

AN AGE OF NEGLIGENCE?
BRITISH ARMY CHAPLAINCY, 1796 – 1844

by

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ABSTRACT

British army chaplaincy, until more recent times, is a subject which has been sadly overlooked by historians. This thesis seeks to help fill that gap; it is a study which explores the origins and development of the early Army Chaplains' Department. The most significant factor in determining the effectiveness, or otherwise, of army chaplaincy in the latter half of the eighteenth century, can be seen in the way that civilian incumbents served in their parishes, or to be more precise, were often absent from their parishes except through the services of a curate, thus before 1796, regimental chaplains were often absent from their duties.

It is clear that the army, especially some of its commanders, valued chaplains as can be demonstrated by the future Duke of Wellington, asking for more quality chaplains. Life for the chaplain deployed on campaign with his troops could be harsh; it is therefore easy to understand why there were so few clergymen who would take up the call. This thesis focuses on those chaplains who served with Wellington and Moore during the Peninsular War.

This thesis draws on numerous primary sources, including some which have not been used in previous studies. Over the fifty years that this thesis covers, it will examine the development of the Department, with the challenges of expansion and post-war reductions. Historical evidence would suggest that the bulk of the Church of England ministers who were available to become army chaplains were poorly trained and motivated. It is from this pool that army chaplains were drawn, and thus they ministered to their troops to the best of their abilities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis builds upon work completed for my M.A. degree, which left many questions unanswered and was therefore a subject worth revisiting. Research for that thesis focussed primarily on chaplaincy in the Peninsular War, whereas this thesis uses previously unused primary source material to build up a more complete picture of chaplaincy during this period.

I wish to acknowledge the invaluable support and assistance from my tutor Dr Michael Snape, whose comments and suggestions have guided my studies into many fruitful areas. I am grateful to several others along the way especially David Blake, the archivist of the Armed Forces Chaplaincy Centre, Amport; the staff of the National Archives; the Library of the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst; Dr Peter Nockles of the John Rylands Library; Mrs Julie Crocker of The Royal Archives; Paul Evans regarding the archives of the Ordnance Board and David Wood from Landguard Fort. The backing of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department was also important and the encouragement and interest of the Reverend Dr Philip McCormack.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|--|
| AFCC | Armed Forces Chaplaincy Centre |
| CH | <i>Church History</i> |
| CME | Commission of Military Enquiry |
| FO | Foreign Office |
| HCPP | <i>House of Commons Parliamentary Papers</i> |
| JMH | <i>Journal of Military History</i> |
| JRACHD | <i>Journal of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department</i> |
| JSAHR | <i>Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research</i> |
| JRL | John Ryland's Library |
| MAS | <i>Modern Asian Studies</i> |
| NA | Not Available |
| NAM | National Army Museum |
| NAS | National Archives of Scotland |
| NK | Not Known |
| NMAFBS | Naval, Military and Air Force Bible Society |
| ODNB | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> |
| PMM | <i>Primitive Methodist Magazine</i> |
| PWHS | <i>Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society</i> |
| RACHD | Royal Army Chaplains' Department |
| RCACHD | Royal Canadian Army Chaplains' Department |
| RCSA | Royal Corps of Signals Archive |
| RMAS | Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst |
| SJCL | St John's College Library |
| T | Treasury |
| USSCD | University of Southampton, Special Collections Database |
| WCO | Wesley Centre, Oxford |
| WO | War Office |
| WP | Widow's Pension |

Introduction

This thesis sets out to tell the story of the early days of the Army Chaplains' Department, set against the backdrop of major global changes with revolution in France and industrial changes at home. This was a period of wars around the globe, fought by British troops who deserved good and dedicated chaplains to provide spiritual support, but often failed to find it. This thesis concludes at the beginning of the Victorian era, with the retirement of the fourth senior chaplain, the Reverend William Dakins, who had been with the Department from its early days.

The Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), which includes the longest campaign of the conflict, the Peninsular War,¹ still resonates in popular imagination and scholarship today. Not only is it the source of many books and films, the main characters² and their respective tactics and philosophies are still studied and debated in military colleges around the world. However, for many people the fictional stories of Richard Sharpe, and a hugely successful TV series, provides the only recent popular access to this historically significant period. The wealth of scholarly research on the period

¹ See: Bell, David A, *The First Total War* London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2008; Bluth, BJ, *Marching with Sharpe* London: Harper Collins, 2001; Brett-James, Anthony, *Life in Wellington's Army* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972; Divall, Carole, *Inside the Regiment – The Officers and Men of the 30th Regiment During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars* Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 2011; Esdaile, Charles, *The Peninsular War, A New History* London: Penguin, 2003; Fletcher, Ian, *Wellington's Regiments* Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2005; Fraser, Ronald, *Napoleon's Cursed War – Spanish Popular Resistance in the Peninsular War, 1808-1814* London: Verso, 2008; Freemont-Barnes, Gregory and Fisher, Todd, *The Napoleonic Wars, The Rise and Fall of an Empire* Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2004; Glover, Michael, *Wellington's Army in the Peninsula, 1808-1814* Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1977; Glover, Richard, *Peninsular Preparation – The Reform of the British Army 1795-1809* Cambridge: Ken Trotman Ltd, 1988; Oman, C W C, *Wellington's Army 1809-1814* London: Francis Edwards, 1968; Urban, Mark, *Rifles* London: Faber and Faber, 2003

² See: Corrigan, Gordon, *Wellington: a Military Life* London: Hambledon Continuum, 2001; Glover, Michael, *Wellington as Military Commander* London: Penguin, 2001; Holmes, Richard, *Wellington – The Iron Duke* London: Harper Collins, 2003; Longford, Elizabeth, *Wellington* London: Abacus, 1992; Roberts, Andrew, *Napoleon and Wellington* London: Phoenix Press, 2002; Weller, Jac, *Wellington in the Peninsula* London: Greenhill Books, 1992; Weller, Jac, *Wellington at Waterloo* London: Greenhill Books, 1992; Weller, Jac, *Wellington in India* London: Greenhill Books, 1993

in question remains the basic entrance point for any new research project. The classic texts are multi-volume, from Napier's six volume *History of the War*³, through Oman's seven volume *History of the Peninsular War*⁴, to the thirteen volume *History of the British Army*⁵ by Fortescue, which includes a section on the Peninsular War.

Among the many shorter works on the Peninsular War, four key texts include two entitled *Wellington's Army*.⁶ The first, by Oman, considers different areas of life including the tactics and organisation of Wellington's army, as well as a chapter on the spiritual life of the army. Glover⁷, on the other hand, moves from the recruiting of soldiers, through its component parts and to the machine of war in operation, but only has a couple of pages on chaplaincy, which are evidently not as comprehensive as Oman. Two more recent books are Mark Urban's *Rifles*⁸, which follows the 95th Rifles across the battlefields of Portugal and Spain over the six years of the campaign, whilst Gregory Fremont-Barnes' and Todd Fisher's *The Napoleonic Wars*⁹ widens the history to both French and Allied troops, although neither of these two books has any comment on religion or chaplaincy.

³ Napier, William, *A History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France, 1807-14*, 6 vols., London: T&W Boone, 1832-40

⁴ Oman, Sir Charles, *A History of the Peninsular War*, 7 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1902-30

⁵ Fortescue, Sir John, *History of the British Army*, 13 vols., London: Macmillan, 1910-1930

⁶ Oman, C W C, *Wellington's Army 1809-1814* London: Francis Edwards, 1968

⁷ Glover, Michael, *Wellington's Army in the Peninsula, 1808-1814* Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1977

⁸ Urban, Mark, *Rifles* London: Faber and Faber, 2003

⁹ Fremont-Barnes, Gregory and Fisher, Todd, *The Napoleonic Wars, The Rise and Fall of an Empire* Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2004

Of the many biographies of the Duke of Wellington, Jac Weller follows the career of the Duke of Wellington from India to the battle of Waterloo in three volumes.¹⁰ Also, in alphabetical order, Gordon Corrigan, Richard Holmes and Elizabeth Longford all mention the name of at least one chaplain who served with Wellington.

Although the standard texts on this particular period cover the traditional areas of scholarly interest, one area of study that has not received the same degree of attention is the role of chaplains in the Peninsular War. This thesis will begin to address this shortcoming by analysing not only the role and function of chaplains during the Napoleonic Wars but also the process of transformation that also marked the delivery of chaplaincy from 1796 until 1844.

a. Literature Review

The lack of source material on chaplaincy for this period is not due to the number of books on the period, but more due to the lack of references to their work. Whilst Oman¹¹, Brett-James¹² and Holmes¹³ all comment on chaplaincy and the spiritual life of the army, none of these describe the difficulties and dangers of being a chaplain in the army.

Only three specific works have concentrated on the work of chaplains, the oldest in 1943 by Middleton Brumwell¹⁴, which was more of a chaplain's handbook rather than a detailed history, although it does contain an introductory chapter on army

¹⁰ Weller, Jac, *Wellington in India* London: Greenhill Books, 1993; Weller, Jac, *Wellington in the Peninsula* London: Greenhill Books, 1992; Weller, Jac, *Wellington at Waterloo* London: Greenhill Books, 1992

¹¹ Oman, C W C, *Wellington's Army 1809-1814* London: Francis Edwards, 1968

¹² Brett-James, Anthony, *Life in Wellington's Army* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972

¹³ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002; Holmes, Richard, *Soldiers* London: Harper Press, 2011

¹⁴ Brumwell, P Middleton, *The Army Chaplain* London: Adam & Charles Black, 1943

chaplaincy. The first modern written history of chaplaincy is Smyth's¹⁵ *In This Sign Conquer* and, although it was not an in-depth historical account, it was the only useful recognised history of the Department until 2008. Snape's¹⁶ *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department – Clergy Under Fire* is the most significant volume, although it has a limited focus. A more focussed work is O'Connor's¹⁷ *The Chaplain's of the East India Company, 1601-1858* which, as the title suggests concentrates solely on East India chaplains.

Due to the paucity of secondary literature on this subject, it has been necessary to undertake substantial archival work, which has been made somewhat easier by access to electronic sources. Hence a broad range of archival sources has been consulted including the National Archives; the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst; the Armed Forces Chaplaincy Centre; Parliamentary Papers and the Prince Consort's Library, Aldershot.

b. Research Question and Methodology

The title of this thesis investigates the life and role of the British army chaplain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. What the thesis will show is the fact that, while training within the civilian church was patchy, there was no formal training for clergy who answered the call to be an army chaplain; in fact, they could be deployed on campaign within days. This thesis will argue that, despite meagre resources and training, most chaplains did their very best to minister to the troops under their care.

As has already been demonstrated in the literature review, there are few key scholarly works which explore this field. Using primary source material, the aim of this thesis is to put this right, by moving seamlessly from the early years of military

¹⁵ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968

¹⁶ Snape, Michael, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department – Clergy Under Fire* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008

¹⁷ O'Connor, Daniel, *The Chaplain's of the East India Company, 1601-1858* London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012

chaplaincy, through the major campaign of the period in Spain and Portugal, to the decline of the Department and the resignation of William Dakins.

This thesis is heavily reliant on archival material and the primary method will be that of narrative. Although tracing the history of chaplaincy from the earliest days of the army, the core of this thesis will examine the period 1796-1844. Woven throughout the narrative are some of the chaplains of this period, include three Chaplain Generals and two Principal Chaplains, as well as chaplains such as Samuel Briscall and George Stonestreet. Chapters four and six are more thematic in nature, as they explore chaplaincy in the Peninsular War and the impact of Methodism on the army. This thesis will not focus on the operational engagements of the army; rather it will observe how chaplains worked within the military system.

The time scale of this thesis commences prior to the creation of the Department, in order to answer some myths which have grown up within the Department, and concludes with the retirement of the fourth senior chaplain, William Dakins. Although there are numerous studies on almost every aspect of the military, however, an authoritative in-depth study of army chaplains does not exist. This study seeks to address this omission, as this type of study is long overdue.

c. *Outline*

Chapter One: Army Chaplaincy before 1796. This chapter begins by looking at the origin of the word *chaplain*. Next, this chapter gives a general introduction to chaplaincy in the standing army, which was created in the seventeenth century. This section gives a brief overview of changes that were to affect chaplaincy prior to the formation of the Department in 1796. The third section of chapter one looks at The East India Company chaplains, a key influence on the formation of the Department. It is in this section that we will be introduced to the Reverend John Owen, who will

become the second Chaplain General. It is also here that the reader will encounter the Reverend Stephen Blunt, who was Colonel Arthur Wellesley's chaplain on the abortive Manila expedition. It is in India that one finds the origins of the unofficial, but oft used title for a chaplain, that of "Padre". The final section of chapter one features The Glengarry Fencibles. This Scottish non-regular regiment held the distinction of having a Roman Catholic priest who was gazetted as its chaplain at a time when this was far from the norm. When the Glengarry Fencibles were disbanded in 1802, the chaplain, the Reverend Father Alexander Macdonell, requested and was granted funds for the regiment to emigrate to Canada.

Chapter Two: The Formation of the Army Chaplains' Department, 1796, summarizes the state of army chaplaincy just prior to 1796, before asking and answering the question of "what next?" Such was the state of chaplaincy that, in 1795, Sir Ralph Abercrombie was unable to take a single chaplain to the Caribbean. When the findings of the *Seventh Commission for Military Enquiry* were published in 1808, the whole situation was described as 'extraordinary'.¹⁸ The second section of this chapter considers the Royal Warrant which was issued in 1796 and which was instrumental in creating the Army Chaplains' Department under its first Chaplain General, the Reverend John Gamble. This warrant gave regimental chaplains until Christmas Day to return to their duties or be placed on half-pay. Despite some howls of protest, this situation was not to be reversed. The final, and lengthiest section of chapter two, focuses on the first Chaplain General, The Reverend John Gamble. Gamble began his chaplaincy in 1788 as a regimental chaplain to the 37th Regiment,

¹⁸ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 25

an infantry regiment, switching to more prestigious regiments until, in 1795, he purchased the regimental chaplaincy commission of the Coldstream Guards. It was during this period that Gamble was not just Chaplain General, but also the first Chief Signals Officer.

Chapter three moves the story forward with the reform of the Army Chaplains' Department in 1809. In a lengthy minute, the Prime Minister, Spencer Percival, called for the first time for chaplains to serve 'on any military station in England or abroad'.¹⁹ The next section deals with garrison chaplains who, up to this point, had remained untouched. Now, under the reforms, these chaplains would also see themselves as being accountable to the Chaplain General. 8 March 1810 saw the appointment of the second Chaplain General, The Reverend John Owen, who is the subject of the next and largest section of this chapter. Owen was appointed following the resignation of the Reverend John Gamble. Owen would hold the post for fourteen years until his death in 1824. This lengthy section describes the qualifications of a chaplain, answering the question of whether the Department would welcome all-comers or were there to be standards? Chaplains were still drawn from the Church of England but, as we shall see in chapter four, more were needed. Whilst Owen was Chaplain General to the Army, he was, in 1813, also appointed as Chaplain General to the Royal Navy. However, John Owen found that his appointment to the Royal Navy did not meet with great enthusiasm from navy chaplains, as they believed Owen was imposing on them the same reforms that had taken place in the Army. Owen's appointment as Chaplain General to the Royal

¹⁹ WO 43/578, Army chaplains. Proposed new establishment. Letter from Prime Minister (Perceval) to Secretary at War. Problems of Scottish chaplaincies. Appointment of staff chaplain at Chatham

Navy would last only until 1815; it would then take another twelve years until the Reverend Samuel Coles was appointed as Chaplain General to the Fleet.

We move in the next chapter to the first of the themed chapters, as the subject of Chaplains on Campaign is discussed. This chapter opens with an extremely brief overview of the Peninsular War, with just a few of the highlights, as this is not the emphasis of this thesis. The training, deployment and role of the chaplain are discussed in the first section of this chapter. With minimal training in many parishes, and no military training for those joining the army as chaplains, transition from one to the other led to a very steep learning curve. The role of the chaplain has changed little since the creation of the Department in 1796 and this is discussed in this section, with the conduct of divine service being at the centre. In the next section, conditions on campaign are discussed. Warfare for most, if not all soldiers, was a harsh business. One chaplain, the Reverend Samuel Briscall, recalled 'I sleep occasionally under the canopy of heaven and sometimes get a pair of sheets.'²⁰ One chaplain who opted for comfort over privation found himself taken prisoner. If divine service was at the centre of a chaplain's role, then no less important was ministry to the sick and dying. Owen received reports that chaplains were undertaking these duties well, on the whole. However, if the sick were well cared for, it was another story for the dead, the majority of whom received no Christian burial. The third section of this chapter introduces some of Wellington's chaplains. Often in military histories, only one chaplain receives a brief mention and that is the Reverend Samuel Briscall. However, that is to do a great disservice to the other chaplains who,

²⁰ Glover, Michael, 'An excellent young man: the Rev. Samuel Briscall' *History Today*, Aug 1968, 579

for the most part, served with distinction. These unrecognised chaplains numbered thirty-two (including Briscall), although only a maximum of seventeen were in the Peninsula at any one time. The only chaplain who deployed to Waterloo and left a journal of his time of service is the Reverend George Stonestreet.

Chapter five picks up the narrative once again, with the post-war Department and the rise of George Gleig. With the death of John Owen in post on 4 June 1824, the Reverend William Dakins, who had served as Owen's assistant for fourteen years, had expected to be promoted into the top job. This, however, was not the case, so the first section of this chapter focuses on the appointment and career of the Reverend Robert Hodgson, as the third Chaplain General. The Department at this stage was fourteen strong, following reductions after the coming of peace in Europe and the disbandment of many regiments. Hodgson's tenure as Chaplain General ended with him being asked to resign, which he did and, at the same time, the post was reduced to Principal Chaplain. The Reverend William Dakins is the focus of the next section. At the age of 63, Dakins was promoted into the top job as an army chaplain, but not as Chaplain General, but in the downgraded post of Principal Chaplain. Although the *Army List* dates his commission as 1810, he was chaplain to the Guards as a deputy to the chaplain from 1793. In 1810, he was appointed as Assistant to the Chaplain General, the Reverend John Owen, and at the same time, the chaplain to the Commander in Chief. In a letter to the Duke of Wellington, he wrote that 'I have devoted my time and attention to the official duties of this

Department²¹; perhaps he was hinting at how hard he had worked over the period of two Chaplain Generals. As a chaplain to the Guards, it is inevitable that he should have a soft spot for them. He had noticed that they had nowhere to worship, and decided to do something about it. The first service was held in the new Guards Chapel on 6 May 1838, with Dakins preaching the sermon. Regrettably, the greater part of the chapel was destroyed in a bombing raid on 18 June 1944. Towards the end of his tenure, it was noted in the *Army List* that the Department consisted of the Principal Chaplain, plus only four chaplains. Dakins retired on 2 February 1844 after eleven years as Principal Chaplain and fifty-one years from the commencement of his time as a chaplain. The third section considers further chaplaincy reforms; with the enactment of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, this opened the door for Roman Catholic priests to become chaplains, although none were officially commissioned until the Crimean War. Other Protestant denominations were also admitted in the 1860's. In 1830, a new warrant was signed by the King, which meant that chaplains who had completed less than fifteen years' service only received 5s a day as half pay. The final section of this chapter introduces the Reverend George Gleig, who was appointed as Principal Chaplain following the resignation of Dakins. The office of Principal Chaplain would be upgraded once more in 1846 to that of Chaplain General. Although Dakins had retired as Principal Chaplain, his son, the Reverend John Dakins, would be appointed as Assistant to the Principal Chaplain; however, the Reverend Robert Browne was appointed as London's garrison chaplain. As this thesis concludes in 1845, Gleig only receives a brief introduction.

²¹ WO 43/535, Post of Chaplain General to the army abolished and duties combined with those of Principle Chaplain at headquarters, Dr. W.W. Dakins. Dr Dakins retires in 1843 after 50 years' service, 96

We return to a thematic study for our last chapter on Methodism and Evangelicals. Methodists were known for their enthusiasm, with John Wesley often preaching in the open air, his “target audience” being the working classes. There are three areas which are to be considered in this chapter. The first is Methodist soldier-preachers. Probably one of the most famous of Mr Wesley’s preachers was John Haime who, it was claimed, ‘often preached to a congregation of a thousand.’²² The phrase “Mr Wesley’s preachers” is a Methodist term which, even today means those, both ordained and lay, who are called to preach within the Methodist Church. Next, this chapter focuses on the impact of Methodism on Wellington’s army. Methodists had such confidence that should they die on the battlefield that for them, ‘to be absent from the body, is to be present with the Lord’ (2 Corinthians 5:8). Within Wellington’s army, probably the best known of the Methodists was Sergeant John Stephenson of the 3rd Foot Guards. It was Methodists who recognised the plight of French Prisoners of War, of whom a report from the Transport Office noted there were 45,939 on 11 June 1811.²³ The third section deals with Methodism overseas, primarily in Gibraltar and especially with the flogging of five soldiers who had attended a Methodist meeting on 10 June 1803. At the court martial the next day, all five were found guilty. Wherever Methodist soldiers went, the Methodist Church followed as societies sprang up. This chapter concludes with a section on the Duke of Wellington and Methodism and, in this section, we noted that the Duke, was a decided member of the Church of England, which would bring its own tensions.

²² Jamieson, W, ‘Methodist Chaplaincy – Then and Now’ *JRACHD*, v. 20 (117), Jun 1972, 54

²³ HCPP, *An Account of the Number of French Prisoners of War in England*: 14 June 1811

Chapter 1

ARMY CHAPLAINCY BEFORE 1796

a. Introduction

It would be fair to say that British soldiers have normally gone to war with some spiritual support. However, chaplaincy in the latter years of the eighteenth century was in dire straits and in need of reform. The origin of the title 'chaplain' comes from the Latin *capellanus*, who was literally the cleric who bore into battle a relic of the cape (*capella*) which belonged to the Roman soldier St. Martin of Tours (c317-397) who once shared his cloak with a beggar; in a dream that night the beggar revealed himself as none other than Jesus Christ. The 'priest-guardian of the cloak was known as the *cappellanu*, the English translation of which is "chaplain".²⁴

This chapter will examine the origins of chaplaincy from the formation of the New Model Army in 1645. On a broader theme, chaplaincy within the East India Company will be scrutinized as this provides a vital link with the Army Chaplains' Department on two counts, the origins of the unofficial title of chaplain (that of "padre"); and especially through the Reverend John Owen, who became the second Chaplain General. This chapter concludes with an investigation of one regiment, that of the Glengarry Fencibles, pointing to the irony that whilst officers in general, and chaplains in particular in the army, were Protestant the chaplain of the Glengarries was a Roman Catholic.

²⁴ Harris, Anthea, *Military Saints of the Late Roman Army JRChD*, v. 48, 2009, 26

b. The Standing Army

Although soldiers have always gone to war with spiritual support, it was not until the creation of the New Model Army in 1645 that they received commissions. This did not mean, however, that chaplains were constantly with their regiments. Anne Laurence observes that, 'it was common for regiments to be without chaplains for long periods of time, and this was especially so for the cavalry.'²⁵ A preserved commissioning warrant from that period is the one issued by Oliver Cromwell on 22 April 1654, which was issued to the Reverend William Manning who had been appointed as chaplain to Landguard Fort, near Felixstowe:

Oliver P.

Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.
To all whom these presents may concerne.

Know ye that we do hereby constitute and appointe William Manning to be Minister of the Garrison of Landguard Fort. You are therefore to make your present repaire unto the saide garrison, and taking the said place unto y^r charge, you are diligently to intend the execution thereof; and faithfully and duly to execute and perform all things incident and belonging thereunto; and the Officers and Souldiers of the said Garrison are to acknowledge you as their chaplain, and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from ourselfe, or the superior Officer of the said Garrison according to the discipline of warr.

Given under our hand and seale the 22 day of April 1654.²⁶

Chaplains in the New Model Army played a key role, especially for Cromwell; they would, for example, 'play a pivotal role in raising morale, [among] soldiers.'²⁷ This raising of morale was key to overcoming the opposition. Journalist John Vickers, who wrote in *England's Parliamentary Chronicles*, described the chaplains who were deployed at the Battle of Edgehill in 1642, noting that they 'rode up and downe [sic]

²⁵ Laurence, Anne, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-1651* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990, 14

²⁶ Leslie, M J R, *The History of Landguard Fort, in Suffolk* London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1898, 121

²⁷ Herspring, Dale R, *Soldiers, Commissars, and Chaplains* Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001, 55

the army, through the thickest dangers, and in much personal hazard, most faithfully and courageously exhorting and encouraging the souldiers [sic] to fight valiantly.'²⁸

Following the Restoration in 1660, Parliament, in its Articles of War of 1662-63, prescribed the duty of every chaplain. Their duties were to include, 'the reading of the prayers of the Church of England every day and to preach as often as he thought fit.'²⁹ This became part of the problem, to which we will return in the next chapter, in that there was a belief that personal attendance was not required.

In May 1806, a letter was published in *The European Magazine* from 128 years before, containing advice which, according to the editor, 'will hold good in all ages'. The original unnamed author noted 'You ought to be always attended with a good Chaplain; and if I were worthy to advise your General, I would beg him to be as careful of his Chaplain's as his Captain's.' So, what according to the 'faithful friend and servant' should be the criteria in making the choice?

You should chuse [sic] for a Chaplain a man reserved in his life, grave in his deportment, fixed in his principles, and faithful to his Prince; One that will not be ashamed when fools deride him; one that will not be afraid to exhort and reprove, as occasion requires; one that is patient enough to endure scorn and reproach, and bold enough to oppose himself against the greatest torrent of impiety.³⁰

²⁸ Laurence, Anne, *Parliamentary Army Chaplains, 1642-1651* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990

²⁹ Quoted in Snape, Michael, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department – Clergy Under Fire* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008, 15

³⁰ *European Magazine and London Review*, May 1806, 330

c. *The East India Company Chaplains*

The story of the East India Company contains some important links with the Army Chaplains' Department, and the purpose of this section is to examine two of those links seen through the ministry of the Reverend John Owen and the first use of the term "Padre". The Company Charter was signed on 31 December 1600 which created a trading monopoly which was the 'Governor and Company of Merchants of London to the East Indies'³¹; this was followed nearly two years later on 20 March 1602 with the formation of the Dutch East India Company by the 'States-General, the national administrative body of the Dutch Republic.'³² The British Company was established at Surat, in western India, in 1612 but, this factory was moved to Bombay in 1665.

One major revision in the Company came with the Regulating Act of 1773, which 'had recognised the right of the Company to administer territories'³³ but had made it clear that this right stemmed from Parliament. In 1784 William Pitt introduced the India Act under which Parliament controlled the whole administration of the Company. A paper prepared by Charles Grant to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1797,³⁴ and which was published by the House of Commons in 1813, gives a tremendous insight into life in India in the latter half of the eighteenth century. This paper tells of the struggle between the British and French in acquiring

³¹ Corrigan, Gordon, *Wellington: a Military Life* London: Hambledon Continuum, 2001, 36

³² Webpage: Prakash, Om *The Transformation from a Pre-Colonial to a Colonial Order: The Case of India* [<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/economyHistory>, accessed 22 Aug 2008], 5

³³ Corrigan, Gordon, *Wellington: a Military Life* London: Hambledon Continuum, 2001, 37

³⁴ Strong, Rowan, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c1700-1850* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 156

political power in the region, which meant taking part in a struggle in which the British were ultimately victorious. It should be noted in passing that, in 1787, King George III's intention was 'to raise four regiments for service in India.'³⁵ Each of these regiments were to consist of ten companies and to include a chaplain but, as the Seventh Commission highlighted in 1808, these were not, as Richard Holmes asserted, their own regimental chaplains.³⁶

The supply of chaplains to the East India Company was a Company problem, and not one that fell within the remit of the Army Chaplains' Department. These Company chaplains were, according to Strong, 'paid employees, and had official precedence after the Governor'.³⁷ Whilst this may have seemed a good idea, this still not attract many clergymen, primarily because of the high European mortality rate in India. In the year 1771 (prior to the formation of the Department), 'there were only five Company chaplains serving in India (two in Bengal, two in Bombay and one in Madras)'. This rose over a period of time so that, 'by 1815, the Company had forty-two chaplains in India, eighty-three by 1837 and 126 by 1857'.³⁸ However, the *British Magazine* of 1832 lists only eleven chaplains serving in India.³⁹ There was not, moreover a universal chaplaincy coverage as 'the two British armies in Hindoostan, and in the Dekhen, lately in the field, had not one chaplain.'⁴⁰ It is little wonder that the Department, and especially the Reverend George Gleig, would have liked to

³⁵ HCPP, *Copy of the Proceedings Relative to Sending of Four of His Majesty's Regiments to India, with the Cases and Opinions Thereupon*, 1

³⁶ Holmes, Richard, *Sahib – The British Soldier in India, 1750-1914* London: Harper, 2006, 463

³⁷ Strong, Rowan, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c1700-1850* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 121

³⁸ Snape, Michael, 'British Military Chaplaincy in Early Victorian India' *Cahiers Victoriens et Édouardiens*, v. 66, Oct 2007, 367

³⁹ *British Magazine*, 1832, 495

⁴⁰ *Monthly Review*, May 1807, 42

have these chaplains under his control. Although many chaplains in India did a good job, it was recorded that 'in 1819... [in] Madras that one officer read services to his men so "regularly and affectionately" that their Company chaplain concluded that it was "a pity for him to interfere"'.⁴¹

One of the biggest myths within the Chaplains' Department is that it was during the Peninsular War that chaplains were first called "Padre", after hearing the Spanish and Portuguese soldiers calling their priests "Padre". The Roman Catholic Church had, according to Kincaid, been 'in Calcutta since 1700'⁴² which means that "Padres" had been in India for over a century before this term was used by British soldiers in the Peninsula. The Royal Canadian Army Chaplains' Department confesses that how this term was first used 'is obscure'⁴³; however, this term is not that obscure. In 1969 Brophy and Partridge asserted that, 'this word was adopted by the Army from the Portuguese in India during the eighteenth century'.⁴⁴ Also, in 2007, Snape stated that 'the term "Padre" was emphatically Indian in origin'.⁴⁵ This is definitively shown by the Reverend Dr Donald McKinnon in 1783, who asked that in his passport he be styled "Padre"⁴⁶.

⁴¹ Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* London: Routledge, 2005, 88

⁴² Kincaid, Dennis, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973, 106

⁴³ *Canadian Forces Chaplain Branch Manual*, Canadian National Defence, 2005, 145

⁴⁴ Brophy, John and Partridge, Eric *The Long Trail, Soldiers Songs and Slang, 1914-18* London: Sphere Books, 1969, 130

⁴⁵ Snape, Michael, 'British Military Chaplaincy in Early Victorian India' *Cahier Victoriens et Edouariens*, v. 66, Oct 2007, 366

⁴⁶ Hyde, Henry Barry *Parochial Annals of Bengal: Being a History of the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Honourable East India Company in the 17th and 18th Centuries* Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1901, 173

The *Oriental Herald* of 1827 carried an article regarding *Proposed Reforms in the Medical Service of India* which, unusually, also included the subject of chaplaincy. Part of this article included *The Code of Pay Regulations* for chaplains, an extract of which is reproduced in full, and which is similar to the Terms and Conditions which would be drawn up for the Army Chaplains' Department in 1830, which we will return to in chapter five:

39. That chaplains, after seven years residence in India, be allowed to come to Europe on furlough, and to receive the pay of Major during such furlough.
40. That chaplains, who come home for ill health prior to this period of service, shall receive the pay of Captains only.
41. That chaplains, having served ten years at a military station, and after eighteen years service altogether, (including three years for a furlough) shall be allowed to retire on the pay of Major.
42. That chaplains, having served ten years in India, and whose constitutions will not admit of their continuing in the service there, for the period required to entitle them to full pay, shall be permitted to retire on the half pay of Major.
43. That chaplains, whose constitutions will not admit of their continuing in India for so long a period as ten years, shall be permitted to retire on the half pay of Captain, provided they have served seven years in India.
44. That no retiring pay be granted to chaplains who have not served seven years in India.⁴⁷

Doctor Shepherd, who was one of the chaplains of the Presidency of Bengal, was not overly enamoured with chaplaincy cover to the British troops in India when compared to chaplaincy cover in the Peninsula. He complained about this in a letter to the *Oriental Herald*, in which he said:

If we look to the formation of our armies, that have been in the Peninsula of Europe, we shall find on every occasion a Chaplain was appointed to each brigade, in addition to the one at head quarters, whereas, NOT EVEN ONE Chaplain had ever marched with the British troops on the Peninsula of India. What possible excuse can then be offered for such flagrant inattention to His Majesty's explicit and positive commands, relative to the religious instruction

⁴⁷ *Oriental Herald and Journal of General Literature*, Oct 1827, 69

and comfort of the soldier, in whatever country, or on whatever duty he may be employed?⁴⁸

In 1797 Colonel Arthur Wesley (hereafter Wellesley, the more normal spelling of his name), took the 33rd Regiment of Foot on an abortive expedition from India to Manila, taking with him 'the Rev. Mr Blunt as chaplain'.⁴⁹ As we have already noted, Richard Holmes,⁵⁰ along with Gordon Corrigan,⁵¹ made the incorrect assumption that all regiments in India took their own chaplains (the 33rd Regiment of Foot certainly did have a chaplain, who was the Reverend William James).⁵² It may well be that William James was on leave, as was normally the case, and we shall see examples of this in the next chapter.

Was Wellesley wrong in taking Blunt as his regimental chaplain on his expedition to Manila? When Wellesley left England in 1796, regimental chaplains were still being appointed but, as we shall see in the next chapter, in September of this same year regimental chaplains were to be abolished. Furthermore, Wellesley would come to know the value of chaplains, as he would ask the Horse Guards for more during the Peninsular War, primarily to deal with the problem of Methodism. The lawyer and diarist William Hickey had persuaded Wellesley to take the Reverend Blunt⁵³ on this expedition. If, as Holmes and Corrigan state, the 33rd Regiment of Foot had its own chaplain in India, Wellesley would not have needed to look for another. However,

⁴⁸ *Oriental Herald and Journal of General Literature*, Dec 1829, 350 (Original emphasis)

⁴⁹ Holmes, Richard, *Wellington – The Iron Duke* London: Harper Collins, 2003, 40

⁵⁰ Holmes, Richard, *Sahib – The British Soldier in India, 1750-1914* London: Harper, 2006, 463

⁵¹ Corrigan, Gordon, *Wellington: a Military Life* London: Hambledon Continuum, 2001, 39

⁵² RMAS, Army List 1795 see also HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808 and USSCD, WP1/175/18 Letter from Lieutenant Colonel A Gore to Major General Sir Arthur Wellesley, giving him news of the Thirty Third Regiment of Foot, currently in India, and enclosing a monthly return and a list of Officers, 4th October 1807, see also Appendix B

⁵³ Longford, Elizabeth, *Wellington* London: Abacus, 1992, 38

things did not go well, and on the voyage out the Reverend Blunt got ‘abominably drunk, and in that disgraceful condition exposed himself to both soldiers and sailors...talking all sorts of bawdy and ribaldry’.⁵⁴ Consequently the Reverend Blunt, despite Wellesley’s personal intervention, ‘fretted himself to death.’

Some of the chaplains who came to India came because of a missionary zeal, which was strongly discouraged. This discouragement, as we have seen already, was not because the Company was anti-Christian, but did not want to cause unrest in the mainly Hindu population. The mutiny at Vellore, near Madras, in July 1806 stemmed from trying to Christianise the Indian soldiers, such that sepoys were made to ‘wear round hats and leather stocks’⁵⁵ as well as forbidding the wearing of religious marks. So serious was this event that, ‘some two hundred European troops were killed or wounded.’⁵⁶ John Owen, however, deflected any blame for the mutiny away from the Christianising of India when he posed the question, ‘was the propagation of Christianity the object for shaving the upper lip of the native troops at Vellore, and forcibly effacing from their bodies the sacred mark of Cast?’⁵⁷ Instead, Owen placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the military commanders.

The following section is an attempt to paint a pen-picture of four individuals: the Reverend David Brown, the Reverend Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie, as well as a very

⁵⁴ Holmes, Richard, *Wellington – The Iron Duke* London: Harper Collins, 2003, 40; Snape, Michael, ‘British Military Chaplaincy in Early Victorian India’ *Victorian Representations of War*, V. 66, Oct 2007, 359

⁵⁵ Holmes, Richard, *Sahib – The British Soldier in India, 1750-1914* London: Harper, 2006, 273

⁵⁶ Porter, Andrew, *Religion versus empire? British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700-1914* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, 69

⁵⁷ Owen, J, *An Address to the Chairman of the East India Company, Occasioned by Mr. Twining’s Letter to the Gentleman, on the Danger of Interfering in the Religious Opinions of the Natives of India, and on the Views of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as Directed to India* London: J Hatchard, 1807, 24

brief mention of the Reverend John Owen. These missionary chaplains did not come to start a work of God, but to give the work a new impetus. Later in this chapter, we will look at the work of the Baptist Church, especially through the ministry of William Carey.

In 1807, the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, who was one of the chaplains at Fort William, Bengal, noted that there are 'six military chaplains for Bengal, Bahar, Oude, the Dooab, and Orissa. There are three chaplains in the town of Calcutta, five at the Presidency of Madras, and four at the Presidency of Bombay.'⁵⁸ It is little wonder that the Department, and especially George Gleig, would have liked to have these chaplains under its control.

The Reverend David Brown⁵⁹ (1763-1812) was the son of a Yorkshire yeoman farmer, who was well educated at Hull Grammar School and Magdalene College, Cambridge. David Brown sympathised with the local Hindu children and he started a boarding school near the Military Orphan Institute. Among the congregation of his Church in Calcutta were the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, and his more illustrious military brother, Arthur.

The Reverend Henry Martyn (1780-1812) was born in Truro, Cornwall, where he attended Truro Grammar School, before being admitted to St John's College, Cambridge where he gained an MA in 1804 and BD in 1806. He arrived in India on

⁵⁸ Buchanan, Claudius, *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India* Cambridge: Hilliard & Metcalf, 1811, 13

⁵⁹ Arbuthnot, A J 'Brown, David (1762-1812)', rev. Katherine Prior, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3603>, accessed 20 Jan 2009]

16 May 1806, where his services to the Company nearly came to an early end when his vessel, the *Union*, became stuck on the dangerous James and Mary sandbank. Many other ships had struck the same sandbank and sank with great loss of life but, as he had a deep belief that God was on his side, Henry Martyn was able to retire to his cabin 'for prayer, and found his soul in peace';⁶⁰ two hours later, the *Union* refloated and all on board survived. Martyn remained in Calcutta for the first six months of his ministry, but then left for Dinapore and from thence to Cawnpore. Henry Martyn's legacy to India, apart from the translation of the Scriptures, 'was a singular child-like simplicity',⁶¹ and with that, his loving missionary zeal shone through. However, he did allow himself the luxury of shooting some of God's creatures, including on 22 October 1806 'a bird somewhat larger than a woodcock, but like it in taste.'⁶²

Daniel Corrie arrived in Calcutta a few months later than Henry Martyn, where he was destined to spend thirty years of his life, and to finish his career as the first Bishop of Madras. Like Martyn, he found the military part of his flock both careless and godless. Later in his ministry, he also transferred to Cawnpore where he relieved Henry Martyn for his return to England.⁶³

The Reverend John Owen (1754-1824) spent nine years as a chaplain to the East India Company, before returning to the United Kingdom in 1793 to become the second Chaplain General in 1810. John Owen went to India in 1784, having applied

⁶⁰ Sargent, John, *A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn BD* London: Seeley and Burnside, 1839, 156

⁶¹ Sargent, John, *A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn BD* London: Seeley and Burnside, 1839, 428

⁶² Sargent, John, *A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn BD* London: Seeley and Burnside, 1839, 171

⁶³ Brothers, His, *Memoirs of the Right Rev. Daniel Corrie LL.D* London, Seeley, Burnside & Seeley, 1847

to be Senior Chaplain of the Presidency of Bengal following the resignation of the Reverend Dr James Burn. However, the position was locally filled by the time he arrived. Undeterred, he accepted the post as garrison chaplain at Fort William, Calcutta. Owen was at the forefront of securing government schools for the indigenous population. In a letter dated 20 June 1788, which was signed by all of the chaplains in Calcutta and addressed to the Governor General, Owen called for 'the institution of Public Schools in proper situations for the purpose of teaching our language to the natives of these provinces [which] would be ultimately attended with the happiest effects.'⁶⁴ The implication of this policy was not undertaken immediately, until it was confirmed by the Court of Directors in their despatch of 19 July 1854. Such was Owen's impact in the country that he also built the Native Hospital in Calcutta, which was later enlarged and renamed the Mayo Hospital. It was whilst he was there that he influenced the change of status for chaplains, from 'belonging to particular battalions or stations', to being deployed and posted as the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces decided.⁶⁵ That is all that needs to be said for the moment regarding the Reverend John Owen; he will be dealt with more fully in chapter three.

⁶⁴ Hyde, Henry Barry *Parochial Annals of Bengal: Being a History of the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Honourable East India Company in the 17th and 18th Centuries* Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1901, 215-216

⁶⁵ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 35; Hughes, Derrick, *The Mutiny Chaplains* Salisbury: Michael Russell, 1991, 11; Hendrickson, Kenneth, *Making Saints – Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885* London: Associated University Presses, 1998, 24

d. *The Glengarry Fencibles*

Fencible Regiments were not regular forces, but ‘could be either cavalry or infantry and were recruited for the duration of a war or emergency’⁶⁶. Such a regiment were the Glengarry Fencibles, who were raised as a Catholic corps. Commissioned chaplains of the period were primarily drawn from the ranks of the Church of England. However, one Catholic priest, Alexander Macdonnell (1762-1840), ‘was commissioned [in 1794], albeit illegally, by King George III to be chaplain to the Fencibles and... became the first Catholic army chaplain in the British army since the days of King James II.’⁶⁷ Macdonnell was, however, a useful member of the regiment as he persuaded its soldiers ‘to extend their services to any part of Great Britain or Ireland, or even to the Islands of Jersey or Guernsey.’⁶⁸ As Fencible regiments were raised for local emergencies only, this one act gave the government the leverage they needed to require all new Fencible regiments to follow suit. The Glengarry Fencibles were disbanded in 1802 whilst serving at Conomaraigh, Ireland, when ‘at the short Peace of Amiens, the whole of the Scotch Fencibles were disbanded.’⁶⁹ The chaplain travelled at his own expense to London to ask for government funds to assist their emigration to Upper Canada, ‘and this favour was conferred upon him at the recommendation of His Royal Highness the Duke of York,

⁶⁶ Caddick-Adams, Peter in Holmes, Richard (ed), *The Oxford Companion to Military History* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 296

⁶⁷ Hagerty, James, *Padres to Prelates JRACHD*, v. 46, 2007, 67; Johnstone, Tom & Hagerty, James, *The Cross on the Sword – Catholic Chaplains in the Forces* London: Cassell, 1996, 1

⁶⁸ Macdonell, J A, *A Sketch of the Life of the Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell* Alexandria, Canada: The Glengarrian, 1890, 7

⁶⁹ Macdonell, J A, *A Sketch of the Life of the Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell* Alexandria, Canada: The Glengarrian, 1890, 11

then Commander in Chief.⁷⁰ The Glengarries were reformed as the Glengarry Light Infantry Regiment just prior to the War of 1812.⁷¹

Macdonell was, it would appear, 'a man of great frame. He stood six feet four inches'.⁷² There is an interesting, and yet at the same time probably apocryphal story told about him, in which he went into battle 'with a sword in one hand and a Bible in the other'. Rowland tells of a more probable story when, at the battle of Ogdensburg, 'a wounded soldier named Ross was carried into an inn kept by Yankee sympathizers.' There was a request for a medicinal brandy for the wounded soldier but, when this was refused, 'Macdonell used his great strength to kick down the tap-room door, and that day more than the sick men had brandy.' He would also be the last Roman Catholic priest to be commissioned, until after the Crimean War. Interestingly, the Royal Canadian Army Chaplains' Department Manual incorrectly asserts that, 'it was not until 1802 that Roman Catholic padres were at last permitted to serve in the British Army'.⁷³ Macdonell remained in Canada where he went on to become the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada.

e. Conclusion

Chaplaincy, especially in the British army has a long history. On its part also the army had seen the need for clerical support, especially with the formation of the

⁷⁰ Macdonell, J A, *A Sketch of the Life of the Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell* Alexandria, Canada: The Glengarrion, 1890, 13

⁷¹ Macdonell, J A, *A Sketch of the Life of the Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell* Alexandria, Canada: The Glengarrion, 1890, 27

⁷² Rowland, B D (ed), *The Padre* Scarborough, Ontario: Amethyst, 1982, 158

⁷³ *Canadian Forces Chaplain Branch Manual* Canadian National Defence, 2005, 1-2

standing army. Parliament had set down the duties of the chaplain in the Articles of War which, at their core, centred around praying for their men, which has remained unaltered down through the ages, and a good chaplain has always had the care of his (and now her) troops very much at their heart.

This chapter argued that chaplaincy within the East India Company was borne mainly on the shoulders of chaplains employed by the Company, and there was a vital link with the Army Chaplains' Department through the Reverend John Owen, the second Chaplain General, who had been a chaplain in Calcutta, which was foundational for the later post he would undertake. It was in India where he reorganised chaplains to being accountable to the Commander-in-Chief and not unit commanders. It was also in India and not Portugal and Spain that the sympathetic term "Padre" was first coined in the British army. The influence of East India Company chaplaincy would, in time, feed into the British army chaplaincy system.

Although chaplaincy within the British army was at that time a solely Church of England preserve, this did not prevent the Catholic Glengarry Fencibles from having their own Roman Catholic Priest as chaplain in 1794. The Glengarries, as with other Fencible regiments, were raised for use within Great Britain or Ireland and, although disbanded in 1802, were reformed and fought with distinction in Canada.

Chaplains of regular army regiments were, on the whole, absent. However, this could not be sustained as commanders began to understand the need for religious support when the army deployed overseas. This chapter has set out to provide the

context for army chaplaincy; however, changes were needed, and it is to these changes that we turn our attention in the next chapter.

Chapter 2

THE FORMATION OF THE ARMY CHAPLAINS' DEPARTMENT, 1796

a. *Introduction*

British military might was projected in many areas around the globe through its army and navy, including the West Indies, India and the American colonies, although they would be lost before the end of the eighteenth century. This chapter will show that, whilst the army might be deployed in many countries, the same could not be said of the army chaplain. It will examine the changes that occurred within army chaplaincy during the latter half of the eighteenth century, including the appointment of a Chaplain General.

b. *The Need for Change*

There was a great need for change within chaplaincy by the 1790s, as well as in the army as a whole. Such was the need for change that until 1792, the army was 'administered by a remote, divided, and frail bureaucracy, [which] lacked even a comprehensive drill manual.'⁷⁴ Change, especially over the purchase of commissions within the army, would take many years to accomplish (in fact not until 1870), and not without many battles won and lost. One of the biggest problems within the British army at this time was the amateur nature of its officer corps. Whilst the army had some excellent and able commanders, such as Wellington, before the

⁷⁴ Gates, David, 'The Transformation of the Army 1783-1815' in D. Chandler and I Beckett (eds) *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Army* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 139

1790s many officers could purchase commissions even as babes in arms.⁷⁵ As far as chaplaincy was concerned, whilst Marlborough had with him at Blenheim in 1704 'thirteen regimental chaplains'⁷⁶, this representation decreased to such a degree that the Duke of York, some 90 years later, would be served by only one chaplain in Flanders, the Reverend John Gamble. The lowest point for chaplaincy came when Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was charged with putting together an expedition to the Caribbean in 1795, could not muster a single chaplain to answer the call.

General Sir Ralph Abercrombie was selected to lead a considerable force to the West Indies in 1795, to succeed Sir Charles Grey. A vital component of this force, as far as Abercrombie was concerned, was the inclusion of chaplaincy cover, bearing in mind that a posting to the Caribbean was not so much "an exotic sojourn as a death sentence"; thousands of men perished or were invalided for life by disease.⁷⁷ It is therefore little wonder that Abercrombie was keen to have chaplains with him. Abercrombie directed 'an Order to be addressed to all the Chaplains of the Regiments under his command, requiring their personal attendance at his then Headquarters.'⁷⁸ This vital meeting had been called to determine which of the chaplains would accompany the expedition. However, and 'relying on some promise made or implied when they purchased their commissions that personal Service would never be demanded of them',⁷⁹ none of the chaplains summoned made an appearance at Abercrombie's headquarters. This situation could not be sustained, and it was one

⁷⁵ Glover, Richard, *Peninsular Preparation – The Reform of the British Army 1795-1809* Cambridge: Ken Trotman Ltd, 1988, 148

⁷⁶ Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* London: Routledge, 2005, 22

⁷⁷ Gates, David, 'The Transformation of the Army 1783-1815' in D. Chandler and I Beckett (eds) *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Army*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 137

⁷⁸ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808; 25

⁷⁹ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808; 25

which the Seventh Commission described as 'extraordinary'; it also highlighted the unacceptable situation of the regimental system as it stood and the need to replace it with a system that would ensure a chaplain's presence when his soldiers went to war.

Despite what General Abercrombie's chaplains did in practice, it is evident that chaplains should have made themselves available to deploy with their soldiers, wherever they were to be sent. It is clear from the *Rules and Articles for the Better Government of His Majesty's Horse and Foot Guards, and all other His Forces in Great Britain and Ireland, Dominions Beyond the seas, and Foreign Parts*, that, 'no chaplain, who is commissioned to a Regiment, Company, Troop, or Garrison, shall absent himself (excepting in case of sickness, or leave of absence) upon pain of being brought to a Court Martial',⁸⁰ although this did not prevent chaplains from appointing a deputy. These rules were ignored, as many of the officer corps could also found to be absent from their troops.

The situation of absentee chaplains should not come as a surprise as 'it was common practice for [parish] clergymen to become absentees, keeping the living obtained from the parish and delegating curates to carry out their duties at a much lower rate of pay.'⁸¹ Such was the scale of the problem that 'in 1743 out of 837 parishes in the Diocese of York, 393 had non-resident incumbents and 315 were held

⁸⁰ HCPP, *Rules and Articles for the Better Government of His Majesty's Horse and Foot Guards, and all other His Forces in Great Britain and Ireland, Dominions beyond the seas, and Foreign Parts*, 1749

⁸¹ Hague, William, *William Wilberforce – The Life of the Great Anti-Slave Trade Campaigner* London: Harper Collins, 2007, 10

by pluralists or immoral clergymen.’⁸² Therefore, it could not be argued that chaplains were particularly negligent when they were absent from their regiments as the civilian clergy saw plurality as a norm. For many clergymen, the purchase of a commission was seen as providing additional income along with a comfortable retirement when the commission was sold.

Chaplains had, for quite some time, been an important part of the army ‘so that soldiery could be convinced that their cause had the blessing of God.’⁸³ Chaplains’ appointments were, prior to 1796, the ‘perquisite of the Colonel’.⁸⁴ Clayton indicates that the commission for this appointment could have been paid for twice, ‘firstly to the Secretary at War on a set table of charges but often also to an officer already holding a position but moving on or retiring.’⁸⁵ Chaplains were ahead of the game as far as the abolition of purchase was concerned. The Duke of York had begun the process of reforming the army ‘although he did not abolish the purchasing system’⁸⁶. It would not be until 1870 that Viscount Edward Cardwell would be able to push through his attempt to abolish purchase. As purchase had no statutory basis, legislation was not required but Cardwell would still need to request a Royal Warrant from Queen Victoria to abolish purchase, a full seventy-four years ahead of the rest of the officer corps.⁸⁷

⁸² Turner, John Munsey, *John Wesley* Peterborough: Epworth, 2002, 142

⁸³ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 1

⁸⁴ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 26

⁸⁵ Clayton, Anthony, *The British Officer* Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007, 22

⁸⁶ Davies, Huw J, *Wellington’s Wars – The Making of a Military Genius* London: Yale University Press, 2012, 8

⁸⁷ ‘A History of the British Army in 25 Battles’, *Military History Monthly*, 24, Sept 2012, 46

Just as today, where chaplaincy is seen as a vital part of military life, so it was in the early years of military chaplaincy. The *Nineteenth Report of the Commission of Military Enquiry*, published in 1812, focussed on Military Hospitals at Chelsea and on the Royal Military Asylum and in it the duties of the Chaplain seemed simpler than for other reports. The chaplain was 'Chaplain and Superintendent of Morals and Education' and received a salary of £280 per annum, 'with Coals and Candles for two rooms and a half.'⁸⁸ Later the same report recognised that 'by the King's Warrant of August 1809, the salary ... of the Chaplain [was raised] to three hundred and fifty pounds, by an addition of seventy pounds', a good sum when it is compared to some clergy livings, which even by 1832, could be as low as £50 per annum.⁸⁹

Although chaplaincy was recognised as a vital component of the army, chaplains were failing to provide it. When John Gamble took office as Chaplain General it was found that his entire establishment of 340 chaplains were listed as being 'on leave'.⁹⁰ Of these 340, 'the Reverend Peter Vataas of the 14th Light Dragoons had been on unpaid leave for 52 years'⁹¹ whilst 'Mr Miles Beevor, chaplain to the Royal Scots, had been absent from the date his commission was granted in 1786.'⁹² It would appear that when the Army Chaplains' Department was formed in 1796 Gamble was the only chaplain left in his post. However, Gamble's evidence to the Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry stated that the two Life Guards regiments had chaplains⁹³, although

⁸⁸ HCPP, *Nineteenth Commission of Military Enquiry (Military Hospitals)* (1812); 397

⁸⁹ Lane, Gerald, *The Clergy of the Deaneries of Rochester and Mailing in the Diocese of Rochester, c.1770-1870*, University of Durham, MA, 1995, 58

⁹⁰ Clayton, Anthony, *The British Officer* Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007, 296

⁹¹ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 115

⁹² Dow, Alexander Crawley, *Ministers to the Soldiers of Scotland*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1962, 227

⁹³ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808; 26

the Army List indicates that both of these regiments shared the same chaplain, the Reverend George Marsh.⁹⁴

The existing situation was unsustainable and so the current regimental system was abolished and replaced with the creation of the Army Chaplains' Department on 23 September 1796.⁹⁵ The *Seventh Report of the Commission of Military Enquiry*, which was published in 1808, stated that:

Before the appointment of the Chaplain General, and the adoption of the system under which this Department is now conducted, every Regiment, both of Cavalry and Infantry, whether Regulars, Militia or Fencibles, had a Chaplain appointed to it as part of its Establishment, whose duty it was to attend his Corps on all occasions, as well at home as abroad, and to perform in person the Service of a Chaplain. At what period a relaxation in attendance of Chaplains with their Regiments first began to prevail; the indulgence of leave of absence seems to have gained ground insensibly, till at length, notwithstanding the Articles of War on this head, the appointment became apparently a sinecure.⁹⁶

c. *The Royal Warrant*

The disposal of regimental chaplaincies was, in the main, down to the office holder normally via an agent. The following enlightening advertisement appeared in *The Times* on 9 June 1795, a year before the abolition of this practice: 'TO BE DISPOSED OF, A CHAPLAINCY, in a new regiment of Dragoons, and a Quarter-Master's Warrant, in a Regiment of Dragoons. Apply to Mr Hawkes, No. 17 Picadilly.' This new post holder would not enjoy this position for very long, as we are about to see. Regimental chaplains, but not garrison chaplains, would be abolished by a

⁹⁴ See Appendix B

⁹⁵ The Royal Canadian Army Chaplains' Department erroneously states that it was not until '1858 [that] the British Royal Army Chaplains' Corps came into being.' *Canadian Forces Chaplain Branch Manual*, Canadian National Defence, 2005, 146; B D Rowland who also makes a similar mistake in *The Padre*, 158

⁹⁶ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 24

Royal Warrant, which was issued on 23 September 1796. The Royal Warrant established the Army Chaplains' Department, (see Appendix A for the full text) which laid down that:

whenever an Army is formed, or a body of troops ordered to be assembled for service abroad, and in all Garrisons and Stations where several Regiments are near together, Chaplains shall be appointed according to the number of the Corps, in the proportion of one to each Brigade, or to every three or four Regiments.⁹⁷

The immediate effect of the creation of the Chaplains' Department was that those who had been regimental chaplains were given an ultimatum that if they did not rejoin their regiments by 25 December 1796 they would be 'retired' on half pay (a list of these can be found in Appendix B), so that new chaplains could be appointed. In order that chaplains were left in no doubt as to the change in regulations, the Secretary of War, William Windham, despatched a circular letter to all regimental chaplains dated 30 September 1796. This letter clearly stated that 'no Chaplain shall hereafter be permitted to employ a deputy'.⁹⁸ Therefore, clergymen such as the one who purchased the Dragoon Guards chaplaincy would not be permitted to sell it on. To guarantee this, the letter pointed out that 'half yearly certificates will be required, signed by the Commanding Officer of each Corps whose Chaplain joins' which would clearly state that the regiment's chaplain was indeed personally performing his duties. The regimental chaplain could not just ignore this letter, as he was to indicate 'whether it be your determination to join your present Regiment, or to accept of the alternative herein to you of retiring at Christmas next on reduced subsistence of four shillings a day.' With the formation of this new Department, chaplains pay would now

⁹⁷ Ascoli, David, *A Companion to the British Army 1660-1983* London: Harrap Ltd, 1983, 153

⁹⁸ NAS, GD44/47/15/2/32 War Office. Copy circular relative to chaplains in regiments, 30th September 1796

be centralised under the control of a Mr Windus, who was a clerk in the War Office, and also worked with the Chaplain General.⁹⁹

This new Department was now to be led by a Chaplain General who it was hoped, would help to create a better system. These regulations did not affect the Fencibles; therefore they would 'have no half pay'.¹⁰⁰ The new office of Chaplain General 'annexed to the Military Staff of Great Britain' in 1799,¹⁰¹ giving it for the first time a headquarters, and hence the British army has a Chaplains' Department rather than a Chaplains' Corps.

It was believed that these reforms would sort out some of the problems of chaplaincy and ensure that those who now joined would keep to their appointment. The new arrangement went some way to help, although further reforms in 1809, mainly in the employment of garrison chaplains, would also be needed. The new Warrant indicated that chaplains were appointed for a period of twelve years, and then allowed to retire¹⁰². It should also be noted that those who were newly appointed had to forward a Certificate signed by the Commanding Officer, twice a year (25 June and 25 December) 'stating that such Chaplain continues in the personal Discharge of his Duty.' *The Regimental Companion* of 1803 contains 'A Return of Officers Present and absent of his Majesty's Regiment', which includes a form where, under the column 'Officers Present'¹⁰³, the presence or absence of the chaplain was to be

⁹⁹ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 26

¹⁰⁰ NAS, GD44/47/15/2/38 John Lanne Buchanan to Alexander, Duke of Gordon, 28th November 1796

¹⁰¹ HCPP, *Account of Money Received for Vacant Commissions, 1795-1807*

¹⁰² See Appendix A

¹⁰³ James, Charles, *The Regimental Companion: Containing the Relative Duties of Every Officer in the British Army (4th Edition)* London: C Roworth, 1803, vol. 2, 262

recorded. Changes within the chaplaincy system would throw up many issues that would cause problems in future years. In an undated letter, Sir Henry Hardinge (Secretary at War, 1828-30, 1841-44), wrote to James Stewart at the Treasury noting:

A more lenient course was, on this occasion [the 1796 Warrant] adopted and the Chaplains were allowed the option either to join their Corps continuing to serve with them, or to retire from the Service and be placed upon an allowance of 4/- per diem.¹⁰⁴

News of changes to the chaplaincy system was not greeted by all with overwhelming joy. Writing to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, one 'Chaplain of a Regiment' stated that he had spent £900, which was a massive investment, 'in purchasing a chaplaincy to an old regiment' which was his 'inheritance'. This chaplain then received 'an official communication [which] told me I must join my regiment in person, must constantly personally attend it, or accept of an annuity for my own life of 4s a day, or the alternative of forfeiture and extinction.'¹⁰⁵ However, he entertained the hope that even 'at this hour of amusement, catch your publication; and, in compassion and benevolence, obtain for us our original full-pay of 6s 8d a day for life.' The die, however, had been cast, the decision was not about to be rescinded, and doubtless he was then forced to take his 4s per day.

The *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry* of 1808 directed that 'all Chaplains thence forward should be subject to the orders of a Chaplain General'¹⁰⁶ which, it assumed, would include those on the books of the Ordnance Board. The 1795 *Return of the Royal Regiment of Artillery* showed that in that reporting period, there

¹⁰⁴ WO 43/371, Widows of Garrison and Regimental chaplains 1828-29

¹⁰⁵ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov 1796, 918

¹⁰⁶ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 25

were two such chaplains on their establishment¹⁰⁷ (see also Appendix E). In 1812 when the *Seventeenth Commission of Military Enquiry* was published, it was noted that the Ordnance Board chaplains still remained outside the control of the Chaplain General, a situation which would continue throughout the period of this thesis. Whilst the *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry* noted in 1808 that there were seven chaplains on the establishment of the Ordnance Board, *The Army List* showed that there were only two.

The 1796 Warrant also abolished the selling and purchasing of a chaplain's commission. However, there is an intriguing note in the Army List of 1840 for 'Fees payable to the Public on Military Commissions, Signed by the Queen [Victoria]'. As the purchase of a chaplain's commission had ceased, it is most likely that this should have been seen as an administration fee. The fee was £10 4s 6d and the small sum would have been negligible when compared to majors of regiments of the line, who paid £3,200 for his commission, plus £9 14s 6d for the Queen's signature.

d. *The Reverend John Gamble*

The Reverend John Gamble, who had served as a chaplain to the Duke of York in Flanders, was appointed to be the first Chaplain General in 1796. John Gamble was born in 1762 in Bungay, Suffolk, and was the son and heir of Dixon Gamble, a prosperous wool dealer and draper.¹⁰⁸ Gamble was admitted to Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1780 and graduated with a B.A. in 1784 and an M.A. in 1787. It was

¹⁰⁷ HCPP, *Return of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, Effective in Pay the 1st November 1794*, 55

¹⁰⁸ AFCC, Wilson, Geoffrey, John Gamble and the First British Military Telegraph, 1995, 1-1

whilst he was at Cambridge that he shone at mathematics, as well as having a 'scientific and inventive faculty'¹⁰⁹.

Gamble was married to "Miss Latham, of Madras" in 1805¹¹⁰ and he retired in 1809, tendering his resignation on grounds of his health in a letter to Palmerston at the War Office on 23 December 1809, which was acknowledged on 19 January 1810.¹¹¹ This brought to a close thirteen years as Chaplain General and he retired on a pension of £440 per annum, which he did not enjoy for long as he died at Knightsbridge, London, on 27 July 1811.¹¹² It was after only his death that it was discovered that one issue had not yet been determined; that was the matter of the level of a widow's pension for the Chaplain General. It was suggested and approved that the rate should be fixed at £180, 'being the rate fixed for the widow of a Colonel.'¹¹³

John Gamble's appointment as the Chaplain General was dated 21 September 1796, just two days before the setting up of the Department.¹¹⁴ His appointment as Chaplain General was published in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in December 1796.¹¹⁵ The main aid to building up a picture of Gamble's army career comes from his appearance before the Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry in January 1809, during which he stated:

I was appointed Chaplain to 37th Regiment on December 5th, 1788 by purchase. I exchanged to the 11th Light Dragoons on 1793, paying a difference; and accompanied that regiment to the continent the same year and served with it

¹⁰⁹ AFCC, Wilson, Geoffrey, John Gamble and the First British Military Telegraph, 1995, 1-1

¹¹⁰ Anon, 'Some Further Notes on Rev. John Gamble, C-G' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (30), Jul 1930, 381

¹¹¹ AFCC, Papers of the Reverend John Gamble

¹¹² Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 31

¹¹³ WO 4/345, Chaplain General (1810-1815)

¹¹⁴ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 26

¹¹⁵ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec 1796, 1118

until I was made Chaplain to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, which took place in 1794. In 1795 I exchanged into the Coldstream Guards.¹¹⁶

When asked by the Committee ‘can you state what number of Regimental Chaplains, exclusive of yourself, accompanied their respective Regiments on service to the continent in 1793?’ John Gamble responded that ‘I believe I was the only Commissioned Chaplain, but I have no means of ascertaining it’.¹¹⁷ This was a situation which the *Seventh Commission* termed ‘reprehensible’.¹¹⁸

The Reverend John Gamble’s Commission

John Gamble received his Commission¹¹⁹ from King George III, two days before the Warrant was issued to create the new Army Chaplains’ Department. His Commission as Chaplain General appeared in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, and is set out in full below:

GEORGE R., &c., to our trusty and well-beloved John Gamble, Clerk, greeting, - We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your piety, learning, and prudence, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain-General of our land forces, raised, and to be raised, for our service. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Chaplain-General, by doing and performing all and all manner of things thereunto belonging; and you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from us, or any your superior officers, according to the rules and discipline of war.

Given at our Court at St. James’s, the 21st September 1796, &c. By his Majesty’s command.

PORTLAND¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*; 99

¹¹⁷ Jarvis, A C E, ‘My Predecessors in Office – The Reverend John Gamble MA’ *JRACHD*, v. 3 (29), Jan 1930, 290

¹¹⁸ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 25

¹¹⁹ Gamble’s Commission as chaplain to the 11th Light Dragoons has recently been acquired by the Armed Forces Chaplaincy Centre, along with his appointment as Domestic Chaplain to Frederick, Duke of York. AFCC, Papers of the Reverend John Gamble

¹²⁰ *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, Mar 1868, 258

Of particular interest here is that the Warrant informed John Gamble that he was to 'carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Chaplain-General'; however, it is nowhere stated what these duties were to be, nor from where the authority to exercise his spiritual functions should emanate.

On his appointment as Chaplain General, Gamble was also given a salary of 20s a day, plus £20 per annum for stationery; in addition, he received £600 a year to assist him in his establishment of telegraphy (a total salary of just under £1,000 per annum). In 1797 he also received £74 18s 9d 'for expences in bringing portable Telegraphs to Perfection.'¹²¹

Such was the shortage of chaplains in this period that Jones noted 'between the years 1803 and 1808 nine expeditions were sent abroad, and the total number of Chaplains accompanying the troops amounted to three.'¹²² Having said that, as chaplains did not appear in the *Army List* until 1811, it is difficult to ascertain the numerical strength of the Department at this juncture. This sad state of affairs is borne out by what a later Chaplain General, A.C.E. Jarvis, noted in his article on John Gamble:

Sir James Craig had embarked with a Corps of 4,000 men and one Chaplain... Sir David Baird with 4,600 "unattended by any Clerical Officer of any description".
With the Corps [under the united commands of Brigadier-Generals Sir Samuel Achmuty and Robert Crauford, with 8,000 men] assembled in South America there was no Chaplain.

¹²¹ HCPP, *An Account of Extraordinary Expences of the Army, incurred and paid by the Right Honourable the Paymaster General of His Majesty's Forces, in the Year ending the 24th of December 1797; and not provided for by Parliament*; 15

¹²² Jones, J Cethin, 'Sidelights from the Peninsular War on Religion and the Chaplains' Department' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (26), Jul 1928, 93

When Major-General Fraser's Corps [of 6,000 men] landed in Egypt in April, 1807, he had no Chaplain.

General Lord Cathcart, in the expedition against Zealand with 14,000 men, had only one Chaplain.

General Beresford, operating against the Island of Madeira with 3,400 men, had no Chaplain, "nor does there appear to have been any Chaplain with the Troops, amounting to upwards of 7,000, which embarked from Sicily under the Orders of General Sir John Moore," and "a Corps consisting of 8,800 men has since proceeded on service under the command of Lieut-General Sir Arthur Wellesley without, as it would appear, any Clerical Officer of any description."¹²³

John Gamble was allowed a fixed sum for each chaplain whether on the establishment or not. These monies 'covered the pay of 130 officiating clergymen, 136 retired regimental chaplains, thirty garrison chaplains and eleven brigade chaplains',¹²⁴ and Appendix F shows that the Department had nowhere near that number. The surplus monies were, by December 1797, 'upwards of £7,000', which would then increase two years later to £13,000. Such was the surplus that, in 1800, the Secretary at War 'directed the sum of fifteen thousand pounds to be purchased in the three-per-cent Consolidation Annuities.'¹²⁵ This surplus was set to increase again, standing at £55,000 by 1805.

It would appear from the *Seventh Commission* report that no date had been set for the closure of the accounts with Mr Windus, being 'cashier to the Chaplains' Fund.' This meant that 'retrospective claims were daily arriving' there was no indication of any false accounting, as Mr Windus stated to the *Commission* 'the balance of the Accounts was constantly known.' This situation was noted by the *Commission* which

¹²³ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Reverend John Gamble MA' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (29), Jan 1930, 295

¹²⁴ Snape, Michael, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department – Clergy Under Fire* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008, 29

¹²⁵ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 27

was to recommend 'the Chaplains Fund should be closed as soon as possible, and made up for public audit.'¹²⁶

Chaplains' pay was fixed on Home Service as being 'equal to that of Majors of Infantry, which is sixteen shillings per diem or two hundred and ninety-two pounds per annum'¹²⁷. On the other hand, it was recommended that chaplains deployed abroad would be on the pay scale of lieutenant colonels of infantry and, as an extra incentive, they would receive 'the same Bat and Forage Allowance as Major of Infantry.'¹²⁸ Whilst those who joined the Department had to give up their livings, John Gamble was exempted from the introduction of the Clergy Residence Bill, which was meant to restrict clergymen to actually live in the parishes they were responsible for. However, as well as his appointment as Chaplain General, Gamble was at the same time:

1. Chaplain to the Duke of York.
2. Inspector of the Military College, Chelsea
3. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge
4. Chaplain and Proprietor of Knightsbridge Chapel
5. Rector of Althamstone, Essex; and,
6. Rector (Extraordinary) of Bradwell near the Sea, in the same county.¹²⁹

John Gamble's time in the small parish church of Althamstone did not go down well with everyone, as there is an interesting record showing that after about a year he 'must have sanctioned an extraordinary act of vandalism, as the mediaeval stained glass was systematically removed from the church, bundled up and sold on Sudbury

¹²⁶ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 29-30

¹²⁷ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 31

¹²⁸ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 33

¹²⁹ *Derby Mercury*, 22 June 1803

market 'for what it would fetch'.¹³⁰ The record does not show why this happened or the outcome of the sale. Bradwell near the Sea had recently had a parson, the Reverend Henry Bate, until he had been left some property provided he changed his name to Bate-Dudley. When the Bishop of London 'refused to confirm the reversion' the patronage lapsed to The Crown and 'The Rev Mr. Gamble, Chaplain to the Forces was appointed.'¹³¹

Gamble's Work on the Telegraph

Whilst the focus of this thesis is on British army chaplaincy, the Reverend John Gamble's work in the field of communications was an important element of his work and deserves a section in its own right, as this was in addition to his chaplaincy duties. In 1795, John Gamble wrote a pamphlet with the catchy title of *Observations on Telegraphic Experiments, or the Different Modes which have been, or may be, adopted for the Purpose of Distant Communication*. His lengthier essay, written two years later, was dedicated to His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, and Gamble was paid £600 a year to assist him in establishing telegraphy. Gamble received a further Royal Warrant which was issued to him on 10 November 1796,¹³² when he 'thus became the first Chief Signal Officer in the Army'.

A definitive explanation of his role as Chief Signal Officer can be found in Howard Mallinson's *Send it by Semaphore*. John Gamble did not start with a blank sheet of paper, but he was certain that 'a machine could be built which could fulfil the purpose

¹³⁰ Webpage: *Reverend John Gamble at Alphamstone*

[<http://www.ansellsfarm.co.uk/alphamstone/church/church.html>htm, accessed 24 Mar 2009]

¹³¹ *Temple Bar*, January 1897, 133

¹³² AFCC, Papers of the Reverend John Gamble

better than the French [Chappe] one.¹³³ In fact, it was a drawing found on a captured French soldier, whilst on operations in Flanders, that gave Gamble a starting point. The Reverend John Gamble invented a five-shutter machine allowing thirty-two different signals; however, 'the Admiralty had decided to use [the system designed by] the Reverend Lord George Murray instead'¹³⁴. All of this was much to John Gamble's annoyance. However, the reason for adopting Murray's system was 'that this system allowed for the transmission of decimal numbers and a few operating signals as well as 24 letters of the alphabet.'¹³⁵ Murray and Gamble's designs were but two of the one hundred submitted to the British Admiralty and to Parliament.

In John Gamble's follow-up paper, reviewed in the *Critical Review* magazine in November 1797, he wrote than 'an eminent and learned professor of Germany, Mr. Bergstraesser, of Hanau,'¹³⁶ had carried out a number of experiments into a system of communication that 'was capable of transmitting intelligence a hundred miles in a few minutes'. This system was based on fire and smoke. His annoyance at not being selected for the Royal Navy comes through in a telling sentence in the middle of his paper where he wrote:

In the midst, however, of the author's attempts, he was stopped by an intimation from the lords of the admiralty, that they had adopted a telegraph, said to have been invented by lord George Murray; and a hint is given that a speedier

¹³³ Webpage: Aschoff, Volker *The Early History of Binary Code* [<http://ieeexplore.ieee.org/iel5/35/23778/01091319.pdf?arnumber=1091319>, accessed 22 Aug 2008],

5

¹³⁴ Webpage: *Portsmouth Shutter Telegraph* [http://www.portsmouth-tunnels.org.uk/ancient_sites/telegraph_p1.html, accessed 22 Aug 2008]

¹³⁵ Webpage: *Portsmouth Shutter Telegraph* [http://www.portsmouth-tunnels.org.uk/ancient_sites/telegraph_p1.html, accessed 22 Aug 2008]

¹³⁶ *Critical Review*, Nov 1797, 251

communication of this discovery from the admiralty might have been the means of saving a great deal of trouble and expense.¹³⁷

The Admiralty may have rejected his five-shutter system, but Gamble was not one to give up easily. By 1797 John Gamble was able to see the Reverend Lord George Murray's telegraph system in operation from outside his office window on Horse Guards in London where he decided that this system could be improved upon. John Gamble brought his idea of a Radiated Telegraph to the Duke of York, who wrote on 12 January 1798 to the Secretary at War, recommending 'that an immediate experiment be made on two portable [radiated] ones presented by the Rev Gamble.'¹³⁸ Although some of these portable devices were taken out to Portugal to be used by Wellington, Murray's fixed land system would again fall into disuse after the Peace of Amiens in 1802. Gamble's Telegraph was, however, 'adopted for field use in a mobile form, each station being mounted on a "cart on old coach wheels with iron axles". This useful device could enable communications of 'up to five miles', which made it quicker than horse travel over long distances.'¹³⁹ Wellington relied on this system to such an extent that he established 'stations between his headquarters, near Lisbon, and Badajoz 130 miles distant.'¹⁴⁰

In 1803 Gamble was given the honour to assist in 'the establishing of signal posts and telegraphic communication'. This work was of such importance that a War Office directive addressed to General Sir David Dundas, continued 'that it must be arranged

¹³⁷ *Critical Review*, Nov 1797, 253

¹³⁸ Mallinson, Howard, *Send it by Semaphore, The Old Telegraphs During the Wars With France* Marlborough: Crowood Press, 2005, 106

¹³⁹ Walder, R F H, *The Royal Corps of Signals: A History of its Antecedents and Development (Circa 1800-1955)*, London: Royal Signals Institution, 1958, 4

¹⁴⁰ Walder, R F H, *The Royal Corps of Signals: A History of its Antecedents and Development (Circa 1800-1955)*, London: Royal Signals Institution, 1958, 5

by one intelligent person and was accordingly directed Mr Gamble to receive your directions for establishing what you may judge necessary throughout your district.’¹⁴¹ Wellington established a permanent signal organisation in 1814, which consisted of ‘an officer, a non-commissioned officer and three men, the men receiving extra pay.’¹⁴² Colonel John Macdonald, writing in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*¹⁴³, certainly believed that Gamble’s telegraph system, which allowed 4,095 combinations, outshone that of Chappe’s telegraph which only gave 196 changes. What is of more interest is that nowhere in the article does he acknowledge the work of John Gamble, nor for that matter Lord George Murray.

e. Conclusion

By the 1790s the whole of the British army was in need of reform, especially its chaplaincy arrangements. The system of regimental chaplains was clearly not working and something had to be done. Such was the state of chaplaincy that when Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was deployed with a force to the Caribbean he went without the services of a single chaplain, whereas the Duke of York had only one chaplain.

On 23 September 1796, a Royal Warrant was issued which abolished regimental chaplains (but not garrison chaplains), such that ‘Chaplains shall be appointed according to the number of the Corps, in the proportion of one to each Brigade, or to

¹⁴¹ RCSA, WO 133/12, War Office: General Sir Robert Brownrigg, Military Secretary to Commander in Chief, Quartermaster General and Governor of Ceylon (Sri Lanka): Papers

¹⁴² Walder, R F H, *The Royal Corps of Signals: A History of its Antecedents and Development (Circa 1800-1955)*, London: Royal Signals Institution, 1958, 5

¹⁴³ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, Apr 1826, 315-318

every three or four Regiments.’¹⁴⁴ Whereas, in the past, chaplains were able to absent themselves from their duties, now ‘no Chaplain shall hereafter be permitted to employ a deputy’.¹⁴⁵ In addition, ‘half yearly certificates will be required, signed by the Commanding Officer of each Corps whose Chaplain joins’.

For a new Department, a new leader would need to be found, and this distinction fell to the Reverend John Gamble, who had not just been a regimental chaplain but also a domestic chaplain to the Duke of York. Gamble’s Warrant was dated 21 September 1796, two days prior to the formation of the Department. The task facing Gamble was enormous, with 340 chaplains on his establishment on leave. However, at the same time, he was also the first Chief Signals Officer, introducing a radiated telegraph to the army, which was taken by the future Duke of Wellington to the Peninsular War.

Whilst the Reverend John Gamble did well in shaping the new Department, garrison chaplains still remained outside of the control of the Army Chaplains’ Department. It would fall to the second Chaplain General, the Reverend John Owen, who had been a chaplain to the East India Company, and took over as Chaplain General in 1810, to see these changes through.

¹⁴⁴ Ascoli, David, *A Companion to the British Army 1660-1983* London: Harrap Ltd, 1983, 153

¹⁴⁵ NAS, GD44/47/15/2/32 War Office. Copy circular relative to chaplains in regiments, 30th September 1796

Chapter 3

ARMY CHAPLAINS' DEPARTMENT REFORMS OF 1809

a. Introduction

Now that commissions for chaplains had been brought under the control of the recently formed Army Chaplains' Department, this still left the question of garrison chaplains. Chaplains' commissions were granted by the King from 1809 which meant that they 'were placed on the Army Establishment and under military discipline.'¹⁴⁶ This chapter will examine on-going improvements, such as the inclusion of garrison chaplains within the Department. This meant that for the first time all army chaplains (less those within the Ordnance Department) fell under the control of the Chaplain General.

It was hoped that the setting up of the new Department in 1796 would mean that all chaplains would perform their duties with integrity and commitment, but this was not always the case. Therefore, drastic measures were needed as some chaplains, especially garrison chaplains, were still absent and so on 21 December 1809 a new order was issued, that every chaplain including those employed in garrisons were to be liable for service in Great Britain or overseas, on a daily rate of either seven shillings or ten shillings. Those receiving the lower rate were garrison chaplains who served in Great Britain¹⁴⁷ whereas those receiving the higher rate served overseas.

¹⁴⁶ Hobbs, Ray *Religion and the War of 1812 in Upper Canada – Part One* [www.warof1812.ca/Chaplains.DG.cwk%20(WP).pdf , accessed 8 Jan 2008] (nd), 1

¹⁴⁷ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 115

So it was that the system of brigade chaplains and garrison chaplains was abolished (except in the cases of Edinburgh, Stirling and Fort George, these having been secured to Scotland by the Union).¹⁴⁸ Such was the fear of returning to absentee chaplains that any leave that a chaplain wished to have had to be applied for in writing, a situation that remains to the present day, along with the reason for the request and the date of return to his post. Upon the retirement of John Gamble in 1809, the War Office started all over again with yet another campaign against absenteeism.

b. Proposed Reforms

The Royal Military College

The amateur nature of the officer corps would only be partly addressed with the establishment of a Staff College at High Wycombe, initially in a 'back room of the *Antelope*, a rented public house.'¹⁴⁹ There was also a Junior Department for 'Gentlemen Cadets', which was accommodated at Great Marlow.¹⁵⁰ Artillery and engineer officers were already more professional in having to complete a course at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich before being commissioned.¹⁵¹ The first chaplain to the Academy was the Reverend John Owen, appointed on 25 June

¹⁴⁸ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Reverend John Gamble MA' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (29), Jan 1930, 369

¹⁴⁹ Clayton, Anthony, *The British Officer* Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007, 71

¹⁵⁰ Le Marchant, Denis, *Memoirs of the Late Major-General Le Marchant* Uckfield: The Naval & Military Press, (Originally Published 1841) 2006, 112

¹⁵¹ Holmes, Richard, *Wellington – The Iron Duke* London: Harper Collins, 2003, 17

1802¹⁵². His duties would have appealed to his evangelical faith, and are set out below:

The Duties of the Chaplain to the College consist in his performance of the Religious Service daily to the Gentleman-Cadets, before they enter upon their morning Studies, and on Sundays, in performing the Service, and reading a Lecture to them in the evening. He explains also the Evidences of the Christian Religion, and inculcates the principles of it into such of the Cadets who are sufficiently advanced in their Studies to profit by this instruction.

The Chaplain is also officially superintendent of the Classical Instruction, which he attends daily; and although he does not actually instruct, he is answerable for the conducting of it.¹⁵³

If that were not enough, by 1801, he was listed also as the Librarian.

When Owen resigned the post on 25 March 1804, he was replaced by the Reverend William Wheeler.¹⁵⁴ William Wheeler graduated from Magdalen College, Oxford, with an M.A. in 1799 and was chaplain to the Royal Military College for thirty-seven years.¹⁵⁵ In the Estimates for the Royal Military College of 1808, the outlay for a 'Chaplain, who will act as Librarian' was £250.¹⁵⁶ Wheeler had received an increase in pay by 1810 as he was then listed in the accounts as having a salary of £300 plus 'lodging money £26 2s 10d.'¹⁵⁷ Looking at the Army Estimates for the period 1844-45, the chaplain's pay remained at £300¹⁵⁸ for the whole of that period. William Wheeler died at Sandhurst on 29 October 1841, aged 66, 'of disease of the heart, lungs, etc'.¹⁵⁹ His widow Elizabeth, whom he married on 1 January 1807, was granted 'a pension of fifty pounds per annum, being the highest amount to which the

¹⁵² *Cobbett's Annual Register*, June 1802, 1127

¹⁵³ HCPP, *Tenth Commission of Military Enquiry (Royal Military College)*, 75

¹⁵⁴ HCPP, *Tenth Commission of Military Enquiry (Royal Military College)*, 38

¹⁵⁵ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan 1842, 111

¹⁵⁶ HCPP, *Estimates for the Royal Military College*, 8 see also HCPP, *Estimates of Army Services*, 1808, 37

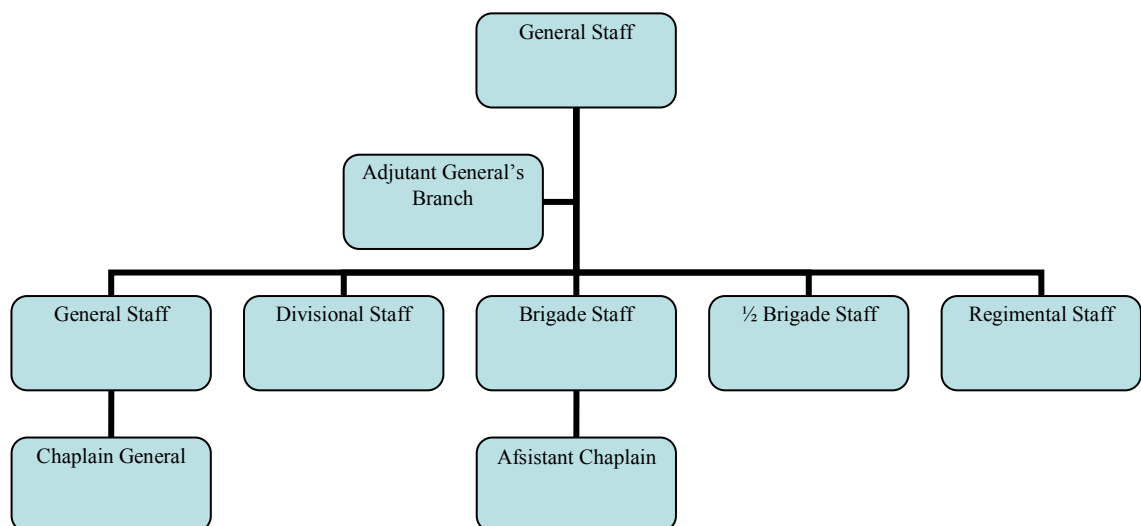
¹⁵⁷ HCPP, *Tenth Commission of Military Enquiry (Royal Military College)*, 1810; 59 see also HCPP, *Estimates of Army Services*, 1808; 37

¹⁵⁸ HCPP, *Army Estimates*, 1845

¹⁵⁹ WO 43/675, Pension to William Wheeler - Chaplain RMAS

widow of a Chaplain is entitled.' He was replaced as chaplain in 1843 by the Reverend Haviland Le Mesurier Chepmell.

Lieutenant-General John Gaspard le Marchant could see the need for a total reform of the British Army, including the Army Chaplains' Department; such was the state of the army that he had already written a manual for sword drill, which had previously not existed. Whilst he was the Lieutenant Governor of the College, in December 1802, he produced a 280 page document entitled *An Outline for the Formation of a General's Staff to the Army*, which was then submitted to the Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces, His Royal Highness Frederick, Duke of York. The section concerning chaplains, including this illustration, is quoted in full:



[The Chaplains' Department] shall consist of a Chaplain General whenever the army amounts to a Division and Assistant Chaplains in the proportion of one to each Brigade and one to the Permanent Hospital.

The duty of the Chaplain General will be, to read prayers at the Head-Quarters to the General Staff of the Army, and also to direct the duties of the Assistant Chaplains who are placed under his entire direction and control.

He shall reside at Head-Quarters.

The duty of the Assistant Chaplains shall be, generally to superintend the morals of the army, and celebrate divine service, at such times as may be specified in orders.

They shall attend daily at the Ambulative Hospital, in order to converse and pray with the sick, and bury the dead.

Each Assistant Chaplain shall send a weekly return to the Chaplain General of all casualties in their Brigade, under the heads of, buried, returned to their Corps, or remov'd to the Permanent Hospital. The Names and Regiments shall be particularly specified, and whether removed to the General or Regimental Permanent Hospital. This is to act as a check on the Hospital returns, and to ensure attendance.

The Assistant Chaplains shall in rotation visit the Jail, and make a daily report of the prisoners, and the conduct to the Chaplain General.¹⁶⁰

Le Marchant's son noted of these reforms in 1841 that 'an innovation of such magnitude was too serious an experiment to be tried, except partially, and where this has been done...the service has been essentially benefited.'¹⁶¹ Regrettably, Denis Le Marchant thought his readers would know which parts had been put into place and which had not, and so did not therefore see the need to expand on this statement.

Any recommended reforms could only take place with the support of the Prime Minister, through the Secretary at War, and so it was that the evangelical Spencer Perceval (1762-1812), would review and push through further chaplaincy reforms. The new reforms also established net daily rates of pay, which included for the Chaplain General 19/- per diem, and for the chaplain to the Commander in Chief 6/4 per diem.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ RMAS, Le Marchant, Major General John Gaspard, *An Outline for the Formation of a General's Staff to the Army*, 1802, 110-111

¹⁶¹ Le Marchant, Denis, *Memoirs of the Late Major-General Le Marchant* Uckfield: The Naval & Military Press, (Originally Published 1841) 2006, 123

¹⁶² *Literary Panorama*, May 1809, 361

In his lengthy “Minute” dated 17 January 1809, the Prime Minister proposed that all commissions for chaplains which was then implemented, ‘should render them liable to serve when called upon either on any Military Station in England or abroad, or with any part of the army on Foreign Service for the space of 8 years’¹⁶³. He continued that their pay should be set at the level of majors of Infantry for their eight years of service. A chaplain could, however, voluntarily resign his commission, but this would mean that he would lose his entitlement to half-pay. However, this would not be the case if the government discontinued a chaplain’s service, unless it was for misconduct. At the conclusion of his eight years of service, the chaplain could make a request in writing to continue his chaplaincy service; this would give him an increase of 6d per day. However, the upper limit for half pay was 10s per day, after completing eighteen years service or more. Further reforms on pay and conditions would be issued in 1830, and are featured in the next chapter.

c. *Garrison Chaplains*

If there were problems with the regimental chaplaincy system before 1796, then the system of garrison chaplains was not much better. It would not be until the reforms of 1809 that there would be any real change; these chaplains did not always enjoy a good name at home or abroad. We need to pause for a moment to consider the system of barrack accommodation. As Richard Holmes reminds us, ‘Barracks were generally laid out as a square, as much to keep soldiers in as the enemy out.’¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ WO 43/578, Army chaplains. Proposed new establishment. Letter from Prime Minister (Perceval) to Secretary at War. Problems of Scottish chaplaincies. Appointment of staff chaplain at Chatham, 182

¹⁶⁴ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 269

Although some soldiers had been quartered in forts such as Landguard Fort or Fort George, the practice had normally been to quarter many of them in local public houses.

To give the Chaplain General a larger pool of available chaplains, those who were part of the present system 'of Chaplains to Garrisons, Forts or Stations, both at Home and Abroad', except for those in Edinburgh, Stirling and Fort George, had their appointments terminated. These chaplains could then apply to be commissioned chaplains with the same liabilities as regular chaplains. The ratio of chaplains to troops had been set, and would continue at 1:3,000. Appendix C lists the Garrisons, Forts and Stations at home and abroad which the Prime Minister believed should have a chaplain living on station. This Minute was redrafted and submitted for the approval of King George III, which was duly given. This document then formed what must be the first *Terms of Service for Chaplains*, which was published by the War Office on 21 December 1809.¹⁶⁵ Of interest at this point are the regulations for 'Officers Commanding Detachments and Parties', who were to bring their men to the local Parish Church. These soldiers were 'to attend Divine Service with their side arms'¹⁶⁶, a situation which would not be allowed today, (any weapons are to be kept in a secure area outside the church).

However, ministering to local garrisons remained an issue in 1810, at home and abroad. The Chaplain General was asked, for example, about the Reverend Numan who was 'officiating to the Troops on the Island of Dominica'; what would be a fair

¹⁶⁵ War Office, *Terms of Service of Army Chaplains*, 1809

¹⁶⁶ HCPP, *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*, Adjutant General's Office, Horse-Guards, 12 August 1811, 78

rate of pay? The Chaplain General determined that the rate should be fixed at 5/-, which was the rate for another officiating chaplain, the Reverend Dr Stephens, who officiated in the Bahamas. Closer to home in Plymouth, Mr. Gilbert (a Roman Catholic Priest) was claiming 'for visiting the sick'; however, it was not stated by whose authority these visits were being made as Catholic priests were not eligible to become army chaplains. Owen asked the Secretary at War on 27 September 1820 if he were 'prepared to give a precedent of paying a Roman Catholic Priest for Ecclesiastical offices in this Kingdom to His Majesty's Forces'.¹⁶⁷ However, a precedent had already been set when Owen had allowed Sir John Moore in Lisbon to pay 'Priests of the Irish Convent' for visiting the Catholic sick.

Troops deployed to Ireland, on the other hand, had no easy access to a chaplain, as there were no garrison chaplains on the Establishment; instead they relied on parochial clergymen. They were not part of it, but they were paid for by the War Office via the Army Chaplains' Department. There is an intriguing letter which helps us to understand this situation, from the Chaplain General, John Owen, to a Colonel Butler. It would appear from this letter that Colonel and Mrs Butler had a good relationship with the Reverend and Mrs Frazer, and that this clergyman had died and his widow somehow believed that she should receive a widow's pension. In pursuit of this claim she sought the assistance of Colonel Butler who, she hoped, might have some influence in the situation. John Owen, however, remained firm on this matter and in his reply on 8 November 1816 stated:

No clergymen are considered as on the Establishment of the Army except the Regular "Chaplains to the Forces" holding the King's Commission. None of this

¹⁶⁷ WO 7/60, Chaplain General (Series 1) (1810-1811)

description have been in Ireland. We have many Parochial Clergymen who in Ireland perform Divine Service and visit the sick at the neighbouring Barracks but they receive no half pay on retirement, and their widows receive no pension. You will therefore see that Mrs Frazer (on her own statement) has no claim on what she asks.¹⁶⁸

As an illustration of those who were not fulfilling his obligations, we find the Reverend Edward Back in Canada. He was appointed Garrison Chaplain to Annapolis Royal¹⁶⁹ on 13 December 1804, 'but never joined, his duty was being undertaken by a Deputy whom he paid. His appointment was 'revoked' [as were all Garrison chaplaincies] on the abolition of the Garrison Chaplains'.¹⁷⁰ This Reverend gentleman died in Deal, Kent, on 27 September 1828 aged 54, leaving a widow, Margaret, who had submitted an unsuccessful request for a widow's pension. Edward and Margaret were married in Brussels on 9 February 1819, but now Margaret was a widow for the second time, with no known income.

In 1808 foreign garrison chaplains (less those on the books of the East India Company) were appointed by 'the Secretary at War'.¹⁷¹ An excellent garrison chaplain is to be found in the Reverend William Tindall who was chaplain of the Tower. On 16 August 1804, he had 'in the morning waited on the Governor to request his permission of absence from chapel that day, on account of indisposition'. This request was duly granted, as the chaplain had complained 'of a great depression of spirits, and an unquenchable thirst'. He was later posthumously described to the Coroner's jury by Colonel Smith, the Major of the Tower, 'as a man

¹⁶⁸ RMAS, WO 152/1 86.1058 Letter from Reverend John Owen to Colonel Butler

¹⁶⁹ Annapolis Royal served as the first capital of the Colony of Nova Scotia from 1710 until the founding of Halifax in 1749. <http://www.annapolisroyal.com/history.php>

¹⁷⁰ WO 43/371, Widows of Garrison and Regimental chaplains 1828-29

¹⁷¹ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 100

of the most exemplary piety, amiable manners, and upright principles. He was an affectionate husband, and a sincere friend, esteemed and respected by a large circle of friends and relations'.¹⁷²

Another excellent garrison chaplain was the Reverend Edward Dupré, who died on 27 March 1823, 'after a long illness, aged 69'. Dupré matriculated to Pembroke College, Oxford, graduating with an M.A. on 10 October 1778 and D.C.L. on 10 March 1786. His obituary records state that he was 'in the more serious callings of his profession, remarkable for an eloquence at once many and impressive'.¹⁷³ Not only was Dupré Dean of Jersey and Chaplain to the Jersey Garrison, he was at the same time 'a member of the legislative body, [where] he supported with all his power the sacred course of social order, and he was the most formidable opponent to every species of licentiousness.' On a more personal note, it also noted that Dupré had 'the sweetness of character, and his domestic virtues, constituted the happiness of a respectable family, by whom he was tenderly beloved.'

d. *The Reverend John Owen*

John Owen was born in 1754, the fourth and youngest child of John and Hannah Owen at Publow. He remained a bachelor and *The Times* described him as a man of 'vast abstemiousness and personal frugality.' On 6 December 1771 he was admitted to Worcester College, Oxford, graduating with a BA in 1775. From 1784 to 1793

¹⁷² *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept 1804, 890

¹⁷³ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Apr 1823, 380

Owen was 'an East India Company Garrison Chaplain at Calcutta, Bengal'¹⁷⁴ and returned by land, walking 'a great part of the journey.'¹⁷⁵ In September 1799 Owen became an Army Chaplain, when he was described as 'Chaplain to His Majesties Guards in Holland,'¹⁷⁶ travelling to Holland with the army under the command of Lord Abercrombie. On 8 March 1810, the Reverend John Owen was appointed as the second Chaplain General, a post he held for fourteen years until his death in office on 4 June 1824, aged seventy,¹⁷⁷ at the Parsonage, East Horsely, Surrey, where he was also the Rector.¹⁷⁸ He was buried in East Horsely and left a 'fortune...said to be upwards of £100,000'.¹⁷⁹ At the same time, Owen was Rector of St. Bennett's, London, as well as Archdeacon of Richmond.¹⁸⁰

The Reverend John Owen was a man of strong evangelical convictions and had Wesleyan connections. 'Such was the strength of Owen's commitment to [the provision of religious literature] that, from 1818, he founded and endowed the SPCK's 'Clericus Fund', the sole purpose of which was to supply the Book of Common Prayer and the Society's own publications to serving soldiers.'¹⁸¹ Therefore, we can see that the Chaplain General saw the vital requirement of stimulating the spiritual needs of the British army.

¹⁷⁴ Hendrickson, Kenneth, *Making Saints – Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885* London: Associated University Presses, 1998, 24 (1783 to 1793 according to *The Times*)

¹⁷⁵ *The Times*, 16th June 1824

¹⁷⁶ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Venerable Archdeacon John Owen MA' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (30), Jul 1930, 366

¹⁷⁷ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 36

¹⁷⁸ *The Times*, 16th June 1824

¹⁷⁹ *The Times*, 16th June 1824

¹⁸⁰ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Aug 1824, 188

¹⁸¹ Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* London: Routledge, 2005, 94

As a Brigade Chaplain, the Reverend John Owen often placed himself in danger along the front line, so that he could minister to the sick and dying. Such was the concern for his safety that officers and men (especially John Stevenson of the 3rd Foot Guards)¹⁸² were convinced that he would be killed – and told him so. Owen, on the other hand, was convinced of the need for his ministry, and replied that his primary duty was ‘to be of service to those now departing this life.’¹⁸³ One unverified note regarding John Owen is that ‘notably he gave an address to British troops on the eve of the 1815 Battle of Waterloo’.¹⁸⁴ If this were to be confirmed, then Owen would have the distinction of being the first Chaplain General to address troops in this way since the formation of the new Department.

The Reverend John Owen – Chaplain General

One might suppose that the Chaplain General was in his office every day during working hours, but, as with so many others, this was not the case. He did, however, keep regular office hours so people would know when and where they could find him. Owen’s office hours were, ‘Monday, Wednesday or Friday from half after 12 to 3.’¹⁸⁵ One would also imagine that the Chaplain General, when one considers his substantial salary, would be a well turned out individual, but this is not the picture painted for us by the Reverend George Stonestreet, when he met him in 1814. Stonestreet described Owen as:

¹⁸² Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 36

¹⁸³ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 116 see also Oman, C W C, *Wellington’s Army 1809-1814* London: Francis Edwards, 1968, 327

¹⁸⁴ Webpage: Clark, Miles, Genealogy of Beardmore family

[<http://www.milesclark.com/genealogy/beardmore.html>] accessed 02 Oct 2012

¹⁸⁵ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 23

A little man, nearly 70 years of age, with large fortunes and good countenance and his grey hair cut close to his head; his dress was shabby in the extreme. He had a black coat, the remains of a black waist coat, linen far from nice, blue trousers and short black gaiters.¹⁸⁶

Stonestreet's meeting with the Chaplain General did have an awkward moment, when Stonestreet passed on the advice he was given from the Bishop of Chichester regarding deployments, 'Don't be a foolish venturing fellow and go out of curiosity into the trenches within range of an enemy's fire and get a mischief.' As one can well imagine, this advice when relayed by Stonestreet did not meet with the enthusiasm he had been expecting, as Owen considered 'the bishop's caution highly absurd'. It was Owen's opinion, based on his own experience, 'that he did not know any curiosity more *natural* than to pass a few hours in the trenches, where he had often been.'¹⁸⁷ Stonestreet, in his deployment to Holland and Belgium, was not required to test either of these opinions, much, I would venture, to his great relief.

Qualifications of a Chaplain

John Owen could see the task ahead of him; chaplains needed to be selected to fill the many vacant posts which now existed. But what were to be the criteria? Was the Department to take all-comers, which was the easy option, for this demanding role? Chaplains had to be ready for the tasks ahead of them. Today they attend the Army Officer Selection Board but during Owen's tenure chaplains were to be judged

¹⁸⁶ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 2

¹⁸⁷ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 5

on their physical and emotional fitness 'for the fatigues and duties of their employment before it becomes necessary to order them on foreign service.'¹⁸⁸

Chaplains were only selected from non-parochial clergy of the Church of England by a committee comprising the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London. However, those from the Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist traditions were denied for the time being. It is easy now to criticise his exclusion but we need to remember that Catholic Emancipation was not enacted until 1829 and who was to verify the ministry of Dissenters? Smyth notes that the early qualifications laid down for the appointment of chaplains were 'zeal in his profession and good sense; gentle manners; a distinctive and impressive manner of reading Divine Service; a firm constitution of body as well as of mind.'¹⁸⁹ Dissenters may have been found in the ranks, but not in the Army Chaplains' Department; non-Anglicans were phased in over time, commencing with Presbyterians in 1827; Roman Catholics in 1836 and, finally, Baptists and Wesleyan Methodists in 1881. The impact of Methodism on the army will be discussed in detail in chapter six. Why was it so difficult to recruit chaplains, not just for Wellington's army, but for service overseas with the British Army? Blyth gives a partial answer when he reminds us that 'the main difficulty was that a man could hardly be eligible to be an army chaplain until the age of 26, after an expensive education and was then obliged to sign a contract for 10 years service.'¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ WO 4/345, Chaplain General (1810-1815)

¹⁸⁹ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 27

¹⁹⁰ Blyth, J D M, 'Peninsular Chaplains' *JRACHD*, v. 15 (81), Jun 1960, 504

The Reverend John Owen – Chaplain General to the Fleet

At the same time as being Chaplain General to the Forces, the Reverend John Owen was in 1812, and for a short period, appointed Chaplain General to the Fleet¹⁹¹ (now known as Chaplain to the Fleet) by Prime Minister Spencer Perceval, who saw similar problems in the Royal Navy as there were in the Army. The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty published regulations for chaplains at the same time, which recognised the value of these gentlemen, and placed them on a par with commissioned officers albeit without a Royal Warrant.¹⁹² Owen took his duties very seriously, and it was in this year that Royal Navy chaplains, like their army counterparts, were paid centrally by the Admiralty rather than by individual ships' commanding officers. Some naval chaplains, however, wanted the position for themselves, and it was therefore seen as an insult to them that they had to have an army Chaplain General imposed upon them.¹⁹³ John Owen was very aware of the opposition to his appointment, as he wrote to the Lords Commissioners, dated 15 November 1813, telling them:

I have found my situation difficult and full of anxiety, but I sought it not, nor should I be induced to continue it but for the approbation the Archbishop has been pleased to express, for him chiefly I have occasion to resort in difficulties.¹⁹⁴

A Portsmouth Royal Navy Chaplain, using the pseudonym of "Quiz", was clearly not pleased with this new arrangement, writing a strongly worded letter in the *Anti-Jacobin Review and True Churchman's Magazine*, that 'all those who have

¹⁹¹ A notice to this effect appeared in *The Times* on 24th March 1812

¹⁹² Smith, Waldo E L, *The Navy and its Chaplains in the Days of Sail* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1961, 111

¹⁹³ Davies, Lawrence, *Royal Navy Chaplains, 1812-1861*, University of Birmingham, MPhil, 1990, 28-33

¹⁹⁴ Davies, Lawrence, *Royal Navy Chaplains, 1812-1861*, University of Birmingham, MPhil, 1990, 68

heretofore been employed in the service, are *ipso facto* deprived'. The complaint was, as far as he was concerned, reliant on good patronage, because The First Lord of the Admiralty was a 'personal friend of Archdeacon Owen.'¹⁹⁵ The focus of this Reverend gentleman's complaint centred around 'the following ludicrous circumstance'; a unnamed resident minister, who had been a chaplain to the collective crews of the prison ships, had his salary cut in half by the new Chaplain General of the Fleet. This minister, when he queried this, was rebuffed and was dismissed from his appointment, whilst at the same time 'a learned professor' was appointed in his place. The opinion of this naval chaplain was that 'the gentleman dismissed, and the gentleman appointed, as [was] the chaplain-general, are all of them legally disqualified from holding the respective offices, for neither the one nor the other of them is a Navy Chaplain'. This conclusion had been reached as the Order in Council had expressly determined Naval Chaplaincy posts for '*navy chaplains only*.'

However, this amphibious experiment was discontinued after two years; apparently, the Lords of the Admiralty had become unwilling to pay their share of the cost of the Chaplain General's establishment.¹⁹⁶ The *Supplementary Regulations Respecting Chaplains* dated 2 May 1820, re-emphasised the reforms brought in during the tenure of John Owen, which was that 'every Chaplain was to understand that when entering the Navy it was for general service and not for any particular ship or station.'¹⁹⁷ It would not be until 1827, when the Reverend Samuel Coles was

¹⁹⁵ *Anti-Jacobin Review and True Churchman's Magazine*, Mar 1813, 313 (original emphasis)

¹⁹⁶ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 43

¹⁹⁷ Davies, Lawrence, *Royal Navy Chaplains, 1812-1861*, University of Birmingham, MPhil, 1990, 16

appointed as Supervising Chaplain¹⁹⁸, that the Royal Navy once again had a senior chaplain. Did this mean that Owen's mind was not totally focussed on the task in hand? In hindsight it might have been prudent to have had his mind focussed on one big task only but it would appear, from what we know of John Owen, that he was someone who was up to the task. In any event, this was not the end of a dual role for the Chaplain General as in 1846, the Reverend Prebendary George Gleig was also appointed as Inspector of Military Schools.

Naval and Military Bible Society

The Bible Society was founded in 1779 (others 1780)¹⁹⁹ by two Methodists, a marble-cutter, John Davis, and furniture-maker, George Cussons. The Society was renamed in 1804 The Naval and Military Bible Society with the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society,²⁰⁰ amongst those who have been the Vice Presidents of the Naval and Military Bible Society was John Owen during his tenure as Chaplain General.

Although formed by two Methodists, it was not a Methodist organisation and counted among its Vice Presidents the Duke of Wellington and Member of Parliament William Wilberforce. However, although Wilberforce might have been a member of the re-establishment of the Society, he was not, as Michael Snape²⁰¹ notes, one of the

¹⁹⁸ Davies, Lawrence, *Royal Navy Chaplains, 1812-1861*, University of Birmingham, MPhil, 1990, 17

¹⁹⁹ NMAFBS *An Account of the Naval and Military Bible Society, from its Institution in 1780 to Ladyday 1804*, 1804, 1; Snape, Michael, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department – Clergy Under Fire*, 2008, 62; Owen, J, *The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London, Tilling and Hughes, 1816, 20

²⁰⁰ NMAFBS, Bishop, Gowan, *A History of Britain's First Bible Society (from 1779 to 1975)*, Draft, April 2004, 1

²⁰¹ Snape, Michael, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department – Clergy Under Fire* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008, 62

original founding members. The aim of the Society was recorded in the first Minute Book as 'purchasing Bibles to be distributed among the British soldiers and seamen of the Navy.'²⁰²

In 1812 200 Bibles and 100 Testaments were 'consigned to Lieut.-Gen. Graham ... [which] arrived most opportunely, and had been gratefully received by the sick and wounded in [Cadiz].' Interestingly, the report went on to note that a supply of books from the Chaplain General 'had not at that time reached their destination.'²⁰³ It was not just the troops in Portugal and Spain who were supplied with Bibles; they were also supplied to troops in Quebec where twenty-four copies also found their way into the hands of the '*Mohawk Indians*, who served with the British army in the late war [of 1812], and are sufficiently acquainted with the English language to read them.'²⁰⁴

To advance the Society, in 1823 the Committee wrote to 'a list of Clergymen [as supplied by the Chaplain General] who officiate as Chaplains to the Military in various country towns As a peculiarly appropriate channel for the distribution of the Scriptures.'²⁰⁵ With the death of John Owen in 1824, a significant event which was not recorded by the Society, the Chaplain General's position as Vice President was now available to the new Chaplain General, Robert Hodgson, a position which he declined.²⁰⁶ The work of the Society continued with the support of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York along with the Bishop of London, who jointly wrote a request which required:

²⁰² NMAFBS, Bishop, Gowan, *A History of Britain's First Bible Society (from 1779 to 1975)*, Draft, April 2004, 4

²⁰³ NMAFBS, *Report of the Proceedings of the Naval and Military Bible Society*, 1812, 21

²⁰⁴ NMAFBS, *Report of the Proceedings of the Naval and Military Bible Society*, 1818, 40

²⁰⁵ HCPP, *Report of the Proceedings of the Naval and Military Bible Society*, 1823, 42

²⁰⁶ Snape, Michael, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department – Clergy Under Fire* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008, 63

2. That Commanding Officers shall be directed by the Adjutant General, to send to the Chaplain-General an immediate Return of the Number of Bibles, Testaments and Books of Common Prayer, in the possession of the Men, and of the Number necessary to furnish one to every Man who can read.²⁰⁷

The Society has the spiritual welfare of the troops at heart, as they, 'look towards every part of the globe where a British soldier is stationed.'²⁰⁸ To this present day, the Society continues to support those who are deployed on Operations, although not through the Commanding Officer but through the unit chaplain.

The Reverend John Owen at the Old Bailey

John Gamble was the first Chaplain General to appear at the highest court in the land. During proceedings on 14 February 1816 regarding the bigamy trial of Captain George Harrower, the Reverend Arnold Burrowes, Chaplain of the Presidency of Bombay, implicated Owen, who was at the time a chaplain to the East India Company, as the one who had married George Harrower and Susannah Giblett. Although the Register of Marriages for 5 February 1794 was signed 'as a true copy' by 'A. Burrowes, Chaplain', Owen said that whilst he was in Bombay at the beginning of 1794, visiting the Reverend Arnold Burrowes,²⁰⁹ he could not swear one way or another whether he had actually married George Harrower and Susannah Ann Giblett whilst he was at the same time married to Mary Usher. The case was not proven.

²⁰⁷ HCPP, *Report of the Proceedings of the Naval and Military Bible Society*, 1825, 30

²⁰⁸ HCPP, *Report of the Proceedings of the Naval and Military Bible Society*, 1827, 14

²⁰⁹ Webpage: *GEORGE HARROWER, SEXUAL OFFENCES: BIGAMY. THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE OLD BAILEY REF: T18160214-54 - Trial Summary* [http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/html_sessions/T18160214.html] accessed 05 Apr 2008.

The Death of the Chaplain General

Upon notification of the Owen's death in 1824, the Reverend W. W. Dakins (Assistant to the Chaplain-General) wrote in the letter book that Owen:

...was pious, kindly and truly Christian, known to the poor, honoured by the rich, and approved by all. I have never seen his like. Humble and lovable, he excelled in goodness and lived not for himself but for others. His mortal duties performed, his spirit left his body and attained immortal glory, thither his footsteps always tended.²¹⁰

At the same time, William Dakins wrote to the Secretary at War, informing him officially and in a very matter of fact way, that

Archdeacon John Owen, Chaplain General, departed this life on the 4th instant. It is my duty, officially, to notify the event to your Lordship, and to await your Lordship's commands.²¹¹

The Reverend William Dakins, after spending thirty-one years as a chaplain, including fourteen years as the Assistant to the Chaplain General, had high hopes of the office, but the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London wrote to Lord Palmerston, the Secretary at War, 'to recommend to Your Lordship for that office the Very Reverend Robert Hodgson, DD, Dean of Carlisle'²¹² (more of this in chapter five). Dakins would, however, become the fourth Chaplain General in 1830, a post he would hold until 31 March 1844; thus, a total of 'fifty-one years his life was bounded within the triangle of Westminster Abbey, Wellington Barracks and the Horse Guards.'²¹³

²¹⁰ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Venerable Archdeacon John Owen MA' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (30), Jul 1930, 379

²¹¹ WO 43/226, Death of Chaplain General - John Owen - 1824

²¹² Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 48

²¹³ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 50

e. Conclusion

The early 1800's saw further reform in the Chaplains' Department. Reforms had been proposed by the Prime Minister, Spencer Percival, as well as by the head of the Royal Military College, John Gaspard le Marchant. Among the changes was to bring garrison chaplaincy under the authority of the Chaplain General, which would give him a larger pool of chaplains available to deploy as required.

The second Chaplain General was the evangelical John Owen, who had seen service in India and Portugal, where he gained valuable experience which would be brought into play during his tenure. The Peninsular War was in progress and would be for another four years. Owen was convinced of the need for chaplains as it was his own conviction that his primary duty was 'to be of service to those now departing this life.'²¹⁴

There was a great need for good chaplains, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter. These chaplains would be recommended by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York as well as the Bishop of London. All chaplains during this period were found from within the Church of England; non-conformists and Roman Catholics would not be recruited as officiating clergymen for many years.

During his tenure as Chaplain General to the Army, Owen's experience would also be brought to bear on the Royal Navy with his appointment as Chaplain General to

²¹⁴ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 116 see also Oman, C W C, *Wellington's Army 1809-1814* London: Francis Edwards, 1968, 327

the Fleet. Owen's task was to bring navy chaplains onto the same level as their army counterparts. However, news of his appointment was not greeted with the support it deserved so, after a period of two years, this experiment was terminated and it would not be for another thirteen years that a similar post was created and the Reverend Samuel Coles was appointed.

Whilst, as we shall see in the next chapter, there was an increase in the number of chaplains during this period, chaplains would still be thin on the ground. This shortage of chaplains would also bring a secondary problem to be tackled, that of the growing presence of Methodism in the ranks.

Chapter 4

CHAPLAINS ON CAMPAIGN

a. Introduction

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were a series of conflicts which lasted from 1792 to 1815, with only the brief Peace of Amiens in 1801-03 as a break. Although these were two separate conflicts, they had a common theme of 'Anglo-French rivalry', fears of French international policy, and continental hostility to British pretensions at sea.²¹⁵ This is the period when the British Army, under the leadership of the future Duke of Wellington, came to be renowned as the 'finest British fighting force for generations'.²¹⁶ Wellington learnt his craft in India and Napoleon dismissed him as a "Sepoy General", 'the implication being that fighting in India was poor training for campaigning in Europe'.²¹⁷ The actual strength of the army during this period is difficult to determine accurately, historians range from a peak of 230,000²¹⁸ to 300,000²¹⁹. In any case, these totals are unreliable because there is a differential between 'the number of troops voted by parliament' and 'the men engaged on active service'.²²⁰

²¹⁵ Harvey, A D, *Collision of Empires: Britain in Three World Wars, 1793-1945* London: The Hambledon Press, 1992, 6

²¹⁶ Davies, Huw J, *Wellington's Wars – The Making of a Military Genius* London: Yale University Press, 2012, xiii

²¹⁷ Sheffield, Gary, 'Wellington's Mastery' *BBC History Magazine*, v. 8, Jul 2007, 18

²¹⁸ Clayton, Anthony, *The British Officer* Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007, 76

²¹⁹ Bowen, H V, *War and British Society, 1688-1815* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 12

²²⁰ Bowen, H V, *War and British Society, 1688-1815* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 12

The Peninsular phase of the war would last for six long years from 1808 to 1814. Wellesley landed at Mondego Bay on 1 August 1808, to be joined a few days later by a force of 5,000 men, which would be reinforced a few days later by a further 15,000. Despite his early successes, Wellington was superseded in command in quick succession by Lieutenant General Sir Hew Dalrymple (1750-1830), and then Lieutenant General Sir Harry Burrard (1755-1813). When Burrard took command he refused to permit Wellington to follow up his victory at Vimiero, the French withdrawing back to Torres Vedras. Worse was to follow when, on 31 August 1808, 'these two old idiots [Dalrymple and Burrard] negotiated and signed'²²¹ the 'disgraceful Convention of Cintra'²²², to which Wellington reluctantly added his name. This not only permitted the evacuation of French troops via ships of the Royal Navy, rather than being counted as prisoners of war, but it also allowed the transportation of their personal baggage, which included booty from the war so far. Amongst this booty was 'a bible from the Royal library, which [Junot's] wife later sold for 85,000 francs.'²²³

One gets some idea of the incredulity felt within the government, as well as by King George III, in a letter to Lieutenant General Sir Hew Dalrymple dated 17 September 1808. The 'disgraceful Convention' was 'a definitive convention' which, it would appear, replaced the 'preliminary agreement, signed on 22d [sic] ultimo [August], between Lieutenant General Sir Arthur Wellesley and General Kellerman.' Lord Castlereagh's letter to Sir Hew Dalrymple concluded:

²²¹ Pharo-Tomlin, John, *The Ramnuggur Boys, 14th/20th King's Hussars 1715-1992* Preston: Museum of the King's Royal Hussars, 2002, 28

²²² Freemont-Barnes, Gregory and Fisher, Todd, *The Napoleonic Wars, The Rise and Fall of an Empire* Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2004, 204

²²³ Holmes, Richard, *Wellington – The Iron Duke* London: Harper Collins, 2003, 122

My dispatch of the 4th instant, with its Enclosures, will have apprized you of the impression made upon His Majesty by the communication of the Convention in question, and must have prepared for you for the commands which I now have to convey to you from His Majesty, that you do forthwith return to England, to give explanations with respect to your conduct, transferring the Command of the Army, together with your instructions, to the General Officer next to you in command.²²⁴

With the recall of Dalrymple, Burrard and Wellington, command of the army was transferred to Lieutenant General Sir John Moore. This phase of the Peninsular War, however, would end on 16 January 1809 with the withdrawal of the British army from Corunna and the death of its commander. The death of Moore was a situation which, Castlereagh informed Sir David Baird, 'His Majesty feels the strongest regret for the loss of so distinguished and meritorious an officer... which he considers as a national loss.'²²⁵ Wellington returned a few months later with reinforcements, which would land in Lisbon. These reinforcements would join the 10,000 strong garrison already in Portugal, mainly around Lisbon, under the command of Lieutenant General Sir John Craddock.

In April 1809, Wellington again took command of the allied force, defeating Soult at Oporto and forcing the French to retreat after crossing the River Douro. It was after this action that Wellesley was created Baron Douro of Wellesley and, after his subsequent campaign in Spain, Viscount Wellington of Talavera. The following year Wellington defeated Massena at Bussaco before retreating to the secretly fortified lines of Torres Vedras. The defensive line was within a day's march of Lisbon and,

²²⁴ HCPP, *Letter from the Lord Viscount Castlereagh to Lieutenant General Sir Hew Dalrymple*, dated 17th September 1808, 46

²²⁵ HCPP, *Correspondence relating to the expeditions in Spain and Portugal*, 1809, 95

as the French had passed this way at the end of 1808, their surprise is easy to imagine.

In 1811 Sir Thomas Graham led a force from Cadiz to Barossa where the first Imperial Eagle was captured by British troops. Later the same year Wellington defeated Massena at Fuentes do Onoro, although he wintered back in Portugal. The following year Wellington would take Ciudad Rodrigo by storm during which General Craufurd died after five days of agony with a shattered spine. Over the next four years Wellington and his army moved forwards and backwards, with the campaign turning slowly in favour of the allies as they moved steadily towards the French border. The last and unnecessary battle took place on 10th April 1814 at Toulouse, because Napoleon had abdicated four days earlier, and was sent into exile in Elba. News travelled slowly to the front line: following this victory Wellington was created 1st Duke of Wellington. His final victory over the French came at Waterloo on 18 June 1815, following which Napoleon was exiled to St Helena where he died on 5 May 1821.

Wellesley also understood the need to win hearts and minds, as keeping the local population on side would 'prevent resentful peasants from carrying out guerrilla warfare'.²²⁶ This policy would also feature in his Peninsular campaign. Whilst in the Peninsula, Wellesley 'ordered his men not to enter churches except for the purpose of attending services' and this was strictly observed as 'soldiers who stole from churches were likely to hang for it.'²²⁷ This chapter follows the work of army

²²⁶ Sheffield, Gary, 'Wellington's Mastery' *BBC History Magazine*, v. 8, Jul 2007, 18

²²⁷ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 355

chaplains during this six year period, and then on to the battlefield of Waterloo. This would be the first big test for chaplains since the formation of the Department in 1796.

b. Training, Deployment and Role of Chaplains

A very brief examination of the training of the clergy of the Church of England reveals that, according to the French historian Halevy, 'England was probably the sole country in Christendom where no proof of theological knowledge was required from candidates for ordination.' Rowden in his article continues to show that theological training for ordinands seemed to be 'almost an optional extra...possibly because the university statutes gave the impression that no-one under the degree of M.A. was expected to attend theological lectures, these were rarely given!'²²⁸ Therefore, if the training of civilian clergy could be described as patchy, then the training of civilian clergy into being an army chaplain was non-existent.

Within the military, the Duke of Wellington was a decided member of the Church of England. At a lower level, William Crawford, who had been a soldier in the British army during the American War of Independence, once declared that he 'hated all religions but the Church of England'. His opinion of the other church denominations of this country was, 'Presbyterians to be sour and republic hypocrites who hated his majesty, I thought the Roman Catholicks [sic], agents seceders [sic] and Covenantors

²²⁸ Rowdon, Harold H, 'Theological Education in Historical Perspective' *Vox Evangelica*, v.7 1971, 82

[sic] worse than traitors and rebels and tainted with the Scotch Plague, if not the itch.²²⁹

At this point in time, with no guarantee of a commission at the end, the training of British army officers was minimal, with only four per cent of officers passing through the Royal Military College; the remainder learnt their trade from listening to their Sergeants. Part of this on the job training included soldiers firing 'volleys using 20 or 30 blank cartridges: the officers were engulfed in the sounds of the battlefield and the smell of the enveloping smoke and were made to execute manoeuvres'.²³⁰ Some would come to the field of battle competent to lead their troops, but this was not the case universally. If initial officer training was minimal, then training for a chaplain was non-existent, many went on campaign with little notice, and had to learn their field skills on the job where they were, and remain, a unit of one. The Reverend George Stonestreet joined the Department prior to the Battle of Waterloo, and he was informed that he 'was to be in Holland in ten days'.²³¹ This state of affairs would mean that these chaplains were unprepared for the rigours that would be ahead of them. This lack of training could lead to some farcical scenes:

There is one ridiculous story of a young clergyman who, when first brought forward to take a brigade Sunday service, and placed behind the big drum, which was to serve him as a sort of central mark, mistook its function for that of a pulpit, and endeavoured to mount upon it, with disastrous results, and to the infinite laughter of the congregation.²³²

²²⁹ Hagist, Don H, 'The Narrative of William Crawford, Private Soldier of the 20th Regiment of Foot' *JSAHR*, v. 86 (348), Winter 2008, 325

²³⁰ Bluth, BJ, *Marching with Sharpe* London: Harper Collins, 2001, 26

²³¹ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 2

²³² Oman, C W C, *Wellington's Army 1809-1814* London: Francis Edwards, 1968, 329

If it is the same incident, then an unknown officer reveals that this poor unfortunate chaplain 'at one leap, posted himself on the drum-head, to the utter astonishment of the whole division'. This incident was such that 'a titter ran along the inside of the square like a running fire. Sir Rowland Hill preserved his gravity with difficulty, and General Chowne was forced to turn his back.' General Howard saved the situation by gently requesting the chaplain, 'Sir, I think you had better come down, I am afraid the drum will not bear you.'²³³ The chaplain eventually descended safely back to earth, to continue the service.

Deployment of Chaplains

Chaplains were few in number; the approximate ratio was expected to be one chaplain per Brigade, although it is conceivable they would look after more than that. Despite the knowledge that chaplains were appointed by and administered by the Chaplain General, it would appear that senior officers were choosy as to who they wished to have as chaplains. Wellington, in a letter to 'B Sydenham Esq', dated 11 June 1814, looking at the appointment of an unnamed chaplain, said he was reluctant to pursue this 'without inquiring into his character; and knowing more of him than I do now.'²³⁴

An example of the deployment of chaplains is to be found in the journal of the Reverend George Stonestreet who, when he arrived in Holland, was introduced to the commander, Sir Thomas Graham, who 'welcomed me kindly enough, told me I

²³³ Anon, *The Military Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* Edinburgh: Anderson & Bryce, 1833, 192-193

²³⁴ Gurwood, Lieut. Colonel, *The Dispatches of Field Marshall The Duke of Wellington, K.G. during his various campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, The Low Countries, and France, from 1799 to 1818 (Volume 12)* London: John Murray, 1838c, 50

must live with *him*, till he could determine where to post me.'²³⁵ The commander later posted him 'to the 2nd Division at Putte on the high road between Bergen and Antwerp,' whilst his fellow chaplain, the Reverend Maurice James, was attached 'to the First Division near Ouden Bosch.'²³⁶

Role of Chaplains

The role of an army chaplain has changed little since the creation of the Army Chaplains' Department in 1796. The central plank was, and is, to conduct Divine Service which then meant following the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, and preaching a short sermon. With the shortage of chaplains, especially deployed overseas, a War Office circular authorised any officer of captain's rank or above to perform certain religious offices in the absence of a clergyman.²³⁷ This situation led the commanding officer of the 85th Regiment to 'read prayers to the Battalion'²³⁸ on Sunday evenings. Colonel Sir Augustus Frazer echoed this practice in a letter, written from Quinta de Gracioso and dated 14 March 1813, in which he said that he 'found, on joining Bull's troops, that he had been in the habit of reading prayers to the troops, whenever the duties of the field would permit, and I have with pleasure followed so good an example.'²³⁹ Despite the shortage of chaplains, the Reverend

²³⁵ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 9 (original emphasis)

²³⁶ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 10

²³⁷ Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* London: Routledge, 2005, 88

²³⁸ Gleig, George R, *The Subaltern* London: J M Dent & Sons, 1915, 245

²³⁹ Sabine, Edward, *Letters of Colonel Sir Augustus Simon Frazer, K.C.B. Commanding the Royal Horse Artillery in the Army under the Duke of Wellington, Written During the Peninsular and Waterloo Campaigns* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859, 75

George Stonestreet found that 'I had but few opportunities of religious duty', but he also bore in mind what Archdeacon Owen had told him before he left 'namely that the officers had no objection to an *idle* chaplain; in fact, that if I mean to *do* anything, I must originate it myself'²⁴⁰. It has always been the case that chaplains are as busy as they want to be.

Brigade Chaplains in the Peninsular War were given the rank of Major but a system of relative ranks would not be fixed until 5 November 1858 with the Chaplain-General that of Major-General; Class One that of Colonel (at twenty-two shillings and sixpence a day); Class Two that of Lieutenant-Colonel (at seventeen shillings a day); Class Three that of Major (at fifteen shillings a day) and Class Four that of Captain (at ten shillings a day).²⁴¹ The new *Regulations* of 1811 made it clear that it was the Duke of York's wish that chaplains had assigned 'to them the Pay and Allowance of a Major; and His Royal Highness entertains no doubt, that their conduct will universally prove them worthy of this distinction.'²⁴²

c. *Conditions on Campaign*

With no training, it is little wonder that chaplains preferred to stay in Lisbon. Officers, and that included chaplains, may have had the fortune of being billeted in a town or village, in which there might be a comfortable bed, but in the field everyone would be

²⁴⁰ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 17

²⁴¹ Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* London: Routledge, 2005, 90 see also Brumwell, P Middleton, *The Army Chaplain* London: Adam & Charles Black, 1943, 15

²⁴² HCPP, *General Regulations and Orders for the Army, Adjutant General's Office, Horse-Guards*, 12th August 1811, 305

expected to sleep under the stars, unless shelter could be found in a barn or the tents which were to be issued later in the campaign. The Reverend Samuel Briscall certainly knew the privations of war; he wrote that 'I sleep occasionally under the canopy of heaven and sometimes get a pair of sheets.'²⁴³

An example of a chaplain, probably the Reverend Horace Parker,²⁴⁴ chaplain to the Light Division, who tried to live too comfortably occurred at Fuente de Guinaldo there, whilst the soldiers were shivering on the ploughed ground, this unnamed chaplain secured for himself a comfortable bed for the night, with no doubt a passable plate of food. However, during the night, as the army moved off, the chaplain was left, as one narrative puts it, 'in the arms of Morpheus'. Then 'he felt a gentle tap, and on opening his leaden eyelids he saw four 'French Heavy Dragoons wrapped in white cloaks.' After being invited to dress he was taken as a prisoner to Ciudad Rodrigo, from where the Governor set him free 'so that he might go in search of the English Army.' However, even this did not pass without incident as, when he reached the gate, 'the French soldiers rudely divested him of his coat and waistcoat, using their feet besides in a most unceremonious manner, and left him to pursue his journey in his shirt sleeves.'²⁴⁵

The lack of comfort is something that has remained a constant trial through the centuries of soldiering. Troops on active service were issued rations which could be supplemented by local arrangements so, for example, 'officers would...supplement

²⁴³ Glover, Michael, 'An excellent young man: the Rev. Samuel Briscall' *History Today*, Aug 1968, 579

²⁴⁴ Verner, Willoughby, *A British Rifle Man: The Journals and Correspondence of Major George Simmons, Rifle Brigade, During the Peninsular War and the Campaign of Waterloo* London: A & C Black, 1899, 196

²⁴⁵ Edwards, T J, 'Religious Life in Wellington's Peninsula Army' *JRACHD*, 1934, 413

the rations with local purchases, hunting, foraging, packages from home, from captured French stocks, or, as a last resort, from enlisted soldiers.²⁴⁶ It was, however, a sad state of affairs that some chaplains had a reputation for gluttony, drunkenness, and womanizing - and sometimes all three. Sergeant John Pearman said that 'oftimes when out on night patrol in the officers' lines and in our barracks we would come across our parson dead drunk'²⁴⁷. He would not have been the only one to have come across a chaplain in such a state. That was of course when they were not out, according to William Wheeler, 'with their brace of dogs and gun, running down hares and shooting partridges etc.'²⁴⁸

Discipline

One thing that Wellington was insistent upon was that anything taken from the local population had to be paid for, as he wanted to keep them well disposed. While he knew the value of winning hearts and minds long before this concept had been formalised, this still did not prevent looting. Wellington's wishes in this respect could be strictly enforced through the use of Provost Marshals and by recourse to floggings or hangings. Soldiers did see it as their right to loot if they were forced to storm a town or city, but even this aspect of soldiering Wellington was keen to keep under control.

²⁴⁶ Morgan, Matthew, *Wellington's Victories – A Guide to Sharpe's Army 1797-1815* London: Michael O'Mara Books, 2004, 72

²⁴⁷ Sgt John Pearman quoted in Holmes, Richard, *Sahib – The British Soldier in India, 1750-1914* London: Harper, 2006, 243. See also Kopperman, Paul E, "The Cheapest Pay": Alcohol Abuse in the Eighteenth-Century British Army' *Journal of Military History*, v. 60 (3), July 1996, 460 and Webpage: Garrison Chaplain to Annapolis Royal, Canada, [<http://www.annapolisroyal.com/history.php> accessed 22 Aug 2010)

²⁴⁸ Morgan, Matthew, *Wellington's Victories – A Guide to Sharpe's Army 1797-1815* London: Michael O'Mara Books, 2004, 83

Another problem which needed to be controlled was that of desertion. However, not all of those who were classed as deserters actually were. The Reverend George Stonestreet came across one example of a soldier named Private Cloudesly. He was concerned that Stonestreet should write to his father ‘& assure him that though his death were so shameful, he was unconscious of the offence proved against him.’²⁴⁹ Now, whilst most deserters might claim their innocence even if they were guilty, Cloudesly was fortunate in that shortly afterwards Stonestreet met a local ‘Administration des Pauvres’ and, as they talked about pictures, especially those by Rubens, he described a prisoner of war who it came to light was the same Cloudesly. This official then wrote a statement which Stonestreet gave to General Gibbs, who in turn forwarded it to Sir Thomas Graham.²⁵⁰ It transpired that Cloudesly had been captured by the French and had been given one of their greatcoats to keep him warm. When he was ‘recaptured’ by the British he was still wearing the greatcoat, hence the belief that he had deserted to the enemy. However, this story has an untidy ending because, although Stonestreet continued in his journal, ‘Here for the present I must leave the story of Private Cloudesly’, he did not resume the story. Stonestreet made discipline the theme of at least one of his sermons, when he preached at Antwerp in 1814, during which ‘he depicted the crimes of our excessive, surpassed only by the more inexcusable culpability of the officers who winked at their

²⁴⁹ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 15

²⁵⁰ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 19

enormities'²⁵¹. One can only imagine the excessive crimes which were being carried out, but probably included drunkenness, rape and theft.

Some soldiers who were executed had the benefit of religious ministry, but not always from the chaplain. An anonymous officer records the case of one soldier who did not have the services of a chaplain: 'Being absent, the School Master Sergeant accompanied the poor lad to the fatal spot, and all the way from the village read portions of Scripture.'²⁵²

Medical Conditions

Medical standards were, by modern standards primitive, and one of Wellington's doctors, Dr James McGrigor, was amongst those who tried to increase the survivability of war. It would be easy to quote statistics with regards to the numbers of casualties during this period, but it is evidence of the dedication of most doctors that many soldiers survived horrific wounds. As far as casualties were concerned, at Waterloo 'the 28th Regiment had 253 casualties from 557 men',²⁵³ a casualty rate of forty-five per cent. Of those who made it to the surgeon at the earlier Battle of Toulouse, out of 1,294 surgical cases 'performed in the General Hospital at Toulouse from 10 April to 28 June 1814',²⁵⁴ there was a mortality rate of only 12.9 per cent. Although tourniquets were available to stop major bleeding, anaesthetics for operations were not, so wines, spirits and opiates were used instead. At home,

²⁵¹ Divall, Carole, *Redcoats Against Napoleon. The 30th Regiment During the Revolutionary & Napoleonic Wars* Barnsley: Pen and Sword Books, 2009, 205

²⁵² Anon, *The Military Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* Edinburgh: Anderson & Bryce, 1833, 241

²⁵³ Howard, Martin, *Wellington's Doctors: the British Army Medical Services in the Napoleonic Wars* Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2002, 34

²⁵⁴ Howard, Martin, *Wellington's Doctors: the British Army Medical Services in the Napoleonic Wars* Staplehurst: Spellmount, 2002, 233

mortality rates could be just as bad, or even worse. The official *Returns Relating to Casualties in the Army at Home and Abroad*²⁵⁵ dated 1805, recorded that in a nineteen month period from 1 May 1803 to 31 December 1804 out of 8,282 deaths, 2,982 (or 36 per cent) of them occurred in the United Kingdom, and one of the main reasons was the unsanitary conditions which soldiers lived in.

Chaplains could be of great use in field hospitals. Southey records the example of one 'chaplain of the British army... endeavouring to render assistance to some of them [the enemy injured], while under the surgeon's hands'. However, this chaplain's assistance was not appreciated as a 'Frenchman fiercely answered him.'²⁵⁶ Hospital work was highlighted in a General Order which was issued at Freneda on 7 December 1811 and which drew attention to a letter from the Adjutant General a month before, which detailed the duties of the chaplain. This Order reflected the *General Regulations and Orders for the Army* which required: 'the Regular Attendance of the Chaplain on the Sick, and at the Hospital'²⁵⁷. This was something that some chaplains neglected. Part of this General Order instructed General Officers that:

Chaplains shall visit the sick and hospitals of the respective divisions or garrisons, at least twice in each week, and diligently perform the requisite duties therein.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁵ HCPP, *Returns relating to Casualties in the Army at Home and Abroad*, 1805

²⁵⁶ Southey, Robert, *History of the Peninsular War in Six Volumes: Volume 2* London: John Murray, 1828, 215

²⁵⁷ HCPP, *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*, Adjutant General's Office, Horse-Guards, 12th August 1811, 78 and 305

²⁵⁸ Gurwood, Lieut. Colonel, *The General Orders of Field Marshall The Duke of Wellington, K.G. in Portugal, Spain, and France from 1809 to 1814; in The Low Countries and France, in 1815; and in France, Army of Occupation, from 1816 to 1818* London: John Murray, 1837a, 62

When the Reverend John Owen was Chaplain General he reflected on his time as senior chaplain in the Peninsula and especially around the time that he and the Reverend Thomas Denis were the only two chaplains in Portugal. John Owen wrote a letter to the Reverend Samuel Briscall regarding the Reverend Thomas Denis on 28 February 1811, in which he made the observation that 'I am extremely mortified to find so many sick for so long a period committed to Mr. Dennis [sic]. I never could trust him with an Hospital Duty.'²⁵⁹ Given the lack of support from the Chaplain General, perhaps it is little wonder that Mr. Denis resigned, returning to Britain at the end of May that year. Later in Owen's letter, it is noted that he expected that all chaplains 'will declare upon their honour that they have visited all the sick who were not removed from their Division twice a week, and perform with them, according to their discretion, the requisite offices'.²⁶⁰ It is therefore little wonder that chaplains were not often seen amongst the troops on the front line, when the focus of their ministry was upon those soldiers who were in the general hospitals. On 28 April 1813, Owen followed up on his theme of visiting the sick noting, 'the numerous sick of Lord Wellington's army has rendered it necessary for many chaplains to be detached on service at the great hospitals.'²⁶¹

One chaplain, the Reverend John Heyward, 'Chaplain at Cadiz', was known as 'a notorious hypochondriac'²⁶². However, Sir Richard Henegan, who was the head of the Field Train Department in the Peninsula, wrote that 'one exception must be made to the indifference that was apparently shown to the tenure of life during the raging of

²⁵⁹ Owen, J, 'Letter to the Rev. S. Briscall, Portugal' *JRACHD*, Dec 1982, 49

²⁶⁰ AFCC, Papers of the Reverend Mark Mackareth

²⁶¹ AFCC, Papers of the Reverend Mark Mackareth

²⁶² Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 116

the fever, in favour of our chaplain, Mr. Heyward, whose original and quaint humour must find a place in every reminiscence of Cadiz.’²⁶³ Henegan continued that if John Heyward was ‘anxious to be at his post by the bedside of the dying, he was equally unanxious to make one of the number; and the extraordinary measures and precautions he took to avoid contagion, caused many a joke among the soldiers’. He concluded that these measures included asking the question ‘which way does the wind blow?’ However, when it is considered that, out of a total of thirty-two chaplains in the Peninsula, three of them would die during the campaign (see Appendix D); it is little wonder that Heyward would take every precaution. The Reverend Frederick Browne was one of those who paid the ultimate price, dying on 21 January 1813, ‘with such devotion....to the sincere regret of all ranks.’²⁶⁴

John Owen was content with reports from surgeons, ‘the returns regarding chaplains ‘has left no doubt on my mind as to [the] large majority’²⁶⁵ who were doing their job in the hospitals. George Watson was one such chaplain, as part of his duties he ‘visited three hospitals at this place [Toulouse] to [assist] Mr [Edward Cockayne] Frith the Chaplain at the Depot’; no doubt the Reverend Frith and the sick were very grateful for this assistance. After his short stint in the Peninsular War, George Watson was appointed to the staff of a force being sent to America to pursue the war there. An anonymous note in his journal indicates that he died at sea on the return home on ‘28th March 1815 when the fleet was some distance off Dauphin Island.’²⁶⁶ It was not always the case that chaplains had attended to their hospital duties as the Chaplain

²⁶³ Henegan, Sir Richard D, *Seven Years’ Campaigning in the Peninsula and the Netherlands; from 1808 to 1815* London: Henry Colburn, 1846, 222

²⁶⁴ Brett-James, Anthony, *Life in Wellington’s Army* London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972, 232

²⁶⁵ LPL, FP Howley 9 Letters on Leggatt F335 and 336

²⁶⁶ AFCC, Journal of the Reverend George Watson

General, in writing to the Lord Bishop of London, stated: 'I am sorry to say that in my service in Holland & Portugal I found that no Chaplain had ever been seen in an [sic] Hospital.'²⁶⁷

Field Burials

Those who had the misfortune to die either on the battlefield, or more probably in the hospital, could not always expect a Christian burial performed by the chaplain. One of the fortunate ones was Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, who died at Corunna on the night of the 16/17 January 1809. The chaplain assigned to this task was the Reverend Henry John Symons, who was chaplain to the Brigade of Guards, and it took place against the background of gunfire at 8 a.m. on Saturday, 17 January. As Symons' obituary of May 1857 makes clear, this service took place 'in the grey morning light (and not by torchlight, as has been so beautifully stated by a poetic licence,) [and he] read the funeral service over the remains of his brave and lamented commander.'²⁶⁸ Symons continued to serve as an army chaplain, returning to the Peninsula until the peace of 1814, when he was sent to Gibraltar. He died on a train on 21 March 1857, apparently at around eighty years of age, which meant that:

In his over-anxiety to catch the train, he so exerted himself that upon taking his seat in the carriage he appeared completely exhausted, and in a few minutes, giving a deep-drawn gasp, his head fell on his breast, and the breath of life fled; the relentless hand of death seized him, and he was a corpse!²⁶⁹

However, not all senior officers had a chaplain present when they died on campaign. When Major General John Gaspard le Marchant died at Salamanca, whilst 'gallantly

²⁶⁷ LPL, FP Howley 9 Letters on Leggatt F335

²⁶⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1857, 623

²⁶⁹ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1857, 622

leading a brilliant charge of cavalry,²⁷⁰ in the absence of a chaplain he was buried by a medical officer, Major Owen of the 5th Dragoon Guards.²⁷¹ The poor foot soldier could even remain unburied. As Gleig noted, 'the remains of dead bodies – such as the wolves and vultures had left – lay still unburied.'²⁷² Gleig also noted that, even though they were interred apart, 'neither officers or other ranks had prayers read beside their graves, as most chaplains were based in the hospital.'²⁷³ This is borne out by the following example. An officer called Frazer, not apparently related to the author of the letter, Sir Augustus Frazer, 'had been killed some time ago', had his funeral read by the Reverend George Jenkins, who was a chaplain to the Fourth Division. The service which Jenkins provided was obviously greatly appreciated by his fellow officers of the 52nd Regiment, as they 'seemed affected'. Sir Augustus even informed Jenkins that 'you are the first clergyman whom I have had the good fortune to meet',²⁷⁴ which only shows what a rare breed chaplains were, especially with front line units.

d. Some of Wellington's Chaplains

Wellington had a great desire for respectable and efficient clergy, both to provide spiritual comfort for the wounded and dying, as well as dealing with the problems of Methodism. These focussed around their "enthusiasm", which included preaching

²⁷⁰ Leach, Jonathan, *Captain of the 95th Rifles* : Leonaur Ltd, (Originally Published 1831) 2005, 168

²⁷¹ Le Marchant, Denis, *Memoirs of the Late Major-General Le Marchant* Uckfield: The Naval & Military Press, (Originally Published 1841) 2006, 305

²⁷² Gleig, George R, *The Subaltern* London: J M Dent & Sons, 1915, 59

²⁷³ Gleig, George, quoted in Snape, Michael, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department – Clergy Under Fire* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008

²⁷⁴ Sabine, Edward, *Letters of Colonel Sir Augustus Simon Frazer, K.C.B. Commanding the Royal Horse Artillery in the Army under the Duke of Wellington, Written During the Peninsular and Waterloo Campaigns* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859, 318-319

moralistic sermons to officers. With one exception, the Reverend Samuel Briscall (1778-1848), who was described by Wellington as 'an excellent young man,'²⁷⁵ the rest seemed more of a burden than a help, but this is to do these chaplains a great disservice because, with no military training, they still tried their best to minister to their flocks.

Reading general histories of the Peninsular War, one would be forgiven for thinking that there was only one chaplain in theatre, and that was the Briscall himself. Samuel Briscall was born in Stockport in the spring of 1778, and matriculated to Brasenose College, Oxford, on 9 November 1797; he was awarded his B.A. on 3 June 1801, his M.A. on 11 April 1804, and his B.D. on 14 December 1814. He died on 7 October 1848 at the age of 70. Briscall was amongst those chaplains who retreated to Corunna with Sir John Moore's army. He would report to his father on 26 January 1809, when he arrived in Portsmouth, that he was 'in perfect health, [though] I feel my right wrist much affected with Rheumatism (as I suppose).'²⁷⁶ This group also included the Reverend Brodie and the Reverend Coolie, both of whom would not return to the Peninsula, William Bradford and the Reverend Henry John Symons, who would both return to the Peninsula in 1813.

Probably the most famous letter of the Duke of Wellington concerning chaplains was the one written from Cartaxo on 6 February 1811 to the Adjutant General, Lieutenant General Calvert. In his letter, Wellington acknowledged his belief 'that you have attended a good deal to the establishment of the Chaplains to the Army, upon which I

²⁷⁵ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 117

²⁷⁶ NAM, 2002-05-31 Letter sent by Rev Samuel Briscoe from Portsmouth to his sister Mary Briscoe in Stockport, 26 Jan 1809

am now about to trouble you.’²⁷⁷ One of Wellington’s key concerns was the spread of Methodism, a situation which Wellington regretted as ‘Briscall was unfortunately taken ill before he had completed his task’ of containing it. Methodism was only part of Briscall’s work, however, the other part being ‘to make inquiries regarding the state of the people in the neighbourhood’. Although Briscall was absent through sickness for at least one year, a footnote in Gurwood’s volume of Wellington’s correspondence claimed that, ‘Mr. Briscall remained with the army till the end of the war’²⁷⁸. However, Sir Augustus Frazer noted that during a conversation with the Reverend George Jenkins on 21 October 1813, ‘the Rev. Mr. Driscol [sic]...was daily expected to join from England, whither he had gone two years ago on account of sickness.’²⁷⁹ Wellington concluded his 1811 letter to the Adjutant General with the request ‘I wish, therefore, you would turn your mind a little more to this subject, and arrange some plan by which the number of respectable and efficient clergymen with the army might be increased.’²⁸⁰ This plea must have had some impact, as the number of chaplains would increase into double figures, peaking at seventeen towards the end of the Peninsular campaign. However, not everyone shared Wellington’s enthusiasm for Samuel Briscall. The Reverend George Stonestreet would note in his journal that, prior to the Battle of Waterloo, it was the intention of the Chaplain General to send out ‘our Mr Briscall (The Duke of W’s “Pearl of Parsons”) and six other colleagues’.

²⁷⁷ Gurwood, Lieut. Colonel, *The Despatches of Field Marshall The Duke of Wellington, K.G. during his various campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, The Low Countries, and France, from 1799 to 1818 (Volume 7)* London: John Murray, 1837b, 230

²⁷⁸ Gurwood, Lieut. Colonel, *The Despatches of Field Marshall The Duke of Wellington, K.G. during his various campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, The Low Countries, and France, from 1799 to 1818 (Volume 7)* London: John Murray, 1837b, 17

²⁷⁹ Sabine, Edward, *Letters of Colonel Sir Augustus Simon Frazer, K.C.B. Commanding the Royal Horse Artillery in the Army under the Duke of Wellington, Written During the Peninsular and Waterloo Campaigns* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859, 319

²⁸⁰ Gurwood, Lieut. Colonel, *The Despatches of Field Marshall The Duke of Wellington, K.G. during his various campaigns in India, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, The Low Countries, and France, from 1799 to 1818 (Volume 7)* London: John Murray, 1837b, 232

Given the number of British troops then deployed in Brussels, Stonestreet was of the opinion that they 'did not require any such proportion of Reverend accessories.'²⁸¹ The impression that Stonestreet had of Briscall was less than generous, for he saw Briscall as 'a great prig and a very young man.'²⁸²

Briscall was not the only chaplain who was regarded as being an excellent chaplain, however, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Cadell of the 28th Regiment described the Reverend Charles Frith as 'so truly praiseworthy and humane, that it deserves to be recorded.' For what did he deserve this high praise? Apparently:

Being a strong man, [Frith] carried down on his back, one after the other, three or four of the officers of our brigade who had been severely wounded, from the heights where the action was fought [in the Pyrenees], to the village of Maya, a distance of a mile and a half.²⁸³

What this shows is that Frith was not content with staying in the rear, he was one who wanted to make a significant difference in the lives of the troops around them. Frith served through the Peninsular campaign from July 1811, to its conclusion in 1814 significantly, 'this worthy clergyman was never seen to wear a cloak or great coat.' He was not only commended for his strength and courage, but he was later commended by Sir Augustus Frazer on Sunday 11 June 1814 for 'an excellent

²⁸¹ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 34

²⁸² Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 36

²⁸³ Cadell, Charles, *Narrative of the Campaigns of the Twenty-Eighth Regiment since their Return from Egypt in 1802* London: Whittaker, 1835, 166-167

sermon preached in the square before my house.'²⁸⁴ An anonymous infantry officer, wrote well of the Reverend Edward Charles Frith who, on visiting one camp, announced 'Gentlemen, we shall have divine service to-morrow, God and the *French* willing.'²⁸⁵ This officer went on to relate that Frith 'was not only an amiable and admirable expounder of the sacred text, he was also a gallant soldier', quoting another example of his gallantry which took place on 31 July 1813. When the artillery was lost near San Sabastian, 'Mr F. instantly placed himself at the head of the artillery, and never resigned his post until he planted them on the ground where they were to open upon.'

George Griffin Stonestreet was born on 22 March 1782, the son of George Griffin Stonestreet who set up the Phoenix Insurance Group. Stonestreet matriculated to Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1804. His appointment as a Chaplain to the Forces came about following a conversation with a college acquaintance, who had been a Chaplain to the Forces stationed at Portsmouth, but had resigned following the receipt 'of a considerable independence by a legacy'²⁸⁶. This acquaintance was probably the Reverend George Coxe. At the time of his request to join the Army Chaplains' Department, Stonestreet had been the vicar of Honeychurch, which is located about six miles to the north east of Okehampton in Devon, which he had to

²⁸⁴ Sabine, Edward, *Letters of Colonel Sir Augustus Simon Frazer, K.C.B. Commanding the Royal Horse Artillery in the Army under the Duke of Wellington, Written During the Peninsular and Waterloo Campaigns* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1859, 532

²⁸⁵ Anon, *The Military Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* Edinburgh: Anderson & Bryce, 1833, 337 (Original emphasis)

²⁸⁶ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 1

resign prior to his being accepted as a chaplain.²⁸⁷ When he deployed by sea, the ship he was on approached the port of Willemstadt, where 'I ventured on deck in full uniform, with cocked hat and high military feather, which produced an adventure.'²⁸⁸ What Stonestreet does not reveal is what regiment's 'full uniform' he was wearing as it was certainly not that of a chaplain. Departmental uniforms were not approved until 1861; until that time, they were expected to wear the professional dress of the day which consisted of black civilian clothing, with a white shirt and clerical tabs, similar to those shown in the portrait of many clergymen of the period.

Whilst George Stonestreet was resident in Brussels from May 1814 he was 'induced to procure for their [local church attenders] use a very convenient chapel and I rendered them services, whenever my engagements to the troops might admit of such duties.'²⁸⁹ Stonestreet remained on the Continent after the battle of Waterloo as, in March 1817, he was appointed 'Chaplain to the Embassy at the Court of the King of the Netherlands'²⁹⁰. He was also aware of the needs of the congregation in Brussels, to whom he ministered to at the same time. However, the Army of Occupation was recalled in March 1819 and Stonestreet was informed that, as part of the peace footing reduction, the War Office had 'terminated my duties as Chaplain to the Forces'.²⁹¹ He was then placed on the Reduced List which meant that he was on

²⁸⁷ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 3

²⁸⁸ Glover, Gareth, *Recollections of the scenes of which I was a witness in the Low Countries & France in the campaigns of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent occupation of French Flanders. The journal and letters of the Reverend George Griffin Stonestreet 1814-16* Huntingdon: Ken Trotman Ltd, 2009, 8

²⁸⁹ LPL, FP Howley 4 Letters from George Stonestreet, f181

²⁹⁰ LPL, FP Howley 41 Letters from George Stonestreet, f157

²⁹¹ LPL, FP Howley 41 Letters from George Stonestreet, f159

half-pay. Now that he was no longer an army chaplain he was greatly in need of a parish. On 11 March 1819 Stonestreet therefore wrote to the Lord Bishop of London, 'to tender to your Lordship my future services.'²⁹² However, George Stonestreet did not give up the idea of being recalled to the colours as a chaplain, writing to the Lord Bishop of London in February 1820, promoting himself and his earlier work amongst the Guards and hoping that under the new king, George IV, the number of troops would once again be increased and a need created for more chaplains.²⁹³ However, this does not appear to have worked as, three months later, he was still on the Isle of Wight, from where he wrote to the Lord Bishop of London with the sad news that the Reverend Matthew Arnold, who had been chaplain to the Garrison of Gosport, had been drowned in Stokes Bay off Gosport, on a return journey from the Isle of Wight²⁹⁴ on 18 May 1820. Although Stonestreet might have been expecting a favourable report to be sent to the Chaplain General, with a recommendation that the position be given to him, Arnold was replaced by the Reverend Rowland Grove Curtois (see Appendix E).

e. Conclusion

Thirty-two chaplains served in Portugal and Spain, but not all at the same time. Many of those chaplains who did go to the Peninsula were unprepared for what lay in store for them. They left their comfortable livings and colleges with no introduction to the military life. So, were these chaplains negligent in their duties, which often led them to having a poor reputation? Today they would probably be told to "adapt and

²⁹² LPL, FP Howley 41 Letters from George Stonestreet, f159

²⁹³ LPL, FP Howley 41 Letters from George Stonestreet, f161

²⁹⁴ LPL, FP Howley 41 Letters from George Stonestreet, f163

overcome”, but at least the modern chaplain has some training prior to being deployed on operations. However, in 1808 an Anglican priest could find himself, as Stonestreet did, deployed abroad in a matter of days.

For the Duke of Wellington, there was only one chaplain who did any good, and that was the Reverend Samuel Briscall. This, however, was to do a great disservice to the other chaplains during the war. For Wellington (and apart from leading divine worship on Sundays) Briscall had the prime task of reporting on the growing problem of Methodism. Some chaplains clearly did their best in the circumstances, others could possibly have done better, and for the remainder, they were not suited to army life, and should never have been sent in the first place.

The Senior Chaplain in Portugal in 1808 was Archdeacon John Owen, who returned to Britain in April 1809, to become the second Chaplain General in March 1810. John Owen would remain in this office until his death in June 1824. With the end of the Peninsular War and Waterloo, peace would be a painful event, even for chaplains. The next chapter will focus on the aftermath of war and how this would affect the Army Chaplains' Department.

Chapter 5

POST WAR DEPARTMENT AND THE RISE OF GEORGE GLEIG

a. *Introduction*

This chapter begins with a change of monarchy, as 1820 was the year in which King George III died and George IV ascended the throne. However, 1820 was also a year of major cuts in defence spending (it must be remembered that the national debt had reached a massive £800,000,000 by 1830).²⁹⁵ The British army had triumphed at Waterloo under the Duke of Wellington but complacency as well as massive post-war cuts would affect its abilities, especially in the areas of transport and medical care²⁹⁶, until the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854. The coming of peace also brought about a post-war recession, which led to unrest in the country that came to a head with the Peterloo Massacre in 1819. Another casualty of the post-1815 peace dividend was officer education. In 1817 the 'Sandhurst Junior Division instructing staff was reduced, the number of places for orphans [of officers] was cut to 80, so increasing the number of places for sons of serving officers who paid according to their rank.'²⁹⁷

On another front, political unrest even affected the armed forces. Today we see nothing wrong in praying for the monarchy; however, the Reverend William Gillespie,

²⁹⁵ Norman, Andrew, *The Story of George Loveless and the Tolpuddle Martyrs* Tiverton: Halsgrove House, 2008, 16

²⁹⁶ McCord, Norman and Purdue, Bill, *British History, 1815-1914* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 34

²⁹⁷ Clayton, Anthony, *The British Officer* Harlow: Pearson Education, 2007, 102

chaplain to the Stewartry Yeomanry, was placed under military arrest by his commanding officer for praying for Queen Caroline. According to the *Liverpool Mercury*, in his prayers for His Majesty 'he added the words, "Bless also the Queen!"'²⁹⁸ Caroline had entered into a disastrous marriage to the then Prince of Wales, her first cousin, separating after only a year. When the Prince of Wales became King, she was determined to take her place at his side as Queen, in the event she was forcibly excluded from the coronation ceremony. Such was Caroline's unpopularity within Royal circles, that on 18 November 1818, the Privy Council approved a new form of words where the Royal Family was to be prayed for in the Book of Common Prayer. The new words did not include an explicit mention of Caroline, and were to take the following form:

Their Royal Highnesses George Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, and all the Royal Family.²⁹⁹

This incident brings to light a tension which is still felt today, that of how far a Commanding Officer has authority over his (or today her) chaplain. As the article continued, 'the chaplain of a regiment is no doubt bound to conform himself to the wishes of his Colonel, in as far as regards *time* and *place*; but further than this no officer has any right to interfere'.³⁰⁰ In the event, William Gillespie would be released after a short period and would also receive an apology.

²⁹⁸ *Liverpool Mercury*, 18 Aug 1820

²⁹⁹ HCPP, *Papers Relating to the Liturgy of the Church of England*, 1821, 18

³⁰⁰ *Liverpool Mercury*, 18 Aug 1820 – original emphasis

b. Robert Hodgson, the Third Chaplain General

With the post of Chaplain General vacant following the death of John Owen, and the Reverend William Dakins having for the past fourteen years been the Assistant to the Chaplain General, Dakins was no doubt very confident of being promoted to that post. However, the recommendation on 16 June 1824, to the First Prelates (the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London), was of 'the Rev. Mr. Duffield, one of the Deans of St. John's College, Cambridge.'³⁰¹ William Dakins was not even short-listed, which must have been a real blow to him. Still, Duffield later revealed to his friend, William Whittaker, 'I am sorry to say that I have not been successful in my application for the office of Chaplain General to the Forces'. Duffield had received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury setting out the reasons why he had not been successful, an extract of which Duffield shared with Whittaker:

It is unnecessary for me to say that there are very few recommendations that carry more weight with them in my estimation than those which fall from you. It has been thought advisable however to place in the office of Chaplain General a dignitary of the church and the Dean of Carlisle has accepted it.³⁰²

This must have been quite a crushing letter, although Duffield seems to have taken the news with good grace.

However, the Secretary at War, Lord Palmerston, seemed in no doubt as to the suitability of Duffield as he had 'been very strongly recommended to me by the Dean of Ely, as successor to Mr Owen.' All that Palmerston needed was the

³⁰¹ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Very Reverend Robert Hodgson DD' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (31), Jan 1931a, 445

³⁰² SJCL, 8/17 Papers of John William Whittaker

recommendation of the Prelates.³⁰³ However, and with only the following explanation, a different name was forthcoming:

It has been thought advisable, after due consideration, to recommend for the important office of Chaplain-General to the Army, vacant by the death of the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon Owen, an *ecclesiastic of higher rank in the church*. The Archbishops therefore, and Bishop, to whom the nomination is entrusted, beg leave to recommend to Your Lordship [Lord Palmerston] for that office the Very Reverend Robert Hodgson, D.D., Dean of Carlisle.³⁰⁴

The Reverend Doctor Robert Hodgson was duly recommended by the Prelates for submission to the King on 29 June and he was appointed on 12 July 1824. Hodgson was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, graduating BA in 1795; Fellow in 1796; MA in 1798 and DD in 1816. He also had good connections as his uncle, Dr Beilby Porteous, was Bishop of London, and therefore on the selection panel for this prestigious office. In 1811 Hodgson had also published an eight volume work on 'The Life of Dr Beilby Porteous, Bishop of London'. He was married to Mary Tucker on 23 February 1804 at St. George's, Hanover Square.

Whilst William Dakins was expecting to fill the vacant post of Chaplain-General, he declared that 'I shall conform, while my health and strength which have been much impaired, will permit me to do so'. He also saw an opportunity for compensation, writing to Palmerston, 'I trust that Your Lordship will think me entitled to some allowance for extra labour.'³⁰⁵ In this he was partially successful. With the assistance of the new Chaplain General, he was granted an allowance of £83 5s 8d,

³⁰³ WO 43/226, Death of Chaplain General - John Owen - 1824

³⁰⁴ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Very Reverend Robert Hodgson DD' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (31), Jan 1931a, 445 see also WO 43/226

³⁰⁵ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Very Reverend Robert Hodgson DD' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (31), Jan 1931a, 446 see also WO 43/226 Death of Chaplain General - John Owen - 1824

which was thirty-eight days extra pay, at a rate of £2 3s 10d per day, which he received on 10 September.

The *Army List* for 1824 had an Establishment of fourteen chaplains, short enough to be included in full, and they were:

Rev W W Dakins, 16th March 1810, London
Rev S Leggat, 31st July 1811, Portsmouth
Rev George Winnock, 11th November 1811, Corfu
Rev R E Jones, 29th November 1811, Isle of France [Mauritius]
Rev Thos. Ireland, 28th March 1812, Cape of Good Hope
Rev J T H Le Mesurier, 16th April 1812, Malta
Rev R G Curtois, 11th September 1812, Gibraltar
Rev J L Mills, 12th October 1812, Quebec
Rev J C Moore, 23rd December 1812, Chatham
Rev R W Tunney, 13th March 1813, Canada
Rev B B Stevens, 7th October 1815, Montreal
Rev C T Lyon, 9th April 1816, Ceylon
Rev D Evans, 16th March 1821, Trinidad
Rev J S Pering, 20th April 1821, Ceylon

Comparing financial figures from the periods 1823 and 1828 is also very revealing. During this five year period the estimate for supplying religious books in 1823 was £550, this was increased in 1828 to £2,000. Further allowances included the rent of the Chaplain General's office and an allowance to the Agent for paying Retired Chaplains and Officiating Clergymen. There were also changes within the London Headquarters in this period where, in 1823, the Commander in Chief had a chaplain who was paid 6/4 per diem. Dakins had held this post since 1812 but it was abolished in 1828. At the same time, however, the Assistant to the Chaplain General's pay had increased from £100 per annum to £216 per annum: therefore, it would seem that the pay that William Dakins had received as chaplain to the

Commander in Chief was subsumed into his pay as Assistant to the Chaplain General.³⁰⁶

This Chaplain General was normally at odds with one or other member of the Government and this included several clashes with the Secretary at War, Sir Henry Hardinge, (Member of Parliament for Durham, who assumed the office in 1828). One clash was over the posting of a chaplain to Mauritius on his return from Portugal.

The Department was not without some trouble down the years and during the time of Hodgson, a spectacular case occurred in 1828 with the Reverend Jonathan Ashe, who had his own preserved file³⁰⁷. His misdemeanour was that he was claiming half-pay as a chaplain of the 127th Foot whilst at the same time, claiming half-pay as an Ensign of the 72nd Foot. This may not have been as big a stir, but for the fact that he executed two affidavits 'before different magistrates on the same day, and given to each a different description of residence, for the evident purpose of concealing the fact of their being made by the same individual'. These affidavits had first been executed in June 1804, and were renewed on an almost annual basis in different parts of England until the fraud was discovered in 1828, some twenty-four years later.

In fact the Secretary at War reached a point when he was determined to be rid of this troublesome priest. He secured some support through the office of the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister. Hodgson succeeded whilst at the same time

³⁰⁶ HCPP, *Estimates of Army Services* 1823 and 1828

³⁰⁷ WO 43/394, Chaplain Jonathan Ashe convicted of fraud

reducing the post of Chaplain General to that of Principal Chaplain. Hodgson was finally sacked on 26 March 1830, although his last day in office was earlier on 15 February 1830, and the post was reduced, however, he was still paid as the Chaplain General until 24 June 1830³⁰⁸. Robert Hodgson died at St George's rectory, Lower Grosvenor Street, on 10 October 1844. According to his obituary published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in December 1844 Robert Hodgson had 'resigned' and not sacked from his post as Chaplain General.³⁰⁹ Perhaps some clarification of this issue comes from a lengthy article on *The Church in the Army and Navy*, where the unnamed author declares, 'In 1820 the Dean of Carlisle was invited to resign his office, and he did so'.³¹⁰

It should not be forgotten that the Secretary at War, was one of the most powerful government posts. The Secretary at War was 'responsible for all the financial arrangements of the Army, and had exclusive control over all public money voted for military purposes'.³¹¹ Indeed, in his letter to Robert Hodgson, the Secretary at War made it clear that the reason for reducing the post was that 'it [was] deemed expedient upon motives of economy...to discontinue the appointment of Chaplain General to the Army'.³¹²

³⁰⁸ WO 43/535, Post of Chaplain General to the army abolished and duties combined with those of Principle Chaplain at headquarters, Dr. W.W. Dakins. Dr Dakins retires in 1843 after 50 years service, 85

³⁰⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec 1844, 651

³¹⁰ *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, Mar 1868, 263

³¹¹ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Reverend William Whitfield Dakins' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (31), Jan 1931b, 483

³¹² WO 43/535, Post of Chaplain General to the army abolished and duties combined with those of Principal Chaplain at headquarters, Dr. W.W. Dakins. Dr Dakins retires in 1843 after 50 years service, 85

c. William Dakins, Principal Chaplain

With the sacking of Robert Hodgson and the reduction of the post to Principal Chaplain, and after a wait of twenty years, still the Reverend William Whitfield Dakins failed to become Chaplain-General. William Dakins was born at Romsey on 4 February 1767, retiring on 31 March 1844³¹³ (aged 77), and he was married to Susanna, who died on 5 December 1834.³¹⁴ He died on 10 January 1850 in Dover aged 83. William and Susanna had a son, William, who was born in 1795 but died just five years later on 5 January 1800; he was followed by a second son, John, born on 9 July 1799; a daughter, Laura, born on 31 December 1800, and twins Elizabeth and Frances, born on 6 May 1802. William Dakins had no degree, but was made a DD by Lambeth, and Glasgow conferred on him the honour of LL.D.³¹⁵ Dr Dakins was chaplain to the Guards (as Deputy to the Reverend John Fox), and to the hospitals of the three Regiments, from 1793.³¹⁶ On 25 December 1807, William Dakins was listed as a chaplain at Westminster at a rate of £52 10s per annum.³¹⁷

We were able in chapter two to understand the Reverend John Gamble's early Army chaplaincy career through the *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry*. We are able to do much the same by looking at the career of the Reverend William Dakins, through official financial accounts supplied to parliament, along with a letter he wrote

³¹³ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 50

³¹⁴ Webpage: Dakins/Dakyns Family [<http://svgancestry.com/index.php/dakinsdakyns-family/>] accessed 30 Dec 2008

³¹⁵ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Reverend William Whitfield Dakins' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (31), Jan 1931b, 481

³¹⁶ HCPP, *Civil and Military Establishments*, 7th June 1822, 13

³¹⁷ HCPP, *Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry (Office of Secretary-at-War)*, 1808, 115

to the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, on 18 February 1830³¹⁸, and his lengthy obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In his letter to the Prime Minister, he revealed that he was appointed Assistant to the Chaplain General in 1810, to work alongside the Reverend John Owen, the second Chaplain General, on an annual wage of £100.³¹⁹ At the same time, he was chaplain to the Commander in Chief at a salary of £115 11s 9d per annum.³²⁰ In 1822 he was also listed as receiving £292 as Chaplain to the Forces³²¹.

Dakins was not shy of asserting himself. In a letter to the Secretary at War dated 10 September 1827 he claimed that accounts showed that he was in receipt of Lodging Money which he had never received. He also claimed to have been a chaplain 'of thirty years' service to the Troops in London'. In his humble submission he concluded 'I could mention the circumstances in confirmation of my claim to, at least, equal allowances as Chaplains to the Forces', which would appear to indicate that he felt he was not on a parity of pay at that point.

In 1828 Dakins' second post as chaplain to the Commander in Chief was discontinued, however, this salary was added to his salary as Assistant to the Chaplain General, which resulted in his salary being rounded up to £216.³²² In a letter to the Treasury, we see that the primary reason why this appointment ceased

³¹⁸ WO 43/535, Post of Chaplain General to the army abolished and duties combined with those of Principle Chaplain at headquarters, Dr. W.W. Dakins. Dr Dakins retires in 1843 after 50 years service, 96-97

³¹⁹ HCPP, *Public Offices Employment*, 1830, 68

³²⁰ HCPP, *Estimates of Army Services*, 1827, 13

³²¹ HCPP, *Return of Persons in Civil and Military Establishments Holding two of More Commissions, Offices or Pensions*, 1822, 21

³²² HCPP, *Estimates of Army Services*, 1828, 13

was because 'the office of C in C is vacant',³²³ and there was then therefore 'no good reason for continuing an appointment to which no duty is attached.' At this point, the Reverend John Owen's salary as Chaplain General stood at £800,³²⁴ this sum continuing when the Reverend Robert Hodgson became Chaplain General in 1824.³²⁵

In a letter to the Duke of Wellington on 18 February 1830, Dakins described Hodgson as an 'honourable, kind and conscientious dignity of the Church'. However, he continued in a less glowing manner, informing the Duke that 'I have devoted my time and attention to the official duties of this Department'³²⁶, hinting in the process that he had been carrying the weight of responsibility of the office of the Chaplain General in the frequent absence of Robert Hodgson. Dakins' appointment as Principal Chaplain was confirmed on 27 September 1831³²⁷. To ensure that there would be no repeat of the infighting between the Secretary of State for War and the new Principal Chaplain, Dakins was given a list of his duties and responsibilities.

However, when Hodgson was sacked and the post reduced to Principal Chaplain in 1831, the salary was also reduced to the level Dakins was receiving as Assistant to the Chaplain General, that of £216, although his appointment letter indicates that he also received £292 as a Chaplain to the Forces. It would appear that there was a

³²³ WO 43/319, Appointment of William Dakins 1827-1850

³²⁴ HCPP, *Estimates of Army Services*, 1823, 15

³²⁵ HCPP, *Public Offices Employment*, 1830, 68

³²⁶ WO 43/535, Post of Chaplain General to the army abolished and duties combined with those of Principle Chaplain at headquarters, Dr. W.W. Dakins. Dr Dakins retires in 1843 after 50 years service, 96

³²⁷ WO 43/535, Post of Chaplain General to the army abolished and duties combined with those of Principle Chaplain at headquarters, Dr. W.W. Dakins. Dr Dakins retires in 1843 after 50 years service, 101

differential between a Chaplain to the Forces out with the troops, and Dakins' previous position as being on 'Staff pay of Chaplain to the Forces.' Hardinge was not without some heart, as he proposed an additional allowance of £150 for Dakins which 'should be continued to his successor.'³²⁸

If this were not enough, in May 1830 Sir Henry Hardinge wrote to James Stewart at the Treasury informing him that 'I propose immediately to instruct the Rev^d Dr Dakins Principal Chaplain at Head Quarters to give up the apartments hired as an office for the late Chaplain General, and shall provide a room for his accommodation in this office.'³²⁹ This move was carried out, although Dakins did ask for a temporary deferral for 'my table, cases, boxes and papers...until you have arranged for me [an office] at the War Office.' In 1833 Dakins was granted an 'additional pay for length of service' of £118 12s 6d, which it would appear was a one-off payment. What was not a one-off payment was £34 6s 2d for forage. Two other chaplains also granted 'additional pay for length of service' were the Reverend Samuel Leggatt, who also received £118 12s 6d, and the Reverend Rowland Curtois who only received £73.³³⁰

The Guards' Chapel

Dakins' was the 'founder and first chaplain of the Royal Military Chapel, St James's Park.'³³¹ The Chapel was built because no 'place of worship existed at all when the

³²⁸ WO 43/535, Post of Chaplain General to the army abolished and duties combined with those of Principle Chaplain at headquarters, Dr. W.W. Dakins. Dr Dakins retires in 1843 after 50 years service, 90

³²⁹ WO 43/535, Post of Chaplain General to the army abolished and duties combined with those of Principle Chaplain at headquarters, Dr. W.W. Dakins. Dr Dakins retires in 1843 after 50 years service, 90

³³⁰ HCPP, *Report from the Select Committee on Army and Navy Appointments*, 1833, 313

³³¹ Webpage: Dakins/Dakyns Family [<http://svgancestry.com/index.php/dakinsdakyns-family/>] accessed 30 Dec 2008

building of Wellington Barracks, Birdcage Walk, was completed in 1834.³³² Jarvis has a useful note regarding the Royal Military Chapel, not to be confused with Dakins' Chapel, which is briefly quoted:

For long I was confused and in ignorance as to the Royal Military Chapel, Whitehall... Upon the accession of George I, in 1714, the Banqueting Hall of the old Palace, (now the R.U.S.I.), had been converted into a Chapel Royal and was used as such until 1890, when it was *loaned* by Queen Victoria for its present purpose. In 1797, it was adapted, presumably by adding galleries, as a Chapel for the Guards. One of Dr. Dakins' happiest memories associated with this place was on 18th May, 1811, when he was present with his beloved Royal Master, for "on that day (*Gentleman's Magazine*), twelve standards and colours taken from the enemy on different occasions, including the French Eagle, taken by the 87th Regiment at the battle of Barossa, were carried, with military ceremonies, from the parade in St James' Park to Whitehall Chapel and deposited on each side of the altar."³³³

An excellent history of The Guards' Chapel was produced in 1938 to celebrate the centenary of its opening; sadly, Dakins' Chapel was largely destroyed by a flying bomb 'on Sunday 18th June 1944 at 11.10 am during the morning service'. The only part which remained undamaged was the apse, where on the altar 'the candles remained burning after the chapel had crashed in ruins.'³³⁴

Wilkinson notes that in '1829 the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, was closed for repairs, and the Foot Guards were once again without a house of prayer'.³³⁵ Twelve months later Dakins was appointed as the Principal Chaplain. The following year Dakins opened his bid for a Chapel in a letter to Lord Hill, Commander-in-Chief, in July 1834 a site 'on ground to the east of the [Wellington] Barrack.'³³⁶ The first service was

³³² Douglas, A J, *The Guards Chapel* London: Clark Constable, nd, 3

³³³ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Reverend William Whitfield Dakins' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (31), Jan 1931b, 489

³³⁴ Douglas, A J, *The Guards Chapel* London: Clark Constable, nd, 1

³³⁵ Wilkinson, Neville, *The Guards' Chapel*, London: The Chiswick Press, 1938, 37

³³⁶ Wilkinson, Neville, *The Guards' Chapel*, London: The Chiswick Press, 1938, 45

held in the Chapel on Sunday, 6 May 1838, with William Dakins preaching the sermon, and his eldest son John Horsley Dakins reading the prayers. A report in the *Morning Herald* noted the architecture of the Chapel:

The chaste and elegant appearance of its exterior must have been observed for several months since its elevation, and its plain interior, with double rows of galleries for the troops, is excellently befitting the sacred purpose to which it is dedicated. The elegant Communion Plate placed at the Altar is a gift from her most gracious Majesty.³³⁷

Whilst some chaplains caused controversy, the same could be said of some elements of the British Army. In October 1838 the *Figaro in London* noted, under the title *The Impetuous Lancers*

It seems that the Lancers have given great offence to the pious population of Brighton, by going to church to the tune of 'Rory O'More', which has been considered so grave a delinquency, that their souls have been peremptorily denied the benefit of going to church at all, and they have been compelled to hire a chaplain to hold forth in their barracks.³³⁸

Another problem dealt with by the new Principal Chaplain came from the Reverend John Pering, chaplain at Gibraltar, seeking guidance on the subject of baptism administered by a Wesleyan teacher. Dakins' response was firm in that 'no baptism is valid according to the Churches of England and Scotland except this sacrament be administered by a clergyman in Holy Orders of one of the Establishments of the United Kingdom.'³³⁹ This ruled out any Wesleyan as they 'can give no regular certificate of baptism'.

³³⁷ Wilkinson, Nevile, *The Guards' Chapel*, London: The Chiswick Press, 1938, 59

³³⁸ *Figaro in London*, Oct 1838, 161

³³⁹ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Reverend William Whitfield Dakins' *JRACHD*, v. 3 (31), Jan 1931b, 508

In the *Army List* of March 1844, we see the Department much reduced from fourteen in 1824 to just the Principal Chaplain, plus four chaplains in twenty years, with three of them serving overseas:

Principal Chaplain to the Forces:
The Venerable William Whitfield Dakins D.D, 16th March 1810
Chaplains to the Forces-
The Venerable Archdeacon Le Mesurier, MA, 16th April 1811, Malta
Rev R G Curtois, 11th September 1818, Chatham
Rev D Evans, 16th March 1821, Trinidad
Rev J S Pering, MA, 20th April 1821, Mauritius³⁴⁰

It was not just the army that was looking to reduce numbers; the Royal Navy used the chaplain in a dual role as both chaplain and schoolmaster. In 1839 it was reported that ‘professed naval instructors have been appointed and it is probable that the office of naval chaplain will decline’. Over time it was predicted that ‘the church service [will] be either read by the Captain, or someone of the officers’³⁴¹, a practice that has proved common to the present day. With the reduction of troop levels and chaplains in the army, this meant that the spiritual care of soldiers in garrisons especially at home, fell more and more to local parish clergymen.

On 2 February 1844 Sir Henry Hardinge wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury and informed him that William Dakins, after fourteen years as Principal Chaplain, ‘has retired on a superannuation allowance, being no longer able, after a long & meritorious service, to perform his duty.’³⁴² So who was to replace him? The opinion of Hardinge is very interesting, he was of the belief that ‘I am not aware, that there is

³⁴⁰ Jarvis, A C E, ‘My Predecessors in Office – The Reverend William Whitfield Dakins’ *JRACHD*, v. 3 (31), Jan 1931b, 519

³⁴¹ *London Saturday Journal*, Jul 1839, 51

³⁴² WO 43/740, Retirement of William Dakins

any individual amongst those now serving, whose qualifications for the vacant offices, would justify me, in submitting his name'. Once more the search was on for a non-Departmental candidate for the job. Dakins died on 10 January 1850, and was buried in the south cloister of Westminster Abbey. Significantly he was honoured with a two page obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, something not afforded to other Chaplain Generals up to this point. Both John Gamble and John Owen received a paragraph each, whilst Robert Hodgson fared slightly better with three paragraphs. Part of Dakins' obituary serves as an excellent summary of his life as Principal Chaplain, and is therefore quoted in full:

Dr Dakins was not only most punctual as respected his duty to head quarters, but indefatigable in visiting the sick soldiery, in the supply of Bibles and Testaments to regiments both at home and abroad, and in the institution of regimental schools, which we believe may chiefly date their origin to his strenuous suggestions to the Duke of York. Indeed, he took a warm interest in everything connected with the welfare of the soldier. He was once the happy instrument of saving the life of a man who was sentenced to death for desertion, by tracing out both night and day circumstances which produced a favourable result for the commutation of the sentence; and often has the tear of joy glistened in his eye when alluding to the circumstance. It should also be stated that he was most zealous and anxious in the erection and establishment of the Royal Military Chapel in Bird Cage Walk, St James's Park.³⁴³

d. Further Military Reforms

Another victim of the "peace dividend" as we have already seen was officer education. The Royal Military College, Sandhurst, was established for 400 cadets; however, it reached 'a maximum strength of 330 in 1818 sinking below 200 in 1824.'³⁴⁴ This drop in numbers is reflected in the eventual drop in salary for the Governor from £1,500 to £1,000 per annum, and the Lieutenant Governor from

³⁴³ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Apr 1850, 438

³⁴⁴ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 165

£1,000 to just £383 5s. The pay for the chaplain remained at £300, and would remain at this level throughout the period of this thesis.³⁴⁵ It would not be until the Cardwell Reforms that all officers would be compelled to train at Sandhurst.

Military punishments had been harsh within the British Army for quite some time, although for a good insight into practice there is probably no better source than an 1836 report *Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army*.³⁴⁶ This extensive report spanned 555 pages, taking evidence from some notable authorities, especially the Duke of Wellington. Among those giving evidence to the Commission was a lesser known minister the Reverend Harry Stuart, a chaplain attached to the Aberdeen Garrison, which had within it Aberdeen Bridewell, the local jail. Harry Stuart's ministry to the Garrison began in July 1827. However, it took him a year to realise the importance of visiting military prisoners. Stuart knew the necessity of visiting those who had been punished, and he also believed that military justice was a necessity, as he explained to some of those who had been flogged, reminding them of 'the justice of their sentence, and explaining to them the necessity of supporting the strictness of military discipline, and the obligation of their military oath to that effect.'³⁴⁷ After all this had been explained to them 'they appeared satisfied', although probably not wholeheartedly so. Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, in his evidence, concurred with Harry Stuart: 'there is no punishment which makes an impression upon any body except corporal punishment.' Wellington continued that, 'the real meaning of punishment, if that means anything, is

³⁴⁵ HCPP, *Estimates of Army Services*, 1829, 26 and 1830, 25

³⁴⁶ HCPP, *Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army*, 203

³⁴⁷ HCPP, *Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army*, 203

example'.³⁴⁸ Later still in his evidence, Wellington declared 'that I have not an idea what can be substituted for [corporal punishment]'.³⁴⁹ He could not see that there was any viable alternative. Punishment such as branding would be abolished in 1871, with flogging following ten years later. Harry Stuart was not completely without feeling, as he spent some of his time, in teaching soldiers to read, and 'to understand the principles of the Christian religion'.³⁵⁰ While Stuart understood the need for discipline he also recognised the need for regular visits from the chaplain. He also recommended that:

If a sufficient number of regimental cells were properly constructed, and the commanding officer had it in his power to shut up a man for a week or two at a word, and that man's pay to go to a regimental *rogue-money* fund, or pay his prison rent, much more good would be done; a chaplain to visit him daily and to report.³⁵¹

Military executions, even in 1829, were quite brutal. A soldier 'of the Royal Military Sappers and Miners'³⁵² was sentenced to be shot 'for having struck a Sergeant of that Corps with a piece of wood, and thereby endangering his life'. A chaplain had a role in this whole sorry scene, bringing the prisoner to the place of execution, with the soldier's coffin following on behind. His only other recorded participation, as recorded in a letter published in *Kaleidoscope*, was the burial of this poor unfortunate soul. What was not recorded was his ministry to the prisoner prior to his execution, but as this was not observed that is not surprising. Another reported execution took place in Dublin. The charge was that Private William Page of the 38th Regiment attempted 'to fire at Colour-Serjeant Dolan, of the same regiment, on the night of the

³⁴⁸ HCPP, *Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army*, 324

³⁴⁹ HCPP, *Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army*, 326

³⁵⁰ HCPP, *Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army*, 203

³⁵¹ HCPP, *Inquiring into the System of Military Punishments in the Army*, 206

³⁵² *Kaleidoscope*, Mar 1829, 319

16th of October last [1839], in the Barrack at Belfast'.³⁵³ Significantly the poor unfortunate soldier was ministered not to by a chaplain of the Church of England but by 'the Rev. Mr. Parsley, Roman Catholic Chaplain to the Garrison.'

e. Further Chaplaincy Reforms

Michael Snape rightly observes that 'the exclusion of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists from the Chaplains' Department was unfortunate at a time when both groups were becoming more numerous in the Army and increasingly assertive of their rights in civil society.'³⁵⁴ As we have already seen, Presbyterians were not admitted until 1827 while, although the Catholic Emancipation Act³⁵⁵ was passed in 1829, Roman Catholics were not recognised until 1836. Baptists and Methodists had to wait until 1881. However, Roman Catholics and Nonconformists were not without help as the Roman Catholics would try to attend Mass in Spain and Portugal, whilst the Nonconformists would take great comfort from the preaching of their brothers in arms. Similarly, although Methodists would not be recognised as officiating clergymen until 1881, this did not mean that Wesleyan soldiers were bereft of Methodist preaching before that date. General Sir William Knollys, Commanding at Aldershot in 1857, 'ordered Wesleyan soldiers to be marched to a church which Wesleyan minister W.H. Rule had persuaded supporters to be erected outside camp.'³⁵⁶

³⁵³ *Court and Lady's Magazine*, Jan 1840, 70

³⁵⁴ Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* London: Routledge, 2005, 92

³⁵⁵ Wellington was in the Cabinet in 1821 when the proposal was resisted. Gleig, George R, *The Life of Wellington* London: J M Dent & Sons, 1911, 253

³⁵⁶ Edghill, Keith, 'Dangerous Doctrines! The Battle for Anglican Supremacy in the British Army, 1810-1865' *JSAHR*, v. 80, Spring 2002, 47

On 22 July 1830 a new Warrant was signed by the King, addressing all ranks within the army, but the section which concerns us is printed in full below:

44. Chaplains to the Forces appointed after the date of this Warrant shall be entitled to Half Pay agreeably to the terms laid down in the following Articles.

45. A Chaplain to the Forces, in case of reduction or of retirement to Half Pay on account of ill health, before he has completed Three Years at Home, or Two Years Abroad, shall be entitled to *Temporary* Half Pay at *Five Shillings* a day, agreeably to the Scale and Regulations prescribed in Articles 13, 14, and 15, for the Temporary Half Pay of Subalterns.

46. If a Chaplain to the Forces shall have served more than Three Years at Home or Two Years Abroad previously to reduction or retirement on account of ill health, his Half Pay shall be regulated as follows :-

| Service on Full Pay | Rate of Half Pay per diem. |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | 's. d. |
| Under 15 years | 5 0 |
| Above 15 years and under 20 years | 7 6 |
| Above 20 years and under 30 years | 10 0 |
| Above 30 years | 16 0 |

47. A Chaplain to the Forces who has not completed 15 Years Service on Full Pay at the date of reduction or retirement upon Half Pay, shall be liable to be recalled to the Service, or forfeit his Half Pay if he declines, unless a case of disability from ill health contracted in the Service be clearly established: but after 15 years Service on Full Pay, he shall have an unqualified right to retire, under the terms specified in the preceding Article.

48. Chaplains in Garrisons, or at certain Stations, or at Military Establishments having Commissions from the King, shall have their Retired Pay regulated by the Warrants for the government of those Establishments, or by the Rules established for Civil Superannuation's, but not being liable to sudden orders to serve abroad, their claim to Retired or Half Pay will in no case be an unqualified right.³⁵⁷

The reviewer of these articles in the *Quarterly Review* of September 1845 noted that 'had this regulation been carried into effect in regard to new [chaplain] appointments as well as to those actually existing in 1830, it would have conferred a substantial

³⁵⁷ WO 43/330, Royal Warrant of 22nd July 1830 (Original emphasis), this also appeared in the *British Magazine*, Nov 1840, 578

benefit upon the chaplains.³⁵⁸ This measure set out in detail for the first time, the pension arrangements across the army, however, it is rare for a new measure to be brought in with a massive boost in benefits for those involved. Measures had to be taken to prune the enormous cost of funding the army, despite how painful the outcome might be for those who receive the support. This state of affairs is summed up on the same page noting ‘the commissary who takes charge of the soldier’s food, and the surgeon who attends to this bodily health, receive both an increase of pay for long service and a pension on retirement.’ On the other hand, ‘the minister of religion is settled at once on a fixed salary, and may die at his post, but has not retirement provided for him.’ This regulation also meant that no new commissions were being issued, which meant that the remaining and declining numbers of chaplains had ‘to do their duty as long as their health and strength might continue.’ This would lead, as we have already seen, to a total Chaplains’ Department strength of the Principal Chaplain plus four chaplains by 1844.

f. George Gleig, Principal Chaplain

George Gleig was born in Stirling on 20 April 1796, the son of George Gleig, bishop of Brechin. Lieutenant George Gleig’s regiment (85th Regiment) was ordered to join Wellington in Spain during 1813, seeing action at Bidassoa, Bayonne, Orthez and Toulouse. Following pressure from his father, he resigned his commission after the Napoleonic wars, entering Magdalen Hall, Oxford graduating BA in 1818, and MA in 1821. Gleig was recommended by the secretary for war, Sir Henry Hardinge to be

³⁵⁸ *Quarterly Review*, Sept 1845, 410

Principal Chaplain in 1844,³⁵⁹ not as Chaplain General as Olive Anderson³⁶⁰ states, as this post was not reinstated until 1846. Gleig was not unknown to the Department as he was a chaplain to Chelsea Hospital, to which he was appointed on 19 February 1834.³⁶¹

Unlike the appointment of Robert Hodgson, where we found William Dakins waiting in the wings, following the retirement of Dakins there was no obvious candidate, but three names were shortlisted. On 28 July 1843 William Dakins, in a letter to the Secretary at War, asked to be allowed to retire and at the same time also proposed that his son, the Reverend John Horsley Dakins, who had been his 'assistant for nearly 16 years, should be permitted to retain his present appointment as Assistant to the Principal Chaplain.'³⁶² William Dakins got his way for his son as Hardinge informed Gleig that 'the Rev^d J. H. Dakins will be continued in the position of Assistant, which he formerly held under the late D^r Dakins'.³⁶³ The Secretary at War, Sir Henry Hardinge, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on 2 February 1844, closing his long letter with these nominations:

I consider it an act of justice to send to Your Grace the papers of the Rev. G [S?] Briscall, who served most meritoriously at the headquarters of the Duke of Wellington's army in the Peninsula.

The Rev. G. Gleig has, I understand, communicated to Your Grace his desire to be considered a candidate.

³⁵⁹ Webpage: Peers, Douglas M, 'Gleig, George Robert (1796-1888)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10811>, accessed 27 Nov 2008]

³⁶⁰ Anderson, Olive, 'The Growth of Christian militarism in mid-Victorian Britain' *English Historical Review*, 86, Jan 1971, 61

³⁶¹ RMA, *Army List*, 1846, 449

³⁶² WO 43/535, Post of Chaplain General to the army abolished and duties combined with those of Principle Chaplain at headquarters, Dr. W.W. Dakins. Dr Dakins retires in 1843 after 50 years service, 111

³⁶³ WO 43/740, Retirement of William Dakins

I also enclose the papers of the Rev. R. Curtois, all of whom in performance of their duties have given the greatest satisfaction to the General Officers and Governors under whom they have been employed.³⁶⁴

Bearing in mind that he had already claimed that there was no serving chaplain up to the job, two of the names would have been automatically discounted, leaving only one clear favourite. On 23 March 1844 the Reverend George Gleig was appointed as the Principal Chaplain to the Army, accommodated as William Dakins was in the offices of the War Office.

Along with his appointment at Principal Chaplain, George Gleig was issued with a set of lengthy instructions on 1st April 1844 'to establish a new arrangement' in many areas, and which noted that the powers of the Principal Chaplain were reduced. These instructions also included the splitting of the duties of London Garrison Chaplain from those of Principal Chaplain, Gleig being told that, 'You will communicate with the Secretary at War on all points relating to the promotion, exchange, increase of salary, or any fresh disposal of the services of a clergyman'.³⁶⁵

Sir Henry Hardinge was not about to return to the Departmental in-fighting of the Hodgson era. Gleig was also reminded of:

The necessity of exercising great caution and discretion in your recommendation of candidates [which] will be apparent when you consider the different sects of which a Regiment of Her Majesty's service is generally composed.

In the greater part of the regiments the majority consists of Episcopalians. In the fourteen Scottish regiments the majority are in Ireland, the majority are composed of Roman Catholics; and the case may not infrequently arise in

³⁶⁴ Jarvis, A C E, 'My Predecessors in Office – The Reverend Prebendary George Robert Gleig' *JRACHD*, v. 4, Jul 1931, 30

³⁶⁵ WO 43/740, Retirement of William Dakins (Original underlining)

which the same hospital the clergymen of the three different religious persuasions may be attending the sick on the same day.³⁶⁶

Additionally, the Reverend R. W. Browne was appointed also on 1 April 1844 as London Garrison Chaplain, overseeing the work of John Dakins. The *Army List* for 1846 therefore listed an extremely small Department but it must be borne in mind that the chaplain to the Royal Military College, the Reverend Haviland Le Mesurier Chepmell, as with previous holders of this post, did not appear in this consolidated list. This same *Army List* noted that George Gleig had been 'wounded in the foot and arm' at the 'Battle of the Nive'³⁶⁷. Under George Gleig, a new emphasis was placed on army chaplaincy, which is outside the scope of this thesis, but suffice it to say that by the time of the Crimean War in 1854 the number of chaplains had risen to 'between sixty and seventy clergymen of the Church of England set apart and commissioned by the Crown for work exclusively among the troops.'³⁶⁸

g. Conclusion

The Peace of 1815 initially brought about an Army of Occupation, but this would be drawn down, and troops either redeployed to America or returned to civilian employment. There has never been a period when the government of the day has wanted to maintain a large standing army, with little or nothing to do, and this was certainly the case in the early nineteenth century. With the reduction in the size of army this also brought about a reduction in the number of chaplains employed, many

³⁶⁶ Smyth, Sir John, *In This Sign Conquer* Oxford: Alden and Mowbray, 1968, 62 see also WO 43/740 Retirement of William Dakins

³⁶⁷ RMAS, *Army List*, 1846, 449

³⁶⁸ *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, Mar 1868, 265

reduced to half-pay and returning to parish life. The Department, as we have seen, was eventually reduced to a Principal Chaplain to the Forces and five chaplains.

This was a period when the denominational profile would expand and would continue to expand over the coming decades right up to the present day, with the inclusion of clergymen from other mainstream denominations as officiating clergymen, including Baptists, Methodists and Roman Catholics. It would not be for another fifteen years before a set of Dress Regulations would stipulate the wearing of a military uniform; until 1860, it was the norm for chaplains to wear the same clerical garb in which they would have been seen in their parishes.

Chapter 6

METHODISM AND EVANGELICALS

a. *Introduction*

It needs to be said from the outset, that whilst all Methodists were evangelical, not all Evangelicals were Methodist. One of the “problems” of Methodism was their enthusiasm, which was seen by many as being unhealthy. William Gladstone made the point well that ‘the Evangelical Movement was the result of the confluence of many tributaries, quite independent of the Wesleys and the early Methodists’.³⁶⁹ However much Methodists might want to promote the leading part played by John Wesley in the evangelical revival, John Munsey Turner brings a sense of balance to proceedings in asserting ‘John Wesley played a leading part in the movements of renewal. The revival without Wesley would seem like *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark, but this broad movement of evangelicalism was well under way before 1738’³⁷⁰ and Wesley’s conversion.

Evangelical preaching did not go down well with many in the mainstream Church of England. During the time of Whitefield and Wesley, a good Anglican clergyman often tried his best to help his community, his preaching was through gentle words, and strictly in the church, whereas much of John Wesley’s preaching was outside the church building, primarily as Wesley was barred from a number of parish churches. This form of “comfortable preaching” was applauded and preferred, to the extent that

³⁶⁹ Quoted in Turner, John Munsey, *John Wesley* Peterborough: Epworth, 2002, 19

³⁷⁰ Turner, John Munsey, *John Wesley* Peterborough: Epworth, 2002, 1

in the December 1828 edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, there appeared an article entitled *The Evils of Evangelical Preaching*, where 'A Member of Various Learned Societies' had a lengthy rant which included a quote from the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, who was of the opinion that:

Sure I am, the *Evangelical Religion* is in many places wholly verging on Antinomianism,³⁷¹ the vilest heresy that Satan ever invented. A tendency to *Antinomianism* is the bane of Evangelical preaching.³⁷²

This same learned gentleman affirmed that 'the doctrine of *original sin*, as implying the total depravity of man (the foundation stone of Wesleyan Methodism), is thoroughly confuted by Bishop Tomline, R.B. Cooper, Esq M.P., and by St Paul himself.' In this lengthy article, which is some three pages long, the learned gentleman makes his position very clear indeed, as we have just seen.

It should be remembered that John Wesley (1703-91) claimed he would die (as he surely did) an Anglican; and this Evangelical Revival was 'an attempt to evangelize the Anglican Church from within.'³⁷³ The Truro evangelical Church of England vicar, the Reverend Samuel Walker (1714-61) 'begged Wesley several times to abandon extra-parochial itinerancy and societies outside the care of the parish minister, considering them a serious breach of church order. [However,] Wesley's position on this never changed.'³⁷⁴

³⁷¹ **Antinomianism:** (1) The belief that a particular religious allegiance frees one from obedience to any secular law. (2) The belief that secular laws are evil and ought to be deliberately broken as a sign of one's religious stature. Smith, Jonathan (ed), *The Harper Collins Dictionary of Religion* London: Harper Collins, 1996, 53

³⁷² *The Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1828, 483

³⁷³ Hilton, Boyd, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People? England 1783-1846* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, 175

³⁷⁴ Turner, John Munsey, *John Wesley* Peterborough: Epworth, 2002, 99

Why was John Wesley so successful? Wesley, according to Cooney, was successful because of two significant features of English life. These features were firstly, 'the aftermath of the religious conflict of the previous century – the Cromwellian Wars.' This period brought about division among families and communities, and the hope was that later it might heal some wounds. The second influence 'was the immense social upheaval of the period'.³⁷⁵ We could spend time considering the effects of this industrial revolution, but its changes fall outside the scope of this thesis, and we will leave the discussion at this point.

Although Wesley urged the Methodist societies to still attend the parish church and to receive Holy Communion, the split with the Church of England would come, not as a result of this evangelical movement but from the desire of the Methodist people on both sides of the Atlantic to have their own people ordained to administer their own sacraments. Methodism was not just an evangelical society; Norman reminds us that Methodism was more about 'personal responsibility, not only for one's self in respect of piety, self-discipline, industriousness, and study, but also for one's fellows who were to be supported in times of need and sickness.'³⁷⁶ Methodism then, was to have an impact on every level of every day life.

³⁷⁵ Cooney, Dudley Levistone, *The Methodists in Ireland – A Short History* Blackrock, Co. Dublin: The Columba Press, 2004, 12, 14

³⁷⁶ Norman, Andrew, *The Story of George Loveless and the Tolpuddle Martyrs* Tiverton: Halsgrove House, 2008, 103

b. Methodist Soldier Preachers

Whilst the evangelical appeal grew, Baptists and Independents were slower even than the Anglican Church to respond to what would become a worldwide influence.³⁷⁷

So, what was it that set evangelicals apart from other Christians of the time? D W Bebbington states that there were four areas of note, which were:

‘*Conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *Biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Together they form a quadrilateral of priorities that is the basis of Evangelicalism.’³⁷⁸

When Mark Noll, in *The Rise of Evangelicalism*, looks at Wesley and warfare he looks extremely briefly at the American Revolution and conflicts between Britain and France but not at the impact that religion, especially Methodism and evangelicalism, had on the army. However, it is worthy of note that:

in early 1756 when Englishmen were just beginning to feel the effects of the new war with France that had been underway for two years in the colonies, he [Wesley] even briefly considered to raise a [militia] troop of 200 Methodist volunteers for the defence of London against an anticipated French attack.³⁷⁹

However, in some areas, in the United Kingdom and overseas, Methodism was often introduced by visiting soldiers. In Chorlton-cum-Hardy, as one example, an unnamed soldier in 1770 ‘dressed in his uniform, preached on the village green’³⁸⁰, an event still remembered today.

³⁷⁷ Noll, Mark, *The Rise of Evangelicalism* Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2004, 153

³⁷⁸ Bebbington, David, *Evangelicalism in modern Britain: A History from the 1730’s to the 1980’s* London: Routledge, 1993, 2-3

³⁷⁹ Noll, Mark, *The Rise of Evangelicalism* Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2004, 246

³⁸⁰ Slugg, J T, *Reminiscences of Manchester Fifty Years Ago* Manchester: J E Cornish, 1881, 167

Methodism did not just affect the British soldiers, however. One of the American soldier preachers was one Alfred Brunson, originally from New York. He was a soldier in the War of 1812 and was asked one day how he could pray for his enemies, and then shoot them. He responded with the story of when the British were marching up to burn the shipping at Middletown, Connecticut:

The militia was called out en masse, the deacon among the rest, to defend their property and their homes. He cleaned up his old musket and marched with others to the field. They were drawn up in line behind a stone fence, or wall, and when the enemy came within range, and the word was given to fire, he levelled his gun and took deliberate aim, and prayed, 'God have mercy on your souls, while I kill your bodies!' and fired upon those who were aiming to kill him. The result was the enemy were defeated, and returned to their shipping without doing the intended damage.³⁸¹

Michael Hickman reminds us that 'from the start of John Wesley's mission he preached to soldiers and a number became members of Methodist societies'.³⁸² Probably one of the most famous of Mr. Wesley's soldier-preachers³⁸³ was John Haime of the Dragoons who, 'often preached to a congregation of a thousand',³⁸⁴ and was at the battle of Dettingen in 1743. John Haime did not at first get his own way; when he asked the Duke of Cumberland for the use of the English Church [in Bruges] to pray and preach in, his request was denied. However, General Ponsonby gave an order for the keys to be delivered to Haime.³⁸⁵ The Duke of Cumberland later received good reports on Haime, and the Duke of Cumberland gave permission for

³⁸¹ Webpage: Ayres, Samuel Gardiner (1916) *Methodist Heroes of Other Days* [Wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/0501-0600/hdm0531.pdf, accessed 25 Sept 2008]

³⁸² Hickman, Michael R, 'The Role of Soldiers in the Origins of Wesleyan Methodism in Brighton and Other Towns on the Sussex Coast', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, v. 143, 2005, 259

³⁸³ The term "Mr. Wesley's Preachers" is a uniquely Methodist phrase for any preacher, lay or ordained, who is a preacher in the Methodist Church.

³⁸⁴ Jamieson, W, 'Methodist Chaplaincy – Then and Now' *JRACHD*, V. 20 (117), Jun 1972, 54

³⁸⁵ Jackson, T, *The Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers (6 volumes)* London: The Wesleyan Conference Office, 1876, 287

his Methodist soldiers to continue their preaching ministry'.³⁸⁶ However, some of the officers opposed John Haime and his preaching. On one occasion, an officer asked him what he preached, and when Haime revealed some of the sins he preached against, this officer swore that if he had the power he would have flogged him to death, to which Haime replied that 'You have a commission over men; but I have a commission from God to tell you that you must either repent of your sins or perish everlastingly.'³⁸⁷

Another of Mr Wesley's preachers, John Reynolds, was press-ganged into the army at the age of fifteen, as a cavalryman in the Peninsular War. The *Primitive Methodist Magazine* of 1859 records that, whilst serving in Egypt in a battle with a French officer, Reynolds 'received a severe cut on the back of his neck, the marks of which he carried to the grave.'³⁸⁸ Interestingly, Reynolds was accompanied to war by his unnamed wife, and they both 'underwent great privation and suffering.' It was whilst Reynolds was in the army that he became a Methodist at the age of eighteen, and 'he had, in the army, about eleven or twelve pious companions, with whom he held private meetings for devotion.' However, as with a number of these pious Christians, 'an ungodly inferior officer carried an unfavourable report to his superior, who requested to be informed of the time when they should be holding their next meeting, and accordingly became one of Mr. Reynolds' hearers.'³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ Jamieson, W, 'Methodist Chaplaincy – Then and Now' *JRACHD*, V. 20 (117), Jun 1972, 54

³⁸⁷ Hurst, John Fletcher, *The History of Methodism, Volume 2* London: Charles H Kelly, 1901, 529

³⁸⁸ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 1859, 195

³⁸⁹ *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 1859, 196

c. *The Impact of Methodism on the Army*

It saddens me as a Methodist chaplain that as Snape acknowledges, ‘more recent Methodist historiography has paid scant attention to the rise of Methodism in the British army.’³⁹⁰ However, those Methodists who were in the service of the army, and especially those who had been pressed, were assured that should they die in battle that, as St. Paul expressed ‘to be absent from the body, is to be present with the Lord.’³⁹¹ Press-ganging was a favourite method of those opposed to Methodism, when they would charge them ‘with vagrancy, and then, under the law of those feverish days, when the French and the Pretender were national bogies, to “Press” them as soldiers.’³⁹² Such was the assurance that Methodist soldiers had that, ‘during the Battle of Fontenoy in 1745 wounded Methodist troops rejoiced to be going to Jesus.’³⁹³ Another later Methodist soldier, ‘Sergeant John Stephenson of 3rd Guards, ‘Sixteen years a Non-commissioned officer, forty years a Wesleyan class leader’ went into battle at Talavera confident that the Lord would save him if the worst happened.’³⁹⁴ Captain F.M. Tripp of the 26th Regiment of Foot, became a Methodist during his time in Gibraltar. Tripp spoke well of the Methodist soldiers and noted in his diary on 5 May 1819, ‘I know no people who have such experience and enjoyment in religion as Methodists. How excellent is the discipline which enfolds their little flocks from the common world.’³⁹⁵

³⁹⁰ Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* London: Routledge, 2005, 34

³⁹¹ 2 Corinthians 5 verse 8

³⁹² Hurst, John Fletcher, *The History of Methodism, Volume 2* London: Charles H Kelly, 1901, 524

³⁹³ Bebbington, David, *Evangelicalism in modern Britain: A History from the 1730's to the 1980's* London: Routledge, 1993, 46

³⁹⁴ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 403

³⁹⁵ Quoted in Rule, William Harris *An Account of the Establishment of Wesleyan Methodism in the British Army*, Memphis: General Books, 2012, 5

The lot of Methodist soldiers was not always as favourable, later we will see them persecuted in Gibraltar, although this happened in other areas as well. In Jersey, for example in 1798, the Hull and Yorkshire Member of Parliament, William Wilberforce, wrote to Mr Wickham of the Home Department, as he was concerned by

the Methodists [who] desire to be exercised on a week day, and offer to pay for the [Militia] Sergeant who is to drill them, declaring that when there is any danger of invasion, they will turn out the same on Sunday as on any other day, but saying they cannot in conscience select Sunday for the drill, without an urgent necessity.³⁹⁶

Wilberforce was sympathetic with their situation, but he did feel that although it might be absurd of 'them to make a point of conscience of such a matter'. On the other hand, he also thought it 'more absurd, far more so, to incur the risk of alienating the minds', Church does not expand on whether the Methodists won or whether the military won through. He does, however, indicate that in many areas of the country 'satisfactory arrangements were made' as long as their requests were reasonable.

Methodism and French Prisoners of War

One of the problems of going to war is what to do with those taken prisoner. It is noted below that, on 11 June 1811, there were 45,939 French prisoners of war. On the river Medway ten prison ships were anchored, holding about 7,000 prisoners. Whilst they were prisoners, the Reverend Boase, a Methodist minister, 'received an invitation from the commander of one of those ships named the Glory, to come on board and preach to the prisoners.'³⁹⁷ At this point this was a local arrangement but he had already been appointed by the Methodist Conference of 1810 as chaplain to the French prisoners.

³⁹⁶ Church, Leslie, *The Early Methodist People*, London: The Epworth Press, 1948, 191

³⁹⁷ JRL, PLP 28.2.4 Letters and Papers of The Reverend Thomas Coke LL.D PLP

In Plymouth there were six prison hulks in the harbour and permission was given, by the Transport Office, for a Mr. Oliver to be 'permitted to preach on board'.³⁹⁸ This was before some 5,000 prisoners were 'housed in five buildings within two high boundary walls'³⁹⁹ which were built in Princetown, on Dartmoor. A government report from the Transport Office noted that on 11 June 1811 there were 45,939 French prisoners of war, and 3,193 on parole, which were broken down as:

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Chatham | 3,863 |
| Dartmoor | 6,329 |
| Edinburgh Castle | 288 |
| Greenlaw | 4 |
| Norman Cross | 5,951 |
| Porchester | 5,850 |
| Forton Prison and Prison Ships at Portsmouth | 9,762 |
| Plymouth and Prison Ships | 6,918 |
| Stapleton | 4,546 |
| Valleyfield and Edinburgh | 2,425 |
| Yarmouth | 3 ⁴⁰⁰ |

d. Methodism Overseas

Methodism overseas quite often was spread, as we shall see, by one of Mr. Wesley's soldier preachers. In Gibraltar, which we will come back to shortly, the number of Methodists meeting together sometimes dropped to as few as fourteen or fifteen; this meant that 'soldiers patrolling the Empire were often key figures in the transmission of Methodism. The earliest Methodist societies in South Africa (1803) and Tasmania

³⁹⁸ JRL, PLP 28.2.6 Letters and Papers of The Reverend Thomas Coke LL.D PLP

³⁹⁹ Sanderson, Robert, *The Prison on the Moor* Plymouth: Westway Publications, nd, 4

⁴⁰⁰ HCPP, *An Account of the Number of French Prisoners of War in England*: 14 June 1811

(1820), for example, were directly the result of military mobility.⁴⁰¹ William Rule noted that as ‘regiments went up [from Gibraltar] the Mediterranean, to Malta, Menorca [sic], Egypt, and elsewhere [in the Empire]...the Gibraltar society received frequent reinforcements as other parties came from home.’⁴⁰² Thus, as Methodist soldier-preachers were deployed around the globe, they took Methodism with them, leaving societies behind in the care, quite often, of a local lay leader, until an ordained minister could be found.

Gibraltar

Methodist soldiers had an impact wherever they served. Methodism in Gibraltar was started in 1769 by a Cornishman, Sergeant Henry Ince, along with Private W Morton of the 2nd Regiment of Foot and Sergeant Henry Hall of the Royal Scots. They met with the approval and protection of Lord Edward Cornwallis (1713-76), the Garrison Commander, who signed a Garrison Order on 9 June 1769, which declared:

Whereas divers soldiers and inhabitants assemble themselves every evening to prayer, it is the governor’s positive order that no person whatever presume to molest them, nor go into their meeting to behave indecently there.⁴⁰³

Following the ending of the Great Siege of 1782 (24 June 1779-7 February 1783) and the completion of the tunnels which Sergeant Ince had proposed, he was promoted to Sergeant Major, and later to Lieutenant. Ince died on 9 October 1805 aged 72 at Gittisham in Devon, his work can still be seen today in the “Upper Galleries” which overlook the airport of Gibraltar.

⁴⁰¹ Hempton, David, *Methodism Empire of the Spirit* Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2005, 20-21

⁴⁰² Rule, William Harris *An Account of the Establishment of Wesleyan Methodism in the British Army*, Memphis: General Books, 2012, 3

⁴⁰³ Watkins, Owen, *Soldiers and Preachers Too* Royal Navy, Army and Royal Air Force Board, 1981, 48

Within the British army, what we would now term as Methodist Local Preachers operated. Although others may have started and helped in the growth of the Methodist Society, 'the soldiers who organized, governed and inspired this infant church was the soldier preacher, Sergeant A Armour.'⁴⁰⁴ One place where it is known that Methodist soldier preachers had some freedom to preach was in Gibraltar. Most of the time on the Rock, Methodism was certainly not discouraged as it kept the soldiers away from drunkenness. When some approached the Governor, General O'Hara to put a stop to the meetings, he replied 'Let them alone; I wish there were twenty for one of them, and we should have fewer court-martials in the Garrison than we have.'⁴⁰⁵ Opposition did not cease, however. One soldier wrote 'We were reproached on every hand, and all manner of evil spoken against us falsely.'⁴⁰⁶ The Methodist Society in Gibraltar was not a small one, one of the members wrote to Jasper Winslow, a Local Preacher who founded a Methodist Society in Winchester, giving a great deal of information:

We have between thirty and forty joined in the Society from the different regiments, besides some townsfolk and one officer. Our proceedings are as follows. We have preaching every night and morning. We have three nights set apart for Class-Meeting after the sermon, and on the Sabbath day, at eight in the morning, two in the afternoon, and six in the evening; and for our speakers we have Henry Ince of the 11nd Regiment, Henry Hall of the Royal Scots, and Brother Morton, under whom the work seems to prosper.'⁴⁰⁷

When the soldiers were withdrawn and deployed to other places such as the West Indies, Toulon, Corsica, Minorca, Malta and Egypt, they took Methodism with them. This meant that people such as "W.B." could record that 'Tho' I have not the

⁴⁰⁴ Watkins, Owen, *Soldiers and Preachers Too* Royal Navy, Army and Royal Air Force Board, 1981, 49

⁴⁰⁵ *The Methodist Magazine*, July 1802, 324

⁴⁰⁶ Crofts, Bruce D, *Upon this Rock, 1769-1969* Gibraltar, 1969, 4

⁴⁰⁷ Jackson, Susan Irene, *Methodism in Gibraltar and its Mission in Spain, 1769-1842*, University of Durham, PhD, 2000, 19

happiness to inform you that any of the natives were brought to a knowledge of the truth, yet some of our own countrymen were enlightened to see their need of a Saviour.’⁴⁰⁸

However, in 1802 Governor O’Hara died and was succeeded by His Royal Highness Edward, Duke of Kent. They then came under a sustained attack from ‘a Garrison chaplain [probably the Reverend Weatherell] and the Lieutenant Colonel of the 2nd Regiment...which involved a temporary ban on soldiers attending Methodist meetings and which resulted in five court martials and two floggings.’⁴⁰⁹ The Queen’s Regiment’s, regimental order dated 26 May 1803, issued by Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay, instructed:

It having been observed, that a great number of the men are constantly attending the Methodist Meetings, and have induced the youngest boys of the regiment to do the same, Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay is determined to put a stop to it; it will therefore be considered as a standing order of the regiment, that no man will ever attempt to preach, or attend the Methodist Meetings, or induce others to do the same, under pain of being tried for disobedience of orders, unless a particular permit is granted by the Commanding Officer.⁴¹⁰

Any meeting would be in contravention of this order and those who were caught pleaded a verbal, rather than written permission to attend. This led to a court martial of five soldiers in June 1803 whose record speaks for itself:

PRESIDENT: Captain Parker.

MEMBERS: Lieutenant Scott, Lieutenant Rutter, Lieutenant Smith, Ensign Johnson.

PRISONERS: Corporals James Lamb and Richard Russell; Privates James Hampton, John Reeves, and John Fluccard of the Queen’s Regiment, confined

⁴⁰⁸ *The Methodist Magazine*, July 1802, 327

⁴⁰⁹ Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* London: Routledge, 2005, 149

⁴¹⁰ Jackson, Susan Irene, *Methodism in Gibraltar and its Mission in Spain, 1769-1842*, University of Durham, PhD, 2000, 33

by Sergeant-Major Wright for unsoldierlike conduct, in attending a Methodist meeting contrary to regimental orders.

EVIDENCE: Sergeant-Major Wright informed the court that last evening, the 10th instant, coming down the lane leading to the officers' quarters, he saw a number of men coming out of a house. Among the rest he saw the prisoners. Upon asking one of them (James Hampton), what he did there, he replied that he had been to a meeting.

Quarter-Master Sergeant Sunderland corroborated the above evidence.

The prisoners, being put on their defence, acknowledged being at a meeting by themselves, for which they pleaded the colonel's verbal permission, but denied being with the inhabitants.

The court having considered the evidence against the prisoners, are of the opinion that they are guilty of the crime laid to their charge, in breach of a regimental order, and do sentence Corporals Lamb and Russell to be reduced, and the whole to receive five hundred lashes each.

"Approved"

Lieutenant-Colonel RAMSEY
Commanding Officer,
Queen's Regiment⁴¹¹

With the support of the new Governor, who because he used more zeal than discretion to sort out the drink problems, he decided not to intervene with regards to Methodist worship. However, the Duke of Kent was recalled to the United Kingdom, but was still the Governor *in absentia*, and a letter written to the Duke, 'could not have been delivered at a more inopportune time for everyone in the Government in 1803 was more concerned with Napoleon's threatened invasion of England and the matter was not pursued.'⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ Watkins, Owen, *Soldiers and Preachers Too* Royal Navy, Army and Royal Air Force Board, 1981, 52-53

⁴¹² Crofts, Bruce D, *Upon this Rock, 1769-1969* Gibraltar, 1969, 9

e. *The Duke of Wellington and Methodism*

One of the Duke of Wellington's continual requests was to be sent more 'respectable and efficient clergymen'.⁴¹³ He was only too aware of the Methodists meeting together and the soldier preachers preaching sermons. Wellington was not against this *per se*, but, wanted to be able to moderate the zeal of the enthusiastic Methodists and other evangelicals. He 'feared that discipline could be subverted and soldiers might soon be exhorting their officers to lead more virtuous lives.'⁴¹⁴

For Wellington, religion was a serious matter, as long as it was of the Church of England. He had two major concerns with regards to religion, the first being the rapidly spreading growth of Methodism, and the second, according to Snape, was his opposition to the growth of Orangeism in the Army.⁴¹⁵ Wellington observed that it had the potential for causing unnecessary strife, and dividing his army into differing factions, and Wellington understood better than most the depth of feeling in the Irish 'camp'.

John Owen, as Chaplain General, was also concerned about the progress of Methodism within the army. Owen's main concern was focussed on the 'men in the ranks [who] undertake to preach and pray extempore, they become shocking coxcombs and think all knowledge and religion is centred on such as themselves.' Owen was not against Methodism as such, as long as 'they would be content on a

⁴¹³ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 117

⁴¹⁴ Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat* London: Harper Collins, 2002, 117

⁴¹⁵ Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* London: Routledge, 2005, 229

Sunday even in a little knot to let the best readers read a chapter or two and a few prayers they might be none the worse.’⁴¹⁶

f. Conclusion

Out of the Methodist movement came soldier-preachers in two main forms. The first were those who were already Methodists, but were then conscripted into the army, whilst the others were soldiers who became Methodists and preached to their fellow soldiers and anyone else who would listen to them. One of the most famous of John Wesley’s soldier-preachers was John Haime, who preached to the soldiers at Dettigen in 1743, but there are many other soldier-preachers who need to be celebrated in the mission which they undertook, often in very demanding circumstances.

As the army was spread around much of the globe, Methodist soldiers took their Methodist faith with them to every continent in the world. Even in remote outposts such as St Helena, where the East India Company soldier Thomas Payne served, and was listed as a man of ‘superior education and gifts, he rose rapidly in the Company’s service, until at last he held five different offices and drew a large revenue therefrom.’⁴¹⁷ Life for Methodists was not without its dangers and when Payne refused to ‘carry out certain [unspecified] orders in the manner indicated by his superiors, he lost everything, returning to England penniless.’

⁴¹⁶ AFCC, Papers of the Reverend Mark Mackareth

⁴¹⁷ Watkins, Owen, *Soldiers and Preachers Too* Royal Navy, Army and Royal Air Force Board, 1981, 21

In the peninsula, Methodists came under pressure, as we saw in the last chapter, from the Duke of Wellington. Although Wellington was not against Methodists meeting, he was not comfortable about their enthusiasm. For Wellington, religion was to be comfortable and Church of England, and Wellington perceived that it could cause unnecessary strife in the ranks, especially when Methodist soldier-preachers preached moralistic sermons to the officers. With the help of Samuel Briscall, as well as the Chaplain General, John Owen, Wellington was kept informed. Methodism has had a great deal to offer the army, as well as the world they lived in, and deserves a more in-depth study than is recorded here.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has been primarily concerned with investigating the life and role of the British army chaplain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This thesis has argued that, despite meagre resources and training, most chaplains did their best to minister to the troops under their care. This thesis has looked at chaplaincy over the first fifty years of the Army Chaplains' Department, and includes the changes from regimental chaplains to Chaplains to the Forces, as well as reforms brought in under the direction of the second Chaplain General, the Venerable John Owen, which meant the ending of garrison chaplaincy so that all chaplains were now employed on a similar basis to the regimental chaplains of pre-1796. In the 1808 reforms, garrison chaplains were invited to join the Department, or their tenure would be ended, less those in Edinburgh, Stirling and Fort George, who would be retained.

What emerges from this thesis is that, although on paper every regiment had its own chaplain prior to 1796, in reality these were often absentee chaplains, who were not prepared to deploy overseas with their regiments. The Reverend John Gamble, as the first Chaplain General, had the unenviable task of recruiting a new team of chaplains to serve the British army wherever it may be found.

In chapter one this thesis began to set the scene with what was in place prior to 1796. With the formation of the New Model Army in 1645, chaplains received commissions for the first time. Following the Restoration, Parliament prescribed the duties of chaplains in the Articles of War, the core of which remains to the present

day. It was in India that the future (second) Chaplain General, the Reverend John Owen, came to understand the key role which chaplains could play in the lives of sick and wounded soldiers, a vision which he would take with him to the Peninsula and a task he would ensure that all of his chaplains would undertake, especially when deployed. Also, it was in India prior to 1800 that British soldiers would hear their Portuguese counterparts calling their Roman Catholic clergy “Padre”, a term of endearment which was used in the Peninsula and still in use today. It is of note that, at a time when it was illegal for Roman Catholics to receive commissions, Father Alexander Macdonnell, was commissioned to be chaplain to the Glengarry Fencibles in 1794. He was obviously a man of great charisma as, in 1802, when the Glengarries were disbanded, he persuaded the Duke of York, as Commander in Chief, to reform them. They then became the Glengarry Light Infantry, emigrating to Canada at public expense, where they were available for the War of 1812.

Chapter two studied the formation of the Army Chaplains’ Department in 1796, a move which was desperately needed as regimental chaplains were of the view that ‘personal service would never be demanded of them’. This inevitably led to soldiers deploying to war without the services of a single chaplain. When the Duke of York took the army to the continent in 1793, the Reverend John Gamble, in his testimony to the Seventh Commission of Military Enquiry, believed that he was ‘the only commissioned chaplain’ with them, a situation which was unsustainable. It was in 1796 that Gamble was commissioned by King George III as Chaplain General to head the newly formed Army Chaplains’ Department. When a survey was completed, Gamble was the only one found to be at his post, although it was

subsequently found that the Life Guards chaplains were also present. The change from regimental chaplains to that of army chaplains, meant that regimental chaplains were forbidden to sell their commissions, and were thence put on half pay of 4/- per day. Gamble did not just have oversight of the Chaplains' Department, but he also had an input into mobile military signalling, becoming the first Chief Signals Officer.

Further reforms were still required to bring garrison chaplains under the same terms and conditions as regular commissioned chaplains; this was considered in chapter three. With the resignation of John Gamble on 23 December 1809, a new Chaplain General had to be appointed and the candidate chosen was the Reverend John Owen, who took office on 8 March 1810. There were a number of reforms which would be introduced during his tenure, not just within chaplaincy but army wide. The Royal Military College at Sandhurst, for example, attempted to professionalise the officer corps, but of interest to this thesis are the reforms in the Chaplains' Department, and that of garrison chaplains. With the reform of garrison chaplains which brought them under the control of the Chaplain General, this meant that all chaplains, less those in the Ordnance Department and the East India Company, were now liable to be deployed overseas with their troops. Whilst Owen was Chaplain General to the Land Forces, he was also at the same time briefly Chaplain General to the Fleet, which brought Navy chaplains on to the same status as their army colleagues, taking them from being ships' chaplains to fleet chaplains, bringing with it a standardised and central pay scheme and the facility of being moved from ship to ship.

Whilst John Owen was Chaplain General, the biggest conflict being fought by the British army was the Peninsular War in Portugal and Spain. Chapter four investigated the role of the chaplain in the Peninsula. The Duke of Wellington was a staunch Anglican, and had seen the best and worst of chaplains whilst in India. Two of the things that Wellington wanted addressing were ministry to the sick and wounded, as well as the increase of Methodism within the army. Twenty-first century chaplains at least have some pre-deployment training prior to operations, whereas chaplains of the period of this thesis were expected to deploy at short notice with no training. George Stonestreet, for example, was in Holland ten days after becoming an army chaplain. Chaplains are often ignored or maligned when many historians examine this war, which is a great disservice to most of them, as they were often thought of as responsible guardians of the soul.

With the death in office of John Owen in 1824, chapter five studied the Department under the guidance of Robert Hodgson who took up the reins as Chaplain General over the head of William Dakins who had been assistant to John Owen. Hodgson had no military experience, which often brought him into conflict with the government, and this would ultimately cost him his job. Hodgson was replaced by William Dakins, at the reduced level of Principal Chaplain. One of Dakins' greatest achievements was the building of the Guards' Chapel, some of which still remains standing to this day, despite being bombed during World War II. Further reforms within the Department came with the recruitment of officiating Presbyterian clergy in 1827 and Roman Catholic priests in 1836, as well as in 1830 with a change in the terms and conditions for the whole army, which included reforms to chaplains, especially over

their retirement package. George Gleig was appointed Principal Chaplain in 1844 upon the retirement of William Dakins, albeit with John Dakins appointed as his assistant.

This thesis concluded in chapter six, with a reflection on Methodism and evangelicals within the army. Wellington certainly called for more efficient and effective chaplains to deal with the problem of Methodism. The most studied group of Methodist soldier preachers was based in Gibraltar where, in 1803, five Methodist soldiers were convicted by a court martial for 'attending a Methodist meeting contrary to regimental orders.' John Owen, as Chaplain General, was concerned about soldier preachers who undertook 'to preach and pray extempore'.

At the heart of this thesis is the question was this "An Age of Negligence?" It is now possible to state that British army chaplains, with the training they received, achieved great things by doing the best they could under the circumstances. This research should serve as a basis for further studies within this field, as more primary sources become available, both in electronic and in manuscript form. In the meantime, however, this study has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of chaplaincy within the British army at this time. What is needed now is a more in-depth study of chaplaincy during the Peninsular War, especially under the visionary leadership of Chaplain-General John Owen.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS We have, taken into Our most serious Consideration the nearly universal Want of Personal Attendance among the Chaplains of Regiments, and of Care in providing proper Deputies; as well as the Difficulty of finding Clergymen to attend Corps serving abroad, upon such a Stipend as is usually stopped from the Pay of the Chaplains for that Purpose, and lest to the Management of Commanding Officers; and it appearing to Us, that by abolishing the Office of Regimental Chaplain, as soon as the same may be practicable, and assigning an adequate Pay to such Clergymen as Shall attend Our forces on foreign Service, more effectual Provision may be made for the regular Performance of Religious Duties throughout our Army, without bringing any additional Charge upon the Publick:- We have therefore thought fit hereby to signify OUR WILL AND PLEASURE, that all Regimental Chaplains, who do not join their respective Corps on or before the 25th of December next, shall retire from our Service on a reduced Subsistence of Four Shillings *per Diem*, to commence from that Day inclusive, and to be continued to them during the Term of their natural Lives; and that all future Savings from the Pay of Regimental Chaplains, as now borne on the Establishment, shall be applied to the Purpose of compensating such Persons as may from Time to Time be employed in the actual Performance of Divine Service to our Forces, in the Manner herein-after directed:

On the 25th of June 1797, and at the End of every subsequent Half-year, a Certificate (according to the Form annexed, No. 1.) shall be transmitted to the Office of our Secretary at War, by the Commanding Officer of each Corps whose Chaplain shall have joined, stating that such Chaplain continues in the personal Discharge of his Duty; without which Certificate, the Chaplain's Pay shall be respited on the Settlement of the Accompts of the Regiment to which he belongs; unless it shall appear that such Chaplain has signified his Desire of being placed on the retired List: But any Chaplain failing in his Personal Attendance, and not having made such Application, Shall be superseded.

No Chaplain shall hereafter be allowed to appoint a Deputy; no Chaplaincy which may become vacant by Death, or Resignation, shall be again filled up; no Sale, Exchange, or Transfer of Commissions by the present Chaplains shall be permitted after the 25th of December 1796, unless the Application for, that Purpose shall have been made previous to that Day: and in the Interval preceding it, no Chaplaincy shall be sold for more than was given for it by its present Possessor; nor shall the Purchaser have any Claim to sell the same again.

And in order to provide for the regular Performance of Religious Duties in future among the Regiments whose Chaplains may retire in Consequence of these Our Regulations, OUR FURTHER WILL AND PLEASURE IS, that wherever an Army is formed or a Body of Troops ordered to be assembled for Service abroad, and in all Garrisons or Stations where several Regiments are near together, Chaplains shall be appointed according to the Number of Corps, in the Proportion of One to each

Brigade, or to every Three or Four Regiments; which Chaplains shall receive Ten Shillings *per Diem*, each during the Time of their actual Continuance on foreign Service, whether in the Field, or in Garrison; and that, after Twelve Years of real foreign Service, every such Chaplain shall be permitted to retire on an Allowance of Four Shillings *per Diem*, payable in the same Manner and subject to the same Restrictions as the Half-pay.

For such Regiments on foreign Service as are in separate Stations, or not more than two in one Place or near together, an efficient Chaplain shall be appointed at each Station, with an Allowance of Seven Shillings *per Day*: such Chaplains to be promoted to Brigades, with Ten Shillings *per Day*, as Opportunity may offer, and as they shall be found deserving; and likewise, after Twelve Years actual and foreign Service, to be permitted to retire, with an Allowance of Four Shillings *per Diem*; subject to the same Regulations as are observed in regard to the Receipt of Half-pay.

The necessary Number of Chaplains for foreign Service shall be borne on the Staff of the different Armies, and Garrisons, at the Rates above specified, and their Pay shall be drawn by them Monthly from the Agents of the respective Commanders in Chief, and Governors.

For every Barrack in the British Dominions, a neighbouring Clergyman is to be employed as the Curate to perform Divine Service every Sunday, and to be paid Twenty-five Pounds *per Annum*.

The Commanding Officer of every separate Regiment in Quarters will attend with his Regiment at some Parish Church; or employ a neighbouring Clergyman to perform Divine Service to the Men: and he will empower the Clergyman whose Parish Church he may attend, or who has done the Duty of the Regiment, to draw on the Agent of the Regiment for such Sum, as he may think a just Compensation, provided that for any single Regiment the Sum so drawn does not exceed Ten Shillings *per Week* for the actual Time of Service performed: The Clergyman's Draft to be accompanied by a Certificate agreeable to the annexed Form, No.11.

Lastly. We do hereby subject all Regular Chaplains, desiring to be continued in our Service, to the Orders of the Person whom we shall hereafter appoint to be Chaplain-General of our Army, and who is to govern himself by such Instructions as We shall from Time to Time think fit to give him through Our Secretary at War.

Given at Our Court at ST. JAMES'S this 23d Day of *September 1796*, in the Thirty-sixth Year of Our Reign.

BY HIS MAJESTY's COMMAND,

W. WINDHAM.

Extract from The Army List 1795

| Regiment | Chaplain | Commissioned | Supplemental |
|--|---------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1 st Regiment of Life Guards | George Marsh | 25 Jun 1788 | |
| 2 nd Regiment of Life Guards | George Marsh | 25 Jun 1788 | |
| Royal Regiment of Horse Guards | St. George Bowles | 16 May 1787 | 1807 WP |
| 1 st (or The King's) Regiment of Dragoon Guards | Charles Powlett | 11 Jun 1766 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 2 nd (or The Queen's) Regiment of Dragoon Guards | John Clement Ives | 9 Feb 1785 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 3 rd (or Prince of Wales's) Regiment of Dragoon Guards | Edward Kynaston | 30 Jan 1782 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 4 th (or Royal Irish) Regiment of Dragoon Guards | J. Grady Fitzgerald | 12 Nov 1794 | |
| 5 th Regiment of Dragoon Guards | Charles Nesbitt | 2 Jul 1794 | |
| 6 th Regiment of Dragoon Guards | John Wilde | 29 Jan 1794 | |
| 7 th (or Princess Royal's) Regiment of Dragoon Guards | William O'Connor | 28 Feb 1788 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 1 st (or Royal) Regiment of Dragoons | Thomas Bergus | 11 Feb 1783 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 2 nd (or Royal N. Brit) Regiment of Dragoons | Hugh Owen | 14 Mar 1785 | |
| 3 rd (or The King's Own) Regiment of Dragoons | John Fitz Brand | 16 Nov 1781 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 4 th (or The Queen's Own) Regiment of Dragoons | Robert Crowther | 7 May 1793 | |
| 5 th (or Royal Irish) Regiment of Dragoons | Richard Despard | 30 Sept 1789 | |
| 6 th (or Inniskilling) Regiment of Dragoons | Dale Lovett | 22 Nov 1765 | |
| 7 th (or The Queen's Own) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | George Strathan | 11 Mar 1770 | |
| 8 th (or The King's Royal Irish) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | Francis Elish | 28 Feb 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 9 th Regiment of Dragoons | Marcus McCausland | 30 Nov 1792 | 7CME Half Pay |

| | | | |
|---|---|-------------|-----------------|
| 10 th (or The Prince of Wales's) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | Horace Hammond | 15 Nov 1785 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 11 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | John Gamble | 4 Apr 1793 | |
| 12 th (or The Prince of Wales's) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | John Farnham | 12 Dec 1774 | |
| 13 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | Alex Geo. Stewart | 12 May 1777 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 14 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | Peter Vatass | 24 Dec 1745 | |
| 15 th (or The King's) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | J. Laycock Wetherall | 18 Dec 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 16 th (or The Queen's) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | Thomas Sheriffe | 9 Feb 1784 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 17 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | Thomas Sneyd | 31 May 1789 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 18 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | Richard Brooke | 28 Feb 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 19 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | John Day | 25 Mar 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 20 th (or Jamaica Regiment) of (Light) Dragoons | John Hughes | 20 Jan 1792 | |
| 21 st Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | John Whitaker | 24 Feb 1794 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 22 nd Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | George Bass Oliver | 24 Feb 1794 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 23 rd Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | Francis Annesley | 10 Mar 1794 | D 1832 |
| 24 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | <i>Post Vacant</i> | | |
| 25 th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons | Thomas Collyer | 9 Mar 1794 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 1 st Regiment of Foot Guards | John Fox | 17 Mar 1769 | 7CME Half Pay |
| Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards | John Gamble (from 11 th LDG) | 4 Apr 1793 | |
| 3 rd Regiment of Foot Guards | Robert Wright | 30 Mar 1773 | |
| 1 st (or The Royal) Regiment of Foot 1 st Battalion | Miles Beevor | 14 Feb 1786 | 7CME – Augustus |
| 1 st (or The Royal) Regiment of Foot 2 nd Battalion | George Beevor | 6 Oct 1790 | |

| | | | |
|---|---------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 2 nd (or The Queen's Royal) Regiment of Foot | Henry Hawes | 13 Jan 1790 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 3 rd (or The East Kent) Regiment of Foot | Humphrey Jones | 2 Jun 1776 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 4 th (or The King's Own) Regiment of Foot | William Morris | 22 Aug 1789 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 5 th (or The Northumberland) Regiment of Foot | George Blacker | 7 Jun 1793 | |
| 6 th (or The 1 st Warwickshire) Regiment of Foot | John Ogle | 16 Apr 1774 | |
| 7 th Regiment of Foot (or Royal Fuzileers) | John Whetheral | 31 Aug 1791 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 8 th (or The King's) Regiment of Foot | W. Arch. Armstrong | 31 Aug 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 9 th (or The East Norfolk) Regiment of Foot | Thomas Wood | 12 Apr 1777 | |
| 10 th (or The North Lincolnshire) Regiment of Foot | Edward Storey | 25 Jun 1777 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 11 th (or The North Devonshire) Regiment of Foot | Michael Wallace | 31 Aug 1791 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 12 th (or The East Suffolk) Regiment of Foot | John Edwards | 30 Jun 1792 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 13 th (or The 1 st Somersetshire) Regiment of Foot | William Bawdwen | 9 May 1792 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 14 th (or The Bedfordshire) Regiment of Foot | John Wright | 17 Jun 1777 | |
| 15 th (or The Yorkshire East Riding) Regiment of Foot | Adam Spencer | 7 Sept 1791 | 7CME – Nich |
| 16 th (or The Buckinghamshire) Regiment of Foot | William Edwards | 6 Mar 1788 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 17 th (or The Leicestershire) Regiment of Foot | Tho. Hyde Villiers | 31 Jul 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 18 th (or Royal Irish) Regiment of Foot | W. Lowfield Fancour | 20 Jul 1792 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 19 th (or The 1 st Yorkshire North Riding) Regiment of Foot | Bacon Bedingfield | 4 Oct 1770 | 1807 WP |
| 20 th (or The East Devonshire) Regiment of Foot | Charles Bollard | 26 Aug 1786 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 21 st Regiment of Foot (or The Royal N. Brit. Fuzileers) | Hugh Fraser | 2 Apr 1794 | |
| 22 nd (or The Cheshire) Regiment of Foot | Henry Jones | 11 Mar 1780 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 23 rd Regiment of Foot (or The Royal Welsh Fuzileers) | Scrope Berdmore | 22 Oct 1778 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 24 th (or The Warwickshire) Regiment of Foot | John Francis Howell | 14 Mar 1780 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 25 th (or The Sussex) Regiment of Foot | William Williams | 1 Jul 1791 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 26 th (or Cameronian) Regiment of Foot | Tho. Homles Tidy | 8 Mar 1781 | |
| 27 th (or Inniskilling) Regiment of Foot | Edward Bromhead | 22 Sept 1769 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 28 th (or The North Gloucestershire) Regiment of Foot | Joseph Rippon | 26 Oct 1786 | |
| 29 th (or The Worcestershire) Regiment of Foot | George Turner | 17 Mar 1774 | |
| 30 th (or The Cambridgeshire) Regiment of Foot | James Hadley Cox | 12 Sept 1780 | |
| 31 st (or Huntingdonshire) Regiment of Foot | William Clay | 28 Feb 1794 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 32 nd (or The Cornwall) Regiment of Foot | Thomas Purcell | 8 Nov 1788 | 7CME – Robert |

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|--|-------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 33 rd (or The 1 st Yorkshire West Riding) Regiment of Foot | William James | 28 May 1794 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 34 th (or The Cumberland) Regiment of Foot | Fletcher Dixon | 17 Sept 1773 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 35 th (or The Dorsetshire) Regiment of Foot | John McKinnon | 30 Nov 1793 | |
| 36 th (or The Herefordshire) Regiment of Foot | George Munro | 10 Dec 1781 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 37 th (or The North Hampshire) Regiment of Foot | Henry Cay Adams | 4 Apr 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 38 th (or The 1 st Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot | J L'Anson Bromwich | 3 Aug 1783 | |
| 39 th (or The East Middlesex) Regiment of Foot | George Nugent | 21 Jan 1783 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 40 th (or The 2 nd Somersetshire) Regiment of Foot | George Vanbrugh | 21 Dec 1782 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 41 st Regiment of Foot | Reginald Heber | 25 Dec 1781 | |
| 42 nd (or The Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot | George Watson | 8 Aug 1787 | |
| 43 rd (or The Monmouthshire) Regiment of Foot | John Pomery | 18 Mar 1794 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 44 th (or The East Essex) Regiment of Foot | T. St. Clair Abercromby | 24 Dec 1774 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 45 th (or The Nottinghamshire) Regiment of Foot | James Fortescue | 28 Dec 1784 | 7CME – George |
| 46 th (or The South Devonshire) Regiment of Foot | Richard Dobbs | 5 Mar 1794 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 47 th (or The Lancashire) Regiment of Foot | Charles West | 3 Apr 1786 | |
| 48 th (or The Northamptonshire) Regiment of Foot | Charles Hewitt | 12 Dec 1770 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 49 th (or The Hertfordshire) Regiment of Foot | James Dodds | 1 Sept 1775 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 50 th (or The West Kent) Regiment of Foot | Philip Wroughton | 28 Jun 1780 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 51 st (or The 2 nd Yorkshire West Riding) Regiment of Foot | Edward Pole | 30 Sept 1791 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 52 nd (or The Oxfordshire) Regiment of Foot | Plaxton Dickenson | 4 Feb 1791 | |
| 53 rd (or The Shropshire) Regiment of Foot | Alexander Turnbull | 2 Dec 1780 | |
| 54 th (or The West Norfolk) Regiment of Foot | John Beevor | 20 Jun 1792 | |
| 55 th (or The Westmorland) Regiment of Foot | John Clarke | 21 Feb 1785 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 56 th (or The West Essex) Regiment of Foot | Richard Hood | 25 Sept 1794 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 57 th (or The West Middlesex) Regiment of Foot | Thomas Brent | 27 Jul 1785 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 58 th (or Rutlandshire) Regiment of Foot | Edward Mason | 23 Jul 1779 | |
| 59 th (or The 2 nd Nottinghamshire) Regiment of Foot | Thomas Phillips | 22 Feb 1786 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 60 th (or Royal American) Regiment of Foot | George Bowe | 5 Feb 1776 | 1807 WP |
| | James Majesty | 24 Sept 1787 | 7CME Half Pay |
| | William Leslie | 29 Sept 1790 | |
| | John Fra. Miéville | 10 Nov 1790 | 7CME Half Pay |

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|--|-------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 61 st (or South Gloucestershire) Regiment of Foot | George Shaw | 8 May 1758 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 62 nd (or The Wiltshire) Regiment of Foot | Joseph Crowe | 26 Oct 1786 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 63 rd (or The West Suffolk) Regiment of Foot | Edward Coleridge | 30 Apr 1789 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 64 th (or The 2 nd Staffordshire) Regiment of Foot | Robert Bell | 5 Aug 1758 | |
| 65 th (or The 2 nd Yorkshire North Riding) Regiment of Foot | John Manning | 13 Jul 1785 | |
| 66 th (or The Berkshire) Regiment of Foot | Nathaniel Bristed | 11 Dec 1759 | 7CME – Charles |
| 67 th (or The South Hampshire) Regiment of Foot | James Wilson | 14 Apr 1763 | 1807 WP |
| 68 th (or The Durham) Regiment of Foot | John Lindord | 23 Oct 1794 | |
| 69 th (or The South Lincolnshire) Regiment of Foot | William Tremague | 31 Jul 1792 | 7CME – Tremayne |
| 70 th (or The Surrey) Regiment of Foot | John Jones | 14 Jan 1782 | |
| 71 st (Highland) Regiment of Foot | Angus Bethune | 20 Mar 1793 | |
| 72 nd (Highland) Regiment of Foot | William MacKenzie | 14 Sept 1778 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 73 rd (Highland) Regiment of Foot | Donald Baine | 25 Oct 1784 | 7CME – Ronald |
| 74 th (Highland) Regiment of Foot | John Ferguson | 25 Dec 1792 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 75 th (Highland) Regiment of Foot | Thomas Trevathon | 6 Apr 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 76 th Regiment of Foot | William Musgrave | 13 Sept 1791 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 77 th Regiment of Foot | Thomas Dalton | 12 Oct 1781 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 78 th (Highland) Regiment of Foot, 1 st Battalion | Alexander Downie | 8 Mar 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 78 th (Highland) Regiment of Foot, 2 nd Battalion | Charles Proby | 10 Feb 1794 | |
| 79 th Regiment of Foot or Cameronian Volunteers | Thomas Thomson | 17 Aug 1793 | |
| 80 th Regiment of Foot or Staffordshire Volunteers | Edward Remington | 12 Sept 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 81 st Regiment of Foot | James Summers | 30 Oct 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 82 nd Regiment of Foot (or Prince of Wales's Volunteers), 1 st Battalion | John Alexander | 27 Sept 1793 | |
| 82 nd Regiment of Foot (or Prince of Wales's Volunteers), 2 nd Battalion | ----- Ambrose | 12 Mar 1794 | |
| 83 rd Regiment of Foot | Thomas Emerson | 28 Sept 1793 | |
| 84 th Regiment of Foot, 1 st Battalion | Thomas Beamish | 2 Nov 1793 | |
| 84 th Regiment of Foot, 2 nd Battalion | George Mason | 31 May 1794 | 1807 WP |

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|---|---------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 85 th Regiment of Foot or Bucks Volunteers | Henry Marshall | 18 Nov 1793 | |
| 86 th Regiment of Foot | John Austen | 30 Oct 1793 | 7CME – James |
| 87 th (or Prince of Wales's Irish) Regiment of Foot | Edward Berwick | 18 Sept 1793 | |
| 88 th Regiment of Foot (or Connaught Rangers) | Armstrong Kelly | 25 Sept 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 89 th Regiment of Foot | Jocelyn Weldon | 3 Dec 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 90 th Regiment of Foot (or Perthshire Volunteers), 1 st Battalion | James Grant | 12 Sept 1794 | |
| 90 th Regiment of Foot (or Perthshire Volunteers), 2 nd Battalion | Charles Webster | 19 May 1794 | Died 1834 |
| 91 st Regiment of Foot | Alexander Grant | 30 Oct 1793 | 1807 WP |
| 92 nd Regiment of Foot | Robert Disney | 31 Dec 1793 | |
| 93 rd Regiment of Foot | James Rudd | 30 Oct 1793 | |
| 94 th Regiment of Foot | <i>Post Vacant</i> | | |
| 95 th Regiment of Foot | Thomas Timms | 30 Oct 1793 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 96 th Regiment of Foot | Barry McGusty | 28 Feb 1794 | |
| 97 th Regiment of Foot | John Grant | 8 Feb 1794 | |
| 98 th Regiment of Foot | P Fraser | 10 Feb 1794 | |
| 99 th Regiment of Foot | Bryan Broughton | 10 Feb 1794 | |
| 100 th Regiment of Foot | <i>Post Vacant</i> | | |
| 101 st Regiment of Foot | William Tennat | 10 Mar 1794 | |
| 102 nd Regiment of Foot | <i>Post Vacant</i> | | |
| 103 rd Regiment of Foot | ----- Whatley | 19 Oct 1794 | Died 1835 |
| 104 th Regiment of Foot (or Royal Manchester Volunteers) | Thomas Siddon | 1 Apr 1794 | |
| 105 th Regiment of Foot | ----- Carter | 18 Apr 1794 | |
| 106 th Regiment of Foot | W. Marchant Bussell | 17 May 1794 | |
| 107 th Regiment of Foot | H A Hole | 29 Oct 1794 | |
| 108 th Regiment of Foot | James Webster | 21 Jun 1794 | |
| 109 th (or The Aberdeenshire) Regiment of Foot | Robert Shepherd | 2 Apr 1794 | |
| 110 th Regiment of Foot | Alexander Arbuthnot | 6 Jun 1794 | |
| 111 st Regiment of Foot (or Loyal Birmingham Volunteers) | William Aubrey | 30 May 1794 | |
| 112 th Regiment of Foot | Wensley Bond | 22 Jul 1794 | |
| 113 th Regiment of Foot | John Bedford | 30 May 1794 | |

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|--|----------------------|--------------|---------------|
| 114 th Regiment of Foot | Joseph Preston | 19 Jul 1794 | |
| 115 th Regiment of Foot | Thomas Carter | 2 May 1794 | |
| 116 th Regiment of Foot | <i>Post Vacant</i> | | |
| Regiment of Foot | Robert Fisher | 25 Mar 1794 | Died 1834 |
| Regiment of Foot | Robert Annesley | 11 Oct 1794 | |
| Regiment of Foot | <i>Post Vacant</i> | | |
| Regiment of Foot | William MacInnis | 11 Oct 1794 | |
| Regiment of Foot | Weldon J Moloney | 6 Sept 1794 | |
| Regiment of Foot | Hensworth Usher | 22 Aug 1794 | |
| 118 th Regiment of Foot | Nicolas Christian | 24 Sept 1794 | |
| Regiment of Foot | John Dobbs | 24 Sept 1794 | |
| Regiment of Foot | Bernard Wars | 11 Oct 1794 | |
| (or Waterford) Regiment of Foot | <i>Post Vacant</i> | | |
| (or Londonderry) Regiment of Foot | John Beresford Hill | 25 Aug 1794 | |
| New South Wales Corps | James Bain | 5 Jun 1789 | 7CME Half Pay |
| The Queens Rangers | <i>Post Vacant</i> | | |
| 1 st Battalion of the Scotch Brigade | Charles Ochiltrue | 5 Jul 1793 | |
| 2 nd Battalion of the Scotch Brigade | David Ritchie | 5 Jul 1793 | |
| 3 rd Battalion of the Scotch Brigade | William Osborn | 26 Jul 1794 | 7CME Half Pay |
| 117 th Regiment of Foot | Post Vacant | | |
| Regiment of Foot | Jonathan Ashe | 1 Sept 1794 | |
| Regiment of Foot | Augustus Cane | 4 Oct 1794 | Died 1834 |
| Receiving Full Pay | | | |
| Late 1 st Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards | Charles Andrews | 27 Nov 1782 | |
| Late 2 nd Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards | John Yeomans | 13 Nov 1784 | Died 1824 |
| Garrisons | | | |
| Berwick | Robert Thorp | 17 Jan 1766 | |
| Cinque Ports | Thomas Hollingbury | | |
| Edinburgh | Robert Home | 17 May 1762 | |
| Gravesend and Tilbury | John Gurrey | 12 Sept 1766 | |
| Guernsey | Nicolas Peter Dobree | 3 Feb 1794 | |

| | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| Hull | John Storey | 20 Jun 1792 | 7CME – Robert |
| Jersey | Matthew Wasington | | |
| Near Inverness | James Gordon | | |
| Land-Guard Fort | William Brown | | |
| Plymouth | Barfoot Colton | | |
| Portsmouth | Robert Herbert | | |
| Sheerness | Edward Ledwich | | |
| Stirling Castle | William Innes | | |
| Tower of London | Thomas Cowper | | |
| Overseas Garrisons | | | |
| Grenada | John McKenzie | 20 Feb 1768 | |
| St Vincent | Michael Smith | | |
| Dominica | George Watts | 11 Jun 1774 | |
| Nova Scotia | William Neyle | | |
| Halifax | Mather Byles | | |
| Island of Cape Breton | Benjamin Lovell | | |
| Island of St John | Richard Grant | 11 Jun 1774 | |
| New Brunswick | James Cooke | | |
| Quebec | Herbert Croft | 14 Nov 1792 | |
| Montreal | James Tunstall | 31 Jul 1794 | |
| Upper Canada | Edward Drewe | 1 Sept 1791 | |
| Newfoundland – St John's | John Tickell | | |
| Royal Regiment of Artillery | | | |
| Royal Regiment of Artillery | Den Martin Fairfax Jeremiah Ellis | 30 Sept 1763 4 Jul 1764 | |
| Royal Regiment of Artillery in Ireland | Thomas Trocke | 31 May 1787 | |

Appendix C

Home and Foreign Postings Recommended 10 May 1809

| Foreign: | | Home: | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| Gibraltar | 2 | For London | |
| Malta | 2 | The Chaplain General | 1} |
| Guernsey | 1 | One Other Chaplain | 1} |
| Jersey | 1 | Hull and Dependencies | 1 |
| Alderney | 1 | Ipswich | 1 |
| Jamaica ⁴¹⁸ | 2 | Woodbridge | 1 |
| Antigua } | | Normancross | 1 |
| Barbados } | | Colchester | 1 |
| Dominica } | 1 each | Chelmsford | 1 |
| Grenada } | | Weeley | 1 |
| Trinidad } | | Braybourne | 1 |
| St Vincent } | | Canterbury | 1 |
| Bahamas | 1 | Deal | 1 |
| Bermuda | 1 | Dover | 1 |
| Nova Scotia | 1 | Hythe and Shorne Cliffe | 1 |
| Halifax | 1 | Bexhill and Battle | 1 |
| New Brunswick | 1 | Horsham | 1 |
| Quebec | 1 | Silverhill | 1 |
| Montreal | 1 | Portsmouth | 1 |
| Upper Canada | 1 | Gosport | 1 |
| St Johns Newfoundland | 1 | Winchester | 1 |
| Cape of Good Hope | 1 | Plymouth | 1 |
| Trincomalee | 1 | Edinburgh | 1 |
| Columbo | 1 | Inverness | 1 |
| New South Wales | 1 | Fort George | 1 |
| | <u>30</u> ^{419 420} | Stirling Castle | <u>1</u> |
| | | | 25 |

⁴¹⁸ The letter from the Prime Minister dated 17 Jan 1809 suggested only 1

⁴¹⁹ There is a pencil note with the correct total of 28

⁴²⁰ Prince Edward Island was also included in 17 Jan 1809 total.

Chaplain's in the Peninsular

[illegible]

| Chaplain | 1812 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1813 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1814 | | | |
|--------------------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|------|----|----|----|
| | J | F | M | A | M | J | J | A | S | O | N | D | J | F | M | A | M | J | J | A | S | O | N | D | J | F | M | A |
| William Bradford | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Samuel Briscall | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Thomas Dennis | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| "--- Matthews | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| John Owen | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| "--- Brodie | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| "--- Cooley | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Henry Symons | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| James Allot | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| James Scott | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| John Heyward | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Thomas Williams | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| George Jenkins | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Thomas French | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Samuel Hill | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mark Mackerith | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Wentworth Parker | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Edward C Frith | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| John Metcalfe | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Horace Parker | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Samuel Leggatt | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Frederick H Browne | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Charles Dayman | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Thomas Landon | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| John LeMesurier | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jacque Ingram | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| John Cracroft | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| J W King | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Joseph Mills | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Robert Tunny | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| George Hunt | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| George Watson | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Totals | 12 | 12 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 14 | 15 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 15 | 16 | 16 | 16 | 17 | 17 | 16 | 17 |

Army Chaplains 1795-1845

| Name | Commissioned | Dates | Appointments | Remarks |
|---------------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Chaplain General | | | | |
| John Gamble | 21 Sept 1796 | 1796-1810 | Chaplain General | |
| John Owen | 8 March 1810 | 1802-1804 | Royal Military College | Died in office 4 Jun 24 |
| | | 1809-1810 | Portugal | |
| | | 1810-1824 | Chaplain General | |
| Robert Hodgson | 12 March 1824 | 1824-1830 | Chaplain General | Sacked 26 Mar 1830 |
| William Whitfield Dakins | 16 Mar 1810 | 1810-1831 | Assistant to the Chaplain General | |
| | | 1831-1843 | Principal Chaplain | |
| George Robert Gleig | 23 March 1844 | 1844-1845 | Principal Chaplain | Status would return to Chaplain General |
| Garrison Chaplains | | | | |
| Canada | | | | |
| Edward Back | NR | 1805-1807 | Anapolis Royal | |
| | | 1809-1810 | Nova Scotia | |
| Benjamin Lovell | NR | 1796-1810 | Cape Breton | |
| Mather Byles | NR | 1796 | Halifax | |
| | | 1797-1810 | New Brunswick | |
| John Wetherall | NR | 1797-1802 | Halifax | |
| Josiah John Pike | NR | 1803-1810 | Halifax | |
| James Marmaduke Tunstall | NR | 1796-1810 | Montreal | Died 26 Dec 1840 |
| James Cooke | NR | 1796 | New Brunswick | |
| John Tickell | NR | 1796-1802 | Newfoundland | |
| William Hardwicke | NR | 1803-1810 | Newfoundland | |
| William Neyle | NR | 1796-1807 | Nova Scotia | |
| Herbert Croft | NR | 1796-1810 | Quebec | |
| Richard Grant | NR | 1796-1802 | St John | |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------|-----------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Edward Drewe | NR | 1796-1810 | Upper Canada | |
| Channel Islands | | | | |
| Nicolas Peter Dobree | NR | 1796-1810 | Guernsey | |
| Matthew Washington | NR | 1796-1798 | Jersey | |
| Peter Falle | NR | 1799-1805 | Jersey | |
| Philip Le Breton | NR | 1806-1810 | Jersey | |
| England | | | | |
| John Horsley Dakins | NR | 1838-1845 | Assistant to the Chaplain General | |
| Robert Thorp | NR | 1796-1810 | Berwick | |
| Thomas Holingbury | NR | 1796 | Cinque Ports | |
| Richard Kilshaw | NR | 1797-1810 | Cinque Ports | |
| John Currey | NR | 1798-1810 | Gravesend | |
| John Storey | NR | 1796-1802 | Hull | |
| Robert Storry | NR | 1803-1810 | Hull | |
| William Brown | 1779 | 1796-1805 | Landguard Fort | |
| Barfoot Colton | NR | 1796-1803 | Plymouth | Died in office 26 Dec 03 |
| Richard Hennah | NR | 1805-1810 | Plymouth | |
| Robert Herbert | NR | 1796-1797 | Portsmouth | |
| George Coxe | NR | 1798 | Portsmouth | |
| | | 1805-1810 | Portsmouth | |
| William Coxe | NR | 1799-1805 | Portsmouth | |
| | | 1806-1810 | Tower of London | |
| Thomas Comyn | NR | 1797-1798 | Royal Hospital Chelsea | |
| William Haggitt | NR | 1797-1810 | Royal Hospital Chelsea | |
| Richard Yates | NR | 1799-1810 | Royal Hospital Chelsea | Died 1838 |
| George Clarke | NR | 1805-1810 | Royal Military Assylum | |
| William Wheeler | NR | 1805-1843 | Royal Military College | |
| Havilland Le Mesurier Chipmell | NR | 1844-1845 | Royal Military College | |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| Edward Ledwich | NR | 1796-1797 | Sheerness | |
| Corbet Hue | NR | 1798-1808 | Sheerness | |
| Thomas French | NR | 1809-1810 | Sheerness | |
| Thomas Cowper | NR | 1796-1798 | Tower of London | |
| William Tindall | NR | 1799-1804 | Tower of London | Died in office Aug 1804 |
| William Grant Broughton | 6 Oct 1828 | 1828 | Tower of London | Resigned 1829 |
| Andrew Irvine | 24 Jun 1829 | 1830 | Tower of London | |
| Rishton Robinson Bailey | 25 Mar 1830 | 1833-1840 | Tower of London | Died in office 28 Mar 40 |
| Scotland | | | | |
| Robert Home | NR | 1796-1810 | Edinburgh | Died 24 Apr 1838 |
| James Gordon | NR | 1796-1797 | Fort George | |
| | | 1801-1804 | | |
| Alexander Gordon | NR | 1798-1800 | Fort George | |
| George Gordon | NR | 1805-1810 | Fort George | |
| Robert Milne | NR | 1815-1829 | Inverness | |
| William Innes | NR | 1796-1799 | Stirling Castle | |
| "----- Moodie | NR | 1800-1810 | Stirling Castle | |
| Archibald Bennie | 12 Jul 1832 | 1833-1845 | Stirling Castle | |
| W Beattie Smith | 23 Oct 1835 | 1836-1845 | Stirling Castle | |
| West Indies | | | | |
| Francis Massett | NR | 1806-1810 | Antigua | |
| George Watts | NR | 1796-1810 | Dominica | |
| John McKenzie | NR | 1796-1810 | Grenada | |
| Michael Smith | NR | 1796-1797 | St Vincent | |
| J Gilding | NR | 1798-1810 | St Vincent | |
| Anthony Keighley Thomas | NR | 1798 | Tobago | |
| Thomas Maurice | NR | 1799-1803 | Tobago | |
| John Deeds | NR | 1805-1810 | Trinidad | |
| World (Rest of) | | | | |

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| William Hamlyn Heywood | NR | 1805-1810 | Columbo | |
| "----- Wiles | NR | 1807 | Cape of Good Hope | |
| Richard Noble | NR | 1808-1810 | Cape of Good Hope | |
| John Chalmers | NR | 1796-1802 | Gibraltar | |
| Royal Regiment of Artillery | | | | |
| Dennis Martin Fairfax | 30 Sept 1763 | 1796-1800 | Royal Regiment of Artillery | Died 15 May 1800 |
| Charles Sandby | 1 May 1795 | 1796-1801 | Royal Regiment of Artillery | Specific Post NK |
| Hugh O'Neil | 25 July 1795 | 1802-1812 | Royal Regiment of Artillery | Specific Post NK |
| John Messiter | 1 Mar 1801 | 1802-1828 | Royal Regiment of Artillery | Died in Post 1828 |
| Henry McLane | 1 Feb 1812 | 1813-1830 | Royal Regiment of Artillery | Died 1838 |
| Samuel Watson | 1 Jul 1812 | 1814-1837 | Royal Regiment of Artillery | Died in Post 9 Apr 37 |
| Edward Pering Henslowe | 4 Dec 1828 | 1834-1837 | Royal Regiment of Artillery | Specific Post NK |
| Chaplain to the Forces | | | | |
| William Bradford | NR | 1809 | Corunna | |
| Samuel Briscall | 25 Dec 1809 | 1808-1813 | Portugal/Spain | |
| | | 1814 | Wellington Embassy | |
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |
| | | 1816-1818 | France | |
| James Allot | 25 Dec 1809 | 1809-1814 | Portugal/Spain | Died on Ops 1814 |
| James Scott | 25 Dec 1809 | 1809-1811 | Portugal | |
| Richard Burnet | 25 Dec 1809 | 1809-1811 | Portugal | |
| | | 1812-1814 | Portsmouth | |
| | | 1815-1818 | Gosport | |
| William Granger Cautley | 25 Dec 1809 | 1808-1814 | Madeira | |
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |
| | | 1816-1817 | France | |
| John Hughes | 25 Dec 1809 | 1810-1814 | Gibraltar | Died 3 Dec 1842 |
| Joseph Goodall Corsellis | 25 Dec 1809 | 1813-1815 | Sicily | Died 6 Apr 1835 |
| | | 1816 | France | |
| John Hayward | 21 Feb 1810 | 1810-1813 | Cadiz | |

| | | | | |
|------------------------|--------------|-----------|------------------------|------------------|
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |
| George Jenkins | 05 Apr 1810 | 1808 | Walcheren Brigade | Died 1821 |
| | | 1810 | Cadiz | |
| | | 1811-1813 | Portugal/Spain | |
| | | 1814 | America | |
| | | 1815-1821 | Montreal | |
| Thomas Williams | 01 Jun 1810 | 1806-1809 | Landguard Fort | Died on Ops 1814 |
| | | 1810 | Portugal | |
| | | 1811 | Hythe and Shornecliffe | |
| | | 1812-1814 | Portugal/Spain | |
| Samuel Hill | 20 Sept 1810 | 1810 | Portsmouth | |
| | | 1811 | Portugal | |
| | | 1812-1814 | Sicily | |
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |
| | | 1816-1818 | France | |
| Mark Anthony Mackereth | 25 Dec 1810 | 1811-1812 | Portugal | Died 1840 |
| | | 1813-1820 | Gibraltar | |
| | | 1822-1823 | Canada | |
| Marcus Aurel Parker | 25 Dec 1810 | 1811-1812 | Cape of Good Hope | |
| Wentworth Parker | 31 Dec 1810 | 1811 | Portsmouth | |
| | | 1812 | Cadiz | |
| Jaques Ingram | 01 Jan 1811 | 1811-1813 | Sicily | |
| Samuel Downes | Gaz 1811 | 1811 | Portugal | |
| John Metcalfe | 04 Mar 1811 | 1812-1813 | Portugal/Spain | |
| | | 1814 | Gosport | |
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |
| | | 1816 | France | |
| Edward Cockayne Frith | 04 May 1811 | 1811-1813 | Portugal/Spain | |
| | | 1814 | Chatham | |
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | 1816-1818 | France | |
| Horace Parker | 10 May 1811 | 1811-1812 | Cadiz | Died Jun 1833 |
| | | 1813 | Spain | |
| | | 1814 | Bermuda | |
| | | 1816 | America | |
| Samuel Leggatt | 31 Jul 1811 | 1812-1814 | Portugal | |
| | | 1815-1842 | Portsmouth | |
| Fredrick Harvey Browne | 01 Aug 1811 | 1812-1813 | Portugal | Died on Ops 1813 |
| Charles Dayman | 18 Oct 1811 | 1811-1813 | Portugal/Spain | |
| | | 1814 | Colchester | |
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |
| | | 1816-1818 | France | |
| George Winnock | 11 Nov 1811 | 1812-1814 | Sicily | Died 27 Oct 1832 |
| | | 1815 | Genoa | |
| | | 1816-1818 | Ionian Islands | |
| | | 1822-1832 | Corfu | |
| Robert Edward Jones | 29 Nov 1811 | 1813-1830 | Isle of France | Died in Post 3 Apr 37 |
| | | 1831-1837 | Mauritius | |
| Thomas Jones Landon | 23 Jan 1812 | 1812-1813 | Portugal/Spain | |
| Matthew Arnold | 23 Jan 1812 | 1812-1815 | Sicily | Drowned 18 May 20 |
| | | 1816 | Hythe and Shornecliffe | |
| | | 1817-1818 | France | |
| | | 1819-1820 | Gosport | |
| Thomas Ireland | 28 Mar 1812 | 1812-1820 | Ceylon | Died in Post 1832 |
| | | 1822 | Corfu | |
| | | 1823-1825 | Cape of Good Hope | |
| | | 1827 | Ceylon | |
| | | 1828 | Cape of Good Hope | |
| | | 1829-1832 | Ceylon | |
| John Thomas H LeMesurier | 16 Apr 1812 | 1813-1845 | Malta | |

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|-----------|------------------------|---|
| John Cracroft | 23 May 1812 | 1813 | Spain | Died 22 Sept 1842 |
| | | 1814-1815 | Hythe and Shornecliffe | |
| | | 1816-1818 | France | |
| William Cockayne Frith | 25 Jun 1812 | 1813 | Sicily | |
| | | 1814-1816 | Genoa | |
| | | 1820-1822 | Canada | |
| Rowland Grove Curtois | 11 Sept 1812 | 1813 | Martinique | |
| | | 1814-1815 | Trinidad | |
| | | 1816-1819 | Canada | |
| | | 1820 | Gosport | |
| | | 1821-1823 | Gibraltar | |
| | | 1832-1845 | Chatham | |
| Joseph Langley Mills | 12 Oct 1812 | 1813 | Spain | Died in Post 6 Aug 1832 |
| | | 1814-1815 | America | |
| | | 1816-1832 | Quebec | |
| Thomas Norris | 14 Oct 1812 | 1813 | Guadaloupe | Died 6 Oct 1816 |
| | | 1814-1816 | America | |
| John Charles Temple Moore | 23 Dec 1812 | 1813-1815 | Isle of Bourbon | Died in Post 23 Dec 31 |
| | | 1817-1831 | Chatham | |
| Robert William Tunney | 13 Mar 1813 | 1813 | Spain | |
| | | 1814 | Ipswich | |
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |
| | | 1816-1818 | France | |
| | | 1822-1831 | Canada | |
| Orfeur William Kilvington | 08 Apr 1813 | 1813 | Spain | |
| | | 1814 | Holland | |
| | | 1815 | Colchester | |
| Henry John Symons | 12 May 1813 | 18081809 | Spain | Conducted the funeral of Sir John Moore |
| | | 1813 | Spain | |
| | | 1814-1815 | Gibraltar | |

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------------|
| J Shortt Hewitt | 10 Aug 1813 | 1813-1815 | Cape of Good Hope | |
| | | 1817-1845 | Rotherhythe | |
| George Hunt | 25 Aug 1813 | 1813 | Spain | |
| Maurice James | 25 Nov 1813 | 1814 | Holland | |
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |
| | | 1816-1818 | France | |
| | | 1820-1821 | Corfu | |
| George Watson | 01 Apr 1814 | 1814-1815 | America | Died 28 Mar 1815 |
| George Griffin Stonestreet | 04 Apr 1814 | 1814 | Holland | |
| | | 1815 | Belgium | |
| | | 1816-1818 | France | |
| Brooke Bridges Stevens | 07 Oct 1815 | 1816-1818 | France | Died in Post 1834 |
| | | 1819-1821 | Canada | |
| | | 1822-1834 | Montreal | |
| Nathaniel Robert Dennis | 29 Jun 1816 | 1816-1822 | Cape of Good Hope | |
| | | 1827 | Portugal | |
| Charles Jobson Lyon | 12 Aug 1816 | 1816-1818 | France | |
| | | 1819-1830 | Ceylon | |
| David Evans | 16 Mar 1821 | 1821-1845 | Trinidad | |
| John Symons Pering | 20 Apr 1821 | 1821-1826 | Ceylon | |
| | | 1829-1837 | Gibraltar | |
| | | 1838-1845 | Mauritius | |
| Robert John Hatchman | 11 Oct 1824 | 1824-1828 | Gibraltar | Died in Post 1828 |
| Joseph Hudson | 25 Nov 1825 | 1825-1832 | Canada | |
| | | 1833-1837 | Quebec | |
| Benjamin Croft Goodison | 17 Apr 1826 | 1826-1827 | Cape of Good Hope | Died in Post 17 Feb 32 |
| | | 1828 | Ceylon | |
| | | 1829-1832 | Cape of Good Hope | |

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Army Commissions, 1827

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Report from the Select Committee on Army and Navy Appointments, 1833

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FP Howley 9, Letters on Leggatt

FP Howley 41, Letters from George Stonestreet

FP Howley 41, Letters from Stevens

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WO 43/226, Death of Chaplain General - John Owen - 1824

WO 43/319, Appointment of William Dakins 1827-1850

WO 43/330, Royal Warrant of 22nd July 1830

WO 43/371, Widows of Garrison and Regimental chaplains 1828-29

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