

BATH AND THE CRIMEAN WAR, 1854-1856

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The Imperial War Museum is establishing an inventory of war memorials in the United Kingdom. Among these the Crimean War Memorial in the Abbey Cemetery, Bath, is of particular interest in that such civic (as opposed to regimental) memorials are relatively few. It is also noteworthy for the fact that among the names recorded are those of the rank and file.¹ This article begins with the establishment of the Memorial, before looking more generally at how the Crimean War touched upon Bath, returning finally to the unveiling of the Memorial and the peace celebrations.



The Memorial is an obelisk nearly twenty feet high (fig.1), 'constructed of the finest pennant stone to a design derived from the Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris'.² It bears wreaths on the faces and was designed and built by Samuel Rogers, whose works were at the Canal Bridge in Widcombe. There are a number of memorials by him in Widcombe and elsewhere in the city. On the obverse are listed the battles: Bomarsund, Alma, Balaclava, Inkerman, Sweaborg, Tchernaya, Sebastopol; and the dead:

1. The Crimean War Memorial in the Abbey Cemetery, Bath.

Major General Sir John Campbell, Bart. CB.	
Colonel W. Trevelyan	Coldstream Guards
Lt. Col. E.S.T. Swyny	63rd Regiment
Lt. Col. L.B. Tyler	62nd Regiment
Major W. Swinton	Royal Artillery
Capt. J.B. Forster	62nd Regiment
Lt. T.M. Graves	Royal Engineers
Lt. Col. Ainslie CB	21st Fusiliers
William Shell, Seaman	First who fell in the war
George Roberts, Corporal	21st Fusiliers
Robert Warren, Private	21st Fusiliers
Edward Harris, Private	Royal Artillery
George Nichols	Naval Brigade

The Memorial is inscribed:

Erected by citizens of Bath in honour, under God, of those heroic men, especially their fellow citizens and friends here recorded, who laid down their lives in the campaigns of 1854-5, so triumphantly achieved for the liberties of Europe.

‘There is a time to die’. Eccl. iii 2 v.

On the reverse, under the inscription ‘Kars’ is recorded the name of General Richard Debauffre Guyon.

The city’s connection with the Memorial began in an interesting way. In March 1855, the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces appealed to the Mayor of Bath, William Hunt, for a night’s accommodation in the city for 136 soldiers wounded at the Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman, who would be in transit from their hospital ship at Plymouth to hospital at Chatham where they would be discharged. The men were not strong enough to make the journey in one day, nor to ‘rough it’ in billets. The Mayor agreed to the request, and the city responded with enthusiasm:

‘Messrs. Stokes, Bryant & Co, Messrs. Rainey, and Mr Becket will lend beds and blankets. Mr Turk will contribute such bedsteads as he has in his store. Mr. Clark, Mr. Carter and Mr. Amery have offered use of their omnibuses. Mr. Amery of the “Christopher” volunteered to make up twenty beds, Mr. Davis of the “Bear” twenty more, and Mrs. Powney of the “Bladud’s Head” offered the entire house and wine and spirits without stint’.

It was finally arranged that 60 soldiers should go to the United Hospital,

20 to the General Hospital, and the remaining 56 to the Guildhall Banqueting Room, for the Mayor believed that 'fellow citizens would not consider the Room misapplied when used to repose for a night those whose wounds show with what faithfulness they have served their country'. Sixty beds were ranged round the walls, tables were set out, 'while gilded pictures and beautiful columns and chandeliers [showed] that we desired to treat the visitors not as guests of the kitchen but of the drawing room'.³

The train which brought the soldiers was met by the Mayor, the Yeomanry and an excited crowd, who escorted the invalids to the Guildhall. Unexpectedly, they were accompanied by eight women and fifteen children, who were lodged in the council Chamber itself. The men, it was reported, 'did not comprehend the situation, for, in truth, it is only lately that the soldier has been popular amongst us'.⁴ There was only one Bath man amongst the invalids', reported the *Bath Chronicle*, 'He had seen his father, a grey old man called Hodge, struggling in the crowd, trying to get near. "I shall not be able to eat my dinner till I have seen my father" he said to one of the Committee. Admiral Duff went to the door and found not only the father, but mother and sister too'. The soldier, 'a youth of nineteen, had carried the musket for three years and at Inkerman was shot in the eye'. (He can be identified from the Muster Rolls as Private William Hodge, 1st Battalion The Rifle Brigade). Another soldier was 'allowed to go to a lady's house to narrate the manner of her husband's death and burial'.⁵

Opinion about the reception of the soldiers by the city varied. Samuel Stothert wrote to his sister, 'I am much obliged to you for your last letter and the paper containing an account of the reception of the sick and wounded; the affair was rather overdone, but entre-nous, the good people of Bath do take a greater delight in humbug than any I ever saw'.⁶ Bishop Carr, however, speaking at a meeting some time later, recalled that 'Some months ago, I went to see Scutari friends at Chatham, and there I found soldiers telling their astonished companions of the kindness of the reception they met in Bath'.⁷

Henry Stone of Beaufort Buildings wrote to the *Bath Chronicle*: 'Sir, having received the enclosed letter from a soldier in my late regiment – 6th Inniskilling Fusiliers – with a request for its publication, I ask for its insertion so that those who contributed may see how deeply valued was their distinguished display of patriotic action'. The letter came 'from the camp of the 6th Dragoons near Balaclava':

Although the citizens of Bath may not think much of what they did, yet through the medium of the press it has found its way out to the Crimea, and they cannot imagine the feelings it has caused amongst

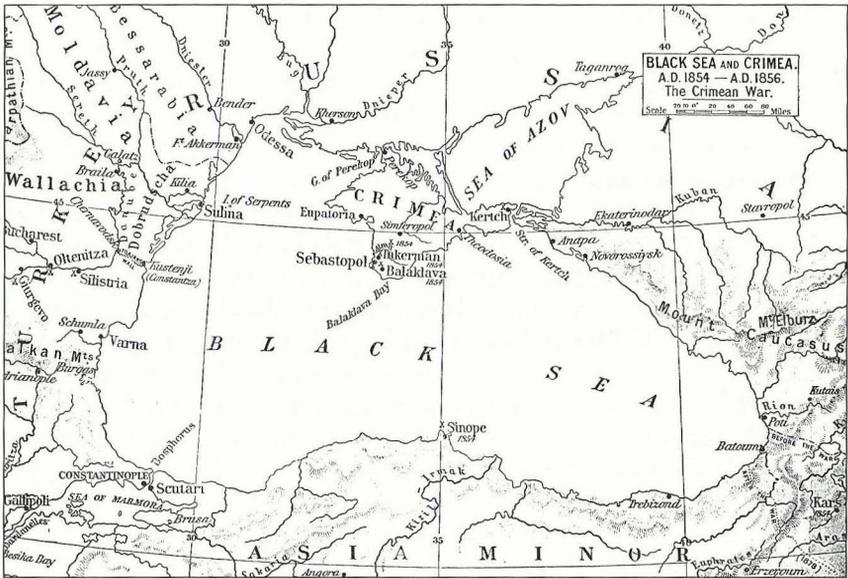
the sons of Britain. They may believe me when I say it is such things as these which make England dear to her sons in the Crimea; and it also makes us promise that the next time we meet the hordes of Russia, the Lord help them, for they will find little mercy at our hands. To conclude, the whole of the British army out here beg to return their most grateful thanks to the good people of Bath, and we hope we shall never deserve anything worse, only better, at their hands; and may God prosper Bath and dear old England is the wish of the 6th or Inniskilling Dragoons, Crimea.⁸

At the Guildhall a subscription had been opened and a collection taken. It amounted to £129.16s.11d, from which a half guinea was given to each man. The balance, originally given to the officers for the men when quitting hospital, was returned, and this surplus was put towards the cost of the monument. The idea seems to have been Hunt's, for it was he **who, in March 1856 published the accounts:**⁹

Receipts		Expenditure	
Cash in hand as per published statement		By cash to Mr. Rogers for Obelisk Tomb	
14th Oct. 1855	£56.12s.7d	per estimate	£57.10s.0d
W Hunt (2nd subscription)	£ 5.9s.11d	Cutting and painting 616 letters	
	£62.2s.6d	@ 35s per score	£ 4.12s.6d
			£62. 2s.6d

* * *

The Crimean War had begun in 1854, amidst the tensions caused by the movement of Russian Forces into Turkish territory. With British and French fleets sailing into the Black Sea, and the possibility of an Austrian attack in the rear, the Russian army retreated and its fleet withdrew to Sevastopol on the shores of the Crimean Peninsula. The British and French invaded the Crimea in order to destroy this fortress, before returning home (fig.2). By the time of the invalids' visit to Bath, the war was nearly a year old, and Bath men had already been in action on sea and land. The Reverend Samuel Kelson Stothert for example, described as 'the first son of John Stothert, gentleman, of Bathwick',¹⁰ was Chaplain to HMS *Queen*, and was later appointed Chaplain to the Naval Brigade. His ship was part of the fleet sent to the Black Sea and his letters give many descriptions of



2. Map of the Black Sea and the Crimea, 1854-1856. (Reproduced from E.A. Benians and T.H. Knight, *Historical Atlas with Chronological Notes* (c.1900), p.81)

the campaign. The fleet sailed from Liverpool in March 1854. Stothert was at first a little cast down, 'I had service on deck: my congregation did not seem much edified'.¹¹ Soon they were off the Spanish coast:

We are about twenty miles off land and fifty from the Sierra Nevada hills: they do not look more distant than London [*sic* – probably Lansdown was intended] from Bathwick Hill and are 11,600 feet high, although to all appearances they are not as lofty as Hampton Rocks from the canal-side walk.¹²

War was declared in April 1854. In the Black Sea the steamer *Furious* was sent to Odessa to bring off the British consul. Despite flying a flag of truce, she was fired on by the batteries. The Allied admirals addressed an ultimatum to the Governor to the effect that, unless all British, French and Russian vessels in the port were delivered to the Combined Fleets by sunset, they would be obliged to avenge the insult. Stothert describes the scene: 'Anchored off Odessa on Thursday April 20th [1854], the "Queen" cleared for action and loaded with shot. Odessa appeared very formidable. We are in line of battle about three miles off the batteries [and] have been in sight of the place all day and this evening crowds of people have come down to have a look at us'.¹³ The ultimatum was ignored, and Stothert continues:

On Saturday a detachment of six or seven steamers went in to bombard the place. I was struck by the slow, sedate way the steamers fired shot and shell, about four or five a minute as the guns were brought to bear. Five or six batteries were peppering the French and English steamers. The most annoying was the six-gun battery mounted under Cardinal Richelieu's monument. This fort was beautifully served, but at dinner time the woodwork took fire, and in four or five minutes the fort blew up. I hope the defenders escaped for they plied their long guns in the most determined style and with great precision, no less than ten shot going right through the "Terrible", doing however little damage, only killing a poor fellow and wounding four others.¹⁴

The 'poor fellow' was William Shell, and the *Bath Chronicle* reported that: 'The first man killed in the Russian war was a Bath man named Shell, the son of a widow in destitute circumstances living at 6 Hampton Row. He went on board ship by the name of Saltar. He was a seaman on board the "Terrible" and was killed by a splinter on board that ship at the bombardment of Odessa'.¹⁵ The log of the *Terrible* records 'the ship struck in eleven places'. For 24th April it records prosaically the business of the day:

Blacksmith making hinges

Sailmaker repairing hammock cloths

1-30 Committed the body of William Saltar AB to the deep

3-15 Employed as before and coiling away the hawsers.¹⁶

With the Baltic fleet, a naval officer from Bath gained rather more recognition. Lieutenant John Bythesea, son of the Reverend G. Bythesea of Grosvenor and Rector of Freshford, was an officer in HMS *Arrogant*. Learning that dispatches from the Czar were regularly sent to Bomarsund, a Russian base, he determined to intercept them. With Stoker William Johnstone, Bythesea spent two days ashore in hostile territory reconnoitring. On the third day they successfully ambushed a Russian party, took three prisoners and made off with the despatches, which were passed to the officer commanding the Baltic expedition.¹⁷ For this service Bythesea and Johnstone were awarded the Victoria Cross, the second and third of the new decoration to be won. Bythesea continued in the service, becoming Rear Admiral. He is buried in the Abbey Cemetery.

In England, the 26th April 1854 was appointed by Queen Victoria as: A day of Fast, Humiliation and Prayer ... to humble ourselves before Almighty God in order to obtain pardon for our sins ... and in the most devout and solemn manner to send up our prayers to the Divine Majesty for imploring His blessing and assistance on our arms for the restoration of peace to us and our dominions.

The day was fully observed in Bath: 'shops were closed, traffic stilled, bells tolling forth their solemn note of invitation'. Divine service was held twice in most churches, in some thrice; congregations were larger than usual; 'collections in all cases [were] liberal and in some munificent for the relief of destitute wives and children of the soldiers who have gone forth'. The Mayor and Corporation attended the Abbey where 'the impressiveness of the service was heightened by the presence of a detachment of the 6th Dragoons or Enniskillens who are now on their march to embark for the seat of the war'. The *Bath Chronicle* published the texts taken for the sermon in each church in Bath and reported, 'As far as we can tell, all the sermons preached displayed more than usual ability. That they were successful [may be] shown by the collections'. £764 was raised.¹⁸

Earlier in the month a meeting in the Guildhall had set up 'a local auxiliary to the Association formed in London for the relief of wives and children of the married soldiers forming part of the British Army in the Crimea'.¹⁹ It soon had work: a week after the meeting the *Bath Chronicle* published 'The story of a soldier's wife':

A few days ago among the deck passengers of a steamer plying between Dublin and Bristol was a decent, honest looking Scotch woman named Marchant with two delicate children, one an infant in arms. Her husband is a soldier belonging to the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers, who, having embarked with his regiment for Turkey, nothing remained for his family but to take refuge in the workhouse. The infant died on the passage; the corpse was buried in Bristol. The mother made her way to this city, the parish of Widcombe being the place of her husband's settlement. Without a friend, her home being in Aberdeen, she presented herself at the Guildhall, showing a certificate from the Colonel of her husband's regiment ... The Mayor advised her to go to the Union, but suggested that the society just formed in the city for the relief of soldiers' wives and children would in all probability provide for her. The woman decided for the Union, provided she could be assured her child would be taken care of.²⁰

A considerable number of Bath men had been recruited into the 21st Fusiliers. In 1854 the regiment was in Ireland, and in August sailed from Cork aboard the hired transport *Golden Fleece*. The Cork correspondent declared that 'the equal of the Fusiliers never paraded in Cork barrack square, not even excepting the Guards'.²¹ The regiment was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Ainslie, whose mother and sister were living at Oxford Row, Bath. Ainslie was himself living in Bath when he

joined the 21st in 1828 aged seventeen. In the course of his service he had become known as a good trainer of men. A letter from Wellington commended 'the order, discipline and efficiency' of the 21st under Ainslie's command.²² He now wrote to his brother: 'We made a splendid embarkation this morning. We are now at Queenstown and sail this evening. Some of the crew have struck work, but I think we shall go nevertheless. With a Hurrah for Turkey, Honour and Promotion'.²³

The *Golden Fleece* made a good voyage, and Ainslie wrote from Malta, 'The health of the men is remarkably good. [Their] rations are the best I ever saw on board ship'. In September he wrote, 'We entered the Dardanelles last night and saw Mount Athos by a lovely sunset. The castles of Europe and Asia were also visible by moonlight. I must say goodbye, and God bless you old boy, keep your bowels open and your tail up'.²⁴ More ominously he noted, 'The accounts from Varna are very bad indeed, the sickness has been frightful. I hear the Guards have left behind them 1000 sick and dead'.²⁵ One of those was Colonel Walter Trevelyan, related to Lt Colonel Trevelyan of 30, Royal Crescent, and grandson of Sir John Trevelyan of Nettlecombe, MP for Somerset. The *Bath Chronicle* reported his death baldly, 'On 21st August 1854 at Varna from an attack of cholera in nine hours, Colonel Walter Trevelyan of 2nd Battalion Coldstream Guards'.²⁶

Another local man died there: Captain George Duckworth, 5th Dragoon Guards, to whom there is a memorial in the church at Luckington. An obituary says: 'Captain Duckworth devoted himself in the most exemplary way to the service of the sick until he himself was attacked by cholera, and though he struggled through this, subsequently fell a victim to fever'.²⁷ A friend, Richard Temple Godman, wrote: 'Duckworth died here in a ship, the best place we could get for him. He bore it well and never complained ... we shall sell all his things except what his friends are likely to want'.²⁸

In mid-September 1854 the army moved from Varna to the Crimean shore. The embarkation took several days. Ainslie wrote, 'The sight of our quitting Baljik Bay was most beautiful. We left in six divisions, occupying a space 15 miles in length'.²⁹ But the horrors of Varna were not immediately left behind, 'The mysterious scourge still pursued them on board ship and added a horrible feature to the period of detention [of the fleet while it prepared to sail] for the corpses, sunk with the round shot at their feet, after a time rose to the surface, and floated upright, breast high amongst the ships'.³⁰ The landing at Kalamita Bay was unopposed, but in increasingly bad weather, and the troops were without any shelter. Ainslie and the 21st were there: 'I am considerably jolly', he wrote, 'though the first night we landed it rained torrents, and as we were without tents and

as I had nothing but a slight waterproof and a single cape I got drenched to the skin, and all the men likewise.³¹ W.H. Russell of *The Times* reported, 'Never were 27,000 Englishmen more miserable'.³²

As the army moved towards the base at Balaklava, it encountered the Russians at the River Alma. Although Ainslie and the 21st were present, they 'were under fire but a short time' and had only one casualty. But, he wrote, 'We remained behind for two days to bury the dead, and what with putridity of the battlefield and the terrible damps by night and heats by day we suffered terribly from cholera, and though we landed 900 rank and file we have now not 700, all the rest being sick or dead'.³³ Stothert too was there. He wrote,

The morning after the fight, I landed with a Lieutenant and 50 men to help carry off the wounded. The men worked zealously and cheerfully all day, only stopping now and then 'to shake a Russian out of his boots' as a man expressed it to me, for these are of 'Russian leather', and greatly prized by Jack. My duty took me during the day to the 'Hospital' which is nothing but a farmyard enclosed by a low wall. I had given away all my brandy and water to the wounded and my bread and Bologna sausage had gone in the same direction. I had not been an hour in the hospital ere I fainted away.³⁴

The countryside put Ainslie 'very much in mind of the high land or wealds of Sussex ... grapes, apples, pears and vegetables of every variety in abundance'. Not all was comfortable: 'we had a long and fatiguing march to Balaklava but now we have been brought on before the whole of the army and are within two and a half miles of Sebastopol ... wearing our present uniform and lying and sleeping in it is the very devil. I have not had my boots off since we landed'.³⁵ The army settled into the siege and Russell described the city: 'Its tall houses running up the hillsides, its solid look of masonry, gave Sevastopol a resemblance to parts of Bath, or at least put me in mind of that city as seen from the declivity which overhangs the river'.³⁶

While the army lay uncomfortably around the city, without shelter, for as Ainslie wrote, 'the Commissariat are infamous, they will not give us tents as they say it will be a short business, the capture of the city',³⁷ a naval bombardment took place. Stothert wrote to his mother in Bath: 'We fought a long action yesterday of three and a half hours against the forts of Sevastopol. We in the fleet got pummelled exceedingly'.³⁸ The list of casualties he sent included Midshipman Charles Madan RN, aged nineteen, the son of the late Revd. Spencer Madan, Vicar of Batheaston. The *Gentleman's Magazine* reported:

This promising and gallant youth met his death in the attack of the English fleet upon the forts of Sebastopol. At the time Mr. Madan was behaving in the most exemplary manner, exerting himself in directing and encouraging the men of his quarter, where he was most assiduous and attentive to his duty. He was dreadfully wounded in the right leg, and his whole system shaken, by a shell which burst on the lower deck, and he died soon after the amputation of the limb, as calmly and quietly as a child.³⁹

A few days after this bombardment, the Russians made a sortie in force towards Balaklava, which culminated in Cardigan's charge. Two of those who charged with the Light Brigade are buried in Bath: Captain Thomas Everard Hutton, 4th Dragoon Guards at Locksbrook (to whom there is also a memorial plaque in the Abbey), and Private William Augustus Fry, 11th Hussars in the Walcot Cemetery on Lansdown. Another Bath 'charger' was Lt. Daniel Hugh Clutterbuck, 8th Hussars, son of Thomas Clutterbuck of the banking firm of Tugwell, Mackenzie and Clutterbuck, of which Daniel also became a director. According to his obituary, he was wounded in the foot by a shell fragment, and always walked lame as a result.⁴⁰ Other Bath men with the Light Brigade (although it is not clear whether they were in the charge) were Privates Joseph Slaughter, 17th Lancers, and James Delworth, born in Walcot, 13th Light Dragoons.⁴¹

On 5th November 1854 the Russians launched an attack from Sevastopol towards the heights of Inkerman. Russell describes the beginning of the battle: 'As dawn broke the fog and drifting rain were so thick that one could scarcely see two yards. No-one suspected that masses of Russians were then creeping up the rugged heights'.⁴² The British were taken by surprise – there was no plan of defence, no clear orders. Local commanders reacted to local situations, and Inkerman became known as 'the soldier's battle'. Three of those whose names are on the Memorial were killed in it. Lt. Col. Exham Schomberg Turner Swyny had become Colonel of the 63rd Regiment in December 1853. The regiment was then in Dublin, and in May 1854 we find Mrs Swyny handing new Colours to them: 'Men of the 63rd. Your Colours are worn out and unfit for service. You have now been presented with a new stand. I believe you will soon have an opportunity of reaping fresh laurels'.⁴³ The next month the Regiment was ordered to the Crimea and hastily recruited to bring itself up to strength.

At Inkerman the 21st Fusiliers, with a complement of men from Bath, went piecemeal into the battle and found themselves alongside the 63rd; neither regiment had received orders and they decided to act together. Kinglake describes how '600 men under Swyny and Ainslie formed line

on the west of the Home Ridge. Swyny's regiment discharged its fire into the Russian soldiers now all but touching the guns.⁴⁴ Ainslie's 21st, coming up out of the mist, joined the 63rd in charging the Russians, who fell back, and the two regiments were left astride the ridge, holding a defensive position known as 'the Barrier'. Kinglake depicts Swyny, 'On his chestnut near the Colours of the 63rd and exposed to the fire they were drawing, he had been welcoming Dalzell (his senior major). He looked keenly ahead then suddenly dropped out of his saddle, slain by a ball through the head'.⁴⁵

Ainslie, too, was mortally wounded as he moved forward to reinforce an advanced post: 'He dismounted and continued his advance on foot, growing weaker with each step until he was unable to go on. He was assisted from the field by his bugler Ivers, after giving up his horse to a wounded sergeant'. He dictated his last letter:

My Dear Old Fellow, We have had rather a sharp action on the heights before Sebastopol, the slaughter on their side was immense. Our [ie 21st] casualties were but one Lieutenant killed and five officers wounded, myself among them. Pray write and tell my mother and sisters.

A few days later, he was conveyed in an ambulance wagon to the harbour at Balaklava and hoisted aboard the steamer *Andes*. So carefully was this accomplished that he expressed a wish to reward the sailors, but was prevented by their being dispersed before he could do so.⁴⁶ Ainslie died aboard the steamer at Scutari, and was buried at the English ground of the Hayderpasha Cemetery where his headstone, erected by his brother officers, still stands.

The third of those killed at Inkerman was Private Robert Warren, who had enlisted into the 21st at Bath in 1852, aged 22. The Muster Roll shows that he 'died in camp before Sevastopol'. The 18s.6d due to him was paid to his mother Maria, of Widcombe.⁴⁷ His elder brother, Samuel, is shown on the 1851 census as a journeyman plumber', and a sign for 'Samuel Warren and Sons, Plumbers', was until recently visible above the shop in Claverton Street. Robert's death was described in a letter received by Mrs Williams of Farmer's Terrace in the Dolemeads, from her son John, who had enlisted into the 21st on the same day. He wrote,

Dear Mother, I have to relate to you the account of Robert Warren (also a native of Bath). He was wounded on 5th November at the dreadful battle of Inkerman, he received his wounds on both legs and laid in the field of battle for two days without anyone coming that way, but when the men went round to bury the dead, they found him lying in a large bush, with both his legs nearly from his body. I did all I could

for him while he was alive but, poor fellow, he died on 8th November.⁴⁸

The campaign to take Sevastopol dragged on, and Stothert wrote gloomily:

The attack is put off *sine die* unless some unforeseen circumstances produce an effect which will enable us to carry the place by sudden assault; such circumstances as, for instance, the arrival of 30,000 men from the moon; the simultaneous blowing up of all the Russian magazines; or the death from drinking of all the Russian officers.⁴⁹

No such fortunate circumstances arose, but rather the opposite: on the 14th November a great storm wrecked many ships in the harbour at Balaklava. It was a terrifying scene: 'In the harbour and on the raging sea outside it, the struggle to survive was terrible and grim'. In company with two other ships, HMT *Rip van Winkle*, 'borne dizzily along towards the shore in the scudding waters, cracked open on the sharp rocks in a whirl of planks and spars'.⁵⁰ She was lost with all hands, including her Commander, Felix Samuel Allen, aged 29 years, son of the late Dr. Allen, MD of Bath.

The conditions for the army continued to be appalling. The *Bath Chronicle* described how the 63rd Regiment, 'served in the trenches, came out of them to fetch its own provisions from Balaklava [a fourteen-mile round journey], ate its rations raw because nobody was left in camp to cook and generally speaking would, if left, have had nothing to cook nor fuel to cook with'.⁵¹ Amongst those who died were Edward Harris, Corporal George Roberts and Major William Swinton. Edward Harris and his brother John were from Sydney Wharf where their mother was a coal merchant. Both brothers served in the Royal Artillery in the Crimea, and Edward died of diarrhoea at Scutari, having been sent down from the trenches.⁵² Roberts had enlisted into the 21st in 1850, aged 17 years; his parents lived in the Dolemeads. Promoted to corporal 'on commendation' he is recorded as having 'died in camp before Sebastopol'.⁵³

Swinton, the eldest son of Colonel William Swinton, Bengal Army, of Rivers Street, had joined the Royal Artillery in 1836. He had been at the Alma where his 'F' Field Battery was noted as 'up in [the] line, and finished the battle gloriously'. Now he was before Sebastopol. Temple Godman wrote:

There are now five or six inches of snow on the ground and a cutting wind from the north-east, our tents frozen stiff as boards. Our poor men suffer much, their blankets were frozen on them last night. We get charcoal which I fear will cause many fatal accidents. Swinton of the Artillery was found dead in bed from its effects.⁵⁴

Death from wounds and more often from sickness in the field and hospitals became an everyday item of news. The *Bath Chronicle* reported

those of William Gullick, 62nd, Scutari; Edward Tanner of Temperance Hall, Widcombe, on passage to hospital; Captain Joseph Warlinger, son of the Rev. J. A. Warlinger of Cumberland Villa, on board ship in the Black Sea; James Bradley of the Land Transport Service, of Margaret's Buildings of cholera at Balaklava, leaving a wife and eight children. Mr. Bennett, a Bath chemist, received a letter from his son, a dresser in the hospital at Scutari in January 1855. It began positively:

I have a good set of patients ... they are supplied with good food, wine, Englishporter etc. I can confidently say no patient in any London or provincial hospital can fare better than the patients here ... [But] the dark side of the picture remains to be told. Since the beginning of this month upwards of 1000 patients have been buried in an English burial ground ... the average seems to be about 400 deaths a day.⁵⁵

Earlier, Stothert had written to his mother: 'You have read the descriptions of the sick and wounded given in *The Times*, they are in no wise exaggerated. Why do not the people of England send out help and Sisters of Mercy and linen bandages?'⁵⁶ Such calls were being taken up in Bath. The *Bath Chronicle* gave its support to the Patriotic Fund, as the following items show:

We beg again to call attention to the concerts announced by Mr. Duck.

The performances will be so superior, and the object so admirable that we cannot doubt that the attendance will be very numerous and distinguished. As an example to others we may mention that Benjamin Gray of this city, though past 80 years of age, has personally collected upward of £100 for the Patriotic Fund.

The young men of Bath intend giving a ball at the Guildhall, the proceeds of which will be contributed to the Fund.⁵⁷

Other services were also being advertised:

THE CRIMEA

Air and Water Beds, Cushions, Pillows, Waterproof Sheets and Cloths
Either for sale or for hire at

Davies, Green and Jamesons, Chemists
15, Old Bond Street, Bath.

Davies, Green and Jameson are daily exporting the above articles to the Crimea and in such cases a liberal reduction is made in order to meet the humane efforts and attention of the Nobility and Gentry of this Neighbourhood.

A large stock of LINT always in hand.⁵⁸

Such supplies were no doubt welcome, though Ainslie complained that an air bed sent to him was 18 inches too short.

R. E. Peach, Bath Agent, 8 Bridge Street, advertised the 'CRIMEAN ARMY PARCELS AGENCY', with 'Dispatches by steamer 4 or 5 times a month. Receipts given and delivery guaranteed. Greater facilities possessed than by any other agencies.'⁵⁹ A more stirring advertisement headed, 'HOW TO BEAT THE RUSSIANS', turned out to be for whalebone hairbrushes, and explained that, 'Using whalebone instead of Russian bristles will stop the trade. Thus we shall beat the Russians'. Others provided comforts: 'The Ladies of Bath [have] sent clothing to Scutari and through the instrumentality of the Hon. Howe Brown [a Bath man] free of charge via the General Steam Shipping Co.'⁶⁰

Individuals, too, played a part, and the *Bath Chronicle* recorded, 'A liberal Gift and Good Example: Robert Cook Esq. of Park Street has at his own expense selected a variety of comestibles for which the West of England is famous and despatched them to the Crimea for the service of that gallant regiment, the Royals, under the command of Colonel George Bell. The provisions filled twenty large cases and consisted of Bath sausages, potted butter, pickles, flour etc, each case containing from 8 to 12 packages of 141b each'.⁶¹ Stothert and Pitt contributed to the hospital designed by I.K. Brunel and shipped in sections to the Crimea in May 1855. They were given the job of constructing machinery for supplying water to each set of buildings, which were equipped by Brunel with water closets, wash basins and invalid baths.⁶²

In response to the continuing criticism of the conduct of the campaign being expressed in *The Times* and elsewhere, in January 1855 John Arthur Roebuck, formerly an MP for Bath and now a member for Sheffield, successfully proposed in the Commons a motion for an enquiry into the conditions of the Army before Sevastopol. When the Committee was set up, one of the two MPs for Bath, Captain Scobell, was proposed for membership on the grounds that his appointment 'would supply a naval element which had hitherto been lacking'. Roebuck opposed this, claiming that for an enquiry whose concerns included the clothing of the Army, 'a tailor might have been proposed with as much propriety as a sailor'. The *Bath Chronicle* felt Scobell deserved support, but he did not join the committee.⁶³

The adoption of Roebuck's motion led to the resignation of Lord Aberdeen and his replacement as Prime Minister by Lord Palmerston. Thomas Phinn, the other Member for Bath, was offered a post as Second Secretary to the Admiralty. He placed formal notice of his resignation as MP in the *Bath Chronicle*, and an election became necessary. His move was not universally well regarded:

Mr. Phinn when he became a candidate for Bath was a full blown patriot on the subject of place. He had no favours to ask of the government, he said; he wanted nothing, he was an independent man etc etc. [Now] Mr Phinn has got a place ... There is no reason why Mr. Phinn should not accept office ... he is a scholar, a man of energy, a rising man. But we never dreamt that the end of his career would have been the obscurity of a back room at the Admiralty.⁶⁴

Punch took a more genial view:

Mr. Phinn has just been appointed Permanent Secretary to the Admiralty. He may be wanted at the Admiralty but can be ill spared from the Commons. As fish steer by the fin, it is to be hoped that those odd fishes who manage our naval affairs – and who some of them are never at sea until they get into office – will consent to be guided by the Phinn that is now sent to them.⁶⁵

Mr. Whately, the Conservative candidate, was dismissive: 'I believe that Mr. Phinn knows no more of the management of a ship than of the education of an elephant'.⁶⁶ Mr. Whately failed to win the seat; Phinn's bust still commands the Guildhall entrance hall.

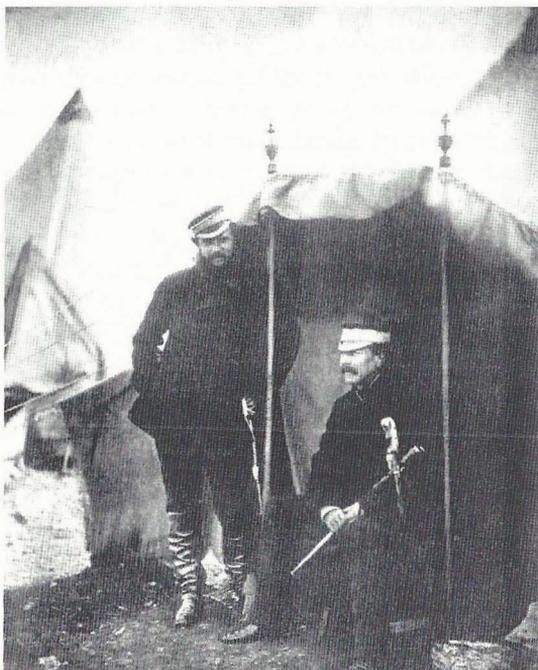
Around Sevastopol the siege continued. In June 1855 attacks were launched on The Quarries, part of the defences, and were eventually successful; another Bath man fell there. John Burton Forster was born in Newport, but his mother, widow of an army officer, and his sister were living at Oxford Row, Lansdown. Forster had joined the 62nd in 1839 and had already seen active service in the Sutlej campaign. The Regimental History records: 'The Quarries were carried at bayonet point. The 62nd had been ordered to reinforce the leading troops at nightfall. At three in the morning [the Russians made] the last and most vigorous counter attack. Lt Col Shearman and three of his captains crept up. Ten minutes later all four had become casualties. A Russian round shot ... first carried away part of Capt. Ingall's thigh; the Colonel was mortally wounded and Captain Forster was smashed to bits'.⁶⁷

On 18th June 1855 a concerted attack was made on the Malakoff fortification by the French, and on the Redan by the British. The British attacks were led by Colonel Lacy Yea, a frequent visitor to Bath, and by Major General Sir John Campbell, who lived in city. Roger Fenton, the photographer of the war, tells us quite a lot about Campbell, the son of General Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava. He had joined the 38th Regiment in 1821 and by 1854 was Major General, commanding a brigade of the 4th Division under Sir Richard England, who also lived in Bath. Sir John received Fenton kindly. In his letters the latter writes:

At Cathcart's Hill Sir John commands the 4th Division [England was absent sick at the time] and having received a message from him offering assistance if I would come there, I presented myself and was at once invited to take up my quarters with him. 'Meanwhile', said Sir John, 'Come and take a glass of sherry', and he led the way to a hole in the ground, a natural cavern which he had found, and took possession of just before the storm of 14th November. I took some portraits including a nice one of the General sitting before his tent (fig.3). At seven we sat down to supper in the cavern, the General, his aide Captain Hume and Captain Layard and a very comfortable and jolly party we made, a huge barrel of beer in one corner and the arms stuck in knooks in the rocks giving us the look of a party of smugglers. There was a novelty at dinner – a salad of dandelion leaves – very good it was with oil and vinegar.⁶⁸

'This refuge', wrote Russell, 'was marked by a little wooden fence resting on cannon shot, around which there was an impromptu flower garden'.⁶⁹

For the attack on the Redan, the two storming parties under Sir John's command were led by Colonel Lacey Yea and Colonel Shadforth. In his *Letters from Headquarters* Colonel Calthorpe wrote: 'Shadforth was shot dead before he was many yards out of our trench. Upon seeing this Campbell immediately went forward to lead the stormers himself. The men rallied directly and followed Sir John but he met with the same fate and fell dead in the act of cheering on his men'.⁷⁰ The attack failed. Raglan wrote in his dispatch, 'I have never before witnessed such a continued and heavy fire of



3. Photograph by Roger Fenton of Major General Sir John Campbell (seated) with Captain Hume. (Reproduced from H. & E. Gernsheim, Roger Fenton: His Photographs and Letters from the Crimea)

grape combined with musketry'. *The Times* reported: 'The shattered frame of Sir John lay close up to the abattis. His sword and boots were taken. He was interred on Cathcart's Hill where the evening before his death he laughingly invited one who was talking to him to come to lunch with him the next day in the clubhouse of Sebastopol.'⁷¹ The *Bath Chronicle* reported his death, noting that his widow was at 34 Pulteney Street with eight children, all under fifteen years.⁷²

Close to the body of Campbell was found that of Lieutenant Thomas Molyneux Graves RE, son of J. S. Graves, a barrister, of Burlington Street, Bath. He died 'in the memorable attempt to storm the Redan, within the abattis and close to the ditch of that work, pierced with three balls'. He had already been slightly injured earlier in the campaign. Sir Evelyn Wood describes how he 'saw a remarkable escape. Lt. Graves was standing in an embrasure which required repair when a round shot struck the ground immediately under his feet. He was considerably shaken'. Wood, then a midshipman in one of the naval parties supporting the stormers, saw him again at the Redan: 'The abattis was a strong fence and [then] a ditch eleven feet deep. Lt. Graves coming up asked if I had seen Captain Peel. He passed on, being killed almost immediately. He was as calm and collected as he had shown himself earlier.'⁷³ Another Bath officer, Captain Bowes Fenwick, 44th Foot, was also killed in this action, and Private George Parker, Rifle Brigade, son of a Twerton nurseryman, who had been wounded, died shortly afterwards.⁷⁴

In September came the final assault on the Redan and another name on the Memorial: 'An heroic 100 stormers, many of them from the 62nd, did scramble up the rubble about the ruined face of the bastion. Amongst those who fell was the Commanding Officer, Colonel L.B. Tyler'. He died of his wounds six weeks later in the Castle Hospital, Balaklava.⁷⁵ Three men who won the VC at the Redan are commemorated in Bath cemeteries: Commander H.J. Raby RN (who married Julia, the sister of Captain Forster); Capt. C. Lumley, 97th Regiment; and Assistant Surgeon T.E. Hale, 7th Regiment. With Commander Bythesea and Major the Hon. H.H. Clifford, Rifle Brigade (educated at Prior Park), they were present at the first Investiture by Queen Victoria in Hyde Park on 26th June 1857.

Amongst those Bath men who served with the Naval Brigade was George Nichols, whose name appears on the Monument. The Brigade had been formed in October 1854 when the larger ships of the fleet were ordered to provide heavy guns and around one hundred sailors each, with officers, to serve ashore in support of the army. The sailors had to

manhandle the guns from their ships to the siege positions. The Revd. Stothert's shipmate, Midshipman Wood, described how his ship handled the task: 'We put fifty men on the drag ropes, placed a fiddler or fifer on the gun or a tenor to give the solo of a chorus song and thus we walked them up'.⁷⁶

Less seriously engaged was Bath's

... fellow citizen George Garrard [who went] with a friend for a couple of months summer tour and knowing of no more interesting point to visit than the great theatre of war, they started in Marseilles for Constantinople and thence proceeded by ship to Balaklava just as the last great bombardment commenced. They at once hastened on and witnessed first, the awfully grand spectacle of the fire upon the city [Sebastopol] and then the assault with its sanguinary horrors. Mr. Garrard and his friend beheld the assault from that point which best commanded the French attack on the Malakoff and afterwards had an interior view of the captured site. The lucky tourists were of course obliged to take up their abode in tents but, apart from an attack of rheumatism, paid no greater penalty for the sublime spectacle at which they were present.⁷⁷

As peace approached, the Revd. Stothert took up a fresh interest, 'the project of erecting the first Christian church in Turkey at Ortaquoi. It is to cost £400'. He had already collected £250, and needed £100 from home. He had written to Mr. East [Rector of St. Michael's] and Mr. Scarth [of Charlcombe]. Late in January he observed: 'I am fearing for our project ... people are getting luke warm about it. I have a motley crew who come to church – Armenians, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Methodists, High Church, Low Church, No Church. I suppose an explosion will one day take place'. In March he wrote, 'The ground for our church has been purchased. Money, money, money is all we want'. His entreaties must have been heard for by May he could write to his father, 'Our church is out of debt. By this time you may have seen a full account of the opening in *The Times*'. It made a satisfying end to his service in the East.⁷⁸ The Treaty of Paris had by then been signed (March 1856), checking for the time being the spread of Russian influence.

* * *

The Crimean Memorial was unveiled on the day of national celebrations of peace, 29th May 1856. Leaflets were distributed (fig.4), and the *Bath Chronicle* reported:

The procession is to leave Prior Park Road at 9-30am. The band of the North Somerset Yeomanry under Captain Haviland will play 'The Dead March' in Saul going and the National Anthem returning. The procession will include Crimean soldiers resident in Bath, Recruiting staff on service in Bath, Enrolled pensioners, Military and Naval Officers, Bishop Carr and other clergy, The Mayor in his robes, attended by Mace Bearers and Officers of Police, Members of the Corporation, Citizens – four abreast.

The impressiveness of the occasion will be heightened by the discharge of minute guns from Beechen Cliff'.⁷⁹

It was estimated that 15,000 to 20,000 people attended. The occasion was fully reported in the *Bath Chronicle* of 5th June 1856, where it was noted that, 'One of the most affecting incidents connected with the ceremony was the presence of two little boys, one on each side of the monument. These were the sons of Sir John Campbell who fell at Sebastopol'.

THE

MONUMENT,

ERECTED AT THE

ABBAY CEMETERY,

WIDCOMBE,

In honour of the Memory of those Brave Men connected with the City of Bath who have fallen during the late War, will be UNCOVERED on

THURSDAY Next,

The 29th of MAY,

At TEN O'CLOCK PRECISELY,

By his Worship the Mayor.

And those Officers, Soldiers, Sailors, and others who may attend to show their respect and gratitude toward our Departed Heroes, will walk in

PROCESSION

FROM PRIOR PARK ROAD,
At HALF-PAST NINE A.M.

Committee Room, Guildhall, May 26th, 1856.

At this point, Ainslie's name did not appear on the Monument. In the evening, however, a dinner was held for veterans, and after a speech by the Mayor one of them spoke: 'Sergeant Watkins, 21st Regiment stated that he had been requested to mention the name of Colonel Frederick Ainslie, who died from wounds received at Inkerman, which had been omitted from the Monument. He was a Bath man and, 20 years ago, joined the 21st Regiment while residing in the city'.⁸⁰ Ainslie's name was added to the Monument – out of rank order and with no initials.

4. Flysheet announcing the opening of the Memorial.
(From the Hunt Collection, Bath Reference Library)

Sergeant Frederick Watkins, born in Walcot, had been a labourer in Widcombe when he joined the 21st. On his attestation certificate the Medical Officer had written, 'Slight frame, can never be a soldier in my opinion', but Watkins nevertheless achieved promotion to Sergeant before being rendered unfit for service by a grapeshot wound in his right shoulder.

After a fete in Sydney Gardens, the celebrations concluded with fireworks at Beechen Cliff and Shaw (*sic*) Castle, which were not entirely successful, for they were provided by 'the same person [who] we believe, undertook to fire three Royal Salutes from Beechen Cliff during the day, and for intensity of noise and stunning effect these salutes were certainly equal to the crack which a stout carter produces every day with his whip when Old Dobbin is a shade lazy'.⁸¹

In 1857 the name of General Richard Debauffre Guyon was added to the Memorial, under the word 'Kars'. He was, wrote the *Bath Chronicle*, 'a noble soldier, a true Paladin, and his deeds on the battlefield bring home to our minds the days of chivalry. His whole career was marked by great and numerous events. [He was] feared and hated by the despots of Austria and Russia for the service he rendered to the cause of liberty' (fig.5).⁸²

Guyon was born in Walcot in 1813, the son of John Guyon, an officer in the Royal Navy.

At an early age Richard Guyon took a commission in the Surrey Militia; at age eighteen he obtained a commission in Prince Joseph's 2nd Regiment Hungarian Hussars; in 1838 he married the daughter of Field Marshal Baron Spleny and retired to estates near Pesth.⁸³ When Croatia and Austria invaded Hungary in 1848, Guyon was called out of retirement and appointed major of the 'honveds' (militia), which he led in a series of successful actions. For his services the Hungarian Diet decreed that 'his name be inscribed on a pillar of bronze'. When Russia intervened, Kossuth, the Hungarian revolutionary leader,



5. Portrait of General Guyon, from a daguerrotype in the author's possession. Guyon was described as having 'piercingly searching' eyes and a 'frame of steel'.

declared Hungarian independence, and when this was eventually lost, he and Guyon went into exile in Turkey. Kossuth said of him, 'The deeds of Guyon are the subject of imperishable history'.

In Turkey, Guyon strove to bring order and organisation to the Sultan's army. During the Crimean War, after the incursion by the Russians into Anatolia he was sent there to assist in the re-organisation of the Turkish army and of the defences of Kars. Turkish officers resented his appointment and were unwilling to accept his advice; after the defeat at Kurekdere in August 1855, Guyon was put on half-pay. There was pressure in the English Parliament for Guyon to be given service with the Allied armies in the Crimea, but after arriving in Constantinople he died of cholera on 12th October 1856. He is buried in the English ground of the Hayderpasha Cemetery at Scutari, his grave close to that of Colonel Ainslie. The inscription on the headstone reads: 'Here lies Colonel Richard Guyon,



6. The two Russian cannon set in front of the Obelisk in Royal Victoria Park on 9th September 1857. A calotype taken by Reverend Francis Lockey. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Bath Royal Literary & Scientific Institution)

Count, Descendant of France, Son of England, Brave Champion of Hungary'. At the foot of the grave another plaque reads: 'In grateful commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the death of Richard Guyon, freedom fighter, 1856-1956. The Hungarian People's Republic'.⁸⁴ This is a poignant tribute in view of the events of late 1956 in Hungary.

At the request of the Mayor, two Russian cannon were presented to the city by the Secretary of State at War and were placed in Victoria Park on 9th September 1857 – the second anniversary of the fall of Sevastopol (fig.6). The event was described by the *London Illustrated News*:

Bells rang out; a running cannonade of feux-de-joie announced that a festival of no ordinary interest was at hand. The procession included the Park and Hanoverian band committees; bodies of naval and military officers; the Crimean invalids now here for the benefit of Bath's waters; the north Somerset Yeomanry and its band; two companies of pensioners; the 2nd Somerset Militia. Thus escorted, the guns, cast at Woolwich and presented by Mr. J. Williams of the Pickwick Ironworks left the quay drawn by nine magnificent grey horses. [The guns having been placed on the stone platforms] the iron tongues of these grim trophies were loosed, a flash, a light wreath of smoke then the booming thunder rolled through the valleys mingled with the feux-de-joie from the gallant old pensioners standing now side by side with the heroes of the Alma and Inkerman.⁸⁵

The cannon are now gone. Headstones in local cemeteries, and of two Bath men close by each other in Scutari, some paintings of the conflict by Thomas Jones Barker, and the Memorial in the Abbey cemetery, are the last tangible links between Bath and the Crimean War.

Notes

- 1 This article had its origin in the recording of local war memorials of all periods for The National Inventory Of War Memorials (NIWM), a project initiated by The Imperial War Museum and The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (now merged with English Heritage). The inventory has so far amassed 35,000 records of various types of memorials from 'the cross on the village green' to church plaques, memorial gardens, halls, homes and hospitals, trophies and relics. It can be consulted via the Project Co-ordinator at The Imperial War Museum, London.
- 2 *Bath Chronicle*, 15 May 1856.
- 3 *Bath Chronicle*, 15 March, 22 March, 1855.
- 4 *Bath Chronicle*, 22 March, 1855.
- 5 *Bath Chronicle*, 29 March, 1855.
- 6 Mrs. T Kelly, *From the Fleet in the Fifties, incorporating letters written 1854-5-6 by Revd. S. Kelson Stothert* (1902), p.303.
- 7 *Bath Chronicle*, 28 Feb 1856.
- 8 *Bath Chronicle*, 17 May 1855.
- 9 *Bath Chronicle*, 27 March 1856.
- 10 *Alumni Oxoniensis 1715-1886* (Oxford, 1886), p.1362. Samuel Kelson Stothert was a graduate of Worcester College. His father John, described in the 1851 census as 'Ironmonger' was in the business which was to become Stothert & Pitt; See H. Torrens, *The Evolution of a Family Firm* (Bath, 1978).
- 11 Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp.18-19.
- 12 Kelly, *ibid.*, p.19.

- 13 Kelly, *ibid.*, p.32.
- 14 Kelly, *ibid.*, pp.33-34.
- 15 *Bath Chronicle*, 22 June 1854.
- 16 Public Record Office (PRO), Kew, ADMS 53 5215.
- 17 *The Register of the Victoria Cross*: (Cheltenham, 1988), pp.165 & 169.
- 18 *Bath Chronicle*, 27 April 1854.
- 19 *Bath Chronicle*, 6 April 1854.
- 20 *Bath Chronicle*, 13 April 1854.
- 21 J. Buchan, *The Royal Scots Fusiliers* (1925), p.196.
- 22 A. A. Lagden ed., 'The Ainslie Letters', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol LVIII, Nos. 233 & 234 (1980), p.6.
- 23 Ainslie letters, *ibid.*, p.7.
- 24 Ainslie letters, *ibid.*, p.11.
- 25 Ainslie letters, *ibid.*, pp.10-13.
- 26 *Bath Chronicle*, 14 Sept 1854.
- 27 P. J. Gibson, *Memoirs Of The Brave* (1989), pp.63-4.
- 28 P. Warner ed., *Fields Of War: A Young Cavalryman's Crimea Campaign -Letters of Richard Temple Godman 5th Dragoon Guards* (1997), p.52.
- 29 Ainslie letters, *op. cit.*, p.15.
- 30 W. E. Hamley, *The War in the Crimea* (1910), p.29.
- 31 Ainslie letters, *op. cit.*, p.16.
- 32 W. H. Russell, *The British Expedition to the Crimea* (1877).
- 33 Ainslie letters, *op. cit.*, p.18.
- 34 Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp.141-142.
- 35 Ainslie letters, *op. cit.*, pp.19-20.
- 36 Russell, *op. cit.*, p.225.
- 37 Ainslie letters, *op. cit.*, pp.19-21.
- 38 Kelly, *op. cit.*, p.178.
- 39 *Gentleman's Magazine*, Jan 1855. Vol.1, p.104.
- 40 *Bath Chronicle*, 7 Aug 1906.
- 41 W. N. Lummis and K. Wynn, *Honour the Light Brigade* (1973), pp.214, 296.
- 42 Russell, *op. cit.*, p.167.
- 43 H. C. Wylly, *History of the Manchester Regiment*, Vol. 1 (1923), p.229.
- 44 A. W. Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea* (Edinburgh, 1863-87), Vol. VI, pp.298-9.
- 45 Kinglake, *ibid.*, pp.355-6.
- 46 Ainslie letters, *op. cit.*, p.115.
- 47 PRO, Kew, WO 12 3823.
- 48 *Bath Chronicle*, 22 Feb 1855.
- 49 Kelly, *op. cit.*, p.231.
- 50 C. Hibbert, *The Destruction of Lord Raglan* (Harmondsworth, 1963), p.240.
- 51 *Bath Chronicle*, 12 Apr 1855.
- 52 PRO, Kew, WO 10 2200.
- 53 PRO, Kew, WO 12 3823.
- 54 Warner, *op. cit.*, p.121.
- 55 *Bath Chronicle*, 8 Feb 1855.
- 56 Kelly, *op. cit.*, p.209.
- 57 *Bath Chronicle*, 21 Dec 1854.
- 58 *Bath Chronicle*, 25 Jan 1855.

- 59 *Bath Chronicle*, 17 May 1855.
- 60 *Bath Chronicle*, 23 Oct 1854. On 5th January 1855 the *Chronicle* recorded: 'The benevolent exertions of a few ladies of this city have enabled the Mayor to forward a package to Messrs Hayter and Howell for our soldiers in the Crimea, consisting of the following articles: 36 flannel shirts; 36 pairs of socks; 27 flannel bands; 21 pairs of cuffs; 9 pairs of muffatees; 14 comforters; 26 lambswool and flannel waistcoats and 7 flannel nightcaps; other articles for the hospital will follow speedily'.
- 61 *Bath Chronicle*, 29 Mar 1855.
- 62 Torrens, *op. cit.*, pp.52-3.
- 63 *Bath Chronicle*, 26 April 1855.
- 64 *Bath Chronicle*, 31 May 1855.
- 65 *Punch*, April 1855, Vol.28.
- 66 *Bath Chronicle*, 31 May 1855.
- 67 N. C. E. Kenrick, *The Story of the Wiltshire Regiment* (Aldershot, 1963), p.89.
- 68 H & E Gernsheim, *Roger Fenton: His Photographs and Letters from the Crimea* (1956), pp.66-7.
- 69 Russell, *op. cit.*, p.248.
- 70 S. Calthorpe, 'Letters from Headquarters' in *Cadogan's Crimea* (New York, 1980), p.207.
- 71 *Bath Chronicle*, 5 July 1855.
- 72 *Bath Chronicle*, 28 June 1855.
- 73 FM Sir E. Wood VC, *From Midshipman to Fieldmarshal* (1912), pp.73 & 92.
- 74 *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*, 27 June 1855, 6 Aug 1855.
- 75 T. Gibson, *The Wiltshire Regiment* (1969), pp.75-6.
- 76 Kelly, *op. cit.*, p.163.
- 77 *Bath Chronicle*, 13 Oct 1855.
- 78 Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp.401-426.
- 79 *Bath Chronicle*, 29 May 1856.
- 80 *Bath Chronicle*, 5 June 1856.
- 81 *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*, 4 June 1856.
- 82 *Bath Chronicle*, 30 Apr 1857.
- 83 For an account of his lifese see R. A. Kinglake, *The Patriot & Hero*, Bath Reference Library, Local pamphlet B920 GUY.
- 84 I am grateful to the office of the Town Clerk, Kaposvar, for providing this translation.
- 85 *Illustrated London News*, 26 Sep 1857. For further details and illustrations see Robin Whalley, 'The Royal Victoria Park', *Bath History*, Vol. V (Bath, 1994), pp.157-59.