the present instance, at Constantinople, whose duty it is to subject them to preliminary audit, for which purpose he has a sufficient number of officers attached to him. This arrangement appears to be highly advantageous, if not indispensable to the adjustment of the accounts. Explanations can be demanded and furnished, defective vouchers supplied, and mistakes or misapprehensions rectified, which the contingencies of war might render impossible, if the accounts were at once sent home to be audited. But, independent of this advantage, the personal and local information which officers residing in the vicinity of the scene of operations, and in almost daily communication with the army, bring to bear upon the examination of the accounts, enables them to execute that duty much more easily, speedily, and effectually than it could otherwise be performed. There are also advantages attending the facility for personal communication, in the event of any complication or entanglement in the accounts; and the officers employed on the audit constitute a corps of reserve in the vicinity of the army, ready to supply the place of such as, from sickness or other causes, may have to leave the camp. There appears, however, to be something defective in the practice regarding the receipts for rations issued to the troops, to which our attention was first directed by Colonel Gordon, Assistant Quartermaster-General. Rations are generally received upon production of a return for three days, signed by the Quartermaster and the Commanding Officer of the corps. On the back of this return is a receipt for the full amount, which the Quartermaster is usually required to sign before the rations are issued, but on many occasions during the last winter, the full amount was not issued, though the receipt for that amount was retained as a voucher by the Commissariat officer. This occurred extensively not only in regard to the rations of meat, but also, and probably to a still greater extent, in regard to forage and fuel, both when the issues were short, and when, from deficiency of transport, the whole quantity could not be carried away. It did not appear that any improper use had been made of those receipts; but the system is obviously questionable, both because it affords facilities for malversation, and because it destroys the value of the receipt, which ceases to be a genuine voucher. In fact, during the time of short issues, there was no security, under that system, for the proper application of a large amount of stores, except what was afforded by the integrity of the Commissariat. For example, had the officers of that Department been capable of asserting that full rations of every description had at all times been issued to the army, they could probably have produced the receipts of almost every Regimental Quartermaster to prove the truth of the assertion. But when returns were called for, those furnished by the former acknowledged a larger deficiency than was claimed by the latter. The integrity of the Commissariat Officers, in this respect, cannot therefore be impeached, but it is, notwithstanding, desirable that the receipts for rations should always represent the quantity really issued.

[pp.47-8 (pp.43-4 of the Report)]

EVIDENCE

TWELFTH DAY. - Friday, 30th March [1855].

ALEXANDER CROOKSHANK, Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General.

Has charge of the Light Cavalry Brigade. Has been attached to it ever since it arrived in the Crimea. Has at all times been able to supply the men of the brigade with the regulated rations, except that on the march to Balaklava, it having been ordered that fires should not be lighted, the men were unable to cook their rations; this state of things lasted about two days: with that exception the men have not been without their regulated ration. The rations of meat have consisted of 1 pound of salt meat, or 1 pound, or 1 1/4 pound of fresh meat. During the month of October the ration of fresh meat was 1 1/4 pound; but about the end of that month or the beginning of November it was reduced to 1 pound. This reduction in his brigade was effected by instructions to him from the head of the department. Thinks that vegetables were first issued to the brigade about the middle of January. Thinks he can furnish a note of the precise date. The vegetables were furnished on his written order by the department at Balaklava, but cannot state the quantities so furnished, as he has kept no record of the orders given. Has reason to believe, that the whole quantities to believe, that the whole quantities for which he gave orders were supplied, both because he only gave orders to the extent to which he had been informed they could be supplied, and because no complaint was ever made to him that the quantity ordered had not been supplied. The vegetables supplied have been principally potatoes, but also onions, leeks,

and cabbages. Has generally been able to supply the quantities for which the regimental quartermasters applied. Since the middle of January, vegetables have been supplied to the extent above mentioned, but during the last six weeks they have been obtained by direct application to the department without an order from him. Believes that the regimental quartermasters applied for vegetables whenever they were wanted, and did not abstain from applying because they supposed they could not be obtained. Cannot state the actual quantities supplied to the brigade, having kept no memorandum of it. The commissariat officers have issued vegetables to the different regiments in quantities nearly proportioned to their respective strengths. It has not been left to the quartermasters to determine the quantities for their regiments. The issue has invariably been to the whole regiments of the brigade. The potatoes have been partly fresh, but chiefly preserved. The latter have, in his opinion, answered very well, and were much liked.

Desires to state, that he has been absent on duty in Asia Minor for about a month, and is not able to speak from personal knowledge of what has been done in the brigade during that time; except that since his return, two days ago, he has made inquiry at each regiment and finds that they have no complaints.

Handed in a return of the number of days on which fresh meat has been issued, and the quantity on each day regimentally. No complaint has been made to him of the long use of salt rations for the men.

The brigade has on the whole been tolerably well supplied with fuel since they came down from the front. They moved down on the 2nd December. Previous to that date, notwithstanding the storm of the 14th November, fuel was not required, except for cooking, and for that purpose a sufficiency was obtained by the men themselves. There was a deficiency of tools for purposes of grubbing up roots for fuel, as well as for digging or levelling. The supply of such tools does not belong to the Commissariat Department. About two months ago, firewood was for the first time issued to the brigade, but charcoal had been issued for about a fortnight before that time. Will give a note of the precise dates. The reason assigned for not issuing fuel after the brigade came down from the front was, that they had the means of obtaining it where they were encamped. While in front no fuel was issued, but the brigade had the means of obtaining it in that locality. In addition to which, he was in the habit of distributing for fuel all empty packages, such as barrels, tierces, &c.

Up to the first days of November, when the brigade moved to the front, the horses had been regularly and fully foraged. The ration then consisted of 12 pounds of barley and 10 pounds of hay. After moving to the front the supply of hay gradually fell off till the storm of the 14th November, when it ceased altogether. There was then a certain quantity of hay at Balaklava, but there were not the means of carrying it to the front. The roads were then bad, but not impassable for pack horses. But the Commissariat had not sufficient transport to carry the hay to the front. At this time the commanding officers of some of the regiments proposed to him to send down so many horses per troop to bring up forage if he would undertake to supply it at Balaklava. This he undertook to do; but on applying to the officer commanding the brigade was informed, that he could not permit a horse to leave the lines. As has been stated, from the date when the brigade moved to the front, at a greater distance from Balaklava, the roads then daily getting worse, and the transport cattle daily diminishing in number, the supply of hay gradually diminished, till at length, after the catastrophe of the 14th November, it became impossible for the commissariat to supply hay to the brigade. For about twenty days, the supply was irregular, and for several days did not exceed 1 1/2 pound or 2 pounds per day. Made repeated representations, both verbal and written, of the deficiency of food for the horses. Will furnish copies of his written representations to Lord Lucan, Lord Cardigan, and the Commissary-General. The small supply of barley which he was then able to obtain could only be got by his coming down to Balaklava, assisting in landing it, and with great difficulty preventing its being carried off by other parties who had fatigue men at their command, while he had none. The number of pack animals required to carry up the full rations of barley was about 60: during the time referred to he sometimes could not get more than 5, and never more than 10 or 12; and it frequently was near midnight before he got back to the camp. Has on some occasions come down with troop horses to Balaklava for hay or straw and been unable to obtain it. Believes, however, that there was then hay on board ship in the harbour, but which could not be landed in time. After the storm of the 14th November, two or three hundred trusses of hay were floating in and about the harbour, which he has no doubt might have been secured if proper measures had been taken. Knows that a portion of that hay, which was secured, was given to horses, which appeared to eat it readily.

After the twenty days of short rations referred to, the horses being at the same time exposed to very inclement weather on unfavourable ground, the condition of the troop-horses was deplorable. When the brigade moved down on the 2nd December, it was necessary to have the horses led, as they were too weak to carry their riders, and notwithstanding, many of them died on the way from exhaustion; and a considerable number were left on the ground unable to move, with men to attend to them: nearly all of them however died. The cause of this great deficiency in forage for the brigade was the want of transport to carry it to the front. Believes that there never was any want of barley at Balaklava, and that the horses might therefore have had their full rations of grain if there had been the means of carrying it to their camp.

Has nothing further to state in regard to the subject of inquiry.

Camp. Sebastopol, November 18, 1855.

My Lord,

In obedience to your Lordship's orders, I beg to report to you upon the subject of my yesterday's communication with regard to the foraging of this brigade during the winter.

I would commence by bringing to your Lordship's notice, that at this distance from Balaklava I cannot be afforded any assistance in transport by the brigade, I mean regiments cannot send their horses in for barley, and thus the whole transport devolves upon the commissariat.

The transport allotted to me is insufficient, and at present no more can be given me, nor do I see any prospect of a future increase to its strength. The mules are already showing symptoms of overwork, and as araba after araba breaks down (I have now only 5 out of 17), so much more labour devolves upon the mule transport.

To bring up a day's supply of barley, according to the present strength, 63 mules are required, as the sacks weigh 160 pounds, and they can only carry one each, and, owing to the distance, can make but one journey a day. I have never yet been able to procure more than 35 mules per day (not often that), and with the 11 mule carts and 5 arabas attached to this brigade, I have just been able to complete the requisite quantities of barley and hay.

The least bad weather prevents this exactness, and throws me in arrears, whilst such weather as we have lately had altogether stopped the transport for one day. and has not yet allowed me to recover ground - in fact, I owe the brigade nearly one and a half day's corn and some hay. Should the present weather hold, I hope to make good all arrears; but, after due and careful deliberation, I do not hesitate in saying, that I fear the ordinary weather to be expected at this season, putting aside the possibility of any repetition of the late severe weather, will render the roads so bad, that at times the transport will fail in bringing forage to so great a distance.

I cannot conclude without further bringing to your Lordship's notice the great delay and hindrances we are subjected to when in Balaklava by the slow and awkward manner the barley is landed. The first can be remedied, but the latter, from the nature of the wharf, probably not.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CROOKSHANK,
Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General, Light Cavalry Brigade.

Major-General the Earl of Lucan,
Commanding Cavalry.

Camp, Sebastopol, November 19, 1855.

My Lord,

I have the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that the late severe weather prevented my keeping the brigade regularly supplied with forage, nor has the state of the roads since permitted me to make good the consequent arrears. At this moment I owe nearly one and a half days' corn and some hay to the brigade, but I am in hopes, from the present state of the roads, to make that good.

A certain quantity of forage has been issued daily since the storm, and last night 39 sacks of 160 pounds each were issued, and this morning 14 sacks of like weight. More barley will be up to-day, probably upwards of 40 sacks, together with some hay.

The men's rations have been regularly issued, and I apprehend no difficulty in that respect.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. CROOKSHANK
Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General, Light Cavalry Brigade

Major-General the Earl of Cardigan,
Commanding Light Cavalry Brigade.

Balaklava, November 21, 1855.

My Lord,

I must again bring to your Lordship's notice the state of the Light Cavalry Brigade with regard to forage.

In my last letter I informed your Lordship, that one and a half day's corn and some hay was due to the brigade, but instead of my having been able to make good any part of that, I have fallen into further arrears. The weather is in part the cause, but it is chiefly to be attributed to the want of transport. On the 19th I had only 10 extra mule-carts afforded me.

Yesterday, the 20th, none whatever until so late an hour (and then only 15 pack animals) as to be of no use.

It is now midday, and as the transport has not yet come in to Balaklava from its own camp, I have only been able to despatch 30 sacks of barley on my own carts, each only carrying three sacks on the present roads.

I would wish further to bring to your Lordship's notice that the Light Brigade suffers in another respect. Even when I have transport on the beach and a boat-load of barley arrives, a dozen or more Heavy Dragoons, or as many Artillerymen jump in, carry out the sacks, load their transport, my few wretched Turks or Maltese having a very poor chance in the meleé.

While writing this, Deputy Assistant Commissary General Goold, the officer in charge of the dépôt transport, has come in and assures me the mules are nearly done up - almost incapable of further work.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. CROOKSHANK,
Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General, Light Cavalry Brigade.

Lieut.-General the Earl of Cardigan,
Commanding Cavalry.

*Light Cavalry Brigade, Sebastopol,
November 21, 1855.*

Sir,

I have had occasion to bring to the notice of the Major General commanding this brigade, as well as to the Earl of Lucan, commanding the Cavalry, the difficulties of keeping up the supply of forage to this brigade in its present position.

For the last fortnight the ration of barley has not been a full one to each regiment; but I beg to inform you, and I request you will bring it to the Major-General's notice, that some of the regiments have not sent in a correct return to me. It is not in my power to sift the matter, but one instance I give: The 11th Hussars, on the 24th instant, drew for 160 troop horses and charges, on the following day that number was reduced to 130, although on application to the Adjutant I was informed 127 was the total. Such a discrepancy cannot have occurred in one night, and in juxta-position to the quantity of barley I have owned to being in arrears to the 11th, I would wish to know for how many horses, and for what length of time, they have overdrawn.

In no one instance have I found the ration return and memorandum of horses actually with the regiments this day to agree (save the 17th Lancers, whose Acting Adjutant was absent, and from whom I got no memorandum), and I submit to you, that the same precision should be observed in a ration return as in any other document signed collectively by Commanding Officer, Paymaster, and Quartermaster.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. CROOKSHANK,
Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General, Light Cavalry Brigade.

Lieut.-Colonel Mayow,
Brigade-Major, Light Cavalry.

P.S. Would you oblige me by putting in Brigade Orders that regiments forthwith return to me all empty corn and biscuit sacks in their possession, as our dépôt much requires them.

A.C.

[pp.110-3, pp.46-9 of the Evidence]

J.W. MURRAY, Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General, examined.

Is attached to the Heavy Cavalry Brigade. Has been with the brigade ever since it landed in the Crimea. With the exception of three days, when no sugar was issued, and two when only a partial issue was made, the regulated rations of the brigade have been fully supplied. Frequently requisitions for vegetables, made by the quartermasters, have not been complied with; but the brigade has had as large a proportion as any other. In December, the men complained of the long use of salt rations. Handed in a return showing the issues of fresh meat, and the amount of each issue. The ration of fresh meat to the heavy brigade has always been 1 1/4 pound.

The brigade moved down from near head quarters to the vicinity of Balaklava on the 3rd December. Up to the 14th November, the horses had full rations of hay and grain. After the 14th November, for some time hay was deficient, but there was no deficiency of barley, of which a surplus was frequently issued in lieu of the deficiency of hay.

Fuel has been regularly issued to the brigade since the 1st of January; before that date they were able to supply themselves sufficiently. Since the 14th November, troop horses have been daily sent to Balaklava for forage.

Handed in a return of the issues of forage made to the brigade. It was necessary to send down troop horses, because the commissariat had not sufficient transport to carry the forage to the camp.

Has nothing further to state in regard to the subject of inquiry.

[p.114 (p.50 of the Evidence)]

PHILIP ROLLESTON, Deputy-Assistant Commissary-General, attached to the 1st Division, examined.

Has been with the division ever since it has been in the Crimea. With the exception of two days' sugar to one regiment, and half a gill of rum to another, has been able to supply the regulated rations at all times to the division. Handed in a return by regiments of the issues of fresh meat to the division, showing any deficiency in the quantity issued to each regiment. Has been able to obtain full forage for the horses of the mounted officers of the division, with the exception of the Scots Fusilier Guards, who were, he believes, about ten days in the latter part of November and beginning of December, without hay or straw. Fuel was first issued on the 20th December, but from a deficiency of transport, could not be carried to the camp in sufficient quantities. The Highland Brigade, which forms part of the division, has been in the vicinity of Balaklava for some time. The 93rd never went to the front. The 42nd and 79th have been at Balaklava since the 25th of October. Fuel was not issued to the Highland Brigade at first, because it appeared to the Commissary General that the troops round Balaklava had the means of supplying themselves with a sufficient quantity. No formal complaints were made to him of the long use of salt meat, but is aware that it was complained of. The first issue of vegetables to the division was on the 4th of November: there was then an interval, during which vegetables could not be obtained - thereafter on the 14th of February, vegetables were again issued; since that date they have been more or less regularly issued. Does not believe that any preserved potatoes were issued to the Guards, but will ascertain.* No compressed vegetables have been issued to the division, but obtained a supply to day which will be issued.

[p.114 (p.50 of the Evidence)]

W.H. DRAKE, Deputy Commissary General, examined.

Has been in charge of the executive duties of the Commissariat since the army arrived in the Crimea. Has always been able to supply the requisitions for rations of the several divisional officers. Delay has occasionally occurred from deficiency of boats or stress of weather, which prevented supplies being landed in time. There never has been a deficiency of any of the articles included in the regulated ration, in the stores or harbour; but from the stowage of several of the vessels, some of these articles could not be got at till others, which were over them, could be removed - for example, even within the last few days being desirous of landing rum, found that it had been stowed under biscuit and hay, and could not be got at till these were removed; the only place at which he is permitted to land hay, is so blocked up by hay and chopped straw, that no more can be landed at present. The railway affords greater facilities for removing the hay; but hitherto a sufficient number of railway carriages has not been obtained to carry it off as quickly as could be desired. There has never been a deficiency of barley, and when hay has been deficient, there has always been chopped straw; but from the difficulty of removing a sufficient quantity of the latter article, there has been great reluctance to receive it as forage, and on many occasions the parties to whom it was offered refused to take it away. Measures have recently been devised for pressing apart of the chopped straw, which is now pressed in bales to about one third the bulk of loose straw; but a sufficient quantity cannot be pressed, and therefore loose straw is still imported. Since about the middle of February, full rations of grain, and hay, or straw, have been available here for all the public horses. After the gale of the 14th November, efforts were made with the assistance of Captain Christie, principal agent of transports, to secure the hay that was floating in and about the harbour, and a considerable quantity was secured; but for the most part it was found to be unserviceable. There was a deficiency of transport to carry forage to the front; but understands that it has been usual in the British army, when in the field, to send troop horses for the forage when the distance does not exceed three miles. The non-issue of fuel to the troops around Balaklava, was by general order; and the issue at a subsequent period was also by a general order. About the end of October or beginning of November, he was instructed by the Commissary General to purchase for the troops all the fresh vegetables that could be procured in the harbour; and has, in consequence, purchased all that he had an opportunity of purchasing. In consequence of instructions from Lord Raglan, a large supply of vegetables was sent up from Constantinople and Varna, in the "Harbinger", "Cormorant", "Albatross", "Jason", &c. When the "Harbinger" arrived, the Captain reported to him that some of the vegetables were in a dreadful state of putridity, which he attributed to their having been thoroughly wetted by a heavy storm of rain at the time of shipment, the large quantity in the hold of the ship having, in consequence, heated. The cargo consisted of a great variety of green vegetables. He visited the ship and found the stench from the hold very great. His visit to the vessel was on the day of her arrival, and within four hours of her arrival had been reported to him. The Captain, with his own crew,

* This is an error. Preserved potatoes were issued first on the 14th of February, and have been continued at different times since. - P.R.

commenced on the following morning he thinks, to land the vegetables; and on the following day he believes received instructions from the Commissary General that they were to be issued gratuitously. Before receiving this instruction, he had, on his own responsibility, issued the vegetables to Quartermasters of regiments and other persons who applied for them, intimating that it was undetermined whether or not they were to be charged to the men, but that one penny per pound would be the extreme price. A considerable quantity was carried away on these conditions. Officers were sent down to hold a board of survey on the cargo, when it was partly condemned. All that were good were issued to the troops, and any one was allowed to remove away such portions as he chose from the part that was condemned. About four-fifths were condemned. The cargoes of vegetables in the other vessels referred to, were subjected to a similar survey, and disposed of in the same manner as the cargo of the "Harbinger", there was a considerable loss on these also, but not quite so great as in the case of the "Harbinger". The "Hope" and "Faith" are employed to bring general supplies from the Bosphorus. Will furnish a statement of the voyages of the "Faith" and "Hope" for commissariat supplies.

Memorandum respecting the Vegetables, ex "Harbinger", &c.

On the "Harbinger" being reported, the master stated many to be unfit for use. I reported this to the Commissary General, and mentioned in my letter that part of those by the "Jason" remained unissued and in bad order. I requested instructions as to whether they were to be paid for or constitute part of the ration.

I was instructed that "they were to be paid for as extra articles of diet", and a general order notified "that they would be delivered on board the ships and payment claimed as soon as the deliveries were completed".

Vegetables were landed on the 9th and consecutive days and issued, and some were issued direct from the "Harbinger" on the understanding that payment was to be made when demanded.

A subsequent general order notified that vegetables were to be a gratuitous issue.

During the period embraced from 8th to 13th November, 1854, heavy rains were almost continual; and the streets of Balaklava, more especially that bordering on the water, was a sea of mud.

The rain, accompanied by high winds, delayed landing vegetables and other supplies.

On the 14th, the hurricane put a stop to all landing or nearly so, such articles only as were absolutely necessary for existence, were landed on the 15th and 16th, as nearly every vessel was damaged.

Some of the damaged vegetables remained on board the "Harbinger" at this time, but very few of those were fit for use.

These were landed subsequently, and those that were fit were issued on the same terms as those issued before the hurricane.

A Board of Survey was held on the vegetables by "Harbinger" and other vessels.

(Signed) W.H. DRAKE,
Deputy Commissary-General.

Balaklava, March 31, 1855.

Memorandum.

General order of 15th November, notifies that rice no longer forms part of the ration.

General Order 27th December, directs rice to be again issued as part of the ration.

General Order of 29th December, directs that fuel and light to be issued to the troops in and near Balaklava, in the same manner as to those in camp before Sebastopol, as notified by general order of the 4th December, 1855.

(Signed) W.H. DRAKE,
Deputy Commissary-General.

*Commissariat,
Balaklava, March 31, 1855.*

Crimea,

[pp.114-6 (pp.50-2 of the Evidence)]

COMMISSARY-GENERAL FILDER, *examined*.

[The underlining in this style of Q&A was not in the original. The transcriber used it as a device to make the evidence easier to read. M.S.]

When were you appointed Commissary-General with this army? - When it was first determined to send an expeditionary force to the East in February, 1854.

Did you take charge of the duties of the Department from that time? - Yes, from the commencement.

When did you sail from England? - Early in April.

Did any part of the expedition sail at that time? - Some of it preceded me.

Are you aware whether any arrangement had been made prior to that time for securing supplies? - An officer had been sent on for that purpose.

For what purpose was he sent? - To arrange for the reception of the troops, and provide supplies.

Where was he sent to? - Constantinople; he also took over all the barracks, &c, at Scutari.

Did he procure any land transport? - Not more than was sufficient for local purposes at Scutari.

Were any special instructions given to you by the authorities at home prior to joining? - No special instructions.

When did you first begin to provide land transport for the army? - As soon as it was known that the army was to proceed beyond Constantinople I sent out people to endeavour to obtain transport on hire.

Did you succeed in obtaining what you required? - No, I found it utterly impracticable.

In what parts of the country were inquiries made? - In Roumelia and Bulgaria, also in Asia Minor, where I had hoped to have been able to engage or hire some of the numerous pack animals engaged in the trade between Trebizond and Persia.

What did you then do? - I immediately began to purchase pack animals, and urged Lord Raglan to make a requisition on Omer Pasha, who had the whole resources of Roumelia and Bulgaria at his disposal, for 3000 waggons.

Those I understand to be bullock waggons? - Yes, arabas, on hire.

Did you obtain those waggons? - When the army began to arrive, he sent at different times a considerable number, in all, probably, upwards of 1,500.

Had you by that time succeeded in purchasing any considerable number of pack animals? - Yes.

About what number? - For all purposes about 5,300, purchased either on contracts entered into by me or by military officers sent out for the purpose, accompanied by Commissariat officers.

Was the amount of transport you had then collected sufficient to enable the army to move? - The army might have moved; but I should not have felt at ease without the full number of 3000 waggons. Before that number was completed, it had been resolved to change the scene of operations.

What is an araba calculated to carry? - 700 pounds for a pair of bullocks.

The resolution to change the scene of operations put a stop, I presume, to the further collection of transport? - Yes.

When the army embarked for the Crimea what orders did you receive in respect to land transport? - I could only get accommodation for a very limited quantity, all the rest was left behind.

For what quantity did you obtain accommodation? - I could only bring 70 carts and 70 mules. Two vessels were placed at my disposal. With Lord Raglan's concurrence, it was resolved, that part of the accommodation in those vessels should be appropriated for the conveyance of cattle for slaughter. In consequence, however, of some confusion at the time of embarkation, from causes of which I have not been able to obtain a satisfactory explanation, the whole number of transport animals that might have been shipped were not brought. Perhaps as many as 120 with their carts and equipments might have been shipped.

When you purchased the pack animals in Bulgaria, how were they distributed? - The regimental establishments of bat horses, and 1st Reserve ammunition horses were supplied, and the remainder were available for Commissariat use.

Did you suffer inconvenience on the march from Old Fort in consequence of deficiency of transport? - No, none; the troops having seized between 70 and 80 arabas, I was enabled with that assistance to carry the provisions for the men, replenishing the supply from the transports at the mouths of the different rivers we passed on the march. The troops carried only one day's rations in the havresacks. The French landed without any transport, excepting a portion of their ambulance train, but their troops carried six days' provisions on their persons.

Were any of the public bat horses attached to regiments then brought over? - No, none; this, however, is not a matter connected with the Commissariat.

Did the French soldiers carry their knapsacks in addition to their rations? - Yes.

Was the transport you had then collected sufficient for the wants of the army before Sebastopol? - Yes, including the 70 mule carts before-mentioned, I had imported, in about a fortnight, into the Crimea 226 mules, and carts complete, besides 266 pack animals; I had also about 200 hired arabas of the country. This was a much greater amount of transport than was required for this army in its present position for Commissariat purposes.

Up to what date did you find your transport sufficient for your purposes? - Up to about the middle of November; it would have been sufficient for all Commissariat purposes, including the transport of forage, had it not been partly appropriated to purposes of siege transport.

Do you consider siege transport as separate from Commissariat transport, and not included in it? - Yes, certainly.

Have you ever received instructions to provide siege transport? - I received orders from Lord Raglan in Bulgaria to purchase some buffalos for that purpose; and I consider reserve ammunition animals specially applicable to siege purposes when the army is stationery.

You received no other special directions to provide animals for siege transport? - No; but in the circumstances, having more transport that was absolutely necessary for Commissariat purposes, a portion of it was applied to siege purposes, all the available means with the army being appropriated to the services most urgent at the moment.

Up to what date were any of your transport animals employed for siege purposes? - Including the transport employed in carrying small arm ammunition after the battle of Inkerman up to the 9th or 10th November, to the best of my recollection, from which date the whole were available for Commissariat purposes.

At what time had your land transport suffered considerable diminution from casualties? - It had begun to suffer about the 14th November, or after the storm.

What was the cause? - Bad roads, exposure, and fatigue.

Had the animals been sufficiently foraged? - Always: in preference to all others they were regularly fed.

What state were the roads in at that time? - They were bad about the 10th, but shortly after the 14th they became altogether impassable for carts, and I was obliged to convert all the draught animals into pack animals, by which their transport power was at once reduced to one-third of its former amount.

Under these circumstances were you in a condition to convey sufficient provisions for the men in front? - Yes: but they did not arrive with regularity in the camp.

Up to what date were you able to convey with your own transport sufficient provisions to the front? - Up to about the end of November or beginning of December.

At what date did you cease to carry up forage to the cavalry? - When the roads to their camp became impassable for carriages.

Can you state about what date that happened? - I think that about the 13th November, or immediately after the storm of the 14th, the roads having become impassable for carriages, the cavalry began to send for their own forage.

Can you state at what date the Light Cavalry Brigade went to the front? - Cannot state with precision; but it must have been about the beginning of November.

Were you aware of the intention to move them to the front? - I received no official communication, but I was aware of the fact.

Did you intimate that you would be unable to carry up forage for them? - I did so in conversation; but when the roads became impassable for carriages, the Commissariat officer with the brigade formally intimated in writing that the Commissariat could not supply forage on that ground in the then state of the roads.

Under what circumstances did it become necessary to employ the troops in carrying up provisions to the front? - About the 25th November, finding that the transport animals were giving way, I sent a steamer to Constantinople to bring 350 from the Reserve Commissariat Depôt there.

How many transport animals had you in reserve? - About 2,200; but the steamer unexpectedly requiring repairs did not return for three weeks. Had she returned in the ordinary time, it would not have been necessary to employ the troops in carrying their own rations to the front. She did not return till the 16th December, and about the 18th or 19th the troops ceased to come down for their rations, except that some regiments of the Light Division continued to send down men off duty with a view to having a reserve depôt of provisions in their camp, and the practice has not since been renewed, except in the case of the Light Division referred to.

Could you say how many men were sent down for provisions, and how often? - The practice was very partial and limited. Two of the divisions, the 1st and 3rd, never sent any at all. The 2nd sent parties four times, amounting in all to 800 men, the average strength of the division at that time being 4,900. The 4th Division sent parties three times, of the strength of which I am unable to speak. The Light Division only sent men between the 11th and 19th December, but how frequently I am unable to say. Excepting always the men sent to form the reserve depôts before mentioned.

To what amount was your transport reduced when at the lowest? - I cannot answer that question from memory, but will endeavour to ascertain. The officer who was in charge of the depôt at that time has returned to England on sick leave.

Did you continue after the 16th December to draw on your reserves? - Yes: but the casualties were nearly as numerous as the importations.

Were all these casualties ascertained deaths? - No, by no means; a large proportion of the animals became for the time non-effective, many of which are now fast recovering, others were deserted by the drivers when separated from the convoy on their way to the camp. Of these which were deserted some died, and some were supposed to be stolen.

Were the circumstances such as to account for those desertions? - Certainly. The extreme exposure and fatigue to which the drivers were subjected in the then state of the roads and weather was such as men could hardly endure.

Did you make any purchase of cattle in addition to your reserve? - In the Crimea the Commissariat officers purchased all the horses and mules that could be obtained and were in any way suitable to the service, in all perhaps from 100 to 150, and about 247 fine mules, which had been purchased on my requisition, were received from Spain and Malta.

Have you been satisfied with the amount of transport at your disposal since those mules arrived? - There has not been enough for all purposes especially for the transport of fuel, because the greater part of the recently imported mules have been appropriated to carrying up the huts by order of Lord Raglan; but as the officers continue to send for their own forage, the transport has sufficed to carry up everything else included in the rations of the troops. Fuel for the trenches and the hospitals has, however, been carried up by the Commissariat.

About what date did these Spanish mules arrive? - I should think about the middle of January.

It has been stated that the cavalry horses were at one time employed to carry provisions to the front; was that in consequence of a deficiency of commissariat transport? - Yes: owing to the fact that casualties took place as rapidly as reinforcements could be brought up.

Can you state or ascertain how long the cavalry were so employed? - I am not able to state from memory, but will ascertain.

Can you state what number of cavalry horses were so employed daily during this time? - At the commencement I think they amounted to 240 laden horses, each led by a mounted dragoon, and latterly to only 60 to 80 laden.

What was the load they carried? - One bag of biscuit each, weighing 112 pounds.

Were any of the loaded horses, so far as you know, led by dragoons on foot? - No: I know of no such case.

There were men also employed to carry provisions to the front besides those formerly referred to, was that also in consequence of deficiency of transport? - That was at a later period, and not for the daily issues to the troops, but for the purpose of forming a depôt at head-quarters.

Had no depôt up to that time been formed in front? - Yes; I had made some progress in forming a depôt there before the roads became impassable, but the diversion of commissariat transport to other than commissariat purposes, such as for the conveyance of siege stores from the commencement of the operations, and also for the conveyance of small arms' ammunition after the battle of Inkermann prevented me from carrying out this measure to the extent contemplated.

So long as the roads were passable for carriages did you encounter any difficulty in regard to transport? - None whatever. I had positively more transport than the French army, and relatively to the number of troops nearly double, but the road to their harbour has always been passable for carriages, and the road from hence to the camp was for a considerable time in such a state that even pack animals could not always perform the journey in one day. When the roads were good the animals went and returned the same day, but when they became bad, the animals did not get back till the afternoon of the second day.

Was the employment of the Cavalry to carry provisions to the front ordered at your suggestion? - I do not recollect whether the original order was issued at my suggestion or not, but when the number of horses sent began to fall off, I urged the continuance of the service.

Have you had all the facilities you required for importing the necessary number of transport animals? - I have no doubt that all the facilities were afforded which the other exigencies of the service would permit, but it sometimes happened that the vessels in which transport animals were to be brought were detained landing sick at Scutari before they were available for my purposes. It has happened, also, that when I wanted a transport for that purpose I could not obtain one.

Could you at all times, if you had obtained the transport, have fed it? - It must always be a matter of great difficulty, particularly in the winter, to supply a large number of animals when the country is not open to us, and everything has to be brought by sea; and I do not feel satisfied if I could have imported a sufficient number of animals to complete the transport establishment that I could at that season have fed them.

Have you now sufficient transport for all your purposes? - The transport was some time ago transferred to the Land Transport Corps, when I handed over the commissariat animals they would have been sufficient for all commissariat purposes, if none of them had been appropriated to other services.

At the time that the deficiency of transport occurred here there were, it is understood a large number of regimental and private bat horses left at Varna belonging to the corps here; are you aware of any reason why these were not brought over in order to relieve the deficiency of transport? - This does not belong to my Department, but I believe it was owing to the transports being required to bring over more French troops.

When did you commence making arrangements for the supply of fresh meat to the army? - In the month of May I made a large contract in Constantinople for 2,500 head per month up to the 11th of November, each animal to weight, on an average, 275 pounds, the contractor being bound to supply the cattle wherever the army might be in Bulgaria, as far as the Danube.

Was that contract fulfilled? - Two and a half months of the contract was unexpired when the army left Bulgaria.

Did you make any other contract for the supply of fresh meat? - Yes, I made a contract with Messrs. Whittall and Co. for 2000 head at Smyrna in April, which, by a subsequent arrangement became deliverable at Constantinople in June; I entered into a contract with Messrs. Hanson and Co. for 2000 head, which remained in depôt till December, maintained during a part of the period at the expense of the contractors. There were also 3000 head of the Bulgarian cattle beyond what could be received over at Varna within the period of the contract, and which were ordered round to Constantinople, to be delivered to the Commissariat there. With these, and about 900 head remaining over from other contracts, there were available in depôt at the beginning of the winter about 8000 head of cattle.

Were you able, during the time the army was in Bulgaria, to supply them with fresh meat? - Yes, they might have been supplied exclusively with fresh meat; but a certain portion of salt meat was taken as a precaution, and used occasionally.

Since the army has been in the Crimea now have they been supplied with fresh meat? - For the first month considerable supplies were obtained in the Crimea, and part of the cattle contracted for were brought from Bulgaria. During the first month or six weeks, therefore, the troops were well supplied with fresh meat, and had not, I suppose, salt meat rations more than twice a week. After that time the country here was closed to us, and the supply at Eupatoria being exhausted, it became necessary to import cattle from Constantinople. Handed in returns of the whole amount of fresh meat issued since the army has been dependent on the cattle imported. The service of this supply was subject to many and serious interruptions from storms and the inclemency of the weather throughout the winter.

What are your present prospects in regard to the supply of fresh meat? - I have 3000 head of cattle still available, besides 1,500 monthly from Mr. Whittall for this and the next month, 1000 head deliverable this month at Szipoli, 1000 at Sinope, also deliverable this month, 1000 at Samsoun for three months from the 15th April, and 1000 per month at Baltjik, commencing in May, besides 3000 sheep per month from Sampsoon.

What number of steamers are at present at your disposal for the importation of cattle? - Six.

What number of cattle can you land weekly with this amount of transport? - Not more than 3,600 per month, which will not enable me to supply fresh meat rations more frequently than on alternate days, the average weight of the cattle lately imported not having exceeded 150 to 200 pounds.

Where do you look to for your future supplies? - Samsoun and the Danube.

Have you any apprehension of being unable to obtain a supply of cattle at that rate? - None for the present year; but unless Bessarabia should be open to us, difficulties may occur at a future time.

Have you made any arrangements for the supply of soft bread to the troops? - Arrangements have been made for obtaining bread twice a week by steamer from Constantinople as an experiment.

How are you off in respect to the supply of vegetables? - The troops have latterly had very large supplies, nearly 700,000 pounds were issued to them last month.

There have been complaints of the deficiency of vegetables during the winter how did this happen? - Throughout the winter there were large purchases made of fresh vegetables, which were shipped at Government risk, at various ports, and of which a large proportion turned out upon arrival to be spoilt.

Could you furnish an account of the quantity? - Mr. Drake can.

Have you recently made any contracts for vegetables? - Yes: large quantities have been imported under those contracts at the risk of the contractor, and these have arrived in good order.

There have been great complaints of the deficiency of forage for the cavalry horses, especially of the Light Brigade; have you anything to state on this subject? - There was a deficiency of forage from the 22nd to the 30th November in consequence of our having lost twenty days' supply of hay in the hurricane of the 14th.

The Light Brigade of Cavalry also experienced a deficiency when it was encamped in front, at which period, in consequence of the state of the roads, it was quite impossible to carry the forage to the front in carts. The transport attached to the brigade, which had been sufficient for the conveyance of their forage to camp when they were nearer to Balaklava, was insufficient for that purpose when they had moved to a distance, and the roads became impassable for carriages, I could not spare additional animals to make good the deficiency. If the roads had been passable for carts, the transport attached to the brigade would have been sufficient.

During the time referred to were the Heavy Cavalry Brigade ever without grain? - Not to my knowledge: there may have been a day or two after the hurricane when a sufficient quantity could not be landed from the ships, the crews being employed in securing the vessels which were drifting about the harbour.

If the Light Cavalry Brigade had sent down their horses as the Heavy Brigade did, could they, notwithstanding the greater distance, have obtained supplies of grain whenever it was issued to the other brigade? - Yes, certainly. I have never been without ample supplies of forage corn.

If the Light Brigade did not get the same rations for their horses as the heavy, it would appear then to have been because they would not, or could not, send their horses for it? - Yes, certainly.

Was there any time when you had neither hay nor chopped straw in Balaklava? - There was a deficiency after the hurricane, but we were never without either hay or chopped straw in the harbour, to the best of my knowledge; there may not have been enough at that time to issue full rations to the cavalry and artillery horses, but I do not think I was ever without one or the other.

You say that you had always hay or chopped straw in the harbour; were you always in a condition to issue it? - No, not always, the state of the weather and the other demands for the men-of-war's boats, on which we were dependent for the means of landing forage, and the absence of magazines or sheds, together with the small extent of wharfage, made it sometimes impossible to land the supplies which we had afloat in the harbour.

Were there many occasions on which persons coming down for hay or straw went back without? - There must have been, as there were no magazines on shore. But Mr. Drake can give better information on this subject, and the cause.

Have you at any time borrowed forage from the French? - On one occasion the arrival of my own supplies from Constantinople having been retarded by contrary winds, I accepted the loan of a cargo of chopped straw, which was less than one day's supply. This was repaid shortly afterwards in kind. General Canrobert had offered Lord Raglan three cargoes of chopped straw some time after the hurricane, at the end of November, but I was not then in want of that kind of forage. Subsequently, when I wanted it, on the occasion first mentioned, the French could not, without some inconvenience, spare more than one cargo. That one cargo is the only assistance of any kind whatever that I have ever asked for or received from the French administration.

[pp.123-8 (pp.59-64 of the Evidence)]

ASSISTANT COMMISSARY-GENERAL ARCHER, *examined.*

How are you occupied here? - I am in charge of Quartermaster-General's stores.

That, I presume, includes the supplies of warm clothing which have been sent out by the Government? - Yes.

Could you furnish me with information of the date of arrival of the different ships which have arrived with warm clothing, and the dates of the distribution of their cargoes? - Not with the dates of their arrival.

Can you tell us when the first cargo of warm clothing for the troops was landed? - Can furnish the information from the 5th December, 1854, when I took charge.

Who was in charge before? - Assistant-Storekeeper Hunter of the Commissariat.

What was the first cargo or consignment of warm clothing that was landed after you took charge? - The "Ottawa", on the 5th December.

After you took charge of the store, when did you begin to distribute such articles? - On the same day.

Can you furnish a return of the articles in store when you took charge? - Yes, I can.

After the "Ottawa", which was the next arrival? - The "Queen of the South".

What was the date of her arrival? - The date of landing her stores was the 7th and 8th December, 1854. Cannot state the date of her arrival in the harbour.

Do you consider yourself called upon to take charge of any stores that may be afloat in the harbour for your department? - There are stores afloat in the harbour consigned to the care of the Commissary-General which are nominally in my charge, but which I never see. These are regimental necessaries, the bills of lading for which are delivered to me, and which cannot be issued without my order. The bills of lading state only the number of bales or packages, and not their contents. The captain of the ship delivers the bales to my order, taking a receipt, and makes me a return vouched by these receipts and my orders; the return being compared with the bill of lading shows how much of the cargo has been issued, but of the contents of the bales I know nothing. The "Orient", transport No. 78, is the receiving ship for these articles, and the captain of that ship has been appointed to take charge of them, and issue them in the manner referred to.

What are the stores of which you especially take charge? - Quartermaster-General's stores; such as warm clothing and camp equipments; and commissariat stores, such as saddlery and other articles consigned to me for the use of the commissariat and transport branch of that establishment.

You have said, that you can furnish a return of the Quartermaster-General's stores which you found in store on taking charge; can you also furnish a return of the stores of the same description since received? - Yes; the stores originally handed over to me were received as corresponding with the return of "remaining in store" furnished by the storekeeper, but there were no means for want of time and space to verify that return.

Can you also furnish a return of the daily issues from your store? - Yes, I can.

Is it consistent with your personal knowledge that there was often, from various causes, great delay in landing stores of that description? - Yes, there was.

Can you state any of the causes of that delay? - In some instances it may have occurred from there not being sufficient boats to land the stores; in others, the captains stated to me, that the stores were stowed under other articles which could not at the time be landed; it has also occurred, that the stores could not be landed for want of space to receive them; it has occurred frequently in consequence of the withdrawal of the fatigue parties attached to my store. This last, I think, was the most frequent cause.

Did you make any representations of the delay caused by the withdrawal of the military fatigue parties? - Yes; on more than one occasion.

Can you furnish copies of those representations? - I can.

You have stated that one of the causes of delay in landing the warm clothing for the troops was the difficulty of obtaining boats? - That was stated to me by the captains of the transports.

What did you do in that case? - Referred them to the agent for transports, for the means of landing the stores.

Did you make any communication to the agent for transports? - None; I represented it personally to the officers of the Quartermaster-General's Department.

Who were they? - Major McKenzie, Major Wetherall, and Captain Ross.

Did you make any representations on the same subject to the Quartermaster-General's Department? - Personally, I did; but not officially. I was not in official communication with the Quartermaster-General's Department.

Seeing that such difficulties existed in regard to storage ashore, and the conveyance of the clothing from the ship to the landing-place, do you see any difficulty in a certain number of men of each regiment being sent by detachments to the ship, where the bales could have been opened, and as many blankets assigned to each as he could carry up for himself and comrades? - I do not see any difficulty as far as my own particular duties are concerned, but I do not consider myself competent to determine what other difficulties there might have been.

*Quartermaster-General's Stores,
Balaklava, December 6, 1854.*

Sir,

I have to bring under your notice that the stowage provided for the reception of Quartermaster-General's stores here is quite inadequate, and that unless immediate steps to be taken to allot to this service considerable additional storeroom the landing of more stores must of necessity be suspended.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W.S. ARCHER,
Assistant Commissary-General.

The Commissary-General,
&c. &c.

Balaklava, December 7, 1854.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit for your perusal and information the accompanying report, which I have received from the commissariat officer in charge of Quartermaster-General's stores at Balaklava, representing that unless steps are immediately taken to provide considerable additional storeroom the landing of any further quantities of the stores in question will have to be suspended.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM FILDER,
Commissary-General.

The Quartermaster-General,
&c. &c.

*Quartermaster-General's Stores,
Balaklava, December 7, 1854.*

Sir,

I beg most urgently to bring under your notice, that the service of this Department has, throughout the day, been seriously impeded by the withdrawal of the usual fatigue labour necessary to the storing of goods landed from vessels in harbour.

In consequence of this, regiments and divisions have had their applications neglected, although what they have required might have been available throughout the day but for the absence of the means to receive them into store.

Our operations have been so impeded, that unless immediate steps be taken to secure to us the necessary assistance without interruption, the efficiency of this branch of service will be much impaired.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W.S. ARCHER,
Assistant Commissary-General.

The Commissary-General,
&c. &c.

*Quartermaster-General's Stores,
Balaklava, December 19, 1854.*

Sir,

I beg most urgently to bring under your notice, that the operations of this Department are almost entirely suspended from the continual withdrawal of the usual fatigue labour attached to this service.

This is now the sixth day that vessels with stores are unable to land them in the absence of the fatigue parties appointed for the purpose, and unless immediate steps be taken to ensure uninterruptedly the necessary assistance, I apprehend considerable difficulty in maintaining a proper efficiency in this branch of the service.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W.S. ARCHER,
Assistant Commissary-General.

Commissary-General Filder, C.B.,
&c. &c.

*Quartermaster-General's Stores
Balaklava, January 24, 1855.*

Sir,

Upon my representation of the crowded state of this yard, and the impossibility of receiving stores now accumulated at the wharf here, the Quartermaster-General has directed that a portion of the stores should be lodged in huts about a mile outside town, and this has been carried into effect.

As it is desirable that I should be relieved from responsibility for stores so far removed from my immediate custody, I have the honour to submit for your consideration, whether in this case, as has been done in that of stores forwarded to head quarters, I should be furnished with a covering requisition of the Quartermaster-General as for stores removed from my charge by that Department.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W.S. ARCHER,
Assistant Commissary-General.

The Commissary-General,
&c. &c.

[pp.129-31 (pp.65-7 of the Evidence)]

DEPUTY COMMISSARY-GENERAL ADAMS, *examined.*

How long have you been employed in your present duties? - Since the landing of the troops in the Crimea.

I understand your duties to be more especially connected with the outdoor duties of the Commissariat Department? - It has been so.

Have you had occasion especially to be acquainted with the disposal of the transport of the army? - I have.

At what time did you find that the transport was insufficient to perform, or begun to be insufficient to perform, the duties required of it? - After the hurricane; I think not before.

Could you state the time at which your transport power was at its lowest? - Between the 10th and 16th December.

When you began to import a part of the reserve cattle left at Constantinople, were the importations more than sufficient to replace the casualties that occurred before the reinforcements arrived? - They would have been quite equal to the wants of the service if they had arrived in due time.

My question had reference to the relative amount of transport before and after the reinforcements began to arrive, not to the positive adequacy of its amount? - It was in a better relative position after the arrival of the reinforcements; the transport power was increased.

What weight were you transporting in the shape of rations daily? - Probably about 130,000 lbs., exclusive of forage.

When the roads were at their worst and impassable for carriages, what weight could be put upon your pack animals? - From 160 to 224 lbs.

What time did they then take to get to the front? - At the worst time I should say, they have sometimes been from 24 to 36 hours in reaching their respective divisions.

Do you attribute their occupying that length of time in any degree to neglect or mismanagement on the part of the persons in charge of them? - Sometimes I have no doubt to the neglect of the parties in charge of them, but generally to the impassable state of the roads.

Were the casualties at that time among the animals very numerous? - They were, according to the severity of the weather.

Can you state, or could you furnish me with a statement of the amount of commissariat transport employed for other than commissariat purposes, during the time the army has been before Sebastopol? - I think it can be furnished partially, but not completely; from the circumstances in which we were placed, it was impossible to keep notes of all these transactions.

Was any attempt made to form a commissariat depôt in front? - Yes, near Lord Raglan's.

When did that operation commence? - I think early October.

How long was it carried on? - Till about the 26th October, and there after as far as far as practicable.

What progress was made in forming this depôt? - There was at one time about ten days supply of biscuit, and five or six of salt meat, rum, and groceries, such as coffee, sugar, and rice.

What prevented your proceeding further with the formation of this depôt? - An order from Lord Raglan to convey shot, shell, and ammunition, for siege purposes.

Do you not consider it the duty of the commissariat to provide animals for siege purposes? - Animals were provided for the transport of reserve ammunition, and handed over to the respective divisions; and those animals as well as the artillery horses and waggons, were in standing camp applicable to the purposes of the siege.

Then am I to understand that the transport retained by the commissariat was not intended to be applied for siege purposes? - It was not.

In determining the amount of transport for commissariat purposes, was the carriage of fuel contemplated? - It was not.

When the army arrived here, was there in fact any difficulty in obtaining fuel in the vicinity of the camp? - Not for cooking purposes, when we first arrived.

Are you able to state what number of men were employed, and for what time in carrying rations to the front? - I am not.

Have the divisional officers at all times been able to carry the regulated ration to the front? - Not during the great severity of the weather and the almost impassable state of the roads.

Are you able to state whether there were always in Balaklava the means of supplying those rations? - Including the ships in the harbour, there were always the means.

Was it always possible to land from the ships the articles included in the ration, of which there was not a supply on shore? - By the attention given to land what was most wanted, I am disposed to think that there never was an absolute deficiency on shore of the articles required for the day, with the exception of sugar, which on one occasion, could not be landed for a day or two.

The difficulty then in supplying the rations, was the difficulty of conveying it to the front? - While the carts could be employed, the requisite quantity of biscuit and other articles could be laden on the wharf in a comparatively short time; but when the roads became impassable for carts, to load the same quantities on pack animals occupied at least six times as long. Also while the roads were good, the carts generally got to their divisions in from three to four hours, and returned the same day. When the roads became so bad that it was necessary to use only pack animals, those which set out early in the day generally occupied about seven hours to get to their divisions; those which set out late in the day, a much longer time frequently not returning until the following morning, and sometimes not until the lapse of another day.

Did all the difficulties you have stated arise from the want of a road passable for carts? - Certainly.

If there had been a road passable for carts, would the commissariat transport present here at that time have been sufficient for all commissariat purposes? - Quite ample I should think.

If the road had at all times been fit for transport by carriages, could the commissariat have supplied the troops in front, notwithstanding the calls made upon them for siege operations? - I am of opinion that they could.

Has the commissariat provided transport for fuel for the troops in front? - Not for the troops, but for the hospitals, as far as practicable.

How have the troops in front been supplied with fuel? - By the regimental and private pack animals since fuel was issued, and by the reserve ammunition animals, I think.

Are you of opinion, that if the plan of forming the depôt at head quarters had been carried out to the extent contemplated, it would have greatly diminished your difficulties, notwithstanding the bad state of the roads? - I think it would.

You have stated, that the formation of the depôt was interrupted by an order to furnish transport for siege and other purposes; when you found, that transport for those purposes was required, would it not have been advisable to import additional transport for the purpose of completing your depôt? - The Commissary General will be better able to explain this.

Has any portion of the commissariat transport been diverted to other purposes except what you have already stated? - Yes; an importation for commissariat purposes of 237 Spanish mules, have been, by the Field Marshal's directions, employed in carrying up huts almost constantly since their arrival.

Were all the casualties that occurred in the transport to be attributed to disease or death, or were some stolen? - Many were stolen; some of which have been recovered.

Do you attribute the fact of their being stolen to neglect on the part of the drivers, or to the difficulty in the then state of the roads of looking after them and keeping them together? - Partly to one and partly to the other.

Were all the commissariat animals branded? - I believe all, but I am somewhat doubtful about one lot of some fifty or sixty horses from Eupatoria, the emergencies of the service not admitting of their being branded at the time of their arrival.

Could an approximate return be furnished of the total number of transport animals brought to the Crimea for commissariat purposes? - I think it could.

Transport imported into the Crimea since the landing of the army on the 14th September, 1854:-

Horses and mules	2,329
Maltese carts	296

The transfer to the Land Transport Corps is not yet completed; the numbers will be about,

Horses and mules	1,200
Maltese carts	200

Issued for regimental and other purposes:-

Horses	160
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In possession of Commissariat Storekeepers, Conductors, Interpreters, and Orderlies, &c.:-

Horses	80
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CASUALTIES

Died and shot at the Sick Depôt at Karani, since the 1st January, 1855:-

Horses and mules	200
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Died from the severity of the weather, fatigue, and exposure:

Horses and mules	689
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Lost or destroyed:-

Carts	96
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(Signed ---. ADAMS.
Deputy Commissary-General.

Balaklava, April 5, 1855.

- Many of these are in the possession of regiments, notwithstanding the General Order, 30th November, 1854, No. 4.

[pp.131-4 (pp.68-70 of the Evidence)]

CHARLES G. BLANC, Deputy-Assistant Commissary General, examined.

Has been attached to the 3rd Division since 19th January, and in charge of the Commissariat of the division from about the 5th March, to the 16th April. In charge of the 1st Brigade from the 1st February. Mr. Fonblanque was in charge of the Commissariat of the 3rd Division from his arrival in the Crimea to the 5th March. During the time he has been in charge, has been able to issue full rations of provisions as regulated by general orders, except rum to certain regiments. Has not been able till the 10th of April, to issue rations of fuel, except to the hospital; or any forage rations, except to the staff, to whom forage has been issued in the divisions since the 1st of April. For fuel and forage rations, except those above mentioned, checks were given on the depôt at Balaklava till the 12th of April, when a depôt had been formed at the head of the railway line, from which date forage rations have been issued there. The rations issued at Balaklava were brought up by the regimental bat horses. Thinks that they were unable to bring up their full rations of fuel. Will furnish a statement explaining how in his opinion, deficiencies in rations issued, for which a receipt in full has been given by the Quartermaster, ought to be adjusted in the estimate for the next period. From the date of his taking charge of the division, has obtained transport sufficient to bring up all the provision rations, except that some regiments have had to bring up their ration rum to the 19th of March; but had not sufficient transport to bring up the fuel of the effective men or the forage. Vegetables are not issued as a ration, or in the Division, but are obtained at Balaklava on requisition as an extra, and brought up by regimental animals; about a fortnight ago, however, compressed vegetables have been brought up and issued

* See statement herewith. Fuel was issued on the spot from 10th April to regiments, and 1st April to Staff; and forage to regiments at Col de Balaklava from 15th April.

Commissariat, 3rd Division, April 20, 1855.

I certify, that since my joining this division, on the 19th of January, the following have been issued in the manner stated:

Meat, Roasted Coffee, Rice, Sugar, Candles. - From 19th January to present date, without a single failure, on the spot, and all in advance of the day for which the same were due.

Biscuit. - From 19th January to 6th February, biscuit was issued at Lord Raglan's, and there was no failure. From 7th February to date, it was issued without fail on the spot.

Rum. - From 19th January to date, the 9th, 18th, 89th (and 39th partially) received all their rum (including French rum) on the spot, without fail. The other regiments had to procure their ration rum in Balaklava to 19th March, and their French rum to 1st February, since which dates all rum has been issued on the spot, without fail.

Lime-juice and Sugar. - these were issued from date of General Orders irregularly (but on an average about three days in seven) up to the 16th March, since which the full ration has been given, without fail. The irregular supply was occasioned by the General Order being issued before a proper supply had arrived in Balaklava.

Forage. - This was issued on checks drawn on Balaklava up to 1st April, in the case of the Staff, and on the 15th April in the case of regiments, on and after which dates forage was issued on the spot to Staff, and at that Col de Balaklava (about 1/3 [?] miles off) to regiments. No complaints about forage were made to this department, and we heard nothing.

Fuel. - For this article checks were given on Balaklava to the Staff to 1st April, and to regiments to 10th April; this is as respects the effective men. Full rations of fuel were issued to the hospital during the whole period from 19th January to date. This hospital fuel, on the average, amounted to about one-fifth of the fuel due to the regiments. No complaint about fuel was made to us, probably because our difficulties on the subject were known, but we understood in a general way, that the regiments did not in all cases bring up their full quantity.

(Signed) C.J. BLANC,
Deputy Assistant Commissary-General.

Memorandum.

Commissariat Camp before Sebastopol, May 11, 1855.

As in making this certificate correctness is particularly desired, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Blanc respectfully draws Generals Eyre and Barnard's attention to the same, and would feel obliged if any errors were pointed out, in order that the same may be explained or amended before the report is finally sent back to the Committee.

It may be acceptable to Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Blanc that I should state, that I have caused this return to be examined, and I believe it to be quite correct.

(Signed) W.M. EYRE, *Major-General.*
(Signed) H.A. BARNARD, *Major-General.*

by the Commissariat, and distributed gratuitously to the regiments in proportion to their strength. In February, split peas were also issued as an extra on checks. These checks are given on Balaklava whenever they are required, and it is known that peas are to be had there. These also they bring up on the regimental animals. Cheese and macaroni were issued with the dried vegetables above-mentioned. Thinks that the cheese would average about two pounds per man. Is not aware whether there is any more cheese in store in Balaklava. At the same time that the compressed vegetables were sent up to the divisional store, seventy-four cases of preserved meats were also sent to be kept as a reserve for the use of the hospitals, when no other fresh meat was to be had on the spot. A few cases have been so issued. Soft bread has been issued on the 14th of April, and the 18th of April. So far as he knows, the whole of the soft bread issued was of good quality, and has heard no complaints of it. It was brought from Constantinople. Will furnish returns of the quantities of fresh and salt meat issued, as far back as he is able.

[p.152-3 (p.88-9 of the Evidence)]

**HENRY J. BROWNRIGGE, Deputy Assistant Commissary General,
*examined.***

Has been attached to the 3rd Division since their landing in the Crimea. During that time has been in charge of the 2nd Brigade. During the month of January, was in temporary charge of both brigades of the division. During that month was able to issue to the division full rations of provisions, except that on one occasion half a ration of biscuit was deficient. In consequence of want of transport was unable to issue rations of fuel, except that towards the latter end of the month, fuel for the hospitals was issued in the division. Gave checks for fuel and forage, but did not provide transport for either, nor for extras. Vegetables were issued on an arrangement with Mr. Drake, without requisition or check from him whenever the regiments had transport for them. All other extras were issued on check or requisition. Compressed vegetables, macaroni, and cheese, have on two occasions recently, been distributed to the regiments of the 2nd Brigade in proportion to their strength. Is now in charge of the 2nd Brigade. During the months of November and December, there were some occasions when he was unable to issue full rations to that brigade. In consequence of his being, during the period of the greatest difficulties, almost constantly employed in getting up provisions from Balaklava, and from the deficiency of the assistance at his command, has not been able to keep such a record of the daily issues as would enable him to furnish an approximate return as accurate as he can make it. Will furnish a return of the weekly issues of fresh and salt meat to the regiments in the brigade, showing the quantities of each. When there was not enough fresh meat for a whole regiment, a preference was given to the sick, who therefore had fresh meat much more frequently than the effective men. Pack animals during the latter half of November, and the greater part of December, carried average loads of about 150 pounds, leaving camp at half-past five in the morning, and allowing an hour for feeding and rest at Balaklava, they did not get back to the camp on many occasions till eleven or twelve o'clock at night, the distance to Balaklava by the route then followed, may have been as much as seven miles.

[p.153 (p.89 of the Evidence)]

TWENTY-NINTH DAY. - *Monday, 23rd April.*

**HENRY BARTLETT, Commissariat Officer in charge of the 4th Division,
*examined.***

Has been in charge of that division ever since it landed in the Crimea. When the division landed at Old Fort they had no bat animals whatever. Is not aware of the fact, that the hospital panniers of any regiment of the division were not carried by commissariat transport.

Since the 14th November, the rations of the division have been short on several occasions. This arose in consequence of the impossibility, in the then state of the roads, of conveying a sufficient quantity of provisions from Balaklava to the camp. Believes that the first short issue was on the 15th November, and the last on the 22nd January. To the best of his knowledge and recollection the division sent fatigue parties to Balaklava to bring up rations only on two occasions. Is of opinion, that if a sufficient *dépôt* had been formed at head quarters it would have been possible to have supplied the men at all times with full rations; that is to say, that with the same transport double the weight could have been brought from head quarters that could be brought from Balaklava. The deficiency in the rations issued to the men was principally in meat. Produces statements of rations issued to the 4th Division between the 1st and 31st December, 1854, and between the 1st and 26th January, 1855. Had the regiments of the division been supplied with the number of pack animals laid down in the Queen's Regulations no deficiency in the rations issued to the men could have occurred notwithstanding that the provisions had to be brought from Balaklava. One of the difficulties he encountered in supplying the division was the composition of the corps of drivers, consisting of various nations, Turks, Greeks, Maltese, Spaniards, and others, who were not under sufficient control. There was, in consequence, great difficulty and delay in getting them to move in the morning, which could only be effected by great personal exertion. There were frequent desertions; as many as 36 Turks went off at one time. The animals were not properly attended to, and frequently ill used on the road. Is of opinion, that it is essential to the

efficiency of the Commissariat Department, that the men employed in the various duties requiring manual labour, or as issuers, should be enlisted men, amenable to military discipline. Believes that if the drivers had been composed of persons of this class even the limited transport at the command of the commissariat would have sufficed to supply full rations to the men at all times; by rations, he means the food rations of the men. Compressed vegetables were issued to the division on the 2nd April, 1855. One ration of bread, presented by the French, was issued to the troops on the 16th October, 1854; and during this month there have been issues of soft bread on the 10th, 15th, 22nd, 25th, and 29th. Yesterday commenced to issue fuel in the division. Will furnish a copy of the general order, directing the issue of fuel as a ration,* and will furnish the date from which fuel has been issued in camp to the hospital.# From the date of the general order until yesterday, with the exception of the hospitals, fuel has been issued at Balaklava on checks given by the brigade officers, but transport was not provided. Will also furnish the dates of the general orders for the stoppage and re-issue of rice.%

[pp.164-5 (pp.100-1 of the Evidence)]

JOHN BARLEE, Commissariat Officer attached to the 4th Division, examined.

Having heard the evidence given by Mr. Bartlett, concurs in it entirely. Desires to state, that the forage and fuel for the staff officers has been issued in the division since the 20th March, 1855, and that for the artillery since the 19th of April, 1855.

[p.165 (p.101 of the Evidence)]

Evidence of the following Commissariat officers is not included here:

- MR. THOMSON, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, 2nd Division, pp.109-110.
- MR. COLQUHOUN, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, Artillery Brigade, p.110.
- MR. HAYNES, Commissariat Clerk, p.128.
- MR. WEBB, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, p.129.
- MR. DARLING, Assistant Commissary-General, pp.129-130.
- MR. FINDER, Commissary-General (second examination), pp.156-161.
- MR. LUNDY, Assistant Commissary-General, p.162.
- MR. WILLIAMS, Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, p.162.

* GENERAL ORDER.

Head Quarters before Sebastopol, December 16, 1854.

At the recommendation of a Board of Officers assembled to consider the subject, the Commander of the Forces directs that fuel shall be issued to the troops in the Crimea on the following scale:-

	Rations.		Rations.
General Officers	40	Inspector-General of Hospitals	28
Colonel on the Staff	28	Deputy ditto	16
Adjutant or Quartermaster-General	40	Staff Surgeon, 1 st class	16
Deputy ditto	16	" , 2 nd class	8
Assistant ditto	12	Apothecary	8
Deputy Assistant ditto	8	Staff Assistant Surgeon	8
Military Secretary	16	Purveyor	8
Provost Marshal	8	Medical Clerk	6
Commissary-General	40	Dispenser of Medicines	6
Deputy ditto	16	Other Clerks	4
Assistant ditto	10	Commissariat Storekeepers, &c.	4
Deputy Assistant ditto	8	Muleteers and labourers	1
Treasury Clerk	8	Servants not soldiers	1
Cavalry, Royal Artillery, and Infantry.			
Field Officers	16		
Other Officers	8		
Staff Serjeant	2 1/2		
Non-commissioned officers and rank and file	1 1/2		

Ration of fuel, 3 lbs. of wood, or 3/4 lb. of charcoal.

Fuel issued to hospitals from the 14th [?] January, 1855, inclusive.

% General Order stopping the issue of [?] rice, 15th November, 1854; ditto, resuming the issues 27th December, 1854.

Appendix 4.3

Commissions of Inquiry: Filder's reply to the McNeill and Tulloch Inquiry

THE TIMES, (London, 17 Mar 1856), p.10:a-e.

THE CRIMEAN REPORT.

MR. FILDER'S REPLY.

Mr. Commissary-General Filder, observing that Lord Panmure is reported to have stated in the House of Peers, that any representation which might be made by officers who felt themselves aggrieved by the report of Sir John M'Neill and Colonel Tulloch would be presented to Parliament, has transmitted to Mr. Peel his remarks on those parts of that document which relate to the duties of the Commissariat, and according to his request they have been laid before the House of Commons.

Mr. Filder prefaces his reply to the Report of the Commissioners by some general remarks, from which we make the following extracts:-

“The Commissariat has the duty, by the regulations of the service, of raising, of holding, and of paying the funds necessary to meet the whole of the army expenditure, and of making all purchases required for the service of its own or any other department. It is responsible for keeping up the supplies of provisions, forage, fuel, and light, according to the regulated scales of allowance, with such additions as may be specially authorised by the Commander of the Forces; but the Commissary-General has no authority to alter, nor has he, except so far as his opinion may be asked or deferred to, any influence in altering the established ration or other allowances in the most minute particular. With respect to supplies of any other kind, such as Quartermaster-General's and hospital stores, the Commissariat, during the time I was in charge of it, only held them on behalf of the departments at whose respective disposal they were, and issued them on their requisitions. Stores of this description with the army in the East have recently been given over to storekeepers of the Ordnance Department; but it was, and is still, the duty of the Commissariat, in case of any deficiency in the supply sent out from England, or of any emergency rendering necessary articles of a description not ordinarily in use, to purchase them on the authorized requisition of the proper departments, the heads of those departments being responsible for the extent and nature of their demands.

“The Commissariat had likewise, till it was transferred to a separate and independent establishment, the duty of providing all the land transport required for the service of the army.

“To carry on these extensive and onerous duties which, indeed, embrace all the civil administration of the army excepting the hospitals, and have since been divided among three separate departments, I had from the first an insufficient establishment both of officers and subordinate *employés* [sic], which was still further weakened by the great amount of sickness and mortality which prevailed, owing to the nature and excessive labour of the duties to be performed. None of the subordinate establishments absolutely necessary to the efficiency of a field Commissariat existed at the outbreak of the war, and even the officers had to be collected from the most distant parts of the empire, from Sierra Leone, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales, and of course by slow degrees. In the meantime I had to carry on the duties, with the temporary assistance of gentlemen furnished from other public departments, and wholly without experience in Commissariat service. This inefficient state of the department when I took charge of it necessarily diverted much of my attention from the more important general arrangements of the service to the regulation of details; but I notice it less for the purpose of accounting for my own possible errors and omissions than with the object of meeting the comparison which has been frequently made elsewhere, and is partially made use of in this report, between the success of the French and British Commissariat operations. That the success has been uniformly on the side of the former is far from being established; but that generally it ought to be so is quite clear, inasmuch as there is the greatest possible advantage on that side in the completeness of the establishments on which so much of Commissariat success depends. These are not, as with us, discarded at the termination of a period of active warfare, and wholly neglected during the continuance of reduced state, and are considered as necessary an accompaniment of every body of detached troops as any other portion of the army, and thus give a facility of action to a French force at the outset, which can be acquired by an English army only after long, and perhaps disastrous as well as costly experience. I do not presume here to enter into the question, whether or not a similar system ought to be adopted in our service; but the fact that no such system does exist in it should be taken into consideration in estimating the exertions of the British Commissariat officers, who usually, like myself, are thrown at once upon their own slightly aided resources, and compelled to occupy themselves in creating the means of action at the moment when action is already needed.

“A further and, as regards my own immediate responsibility, a yet more important difficulty under which I laboured was the uncertainty of the intended or probable position of the army during the approaching

winter. The supply of a large force in that season requires in almost any country subject to alternations of climate timely and extensive previous arrangements; but, in a situation like that of the besieging force before Sebastopol, it demanded attention as early even as when the army first landed. I had, indeed, before that expedition was known to be projected, and when it was generally supposed that the troops would be put into cantonments near Constantinople, applied to Lord Raglan for instructions to guide my preparations. I repeated my application when the expedition was on its way, and renewed it in the early part of October; but it was not till the 12th of that month that his Lordship was able to give me any orders whatever on the subject. They then went no further than directions to lay in a stock of fuel at Scutari, and it was only on the 8th of November, when winter had already commenced, that I learnt that the army would remain in the Crimea, and received orders to make provision accordingly. The commissioners, though apparently aware of these facts, represent, as a defect of intelligence and foresight on my part, that I did not, of my authority and on my own responsibility, take measures from which the officer in chief command withheld his sanction, and they assume, contrary to the fact, that through adherence to established but inapplicable usages I omitted to avail myself of the resources within my reach, by which the extraordinary and unforeseen exigencies of the service might have been met. My replies to their more specific allegations will show how far they have misjudged my actual proceedings; but I may here observe that they have widely miscalculated my power of enlarging the bounds of them, without the risk of exposing myself to condemnation which I had more cause to dread than their censure. Neither the regulations nor the general character of our service give to the head of a commissariat establishment the unlimited range of discretion which they presume; and although he may, in solicitude for the ultimate benefit of the service, venture far on his personal responsibility, it is hardly to be expected of a subordinate officer that his zeal should carry him beyond the point which his immediate superior declines to overstep.”

Mr. Filder then makes the following “Remarks” on the “Observations” of the Commissioners respecting the Commissariat service. As we have published the report of the Commission in full, we now print only Mr. Filder’s remarks upon them.

“QUANTITIES IN STORE.

“The established ration for all troops in the field was not reduced; but the extra allowance was discontinued. It was a matter of notoriety that 1¹/₃lb. of biscuit was more than the men could eat, and that they sold or gave away a part of what they received to the French troops who frequented our lines. This was before the storm or any deficiencies had occurred. My motive for recommending the discontinuance, under such circumstances, of the extra allowance was, that its issue impeded the progress of the depôt which I was then forming in front, that object being, at the same time, further impeded by the appropriation of a part of the commissariat transport for the conveyance of ammunition.

“Had the extra quantity of biscuit issued to the troops in camp been allowed to accumulate in depôt there, the animals, which during the winter were occupied in transporting that article, might have been employed in carrying up other supplies which were then so much needed; the extra quantity issued very greatly exceeded all the deficiencies of biscuit which occurred throughout the winter.

“I did not see the general order before it was issued, or I should have objected to the wording of it.

“The Commissioners have omitted to state, what is shown by the evidence annexed to their report, p. 158, that the salt meat received from the navy only replaced the quantity which had been supplied from the Commissariat stores for seamen and marines serving on shore. This supply from the navy was not, therefore, a loss, but a restitution of a loss.

“SHORT RATIONS.

“Notwithstanding that rice was not a ration from the 16th of November to the 27th of December, the Commissariat officers issued it by my orders during that period whenever they could get it conveyed to the front. I will advert to this hereafter.

“In January, rice had again become a ration, and during the whole of the month it was issued regularly, to all the army, with the exception of the Fourth Division, which, as stated by the preceding paragraph of the Commissioners’ Report, did not receive any ‘for the first 10 days, nor for three other days; and part of the Light Division, which for six days of the month received only half rations.’ The extent of the deficiencies to those corps is shown in Paper No. 45, printed in the Appendix to the Commissioners’ Report. There were, also, issued to the troops in January 59,824lb. preserved and dried vegetables, and 77,250lb. fresh vegetables; total, 137,074lb.

“In the month of February all the troops, without exception, received regular rations of rice; more vegetables, also, were issued to them in that month - that is, before the arrival of the Commissioners in the Crimea - than in the month preceding their departure, when, according to their Report, the diet of the soldiers was better than any army had, in any former campaign, been supplied with.

“VEGETABLES ISSUED.

		lb.
February, --	Fresh	559,000
	Preserved	<u>3,780</u>
		562,780

“Average number of troops drawing rations, 32,300, being 17lb. per man.

		lb.
May, --	Fresh	435,000
	Preserved	<u>53,540</u>
		488,540

“Average number drawing rations, 42,000, being 11¹/₂lb. per man; as shown by the vouchers now at the Audit-office. The troops were not, therefore, as asserted by the Commissioners, confined exclusively to biscuit, in addition to their salt meat, during the period stated.

“FRESH MEAT.

“The return shows that the average quantity of fresh meat supplied by the Commissariat during the five winter months, from November to March, was nearly 10lb. per man per month, exclusive of that furnished for the troops on board hospital ships in harbour, the aggregate force being 156,617 men, and the quantity of fresh meat issued by the Commissariat, 1,525,949lb. The issues in December fell greatly below the average - that is, to 6¹/₂lb. per man, in consequence of the cattle vessels, which had been damaged in the hurricane, being still under repair during that month.

“That the healthy did not receive the ration which these figures would indicate was unfortunately owing to the large numbers of sick, who in some divisions received full rations of fresh meat daily, in others five days a-week, thus curtailing the rations of the rest of the troops.

“The French troops, during the greater part of the winter, received a ration of 10oz. of fresh meat one day in three, or 6¹/₄lb. per month, and sometimes less.

“The French suffered no losses from the hurricane of the 14th of November, nor were the operations of their Commissariat ever impeded, as ours constantly were during the winter, by the occupation of a narrow and confined harbour, which prevented vessels from coming in or going out when the wind blew with any violence, or from discharging their cargoes.

“I at no time ceased to make every exertion to increase the supply of fresh meat, and before the month of August last, when I was obliged to resign the charge of the Commissariat on account of ill-health, I had brought the issues up to five times a-week, which is as much, considering its inferior quality, as the military authorities think desirable.

“VEGETABLE FOOD.

“I have nowhere stated, as here alleged by the Commissioners, that the prevalence of bowel complaints was a motive for my recommending the continued issue of rice. That would be fore the consideration of the medical officers. I recommended its continuance, as is stated in my evidence, because there was a sufficient quantity in store, and I had transport for its conveyance.

“Lord Raglan could not attribute the discontinuance of rice to there being none in store; and his Lordship was perfectly well aware that further supplies could at any time be procured on short notice from Constantinople.

“If, however, any misapprehension on this point did occur, it was of the less importance; for, although I could not recommend, as I had done on a former occasion, that the issue of rice should be continued as a regular ration, when I had not the transport to carry it up. I gave orders to the Commissariat officers to issue it whenever they could find the means of conveying it to the camp, and the receipts from the regiments, now lying at the Audit-office, will show that a considerable proportion of the troops received it during a great part of the period when its issue as a ration had ceased. There was, therefore, no pretext for assuming that there was no rice in store, and if it had been thought preferable to make the substitution here suggested, it was for the military and medical officers to propose it.

“The Commissariat has no knowledge of the particular articles of diet which are best suited to the troops. This is within the peculiar province of the military and medical officers who are living among them, and inspect them daily; and it is upon the representations of these officers that changes in the rations, having reference to the health of the men, are ordered by the general commanding.

“The period during which rice ceased to form part of the ration was 42 days. The Highland Brigade, which was stationed in the neighbourhood of Balaklava, received rice during the whole of that period, excepting 15 days. I am unable to explain, in the absence of the Commissariat officer attached to that brigade, why it was discontinued during that time.

“The Cavalry Division also, which was stationed not far from Balaklava, received rice, with some occasional irregularities, throughout the whole of the period.

“LIME-JUICE.

“Lime-juice had never been supplied by the Commissariat for general issue to the troops, nor had I received any intimation that it was to be so for the future. The quantity here mentioned was sent out from England by desire of the Director-General of the Medical Department, consigned to the Commissariat, but was considered (no special instructions having been received to the contrary) as, in all cases of stores forwarded by the Medical Department at home, to be intended for the hospitals. The Medical Department in the Crimea was apprised of the arrival of this supply, and if no demand was made upon the Commissariat for it, it may be concluded that the purveyor at Balaklava was provided with a sufficient quantity for the use of the hospitals.

“It is clear from the report of Dr. Hall, the Inspector-General, dated the 2^d of January, which was in the possession of the Commissioners, and is printed in the appendix, page 167, No. 6, that, at the time referred to, the providing and issuing of this article were entirely regulated by the Medical Department - that Dr. Hall knew of the quantity in store, and that which was expected from England; and that he did not think proper to recommend, with only 10 days’ supply in the custody of the Commissariat, an issue to the army generally, until the arrival of further quantities.

“It is also to be regretted that, on a matter which the Commissioners considered of such vital importance, they did not ascertain by questions put to Dr. Hall, or to me, the cause of the non-issue of lime-juice to the troops generally.* It was not till the 29th of January that I received a letter from the Adjutant-General, accompanied by one from Dr. Hall, dated the 27th, informing me that the issue of lime-juice was to become general.

“When, shortly afterwards, it was directed that lime-juice should in future be a regular ration, and that the Commissariat was to provide it, steps were promptly taken to procure a supply from Malta and Sicily, the nearest points from which any large quantity could be obtained, and from that time the issues to the troops have been regularly maintained under arrangements made by the Commissariat. Appendix to Commissioners’ Report, page 76, No. 25, B.

“FRESH BREAD.

“The demands for army hospitals being unlimited and uncertain, the Commissariat only provides supplies for that service on special requisitions. When a requisition for bread for the General Hospital at Balaklava was first presented to the Commissariat, immediate arrangements were made for supplying it to the full extent of the demand.

“Shortly afterwards I received a communication from Lord Raglan, transmitting a representation from Dr. Hall on the subject, when I informed his Lordship that the necessary measures had already been taken for supplying the hospital with bread on ou [sic] the usual requisition the purveyor [sic].

“The French army moved to the East with the portable ovens and the military bakers by means of which it had been supplied with bread in France or Algeria. The ‘Intendant Général’ had no new establishments to create, nor any change to make. It was only necessary to let things go on in their ordinary course; indeed, while the French troops are stationary and close to the seaboard, there is little or no difference between the manner in which they are supplied at home and abroad. When the French army became too numerous to be supplied with bread by means of the portable ovens, or the ovens had been worn out, 50 artificers, were furnished by the ‘Corps d’Arts et Metiers’ for building permanent ones, and at the same time 150 men from the line were furnished, for constructing magazines and sheds at Kamiesch Bay. I could obtain no such assistance from the British army.

“I was not indisposed to furnish the troops with fresh bread instead of biscuit. I had purchased three months supply of flour for the army at the commencement of the winter for that purpose, but bread requires 50 per cent. more of transport for its conveyance than biscuit, and it would have been impossible in the then state of the roads and of the transport to find the means of carrying it up to the camp during the winter. I had received a semi-official letter from the War Department, dated in January, informing me that the floating mill and bakery for which I had applied would leave the Thames about the 13th of February, and, being fitted up in steamvessels, I had every reason to expect they would arrive about the middle of March. They were delayed,

* The report of Dr. Hall appears to be the monthly memorandum submitted by him to Lord Raglan through the Adjutant-General; his Lordship must have therefore known that there was lime-juice in store.

however, in England, and the vessel with the bakery did not reach the Crimea till the 12th of May. In the meantime, as soon as the roads had become passable, and the state of the transport had improved, the experiment was made, by order of Lord Raglan, of bringing bread sufficient for an issue twice a week to the whole of the army from Constantinople, which answered so long as the weather was cool. It was not, therefore, deemed unnecessary or impossible, as alleged by the Commissioners, to do anything [sic] till the floating bakery arrived.

“When, on its arrival, I ascertained that its capabilities were insufficient, the construction of ovens was commenced, and I at the same time applied to England for an additional number of bakers, so that when I resigned the charge of the Commissariat there were the means of baking bread for an issue to the troops on three days of the week.

“There were several small ovens in the neighbourhood of Balaklava, which might have been used by the Commissariat, but as we could not convey bread to the front, it must have been issued, had we taken possession of the ovens, to the troops near Balaklava, to the exclusion of those in camp before Sebastopol. Lord Raglan, when I pointed this out to him, disapproved any measure which would have that effect, for, by allowing the ovens to remain in possession of private traders, the regiments in front and officers individually, by sending down their bāt horses and servants, had the benefit of the supply. The bakers were encouraged by the commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Harding, under whose control they were, to extend their business by every means in their power.

“GREEN COFFEE.

“This quantity of tea was reserved for the use of the hospitals, and, considering the vast number of sick, it was not more than it was prudent to keep on hand for that purpose. However, as I have stated, all changes of diet which have regard to the health of the troops are made by order of the Commander of the Forces, on the representations of the military and medical officers. Lord Raglan never expressed to me a wish that the troops should have tea instead of coffee, not even after it had become usual to furnish him with returns of all supplies in possession of the Commissariat, and when he must have known that there was a large quantity of tea in store at Balaklava, although I believe it was not the practice to furnish him with this information until after the troops had commenced to receive rations of roasted coffee regularly - that is, from the 24th of January. When I did receive an order from the War Department to supply tea on alternate days the issues commenced immediately, being made from the quantity which had been reserved for the hospitals, and I was able to obtain from Constantinople sufficient to last till further supplies could be procured from England.

“Military men differ very much among themselves as to what is best suited to the troops. Coffee was fixed upon by a board composed of general officers and commanding officers of regiments of great experience, and both military and medical officers were examined by the board, of which I was also a member. The evidence was so much in favour of the use of coffee that Sir George Brown, who was President, and who objected to coffee, felt himself constrained to give up his opinion.

“The object for which the board met was to ascertain which of the different articles the Commissariat was then supplying to the troops, to be paid for by them at cost price, should constitute a fixed ration. In deciding upon coffee the board well knew that it was sold to the troops in a green state.

Subsequently a small quantity of roasted coffee was sent out from England as an experiment, upon which I was desired to report; but, although ordered in July, it did not reach the army till towards the end of September, when we were on the march from Kalamita Bay to Sebastopol, and as soon as I learnt that it was approved, I recommended that coffee should be sent out roasted, but none arrived till about the 24th of January, from which date green coffee ceased to be issued to the troops. In the meantime a few large coffee-roasters were made by the engineer of the Sanspareil, by order of Captain Heath, Royal Navy, and I believe at his suggestion, out of the damaged funnels of steamvessels in possession of the navy, by means of which a considerable quantity of coffee was roasted, under the superintendence of the Commissariat, for the use of the troops.

“The precaution used in carrying tea overland from China to Russia as an article of merchandise proves its great liability to damage, and at the same time furnishes the strongest contrast to the usage which tea, as an article of Government stores would receive with an army in the field, and the exposure it would then inevitably undergo. The difference is as great as that between peace and war.

“FUEL.

“No such opinion is expressed in my evidence, or in that of any other Commissariat officer. The Commissioners would, therefore, appear to have taken the opinions of the Commissariat from the evidence of other parties. I may have stated that fuel had never before been issued to an army in the field as a reason why I was not prepared with transport for its conveyance; but I have never maintained that the troops were not to be supplied with fuel by the Commissariat, if they were so circumstanced that they could not provide themselves with it. On the contrary, there is a paper from me, printed in the Appendix, p. 79, No. 35, in which I point out the difference in this respect between the troops in the Peninsula, which were on one occasion encamped

in the winter, but could provide themselves with fuel, and those in the Crimea; and it was only mentioned there to show that, issues never having been made in the field, the Commissariat had no guide by which to regulate the allowance to officers. The only scale that had been authorized for the army in the East was applicable to troops in barracks and quarters, and if adopted in the field the highest ranks might have been supplied to the prejudice of the rest of the army; for the fuel which had been ordered up from Constantinople having been forwarded in sailing vessels, the period of its arrival was uncertain. It had long before been settled - that is, early in November - that the Commissariat was to supply the troops with fuel when they could no longer provide themselves with it, and we were quite prepared to commence the issues whenever ordered, 800,000 rations of charcoal, which had been brought up in steamers by the navy, at the request of Lord Raglan, and given over to the Commissariat early in November, remained untouched up to the 4th of December, when the order was given to commence the issues. When that order appeared, notice was immediately sent by me to the Commissariat officers attached to the divisions in front that the troops could receive rations of charcoal from the depôt at Balaklava. The only delay was with respect to the issues to the officers of the Staff and Departments, for whom no scale had been fixed; but I, at the same time, gave orders that officers in camp before Sebastopol might receive what was necessary for their immediate use, pending the decision, on this point, of the Commander of the Forces, as stated in the memorandum addressed by me to Lord Raglan, which is printed at page 80 of the appendix to the Commissioners' report. Between the 4th of December, when the issues commenced, and the end of that month, part of the fuel I had ordered to be sent up from Constantinople having arrived, there was in the possession of the Commissariat, on the last day of that month, nearly a million of rations for an army consisting at that time of about 26,000 men.* But had the Commissariat not been prepared then to commence the issue, it would have been owing to my not having received the order to provide fuel sooner - that is, to bring it up from Constantinople, where Lord Raglan knew I had laid in a store. The day following that on which I received the first intimation of the description of fuel that was to be provided (in respect to which there had been some previous discussion as to what was most suitable for troops in tents), and which was only five days after it had become certain that the army would winter in the Crimea, and I had received directions to purchase materials for hutting the troops, I despatched the order to Constantinople to send up the charcoal that had been laid in there in consequence of orders from Lord Raglan.

“The troops stationed in the neighbourhood of Balaklava were not excluded by the modified general order from the issue of fuel at my suggestion, but because they could still provide themselves with it, which is the rule with armies in the field.

“The fuel was, in the first instance, obtained from Constantinople, because a supply had been laid in there, and was ready for shipment. It could not have been obtained with equal despatch from any part of the Black Sea where it had not been previously prepared. All subsequent supplies were obtained from the neighbourhood of Sinope.

“There was never, at any time, a want of fuel at Balaklava. The only difficulty was to find the means of conveying it to the front. Irregularities, no doubt, may have occurred in the issue of it at Balaklava, owing to the total want of the accommodation and of space necessary for transacting the business of a large army. This inevitably led to extreme confusion. But it should be observed that the want of fuel was as much owing to the soldiers of the British army being overworked as to the deficiency of transport, for neither the French nor Turkish troops were ever supplied with fuel by their Commissariat. They cut it themselves throughout the whole winter, and for the most part in the immediate vicinity of the English encampments.

“ABUNDANCE OF CATTLE.

“I was at all times fully alive to the importance of providing fresh meat for the use of the troops, and employed to the utmost all the suitable vessels I could obtain (see paper annexed hereto marked D), but I consider sailing-vessels to be unsuitable for the service in winter, particularly in the Black Sea. Of all the cattle which were forwarded in sailing transports from Varna at the end of October and beginning of November [sic], more than one-third were lost. Even on board steamers, which were not fitted up as cattle vessels, the casualties were very great.

“To continue the use, therefore, of sailing vessels, would have been to destroy the supplies of the army, and must have led to a deficiency, for in winter it would have been impracticable to obtain large supplies of cattle from the interior of Turkey to replace such losses.

“A contractor, who had engaged to deliver cattle in the winter, failed to perform his agreement. The offer of a small number of cattle, 300 head, little more than one day's supply, here alluded to, deliverable at Samsoun, was rejected, among other reasons, because Samsoun is an open roadstead, where in winter vessels may lie many days without being able to take in cargo. Constantinople, where I had plenty of cattle, is, at that season, nearer to the Crimea in point of time than Samsoun.

* Exclusive of a large portion of the charcoal which had been received from the navy, and which remained unissued.

“I know of no large army than has at any former time been dependent upon supplies brought by sea in sailing vessels.

“When the army in the Peninsula was cooped up within the lines of Torres Vedras, its communication with the fertile country south of the Tagus was open to it. The great part also of the cattle of the country lying between the Mondego and the Tagus had been driven by the inhabitants into the lines before the retreating army; and there may have been the means, in the cases alluded to by the Commissioners, of replacing the losses caused by such a mode of conveyance, but in Turkey this, as before observed, would have been impracticable in winter.

“Slaughtered meat was sent by the cattle vessels during the winter in addition to their cargoes of live cattle, notwithstanding that the plan, in a climate where the variations of temperature are so extreme, was attended with much loss. It was possible for the Commissioners to have inquired into the manner in which this important service had been conducted by the Commissariat, and they would have discovered that their suggestion had been anticipated by our practice.

“The Commissioners cannot, it is presumed, mean that slaughtered meat should have been forwarded in sailing transports, as vessels of that class were often in winter nearly a month in performing the voyage from the mainland.

“IMPORTANCE OF FRESH MEAT.

“In the circumstances in which the army was placed the question of expense was never taken into consideration. What was deemed best for the troops was purchased without regard to cost. This is stated in the written answers went in to the Commissioners by the Quartermaster-General, who consulted me on this point.

“I am not aware of any such preference having been shown in any former campaign, except as a result of necessity, so far at least as concerns the British Commissariat. In the two instances specified, the charge of supplying the troops was in the hands of the East India Company’s officers, and I know neither the fact stated nor the reasons for it which may have existed. Biscuit was certainly the habitual ration of the army under the Duke of Wellington’s command in the Peninsula, but only when the means of obtaining fresh bread were wanting; and salt meat was never issued to that part of the army which was in motion, and sparingly, if at all, to the troops stationed near the coast. The sea-ration may have been a common resource, at the commencement of our maritime expeditions, but even in those cases only during the period which intervened between the landing of the troops and the resources of the country becoming accessible. I do not believe that a case similar in all its circumstances to that of the army in the Crimea can be cited.

“As there was a large number of cattle collected in dépôts at the commencement of the winter, and the animals were shipped to the fullest extent to which suitable vessels could be obtained, no consideration of this kind could have influenced the operations of the Commissariat.

“The supposed extra labour would, of course, require extra hands to perform it, and, would therefore add little to the trouble of those otherwise employed, who, being, always rather under than over their work, could not, without such extra assistance, perform that and the supposed additional work also. In most cases, however, the unworthy motive assumed by the Commissioners would not exist, even according to their hypothesis; for while salt meat requires transport and a greater detail of distribution, cattle carry themselves and the trouble of slaughtering the animals and distributing the carcasses is commonly undertaken by the troops.

“The papers which I have appended to these remarks will show that I was fully sensible of the importance of supplying the troops with fresh bread, and that I had no desire to save the Commissariat the additional labour and accountability here alluded to. The employment, also, of the floating steammill and bakery, for which the Commissioners knew I had applied, necessarily involved all these details. But the real obstacle to the regular issue of fresh bread is the entire absence in our service of anything in the nature of a field bakery establishment. In all instances within my knowledge the local means of supplying the troops with fresh bread have been used to the fullest extent; but a moving army can never be regularly thus supplied except by a properly organised establishment for the purpose attached to the army, like that in the French service, and no such establishment has, I believe, ever been formed in our service.

“The suggestion here made is only a recommendation of that which has been the long-established practise of the service, the composition of the ration, when differing from that in ordinary use, being always regulated by general Order. With regard to preserved meat and vegetables, the supply of the latter as part of the ration has never before been customary, nor, I believe, needful. As to the former, I received advice that supplies had been ordered to be shipped from England, but they never arrived.

“SUPPLIES OF VEGETABLES COULD BE OBTAINED.

“As I have before observed it formed no part of the duty of the Commissariat to provide vegetables, which had always been supplied under regimental arrangements, the troops paying for them.

“On the 24th of October, on account of the appearance of scurvy among the troops, I received for the first time an order from Lord Raglan to send a vessel with a Commissariat officer to purchase vegetables, and on the same day the Harbinger was despatched for that purpose to Constantinople, as being the place where a supply could be obtained with the greatest certainty and despatch.

“It can scarcely have been owing to the long continuance of the use of salt meat that this disease broke out, for at that period the troops had been less than four weeks before Sebastopol, and had received a large proportion of fresh meat; they had been able also, during the earlier part of the period, to procure vegetables in the Crimea. As at that time our communications were frequent with the north coast of the Black Sea, Lord Raglan, without my knowledge, desired the Commandant at Varna to forward supplies of vegetables to the army, and every vessel coming thence brought a proportion; but the quantity that can be obtained from any part of Turkey, on the shores of the Black Sea, is inconsiderable, as compared with the wants of a large army, as I subsequently found, when it having become the duty of the Commissariat to provide vegetables for the troops, I attempted to produce supplies from Samsoun [sic], for they were soon exhausted.

“When also in the month of April or May, 1855, I urged the Consul at Trebizonde, to forward supplies thence, he was unable to undertake to do so till the month of November.

“The vegetables received by the Harbinger having been shipped (owing to the anxiety of the Commissariat officer to meet the urgency of the occasion) in wet and boisterous weather a large proportion of them arrived bruised and damaged. This was in November; in December, vegetables which had been ordered by Government to be forwarded from Trieste and Venice, arrived, but a portion of these also was in a damaged state. But for these losses there would probably have been no deficiency in this respect, as in addition, large quantities of onions and potatoes had been brought to Balaklava for sale in good condition by private individuals. During November and December, also, preserved potatoes had been offered to the troops by the Commissariat, but were refused by them.

“Up to the 10th of December the troops paid for their vegetables, whether sent out by Government or procured from other sources, but when from that date they were ordered to be issued gratuitously it became obvious that the supply must be wholly undertaken by Government; I accordingly took means for procuring them, and from the time that my arrangements came fully into operation, aided by the consignments which had been ordered by Government and were already on the way from Trieste and Venice, large quantities have always been issued to the troops. It being, however, difficult at certain seasons to procure sufficient supplies of fresh vegetables, I sent a telegraphic message to England for preserved ones, in order to insure a regular and uniform issue of vegetables (preserved or fresh) to the troops; but it was not, I believe, practicable at that time to obtain in England or France sufficient quantities for the purpose.

“No reference is given in the Report to this investigation, but the following copy of a memorandum from the Commissariat officer in charge of the dépôt at Balaklava, who must have been best acquainted with what had taken place in the matter, will show that no such information could have been obtained from him, and that the preserved potatoes which arrived from Varna in November having been offered to the troops, both in that month and December, they were rejected as they had been on former occasions:-

“(Copy.)

“Preserved potatoes, 32,468lb. were landed from Varna in November, 1854. Though frequently offered, none were taken either in November or December. A further supply was received from England in January, 1855, and in that month the troops first began to take them. The issues were as follows:- January, 53,474lb.; February, 3,780lb.; during the latter month 558,925lb. of fresh vegetables being issued.

“May 22, 1855.

“W.H. DRAKE, D.C.G.’

“Conveyance could not during the winter have been provided for bulky casks of porter, even to the camps of the cavalry and the Highland Brigade, without appropriating for the purpose transport which was required for more urgent wants. When at a later period I learnt that the use of the porter had been recommended by the medical officer of the Highland Brigade, I ordered a supply to be forwarded from Constantinople, and it was issued to such of the troops near Balaklava as preferred it. Notwithstanding, however, that when it arrived the railroad had been laid down as far as the Col de Balaklava, it was found impossible to obtain conveyance for more than a small proportion of it to the front. The troops that came down to Balaklava on fatigue duty must have received from the Commissariat in camp their ration of biscuit and rum, and no doubt brought with them such proportion of it as they pleased. I never, however, received any intimation that it was desirable that porter should be issued to them at Balaklava.

“SUPPLIES OF FOOD NOW ABUNDANT.

“Although the Commissioners were required by their instructions only to offer suggestions to Lord Raglan, one of them, Colonel Tulloch, was so good as to undertake to build two ovens, which when delivered over to the Commissariat were found capable of baking about 2,000 rations of bread daily towards the consumption of an army drawing, exclusive of Turks and Sardinians, 42,000. With this exception the favourable state of the supplies here described was brought about by the ordinary operations of the

Commissariat when they ceased to be impeded by impassable roads and continuous storms. The supplies issued to the troops were, indeed, in all respects, the same when the Commissioners arrived in the Crimea, or within four or five days of my having had any communication with them, and consequently before it was practicable to have made any new arrangements, as when they departed, excepting that in the interval the arrival from England of the steam floating bakery for which I had applied, with the assistance of the two ovens abovementioned, built by Colonel Tulloch, enabled the Commissariat to issue a greater proportion of fresh bread to the troops. Salt and pepper had also been added in the interval to the ration; but that was done on the recommendation of a board of which I was myself a member. I here allude to the issues to the army generally, I have no knowledge of what may have taken place with respect to the hospitals.

“It is necessary to commence such arrangements early in the year for the following winter. In the month of February, that is, before the arrival of the Commissioners, I ordered the Commissariat officer at Constantinople to apply for firmans [sic] from the Ottoman Government to secure all the hay of the approaching harvest in the districts in which cattle depôts were to be established; and when I left, the army fodder had been collected, and sheds constructed at the different shipping places in the Black Sea, by my directions, for feeding and sheltering many thousand head of cattle, and it is from the depôts there formed that the troops in the Crimea are now being supplied with fresh meat. The suggestion of the Commissioners had, therefore, been anticipated by me.

“LAND TRANSPORT.

“The transport was in this state for a few days only; but in addition to this number of efficient working animals in possession of the Commissariat, the public bat [sic] animals attached to regiments, and those appropriated for the conveyance of ammunition - both of which now form part of the general transport corps of the army - were available and employed in carrying up rations, and, though these establishments were incomplete, the number of animals amounted to several hundreds. The number of 14,000 pack animals, or waggons and pack animals equal to that number, was considered necessary by me for all the different services of the army, for the regimental establishments of bat [sic] animals, conveyance of ammunition and Commissariat transport, and the estimate had reference to the movement of the troops through Bulgaria to the Danube, a much more extensive scene of operations than the Crimea.

“That the efficient transport was for a few days reduced to this low state was owing to the great number of animals which were daily destroyed, or rendered unserviceable, in attempting to struggle, when laden with supplies, through a morass. The transport of the French army did not suffer from this cause. The road from their camp to Kamiesch lay over downs the whole of the way, till it abruptly terminated close to the bay. When one track became impassable, another was used. Nor had its transport to carry up any fuel or huts, with the exception of what might be required for their divisional hospitals in camp. It therefore remained available for the conveyance of the ordinary field rations of the troops.

“At the commencement, the transport, exclusive of what had been appropriated to siege operations, was sufficient for all Commissariat purposes. It was not till about the 18th or 29th of October, when, it having become obvious that the effect of our fire on the fortress was not such as had been expected, that I first contemplated forming a depôt in front. Up to that time the transport sufficed to carry, not only the daily rations of provisions and forage, but also extra rations of the former; and supplies in advance had been accumulated besides, and were in possession of the divisional commissariats in camp. Afterwards, the number of animals that could be fed necessarily became the rule.

“In answer to the alleged omission of timely arrangements for the provision of forage I have to state that, so early as when there was full expectation of the army advancing to the Danube, I made a contract for about 3,500 tons of hay, to be delivered loose at different places in the neighbourhood of Constantinople; and I also desired the Commissariat officer there to form a depôt of chopped straw, in case the army should return and occupy cantonments in Turkey during the winter. I took those steps as a precaution, notwithstanding that supplies of chopped straw (the usual forage of the country) can be obtained to almost any amount along the shores of the Bosphorus, the Dardanelles, and the Sea of Marmora; and these arrangements would have been equal to the object in view had the army been cantoned in those districts. Subsequently, when it became known that we were to proceed to the Crimea, the contractors, at my request, were willing to engage to deliver about 500 tons of the hay pressed instead of loose; but learning, in the early part of September, when the army was on the way to the Crimea, that I could not rely on the fulfilment of this contract, I wrote to England, requesting that 2,000 tons of hay might be sent thence. Of this demand only about one-tenth was forwarded, and that portion reached Balaklava on the 30th of November; and although, on arriving before Sebastopol, I reported that we should be entirely dependent for this article on England, and from time to time made requisitions for further quantities, the consignments fell greatly short of my wants, the whole of the quantities forwarded from England during the period of six months not amounting to the 2,000 tons for which I first made a requisition for about two months' supply, according to the estimates I had transmitted home. Had my requisitions for hay been complied with, the deficiency in this respect which was felt throughout the winter would have been prevented, and I should have been enabled to maintain a sufficient transport establishment, and to replace the animals, which were rapidly destroyed or rendered unserviceable in attempting to struggle through impassable tracks, and from exposure.

“No exertion on the part of the Commissariat could remedy the deficiency, it being impracticable to convey across the Black Sea chopped straw or hay loose in sufficient quantities, or to procure the means of pressing enough of either for the consumption of a large army; the latter plan was adopted to the utmost extent to which means could be procured. Notwithstanding that upwards of 25,000 tons of hay were collected by my directions during the last spring and summer in one port alone in the Black Sea, besides large quantities in other places, it is still found necessary to forward from England supplies of pressed hay, equal nearly to the whole of the consumption of that part of the army which is in the Crimea.

“SUPPLY OF HAY.

“The contractors here alluded to were recommended by the Embassy to Deputy Commissary-General Smith, on his first arrival at Constantinople, as competent persons; and they have held several important contracts which, on the whole, they have executed satisfactorily, with the exception of this one for hay. The quantity of 500 tons of pressed hay was to be in lieu of an equal quantity of loose hay, part of the 3,500 tons already alluded to, which the contractors had engaged to deliver in the neighbourhood of Constantinople; and the superintendence of this service, and the erection of the hydraulic presses, were necessarily left to the Commissariat officer of that place. In his absence, and in the absence of my official papers, I am unable to explain the particulars of the transactions as regards the delivery of the hay; but with respect to the erection of the presses, Mr. Smith took the precaution of sending two Commissariat officers to select the most eligible place for putting them up; and it was upon their recommendation that the site was chosen, on account, I believe [sic], of its affording some facilities for repairing and working the engines. When it was made known to me that the presses were separated from the hay I strongly censured the arrangement; but to have altered it then would have caused still greater delay in despatching the forage to the army. These are mistakes in details, however, for which the commissary-General in the Crimea cannot be answerable.

“The number of horses sent for was 350 (see Appendix, page 61), which was as many as the vessel was supposed to be capable of carrying. The captain informed the Commissariat officer at Constantinople that he could only convey 250, but when he had shipped that number he found that his vessel could take 100 more. The Commissariat officer very properly, in the circumstances in which the army was placed, despatched the steamer without waiting till more could be brought up from the depôt at Buyuk Tchekmedje.

“The number of days quoted by the Commissioners as the average length of the voyage includes the time occupied in cleaning boilers and repairing machinery, which was usually done when the steamers went to Constantinople, and swells the average. Steamvessels, not requiring repairs, that have been despatched for cargoes of animals which walk on board, have performed the voyage in eight days, and the Jason might have done it in the same time instead of 20 days, had she not undergone repairs. It was during her prolonged stay that the army suffered most, and that some of the troops came down to Balaklava. When she returned they ceased doing so.

“Sailing transports might have been nearly two months on the voyage going and returning; it was, therefore, expedient to wait for a steamer.

“The Jason must on this occasion have reached Constantinople on the 30th or 31st of December, and it is certain that seven or eight days after her arrival there she still had sick on board, when I had understood that she was to be entirely at my disposal for the conveyance of transport animals. This delay, therefore, was in addition to any that may have been caused by her having been sent to the Sea of Marmora for wood.

“LAND TRANSPORT.

“From the time that my requisitions for supplies of pressed hay from England were complied with, there has always been sufficient forage for the Land Transport Corps as well as for every other branch of the army, although the number of animals for which forage was drawn, when I left the Crimea, amounted to upwards of 23,000.

“The destitute inhabitants of Balaklava, Karanyi, and other villages within our lines, who had remained in their houses on our arrival, but who were not permitted by the military authorities to go into Sebastopol or the interior of the country after siege operations had once commenced, were relieved throughout the winter from the store of captured grain here alluded to. Subsequently, and I believe during the time the Commissioners were at Balaklava, these people were regularly rationed by the French and British Commissariats alternately; the issues from the store may, therefore, have been less frequent at that period, but assistance from it was still occasionally given to them.

“The Commissioners have here assumed that I obtained no supplies, except by means of contracts and tenders, and that I had only followed the beaten track. I am unable to say whence they have derived the opinion, but however derived it is inconsistent with the fact. I obtained supplies by every variety of mode in which it was possible to procure resources of the country and of the language and habits of the people, by direct purchases made by Commissariat officers from the parties holding the supplies without either written tender or agreement, by public competition and by special tender, and, when necessary, by requisitions on England. I should have supposed, indeed, that Sir John M’Neill must have known that I was employing

agents for the purpose, as Mr. Guarracino, the Vice-Consul at Samsoun, a gentleman who has been long resident in Turkey and is well informed of its resources, was engaged by me to make purchases on commission, both at that place and in the interior of Anatolia; and when he came to Balaklava on the business of his agency, he usually called on Sir John M'Neill, with whom he had been previously acquainted. Mr. Guarracino had been employed by me in the same manner the preceding year (1854), and I also employed other consuls, but the result was not always satisfactory. Large purchases were occasionally made at Constantinople on commission. When offers of supplies are made to Commissariat officers who are stationary, as at Constantinople and Balaklava, they are very properly put in writing in the shape of a tender, to establish the terms and prevent dispute, and whenever we are in a position to do so we also attach a penalty to the non-performance of the agreement. Even if the regulations restricted the mode of proceeding in the way described by the Commissioners, which is not the case, I should not have hesitated, with the sanction of the Commander of the Forces, to disregard them had their observance in any way interfered with the supply of the troops.

"I have at all times borne testimony to the great zeal and ability displayed by the Commissariat officers who served under my orders with the army in the East, and to their exertions during the winter in getting up supplies for their divisions from the depôt at Balaklava, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty. As a body of officers, they are not, in point of integrity, gentlemanly demeanour, and intelligence, inferior to those of any department of Government.

"I trust that I have now shown that the general conclusions of the report are far from being established by the arguments or the evidence adduced; and -

"That although some partial deficiencies in the established allowances of food did unfortunately take place, they were caused by no want of effort on the part of the Commissariat to prevent them, and were not of sufficient amount, as is indeed admitted by the Commissioners, to have any important effect on the health of the troops.

"That the nature of the food supplied to the troops in no degree depends upon Commissariat regulation, and, although it may in the present case have been a source of disease greatly to be lamented, it was not owing to any defect of practicable exertions or arrangement on my part that the injurious quality of the food was for some time incapable of being remedied; and also that during the period when the troops were without those articles, such as vegetables and lime-juice, which might have corrected the deleterious effects of the diet, the Commissariat had not been ordered to provide them; and that when afterwards it became the duty of the Commissariat to do so, the issues of both were regularly maintained as soon as the necessary arrangements could be brought into operation.

"That I have never maintained, as alleged by the Commissioners, that the troops when in the field were not to be supplied by the Commissariat with fuel if they were so circumstanced that they could not provide it themselves; and that there was neither neglect nor indisposition on my part to provide the supply, but that it was furnished as soon as I had the necessary orders to that effect to the full extent to which the means of conveying it could be procured.

"That the measures necessary to insure a sufficient supply of fodder for animals were taken by me, and only failed of success through causes which it was not in my power to prevent.

"That, although the Land Transport was for some time inadequate to the wants of the army, and the insufficiency unfortunately became a source of suffering, the failure was attributable to causes beyond my control, which could neither have been foreseen nor guarded against by me.

"And finally, that, however unequal may have been my ability to cope with the unprecedented difficulties of my position, I did not neglect or overlook any means of overcoming them which were within my reach, and certainly did not allow any consideration of mere form or usage to interfere with the fullest application of those means.

"WILLIAM FILDER, Commissary-General.

"London, Feb. 26."

Appendix 4.4

Commissions of Inquiry: Board of General Officers' Inquiry into the Statements of McNeill and Tulloch

Great Britain, *Report of the Board of General Officers appointed to inquire into the statements contained in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and the evidence taken by them relative thereto, animadverting upon the conduct of certain officers on the General Staff, and others in the Army; together with the minutes of evidence taken by the Board, and an appendix, (London, 1856). [Monash University, Microcard #5, Vol. 21.]*

COMMISSARY-GENERAL FILDER'S CASE.

Mr. Filder referred to his letter addressed to Mr. Peel (which was laid before both Houses of Parliament), as containing the particular passages of the Report of which he chiefly complained (p. 356).

He objected to the tone and spirit of the whole Report, as well as to the more precise charges contained in it, and contended that it was not justified by the actual facts (p. 357).

He also complained that no inquiries were made of himself on either of the two examinations which he attended, or of his officers when examined, which could have shown them where the Commissioners thought there had been neglect or omission, or could have given them an opportunity of clearing up any misapprehension which might exist in the minds of the Commissioners (pp. 357, 362).

Further, that the Commissioners had not taken into account the particular difficulties of his position; and that their Report, even as a statement of facts, was a misrepresentation in many parts, and exaggeration in others (p. 357).

In support of these positions, Mr. Filder set forth the nature of the duties of the Commissariat Department while in his charge, and the means which he had of performing them (pp. 357-8).

In illustration of the difficulties of his position, he referred to the insufficient establishment both of officers and employes [sic] (pp. 358, 377); the uncertainty of the position of the army during the winter (pp. 358-73); the consequences of the storm of 14th of November, 1854; the effects of the wants of a road (pp. 359); and of the want of sea transport (p. 360).

He contended that the real question to be considered, with reference to his conduct as Commissary-General, was this:-

Whether he could, from the middle of November 1854, to the end of February 1855, have increased the number of transport animals in the Crimea, and whether when he had got them there, he could have obtained from any quarter sufficient forage to supply them with food" (pp. 363, 383).

He said that on this question of transport depended the consideration of various other matters of very great importance, which had been made the subject of charges against him (p. 360); he instanced the supply of fresh meat (pp. 360-1-2), and of fuel (p. 363).

He showed, in detail, what had taken place with reference to the supply of forage from England (pp. 364-5-6-7-8-9, 370-1; 381-2; 388; Questions 1,981-1,996; 390-1-8; 2,016-19, 35, 41; p. 406); and contended that the authorities there had omitted to comply with his repeated requisitions, and that by no exertions of his own, or of the commissariat officers acting under his direction, could the deficiency have been remedied from local resources (p. 372-3).

He referred to some other charges, relating rather to the peculiar quality or nature of the supplies given out, than to any deficiency; and as to which he said that, "the Commissioners seemed to have been more misinformed, and more ready to arrive at conclusions, than as to any other matters on which they had grounded their charges against him" (p. 373):-

1. Vegetable food - p. 373-4.
2. Lime juice - pp. 374-5.
3. Fresh bread - pp. 375-6.
4. Tea - pp. 381-2.
5. Green coffee - pp. 382-2, 386-7.
6. Rice - p. 382.

We have thought it right, in the first instance, to give this outline of Mr. Filder's address to the Board, in order that the statement of his complaint might appear in the form in which he submitted it to us. But we have found it convenient in our Report to observe the arrangement which he has adopted in his letter to Mr. Peel.

We now, therefore, proceed to give our opinions in that order on the several matters on which he has there adverted.

QUANTITIES IN STORE (p. 6).

Under this head, the Commissioners observe, with regard to -

Biscuit. - That "the ration of biscuit having, on the 15th October 1854, been increased by General Order to 1 1/3 lb., in consideration of the severe labour to which the troops were subjected, it was reduced on the 7th November to 1 lb. on the express ground of the 'supply of biscuit being insufficient to furnish the increased ration lately authorized".

On this, Mr. Filder remarks, -

"The established ration for all troops in the field was not reduced, but the *extra* allowance was discontinued. It was a matter of notoriety, that 1 1/3 lb. of biscuit was more than the men could eat, and that they sold, or gave away, a part of what they received, to the French troops who frequented our lines; this was before the storm or any deficiencies had occurred. My motive for recommending the discontinuance, *under such circumstances*, of the extra allowance, was, that its issue impeded the progress of the *dépôt* which I was then forming in the front.

"Had the extra quantity of biscuit issued to the troops in camp, been allowed to accumulate in *dépôt* there, the animals which, during the winter, were occupied in transporting that article, might have been employed in carrying up other supplies, which were then so much needed; the extra quantity issued very greatly exceeded all the deficiencies of biscuit which occurred throughout the winter."

In this view of the case, we consider that Mr. Filder was justified in recommending the discontinuance of the extra allowance.

The Commissioners further observe, with regard to -

Salt Meat. - "From the returns handed to us by the Commissary-General, and from his statements, it appears that, although the commissariat had at that time in store sufficient for several days' consumption, there was still (in consequence of some mistake, it is stated, on the part of the commissariat officer at Constantinople) cause for considerable anxiety lest the whole army should be left without salt meat, at a time when no other articles of food were available, except biscuit, rum, and the ordinary groceries. The arrival of a vessel with a supply of salt meat, before that which had been obtained from the navy was issued, relieved the Commissary-General from the anxiety which he had previously felt on the subject."

On this, Mr. Filder remarks: -

"That although some apprehension on the subject of a short supply existed in his mind, no positive deficiency ever occurred in the commissariat stores: that the lowest number of days for which he had supplies of salt meat on hand, was eight or nine; and that the circumstance of his having had even so short a supply as that, arose partly from the loan he had made of that article to the navy, partly from the detention of the vessels by contrary winds."

He further remarked, that -

"The Commissioners have omitted to state what is shown by the evidence annexed to their Report (p. 158), that the salt meat received from the navy only replaced the quantity which had been supplied from the commissariat stores for seamen and marines serving on shore. This supply from the navy was not, therefore, a loan, but a restitution of a loan."

SHORT RATIONS (p. 7).

Under this head, the Commissioners state, that -

"In the Crimea, during the greater part of November and December, and also in a great measure during January and a part of February, the soldier was confined exclusively to biscuit in addition to his salt meat."

The returns quoted in margin, show that there were issued to the troops in the month of -

November	340,818 lbs. of vegetables
December	22,797 " ditto.
January	77,250 " ditto.
February	558,925 " ditto.

Also, in the months of -

November	79,059 lbs. of rice.
December	63,014 " ditto.
January	155,241 " ditto.
February	118,400 " ditto.

It appears, therefore, that the statements of the Commissioners are by no means borne out.

We may here add, with respect to the remarks of the Commissioners on the subject of Vegetable Food (p. 8), that we entirely concur in the view of the Commissary-General, that his department is not responsible for the particular articles of diet which constitute the ration of the men; his duty is only to furnish it according to the order of the General commanding.

FRESH MEAT (p. 8).

ABUNDANCE OF CATTLE (p. 16).

IMPORTANCE OF FRESH MEAT (p. 17.)

It appears to the Board that the insufficient supply of fresh meat arose from various causes, but primarily from the want of sea transport, which want Commissary-General Filder appears to have used every exertion to remedy.

The number of transports at the disposal of the commissariat was diminished during the month of December by the circumstance of two of the most efficient cattle vessels being then under repair, and useless.

The supply of fresh meat during the same month was rendered less than it otherwise would have been, owing to the commissariat officer at Eupatoria having sent back empty two transports dispatched to that place for a supply of cattle, he having given over the cattle he had in charge there to the French and Turks, who had arrived without any supplies of fresh meat, or the means of providing any.

Mr. Filder says on this subject:-

"I was at all times fully alive to the importance of providing fresh meat, for the use of the troops, and employed to the utmost all the suitable vessels I could obtain (see paper annexed, marked D), but I consider sailing vessels to be unsuitable for the service in winter, particularly in the Black Sea. Of all the cattle which were forwarded in sailing transports from Varna at the end of October and beginning of November, more than one-third were lost, even on board steamers, which were not fitted up as cattle-vessels, the casualties were very great. To have continued the use, therefore, of sailing vessels, would have been to destroy the supplies of the army, and must have led to a deficiency; for in winter it would have been impracticable to obtain large supplies of cattle from the interior of Turkey to replace such losses."

With reference to the observation of the Commissioners, that -

"Slaughtered meat might at that season of the year have been carried without much loss," and their opinion that "fresh meat in much larger quantities might have been, and ought to have been, supplied to the army", -

Mr. Filder says -

"Slaughtered meat was sent by the cattle-vessels during the winter, in addition to their cargoes of live cattle, notwithstanding that the plan, in a climate where the variations of temperature are so extreme, was attended with much loss. It was possible for the Commissioners to have inquired into the manner in which this important service had been conducted by the commissariat, and they would have discovered that their suggestion had been anticipated by our practice."

"The Commissioners cannot, it is presumed, mean that slaughtered meat should have been forwarded in sailing transports, as vessels of that class were often, in winter, nearly a month in performing the voyage from the mainland."

Mr. Filder also says -

"The average quantity of fresh meat supplied by the commissariat during the five winter months, from November to March, was nearly 10 lbs. per man per month, exclusive of that furnished for the troops on board hospital-ships in harbour, the aggregate force being 158,517 men, and the quantity of fresh meat issued by the commissariat 1,525,949 lbs."

The issues in December fell greatly below the average, that is, to 6 1/2 lbs. per man, in consequence of the cattle-vessels, which had been damaged in the hurricane, being still under repair during that month.

That the healthy did not receive the ration which these figures would indicate, was unfortunately owing to the large numbers of sick, who, in some divisions, received full rations of fresh meat daily, in others, five days a-week, thus curtailing the rations of the rest of the troops."

LIME-JUICE (p. 9).

The Commissioners in their Report state -

"That from the 10th of December the Lime-juice brought by the "Esk" was lying in the Commissariat stores at Balaklava, and none of it was issued till the first week in February, an interval during which the sufferings of the army from scurvy were probably at their height."

It appears by the evidence before us, that there is some contradiction as to the date of the arrival of the "Esk".

The Commissary-General stated that that vessel did not arrive until the 19th of December, in which he is confirmed by Mr. Archer. However this may be, it appears clear that the casks of lime-juice in the "Esk" were landed and delivered into the commissariat stores on the 20th of December; that information of this arrival was given to the Purveyor of Hospitals, who appears to have actually removed some of it away from the beach while it was being taken out of the vessel.

The Medical Department was therefore duly apprised of this supply, and Lord Raglan also appears to have been duly informed that there was lime-juice in store, but the issue of it as a regular ration to the troops generally was not authorized until the general order of the 31st of January, 1855.

Steps were promptly taken to procure supplies from Malta and Sicily, and as soon as they were procured, the issues were regularly maintained; therefore, in respect to this matter, no blame seems to attach to the Commissary-General.

FRESH BREAD (p. 11).

Mr. Filder complains that the Commissioners have charged him with an indisposition to make the attempt of baking fresh bread.

He replies to this, and in our opinion satisfactorily, by bringing forward his purchase of three months' supply of flour for the purpose of baking bread, but contends that, as bread requires 50 per cent. more of transport for its conveyance than biscuit, "it would have been impossible in the then state of the roads, and the transport, to have found the means of carrying it up to the camp".

A floating mill and bakery which he had applied for did not arrive from England till the 12th of May.

In proportion as the state of the sea transport improved, bread was brought from Constantinople sufficient for an issue twice a-week.

When, on the arrival of the floating bakery, its capabilities were found insufficient, and the construction of ovens was commenced, the means existed of baking so as to allow of an issue to the troops on three days in the week.

The different organization of the French army is sufficient to explain the circumstance of their being more regularly supplied with fresh bread than was the case with the English.

The Quartermaster-General's letter of March 21, 1855, to the Commissioners, points out the difficulties which at present exist in the British service with regard to employing soldiers as bakers.

GREEN COFFEE (p. 12).

Mr. Filder was in no degree responsible for the coffee not being roasted; it was sent out in a green state by the Treasury, and it was no part of Mr. Filder's duty, nor was he ordered to cause it to be roasted previously to its being delivered to the troops.

No complaint was made on the subject till the end of November.

Mr. Filder stated that a Military Board decided on issuing coffee as a ration to the troops, and that the Board knew that it was sold to the men in a green state. He added -

"Subsequently a small quantity of roasted coffee was sent out from England as an experiment, upon which I was desired to report; but although ordered in July, it did not reach the army till towards the end of September, when we were on the march from Kalamita Bay to Sebastopol; and as soon as I learnt that it was approved of, I recommended that coffee should be sent out roasted, but none arrived till about the 24th of January, from which date green coffee ceased to be issued to the troops."

With respect to the suggestion of the Commissioners that tea should have been issued to the troops instead of coffee, on account of the difficulties attending the roasting of the latter, owing to the scarcity of fuel, it is obvious that fuel would have been equally required for making the tea; and as much tea appears to have been issued during the months of January and February as was consistent with maintaining a supply necessary for the use of the sick.

FUEL (p. 14).

It appears that, on the 1st August, the Commissary-General brought this subject to the notice of Lord Raglan, and a depôt of fuel, viz. wood and charcoal, was formed at Scutari. Early in November 800,000 rations of charcoal ordered by Lord Raglan, arrived at Balaklava, and the issue to the troops commenced on the 8th of December.

In the course of that month a large quantity arrived. Mr. Filder states there never was at any time after the beginning of November a want of fuel at Balaklava; the only difficulty was to find the means of conveying it to the front.

Mr. Filder having thus actually formed a depôt of fuel at Scutari, under the impression that the army might winter there in barracks, having also sought instructions relative to the formation of a similar depôt at Varna, supposing the army might winter in the Principalities, and having, moreover, taken prompt measures to supply the troops in the Crimea, when the local resources were on the point of exhaustion, cannot, in our opinion, be justly charged with any want of foresight or exertion in this respect.

LAND TRANSPORT AND HAY (pp. 23-26).

The insufficiency of land transport appears to have been the principal cause of most of the sufferings experienced by the army, and this insufficiency appears to have been occasioned by the want of means of supporting more animals.

As relates to Mr. Filder, therefore, in his position of Commissary-General, the question is, in our opinion, correctly stated by him to be -

"Whether he is to blame for the deficiency of forage, to which, step by step, all other deficiencies were mainly attributable, as limiting the number of transport animals that could be maintained in the Crimea, and whether he availed himself of all the sea transport which he could obtain for the conveyance of forage and live cattle."

Mr. Filder stated, at the outset of his case, and we think correctly, that, -

"If it was expected that he should provide transport for the conveyance of indefinite quantities of huts, timber, buffalo-ropes, warm clothing, &c., it must be obvious that it would have been wholly impracticable, even had there been no difficulty with respect to forage. The additional transport power could only have been procured by long previous preparation, the time for which was never allowed him."

He showed, that even for the most ordinary commissariat purposes, no more sea transport was available than that which he actually used. And he, in our opinion, satisfactorily accounted for the circumstance adverted to by the Commissioners, that the Land Transport was, for a few days, reduced to an effective number of 333 pack-horses and mules, and 12 camels.

With regard to forage, Mr. Filder stated that -

"As the deficiency of fodder for the animals of the army in the Crimea during the winter of October 1854-5, had been made the chief ground of accusation against him in respect of his management of supplies, it became necessary for his vindication, more especially since the appearance of Sir C. Trevelyan's statement, to enter into a fuller explanation with regard to this head than he thought necessary with the other charges."

He stated that -

"So early as the time at which an expectation was entertained that the army would advance to the Danube, I made a contract for about 3,500 tons of hay, to be delivered loose at different places in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and I also desired the commissariat officer there to form a depôt of chopped straw, in case the army should return and occupy cantonments in Turkey during the winter. I took these steps as a precaution, notwithstanding that supplies of chopped straw, the usual forage of the country, can be obtained to almost any amount along the shores of the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmora, and these arrangements would have been adequate to the object in view, had the army been cantoned in these districts."

It appears that on the 13th September, when the fleet was crossing the Black Sea to the Crimea, Mr. Filder wrote to the Treasury, requesting that 2,000 tons of hay might be sent from England; and he stated that -

"By every subsequent mail, or nearly so, from the time of our arrival before Sebastopol, throughout the months of October, November, and December, and up to the 22nd January, I represented, in either official or private letters, addressed to Sir Charles Trevelyan, that it would be possible to convey by sea sufficient quantities of unpressed hay and straw to meet the consumption of the army, or, if it were possible, that we could not land or issue sufficient quantities of forage in that shape, and that we should, consequently, be dependent upon supplies of pressed hay from England, the quantity of that article which could be procured from Constantinople being quite inadequate to our wants. One or other, and sometimes all, of these topics were mentioned by almost every mail."

"On the 13th November I transmitted an estimate of supplies required to be forwarded from England for the service of the army in the East, during a period of three months, in which the supply of hay is stated at 5,820, 314 lbs. or 2,600 tons, or 866 tons per month.

"On the receipt by me, after I had transmitted abovementioned, of an intimation from the Treasury by letter, dated 9th November, that shipments of hay would only be made at the rate of 357 tons per month, I immediately informed Sir C. Trevelyan by letter, dated 27th November, that this quantity would not suffice, and that I should require 580 tons per month for the artillery, cavalry, and commissariat animals alone; and by the next mail, that is, on the 8th December, I wrote to say, that in consequence of Lord Raglan having ordered full rations of forage to be issued for all the baggage animals of the army, I should want the whole of the hay estimated for, or 866 tons per month. So little attention did this meet with, that, in fact even the 357 tons per month was not sent; the total quantity shipped and forwarded, during the two months of October and November, not having exceeded 270 tons, that is to say, by the -

	lbs.
"Belgravia"	402,775
"Esk"	108,100
"Helen"	88,425
Total	<u>509,325"</u>

The following passage in the Treasury Statement is confirmatory of the latter portion of this statement by Mr. Filder:-

"The shipments of hay actually made from England up to the end of January were as follows:-

1854.	In June and July	1,203,800 lbs = 637 tons in 5 vessels.
	In August and September	1,023,300 lbs. = 457 tons in 6 vessels.
	In November	599,300 lbs. = 267 tons in 3 vessels.
	In December	1,417,600 lbs. = 357 tons in 7 vessels.

With regard to the 587 tons shipped in June and July, Mr. Filder said -

"That quantity was originally sent out, partly by the Admiralty to complete the horse transports, and partly on my requisition to replace the quantity I had expected to receive from the horse transports, but which I never got. I got but very little from the horse transports."

He added:

"Supposing all that had been sent out from England from the commencement, that is, from June, or 944 tons, had been available, it would have left me deficient 1,006 tons of my requisition of 13th September, and I only got, or there was shipped on account of that 1,006 tons, according to Sir C. Trevelyan's own statement, up to the 1st or the 5th December, 268 tons."

With regard to the 633 tons shipped in December, Mr. Filder stated that he did not get them til February. He said -

"I never received, up to the end of January, more than 510,000lbs., or 228 tons. To have done it properly, the shipments ought to have been consecutive and immediate; and allowance should have been made for the time occupied in the voyage."

It therefore appears to us, that Mr. Filder used all the means in his power to communicate to the Treasury the absolute necessity of sending supplies of forage to the army from England; and that he made known the wants of the army in that particular by a constant series of letters, in which the requirements of the commissariat were clearly set forth in pressing and urgent language.

And we are disposed to concur with Mr. Filder in thinking, that "if the authorities in England are to judge of the expediency of complying with the requisitions of a Commissary-General in charge of the supply of an army in the field, founded on his personal knowledge derived on the spot, of his wants and resources, it seems clear that the responsibility of that officer must be at an end."

In concluding our observations on the case of Commissary-General Filder, we think it desirable to advert to certain passages of the Commissioners' first Report, in which it is stated that they do not mean to infer, from their notice of arrangements which appeared to them to be defective, that that officer, or the officers of his department, failed to make any exertion of which they were capable, to provide for the exigencies of the public service, and that it is but just to direct attention to the unusual nature of the duties required of them under the following adverse circumstances:-

1. The army occupied, as it were, a barren island.
2. The Department was without a sufficient number of hands.
3. A great disaster was occasioned by tempest.

4. There were constant difficulties in landing the vast supplies required for a large army, owing to the peculiarities of Balaklava harbour; and,
5. They advert to the breaking up of the road to the front, and the impossibility of sparing from their military duties a sufficient number of men to make it practicable to commissariat carts.

On this trying state of things the Commissioners remark, with direct allusion to Mr. Filder's management, that "a man of comprehensive views might probably have risen superior to these disadvantages, and created an organization suited to the circumstances."

It is difficult, however, to believe that any man of even the highest inventive resources and administrative capacity, could have effectually provided beforehand for daily and ever-increasing demands, many of which, extending as they did, infinitely beyond the limits of all previous commissariat administration, were not, and, from their very nature, could not, be foreseen.

It was a great aggravation of these evils, that the question of where the army was to winter could be decided, and made known to Mr. Filder till only a very few days before the weather broke, and his difficulties had commenced.

It is in evidence that he used every means to obtain the earliest information on this point, with the express view of making timely arrangements.

On the whole, therefore, we are of opinion, that Commissary-General Filder's conduct in the management of his Department, was not, and is not, justly liable to the unfavourable animadversion, either express or implied, which is conveyed in the Report of the Commissioners; and we humbly submit to Your Majesty that he does not appear to us to be justly responsible, as regards the supplies, for the unsatisfactory state of Your Majesty's army in the Crimea during the winter of 1854-5.

[pp.XXII-XXXI (pp.xx-xxix of the Report)]

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² The original map at the State Library, Melbourne, Victoria, bears the signature of *The Times* war correspondent, William Howard Russell.

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³ I met Brig. Jackson in November 1992, at which stage he would have been approximately 90 years old. He was very sprightly and trim, as befits a retired Brigadier, played bowls regularly, and also had a keen mind. The Brigadier spent the northern summers in Jersey, and the southern summers in Hermanus, South Africa.

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⁴ *The Drake family connection* was, I think, written by Brig. Jackson as part of a larger work entitled *My life*, which I have not seen. The work is unpublished and unsigned, but I have been informed that it is written by him. The work is not rounded off completely. There are some typographical errors evident, such as incomplete dates. It seems to have been written in 1988 as Jackson says that 'His [Sir Francis Drake's] well-known prayer before battle received much publicity this year in the celebrations of the Armada victory.' This battle took place in 1588. ['Drake, Sir Francis', *Dictionary of national biography*, L. Stephen (ed.), London, 1888, 426-42.]

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