THE LINDSAYS

Daniel and John

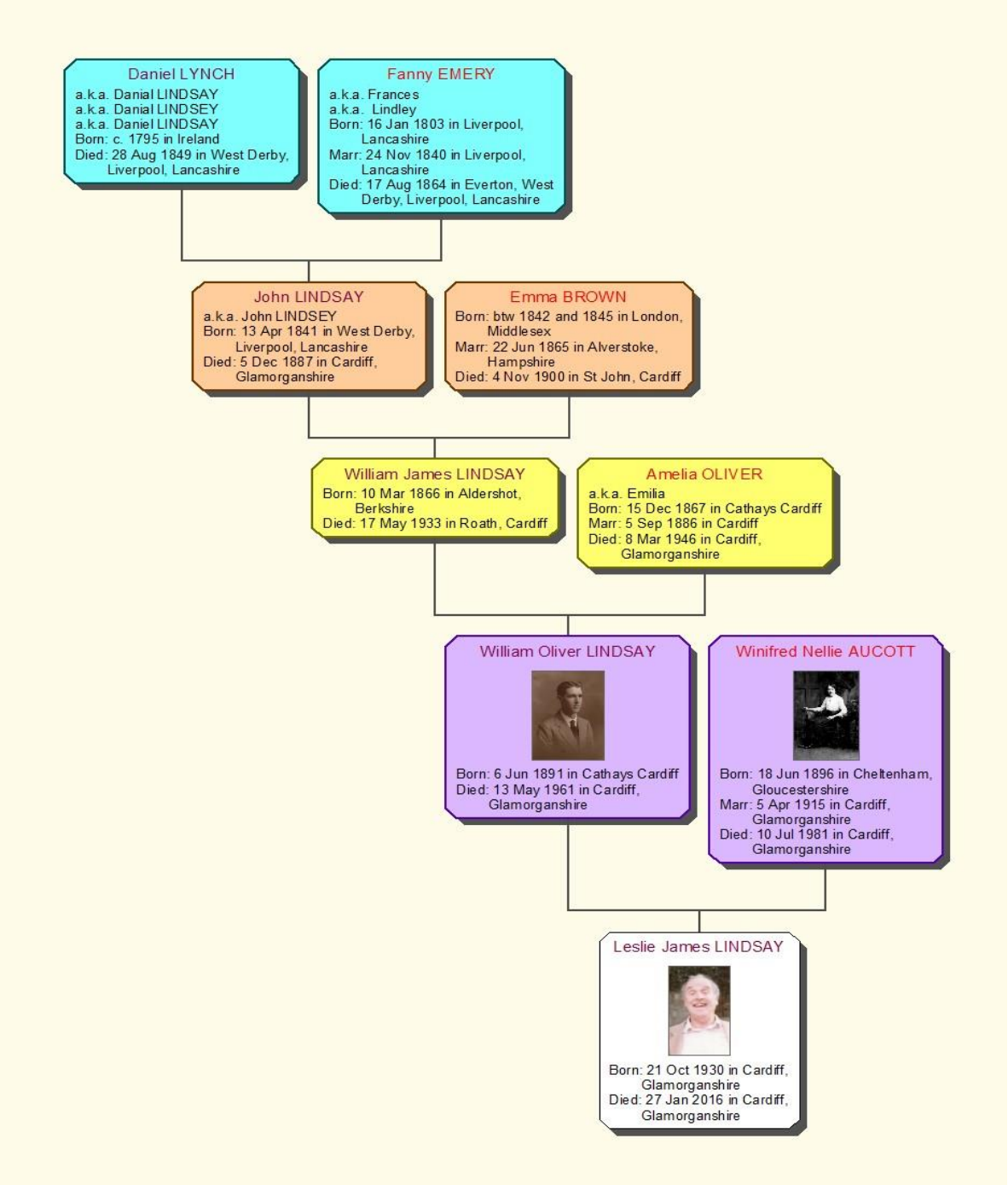
Version 1

Contents

Introduction

This is the story of the Lindsays, written for my Lindsay family. The focus is on direct ancestors who bore the Lindsay family name[1] – my grandfathers and their families: starting with Daniel and Fanny and ending with William and Winifred, my father's parents.

Tree 1. The Lindsay Line



Source: *Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree*, Family Historian.

[1] I do not know whether the males concerned fathered the children they are credited with. For me this is irrelevant as they behaved as if they did. If any member of the family wishes to do a DNA test, we could potentially shed light on biological origins.

Our direct line was never totally destitute, but it was poor for a large part of the 19th century. Poverty was not restricted to the lowest social classes; it was part of the life cycle of almost all families – especially in old age or before children began to earn. Many of our aunts, uncles and cousins had a very hard time by anybody's standards – in and out of workhouses, female orphans sent to Canada to dissuade them from prostitution, etc. In a semi-literate society, it is the glum facts concerning the poorer classes that get recorded and written down: prison sentences, fines, illness, workhouse inmates, children being removed from their mothers. We all know that history is written by those in power – and the upper and middle classes didn't much like the poorer classes in the 19th century. The happier moments - flirting, love, sex and laughter - need historical imagination (or sympathetic depictions such as found in Dickens, Mrs Gaskell, Poldark etc.).

The Lindsays are the only family line where I have found no links to agriculture among my direct ancestors and their descendants. This is because this story only begins in 1838, when the Industrial Revolution is already well underway when I find written evidence of a family occupation; Daniel Lynch is already in his mid-40s and already living in an urban environment.

My aim is a better understanding of what our family might have experienced, what they had to put up with and where we come from. To paraphrase Harry Bosch[2], I believe in history, as in life, everyone matters, or nobody matters. These people were not the means to the end of us having a comfortable post-war 20th century lifestyle; they were, from their perspective, the ends. We should respect them for who they were at the time. Bad decisions in the past, by our ancestors and those in authority, cannot be glossed over because in the "long run", things turned out all right and neither can we judge them from our perspective today. As Thompson (1963) writes:

> "Their aspirations were valid in terms of their own experience; and, if they were casualties of history, they remain, condemned in their own lives as casualties."

I believe that the study of history, should help us understand the present and help us to avoid repeating mistakes, but we cannot take a time machine backwards to put things "right" retroactively.

One important finding before we get going: I have discovered **no Scottish connections at all** (except by my second marriage to Peter Calder). Contrary to the family myths prior to beginning this genealogical adventure, the line begins in Ireland (which you will see, it is currently lost in the haze of Irish mists and whiskey).

Image 1. Sue's Picnic Blanket

My research began in 2016, as a retirement activity for rainy days, and I have found thousands of ancestors to put in our tree, nearly all of them with surnames other than Lindsay My Extended Family (teulu.fr)![3] The family has no particular claim to wear the Lindsay tartan). The tile, on the cover page, recuperated from Les Lindsay's shed, where he

[2] As in the creation of Michael Connelly's LA police procedurals.

[3] The Ancient Egyptians believed that the name given at birth was part of a person's soul, called ***ren,*** and the soul would live for as long as that name was spoken, which explains why efforts were made to protect it and the practice of placing it in numerous writings. It is a person's identity, their experiences, and their entire life's worth of memories. In inscribing my ancestors' and relations' names in the family tree, they are being recorded and remembered. Their existence counts, no matter how short or ephemeral.

spent most of his retirement, is a misappropriation. These are not our arms, and *Endure fort* is not our motto.

This version deals with Daniel and John, the pre-Cardiff Lindsays – although John spent his final years in Cardiff at 40 Flora Street, which we can consider the Lindsays' Cardiff ancestral seat.

Subsequent versions will attack the Cardiff William Lindsays. The Lindsays did not arrive in Cardiff until 1876. We are a typical economic migrant family converging on Cardiff as it boomed in the late Victorian era. We have no ancestors who lived in Cardiff or the surrounding area prior to 1850.

This is, of course, my take on the facts. Alternative interpretations are available, so imagine your own histories and explanations.

Sue Lindsay, 15 December 2023

DANIEL LYNCH, born c. 1795, died 1849

Who is Daniel, where is he?

The story of our Lindsay ancestors currently begins with Daniel, an Irish Roman Catholic, who we meet in Liverpool in 1838 in his mid-40s working as a labourer. Liverpool is a thriving cosmopolitan port whose prosperity was built on the back of the slave trade[4].

The beginning is not encouraging as his "English" family name was Lynch and only changed to Lindsay when he arrived in England. We are informed that he was born in about 1795 and his father's name was John.

Things are complicated by the fact that, in the English records, Daniel used both surnames.

Lynch and Lindsay are extremely common names throughout the whole of Ireland and quite common in Liverpool; as is his father's given name, John. He used Lynch on his marriage documents. We do not know exactly when he anglicized his family name and his father's name, John, could have been Sean. Lindsay/Lynch could have been O'Loinsigh in Ireland.

I think it probable he adopted Lindsay to protect his family, as it was less "Irish"; discrimination against the Irish in Liverpool in the 1840s was rife.

To sum up, our oldest known Lindsay ancestor was not born Lindsay and we do not know:

- Where in Ireland Daniel comes from.
- When he arrived in Liverpool: with his family as a child or later as an adult?
- Whether he had a partner and children prior to marrying my great x 3 gran, Fanny, in Liverpool.
- What his occupation was prior to 1838.

We are off to a flying start …

THE SURNAME LINDSAY IN IRELAND

The surname Lindsay is found all over Ireland. Irish people called Lindsay are either descended from members of the Scottish clan Lindsay who migrated to Ireland, or from the Gaelic O'Loinsigh sept, who sometimes anglicized their name as Lindsay, even though more common anglicizations were Lynch or Linchey.

In addition, the MacClintock (MacIlliuntaig) family anglicized their name as Lindsay in the 17th century.

Given that both Lynch and Lindsay were used by Daniel, and Lindsay has slightly more "protestant" links in Ireland, the origin of the O'Loinsigh sept is currently the front runner for me.

The geographical distribution of both these names in Ireland is not localised to any particular county, e.g. concerning Lynch: "Very very numerous: in every part of the country. Ir. Ó Loingsigh , from *loingseach*, mariner. From a number of distinct septs in East Ulster, Cavan, Clare, Cork, Tipperary. The name also includes Norman de Lench, de Leyn, who became prominent in Galway City where they were the leading "Tribe"."

Source: lynch Irish genealogy records (johngrenham.com)

[4] The Slave Trade Act 1807 abolished trade in slaves but it was not until 1833 that it became illegal for British citizens to own slaves (Brain, 2019).

The Missing Years

Do we know anything about his early years? Yes, we do.

Table 1. Daniel's Missing Years

Known Knowns		Known Unknowns
Date of Birth: 1795	1841 Census Death Certificate	**Exact date**. A reasonable date range is 1790 to 1800[5]. People were rather vague about their year of birth until the early 20th century.
Place of birth: Ireland	1841 Census	**Exact place**. There are thousands of Lynches all over Ireland and hundreds of Lindsays. **Date and place of Baptism**: I have not been able to identify his baptism in Ireland even though 100% of Roman Catholic children in Ireland were baptised and records are fairly complete[6].
Father: John, a labourer Daniel's eldest son is named John.	Marriage certificate	Or possibly Sean or similar. While we have an indication of social class, it is not enough to conclude whether John was an agricultural or an industrial labourer, though probably the latter as the adjective "agricultural" is missing. **Mother**'s name and number of **siblings**.
Religion: Roman Catholic	Marriage certificate	
Appearance: he probably did not have red hair and was over 5'6" tall	London and North Western Railway recruitment policy	
Education: He could read and write	Marriage certificate London and North Western Railway recruitment policy	

At the time of his birth, George III was on the throne and Jane Austen was beavering away (or Bridgerton and Poldark if you prefer). However, for Daniel in Ireland, this would have been a time of

[5] The 1841 census rounded age down by nearest 5 years, so a range of 1790 to 1800 is a reasonable starting point for searches.

[6] According to Brian Donovan and Fiona Fitzsimmons of the Irish Family History Centre in a lock down talk on 17 March 2021. While the investigation into his place of birth has been parked for the time being, it will be resumed at some future date.

economic hardship, division and social unrest rather than balls, picnics and country walks. The big Anglo-Irish landlords preferred to export their agricultural production rather than feed the local population. The French Revolution had just taken place, unrest was fermenting in Ireland and the Napoleonic Wars began in 1793 only ending in 1815 when Daniel was a teen or young adult.

Daniel's Education

We know that Daniel was literate:

- he signed his marriage certificate, and
- in the late-1840s he was employed by the London and North Western Railways (LNWR) in functions which required its employees to be able to read and write.

The Irish were, contrary to popular prejudice, generally literate:

> "The people of Ireland are, I may almost say, universally educated ... I do not know any part of Ireland so wild, that its inhabitants are not anxious, nay, eagerly anxious for the education of their children." (Wakefield, 1812, Volume 2, page 306.)

There were two ways in which he could have learnt to read and write in Ireland:

- Through attendance at a Hedge School[7].

Image 2. A Hedge School in Ventry, County Kerry

Source: Mskellig - Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0
https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=103929534

> These developed in response to legislation to proscribe Catholic education. Roman Catholics were forbidden to teach in Ireland, so they did, and it became an act of resistance. Eventually the

LITERACY IN ENGLAND

There is a consensus that literacy rates improved between 1770 and 1830.

More people could probably read than write.

In 1790, Edmund Burke, a defender of the *status quo*, estimated the British reading public at 80,000 out of a population of 9 million. His *Reflections on the French Revolution* sold some 30,000 copies at 3s. But in 1793, Thomas Paine's pamphlet, *The Rights of Man* (Part 2) sold 200,000 copies at 6d …

In 1840, based on signature of the marriage register, it was estimated that 67% of males and 51% of females in England and Wales were literate.

Reading among the poorer classes was hampered by the lack of leisure time, cost of candles and spectacles.

Newspapers and political pamphlets were read aloud in pubs, coffee houses and reading clubs.

Oliver Twist was first serialised from 1837 to 1839. A dramatized version was given in the Liver Theatre, Liverpool in 1839, cheapest seats 6d.

Sources: Thompson (1963) and Lemire (2013)

[7] Called Hedge Schools because when it wasn't raining, they'd take place under a hedge (wind break). Pupils would take in turns to perch on top of the hedge to watch out for the authorities as the activity was illegal until 1782.

authorities gave up and began licensing the teachers from 1782, but the practice remained unchanged well into the 19th Century. In 1808, Lord Palmerston described the process on his estate in Sligo:

> "The thirst for education is so great that there are now three or four schools upon the estate. The people join in engaging some itinerant master; they run him up a miserable mud hut on the road side, and the boys pay him half-a-crown, or some five shillings a quarter. They are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, and what, from the appearance of the establishment, no one would imagine, Latin and even Greek." (The Educational History Of The Hedge Schools Of Ireland (raggeduniversity.co.uk)

- He might have had the misfortune to attend a school of the Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland whose avowed aim was to convert and civilise the popish natives (Boyle, 1971). If he did, it had no effect on his religious persuasion.

Alternatively, if he moved as a child to Liverpool, he might have attended a school run by one of the churches. A Sunday School movement was launched in Liverpool in 1786 by the Bishop of Chester. Eight schools were opened under the supervision of the parish clergy and the teachers were paid. The schools operated on a Sunday afternoon, taught reading, order and decorum and were open to the poor of all denominations. If his family had scruples about Daniel attending an Anglican establishment, it is known that a Roman Catholic school was in operation from 1789 in Seel Street and in 1806 St Nicholas opened a school (Murphy, 1964). There is also the possibility he was taught at home, or self-taught, if either of his parents, or near relations, were literate, which cannot be discounted given the Irish thirst for education noted above.

Finally, if he had been in the army at some stage, he might have learnt to read and write there. Regimental schools were established from the 17th century by commanding officers who believed there were tangible benefits to having literate Non-Commissioned Officers (always recruited from the ranks) given the increase in bureaucracy: registers, rosters, returns and accounts. Before army education was formalised in the second half of the 19th century, lessons would either be given by a literate member of the regiment, or the commanding officer would recruit a schoolmaster from his budget. In the latter case, the schoolmaster would also be responsible for the education of army children (Smith, 1993).

Early Adult Life

In 1840, his marriage certificate records him as being single and in his mid-40s. This is unusual for the time, most men marrying in their mid- to late 20s. While it is possible that the evidence of a previous marriage has simply not been found, an "illegal" Catholic marriage in England, for example, it is also possible that he did not have the opportunity to marry earlier[8] because he was:

- Living in a geographically remote area (of Ireland) where he did not meet women outside his immediate family.
- Looking after the family farm/business for elderly parents. We have several examples of this in our family: a son lives at home running the farm until both parents die and then marries in his 40s.

[8] If we discount the idea that he did not wish to marry because he was celibate for religious reasons, asexual or homosexual – in the two latter cases he would have married in any event to avoid gossip and potential prosecution.

- On the margins of society, e.g. homeless or in prison; there are a significant number of Daniel Lindsays and Lynches in Irish prisons for a range of criminal and political offences during this period.
- In an iterant occupation which mitigated against marriage and in favour of more casual relationships: e.g. an Irish navvy on the railways, a seasonal worker in the brickfields and lime-works adjacent to Liverpool (some of which were in the Edge Hill area where we find him in 1838) or in the army

Concerning his arrival in Liverpool, no likely families have been identified in the 1801 Liverpool census. A Daniel Lynch was the object of a Vagrancy Notice[9] in 1812 and 1826 and, on both, occasions deported from Liverpool to Ireland – is this our Daniel; are they the same person or were there two Daniel Lynch vagrants? There is no other trace of a Daniel Lynch in England prior to 1838. In Ireland, there are a multitude of possibilities but, as yet, I have had no success in narrowing them down.

A favourite of mine is that he was in the army. The evidence is purely circumstantial:

- The high percentage of Irish Roman Catholics in the British army prior to mass Irish emigration to the United States from the 1820s, estimates range from 30% to 40% (see Bowen 2005 and Mansfield 2016)
- Britain was at war and the army was at an all-time high. About 16% of male adults were in the forces (Ernle, 1961)
- His eldest son, John, was a career soldier and soldiering often went in families.
- He was a railway constable in the 1840s. The LNWR tended to recruit ex-army men in this role (Dawson, 2007).
- He was single when he married in his mid-40s and the army discouraged privates from marrying.

Unfortunately, I have been unable to pin any records supporting the above hypothesis on our Daniel.

However, in 1838 the West Derby Overseers were able to pin a Petition (summons in today's jargon) on him to attend the Quarter Sessions concerning the upkeep of his illegitimate daughter, Mary Jane by Fanny Andrews. This is the earliest evidence we have of our Daniel; the founding "family" document. It places him firmly in West Derby, occupation labourer, in early 1838.

THE NAPOLEONIC WARS 1794-1815

1793-1797 1st Coalition against Napoleon: Austria, Britain, Naples, Prussia, Sardinia, Spain Portugal. Defeated in the Italian Campaign.

1798-1800 2nd Coalition: Austria, Britain, Russia and the Ottoman Empire

1804 Napoleon proclaims himself Emperor

1805 3rd Coalition: Austria, Britain, Naples, Russia and Sweden – defeated at the Battle of Austerlitz

1806-1807 4th Coalition: Britain, Prussia, Russia, Saxony and Sweden – defeated at the Battle of Friedland followed by the Treaty of Tilsit and naval blockades.

1807 to 1814 Peninsular War – Portugal, Spain and Britain (under Sir Arthur Wellesley) against the invading French .

1809 5th Coalition: Austria and Britain

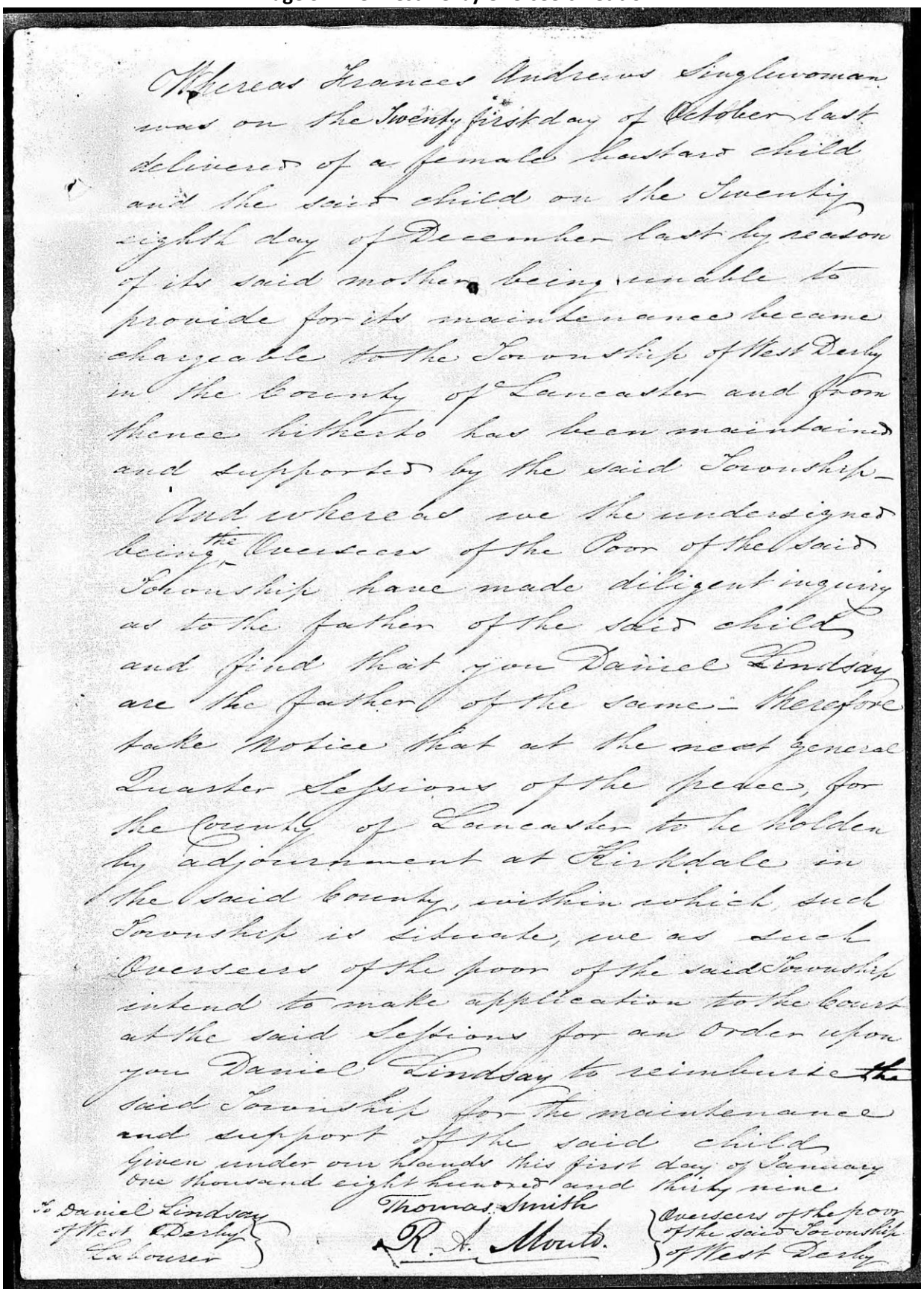
1812 Napoleon invades Russia, leading to the 6th Coalition: Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and some German States. Napoleon defeated at the Battle of Nations by General Blucher.

1814 Napoleon's exile to Elba.

1815 Napoleon escapes from Elba and is defeated by the 7th Coalition (Austria, Britain, Netherlands, Prussia, Russia and Sweden and some German States) at the Battle of Waterloo.

[9] Parishes were responsible for supporting the poor who were settled within their boundaries. Persons who were not deemed to be settled, could be returned to their parish of origin to keep the cost to local ratepayers down.

Image 3. The West Derby Overseers Petition



Whereas Frances Andrews Singlewoman was on the Twenty first day of October last delivered of a female bastard child and the said child on the Twenty eighth day of December last by reason of its said mother being unable to provide for its maintenance became chargeable to the Township of West Derby in the County of Lancaster and from thence hitherto has been maintained and supported by the said Township

And whereas we the undersigned being the Overseers of the Poor of the said Township have made diligent inquiry as to the father of the said child and find that you Daniel Lindsay are the father of the same Therefore take Notice that at the next general Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the County of Lancaster to be holden by adjournment at Kirkdale in the said County within which such Township is situate we as such Overseers of the poor of the said Township intend to make application to the Court at the said Sessions for an Order upon you Daniel Lindsay to reimburse the said Township for the maintenance and support of the said child

Given under our Hands this first day of January One thousand eight hundred and thirty nine

To Daniel Lindsay of West Derby Labourer

Thomas Smith
R. A. Mounts

Overseers of the poor of the said Township of West Derby

Source: **©**Lancashire Records Office

The Irish in Liverpool

Irish migration to Liverpool began in the 19th century. Brooke (1853) remarks that "… with respect to Irish families, there were comparatively few of any class either high or low, in Liverpool, until the rebellion of 1798, but afterwards the Union caused a considerable change in that respect." The 1801 Act of Union meant that the whole of Ireland was simply another region of the Kingdom and there was no border in the Irish Sea. Irish migration began to pick up from about 1815. From the introduction of the steam packet in the mid-1820s, the journey took between one and three days and Irish migration quickly snowballed.

Table 2. Estimated Number of Irish Catholics in Liverpool

Year	Estimated no. of Irish Catholics
1800	4,950
1810	8,244
1820	11,016
1830	18,900
1833	24,156

Source: Table 0.2, Belchem, 2007

Migrants to Liverpool were of several sorts:

- Regular migration – the young and single of both sexes looking for new opportunities and adventure, in a booming city, given the poor overall economic situation in Ireland.
- Crisis refugee migration – typically whole families, e.g. in the aftermath of a famine or a land grab. This group was particularly significant after the 1845 potato famine.
- Political or criminal refugees – typically single men of all ages. There was a spike after the failed rebellion of 1798.
- "Leakage" from America as a destination – those whose intention was to emigrate to the Americas but never made it further than Liverpool (didn't have enough money, got drunk and scammed, met a local love interest, got a job …)

By 1841, 17% of the Liverpool population was Irish, coming primarily from rural areas in Western Leinster, southern Ulster and eastern Connaught. They were overwhelmingly poor and Catholic (Dye, 2001). Early migration was more socially mixed (i.e. included more skilled labourers, traders and professionals such as doctors and journalists) whereas from the 1845 Potato Famine it consisted mainly of unskilled labourers. The percentage increased to just under 25% by the time of the 1851 census representing some 84,000 Irish born inhabitants of Liverpool (Belchem, 2007).

IRELAND

1691-1800: nominally an autonomous kingdom with its own parliament; actually a client state controlled by the King and the great Anglo-Protestant families.

1775-1815 American War of Independence and Napoleonic Wars

1798 The Irish Rebellion: Catholics and Protestants unite against the British supported by the French. Leaders executed.

1801 Act of Union incorporating Ireland into the United Kingdom

1803 Rebellion: leaders executed.

1815-1821 Post-Napoleonic depression

1823 Daniel O'Connell sets up the Catholic Association to campaign for Catholic Emancipation

1829 Catholic Relief Act: Catholics may sit in Parliament

1830 O'Connell starts the Repeal movement for restitution of an Irish Parliament

1830-36 Tithe War – large scale peaceful protests (led by O'Connell) against confiscation of goods for non-payment of tithes to the Anglican church.

1845 Irish Potato Famine - a million starve to death and a million emigrate mainly to the United States. During this period food exports from Ireland to Britain continue.

1848 Young Ireland Rebellion: leaders executed.

Some inhabitants felt they were being "swamped". The natives did not see Ireland as part of their country and the Catholic Irish were treated as foreigners. There was a perception that locals' wages were being undercut by cheap Irish labour, even though for most of the 19th century most Irish were limited to working as unskilled labourers in jobs the natives did not want to do. One exception of interest, given Daniel's father-in-law's trade, is tailors:

> "The greater portion of the slop journeymen tailors seem to be Irishmen … The respectable master tailors as a body, complain that their trade is yearly falling off … and that the only means they have competing with them is to lower the wages of their men." (*Labour and the Poor*, Morning Chronicle, 24 June 1850)

This resulted in appalling prejudice against the Irish, particularly Roman Catholics like Daniel[10] and the entrenchment of Orangeism – the earliest Orange Lodge dating back to at least 1819. Dye (2001) cites Charles Trevelyan "… it was not till I arrived at Liverpool that I saw political and religious bigotry carried to the greatest possible height and combined in the most exquisite proportions." The anti-Irish Catholic bias led to a reinforcement of Irish identity and sectarianism such as that seen in Glasgow and parts of Ulster today.

Image 4. Mr G. O'Rilla

Mr. G-O'Rilla, the Young Ireland Party, exulting over the Insult to the British Flag. Shouldn't he be Extinguished at once!

Source: John Tenniel, between 1845 and 1852 for Punch on: http://natalieharrower.com/dublinbylamplight/historical-context/c-irish-british-relations/, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=54055009
Digitalisation © British Library

[10] There were also Unionist migrants from Ireland but the numbers were small compared to Roman Catholics.

As a result of their experience of racism and economic disadvantage, the Irish worked predominantly in unskilled and casual jobs. However, Belchem (2007) notes that they refused to play the role of passive victim and acquired control of certain niche occupations, most notably the docks, but also as labourers in bricklaying and the building trade (Parliamentary Paper 1836). The Irish were perceived as being particularly suited to hard physical labour, in contrast to English peasants who did not adapt readily to town work. In 1848, a local businessman stated that, "The Irish in Liverpool perform nearly all the labour requiring great physical powers and endurance." (George Smyth, a hat manufacturer, quoted in Belchem, 2007). Irishwomen worked on the streets, hawking: fruit, fish, vegetables and themselves.

The Irish were at the bottom of the hierarchy for jobs and housing. But while the Irish clustered in certain areas there were no ghettoes as such; the percentage of Irish born in these areas ranged between 9% and 18%. They were white, spoke English and ate the same food as the original population. They were, however, Roman Catholic and, above all Irish. D'Aeth (1912) sums it up: "Gay, irresponsible, idle, and quarrelsome, they seem by nature unfitted for the controlled life of a large town …". They also took up proportionally more of the city's medical, poor relief and prison resources. In 1847, the Registrar General stated that Liverpool was "… the hospital and cemetery of Ireland …".

So, to sum up, Daniel did not come to Liverpool as a result of the Potato Famine and he probably was not born in Ulster (the Lindsays from Ulster being protestant). All other bets are still off regarding his origins and the timing and his motivation for moving to Liverpool.

Family Life

Fanny Emery, born 1803, died 1864

The start to Daniel's family life was inauspicious. Following the Petition cited above, in 1839 the Lancashire Quarter Sessions ruled that he should pay 6s. a week for the upkeep of Fanny's daughter.

Fanny (a diminutive of Frances) was born on 16 January 1803 in Darwen Street, Liverpool, to William Emery[11], a tailor, and Elizabeth Dyes. She was the youngest but one of nine siblings, all baptised in the Anglican church, but only her sister Sarah (some 15 years older than her) has been identified as making adulthood. Sarah was a dressmaker and so it can be assumed that she learnt her trade from her father. Fanny appears to have been illiterate and not to have had any particular dressmaking skills; as we do

[11] Also known as Amery.

LIVERPOOL PRE-STEAM

Liverpool was a sort of Bath on Sea.

"Liverpool at the end of the 18th century was a neat, semi-rural town … The built up area was small, with the Townsend Mill marking the eastern edge and the Wishing Gate windmill the northern. The Wishing Gate mill marked a beautiful spot on the river, where those who remained ashore bid farewell to their loved ones before a voyage." (Greaney, 2013)

Liverpool's wealth was built on trade, rather than manufacturing, which was transported by sailing boat and there was little pollution.

Liverpool residents would see very little of the darker side of trade; the triangular system meant that a slave boat rarely dock in Liverpool – the slaves would be moved directly from Africa to the West Indies. It is estimated that around 144 vessels were engaged in this trade before slavery was abolished in 1807 (Brooke, 1853).

The main imports were food and luxury items (sugar, coffee and rum from the West Indies, fish from Greenland/Scandinavia, corn and dairy products from Ireland and tea from the East Indies). Cotton was insignificant at this stage. There was a fishing and whaling fleet.

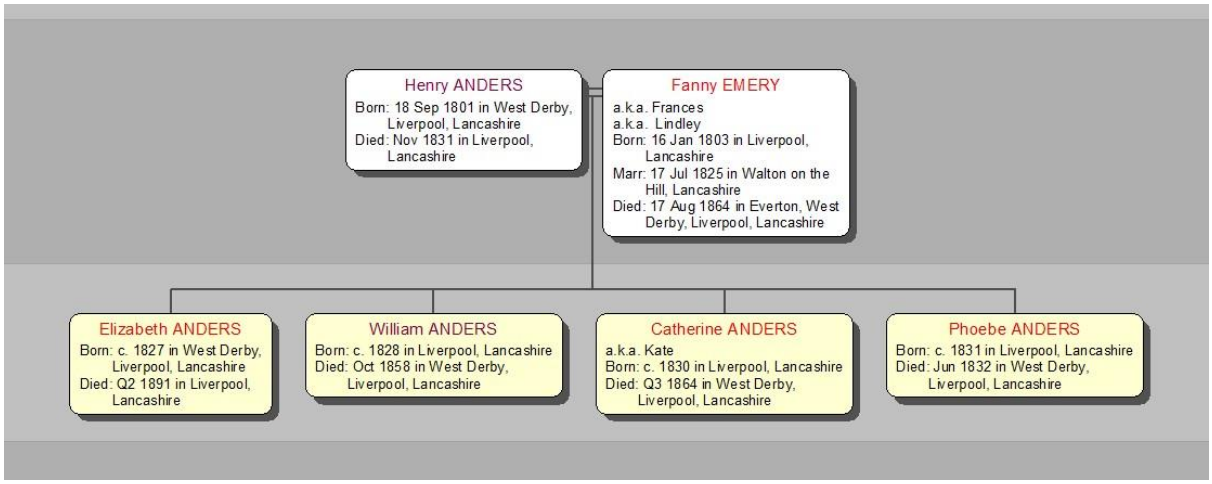
There were ferries and inter-coastal vessels – water being the main form of long-distance transport prior to the rail and road network.

not know her father's date of death, it is possible he died while she was very young and so he could not transmit any of his know-how to Fanny.

A Francis Amery married a George McCullam, a pilot, on 24 February 1820 at St Paul's by licence. No information has been found to confirm whether or not this is our Fanny and no baptism entries have been found in Liverpool which correspond to this couple having children.

She did, however, marry Henry Anders (sometimes transcribed as Andrews), a servant in 1825 in St Mary's, Walton on the Hill, she was noted as a spinster on the marriage register and is known to have had four children with him. At some stage, they moved to Mason Street in Edge Hill.

Tree 2. Fanny's First Known Family



Source: Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree, Family Historian.

In 1831, Henry died at home of fever, probably typhoid, and was buried in haste with some 20 others on 27 November in the Necropolis Burial Ground, Everton in the Non-Conformist Section – no evidence has been found of non-conformity in the family.

No record has been found of Fanny seeking poor relief[12]. Unlike the Liverpudlian Irish (Parliamentary Paper, 1836), the English working class went to great lengths to avoid parish relief, preferring mutual self-help:

> "Every kind of witness in the first half of the nineteenth century – clergymen, factory inspectors, Radical publicists – remarked upon the extent of mutual aid in the poorest districts. In times of emergency, unemployment, strikes, sickness, childbirth, then it was the poor who 'helped every one his neighbour'." (Thompson, 1963).

A major consideration would be that entry into the Workhouse would mean separation from her children.

Although we do not know what Fanny did prior to the 1841 census, she is recorded as being a washerwoman in 1851 and a laundress in 1861; it seems reasonable to assume that she might have had the same type of occupation in the 1830s. This work could be fitted around the responsibilities of bringing up children. This would have not brought in much in the way of income. Another option

[12] The Liverpool and West Derby Union records have been extensively digitalised, are fairly complete and available on FindmyPast.

would be to take in lodgers - going rate about 2s6d per week including washing - (Walton and Wilcox, 1991) and there was always the oldest profession, prostitution.

She would have probably got some support from her mother and sister who were living at the Salthouse Dock (just behind the Albert Dock and also a "red light" district).

By far the best solution was to remarry so that the household was headed by two working adults bringing in a wage. Often remarriage would bring together a widow and a widower. In 1836, Fanny Anders of Mason Street and "husband" John "Anders", a miner[13], baptised a son, John in St Peter's (the same church as the other little Anders). There is no record of a marriage and both Johns disappear from the records thereafter. Along with the child's family name, this suggests that John, the father, might have already done a runner at the time of the baptism.

Then, Fanny, in her mid-30s, with three children, found an unencumbered man with a job, Daniel, in his mid-40s.

Settling Down

Whether Daniel had originally had any intention of marrying Fanny or whether he succumbed to the inevitable, calculating there would be more benefits to getting married than handing over a large share of his income[14] every week for the foreseeable future we cannot know. I suspect the latter because their marriage took place in 1840 – a full two years after the birth of Mary Jane. If there is intention to marry, it normally occurs prior to or immediately after birth. Her pregnancy coincided with a period that he found steady work in the expanding new railway industry which might have made him hesitant to do a flit.

There might also have been some initial reluctance on Fanny's side, given the prejudice against Irish Catholics at the time. It was quite rare for a Roman Catholic to marry a non-Catholic.

Notwithstanding this possible luke-warmness concerning marriage, Daniel and Fanny tied the knot at St Nicholas Chapel (Roman Catholic)[15] on 24 November 1840. The witnesses were Ann Monks, probably a friend of Daniel's[16], and Peter Noonan

POOR RELIEF

Poor Law 1834

- Establishment of Poor Law Unions (Liverpool and West Derby)
- Outdoor relief abolished, relief only delivered in a workhouse
- Workhouses would separate families and sexes.
- Diet was to be basic and discipline strict.
- Children were to be instructed for three hours a day in reading, writing, arithmetic and the Christian religion.
- Dead paupers' bodies could be offered for medical research.

Charities – 128 charities were enumerated operating in Liverpool in the 19th century (British History Online).

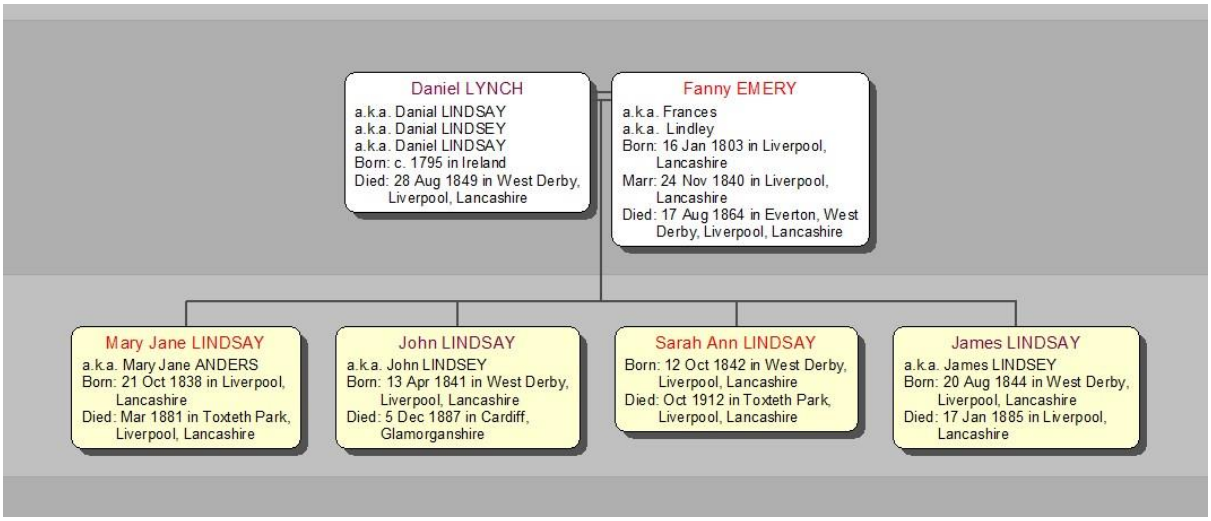
Self-Help

- Family and neighbours
- Friendly societies
- Pawnshops
- Credit from shopkeepers
- Paid work
- Lodgers
- Remarriage
- Prostitution

[13] Miners worked on tunnelling in building the railways; perhaps he and Daniel knew one another.
[14] Six shillings represents about one-quarter to one-third of his estimated weekly income.
[15] Not to be confused with Our Lady and St Nicholas, also colloquially known as St Nicholas Chapel, which is Anglican and where Fanny was christened. St Anne's Roman Catholic Chapel in Overton Street, just around the corner from Blucher Street did not open until 1846.
[16] Probably not his sister as she was born in Liverpool as was her husband, and her husband's mother. The Monks are also sponsors at Mary Jane's baptism.

who was an official at the Chapel. All four of their children, including Mary Jane belatedly in 1841, were baptised in the same Roman Catholic Chapel which was located about one mile, a 20-minute walk, away from their home. However, only John's birth seems to have been registered with the civil authorities.

Tree 3. Daniel and Fanny's Family



Source: Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree, Family Historian.

In the 1841 Census the family are living in Blucher Street, Edge Hill, a suburb on the outskirts of Liverpool: Daniel, Fanny, their children Mary Jane and John, and Fanny's daughter by her first marriage, Catherine. They are sharing the house with three other households. Daniel died in Blucher Street in 1849 and Fanny continued living there (although at different numbers in 1851 and 1861)[17] until her death in 1864.

Other than their marriage and baptisms, we do not know whether they regularly attended church. Roman Catholicism in Liverpool was characterised by what was termed leakage from the faith: "There are in Liverpool alone, a great many thousands who are said to have abandoned every religious practice with the exception of abstaining on Fridays." (Rev. Dr. Miley 1848, cited in Belchem 2007).

As a mixed marriage, there would be an expectation that the children would be brought up as Catholics but none of the children can be identified in the confirmation registers[18] ; Fanny was not a Catholic by birth and, spoiler alert, Daniel was dead by the time they reached confirmation age. The church was also an educational and social hub, but mainly for those out of work and women. Given that Daniel seems to have been in full-time employment and Fanny would already have her own family and non-Catholic social networks being Liverpool born, there seems little reason why they would have used church facilities to any great extent if they were not devout practitioners.

It is not known whether Fanny had a wage-paying job or not. Daniel had a regular job and income from the railways and she had four young children to look after. Industrialisation had undermined women's working prospects, reducing their ability to contribute to the household's income. For most

[17] The numbers are contiguous; whether she actually moved house or whether this was just people on the same court casually moving around cannot be determined.
[18] There are some possibilities, but as the names are quite common they cannot be firmly associated with our family.

women, only unskilled jobs were available (Belchem, 1990). In the case of married women, earnings rarely balanced the loss to the family from the non-performance of more important domestic duties (Pinchbeck, 1930).

The outcomes point to Fanny being a competent or lucky housekeeper and mother. Of her nine children, only two did not make adulthood which was better than average for the time: Phoebe by her first husband died at the age of one of fever, probably cholera; John her son by her interim man disappears after his baptism in 1836. Almost half the children born in towns in the 1840s died before they reached the age of five. The household round of childcare, including breast-feeding, feeding the family, cleaning and washing, would be fairly time-consuming, leaving her little time for herself. Laundering was particularly onerous and took up to four days. Pigs and chickens were still kept at this period in towns which would also be the responsibility of wives, particularly by the Irish and we know they were present in Blucher Street (see below).

Fanny would be responsible for buying and preparing food. Given the danger of rodent and insect infestations, food reserves could not be kept and shopping would be daily; most courts had a cat or two. In an urban environment, housewives depended on the services of bakers, brewers and food retailers as the kitchens were small, over-crowded and ill equipped for cooking. Like suburbs today, there do not seem to have been many shops, although there was a Co-op. Edge Hill was just outside the regular coverage of the main Liverpool trade directories (these were like telephone books, without the telephone number), although one or two businesses on the High Street and Paddington are mentioned in Gore (1853). Those on Paddington targeted a middle-class clientele: milliners, stationers, etc. However, our family were still within walking distance of Brownlow Hill which was well served with regular shops. There was a food market and fish market nearer the dock area. This was the era of the emergence of the general store, serving all the food needs of a locality, with the exception of meat. Food could be bought in small quantities and many shops advanced goods on credit, the slate being cleared weekly on pay day. Food was also cheaper in towns than in the country (10% to 25% lower).

Typical food items purchased by the working class included: bread, meat, bacon, oatmeal, butter, eggs, milk, potatoes, tea, coffee, sugar, treacle, salt. Food which required little preparation was favoured: potatoes boiled or roasted in their jackets and bacon which could be quickly fried. Women and children, in particular, lived on a diet of bread, potatoes spiced up with butter, bacon and cheese and cups of weak tea to give the

LIVING STANDARDS

The first phase of the Industrial Revolution, 1750 to 1850, destroyed the way of life of the labouring poor without substituting anything of benefit.

The new cities destroyed society and traditional relationships: "It was a stony desert, which they had to make habitable by their own efforts … If [the labourer] earned more than the pittance he regarded as sufficient , he might – like the immigrant Irish, the despair of bourgeois rationality – take it out in leisure, in parties, in alcohol. His sheer material ignorance of the best way to live in a city, or to eat industrial food … might actually make his poverty worse …"

During this phase: the poor grew poorer while other classes grew richer; there was a shift from wages to capital, working conditions deteriorated.

While the data is inconclusive, it seems that at the very best there was no improvement in the situation of the labouring poor, and probably a marked deterioration in living standards between the 1790s and 1840s (known as the "Hungry Forties"). This is reflected in the work of contemporary writers: Dickens, Disraeli, Engels etc.

Food prices were high due to war and the Corn Laws. Food riots were frequent (1811-13, 1815-17, 1819, 1826, 1829-35, 1838-42, 1843-44, 1846-48)

Rents in Liverpool were relatively high due to housing shortages.

Hobsbawm, 1968.

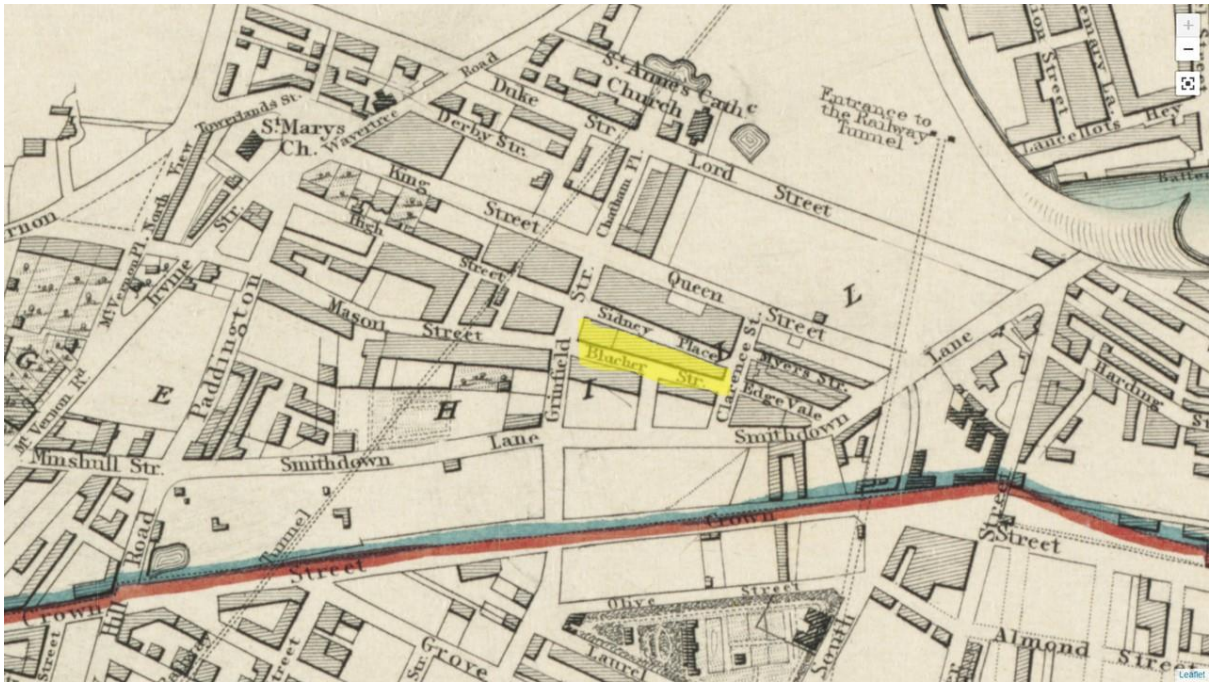
illusion of a hot meal. Meat was often reserved for the male breadwinner's evening meal; during this period *per capita* beef consumption was falling. For the rest of the family, a cooked meal (roasts, broths, stews, puddings) was often only possible on Sundays when there was time to cook (Burnett, 1989). As Engels (1844) noted: "The better-paid workers, especially those whose families every member is able to earn something, have good food … meat daily, and bacon and cheese for supper. Where wages are less, meat is used only two or three times a week, and the proportion of bread and potatoes increases. Descending gradually, we find the animal food reduced to a small piece of bacon cut up with potatoes; lower still, even this disappears, and there remains only bread, cheese, porridge and potatoes …".

A visiting American wrote in 1845: "Wretched, defrauded, oppressed, crushed human nature lying in bleeding fragments all over the fact of society … Every day that I live I thank Heaven that I am not a poor man with a family in England" (cited in Hobsbawm, 1968).

Our Liverpool Home

Daniel undoubtedly met Fanny in West Derby. She was probably already living in Mason Street in 1831 (of which Blucher Street is a continuation) and was certainly living there in 1836. Daniel and Fanny are recorded as living on Brownlow Hill[19] on the certified copy of their marriage entry which is also in the same area. For most of their family life, they lived in Blucher Street which was near to Daniel's place of work at Edge Hill Depot. The street no longer exists; where it was, now appears to be student hostels for Edge Hill University.

Image 5: 1849 Map Showing Blucher Street[20]



Source: Mickleburgh, James, 1849, Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge.

[19] Brownlow Hill is the site of the West Derby Union Workhouse. However, there is no record of Daniel and Fanny in the Workhouse.

[20] This map does not show Botanic View (see below). Botanic View is in fact the south side of what is marked as Blucher Street – the large houses and gardens can be made out – sandwiched between Blucher Street and Smithdown Lane.

Edge Hill was initially developed as a middle-class suburb; residents must have been dismayed when Edge Hill became the hub of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway (LMR). To provide accommodation for the local working classes, Mason Street was extended in the early 1830s. These houses were, at some stage between 1839 and 1841, renamed Blucher Street after the General who led the 7th Coalition to victory against Napoleon in 1812. Blucher Street backed onto Botanic View.

From Tithe Maps, subsequent censuses and Ordinance Survey maps, it is clear that the family lived in what is called courtyard housing[21]. This type of housing was developed in the late 18th century to cope with the rapidly expanding population and predominated the working-class housing stock in Liverpool for well into the 20th century.

Image 6. Footprint of Daniel and Fanny's Home

Source: National Archives, IR29/18/99. © Crown Copyright.

It is probable that Daniel and his family lived in the very end house in 1841, where the road meets Clarence Street. The landlords were Fayle and Lewis. Ninety per cent of the population rented at this period, typically on weekly contracts. They shared their unit of the courtyard with three other families: Jonathan Brooks, a mason, is the principal tenant mentioned in the tithe apportionments (National Archives, IR29/18/99), William Hill, a labourer, and William Carter, a mason.

From local press, we garner that in 1833:

EDGE HILL

Until well into the late 19th century, Edge Hill[1] was on the rural fringe of Liverpool about 1.5km east from the centre. Indeed, wealthier Liverpool merchants and the middle classes began to develop leafy suburbs with large houses and gardens. It was only from the 1850s that it began to lose its rural aspect but then, unfortunately, there is a 40-year gap in mapping between 1853 and 1893 (Kelleher, 2008). However, although it lost its rural outlook, it was still a very cheery and attractive suburb in 1875 (Hand, 1915). It was on the rural fringes, provided clean fresh air, excellent views, and good quality housing with its own botanic garden.

One middle-class development in the 1820s was Botanic View. An advertisement in 1842, notes the house had six bedrooms, two sitting rooms and two kitchens and would suit a "respectable family". *(Liverpool Albion*, 25 July 1842, page 5).

Unlike other areas, the working-class housing was not built for any one trade and were occupied by a very diverse mix of people: this was true until the 1880s (Kelleher, 2008)

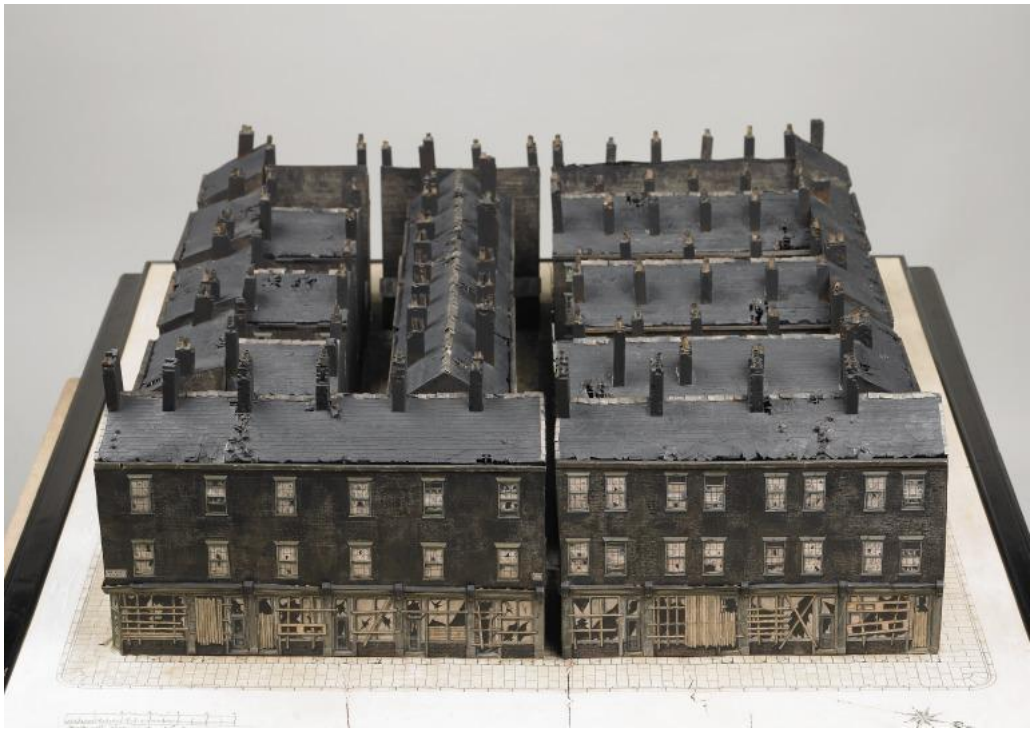
[21] The description of courtyard housing draws extensively on Stewart (2019). She notes that very few pictures were taken of courtyard houses, particularly their interiors and so we have to depend on oral histories, and written reports in contemporary newspapers and by sanitary inspectors, doctors, etc.

> "… two front Dwelling Houses and eight Back Houses, situated in Blucher-Street …. Producing a rental of £100 *per annum*, all tenanted and in good repair" (*The Liverpool Standard*, 20 December 1833, Page 1)

were up for auction at the Globe, Cunliffe Street. Rent in Liverpool was between 2s9d and 4s6d *per* week in the late 1850s (Shimmin, 1864) and could represent up to 25% of a family's income (Belchem, 1990).

Courtyard housing consists of compact streets of houses, built back-to-back, usually running at right angles to the road. Houses face one another across a court. For developers and landlords, they were quick and easy to build and produced high rents from a relatively small area of land and had a higher return than middle-class housing. As Belchem (1990) notes: "… market forces were allowed free and unregulated rein in the provision of working-class housing: there was none of the planning, regulation and intervention which ensure the exclusive elegance of other fast-growing urban developments, the salubrious spa, resort and residential towns.".

Image 7. Scale Model of Courtyard Housing[22]



Source: © National Museums Liverpool

An American visitor describes a typical street scene in 1852:

> "It would be more strange to you to see long, narrow streets, full from one end to the other, of the poorest-looking people you ever saw, women and children only, the men being off at work, I suppose, sitting, lounging, leaning on the door-steps and side-walks, smoking knitting and chatting; the boys playing ball in the street, or marbles on the flagging; no break in the

[22] Only one courtyard house survives in Liverpool in Pembroke Place. All of the others have been destroyed in slum clearance. It is currently being excavated and "restored". Galkoff's and the Secret Life of Pembroke Place | National Museums Liverpool (liverpoolmuseums.org.uk)

tall dreary houses, but strings of clothes hung across from opposite second-story windows to dry; all dwellings, except a few cellar, beer or junk shops." (Olmsted, 1852)

Sanitation was another matter. Typically, there would be an ash pit in the court and a privy. The courtyard houses were only systematically connected to water supplies, by a standpipe in the court, and the sewage system from the 1850s. Until then water would be fetched from the nearest street hydrant. Stewart (2019) cites a Liverpool builder in 1844: "… I never hail anything with greater delight than I do a violent tempest or a terrific thunderstorm accompanied by heavy rain, for these are the only scavengers that thousands have to cleanse away impurities and the filth in which they live or rather, exist …".

In the summer of 1849, a series of letters appeared in the local press from the genteel residents of Botanic View complaining about the run-off and smell from the sewage run-off from Blucher Street. The situation was described in detail and, with a good rant at the end, by George C. Watson, MD in a letter he wrote to the Liverpool Standard:

> "Blucher Street is, and has been for a long time, in a disgraceful state altogether. No proper water coursing or cleansing. One court here is ornamented with pig-styes, &c., &c., to a most prejudicial extent. An overflow upon the pavement, from a supposable place, did endanger the health of the inhabitants adjoining. Mr. G[23]. reported it to the inspector, and it was attended to.
>
> A court containing three privies, a midden and a piggery is about fifteen yards in length, and three or four wide, and though flagged properly, yet has always some illness or other within its precincts.
>
> Another set of buildings forming a narrow court, has the graceful flanking so characteristic of Liverpool Proper at the entrance. At the top of the yard, the ashpit of a privy, not belonging to the premises of the yard, is sunk so as to have a trap-door covering, almost level with the flags. This nuisance often overflows and runs down the flagging to entrance of the court – the platform of the court-yard having a gentle sloping towards that entrance. This overflow has run down in this manner for three months at a time. One family was taken so ill in consequence, that they abandoned the court. Three cases of typhus fever, which occurred in it, were sent to the fever wards recently, by Mr Greatrex. The house is rather celebrated apparently, and no wonder. The whole court would be a nice specimen to preserve as such for the instruction and warning of future generations. The

HEATING AND LIGHTING

The houses would be heated by coal fires. Although damp, the better constructed houses could be kept warm if the fire was kept on low overnight (Bernard Rowan on living in a court, Museum of Liverpool Oral History Collection).

Natural light was low as there was only one window on each elevation giving on to a narrow, shaded court. Artificial light was provided by candles; gas lighting was not introduced until the 1880s. Prior to this, street lighting was by oil lamps.

The interior of the house would be dark and poorly ventilated.

The family would have one or perhaps two small rooms (one for living and one for sleeping).

The houses were built just as cast-iron stoves were coming in; they were a major advance in cooking and water heating technology. However, we do not know whether the Blucher Street landlords were at the forefront of this innovation or whether they only had an open fire which typically would have two small shelves either side of the grate on which pans could be set and a hanging cauldron.

Food storage would be limited to open shelves or maybe a small cupboard.

Bathtubs, if owned, would be hung outside the house in the courtyard.

[23] Also a doctor.

inhabitants of adjoining houses and yards, further bring their filth, ashes &c., and leave them at the entrance of the court, in the channel. The inhabitants of the place complained bitterly to Mr Greatrex and myself of these nuisances, and which they were utterly unable to get redressed. The stench was said to be unbearable at times from the above-named annoyance. If landlords only saw their true interests, they would listen more frequently to the just complaints of their tenants; but where there is a laxity on the part of authorities, the landlord is encouraged in his delay about proper and obligatory attention to the claims of cottage property. The poor people have no knowledge to get things righted.

The channel which drains the court thus contributes its sundry materials towards forming, with the assistance of another gutter or two, a large pool of some yards square, when we saw it. The water is in a horrid state, and it bathed the foundations of some garden back walls. The whole extent of its disgusting features need not, cannot be described, but may be inferred very correctly. The people assured us that, in sunshine and at night, or the first thing in the morning, there was a heavy smell, and, if I did not mistake, a cloud hung upon it in the earlier part of the night. They had complained to the police on duty (the extent of their ability or knowledge how to complain effectively), and they were told that there was "no remedy". It might certainly be true that, in the light of immediate abatement of it, it could not be his particular duty – for him to remove the flood were an impossibility. But why should not such complaints be reported like everything else to the inspectors and superintendents, just as well as the neglected fastenings of a stable, or yard door, or window, carelessly left open by a servant in any respectable house of the town. The latter kind of service is always well reported, as it ought to be, and I speak this with approval; but why are the complaints of the poor people not reported, and landlords informed of their duty, or Highway Boards made acquainted with the facts so disgraceful, so dangerous, to the common health. Do not the police know that "robbers" of life and limb – worse than mere burglars – lie ambuscaded in such nuisances? Whilst pointing out common omissions in police duty, yet the inspector's office ought to have justice done in the same breath with complaint; for I know that proper complaints, lodged there by a competent party, say a medical man, or the district surgeon, had speedy attention. In a few hours, nuisances so represented, have been removed. The reporting of the police on duty should equally avail. If so, even the common sense of the poor classes would point out the more flagrant nuisances, and one half of the task of prevention would be done…" (*The Liverpool Standard*, 16 June 1846).

Life in the Courts

Daniel arrived in a Liverpool where the process of industrialisation was incomplete and uneven. There was a slump in 1841/2 followed by three or four years of depression and again in 1847/8 but workers in the booming railway industry, like Daniel, were not much affected (Belchem, 1990). His neighbours in 1841 were also for the main part, skilled or semi-skilled: two masons, a wheelwright, a rope maker, a fitter, a painter, a cabinet maker, a shoemaker, a millwright etc.

So why were these working families living in what, on the face of it, appears to be slum housing for the destitute? There are several reasons:

- The prime consideration was proximity to the place of work, given that working people walked to work. The house is less than 15 minutes' walk from the Edge Hill Depot and 5 minutes from Crown Street goods station.

- This was the primary housing stock available for the working classes given the rapid expansion of the population in Liverpool. Little else was available. Overcrowding was unavoidable. The situation is not too different to that in large urban centres today, e.g. Paris or Cairo, where there can be very little distance between the classes and a similarity of the housing stock – the differences being in the financial ability of the landlords and occupants to keep the building in good repair.
- Courtyard housing was, in many cases, better than what those moving from rural areas had previously known
- There is evidence that there were well-kept homes: "There are four houses in the court, and all are fancifully, if not artistically decorated, Green window shutters, yellow window sills, and red steps edged with white! … the whole of the houses are remarkably clean." (Shimmin, 1864). Archaeologists have found evidence of decorative objects: e.g. porcelain bowls, bone domino sets. Stewart (2019) points out that: "Contemporary writers usually highlighted the worst-quality housing as part of the campaign for better housing and improvements in public health" or alternatively to illustrate the moral degeneracy of the Irish.
- The courts fostered a sense of community and people, particularly women, liked living there. Shimmin describes how a woman told him that "… a neighbour was not to be met with in any place or every day, and it was not easy to leave a spot which she had known so long, and where, in sorrow or in joy, she had met with sympathetic hearts…" (Walton and Wilcox, 1991). Female social networks focussed on the home and, in courtyard housing, around the yard. Some household tasks would be done collectively, e.g. fetching water, or washing. By the 1840s, the cup of tea custom was up and running. Belchem (2007) notes that it was traditional for Irish women to hold a tea party on Monday afternoon, where not only tea was drunk, followed by the obligatory Monday outing to the pawnbrokers to pawn the Sunday best. Whether or not this custom prevailed in Blucher Street or not is debatable as Fanny was neither Irish nor Roman Catholic and nor were many of her neighbours, but one can imagine something of the sorts in all working-class communities. The women also organised community events such as pancakes on Shrove Tuesday for the children. Fanny lived in Blucher Street for the rest of her life and her sister moved into the street, presumably, to be near her.

FURNITURE AND CLOTHING

Furniture would be basic and did not change much throughout the 19th century. A journalist describes a dock labourer's home in 1882:

"A deal table with three legs, two or three chairs of various build and design, a couple of stools, a dresser for the few plates and dishes required, and a few prints on the wall – these in the kitchen; with one shaky four-poster bed and a few wretched mattresses in the rooms above …." (Liverpool Mercury, 25 December 1882)

Mattresses would be likely to be filled with hay. As little was owned, storage was confined to the kitchen. Hooks would probably be used for clothes, or perhaps, a wooden chest in the bedroom.

As soon as some disposable income was available it would be invested in clothes: "Good clothes were a tangible asset of considerable pledgeable value at the local pawnshop, the banking and credit system which enables many working-class families to make ends meet each week." (Belchem, 1990).

Daniel's work clothes would have varied according to his job (see below). Fanny would have probably worn a white linen cap, apron and a cotton frock – gathered at the waist. She would have had a shawl for warmth. The Sunday Best might not need storage, as it was quite likely to be pawned on Monday and recuperated on Saturday, pay day.

Daniel the Railway Pioneer

As noted above, we have nothing to indicate how Daniel was occupied before 1838. However, from then on, we know he was working on the railways (Table 3). At the time of his death, he was employed by the London and North Western Railway (LNWR). Given the amount of railway construction going on in Liverpool from 1826, it is reasonable to suppose that he could have been working on the railways prior to 1838.

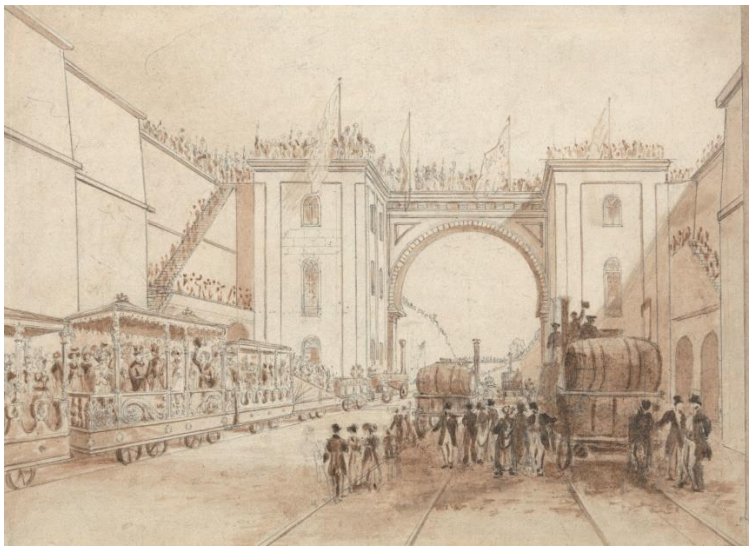
Table 3. Daniel's Occupations

Occupation	Date	Source
Labourer	1838	Lancashire, Quarter Sessions, vol: QSP 3099/1-94:, "Epiphany" 1839"; Lancashire Record Office, Preston.
	1841	*1841 Census England and Wales*. The National Archives.
		General Registrar, *Certified Copy of an Entry of Birth. John Lindsay*. Date: 12 May 1841. General Registrar's Office.
	1849	General Registrar, *Certified Copy of an Entry of Death (Daniel Lindsay)*. General Registrar's Office
Platelayer	1840	General Registrar, *Certified Copy of an Entry of Marriage (Daniel Lynch and Frances Anders*). General Registrar's Office
	1860	Parish Register for Marriage of Mary Jane Lindsay and John Rawlinson, Saint Nicholas, Liverpool, Lancashire, 14 May 1860, Liverpool Record Office.
	1861	Parish Register for Marriage of Sarah Ann Lindsay and William Mottram, Our Lady and St Nicholas, Liverpool, Lancashire, *23* June 1861, Liverpool Record Office.
Railway Constable	1849	Parish Register for Marriage of Catherine Andrews and John Titherington, Liverpool Record Office
Pointsman	1849	News item in *The Liverpool Mail,* 1 September 1849. News item in *The Liverpool Mercury*, 31 August 1849. News item in *The Liverpool Standard*, 4 September 1849.
Railway Guard	1864	General Registrar, *Certified Copy of an Entry of Death, Fanny Lindsay*, Date: 17 August 1864
	1865	General Registrar, *Certified Copy of an Entry of Marriage*. Emma Brown and John Lindsay. Date: 22 June 1865. General Registrar's Office.

Source: Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree, Family Historian.

Unlike many cities that grew exponentially during the early 19th century, Liverpool did not grow on the back of manufacturing but trade and commerce with the Americas and West Indies (sugar, rum, coffee, slaves, cotton); the East Indies (tea); Ireland (corn and dairy); inter-coastal (food, coal, people). Transport of imports onwards to Lancashire, Yorkshire and Midlands was by the unreliable canal system: it dried up in summer, froze in winter and was expensive. It was a standing joke prior to the coming of the railways that goods took longer to get to Manchester from Liverpool than they had taken to cross the Atlantic (Greaney 2013). For this reason, pressure grew for a railway and, indeed, the London and Manchester Railway (LMR) was built before there was any decent road between the two cities.

Image 8. Opening of the LMR 1830



Source: Yale Center for British Art. Isaac Shaw, active 1830, Opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, recto, cropped to image, ca. 1830, Brown wash, brown ink, and graphite on medium, smooth, cream wove paper, Paul Mellon Collection, B1981.25.2698.

Was Daniel a member of the teams involved in LMR construction projects? We know that LMR originally recruited its maintenance teams from those that had worked on building the railways (Donaghy, 1972) and we also know that by 1840 he was a platelayer; so did he start out as a labourer working with the famous, or infamous, navvies[24] of whom about a third were Irish. They had originally come to England to help with the harvest but found they could earn more building canals, then railways. The rates of pay were significantly more attractive than harvesting; e.g. a farm labourer in Northamptonshire might earn 9-10s a week whereas the railway rate was 3s to 5s a day (May, 2000). The construction teams would consist of engineers, draftsmen, timekeepers, navvies, platelayers, miners, carpenters, blacksmiths and enginemen, labourers. A navvy was not a mere labourer, though a labourer might become a navvy. It took a year to turn a labourer into a navvy.

To sum up, it is not too much of stretch to imagine that Daniel arrived in Liverpool fresh from either the army (demobbed after the war) or from an agricultural background in Ireland and began as a labourer building the first railways. Initially he could possibly be living in encampments and this itinerant lifestyle would explain why no records of an earlier marriage had been found. Over the years he learnt the new trade of platelayer. He eventually turned up in Liverpool itself working and lodging in the Edge Hill area where he met Fanny and settled down.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE LMR

Liverpool was at the forefront of the railway revolution with construction beginning in 1826 for the LMR, under the direction of Chief Engineer, George Stephenson.

Stephenson's plan involved constructing the entire line simultaneously. The project was divided into four main areas and began in June 1826:

- The flat level sections, to which relatively few men were assigned
- The tunnels under Liverpool
- The cut through Olive Mount
- The line across Chat Moss (a boggy area)

The sections of work would be sub-contracted to a variety of contractors. The railway was opened in 1830.

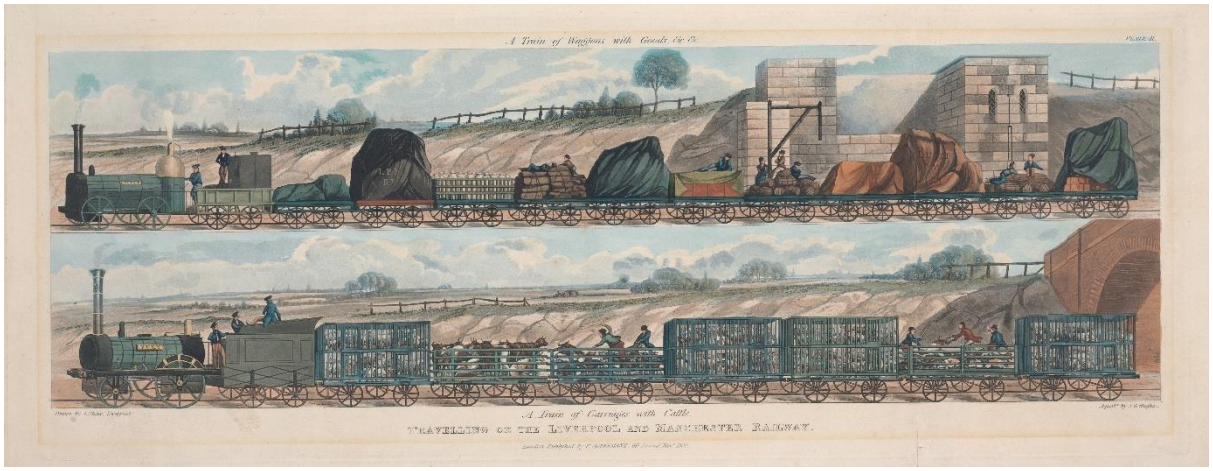
Once the railway was operational, major construction projects in the Liverpool area continued (Donaghy, 1972):

- In 1831 LMR, contracted McKenzie, Longworth and McLeod to build a tunnel from Edge Hill to Lime Street, to facilitate passenger transport
- Edge Hill was constantly flooding. This required extensive drainage work in 1834.
- In 1835, LMR Directors made to the bold decision to completely relay the track as the initial rails proved to be lacking in strength, work which was completed in 1837.

[24] The term navvies is a diminutive of "navigators" which is an obsolete term for canal builders.

Moving from imagining to evidence, we know that by 1840 he was a platelayer. Once the track had been laid, platelayers, working in gangs had the task of maintaining the track. Recruitment was from those who had worked on the construction of the railway as they were familiar with the track and local weather conditions: "A few platelayers and navvies, who remained on after the initial construction of the line was finished constituted the … manpower." (Donaghy, 1972). Initially they worked on a contractual basis, the main contractor being James Scott and Cummings, but from the mid-1830s the work was brought in-house. Platelayers patrolled the track looking for defects in fencing, earth slopes and anything else that might affect the safe running of the railway. If they couldn't fix it, defects would be reported to the ganger (the foreman) who would escalate it up to the local inspector or engineer. They would also follow a calendar of routine work: taking off and oiling the fishplates connecting the rails in late spring to allow for expansion of the rails, grass-cutting and ditch cleaning. Gangs would be responsible for a stretch of track and they would have huts by the side of the track for shelter, cups of tea and rest. Each gang would be protected by a look-out man, equipped with a whistle (or horn) and flags. His duty was to warn the gang in time for them to get clear of approaching trains and lean on their shovels in an appropriately nonchalant manner so that middle class passengers could moan about the idleness of the working classes. They had the highest accident rate of all railway workers. (Hardy 2009). Their salary was around 3s 6d per day (Donaghy, 1972).

Image 9. An Early Goods Train on the LMR



Source: Yale Center for British Art. S. G. Hughes, active 1832, Travelling on the Liverpool & Manchester Railway: A Train of Waggons with Goods and A Train of Carriages with Cattle, Plate II (one of a pair), recto, 1831, Aquatint, hand-colored, Paul Mellon Collection, B1993.30.130.

In 1845, LMR became part of the Grand Junction Railway which one year later in 1846 was a founding company in the LNWR. Many of the operational and work practices developed by trial and error in LMR were carried over to the LNWR, e.g. timetabling, signalling, safety instructions in writing, instant dismissal for drunkenness, etc.

Sometime between 1840 and 1849, Daniel was a railway constable, railway guard and finally a pointsman (or switchman), working for the LNWR. These categories were normally recruited from

ex-soldiers, earning about 17s a week. The railway police were responsible for signalling, opening and closing of the level crossing. Literacy was a perquisite as orders were given in writing and for safety reasons, timetables needed to be carried and consulted at all times. Pointsmen were selected from the best policemen and were more highly paid, although not as well dressed. He had to have a copy of the timetable and a watch always on hand so that the switches could be set appropriately:

> "On the LNWR, Captain Huish thought that while the 'duties of Pointsmen … are very simple and easily understood', they required 'care, attention and watchfulness, for any neglect may cause serious accidents'" (Dawson 2017).

The references to him being a railway guard are some 15 years after he died. A railway guard was responsible for the safety of the train. Instructions were delivered in writing and included way bills and passes for the journey. He was responsible for: ensuring papers and parcels were delivered to the appropriate station clerk along the route; ensuring the train was properly coupled; ensuring all tarpaulins are fastened; everything is safely stowed; the number of break carriages is correct; ensuring the engine man kept the right speed; signalling from the train; passenger safety; enforce the smoking ban, etc. He also kept a journal of everything that happened on the journey. While it is possible that he was a guard, it is also possible that there was some confusion in family members' minds concerning his role given the similarity of the guard and the policeman uniform.

All of these roles had distinctive work clothing:

- *Labourer/platelayer*: moleskin (corduroy) or fustian trousers, double canvas shirts, waistcoats, moleskin coats, hobnail boots or clogs, felt hats.
- *Railway constable*: a top hat, a blue tailcoat, white trousers and gloves
- *Railway guard*: as for constable if in first class, with a green tailcoat, or a green uniform for second class/freight and, importantly, two red handkerchiefs that could double up as warning flags.
- *Pointsman*: as labourer, but possibly wore a uniform. Possibly fustian rather than moleskin for trousers and jackets, and a cap or hat with the LNWR logo.

Olmsted (1852) noted that in "… the unmingled stream of poverty … there were not unfrequently some exceptions to this, but these were men almost invariably in some uniform or livery, as railroad hands, servants and soldiers."

THE NAVVY

A navvy was characterised by:

- The severity of the work – excavating, cutting, banking tunnelling, blasting, bridge-building. Each man would lift nearly 20 tons of earth a day over his own head into a wagon with a shovel.
- Working and living together in encampments
- Ability to drink and eat fast quantities. All sorts of events were an excuse for a drink and they often worked drunk. One railway historian estimated in 1852 that a sum equal to £1,000 per mile of railway track laid had been spent on drink
- Dress: moleskin (corduroy) trousers, double canvas shirts, rainbow waistcoats, velveteen square-tailed coats, hobnail boots, gaudy handkerchiefs, white felt hats with the brim turned up.

The work was iterant by its nature. They lodged when they could in villages but more often in turf shanties thrown up by themselves or the contractors.

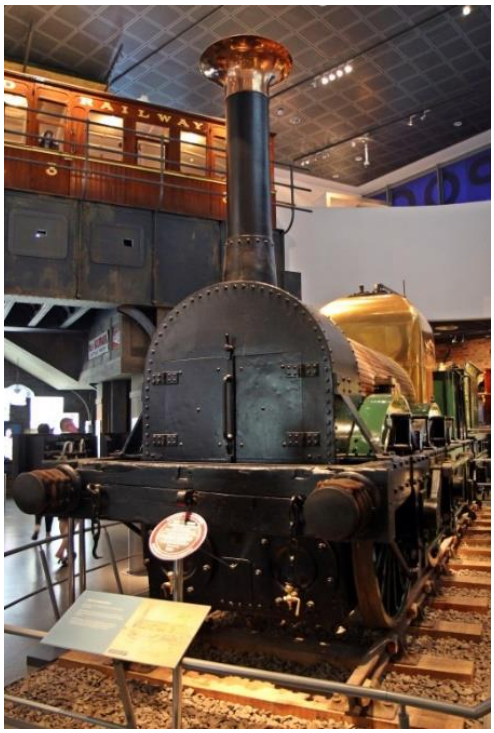
While there were women and children in the encampments there were few wives.

Source: Coleman (2015)

If he was working on the early railway, we can fantasize about him as a budding young platelayer: he watched the Rocket at the Rainhill Trials; he was present when the Chief Engineer, George Stephenson did site visits with the 1830s equivalent of a clip board, hard hat and high viz; and he was present on 25 September 1830, with the great and the good and the tens of thousands of Liverpool inhabitants[25], at the opening of the Liverpool to Manchester Line – the first intercity passenger line ever – and when the Minister of Trade and local MP, William Huskisson, became the first person ever to be run over and killed by a train. Daniel himself was to share this fate in 1849.

He certainly would have had to stand aside and lean on his shovel, at some point to make way for the Lion.

Image 10. The Lion



Source: El Pollock, 2015, Wikipedia, CC BY-SA 2.0

Leisure

By the mid-1830s, there were only eight statutory half-holidays in England as the traditional calendar of feast days and seasonal celebrations had been severely pruned by the church and employers (Bailey, 1974). Working days were long and Sunday was the only day free from work.

We do not know how much leisure time Daniel and Fanny had. As a pointsman he would have been on a daily rate, as a guard a rate *per* trip and a constable/pointsman on a weekly wage; but there were some, including navvies, who still only worked a four-day week practising the custom of Saint Monday: "On Sunday the master workmen begin to drink; for the apprentices there is dog-fighting without stint. On Monday and Tuesday the whole population is drunk." (Disraeli, 1845).

This period has been characterised as the "Dark Ages" of working-class culture. The agricultural and industrial revolution had destroyed the traditional leisure and cultural pursuits of the poorer classes: "… the new towns were built for a race that was allowed no leisure … recreation was waste …".

[25] Including possibly Fanny and her first family.

(Hammond, 1919). Given the lack of time and space – both indoors and outside - and the frequent attacks on the amusements of the poor from their "superiors", the poor showed creativity and versatility in finding ways to enjoy themselves most of which centred around the pub:

> "There were only two places to go in spending spare time away from one's own house – church, chapel or alehouse; the former were seldom open, while the later was seldom closed. The first was not attractive, the second was made attractive". (Cited in Bailey, 1974)

The publicans were at the forefront of devising entertainment for the poorer classes.

Unlike the English, the Irish regularly drank spirits, not just beer, and often took their families with them to the pub. There was an Irish pub network in Liverpool, many of which had associations with Irish political movements (Belchem 2007). In the Irish community, an evening at the pub would often terminate with a fight in the tradition of faction fighting (Glenmore History, 2021). These drunken brawls were one of the main bones of contention between the Irish and the native population. Given that Daniel was in steady employment, we hope he was a bystander rather than a participant in such traditions. However, it was not only the Irish who liked a fight. Bailey (1974) retells the story of a Frenchman in 1829, who on observing a football game in Derby, said that if this what the English called playing, it was difficult to imagine what would constitute fighting.

Outlets serving and supplying drink expanded in parallel with poverty, pubs, grog shops and bottle shops (off licences) clustering in areas that were home to low-paid dock workers and casual labourers. The Liverpool pub as we know it today, was already in existence.

> "The common hues of the furniture and fitting up of shops … is nearly as dark as hold mahogany. This gives even the dram-shops such a rich, substantial look … Liquor shops, always with ominous sign of '*Vaults*', are very frequent and often splendid." (Olmsted, 1852).

Before strict licensing requirements were enforced, drinks were often sold in someone's home rather than anything that resembled a pub today[26]. In some streets it was estimated that

PUB ACTIVITIES

Political and Social Gatherings: discussions, clubs, speakers, newspapers, reading aloud of newspapers and political tracts

Mutual support and work: recruitment of casual labour, soldiers, pay station, collection of Friendly Society subs, initiation rites

The Free and Easy: a weekly singing and drinking club where a subscription (3d-6d) would be raised for a Christmas or Goose dinner.

The Free Concert Room (provided by the publican): a sort of open stand-up venue where men would sing and deliver comic poetry, interspersed with semi-erotic tableaux; ale served by girls who danced for and with clients and provided other services on the side.

Fighting:

- The Sparring Match: publicans were boxing promoters
- The Cock/ Dog Fight: technically outlawed in Liverpool, but frequent. Fanciers would pay to fight their prize animals.
- Faction fighting: an Irish speciality.

Pub Games (all of which could be betted on): skittles, shove a'halfpenny, etc.

Source: Shimmin in Walton and Wilcox, 1991 and Thompson, 1963.

[26] Like Bessie's in the Gwaun valley and the beer was probably just as bad [The Dyffryn Arms in Cwm Gwaun: a Pembrokeshire boozer not much changed in a century… or more – Undiscovered Wales (undiscovered-wales.co.uk)]

there was one public house for every 13 people by the mid-19th century, although the density in Edge Hill seems a little lower.

There was a pressure among neighbours towards a sociability which encouraged gambling and drinking as well as offering solace and mutual assistance; those that opted out were seen as stand-offish and cultivating airs and graces:

> "… with the assistance of the 'half-gallons of fourpenny', they traduced the character of all the neighbours who would not join them and looked upon themselves 'as good as any of um'." (Shimmin in Walton and Wilcox, 1991)

This led to moralising and condemnation of alcoholism as the cause of poverty and poor living conditions rather than the symptom:

> "It was not positively a dirty house, but was disorderly and careless … The proprietor came home drunk three of four nights in each week. He abused his wife, broke the furniture … yet … he was regular in attendance at a place of worship on the Sabbath … His wife … had – through the conduct of her husband … become an habitual drunkard. She drank ale, rarely ever touched spirits. She generally received a portion of the wages on Friday night, and was sometimes hopelessly drunk before noon on Saturday … The children were ill clothed, irregularly fed, and … used language to their parents which was lamentable to hear…" (Shimmin in Walton and Wilcox, 1991)

But as Burnett (1989) notes:

> "It is easy to condemn … [but] important to remember its attractiveness … The public house was warmer, more comfortable and more cheerful than the home usually was … the fatigue and heat of some occupations … required large quantities of body fluid to be replaced by liquid of some kind and given the relative cheapness of beer and the scarcity of pure water in many areas, it is not surprising that beer was often preferred."

At the beginning of the 19th century, there was also a vibrant street theatre scene in Liverpool: Punch and Judy, buskers, ballad hawkers, street. This was put paid to by pollution, an increase in traffic and crackdowns by the municipal authorities. Fixed premises were established to replace the street, e.g. Hengler's Cirques and the Teutonic Hall, Lime Street, which had the Crystal Palace Waxworks on the ground floor and showed dioramas upstairs (Welcome to Arthur Lloyd.co.uk).

One of the few places where the poorer classes could enjoy themselves in the open air with space within easy reach of Liverpool was the Aintree Races which were called anything but "races" as the majority of people who attended went not for the sport but for the attractions and entertainment associated with it. People travelled to the "Carnival" or "Meeting" by train or by a spring carriage, the latter had the advantage of allowing a "pub crawl" on the way. The attractions consisted of some 40 drinking tents (of different origins – Irish, fanciers (dog-fighters), Welsh, farmers); food stalls (soup, pies, bread and meat); fairground rides (merry-go-rounds, swinging boats); sparring and

dancing booths; and donkey racing. A few did actually watch the horse racing on which there was, of course, betting. (Shimmin in Walton and Wilcox, 1991)

Then, further afield, there were the August wakes, when thousands of Liverpudlians got on the steamboats or omnibuses to Hale and Tranmere fairgrounds which were also "love markets" for teenagers. These had developed from the traditional trading and hiring fairs but as industrialisation progressed, they became more focussed on providing popular entertainment. Their heyday was in the first fifty years of the nineteenth century with the menageries, circuses, exhibitions and waxworks all dominating the showground landscape. This was not to the taste of H____:

> "Having occasion to walk from this town to Wavertree on Sunday evening, I was astonished at the vast number of carts, spring vans, and other descriptions of vehicles that were passing through that village to this town, filled with the scum of Liverpool, of both sexes, numbers also were on foot, most far gone in liquor, and very many who were scarcely able to stand upright. I found on enquiry, they were returning from Hale Wakes. Hale Wakes! Wakes on the Sabbath." (Letter to the Editor, Liverpool Mail, 19 August 1848).

Daniel's Death

Alas, on Monday, 27 August, Daniel lacked the pre-requisite care, attention and watchfulness and was crushed "unaccountably" between two waggons while turning one train and its wagons from one track to another. He died at home the next day of his injuries at the age of 54ish. His death was registered by the Coroner and there was an inquest which was widely reported in the local press[27]. He was killed at the height of a cholera epidemic and I have been unable to find where he was buried.

Edge Hill was the first passenger station in the world, Daniel was working at Edge Hill Depot and so he was there at the birth of the railway, but it cost him his life.

Life After Daniel

In the 1851 census we find Fanny once again a widow, working as a washerwoman, with three dependent children living at 4 Blucher Street. Fanny's adult children by her first marriage have moved back in: Elizabeth (a servant), William (a baker) and Catherine and her husband (a porter). By pooling resources, the household might have a reasonable level of income and from the mid-1850s the overall economic situation was picking up. Her son, John, is visiting

WOMEN & WORK

The Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions had resulted in the severe limitation of work opportunities for women and particularly married women.

- Work was no longer home- and family-based
- Small businesses scaled up and might need capital investment for plant and equipment to which women did not have access
- Some occupations now required professional qualifications from which women were excluded e.g. medical professions such as midwifery.

The 1841 showed the great majority of women who worked worked as:

- Domestic servants
- Factory operatives
- Needlewomen
- Agricultural labourers
- Domestic industries (charring, laundry etc.)

As there were no factories or agriculture in Liverpool, and as a widow with children Fanny could not go into service, that left dressmaking and domestic services.

Source: Pinchbeck, 1930.

[27] Liverpool Records Office have confirmed they only hold Cororner's Records from 1852 and that newspaper reports are the best source. The press reports are identical word for word.

William, a stonemason, and Mary Ann Carter a few doors down the street (Number 15)[28]. John, Sarah Ann and James are attending school. Mary Jane is a general servant for Agnes Howard, 13 Blucher Street, a widow from Scotland who is a laundress. Fanny's mother had died in 1843, but her widowed sister, a dressmaker, and family moved to 19 Blucher Street.

By 1861, the household has moved to Number 5, and consists of: Fanny, now a laundress; daughter Elizabeth, also a laundress, with her illegitimate daughter another Fanny; and Fanny's son James, an apprentice butcher. Mary Jane has married and left home, John has left to join the army and Sarah Ann is working as a live-in servant for a merchant in another part of town.

Laundry Work

Because so much of this work was done alongside marriage and family life, in the "background" despite it often being a family's means of survival, it has gone unreported and unstudied. Such work was traditionally the preserve of older women, single unmarried women and widows. You could pick your own hours and organise your own work. The equipment was relatively cheap and women would have the know-how and skills. Malcolmson (1986), notes that often neighbours would club together to buy equipment for a recent widow so she would have a means of earning some money. However, for a single mother the biggest over-riding advantage was that you got to keep your children with you, avoiding having to palm them off to live with family and neighbours or, even worse, the workhouse.

Fanny worked as a washerwoman (1851) and then as a laundress with her daughter, Elizabeth (1861). Whether the census enumerator was using language precisely we will never know, but there was a difference in that a washerwoman only washed and dried whereas a laundress was responsible for the full cycle from soiled to wearable clothes. In 1851 her daughter, Mary Jane, lived with Agnes Howard, a laundress, a few doors away from Fanny – so perhaps Agnes sub-contracted parts of the cycle to neighbours.

Image 11. Women Doing Laundry, England 1855

Source: © Unknown. http://www.vintag.es

[28] I have not found any family relationship with the Carters yet. However, they were living on the same court as Daniel and Fanny in 1841.

Before mechanisation, the laundry cycle took a full four days, was extremely heavy and arduous:

> "So unpleasant was the task before piped and heated water and domestic appliances eased the burden that paying someone else to do the laundry was a top priority of many households when funds permitted . . .washing entailed a great deal of lifting and carrying, as well as . . . the extraordinarily heavy job of wringing out sodden linen." (Malcolmson, 1986)

How such a task was carried out in courtyard housing stretches historical imagination to the limits. Customarily, the cellars were used for washing, when unscrupulous landlords were not letting them out to the very poorest families. It is to be hoped that Blucher Street was connected early to a standpipe in the courtyard and that Fanny did not have to fetch water from the street hydrant (as she would have had to do for her family wash when she first moved in). However, even where there was a standpipe, water supplies were controlled and would only be switched on for short times. You might have a cistern that you could fill to store water, but, if not, you had to improvise with containers. Then the water had to be heated: was there a copper in the cellar that could be easily heated or was the fire used? Laundry was dried on lines from the second storey windows across the streets (Olmsted, 1852). In London, laundresses earned 2s 6d per day in 1851 (Burnett, 2008). I have been unable to find comparable figures for Liverpool.

Fever

Fanny Lindsay died of *febris* (Latin for fever) on 17 August 1864, age 60, at the Union Workhouse, Mill Road Everton. The death was registered by Sarah Jones, present at the death, who I suspect was an employee of the workhouse infirmary. Fanny was buried in St Mary's, Kirkdale, Grave 3037 (a mass grave) with her daughter Catherine Titherington (*née* Anders) who died in the same epidemic. The cemetery no longer exists and is now a park.

In 1838, Liverpool had the highest rate of mortality in Britain. Average age of death was 15 for labourers and 35 for gentry. So from this perspective, the Lindsay family did not do so badly. The city suffered a series of epidemics, some estimate that 40% of deaths in Liverpool in the mid-19th century were due to infectious diseases (Walton and Wilcox, 1991): typhoid, cholera etc. The family was not immune from their impact. It is known that Fanny and her first husband died of typhoid. Her daughter Phoebe probably died of cholera and we have lost trace of her second husband's, Daniel, burial place, probably, because he was killed at the height of a cholera epidemic.

THE LAUNDRY CYCLE

The full four-day cycle was as follows:

1. Sort, repair/secure anything lose, e.g. buttons, cuffs, collars.
2. Fetch water and soak overnight to loosen the dirt using a stain remover, e.g. lemon, liquid paraffin etc.
3. Heat fresh water and wash, using soap (perhaps, homemade to the laundress's own recipe), and scrub using a scrubbing board.
4. Boil (to kill lice etc.) and rinse (about three times in hot water and once in cold)
5. Dry
6. Starch (optional) and iron, with a flat iron.
7. Air (to avoid mildew)

Clothes would be washed in a tub of some sort and agitated with a dolly (a sort of pronged stick).

The hand-cranked wringer was available from 1847, and it was to be hoped that Fanny was able to procure one. It is possible that such equipment was shared by the women living in the court.

Source: Excerpts from Leominster's Historv

Typhoid fever is a life-threatening infection caused by the *bacterium Salmonella Typhi*. It is usually spread through contaminated food or water. Before adequate antibiotic therapy was developed, untreated mortality from typhoid fever was 10%-30%. Without antibiotics, only the symptoms could be treated. Common treatments for the disease were medicines such as opiates, turpentine, quinine, capsicum (an herbal medicine), and calomel (mercury chloride), as well as bleeding and blistering. (Backus, 2022)

Fanny was hospitalised in West Derby Workhouse where she died:

> "This workhouse is wholly insufficient for the wants of the union. By the removal of the schools, and by other means, it has been for the most part converted into an hospital and infirmary. Nevertheless, it is not large enough even for the sick and infirm poor. No detached infirmary seems to have been erected, nor is there any detached fever hospital. Contagious and infectious cases are placed in separate wards in the main building.
> At present time there are 427 cases on the medical list. There is no resident medical officer, but two medical officers constantly attend. There are 15 resident nurses, with salaries varying from 15l. to 30l. a year, with rations, &c., for each. Four of these nurses act as "night nurses". The Guardians provide all drugs &c. at a cost of about 400l. a year. They have also appointed a "dispenser", who is in attendance during the whole of each day". (Poor Law Inspector Mr RB Cane, November 1866. Cited on https://www.workhouses.org.uk/)

Even though doctors did not know the exact cause of typhoid, from very early in the 19th century they recognised the correlation between poor sanitation and overcrowding. Liverpool appointed the first ever Medical Officer in 1842, and he actively campaigned for the provision of clean water, drains, proper toilets and strong measures against recalcitrant landlords – it was a slow process.

The "Lindsays" in Liverpool

Daniel's Catholicism and Irishness were not transmitted to his children who all got married in the Anglican church despite having been baptised Roman Catholics. This is unsurprising as he died when his children were young and Fanny was neither Catholic or Irish. Furthermore, their step-siblings, who were part of the household after his death, were not Catholic. There were only one or two other Irish families on Blucher Street. Daniel associated with the Irish insofar as they were sponsors and witnesses for his marriage and his children's baptisms. His neighbour, Martin Swift, signed the petition for clemency for William Smith O'Brien in 1848, an Irish rebel sentenced to death, giving his Blucher Street address. Daniel did not sign – or, if he did, he used an Irish address (10 Daniel Lynches signed in Ireland). This is perhaps an example of what MacRaild (1999) calls "ethnic fade" where immigrants assimilate into their new environment, and while they might have a nostalgia and affection for the land of their birth, they do not transmit their heritage to their offspring. However, although his children reverted to Anglicanism, two of his grandchildren married Catholics and there are a significant number of Catholic families in his descendants.

Unlike John, our next victim, the other three children remained in Liverpool. Their lives illustrate the randomness of poverty at the time – if you were lucky enough to be in good health and work you got by, if not life became very difficult. **James** became a butcher and died of phthisis (a wasting disease of the lungs), age 40, in 1885 in the infirmary of the Liverpool Board of Guardians Workhouse without descendants; according to the workhouse records, he married, but no certificate has been traced and no wife identified. The daughters went on to have children and we have lots of cousins of varying degrees in Liverpool to this day, although none of them have the family name Lindsay.

Mary Jane married John **Rawlinson**, a whitesmith, in 1860. She had nine children, only four of whom made into adulthood, all girls. Two of her daughters were destitute: Jane Elizabeth and Emily Ann.

Jane Elizabeth married Richard **Haskayne** (Catholic) in 1884. He worked on the docks. It is probable that they had drink problems as they were both in prison for drunkenness at one time and in and out of the workhouse. They had eight children, three of whom died in childhood and a daughter, who was taken off them and sent to Canada. The other four stayed in the Liverpool area.

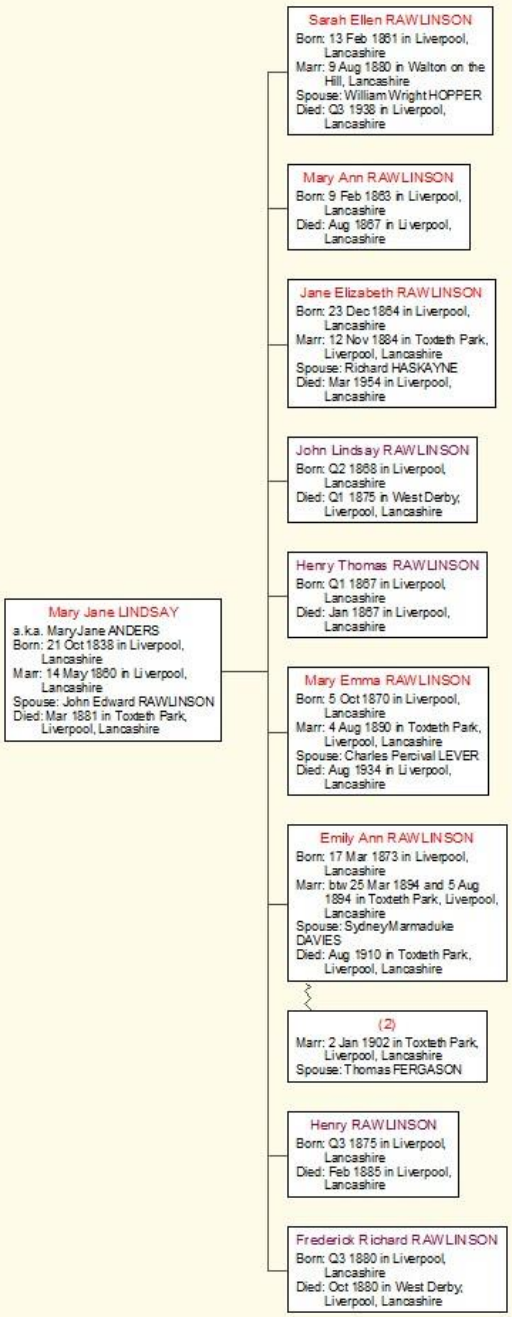
Emily Ann began by marrying a bigamist with the give-away name of Sydney Marmaduke **Davies.** The marriage was annulled but they still had four children. The two eldest daughters were removed and sent to Canada, the two others died in infancy. She then married Thomas **Ferguson** in 1902 (Catholic), a docker. They had six children: three who died in infancy, one who died aged 26 and one who disappeared without trace at the age of one. The one who survived, Thomas, joined the navy, married, had children and retired to the Liverpool area.

Sarah Ellen married William Wright **Hopper,** a merchant seaman**,** in 1880. She had a career as a tailoress and they had no children.

Mary Emma made the "best" marriage in material terms. She married Charles **Lever**, an ironmonger and iron founder, in 1890. They had 12 children only two of whom died in infancy. The others went forth and multiplied, mostly in the Liverpool area but her eldest daughter emigrated to New Jersey, the United States and had a family there.

Mary Jane died in 1881 at the age of 42.

Tree 4. Mary Jane Lindsay's Children



Source: Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree, Family Historian.

In 1861, **Sarah Ann**, also married a whitesmith, William **Mottram**. They had 12 children, eight of whom made it into adulthood.

Charles, a house painter, married Sarah **Trotter** in 1890. They had two children but he died age 35, leaving his wife destitute and her younger daughter was sent to Canada in 1905 at the age of 14.

Fanny married John **Duncan**, a safemaker, in 1901. They had 10 children, seven of whom made it into adulthood and had families in the Liverpool area.

Joseph, a shopkeeper, married Ellen **Sharkey** in 1914. They had three children: one who died at age 1, one who had no children and one who had two children out of six who made it into adulthood in the Liverpool area.

Sarah Jane married William **Cooper**, a greengrocer in 1896. They had five children, two of whom made it into adulthood but only one of whom had a family in the Liverpool area.

Emma married William's brother, Frederick, in 1900. He was a publican. They also had five children but four of them made it into adulthood, three of whom had families in the Liverpool area.

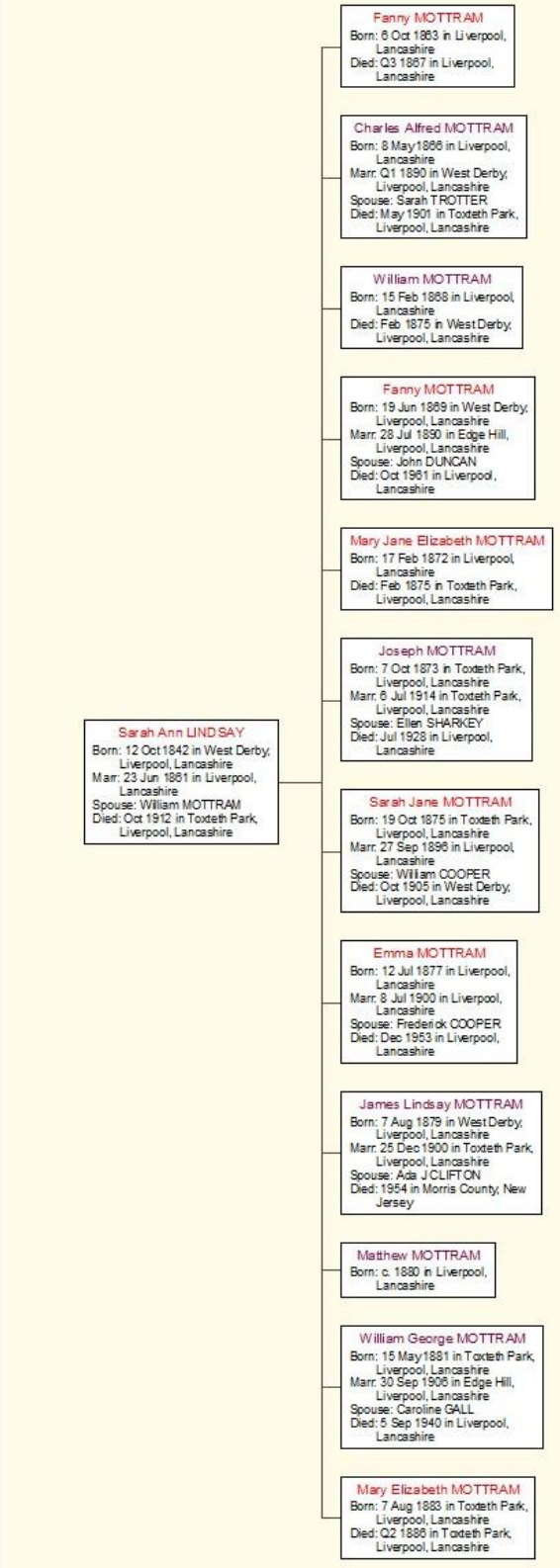
James, a steel dresser, married Ada **Clifton** in 1900. They emigrated to New Jersey, the United States to take up farming where they brought up their six children.

William Mottram, a butcher, married Caroline **Gall** in 1906. They had eight children of whom six made it into adulthood and three of them had families in the Liverpool area.

Sarah died in 1912 at the age of 70.

Source: Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree, Family Historian.

Tree 5. Sarah Ann Lindsay's Children



JOHN LINDSAY, born 1841, died 1887

The Liverpool Years

John was born in Liverpool on 13 April 1841, weighing 8lb and 3oz, and baptised at St Nicholas, Roman Catholic Chapel on 20 June; his sponsors were Margaret Pattison and John Swift[29].

It seems probable that he lived in Blucher Street until he joined the army at 18 years of age, his residence in both the 1841 and 1851 census. His three siblings were close to him in age and he also had a network of older half-siblings who moved back in with his mother, Fanny, after his father, Daniel, died when he was eight years old, and both his maternal grandparents were dead.

A Dickensian Childhood

John and his siblings were children at the time that Dickens was in full swing: *Oliver Twist* was written at the time his sister, Mary Jane was born, *David Copperfield* in 1849 when John was eight and his father, Daniel, was killed and *Great Expectations* in 1860, a year after John left Liverpool to join the army.

Image 12. Dresses and Pantelettes

Source: Detail from Fred Barnard, http://www.dickensmuseum.com/vtour/groundfloor/fronthallway/drawing-14-full.php, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4680301

LIVERPOOL IN THE 1850s

Liverpool was England's second city and rapidly growing: a population of c.300,000 in 1850 and c.500,000 in 1860 (compared to 30,000 in 1800), about 45% were under the age of 20.

Its main economic activities were:

- Commercial (merchants, merchant seamen, dockers, transport workers, bankers, lawyers, agents, administrative services, clerks, bookkeepers)
- Building trades (docks, railways, civic buildings, housing, etc.)
- Manufacturing was limited to processing tobacco and sugar and was less significant than late 18th-early 19th century.

Limited availability of waged work for women, young adults and children.

Air pollution was rife since the introduction of steam packets and the growth in population resulting a proliferation of coal fires (Hawes, 1998)

Liverpool had a reputation for poverty, alcoholism and crime.

[29] Neither of whom I have been able to identify further at this stage, although I suspect that John was related to a near neighbour, Martin Swift.

Olmsted (1852) observed:

> "The children look really *punchy*[30]. It strikes me the young ones are dressed much older, while the young men are clothed much more boyishly than in America. Quite large children, of both sexes are dressed exactly alike … girls with fur hats, such as grown-men wear, and boys in short dresses and pantalettes."

As the children got older, their dress would be of a more practical nature.

Image 13. Children's Clothing c. 1850

Source: Thomas Webster, 1800–1886, British, Ring O' Roses, recto, cropped to image, ca. 1850, Oil on panel, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1981.25.472.

As there was little manufacturing in Liverpool, there was no child labour as such, beyond the occasional running of errands and delivering messages, and so children were free to attend school and play. While urbanisation meant there was little outside space and at this period there were virtually no public parks, Edge Hill did have the advantage of the Botanic Gardens which had been opened to the public since 1846. On summer evenings, boys and young men would gather in the fields on the outskirts of Liverpool to play rounders, cricket and football.

Courtyard life provided plenty of playmates to hand and they would play in the courtyards and the surrounding streets. Mothers would shoo their children out from under their feet Shimmin (1864) was disparaging of playing in the street, arguing that sending children to go and play meant:

[30] In the sense of vigorous or healthy.

"… go and dabble in the gutter; go and make mud pies in the street; go and take your chance of being run over by a cart; go and try and pick up seeds of consumption; go and profit by what you see around the gin-shop door; go and learn to curse and swear, to lie and steal, …"

Olmsted's (1852) view was less alarmist, "… the boys playing ball in the street, or marbles on the flagging …".

Image 14. A Game of Marbles[31]

Source: By Karl Witkowski - http://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/karl-witkowski,-american-1860-1910-,-ga...-22-c-530da8bf8f, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=29814358

Winters were much colder at this time as Europe was still in the the Little Ice Age,1300-1870 (Little Ice Age - Wikipedia), so winter games would also be popular: sledging, snowball fights, etc. Indeed in 1854, there was an historic mass snowball fight in the centre of Liverpool when 300 stock and cotton brokers frustrated by their inability to trade decided to settle their outstanding grievances through a snowy faction fight.

Holiday festivals such as Christmas, Pancake Day and Easter would be celebrated in the court – women often getting together to pool resources to organise community celebrations. While Daniel was alive, they might have also been involved in the St Patrick's day parades which were big social and fighting events among the Irish (Belchem, 2007).

CHRISTMAS IN THE COURTS

There were two raffles to come off. At one, that for a pig, there was a fiddler. He sat on the stairs, and the men and the women danced in a rattling way … the other raffle … was merely for a handkerchief, and was confined to young people …

… some singers had come into the court. They sang "While shepherds watched their flocks by night", and sang it well too… The court was in a manner of speaking still. The raffle people came to the door; out of many houses children ran and clustered round the singers. No one spoke above his breath, as the four young men and two women told the story of the Child that was born in Bethlehem … I don't think the song ever touched me so much as it did on this night.

Christmas morning opened with a child being scalded in one of the houses … Then began the bustle of getting dinners ready and sending them to the bakehouse. Those who had got a goose took good care to tell everybody, for you could hear children going about begging or borrowing one thing or another in order that the goose might be cooked. Onions were in great request, and little children sat down on the steps to talk about what they were going to have for dinner.

… a heap of boys who lived in the court … were preparing to perform a Christmas piece. Those who could manage to get any fancy dress had done so… all the fore part of the day was spent in 'practising'. Crashing of sticks, stamping of feet, firing pistols and shouts of robbers … They charged a halfpenny each for admission … What interest people could have in seeing these little ruffians strut and bellow, one might well wonder at, but the people had had their dinners, and anything, as they said, in the way of fun was welcome to them.

Source: An inhabitant of the courts, reported by Shimmin in Walton and Wilcox, 1991.

[31] These children look a little too well turned out!

Schooling

In Victorian England a child was considered to be an orphan if one or both parents had died. As orphans John and his sisters were vulnerable on two counts: firstly, on being removed from their mother and placed in an orphanage at which point she would have no say on what happened to them thereafter; secondly being open to being "educated" by well-meaning middle-class people for their own "good" and "self-improvement".

Fanny did a good job in rallying her older children around her, so that none of her younger children had to go into care (in the specific location they lived either the Soho Ragged School or the Kirkdale Industrial School as boarders). The big danger was that the children would be sent to Canada or Australia under one of the programmes to "protect" orphan females from prostitution and males from crime (a fate which her grandchildren did not avoid, see *The "Lindsays" in Liverpool* above).

Whether they escaped the second fate, we do not know. In the 1861 census, they are all noted as "scholars", which means they were in receipt of some form of schooling. This is unsurprising in Liverpool. Over 50% of all children in week-day school by 1835 as there was virtually no demand for child labour given the absence of manufacturing (Murphy, 1964) and, even if a charity did not pick up the tab, it only cost 2d per week to send a child to school (Walton and Wilcox, 1991). This could be a price worth paying to get the children from under ones' feet if one had a laundry business to run.

Unfortunately, no records have been found concerning elementary education at this time, so we do not know where John (or his siblings) went to school. There are several contenders:

- A dame school: these were schools run by widows at home. There are no likely candidates near to Blucher Street in the 1851 Census.
- A National School: these were run by the *Anglican National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in England and Wales*. There was a National School in Edge Hill and two National School teachers[32] lived in Blucher Street.
- A church school. St Mary's (Anglican), just around the corner from Blucher Street, had a school.
- A Ragged Industrial School: these were targeted at the potentially criminal poor. The Liverpool Ragged School Union was founded in April 1847. A school was opened in Edge Hill in 1849 which offered instruction three evenings a week. Teachers were volunteers (Webster, 1973).

Like many children in Liverpool, John must have played truant, had very poor instruction or been an extremely poor pupil, as he was unable to sign his Army Attestation but made his mark[33]. The schools offered little beyond basic reading (focussed on bible study), writing and arithmetic and cannot have been very stimulating. Pupils rarely stuck the course, preferring to play truant and amuse themselves with their friends.

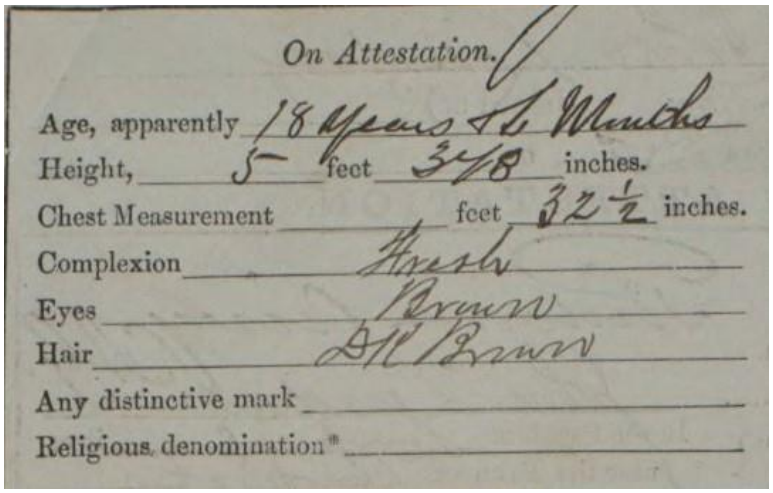
[32] There are two other school teachers living near to Blucher Street in the 1851, but their school is not identified.

[33] If we want to be more forgiving, we could assume that the recruiting sergeant had a class bias and simply assumed he couldn't write at the time of completing the form, and John was too deferential (or drunk) to challenge this assumption …. or he could have been drunk!

The Liverpool Youth Scene

From his Army Attestation, we know that John at age 18 was of slight build with dark brown hair, brown eyes and good skin.

Image 15. John's Physical Description 1859


On Attestation.

Age, apparently 18 Years 6 Months

Height, 5 feet 3 8 inches.

Chest Measurement feet 32 1/2 inches.

Complexion Fresh

Eyes Brown

Hair Dk Brown

Any distinctive mark

Religious denomination*

Source: British Army Service Records, National Archives, Attestation, WO97, Box 2023, Box Record Number 114.

Liverpool was a very young city and there seems to have been an established youth culture even back in the 1850s. Young men and women would meet at singing and dancing clubs, and on Sunday night the landing stages:

> "There are few sights in Liverpool which are more surprising … to a stranger than the magnificent Landing Stages … these structures are a source of healthy and invigorating enjoyment … What the Parks are to some towns, the Landing stages are to Liverpool … Young lads and girls who began by going there for a walk, soon made it a meeting place." (Shimmin in Walton and Wilcox, 1991)

Young Liverpudlians were not overly "Victorian" in their behaviour, perhaps, because of the prevalence of the Irish and of drink. The Hale Wakes were very popular with the young:

> "Crowds of all ages delighted in the treats and freaks, thrills and spills and pleasures of the fairground, a 'kind of love' market for local teenagers". (Belchem, 1990)

Youth unemployment was rife, resulting in delinquency and petty crime and alcoholism was discussed by the authorities in the same terms as we discuss "lay abouts" and drugs today.

There were few career opportunities for semi-skilled young men in Liverpool in the 1850s. There were clerical jobs but that required a level of literacy which John had not acquired. There were also apprenticeships, but these tended to be focussed on

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Liverpool had become a byword for juvenile crime throughout England. Throughout the decade, the authorities grappled with this issue.

Much of the crime was minor infringement of bye-laws (obstructing the footwalk, stone throwing, etc.) and resulted in sentences of a few days to a few weeks. More serious crimes were typically prostitution and theft.

The causes of crime were seen to be lack of employment opportunities, particularly for girls; alcohol, and lack of parental supervision leading to children being groomed by the criminal underclass.

"Comparatively few of these little fellows take to this mode of life from choice – they are driven to it. It will surprise many, but it is nevertheless true, that a large proportion of these boys are the sons of working men whose earnings are sometimes considerable … in many cases, indeed in most, the father knows nothing whatever about the mode of life of his son …"

(Shiimmin, in Watson and Wilcox, 1991)

Responses included:

- The Temperance Movement
- Reformatories "forcing" children to be educated and apprenticed
- Removal from parents and deportation to the colonies to work

maritime occupations – merchant seamen, shipwrights etc. – and the Lindsay family had no maritime background to give them an "in" into what were effectively closed shops. The main areas of recruitment, the docks and the building trade required one to be physically strong and were "controlled" by the Irish. Fanny's network seems to have been biased towards women, his father was dead and John's lack of literacy would hamper his chances of getting a more well-paid job in the railways.

The only clue that we have to his occupation is his Army Attestation where he is noted as a labourer. Perhaps, he worked for the long-standing neighbour and friend of the family, William Carter, stone mason (who he was visiting in the 1851 Census). At the time, there would be construction work on developing the Edge Street Depot marshalling yards and house building to meet the rapidly expanding Liverpool population.

In any event, in April 1859, John decided to leave Liverpool and join the army.

Lions Led by Donkeys: The Victorian Army

The Napoleonic Wars had led to significant changes in the organisation of European armies. The scale of war had increased and armies became more centrally organised and bureaucratic. Although some of these trends could be detected in Britain, compared to armies of the continent, the British Army remained decidedly amateur and a certain pride was taken in this:

> "British officers were often wilfully unprofessional and anti-intellectual". (Mansfield, 2016).

In addition, the ruling and middle classes were unable to shake off their acute mistrust for anything resembling a standing army, which dated back to the English Civil War and the example given by a conscript army in France during the Napoleonic wars. On this point, the poorer classes concurred; the army's role in clamping down on working class protest and unrest, in the absence of a civilian policy force, in the early 19th century did not endear them to the general population.

This resulted in a policy to keep the army as small as possible during peace time.

Most regiments were under strength in the Victorian period due to difficulties in recruitment. Numbers had fallen to under 100,000 after the Napoleonic War peak of 300,000, contributing to mass unemployment and economic problems. Wellington kept as many regiments in overseas garrisons as possible so that they would be invisible to the general public.

Following the Crimean War (1853 to 1856) and the Indian Mutiny (1857), there was an attempt to raise numbers to 250,000 as it became clear that a larger army was needed to back Britain's imperial ambitions. From Table 4, it can be seen that soldiers formed one of the largest occupational groupings during this period, even though the establishment target was never attained.

Table 4. Number of Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, 1861-85

Year	England & Wales	Scotland	Ireland	Total at Home	Abroad	TOTAL
1861	65,358	4,116	23,996	93,470	118,825	212,295
1865	56,584	3,444	20,017	80,045	118,003	198,048
1870	58,024	3,278	23,546	84,848	85,969	170,817
1875	66,308	3,955	22,539	92,802	83,785	176,587
1880	64,308	3,820	19,715	87,843	93,326	181,169
1885	59,919	3,788	24,220	87,927	102,391	190,318

Source: **General Annual Return of the British Army for 1872, 1874, 1889, 1890, cited in Trustram (1984).**

In particular, the Crimea War (1853 to 1856) demonstrated to the public that the British approach was no longer fit for purpose.

Image 16. Russo-British Skirmish during the Crimean War

Source: Harry Payne, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/

William Howard Russell, who wrote for The Times newspaper, and by Roger Fenton's photographs kept the public better informed of the day-to-day events of the war than had been the case in any earlier war. After the French extended the telegraph to the coast of the Black Sea in late 1854, news reached London in two days. When the British laid an underwater cable to Crimea in April 1855, news reached London in a few hours. The daily news reports energised public opinion, which brought down the Aberdeen government and carried Lord Palmerston into office as prime minister. There was even a "Stop the War" snowball riot on Sunday, 21 January 1855 in Trafalgar Square in which 1,500 people gathered to protest against the war by pelting cabs and pedestrians with snowballs (Marx, 1855).

THE LEGACY OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

This was the war of the Charge of the Light Brigade and Florence Nightingale.

The Crimean War was a wake-up call for the Army. Writing of the Crimean War, Sergeant Timothy Gowing of the 7th Fusiliers concluded: "[It] was an army of lions led by donkeys … the officers did not know how to manoeuvre a company – all, or nearly so, had to be left to the non-commissioned officers …" (cited in Mansfield, 2016).

The historian, McCullum, wrote:

"The Crimean war remained as a classic example... of how governments may plunge into war, how strong ambassadors may mislead weak prime ministers, how the public may be worked up into a facile fury, and how the achievements of the war may crumble to nothing." (in Halevy, 1951, p. 426).

John would have been in his early teens while all this was going on. Widespread reporting of the campaign involved the British public in the suffering of the troops and criticisms from progressive officers and civilian reformers brought about proposals for significant changes concerning health, housing, recreation, punishment, education and pay of the rank and file.

In spite of some improvements following the Crimean war, when John joined up many characteristics of the old-style army persisted until the Childer's reforms of 1881 (and indeed even to World War I):

- The Colonel was effectively the proprietor of his regiment. The government sub-contracted defence to him, paid him a lump sum and left him to get on with it.
- A tradition of paternalism in office-rank relations.
- An inflexible hierarchy, reinforced by the continuing practice of the purchase of commissions. The structure of the army mirrored the class structure of wider society at the time.
- A disdain among the higher office class for "training" – although founded in 1802, Sandhurst was perceived as an inferior public school. The rank and file soldier continued to be subjected to mistreatment: flogging was not abolished until 1881, soldiers could not vote, were banned from 2nd class travel on trains and from theatres.

There was a hierarchy of regiments. At the top of the pecking order were the Guards, based mainly in London and who had a direct relationship with the Crown, e.g. the Household Cavalry, Royal Horse Guards etc. These were the most expensive commissions to purchase and these were the regiments where aristocrats served. Next came the mounted cavalry, Heavy (e.g. Dragoons) and Light (e.g. Hussars and Lancers). They had the best officer uniforms and horses (horses = cars in the 19th century). Then came the Regiments of Foot, i.e. infantry. These too had their order: artillery and engineers – paid more and recruited more highly skilled working class, light infantry at the top, Irish regiments at the bottom and everyone else in between. They were known by their numbers and there were about 100 of them. Their officers would be minor gentry. So, the 69th Foot was pretty low down the pecking order.

RANKS IN THE 69th FOOT

1. Colonel
2. Lieutenant-Colonel
3. Major
4. Captain
5. Lieutenant
6. Ensign
7. Adjutant
8. Surgeon (Major)
9. Surgeon
10. Quartermaster
11. Paymaster
12. Sergeant Major
13. Schoolmaster
14. Quartermaster Sergeant
15. Schoolmaster as Sergeant
16. Armourer as Sergeant
17. Drum Major as Sergeant
18. Hospital Sergeant
19. Orderly Room Clerks
20. Colour Sergeant
21. Sergeants
22. Corporals
23. Drummers/Fifers/Buglers
24. Privates
25. Boys

And then there was a hierarchy of men. Taking the order from the pre-printed Muster Books for the 69th Foot, there were 25 ranks running from Colonel down to Boys (National Archives, WO 12 series).

A full infantry regiment was over 1,000 men and theoretically divided into two battalions, one at home and one overseas at any given time – however, this was the theory and practice was very different. The 69th Foot was one battalion which all moved together, except for a company or two which would be left at the home depot when the regiment was overseas. The home depot changed often (the 69th was stationed in Fermoy, Gosport, Aldershot, Guernsey, Dublin/The Curragh, Hubberstone and Sheffield during John's time) and would be shared with other regiments. When John was India in the early 1860s, there were about 1,000 men in the regiment, but 10 years later when in Canada, the regiment was down to 650.

Battalions were divided into companies and companies into squads. The squad was the basic unit of everyday interaction (sleeping, eating etc.).

Johnny Has Gone for A Soldier

In April 1859, John enlisted for the 69th Regiment of Foot.

> "The great mass of recruits are men doubtless in difficulties who only enter Her Majesty's service because at the moment they have no other means of existence, and they view the step as a desperate remedy for their case." (A Recruitment Sergeant, cited in Mansfield, 2016)

Everyone who joined the army was a "volunteer", although in practice some dubious means were used to encourage men to enlist, not least of which was drink.

> "No thoughtful man can have observed the scenes that take place daily and nightly at the taverns frequented by our recruiting staff without feeling shame and disgust that such proceedings should form part of the recognised machinery of the British Military Service." (Godley, J.R., 1858, cited in Skelley 1977)

The view of the Duke of Wellington that rank-and-file soldiers were the "scum of the earth" seems to have been widely shared by historians until recently, but new studies point out that this view was based on officer prejudice rather than any objective definition of "scum". However, it is also fair to say that for large swathes of the poorer classes, particularly mothers, there was real antipathy to an army career and even a sense of shame if a member of your family joined up or "was gone for a soldier".

The main reasons for joining the army as a private in the 1850s are not too different from the situation today: family tradition; avoidance of civilian obligations (e.g. marriage, children, debt); adventure and *Wanderlust; and, e*conomic.

As already discussed, we have no evidence that Daniel was in the army, but nor is there conclusive evidence that he wasn't. If John had heard tales of adventure and bravery from his father, who died when he was eight, they might have made an impression and dampened down any stigma associated with joining up. Given his age, it is to be hoped that John had not had time to get into a relationship or financial pickle … Soldiers were exempt from the obligation of financially supporting wives and children and could not be pursued for debts under £30. And what young romantic does not fancy a bit of adventure? Liverpool was becoming more and more crowded and polluted. Its population nearly doubled between 1851 and 1861. How else could a working-class lad travel to the ends of the Empire and be allowed to wield firearms. And they had a certain sex appeal; soldiers, even privates, always looked rather well turned out compared to the general population:

THE 69TH (SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE) FOOT

The 69th Foot, an infantry regiment, was raised in 1756 by Charles Colville.

It took part in the American War of Independence, the Seven Years War and the Battle of Waterloo.

Colonels of the regiment, while John was serving, were:

- 1858–1876: Gen. Ernest Frederick Gascoigne
- 1876–1877: Gen. Sir William Montagu Scott McMurdo, GCB
- 1877–1881: Gen. David Elliot Mackirdy

When John was recruited, it was based in Burma (although there was a small contingent in Fermoy) having been sent to the Madras in 1857 in response to the Indian Mutiny.

It returned to Britain for three years (Gosport, Aldershot, Channel Islands, Ireland) before being deployed in Canada in the Fenian Campaigns 1867-1870.

From Canada, it moved to Bermuda and then Gibralter, before returning to Sheffield in 1879.

In 1881, a few months prior to John completing his military service, the 69th was merged with the 41st (Welch) Regiment and became the 2nd Battalion of the new Welsh Regiment.

Its nickname is the Ups and Downs.

Source: 5-S01, 69th Locations 1756-1881, Regimental Museum of the Royal Welsh, 2012 and Smyth (1870).

> "… here are the soldiers, smart and dashing looking fellows, their caps bedecked with ribbons, and bearing on their breasts the emblems of their bravery …" (Shimmin writing about a recruitment party at Aintree in Watson and Wilcox, 1991).

However, by far the most common motive was economic.

> "No civilian occupation could guarantee uninterrupted employment for over 20 years, at however a meagre wage … [The army was the] employer of last resort. Nevertheless, in the unstable markets of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, such a position made them attractive … to a large fraction of the British working class." (cited in Mansfield, 2016)

As noted above, John's employment prospects in Liverpool were limited given his limited literacy. It is also worth noting that in the1850s the pay differential between privates and civilian wages was not so wide as it was in the later Victorian period (Skelley, 1977).

It was certainly the view at the time, that economic pressures were the main driver:

> "… there are very few men who enlist for the love of being a soldier; it is a very rare exception … they are starving, or they have quarrelled with their friends, or their masters, or there are cases of bastardy, and all sorts of things …". (Lieutenant-General Sir G. A. Wetherall's submission to the Royal Commission on Recruitment, 1861.)

Each regiment, recruited from its home depot, but there were also permanent staff centred around major cities such as Liverpool. Recruitment teams consisted of army pensioners and soldiers seconded from regular and militia units.

Image 17. The Recruiting Sergeant

Source: Public Domain, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?curid=9460978 c. 1813

Groups of soldiers were sent by battalions to markets, fairs and public houses as recruiting parties. They were sanctioned by a Beating Order and typically consisted of an officer, one or two sergeants, a drummer and four or five private soldiers. The drummer beat his drum to attract interest, whilst the smart soldiers would carry bunches of ribbons or "recruiting favours", which could be given to each man as he enlisted. Recruiting posters were also carried. Recruiting parties were given a bonus of £1 7s 6d for each new man enlisted.

The public house was a favourite recruitment venue. Potential victims would be plied with drinks, tales of bravery and adventure, for example, the recent Charge of the Life Brigade. Victoria had just placed India under Crown Rule, and at the time of John's recruitment, the 69th Foot was in the Madras Presidency having just been the first regiment ever to travel to India overland (via Egypt prior to the Suez Canal)[34]. The 69th Foot had also been present at Waterloo, so there was plenty to stir a young man's imagination. Robert Blatchford in 1871, out of work and penniless, described the recruiting sergeant's technique:

> "… curled his black moustache, like Porthos, and assured a sulk-looking chimney stack that, damme, it was no part of his duty to deceive any lad … a really superior young man might enjoy a six years' picnic at Her Majesty's expense … the uniform, dammit, was the proper dress for a man; and the irresistible magnet for the women … what did I say to a drink at the King's Arms while he ran a tape over me?" Blatchford (1910).

We do not know whether John needed much persuasion, was drunk or whether he was an enthusiastic volunteer, but on 5 April 1859 for a bounty of £3[35], he signed up for Queen and Country for 10 years[36] as a private in the 69th Foot, along with Michael Donovan, Thomas Fazackerley, Michael MacCreaver, John Naylor, Patrick Rafferty and Roland Ripley[37]. He would have received his bounty immediately so that he could be enticed to part with it as quickly as possible by buying rounds of drinks for the recruiting party and other potential victims.

RECRUITING IN A LIVERPOOL PUB

Liverpool was one of the five recruiting centres of England and Scotland, along with Bristol, Leeds, London and Glasgow.

Shimmin describes the scene in a Liverpool pub:

"There was a rendez-vous for recruiting parties close at hand, and young lads, from sixteen to twenty years of age, were hanging about, or sitting on steps, haggard and forlorn, waiting for their billet, and no doubt longing for the time to arrive when they had passed through the chrysalis state, and should come forth full grown, scarlet-coated warriors and medal men.

"On entering the house we were attracted by the singing in a small parlour. Here was a soldier of one of the Highland corps, singing "the Cameron men', - his earnestness was clearly apparent. The place was thronged with soldiers, recruits, and their female friends … The old soldiers enjoyed this scene heartily … one of the warriors was telling of a fight in the trenches … and another begun, a very doleful manner to tell of 'what he did on Alma heights' …".

(Shimmin in Walton and Wilcox, 1991)

[34] Fact check: Disputed by Engels (1858), who notes that several regiments totalling 5,000 men travelled overland in 1802, as did the 10th and 11th Dragoons (1,400 horses and 1600 men) in 1854.
[35] Under a month's wages for an unskilled labourer. This bounty had just been approved to boost recruitment given worries about war with France at the time.
[36] Since 1847, enlistment was limited to 21 years in the infantry, one 10-year period of service, followed by an 11 year period of service.
[37] I have found no particular links between John and his Liverpool cohort, although Thomas Fazackerley's wife, Mary was also on the strength and so would probably have at the very least been a colleague of Emma, John's wife to be.

A medical examination would be arranged as soon as possible to ensure that recruits were fighting fit and they had no impediments to service. At 5' $3^{7}/_{8}$" John was some inches under the stipulated height of 5' 8", but was part of the trend to younger, lighter and smaller city men with the shift away from rural recruits and the Irish – who now, with the advent of cheap transatlantic sea passages, preferred to emigrate to America rather than serve in the army as their predecessors had done. By 1851, 48.2% of recruits came from cities and 30.9%, like John, had been born in a city, much to the regret of some:

> "The country lout … offers much more favourable material for soldier making than the shrewd, quick-witted Londoner born and bred. The lout is preferable from every point of view … he has vastly … more bone and muscle. The process of converting a civilian into a soldier is almost entirely a mechanical process and one that a creature of low degree of intellect has much more chance of emerging from in a satisfactory manner than one possessed of an uncommon amount of brains, and … of sensitiveness" (Anon, 1868)

John was also typical in having noted labourer as his occupation on his Attestation, along with 52.8% of his fellow recruits, but was in the minority of 20.5% of being unable to read or write.

If the medical examination were satisfactory, recruits would then take an oath of allegiance before a magistrate:

> "I do make Oath, That I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to Her Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors; and that I will, as in Duty bound, honestly and faithfully defend Her Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, in Person, Crown, and Dignity, against all Enemies; and will observe and obey all Orders of Her Majesty, Her Heirs and Successors, and of the Generals and Officers set over me. So help me God."

The new recruits would be transported, under escort, to their depot barracks as soon as possible so that they could begin training. Desertion was reasonably common at this point as intoxicated youths sobered up and realised what they had let themselves in for. John travelled to Depot 19 Fermoy County Cork (the largest military establishment in Ireland) from 17 to 19 May 1859 to join the home company, the main regiment being in Burma.

Training and Kit

John would be kitted out and trained before joining the regiment overseas:

> "Recruits on joining are to be immediately Clothed in Uniform, their Hair to be Cut Regimentally, they are to be appointed to Companies, their Tempers, Habits, and Dispositions studied, particularly by the Squad Non- commissioned Officers, their Duties carefully taught them, and the Customs of the Service gradually inculcated ; the manner of Cleaning their Arms and Appointments, and all other observances with regard to the indispensable habits and demeanour of a Soldier, impressed on their minds. They must be urgently admonished to avoid association with the unprincipled Soldiers of a Company and encouraged to Cultivate habits of sobriety, steadiness, and zeal for the honour of the Regiment and the Service in general.
>
> "Each Recruit should be placed as Comrade of an Old Soldier, until he can, without assistance, take due care of his Arms and Equipments, when he will be allowed to choose his own Comrade. The care of a Recruit, although attended with some trouble, ought to be regarded as a compliment paid to the good conduct and experience of the former. He should be made to dispose of any articles of Plain Clothes that he might have been in

possession of at Enlistment, and not by any means be permitted to retain them in the Barrack-room" (Stocqueler, 1851)

After having his hair cut, short back and sides, in exchange for his civilian clothes, John would receive his uniform which would be renewed 1 April depending on the agreed life span of each item and his rifle.

Image 18: Uniform of a Private in the 69th Foot

S

Source: Kinney Brothers Tobacco Company - This file was donated to Wikimedia Commons as part of a project by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See the Image and Data Resources Open Access Policy, CC0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid

If alteration were necessary for fitting and completing the clothing, the actual and unavoidable expenditure, not exceeding one shilling per suit, would be defrayed in equal proportions by the Colonel and the soldier.

"Necessaries" were also supplied to the new recruit who paid 1s to mark them with his number, but the soldier would have to purchase replacements from the Quarter-Master and pay ½ d per article for marking as they wore out.

White coloured items were cleaned with 'pipe-clay'. Pipe-clay was a very white clay used extensively for making pottery as well as clay pipes. Black coloured items were cleaned with 'blacking' a polish made of wax and soot. Brass items were cleaned with 'rotten-stone' which was powered limestone, rather like pumice.

JOHN'S KIT

Uniform

- A felt cap with tuft
- A coat (replaced every two years)
- A waistcoat (replaced every two years)
- A pair of trousers (replaced annually)
- A pair of short boots (replaced annually)

Necessaries

- 1 pair of trousers (flannel)
- 1 pair of boots
- 3 shirts
- 1 fatigue jacket (these were actually quite "posh" in the 19th century)
- 3 pairs of socks
- 1 stock and clasp (buckle)
- 1 pair of braces
- 1 forage cap and number
- 1 knapsack with straps
- 2 shoe brushes
- 1 tin of blacking
- 1 clothes brush
- 1 holdall (I think this refers to the "sponge bag")
- 1 button-stick (a strip of brass slipped under a metal button to shield the garment while the button is being cleaned) and brush
- 1 sponge
- 1 comb
- 1 razor, soap and shaving brush
- 1 pair of mitts
- Knife, fork, spoon, mess tin and cover
- 2 towels.

He would also receive a great coat which would be replaced every three years.

And, of course, the new recruit would be armed with:

- A rifle
- A bayonet
- Ammunition (normally 20 rounds)
- The accoutrements (i.e. the belts, harnesses and pouches for carrying the arms and ammunition).

When John joined the standard issue rifle was an Enfield Pattern rifle. The rifles were called Enfields because they were made at the Small Arms Factory in Enfield. The Enfield went through several modifications throughout John's career – becoming progressively lighter, easier to load (move to from musket to cartridge loading) and to aim (British military rifles - Wikipedia).

Image 19. John's Rifles

Pattern Enfield 1853

Pattern Musketoon Enfield 1861

Snider-Enfield 1866

Martini-Henry 1879

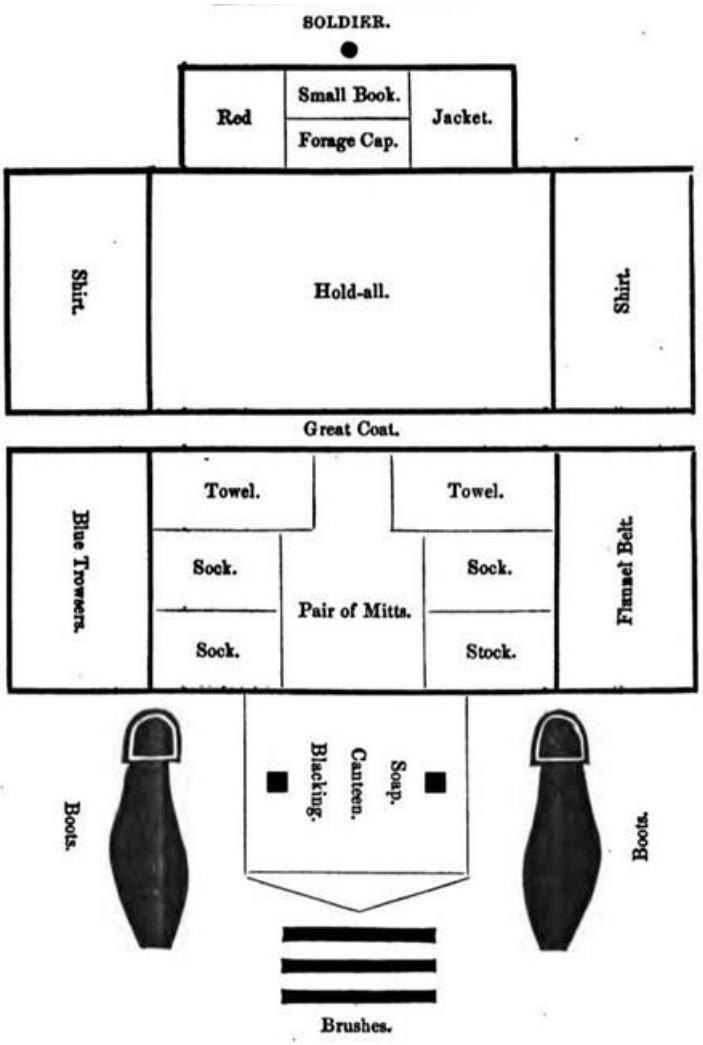
Source: Smithsonian, US Federal Government see: http://www.civilwar.si.edu/l_weapons_enfield.html - US Wikipedia, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4871534; SU Linguist, Kevin Murray - This file was derived from: Pattern 1861 Enfield Musketoon Reproduction.JPG, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=58278896; Springfield Armory Museum - http://ww3.rediscov.com/spring/VFPCGI.exe?IDCFile=/spring/DETAILS.IDC,SPECIFIC=13182,DATABASE=14569868,, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=107142750; and Armémuseum (The Swedish Army Museum) - Armémuseum (The Swedish Army Museum) through the Digital Museum (http://www.digitaltmuseum.se), Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=18388803

During his training he would learn how to look after his weapon, how to carry it and how to fire it. Shooting competitions between regiments were common when posted at home. Those who had the highest scores, were eligible for pay bonuses. Alas, none have been recorded for John in the Muster Records and Pay Rolls for the 69th Foot, so we assume his musketry skills were average.

Housekeeping was also part of the training and John spent the first three months of his training on "fatigue". Soldiers were also responsible for keeping their barracks clean. Furnishings were minimal a shelf (for the knapsack and cap), some "pins" for hanging belts, hats and accoutrements and a rifle rack. Each man had a bed (iron ideally to prevent reduce insect and bug infestation) and should have been supplied with a rug, two blankets, two sheets, a paillasse (straw mattress) and a bolster. The bed had to be unmade every morning and the paillasse rolled up, to prevent the men lounging about on the bed during the day. The floors were cleaned once a week on a Saturday.

The barracks and solidier's kit were inspected daily and there was a prescribed way of laying the kit out on the bed, with the soldier standing at the foot of the bed during the inspection.

Image 20. Manner of Laying Out Kit for Inspection



Source: Stocqueler, 1851

The practical training of the British infantry, more than that of any other army, was necessarily affected by the fact of the vast range of climatic, geographical and military conditions which the extent of the Empire imposed. The actual training imparted at any given period oscillated between the extremes of dealing with large continental armies and local tribesmen.

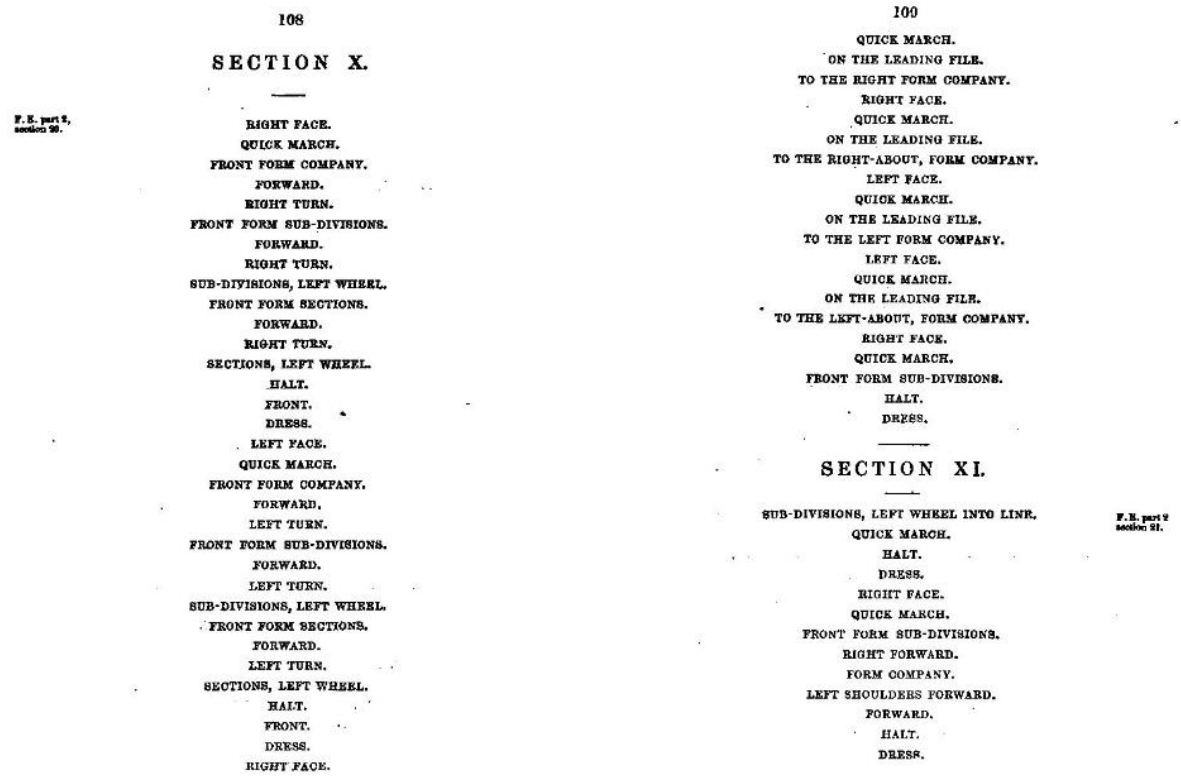
A CRITIQUE OF THE UNIFORM

"…. the present dress of the army is an insult to common sense. Although all are agreed that the introduction of rifles, not to mention breech loaders and rifled ordnance, has greatly modified to conditions of warfare, necessitating greater rapidity of movement and a system of running drill, the dress of the army remains unchanged. It is not too much to say that the soldier's work now-a-days when on service is a compound of that of the chamois hunter, the American trapper, the Highland ghilly, and the Norfolk gamekeeper. Now, what would be said if one of these professionals turned out for duty arrayed in a tightly buttoned up, pocketless tunic, stiff black cloth trousers, badly fitting blucher boots, a knapsack of inordinate weight, with pipe-clayed straps arranged so as effectually to fetter the free action of the arms, an awkward box, misnamed a pouch, to hold ammunition, placed in the most inaccessible position, and suspended by a thick unpliant belt constantly needing pipe-clay, the entire equipment being crowned by an incongruous headdress resembling an ingenious adaptation of an inverted flower pot?"

Source: A Progressive Officer, Letter to the Times, 4 January 1867

It was estimated that it took a new recruit four to six months to learn the drills. These were the bread and butter of the soldier's routine and were carefully choreographed like dances. It was important that soldiers knew them off by heart so they would follow instructions automatically without thinking. Stocqueler (1851) sets out 13 Sections (routines), that should be practiced daily. The complete drill should not take more than an hour.

Image 21. Section X and XI: From Drills to be Practiced Daily



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SECTION X.

F. E. part 2, section 20.

RIGHT FACE.
QUICK MARCH.
FRONT FORM COMPANY.
FORWARD.
RIGHT TURN.
FRONT FORM SUB-DIVISIONS.
FORWARD.
RIGHT TURN.
SUB-DIVISIONS, LEFT WHEEL.
FRONT FORM SECTIONS.
FORWARD.
RIGHT TURN.
SECTIONS, LEFT WHEEL.
HALT.
FRONT.
DRESS.
LEFT FACE.
QUICK MARCH.
FRONT FORM COMPANY.
FORWARD.
LEFT TURN.
FRONT FORM SUB-DIVISIONS.
FORWARD.
LEFT TURN.
SUB-DIVISIONS, LEFT WHEEL.
FRONT FORM SECTIONS.
FORWARD.
LEFT TURN.
SECTIONS, LEFT WHEEL.
HALT.
FRONT.
DRESS.
RIGHT FACE.

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QUICK MARCH.
ON THE LEADING FILE.
TO THE RIGHT FORM COMPANY.
RIGHT FACE.
QUICK MARCH.
ON THE LEADING FILE.
TO THE RIGHT-ABOUT, FORM COMPANY.
LEFT FACE.
QUICK MARCH.
ON THE LEADING FILE.
TO THE LEFT FORM COMPANY.
LEFT FACE.
QUICK MARCH.
ON THE LEADING FILE.
TO THE LEFT-ABOUT, FORM COMPANY.
RIGHT FACE.
QUICK MARCH.
FRONT FORM SUB-DIVISIONS.
HALT.
DRESS.

SECTION XI.

SUB-DIVISIONS, LEFT WHEEL INTO LINE.
F. E. part 2 section 21.
QUICK MARCH.
HALT.
DRESS.
RIGHT FACE.
QUICK MARCH.
FRONT FORM SUB-DIVISIONS.
RIGHT FORWARD.
FORM COMPANY.
LEFT SHOULDERS FORWARD.
FORWARD.
HALT.
DRESS.

Source: Stocqueler, 1851

It was a perennial complaint of those in the field, that recruits were despatched overseas without having learnt the drills. There was an ongoing debate as to whether it was better to prepare troops for Indian conditions in England, at some intermediate place with an "intermediate" climate, e.g. Cape Town or in India itself. Those in India, argued strongly against the latter, pointing out the heat and humidity meant that thw time that could be devoted to drilling had to be severely reduced for health reasons. In consequence, only fully-trained mature recruits should be deployed in India:

> "…the usual recruiting age lies between 20 and 35 years … but that a great many have entered under 20. Recruits from all parts of England were assembled at Warley … On arrival at Warley they were carefully drilled under cover.. The average time spent in the depot before the mutiny in 1857 was four months. At the time of the mutiny it was about six weeks; and it happened occasionally that men were embarked for India on the day of their arrival at Warley." (Report of the Commissioners, 1864)

It is to be hoped that he was thoroughly drilled before he left for India as the Report concluded that "… recruit drilling in India is almost uniformly carried out at the cost of health, efficiency and life …".

Life in the Army

Until the 1881 Chilton reforms, the army remained a collection of autonomous regiments, each regiment "belonging" to its Colonel. The Colonel delegated the management of the regiment to the Lieutenant Colonel, purchasing to the Quartermaster and managing the budget to the Paymaster. The actual day to day running of the regiment was done by a small team, who may have been promoted from the ranks, consisting of the Adjutant (responsible for discipline), Quarter-Master (supplies), the Paymaster (money) and the Regimental Sergeant Major (RSM) who was certainly promoted from the ranks. The latter managed the Non-Commissioned Officers who managed the men. It was unthinkable that a private would approach a commissioned officer, so John's contact would primarily be with Corporals and Sergeants.

For the officers, the army was an opportunity to increase one's wealth. The colonel could cream off savings from stoppages on wages etc. He could also sell commissions. Officers could also trade when on foreign assignments, the West Indies and India being a particular goldmine.

Although each regiment had been given a title in 1782, based on counties, in reality they had little to do with their localities until the Chilton reforms and the Regiments of Foot were referred to by their numbers, e.g. the 69th Foot rather than the South Lincolnshire. There is no evidence that John ever went to Lincolnshire. Before 1881, Regiments did not have a specific barracks, but shared large depot barracks with other regiments, such as Aldershot to which John was posted in 1865.

As men were housed in barracks in the United Kingdom and two-thirds of them were serving overseas, they were less integrated into the population than soldiers had been in the 18th century and became more isolated and more dependent on the Regiment for all aspects of their life. The army became the soldier's home.

Duties of the rank and file consisted of garrison duty, drilling and training. Normally they were completed by lunch time and so soldiers had a lot of free time:

> "To a civilian, accustomed to the long working hours that characterized the experience of labour for the working classes, one of the most striking features of the daily life of a trained soldier was how little work he was required to do." (David French cited in Mansfield, 2016)

Table 5 compares the terms and conditions of officers and the rank and file.

ENNUI

In 1857, Colonel James Lindsay (no relation), speaking of rank-and-file soldiers, told the Army Sanitary Commission:

"Perhaps no living individual suffers more than he from *ennui*. He has no employment, save his drill, and his duties; these are of a most monotonous and uninteresting description …"

Idleness frequently led to vice (drunkenness and whoring) unless alternatives were on offer such as learning, recreation and earning additional money.

By the mid-19th century, the army schoolmaster was commonplace and taught men, children and, in some cases, the local population when they were stationed abroad. For those of a scholarly bent, the army offered a golden opportunity for working class study.

Recreation ranged from drinking and gambling (against the regulations, but normally tolerated) through cultural activities such as amateur theatricals to gardening.

Those with a trade might be authorised to offer their services and charge for them, e.g. hairdressers, tailors, shoemakers. Labourers, such as John, could be given additional construction work on military installations, for which they would be paid extra, or authorised to work outside on civilian projects.

Table 5. Officers' and Privates' Pay and Conditions 1859 to 1880

	Officers	Privates
Pay	Lieutenant Colonels £310-5s-0d *per annum* to Ensigns 8s. *per day*. Deductions: mess fees, uniform, etc. However, they could make money from trading which was particularly lucrative in India or the West Indies.	£18-5s-0d *per annum,* the famous "shilling a day" (5p in today's money) Deductions: cleaning equipment, underwear, food outside regular rations, laundering, haircuts and damage (on average 9½d a day). Additions for Good Conduct.
Pensions	Half-pay and receipts from sale of their commission.	Only for severe disability and for service over 21 years.
Uniform	Tailor-made. Bright red jacket. Rarely worn: "… without a direct order it was almost impossible to get officers into uniform, and … they got out of it as soon as possible" (Nicholson, 1973). They preferred to wear civilian clothes and/or mix and match.	Mass produced after 1866, alterations to be paid for. Issued with a complete uniform (dull red jacket every two years[38]) and "necessaries". The uniform was replaced free of charge after a fixed time but any unusual renewals or repairs, if at all attributable to the soldier's neglect, were charged against him. Discouraged from owning civilian clothes.
Accommodation	Majors and above: 2 rooms; others: 1 room. Regimental mess room.	Barracks: washed, cleaned kit, ate and slept, and often had to share a bed (prisoners got 30 cubic metres whereas soldiers got 11 cubic metres). The first baths began to be installed from 1855. From 1868, the establishment of country regimental barracks that things began to improve with urinals, reading rooms and cookhouses
Leave	When they wanted (even on campaigns they could return home during quiet periods if there wasn't actually a battle going on) When at home 2 ½ months *per annum* hunting leave. Home leave from foreign postings.	Furlough between 1 November and 10 March – they could not take their greatcoats with them as these had been bought with public money. No home leave when on foreign postings some of which lasted 13 years.

Source: Drawn from Mansfield (2016), Skelley (1977) and Trustram (1984).

[38] This is one reason why uniforms in museums are mostly those of the officers and not the rank and file.

The Imperial Gendarmerie

The main role of the army during John's period of service was defence of the Empire, and attack being the best form of defence, this did not exclude offensive land-grab type operations should the occasions present themselves.

During the 19th century, it was estimated that the average recruit would spend 5 minutes in battle every 50 years. Before the atom bomb, the mere existence of the foot soldier was the deterrent:

> "The army is a provision against a contingency, and is most really useful when its mere existence prevents that contingency. Still that is not a kind of usefulness which presents itself strongly to any one's mind. When a man is engaged in fighting, —when he is spending his life for his country, — then he feels the value of his services. But when he is merely a precautionary institution, it is impossible he can feel any glow of satisfaction in discharging that useful function." (The Times, 16 February 1858)

During this period virtually every regular soldier could expect to spend at least half his career overseas, and there was no provision for home leave for the rank and file.

India became central to the working lives of many soldiers. In spite of the unfamiliar climate, the working and living conditions for the rank and file were easier than in Britain. Wages went further and even the most lowly private could afford servants. Just under half elected to transfer to other regiments to remain in India rather than return home when their own regiment's time was up.

Officers, on the other hand, had a higher objective and purpose. Overseas postings were the ideal opportunity for them to make their fortunes through trading, bribery, extortion and corruption. This tradition had a long history. In 1799, officers owned 77% of Australia's sheep and controlled the rum trade, in 1806-07 the (unsuccessful) invasion of Buenos Aires was prompted exclusively by trading opportunities for the officers. Mansfield (2016) quotes Lieutenant Williams-Forbes-Mitchell, landing in Calcutta and boasting to a colleague of a mansion:

> "I'll be master of that house and garden yet before I leave India … Just thirty-two years after, I took possession of the house, … where I established the Bon Accord Rope Works".

These skills were passed onto the local elites of the occupied territories where they are used to great effect to this day.

RULE BRITANNIA

From 1815 to 1865, British colonies were acquired at an average of 100,000 square miles a year, and their number nearly doubled from 26 to 43. British trade, trade routes and markets had to be protected at all costs.

Britannia really did rule the waves: over half the world's trading ports were in British hands. The Royal Navy protected the harbours and the army policed the colonies.

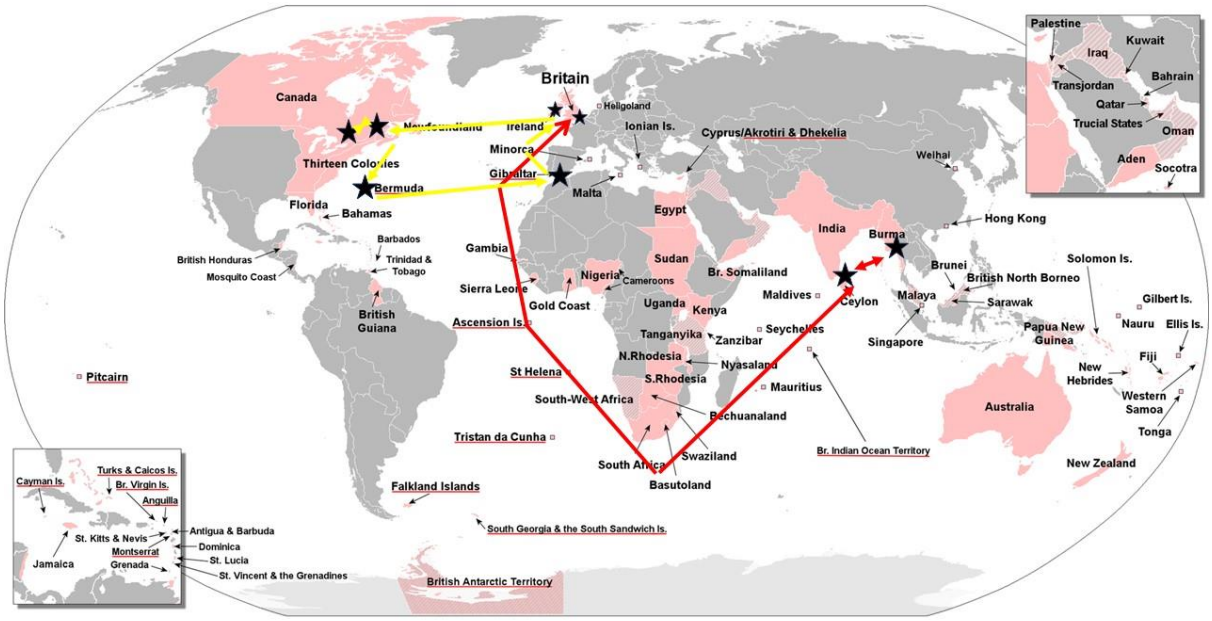
Britain could no longer rely on the private army of the East India Company or local indigenous soldiers. By 1854, three-quarters of all infantry regiments were deployed in colonial garrisons with 13 years being the average length of posting.

Victoria's reign has been characterised as one of relative peace. Slave trading had been abolished in 1807 and slavery in 1833. The Crimean War 1853-56 was followed by the Treaty of Paris which kept the major powers in line until World War I. The Boer Wars 1880-1902, occurred after John had left the army.

However, it was one of the peculiar characteristics of the British army that, from the extent and dispersion of the Empire over the world, it was almost always at war on a greater or less scale. There were always some native princes or tribes to deal with, or some strategic land grab to be undertaken … not to forget skirmishes to undermine France's strategic interests wherever the opportunity arose.

John's army carreer reflected the times. He served for 22 years in the army of which over 12 were spent overseas: Burma (now Myanmar), Madras (now Chennai), Canada, Bermuda and Gibralter.

Image 22. John's Army Postings in the British Empire
(1st Tour single, 2nd Tour married)



Source: RedStorm1368, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons and data from Family Historian.

Passage to India

After five months of training, John left England in September 1859, for his first overseas posting in the Madras Presidency in India. Recruits destined for India were assembled in the depot at Warley, Essex prior to embarkation.

His kit would be adjusted slightly, but not overly, for hotter conditions. The jacket was replaced with what was termed a shell-jacket (a shorter jacket to hip level) and cotton trousers. By the time John arrived, the Presidency was experimenting with the use of khaki so that troops were more comfortable. The Report of the Commissions (1864) concludes:

> "… the present dress is suitable as a whole. Several improvements in detail are suggested; such as improved helmets, a more uniform dye for the khakee dresses, the shades of which are so various that "no two soldiers are alike."

All of his possessions would need to fit into his knapsack because as a private he would not be entitled to a luggage box. Of course, there was a *mode d'emploi* for packing the knapsack:

> "The knapsack is packed by placing two Shirts in the centre of the Pack, a Towel is then spread over them and a Boot with the sole uppermost, is placed on each side. The Socks will be laid under the toe of the Boots on each side. The Flannel Belts, Brushes &c occupy the space between the Boots and the Shirts. The Red Jacket, Forage Cap and Blue Trowsers are put over them; and lastly, the Cloth Trowsers are folded over all." Stocqueler, 1851

Soldiers were typically shipped out in detachments of 200 to 350 men and there was an attempt to ensure that they arrived at the healthiest climatic time of the year (January or February) to facilitate their transition. As this was pre-Suez canal, it would have taken 90 days (steamer) or 131 (sailing ship) to Madras (Engels, 1858).

Image 23. A Fleet of East Indiamen at Sea

Source: Nicholas Pocock - National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=12761661

On Thursday, 8 September 1859, 1 officer and 78 men of the 69th Light Infantry (from Fermoy) left Chatham for Madras on *The Gosforth*, an East Indiaman sailing ship. (The Homeward Mail, 14 September 1859).

The Madras Presidency 1859 to 1864

In December 1859 he arrived in Burma in Tounghoo to begin his first overseas posting; he was 18 years old, single and fancy free.

Burma came under the authority of the Madras Presidency which was responsible for Southern India, Burma and Sri Lanka. The Presidency was run by a Governor and three council members. Madras had not been directly affected by the Indian Mutiny in 1857. Nonetheless the military presence in Madras was substantial given its trading importance and its geographical location. A main objective was to keep an eye on the French and their activities in Indochina to ensure they did not gain a foothold in China at Britain's expense.

TROOPSHIPS

John's deployment to India pre-dated the Suez Canal and the regular government service for transporting troops.

In time of war, the government requisitioned private companies to transport troops but otherwise it was down to the Navy.

The choice was sailing clippers, which were too small to carry a whole regiment, or one of the few steam ships capable of carrying enough coal for the distance.

The Navy had purchased the biggest steamer in the world, the Himalaya from the P&O Company in the 1854 which remained in service until 1894. She could carry up to 3,000 troops.

The troop ships were generally good and well-ventilated. However, boredom led to drink on the passage and to the development of a taste and dependency on spirits which could be detrimental to their health, especially in the Indian climate.

Source: Stocqueler, 1851

The climate in Madras was considered to be healthy. From November to February, cool, dry and pleasant with a temperature of 76° to 78°F. The air was moist May to October, with a maximum temperature in May of 99°F. It was always damp during long-shore winds and dusty during North winds. Dysentery tended to occur during the October rains and hepatitis and fever in the hot season. January and February were considered to be the most healthy months and August and September the most unhealthy ones.

> "Madras and its naked fort, noble-looking buildings, tall columns, lofty verandahs, and terraced roofs. The city large and crowded on a flat site; a low sandy beach, and a foaming surf." (Sherer, 1824)

During this time, the 69th Foot was based at Tounghoo, Burma until it moved in September 1861 to Fort George for garrison duty. However, some details of the regiment remained in Toungoo and Rangoon and there was a small detachment posted to the Wellington Cantonment on the North West limits of the Presidency.

His posting coincided with the work of several bodies reviewing the health and sanitary conditions of the troops in India, namely:

- MacPherson, Duncan (1862), *Mountain and Marine Sanitaria*
- Report of the Commissioners (1864), *Sanitary State of the Army in India*

These studies provide a lot of information about the daily life of soldiers in the Presidency and on the places to which they were posted.

Whereas, the Presidency had made some adjustments for clothing, the daily food ration for the was exactly the same as it would be in England: 500g. of meat (beef or mutton), 500g. of bread, 500g of vegetables (varied according to season with the troops preferring potatoes), 100g of rice, 30g of coffee or 35g of tea, 50g of sugar, 25g of salt. Cooking facilities were generally rudimentary. Florence Nightingale was scathing of the diet as being totally inappropriate for the Indian climate (Report of the Commissioners, 1864).

Miss Nightingale Is Not Amused

John's first posting (June 1860 to March 1861), Toungoo[39], was the headquarters of Toungoo District. It was situated on the Rangoon-Mandalay Railway, part of the Burma Railway, 35 miles from the frontier, 166 miles from Rangoon, and 220 miles from Mandalay. The frontier Civil and Military Station:

> "…occupies an excellent position on the right bank of the Sittang river, on an open undulating elevated plateau of gravel and sand, with a clayey sub-soil … By the direct line to the sea, the distance is 160, but by the winding route of Sittang it exceeds 260. To the east, north-east and south-east, are the mountains of the red Kareens and other hill tribes. The nearest ranges distant from fifteen to twenty-five miles, possess an altitude reaching to 5,000 feet; but some of the more distant attain an elevation of 7,000 feet above Marine level. The Yoma range lies some forty miles to the west. Tonghoo was first occupied in February 1853. Sanitarily considered the situation of the Cantonment has been judiciously

[39] This is a transcription of the Burmese and there are many different spellings. The current transcription is Taungoo.

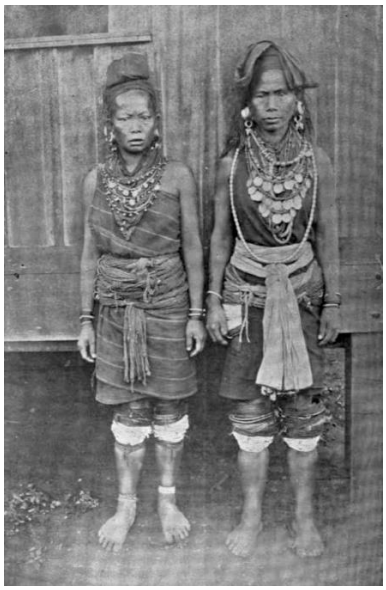
chosen ... The ground descends in the direction of the native town, the northern and western outskirts of Cantonment." (MacPherson, 1862)

The climate was tropical with an annual average rainfall of 76 inches (currently 55 inches in Wales), and temperatures of 100°F (38°C) maximum, 60°F (15°C) minimum and a mean of 75°F (24°C). It was in an earthquake zone, and indeed there was one on 13 August 1860 while John was there. The climate was considered quite good: "healthy" from November to February and "most unhealthy" from May to August (Report of the Commissioners ,1864).

The Regiment had been in Tounghoo since December 1858 (Homeward Mail, 21 February 1859) were it had be sent on arrival, rather than up North to deal with the Indian Mutiny as originally intended.

The Regiment was 35 miles from the frontier, although this was a period of peaceful co-existence with King Mindon, Britain was keen to extend its sway into the Karenni states and so would be keeping alert to any excuse to pick a squabble (which it did in 1885 and launched the Third Anglo-Burmese War).

Image 24. Karenni Women in British Burma



Source: Survey of India Offices - Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Part I, Vol I, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=73688952

The Report of the Commissioners (1864) noted that the camp consisted of 20 European Infantry Barracks, with 50 men in each (2,302 cubic feet, and 131 square feet per man) with a 12-foot veranda built of wood and thatch. They were 3 to 7 feet above ground, on open platforms. There were no married quarters. There were wooden wash houses – one per company, i.e. per 100 men.

THE BRITISH IN BURMA 1824-1948

British rule in Burma lasted from 1824 to 1948, from the three Anglo-Burmese wars through the creation of Burma as a province of British India, to an independently administered colony, and independence. Britain wanted to control the trade routes from India to China and beat the French to it.

Burma is sometimes referred to as "the Scottish Colony" owing to the heavy role played by Scotsmen in colonising.

The region under British control was known as British Burma. Various portions of Burmese territories were annexed by the British after their victory in the First Anglo-Burmese War; Lower Burma was annexed in 1852 after the Second Anglo-Burmese War. The annexed territories were designated the minor province of British India in 1862.

In 1852, the Second Anglo-Burmese War was provoked by the British, who sought the teak forests in Lower Burma as well as a port between Calcutta and Singapore. After 25 years of peace, British and Burmese fighting started afresh and continued until the British occupied all of Lower Burma. The British were victorious in this war and as a result obtained access to the teak, oil, and rubies of their newly conquered territories and control of rice exports.

Upper Burma was ruled by King Mindon who tried to adjust to the thrust of imperialism. He enacted administrative reforms and made Burma more receptive to foreign interests.

Source: Wikipedia.com

The sanitation was bad – open sewers with no means of draining and cleaning.

> "The blocks of buildings occupied by this Regiment are far too close. These consist of a double line in contiguous columns, the distance between each block being twenty-four paces, and between each line of buildings forty-six paces. This latter space is occupied by lavatories; a most objectionable position for them, for the offensive soiled water mingled with the urine of the men, either stagnates or creeps along shallow open drains parallel with the barracks, until it soaks in the earth or evaporates. Thatch and wood alone enter into the construction of these barracks. The danger to life and property … from their proximity is very great. No hospital having yet been constructed for the sick … two parallel blocks of barracks are set apart for them. This unavoidable temporary distribution of the sick is objectionable, first, because men afflicted with disease should never be massed with men in health; and second, because from the buildings being so closely crammed together, the most common conveniences required by the sick are denied to them." (MacPherson, 1862).

Routine duties included drills, daily inspections of kit and parades which were carried out early in the morning or at night to avoid the heat of the day, guard duties and patrols (including probably to protect the railway) and roll calls:

> "At gunfire he goes to parade, and, as a general rule in barracks, he gets his breakfast at eight o'clock; at half-past ten he parades again in the barrack when the officers go round the barracks to see that they are clean. Then there is a roll-call again at dinner-time and a roll-call at evening parade; then he has his supper. After that time he is free till tattoo which is at eight or nine o'clock according to the season. There are roll-calls during the night in all barracks, if men are supposed to be absent; it is done by the serjeant-major, and that is by what is called the check-roll, and if there are two or three men absent the check-roll is called…" (General Greathed cited in the Report of the Commissioners ,1864).

However, in the same report Florence Nightingale gives a typical day from a soldier's perspective:

> "… except morning and evening parades, and the man's turn on duty, he has nothing in the world to do. He can neither amuse himself, take exercise nor turn his time to profit for himself … All the spare time people usually give to active occupations he spends lounging in his hot barrack room, most of it on his bed … This is an account of a soldier's day:
>
> - Bed till daybreak;
> - Drill for an hour
> - Breakfast, served to him by native servants;
> - Bed;
> - Dinner served to him by native servants;
> - Bed;
> - Tea, served to him by native servants;
> - Drink;
> - Bed; - and *da capo*."

Soldiers had a lot of free time in Burma as many routine tasks could be delegated to native servants. There was a school (where possibly John learnt to write as he was able to sign the marriage register in 1865 and he would have been obliged to go to school if he was illiterate at a cost of 4d a month), library, reading room and theatre. There was no gymnasium, ball court, skittles ground, workshops, or soldiers' clubs. The main sports practices were cricket, quoits and boxing. Some men grew vegetables.

Drink was not considered to be a problem and even seen as beneficial. The daily allowance per man was 1 quart malt and 1 or 2 drams of arrack. Indeed, MacPherson (1862) recommended adopting French best practice for health reasons:

> "A French Physician of' repute states from his own experience, that 21bs of bread and two bottles of wine a day, to a man in health, are more nourishing and enable him to work better than he could do on four pounds of bread and 2 quarts of water."

While the native population suffered intermittent fevers and spleen complaints, soldiers were prone to fevers, dysentery and bowel complaints. Cholera was unknown – so this would have been a change from Liverpool! The mortality rate was 1% which was relatively good. The Report of the Commissioners (1864) concluded hepatic and venereal disease was rare. While that might well be the case, venereal disease affected about 10% of the men of the 69th. On average about 7% of men were in the hospital barracks at any one time. The medical section of John's army record is missing.

Florence Nightingale was less than impressed:

> "Tonghoo, the only station which considers the quantity of spirits drawn as 'conducive to health', and the amount of 'sickness, mortality and crime occasioned by intemperance' as 'trifling', has, as might be expected from this statement absolutely no means of occupation and amusement for its men and few of instruction. It appears to consider drinking, idleness, and illness the normal state of things." (Report of the Commissioners, 1864).

And while MacPherson (1862) praised the standard of medical care and the low mortality rate, he noted: "I was so forcibly struck with the pale, waxy blanched appearance of the countenances and integuments generally of the sick". He went on to say that he had reviewed the full medical history of the corps and, "I have already described the appearance of the men on the sick list, and two companies of the healthy men who were

PROSTITUTION IN BURMA

A popular leisure activity was sex. As MacPherson (1862) noted: "…To a large portion of our soldiers, marriage is forbidden, and they seek to gratify the strongest of their appetites, reckless of the consequences … in time of peace the ennui of a soldier's life is great everywhere; but in this country, shut up during a great part of the day as he is, with nothing to occupy his mind, he seeks for excitement in every den of vice and debauchery to which he can obtain access … At all stations of the Army, especially where European troops form part of the garrison, a regular organized system of prostitution is in force". There were two types of prostitution: a more respectable class under the control of a procuress, and a low debased class under the control of a male pimp.

As a result of this about 25% of soldiers in Burma suffered from venereal diseases, for the 69th Foot the figure was only 10% in 1862. However, 93% of the 242 men admitted to the Infirmary had diseases related to sexual activity:

Bubo (bubonic plague)	38
Gonorrhoea	50
Orchitis	29
Phimosis	1
Strictura urethrae	3
Syphilis primaria	70
Syphilis secundaria	50
Ulcus penis	1

As John's medical record has been lost, we do not know whether he was among them.

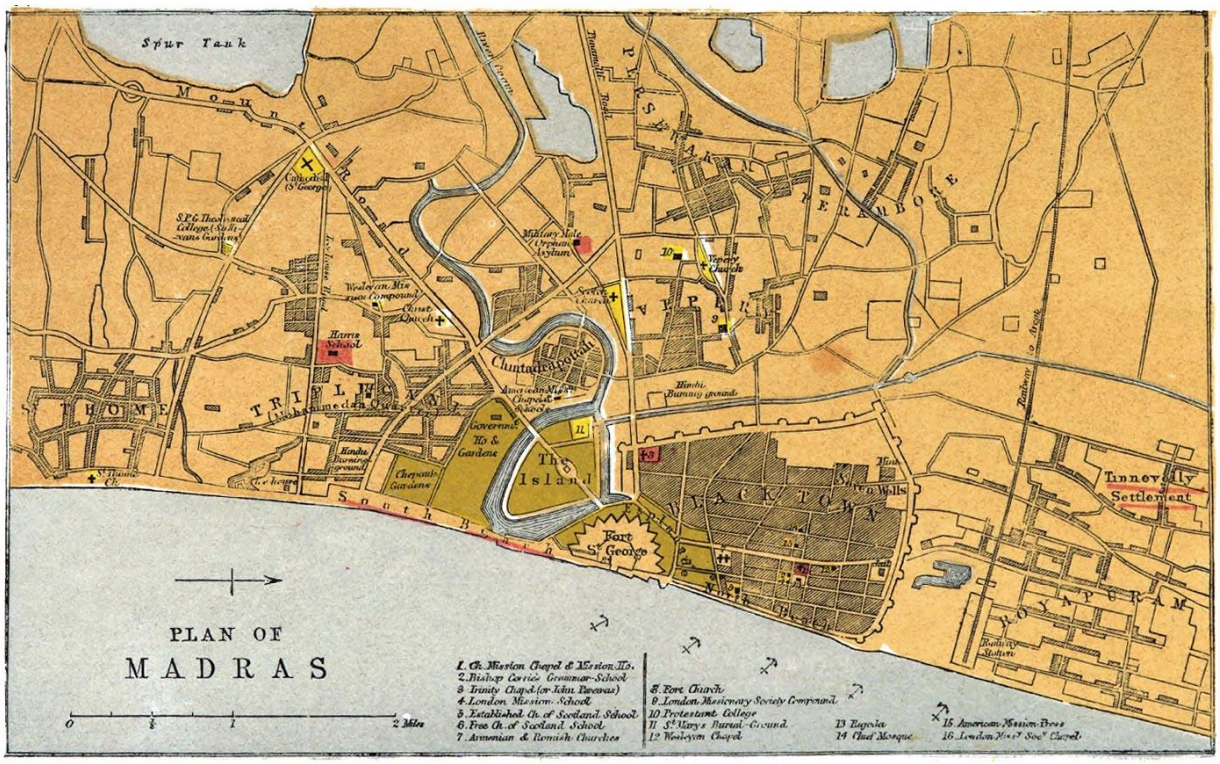
Source: MacPherson (1862)

paraded for my inspection were little better. The majority of them exhibit that bloodless anaemic appearance, that soft and relaxed muscular tissue, pale lips, tongue, and gums, and that low state of the circulation which is clearly indicative of the advisability of a change of locality." He recommended that the 69th Foot move immediately to another station.

Fort St George, Madras

John moved to Fort St George in Madras, the oldest British fort in India dating from 1644, in July 1861. The original fort was built by the East India Company to protect the spice trade from the Carnatic, the kings of Arcot and Srirangapatna, and the French. The East India Company had leased land from the Vijayanager Emperor Peda Venkata Raya on the coast, for warehouses and a factory on the coast since 1639 and the Fort was built to protect its interests. The town of Madras (now Chennai) grew up around the fort.

Image 25. Map of Madras 1862



Source: *The Church missionary atlas* 3rd edition, Public domain

The Fort is a stronghold with 6 metres (20 ft) high walls that withstood a number of assaults in the 18th century. It briefly passed into the possession of the French from 1746 to 1749, but was restored to Great Britain under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the War of the Austrian Succession.

> "All the government offices are in Fort St. George, which, though not large, is strong, handsome, well-armed, kept in excellent order, and contains a fine arsenal." (Sherer, 1824)

.

Image 26. Fort St George, 1871

Source: By Norman MacLeod - https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/ Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=44705996

While posted there, John was assigned to guard duty on several occasions. This was a 24-hour stint, every 13 to 15 days. In 1863, it was noted that some new Armstrong guns were being delivered and that:

> "Fort St George … is by no means such a contemptible obstacle to foreign invasion as some think. It is low, and it is difficult to obtain a view over it, except from the top of the lighthouse. It is, however, very well defended, and military men no declare that it could withstand a long siege. The public buildings inside are unfortunately exposed, and would in all probability come down with a run after a few days of blockade. The Armstrong guns are a very welcome addition to our ordnance stores, and may prove very useful, at no distant date. Her H.M.s 69th Regiment garrisons the fort at the present time …" (The Homeward Mail, 6 July 1863)

From 6 April 1862, John began to receive the 1d a day Good Conduct Pay.

WHO COMES THERE?

As a private, John had a sentinel role in guard duty. As with the drills, there was (and still is) a whole choreography as in Changing of the Guard at Buck House, etc.

"Sentinels are not to quit their Arms for an instant … They are to keep their posts clear … allowing no rioting or disturbance … in their vicinity. They are never to converse, loiter or lounge upon their Posts, not to remain in their Sentry Boxes in good, nor even moderate weather, but are to move about briskly, in a soldier-like manner, and are not to go beyond the ordered distance of ten paces to each flank.

"A Sentinel must, on no consideration quit his assigned station … Should he find himself incapacitated by sudden illness … he is to call to the Corporal of the Guard, or if at too great a distance … he is to pass word to the next Sentinel who will pass it on until it reaches the Guard … [who] will act according to circumstances …

"Sentinels are to be relieved every two hours …

"On its becoming dark … all Sentinels will challenge persons approaching their posts … and, at the distance of about thirty paces give the challenge in a clear sharp tone –

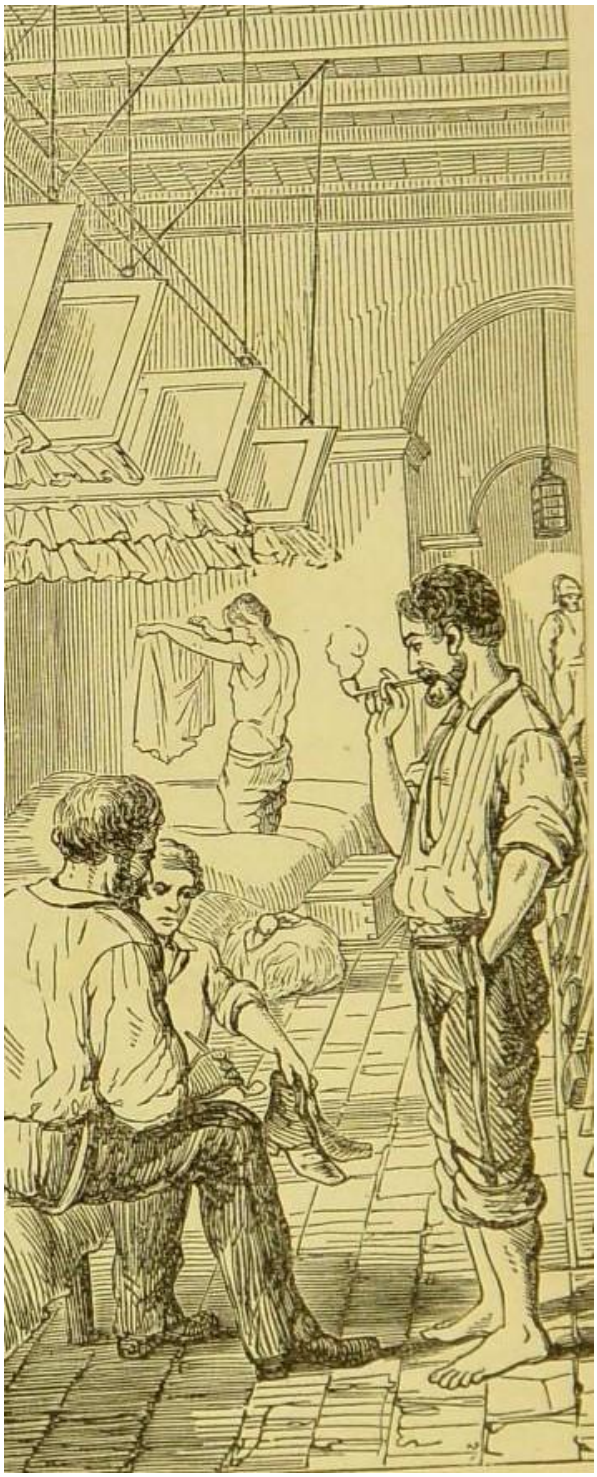
HALT

WHO COMES THERE?"

Strangely the instructions seem a bit vague on what to do if the answer is not "FRIEND".

Source: Stocqueler, 1851.

Image 27. Troops Off Duty Confined to Barracks in India, 1864



Source: Report of the Commissioners, 1864

The barracks were built of brick of European construction giving accommodation for just over 1,000 soldiers. One room was 1,483' long and 18' wide for 400 men and the other 2,125' long 20' wide for 600 men with iron bedsteads (which were better as they didn't house insects). Ventilation was by opening doors and windows and "Drainage in the proper sense cannot be said to exist". Its bathing facilities were considered to be excellent with 82 baths and two lavatories (one assumes blocks as two WCs for 1,000 men is a bit on the low side) and the drainage was through latrines to sea.

Outside guard duty, drills, parades, and escorts for court martials and courts of inquiry, there would be little to do; troops were confined to barracks from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. and there was little shade or space for greenery or gardens. Because of this, they were not expected to roll up their mattresses as would have been required in England.

There was a ball court, skittle alley, school, library, reading and temperance rooms but no gymnasium or workshop.

If they wished to exercise beyond the fort:

"… a beneficent General Order provides that you must be buttoned up to the throat in a thick blue coat. One would think that, if mufti was conceded to the English officer when off duty at home, how much more ought it to be conceded to him when serving in the tropics. Such is the opinion of the 'saucy 69th' who have the good sense of an evening to prefer a seat on the ramparts, clothed in a 'free and easy', and

enjoy a Trichonopoly[40] together with the breeze, which at that hour blows along the Coromandel coast, to the captivations of the 'band stand' …" (The Army and Navy Gazette, 5 September 1863)

Men had to take their amusement where they could. In August 1862, at a regimental parade, the surgeon of the 69th turned up fully mounted. He was immediately ordered by the Commanding Officer to dismount and join the parade of foot as surgeons were not mounted officers. After the parade, the surgeon – through his commanding officer – challenged this interpretation pointing out that the regulations obliged him to keep a horse, a saddle and trappings, and he received an allowance for forage. The Brigadier agreed with the surgeon, but the commanding officer took it higher and it was fully expected that the Regulations would be changed accordingly to deprive surgeons of their mounts. This must have caused some sniggering in the ranks, perhaps even a book was opened on the possible outcome, and the incident was hotly debated in the military press (Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette, 23 August 1862).

The death rates were higher at Fort St George than they were in Tounghoo, at some 35 per 1,000. The main diseases were fever, dysentery and hepatic disease. In February, 1863 the detachment that had been based in the Wellington Cantonment returned to Madras, bringing with it several cases of cholera which then ravaged the Regiment. One victim was the only child of Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick of the 69th, who then subsequently died himself of sorrow and dysentery, leaving a young widow. Apparently, he was "a good man". (Homeward Mail, 27 March and 13 April 1863). John spent two bouts in hospital while in Madras; his medical records have not survived and so we do not know why.

In June 1862, the 69th were informed they were on the roster to be recalled to England in early 1863. This was then delayed:

> "India is sending reinforcements to the small body of troops in New Zealand, where a fresh war has been forced on the Queen's government by the turbulent Maories. Her Majesty's 50th Foot are to be immediately sent to that colony, and the 69th Regiment will consequently be detained in this presidency until next year, a necessity which is sorely felt by the officers and the men of the corps, who were under orders for Europe, and lament their being kept at Madras merely for garrison duty, although they would have been

[40] A type of cheroot.

A PLEA FOR THE 69TH

From one, interested in the return home of the 69th:

"Returning to England in May 1857, after a prolonged tour of service in the West Indies, November … saw [the 69th] hurried overland to India. This treatment … was cheerfully submitted to … recognised that an emergency had arisen, whereby the stability of Her Majesty's empire in India was at stake … they *bone fide* believed they were going to take the field, and were anxious to prove that, though done out of the glories of the Crimea, they were made of the same stuff as in days of yore … and drew the eulogies of the great Lord Nelson … You can conceive … the disgust of every member of the corps when … instead of being sent up country they were despatched to Burmah, there to spend on a frontier station a life of exile … this treatment was too bad. The regiment was hurried out for the mutiny …

"About two years ago, the regiment was transferred to Fort St George … where you derive no immunity from parades, guards, courts-martial, courts of inquiry &co …

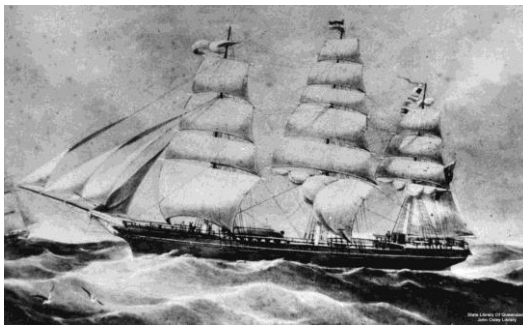
"If you could be transported now for an evening to Fort St George, I feel certain you would find with several officers of that garrison spy-glass uplifted, endeavouring to discern some speck on the horizon or anything which might given token of the promised relief."

Source: The Army and Navy Gazette, 5 September 1863

happy to embark on active service in New Zealand, had such been the will of the Governor-General." (The Express, 29 October 1863)

However, finally they did not have to wait too long, and they set sail on *The Trafalgar* and *The Lord Warden* from Madras on 10 and 19 February 1864 respectively, arriving in Portsmouth in May. John was assigned to the *Lord Warden,* a wooden sailing boat, built by William Pile, Sunderland, launched in 1862 – so relatively new. We know something of the voyage which was made prior to the opening of the Suez Canal and so had to go around the long way:

Image 28. The Lord Warden's Sister Ship, The Windsor Castle



Source: Item is held by John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland., Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=14475027

> "69th Regiment. The head-quarters and six companies of this regiment arrived at Plymouth on board the Trafalger … on the 21st of May, after a passage of 101 days in the following numbers: 1 schoolmaster, 25 sergeants, 7 drummers, 244 rank and file, 17 women and 32 children … There were five births on board during the passage and one death. The weather throughout was very fine, but calms and variable winds prevailed. Starting from Madras on the 10th February, the Trafalgar passed the Cape of Good Hoop on the 23rd of March, and arrived at St. Helena on the 3rd of April, leaving it on the 4th. The hired transport Lord Warden arrived at Spithead on Monday morning from Madras with the left-wing, comprising [7 officers], 205 rank and file, 19 soldiers' wives and 33 children. The regiment disembarked, and is to be stationed at Gosport." (The Army and Navy Gazette, 28 May 1864).

The passengers also included a Burmese cat, E J Puss Billy, who was brought back by Private J McAdam (I Company). The cat which weighed about 14 ½ lbs, and was "very docile and attractive … It knows the sound of the bugle in the morning, and always goes to the cook for its rations. The owner only has to whistle and it will follow him like a dog …" (Sheldrake's, 30 June 1866.)

Britain, 1864 to 1867

Gosport

Gosport was a major military base – both navy and army. The 69th Foot was assigned to Clarence Barracks. These were anything but purpose built. They consisted of an old Royal Marines' facility which had been developed in a Victualing Cooperage and Four House Barracks built in the mid-18th century on the site of four Tudor beerhouses. They were, however, in town.

Image 29. Map Showing the Location of the Cooperage and Four House Barracks

Source: John Peter Desmaretz (c.1686 – 1768) - Cropped from https://flickr.com/photos/12403504@N02/50265419056 , No restrictions, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=106955456

In August 1864, his mother died of fever along with his half-sister Catherine Titherton. He had six weeks furlough from mid-July to end August 1864 and so it is possible that he was with his family at this difficult time.

At some stage he met Emma Brown, because in June 1865 he married her.

Emma Brown, born c. 1843, died 1900

John's wife, Emma, along with Daniel, is another of my brick walls. After Smith, Brown is the most common family name in England and she was born in London, Middlesex around 1843. We have no idea when she arrived in Gosport or of what she was doing when she met John and married him in 1865. We have

THE CANTEEN: A 69TH INNOVATION

While in Gosport, the 69th launched the canteen initiative – this was a sort of soldier's purchasing co-op, run by the officers.

"The authorities are willing … to introduce into every regiment where it may be found practicable the system of canteen management adopted in the 69th in Gosport. The canteen is not put up to tender, as has been he custom heretofore, but is managed by a committee of officers consisting of three captains who see that all the articles solid, as well as fluid, are of good quality, that they are purchased at a reasonable price, and retained to the solider … at equitable rates. The profits of the canteen constitute a fund for providing the men with innocent and healthful recreations, and such benefit do these derive from dealing at the "regimental shop" that many of them estimate their average savings from doing so at not less than a penny per day."

Source: The Home News, 10 April 1865.

"I was told by several civilians in Gosport that the 69th was a singularly quiet and well-behaved regiment. I noticed that frequenting low public-houses was the exception and not the rule in the 69th … and on enquiring the reason I found that it was all due to the corps having a good canteen, and to the good rational amusement provided there for the men."

Source: Letter to the Edition, The Army and Navy Gazette, 11 March 1865

even less information for Emma than for Daniel which is not unexpected as women were less likely to be recorded in official records than men.

Table 6. Emma's Missing Years

Known Knowns		Known Unknowns
Date of Birth: 1842-1845	1881 Census 1891 Census Death Certificate	**Exact date**.
Place of birth: London, Middlesex.	1881 Census 1891 Census	**Exact place.** There are 200 possibilities in the General Register Office Index for Birth Certificates. **Place of Baptism**: Possible she wasn't baptised or was Non-conformist.
Father: George, a policeman.	Marriage certificate and parish register	Unfortunately, the clerk at St Mary's, did not note whether fathers were deceased, so we do not know if George was already dead at the time of the marriage. **Mother**'s name and number of **siblings**.
Religion: Anglican	Marriage certificate and parish register	
		Education: inconclusive. She signed the marriage register but could not sign when she registered William's birth (perhaps she had learnt to write her maiden name by rote).

The marriage records state that her father's name was George and that he was a policeman. Searches by the General Register Office, censuses and of parish records have so far yielded nothing. The Metropolitan Police were sent to Gosport in the 1850s to police the military installations. There are several George Browns in the Metropolitan Police Records which I spent a happy afternoon in the National Archives browsing but nothing conclusive. He could have been another sort of policemen, i.e. railway policeman, Smithfield market policeman, etc. etc

I have been unable to find anything conclusive if the 1851 or 1861 census, either in Middlesex or Hampshire. There are multiple Emma Browns who are orphans in workhouses or working as domestic servants, but it has been impossible to establish whether any of them are our Emma.

The opportunities for the rank-and-file soldier to meet and mix with women were limited. I surmise that he met his future wife Emma at Gosport (the alternatives are India or Liverpool) but, in this case, we do not know if he met her at the barracks or in the town. He was in hospital at the end of 1864, so perhaps she was helping out in the hospital. In April 1865, the Regiment moved to Aldershot, but a few companies of the 69th remained in Gosport until the beginning of July and John

was with these rather than the main contingent. On 22 June 1865 he married Emma Brown in St Mary's, Alverstoke which was near to Gosport.

We have no idea what Emma was doing in Gosport. Ports had ample opportunities for women to make a living, from running inns catering for travellers, or lodging houses for the crew on shore, to owning chandlers' stores and selling provisions to shipowners. They might work as seamstresses, sailmakers, laundresses or cooks, or own a small shop. Those were the more respectable port professions, but there was also the flourishing business of prostitution, as there was always a ready market for transactional sex in any port. In addition, there were the pubs and the gambling dens, where a recently returned sailor could soon be relieved of a large amount of his pay, and rich pickings existed for pickpockets of both genders (Literary Hub, undated).

The plot thickens and we have few clues. On the marriage certification, both John and Emma are noted as resident in Gosport and John's occupation as a Labourer, not as a soldier. Neither of the two witnesses can be definitively placed: George Chiverton and Ellen Floyd (although there is an Ellen Floyd in the area whose father is a bricklayer, so perhaps John was working with or for him). Had John been granted permission to work outside the barracks as a labourer? Mansfield (2016) noted that:

> "Though difficult to gauge in scale, casual outside employment of soldiers appears to have been widespread when stationed in Britain." The Standing Orders of the 82nd Regiment state: "No soldier is ever to be suffered to work without the approbation of the officer commanding his company … any man that has leave to work must never appear in his uniform but must provide himself with clothes for the purpose".

ON GOSPORT BEACH
A BALLARD

ON Gosport beach I landed,
That place of noted fame,
When I called for a bottle of brandy,
To treat my flashy dame ;
Her outside rigging was all silk,
Her spencer scarlet red,
We spent that day quite merrily,
And at night all sorrow fled.

It was early the next morning,
All by the break of day,
He says my handsome fair maid,
What brought you down this way ;
I am a rich merchant's daughter,
From London I came down,
My parents turned me out of doors,
Which caused me for to roam.

He says, my handsome fair maid,
I am sorry for to say,
That you have strayed so far from home,
To throw yourself away ;
But no reflections I will cast,
But for ever I'll prove true,
And when from Chatham I return,
Sweet maid I'll marry you.

They both shook hands and parted,
Tears from her eyes did flow,
Then on ship-board with her own true love,
She saw she could not go ;
But as a token of true love,
A gold ring she broke in two,
One half she gave to her own true love
Saying, adieu ! sweet lad, adieu !

But scarce six months were over,
From Chatham he came back,
Saying, now sweet girl I'll marry you,
I've shiners in my sack.
Then to the church they hastened,
The marriage knot to tie,
And may they both live happy,
Until the day I die.

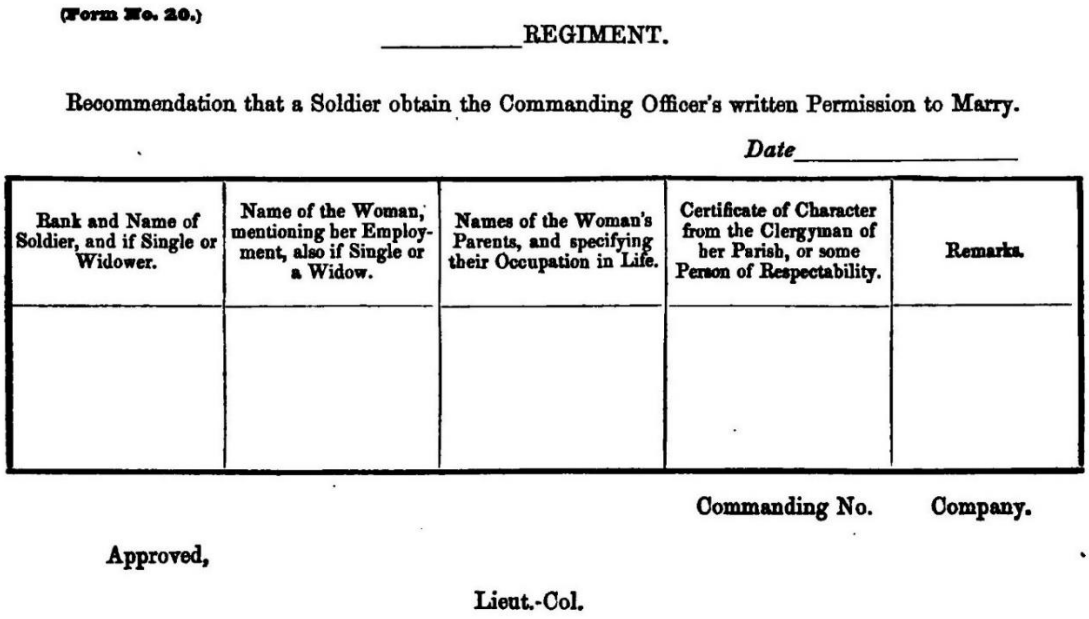
Source: www.nls.uk

John must have received permission to marry Emma "on the strength" and possibly work because:

- Emma was with him on all of his postings, the children were born in army barracks and baptised and registered by the Army Chaplains, and she is recorded in the Roll of the Married Establishment from 1865.
- He received good conduct pay from April 1862, which would be unlikely if he was skiving off to work under the radar.

Also, this would imply that Emma was of "good character", i.e. she was not a prostitute (or known to be a prostitute) which would be one of the most frequent reasons to have brought a woman into contact with a soldier. The War Office's Form No 20, needs to be countersigned by a "Clergyman or some Person of Respectability". So, at the very least, John and Emma would have had the necessary contacts to get the form signed.

Image 30. War Office Form 20 Approving Marriage on the Strength



(Form No. 20.)

_____ REGIMENT.

Recommendation that a Soldier obtain the Commanding Officer's written Permission to Marry.

*Date*_____

Rank and Name of Soldier, and if Single or Widower.	Name of the Woman, mentioning her Employment, also if Single or a Widow.	Names of the Woman's Parents, and specifying their Occupation in Life.	Certificate of Character from the Clergyman of her Parish, or some Person of Respectability.	Remarks.

Commanding No. Company.

Approved,

Lieut.-Col.

After their marriage, they moved to Aldershot and that is where their first child, my great grandfather William Lindsay was born.

Women of the Regiment

Women have always been associated with the army:

> "… women were a normal and vital part of European armies until well into the nineteenth century. As sutlers trading in meat and drink, as wives, daughters, prostitutes, cooks, nurses, midwives, seamstresses and laundresses, women were an integral part of the military train and moved freely between these roles …". (Trustram, 1984)

However, the Napoleonic Wars altered the scale of conflict, and resulted in the professionalisation and bureaucratisation of the army which initially limited the possibilities for women in the army: this could be seen as a mirror image to what was happening to women in the broader economy as a result of the industrial revolution.

John married Emma while he was in the army. At the time marriage was still discouraged, although there were signs that attitudes were changing.

> "Officers being a sort of guardians to the Men in their respective Companies, should use every means that prudence can suggest, to prevent the distress and ruin which so often attends their contracting marriages with women, in every respect unfit for them ... The principal method by which they can hope to guard against so great an evil, is to fix a standing order, for no … private … to marry without the consent of the Officer … which he should not grant on any account, until he has first had a strict enquiry made into the morals of the Woman, for whom the Soldier proposes, and whether she is sufficiently known to be industrious, and able to earn her bread:" (Cuthbertson, 1776)

Privates needed the permission of their commanding officer to marry and until 1867, this was left to each Regiment. After 1867 it was recommended that 6% of privates be married "on the strength", i.e. with permission. About 11% of privates were married (on and off strength) according to the 1871 census.

For those on the strength, the family was attached to the regiment and some provision for food, lodging, travel and education was made.

Women on the strength were expected to make an economic contribution to the regiment and they were a captive labour force. It was essential for a wife to find employment as a solidier's pay was insufficient for the needs of a family.

> "Without her earnings at the wash-tub they could not live, and some soldiers frankly avow that they choose their wives

ARMY WIVES' EMPLOYMENT

By performing essential work within the regiment women were absorbed into the military structure.

Cleaning, washing and mending
This was the most common work. Any woman who refused to do this was dismissed from the corps. Heavy bedding might be sent out.

The going rate was 6d per man: "… for each man two shirts, two towels, one pair of drawers, one flannel vest, two pairs of socks, all for sixpence; and find soap, soda, blue and coals …" (Sore Knee cited in Trustram, 1984)

Women who worked for officers received a £1 per month for washing and 5s for cleaning.

Sewing
Shirts were distributed to the garrison for finishing off at 8½d per shirt.

Nursing and Midwifery
A small number of women, normally NCO's wives were engaged in this role. Not until 1884 were women employed in any number.

Teaching
Again reserved for NCO's wives. Women had to be qualified school teachers or undergo six to twelve months training to be accepted.

Cooking remained the sole responsibility of company cooks. Nonetheless, wives are recorded as aiding their husband's messes on manoeuvres and campaigns.

Source: Mansfield, 2016 and Trustram, 1984

> as a carter would choose his horse, with an eye to strength and endurance" (cited in Trustram, 1984).

Many privates married "off strength", i.e. without permission. In this case, wives were either left at home or had to follow at their own expense. As they were married without permission, the soldier had to make his pay cover all expenses. In addition, once troops began being moved around by train, the family had little chance of keeping up with the regiment and were often left destitute.

The first "married quarters" were termed the "corner system" and were exactly that – a corner of the barracks curtained off for the family. This progressed to "tents" away from the unmarried quarters. From 1855, The Barrack Accommodation Committee, made recommendations to improve the situation, i.e. that each family should be provided with a room as part of the camp away from the unmarried quarters. However, this was too costly as only 20 out of 251 stations, had married quarters in 1857. With the building of huts, families might be grouped together in the same hut – separate from the unmarried men. Where there was no separate room, married soldiers were entitled to the space of four unmarried soldiers.

When the Regiment was posted abroad only a limited number of families would be authorised to travel. This was formally set at 6% from 1867.

In the early 19th century, a ballot would be held to determine which families would be allowed to follow their husbands. Twelve women for every hundred men were allowed to go to India, six for other destinations. The ballot was rigged:

> "In making the selection of women to be allowed to proceed, care should be taken always that those of the best character, and most likely to be useful to the Troops, should be the first chosen" (from a General Order of 1827 cited in Mansfield, 2016).

Women who were unlucky in the ballot were given a guinea and 5s for a child to travel to where they intended to live while their husband was abroad and after that it was the Poor Law. This arrangement led to a large number of destitute families during the Crimea War. However, arrangements for the women left behind were *ad hoc.* Depending on the regiment, they might be allowed to remain in the barracks and have some rations, but otherwise they joined those off the strength in falling back on the Poor Law. In 1871, Separation Allowances were introduced, initially 6d per day and 2d per day per child under 14. The amounts would require topping up from the Poor Law. If they were allowed to remain in barracks, the amounts were reduced.

With the coming of rail, travel became a particular bone of contention. Before, women and families travelled free on baggage wagons (including women off the strength). From 1857, the army paid for women and children under 14, on the strength.

Aldershot Garrison 1866

Aldershot had been selected as the first permanent training camp for the army in 1854. At first it was tented, but this was followed by the construction of 1,200 wooden huts. The 69th Regiment were billeted in the hut lines, described as "wretched wooden shanties" by a writer in Sheldrake's Aldershot Military Gazette; they were not named but just identified by letters A-M. The huts held 22 men or 8 officers.

In the early days of Aldershot, the married quarters were in tents. However, by the time Emma and John arrived in Aldershot, they would have been in a hut with three or four other families as described by the Pall Mall Gazette (1866):

> "The one great abomination of our barrack system is still flourishing there in its full luxuriance. Married soldiers are treated on the theory that prevails in stables and cowsheds. No less than 124 married women, with their husbands and children, are put together in the barrack-rooms, three or four families being consigned to each room, with nothing but a blanket or cloth tied up with a cord to separate them from one another. To suppose that decent men and women can submit to such an arrangement without disgust is altogether absurd."

However, this would also give Emma a social network for making friends and mutual support. In 1861, there were 1,053 wives of NCOs and men in Aldershot and 1,397 children (The Commission Appointed for Improving the Sanitary Conditions of Barracks and Hospitals, 1861).

Emma gave birth to her first child on 10 March 1866, William, in the South Camp but this is also where the Union Buildings were used as a hospital, so she could have merely been in the hospital for the birth. The Aldershot records show that the 69th Foot was billeted in North Camp. This was one of the "perks" of army family life: medical provision. From 1864, women (and children) on the strength were entitled to free medical attendance, medicine, hospital diets and admission to the garrison hospital for childbirth and other medical issues. This was in contrast to what would have been available outside in civilian society (Trustram, 1984).

It is likely that Emma was tasked with laundry as cleaning was done by the men and cooking by the cooks. The conditions were far from ideal in the barracks and camps. Young (1858) describes the wash-houses in Aldershot:

> "…the mud was more than ankle deep and most of them were in the same Balaklava-like conditions, productive of

CHRISTMAS IN THE GARRISON

The huts were "made resplendent with evergreens, paintings, and gay-coloured festoons, and very homely they looked"... an unofficial competition developed … Sheldrake's reporter in 1862 was particularly struck by "room no. 13, second block". In this year there had been tension between Britain and the USA caused by the American Civil War, so the centrepiece of the room's decorations was "the British fleet surrounding the American flag, and demanding an answer to the question - peace or war?" Away from this topical painting were more traditional festive embellishments, including the colours of the regiment, Christmas trees and foliage, and the whole room being "very tastefully decorated".

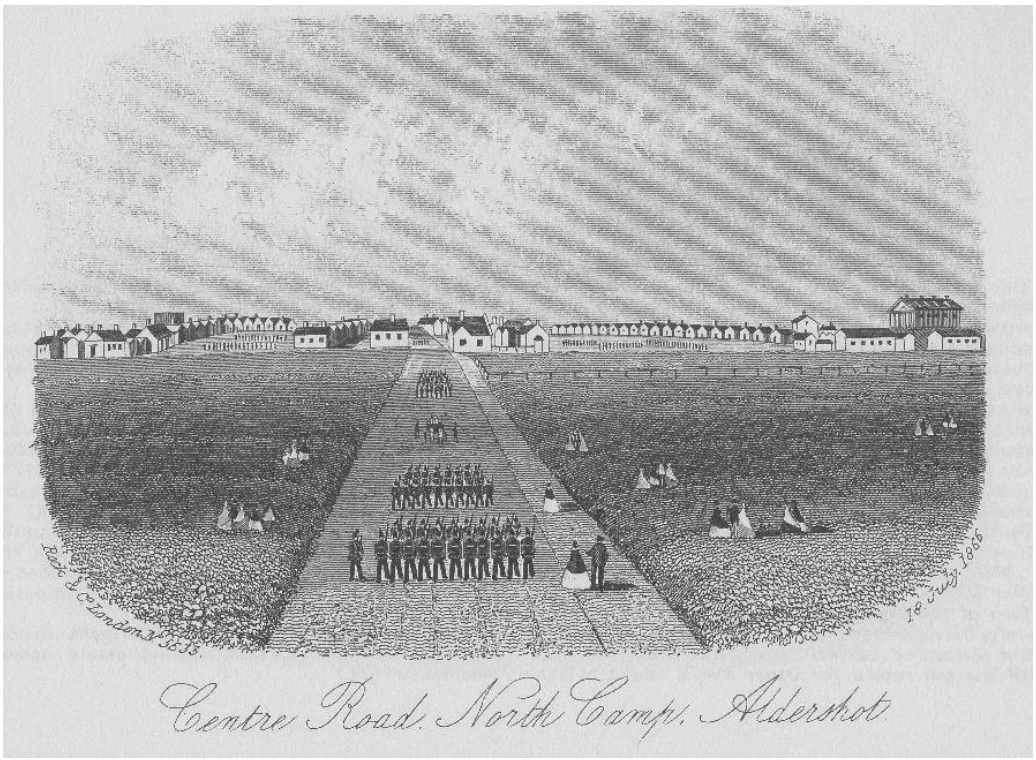
… for Christmas 1862 were prepared "no fewer than 230 geese, and 16,000 lbs. of plum pudding, besides legs of pork, hams, sucking pigs, and other dainties ... the tables groaning under a load of all the delicacies of the season". As the men finished their dinner it was traditional for the Commanding Officer to tour the dining rooms of his Regiment, and in each there would be a toast drunk and compliments of the season paid. Afterwards the officers would retire to their quarters, and the soldiers would repair to their regimental canteens to enjoy further refreshment and celebrate a day free from normal duties … the afternoon was spent singing songs. Visitors were welcome, and soon the rooms were crowded with friends and relations. In the evening furniture was moved aside to conclude the day with dancing, which was "indulged in with hearty spirit".

Source: Paul Vickers, https://friendsofthealdershotmilitarymuseum.org.uk/garrison.005.html

such cramp, rheumatism and dangerous sufferings to the women, which a trellis-flooring of wood might at once have remedied … There was no drying-room … and therefore, when the weather was wet, the officers' linen shared the fate of the men's: that is it was hung on lines in the huts used night and day by the married people, and there dripped on the children's heads … and then was ironed out on a board not immaculate, as far as bread, cheese and onion were concerned, imbibing under the process as much carbon as inclined to separate from the smoke of the central stove and its not particularly well-arranged flue."

While Emma was earning her keep washing, John was given things to do to keep him out of trouble as well as the inevitable drills, parades and inspections.

Image 31. Aldershot Garrison 1866



Source: Unknown author - Transferred from en.wikipedia to Commons.(Original text: Scanned from a copy in my collection), Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=47402106

On a Divisional Field Day in January 1866, the regiment, as part of the 1st Brigade, carried out manoeuvres with other regiments:

> "The Infantry Division formed up in line of contiguous column at quarter-distance, on the Queen's Parade, North Camp, at 10.30 on Thursday.
>
> "Major-General Russel … assumed the command, the following movements took place. Changed front to the left and formed echelon of brigades with brigades in line of contiguous columns, again changed position to the left; formed columns *en masse*, wheeled to the left, and formed line of contiguous column, changed position to the left, changed position to the right. These movements were all executed in quarter-distance column with the brigades in echelon – each brigade working on its own ground; next formed line of contiguous column on the centre brigade, changed position to the right on the centre regiment of the Second

Brigade, formed column *en masse* on the centre brigade; formed line of contiguous column on the Third Brigade, changed position to the right and advanced in echelon of brigades from the right, formed line of contiguous columns on the centre brigade, changed front to the right on the centre regiment of the Second Brigade; deployed into line on No. 1 Company, 28th regiment, changed position to the left on the centre regiment of each brigade and formed line of brigades, took ground to the left by open column of companies, reformed line and advanced, changed front to the left on the centre regiments of brigades, formed open column of companies left in front and closed to quarter-distance column on the leading division of each regiment, formed column *en masse* facing northward, and marched past in quarter-distance in quick time with the bands of the First Brigade, formed up in front of the saluting point …

"The troops next counter marched and passed in double time in quarter-distance column, right in front of the bands of the First Brigade playing a lively air. The men seemed to take great interest in this march, and the regiments went by very steadily. The troops then filed off to their respective quarters." (Sheldrake's, 27 January 1866)

On 3 May, they had to perform for His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cambridge when he made a surprise visit but was happy with their cleanliness, appearance and marching … (Sheldrake's, 19 May 1866).

There was also regular target practice, where every month the regiments were rated in a league table with other regiments. When they arrived, the 69th were quite poor to average, but in April 1866 they managed an overall second place with Private William Swann being the best shot in the 1st Period, and Brevet-Major Blood's Company coming highest overall. (Sheldrake's, 19 May 1866). There were bonus payments for good shots, but sadly John never qualified.

The 69th had its canteen which kept it out of trouble and there seems to have been a significant "temperance" element in the regiment. On 29 August 1864, 90 officers and men of the 69th foot, took the train to London to attend a Temperance Fete at the Crystal Palace. Although as 40 soldiers had their expenses covered by an officer, perhaps they just wanted a day out in London. (Sheldrake's, 2 September 1865).

It also had its own Library with 532 men subscribing. As well has drawing on 450 books from the Aldershot Garrison Library, it had

69TH HALF-YEARLY INSPECTION

Brigadier-General Sir Alfred Horsford, KCB, inspected the 69th on Tuesday. The regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel D E Mackirdy, formed up on their parade in open column of companies. Sir Alfred … inspected the regiment by companies; he afterwards inspected the men's kits in the huts. The Brigadier subsequently visited the recreation and reading rooms, schools, canteen and hospital, the Quarter-master's and other departments in the regiment, and also examined the company and regimental books. He also passed through the men's huts at their dinner hour. Rain having set in in the afternoon, the officers did not go through the sword exercise. Neither was the regiment inspected in drill. The Brigadier-General expressed to Lieut.-Colonel Mackirdy the great satisfaction he experienced in finding the regiment under his command in such excellent order in every department. The Brigadier took particular interest in the working arrangements carried out, in the management of the 69th canteen, under the presidency of Captain Smyth, who has taken great interest in the management of the canteen under the new system, so much so that last year the captain was mentioned in the House of Commons, and the 69th canteen was spoken of as being a pattern for other regiments. The books in use here, and which were designed by Captain Smyth, Sir Alfred pronounced to the most perfect he had seen.

Source: Sheldrake's, 5 May 1866

its own books and, being a Lincolnshire Regiment, papers from Lincolnshire, Liverpool, Ireland and Scotland: “The different rooms are provided with the usual conveniences for the troops to indulge in reading, gaming or refreshment. Some of the pictures that adorn the rooms are very good. They include *The Queen, The Council of War, The Rifle Contest at Wimbledon …”* (Sheldrake’s, 17 February 1866)

Several regiments were playing football unofficially in the 1850s and the game in Aldershot appears to have been quickly organised, for in November 1861 it was reported that the “first match of the season” was played in the Camp, although the 69th seems to have preferred cricket. There are numerous references to the 69th cricket matches in Sheldrake’s. However, John does not appear in the list of any of the named teams. Athletics also seems to have been popular in the regiment.

The 69th’s band participated in numerous concerns and fetes, including one for the children of the camp on the marriage of the Prince of Wales. It was also active in welcoming and sending off regiments as they changed quarters.

On 2 June, Sheldrake’s reported that the Regiment had received orders to depart for the Channel Islands: five companies for Jersey, three for Alderney and two for Guernsey. It noted the good reputation that the Regiment enjoyed, not just among the top brass but also among the civilian population of Aldershot:

> “This highly respected regiment, under command of Lieut.Colonel D E Mackirdy, left the North Camp at half-past 10 o’clock on Tuesday morning, and proceeded to the Farnborough Railway Station of the South Western Railway, where they left by special train at 12 o’clock for the purpose of being conveyed to Portsmouth, there to embark for the Channel Islands where they are to be stationed. They were played to the Railway Station by the bands of the 71st Light Infantry and 89th Regiment. The regiments stationed at the North Camp turned out and loudly cheered them on their route through the camp.” (Sheldrake’s, 30 June 1866).

Image 32. The Terrible Paddle-Frigate

Source: The Science Museum, Courtesy of the Science Museum | Licence: CC BY-NC-SA

The heavy baggage had left a day earlier and loaded onto the Terrible, a paddle-frigate (The Army and Navy Gazette, 30 June 1866). Now that John was married, he would have been allowed, in addition to his knapsack, a "small chest" for his family's possessions weighing 1 cwt which is about 50 kilos.

The Channel Islands 1866-1867

The local militia in the Channel Islands was reinforced by troops from the mainland, mainly to protect the English Channel and to deter France from invading. This was what can be termed a "cushy number". Since 1781, the military had not fired a shot. The garrison played a major part in the social life of the island, hosting band concerts and staging military displays: officers and other ranks provided husbands for many local women. According to the muster records, John was detached to St Peter's, Guernsey for about six months.

Image 30. Castle Cornet and Fort George

Source: Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Castle Cornet; Fort George, Guernsey,* ?1832, Turner Bequest 1856, Courtesy of Tate Britain, Image released under Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 Unported) https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/jmw-turner/joseph-mallord-william-turner-castle-cornet-fort-george-guernsey-r1175179

He was probably based in Fort George built to protect the harbour during the Napoleonic Wars and offering troop accommodation to supplement the facilities at Castle Cornet.

Construction work was ongoing while he was stationed there including the completion of the new lighthouse. Given the military purpose of these works, it is more than possible that he was involved in the building works.

Families were typically lodged in the town itself (population c. 15,000) and not at the fort. The most famous resident at the time was Victor Hugo who was in political exile from France and who had earlier that year published *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*, set in Guernsey.

ST PETER'S PORT

The sea crossing was not without danger:

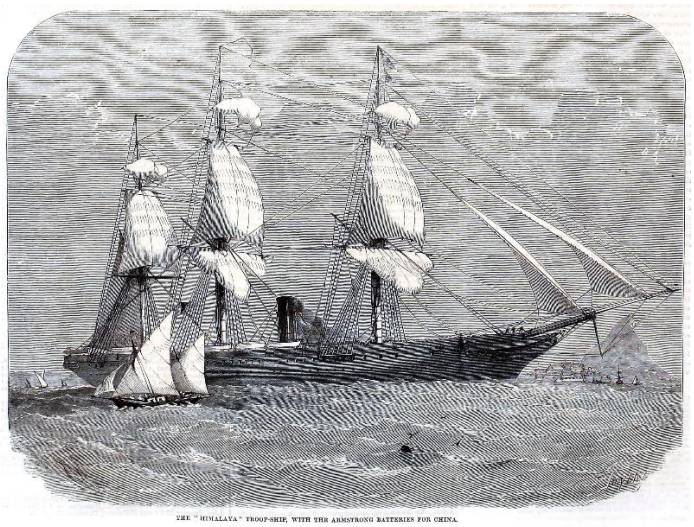
> "It is a long and sometimes a boisterous, and even dangerous journey … and during the whole time, after the Casquet Rocks are sighted, the timid voyager, especially if the nights be dark and a gale is rising, has little pleasure until the vessel swings in the smoother water of … St Peter's Port. These Casquets are a string of rocks a mile and a half long and half a mile across, occupying a prominent position, and rising abruptly out of the water in the direct track of vessels. Three revolving lights placed upon towers show their dangerous proximity to the up-channel passage. The lights are 112 ft. above the water and may be seen in fine weather for twenty miles will in foggy weather a bell is sounded …
>
> St Peter's Port, the chief town of Guernsey … presents a straggling frontage to the sea, which for a mile and half … is kept off by a permanent seawall and esplanade. The buildings near the sea are poor and irregular, but they are no un-picturesque from a distance … The most prominent objects … are Castle Cornet … and the new harbour-works. A portion of the latter, consisting of a magnificent seawall, now connects and passes beyond the rock on which the castle stands … so that the castle and the works appear to form part of one great plan."

Source: Illustrated Times, 6 October 1866

Dublin, Ireland 1867

On 2 April 1867, the Regiment arrived in Kingston (Dublin) from Guernsey on *The HMS Himalaya* where it took the train to the Royal Barracks before moving onto the Curragh for six months, prior to leaving for Canada.

Image 31. The Himalaya



THE "HIMALAYA" TROOP-SHIP, WITH THE ARMSTRONG BATTERIES FOR CHINA.

Source: By Frederick James Smyth - Illustrated London News, Feb 4, 1860, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=30259998

Four companies remained in Dublin on garrison duty: two at the Linen Hall and two at Richmond Barracks (The Army and Navy Gazette, 6 April, 1867). John was assigned to one of the companies that remained in Dublin and while there he had two days furlough. It was possible that he used this time to meet his family – either in Dublin or Liverpool – given their proximity. While in Dublin his good conduct bonus was upped to 2d a day.

During this period, there was a dramatic double suicide.

> "A most extraordinary doubly suicide of a soldier of the 69th, and the wife of another soldier of the same Regiment, took place at Dublin on Saturday night. It appears that as some men were passing along Ormond Quay, in the immediate vicinity of the Metal Bridge, they suddenly heard a loud splash in the river, and immediately rushed to the wall of the quay to ascertain what had occurred. The observed two persons struggling in the water, and being unable themselves to render the unfortunate beings any assistance, they hurried with great promptitude to Carlisle Bridge, and informed two boatmen of the occurrence. The boatmen immediately put off to the assistance of the drowning persons, and on nearing the spot indicated they perceived that they were tied together, face to face, by means of a black handkerchief, which was wound round the woman's neck and under the man's arms so that her head rested on his breast. The handkerchief was at once cut, and the apparently lifeless bodies were dragged into the boat and quickly rowed to the landing stage, from which they were taken with all possible speed to the Jervis-street hospital. The resident students, with the assistance of Dr Neil, who was passing at the time, used every means for their restoration, including galvanism, but all to no purpose, as life was quite extinct. The soldier was subsequently recognised as Henry Hartshorn, aged twenty-seven, of the 69th Regiment, who had been missing from his company in Linen Hall Barracks for the last four days. The

female was ascertained to be Amelia Oldham, whose husband also belonged to the 69th, and from whom she had been separated for some time. It is stated that Mrs Oldham had formed an improper acquaintance with Hartshorn, and the 69th were under orders to proceed to Canada on Monday morning, and it being utterly impossible that they could accompany each other they determined to terminate their existence together. A curious circumstance in connection with the melancholy affair is that Mrs Oldham had tattoed in Indian ink on her arm, "Harry", the name of her paramour." (Naval & Military Gazette and Weekly Chronicle of the United Service 24 August 1867)

Whether Emma and Amelia were in the same Company is not known – however, from the muster records we know that Amelia was also on the strength and it is likely that they would have worked together in Aldershot even if their husbands were assigned to different companies.

In August, the rest of the Regiment joined the four companies in Dublin as it was under orders to embark for Canada as part of the British efforts to squash the Fenian incursions.

On Monday, 19 August 1867, the HQ and Service Companies of the 69th Foot boarded *the Serapis* for Canada arriving in Montreal on 31 August. (Sheldrake's Aldershot Military Gazette, 24 August 1867).

Image 32. Dinner Time Aboard a Victorian Troop Ship, 1873

Source: Author Unknown, The London Illustrated News, 6 December 1873, page 13. © Digitalised image, The British Library.

Emma had been selected to accompany her husband and the Regiment; she would be travelling with young William, who

LIFE ON A TROOPSHIP

The officers would set the men tasks to keep them busy in the place of their daily drills, for example, swabbing and keeping the decks clean or assisting with tasks such as reeling the line for the daily log etc.

> "The men were divided into messes, as sailors are, and had the same kinds of provisions, beef (fresh as long as it would last and then salted), puddings occasionally, preserved vegetables and biscuits. The joints were carved by the oldest or first in rank, or by a captain of mess appointed for day or week. After dinner the men were served with grog the same as in the navy. The grog (rum-and-water) was served out in tin cans. A good deal of fun, one may be sure goes on at dinner and grog time. After dinner the men were allowed to smoke for half an hour in stated parts of the ship".

> "The sergeants' and army sergeants' wives, and the wives of some of the private soldiers, had to go on the forecastle every morning, to be out of the way, at the hour when the troops were paraded on the poop-deck … the women travelled as second-class passengers, and the accommodation was as good as anyone could desire".

Source: *The Illustrated London News*

would have been just over a year old. By 1878, women and children travelled as second-class passengers:

Because of the climatic conditions in North America, additional "articles of necessaries" were provided: two flannel waistcoats with sleeves or Guernsey Frocks, two pairs of long flannel or worsted drawers and a fur cap every third year (Stocqueler, 1851). John was also given a clothing allowance of £2 prior to his departure.

Canada

The Regiment was first posted at Brantford, Ontario, for the winter (famous for Alexander Bell and the invention of the telephone and with a large First Nation population).

They moved to London, Ontario, in May 1868, probably the Crystal Palace Barracks built in 1861. This was an eight-sided white brick building containing eight doors, one on each side. Forty-eight windows sided the second floor of the building. Then in November 1868, it was Montreal and then to Quebec to the Citadel, built by the British to a French design. The Citadel towers above the St Lawrence and is an important visitor attraction to this day.

Image 33. Ariel View of the Citadel, Quebec

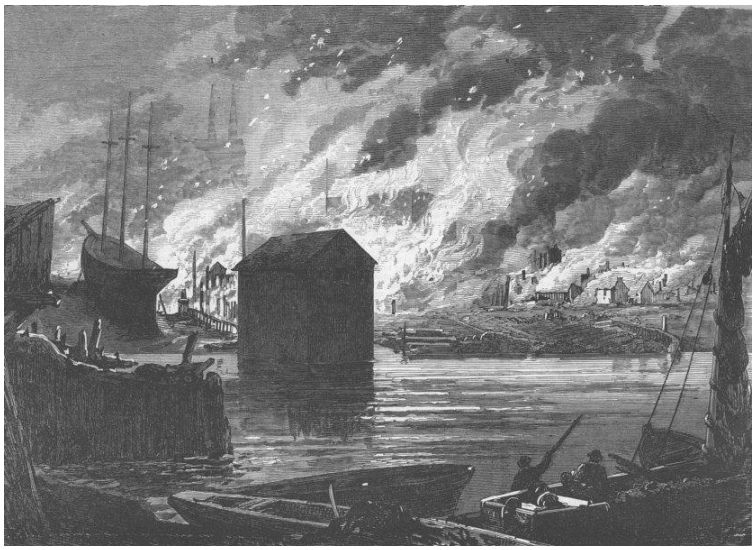
Source : Musée Royal 22e Régiment - Caporal David Robert, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=27667490

The garrison had been an important part of Quebec's economic, social and cultural life though out the 18th and early 19th century, but by the time John was there it was running down. In 1867, there were just under 1,000 troops, which represented 1 in 40 of the population (or 2.5%). The garrison was finally, given up by the British in 1871, the year after John left (The Garrison Town of Québec - MMVQ Meeting venue (manegemilitaire.ca))

In May 1870 everything kicked off.

On 24 May, in the early hours of the morning from 3 to 9 a.m., the regiment was employed in fighting a fire in a suburb of Quebec. Over 500 houses were destroyed and two ships on the stocks. The fire rendered over 6,000 people homeless (Bury and Norwich Post, 31 May 1870 and Smyth, 1870).

Image 34. The Great Fire in Quebec, 1870



Source: Artist Unknown, The London Illustrated News. © Digitalised image, The British Library.

On the very same day, at 7 p.m. the Regiment got orders to go to Montreal to support an action against the Fenians:

> "Marched at 2 am., on the 26th, 570 strong; arrived at Montreal at 5.30 p.m., where it bivouacked in the Grand Trunk drill shed for the night. Next day received orders to proceed to the Huntingdon frontier, — Lieut. Colonel Bagot being appointed Brigadier of a combined force of 1,800 men. Left by train (Major Smyth commanding) at 2 p.m. Reached Huntingdon at 12.30 a.m., on the 27th, where having encamped, it received orders from the Brigadier to take an hour's rest, and be ready to move at 4 a.m. The combined force marched at 4.45 a.m., and after a rapid 12 miles to Hinchinbrooke (or Trout River,) attacked the Fenians at 8.15 a.m., and drove them in the utmost disorder across the frontier, the latter throwing away their arms, ammunition, clothing, &c., &c. One company of the Regiment was engaged (Capt. Mansfield's) it having formed a portion of the advanced guard. The 69th Regiment moved in support. After remaining a couple of hours in observation on the frontier it moved back some three miles to Hendersonville, where it encamped." (Smyth, 1870)

THE FENIANS

The word Fenian is an umbrella term for the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and their affiliate in the United States, the Fenian Brotherhood, secret political organisations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries dedicated to the establishment of an independent Irish Republic. In 1867 they sought to coordinate raids into Canada from the United States with a rising in Ireland. In the 1916 Easter Rising and the 1919–1921 Irish War of Independence, the IRB led the republican struggle.

The Fenian raids in Canada attacked military fortifications, customs posts and other targets in 1866, and again from 1870 to 1871. The ultimate goal of these raids was to hold Canada hostage and therefore be in a position to blackmail the United Kingdom to give Ireland its independence. A number of separate incursions by the Fenian Brotherhood into Canada were undertaken to bring pressure on the British government to withdraw from Ireland, although none of these raids achieved their aims.

Because of the invasion attempts, support or collaboration for the Fenians in Canada became very rare even among the Irish and was one of the factors motivating the British North America colonies to consider a more centralised defence for mutual protection, ultimately realised through Canadian Confederation.

Source: Wikipedia

An account of the Battle of Trout River can be found in MacDonald (1910) – all those drills and target practice were at last put to good use and John got his "five minutes" of action:

> "The advance guard of the Fenians were posted behind a very strong entrenchment, with their right flank resting on the river and their left covered by the woods. Their skirmishers were about 150 in number, and their supports and reserves (amounting to about 300 or 400 more) were stationed a short distance in the rear.
>
> The Huntingdon Borderers formed the Canadian advance guard, and as soon as they had approached within about 300 yards of the Fenian position, were deployed in skirmishing order, and advanced with great gallantry. The centre support was composed of one company of the 69th Regiment, under Capt. Mansfield and Lieut. Atcheson. The remainder of the 69th, under Major Smythe, was drawn up in quarter distance column as a reserve. One company of the Montreal Garrison Artillery (under Capt. Doucet) marched across the bridge and along the road on the left, and afterwards took part in the engagement with those who had been sent in the opposite direction further back, to prevent a flanking movement from either side. The remainder of the Artillery and Engineers, under Capt. Hall, marched to the front as a reserve, but afterwards returned to Holbrook Bridge, which it was feared the Fenians might attempt to capture, and advance along the south side of the river. The skirmish line advanced with great steadiness against the enemy behind the entrenchments. The Fenians fired three volleys as they advanced, the fire being promptly returned by our men as they gallantly moved forward. When the Canadians came within 100 yards of the entrenchments, the Fenians fell back through the hop-field, firing as they retreated, and when they got beyond its protection, ran for the buildings further back, where it was thought they would make a stand. Col. Bagot then ordered Capt. Mansfield's company of the 69th to fix bayonets and charge, which was done in grand style, amid loud cheering, and resulted in the complete rout of the Fenians. Capt. Hall's Battery of the Montreal Garrison Artillery, directed by Lieut. Fitzgeorge, cleared the wood on the left in a very thorough manner, and soon the whole Fenian army were in a helter-skelter race out of Canada and back to American territory. When the Canadian troops reached the boundary Col. Bagot had great difficulty in restraining them from crossing into the United States after the fugitives, so eager were they to effect the capture of the marauders. The Fenians were so swift in their retreat that only one was captured, but three men were killed and several wounded during the fight. No losses occurred among the Canadians."

Major Smyth[41] (1870) seems more impressed by the Regiment's travel stamina than their military exploits:

> "The regiment then had — between 2.15 p.m. the day before, when it left Montreal, and 8.15 next morning — travelled 36 miles by railway; one hour and a half by steamer, and 24 miles by road, loaded and unloaded 10 tons of baggage, four times, without a man falling out, and be it remembered that for the last four nights it had been practically with little or no sleep."

The rest of his army career must have been a bit of an anti-climax.

Several of John's comrades got medals and the Regiment got a new flag – or in military terms – colours. Prior to modern warfare, the colours were the rallying point for troops in action and to this

[41] Is this the same Smyth that introduced workshops for army wives in Burma and the much-lauded canteen system in Aldershot? If so, it would seem he is a bit of an organisation and methods nerd.

day have high symbolic significance in forging the identity of a regiment. The ceremony for the presentation of new colours was highly formalised and HRH Prince Arthur, Prince of Wales, turned up in Quebec to present them at 4 o'clock on 8 June 1870 on the Esplanade, watched by a large number of Quebec citizens and, no doubt, Emma, William (age 4) and John (age 2). As in the nature of these ceremonies, there was a lot of pomp and choreography. The regiment was "wheeled" into three sides of a square, with two companies on each flank:

> "The Mayor and City Clerk appeared in official costume, and were attended by a large number of the Aldermen and Councillors. They were received with a general salute, the band playing a Regimental march."

Then came the speeches (all reproduced in Smyth, 1870), rounded off by some audience participation and nifty footwork from the troops:

> "… the Colonel called for three cheers for the Mayor, Corporation and citizens of Quebec, which, it is needless to say, were given in true British style, with the additional "tiger"[42]. The Mayor then proposed one for the Queen, the Reg. taking time from him; after which the citizens gave three warm and excited cheers … At this moment the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. The cheer was next taken up by the people standing on the surrounding fortifications, and lasted for several minutes …. [The Regiment] was formed into quarter distance column marching past the saluting base from the front. After marching past at quick time, the Reg. closed to quarter-distance on front company, taking ground to the left in fours, wheeled to the left, and deployed without halting. This movement was executed with wonderful precision and despatch, elicited from the spectators general remarks of praise and admiration. After one or two other movements, it re-formed column at half-distance, breaking into parties, and marching off the ground." (Naval and Military Gazette, 25 June 1870).

The 100-year old colours were left in the Anglican cathedral in Quebec and the festivities concluded with a ball at which over a 1,000 people were present (but none of the rank and file unless they gate-crashed … I would assume they organised their own entertainment back in the barracks).

EXTRACT FROM THE MAYOR'S SPEECH

We, the Mayor [etc.] … in the name of the citizens of Quebec, hasten to welcome you back to this garrison whence you were so precipitately summoned about a fortnight since to the defence of our frontier, endangered by the incursions, as cowardly as they unjustifiable of a band of lawless marauders called Fenians. You bravely responded to the call of duty to co-operate with out Militia Force, then also on their way to the scene of action. True to the well-merited and unsullied reputation of the British regular troops you quickly joined our brave but less experiences, Volunteers, and led them to the front to protect the homesteads of their countrymen, invaded by these lawless banditti; and the victory you achieved on the occasion was as complete as could have been desired and well worthy of a more honourable enemy.

Source: Smyth, 1870.

[42] An American custom, first usage noted during the American Civil War in 1857 – whereby after the cheers the crown gives a yowl of inarticulate feline joy and which the Daily Telegraph (8 October 1880) termed a "… hysterical American supplement …".

Bermuda, 1870 to 1873

> "You go to heaven if you want to — I'd rather stay right here in Bermuda." (Mark Twain 1910, reportedly said during his last illness)

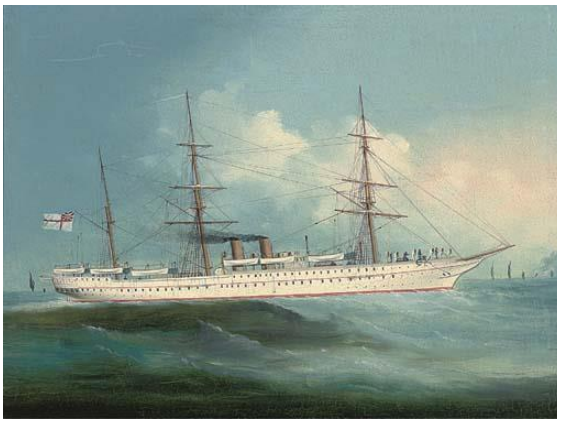
Following the American Revolution and the loss of Britain's ports in continental America, Bermuda was used as a stopover point between Canada and Britain's Caribbean possessions and assumed a new strategic prominence for the Royal Navy.

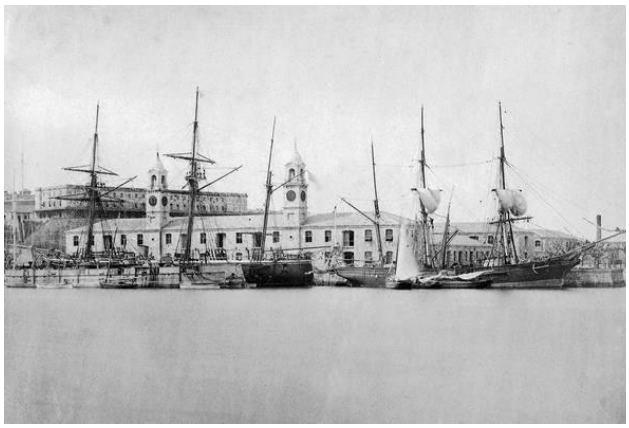
> "Bermuda, a group of small islands in the middle of the Atlantic, nearly a "thousand miles from everywhere", and completely isolated from the world, bids fair to become the Gibralter of the West, and one of the strongest fortresses in existence. Considering what its importance would be as a depot, naval and military, in the event of a war with America, it is extraordinary that so little should be known in England concerning these islands. The islands are honeycombed with fortifications, and endless works or military engineering are in progress, so much so that the place has been not unjustly nicknamed "the Sappers' paradise."" (Lieutenant Randolph, 69th Foot quoted in *The Graphic*, 19 July 1873)

The 1860s and 1870s were characterised by extensive building of naval and military facilities: a new floating dock, a munitions depot, a new causeway linking islands, etc. etc. At the time, the newly constructed munitions depot was reputed to be the biggest in the world.

In November 1870, the 69th Foot left for Bermuda on three boats the HMS Orontes (notable as being the ship that brought Dr Watson back to Sherlock Holmes in *The Study in Scarlet*), the HMS Tender (no image found) and the HMS Vixen. We do not know which vessel the Lindsay family were on.

Image 35. HMS Orontes and HMS Vixen





Source: HMS Orontes: Chinese School, 19th Century - http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=4727285 , Public Domain, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?curid=28168665; HMS Vixen in Bermuda: Royal Navy, National Maritime Museum, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HMS_Vixen_(1865).jpg

The 69th Foot disembarked on 28 November 1870. The two bossmen had got on famously and recorded their mutual admiration in an exchange of letters published in several newspapers. First, Lieutenant-Colonel G. Bagot to Captain J Perry:

> "Now, when the parting cheers of the crew are ringing in our ears, it appears a suitable time to convey to you … the unanimous desire of my officers and, indeed … of my entire regiment, that I should express to you, your officers, and crew, our great gratitude for the unfailing courtesy, cordial kindness, and thorough good fellowship we have met with on

board your ship, from the moment we embarked until our departure …" and so on for several paragraphs.

To which, not to be outdone, Captain Perry replied:

> "… I beg of you to convey to your officers and men the high estimation we entertain of the feeling held towards us by the 69th Regiment. The Orontes has carried a large portion of the British Army, and in all cases the hour of parting has brought its regrets … in no case has it been more marked than in the case of the gallant 69th Regiment from the moment of embarkation of the baggage guard at Quebec …." and so on for several paragraphs. (The Army and Navy Gazette, 14 January 1871).

The Regiment were assigned to Boaz Island and lodged at the Clarence Barracks. Their main task was to protect HM Dockyard. During his two years in Bermuda, John was assigned to construction tasks, to mess duties and the military stores. While in Bermuda, his Good Conduct bonus rose to 3d. He had a few days furlough, and their third child, Arthur was born.

We do not know whether mere privates in the British army found Bermuda as paradisical as Mark Twain. It is hoped that the family were able to take some advantage of the climate, landscape and beaches. Lieutenant Randolph describes and illustrates a break from the normal routine for the 69th Foot.

> "The 69th Regiment, under the command of Lieut.-Col. George Bagot, fought their way through miles of sweet-smelling cedarwood and fragrant sage bush, disputing every inch of ground with an invisible foe. Sometimes, however, the programme was varied by the introduction of two companies of Sappers as an enemy. The were wily foes, knew their ground well and seldom showed their noses above the brushwood. It was heart-rending to be beaten back by them, but insult was added to injury when the victory was gained by the sudden reappearance and advance of a company which had been routed and killed off (morally) to a man only one short half-hour before. Be it observed there were no umpires. The manoeuvres not unfrequently ended in a sort of extempore picnic, the officers sending up their yachts with the ladies to meet them at the spot appointed for the end of the expedition. Altogether it was not unpleasant soldiering." (*The Graphic*, 19 July 1873)

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MARK TWAIN IN BERMUDA

Mark Twain loved Bermuda and visited it regularly between 1867 and 1910.

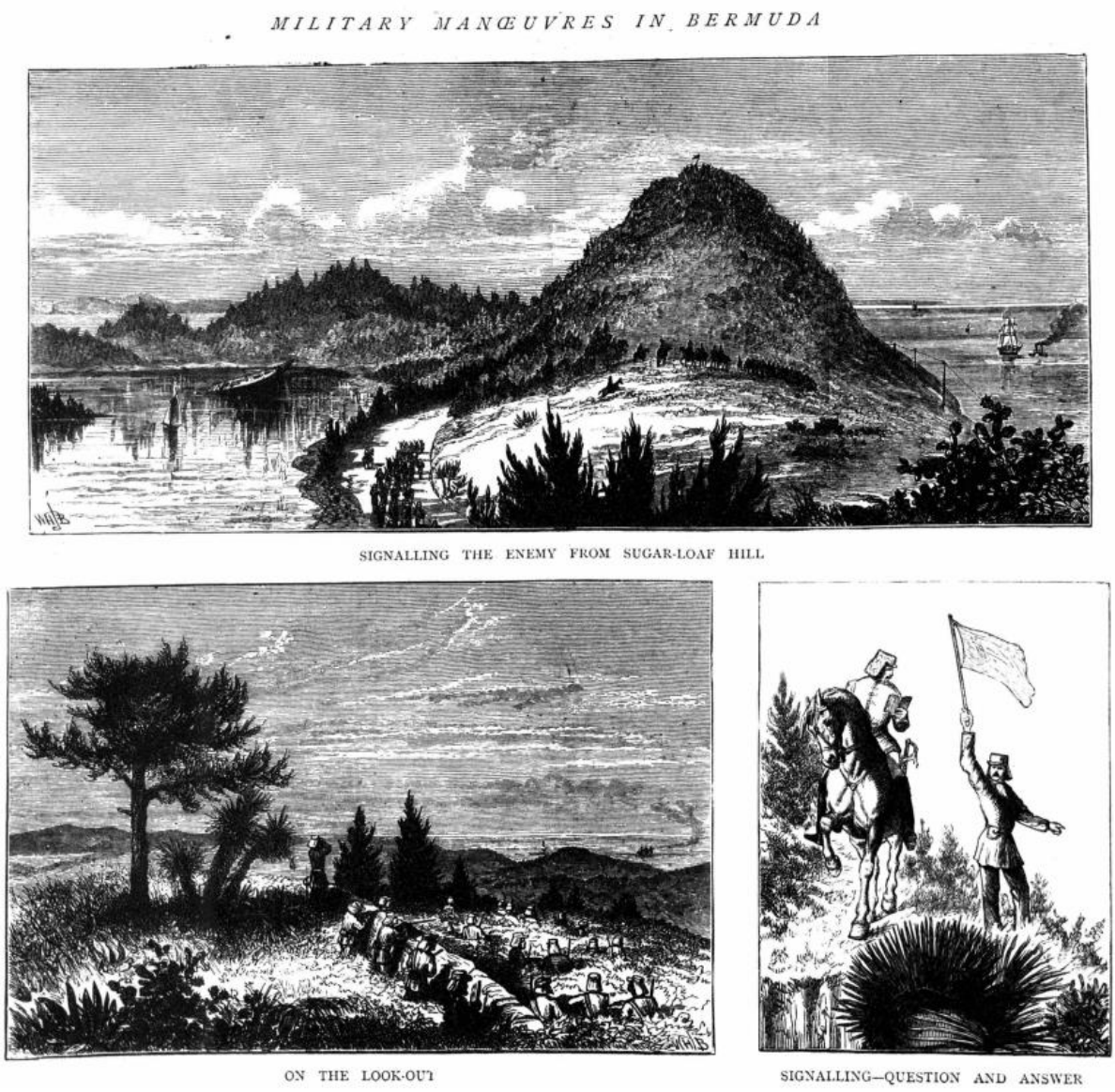
He died at the age of 74 at his Connecticut home on April 21, 1910 — just days after leaving Bermuda for the final time. Bouquets of Bermuda Easter lillies garlanded his coffin at a funeral service at New York's Brick Church.

Some Mark Twain quotes from the period:

- "The spectacle of an entire nation grovelling in contentment is an infuriating thing."
- "The early twilight of a Sunday evening in Hamilton, Bermuda, is an alluring time. There is just enough of whispering breeze, fragrance of flowers, and sense of repose to raise one's thoughts heavenward; and just enough amateur piano music to keep him reminded of the other place"
- "… no rush, no hurry, no money-getting frenzy, no complaining, no fussing and quarrelling … hardly a dog, seldom a cat … nobody drunk."

Source:
http://www.foreverbermuda.com/recalling-mark-twains-time-in-bermuda/

Image 36. The 69th on Military Manoeuvres in Bermuda



Source: Sketches by Lieutenant Randolph published in *The Graphic*, 19 July 1873. Digital copy © British Library.

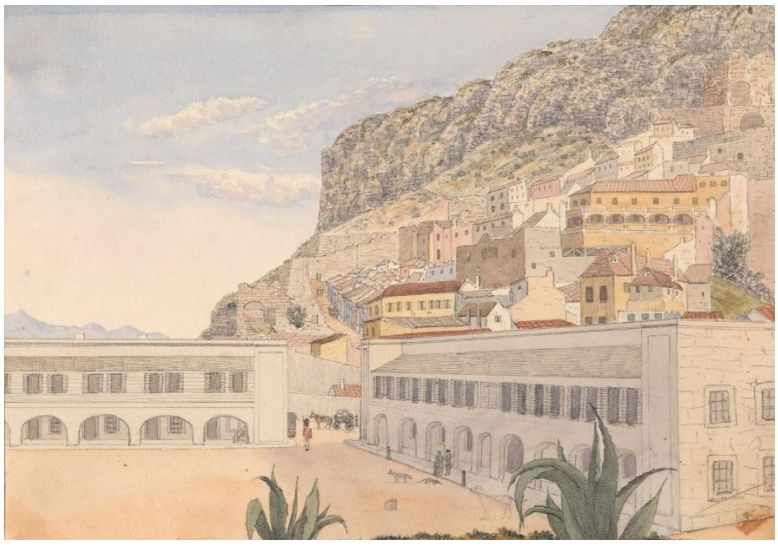
In April 1873, the Regiment left Bermuda for Gibralter which would turn out to be a very different kettle of fish.

Gibralter, 1873 to 1776

The strategic position of The Rock of Gibraltar, a peninsular of six square kilometres, guarding the entrance to the Mediterranean is unrivalled, and has for many years been fought over by Spain, France and Britain, all claiming possession. It has been in British hands since 1704.

Three-quarters of its surface is dominated by the Rock, a large limestone outcrop, and so the population was (and still is) squeezed into the remaining quarter – flat red sands. The population consisted of about 15,000 civilians in 1870 (descendants of Spanish, Portuguese, Genoese and North African immigrants) living in about 100 acres in the town, about 6,000 military of whom just under 50% lived in the town and the others in barracks scattered around the Rock, and some Spanish workers on temporary permits. In the 19th century, the civil and military population, although highly segregated, lived cheek by jowl and this high density living led to poor sanitary conditions with everything, including water, being imported. After Bermuda, Gibralter must have been a bit of a shock and to say that relations between the army and civilians were not good is an understatement.

Image 37. Officers' Quarters, Gibralter



Source: George Lothian Hall, 1825–1888, British, Officer's Quarters and Casemate Barracks, Gibraltar, recto, cropped to image, 1843, Watercolor and graphite on thick, moderately textured, cream wove paper, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1975.4.484.

While the officers' quarters were elegant, most barracks had thick stone walls to withstand siege and were set against the lower slopes buttressed by earth banks. They were very damp, had little ventilation and there was no provision for fires in the colder winter months. Floors were often unpaved, drainage was poor and the latrines were open troughs. Any improvements

AN OUTRAGE ON ENGLISH OFFICERS

"A court of inquiry is now sitting to inquire concerning a *fracas* which took place on Tuesday last near the powder mills in Spain, a few miles for Gibralter.

As some members of the Gibralter hunt were returning home, the horses of two of them (Colonel Glyn, Rifle Brigade and Lieutenant Butler, 69th Regiment) were stopped by two peasants, who, on beginning to use their fists, got a prompt reply with the handles of the sportsmen's hunting whips.

A mob of men and women began pelting them with stones, and two Carabineers who had come out dropped on the knee and, taking deliberate aim, coolly fired seven or eight rounds into the knot of horsemen who had collected. Fortunately, the Spanish soldiery are not famous as marksmen, and no one was hurt.

Two officers who understood the Spanish language then accompanied the soldiery to Algeciras, where they saw the governor's aide-de-camp.

Spanish soldiers are too prone to this sort of thing, and hitherto British good nature or indifference has suffered it to pass almost unnoticed, but there is a limit to all things".

Source: The Broad Arrow, 25 November, 1876.

carried out tended to be of the military infrastructure rather than to improve sanitation and living conditions of the rank and file.

While in Gibralter, John is recorded as working as a servant for the first time, alongside the regular fatigue and garrison duties. This would have been for one of the officers. It is also during his time in Gibralter that John is charged with his only disciplinary offence. He was put in the lock-up for drunkenness and forfeited 1d of his Good Conduct Pay (restored a year later). Whether this had anything to do with John and Emma's fourth son, Henry, being born on 10 November 1873, we can only speculate. Hospital facilities were limited and most women gave birth *in situ* in contrast to Aldershot or Montreal. Weanling diarrhoea was rampant (Swachuk, 2002).

The married quarters for privates were abysmal:

> "We have hardly ever seen human dwellings so bad as some of the wooden huts on the National Ground and at Windmill Hill. They are ruinous, not water-tight, in such a condition that is impossible to preserve either cleanliness or decency in them, and the poor women and children are worse off in this respect than the lowest class of the Spanish population about them" (Sutherland, 1867).
>
> "The casements are bomb-proof and contain quarters for 800 men, with kitchens and ovens for cooking … The entrance to the different apartments is from a large court about ten to twelve feet below the level of the ground. I was conducted there by a soldier of the Royals, who had applied to me to baptize his newly-born and dying child. His wife had been confined at seven months. At the end of a long subterranean apartment, with no other opening to admit air or light but at the entrance, and occupied by several other families, I found the poor mother and infant". (Barlette, 1864)

Gibralter's military washhouses, where Emma would have undoubtedly worked, were primarily used for washing bedding and were located on the north front besides the cemetery, cricket ground and rifle range. They were filthy. The were constructed of wood and old. There was a large cesspit near them in the Cemetery. During the 1865 cholera epidemic three cases were linked to the washhouses. It was late 1880s before any steps were taken to remedy the situation.

The main problem in improving hygiene was water supply. Forty per cent of the civilian population depended on cisterns that collected rainwater (normally dry by September) and wells (this water was brackish and could not be drunk). This was topped up by water vendors, *borricos*. The military had access to reservoirs which it was the Royal Engineers task to keep potable. Some soldiers did not hesitate to make a fast buck by selling water to civilians:

> "…[civilians] sometimes pay five reals (near two shillings sterling) or a small keg of water, which they buy from the soldiers …" (cited in Sawchuk, 2002).

This did nothing to contribute to good relations between civilians and soldiers which were already on shaky ground due to the high-handed behaviour of British officers.

The average soldier spent 1.75 years in the garrison, so John's stint of three years was on the long side (Sawchuk, 2002). The regiment stayed in Gibralter a further two years, after John had returned to Britain and I have found no explanation as to why he returned to Britain. The Muster Records record that he returned to Britain definitively aged 35 on 16 May 1876 with a handful of other people. The others returning had been in hospital, but we have no information on John or his family.

The Lindsays Arrive in Wales

Between 1868 and 1874, a series of reforms known as the Cardwell Reforms was enacted by the Gladstone government. Initially they would have had little impact on John. In 1871, while John was in Bermuda, The *Regularisation of the Forces Act* introduced the concept of "localisation" which is why the Lindsay family ended up in Cardiff. As the 69th Foot only had one battalion, it was paired with the 41st Welch Regiment of Foot. In 1881, the merger was formalised under the Childers Reform and the 69th Foot effectively "disappeared".

When the family left Gibralter in May 1876, the 24th Brigade Depot for the 41st and 69th Foot was Hubberstone Fort, Pembrokeshire and from the Muster Records, we know the family arrived there on 30 May 1876, following nine days at sea. The Fort was part of the line of defences to protect the harbour and provided an interlocking field of fire, with Popton Fort on the opposite side of the estuary. Live firing was part of the routine: each battery was allocated 90 charges and 45 projectiles to fire against floating targets in the Haven; there were many complaints from local farmers that shells were screaming low over the roofs of local farms, on one occasion shells were fired into a local wood bringing trees down onto the road. (Mason, Graham, undated).

Image 38. Fort Hubberstone

Source: Markus G. Klötzer (photographer) / Wikimedia Commons / CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=82723520

The barracks had accommodation for 250 men, but no family quarters; so the family would have been in lodgings, probably in Milford Haven, for the six months they spent there.

The family then moved to the new purpose-built barracks at Maindy, Cardiff at which stage the Depot was renumbered from 24 to 41:

ARMY REFORM

The Cardwell Reforms

Between 1868 and 1874, a series of reforms known as the Cardwell Reforms was enacted by the Gladstone government Flogging was abolished – there is no evidence that this had been widely used by the 69th – as was bounty money for new recruits. Periods of service were shortened, but not retroactively.

In 1871, The Regularisation of the Forces Act introduced the concept of localisation. The country was divided into 66 Brigade Districts (later renamed Regimental Districts), based on county boundaries and population density. All line infantry regiments would now consist of two battalions, sharing a depot and associated recruiting area.

The Childers Reform

Created a network of multi-battalion regiments. Each regiment was to have two regular or "line" battalions and two militia battalions. This was done by renaming the numbered regiments of foot and county militia regiments. In addition, the various corps of county rifle volunteers were to be designated as volunteer battalions. Each of these regiments was associated by headquarters location and territorial name to its local "Regimental District". The reforms became effective on 1 July 1881.

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/

"The barracks at Maindy, erected as a depot for the 41st and 69th Regiments of Foot, were occupied on Saturday for the first time with the contingents from both regiments which they were designed to accommodate under Lord Cardwell's scheme. The depot is intended to form a training place for recruits … and a kind of convalescent home for sick and temporarily disabled soldiers. Both the depots of these regiments have been for years stationed at New Milford and the men with the wives and families of married soldiers, baggage & c., were brought from New Milford on Saturday by special train. On arriving at Cardiff they were met by the Glamorganshire Militia band …. and by the band of the 16th Rifle Volunteer Corps … those bands escorting them through the town to the barracks. … at present there are only 35 of the 69th…" (South Wales Daily News, 27 November 1876)

Image 39. Maindy Barracks

Source: Unknown author - https://picclick.co.uk/Postcard-Glamorgan-Cardiff-The-Civic-Centre-1950s-362082132962.html, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=63911200

In January 1877, he was granted a month's furlough. Whether the family used this time to visit their family and friends in Liverpool and wherever Emma came from we do not know. Or perhaps, they used it as an opportunity to get to know Cardiff as they knew retirement from the army was on the horizon.

In 1878 he was granted a Silver Medal and a gratuity of £5 for long service and in November 1878, his good conduct pay was raised to 4d a day. There is a note on his file, dated 9 March 1880, permitting him to continue serving beyond his 21-year engagement. I suspect that this was to ensure he fully qualified for an army pension[43].

Local newspaper reports indicate that the 69th moved to Newport in 1878 because of overcrowding at Cardiff (Western Mail 24 April 1878) – the Muster Records make no mention of this[44]. The Depot

[43] His occupation is recorded as Army Pensioner on his son Arthur's marriage certificate.

[44] The 69th Regiment stayed in Gibralter until October 1878, returning to Portsmouth, Cambridge Barracks. In March 1881, it moved to York and then Sheffield.

Company remained in Cardiff/Newport throughout this time. If the family ever went to Newport, we know they had returned to Cardiff by 3 April 1881 as they are captured in the census.

The Lindsays on Civvy Street

On 1 August 1881, John and his family left the army and the process of adjustment to civilian life began. They settled in Cardiff which was at the peak of its expansion.

The family moved to 40 Flora Street, a new-build in Cathays (the houses were built in 1874 and 1875), just round the corner from the barracks. The house was a "two up two down", with six rooms in all according to the 1911 census

Image 40. The Lindsay Family Seat

Source: Lindsay, Sue. Photograph. 2023.

The family would have developed a certain flexibility concerning their living arrangements with frequent moves. John's army career had begun when the "corner system" was still in operation and finished in a purpose- built modern barracks with married quarters.

When abroad, families would have been physically and socially isolated from wider society, perhaps in a hostile environment, and so their friendship networks and health and education provision would come from the army itself. The Lindsay family would now have to learn how to interact with the wider community and fend for themselves. Certain tasks such as budgeting, food shopping and cooking would have been organised by the regiment but now these tasks would fall to Emma.

CARDIFF IN THE 1880s

At the beginning of the 19th Century, Cardiff was little more than a village with a population of 1,800 and 350 houses in the 1801 census. Merthyr Tydfil had begun iron manufacture in the 18th century, but shipping in Cardiff was limited to small tonnage vessels on the River Taff, only navigable at high water.

In 1830, the population had grown to 6,000, in 1850 it was 10,000 and by 1900, 160,000.

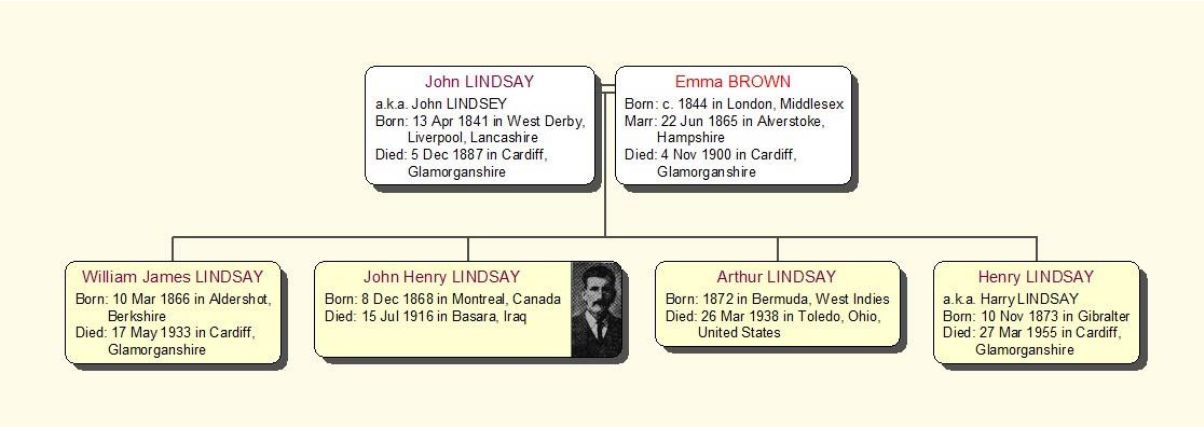
In 1835 it became a Borough Council .

The new Bute Docks opened in 1837 and the first railway station at Crockherbtown in 1840 run by the Taff Vale Railway.

Cardiff became the main port for exports of coal from the Cynon, Rhondda, and Rhymney valleys, and grew at a rate of nearly 80% per decade between 1840 and 1870. Much of the growth was due to migration from within and outside Wales: in 1851, a quarter of Cardiff's population were English-born and more than 10% had been born in Ireland. By the 1881 census, Cardiff had overtaken both Merthyr and Swansea to become the largest town in Wales.

By the end of the 19th century it was third largest port in the United Kingdom and the largest port in the world for the export of coal.

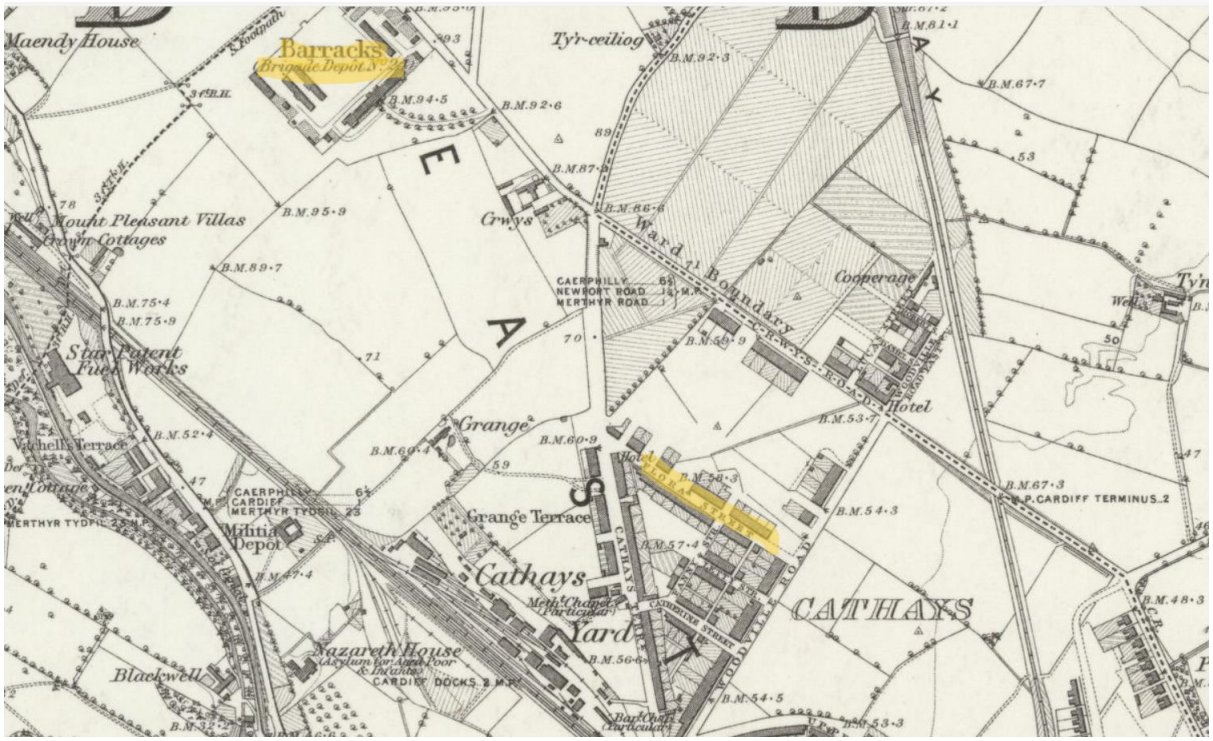
Tree 6. John and Emma's Family



Source: Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree, Family Historian.

Until 1875, Cathays was enclosed parkland for grazing, owned by the Marquis of Bute. Following the 2nd Marquis' development of Cardiff Docks, and the resultant number of new workers flocking to Cardiff, the then rural Cathays became an outer suburb of Cardiff. At that time, a few streets led off Woodville Road and Cathays Terrace. At the time John and Emma moved in, they would have been on the outskirts of Cardiff. Initially, there would have been few facilities such as shops etc., the nearest being nearer the town centre a couple of kilometres away. Public horse-drawn trams were introduced from 1872 but the main form on transport was foot.

Image 41. Cathays in 1881



Source: National Library of Scotland, CC-BY. Ordinance Survey and Wales, 1842-1952, 6-inch: Glamorgan Sheet XLIII, Surveyed: 1875 to 1881, Published: 1886

John got a job as a night watchman to supplement his pension. While we do not know where, the area was dominated by the Cathays railway works developed by the Taff Vale Railway company. A major carriage and wagon construction and maintenance facility, it and the associated locomotive depot were taken over and maintained by the Great Western Railway (they are now under Lidl and Cardiff University). Given the railways preference for recruitment from ex-army men, this is a distinct possibility[45]. Another possibility is the Maindy Brick Works.

On Wednesday, 15 April 1885, at the Blue Ribbon Coffee Tavern, the Sons of Temperance inaugurated a Cathays branch, called *The Onward*. Its officers included Brother John Lindsay, probably our John (South Wales Echo, 16 April 1885). The 69th had a tradition of temperance and, other than his son, who would have been 17 years old, there is only one other John Lindsay in Cardiff at the time – a gardener, living in Roath.

William was working as a labourer. The three younger boys – John, Arthur and Henry – would have gone to school initially and Emma settled down to her new role as civilian housewife.

There is no evidence that Emma maintained any links with her family (but there is no evidence that she did not either!), but we know that links were kept with John's family because in 1891 his niece, Emma Mottram, is living with Emma in Cardiff. Families were resourceful in maintaining contact, even among the illiterate. There would always be someone in the family or neighbourhood who could read or write on one's behalf (Todd, 2015). The first mass printing of Christmas cards occurred in the 1860s and postcards were an easy way of keeping in touch. Families would also know where their soldiering relatives were, as many local newspapers published the Stations of the British Army on a monthly basis and reported on troop movements.

John died six years after leaving the army on 5 December 1887, age 46, of Bright's disease: a term now only used for historical application as it covers a diverse range of kidney conditions, including those resulting from diabetes. It was treated with warm baths, blood-letting, squill, digitalis, mercuric compounds, opium, diuretics, laxatives and dietary therapy, including abstinence from alcoholic drinks, cheese and red meat. This led to the development of the Hays Diet, still used. His burial is recorded in the register of St Andrew's[46] on 10 December

LOVE, PURITY AND FIDELITY

Love, Purity and Fidelity is the motto of the Sons of Temperance. This was a friendly society for non-drinkers founded in New York in 1842. It offered insurance for help with burial costs and sickness and had secret rituals, signs, passwords, hand grips and regalia.

It quickly spread throughout North America and arrived in England in 1849.

Seafaring members of the Order in America, sailing between there and Liverpool, wanted a suitable place to spend their evenings in port. A meeting was convened in the Temperance Hall, Bond Street, Liverpool. Thus from the docks of Liverpool in the drink sodden district of 'Old Gory' – so named from the frequent fights of the sailors – was formed on 17 November 1849 the Queens No 1 Division. Several more Divisions in Liverpool and in Manchester followed.

The National Division of Great Britain and Ireland was organized on 6 April 1855.

After 2012, the British society ceased the provision of life insurance, savings plans, etc., but continued its social, fraternal and educational activities. The society was voluntarily dissolved in 2019

Source:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sons_of_Temperance and 'The Sons' comes to the UK (archive.org)

[45] This could also be where William served his blacksmith apprenticeship. William was working as a labourer in 1881 but must have soon got an apprenticeship as a blacksmith in light of his subsequent career.
[46] The church has since become the Welsh Anglican church of Cardiff and has been renamed Eglwys Dewi Sant.

1887and he was buried at Cathays Cemetery. Hopefully, his contributions to the Sons of Temperance helped pay his funeral expenses.

Life After John

Emma lived for another 13 years. William had married in 1886 and left home. In the 1891 census, her three younger sons, John's wife Elizabeth and her niece from Liverpool, Emma Mottram were all living in Flora Street. The next to leave the nest was Arthur in 1892. She died on 4 November 1900 of bronchitis and heart failure. Her burial was announced in the South Wales Echo on 7 November 1900, with the biblical inscription "Thy Will be Done" and, like John, appears in the register of St Andrew's dated 8 November and was buried in Cathays Cemetery. Her life was very much in the shadows with very little recorded. However, as mothers go, she was quite successful in getting all four of her children through into adulthood – no mean feat for the conditions in which she lived.

The First Generation of Lindsays in Cardiff

The Lindsays are not the earliest Cardiffians in our family; they arrived on 25 November 1876. The prize for first sighting goes to great x2 grandfather, John Oliver.

Table 7. Arrival of Author's Direct Ancestors in Cardiff

Maternal	Paternal
	1851 – John **Oliver** – economic migrant from Devon, his parents arrived after him but before 1861
1857 – Moses **Gatheridge** – economic migrant from Devon (or escaping a bastardy order …) **1857** – Elizabeth **Clement** – economic migrant from Devon	**1861** – Philip **Chugg** – economic migrant from Devon, following his eldest son, John, probably before 1857 as daughter Ann gets married in Cardiff that year. **1876** – John **Lindsay** with his wife Emma **Brown**– army posting. Originally from Liverpool and London respectively.
1891 – Mary Jane **Howells** – economic migrant from Pembrokeshire **1898** – Arthur **Tatton** – work on the Great Western Railway brought him from Reading with his wife Rosa **Long**	**1911** – Frank **Aucott** with wife Ellen **Mence** and child – butcher – rebuilding his life after a stint in prison for non-respect of food hygiene regulations.

Source: Lindsay, S. Family Historian Data Base. www.teulu.fr

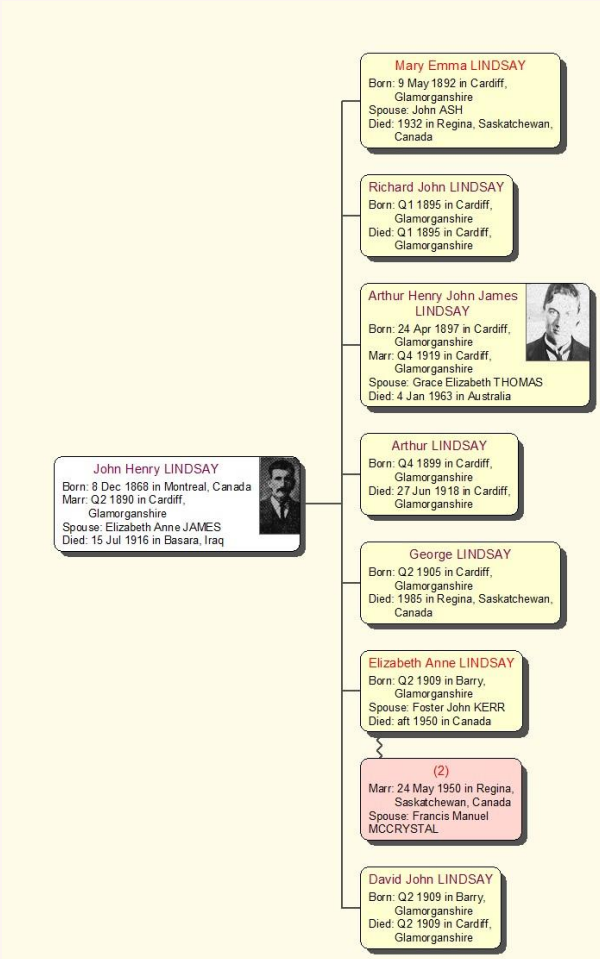
However, since 1876 there have been descendants of this branch of the Lindsays living in Cardiff.

John Henry Lindsay was born in Montreal in 1868. From his army records in 1916 we learn he was 5'10", had brown eyes and a dark complexion and have a photo courtesy of his unfortunate death and the South Wales Echo.

John worked initially (c. 1891 to 1897) as a stoker, fireman and then an engine driver, but I do not know for which railway company. In the 1901 census, his occupation is recorded as a shipyard labourer. During this period, he was based in Cardiff. In 1905, the family move to Barry where John is employed as a stationary engineman at the flour mills, probably the Atlantic Flour Mills (J. Rank Ltd. Atlantic Flour Mills, Barry Dock | Peoples Collection Wales).

In 1890 he married Elizabeth Ann **James**. Initially they lived with his mother Emma, before moving out in 1897 (Pontypridd Street and Inchmarket Street) and then to Barry in 1905 (first Arthur Street, Charlotte Place and Beatrice Road). They had seven children in total, five boys and two girls, two of whom died in their first year shortly after birth: Richard in 1895 and David in 1909 who was a twin with Elizabeth.

Tree 7. John Henry Lindsay's Children



Source: *Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree*, Family Historian

World War I was to have an enormous impact on the family. In 1914, the eldest daughter, (Mary) Emma, upped sticks and emigrated to Canada where she made her life with John **Ash,** also from Cardiff, in Regina, Saskatchewan. He was already in Canada when she arrived and is not known whether she went out to join him or whether she met him there.

Her father John, volunteered for the Royal Navy Reserve in May 1915. Her brother (Arthur Henry) John (James) supported the war effort through his work in the Merchant Navy. Arthur, the fourth child, who was also in the Merchant Navy at the outbreak of war, elected to join the 9th Battallion, Royal Welch Fusiliers as a private in February 1917. George was too young to participate. Of the three men drawn into the conflict only John the younger came out alive.

After training, John (the elder) was assigned the role of Leading Trimmer:

> "The trimmer's role was to ensure that the fireman has adequate supplies of coal near at hand, while also ensuring that the trim of the ship wasn't altered unevenly: coal bunkers ran

> the length of the ship and on both sides so if all the coal was taken from just one at a time the ship would be unbalanced …The access points were cramped; they had to dig coal out and shovel it into wheelbarrows, then wheel those along narrow tracks. All this without extractor fans for the coal dust, air conditioning in the tropics or heating in the winter and with the ship moving or often pitching and rolling. They often ended up battered and bruised and with coal dust in any open wounds." (Per adua per mare per terram, 2007, *Life of a Trimmer in the RNR*, post on the Great War Forum)

John was on the HMS Alert which was supporting the British campaign to protect its oil supplies in Iraq. It was probably a supply ship and some have suggested it was transporting cavalry horses. On 15 July 1917, he died of heatstroke which is not surprising given the temperatures in the Gulf and the nature of his work.

He was buried in Makina Masus, Mesopotamia attended by a young Welsh lady:

> "A daughter of a Mr. A. W. Fox, the Glamorgan County Accountant, The Lodge, Radyr, who is living in Mohammerah, in the Persian Gulf, has written an interesting letter stating that on ascertaining that a British sailor was to be buried in the English cemetery at that place she made a cross of white convolvulus and placed it on the coffin in the belief that his bereaved friends at home would be pleased to know that in some distant land there was "some one who cared". It is probable that the deceased man was the late Leading-Trimmer, John Lindsay, of Barry …" (Western Mail, 29 July 1916, Page 4)

His son, Arthur, saw active service on the Somme in France – at the same time his father was dying of sunstroke in Basra. However, not for long. He developed tuberculosis and was discharged in February 1918. He received an invalidity pension, as the Medical Board assessed this was directly related to his military service. He died four months later and is buried in Cathays cemetery.

Following John's death, his widow Elizabeth had promptly moved back to Gladys Street, Cardiff with her unmarried children: Arthur (for the few months he had left to live), George and Elizabeth. They were still there in the 1921 census, with George working as a cellar boy.

However, the family had obviously had it with Britain. In 1923, George followed his sister Emma to Canada and in 1926 they were joined by their mother Elizabeth and sister Elizabeth in 1926 where they lived out their days: George as a labourer, never marrying, and Elizabeth who married Foster John **Kerr.** Both the Kerr and Ash families had children and so there are several Ash and Kerr cousins of various degrees in Canada.

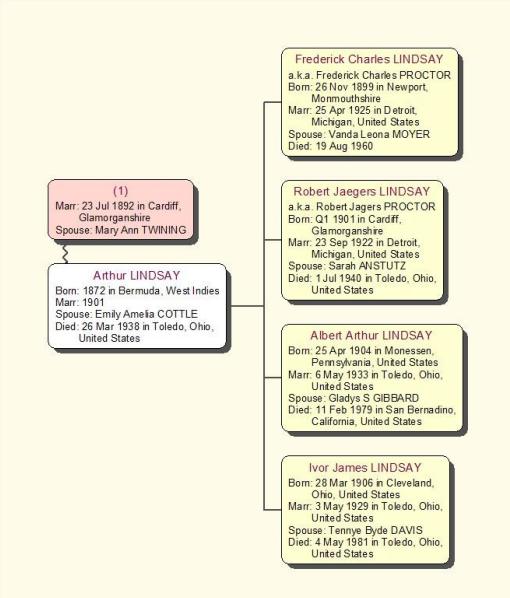
Only his son John was left in Cardiff, working as a steward in the Merchant Navy and dying at sea off the coast of Australia in 1968. John married Grace E **Thomas** in 1919. They had one son, who also joined the Merchant Navy and was present at the Battle of the Atlantic in World War II. He rose to the rank of Captain. He was still on the Cardiff electoral register in 2018. He married and has one daughter.

Arthur Lindsay was born in 1872 in Bermuda. In 1891 he lived with his mother working as a storekeeper.

In 1892 he married Mary Ann **Twining**, a glover, but it is clear that this marriage did not work out because in 1901 he is living with brother William and working as a ship's rigger – no sign of his wife, no record of any children - and two years later he emigrated to the United States.

One year later, a Mrs. Emily "Lindsay", from Cardiff, emigrated with her two sons and in the 1910 US Census, Arthur and Emily, have been married since 1901! There is no record of his first wife, Mary Ann, having died and no record of divorce; from the censuses, there is a Mary Lindsay, married in 1911 and a widow in 1921, living "on her own" in Cardiff and taking in lodgers …

Tree 8. Arthur Lindsay's Children



Source: *Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree*, Family Historian

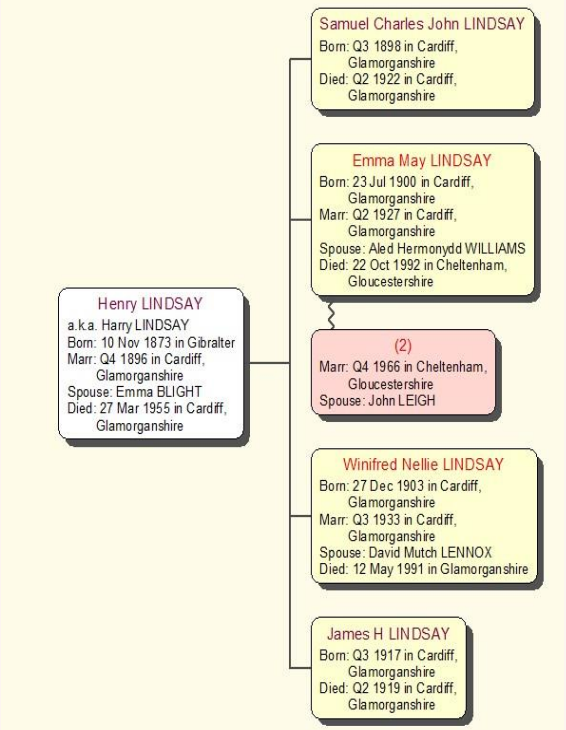
My conclusion is that they dumped each other, and he moved to the other side of the world to start a new life with Emily **Cottle** – who in fact was married to Henry **Proctor**, a travelling salesmen, but in 1901 is living with her mother, and with whom she seemingly had two children: Charles born 1899 and Robert born 1901. On the passenger list, the two boys are listed with the surname Lindsay – as is Emily - not Proctor.

There is no evidence that Arthur and Emily ever married. They had two more boys: Albert (born 1905 in Monessen, Pennsylvania) and Ivor (born 1906 in Cleveland, Ohio). The family then settled in Toledo, Ohio where Arthur, and eventually the four boys, found jobs in the automobile industry. (Frederick) Charles and Robert were part of the American Expeditionary Force during WW1. Charles was in the Chemical Warfare Division. Both returned to the States in 1919.

Emily died in 1930 and Arthur in 1938; they are both buried in the Toledo Memorial Park, Sylvania, Ohio.

Charles married Vanda **Moyer** in 1925 and they had five children. Robert married Sarah **Anstutz** in 1922; they had no children and he died relatively young in 1940. Albert married Gladys **Gibbard** in 1933. They had no children. Only Albert left Toledo; he died in California. This was in later life and might have been for retirement purposes. The author has a vague memory of cousin Ivor visiting Cardiff in the 1960/70s. He married Tennye **Davis** in 1929 and had two children.

Tree 9. Henry Lindsay's Children



Henry Lindsay was born in 1873 in Gibralter. It seems he went by the name of Harry.

After leaving school he served an apprenticeship as a painter and remained in this trade all of his life. He worked both as a house painter and an industrial painter. In 1921, he is working in Hills Dry Docks.

In 1896 he married Emma **Blight** with whom he had four children: Samuel (1898), Emma (1900), Winifred (1903) and James, who must have been something of an afterthought in 1917 (or perhaps a grandchild). In any event, he did not survive for long, dying, age 2, in 1919.

Samuel followed his father into the painting trade but was called up during World War I where he served in Salonika in the Machine Gun Corps. His military career was mixed – rapid promotion to Sergeant but several charges for insubordination and not following orders. He died shortly after returning to Cardiff at the end of the war in his mid-20s.

Source: *Lindsay-Gatheridge Family Tree*, Family Historian

Harry's wife Emma died in 1933. From her obituary in the Western Mail (11 December 1933) we learn she was active in the Sisterhood Movement based at Crwys Hall. This was a Christian evangelical movement whose aim was to support women through education and religion. Her involvement in evangelical Christianity would account for the absence of entries in the Anglican parish registers. We also learn from this source that the family had a ward, Master Roland **Stevens.** I have been unable to identify his background. Harry died 20 years later in 1955. Like is wife, he is buried in Cathays Cemetery.

Both of the daughters married. The eldest, Emma May, worked selling plants in Cardiff Market. Perhaps this is where she met Aled **Williams** who worked in Howells Department Store, in the drapery department. They married in 1927. The couple then moved to Bath, followed by Bournemouth and Cheltenham. They had no children. Aled died in 1964 and Emma remarried John **Leigh** in 1966. She died in Cheltenham at the grand old age of 92 in 1992.

We have no record of Winifred having worked. In 1933 she married David Mutch **Lennox** who came from Ayr, Ayrshire as a young cabinet maker. By 1939, David was a Depot Manager for a wholesale yeast and bakers' sundries firm. The family seems to have remained based in Cardiff. He died in 1979 and Winifred died in 1991. The records suggest that both of their children are still alive and living in Cardiff.

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[47] All URLs were correct at the time of writing Q4 2022 to Q4 2023.
[48] Dates are those of entry into the Register, which is not necessarily the same as the event itself.

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