

LEEDS AND THE AMATEUR MILITARY TRADITION:

THE LEEDS RIFLES AND THEIR ANTECEDENTS, c. 1859 - 1918

VOLUME I

by

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ABSTRACT

LEEDS AND THE AMATEUR MILITARY TRADITION:

THE LEEDS RIFLES AND THEIR ANTECEDENTS, c.1859-1918

This thesis examines, through the history of one infantry regiment, aspects of the Territorial Force, created in 1908, in its peacetime and wartime existence. It is a pioneering work of social history, since it concentrates on describing the social and organisational characteristics of a Regiment in both peace and war. Though the Leeds Rifles cannot be claimed to be a 'typical' Territorial Regiment, many of its characteristics were common to units of the Territorial Force and, through the history of this Regiment, a number of general themes, of morale, discipline, and attitudes, recruitment and organisational style can be explored.

The opening section of the thesis describes the legacy of the Leeds Rifle Volunteers, 1859-1908, to the Territorial Regiment, and the local and social organisation continuities that can be perceived. The remainder of the thesis is divided into the peacetime period, 1908-1914, where the "Citizen-soldier" of the Territorial Force was largely a citizen, and the wartime period, 1914-1918, where the soldierly elements were more necessary and notable. Similar themes and continuities pervade these two sections also, though increasingly from late 1916 the 'local' character of the Leeds Rifles became less central to the social history of the Regiment.

The thesis offers a contribution to the general social history of the period 1908-1918, and to Leeds history in particular. It also seeks to place the experience of this one Regiment in the context of other studies of the social dynamics of "Western" military organisations and to make a contribution to the development of such studies. In an appendix, the methodological problems of an exploration of this type are also considered.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Full stop in signaller's language.
ADMS	(Assistant) Director of Medical Services of a division.
AFC	Association Football Club.
AG	Adjutant General.
Ald	Alderman.
AO	Army Order.
App	Appendix.
ASC	Army Service Corps.
ASC (MT)	Army Service Corps (Mechanical Transport).
ASE	Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
AUEW	Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.
AVC	Army Veterinary Corps.
AWOL	Absent without leave.
Bde	Brigade.
BEF	British Expeditionary Force.
Bn/Batt	Battalion.
Brig. Gen.	Brigadier-General.
Capt	Captain.
CB	Confined to barracks; Companion of the Bath.
cf.	Compare.
CHQ	Company Headquarters.
C-in-C	Commander-in-chief.
CLB	Church Lads' Brigade.
CLLE	Charger-loading Lee Enfield.
CMG	Companion of the Order of St. Michael & St. George.
CO	Commanding Officer.
C of E	Church of England.
Col	Colonel.
Col. Sgt	Colour-sergeant.
Counc.	Councillor.
Coy	Company.
Cpl	Corporal.
CQMS	Company Quarter-master sergeant.
CRA	Commander Royal Artillery.
CRE	Commander Royal Engineers; Corps of Royal Engineers.

CSM	Company sergeant-major.
CT	Communication trench.
DCM	Distinguished Conduct Medal.
Div	Division.
DLI	Durham Light Infantry.
DSO	Distinguished Service Order.
DWR	Duke of Wellington's Regiment.
Eff. Med.	Efficiency Medal.
EV	Engineer Volunteers.
F.M.	Field Marshal.
FMO	Full Marching Order.
FP1	Field Punishment No. 1.
fr.	Francs.
GHQ	General Headquarters.
GI	United States soldier.
GOC	General Officer Commanding.
GS	General Service.
GSO	General Staff Officer.
GSW	Gunshot wound.
HAC	Honourable Artillery Company.
HE	High explosive.
HGV	Heavy goods vehicle.
HLI	Highland Light Infantry.
HM	His (Her) Majesty's.
HMSO	His (Her) Majesty's Stationery Office.
HQ	Headquarters.
i/c	In command.
ILP	Independent Labour Party.
IoM	Isle of Man.
JRUSI	Journal of the Royal United Service Institution (Services Institute).
KOSB	King's Own Scottish Borderers.
KOYLI	King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry.
KRRC	King's Royal Rifle Corps.
KSLI	King's Shropshire Light Infantry.
L/Cpl	Lance-corporal.
LCT	Leeds City Tramways.
LG	Lewis gun.
L/Sgt	Lance-sergeant.
Lt/Lieut.	Lieutenant.

Lt Col	Lieutenant-colonel.
Lt Gen.	Lieutenant-general.
m.	Million.
Maj. Gen.	Major-general.
MC	Military Cross.
m/c gun	Machine-gun.
MG	Machine-gun.
MGC	Machine-Gun Corps.
MEF	Middle East Force.
MM	Military Medal.
MO	Medical officer.
MP	Military policeman; Member of Parliament.
MSM	Meritorious Service Medal.
n.a.	not applicable.
NCO (non-com.)	Non-commissioned officer.
n.d.	no date; no data available.
NF	Northumberland Fusiliers.
No.	number.
NSL	National Service League.
NUR	National Union of Railwaymen.
OC	Officer commanding, usually of a company.
OCB	Officer Cadet Battalion.
OR	Other Ranks.
OTC	Officers' Training Corps.
PoW	Prisoner-of-war.
PRO	Public Record Office.
PSI	Permanent Staff Instructor.
Pte	Private.
PWO	Prince of Wales's Own.
QM	Quarter-Master.
RA	Royal Artillery.
RAC	Royal Automobile Club.
RAMC	Royal Army Medical Corps.
RAOB	Royal & Ancient Order of Buffaloes.
RB	Rifle Brigade.
RC	Roman Catholic.
RCT	Royal Corps of Transport.
RD	Regimental District.

RE	Royal Engineers.
Regt	Regiment.
Regtl	Regimental.
RF	Royal Fusiliers.
RFA	Royal Field Artillery.
RFC	Royal Flying Corps.
Rfm	Rifleman.
RGA	Royal Garrison Artillery.
RIR	Royal Irish Rifles.
RLFC	Rugby League Football Club.
RMA	Royal Military Academy.
RMO	Regimental Medical Officer.
RQMS	Regimental Quartermaster-sergeant.
RSM	Regimental Sergeant-major.
RTO	Railway Transport Officer.
RUFC	Rugby Union Football Club.
RUSI	Royal United Service Institution (Services Institute).
RVC	Rifle Volunteer Corps.
RWF	Royal Welch Fusiliers.
RWR	Royal Warwickshire Regiment.
SAA	Small arms ammunition.
Sgt	Sergeant.
SR	Scottish Rifles.
TA	Territorial Army.
TAVR	Territorial Army & Volunteer Reserve.
T & S	Transport and Supply.
TF	Territorial Force.
TS	Typescript.
UDC	Urban District Council.
USARB	United States Army Research Branch.
VB	Volunteer Battalion.
VC	Victoria Cross.
VF	Volunteer Force.
Vol.	Volume.
WD	War Diary.
WR	West Riding (of Yorkshire).
WRVRVC	West Riding of York Rifle Volunteer Corps.
WWI	World War I.

WWII	World War II.
WYR	West Yorkshire Regiment.
Y & L	York & Lancaster Regiment.
YEP	<u>Yorkshire Evening Post.</u>
2i/c	Second-in-command.
2(2nd)/Lt	Second-lieutenant.

Please note:

- 1) The numbers appearing before individual men's names in the text are Regimental Numbers;
- 2) generally speaking, the military ranks used are those ruling at the time referred to in the text.

INTRODUCTION

This study concerns that unique military figure, the British citizen-soldier of the Territorial Force. The peacetime Territorial was first and foremost an ordinary citizen who followed a civilian occupation and soldiered only in his spare time and who was called to the Colours, embodied for service, on 4th August, 1914; the wartime Territorial was an ordinary citizen turned full-time soldier who joined, or remained a member of, a TF unit after the outbreak of war.

The main aims of this study were, by focusing attention on the social history of one provincial infantry Regiment of the Territorial Force, "The Leeds Rifles" (7th & 8th battalions, The West Yorkshire Regiment), to identify, in broad terms, the Territorial soldier; to identify the social and organisational characteristics of the Territorial unit; and to determine the general character and ethos of the Force which was in existence from 1908 to 1919, when it was gradually "disembodied", its raison d'être having disappeared.

This social history has been compiled from the surviving, hitherto unpublished, records of the Regiment, from personal documents, principally diaries, memoirs and letters, written by members of the Regiment (a description of both of these source categories is given in Appendix I), from newspapers and periodicals, and from the oral testimonies of all the surviving members of the Regiment of the 1908-1918 period who could be traced.

The Territorial Force had replaced the Volunteer Force on 1st April 1908. The latter had come into being in 1859-60 in response to mid-19th century fears of French invasion. It was an amateur attempt to redress the nation's lack of military defence capability and represented yet another stage in the history of amateurism in home defence which over the previous 300 years or so (since the foundation of the Honourable Artillery Company in 1537) had become deeply ingrained in British cultural tradition. The fifteen years preceding 1859 had constituted a period of chronic anxiety about French intentions which periodically erupted into panics, each marked by offers made to the Government to enrol armed Volunteer corps by groups of men chiefly belonging to the professional and business classes. These offers, with two exceptions, were repeatedly rejected because of official fears of the political consequences of arming Volunteers. A number of drill

clubs and rifle clubs, often quasi-military in character, however, started during this period and laid the groundwork for the 1859 Volunteer Movement.¹ By the spring of 1859, the government's serious alarm at the French military and naval build-up had grown to crisis proportions² and official authority for the formation of Volunteer corps was given in a circular from the Secretary of State for War, General Peel, to Lords Lieutenant on 12th May. The Leeds Rifle Volunteer Corps was instituted later that month.

The Territorial Force was the result of R.B. Haldane's reorganisation of the Volunteer Force and the Yeomanry and combined the two for the first time in one body. It was not the Volunteer Force under another name. The Volunteer Force had never been a viable military force and Haldane aimed to improve both the use and the efficiency of the citizen-soldiers. They were completely reorganised into large divisions on the Regular Army model; existing units were individually reorganised on the Army pattern and new units were created to conform with Army formations; pay and separation allowances were introduced for the period of the Annual Training; recruits were required to sign on for four years; on outbreak of war the TF was to be embodied for war training of six months' duration. The traditional basis of home defence was to be abandoned, for the TF was originally intended primarily as a Reserve for the Expeditionary Force which would be available for service anywhere in the world. In practice, however, for reasons of political expediency, the TF remained a home defence army. Within a comparatively short period, the new regulations that were introduced exercised a very profound effect both on the pattern of recruitment and on the social composition of the Force as a whole.

In peacetime, the Territorial Force was bedevilled by innumerable problems and difficulties and was, since it lacked the political power and protection of its predecessor, beset by enemies of whom none wore the uniform of a foreign power. Nevertheless it was a potentially invaluable force. It was to play a vital role in the war where its performance exceeded even the expectations of its most sanguine supporters. The social and organisational characteristics of the TF, so criticised and mocked both before and during the war, proved, it will be argued in the closing chapters (Chaps. 13 & 14), to be of inestimable military value, and the Territorials, despised as amateurs and dismissed as "The Town Clerk's Army" (a phrase said to have been used by Kitchener),³ emerged not as the destroyers but, on the contrary, as very much the conservators and standard-bearers of the traditional military virtues so long cherished by the British Army.

The significance of the Volunteer Force, as Cunningham has remarked, was as much social as military.⁴ The Territorial Force, with its overwhelming numerical domination by working-class members and the 16-24 age groups, is no less an intriguing institution for the social historian, but its military significance far exceeded that of its predecessor. Its institutional reorganisation guaranteed an immeasurably greater military potential, whilst its unique social organisation, the real legacy of the Volunteers, which the Haldane scheme luckily happened to leave virtually intact, ensured that this potential could be realised.

It is not intended that the Leeds Rifles as a Regiment should be seen as being typical of the TF. The evidence set out in this study suggests that there was no such thing as a "typical" Territorial unit. All units tended to have certain social and organisational characteristics in common such as a high level of esprit de corps, inter-rank solidarity and a more relaxed style of discipline - which together may be said to comprise "the Territorial Spirit" - and recruiting by social inheritance, but these generalisations apart, local factors and influences ensured that each unit was different, particularly in social composition. The Other Ranks of the two 1914 6th WYR battalions of Bradford, for instance, appeared to contain a far higher percentage of grammar school educated men than the contemporary Leeds Rifles battalions. Wide differences in social composition even existed contemporaneously among the Leeds Rifles battalions themselves, both in Other Ranks (between the first- and second-line units) and in officers (between the 1/7th and the 1/8th).

The study is divided into three parts: Part I - The Legacy of the Volunteers (Chapters 1-4); Part II - The Citizen-soldier as citizen: The Territorials in Peacetime (Chapters 5-7); Part III - The Citizen-soldier as soldier: The Leeds Rifles Territorials at War (Chapters 8-14).

Although the 7th and 8th battalions, The West Yorkshire Regiment, were not formed until 1908, the regiment known as "The Leeds Rifles" had had a continuous existence since 1859 in Leeds, where there had been a strong amateur military tradition since the middle of the 18th century. Since the great majority of the membership, perhaps as many as 93%, of the Volunteer battalion transferred to the new Territorial battalions in 1908, the new double-battalion Leeds Rifles naturally derived its traditions, general character and ethos from its predecessor. Accordingly, in order to understand the Territorial Regiment and its many special characteristics, particularly its heavy numerical

domination by "the artisan class" and the considerable popular esteem it enjoyed locally, it is necessary to view its predecessor in its socio-historical context and to attempt to assess the magnitude of its legacy by examining its internal history, devoting particular attention to its development as a social-reforming institution.

This is done in Part I. Chapter 1 deals with the recruitment and social composition during the Volunteer period of both the officer class and the Other Ranks. It describes the enrolling of the Leeds Rifles' first nine companies 1859-60 and how the corps changed over that period from one heavily dominated by self-employed business and professional men to one heavily dominated by skilled manual workers and white collar employees and one in which the labour elite was particularly prominent. A section on "Influences on recruiting levels and wastage rates up to 1907" is included. The chapter demonstrates that the salient social characteristics of the Leeds Rifles in the prewar Territorial period were direct legacies of the early history of the Regiment.

Chapter 2, dealing with the recruiting motivation of all ranks, describes the many factors involved and demonstrates the overwhelming importance of social inheritance. It also attempts to show that the Regiment tended to attract young men of above-average ability.

Chapter 3 describes the extent of the support that existed locally for the Regiment, particularly in the Respectable working classes, and charts the development of this support against the background of the political, economic and religious climate of Leeds.

Chapter 4 attempts to account for the large working-class support for the Leeds Rifles in particular and the Volunteer and Territorial Forces in general and to assess their value as social institutions and their possible influence within society up to World War I. Topics discussed include: the range of social benefits conferred by the Leeds Rifles on both the individual member and society at large; the particular appeal of Volunteering to the Leeds labour elite; and the emergence of the Leeds Rifles as "a corps of working-class gentlemen."

The remainder of the study falls naturally into two parts: Part II, covering the prewar period 1908-1914, concerning the citizen-soldier as citizen, and Part III, covering the war period, concerning the citizen-soldier as soldier.

Chapter 5, dealing with the recruitment and social composition of the officer class and the Other Ranks of the two battalions, concentrates on

the recruiting problems and difficulties experienced not only by the Leeds Rifles but also by other local units and by the Territorial Force as a whole before the war. Sections on "Recruiting Agencies" and "The Role of Employers" are included.

Chapter 6, dealing with the recruitment and social composition of the officer class and the Other Ranks of the battalions during the war, provides a contrast to the previous chapter. It discusses the influence of patriotism, unemployment, army regulations, and other factors on recruiting in the early months of the war and on the social composition of the battalions during the war as a whole. Sections on the education and training of officers; the role of Leeds University and the University OTC in officer recruiting; the height and physique, age and length of service, marital status, geographical origin of the 1914-18 officers; colonial officers; discipline in the officer class; and officer casualties are included in this chapter.

Chapter 7, dealing with the Territorials during the period 1907-1914, does not confine itself to the Leeds Rifles. It concentrates on the problems and difficulties that were general throughout the Territorial Force during the period, making particular reference to those encountered by the Leeds Rifles and other units and by the West Riding Division as a whole. The topics covered in this chapter include: the need for reform of the Volunteer Force; Haldane's intentions in reorganising it; his sequestration of the Leeds Rifles' private property, their former barracks; the military organisation of the Territorial Force; the organisation of the Leeds Rifles and the various changes that took place between 1875 and 1915; the County Associations and the work of the West Riding Association; Socialist opposition; the conscription issue and its effect on the TF; the constructive and destructive criticism that was directed at the TF; Territorial training, training difficulties, the standards of both discipline and esprit de corps achieved in the Leeds Rifles before the war. This last section describes how the Leeds Rifles became a rifle regiment unofficially affiliated to the Rifle Brigade whilst officially a Volunteer Battalion of a regiment of the Line, the West Yorkshire Regiment, and thus something of a military curiosity. The chapter puts forward the suggestions that much of the criticism of the TF, so frequently condemned as a useless failure, was unreasonable and undeserved; that Haldane's re-organisation and the training undertaken by the TF provided the essential foundation of a potentially invaluable force; but that the failure of both Haldane and the Government to treat the TF seriously made it impossible for it to achieve or even approach its potential in peacetime.

Chapter 8 is an account of the mobilisation and training periods and the various pre-Embarkation invasion scares, and includes notes on both the Reinforcement Companies (which became the Reserve battalions) and the influence of the Territorials on the Kitchener battalions. It includes a section on Kitchener's treatment of the Territorial Force.

Chapter 9, entitled "Impacts of War", is an account of the Embarkation in April 1915 of the two first-line Leeds Rifles battalions, their first days in France and their novitiate period in trench warfare, which lasted for approximately 2 months and included the Battle of Aubers Ridge on 9th May. The personal reactions of all ranks are emphasised throughout this chapter.

Chapter 10 is a narrative of the military operations engaged in on the Western Front by the 1/7th (to the Armistice), 1/8th (to December 1917), 8th (March-November 1918) battalions.

Chapter 11, entitled "Eye-Deep in Hell", is an account of everyday life, in and out of the line, in the Leeds Rifles battalions.

Chapter 12 is devoted to the Leeds Rifleman's wartime attitudes: towards the enemy; towards rear echelons and the home front; towards French and Belgian civilians; towards awards and promotions. Also discussed in this chapter are the attitudes of other ranks towards officers, with a separate section on their attitudes to various COs, and relations with other units and particularly with the Regular Army. The last-named section includes Army and War Office prejudice and discrimination against the Territorial Force and its members.

Chapter 13, entitled "Organisational Morale, Discipline and Esprit de Corps", and Chapter 14, entitled "The Nature of Morale on Active Service", are devoted to an assessment of the Leeds Rifles battalions as combat-effective units and to an examination of the importance of morale in combat-effectiveness and the many factors involved. Chapter 13 gives an account, principally based on the oral testimonies of respondents, of the state of morale, of the standards and character of discipline, leadership, esprit de corps, and inter-rank relationships within the Leeds Rifles battalions. From this emerges the concept of a distinctive "Leeds Rifles style" of discipline, leadership, esprit de corps and inter-rank relationships, and an explanation, based on Professor A. Etzioni's theory of complex organisations, is offered of the marked differences that existed between the "Leeds Rifles style" and

that normally found in the Regular Army unit. Inter-rank relationships in the Regiment emerge as familistic, giving it the appearance to a civilian of being more like an extended family, tribe or Highland clan than a "conventional" regiment. Topics covered include combat motivation; the principles and aims of training; the recruit's adjustment to military life and the replacement's adjustment to regimental life; the military informal social system; the problem of combat stress; and an attempt is made to assess the influence of the character of Leeds' working-class life upon Regimental life.

Chapter 14 offers and examines the concepts of a morale continuum and a profile of individual or unit morale and discusses the various factors which have been found to influence morale on active service. A method that has been worked out whereby the morale of a unit can be assessed retrospectively is described. A section is included on the role of religion in morale: in this are discussed the four types of religion to which the Leeds Rifleman was exposed - institutional religion, popular religion, "the front-line soldier's religion", and "the Religion of the Regiment". The chapter ends with a section on the respondents' attitudes to war. The experience of serving in the Leeds Rifles on the Western Front is one that no respondent would have wished to miss.

Although this study has been divided into three parts, each covering an allotted time span, a number of the topics dealt with, such as the role of employers and the recruitment of Jews, cannot be compartmentalised within such convenient time spans, since they require continuous treatment over much longer periods. Evidence has even had to be taken on occasion from other periods, extending as far forward as 1939, or as far back as 1757, in order to illustrate certain points. There is thus a certain amount of overlap between all three parts of the study. It was found more convenient to include, for example, wartime recruitment and social composition in Part II. Chapter 7, which deals among other topics, with the change-over to the Territorial Force, is entitled "The Territorials 1907-1914" because the reorganisation was announced early in 1907, and many of its attendant problems manifested themselves prior to 1st April 1908.

NOTES

1. See H. Cunningham, The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908 (London, 1975), Chap.1, passim.
2. For a lengthy list of official measures taken, see Illustrated London News, 34(1859), p. 466, also p. 531.
3. J. A. Spender and C. Asquith, Life of Herbert Henry Asquith, Lord Oxford and Asquith (London, 1932), Vol. II, p. 132.
4. Op. cit., p. 15.

PART I. THE LEGACY OF THE VOLUNTEERS

CHAPTER 1. RECRUITMENT AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION.

"I am not attempting to give you soldiers, but armed citizens; men, whose bosoms glow with the love of their country, and their connexions; and who, in defence of these, would be as ready to fight an enemy as the best disciplined soldiers in the world": Charles James Fox, debate on the Military Service Bill, 18th July 1803.¹

The general characteristics of the two Leeds Rifles battalions during the prewar Territorial period were as follows:

- (a) the rank and file membership was dominated numerically by skilled manual workers (including apprentices to skilled trades);
- (b) the rank and file membership was dominated numerically by men in the 25 and under age group;
- (c) the officer class was socially exclusive; and each battalion suffered from a chronic shortage of officers;
- (d) each battalion comprised an "industrial" company, a "middle-class" company, and six companies recruited on a geographical basis;
- (e) the dominant influence on recruiting was social inheritance;
- (f) the Regiment enjoyed considerable local support, particularly from the Respectable working classes, on a scale rarely equalled elsewhere.

All these features were legacies of the early history of the Leeds Rifle Volunteer Corps which was raised in 1859 in a burst of civic pride by the Mayor and Corporation of a thrusting and ambitious booming industrial town. The facts that working men were admitted in class-co-operation-conscious Leeds from the very outset (even though, under the terms of the Peel circular, Volunteers were intended to be men of some financial and therefore social standing) and within the first year comprised at least half the total membership, established the Leeds Rifles as a working class regiment. The facts that in its membership the town's various elites were considerably over-represented and that it was raised initially by the Corporation ensured considerable and continuing local support and the corps' close involvement with local life.

The features (a)-(d) are discussed in the present chapter, while features (e) and (f) are dealt with in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. The Volunteers bequeathed to their successors two, related, assets of incalculable value which did not manifest itself until after the outbreak of war. These were its unique social organisation and "the Volunteer spirit". They are dealt with in some detail in Chapter 13.

1.1. The enrolling of the Leeds Rifles, 1859-60

The traditional - and contemporary - view of the inception of the Volunteer Movement was that it was a "popular" movement, but in the early days it was "popular" in no sense of the word. The Force was initially recruited from restricted sections of local society; public apathy or disinterest was general. The initial numbers of men enrolling were very small, judging by newspaper reports, on average ranging from 30 to 120. Leeds was no exception. Though it was one of the large towns, with a total population of over 200,000 and a male population aged 15-49 of some 52,000, only 65 men had enrolled as Rifle Volunteers by August,² though the Mercury had reported on 28th May that nearly a hundred young men had already sent in their names to solicitor Abraham Horsfall in response to his press advertisement which had appeared in that paper for the first time on 17th May. (Horsfall, a prizewinner in the defunct Leeds Rifle Club,³ and son of the Hanoverian Volunteer, Captain William Horsfall of Marsden, who had been assassinated by Luddites in 1812, was the first Rifle Volunteer to be sworn in.)

The smallness of the numbers was undoubtedly due to the cost involved: the writer of a letter to the Radical weekly The Leeds and West Riding Express indignantly claimed that the expense of the London-made uniforms was preventing many young men from joining who were otherwise willing.⁴ The first Peel circular had clearly laid down that Volunteers should "undertake to provide their own arms and equipments and to defray all expenses attending the corps except in the event of its being assembled for actual service."⁵ The cost of becoming a Volunteer in Leeds, including entrance fee, the first year's subscription, the uniform and accoutrements, and the purchase of rifle and sword bayonet, was about £17, a considerable sum. This perhaps explains why the first Volunteers and the Leeds Volunteer Infantry of 1794-1802 were drawn from broadly similar social groups.⁶

It was not until late autumn, when holidays and the cricket and boating seasons were over, when the public subscription had grown to a size that made possible subsidy schemes and instalment plans (introduced at the outset in Sheffield and Bradford respectively and reported in the most widely read Leeds newspaper, the Mercury),⁷ and when Leeds had had time to accustom itself to the idea of having Volunteers again after a lapse of nearly 40 years, that signs of "the wave of enthusiasm", so beloved of Victorian and Edwardian historians of the Force, began to appear. The first Volunteers, totalling 97, were not sworn in until 5th November, but only 12 days later it was reported that "upwards of 80" had volunteered for a second company,

and on 22nd December it was announced that the services of a third company were about to be offered to the Crown.⁸ There was rapid growth during 1860 and when the first official return was made in October, over 700 men had enrolled. This pattern of slow start, a major spurt in November and December, followed by rapid growth during 1860, was apparently repeated over the country as a whole.⁹ In Leeds, however, the start was particularly slow. In January 1860 the proportion of Volunteers to population was only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000 persons, considerably below many other towns.¹⁰

It is evident from the studies of both H. Cunningham¹¹ and I.F.W. Beckett¹² that only the broadest generalisations can be made about the social composition of the early Volunteer corps or indeed of corps throughout the Volunteer period. The predominant influences that determined the social make-up of any given corps were clearly local factors.¹³ Although socially exclusive corps (the so-called "class corps") were raised in London, Liverpool, Edinburgh and Glasgow, the majority of corps appear to have had a mixed social character, with self-employed business and professional men in the majority, but often having a substantial employed (non-manual) element. Some corps admitted artisans, sometimes in exclusively artisan companies, sometimes in mixed companies,¹⁴ and sometimes in both, as at Huddersfield¹⁵ and at Leeds. In the early stages of development of the force, artisan corps (of company strength) were raised in London, the large towns and in industrial districts, sometimes from the population at large, but more usually from the workforces of particular firms.¹⁶

The term "socially homogeneous" certainly cannot be applied to the first cohort of men to enrol in the Leeds Rifles, which was recruited from the various categories as follows: 1 non-employed, 23 professional, 51 self-employed, 17 employed, and 5 for whom no data could be obtained from the 1861 Census Enumerators' Books (see Appendix II, Table 1. For an explanation of the classification used, see Appendix I, section 2). It will be seen that the employed element was large and that it contained two skilled manual workers. At least 3 of the unknowns, to judge by their addresses, were in the employed category, and were possibly manual workers. Numbers 1 and 2 Companies, taken together, had an even greater employed element, amounting to a minimum of 26.05% of the total membership, which included 7 employed manual workers (see Appendix II, Table 2). The numbers in the various categories in this cohort were: 6 non-employed, 42 professional, 107 self-employed, 56 employed and 4 for whom no data could be obtained. Only 1 of the unknowns was likely to have been an employed manual worker. Within the occupational categories lay great variations in social and

economic status, particularly within Section III(a) of Table 2. This section contained some large employers by contemporary local industrial standards, medium-sized employers, and small masters who employed 10 men or fewer.

It would be a serious error to describe either, or both, cohort as being representative of a broad cross-section of the local community. If the tables are compared with the 1861 columns of Table II, "Occupations of males in Leeds: 1841-1911", of W.G. Rimmer 'Occupations in Leeds 1841-1951',¹⁷ it will be seen that they are not representative of Leeds industries in terms of numbers employed. Textiles; food, drink, tobacco and lodging; commerce; and the professions are over-represented, while engineering (the metal trades) and mining are under-represented. These characteristics, together with a high percentage of retailers, were, interestingly, also found in the social composition of the Town Council of the period. In 1861, professional men, who constituted only 0.501% of the male population aged 20 and over, made up 9.4% of the Council, whilst textiles were over-represented on the Council by 6.15% and the metal trades under-represented by 7.69%; in 1852 small businessmen, principally retailers, constituted 37.4% of the whole Council.¹⁸

Nor did the cohorts appear to be representative of the political and religious persuasions of the male population of Leeds. Though only scattered data could be collected on the early Volunteers' political and religious affiliations, sufficient has been assembled to suggest that Tories, Anglicans and Unitarians were over-represented. Of "the first 97", 23 were known to be Anglicans, and 5 Unitarians; the rest were unknowns. To have been representative of the comparative strength of religious denominations as revealed by the 1851 Religious Census, the various percentages should have been: Anglican 33.2%; Roman Catholic 7.7%; Protestant Dissent 59.0% (including Unitarians 1.2%).¹⁹ In Numbers 1 and 2 Companies, 52 are known to have been Anglicans, 7 Unitarians, and 1 Congregationalist; 23 were active supporters of the Tory party, 10 active Liberals;²⁰ Thomas Marshall was a member of the Committee of Alderman Carter's 1866 Leeds Reform League for Manhood Suffrage.²¹ Perhaps a more reliable and definitive pointer is provided by the first 29 officers commissioned in the Leeds Rifles, i.e. those elected up to the end of 1860: 22 were Anglicans, a further 2 probably Anglicans, 3 were Unitarians, and 2 were unknown; 17 were Tories, 6 Liberals.²² It may be of some significance that the first four commanding officers were Tory Anglicans. The fifth, Edmund Wilson, who took command in March 1886, was a Liberal councillor. This apparent Tory dominance of

the early years was a reflection of the extent of support for the Tory party that existed in Leeds during the period (see Chapter 3). It also helps to explain why the rifle corps of Non-conformist Leeds chose the local head of the Church of England as its chaplain.

Far from being an association of equals, Numbers 1 and 2 Companies comprised a cohort in which the town's various elites - social, economic, political, professional, occupational and cultural - were considerably over-represented in all six occupational categories. It contained the three leading members of the local medical profession; several leading lawyers, including the holder of the offices of Steward of the Manor of Leeds and Clerk to the Lieutenancy; the largest employer in the town; members of the four leading families in the metal trades (Kitson, Fairbairn, Greenwood, Butler); members of the textile elite, including a partner in the firm of Benjamin Gott and Sons (a grandson of Benjamin Gott); the largest monumental mason in the town; the sons of John Thomas Fenton, the last coalmaster in the family known as "The Coal Kings of Yorkshire";²³ the town's leading brewers; the Tory MP for Leeds and the son of the Liberal MP; the son of a County Court Judge; the son of the Secretary of the Leeds Stock Exchange. One of the professors of music was Robert Senior Burton, organist of Leeds Parish Church and one of the most distinguished choir-masters of his day.²⁴ The retailers mostly belonged to the elite of the retail trade, whose hierarchy was determined on grounds that included capital requirements and social class of clientele.²⁵ An appreciable number of the employed non-manual workers were members of elite families; some, like Henry Greenwood, mechanical draughtsman, however, appear rather as "poor relations." The employed manual workers mostly belonged to the labour elite. A large number of Volunteers belonged to the Chamber of Commerce, of which most of the leading businessmen of the borough were members. 13 firms and 12 individuals, who comprised half of the Chamber's governing Council in 1851, and a minimum of a further 2 firms and 10 individuals who were known members of the Chamber in 1859-60²⁶ were actively associated with the formation and early history of the rifle corps. Two of the Volunteers were members of the Town Council in the year 1859-60; one was the son of the Mayor, three were sons of Aldermen, five were sons of Councillors, (one being the son of ex-Chartist Robert Meek Carter who was elected a Liberal MP in 1868 and achieved some prominence as a Radical). The sons of a further six Councillors joined before the end of 1860.

The 40th Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, which attracted those members of polite society with intellectual

and cultural interests, lists approximately 300 male members; of these, 65 were associated with the corps, most of them as members, a small minority as close relatives of members. The 47th Report, for 1866-7, includes the names of a further 30 men who had been, or were, associated with the rifle corps. The Vice-President of the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society and two of the Institution's Directors at the beginning of 1860 were members of the Leeds Rifles.²⁷ Several shareholders and two of the committee members of the Leeds Library in 1859 were members of the corps, and Abraham Horsfall was its Honorary Secretary.²⁸ The General Committee of the First Leeds Triennial Musical Festival in 1858²⁹ includes the names of 7 fathers of future members of the corps and 2 future members, one of whom, John William Atkinson, was Honorary Secretary of the 1877 Festival. Rifleman 17 Charles Edward Wurtzburg was one of the three Honorary Secretaries appointed to the 1874 Festival, while Rifleman 25 Thomas Marshall became Executive Chairman in 1874 and remained in this office until 1910. Riflemen were also associated with other elite cultural groups. At least 8 were members of the all-male Leeds Private Vocal Society, which practised and performed glee- and part-singing. Many leading Leeds Rifles families conducted "Musical Evenings at Home" and private theatricals,³⁰ a reflection of their prominence in local society as well as interest in the arts. Five Riflemen were members of the select Leeds Town Hall Concert Society, which organised concerts. Leeds Riflemen continued to be associated with cultural pursuits to the close of the century. The Leeds Amateur Operatic Society was founded in October 1890 by a group of 12 Leeds Rifle-³¹men who met at Sgt. Baxter's Fenton Hotel. The [Grand] Theatre and Opera House Company, Leeds, Ltd. was incorporated in May 1876 with Rifleman Sir Andrew Fairbairn MP, the principal shareholder, as Chairman and Rifleman James Kitson, Junior, one of the major shareholders, as Deputy Chairman, and two other Riflemen on the board of directors. 23 of the 95 shareholders were, or had been, members of the Leeds Rifles.³² Leeds Riflemen were prominently concerned in the membership of the elite Leeds Athletic Club, e.g. in 1884 three of the club's Vice-presidents, two committee members, and the Honorary Treasurer were Riflemen.³³ Leeds Riflemen were prominently concerned in the foundation of the Thoresby Society, Colonel Edmund Wilson, its President for many years, being its principal founder.³⁴

In the early days several cities and towns raised corps, often of only company strength, whose members were drawn from a particular trade or profession, or ethnic or cultural group.³⁵ The logical extension of this method was the recruiting of men living in a particular geographically

restricted area and of men working for a particular employer. These quickly became popular methods of recruiting Volunteers and were widely readopted with considerable success in both the recruiting of the Territorial Force in 1908-9 and of Kitchener's New Army in 1914-15.

At least 30 of "the First 97" Leeds Volunteers were engaged in the woollen, wool, dyeing and finishing trades which together comprised the town's chief industry, employing in 1861 23.7% of the male workforce.³⁶ In December, when Number 2 Company was at or near completion, a unanimous resolution was passed in the Chamber of Commerce, a body dominated by the textile interest, to form for the Leeds Volunteer Corps a company of men engaged in the textile industries.³⁷ The firms, some 40 in number, who participated in the scheme, encouraged their employees to join and contributed to a central fund. They included B. Gott & Sons, J. Vance & Co., Littles, Cousins & Leach (later David Little & Co.), William Lupton & Co., and Hudson & Bousfield and J. Sykes & Sons³⁸ (which amalgamated in 1865 to become Hudson, Sykes & Bousfield).

Table 3, Appendix II, shows the social composition of Number 3 Company in May 1860. Not all the textile members lived and worked in Leeds, and not all the members of the company were engaged in the woollen and allied trades. The accountant and the banker's clerk were relatives of principals in participating firms. As in Numbers 1 and 2 Companies, some of the employed non-manual workers were members of elite families; e.g. one warehouseman was the son of a surgeon, one salesman was George Irwin who worked for his uncle and later succeeded to the business, one clerk was the son of a woollen merchant and worked for his father. One of the manual workers, the wool sorter, was the son of a woollen manufacturer and merchant. Some of the men in the employed non-manual section were clearly in the better-paid category of employee: two who were married, each kept a living-in servant.³⁹ It is likely that the majority of the 29 men who could not be traced in any of the Directories were manual workers.

Number 4 Company was the first "geographical" company, being intended for residents of the East Ward, the ward of the Leeds township that had the highest proportion of working class inhabitants. "Several working men expressed a desire to enrol themselves" at the promotional meeting but were prevented from doing so by the initial expense.⁴⁰ Not more than half a dozen of the 66 men on the first Company Roll could have been employed manual workers. The employed non-manual element was very small, and virtually

the whole of the Company personnel were self-employed business and professional men. These included Edmund Maude, colliery owner, timber merchant, and brick and tile maker, one of the Lords of the Manor of Middleton, and Joseph Cliff, Junior, of Western Flatts, son of the manager (also a major shareholder) of the Frodingham Iron & Steel Works, Scunthorpe, and substantial firebrick and sanitary tube manufacturer.

Number 5 Company was another "geographical" company. Known as the "Chapelton Company" and drilling at Chapelton Cavalry Barracks, it was intended for men who lived and/or worked along the industrialised Meanwood valley in Sheepscar and Buslingthorpe and in the adjacent districts of Chapelton and Chapel Allerton. Its social composition (see Appendix II) demonstrated a new trend, which had two salient characteristics: first, without taking into account the unknowns who are likely to have been employed persons, the number of employed men outnumbered the self-employed business and professional men; second, all the men in Section III were small businessmen, either working alone or with only a handful of employees.

The remaining four companies raised in 1860 were "industrial" companies, raised from their workmen by individual employers who all had previous connections with the corps: Number 6 at Kitson's Monkbridge Foundry, Number 7 at Fairbairn's Wellington Foundry, Number 8 at Greenwood & Batley's works and Number 9 at Tetley's Brewery. No company was raised at Kirkstall Forge: it was too far away from the centre of Leeds to make any company there a practicable proposition, though the Butlers did later become associated with the Leeds Artillery. Each of the companies was officered by members of the family which owned the firms concerned: in Number 8 Company engineering genius and captain of industry Thomas Greenwood became Captain of Volunteers, with his son as Ensign; in Number 9 Company, the two partners became its officers, whilst in Numbers 6 and 7 Companies, the firms' principals, being too old, and too preoccupied with political, business and civic affairs, let son and son's brother-in-law and son and nephew respectively take charge of their "private armies". This was in accordance with the time-honoured traditions of raising military contingents by local magnates.

Industrial companies were raised all over the country in 1860 and 1861⁴¹ and were probably the greatest single factor in the upsurge of growth in the Volunteer Force during these years. The Leeds Rifles appears to have been amongst the first corps to take up the idea of industrial companies enthusiastically. So many companies were raised during 1860-1 by

individual industrial and mercantile entrepreneurs that Professor Michael Howard was moved to describe the force as the military expression of Victorian private enterprise.⁴²

With the enrolment of Number 9 Company in October 1860, the Leeds Rifles consisted of three companies heavily dominated by self-employed business and professional men (1, 2 & 4), two "mixed" companies (3 & 5), and four "artisan" companies (6, 7, 8 & 9). Although the actual social composition of the corps at this point cannot be known, it seems almost certain that employed members now easily outnumbered those who were self-employed or non-employed. By the end of the year, working men, who had been admitted from the very beginning, and without any of the objections, agonising or soul-searching debate that surrounded the recruitment of artisans in not a few parts of the country,⁴³ comprised, it is estimated, at least half the total membership of the Leeds Rifles.

1.2. Later developments

By the beginning of 1861, then, the composition of the corps had undergone a drastic transformation. Heavily dominated by self-employed business and professional men (75% of total) at the end of 1859, the corps could, now it was much larger, be said to be socially broadly-based, well over half the personnel being in the employed category. This can be seen as part of a long-term social trend in the Leeds Rifles' pattern of recruiting that took place between 1859 and 1914: from self-employed to employed (Occupational Classes I, II and III to Classes IV(a) and IV(b)), from clerical, distributive and supervisory categories (Class IV(a)) to manual categories (Class IV(b)) and, finally, from skilled to skilled and semi-skilled manual categories (Classes IV(b)(i) and IV(b)(ii)) (See Table A). Cunningham found a statistically very significant trend over time from self-employed, professional, clerical and distributive categories to manual categories, and from skilled to unskilled manual categories, in the two corps he studied, the Lincoln RVC (1859-91) and the 36th Middlesex (1860-1908).⁴⁴ Unskilled workers (Class IV(b)(iii)) did not become a significant element in recruiting in the Leeds Rifles, however, until the post-World War I period.

Important changes took place during the 1860s decade which continued to influence, if not determine, the pattern of recruiting in the Regiment throughout the remainder of the Volunteer period, and well into Territorial times. The first was that, as in many other places⁴⁵ business and

professional men largely dropped out of the ranks and the second was that at the same time there was a huge increase in the number of "artisan" recruits. In the early 1860s the merchants and manufacturers enrolling declined significantly in both status and number and few members of the socio-economic elite families joined as privates after the end of 1862, except with a view to becoming an officer either in this or in another corps. During the decade there was an appreciable swing in self-employed recruits from category III(a) to category III(b): an ever-increasing proportion of such recruits were small merchants, small masters, retailers and craftsmen, particularly in the building and allied trades, until, in the period 1867-75, the whole of category III was dominated by members of such petit bourgeois groups. The petit bourgeois members remained an important element in the Leeds Rifles Volunteers, particularly in the NCO class: they provided one-third of the sergeants and colour-sergeants in 1902 (see Appendix II, Table 6). They continued to remain a small but important element in the Regiment in both the NCO class and the rank and file during the Territorial period. Changes also took place in category II: excluding those who enrolled to become officers, there was an appreciable increase during the period 1867-75 in the number of architects, medical students and schoolteachers, a large proportion of the last-named joining in the year 1871-2. In 1880 the corps was said to contain 60 schoolmasters; one company, Number 2, was actually known as the "Schoolmasters' Company" during the last two decades of the century.⁴⁶ Schoolteachers, too, continued to remain a fairly small but important element in both the NCO class and the rank and file during the Territorial period.

Throughout the Volunteer period, Number 1 (later A) Company remained the province of the professional and higher grade non-manual employee, constituting 9% or 10% of the Other Rank strength. In the Territorial period, A Company of the senior battalion, the 7th, constituting 11% or 12% of the Other Rank strength, continued to be recruited exclusively from men in middle class occupations and sons of prosperous businessmen. In 1909 a similar company, G Company, was recruited for the 8th Battalion.

Despite the fact that the occupations of a large number (56%) of the recruits in the period 1860-67 cannot be known, it is nevertheless evident that from the early 1860s skilled manual workers comprised a high and increasing proportion of recruits. Skilled workers, now forming the largest single occupational category of recruit, became the "backbone" of the Regiment perhaps as early as 1862 and they retained this pre-eminence, certainly in the 8th Battalion, until disembodiment in 1919, i.e. for a

span of almost 60 years (the sample given in Table A under "Wartime Register 1914-17" is wholly unrepresentative and the percentage for skilled manual workers should be ignored.). Even in the period 1930-37 when semi-skilled workers became the largest single occupational category in the 7th Battalion with 32.23% of recruits, skilled workers nevertheless comprised nearly 32% of the total enlistments. Although the recruits of 1930-37 were drawn from much lower down the social scale than their counterparts of 1908-14 and the 7th Battalion now obtained over 95% of its recruits from the working class, its recruiting pattern bore no resemblance to that of the Regular Army in 1909, 47.1% of whose recruits in that year came from unskilled manual occupations and 24.4% from skilled and semi-skilled occupations (considered as one category).⁴⁷ The quality of Army recruits in 1908-9 was described as "improving" and "above average in physique, education and character".⁴⁸ These recruits were intended for all branches of the Army, not merely the infantry. Although in late Volunteer times and in the Territorial period an average of 1½%-2% of the Leeds Rifles strength joined the Army/Navy or Militia/Special Reserve annually,⁴⁹ it is clear that there was no convergence between the Leeds Rifles and the Regular Army (with the possible exception of the cavalry and the Royal Engineers who, according to Regular respondents, actively sought "superior" recruits, a claim borne out by the statistics relating to educational attainments given in the 1913 Annual Report of the Army)⁵⁰ in the class of recruit they attracted. The average recruit to the Leeds Rifles and the average recruit to the pre-1914 Regular infantry was emphatically not the same creature.

This preponderance of skilled manual workers in the corps was brought about by the combined action of a number of local factors: the increased wages being paid in many skilled trades; certain rules and entry requirements of the corps which fortuitously encouraged artisans to enrol; the encouragement given by individual employers who were themselves Volunteers; and policy decisions made at regimental level by the Finance Committee with the deliberate intention of attracting artisans. The corps' rule that stipulated that every recruit had to be proposed and seconded by existing members ensured only the admittance of "the Respectable"; the fixing of the minimum height requirement at 5'6" automatically excluded many in the lower strata of the working class. Since volunteering was an activity that could not be engaged in by any rank for nothing, it was open only to the manual employee with a disposable income and he naturally tended to be a skilled man (further information on the influence of wage rates

on recruiting is given in the next chapter). Not only the larger employers actively encouraged their clerks and workmen to enrol. Private William Lawies Jackson, a tanner and currier, was only one of many small masters who marched and drilled alongside their own employees (and whose names are listed in the Debt Book); in the 1880s, during the period of 167 Charles Young's father's service, one company of the Leeds Rifles was composed almost entirely of W.L.Jackson's men, employed at his now large tannery.

The Finance Committee had set out to attract artisans as early as January 1860 when the entrance fee was abolished and the following year they reduced the annual subscription to 10/6d, and, to judge from entries in the Debt Book, recruits were given ample time to pay. Second-hand uniforms and accoutrements were also becoming available to the poorer recruit. Although the enrolling of a large number of working men brought attendant financial problems, certainly in the Leeds Rifles, working class Volunteers were to be encouraged, since they were usually more zealous and better attenders than many of their class superiors, as a large proportion of witnesses before the 1862 Royal Commission testified.⁵¹ Examples aplenty were to be found within the corps itself: in 1861 the average number of drill attendances per man in Number 9 Company was 97.23, with 12 men putting in 130 or more attendances; in the year 1867-8 the company had the highest percentage efficiency in the corps, with 62 extra-efficient and 5 efficient out of a strength of 69.⁵² In March of 1864, the year following the introduction of the government Capitation grant, the Finance Committee passed a resolution that no member of the corps who made himself efficient for the year 1863-4 would be required to pay the annual subscription.⁵³ This resolution was incorporated in the Rules of the Corps and at the same time a legally enforceable agreement was introduced whereby the recruit, in return for the free provision of uniform, undertook to serve for a period of four years and agreed to pay the 10/6d annual subscription and a fine of 9/6d for every year during the term of the agreement that he failed to make himself efficient.⁵⁴ This scheme, intended to enable the corps to recoup the initial cost of the uniform from the government grant in four years, not only helped to stabilise turnover, but also encouraged an increasing proportion of working men to join. The disastrous decline in numbers during the year 1867-8 of nearly 24% from a state of full strength, chiefly the result of severe economic recession, the painfully slow recovery in numbers, and the particularly worrying non-appearance of recruits in the spring of 1870, with the states of the Woollen Trades Company and the three metal trades companies at only 45%-65% of their

1867 strength,⁵⁵ demanded radical action from the Committee. In May it resolved that, on signing an undertaking to make themselves efficient for 3 years and complete their class firing, members would have trousers provided which would become their own property. This resolution was incorporated in the corps' Rules: any member defaulting on the agreement was to be liable to pay the cost of the trousers. In addition, any member receiving an outfit paid for out of the corps funds and failing to obtain an annual certificate of efficiency was to be fined £1 in addition to the amount of the annual subscription.⁵⁶

Despite the increased fines, large by contemporary standards, the new rule of 1870 was undoubtedly attractive, for almost 300 recruits enrolled in the following 7 months alone. It would have particularly appealed to the clerk and the respectable workman who were unwilling to accept a free outfit, but too poor to provide their own. The latter could wear his trousers for his "Sunday best", and many did, ignoring numerous attempts to dissuade them from the practice.⁵⁷ The proportion of clerks and manual workers enrolling noticeably increased from 1870. Office workers comprised by far the largest single group among recruits in the period 1867-75, numbering 335, or 16.75% of the total enlistments.

A large majority of the manual workers who joined the Leeds Rifles belonged to the labour elite: a minimum of 63.89% of manual worker recruits in the period 1867-75, 39.9% of total enrolments. The considerable rise in wages in many skilled trades (Leeds became a high wage area in the second half of the 19th century)⁵⁸ and the shortening of working hours during the 60s, especially the introduction of the 5½-day working week, initially by Volunteer employers (see Chapter 4), had opened the gates of membership of the Volunteers, Rifles, Artillery and Engineers, to the labour elite of Leeds and they were not slow to take advantage of it. By the mid-1860s the "superior artisans" formed a significant component in the Leeds Rifles. Although by the end of 1865 many members belonging to occupational classes I, II, III(a), and to a lesser extent III(b), had dropped out, in January 1866 the regimental orders started to be published both in the weekly newspapers and in the Mercury on Tuesdays and Saturdays. This implies that the average Rifleman was considered not only able to read, but to be able to afford to buy a newspaper or have access to one, through friends or family.

Pointers to the continued considerable presence of the labour elite in the Leeds Rifles in the latter part of the Volunteer period are provided

by camp numbers. The first camp was held at Pontefract in June 1873 and not during any period of general holiday in Leeds. 302 members of the other ranks were able to afford to attend the week's camp and to pay the 1/6d fare, and 335 were able to afford the 1/6d fare and take a half-day off work only a fortnight later to attend the Brigade Field Day held at Pontefract.⁵⁹ In 1876, when camp was held during Leeds Fair Week, when many workplaces were shut down, 469 men, half the enrolled strength, attended.⁶⁰ In 1887 when camp had to be held in the second week of July, now no longer a holiday week in Leeds, 41% of the strength were nevertheless able to attend.⁶¹ In 1907, when camp was held in May, commencing at the Whitsun weekend, 735 men, 73% of the strength, attended.⁶²

Occupational category IV(b) in the period 1867-75 was overwhelmingly dominated by skilled workers: not more than 6% of all manual recruits, and less than 4% of total enrolments, were unskilled workers. Unskilled workers remained a small minority, debarred, not on social grounds, but by the expense of volunteering and by the inability to meet the minimum height requirement. Even if he had been provided with a free uniform, the working-class Volunteer was still involved in certain expenses: he had to buy his own boots, socks, gloves, forage cap, and ammunition for practice, and, unless he had a particularly generous employer, pay his own travelling costs to the range, field days, etc. Only an unmarried labourer who was employed on a regular basis was likely to be able to afford to become a Volunteer. Nothing was done to encourage labourers per se to join. With the limited time and facilities for drill available, illiterates or those who did not know their left foot from their right were not wanted in the Leeds Rifles. A significant proportion of the unskilled men - over a third - were brewery labourers. Those employed at Tetley's enjoyed an uncommonly high degree of job security: they held a permanent situation and were employed throughout the year. In consequence, these men tended to possess above-average physique, their average height 1864-8 being 5'8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", and educational attainments for their class:⁶³ all those who enrolled in Number 9 Company in 1860 were able to sign their names, none having the laboured signature characteristic of the illiterate, and all regimental and company orders were written out and posted on the firm's noticeboard with the assumption that everyone could read them individually.

The removal of the corps to Carlton Barracks early in 1888 reinforced the Regiment's reputation as a "corps of gentlemen". The Barracks, situated on a ridge overlooking the Meanwood Valley, was flanked on one side by

the "better" part of Little London and on the front and other flank by Bagby Fields, a burgeoning residential area whose new large terrace houses, many with gardens, were intended for professionals and the higher grades of non-manual employee. Also in the vicinity were new rows of "superior" back-to-back houses to which the labour elite flocked, whilst slightly further afield, new developments of back-to-back houses were planned or in the course of erection in many parts of Woodhouse. The barracks, considered the finest Volunteer headquarters in the country⁶⁴ and set in a recruiting catchment area of rising social respectability, attracted a relatively high class of recruit. The Regiment quickly came to be regarded as an elite corps and firmly established itself at the top of the local Volunteer social register, young men coming from as far away as Menston, Ilkley and Wetherby to join. As Table 5 shows, recruiting remained at a generally high level for the remainder of the Volunteer period. Would-be recruits were frequently turned away because there were no vacancies and the waiting list had been closed. Colour-sergeants could often afford to be selective: respondent Arthur Wright, son of a commercial traveller, went in the spring of 1906 to join with 5 or 6 friends, but only he was accepted. Some indications of the type of recruit who joined in the period 1889-99 are given in Tables 7 and 8 (Appendix II). Table 7 was obtained by identifying names given in Regimental Orders for 1896. In Table 8, of the 5 of unknown occupation in the First Contingent to South Africa 1900, Number 1 was a wool merchant's son, Number 2 a painter's son, Numbers 3 and 4 lived in affluent middle-class housing areas, Number 5 in an upper working-class area.

The 1904 Royal Commission gave the occupations of infantry other ranks in 1903 as follows:

Professional men	1.8%
Men in business on own account	3.2
Clerks	9.6
Shopmen	5.3
Artisans	35.5
Factory or manufacturing hands	12.9
Agricultural labourers	4.2
Town labourers	8.6
Miners	6.0
Men in private employ	2.0
Men in Government employ	2.9
Other occupations	8.0

65

It is not possible to give an estimate of the social composition of the Leeds Rifles in the period 1875-1907, except to state that, according to available evidence, including the testimony of respondents, the percentages of professional men, men in business on their own account, clerks,

including civil servants and local government officers, and, above all, of skilled workers were probably considerably above the national averages, and the percentage of unskilled workers considerably below. Of the 8 respondents who enrolled prior to 1908, five were skilled workers from labour aristocratic families, one a skilled worker who was the son of a self-employed bespoke bootmaker, and two were the sons of non-manual employees.

During the first year or so of the corps' existence there was a wide age range among recruits, extending from 13 to 64, with a large number enrolling in their late twenties and in their thirties, and not a few in their forties and fifties. Less than 44% of the recruits to Numbers 1 and 2 Companies in 1859-60 whose ages are known (157 out of a total of 215) were aged 25 or under, while well over a third (38.22%) were aged 30 or over. From 1861, however, progressively fewer older men and progressively more younger men joined. The trend over time from older to younger age groups is marked (see Table B), nearly 82% in the period 1867-75 being aged 25 and under, and shows up well in the periods 1860-4, & 1864/7 in spite of the fact that only just over 70% of the ages of recruits in these periods were entered in the Nominal Roll. The figures for the 7th Bn, 1930-37, which show a further shift to younger age groups, have been entered in Table B for comparison. Cunningham also found a marked trend over time from older to younger age groups in both the Lincoln RVC and the 36th Middlesex,⁶⁶ but the percentage swing in both these corps was appreciably higher than in the Leeds Rifles, exceeding in both cases the extent of swing exhibited by the 7th Bn at a much later date. The greater trend in these two corps, both in regard to occupational class and to age, compared with those in the Leeds Rifles, suggests that some kind of relationship existed between the social composition of a Volunteer corps and the age composition of its members.

1.3. The Officer Class

For the whole of the Volunteer period, and during the early years of the Territorial period, the officer class of the Leeds Rifles, in contrast to that of many other corps, remained, as a result of deliberate policy, a socially exclusive body. Colonel Tannett-Walker of the Leeds Rifles, when called to give evidence before the 1904 Royal Commission, described as "suitable" officers, those with the most influence with the other ranks, men of "some position" themselves. Lord Clifford had considered it very important that officers and NCOs "should hold positions in which their men

TABLE A. DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES (in percentages)

CATEGORY	First 97 1859	Nos 1 & 2 Coys 1859-60	1860-66		1866-67		1867-75		Peacetime 1908-14	Wartime 1914-18	Wartime Register 1914-17	B Coy 8th Bn 1/1/1919	7th Bn 1930-37
			(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)					
I	1.03	2.79	0.79	1.81	0.67	1.03	0.55	-	-	-	-	-	-
II	23.71	19.53	3.56	8.16	1.57	2.40	5.1	-	4.95	-	-	0.5	-
IIIa	34.02	26.05	3.66	8.39	1.80	2.74	3.7	1.03	-	2.20	-	-	-
IIIb	18.56	23.72	4.16	9.52	4.04	6.16	5.6	1.03	6.93	7.72	14.5	0.36	0.36
IVa	15.46	22.72	7.82	17.91	14.61	22.26	22.3	13.40	14.85	17.28	11.0	4.38	4.38
IVb	2.06	3.26	23.66	54.19	42.92	65.41	62.45	49.48	46.53	27.94	40.0	31.96	31.96
IV								28.86	23.76	28.68	27.5	32.23	32.23
IV								6.18	2.97	16.18	4.5	28.57	28.57
No data	5.15	1.86	56.33	34.38	0.3			-	-	-	2.0	2.50	2.50
Size of sample	97	215	441 (b) 1010 (a)	292 (b) 445 (a)	2000			97	101	272	200	1120	1120
Source: Tables 1,2,4,10, Appendix II.			Totals of IV(b) (i), (ii), (iii)		84.54%	73.27	72.79%	72.0%	95.27%				

Note: Owing to the very large percentage of "unknowns" in the periods 1860-66 & 1866-67, two columns of percentages are given: (a) of the whole sample, and (b) of the number of "knowns", in each period.

TABLE B. AGES OF RECRUITS AT ENROLMENT

	Age of largest single group	17-19	18 or under	19	20 & under	20 & over	21-25	25 & under	30 & over	Size of sample
Nos. 1 & 2 Coys 1859-60	20	12.1%	10.83%	3.82%	21.66%	85.35%	22.29%	43.95%	38.22%	157
1860-1864	19	25.47	18.22	11.68	37.78	70.1	25.94	63.32	22.7	428
1864-1867	20	27.56	17.65	10.25	40.00	72.1	31.1	70.1	16.6	595
1867-1875	18	44.0	31.75	12.9	53.65	55.35	28.15	81.8	8.0	2000
7th Bn. 1930-37	18	44.20	44.20	10.36	61.34	45.44	16.87	78.21	*	1120

Sources: Muster Roll 1859-1875; Roll of 7th Bn. 1930-37

* This figure has been omitted, since to include it would introduce unnecessary distortion. All recruits aged 30 and over were old soldiers with service in World War I.

look to it as natural that they should command". Not a few corps preferred to manage with fewer officers rather than lower the social class from which officers were recruited.⁶⁷ That the Leeds Rifles was one of them is vividly illustrated by Table C: the officers were clearly of a status higher than the average of the Volunteer Force, of the small number, 8(5%), of officers who were employees, all held responsible posts (6 managers, 1 deputy Town Clerk, 1 income tax assessor) and 7 are known to have belonged to prosperous business families. Although the percentage of "gentlemen" was low compared with that of London Volunteer Officers of the period 1860-72 and with the 1904 national figure for Infantry Volunteers, and the percentage of professional men only marginally higher, the percentage of self-employed businessmen was outstandingly high and the percentages of employees and of clerks exceptionally low. Additional points of interest worthy of note are that the Leeds Rifles professional group included 5 medical practitioners and 2 medical students (4.4% of all enrolments), additional to men holding commissions as regimental surgeons, perhaps a reflection of Leeds' position as a centre for medical education, and that of the 81 businessmen, 31 were engaged in the textile industry and 26 in iron and steel manufacture and engineering, a curious echo of the social composition of Numbers 1 and 2 companies, 1859-60.

The officers as at April 1870, for instance, were all men of some standing locally. They comprised 1 gentleman, 1 County Court Registrar, 2 solicitors, 1 barrister, 1 land agent, 1 mechanical engineer, 1 consulting engineer/patent agent, 1 civil engineer, 2 ironmasters, 1 coal merchant/ironmaster, 2 machinery manufacturers, 1 cloth merchant, 2 woollen merchant and manufacturers, 1 flax spinner and linen manufacturer, 1 brewer, and 1 seed crusher/oil merchant. Apart from the commanding officer, Lt.Col. W.T. Markham, of Becca Hall, Aberford, a member of the landed gentry (who had held a commission in the Army from 1848 to 1855 and was the elder brother of Lt.Gen.Sir Edwin Markham, who became Governor and Commandant of the Royal Military College Sandhurst in 1898), 6 officers belonged to elite families at the top of the local social register; 10 of the 20 officers lived in very large mansion-style houses.

An extremely high percentage of the officers of early Volunteer corps were drawn from the affluent business and professional classes, those strata of the superior classes which showed minimal interest in soldiering as a career, but which had taken a keen interest in and provided officers for the Hanoverian Volunteer corps. The widespread practice of electing officers virtually guaranteed that, at least in the early years, the

Volunteer officer class would comprise members of local social elites. The first 6 officers elected in the Leeds Rifles were an ironmaster/colliery proprietor (also a member of the landed gentry), a woollen manufacturer, a felt carpet manufacturer, two solicitors and a cornfactor. In Bradford the first officers were 3 prominent textile manufacturers, 1 dyer and finisher, 1 stuff merchant, 1 rope and twine maker and 1 brewer and maltster; in Halifax 2 prominent textile manufacturers, 1 wool stapler, 2 solicitors and 1 publisher and printer; in Huddersfield 1 woollen manufacturer, 1 cloth merchant and 1 solicitor; in Wakefield 1 prominent colliery proprietor, 1 dyer and finisher and 1 cornfactor.⁶⁸

As in the Other Ranks, there was very little convergence with regard to social origin and educational background and attainments between the officer class of the Leeds Rifles and the Army officer corps. The educational level of the Leeds Rifles officer class of the Volunteer era was significantly higher than that of the officer corps of the infantry of the period. In addition to members of the legal and medical professions, a considerable number of the Leeds officers, particularly in the latter half of the period, had received a University education though not all achieved degrees. On the other hand, Sandhurst, generally speaking, recruited from the less academically inclined and from the late 1870s until 1908 included in the syllabus non-military subjects (in addition to languages) to provide cadets with a period of further general education "to make up for what they had not been taught, or not learned, at school".⁶⁹ A very large proportion of Army infantry officers and virtually all artillery and engineer officers had been educated at public school or privately. Men educated privately or at public school may have been in a minority in the Leeds Rifles officer class, however, and certainly one-third had attended Leeds Grammar School.⁷⁰

For the greater part of the Victorian period, the Army officer corps was recruited from a limited spectrum of society that included the traditionally privileged classes, the aristocracy and landed gentry (to which many clergy belonged). For most of the 19th century the sons of the expanding so-called middle classes did not join the officer corps in any numbers. By the end of the century, however, it had become apparent that an increasing number of entrants were coming forward, not only from professional families but also from the business and commercial classes. In particular, industrialists and merchants who had bought themselves into the landed class were encouraging their sons to become army officers in order to acquire social status⁷¹. C.B. Otley's researches into the social origins of Sandhurst and Woolwich cadets suggest that the officer corps remained a highly

TABLE C. OCCUPATIONS & PROFESSIONS OF VOLUNTEER OFFICERS (as Percentages)

	I Infantry Volunteers 1904	II Leeds Rifles 1859-1908
Gentlemen of independent means	6.5	1.27
Professional men	29.2	32.91
Men in business on their own account	33.5	53.16
Employees	22.6	5.06
Students	3.5	4.43
Other occupations	4.8	-
Unknown	-	3.16

	III London Volunteer Officers 1860-72	IV Leeds Rifles 1859-1908
Professional	28.8	29.75
Merchants	12.1	15.82
Manufacturers	11.7	36.08
Financial [sharebrokers, accountants, bankers]	8.4	3.16
Gentlemen	6.8	1.27
Clerks	14.2	0.63
Other occupations	12.9	5.70
No occupation	5.1	4.43
Unknown	-	3.16

Sources: I: Royal Commission on the Militia & Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Part IV, p.250; 1904 Cmd.2064, xxxi, 587.

III: H. Cunningham, op cit., Table 1, Chap.4, p.56.

II & IV: G.H. Rowe, Leeds Rifles List of Officers 1859-1909 (1909); 3rd VB PWO Annual for 1902, Thoresby Society Library 22D3; PRO RG9, RG10: Leeds Census Enumerators' Books, 1861, 1871; local directories.

Note: 158 officers of the Leeds Rifles surveyed; surgeons, chaplains and adjutants excluded.

exclusive body socially until 1914. Before 1910 there had been almost no cadets at either college with lower middle class backgrounds, and businessmen's sons continued to be under-represented.⁷²

Businessmen's opposition to sons becoming army officers centred on two major objections. Firstly, the alleged permanent harmful moral influences of soldiering: the young Thomas Butler of Kirkstall Forge wrote to his cousin, Tom Porter, on 16th September 1798, imploring him not to join the Army whether as an officer or enlisted man "because it will ruin you for a Man of Business"; 15 months later he wrote of Porter "He is now no more a Soldier - I wish he may not have imbibed a Spirit of gaiety and Dissipation, so that he will never be content to submit to the drudgery of Business".⁷³ (These moral objections, linked to the question of time, particularly "time-wasting", were, according to respondent J.A. Rudd, the basis of businessmen's objections at a much later date to their sons taking commissions in the pre-1914 Territorials.) It was certainly true that the junior officer of the Victorian army, having little or no work to do apart from attending a few parades, often found it hard to avoid getting into idle ways.⁷⁴ Secondly, it is axiomatic that no Victorian or Edwardian businessman, having a son or sons of ability, would have willingly deprived himself of their services by allowing them to join the Army. This meant that heads of industrial and commercial enterprises tended to release only sons who had demonstrated little talent or inclination for business. John Foster of Black Dyke Mills, near Bradford, a manufacturer who belonged to the landed class, had 6 sons, none of whom entered the Army: 2 took commissions in the local (Bradford) Volunteers, and 1 a commission in the yeomanry. Intellectual disdain for the Army officer corps was, and remained, endemic in the professional and business classes. It is common to find in the autobiographies of leading public figures scathing references to dunces at the public schools they had attended being crammed for Sandhurst. Headmasters of public and independent schools were said, up to quite recent times, to have advised their less able boys to become Army officers.⁷⁵ The Headmaster of Winchester was opposed to the boy who became F.M. Earl Wavell joining the Army Class on the grounds that he possessed "sufficient brains to make his way in other walks of life".⁷⁶ (Wellington, however, one of the top ten public schools, was a military foundation and during the Edwardian era, according to Old Boy Capt. H.R. Lupton, 8th, "some of its most brilliant pupils" entered the Army, "their chosen career".) Novelist Simon Raven describes the officer corps of the 1950s as "a useful repository for the slow-witted or superfluous members of Establishment

families".⁷⁷ C.E. Montague's attack on the intellectual capacity and educational attainments of the officer corps in his influential memoir Disenchantment⁷⁸ and the blanket dismissal by wool merchant's son, Lt. Harry Whitham, a Leeds University undergraduate prior to being commissioned in the 7th Bn, of pre-1914 Regular officers as "complete boneheads" are perhaps typical of middle-class prejudice of the period.⁷⁹ This attitude corresponded to the view then prevalent in the Respectable working classes that the Regular soldier was "a lad nobody else would give a job to" and that "you only joined the Army if you couldn't do nowt else" (see Chapter 6, section 6.1).

The weakening of parental opposition in the professional and business classes to sons entering the officer corps in the closing decades of the 19th century coincided with the popularisation of the Army and things military by the Volunteer Force (see Chapter 4). Just as, during the 1880s, the Force became an increasingly valuable source of superior recruits for the Army, so did Volunteers, and brothers and sons of Volunteers, begin to enter the officer corps some via the Militia, a less expensive method of obtaining a commission. In the Leeds Rifles, 5 officers during the later Volunteer period entered the Army, 3 via the Militia: George Herbert Rayner, son of a drysalter and a student at the Yorkshire College, resigned his commission in 1886 after 2½ years' service to take a commission in the 21st Hussars; Francis John Ryder, son of brewer Charles Ryder, resigned his commission in 1887 to go into the Militia, was commissioned in the 3rd Dragoon Guards and retired with the rank of Lt. Colonel; Samuel Pearson Yates, of the Bramley woollen manufacturing company, resigned in 1890 to take a commission in the 11th Hussars; two undergraduates at the Yorkshire College, Gerald Adshead and Samuel Barbour Duffin, on leaving Leeds in 1902 and 1903 respectively, transferred to militia regiments and subsequently took commissions in the Cheshire Regiment and the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers respectively.⁸⁰ L.M. Appleton, son of ex-Leeds Rifles officer solicitor Henry Appleton, and that "very gallant gentleman" Lawrence Edward Grace Oates, son of ex-Leeds Rifles private 652 (and ex-Leeds Engineers officer) W.E. Oates, formerly of Meanwoodside, but now a member of the landed gentry, commenced their military careers as officers in the 4th West York Militia of Leeds in 1896 and both took commissions in the 6th Inniskilling Dragoon Guards.⁸¹

The criteria applied to officer selection in the Leeds Rifles were social. Cunningham notes some disputes arising in several corps out of proposals to appoint tradesmen to commissions.⁸² The recruiting as officers

of tradesmen and members of the vulgar "nouveaux riches", men who could not command universal respect by virtue of their social position, naturally had a deleterious effect on discipline. Cunningham describes some ill-disciplined corps;⁸³ the low standard of officers in some undisciplined Southern corps was attacked in 1906 by "The Scout".⁸⁴ Col. Tannett-Walker told the 1904 Royal Commission that he knew of battalions where the officers were of the sergeant class.⁸⁵

This reluctance by the Leeds Rifles to lower entry standards was, however, only one of the factors in the chronic shortage of officers that afflicted the Regiment from the mid-1860s. There was seldom a full complement of officers, even during periods when the Regiment was at full strength or over establishment. The Army List of December 1872 shows a shortage of 15 officers: this was at a time when the Volunteer Force was in the doldrums, and a major shortage of officers was fairly general in the West Riding as a whole. In January 1874 the Colonel was complaining that there were 13 vacant commissions and that it was "most difficult to find gentlemen to fill them".⁸⁶ At the end of 1876 there were only 5 vacant commissions, but in the spring of 1882, when all Leeds units were at full strength and turning away would-be recruits daily, the Regiment was again 13 officers short, though the Huddersfield corps had 3 officers over establishment, Bradford were at full strength and Wakefield almost at full strength as far as officers were concerned.⁸⁷ At the end of the following year, the Colonel was yet again bemoaning the fact that "great difficulty exists in procuring suitable men for holding commissions". A glowing report on the 1888 Annual Inspection was marred by the sole sour observation: "The Major General trusts that efforts are being made to fill up the numerous vacant commissions in this battalion".⁸⁸ At the end of the Volunteer year in 1907, the Regiment was short of 1 captain and 6 subalterns.

A chronic shortage of officers was a characteristic of the VF as a whole and was particularly marked in the infantry. The Bury Committee of 1878 sent a questionnaire to all units of Volunteers: to the question whether the corps obtained a sufficient supply of officers without difficulty, 111 answered in the affirmative, but 178, including the Leeds Rifles, answered in the negative.⁸⁹ In 1904 the officer strength of the VF was nearly one-quarter below establishment. Throughout more or less the whole of the Volunteer period constant concern was being expressed about the quality of the men offering themselves for commissions.⁹⁰ By 1881, according to the influential military critic and ex-Volunteer, Spenser Wilkinson, it was widely recognised that there was an inadequate supply of fit

candidates for commissions.⁹¹ The evidence given to the 1904 Royal Commission confirmed and emphasised this.

The chief factors in the officer shortage were those of time and expense. Being an officer meant putting in more time than a sergeant and much more time than a private; an officer's absence, in any case, was more conspicuous than that of either. The sacrifices of time and energy made, in order to become a Volunteer officer, by an already over-worked young businessman, particularly an only son in a large family undertaking whose principals were naturally extremely reluctant to admit outsiders into the administration of the company, are well brought out in The Diary of Thomas Butler, 1796-1799 : on 23rd May 1798 Thomas worked "till 5 o.C. [sic]- then I attended Drill - and afterwards was in Acct. House till 10½ o.c."; on 6th September 1799 "We marched upon Woodhouse Moor, and it was dark before I got home, and very much fatigued I was ... I was obliged, fatigued as I was, to go into Acc^t. house to arrange some accounts"; on 16th September 1798 "...yet I find it intrudes a great deal upon my time; I am obliged to work many an hour when I ought to be at rest in order to regain the time I spend in the Duties of my Office".⁹²

Walter Holdforth was elected to the Committee of Management of the Leeds RVC at the first meeting of the corps on 21st August 1859, yet his name appears on no lists or rolls. It is unlikely that he failed to enrol because he would have been the sole Roman Catholic (his father was the town's first Catholic Mayor); it is much more likely that as the only son, in charge of his aged father's silk mill,⁹³ he could not spare the time. The first commandant of the Leeds Rifles, William James Armitage, reverted to private at the end of 1860 owing to pressure of business: his work as managing director of the Farnley Iron Works, whose quality products enjoyed a wide, and later international, reputation, involved lengthy periods away from home obtaining orders, and in August 1864 he was fined 9s.6d for not attending the Annual Inspection.⁹⁴ In reply to the Bury Committee's enquiry, a large majority of corps, which included the Leeds Rifles, asserted that officers (and also NCOs) could not find the necessary time to acquire a higher standard of military knowledge by attending Schools of Instruction or being attached for training to Regular regiments,⁹⁵ and this was found to be still the case in 1904.⁹⁶ Lt. Charles Ryder, junior partner in Tetley's Brewery and a family man, who spent his month's annual holiday in 1862 and 1863 with a Regular battalion,⁹⁷ was a noteworthy exception. Business engagements often prevented officers from presenting themselves at military

examinations for which they had entered, or obliged them to make late applications to attend courses of instruction; sometimes officers, like cloth manufacturer Major C.E. Bousfield in 1884, had to apply for a 3-4 months' leave of absence in order to undertake business tours abroad.⁹⁸

Col. Tannett-Walker told the 1904 RC that fathers whose sons were training for professions, with examinations to pass, would not let them become Volunteer officers because of the interference with their time, particularly where the medical profession was involved.⁹⁹

The prime factor was undoubtedly that of expense: the fact that the burden of meeting the financial gap between Government grant and actual expenditure fell upon the officers was the fundamental cause of the chronic shortage of officers in the Volunteer period. Contemporaries stressed this. Capt. Thomas J. Kinnear, now Hon. Treasurer of the Leeds Rifles, with his circular of 20th December 1866, started a nationwide campaign for an increased capitation grant which emphasised this particular aspect. (The introduction in 1865 of the "extra-efficiency" 10/- grant had actually exacerbated the Regiment's financial problems, since many members were unable to put in the extra time at the range in order to qualify for it.) In his second circular of 30th January 1867, which gave 17 representative replies, all agreeing with his analysis, the 1st Nottingham RVC (Robin Hood Rifles) gave the financial burden upon the officers as the reason why it was currently "experiencing great difficulty in retaining" its officers.¹⁰⁰ Major Gen. Daniell, GOC Northern District, referring in 1887 to the Leeds Rifles' shortage of 12 officers, said that the general lack of officers in the auxiliary forces "arose on account of the expenses attaching to a corps" which "deterred a great number of officers from coming forward; and if they saw corps getting into debt they could not expect officers to join them."¹⁰¹

On 31st December 1859 the Leeds Rifles had £450 cash in hand, but this was apparently the only time the corps was free from debt. In 1860 income was £4,384.5s.1d, but expenditure £4,532.3s.1d; thereafter the shortfall increased. In 1864, in order to complete payment for the Oxford Row drill hall and armoury, 4½% Debenture Stock totalling £2,050 was issued.¹⁰² Day-to-day expenses, however, on trivial items like cleaning, cleaning materials, office requisites, calico for pull-throughs, neat's foot oil, washing and repairing signal flags, carriage of uniforms and ammunition etc. from the railway station, marking targets, income tax, rates, gas, coal, were considerable, amounting in the first 10½ weeks of 1867, for instance, to over £100.¹⁰³ Members of the corps lent money, including Kinnear himself

who lent sums totalling £1,100 in 1866-7.¹⁰⁴ The alteration of the corps rule to excuse from paying the annual subscription all those who obtained the certificate of efficiency increased the shortfall considerably. The average total expenditure 1873-7 inclusive annually was £2,122.13s.2d, but the average Government grant over the same period was £1,525.8s.0d., leaving an average of £597.5s.2d. to be made good each year. Before the alteration of the corps rule, Leeds Rifles officers had paid additional annual subscriptions, on a sliding scale according to rank, of between £5 and £10. By 1878, however, the Leeds Rifles had become, with officers' annual subscriptions of £160, one of the most "expensive" regiments in the entire Volunteer Force; non-efficient other ranks were required to pay £12.10s.6d.¹⁰⁵ This, together with the fact that the officers shared in making up the deficiency, unlike those in the other Leeds corps which were heavily subsidised, the Engineers by one man (Lt.Col. Child) and the Artillery by two leading industrial families (the Butlers and the Coghlan), no doubt accounted for the large deficiency in officers, compared with neighbouring corps, noted in the Leeds Rifles during the last two decades of the 19th century. The huge £160 annual subscription not only effectively excluded social undesirables but also deterred "suitable" candidates from offering themselves for commissions in the Regiment.

It seems highly unlikely that there was ever any shortage of "suitable" officer candidates amongst the "gentleman" privates and NCOs of the Regiment. For example, in 1886 Pte Andrew Little, a wholesale clothing manufacturer, and Pte A.E. Laing, a land surveyor who became a local patent and advertising agent, received long-service certificates for 25 years' and 15 years' service respectively, whilst the year before, Pte Arthur W. Blackburn, a solicitor, had also received a 25-year certificate.¹⁰⁶ William Clarke, a solicitor who was compulsorily retired by the War Office at the age of 62 after 20 years' service, preferred, according to his obituary notice, to remain a "gentleman private", and "few were more regular in their attendance than he".¹⁰⁷ Col. Sgt. Harry Wm. Fox, an architect and surveyor, who retired owing to ill health in 1884 after 24 years' service, evidently preferred to be an NCO rather than an officer, for he had resigned his commission and reverted to private at his own request in 1867. "Suitable" officer candidates for the Leeds Rifles Volunteers, however, clearly needed high disposable incomes as well as high social standing in the local community. It seems significant to find an appreciable number of officers of the Volunteer period in both the Leeds Engineers and the Leeds Artillery who, before gazetting, had served for some time in the ranks of the Leeds Rifles

in which it was so expensive to become an officer; a list of some 60 retired officers in F. Green, The History of the 2nd West Riding of Yorkshire Engineer Volunteers, A Brief Record (1887), contains at least 16 men who were former privates in the Rifles.

A further factor emerged during the latter stages of the Volunteer period to increase the officer shortage: competition from the militia, whose officers enjoyed a higher social status than those of the Volunteers. A 1906 article, 'The Military Training Season in the Northern Command', noted that an increasing number of militia subalterns was being drawn from "the wealthy trading and professional class", that more of the gentry were going into the recently expanded Yeomanry, and that the county gentry had now, in any case, fewer younger sons available for the militia since depreciation of land values had made it imperative that the scions of the landed should earn their own living.¹⁰⁸ Between 1871 and 1904, two Leeds Rifles officers resigned in order to take commissions in the militia: Frank L. Joy (brother of 795 Arthur Holt Joy, enrolled 1861), oil merchant of Edward Joy & Sons (which supplied lubricating oil for The Rocket in 1829 and, now named Filtrate Ltd., claims to be Britain's oldest established oil company)¹⁰⁹ and Albert W.B. Hill, architect and surveyor.

By the beginning of 1907 the shortage of officers in the Army as well as in the auxiliary forces was causing such official concern that a committee, the Ward Committee, was appointed to enquire into the causes. Its Interim Report¹¹⁰ discovered a net deficiency in event of mobilisation in the Regular Army of 4,419 and a deficiency in the authorised establishments of the Militia and Volunteers respectively of 1,091 (nearly a third) and 2,504 (about 22%). Among the causes which tended to deter young men from taking commissions in the auxiliary forces, the Report listed "the lack of continuity of policy in regard to them [the auxiliary forces] on the part of the authorities, and the absence of sympathy with them"; "The belief existing in the Auxiliary Forces, mainly due to their want of organisation, that they are not considered by the War Office as a real portion of the fighting forces of the Kingdom"; "The drudgery of recruits' drill" to a businessman; and, particularly with regard to the Volunteer officer, "the numerous expenses incidental to holding a commission in this force; the inadequacy of the outfit allowance, and the difficulties connected with the earning of it". It condemned the allowance, which had been introduced in 1896, as being completely inadequate; it was hedged about with conditions and the whole amount had to be refunded if the officer failed (a) to serve 3 complete years; (b) to qualify 3 times as an efficient;

(c) to pass the prescribed month's course of instruction within 2 years.

1.4. Influences on recruiting levels and wastage rates up to 1907

The numbers of men joining or leaving the Volunteer Force, or any particular corps, fluctuated from year to year. The turnover in the TAVR in the 1970s was said to amount to between a quarter and a third of "recruiting" (i.e. actual) strength each year.¹¹¹ In 1979 it was said to be currently about 30% per year.¹¹² Apart from the eight years when increases or decreases of over 10,000 on the previous year's enrolled strength occurred, the average turnover in the Volunteer Force seems to have fluctuated between a quarter and one third. In the Leeds Rifles in the period 1865-1907, recruiting ranged from 10.76% of strength to 42.64%, with an average over the period of 25.20%, whilst the annual loss, whether from resignation or any other cause, ranged from 10.31% of strength to 44.07%, with an average of 24.19%.

Figure 1 shows the fluctuations in numbers in both the Volunteer Force and in the Leeds Rifles over the period 1864-1907. Tempting though it is to interpret the fluctuations in the statistics giving the national totals of enrolled members of the Volunteer Force¹¹³ in terms of factors, chiefly political, which would operate at a national level, such as invasion scares and international conflict situations,¹¹⁴ a comparison between the two profiles suggests that such an interpretation might be premature. Until 1895 there is little correspondence, and even where there appears to be correspondence, things may not be what they seem, for example, in 1885 when both profiles show a rise. Though 1885 was the year of a major international crisis and of the failure to rescue General Gordon, it was also the year when the Leeds Rifles was supplied with a superior rifle, the Martini-Henry, a factor which may well have been of much more immediate interest to recruits. Moreover, marked differences between the local corps appeared to be the norm. For example, between 1866-7 and 1867-8, the Bradford Rifle Volunteers (3rd WRV) decreased in strength by 1.5%, and the Leeds Rifles by 23.5%, but the Huddersfield corps increased by nearly 31%,¹¹⁵ while the VF as a whole increased by 6%. Comparing the years 1876-7 and 1877-8, the Leeds Rifles remained unchanged, the Leeds Artillery increased by 11.3%, the Leeds Engineers increased by 1.9%, but the Huddersfield corps decreased by 2%,¹¹⁶ while the VF increased by 5.3%. In the year 1874-5, the Leeds Engineers increased by 33.4%, having been to camp, but the strength of the Leeds Artillery decreased, owing to new War Office

Fig. 1. ENROLLED MEMBERS IN (1) LEEDS RIFLES AND IN (2) VOLUNTEER FORCE AS A WHOLE, 1864 - 1907

Sources of statistics: (1) Table 5, Appendix II.

(2) Royal Commission on the Militia & Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, App. XCII, p.157; 1904 Cmd. xxxi, 587.

Note that the scale of (2) is 1/10th that of (1).



height regulations and being unable to go to camp for financial reasons.¹¹⁷
 In the year 1871-2, the strength of the Huddersfield corps decreased by over 53%, while the VF had decreased by 7.4%, but the Leeds Rifles had actually increased by 5.3%.¹¹⁸

Local factors thus appeared to be paramount in determining recruiting and wastage rates, whilst national factors, political or otherwise, seemed to be of little importance. Even where national or international events seemed to have some effect, it was only inasfar as they appeared to threaten the defence of Leeds and the West Riding. For instance, the three lowest wastage figures occurred in 1867, 1881 and 1900 (See Appendix II, Table 5). These were the years when it appeared most likely that the Leeds Rifles would be called out for actual service: during the Fenian troubles of 1867 and 1881 and during the year 1899-1900 when European powers were adopting a hostile stance and the bulk of the home-based Regular Army was absent abroad. In 1884, however, in spite of the invasion scare, numbers declined due to a decrease in the number of recruits, the result of a War Office ban on the enrolment of supernumeraries, and to an increase in the number of resignations, the result of the limiting of camp numbers by the War Office.

Of local factors, economic forces were perhaps the most important, the level of strength being in general highly sensitive to the state of trade, falling in times of recession as men left Leeds to seek work elsewhere, and rising in periods of trade buoyancy and prosperity, as in the period 1870-2. Even so, exceptions to this general rule sometimes occurred: in 1872-3 at the height of the local boom strength declined by nearly 2½%, perhaps due to increased War Office requirements; in 1877-8 strength remained steady and in 1878-9 increased, despite the very severe recession, owing to the possibility existing during this period that the corps would be called out for service.¹¹⁹ Strength also declined in 1889-90, despite the local trade boom, owing to fewer recruits, possibly the consequence of hiring out the parade ground for most of the summer.

Strength levels were also extremely sensitive to things like Volunteer public events and the provision of camps and new uniform which attracted recruits and discouraged men from leaving. The following manpower statistics relating to 1897 illustrate the power of the annual August Bank Holiday camp to draw recruits: at 31st May, 932; at 30th June, 960; at 30th July, 974.¹²⁰ The author of an 1879 article on the local Volunteers, omitting any mention of the trade slump, blamed, in effect, a state of low morale for the fact

of the Leeds Rifles being under strength: there had been no camp for three years, the Annual Church parade had been suspended for two years, the corps badly needed a new uniform, no local field days or large-scale reviews had been held for a considerable time, nor were any planned.¹²¹ A Leeds Rifleman writing to the Editor of the Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer in 1867 referred to "the great influx of recruits to the Leeds corps last year when it became known that they were to attend the great review at York".¹²² The greatest influx of recruits came in 1880, when new dark grey uniforms with the new green Light Infantry helmet were introduced, when the first camp for four years and two Reviews, one at York and one on Woodhouse Moor, were held; the corps reached full strength by the end of the first week of May and for the remainder of the summer would-be recruits were being regretfully turned away every day.¹²³ The fact that the corps was at full strength in 1888 (and also in the year following) may well be due to the move to the splendid Carlton Barracks, with its many facilities, rather than to the tense international situation; the first of the hugely popular Whitsun Marching Columns was also held in 1888, to offer a further attraction to recruits, were any needed. In 1892, when the corps strength stood at its highest to date, 1008, the Regiment was attending camp clad for the first time in the full dress uniform of the Rifle Brigade.

Several events of the early years of the first decade of the 20th century were held to have had very serious effects on the strength of the Volunteer Force. The more stringent regulations laid down in Army Order 91 of April 1901 and the new and stricter camp regulations announced by Order in Council on 4th November 1901, which in effect made attendance at camp compulsory, combined to produce an enormous drop in strength of nearly 20,000 men (6.9%) in the year 1901-2;¹²⁴ the strength of the Leeds Rifles fell by 4.74%. The new efficiency regulations were set out in the offensive "Volunteer Christmas card" order of 24th December 1901 which delivered a well-calculated snub to the Volunteers and caused widespread resentment and discouragement. "Volunteer Field Officer", writing in the Spectator, blamed it for the poor response to the call for a Third Contingent for South Africa.¹²⁵ As it was reprinted, as ordered by the Commander-in-Chief, in the Leeds Rifles regimental orders of January 1902, it could not fail to produce a baleful effect: Section 5 began with a highly provocative passage:

"For some years past the Volunteer Force has constantly claimed to be seriously accepted as a reliable and organised section of the Army for Home Defence. It is now determined that the responsibility claimed shall be realised."

The majority report of the 1904 Royal Commission¹²⁶ and the monumentally tactless Circular of 20th June 1905, which made it appear that the War Office was attempting to reduce the VF by an underhand method, the introduction of severe medical standards,¹²⁷ also produced considerable resentment and discouragement.¹²⁸ Many Leeds Volunteers, for example, immediately inferred that the Circular "was to be used as an implement to weed out the Volunteers wholesale."¹²⁹ On 20th February 1905 statistics were given in the House of Commons that indicated that some London units had suffered a serious decline in strength from 1902 of 18-49%¹³⁰ (the Leeds Rifles had declined by 15% over the same period). Sir Howard Vincent, referring to these statistics, spoke bitterly of the great uncertainty, suspense and apprehension currently militating against the efficiency of the auxiliary forces and claimed that the Volunteer Force was "thoroughly discouraged".¹³¹ By October 1907, the Force had fallen by more than 35,600 men (12.37%) from its 1901 peak. The Leeds Rifles had fallen by 18.4% from its 1901 peak, although its strength still remained above its pre-1900 establishment.

NOTES

1. The Parliamentary History of England from the earliest period to the year 1803 (Hansard's Parliamentary Debates), 36, 1820, col. 1646.
2. Leeds Mercury, 19 November 1859.
3. Leeds Intelligencer, 1 October 1859.
4. The Leeds & West Riding Express, 28 January 1860; see also Leeds Mercury, 29 November 1859.
5. For full text, see R.P. Berry, A History of the Formation and development of the Volunteer Infantry, from the earliest times, illustrated by the local records of Huddersfield and its vicinity from 1794 to 1874 (London and Huddersfield, 1903), pp. 490-1.
6. A list of "most" of the members of the Leeds Volunteer Infantry is included in Miss Emily Hargrave's article, 'The Leeds Volunteers - 1794-1802', Publications of the Thoresby Society, XXVIII (1928), 280-3; about 62% of their occupations/professions are given. The data given in this chapter about the occupations/professions of the personnel of the Leeds Rifles between 1859 and 1875 has been obtained from the Muster Roll of the Leeds Rifle Volunteers, 1859-75, and other contemporary documents: see Appendix I, sections 1 and 2.
7. Leeds Mercury, 21 May, 14 June 1859. Paying by instalments was a common enough arrangement in the Force's early days: see R.B. Rose, 'Liverpool Volunteers of 1859', Liverpool Libraries, Museums and Arts Committee Bulletin, 6, Nos. 1 & 2 (1956), 56, 60; Sir J.M. Grierson, Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force (1909; London, 1972 fascimile edn.), pp. 14, 17; R.P. Berry, op.cit., pp. 408, 435-6; Lord Elcho, letter to the Times, 15 August 1860, 5b; Illustrated London News, Vol. 36 (7 January 1860), p. 18; H. Cunningham, The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908 (London, 1975), pp. 21, 22; I.F.W. Beckett, 'The English Rifle Volunteer Movement, 1859-1908', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1974, pp. 75, 115, 116.
8. Leeds Mercury, 17 November, 22 December 1859.
9. See H. Cunningham, op.cit., p. 15.
10. See R. Dudley Baxter, The Volunteer Movement: Its Progress and Wants (Cambridge, 1860), pp. 3-13, cited in I.F.W. Beckett, op.cit., pp. 147-8.
11. H. Cunningham, op.cit., Chap. 2.
12. I.F.W. Beckett, op.cit., Chap. 2.
13. I.F.W. Beckett's article, 'The Local Community and the Amateur Military Tradition: A Case Study of Victorian Buckinghamshire', Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, 59 (1981), 95-110, provides an excellent illustration.
14. H. Cunningham, op.cit., p. 25.
15. R.P. Berry, op.cit., pp. 435-6.
16. See H. Cunningham, op.cit., Chap. 2 and I.F.W. Beckett, 'The English Rifle Volunteer Movement', Chap. 2.
17. Publications of the Thoresby Society, L (1967), 158-178.
18. E.P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal & Reality in Nineteenth-Century Urban Government (London, 1973), App. I(b), p. 352, App. II(a) and (b), p. 353; pp. 194-5, 196.
19. Ibid., App. III, p. 357.

20. Leeds Mercury 14, 28, 31 May, 30 June 1859; later obituary notices.
21. F.R. Spark, Memories of My Life (Leeds, 1913), p. 181.
22. Data obtained from obituary notices.
23. See J. Goodchild, The Coal Kings of Yorkshire (Wakefield, 1978).
24. W.L. Wilmhurst, The Huddersfield Choral Society: The First Hundred Years (Huddersfield, 1961), p. 15.
25. See G. Crossick, An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880 (London, 1978), pp. 94-6.
26. Leeds Chamber of Commerce Minute Book, Vol.I, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS. Dep. MS 1951/1. Unfortunately no list of members for the year 1859-60 is included.
27. Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society, Annual Report for 1860.
28. Catalogue of the Leeds Library, 1859.
29. Listed in F.R. Spark, op. cit., p. 46. The Leeds Triennial Musical Festival quickly became one of Europe's leading music festivals. Alderman Spark considered that Marshall was responsible in no small measure for "the magnificent standard" achieved during his term of office (p.54).
30. Ibid., pp. 154-7; Chap. XVII, esp. pp. 163, 168-9.
31. R. Wilkinson et al, The Grand Theatre and Opera House Leeds 1878-1978: The First Hundred Years (Leeds, 1978), p.6.
32. For list of share-holders and directors, see M. Hammett, 'The Grand Theatre and Opera House, Leeds, under the management of Wilson Henry Barrett, 1876 to 1895', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1975, 2 Vols., Appendix A.
33. Prospectus (in Braithwaite Scrapbook).
34. E. Kitson Clark, 'The Founders of the Thoresby Society', Publications of the Thoresby Society, XXXVII (1945), 189-92.
35. See H. Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 18-19; R.B. Rose, op.cit., pp. 55-6; Illustrated London News, Vol.34 (1859), p. 562.
36. W.G. Rimmer, loc.cit.
37. Leeds Mercury, 13 December 1859.
38. Ibid.
39. P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice] RG9:1861 Census of Leeds, Enumerators' Books.
40. Leeds Mercury, 29 November 1859. There is no record of any "poorer" Volunteer being offered or being supplied with a free outfit. This would have seriously offended against the Respectable workman's ethic of "independence". An attempt in Warrington in December 1859 to induce working men to Volunteer by holding a meeting under the auspices of the Workingmen's Local Improvement Society failed, owing to the expense of the uniform and the refusal of "many men, who declined to accept uniform free of cost to themselves" (W. Crompton and G. Venn, Warrington Volunteers 1798-1898 (Warrington, 1898), p. 78).
41. See I.F.W. Beckett, 'The English Rifle Volunteer Movement', Chap.2; H. Cunningham, op.cit., Chap.2.
42. Studies in War and Peace (London, 1970), pp. 87, 97.
43. See H. Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 22-5.
44. Ibid., Table 4, p. 39.

45. See I.F.W. Beckett, 'The English Rifle Volunteer Movement', p. 139.
46. Leeds Mercury, 12 July 1880; Yorkshire Evening Post, 27 January 1911.
47. Calculated from General Annual Report on the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1909..., Table 7, Section II, Part III, p. 57; 1910 Cmd. 5016, lx, 653.
48. Ibid., Section V.
49. Calculated from monthly Regimental Orders.
50. General Annual Report on the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1913, Table 5, p. 95; 1914 Cmd. 7252, lii, 267.
51. See also the complaints made in 1862 by Capt. Batley of Huddersfield, R.P. Berry, op.cit., p. 445.
52. Tetley Minute Book LRVC, Vols. I and II.
53. Ibid., Vol. II.
54. Agreement Book.
55. Calculated from figures given in Tetley Minute Book LRVC, Vol. II; see also Table 5, Appendix II of this thesis.
56. Tetley Minute Book LRVC, Vol. II; printed 'Rules of the 7th West Riding of Yorkshire Leeds Rifle Volunteer Corps 1872' (copy in Leeds City Reference Library, Local Collections).
57. Compare H. Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 22-3.
58. E.H. Hunt, Regional Wage Variations in Britain 1850-1914 (Oxford, 1973), for example, p. 310.
59. Letter book of Sgt. Major Thos. Hardcastle, 1872-.
60. Yorkshire Post, 10 July 1876.
61. LRMT, Correspondence Book V, return to OC 14th RD, 14 July 1887.
62. Yorkshire Post, 20 May 1907.
63. Of 499 children aged 13-16 examined by a certifying surgeon for age certificates in Leeds in 1859, only 123 (just over 24%) could read. (A.H. Robson, The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England 1833-1876 (London, 1931), p. 100); of 248 men enlisted into the 4th West York Militia, almost exclusively recruited from the lower working classes of Leeds, in 1865, 105 (over 42%) were unable to read or write (Return confined to the Municipal Boroughs of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester, of all schools for the Poorer Classes of Children..., Report of Commissioner J.G. Fitch, p. 110; 1870, liv, 265.). In 1857, in the 1,946 marriages in the Leeds and Hunslet districts, 478 bridegrooms (about 25%) signed the register with marks (J. Hole, The Working Classes of Leeds: an essay on the present state of education in Leeds, and the best means of improving it (London and Leeds, 1863 2nd edn), p. 18).
64. Yorkshire Post, 11 January 1888.
65. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Part IV, p. 253; 1904 Cmd.2064, xxxi, 587.
66. Op.cit., Table 6, p. 43.
67. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Minutes of Evidence, Vol.I, qq. 7695, 9153; 1904 Cmd.2062, xxx, 259; Vol II, q.14795; Cmd.2063, xxxi, 1.
68. Army List, January 1860, pp. 196-7; identification from local directories.

69. T.A. Heathcote and B.D. Evans, The Story of Sandhurst (Camberley, 1978), pp. 18-19.
70. Identified from E. Wilson, Leeds Grammar School Admission Books from 1820-1900 (Leeds, 1906).
71. See G. Harries-Jenkins, The Army in Victorian Society (London, 1977), pp. 6, 24-5.
72. 'The Social Origins of British Army Officers', The Sociological Review, 18 (1970), 224, 230.
73. A.E., B.F. and H.M. Butler, eds., The Diary of Thomas Butler of Kirkstall Forge, Yorkshire (London, 1906), pp. 241, 342.
74. See E.M. Spiers, The Army and Society 1815-1914 (London, 1980), p. 22.
75. See, for example, B. Pitt, 1918: The Last Act (London, 1962; 1965 Corgi paperback edn), p. 257.
76. F.M. Earl Wavell, Soldiers & Soldiering, or Epithets of War (London, 1953), p. 137.
77. 'Perish by the Sword', in H. Thomas, ed., The Establishment (London, 1959), p. 51.
78. (London, 1922; 1968 edn.), for example, pp. 155-7.
79. For an outstanding example of contemporary academic contempt for the officer corps, see Sir E.L. Woodward, Great Britain and the War of 1914-1918 (London, 1967), pp. xviii-xx.
80. G.H. Rowe, Leeds Rifles List of Officers 1859-1909 (Leeds, 1909).
81. Yorkshire Post, 19 May 1908.
82. Op cit., pp. 55-6.
83. Ibid., p. 63.
84. Yorkshire Evening News, 5 December 1906.
85. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Minutes of Evidence, Vol. I, q.7695; 1904 Cmd.2062, xxx, 259.
86. LRMT, Correspondence Book III, CO to OC 10th Bde Depot, 19 January 1874.
87. Army List, December 1876; March 1882.
88. LRMT, Correspondence Book IV, CO to OC 14th RD, 9 November 1883; Correspondence Book V.
89. Reports of the Committee appointed... to inquire into the Financial State and Internal Organization of the Volunteer Force in Great Britain (hereinafter referred to as "Bury Cttee. Report"), Appendix XIX; 1878-79 Cmd. 2235, xv, 181.
90. See H. Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 59 ff; I.F.W. Beckett, 'The English Rifle Volunteer Movement', pp. 158; 162.
91. Article, 'The Volunteer Force: a retrospect', Yorkshire Evening Post, 2 April 1908.
92. A.E., B.F., and H.M. Butler, eds., op.cit., pp. 224, 317, 241.
93. PRO RG9: 1861 Census of Leeds, Enumerator's Book.
94. Leeds Rifles Debt Book.
95. Bury Cttee. Report, loc.cit.
96. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Part IV, Section VIII, p. 252; 1904 Cmd.2064, xxxi, 587.

97. See LRMT, Correspondence Books I and II.
98. LRMT, Correspondence Books V, VII and IV.
99. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Minutes of Evidence, Vol.I, qq. 7784, 7695; 1904 Cmd.2062,xxx,259.
100. Greater London Council (Middlesex) Record Office, Cruikshank Papers, Acc.534. I am indebted to Dr. I.F.W. Beckett for drawing my attention to this reference.
101. Yorkshire Post, Leeds Mercury, 17 December 1887.
102. Account Book 1859-72; Loan Register.
103. Day Account Book 1865-9.
104. Account Book 1859-72.
105. Bury Cttee. Report, Appendices VII and XV.
106. 1885, 1886 Prize Distribution Programmes, Braithwaite Scrapbook.
107. Yorkshire Post, 22 March 1904.
108. Yorkshire Post, 23 August 1906.
109. Evening Post, 21 May 1980; Yorkshire Post, 9 August 1979.
110. Interim Report of the War Office Committee on the Provision of Officers for service with the Regular Army in War and for the Auxiliary Forces, pp. 4, 5, 17-18; 1907 Cmd.3294, xlix,549.
111. Discussion, 'Reserve Forces', Journal of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, Vol. 123, No.3 (Sept.1978), 9-16.
112. Yorkshire Post, 8 August 1979.
113. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix XCII, p. 157; 1904 Cmd.2064,xxxi,587. Annual Return of the Volunteer Corps of Great Britain for the year 1907, pp. 62-3; 1908 Cmd.3801, lxiv, 979.
114. I.F.W. Beckett, 'The English Rifle Volunteer Movement', pp.151, 168-70; H. Cunningham, op.cit., pp.104-6.
115. Leeds Mercury, 4 November 1867, 14 December 1868; Table 5, Appendix II of this thesis; R.P. Berry, op.cit., p. 472.
116. Table 5, Appendix II; Leeds Mercury, 13 December 1878; R.P.Berry, loc.cit.
117. Leeds Mercury, 21 December 1875.
118. R.P. Berry, loc.cit; Table 5, Appendix II.
119. Leeds Daily News, 23 December 1879.
120. Regimental Monthly Orders, 1897.
121. Leeds Daily News, 28 April 1879.
122. Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer, 12 March 1867.
123. Leeds Mercury, 10 May, 2 August 1880.
124. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Part IV, p.264; 1904 Cmd.2064,xxxi,587. J.K. Dunlop, The Development of the British Army 1899-1914(London,1938), pp. 142-3.
125. Spectator, Vol. 94 (11 March 1905), p. 362.
126. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Report; 1904 Cmd.2061, xxx,175.

127. See I.F.W. Beckett, 'The English Rifle Volunteer Movement', pp. 355-6; H. Cunningham, op.cit., p. 137.
128. E.N. Bennett, 'Playing at Soldiers', The Nineteenth Century and After, Vol.LXI (1907), 746.
129. Yorkshire Evening Post, 6 July 1905.
130. 141 HC Deb. 4s. 20 Feb. 1905, cols. 589-590.
131. Ibid., 22 Feb. 1905, cols. 927, 930.

CHAPTER 2. MOTIVATION TO ENLIST: ALL RANKS

Why did I join the Army, boys?
 Why did I join the Army?
 Why did I join the Army, boys?
 I must have been ruddy well barmy.

Traditional Regular Army soldier's song.

2.1. Virtually all the factors involved in recruiting motivation in the Volunteer era were present, and remained important, during the ensuing period, though, as might be expected, some, which can be grouped together as "calculative motives", rapidly acquired a much greater importance relatively to others.

Easily the most important group of factors, however, were those which by 1908 had become universally recognised as "traditional" (and having the power of tradition), the group which can be described by the portmanteau term "social inheritance": family tradition, neighbourhood tradition, the influence of relatives, friends, neighbours, workmates, old schoolfellows.

Table E which lists the motivational factors revealed by the respondents and which is intended merely to give some idea both of the complexity of motivation itself and of the wide variety of motives to enlist that existed during the period under study nevertheless illustrates these two points quite clearly.

Motivation is an extraordinarily complex subject. Impulses to enlist operate on many different levels and interact in different and often complicated ways. Fifty soldiers, on being asked why they enlisted, may well give fifty different answers; each man would express at least one motive and reveal that he had been subject, in his decision, to more than one influence. Table E illustrates this (see also Chapter 6, section 6.1). The question is further complicated by what A.N. Oppenheim terms the barriers of awareness and irrationality: people are frequently unaware of their own motives and attitudes, and most people tend to rationalise their motives, stressing, or inventing, sound logical reasons for actions whose origins are far from rational.¹ Latent motives, of which the respondent may be only vaguely aware or even completely unaware, may thus often assume major importance.

The motives that impelled men to become Regular soldiers were not necessarily those that impelled them to become part-time citizen soldiers,

although there was a certain amount of overlap in motivation. Sgt. J. MacMullen, writing in 1846, estimated that in the average company of recruits, 80 of the 120 had been unemployed, 16 were idlers "who consider a soldier's life an easy one", 8 were bad characters "who fell back upon the army as a last resource", 8 were "discontented and restless", 1 was a criminal on the run, 2 were "respectable persons induced by misfortune or imprudence", 2 were "perverse sons", and 1 had joined because he was ambitious.² Witnesses before the 1867 Royal Commission on Recruiting for the Army gave the principal causes of enlistment as drink and want of money, want of food, a fancy for the soldier's life, quarrels with friends, and the eventual possibility of great personal advantage;³ opportunities for advancement in civilian life were rarely as high as they were in the Army. It was generally recognised that men often joined up on impulse, or out of boyhood ambitions to become a soldier, and that the Army offered a ready means of escape from the law, from family or friends, or from the boring sameness of civilian life or a menial occupation.⁴ The Regular Army respondents interviewed bore out all these claims; in addition, family tradition was found to be an important factor in some cases, whilst two respondents were attracted to particular regiments by their dress uniforms (see Table E) which were known to catch the eyes of young females. Present-day enlistment motives are unemployment; an inability to obtain suitable civilian work; a wish to travel and meet people; a desire for excitement and adventure; a desire to escape the hometown environment; a desire for "something out of the ordinary, something which would present a challenge", an aim in life; a desire to learn marketable skills; the attraction of an outdoor life, comradeship and the opportunities to participate in games and pastimes, many of them expensive in civilian life, are held to be important additional factors in motivation.⁵ Family tradition also frequently plays an important part.

It is clear that many of the motivational factors influencing Regular Army recruits were of universal applicability, timeless in that they could be seen to be operating at periods widely separated in time. It was accordingly thought essential, before embarking on any general analysis of enlistment motivation in the Volunteers/Territorials, to attempt to discover which factors could be considered timeless in this milieu. To this end, the officer commanding the strongest local TA unit, 217 Squadron RCT(V), comprising about 200 all ranks, was approached and asked if a recruitment questionnaire could be distributed among his men. Unfortunately, only 9 completed forms were forthcoming. Table D is a summary of the answers received. The motivational factors have been numbered (a) to (z).

Factors (a)-(e), (g), and (s) cover calculative motives; (f), (h)-(l) recreational, (q), (r) and (t) social motives, while (j) and (k) cover the search for a personal challenge and for fun and adventure, and (u)-(z) social inheritance.

Articles in the local press usually list motivational factors. The financial aspects of part-time soldiering - a substantial tax-free bounty and Regular Army daily rates of pay - are held to be a major, though not the chief, attraction. Some join for adventure, for fun, for the opportunity to travel abroad. Many just enjoy volunteering as a hobby: one infantryman said, "The Volunteers do the sort of things I like to do," another admitted, "I like shooting and chasing about in helicopters." Many interviewees, including officers, stressed that the appeal of volunteering was that it was a complete change from civilian work and life: a university lecturer described how he enjoyed being transformed from "an ivy-covered academic in an ivory tower" to "an ivy-covered soldier in a bush". A female Volunteer recommended it to "any housewife who wants to get away from it all", whilst another said she had joined because she was "tired of the usual empty social round." A third said Volunteering "helped her to relax from the strains imposed by her full-time job." A deeper motive evidently lay at the core of this particular factor. It was effectively summarised by one interviewee: "It was the challenge of doing something different and worthwhile and proving something to ourselves." Many did refer to volunteering as a worthwhile job. Many evidently sought some benefit from volunteering for themselves, such as an escape from boredom in civilian life, the opportunity to learn new skills which would give them advancement in civilian jobs, but, above all, the camaraderie,⁶ the kind of friendship not normally experienced in civilian life outside the police force and fire service. A television documentary about E Company, 2nd Bn Yorkshire Volunteers, of Leeds (now A Company (The Leeds Rifles), 1st Bn Yorkshire Volunteers) transmitted in October 1978, revealed that men chiefly joined for the bounty and pay and for a hobby with adventure, though some had joined because they were unable to join the Regular Army for various reasons.⁷ Recruiting advertising for local TAVR units in the spring of 1977 stressed that joining the Reserve Army offered: something different which would inject a dash of adventure and excitement into ordinary lives; a challenge; enjoyment of an active open-air life, sport, foreign travel and "a strong social scene in which wives and girl friends also take part"; a chance to give a much-needed service to the community; and, finally, money.⁸ National advertising for the Territorials in the autumn of 1982 remained broadly similar.⁹

TABLE D. SUMMARY OF ANSWERS TO RECRUITMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

(Sample: 9.)

Question 1. Why did you join 217 Squadron?

(Please tick all the options that apply to you)

- Factor (a) Opportunity to get HGV class 3 tuition and licence: 4
- (b) Opportunity to learn vehicle maintenance: 5
- (c) To learn new skills which would help me in my present civilian job: 1
- (d) To learn new skills which would help me to get promotion at work: 1
- (e) To learn new skills which would help me to get a better civilian job: 2
- (f) To learn to shoot and handle personnel weapons: 5
- (g) Opportunity to go abroad at Government expense: 7
- (h) Interested in motor cycling: 4
- (i) Fond of sports and outdoor activities: 5
- (j) Looking for an interesting worthwhile hobby with plenty of variety: 8
- (k) Looking for a hobby which would be a complete change from my civilian job: 6
- (l) Looking for something interesting to do at weekends: 5
- (m) Interested in soldiering but not enough to join Regular Army: 4
- (n) Interested in soldiering but unable to join Regulars for family/business reasons: 4
- (o) Considered joining Regulars but thought I'd try the Volunteers first: 2
- (p) Wanted to do "something useful for Britain": 4
- (q) Wanted to make new friends: 6
- (r) Wanted to meet men from all walks of life: 2
- (s) Attracted by pay, bounty and allowances offered: 6
- (t) Attracted by social facilities offered, e.g. dances: 1
- (u) A friend suggested I joined: 3
A relative suggested I joined: 1
A workmate suggested I joined: 3
- (v) A member of my family served in the Leeds ASC in WWI: -
A member of my family served in the Leeds RASC in WWII: -
A member of my family served in Leeds ASC/RASC Territorials in peacetime: -
- (w) My father/grandfather/uncle/brother had been in the Territorials: 3
- (x) My father/grandfather/uncle/brother had been in the Regular Army: 4
- (y) Are any of your relatives serving with 217 Squadron now? 1
- (z) Are any of your relatives serving in the Regular armed forces now? 1

Any other reasons? 1 - "To improve my life".

Question 2. What aspects of being a member of 217 Squadron appeal to you most?

Learning to drive big vehicles	4
The money	3
Variety of activities	3
Comradeship	2
Chance to travel	1
Furthering education	1
It's a worthwhile job	1
Men are of a better class than any other local unit	1

Question 3. Why did you join 217 Squadron in preference to any other unit?

To get free driving tuition	1
Knew someone in it already	2
Because of its good reputation	1
Don't know	5

Question 4. What is your employer's attitude to your being in the Volunteers?

Enthusiastic/encouraging	1
Indifferent	5
Unenthusiastic	1
Discouraging	1
Don't know	1

Question 5. (Married Men Only) What does your wife think of your being in the Volunteers?

Doesn't mind	4
Indifferent	1
Thinks I am playing at soldiers	1

TABLE E. MOTIVATION FOR OTHER RANKS, 1908-1918

Source: Interview data

	Leeds Rifles		Other T.F.Units		Prewar Regular Soldiers (15)
	Prewar (97)	Wartime (101)	Prewar (14)	Wartime (13)	
Looking for a hobby	14		4		
To obtain a free holiday	25		4		
To obtain a free holiday & bounty (Spring/summer 1914 only)	8		2		
To obtain new clothes and cheap boots	2				
To improve health	3				
Looking for fun/excitement/adventure	5	16		3	
A chance to better oneself			4		
To escape the workhouse	1				
Mother threatening to put him out after trouble with the police	1				
To learn to defend the country	2				
Influenced by Lord Roberts	2		1		
To take advantage of sports facilities offered	5				
To play in Regimental football/rugby team	3				
To join the military/Bugle band	5		1		
It was fashionable to join	4		1		
Anxious to acquire friends or "a family"	1	2			
Attracted by the uniform	1		1		2
Impressed by recruiter's account of regimental life	4				
Cadet Yeomanry too expensive	1				
"Mad on soldiering"	10		1		
Interested in soldiering since childhood			3		8
Ambition to join this particular regiment since childhood	3	4			3
Family tradition	27	23	1	3	4
Friends wanted to join up	13	10		2	
To be with a particular friend or relative already in	5	14	2	1	
To see the world					2
Thought Leeds Rifles were going to Egypt/India		5			
To be in a local regiment		15		4	
Joined on impulse		1			
"Just fancied joining"	6	2			1
Patriotic duty		35		1	
Afraid of being accused of shirking duty		5			
To be in a "posh" regiment			1		3
To be in a rifle regiment		2			
Unemployed		3			1
On short time		2			1
Lost job because horse was requisitioned by the Army		2			
Employer encouraging men to enlist		6			
Father wanted him to enlist		2	1		
To protect hearth and home		1			
To escape from home		5		1	4
To escape from job		6		1	2
All or most of friends had already joined up		8			
To be better off financially		3			
Enlisted after service as civilian aide		1			
To obtain security, regular meals, a chance to better himself					1

	Leeds Rifles		Other T.F.Units		Prewar Regular Soldiers (15)
	Prewar (97)	Wartime (101)	Prewar (14)	Wartime (13)	
Disappointed in love					1
Frightened of the dangers at sea				1	
Hoped to further civilian career			1		
Unable to join Regular Army for personal reasons	4		2		
Conscripted		5			
Previous membership of Leeds Rifles Cadets		2			
" " " School OTC			1		
" " " Boy Scouts	6	6	1	1	
" " " Boys'/Church Lads' Brigades	5	3	3		
Unsatisfactory home life (for definition see text).	24	22	8	2/10	6
Joined with friends/relatives	58	53	-	-	-
Recruited by friend or relative	26	4	-	-	-
Recruited by workmate	8	1	-	-	-
Worked at "Volunteer Shop"	15	2	-	-	-
Worked at "Leeds Rifles closed shop"	1		-	-	-
Friends/relatives/workmates already in when enlisted	-	24	-	-	-

The newspaper articles and Table D, although they represent the view of a very small number of people, nevertheless appear to be typical and they do suggest that the factors stressed in the 1977 advertising campaign can be accorded fairly equal weight, with the exception of the provision of social and sports facilities which can benefit only a minority of personnel and so possess a comparatively low cost-effectiveness as a means of attracting recruits. A major motivating factor which emerged from both the questionnaires and the newspaper articles but which the recruiting advertising failed to mention was the influence of social inheritance: the role of family tradition and that of a recruit's friends, neighbours and workmates in inducing a recruit to join.¹⁰ Note should be taken that none of the factors are mutually exclusive, as Table D clearly shows.

A comparison between Tables D and E reveals that they have 17 factors of the 26 listed in Table D ((f), (i)-(q), (s), (u)-(z)) in common. These can be therefore regarded as "timeless factors" and it seems reasonable to assume that, with the notable exception of factor (s), which related to pay, bounty and allowances, they can be extrapolated to the pre-1900 Volunteer era for which respondents could not, of course, be obtained. There were additional factors in the Volunteer period, some closely akin to factors in Table D, such as (c), (d), (e) and (t), some peculiar to the period.

Beckett was in no doubt that "the predominant motive force behind the Volunteer movement was patriotism and the sense of duty."¹¹ Certainly contemporary supporters of the Force in its early years, as well as its members, were agreed on this and, as might be expected, clothed it in the high-flown sentiments and aspirations so characteristic of the period. The passage quoted by Cunningham¹² is typical of the sentimentality and romanticism of Mid-Victorianism. To the Victorian Volunteer patriotism had a religious significance: it meant duty to God, Queen, Country and the community, and the protection of the sanctity of the English home and family life. Volunteering was held to have a holy purpose. A leading Volunteer, Sir John Elcho, for example, when speaking on the social good accomplished by the Volunteer movement, declared that it "brought men together and bound them together in a patriotic and holy brotherhood of arms,"¹³ a quite good example in itself of the Mid-Victorian "tendency of all classes to invoke shared ideals on every conceivable occasion."¹⁴

Cunningham, however, dismisses such sentiments as "the middle-class ideology of the movement" and considerably plays down the role of patriotism as a motive force.¹⁵ Contemporary critics, as Beckett points out, "attributed to the Volunteer motives of social climbing, the attraction and prestige of a uniform and the evil influence of military ardour."¹⁶ The writer of a letter to the Editor of The Leeds and West Riding Express in January 1860 alleged that "an idle love of military dress and pomp" was the "sole incentive" to join the ranks of the Leeds Rifle Volunteers.¹⁷ Such criticisms have unfortunately remained perennial. Later critics frequently claimed that Volunteers were motivated by pride and the pursuit of pleasure, not patriotism, a view wholly accepted by Price, who maintains that working men, even in wartime, did not join the Volunteers for patriotic reasons.¹⁸ (Anne Summers has attacked socialist "explanations" of the working-class response to Kitchener's appeal for recruits.¹⁹) If Volunteers were solely motivated by the pursuit of pleasure and recreation, one wonders why half of the Force serving at the time Haldane's Bill was introduced refused to join the new Territorial Force; why, in 1899-1900 and in 1914, the Volunteers responded in the way that had always been predicted; why such a large percentage of the TF, enlisted for home defence only, volunteered for overseas service in 1914 in answer to Kitchener's appeal; why, in response to Mr. Hore Belisha's appeals and the Munich crisis, over 77,000 recruits joined the TA in 1938, over 3 times as many as in 1935²⁰ and the largest peacetime total since 1909; and, at a purely local level, why the manpower statistics of the Leeds Rifles show a positive response to crisis in 1867, 1881 and 1900 (see Chap.1, Section 1.4) and why the strength of the Leeds RASC increased between April and July 1939 from 235 to 1326?²¹ (According to respondents, all other Leeds TA units showed comparable increases, but no statistics are available.)

The evidence of Tables D and E suggests that neither viewpoint is wholly correct. There was no denying that the Leeds Rifles, and virtually all Volunteer corps, were made up of disparate social groups which, though they might well differ on important points of principle, both political and religious, were apparently united by a common ideal. Yet, such is the complexity of motivation, what exactly this common ideal was, or what constituted its component parts, may never be known. As is shown in Chapters 3 and 4, the beauty of volunteering was that it was able to appear as all things to all men, and in consequence it had an extremely wide appeal, able to offer something to almost everybody. Further, different motivations carried

different weight at different times. The Volunteer Movement could be, and was, described as a patriotic movement in that it afforded its members the opportunity to do, voluntarily, something useful or necessary for their country. The reason why a man should wish to take up this opportunity was not necessarily patriotism, however, though it may well have suited him to describe it as such.

Available evidence about the motivation of early Leeds and West Riding Volunteers strongly points to patriotic duty as the prime motive. James Kitson, William Lawies Jackson and Arthur Greenwood of the Leeds Rifles all believed it was the duty of every young Englishman to become a Volunteer.²² The Kitson brothers, and their younger brother and two half-brothers who followed them into the Regiment, had all been reared in a strong tradition of public service and duty. The only one of James Kitson I's six sons not to serve in the Volunteers was John Hawthorn who spent inordinate lengths of time in Switzerland studying Alpine flowers and mountaineering and was frequently censured for neglecting his work in the firm and his duty to the family.²³ Eleven members of the family served in the Volunteers/
Territorials;²⁴ this total does not include men who were relatives of the Kitsons by marriage like 139 Grosvenor Talbot and 246 Joseph Cliff. While a teenager, W.L. Jackson, a devout Anglican, had come under the influence of the Vicar of Leeds, the Rev. Dr. Hook, an ardent nationalist. After he became an MP his public speeches are said to have "relied for their effect... on reiterating his listeners' obligations to church and country".²⁵

Mottoes adopted by various West Riding corps and preserved in their badges were: "Pro Aris et Focis" (For our altars and hearths), a favourite motto of the Hanoverian Volunteer period, by the York Rifle Volunteers; "Loyal yet free" by the Claro Rifles of Harrogate and Knaresborough, "Dieu est mon ecu" by the Hallamshires of Sheffield, "Pro Libertate Patriae" at Rotherham, "Arma pacis fulcra" at Huddersfield, and "Defence not defiance" at Tadcaster. The Saddleworth Volunteers wore on their waist-belt clasps the motto "God and Fatherland" symbolically surrounded by acorns, shamrocks, roses and thistles; the recruits of 1860 made a declaration that they were "ready, if need be, to fight and die for God and fatherland". The Leeds and Bradford corps adopted their respective civic mottoes, Bradford "Labor omnia vincit" and Leeds "Pro Rege et lege".²⁶

"Pro Rege et lege" was undoubtedly a patriotic motto, and the leading Leeds newspapers entertained no doubts as to the patriotism of the local

Volunteers. The Tory Leeds Intelligencer, referring in February 1862 to recent malicious claims "so eagerly propagated in certain quarters" that the enthusiasm of both the supporters and the members of the V.F. was dying rapidly²⁷ and that "the spirit of alienation had sprung up in every corps," declared that "The three branches of the Volunteer service established in Leeds are at the present time as strong and efficient as ever. Their loyalty is admirably sound to the core, and their determination is strong and unflinching, as their ambition is high, to be valiant and reliable soldiers should danger threaten 'England, home, and beauty'".²⁸ The number of men enrolled in the three Leeds corps on 1st April 1862, presented to the Royal Commission,²⁹ was certainly above the regional average (see Chap.5, section 5.1). The Liberal Leeds Mercury, recalling in January 1862 the birth of the Leeds Rifles, said "The men who came forward at that time, came forward in a truly self-sacrificing spirit - perhaps more of a self-sacrificing spirit than, now that the immediate danger has passed, it may be easy for us to realise."³⁰

The motivation and philosophy of the corps not unnaturally dominate the eight prize-winning prologues which were recited during a series of amateur dramatic entertainments that were given by members of the Leeds Rifles from 3rd-8th February 1862 in order to raise funds for the projected drill ground and armoury. The verse competition was restricted to members of the corps and the eight winners were Privates G.A.B. Sharpe (commission agent), John W.Hill (barrister), A.W. Blackburn (solicitor), R.H. Slocomb (clerk), J.T. Beer (mastertailor/clothier), E.W. Gomersal (professor of elocution) and Ensign Irwin (woollen salesman). The authors were clearly affected by two recent events, the death of Prince Albert and the threat and averting of war with the United States of America. One of the sentiments expressed in Blackburn's ode:

"And now, when England needs our utmost aid,
Her goodness shall with int'rest be repaid;"

is a theme frequently met with in the war poetry of 1914-16.³¹ (e.g. E.F. Wilkinson's poem 'Feet Upon the Highway'). The commonest theme of the 8 prologues, however, is "Defence, not Defiance", e.g.

"Ready we were and with a heartfelt will,
'Ready, aye Ready', is our motto still."

The last two verses of the prologue winning First Prize run:

"Deem not the largess you so freely spend
Is lavished on some mean ignoble end;
To pamper vanity, and fond display,
The childish pastime of an idle day.
What nobler task could Patriots demand,
Than shielding from the foe our native land?"

Unyielding even at the latest breath,
 And guarding from dishonour worse than death.
 Whilst every breeze brings rumours from afar
 Borne from the track of desolating War,
 Our commerce threatened and our Power defied,
 Whilst blustering Menace tries rough-shod to ride;
 Now let our vows no idle mockery prove,
 But a true Aegis over those we love.
 Now let each comrade in the ranks be seen
 A safeguard round our much-loved widowed Queen."

The last 14 lines of the Second Prize prologue are:

"No despot claims our aid to crush the ray
 Of new-found Freedom struggling into day;
 Nor are we called to sacrifice our life
 To the malignity of civil strife.
 On higher hopes than these our trust is plac'd,
 For nobler aims than these each nerve is brac'd:
 To shield most sacredly from ev'ry harm,
 Our home and dear ones with a strong right arm;
 With firm resolve to guard our native coasts,
 A living bulwark 'gainst invading hosts;
 No boastful gonfalon shall flout the sky,
 The simple standard which we wave on high,
 Shall bear the thrilling words through every scene,-
 'Our hearths and homes, our altar and our Queen.'" ³²

The sentiments of "the Battle Song" of the Liverpool Borough Guard composed in 1860, are broadly similar. ³³

The high average age of Nos. 1 and 2 Coys, 1859-60 - nearly 30 - with 38% of the membership aged over 30 (see Table B, Chap.1) and presumably past the peak of their physical powers, has already been noted. The high average age of the first Volunteers, together with the rapid decline in average age noted during the 1860s, tends to suggest that patriotic duty was a major motivation. The fact that professional and businessmen largely dropped out of the ranks of the Force as a whole around 1862-3, when all threats of war and invasion had receded, supports this, as does the conduct of Punch. It is noticeable, after the end of 1860, how few cartoons and references to the Volunteers appear in this magazine which had earlier given generous, if not saturation coverage to the movement. Significantly, in the Almanack for 1861 there appears a cartoon captioned "Volunteer Movement": "That Distinguished Rifle-Shot, Mr Punch, having Done his Duty like a Man, throws himself under the Mistletoe and receives his Just Reward." Mr Punch [the magazine's staff] had been an effective member of upwards of half-a-dozen Volunteer corps; ³⁴ the preface to Volume XXXVIII depicts Mr Punch in Volunteer uniform.

The marital status of the first Volunteers and the timing of and attendance at drill also suggest that patriotism was a major motivation. Married men with children were putting themselves at risk by joining the Volunteers. The marital status of 100 men of Nos. 1 and 2 Coys could be discovered: 34 were married and 6 had 4 or more children. 20 of the 28 original members of No.6 (Monkbridge) Company whose marital status could be discovered were married; all except 4 had children and 5 had 4 or more children. 25 of the 41 original members of No.9 (Tetley's) Company whose marital status could be discovered were married; all except 4 had children and 4 had 4 or more children (see Appendix II). Drills were held on weekdays from 7-8 am and from 7-8pm or 7.30-9pm, and shooting practice three days a week from 6pm and on Saturdays from 4pm (from 1pm from 1863 onwards). Special "voluntary" drills from 6 to 7 o'clock in the morning were held for those whose working hours conflicted with these drill periods. James Kitson was one who attended at this time, partaking of breakfast immediately afterwards at a comrade's house nearby,³⁵ and was thus enabled to be at work soon after 7.30 am. Members of No.9 Company attended drill from 6.15 to 7.30 pm, straight after a 12-hour shift; in November 1860 alone, for example, each man put in an average attendance of 16 drills out of a possible maximum of 25.³⁶

Patriotism, in one form or another, is a motivational factor common to all Volunteers and Territorials throughout the period 1859 to the present. Since the Volunteer and Territorial was required to swear an oath of allegiance, he could not fail to be aware of the extremely serious purpose underlying Volunteering. He undoubtedly liked to think of himself as a patriotic person. The Volunteers' self-image was expressed by Lt. Col. E. Kitson Clark who regarded his peacetime battalion as a fine body of public-spirited men who gave up their leisure time to train for the day when their country might need them, ready to give of their best for God, King and Country.³⁷ For, no matter to what social class the Volunteer belonged, he was obliged to make some social and financial sacrifice. One of the 1862 prologues referred to this:

"They left their wives, their children, parent, friend,
Our Sovereign to secure from lawless might."³⁸

He sacrificed his leisure time, his social and family life. He often went straight from a hard day's work to the drill ground. He sacrificed his Saturday half-holiday, he sacrificed his holidays at Easter and Whitsun to attend Reviews, and his annual holiday or a week's wages to attend camp. He often sacrificed a day's pay to go to the range.

Having said all this, however, and in spite of contemporary claims to the contrary, it is evident that, far from being the predominant motivational force, patriotism and the sense of duty came fairly low down, during virtually the whole of the period 1859-1914, in the list of factors that impelled men to become Volunteers. Patriotic duty assumed major importance only at those times when an enemy actually appeared, that is, it was associated only with a genuine perception of threat to the homeland or home area. But even in these circumstances it did not achieve the overwhelming dominance that might be expected. As is demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, fashion, not mounting public anxiety about defence, filled up the Leeds Territorial units in 1909, while unemployment, not patriotic fervour, caused the Rush to the Colours in 1914. Only a third of the Leeds Rifles respondents who enlisted after the outbreak of war in 1914 actually gave "patriotic duty" as their motivation. The remainder cited the two major groups of motivational factors that governed recruiting both in peace and in war: social inheritance and interested or calculative motives.

This is not to say that the average Volunteer was unpatriotic. Far from it. The important point to realise is that patriotism did not exclude any other motive, however selfish and calculative it might be considered. Table D clearly demonstrates that calculative or interested motives were able to co-exist with the higher sentiments, and it seems no more reasonable to depreciate the reality of the former than to deny the presence also of the latter. A man who enlisted in 1914 because he was unemployed was no less patriotic than the man who threw up a secure, progressive career or university studies. All were required to sacrifice family life and personal liberty and to risk life and limb. A man would weigh up the various considerations involved and which ever was the strongest at the time determined whether he enlisted or not. An unemployed man with savings might decide to wait to see if the employment situation improved, while one with no savings and a wife and children to support might decide that his dependents would be financially better off if he joined the army. John Flatley joined the 7th, but his brother (a respondent) felt he had to stay at home to look after their dependent widowed mother.

The defence of hearth and home never lay far below the surface of the Volunteer's or Territorial's motivation, indeed, "The Scout" in February 1907 thought there were "many whose sole idea in joining was the better to enable themselves to defend their hearths and homes."³⁹ The fact that only 2 respondents stated they had enlisted in the pre-war Leeds Rifles

"to learn to defend the country", that only 3 respondents stated they had been influenced to join by Lord Roberts, and that no respondent gave "patriotic duty" as his motivation, suggests that the defence of hearth and home as a motivational force tended to lie dormant in peacetime, although it has to be pointed out that the majority of the pre-war respondents, when they enlisted, were in their teens, an age group which typically lives only for the moment. The defence of hearth and home immediately became a major overt, or declared, motive on the outbreak of war and the dominant motive of the recruit after his induction period. F.A.M. Webster declared that the T.F. was fighting "for that which is dearer far than life - the honour of our land, the land which the invader's foot has not sullied for nearly a thousand years, and the honour of our womenfolk."⁴⁰ The men of the Leeds Rifles regarded themselves as the defenders of Leeds, Britain, Belgium and France. Marxist 1393 Fred Warburton, who had taken his discharge from the 7th on 1st June and now newly married, immediately re-joined, determined to stop the German capitalists taking over the country and depriving him of his house.⁴¹ Sgt. S. Hansgate wrote, "I would much rather be out here doing my little bit than the 'dogs' we have to face should get to good Old England, driving our little families from our homes."⁴² Many writers and soldier-poets cited noble, often altruistic and abstract, motives for enlistment, but the average soldier joined for a much more basic reason: the war was a matter of national survival in which he was intimately concerned. An unknown Yorkshire soldier spoke for him:

"But here we are! - 'What for?' You say?-
To teach the Boche the time of day,
And keep him far enough away
From setting foot in Sheffield."⁴³

The national enrolment pattern of the Volunteer corps of 1859-60 - the slow start, the major spurt at the end of 1859, and the rapid growth of 1860⁴⁴ - does not appear, despite the heavily serious religio-patriotic ideology of the movement, to support the notion of patriotic duty as the predominant motive for enrolment in the Force. Rather does it seem to reflect an increasing awareness among the adult male population of the undoubted delights of playing at soldiers without having to endure any of the hardships and other drawbacks of a soldier's life. Some recruits would be chiefly motivated by patriotic duty, but there can be no denying that calculative or interested motives, in great variety, were prominent from the beginning. Virtually throughout the whole of the mid-Victorian period there was a surplus of applicants for almost every type of employment. The "gentlemanly" professions were overcrowded.⁴⁵ Punch gibed "It is no wonder that young Lawyers and

Doctors should be eager to enrol themselves in Rifle Clubs. Those societies promise to afford them all the practice which many of them are ever likely to get."⁴⁶ Lawyers and doctors, together with students in these professions, were heavily over-represented in the Leeds Rifles and also, according to Beckett's study, in the V.F. as a whole. Becoming a Volunteer was an excellent way for a young professional man to introduce himself to the families of the local elites, many of whose members flocked to join the Volunteers. Many of the smaller businessmen, particularly furniture makers, artists and photographers, and teachers of singing and elocution, may have been following the maxim of Thomas Butler who wanted to enrol in the Leeds Volunteer Cavalry in 1797 because "Persons in Business should never omit once any opportunity of being acquainted with people of Respectability[sic]."⁴⁷ One tradesman who certainly seems to have had an interested motive in enrolling in the Leeds Rifles was Army Tailor 782 Thomas M'Intyre who supplied the uniforms for No.9 Company and who became Master Tailor to the Corps.⁴⁸ The employed man may have joined to secure the approval of his employer in the hope, however faint, of obtaining promotion. A workman who joined an "industrial" company officered by a member of his firm discovered several advantages: for instance, he became known personally to his employer and this might well have afforded him some measure of protection against layoffs in periods of slack trade. Unemployment was an omnipresent threat, and even the skilled craftsman able to command a high wage was vulnerable to the down-swings of the trade cycle.⁴⁹ A Volunteer corps (and a Territorial unit) provided employed men with personal contact with employers, foremen and jobmasters.

The number of schoolmasters in the Leeds Rifles in the 1870s and 1880s, with a large number enrolling in 1871-2, has been remarked upon. These men had a particular pecuniary interest in joining the Volunteers. School-teachers were paid by results. The Government grant to the managers of elementary schools under Lowe's Revised Code of 1862 was assessed on attendance and on the attainments of the pupils in reading, writing and arithmetic in the annual examination conducted by the inspectors. One-third of each child's grant was dependent on a minimum of 200 attendances (increased to 250 after 1876), two-thirds on examination passes, each failure entailing a pro-rata deduction from the grant. It was very often the case that the master's own salary was directly linked to the amount of grant received. "In these circumstances, attendance was of vital importance to the master, and plaintive letters frequently went out to employers and parents beseeching or demanding attendance."⁵⁰ Joining the Leeds Volunteers was a way of making

contact with some employers of half-timers, particularly in the textile trades.

The proportion of men who actually succeeded in obtaining a financial advantage through membership of a Volunteer corps was probably very small. On the contrary, only men with disposable incomes could afford to become Volunteers. This accounts for the heavy dominance of the Leeds Rifles by skilled workers and by men in their twenties, the age when a working man was perhaps at his most prosperous, when he was at the height of his earning powers and when, if he was married, his family was likely to be still fairly small. High wage-earners⁵¹ were particularly well-represented.

Poverty can be regarded as a major extrinsic influence on the social composition of the Leeds Rifles. In the second half of the 19th century Leeds became a high wage area⁵² but despite the high wages paid to skilled workers, it is apparent from the available statistics on the physique of boys and young men (see Chap.5) that a very large part of the middle and lower sections of the Leeds working class was living below the poverty line. The chronic malnutrition (due to both inadequate feeding and poor nutritional standards) of the poverty-stricken tended to produce children of "puny size and damaged health".⁵³ On the basis of a comparison between the physical standards of York children in 1900 and those of Leeds children in 1909 and 1910, which were appreciably lower,⁵⁴ it is estimated that, by Rowntree's yardstick, not less than 30% of the total population of Leeds in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was living in primary or secondary poverty. A large proportion of working men earned a wage below subsistence level, either because they worked irregularly or because the pay was low for a full week's work. Almost all manual occupations were subject to some short-time working during the year. Some trades such as woollen weaving, tailoring (both bespoke and ready-made), brick-making, and all the building trades showed a high incidence of seasonality which affected a very large proportion of the workers employed.⁵⁵ Philip Snowden MP estimated just before World War I that "something like one-half" of adult workmen earned less than 25s a week and that "a very considerable proportion" of this number earned less than £1.⁵⁶ Poverty and the 5'6" height standard thus excluded many young men of the middle and lower sections of the working class from the Leeds Rifles. It will be seen from Table 4, Appendix II, that during the period 1860-1875 comparatively few recruits were employed in trades with a high incidence of seasonality or in low-paid occupations. A surprising number of important sectors of the local economy, as well as a large number of occupations, are not represented at all.

Once financial inducements were introduced, poverty ceased to be a barrier to entry and instead became a motivational factor as recruiting was opened to young men living in poverty or near-poverty who could meet the entry standards. The greatest financial inducement to joining the Leeds Rifles in the Territorial era was the free holiday with pay: over one-quarter of respondents gave this as their prime motivation, whilst a further 8 who joined during the first half of 1914 mentioned the additional inducement of the £1 training bounty. Respondent Sgt. Hector William McMasters gave it as his opinion that, between 1921 and 1937, a minimum of three-quarters of recruits joined in order to obtain the free holiday and training bounty (respondent Alfred Lowley, who enlisted in 1930, maintained that 100% of recruits enlisting between 1930 and 1937 joined for this reason). In support of this estimate, he stated that in 1932 when, owing to government economy cuts, the bounty was reduced to 30 shillings and all camp pay and allowances stopped, the manpower of both the 7th and 8th Battalions was reduced virtually to disbanding strength: "With such a small bounty and no pay at camp, nobody would join and nobody would re-engage. If the 8th had lost 2 more men they would have been automatically disbanded. They said 'Rammy' was offering £1 out of his own pocket to anyone who would enlist or re-engage."⁵⁷ In further support, it may be mentioned that in 1925, when the state of trade in Leeds was particularly bad, the 7th Bn was said to be the only infantry battalion in the entire TA at full strength.⁵⁸ During the inter-war period the bounty fluctuated between £3 and £5: several respondents described it as a "Godsend" to their families.⁵⁹ It was paid out as one lump sum annually. " 'The Windsor Castle' [a public house near the entrance to Carlton Barracks] used to get stocked up special for Bounty Night - they'd have barrels stacked right up Lofthouse Place. Many of the wives would be waiting outside the barrack gate to see they got their share before their husbands spent it all on beer. There were plenty of pitiful scenes, I can tell you."⁶⁰ The free holiday, pay, allowances and bounty explain why as many as 27.8% of recruits to the 7th Bn 1930-37 were married.⁶¹ Poverty appeared to be the prime influence determining the social composition of the 7th Bn in this period. The "corps of gentlemen", it seems, had become the regiment of the labouring poor.

The majority of sergeants and warrant officers were no longer managers, labour aristocrats and prosperous self-employed tradesmen who could afford to buy challenge cups and sterling silver articles for the Sergeants' Mess when they retired, but labourers. Labourers were now the largest single occupational group, accounting for 24.73% of the total enlistments.

Unskilled workers, who accounted for 17.92% of the total UK male workforce in 1935-6,⁶² were heavily over-represented, comprising at least 28.57% of enlistments. The second largest occupational group was that of the miners, 12.4% of total enlistments and very heavily over-represented (see below). Respondents insisted that the 2.5% for whom no data was given in the Roll should be recorded as "unemployed". Harold Grant stated that he was unemployed throughout his four years' service in the 8th Bn and that "there were plenty of others like me in the same boat".⁶³ Over 95% of recruits came from the working classes. A study of the occupations in Category IV(b) for this period (see Table 10, Appendix II) shows that many of them were low-paid, or in industries subject to short-time working, long shutdowns, even bankruptcies, or were seasonal in character, e.g. ice cream salesman, turf layer. It includes 13 men who were own account itinerant workers of some kind, street hawkers, newspaper sellers and the like, people who habitually lived a hand-to-mouth existence. The 4 men listed as greengrocer's assistants may have been barrow boys or casual market workers. The 4 members of Category III(b) belonged to the lower echelons of this occupational class; all lived in poor districts. Only 1.16% of enlistments were clerks. Professional men had disappeared entirely from the ranks. 36% of the Leeds residents lived in slum areas, where rents were lowest, and only ½% in middle class housing areas; the 19% of Leeds residents who lived in council housing may well have previously lived in slum areas (see Table 9, Appendix II).

There was undoubtedly an appreciable number of recruits to the Regiment during the period 1908-14 from indigent families. Rowntree had found that the death of the chief wage earner was a major cause of primary poverty:⁶⁴ 16 of the prewar respondents had no father when they enlisted. Inadequate clothing was a clear hallmark of poverty: 2 respondents stated that they had joined to obtain new clothes and cheap boots. So prevalent had the practice of wearing the black full dress uniform trousers in mufti become by the summer of 1913 that the West Riding County Association was obliged to order that the Leeds Rifles trousers be fitted with a green stripe.⁶⁵ According to respondents, the Regiment contained a large number of mill workers and railwaymen, two sections that fell into the low-paid categories of employment. A further pointer is provided by the fact that 23% of prewar respondents lived in the poorer areas (see Table 9, Appendix II).

Undoubtedly a very large number of Volunteers regarded part-time soldiering as an "amusing social and healthful recreation"⁶⁶ obtained at a moderate cost, and recruits were clearly attracted by the special events-reviews,

field days, camps and marching columns (see Chap.1, section 1.4)-and they also may well have been attracted by the possibility of winning prizes. (Between one-quarter and one-third of the strength annually won a prize of some kind, many of which were restricted to recruits. In 1893, for instance, when the strength stood at 1000, 360 prizes were awarded.⁶⁷ Winners' names also appeared in local newspapers.). The provision of extensive social and sports facilities - in the Leeds Rifles, from the 1870s - only served to accentuate the recreational aspects of Volunteering. The Leeds Rifles facilities, catering for every athletic sport except swimming, attracted and held recruits, particularly as some were otherwise available only in organised sports clubs having sizeable subscriptions. A fencing and gymnastic club, with qualified instructors, was started in 1870. This blossomed into a School of Arms, teaching fencing, gymnastics, boxing and wrestling, in 1889. A small charge was originally made, but all fees were abolished in 1891. Regimental cricket and rugby football teams were being regularly fielded by 1880. In the Territorial period recruits were offered a fully equipped gymnasium for boxing and gymnastics, with qualified instructors and facilities, including coaching, for athletics, association and rugby football, hockey and cricket. All clothing, footwear and equipment were provided free.⁶⁸ Youths from poorer families were particularly attracted: 1159 Thomas Darbyshire and 1528 Clarence Holmes, 8th, and 1674 Norman Waddington, 7th, were three recruits who cherished ambitions of becoming professional footballers via membership of the Regimental teams.⁶⁹

A very large number thus joined the Volunteers and Territorials as a hobby. Volunteering was a particularly popular hobby among college and university students during the Victorian period. For example, in November 1859 it was announced that nearly every man at Trinity had joined the Cambridge Rifle Corps, the college furnishing two companies.⁷⁰ The company of St. John's College, York, had a long association with the York Rifle Volunteers. A number of students from the Leeds Medical School joined the Leeds Rifles in the period 1867-75 (see Table 4, Appendix II). The Leeds RAMC Volunteers (Medical Staff Corps) actually originated as a student society, an Ambulance Association, at the Medical School, by now incorporated into the Yorkshire College, in the summer of 1886. In November the same year the Association, as had been intended from the outset, became a Volunteer company. A member of the committee was a brilliant final-year student named Berkeley G.A. Moynihan who was the son of a Crimean War VC; he had been originally intended for a military career, but stayed at Sandhurst for only one day. The commanding officer was Professor de Burgh Birch, at whose private residence the corps'

Orderly Room was located, his three officers were members of the Medical School lecturing staff, while the other ranks comprised medical and other students of the Yorkshire College who drilled from 3 to 4pm between classes.⁷¹ Professor de Burgh Birch, who became Dean, remained in command until his retirement and the Medical School retained control of the company until 1908. Recruits from the general public were admitted if insufficient undergraduates were forthcoming to fill any vacancies.

Volunteering offered recruits a personal challenge, a means of escape from the frustration and boring sameness of civilian life or an occupation below the recruit's capacity, and also excitement and adventure.⁷² William Hall of the 4th KSLI described Volunteering as "a fine break from the usual routine of quiet village life".⁷³ It was a form of escapism which, to use Col. Dunlop's phrase, brought "a glimpse of the romantic past into an over-industrialised world"⁷⁴ and fed the rich fantasy life and romantic yearnings of many a late adolescent/young adult male. An aura of romance has always hung about Volunteering. Many of the young Volunteers of the early days saw themselves as knight-errants defending damsels in distress.⁷⁵ The Rifleman scrambling up Otley Chevin on field manoeuvres in the 1920s could imagine himself storming La Montagne de Bligny and winning the Military Medal; the Rifleman of the 1950s riding in his tank could imagine himself advancing at El Alamein; the RASC Territorial driving his heavy lorry could imagine himself driving to the relief of Tobruk.

Volunteering, with its camping, open-air exercise, colour and glamour, provided a more concrete form of escapism for a particular section of recruits, the coal miners. During the first four decades of this century there were few more enthusiastic Volunteers than the Yorkshire miner: companies located in mining communities such as Wath-on-Dearne, Castleford, Featherstone, Barnsley, and Birdwell/Hoyland were consistently strong and frequently over-subscribed. Miners were possibly over-represented in the Leeds Rifles between 1908 and 1914; they were certainly very heavily over-represented in the 7th Bn in the period 1930-37 when they comprised 12.4% of total enlistments (in 1914 men employed in mining and quarrying comprised only 3% of the city's total male workforce, their number being only about one-sixth of that employed in general engineering and iron and steel manufacture.)⁷⁶ Extensive and chronic short-time working in the coal industry, with a consequent enhancement of the financial attractions of the TA, may account for the large numbers of miners enlisting in the latter period. The testimony of a respondent, Sgt. Harry Sanderson, suggested an additional reason. His father, a miner, had been placed in the Army Reserve on discharge from the Army in 1918 and had,

to his great distress, been called up at the time of the 1921 Miners' Strike, When his period of first-class reserve service had expired he had immediately joined the Leeds Rifles, which had no liability to support the civil power.

It was frequently claimed by Victorian social reformers that lack of domestic comfort drove the workman into the ale house or ginshop.⁷⁷ Like the public house, the Volunteer corps offered an avenue of escape, albeit temporary, from intolerable social conditions at home, including family tensions resulting from overcrowding. Respondent Mrs Albert Hill, sister of L/Cpl Walter Law and wife of 2654 A. Hill, 7th, considered that many young men in Woodhouse joined the TF chiefly on account of the large incidence of overcrowding in that district.⁷⁸ A surprising number of respondents, about one-quarter, had an unsatisfactory home background in that they had no father, or no mother, or no parents at all, or their parents were separated, or one parent drank heavily, or they were illegitimate. In addition, some other respondents reported they had been on bad terms with one parent, usually the father. It thus appears that these respondents were subconsciously attempting to redress their particular social deprivation by enlisting in the Territorials. The economic system, aided and abetted by the vast inequality of opportunity existing in education, appeared to squander potential ability to an alarming degree, and teenagers were regarded merely as cheap labour in many instances.⁷⁹ Volunteering was an excellent means of realising one's potential and many members of the Leeds Rifles were demonstrably men of no little ability (see below). Judged on the respondents, most of whom could have benefited from being educated to at least GCE A-level, the Regiment appears to have attracted as a large proportion of its membership, young men who had been denied educational opportunities by social and economic circumstances. They, too, appear to have been consciously or subconsciously attempting to redress their particular social deprivation, here educational, by Volunteering.

Men in another category of social deprivation were also attracted to the Volunteers and Territorials: the in-migrants, whom contemporary opinion regarded as something of a social problem in towns.⁸⁰ Since the Volunteers and Territorials offered a ready-made set of friends, they offered a solution to the problems of adjustment and loneliness of the young single male in-migrant, usually living in lodgings, but occasionally with his family. Business and professional employers of in-migrants often considered it their moral duty to encourage their young clerks and assistants to join one or other of the improving social institutions such as the YMCA, or the Volunteers. G. Oswald Plackett, 8th, was apprenticed on leaving school to a large London firm of

wholesale drapers, all of whose younger, single employees lived in; the firm expected all eligible employees to join the Territorials.⁸¹ All the single employees of Leeds' largest department store, Monteith, Hamilton and Monteith ("The Grand Pygmalion") lived in and all those who were eligible were strongly encouraged to join the Territorials; the eligible members of the Monteith and Hamilton families themselves showed a superior example by taking Territorial commissions. The in-migrant was always well-represented among all ranks of the Leeds Rifles. For instance, 10 members (10% of those who could be traced in the 1861 Census returns) of the original Nos. 1 and 2 Companies were lodgers or boarders and 10 members (24% of tracings) of the original No.9 Company were lodgers or boarders. 56 of the first 420 Leeds recruits to the Workers' Pals battalions in 1914⁸² appear to have been lodgers. (This is a low figure. 216 of the 420 addresses were not listed in the 1914 and 1915 Leeds directories. 1868 Daniel Murphy, 7th, was an in-migrant living in lodgings when he enlisted in 1913; he had been abandoned as a child outside a public house by his widowed father. In-migrants and orphans, respondent 3227 Clarence Lazenby and 2119 Peter Smith⁸³ were living in lodgings in Leeds when they enlisted in the 1/7th after the outbreak of war. A man living in lodgings who became unemployed at the outbreak of war would be more likely to enlist in the Army than one who retained his job (see Chap. 6, section 6.1). 57 of the 676 men on the "Wartime Register" (see below) appear to have been lodgers.

Foreign in-migrants were also to be found in the Leeds Rifles. There had been a sizable German merchant colony in Leeds, but by 1859 many of the families had migrated to Bradford. Nevertheless, among the first recruits to the Leeds Rifles were three men of German extraction, Charles and John Wurtzburg and Charles Edward Fleischmann, and two German nationals, Hermann Israel and Henry Frederick Jörss. Israel and Jörss may have enrolled out of a desire to consolidate their status in the community, but it appears more likely that they were motivated by the sense of duty and social responsibility which was so notable a characteristic of the German merchants of Bradford.⁸⁴ Members of the Bradford German colony became prominent in the two Bradford Volunteer corps; six officers of German extraction of the 6th WYR appear in the October 1914 Army List as compared with one each in the 7th and 8th Bns, W.G.A. Schüddekopf and Arthur Hess, both of whose parents were German-born. Schüddekopf's father was Professor of German at Leeds University and a naturalised British subject. When the 7th Bn volunteered for overseas service, he informed Col. Kirk that he could not allow his son, a minor, to fight abroad against Germany, although he was perfectly willing for him to continue to serve for home defence. A letter to which he was a signatory

publicly avowing his unswerving loyalty to the country of his adoption was published in The Times and other newspapers on May 14th 1915.⁸⁵ 2/Lt Schüddekopf was quietly dismissed his commission. Major Hess and ex-Volunteer 43 Sgt Clarence Schutz, also of German extraction, whose brother and nephew were serving with him in the 7th, were killed in action.

840 Hermann Schmitz, German-born but a naturalised British subject, enrolled in 1861. Other Riflemen with foreign names on the 1859-75 Muster Roll include 2305 Joseph Razion, 2492 James Bouchier, 2710 Phillip Brandt, 2742 Charles Galli, 2801 Jacob Rubenstein, 2925 Henry Wohlska and 3275 Antonio Anigoni who all enrolled before foreign nationals were barred from entry to the Volunteer Force in 1881.⁸⁶ Despite the great contribution made by Leeds Jews to the industrial, cultural, philanthropic and social life of the borough, very few Jews passed through the ranks of the three Leeds Volunteer corps and fewer remained for any appreciable length of time. The only two exceptions discovered were both members of the Leeds Rifles and self-employed men, Sergeant Master Tailor Harry Altman, born in Poland of German Jewish parents, the only Leeds Jew to be awarded the Volunteer Long Service Medal (for 20 years' service), and L/Sgt Solly Hernberg, who resigned for business reasons after 14 years' service, the only Leeds Jewish Volunteer to go to the South African War.⁸⁷ The Jewish population of Leeds was estimated to be 15,000 in 1900 and between 20,000 and 25,000 in 1909,⁸⁸ and was the second largest in Anglo-Jewry outside London,⁸⁹ yet a mere handful enrolled in the Leeds Rifles in the Volunteer period and apparently none in the period 1908-14. According to information given in the British Jewry Book of Honour, only 140 Jews served in the Leeds Rifles during the war; there were no Jews in the Regiment at the outbreak of war, only 6 enlisted up to the end of 1914, and only 2 in 1915 up to the commencement of Lord Derby's scheme in October.⁹⁰ This amounts to just under 4% of the total number of Jews who joined the armed services during the war.⁹¹

There was a variety of reasons why the Regiment failed to attract Jewish recruits. The main influx of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe occurred in the 1880s and 1890s. The chief obstacles to recruitment prior to 1908 would be: the Jewish Sabbath (which falls on Saturday and starts on Friday evening); language difficulties; lack of British nationality; poverty and puny physique and consequent inability to meet the entry requirements. Respondent 4998 Charles Myer Myerson, 2/8th, suggested a further reason for the dearth of Jewish recruits up to October 1915: Jewish fathers who were self-employed simply would not allow their sons either to join the Territorials in peacetime or to volunteer for the army in wartime, since they would thereby

have been deprived of their labour. (Jewish recruitment to the services was a vexed question in Leeds throughout the war.)⁹² 2815 Harry R. Richmond and his cousin 2813 Joe Dressler, who were employed by their respective fathers, went and enlisted in the 1/7th without their parents' knowledge and permission.⁹³ Many Jews who were Russian nationals were said to have refused to join up on the grounds that Britain was allied to Czarist Russia. In 1917 some Leeds Jews elected to go back to Russia rather than serve with the British forces, while in January 1918, 112 Russian Jews were charged as absentees under the Anglo-Russian Convention relating to Military Service and convicted.⁹⁴

A major factor deterring Leeds Jews from enlisting in the Leeds Rifles specifically between 1908 and 1915 may well have been anti-semitism and religious sectarianism which was most virulent in the slum areas bordering on the Jewish "ghetto" which comprised The Leylands, and part of the adjoining Newtown and Little London. Mobs of roughs from the Catholic "ghetto" of The Bank and York Road frequently invaded the Leylands on Friday nights to bait Jews and stone their houses.⁹⁵

It seems significant that many of the Leeds Jews who enlisted in 1914 joined the Halifax-based regiment, the Duke of Wellington's West Riding Regiment^c and that only one Jew joined the 7th Bn between 1930 and 1937 when the regiment contained such a large proportion of Catholics (see below). A handful of Jews served in the 1/8th during the war, the remainder were fairly equally divided between the 1/7th, 2/7th and 2/8th. 39 served in the 2/8th, but only one, 5155 Abe Freedman, remained at the Armistice.

Another group of foreign immigrants to be represented in the Leeds Rifles were the Italians. "Little Italy" was located in the Catholic "ghetto", between Quarry Hill and The Bank. A first generation (and fairly recent) immigrant who joined in the autumn of 1914 was Louis Papa (anglicised to "Pope") still an Italian national (the enlistment of friendly aliens was permitted under the Army Act, Part II, section 95) and a second generation immigrant who joined with him was his friend, 3074 Ernesto D'Ambrosio, known to his comrades as Ernest Ambrose; both their fathers were well-known in working class areas as "hokey pokey men", i.e. itinerant ice-cream sellers.⁹⁷ Other Italian recruits included members of three unrelated families named Mazza; Rfm Anthony Mazza and L/Sgt Joseph Mazza, who were both killed whilst serving in the 2/8th, were brothers.

The number of names appearing on the 1859-1875 Nominal Roll that could be considered Irish is negligible and it appears highly likely that poverty

prevented more than a handful of men from Irish families from enrolling in the Volunteer period. Oral testimony and regimental orders indicate, however, that in the Territorial era men with Irish names and men from the "Irish" districts (The Bank, York Road Catholic "ghetto") began to enlist in appreciable numbers. In the period 1/1/1930 to 28/9/1937 11.1% of all recruits to the 7th Bn came from the traditional "Irish" districts, whilst 15.9% of recruits were Roman Catholics.⁹⁸ Although poverty and social deprivation were undoubtedly major motivational factors here, these figures appear to indicate an increasing desire of the Irish to integrate themselves into the local community as a whole which also manifested itself in other areas such as involvement in local politics and membership of the police force and fire brigade.

It appears worth considering to what extent the act of joining the Volunteers by members of particular social groups was an attempt to achieve status recognition. In Chapter 4, it will be argued that the working man achieved "respectability" by becoming a Volunteer and that joining the Volunteers was one of the ways in which members of the Mid-Victorian labour elite claimed the right to status recognition and citizenship. Foreign and Irish immigrants may have joined in an attempt to make themselves more acceptable to the local community, to gain respect and establish a niche for themselves in the social structure. In his book War and the Liberal Conscience (1978) Professor Michael Howard wonders how far the belligerence of the middle classes of Europe in the period 1870-1914

"was due to a quest for status rather than for profit: a desire to make themselves acceptable in societies where a warrior ethic was still dominant; to show that the scions of the counting house and the factory owed nothing to those of the landed gentry when it came to masculine aggressiveness, martial valour and dedication to the national cause." 99

This speculation can surely be applied to the business and professional classes of England, Scotland and Wales of 1859-62 who took up part-time soldiering with such enthusiasm and remained to provide the officer class of the Volunteer and Territorial Forces. J.F.C. Harrison reports a contemporary feeling that the Volunteer movement "would give the lie to Ruskin's charges in Unto this Last that the commercial and manufacturing classes were paltry fellows, and morally despicable."¹⁰⁰

The quest for status, like patriotism, did not exclude other motivational factors, however mundane. At least 3 pre-war enlistments joined in order

to improve their health, one, 976 Thomas Wilson, 7th, being advised to become a Territorial by his family doctor. Two of the first Volunteers may have had the same motive: John James Cousins was "a lifelong martyr to asthma",¹⁰¹ whilst George Fenton had had to leave Leeds Grammar School prematurely "on acct. of weak health and incapacity".¹⁰² It may be noted here that volunteering was an exercise of which the influential Dr. Thackrah of Leeds would have thoroughly approved.

An extrinsic influence of some importance was that of newspapers, periodicals and some literary forms. The Daily Mail and other newspapers and du Maurier's play "An Englishman's Home" were held to have greatly influenced Territorial recruiting in 1909. The military romances of authors like G.A. Henty and boys' magazines like Boys' Own Paper may have influenced younger recruits, particularly those who enlisted under-age at the beginning of the war. The magazine Punch may have had a considerable influence in 1859 and 1860 upon recruiting from the superior classes; it could well have had an influence in Leeds where its monthly circulation, computed in May 1860, was 470.¹⁰³ It is important, however, not to over-estimate the influence of the written word. If the publication in 1871 of 'The Battle of Dorking'¹⁰⁴ had any influence at all on Volunteer recruiting, it was not reflected in the numbers of enrolled volunteers which continued to decline until 1874. The biggest boost to Leeds Rifles recruiting in 1938 came from the two mock air attacks, one in daylight, one at night, staged in Leeds on 11th April. Many of the recruits who poured in were in their twenties and many were in middle-class occupations.¹⁰⁵

Boyhood ambitions and what might be termed "the soldiering spirit" were clearly extremely important as motivational factors (see Tables D and E). 10 of the pre-war respondents said they had enlisted because they were "mad on soldiering", 3 had had ambitions to join the Leeds Rifles since childhood, whilst a further 4 stated that they had joined because they had been unable to join the Regular Army for family reasons, such as father's incapacity or premature death, or simply on account of parental opposition. Col. Dunlop considered that the very best men in the TA joined because they liked soldiering. He was convinced that they joined "not for what they can get out of it, not exactly out of patriotism, but urged by what one must call an 'Army instinct'".¹⁰⁶ As early as 1873 Lord Derby, Hon. Colonel of the 1st Lancs RVC, had suggested that the vast majority of young men "of the best sort" who were interested in soldiering preferred to become Volunteers rather than enlist in the Army.

There was, he said, such competition and such a widespread keen desire to get settled early in a permanent career that few young men of the best sort had any wish to take up a military career when they faced a prospect of leaving it at the age of 25 having to start afresh to learn a new trade.¹⁰⁷ 13 of the peace-time and 23 of the wartime enlistments revealed that they had family connections with the Regular Army or Militia. "The soldiering spirit" seemed to be encouraged by the existence of soldier relatives and appeared in fact, to run in some families. "The Scout" considered it remarkable "how many of our best Volunteers.... prove to be connected in either a more or less degree with the Regular Army". He cited the example of Transport Sergeant Matt Coultate of the Leeds Rifles who was born in barracks, the son of a Colour Sergeant in the Northamptonshire Regt. Two of his brothers were Regulars. His remaining brother, Lawrence, had been a Regular but had purchased his discharge and joined the Leeds Rifles, going to South Africa with the First Contingent. Matt himself had joined the Rifles in 1888, enlisted in the Grenadier Guards in 1890, and rejoined the Rifles on discharge in 1895.¹⁰⁸ (1151 C. Coultate joined the 8th in 1911). Another example was Col. Sgt. F. Lemmon who was born in the 5th Dragoon Guards, the son of the Quartermaster, and who served in the Rifles for nearly 30 years.¹⁰⁹ Many other examples could be given. It is worth noting that some respondents with soldier relatives reported strong parental opposition to their enlisting in the Regular Army. This may have been a factor since the beginning of the Volunteer period. Take the case of the Fenton brothers, Charles and George, who enrolled in the Leeds Rifles in 1859. A number of their cousins from the time of the Napoleonic wars onwards had become professional soldiers. Under the terms of their grandfather Fenton's will, any legatee who joined the army or navy was to be disinherited.¹¹⁰ Charles Fenton remained in the Leeds Rifles for at least 12 years. Some of the first Volunteers may have been influenced by a German University education, e.g. John H. Wurtzburg.¹¹¹ Henry Stooks Smith, according to his obituary, had, during his boyhood, spent partly in Leeds and partly in Germany, mixed with many prominent soldiers and "for his whole life soldier-craft was his absorbing passion."¹¹²

By far the most important influence on recruiting, which was at the same time a major motivational factor, was social inheritance. The most outstanding characteristic of a Territorial unit, and of the Territorial Force as a whole, and its greatest military asset, was its feeling of "family", its esprit de corps. This was the product of social inheritance. Lt. Col. Howard Green wrote of the Territorial units of 1914 and 1915: "Always stationed

in the same town or district in peace-time,....individuals knowing each other in civil life, in business, clubs and pubs, the officers as local as the men, a superb unit esprit de corps existed, at least the equal of that of Regular battalions."¹¹³ Whereas the traditions of a Regular regiment were based on its military past, the Territorial regiment was obliged to base its traditions on its social inheritance, and it was for this reason that the Territorials defended their identity with such ferocious and vociferous zeal. The frequency with which paragraphs, detailing a family's long associations with the Regiment, say, appeared in the local press gives an indication of the immense pride taken by members of the Leeds Rifles in the traditions of social inheritance.

Contemporaries were fully cognizant of the all-pervading dominance of social inheritance. A witness told the 1862 RC that "The joining of the Volunteers is principally owing to friends." Viscount Castlereagh, during a debate on Haldane's Bill in 1907, said he "believed the majority joined because their friends belonged to the Volunteers, because to join was considered a good thing to do, and because members of the force had uniforms in which it was possible for them to walk out when not engaged in military duties."¹¹⁴ Speaking in opposition to the 1915 Territorial Forces Bill (see Chap.8, section 8.6) Sir Ryland Adkins said that Territorials joined with friends "in the belief that they would serve together", whilst Sir John Jardine protested "Local feeling is very strong. People enlist in battalions because some brother has enlisted before. It is the same with officers as with men in that respect. A number of people from the same village are recruited by local people on the strength of local feeling, and they want to be together." The Act, completely undermining and destroying the social inheritance framework of the Territorial Force as it did, had a disastrous effect on recruiting. Lord Derby complained bitterly about the huge drop in Territorial recruiting in the West Lancashire Divisional area.¹¹⁵ In July 1915 when a special Leeds Rifles recruiting office was opened in City Square, recruiting publicity was quick to emphasise that in the Regiment recruits would find "scores of their workmates and friends."¹¹⁶

Social inheritance dominates the present-day Territorial Army. A 1974 article stated that recruits were obtained "by simple word of mouth, and the majority of recruits enlisted after hearing about the life from friends or colleagues."¹¹⁷ The answers of the RCT respondents support this: 3 of the 9 were recruited by friends, 1 by a relative and 3 by workmates. In addition, 3 had close relatives who had served in the Territorials (Table D factors (u), (w)).

The Leeds Rifles, particularly in the period 1908-1916, was so completely dominated by social inheritance in its various forms that it had more the appearance of a family gathering or Highland clan than of a Regiment. 58 of the 97 peacetime enlistments and 53 of the 101 wartime enlistments said they joined up with friends or a relative.¹¹⁸ 13 of the peacetime enlistments and 10 of the wartime enlistments said they had chosen the Leeds Rifles because their friends wanted to join. 5 of the peacetime enlistments and 14 of the wartime enlistments had joined to be with a particular friend or relative who was already a member of the Regiment. 24 of the wartime enlistments said friends, relatives or workmates were already in when they joined. 24 of the peacetime enlistments and 27 of the wartime enlistments had a previous family connection with the Regiment, whilst 6 and 9 respondents respectively had previous family connections with other Volunteer or Territorial units. 19 of the peacetime enlistments and 8 of the wartime enlistments stated that a close relative or relatives had followed them into the Regiment. 26 of the peacetime enlistments and 4 of the wartime enlistments had been recruited by a friend or relative; 8 peacetime enlistments and 1 wartime enlistment had been recruited by a workmate. 15 peacetime enlistments and 2 wartime enlistments worked at recognised "Volunteer shops", and 1 peacetime enlistment had worked at a "Leeds Rifles closed shop". 3478 Sydney Lofthouse, 2/7th, chose the Leeds Rifles because he lodged next door to the Camerons. Among the respondents interviewed were 3 sets of brothers, 3 sets of brothers-in-law, 4 sets of cousins, one uncle and nephew, 2 sets of near neighbours; one was godfather to another respondent's son, while another had been best man at another respondent's wedding.

All the respondents, except one, proved to have at least one type of previous connection with the Regiment, e.g. through relative, friend, workmate or schoolmate, or neighbour, and many had several. (The exception was 1522 Sgt. Jack E.T. Wilson and he was an in-migrant from Birmingham.) Many had been involved in a complicated network of connections. 2651 Herbert Hardcastle, 7th, lived in Woodhouse, the area having the strongest neighbourhood tradition in the city; he was a member of the "Old Queen" Social Club and had attended Meanwood Road Board School of which ex-Col.Sgt Herbert Columbine was headmaster until about 1900; he was a member of the same gang as Billy Laycock, nearly all of whose members joined the Leeds Rifles; he was a workmate of 1726 Jack Barker; he stated that "loads" of his old schoolfellows and "loads" of the young men who lived in his and neighbouring streets were in the Regiment when he joined. 1294 Alexander Latto, 8th, was recruited by his father's doctor, Major Alexander; he worked at Fairbairn & Lawson's; neighbourhood

tradition was strong: "It was the natural thing round our way to join the Rifles". 1182 Arthur Fisher, 7th, worked for the Legal and General Assurance Company; virtually all his eligible colleagues were members of the Leeds Rifles (one was W.J. Houston) and his branch manager was a retired member; his form master at Thoresby High School was a Leeds Rifles officer; his best friend was keen to join the Regiment. 167 Charles Young, 7th, lived in Woodhouse; his father had been a long-serving member of the Regiment; he worked at Bray's, a Volunteer shop, and many of his workmates were in the Rifles; Col. Sgt. Shoemith attended the same church as he did. 2122 Robert Vine, 7th, who served with many old schoolfellows and young men from his neighbourhood, found that the CQMS was his mother's first cousin. 4328 Lawrence F. Hudson, who chose the Leeds Rifles because so many of his friends had already joined, was allocated to No.10 platoon of the 1/7th; it contained all his former team-mates of the Kirkstall Wesleyans Football Club and his corporal was a former fellow-member of the choir at St John's Church, Holbeck.

The patterns of social inheritance in the Leeds Rifles were set as early as 1859. Among the original 215 members of Nos. 1 and 2 Companies were 39 men who had relatives in the cohort: 2 sets of father and son, 13 sets of brothers, 2 sets of brothers-in-law, 3 sets of cousins, and 1 set of uncle and nephew. 5 men had to be omitted from Table 2 of Appendix II because they had been missed off the printed lists from which the Table was compiled: 3 of these men were related to men in the cohort (father, nephew, and brother-in-law). 28 men of the cohort had relatives who followed them into the Regiment. 7 members were masters who had employees serving with them. 5 members were employed at the local branch of the Bank of England, 4 at Beckett's Bank, and 3 at the office of the Official Assignee. The cohort included 2 sets of business partners. 13 members were in business in Albion Street, 11 in Briggate. Some members lived near each other: 3 lived in Beech Grove Terrace, 3 in Mount Preston, 2 in Springfield Place, 2 in St. George's Terrace, 6 in North Street, 2 in Artillery Place, Roundhay Road, 2 at Woodhouse Cliff, and 2 in St Mark's Villas. Joseph H. Howitt lodged with Christopher Musther's mother. John Nunneley's father was a very close personal friend as well as the medical attendant of Andrew Fairbairn's father.¹¹⁹ William Hey III and Thos. Pridgin Teale's father were surgical colleagues at the Leeds Infirmary and had been two of the founders of the Leeds Medical School in 1831.¹²⁰ Thos. Pridgin Teale Snr. was the medical attendant and personal friend of the Kitson family.¹²¹ Henry Stooks Smith and George Beecroft MP had been friends since boyhood.¹²² With Abraham Horsfall and Francis Tetley, they had been prizewinners in the Leeds Rifle Club of 1837-9.¹²³ 37 members

were old boys of Leeds Grammar School and each one had been at the school at the same time as at least one other member, e.g. 38 Charles Fenton and 77 Thomas P. Addyman in 1855.¹²⁴ The cohort also contained large numbers of men who belonged to the same cultural societies, or to the same church or chapel, or were active supporters of a particular political party. (see Chap.1, Section 1.1). 3 men were members of the same freemasons' lodge.¹²⁵ It seems unlikely that there existed a single member of these companies who did not have some previous connection with at least one fellow member.

The patterns continued. In the period February 1860-January 1874 (3458 listings in the Muster Roll), 7 known sets of father and son, 2 known sets of uncle and nephew, 3 known sets of cousins, and 63 putative sets of brothers (same name, consecutive entries) enrolled. In some companies, notably No.3 Company, masters and their employees enrolled together, e.g. the contingent from J. Lambert & Co. comprised 293 John Arthington, 320 William Arthington (partners), 296 H.W. Braithwaite, 319 W.R. Kershaw, and 321 George Glover, and employees followed their master into the corps, e.g. R.G. Robinson and 1017 Eli Lister worked at W.L. Jackson's tannery; 1145 George G. Whitaker worked for 216 Joseph Scurrah, boot and shoe maker; 1162 W. Cook worked for 1058 David Gaines, shoemaker.¹²⁶ Solicitor's clerk 376 Henry Fuller joined with his employer's sons 373 Edward and 374 Walter Henry Cariss; Fuller's father was coachman to the father of 762 Anthony Titley. 784 Joseph Servant lived next door to 70 H.F. Jörss, 305 John Wm. Pullon lived next door to 252 Capt. Henry L. Hunt, the Adjutant.

The power of serving or retired members to influence their employees, colleagues or friends to join was considerable. Berkeley Moynihan provides an excellent example. In 1895 he was appointed house surgeon and resident surgical officer at Leeds Infirmary, becoming assistant to the then chief consulting surgeon, Leeds Rifleman Thos. Pridgin Teale, Jnr. who pioneered operations for cataract and scrofulous glands of the neck. Teale would have secured for him the appointment as Surgeon-Lieutenant to the Leeds Rifles in December 1895. Moynihan was elected to the honorary consulting staff as assistant surgeon in 1896. He remained in the Volunteers and Territorials until 1922 when he was obliged to retire under the age regulations. Early in the 1930s his house surgeon and assistant was George Armitage. He, too, became a Territorial, reaching the rank of Colonel.¹²⁷

The influence of serving or retired members who were schoolmasters on former pupils seems to have been an important facet of social inheritance. Of Sgt. H. Blaker, for 42 years master of St John's day schools who joined

the Rifles in 1872, it was said "A schoolmaster by profession, and a soldier at heart, he was the means of bringing scores of good recruits to the Corps."¹²⁸ Col.Sgt. Columbine's devotion to Volunteering was legendary. Originally sworn into the 4th Notts RVC in July 1859, he transferred to the Leeds Rifles in 1868 and was still serving in 1892 alongside his grandson, H.H. Columbine (his son, 3429 Bennett F. Columbine, joined in February 1873), eventually being required to retire in 1898 at his "official" age of 55. A Volunteer Force for home defence was raised in 1914-15. Col.Sgt. Columbine joined the 5th Bn West Riding Volunteer Regiment which had its HQ at Carlton Barracks. In September 1916 he claimed the national record for being the oldest Volunteer still in the service.¹²⁹ According to his age given in the 1859-75 Muster Roll, Columbine was then 82 years old. It is inconceivable that a man of such immense enthusiasm would fail to communicate it to his senior pupils.

Certainly old boys of Meanwood Road Board School abounded in the Regiment. A fact brought out by respondents was that, in the absence of relatives and close friends already serving in the regiment, a man's choice of unit depended on whom he knew to be a serving Territorial: 2363 Ben Clark, 8th, chose the Leeds Rifles because his scout master and Sunday School superintendent were in; 2313 Herbert C. Sweetman, 8th, because his boss was in; 2834 Tom Nettleton, 7th, because an office colleague was in; 2715 James A. Eastburn, 8th, because fellow-members of the St. George's Church Young Men's Bible Class were in. 3017 Jack W. Bentley, who had been brought up in Leeds, but who had been resident with his parents for some time in Royston, near Barnsley, came to join his old school chums in the 7th. Wakefield resident 2554 Claude N. Pepper, who had been brought up in Bramley, took a group of about 7 office colleagues at the County Hall, Wakefield, to join A Coy of the 8th Bn because his aunt in Bramley told him his old school chum 2407 Arthur Wainwright had joined A Coy. 721 Sgt. Charles N. Fretwell, 8th, was a popular master at Jack Lane Council School, Hunslet, where he coached the rugby team, and his former pupils flocked to join.¹³⁰

Occasionally social inheritance manifested itself in other ways. Attenders at Leeds Parish Church would have undoubtedly been familiar with Col. Lloyd's imposing memorial and its inspiring inscription;¹³¹ "his bright example to future ages" may be responsible to some extent for the large number of Anglicans in Nos. 1 and 2 Companies, 1859-60 noted in Chap.1. In the early 1860s the Orderly Room was located at the Official Assignee's premises: in 1867 2054 Oswald Gordon Young, the 18-year-old nephew of the Official Assignee enrolled. In 1874 3925 Thomas Blake Spark, the 17-year-old son

of Dr. Spark, the Borough Organist, who had given daily recitals at the Leeds Rifles Bazaar in 1862, enrolled. 2481 W.J. Meldrum, who joined in 1869, was the son of James Meldrum who laid the asphalt surface of the Oxford Row parade ground in 1863 (and who may have been the 511 James Meldrum who joined in 1860). 1111 Reginald Thackery joined the Regiment because his grandfather kept "The Windsor Castle", a public house near Carlton Barracks frequented by Riflemen. 1219 Arthur Fozard joined the 8th because Sgt Billy Winters of the 8th lodged with his parents and taught him rifle drill and how to clean the rifle.¹³²

Some firms became traditionally associated with the Regiment, contributing both personnel and prizes and/or subscriptions to the corps' funds. The larger firms have already been mentioned.¹³³ Some smaller firms became quite prominent. The Aire and Calder Navigation Company had been a financial supporter since the beginning. One of the clerks, William Henry Wheelwright, joined at the end of 1859. He was followed in 1861 by 1051 James Bennett Minikin (1480 L. Minikin joined in 1907) and in 1863 by 1371 Arthur Towler, who rose to become chief accountant, retiring in 1908. Early in 1909 clerk 663 B. Hutchinson joined E Coy of the 8th Bn. He recruited a junior clerk, Horace Fitzpatrick, who in turn recruited all his friends, including 1610 Tom Doran. Denby & Spinks became "a Leeds Rifles closed shop" largely through the influence of 371 CSM Ernest Edward Powell who, when he became foreman of the carpet and linoleum fitting department, was in a position to exert pressure on his fitters and trainees. Not surprisingly, they joined to a man.¹³⁴ The shop apprentices and warehouse assistants also joined. 2560 Arthur Rothwell, who joined at the age of 16, was killed in May 1915. Warehouseman B. Child, an Army pensioner, was still serving on the 7th QM staff at the age of 52.¹³⁵ 15-year old twins 2193 William and 2212 John Peck, 8th Bn, were the sons of Powell's predecessor as foreman carpet fitter and first cousins of 175 Sgt Albert Merry and 506 Peter Merry, 7th, who were employed at Denby & Spinks.¹³⁶ It was common for members of firms who were regular subscribers and for relatives of regular private subscribers to the regimental funds to enrol. 3736 Robert Chorley, who enrolled in 1874, was a relative of honorary member, Charles R. Chorley FRIBA, architect. 874 Sgt William Edgar Potts, MM, who joined the 8th in 1909, was the son of the head of Wm. Potts & Sons, the celebrated firm of public clock makers, subscribers in 1898, for instance. T. Mabane & Sons regularly presented a pair of boots to the prize fund: Pte J.G. Mabane was a member of 1891 (when he won a prize). John Scheerer & Sons, Musical Instrument dealers, instituted the Silver Challenge Bugle competition in 1896: Bugler R. Scheerer came 4th in 1897.

Family tradition became important, not only amongst officers but also in the ranks. The records of some families investigated were most impressive. 3433 Francis Motley enrolled in 1873, followed in 1874 by his brother 3693 Arthur and in 1882 by his brother Lewis who took a commission and served until 1907 when he was compelled to resign by ill-health. Their grandfather had been an officer in the Leeds Volunteer Infantry;¹³⁷ a John Motley had joined the Rifles in 1859. Arthur's son, Arthur Hereward, joined A Coy of the 7th as a Rifleman in June 1909, but left prematurely to work abroad. 616 E. Motley was then serving in the 7th having transferred from the Volunteers. Lewis's son Paul, who had just left Sedbergh, was commissioned in the 8th Bn on 8th October 1914 together with his cousin, Geoffrey G. Kinder, son of Ald. Fred Kinder. A.H. Motley returned from abroad and was commissioned in the 8th on 18th June 1915. 296 Henry Wrigley Braithwaite enrolled in 1860; he was followed by his brother 790 Arthur (over 20 years' service), 2238 Walter (who served from 1868 to 1916), 3230 Alfred, brother-in-law 2337 Vincent T. Thompson (15 years' service), cousins 2882 Hodgson Braithwaite and 3386 Charles C. Braithwaite. Walter's son, Edward Wrigley Braithwaite, was commissioned in 1907, Hodgson's grandson, William Hodgson Braithwaite in 1911. The latter's cousin, Albert N. Braithwaite, enlisted in the ranks of the Rifles at the outbreak of war, but was later commissioned in another regiment. 190 William Ward was followed by his brothers 856 John Bywater, 3078 Alan Sykes and 3470 Edmund Sykes (and by a clerk in his father's office, 260 William Stead). Edmund Sykes Ward's son, who shared the same name, was commissioned in the Rifles in 1905.

John and George Portues were founder members of No. 9 Coy and both served over 10 years. John's son George was in the Rifles in 1883 (when he won a prize); his grandson Harry joined in 1899. George's sons, George Edward and Frederick, joined in 1900 and 1898 respectively. About September 1938, the members of Roundhay RU club held a meeting and resolved to join the TA: half the membership joined the Leeds Rifles, the other half, which included John's great-grandson, George, joined the Leeds Artillery.¹³⁸

Pioneer Sgt. Robert Hargrave retired in 1909 with over 38 years' service and had been the first man sworn into the 7th Bn; in 1915 it was stated that he had 4 sons, 3 sons-in-law and 6 nephews in the Leeds Rifles.¹³⁹

In 1915 John Calverley of Woodhouse, his 3 sons and his brother were all serving in the 8th Bn; in civilian life he worked for Paul Hirsch and Josephy (whose co-founder Henry Josephy had joined the Rifles in 1861) and had originally joined in 1890, his eldest son Hermann in 1910.¹⁴⁰

Perhaps the most interesting example illustrating the influence of family tradition and other forms of social inheritance is provided by the following. Harry Rhodes, a clerk at Rishworth, Ingleby and Lofthouse, corn-millers, joined in February 1886 and served for many years in I Coy (formerly No. 9 Coy). Edwin Booth was employed at the same firm, who were prominent supporters of the Volunteer movement. Booth was one of 5 brothers who served in the Rifles and he was followed by his two sons, who were commissioned from Leeds GS OTC, and by his nephew, 1699 Harold Booth, 7th Bn. In 1902 Booth was commissioned lieutenant and quartermaster and Rhodes promoted to Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant. Booth became manager of the flour mill and by 1908 was employing 5 men in addition to Rhodes, who were sergeants in the 7th Bn. Rhodes's best friend was fellow Rifleman, Tom Neville (who married his sister), who was a clerk at the Aire and Calder Navigation. They went out to South Africa together in the Reinforcement company of the First Contingent in 1900. Neville was the son of ex-Rifleman 2261 Richard Neville, nephew of 2292 James and 2630 Daniel Inkerman Neville and grandson of Sgt. Major Richard Neville, the drill instructor of No. 9 Company. After being disembodied in 1919, Rhodes went to work as chief clerk in the malting department of the Brewery where his immediate superior was his former colonel, Charles Harold Tetley.¹⁴¹

Relatives joined together or followed each other into the Regiment in large numbers in the present century. Walter and Herbert Checkley, 7th, were the sons of Armourer Sgt. C. Checkley, a former Regular, who retired in 1898 on reaching the age limit. 1235 Cpl. Bugler Arthur William Irwin, 8th, was the nephew of long-serving Sgt. W.R. Irwin, leader of a local pierrot troupe, Irwin's Excelsior Minstrels; his son, Eric, joined the Rifles as a bandsman. Long-serving Sgt. Ovid Umpleby was followed by several relatives, including his son, Hartley, who was knocked down and injured by the Adjutant's horse when he was 3.¹⁴² A large proportion of the monthly orders contain groups of two or more men of the same surname having consecutive or neighbouring numbers, e.g. among 22 enlistments that took place in the 8th Bn on 20th and 21st May 1908 were 3 sets of putative brothers, 285 C. and 287 S. Alderson, 298 A. and 299 L. Walker, and 305 G. and 306 W. Taylor. 134 Sgt. W.H. Scholefield and 137 Sgt. E. Scholefield of E Coy, 8th, may have been brothers; 340 Harry Osborne and 354 J. W. Osborne, and 118 T. and 422 C. Worthington, all of F Coy, 7th, were certainly brothers. It was the usual practice for relatives who did not enlist together to be put in the same company. 1090 James and 1208 Frank Rhind, F Coy, 653 J. W. and 728 F. H. Popplewell, G Coy, and 1187 Thomas and 1270 Harry Shimeld, H Coy, 8th, for example, are known to have been brothers.

Brothers 276 Sgt S. C. Myers and 635 G. W. Myers served in G Coy, 8th, with their cousin 649 (later Lt) J. B. Gawthorpe. Bandsman Benjamin Marsh and 1407 Sgt George William Marsh were first cousins.¹⁴³ Sometimes, however, relatives joined other companies or even the other battalion, preferring the society of their own particular friends. 2972 William E. Capp joined the 8th and Leonard Glew the 7th to distance themselves from their "black sheep" brothers.¹⁴⁴ In some families all the sons joined the Territorials, e.g. the Camerons; 1022 Walter Stead, 8th, and his brothers. The Routh brothers 824 Hubert, 825 Harry and 497 Arthur were all in the Leeds Rifles before the war; by the summer of 1915 Arthur was a motor ambulance driver in the 1/2nd WR Field Ambulance, and the others, together with their step-brother, Walter Smith, had joined their brother James, also a pre-war Territorial, in the Leeds ASC;¹⁴⁵ they may have been relatives of the John Edward Routh who joined the Rifles in 1860. (After the outbreak of war, the eligible colleagues of insurance clerk 825 Harry Routh at the Commercial Union offices, including 2304 Harold Richardson, joined him in C Coy of the 8th.)¹⁴⁶ Sometimes father and sons served together: L/Sgt (later CQMS) W. M. Stead, brother-in-law of RSM Benny Farrar, served with his 3 sons;¹⁴⁷ Stead and one of his sons were killed in action. 469 Bugler Herbert Brown served with his step-father and 2 step-brothers; his deceased father had been a member of the Regiment.¹⁴⁸ 786 Bandsman George W. Connors served with his father, the 8th Bn Bandmaster. 1376 James Smith, however, did not follow his father, 315 L/Cpl James Smith, into the 7th, but joined his 3 cousins, Clifford and Tommy Smith and Jack Stanton, in the 8th.¹⁴⁹ 2797 Albert Sykes joined the 7th Bn because his father was in. W. Artis and his son joined the 7th together.¹⁵⁰ Rfm William Holmes served with his son-in-law Rfm Alfred Ripley and his son Rfm T. Holmes.¹⁵¹ 1416 Transport Sgt William Agar served in the 7th with his sons, L/Cpl H. Agar and Rfm Thomas William Agar, MM. Occasionally father followed sons: 3004 Herbert Woodhead, who had served in the Rifles for several years as a young man, followed his son 2006 Ernest into the 7th;¹⁵² 3010 H. R. Varley followed his step-son 1991 Martin Garrity into the 7th, while H. Hardwick followed his two eldest sons into the 8th.¹⁵³

It is difficult to estimate the proportion of men who had relatives in the Regiment in the periods 1900-1908, 1908-1914 and 1914-1919. The 7th Bn Roll of 1930-37, which gave addresses, contains 98 men who had relatives serving with them, including 7 sets of father and son. This comprised 8.75% of the total. Alfred Lowley who served in the 7th with his two brothers and his father (991 John William Lowley who had originally joined in 1909), and whose knowledge and judgment made him a valuable

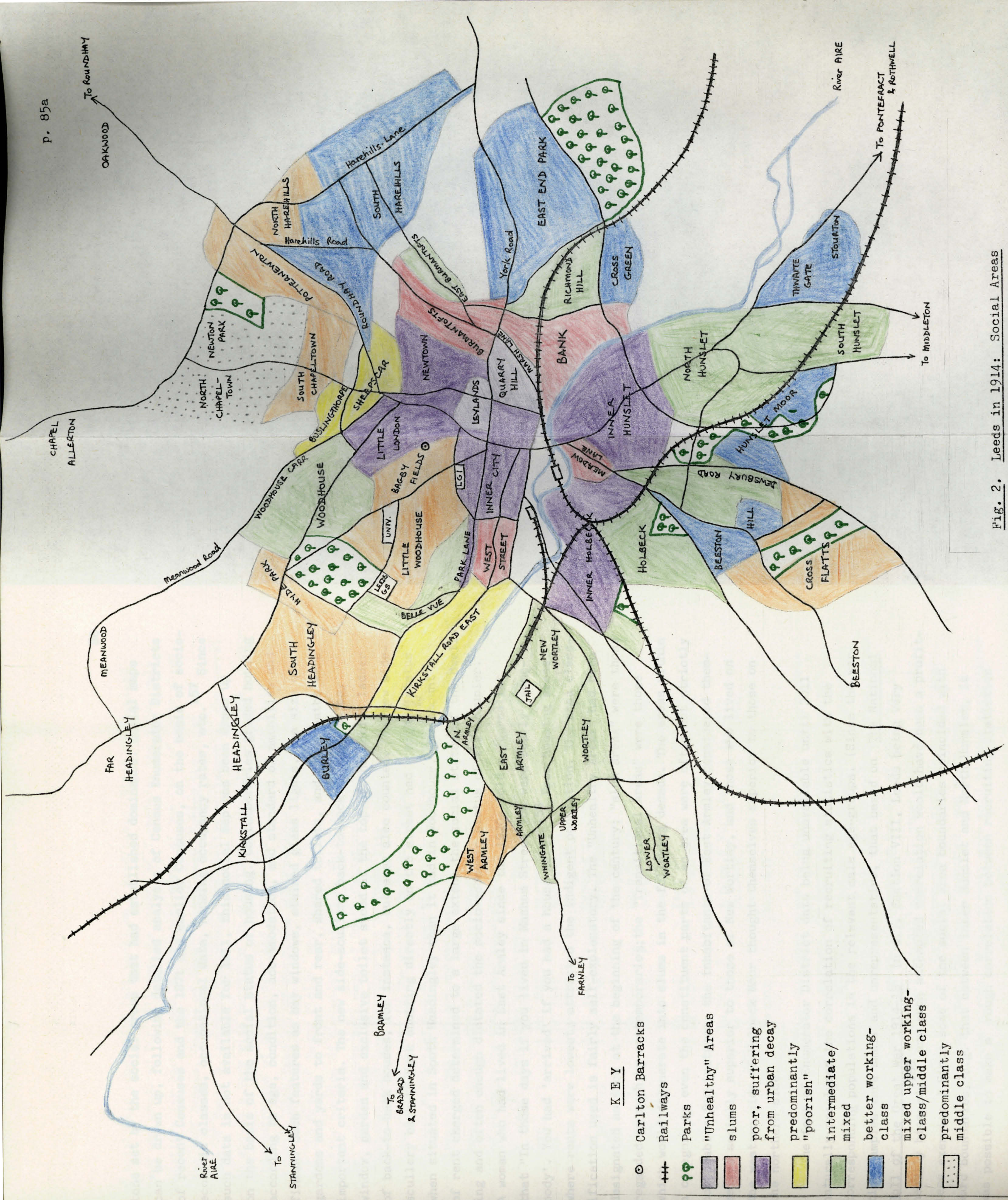


Fig. 2. Leeds in 1914: Social Areas

KEY

- Carlton Barracks
- ++ Railways
- ☁ Parks
- "Unhealthy" Areas
- slums
- poor, suffering from urban decay
- predominantly "poorish"
- intermediate/mixed
- better working-class
- mixed upper working-class/middle class
- predominantly middle class

respondent, described the Regiment at that period as "a proper family affair" and insisted that this figure should be doubled in order to allow for the large number of cousins and relatives by marriage. The "Wartime Register" was compiled from 676 news items concerning Riflemen that gave home addresses. 88 (13% of total) concerned men who had brothers in the Regiment, 7 mentioned fathers or sons, 3 mentioned uncles and 4 mentioned cousins.

The most powerful form of social inheritance was undoubtedly neighbourhood tradition, which had begun in 1860 with the raising of Nos. 4 and 5 Companies. Eventually the Regiment became almost entirely organised on a geographical basis. In the 7th, for instance, E Coy was assigned to Burmantofts, G Coy to Woodhouse, and half of C Coy to Horsforth; in the 8th, A Coy to Armley (later Bramley and Pudsey), B and E Coys to Hunslet, C to Holbeck, D to New Wortley, F to Armley and Burley. This had been adopted as a conscious policy in order to promote esprit de corps. As "The Scout" pointed out, "As it is much better for all concerned that good comradeship should exist in the ranks, each of the recruits out of his numerous friends should induce at least one of them to turn up with him that evening and become one of the boys. It is much easier to work with a chum or two."¹⁵⁴ All ranks were repeatedly exhorted to induce their friends to join.¹⁵⁵

The removal to Carlton Barracks firmly established the districts of Little London, Sheepscar (the recruiting areas of No. 5 Coy) and Woodhouse as neighbourhoods where it was "the natural thing" to join the Rifles. Residents of Woodhouse had been enrolling since 1859. The traditions in New Wortley, Kirkstall Road East and East Armley (though the "terrace invasion" of Armley did not start until the 1870s)¹⁵⁶ date from the establishment of Nos. 6, 7 and 8 Companies, whilst those of Inner Hunslet and Inner Holbeck date from the establishment of No. 9 Company. The traditions in Newtown, Burmantofts and The Bank did not begin until after 1908, spawned by the downward shift in social composition (see Chap. 5). The traditions in South Harehills, Roundhay Road, Beeston Hill, East End Park and South Headingley did not start to build up until these areas themselves started to build up from the end of the 19th century.

Table 9, Appendix II, shows the geographical distribution of recruits to the Regiment in the five samples covering the period 1908-1918 and to the 7th Bn from 1930-37. They are classified according to social areas. Fig. 2 is a sketch map of Leeds in 1914 depicting the social areas. No area is socially uniform, but each had assumed a fairly uniform social

tone set by the social group that had established dominance. Social maps can be drawn up, following detailed analysis of Census Enumerator Districts of recent Censuses and the 1871 and earlier Censuses, on the basis of socio-economic classes, occupational data, housing occupancy rates, etc.¹⁵⁷ Since such data is not available for 1911, this social map has been drawn up on the basis of the social status of housing. Contemporaries graded housing according to age, condition, accommodation, and standard of amenities and finish. Such features as bay windows, stained glass lights, the size of gardens and yards to front and rear, shared toilets, and fixed baths were important criteria. The new side-scellery back-to-back house with bay window, garden and exclusive toilet stood at the top of the social ladder of back-to-back houses, for instance, but area also counted. The new side-scellery back-to-back abutting directly on the street had a higher status when situated in South Headingley than it had in Woodhouse. The amount of rent charged determined to a large extent the social status of the dwelling and often enough dictated the socio-economic status of its occupier. A woman who had lived in East Armley since the 1920s told a journalist that "In those days if you lived in Masham Street you were really 'somebody'. You had 'arrived' if you had a house here."¹⁵⁸ Poor housing areas, where rents were lowest, attracted the indigent population. The area classification used is fairly self-explanatory. The "Unhealthy Areas" had been designated as such at the beginning of the century; "slum areas" were those regarded as such by contemporaries; the "Transitional Areas" were those which would degenerate into slums in the following decade. The areas within a category or even the constituent parts of an area were often not strictly comparable: for instance, the inhabitants of East Armley considered themselves socially superior to those of New Wortley, and those who lived on the western side of Holbeck Moor thought themselves superior to those on the northern side.

The fact of Enumerator District data being unavailable until 2011 naturally precludes the correlation of recruiting statistics with the corresponding populations in the relevant male age-groups. (Since the war-time samples were small and unrepresentative, that based on The National Roll of the Great War 1914-18 (n.d.), Section VIII, Leeds being very heavily biassed,¹⁵⁹ any such attempted correlation would have been a profitless exercise.) Since some of the social area boundaries coincided with ward boundaries, e.g. that between Inner Hunslet and North Hunslet, it was possible to make a rough correlation between recruiting statistics

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and total male population (all ages) on a ward basis. Since no detailed census was produced for 1911 for the county of Yorkshire, the total male populations for each of the 16 electoral wards of the City of Leeds given in the 1901 Census, County of York¹⁶⁰ were used. Taking the first two columns of Table 9, Appendix II, prewar and wartime enlistments, the correlation showed a very wide variation in distribution density, with the greatest concentration of both prewar and wartime enlistments in the North west ward, which comprised all of Woodhouse and Woodhouse Carr, approximately $\frac{2}{3}$ rd of the area of Bagby Fields, approximately half of Little Woodhouse, and a tiny portion of Sheepscar. Brunswick, which comprised all of Little London, approximately half each of South Chapeltown, North Chapeltown, and Sheepscar, and approximately $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of Inner City, came second in the prewar section and third in the wartime section. Headingley, which comprised all of South Headingley and Burley and Kirkstall Road West, approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of Kirkstall Road East and approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of Hyde Park, came third in the prewar section, while Bramley came third in the wartime section. The ratios of recruits to total male population of the ward are as follows:

<u>Ward</u>	<u>Peacetime enlistments</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>Wartime enlistments</u>
North West	1 in 828	North West	1 in 710
Brunswick	1 in 1515	Bramley	1 in 2600
Headingley	1 in 1773	Brunswick	1 in 2652
West	1 in 1875	Central	1 in 2785
Armley & Wortley	1 in 2936	North East	1 in 2815
Holbeck	1 in 3396	Headingley	1 in 3251
East	1 in 3447	West Hunslet	1 in 3569
North East	1 in 3518	North	1 in 3603
West Hunslet	1 in 3569	West	1 in 3750
North	1 in 3603	East	1 in 4596
Mill Hill	1 in 3608	New Wortley	1 in 4635
East Hunslet	1 in 4136	East Hunslet	1 in 5515
Central	1 in 5570	Armley & Wortley	1 in 5872
South	1 in 7471	Holbeck	1 in 6992
New Wortley	1 in 9271	South	1 in 7471
Bramley	1 in 10400	Mill Hill	Nil

Table 9 also reveals that some areas of the city were poorly represented in terms of absolute numbers. It demonstrates the existence of "traditional" recruiting areas. Columns 1-5 of the Summary clearly reflect the "Respectable" background of the Regiment, the Intermediate areas, often fiercely Respectable, alone actually accounting for 41% of the total of recruits, with Woodhouse easily outstripping all other areas of the city. It was a place where, according to respondents, joining the Regular Army was considerably frowned upon and often condemned, and where family Volunteer tradition was strong. Whole streets were said to have contributed

their eligible men-folk to the Leeds Rifles during the war. This may have been no great exaggeration. In August 1915 Knowles told his wife that he had counted 21 men in the 1/7th from Reuben Street, Little London (another traditional recruiting area), adding "there is sure to be a few more that I don't know."¹⁶¹ The samples of Columns 4 and 5, though small, nonetheless show that 5 men from Jubilee Road and 4 from Charing Cross Street, Woodhouse, were in the Regiment. The samples contain many similar examples from the traditional recruiting areas: e.g. 3 from Hugo Street (The Bank); 6 from Apple Street, 3 from Acorn Street, 2 from Bread Street, 3 from Cranberry Street, 5 from Wheat Street (neighbouring streets in Burmantofts); 4 from Albert Prince Street (New Wortley); 5 from Hollis Street (Kirkstall Road East); 3 from Elford Place (Roundhay Road).

Similar patterns occurred in the 7th Bn of 1930-37; an analysis of the Roll's addresses fully bore out Alfred Lowley's contention that the bulk of recruits came from the traditional areas. 5 came from Elmwood Street (Little London), 6 from Lloyd Street and 4 from Quadrant Street (Kirkstall Road East), and 5 from Roumelia Street (North Hunslet). The Roll also revealed several interesting examples of a traditional area in emergence: e.g. a housing enclave known as the Danubes and Oswalds, a rather isolated group of 10 short streets of back-to-backs situated opposite the Cattle Market in Gelderd Road. 4 men came from Danube Terrace, including a set of next door neighbours, and 1 from Danube Grove, 3 from Oswald Place, 1 from Oswald Street and 1 from Oswald Terrace. Others were developing on council estates, e.g. in the Torres (Lupton Avenue) and in the Throstles and Thorpes (Middleton).

A traditional area that does not show up prominently in Table 9 was Hunslet. Hunslet resident 3882 William Wrench stated that a large proportion of the personnel of the 2/7th was recruited from Hunslet.¹⁶² The second-line recruiting march of May 1915 took a route through the area: "The employees at many of the workshops en route rushed into the streets to see the men march past, and at every turn of the roads large crowds had assembled to give soldiers a reception. Hunslet, indeed, if numbers count for anything, paid a fine tribute to the soldiers, a large number of whom are their kith and kin."¹⁶³

It was social inheritance that enabled the Leeds Rifles to recruit approximately 8,000 men, a six-fold increase, between the outbreak of war and the end of 1915. Old members brought their relatives when they came to rejoin; relatives of existing members joined, (e.g. 2209 Eric Chapman

joined his brother 1213 Oswald in the 8th). Relatives of former members joined. One was the 18-year-old Sidney Jones, son of the composer/conductor who had been a Leeds Rifles bandsman, and grandson of the celebrated Leeds Rifles bandmaster. He was severely wounded.¹⁶⁴ Friends and neighbours came in groups to enlist. At least 3 students of the College of the Resurrection, Mirfield, who had just successfully completed their first year at Leeds University, came to enlist together: W. E. Worsley, F. W. Smith and 2453 Henry Thackray; they chose the 8th because Thackray's cousin 132 Harry Thackray and best friend 2209 Eric Chapman were already in.¹⁶⁵ Members of St. Mark's Harriers, including 2182 Cpl. J. Gilchrist, 8th, and W. H. Jacques, 7th, came to join fellow Harrier 1568 Leonard Akeroyd, a pre-war Territorial in the 8th. Members of Buslingthorpe Vale amateur Northern Rugby Union Club, among them George Harper, the secretary, came to join their team mates who included 1454 L/Cpl Alfred Dickinson, 2430 Jack Espin and 1090 James Rhind of the 8th. Kirkstall Wesleyans football team decided to join the 7th together.¹⁶⁶ Fred Godward, forward in Leeds Northern Union¹⁶⁷ first team, came to join team-mate Arthur Sykes in the 8th. Members of Leeds "A" team, including 3428 James Harkness and 3453 George Pickard, also joined the 8th, although team-mate George W. Farrar joined the 7th. 3885 Walter Johnson, a member of the Batley Northern Union first team, came to join team-mate 1888 John C. Tindall in the 8th. Friends and neighbours joined together, e.g. friends S. Heard and S. Artis who worked together at E. J. Arnold and Sons and who lived in Iveridge Grove and Iveridge Terrace respectively, and A. Edwards, a miner at Robin Hood Colliery, who lived next-door-but-two to S. Artis, and Artis's father, also a miner, all joined together.¹⁶⁸ C. Slinger and H. Jennings, both married men who lived near each other in Craven Road, Woodhouse, and worked together at Wm. Oldroyd and Sons, joined up together; Slinger was a relative of 3354 Edward Woodhead and his three brothers, Jim Slinger and Tom and Joe Woodhead, all of the 7th. Many workmates joined the Regiment. L/Cpl Harry Brown, Percy R. Battersby and John Leadbeater of the 7th all worked together in the cutting room of Price's Fifty-Shilling Tailors. A photograph was published in 1915 of 12 Leeds GPO employees serving at the front in the 1/8th. Only about one-third of the items in the Wartime Register gave the man's occupation and/or employer. Nonetheless, the sample includes 5 employees of the Corporation Cleansing Dept, 14 employees of the Leeds City Tramways, 23 railway workers, 8 workers at Leeds Forge, 6 at Lawson's foundry, 3 at Greenwood and Batley's, 2 each at the Yorkshire Evening Post, Yorkshire Evening News, and Leeds Mercury, 9 at Fairbairn's, 7 at Kitson's,

2 at H. Braithwaite & Co, 3 at Simpson Fawcett & Co, 3 at Joshua Wilson's, 3 at Barran's, 2 at Petty's, 3 at Wilson and Matheson's, 2 at the Monkbridge Steel Works, 3 at Chorley & Pickersgill's, 3 at Clayton Son & Co, 2 at Isaac Webster's, and 2 at Moorhouse and Wainwright's of Woodside, Horsforth. An appreciable number of employees at this last firm, whose head was a retired Bradford Volunteers officer, joined the Leeds Rifles. They included respondents 1090 James Rhind and 2880 William Arthur Bywater of the 8th, 1376 Cpl James Smith, 8th, his father, James Smith Snr, who served an unbroken 28 years' in the Regiment and was compulsorily retired in 1916, 2024 Cpl Christopher Wall, 7th, who had served in the Rifles before the war, Harold Proctor and Arthur Walton, 7th, and brothers Albert and Harry Bannister, 8th, who were cousins of George Pickard and his brother 4817 Frank Pickard, 8th. The Bannister brothers joined up together with their next-door neighbours in Paradise Place, Woodside, T. and P. Cockcroft.¹⁶⁹ A good many of the men in Woodside who joined the army joined the Rifles. Men who attended the same church or chapel joined. 33 Leeds Riflemen who fell in the war are named on the war memorial inside St. Patrick's R.C. Church, Burmantofts, for instance. Other forms of social inheritance can be noted. L/Cpl J. W. Worth DCM, 7th, was a traveller for the father of 2/Lt. Max Ramsden, 8th. Leonard Tate and Robert Redshaw, 7th, were apprentices at Horsman's, a substantial and prosperous firm of shopfitters, founded by 1626 Thomas Horsman who joined the Rifles in 1865. Rfm R. Palmer was under-gamekeeper to Mr Mylchreest of Thorner,¹⁷⁰ a prewar regular subscriber.

The patterns of social inheritance in the Leeds Rifles which gave it such an intense local character, thus developed, gaining increasing strength, over the years as family and neighbourhood traditions built up until, by 1919, they had enveloped virtually every family in the city and every facet of local life in a vast web. In political, municipal, cultural, educational, philanthropic, and sporting affairs and in industry and commerce former Riflemen were prominent. Even the solicitor of Leeds City AFC, sensationally expelled from the Football League in 1919, was an ex-Rifleman, Ald. Alf Masser. He became the solicitor for the city's new Association Football club, Leeds United.

There were, of course, countervailing factors in and influences on recruiting in peacetime. The 53 wartime Leeds Rifles respondents who had been eligible to enlist in the Territorials before the war were asked why they had not joined then. Apart from the 13 who said they had not been attracted to the Territorials and the 12 who said they had never thought about it, the answers were as follows:

Too long or inconvenient working hours	4
In the Merchant Navy	1
Lived too far away from the barracks	3
Still at school	1
Attending evening classes	2
Employer (railway company) forbade it	2
Parents would not have approved on social grounds	1
Father would not permit it (Jewish)	1
"Too many scruffs in it"	1
Failed to pass chest standard of WR Field Ambulance	1
"They were Saturday Night Soldiers, not real soldiers"	1
Thought he was too young to join	1
Too involved in other leisure activities (a) church	1
(b) cricket & football	6
(c) theatricals	2

The biggest and perennially most important, negative factor in recruiting and in wastage was women: mothers, sweethearts and wives. In 1975 a TAVR spokesman stated that "it is the pressure from wives and girl friends which causes the heaviest casualties. Training is done at weekends and this can cause a strain for the men with young families."¹⁷¹ Volunteering, according to 1090 James Rhind (and others), was not suitable for a newly married man. Volunteering caused such friction between 167 Charles Young, 7th, and his wife that they permanently separated.¹⁷² Marriage or contemplation of marriage were major causes of not re-engaging (see Chap 5, Section 5.1). Women were also a menace to efficiency. The OC of the 4th (Bramley) Battery of the Leeds Artillery at the beginning of the 1906 season beseeched all those who were about to commence courting to deny themselves that pleasure until the drill season was over as he had noticed that, as a general rule, the two occupations did not always go well together, "the one to suffer most being, of course, the drill."¹⁷³ The author of the Territorial Year Book, 1909 recognised that an important obstacle to recruiting were the objections of relatives, especially female ones.¹⁷⁴

In the beginning of the Volunteer period women had occupied a useful, if not valuable, role, helping with fund-raising activities and catering, making and embroidering the Colours¹⁷⁵ and subscribing for and presenting bugles, drums and other musical instruments. Wives, mothers and sisters attended parades and reviews in large numbers and turned them into social

occasions and the question must be raised whether matrons did not tend to view these occasions as a valuable aid to match-making. In 1865 Ensign John Foster (of Black Dyke Mills) of the Bradford RVC married the daughter of Lt. Robert J. Hudson of the Leeds Rifles: had they first met at a Volunteer Review? John H. Wurtzburg may well have met his wife, the daughter of Thomas Greenwood whom he married in 1865, through the Volunteers, for they belonged to different religious denominations. Major-Commandant W. J. Armitage, who married in the 1860s, may well have met his bride through the Volunteers, for she was the sister of W. G. Nicholson, commandant of the Grammar School Volunteer cadets. Volunteer weddings did become quite common in the Regiment. 26 of the Leeds Rifles respondents married comrades' sisters or cousins. A major problem for the modern career army officer, according to Lt. Col. David Glazebrook OBE, is the difficulty of finding a wife who will not compel him to relinquish his career prematurely.¹⁷⁶ A solution is to choose a girl from a service family who knows and is likely to understand the problems and difficulties of being a Service wife. So it was with the keen Volunteer reluctant to relinquish the pleasures of his favourite hobby for marriage: he married the daughter or sister of a Volunteer. It was no coincidence that several of the pre-war senior NCOs were related by marriage: Sgt. George E. O. Bellhouse was married to Sgt. F. J. Baldwin's sister, for example. Often enough, the young female relatives of comrades were virtually the only eligible girls the keen Volunteer/Territorial came into contact with on a regular basis.

There were some female patrons of the Volunteer Force. In 1860 Lady Franklin, widow of explorer Sir John Franklin, became an honorary member of the St. Pancras Rifles, and Lady Mary Thompson, lavish with her "large subscriptions", became honorary member of the 1st WRVRVC of York. The Misses Lawson, Lords of the Manor of Bradford, leased land in 1860 "at a nominal rent" to the Bradford Rifle Volunteers on which to build a permanent headquarters. Philanthropist Angela Burdett-Coutts added the Volunteers to the list of worthy causes she supported.¹⁷⁷ Perhaps the most important female patron of Volunteers was Mrs Emma Carter Dawson, of Weston Hall, Otley, nr. Leeds, heiress of the Vavasours, and widow of a partner in the Low Moor Iron Co. of Bradford. Patron of the Otley company of the Leeds Engineer Volunteers, she was not only a liberal donor of prizes, but also provided a rifle range and a training ground on her estates, purchased the former meeting house of the Otley Wesleyan Methodists and had it converted into a drill hall, and purchased the instruments and uniforms of the Engineer Company Band.¹⁷⁸ Her late husband had been concerned in the formation of the Wharfedale

Rifle Volunteers and both her sons, William Christopher and Walter Stopham Dawson, were long-serving officers in the Leeds Engineers, the latter retiring eventually as Lt. Col. commanding the 4th WR Howitzer Brigade, RFA.

Was there such a thing as a "typical" Territorial? Unfortunately, due to paucity of data, it is only possible to make the broadest of generalizations about the "typical" Leeds Rifleman of the period 1908-1915: he came from the respectable working class, including the upper, skilled, echelons; he was a skilled or semi-skilled manual worker, though twice as likely to be classed as skilled than as semi-skilled; he lived in a "Respectable" area; he almost certainly had attended Sunday School as a child; he had received an elementary school education; he was likely to be above average intelligence.

This latter trait, which was linked to the opportunity which volunteering afforded the young man to realise his potential, appeared in striking form in not a few Riflemen from the earliest days of the Regiment. Though the bulk of recruits appeared to be ordinary, nondescript men who made no mark in history, the Regiment did attract into its ranks young men of exceptional ability and above-average energy. This seems to have been particularly true of the early Volunteers.

The "First 97" included the two most outstanding young men of their local generation, James Kitson II and William Lawies Jackson. Kitson, the son of a self-made captain of industry who had been a town councillor since 1854 and would be elected Mayor in 1860, became President of the National Liberal Federation in 1883, sat as Liberal MP for Colne Valley from 1892 to 1907, became the city's first Lord Mayor in 1897, was knighted for political services in 1886 and raised to the peerage in 1907, built up the family firm to become the city's largest private concern, turning out 200-300 railway locomotives and other engines a year, becoming a millionaire in the process, and was elected President of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce. Jackson, on the other hand, inherited neither wealth nor position. His father died when he was 17, leaving him a well-nigh bankrupt business,¹⁷⁹ which he built up into the largest tannery in Britain. He was admitted a Freemason in 1865 and eventually elected Provincial Grand Master of the West Riding.¹⁸⁰ He became a Town Councillor in 1869 and held office until 1881 and for the greater part of the period was leader of the Tory group. He first stood for Parliament in 1876 and was elected MP for North Leeds in 1880, was Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1885-6 and 1886-91 and Chief Secretary for Ireland

1891-2. By 1895 he had become Chairman of the Great Northern Railway (of which his old comrade Sir Andrew Fairbairn was a Director). That year the Conservatives took control of Leeds City Council and he became the first Tory Mayor since the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act. He sat on a number of important committees, e.g. he was Chairman of the Royal Commission on UK coal resources 1901-5 and chairman of the inquiry into the Jameson Raid. His proposals for more effective audit and financial control of building societies, following his investigations into the disastrous failure of the Liberator Building Society, were embodied in the 1894 Building Societies Act. He was a leading supporter of and financial adviser to the Yorkshire College (later the University of Leeds) up to his death. He was raised to the peerage in 1902.¹⁸¹ A man of great geniality and personal charm, he was immensely popular in Leeds; even the left-wing Suffragette Mary Gawthorpe thought him "a considerate employer."¹⁸² He was 19 when he joined the Rifles and an insignificant small master. On Census day 1861, married less than a year, he was living in a workman's cottage next door to a tannery labourer and a laundress.¹⁸³ Joining the Leeds Rifles may thus have been the turning-point of his career. Among his comrades were several of the town's leading Tories and sons of the most influential Tories, as well as the Tory MP, George S. Beecroft, and the Tory agent, Henry Lampen. It may also be significant that John Wm. Atkinson, one of the leading Tories, became a member of the Lodge of Fidelity in 1861, four years before the admission of Jackson.

Also among the "First 97" were J. H. Wurtzburg who, perhaps as a consequence of his membership of the corps, joined the firm of Greenwood and Batley in 1869 and eventually became its managing director. He was elected President of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce. He was an Alderman, Magistrate, Chairman of the School Board, a Trustee of the Leeds, Skyrack and Morley Savings Bank, a Vice-President of the Thoresby Society, Trustee of the estates of St. John the Evangelist's Church, and a Vice-President of the Leeds Church Institute, founded by the Rev. Dr. James Atlay, first chaplain to the corps;¹⁸⁴ James Wardell, a poet and antiquary who published various historical accounts,¹⁸⁵ including The Municipal History of the Borough of Leeds (1846); James Shaw Newstead, who became President of the Leeds Law Society and a Director of the Yorkshire Penny Bank; Thomas Pridgin Teale, FRS, FRCS, who, by the end of the century was regarded as the leader of the medical profession in Leeds, who pioneered several operations, now of an everyday character, who was one of the first doctors to interest

himself in social medicine and particularly in aspects of ventilation and whose book Dangers to Health: A Pictorial Guide to Domestic Sanitary Defects (1879), achieved international recognition.

Among the cohort of Nos. 1 and 2 Companies were John Horsfall, son of Abraham, who qualified FRCS in 1869 and became Hon. Secretary of the Medical School; John A. Nunneley, MRCS (1863), who became Senior Ophthalmic and Aural Surgeon at the Infirmary, Senior Ophthalmic Lecturer at the Medical School, and Surgeon to the London and Northwestern and North East Railway companies; John T. Beer, poet, antiquary, amateur astronomer and scientific lecturer who was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature in 1871 and became President of Pudsey Mechanics' Institute;¹⁸⁶ William Wheeler, a well-known writer of guide books, a contributor of learned antiquarian articles to the Leeds Mercury and The Yorkshire Post, an editor of Old Yorkshire, and a founder of the Thoresby Society who copied a large part of the Leeds Parish Church Registers (the first publication of the Thoresby Society in 1891);¹⁸⁷ Thomas Marshall, whose cultural and political activities have already been noted (see Chap. 1, section 1.1), became Registrar of Leeds County Court; William Ward became the public prosecuting solicitor for Assizes and Sessions, the American Vice-Consul and Lt. Col. commanding the Leeds Engineer Volunteers; Thomas H. Tilburn, a clerk at Gott's, became a woollen merchant, with his own company;¹⁸⁸ Francis Emmott, an omnibus guard who lodged with George Dean, innkeeper and carter, had become by 1871 an omnibus proprietor employing a driver named George Dean, the innkeeper's son. Thomas S. Kennedy, Andrew Fairbairn's cousin, has a double claim to fame: first, he was a noted Alpinist, being the first man to climb the Dent Blanche, and was almost successful in his 1862 attempt to become the first to conquer the Matterhorn; second, he commissioned and paid for the magnificent and famous Schulze organ, now in St. Bartholomew's Church, Armley.¹⁸⁹

Two members of the cohort who belonged to the older generation and who were already famous locally in their fields were the oldest member of the corps, William Hey III, who was the grandson of "The Father of Leeds Infirmary" and who can be regarded as the leader of the medical profession in Leeds at the time of his enrolment, and Thomas Greenwood, who was one of the architects of Leeds' industrial greatness. He designed and manufactured, inter alia, a large part of the machine tools of Woolwich Arsenal and the Government Small Arms factory at Enfield Lock. The author of an article about his engineering achievements in The Engineer of 21st February

1873 considered that he had been as equally as deserving of a Knighthood as Sir Joseph Whitworth or Sir William Armstrong.

Among the original members of No. 3 Company were 282 George Irwin, who was knighted for services to the Conservative Party in 1892, and 367 William Henry Colbeck of Batley, who sold his half of the mungo firm, Colbeck Brothers, in 1874 and emigrated to New Zealand. He purchased 10,000 acres from the Maoris, took up woolgrowing, founded a township he named Batley, became President of the Bank of New Zealand and was elected a Member of the Legislative Assembly.¹⁹⁰

The eldest of the Kitson brothers, Frederick, was already head of the drawing office at Kitson's and establishing his reputation as a locomotive designer when he became a founder member of the corps.

856 J. B. Ward, brother of William, qualified MD and MRCS, and became Medical Superintendent of Warneford Asylum, Oxford, and a medical author. 1103 J. T. Pullon, engineer, who enrolled in 1863, appears to be the same man who, with civil engineer, J. Clarke Jefferson, put forward in 1887 a scheme for a New York style overhead railway to run from the junction of New Briggate and North Street to Roundhay Park.¹⁹¹ 1807 William Lambton became the clerk in charge of the Stock Exchange Postal Telegraph Office. 1808 William Waggitt became registrar of births, deaths and marriages for Kirkstall. 2039 William Stockwell Lawson, cashier, became a carpet manufacturer.¹⁹² 2239 Walsh Wrightson, pupil architect, became Director of Public Works in Trinidad. 3192 Edward Stanley Inchbold, lithographic draughtsman in the family firm and nephew of pre-Raphaelite John William Inchbold, became a professional water colourist and landscape painter and a Royal Academician. 266 A. G. Ewing, compositor at the Mercury, became an overseer (i.e. a manager) and then a master printer; 1123 Samuel Tallentine Oates, compositor at the Intelligencer, became a master printer and in 1872 a freemason of the Lodge of Fidelity. 2378 Andrew Mellish came to Leeds in 1867 and joined the Rifles the following year. He was then a woollen merchant's manager; after 18 years with Hudson, Sykes and Bousfield, he started his own firm.¹⁹³ 1898 Charles Clifford Bulmer became Assistant Clerk of the Peace for Leeds. 1169 Edmund Wilson who joined in 1863 and served for 37 years, was an active political worker for many years, a Liberal councillor for 9 years and was the local 1880 election agent to W. E. Gladstone. He was principal founder and first President of the Thoresby Society, President of Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society, Chairman of the Leeds Club, and founder and for 10 years hon. secretary

of the Industrial Dwellings Company. He was said to be the first Volunteer CO to carry out an experimental mobilisation scheme. He became Registrar of the County Court for Goole District, President of the Leeds Law Society and was responsible for founding the Faculty of Law at the University of Leeds.¹⁹⁴ John Walter Stead, who served from 1876 to 1911, became Deputy Coroner and succeeded Wm. Ward as Public Prosecuting Solicitor. 3679 John Gordon, who served from 1874 to 1886, was the leader of the Conservative group from the mid-1880s and, nicknamed "General Gordon", was the architect of the Conservative revival in the Council;¹⁹⁵ he was Lord Mayor 1899-1900. 3736 Robert Chorley, clerk, became a printer's manager and eventually principal of Chorley and Pickersgill, printers.

2356 G. H. Clemons, cashier, became a partner in John Marshall and Sons, manufacturing chemists and drysalts. 6436 Charles Samuel Bedford, who served from 1884-1904, was a member of Wood and Bedford, manufacturing chemists. In 1900 a consortium named The Yorkshire Dyeware and Chemical Co. Ltd was formed from several old-established concerns supplying dyes, soaps and chemicals to the textile and leather industries. The two Leeds firms concerned were Wood and Bedford and Clemons, Marshall and Carbert, both headed by Leeds Riflemen. In 1856 William H. Perkin discovered the first synthetic dyestuff. Wood and Bedford took up this new development but large-scale manufacture of the mauve was not commenced until 1887. Charles Bedford was a natural and talented inventor. In September 1876 he and his brother, 3904 James Edward Bedford (who was a comrade in the ranks of G. H. Clemons), were greatly intrigued by the description of Bell's telephone which appeared in The Scientific American. They constructed the first telephone system in this country at their home in Headingley. The apparatus is now in the Leeds Industrial Museum. In the 1880s Charles Bedford prepared a new type of colouring matter, a half-synthetic "Patent Fustin" (C.I. 237), a most useful dyestuff of greatly increased fastness. In 1886 he patented his process for oxidising linseed oil which was used to manufacture "oil cloth" or linoleum.¹⁹⁶ This was probably the most important of Charles Bedford's scientific discoveries. His sister married the son of Sir W. H. Perkin, Professor A. G. Perkin, head of the Department of Tinctorial Chemistry and Dyeing at Leeds University, which made important contributions to the war effort in the period 1914-18.¹⁹⁷

Among rankers of the later Volunteers who achieved distinction were Sgt. Ovid Umpleby, a long-serving NCO who joined before 1878 and who became Surveyor to the Leeds Permanent Benefit Building Society (it may be significant that Capt. John James Cousins was a director of this Society);¹⁹⁸ George Wilson, a clerk at Henry Thorne and Co's cocoa and confectionery

works, who spent some years in the Rifles before being appointed General Manager of the firm in 1899 at the age of 27;¹⁹⁹ John Blackburn, who joined about 1886, founded the Leeds printing firm, John Blackburn Ltd. A lifelong Primitive Methodist, Blackburn wrote over 250 Sunday School hymns and published over 50 "Services of Song" and a musical play "The Beacon Light" which achieved wide popularity. He was a Liberal Councillor, President of the Leeds and District Band of Hope Union, a member of the Leeds Unemployment Committee, and a member of the Board of Guardians. In 1919 he converted his company into a limited liability company on the basis of co-partnership with employees.²⁰⁰ Rowland Winn OBE, who joined about 1888 and was the son of Rifleman Thomas Winn, was the motoring pioneer who built up one of the largest businesses of its kind in the North of England. One of the founder members of the Yorkshire Automobile Club in 1900 (the RAC branch not being started until 1910), and one of the few persons in the region permitted to sell petrol, he was the first man in Leeds to be convicted of "driving furiously", at a speed of 12 mph. In 1914 he became President of the Agents Section of the Motor Trades Association of Great Britain and Ireland. For 19 years a councillor and alderman, he was elected Lord Mayor in 1938. He was a notable benefactor of the Leeds Poor Children's Holiday Camp Association.²⁰¹ Alfred Masser, who won a prize in 1898, became a leading solicitor and was a member of the City Council for 40 years. It was chiefly owing to his efforts that municipal golf courses were established in Leeds.²⁰²

Many talented men joined other Volunteer corps, e.g. Frederick Leighton, J. E. Millais, William Morris, D. G. Rossetti, George Cruickshank, W. H. Smith, Thomas Hughes, Anthony Trollope, W. S. Gilbert, Herbert Gladstone, David Lloyd George, Lord Reith, Ian Hay (pseudonym of Maj. Gen. John Hay Beith, Director of War Office Public Relations 1938-41). Samuel Cunliffe Lister, later Lord Masham, who invented and improved wool-combing machinery, discovered how to make velvet from silk waste and invented the compressed airbrake for railways, was a member of the Bradford Rifle Volunteers; Alfred Cooke, the pioneer of art colour printing in England (his firm is now part of the Bemrose Corporation) and the only chromo-lithographer appointed to Queen Victoria, was a member of the Leeds Engineers; Charles Frederick Hoyle, who rose from an apprentice brewer to managing director of Bentley's Yorkshire Breweries, was also a member of the Leeds Engineers.²⁰³ Walter Harding, who was very prominent in Leeds municipal affairs and who left behind the visible legacies of the City Art Gallery, City Square, and the magnificent equestrian statue of the Black Prince,²⁰⁴

was a member of the Leeds Artillery.

825 Harry Routh, 8th Bn, became Chief General Manager of the Eagle Star Insurance Company.²⁰⁵ Virtually no information exists on the career patterns of members of the Regiment who joined in the period 1908-1914 other than that provided by respondents. Routh is the only Rifleman of the period known to have achieved distinction.

Quite a number of respondents recognised that their wartime service with the Regiment had given them an opportunity, which they might otherwise never have had, to realise their potential. The following testimonies are typical.

"I'm grateful to the Rifles for what they taught me personally. I learnt how to handle men and deal with emergencies. When I got demobbed and went back to my employers I got rapid promotion."²⁰⁶

"I received my real education in the Rifles. I met men from every social class and learnt how to deal with them. This stood me in very good stead in my post war career of management. I learnt to be tolerant and see other people's point of view, and to be understanding, approachable, and sympathetic to others, and I learnt the great importance of setting a good example to subordinates."²⁰⁷

"I have a lot to thank the Leeds Rifles for. If it had not been for them, I would never have been anything but a farm labourer, a country hick. The training and responsibility I received started me up the ladder of success. I obtained responsible and interesting jobs all over the world."²⁰⁸

Colliery shot-firer 1712 L/Sgt. John William Sanderson, Croix de Guerre, 1/8th, also commissioned in the field, was given the confidence and desire to better himself. Although he had left school at the age of 12, subsequent to availing himself of a course of further education provided by the Government for ex-Servicemen, he attended night-school and in 1924 obtained the First Class Certificate of Competency, qualifying him as a colliery manager. His best friend Bandsman Edward Bennett, 8th, a gas fitter, also attended ex-servicemen's further education courses, proceeded to higher education, became a technical college teacher and eventually Head of the Department of Engineering at Leeds College of Technology.²⁰⁹

.2 RECRUITMENT AND MOTIVATION FOR OFFICERS

Though patriotism and a considerable sense of public duty together constituted a powerful primary motive, two major groups of motivational factors governed officer recruiting in the Leeds Rifles, both in peace and in war, as they governed the recruiting of other ranks: social inheritance and interested or calculative motives.

Social inheritance factors had been prominent in the recruitment of officers since the officering of Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8 and 9 Companies in 1860 by the members of the firms concerned and their relatives. Sir Douglas Branson stated that every prewar officer of the Hallamshires had been recruited by another officer, either directly or by means of an approach through his father. This method of obtaining officers was very similar to that reported by the Sheffield Artillery to the 1904 Royal Commission,²¹⁰ and appears to have been the method employed in the Leeds Rifles. Every officer recruit to the Hallamshires had had some kind of previous connection with the regiment. In Sir Douglas's case this had been family tradition, since he had been "born and brought up in the Hallamshires": his father had served as an officer from 1880, retiring in 1913 as C.O., and his grandfather from 1864 to 1872.²¹¹ Family tradition was the life blood of the Hallamshires, as it was in the officer class of many a Territorial Unit. In 1914, for instance, the 4th Suffolks contained 4 sets of brothers or brothers and cousins: the Turners, the Garretts, the Prettys and the Browns.²¹² Col. J. R. Haslegrave, deputy Town Clerk of Leeds, C.O. of the 4th KOYLI 1951-8, was following in the footsteps of his father, Lt. Col. H. J. Haslegrave, CMG, TD, who had commanded the same battalion.²¹³ Col. H. H. Ackroyd, carpet manufacturer (T. F. Frith and Sons Ltd, Bailiffe Bridge), and his brother, Col. George H. Ackroyd, both commanded the 4th DWR.²¹⁴ In the Foster family, John Foster Junior's son was an officer in the 4th North Riding RVC, Abraham Briggs Foster's son an officer in the Staffordshire Yeomanry; their eldest brother, William, had 3 sons who took commissions in the Yeomanry, one of whom rose to command, and 3 who took commissions in the Volunteers, all of whom rose to command, two in the Bradford Artillery and one in the 1st VB DWR (later the 4th Bn) and all of whom were followed in turn by their sons, while 3 daughters married Volunteer officers (Colonel of the 4th DWR; Colonel and Major of the 2nd VB PWO of Bradford).²¹⁵

Family tradition had always been very strong in the Leeds Rifles. In the Volunteer period at least 64 of the 158 officers, i.e. 40.5%, had relatives in the officer class, while of the first 15 officers enrolled, 11 were followed by relatives who became officers. At least 16 (38.1%) of the officers on the March 1914 Army List, 12 (36.4%) of the 1/7th and 8 (24.2%) of the 1/8th officers of November 1914 came from Volunteer families. During the Volunteer period there had been several examples of father and son serving together as officers. During the war period there were two: Major W. Braithwaite and his son, Capt. E. W. Braithwaite, and

Major E. Booth (one of 5 brothers in the Regiment) and his two sons, A. E. and G. L. Booth; there were also three sets of uncles and nephews: Lt. Col. the Hon. F. S. Jackson and C. L. Sagar-Musgrave; Capt. (Major) T. Longbottom and E. B. Longbottom; and Lt. Col. J. W. Alexander and his two nephews, 2/Lt. J. C. K. Alexander and Dr. J. Alexander. During the war there were a considerable number of sets of brothers, cousins and relatives by marriage. Among the brothers were C. H. and M. H. Tetley, A. G. and L. W. Rigby, G. C. and D. E. Ward, H. C. and G. C. Edwards, Thomas V. and Robert J. Riley, A. S. and T. Hamilton, A. L. and A. B. Mortimer, and C. and S. South. Lt. Col. F. C. Bousfield, C.O. of the 3/7th at Clipstone, was Major H. D. Bousfield's eldest brother. Brothers Maurice and Francis A. Lupton were cousins of H. R. and N. D. Lupton and W. Gerard Kemp. There were two sets of Wilson brothers who were first cousins: Major Joshua Harrop Wilson (2 i/c, 2/7th), Arnold Wilson and Charles Slater Wilson and Andrew and Norman Wilson. Cousins included Lt. the Hon. R. D. Kitson and Lt. Col. E. Kitson Clark; F. L. and G. L. Watson; E. W. and W. H. Braithwaite; R. Salter and G. W. Sykes; Paul Motley, Arthur Hereward L. Motley and G. C. Kinder; the Tetleys and A. R. Glazebrook. Among the Hon. F. S. Jackson's officers were his brother-in-law, R. L. Tinsley, and another relative by marriage, Lt. Bazley-White. W. R. Brown was married to the sister of W. A. Campbell, while his own sister married A. E. Battle. The Luptons and the Tetleys were related by marriage to the Kitsons. N. D. Lupton was first cousin of Lady Airedale, the Hon. R. D. Kitson's sister-in-law. C. H. Tetley and the Hon. R. D. Kitson were brothers-in-law, having married sisters, while Tetley's sister had married Kitson's uncle, the architect Sidney Decimus Kitson (Leeds Rifles 1900-04), who designed the Leeds College of Art, the Public Dispensary and several Leeds banks. The Tetleys and the Bousfields were connected by business: H. D. Bousfield's legal partner and the mother of the Tetleys were brother and sister whose nephew was A. R. Glazebrook, the practice's articled pupil; Glazebrook was also distantly related to the Tetleys on his father's side. After the war, Capt. Glazebrook and Capt. Edwin Roberts married two sisters who were Lt. R. S. Briggs' cousins and Lt. S. R. Cooper married the sisters' first cousin.

Some officers came from families with particularly strong traditions of service in the Leeds Rifles. At the close of the 19th century, H Company was known as "Bousfield's Company" because it was officered by the three Bousfield brothers;²¹⁶ their father had served as an officer from 1869 to 1894, attaining the rank of Lt. Colonel and their mother was the sister of a Leeds Rifles officer; the two firms that had amalgamated to form the

family firm, Hudson, Sykes and Bousfield, had both been actively concerned in the founding of No. 3 Company in 1859; G. W. Sykes was the son of one of the firm's principals and his ancestor had been a founder member of the Rifles. The fathers of the Motley cousins had served in the regiment, one for 25 years as an officer, and their great-grandfather had been an officer in Col. Lloyd's Leeds Volunteer Infantry. The grandfather and great-uncle of the Tetleys²¹⁷ had been founder members of the Rifles and had raised No. 9 Company from among their own employees; Humphrey Tetley had been gazetted in 1910 but persistent ill-health had compelled his resignation in 1912; an ancestor had held a commission in the Leeds Volunteer Infantry. The father of F. A. and M. Lupton had been an officer in the Rifles; the father of N. D. Lupton had served as an officer, his father's brother in the ranks, his grandfather had raised the Woollen Trades Company in 1860, whilst his grandmother was the first cousin of Capt. Hans Busk, one of the principal originators of the Volunteer Movement;²¹⁸ two ancestors of the Luptons had held commissions in the Leeds Volunteer Infantry. "Family tradition" was the reason given by Capt. H. R. Lupton for joining the Leeds Rifles. The Kitsons were the family with the strongest traditions of service in the Regiment: James Kitson I had raised No. 6 Company and his two oldest sons had been founder members of the Rifles.

Several officers were the sons or grandsons of former rankers in the Regiment: W. H. Jacques was the son of 1769 John Jacques, cloth finisher, who enrolled in 1866; the South brothers the sons of 2633 Frederick South, leather dresser, who joined in 1870; John Buckley the grandson of 960 James Buckley, master printer and stationer, who joined in 1861; and E. J. Clarke the grandson of founder member William Clarke, solicitor. Several officers came from families with Volunteer traditions, but in other corps: the elder brother of Capt. St. Clair Stockwell had held a commission in the KOYLI Volunteers; Capt. Redmayne's uncle, Alfred Redmayne, managing director of the Willow Brewery of Kirkstall Road, and his cousin, were officers in the Yorkshire Dragoons.²¹⁹

A great many of the officers had previous connections with the Regiment via at least one link in a complex network of kinship, family tradition, business, social, educational and other associations. Friendship was at least as powerful a motivator as kinship and family tradition. It was repeatedly impressed on all ranks that it was their duty to the Regiment to canvass all their friends and eligible relatives to join. Lt. J. B. Gawthorpe had recruited as an officer one of his circle of friends, Kenneth Ives, and he had done his best to recruit one of his closest friends, Jimmy

Milner, but the future Labour MP had sought a commission instead in the "posher" Leeds ASC with its eye-catching dress uniform.²²⁰ Brigadier Kenneth Hargreaves joined the Leeds Rifles by accident. Sent to Leeds to learn the business in the family coal-exporting firm, (now Hargreaves Group Ltd/Hargreaves Industrial Services Ltd) he had gone to watch a rugby match one Saturday afternoon and was asked by a friend to make up the numbers in one of the teams. The team was that of the Leeds Rifles and its captain was so impressed by his showing that shortly afterwards he was invited to apply for a commission in the 8th Bn. It had not hitherto occurred to him to do so.²²¹ Many of the officers of the Leeds Rifles who had been domiciled in the city had mixed socially outside the Regiment. For example, the Tetleys, the Kitsons, E. Kitson Clark, S. S. Sykes, W. H. Brooke, R. A. Hudson, and T. Longbottom, had all moved in the same social circles as the Luptons;²²² Hudson rented the gentlemen's residence he lived in from the Kitson family. Some officers were near neighbours, e.g. the Rigby brothers and Karl Horner, 7th, lived in Monkbridge Road, Headingley, the Lupton brothers and C. B. Stead in Newton Park, North Chapeltown. Some had attended the same school together, e.g. Paul Motley and C. B. Stead were at Sedbergh together, Richard Ward (a solicitor who may have been a member or kinsman of the Sykes Ward family) and R. A. Hudson at Giggleswick, G. M. Hirst (from Harrogate), H. N. Johnstone (from Pool-in-Wharfedale), and S. J. Pearson (from Ampleforth) at Rugby, W. H. Braithwaite and R. C. Calvert at Leeds Grammar School, and E. Norris Firth, an 8th Bn mustard-gas victim, and G. C. Ward at Leeds Modern School. Friendship assumed a particular importance as a motivator after the outbreak of war in 1914. L. Wyn Griffith spoke on behalf of a great many officers when he wrote: "None of my contemporaries thought that there was anything 'noble' about joining the armed forces. It was what your friends were doing, and it was only natural that you should do the same, if you could."²²³

In-migrants, seeking friends and a congenial and physically active leisure-time pursuit that would occupy some evenings and weekends, were frequently to be found among peacetime officer recruits. All the undergraduates included in Table C of Chap. 1 were either living in lodgings or in the hall of residence. Nothing could be discovered about the social or occupational backgrounds of 5 of the total of 158 officers covered in the Table. They did not belong to local families, did not settle in Leeds after resigning their commissions, and it seems reasonable to surmise that they were articled pupils living in lodgings. Several of the officers who enrolled up to 1875 (and whose occupations were listed in the Muster Roll) could

not be traced in any directory, nor did they appear to belong to any local family. Other Leeds Rifles officers are known to have been in-migrants. Scot J. W. Alexander had been a private in the 1st Lanarkshire Engineer Volunteers during his first four years at Glasgow Medical School and took a commission in the Leeds Rifles shortly after setting up in practice in the town. Cambridge-born Edwin Kitson Clark, apprenticed in the family firm, shared a bachelor establishment near Carlton Barracks with Gerard Elin, another in-migrant, and his mother's young half-brother, Reginald Francis Kitson, and all three enrolled as officers in the Regiment. Schoolmaster Ernest Walling was from Ingleton and the fact that he shared lodgings with a colleague named Kirk may have influenced his choice of regiment. Government employees Lts. A. Ap Ellis and W. Tarr had been moved about the country a good deal and both had been transferred to the Leeds Rifles from other regiments. Other in-migrants included J. C. Chambers (previously 13½ years in the Durham Volunteers), John Hood (previously 12 years in the Queen's Edinburgh Rifle Volunteer Brigade) and Charles Edward Arundel (previously 6 years in the Pontefract Volunteers).

A number of officers had been members of Leeds University OTC at the same time. The three academic members of the University who took commissions in 1914 had no local affiliations and may have been influenced in their choice of the Leeds Rifles by older colleagues who were friends of Col. Hepworth. Several officers had previously served, or were still serving, together in the Boys' Brigade or Church Lads' Brigade. Some officers were associated in business, others met frequently in the course of business. In the 8th Bn E. Kitson Clark was managing director of Kitson's, his cousin the Hon. R. D. Kitson was general manager at Monkbridge, and T. P. Reay, son of the chairman, was a member of the management of Airedale Foundry. Captains Redmayne and Glover of the 7th were members of Leeds Stock Exchange, as was Capt. Longbottom of the 8th. 2/Lt. Alex W. Wilson, 7th, gazetted in 1914, was the articled pupil of retired Leeds Rifles officer, George Adam Hart, the municipal sewerage engineer. A. R. Glazebrook, 7th, was articled to his uncle, John Cecil Atkinson (Leeds Rifles 1876-9), a member of a Leeds Rifles family and nephew of Dr. J. D. Heaton (whose sons had been commissioned in the Rifles). Atkinson was in partnership in the legal firm of Dibb, Lupton and Co. with Major H. D. Bousfield (their fathers had served together in the Rifles). The firm, as Dibb, Atkinson and Piper, had been one of the first subscribers to the Leeds Rifles funds in 1859,²²⁴ and the partners John Piper Jnr. and John William Atkinson (father of Francis Edward, Leeds Rifles 1876-84, and John Cecil) had been

founder members of the Regiment and had led their clerks into it. Glazebrook had arrived in Leeds in the autumn of 1913 with the reputation of being a wild young-man-about-town with a penchant for practical jokes and accepting impossible dares for wagers. One Long Vacation he won a bet by making a living for himself on the music-hall stage by appearing as "Don Antonio, the great Spanish Dancer". He appeared in anything up to six different theatres a night, changing costumes in a hansom cab between theatres, but was eventually recognised by some friends of his mother's who happened to be in the audience one night. It was suggested to him by his uncle, cousin C. H. Tetley, or H. D. Bousfield, that he took one of the vacant commissions in the 7th Bn,²²⁵ perhaps as an attempt to prevent a recurrence of such escapades.

Some officers were the sons of long-standing subscribers to regimental funds, e.g. Cuthbert Hartnell, and Frank Abe (who may have been a descendant of early members 291 Francis Abe or 1167 Llewellyn M. Abe), or members of subscribing companies, such as Joshua Wilson and Sons and Wm. Lupton and Co. Col. F. W. Tannett-Walker belonged to Tannett and Co., previously Smith, Beacock and Tannett, of Victoria Foundry, Holbeck, which had been an honorary member since before 1863. W. L. Illingworth and C. I. C. Rishworth were members of firms that were prominent "Volunteer Shops".

Certain officers were exposed to special influences which can be classified as social inheritance. Ironmonger Edward Kirk, Lt. Col. A. E. Kirk's grandfather, employed David Ripley, one of the very first working men to enrol in the Leeds Rifles. Actor 2/Lt. George Zucco had been working for some time in repertory in Canada before the war and during this period had served as a ranker in the 90th Winnipeg Rifles, a Canadian equivalent of a Territorial battalion of which a number of former Leeds Riflemen were members.²²⁶ 2/Lt. Thomas Geoffrey Fawcett's home was Barrowby Hall, Garforth, once owned by Col. Thomas Lloyd, widely revered as the "ancestor" of the Leeds Rifles. The father of Frederick Reid Corson designed the warehouse of Wm. Lupton's and was architect to Tetley's Brewery from 1864 to 1904, designing the new buildings erected 1865-9 and "Foxhill", the home of F. W. Tetley. Chartered accountant F. R. Corson resigned his commission in the Leeds Rifles before the war in order to go out to India,²²⁷ returned to take a commission in the West Yorks, but did not succeed in getting posted back to the Rifles until June 1918. A. M. Ramsden may have sought a commission in a Territorial regiment at the instigation of his uncle, William Ramsden, an ex-Volunteer, of the Huddersfield legal firm of Ramsden, Sykes and Ramsden, to whom he was articled and who had himself been articled

to Robert Berry,²²⁸ the historian of the local Volunteers. S. M. Bickersteth, 7th, was the son of the Chaplain of the Regiment.

Many officers, however, had more than one previous connection with the Regiment. The tannery owned by C. B. Stead's father had previously been that of Wilson, Walker and Co., whose employees had been joining the Regiment since 1860. Many of the tannery workers were serving in the Rifles in December 1914 when C. B. Stead left school. (His younger brother, Phillip K. Stead, was commissioned in the 8th Bn in 1927 and served until 1937; the firm's employees were continuing to serve in the Regiment in considerable numbers.)²²⁹ Maurice Lupton worked at Hathorn Davy's where his uncle, Hugh Lupton senior, was managing director and where Cuthbert Hartnell had served two years of his engineering apprenticeship. Edmund Wilson's father was Secretary and Manager of the Aire and Calder Navigation, one of the oldest and staunchest supporters of the Leeds Rifles. Wilson was articled to solicitor Ald. John Hope Shaw, an enlightened Liberal with a high sense of social duty and a record of outstanding public service; a fellow articled clerk was James Shaw Newstead, who had joined the Rifles as a ranker in 1859, and was taken into partnership in the firm in 1864.²³⁰ E. F. Wilkinson, S. Bellhouse and W. G. Kemp, 8th, knew each other in civilian life, since all lived in Ben Rhydding, Ilkley (and the first two had attended Ilkley Grammar School, where Wilkinson had been Head Boy and Captain of the first XV and XI), but each appeared in addition to have had personal reasons for choosing the Leeds Rifles. Wilkinson had been a keen member of Leeds University OTC before the war; Bellhouse's father was a relative or close friend of Major Walter Braithwaite, for news cuttings about him are to be found in the Braithwaite Scrapbook, and he may have been a relative of Sgt. G. E. O. Bellhouse of the 8th Bn; Bellhouse was up at the same Cambridge college as 2/Lt. R. S. Briggs of the 7th; Kemp worked at Wm. Lupton and Co., where his cousin Francis was employed and of which his uncle (by marriage) was a director.

Social inheritance was frequently the means of recruiting officers in other units. The future Field Marshal Lord Harding of Petherton was recruited, when working as a junior clerk in the Post Office Savings Bank, as an officer in the 11th Bn London Regiment by a friend at work.²³¹ The family of Lt. Col. E. L. Carlile of the 2nd VB DWR (Huddersfield) had been supporting the Huddersfield Volunteer corps since its inception. Lt. Col. H. O. Wade and the 2 i/c Major C. E. Scott of the 6th WYR were partners in a Bradford firm of solicitors, both former Volunteers who had joined the company recruited from Old Boys of Bradford Grammar School, and a junior

member of the firm, Lt. W. G. Tetley, also served with them;²³² 2/Lt. W. A. Chambers of the Leeds ASC was the son of Col. J. C. Chambers; Capt. F. A. Johnson of the Leeds Engineers was the son of retired Engineers officer W. W. Johnson; Lt. Col. E. Audus Hirst of the Leeds Artillery was the son of a retired Leeds Artillery officer. Capt. R. I. Denham of the Leeds Engineers was the Assistant Town Clerk of Huddersfield; his boss, F. C. Lloyd, the Town Clerk, had retired from the Leeds Engineers in 1895 after many years' service.²³³ Family tradition and other social inheritance factors influenced the future Lord Reith to join the 5th Scottish Rifles, previously the 1st Lanark Rifle Volunteers. He had been taught rifle exercises at the age of 8 by an older brother who was a member of the regiment. He had been an original member of the Glasgow Academy Cadet Corps in 1901 and when he left school had joined the Glasgow University Company of the 1st Lanark as a private, transferring in 1908 to the new University OTC, which was affiliated to the 5th SR and commanded by a captain seconded from that battalion. He eventually decided in 1911 to take a commission in the 5th SR. He already knew several of the officers, in particular the C.O. Col. Roxburgh, who lived across the road, and Capt. Campbell who regularly attended the Presbyterian Church where Lord Reith's father was Minister.²³⁴

Many officers may well have had interested or calculative motives for seeking commissions, such as War Office contractors (the Greenwoods of Leeds and the Vickers of Sheffield), manufacturers of uniform cloths (the Luptons and the Addymans of Leeds), newly-qualified doctors, lawyers and accountants trying to build up practices, and architects, landscape artists and portrait painters seeking commissions from the local elite. Ian Hay considered that officers taking temporary commissions in 1914 were motivated by the personal advantages they could perceive to themselves: improved health; a welcome change in work; a living wage at last for the struggling young professional man; "a cure for indecision of mind"; a Parliamentary candidate was said to have taken a commission so that he could bait his Radical opponent by sending him telegrams that he was obliged to read out at recruiting meetings.²³⁵ No doubt many officers were seeking an "amusing social and healthful recreation" as members of a gentleman's military club. This was a motive in common with the majority of the Other Ranks but, whereas many of the Other Ranks enjoyed the status derived from taking part in activities highly regarded by their fellow citizens, it early became all too evident that there was no social status attached to being a Volunteer officer, that a Volunteer commission was no passport to social influence and position.²³⁶ "The Scout" remarked in 1911 that

"Volunteer officers used to be placed in a rather invidious position regarding their ranks, and it was not considered good form to make use of their title in civilian life."²³⁷ Some may have used their titles to further their applications for top posts in local authorities: Capt. Charles S. Rooke, MICE, Leeds Rifles, was appointed Resident Engineer of Bradford Corporation Waterworks in 1872. A Coventry Volunteer officer, Major George G. Tarry, aged 40, was chosen as Chief Constable of Leeds in 1900 from 85 applicants and continued to use his title throughout his term of office.²³⁸

Many employers who took commissions were undoubtedly at least partly motivated by the desire to show a superior example to their clerks, assistants and workmen and encourage them to join the Force. All Leeds firms in which directors and/or directors' sons were serving Volunteer/Territorial officers, e.g. Kitson's, Barran's and Bray's, gave strong encouragement to their employees to join the Force. Occasionally employees may have led their employer into the Force: solicitor 635 George Hird Nelson followed his clerks 154 John Whewell, 209 John Baker and 271 G. W. A. Davis into the Leeds Rifles in 1860 and was commissioned two years later.

Certain motivations achieved particular prominence after the outbreak of war in 1914. Full-time military service always offers new opportunities to the recruit, whether officer or ranker: countless young men have found it an escape from narrow provincialism and a restrictive milieu. Many officer candidates were anxious not to miss what they felt would be a great experience;²³⁹ many looked on the taking up of an army commission as a personal challenge. Many were escaping from personal dilemmas: L. Wyn Griffith was leaving a humdrum and tedious job in the Inland Revenue.²⁴⁰ The latent factor of an unsatisfactory home life shows itself to have been important among 1/7th officers: as indicated by next-of-kin data, a minimum of 26.6% of the total, 31.5% of single officers, had no father or no parents.

Patriotism and a sense of duty were important motives in both peace and war. Under the influence of the Victorian emphasis on high-flown moral virtues, a "gentleman", in his choice of hobby or leisuretime pursuits, may have been at least partly motivated by a desire to serve his country for honour rather than for personal reward. Volunteering felicitously combined a genuine wish to serve with a good club that provided adventure, comradeship and a light-hearted recreational element. Brigadier Hargreaves, speaking of the 1920s, said, "It was in those days expected of a young man that he should do something for his City and, as it was put to him,

'you might as well do the thing you like'."²⁴¹ A good many Leeds Rifles officers came from families with a strong tradition of public service: the Kitsons are only one example. The person who delivered Col. Hugh D. Bousfield's funeral eulogy declared: "His sense of duty was most marked in everything that he undertook, and it merged into his ideal of service to the community ... The love of his country, that great passion, had a marked effect upon the whole of his life."²⁴²

A considerable number of wartime officers were idealists imbued with the Christian warrior ethic who saw themselves as "Militant Crusaders". Eric F. Wilkinson, 8th, was a devout Wesleyan Methodist. The following lines are taken from his poem 'To "My People", before the "Great Offensive"', composed in June 1916:

"Mourn not for me too sadly; I have been,
 For months of an exalted life, a King;
 And if the crown is death,
 Death while I'm fighting for my home and King,
 Thank God the son who drew from you his breath
 To death could bring
 A not entirely worthless sacrifice,
 Because of those brief months when life meant more
 Than selfish pleasures. Grudge not then the price,
 But say, 'Our country in the storm of war
 Has found him fit to fight and die for her',²⁴³
 And lift your heads in pride for evermore."

These sentiments are to be found in the work of other war poets, e.g. of Prime Minister's son, Herbert Asquith (Royal Artillery):

"His lance is broken; but he lies content
 With that high hour, in which he lived and died."²⁴⁴

18-year-old 2/Lt. J. C. Tuckey, brother of Capt. H. R. Lupton's sister-in-law, composed a poem on Good Friday 1915, the last verse of which ran:

"We do not fight this war from greed of gain;
 We strive that others after may be free;
 And while our bodies brave the chance of pain,²⁴⁵
 With holy prayers we trust our souls to Thee."

Like Other Ranks, officers were subjected to a variety of motivational influences when they decided to join the Regiment. Member of a Volunteer family Hugh Lupton was evidently keen on soldiering, for he had attained the rank of Colour-Sergeant in his school OTC. John Gawthorpe gave as his reason for joining "patriotic duty", stating that he had been considerably influenced by Lord Roberts' campaign for military preparedness, but his two cousins were already in the 8th Bn, his employers gave every encouragement to their clerks to join the TF, and one of his father's bank

customers had made a recruiting approach on the 8th Bn's behalf through his father. Jack Bellerby, a Leeds University undergraduate who lodged with a friend of Col. Hepworth, came from a strongly pacifist family:

"In August 1914 I was not prepared to make a decision one way or the other, but one thing was definite in my mind - I would certainly not be a party to having the country overrun by Germans. If they came I should wish to know how to fire a gun. Training in this was necessary, even though I was not then disposed to go abroad. This was possible by joining the OTC, which I did within 10 days of the declaration of war. ... Many motives no doubt operated together, especially in the decisions of the non-introspective young. Possibly the most important factor ultimately swaying my decision to join the army was the realisation that most of my student friends were heading that way, and that it would be quite insufferably boring to return to the University when the majority had gone." 246

In October, despite parental opposition, he applied to Col. Hepworth for a commission. Harry Whitham, another Leeds University second-year student, did not immediately decide to join up. He was convinced the war would soon be over and, in any case, since he was being financially supported at the University with some difficulty by his elder brother, he was understandably most reluctant to abandon his studies. Nevertheless he joined the OTC. As his contribution to the University's war effort he was asked to act as lab. technician to Professor Cobb who was working on the systematic control of the process of extracting toluene from coal gas, which would help to maintain a regular supply of trinitrotoluene.

"I was putting in 8 to 12 drills a week at the OTC. One day I learnt that someone from Prof. Cobb's department had been round trying to get my number of drills cut down. I was so blazing mad at this blatant under-handed interference that I decided to leave their research and the University and go into the army. So I went to see F. S. Jackson to ask if I could take a commission in his regiment."

Since Jackson was a public figure, the idea of becoming one of his officers was an attractive one.²⁴⁶

Although social inheritance networks were the principal means of recruiting Leeds Rifles officers, other methods had existed in peacetime. In 1908, when the 8th Bn was raised and allocated the portion of the city south of the river as its recruiting area, all industrial employers located within the area were canvassed and continued to be canvassed throughout the prewar period. Since a good many of the officers gazetted during the period were members of firms in South Leeds, e.g. T. P. Reay, W. H. Brooke, W. H. Braithwaite (from Horsforth) and R. M. Waddington (from Clifton, York), they may well have been influenced by this continuous recruiting

campaign. Lt. Gawthorpe claimed that the propaganda play "An Englishman's Home", which was put on in Leeds in September 1909, had "an immense influence" on Territorial officer recruiting in the city. 3 officers enrolled in the Leeds Rifles during the following two months. All officer recruiting methods tended to have a "snowball" effect: e.g. Waddington recruited an officer from his home area, Leslie C. Hossell.

From the beginning of 1916 an increasing number and percentage of officer replacements to active-service infantry battalions had seen previous service in the ranks. There was much "suitable" officer material in middle-class Kitchener battalions, such as the "Leeds Pals", and in middle-class TF battalions, such as the 5th SR, which had over 250 of its rankers commissioned during the war.²⁴⁷ There was ample suitable material in the mixed-class TF battalions which included the Leeds Rifles. Not unexpectedly, a very large proportion of the early Leeds Rifles rankers recommended for commissions were of the type who, by reason of their social and educational backgrounds, would have been considered "suitable" in prewar days. They included insurance clerk 1/8th Bn Signal Sgt Norman Taylor, educated at a secondary school and a cricketer of near-County standard, and 1/8th Bn Signaller John W. Parker, a food chemist at "Leeds Rifles Shop" Messrs. Goodall and Backhouse whose ex-Leeds Rifleman father was company secretary at Illingworth, Ingham and Co Ltd (founded by ex-Leeds Rifleman William Illingworth). Some middle-class rankers refused proffered commissions. One was 1182 Cpl Arthur Fisher, 1/7th, (see Chap. 12, section 12.8), another was Scout 1913 Cpl Alfred Cecil Arnold, 1/8th, a qualified Incorporated accountant who worked in the family glass-bevelling business, and who was said by a respondent to closely resemble Bourne, Frederic Manning's hero,²⁴⁸ (who was also extremely reluctant to leave the ranks).

It cannot be discovered how many rankers in the Regiment were commissioned during the war.²⁴⁹ A considerable number were gazetted in other regiments, e.g. bank clerk A. A. Cairns, 1/7th, son of the manager of a large Leeds city centre furniture store, was commissioned in the Royal Warwickshire Regt, Leeds University student 2453 Henry Thackray, 1/8th, in the 2nd WYR, Oxford undergraduate Alexander Jackson, 8th, in the 2nd East Yorks, local government officer 2554 Claude N. Pepper, 1/8th, and Clarence Harper, 1/7th, son of the Chairman of Rawdon UDC, in the 6th WYR, and farm worker 2505 Sgt C. C. Coulson DCM, 1/8th, in the Green Howards (Yorkshire Regt.). Only 19 of the 162 officers who joined the 1/7th after 1st January 1916 had served in the ranks of the Leeds Rifles. No statistics are available

for the other battalions. The following ex-riflemen are known to have been commissioned in the 1/8th: Norman Taylor; assistant company secretary and accountant 1951 Sgt William B. Burrell, both ex-1/8th; civil servant 2834 Cpl Tom Nettleton and 1699 Bugler Harold Booth, employed in his father's engineering workshop, both ex-1/7th; Leeds University students Francis William Smith, son of a gardener, and William Ewart Worsley, son of a tailor,²⁵⁰ both ex-1/8th.

Only 3 of the 11 officer replacements in the 1/7th during 1915 were ex-rankers. The first was E. H. Fender, a motor engineer (then a fashionable occupation for a "gentleman"), who had served in the 2nd Essex Dragoon Yeomanry for at least 12 years. Ex-ranker officers of working-class origin did not start to appear in the 1/7th until the end of 1917. Of the total of 9, two were former riflemen. They were tailor's cutter (Christian name, not rank) Major Ingham, from North Harehills, and a woodcutting machinist, Leonard Tate, from Richmond Hill, a very popular sergeant who had been in the 7th since February 1912.

It was clear from respondents' testimony that many working-class and lower middle-class NCOs had refused commissions when offered. The most important factors influencing their decisions seem to have been (a) unwillingness to leave the battalion and their friends, (b) the expense involved, and (c) fear of social ostracism from above and, in particular, from below.

When Charles Carrington applied for a commission at the beginning of 1915 he had some doubts as to whether he could live on his pay and allowances, particularly as allowances were lowest and mess bills highest when living in UK camps or barracks. During his first year he received a £50 outfit allowance and pay allowances amounting to just over £200 and at the year's end was "a few pounds in hand".²⁵¹ By the time large numbers of lower middle-class and working class men were entering the officer corps, inflation was soaring and the outfit allowance became woefully inadequate. Miner Gilbert Hall was obliged to spend over £100 of his own savings in order to complete his uniforms and kits.²⁵² Respondent Harry Spurr, 7th, commented on the poor quality of the uniform of his platoon officer,²⁵³ insurance official S. F. Jackson, an ex-1/7th ranker, who arrived as an officer replacement in November 1916. Officers were able to live on their pay as long as they remained on active service.

Rankers were fully aware that the men much preferred officers who were gentlemen by education, manners and habits and who would conduct themselves like gentlemen in every situation. They knew that ranker officers were not infrequently mistrusted, heartily disliked if not despised, and generally not accepted by privates and NCOs alike, and that the men were capable of harassing such officers psychologically. They were also aware, through direct personal observation or officers' servants' gossip, that if some ranker officers were not, perhaps, socially ostracised by their fellow officers, there at least existed a social gulf between them. 1/8th Bn Quartermaster Benny Farrar, for instance, the erstwhile RSM, frequently sought the company of his own NCOs and men in off-duty hours,²⁵⁴ despite the fact that the highest standards of gentlemanly behaviour were maintained in the 1/8th Officers' Mess.²⁵⁵

These topics are further discussed in Chapter 12, section 12.6.

Notes

1. Questionnaire Design & Attitude Measurement (London, 1966; 1968 HEB paperback edn.), pp. 161-2.
2. Camp & Barrack Room; or, the British Army as it is (London, 1846), p. 311, cited by B. Bond, 'The Dignity of Danger I: The Army', in Theo Barker, ed., The Long March of Everyman 1750-1960, (London, 1975; Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 40.
3. Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the operation of the laws for raising men to serve in the Army & into the existing system of recruiting for the Army, qq. 264, 2454; 1867 (3752). xv.1.
4. A. R. Skelley, The Victorian Army at Home (London & Montreal, 1977), p. 249.
5. Yorkshire Post, 16, 18 May 1973; 3 May, 4 November 1976.
6. Ibid., 9, 29 September 1975; 11 April, 20 November 1978; 20 September 1979; 21 April 1980; Evening Post, 4 April 1974; 10, 11 November 1976.
7. BBC-1, "Close-up North" from Leeds, 20 October 1978.
8. For example, Evening Post, 5 March 1977.
9. For example, Sunday Express, 3 October 1982. The Territorial Army & Volunteer Reserve reverted to the title "Territorial Army" in August 1979.
10. Table D, factors (u)-(z) inclusive; Evening Post, 4 April 1974, 11 November 1976; Yorkshire Post, 29 September 1975.
11. I. F. W. Beckett, "The English Rifle Volunteer Movement 1859-1908", unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1974, p. 51.
12. The Volunteer Force: A Social & Political History 1859-1908 (London, 1975), p. 73.
13. 163 HC Deb. 3s. 7 June 1861, col. 785.
14. T. R. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (London, 1976), p. 159.
15. Loc. cit.
16. Op. cit., p. 173.
17. Leeds & West Riding Express, 28 January 1860.
18. R. N. Price, An Imperial War & the British Working Class (London, 1972), pp. 230-2.
19. 'Militarism in Britain before the Great War', History Workshop Journal, No. 2, 1976, 105.
20. J. K. Dunlop, The Territorial Army Today (London, 1939), p. 8.
21. Unattributed, 'A History of the Yorkshire District Column RASC', unpublished MS, 1964.
22. Yorkshire Post, 6 November 1909; 23 December 1882; 28 April 1908.

23. G. Talbot Griffith, 'James Kitson & Some Others', unpublished MS, 1970.
24. E. Kitson Clark, Kitsons of Leeds 1837-1937 (London, 1938), p. 7.
25. E. D. Steele, 'Leeds & Victorian Politics', The University of Leeds Review, 17 (1974-5), 277.
26. K. D. Pickup, West Yorkshire Rifle Volunteers 1859-1887 (Leicester, 1977), pp. 12, 13, 29, 53, 43, 17, 46, 31, 49.
27. At the end of the 1861-2 Volunteer year the national total of enrolled Volunteers was nearly 3½ thousand (just over 2%) below the previous year's figure. Numbers started climbing rapidly again from 1863. (Royal Commission on the Militia & Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix XCII; 1904 Cmd. 2064, xxxi, 587).
28. Leeds Intelligencer, 1 February 1862.
29. Royal Commission on the Condition of the Volunteer Force, Appendix 2, pp. 223-4; 1862 (3053). xxvii. 89.
30. Leeds Mercury, 29 January 1862.
31. See, for example, E. F. Wilkinson's poem, 'Feet Upon the Highway', Sunset Dreams (London, 1918 edn.)
32. Programme & Prologues: Amateur Dramatic Entertainment by the members of the 7th West York Rifle Volunteers Leeds for the purpose of raising funds for a drill ground & armoury... February 3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th, 1862, Leeds City Reference Library, Local Collections.
33. R. B. Rose, 'Liverpool Volunteers of 1859', Liverpool Libraries, Museums & Arts Committee Bulletin, Vol. 6, nos. 1 & 2 (1956), 59.
34. Punch, Almanack, Vol. XL (1861); 14 January 1860, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 13.
35. Yorkshire Post, 6 November 1909.
36. Tetley LRVC Minute Book, Vol. I.
37. Personal communication from son, Dr. George S. Kitson Clark.
38. Loc. cit.
39. Yorkshire Evening News, 27 February 1907.
40. Britain's Territorials in Peace & War (London, 1915), p. 152.
41. Oral testimony.
42. Yorkshire Evening News, 25 June 1915.
43. The Spectator, Vol. 118, 2 June 1917, p. 613.
44. H. Cunningham, The Volunteer Force, p. 15.
45. G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875 (London, 1971), pp. 75, 77.
46. Punch, 3 September 1859, Vol. XXXVII, p. 101.
47. A.E., B.F. & H.M. Butler, eds., The Diary of Thomas Butler of Kirkstall Forge, Yorkshire, 1796-1799 (London, 1906), p. 124.

48. Advertisement in the Leeds Bazaar Rifle Volunteer Gazette, 28 January 1862, Braithwaite Scrapbook. (This gazette was purely a Bazaar souvenir).
49. T. R. Tholfsen, op. cit., p. 193.
50. P. & C.A. Horn, 'Payment by Results in Education', Management Services, Vol. 20, No. 4, April 1976, 8-10.
51. See R.D. Baxter, The National Income, The United Kingdom (London, 1868), Appendix IV, pp. 88-93, cited G. Best, op. cit., pp. 95-7; E. J. Hobsbawm, Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour (London, 1964), Tables I, p. 280; III, p. 286; V, p. 288.
52. E. H. Hunt, Regional Wage Variations in Britain 1850-1914 (Oxford, 1973), for example, p. 310.
53. Maude Pember Reeves, Round About a Pound a Week, (London, 1913; Virago paperback, 1979), p. 193; see also B. S. Rowntree, Poverty and Progress (London, 1941), Chap. X, pp. 281-303; J. H. Treble, Urban Poverty in Britain 1830-1914 (London, 1979), Chap. V, pp. 149-171.
54. B. S. Rowntree, Poverty: A Study of Town Life (London, 1901; 1971 edn.), pp. 250, 251; Leeds Education Committee, Reports of the School Medical Officer, 1909, 1910; Table L, Chap. 5.
55. J. H. Treble, op. cit., pp. 75, 73, 72.
56. The Living Wage (London, 1913), p. 35.
57. Oral testimonies of Sgt. Hector W. McMasters, 8th, & Alfred Lowley, 7th. 'Rammy' was Major Max Ramsden.
58. Yorkshire Evening Post, 31 July 1925.
59. Testimonies of Reginald Rivers, 7th; Harold Grant, 8th; & others.
60. Testimony of Sgt. Hector W. McMasters.
61. 7th Bn Roll Book, 1930-37.
62. G. Routh, Occupation & Pay in Great Britain 1906-60 (Cambridge, 1965), Table 1, pp. 4-5.
63. Oral testimony. For unemployed men in the TA, see also J. K. Dunlop, The Problems & Responsibilities of the Territorial Army (London, 1935), p. 35.
64. Poverty: A Study of Town Life, p. 153.
65. Minutes of the West Riding Territorial Force Association, Vol. II, 7 July 1913; Leeds City Libraries, Archives Department, Acc. 1469.
66. Royal Commission on the Condition of the Volunteer Force, q. 2607; 1862 (3053). xxvii. 89.
67. 1893 Prize Distribution programme, Braithwaite Scrapbook. Compare H. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 116.

68. Testimony of 552 L/Cpl William W. Cameron, 7th.
69. Testimonies of Darbyshire and of the respective widows of Holmes and Waddington.
70. Times, 22 November 1859, 6e.
71. Leeds Mercury, 7 June, 26 November 1886; undated recruiting pamphlet in the Braithwaite Scrapbook.
72. For J.F.C. Harrison's account of the motivations of London Volunteers, see his A History of the Working Men's College 1854-1954 (London, 1954), pp. 82-3.
73. 'The Lone Terrier', mimeographed for private circulation 1969, p. 1.
74. The Problems and Responsibilities of the Territorial Army, p. 64.
75. H. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 73.
76. City of Leeds, Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the year 1914, p. 6.
77. See, for example, Dr R. Baker, Report on the Condition of the Residences of the Labouring Classes in the Town of Leeds in the West Riding of York (London, 1842), pp. 47-8; Dr P. Gaskell, Artisans and Machinery: The Moral and Physical condition of the manufacturing Population (London, 1836; 1968 reprint), p. 123; B.S. Rowntree, Poverty: A Study of Town Life, p. 179; Mr Humphrey Boyle of Leeds, quoted by W.G. Rimmer, 'Working Men's Cottages in Leeds, 1770-1840', Publications of the Thoresby Society, XLVI (1957-61), 199; Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians (London, 1971), pp. 37, 43.
78. Oral testimony.
79. See, for example, W.H. Beveridge, Unemployment: A Problem of Industry (London, 1909), p. 131.
80. See Brian Harrison, op. cit., p. 32; P. Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: rational recreation and the contest for control 1830-1885 (London, 1978), p. 93. An appreciable number of first- and second-generation overseas in-migrants, originating from Central Europe and the Ukraine, the West Indies and the Indian sub-continent, are to be found in the present-day Territorial units of Leeds (see, for example, Yorkshire Evening Post, 2 October 1980). Unfortunately it proved impossible to obtain any statistics on these from official sources.
81. Oral testimony.
82. List published in Yorkshire Post, 14 September 1914.

83. Yorkshire Evening Post, 29 March 1916.
84. C.C. Aronsfeld, 'Little Germany: The story of German-born Jews in Victorian Bradford', Yorkshire Life, Vol. 32, June 1978, 54-5. An 1878 example of the philanthropic activities of German Volunteer officers in Bradford is given in The Yorkshireman, Vol. VI, No. 128, 28 December 1878, 402.
85. 73 HC Deb, 5s. 6 July 1915, cols. 185-6.
86. 1881 Volunteer Regulations, para. 424.
87. Yorkshire Evening News, 7 November 1906, 23 July 1913; Yorkshire Evening Post, 4 February 1916.
88. E.H. Hunt, op. cit., note 5, p. 308; C.J. Morgan, 'Demographic change, 1771-1911' in D. Fraser, ed., A History of Modern Leeds (Manchester, 1980), p. 62.
89. N. Grizzard, Leeds Jewry and the Great War 1914-1918 (Leeds, 1981), p. 1.
90. Edited by the Rev. Michael Adler (London, 1922). The data is indicated by regimental numbers.
91. Calculated from figures given by N. Grizzard, op. cit., p. 13.
92. See ibid., passim.
93. Testimony of 2815 Harry Richmond, 7th.
94. See Yorkshire Evening Post, 28, 29 January 1918.
95. Article, 'They came to a city', Evening Post, 2 September 1975; E.C. Sterne, Leeds Jewry and the Great War 1914-1918: The Home Front (Leeds, 1982), p. 5. For the 1917 riots, see Times, 5 June 1917, 3d; Yorkshire Evening Post, 2-8 June 1917; A. Gilam, 'The Leeds Anti-Jewish Riots in 1917', The Jewish Quarterly, XXIX, No. 1 (1981), 34-7.
96. See, for example, Yorkshire Evening Post, 25 August 1914.
97. Testimonies of Mrs Louis Pope, neé Mazza, and Mrs Lucia Dobson, neé Ambrose.
98. 7th Bn Roll Book, 1930-37.
99. War and the Liberal Conscience (London, 1978), pp. 62-3; author's italics.
100. op. cit., p. 83.
101. Obit. Yorkshire Post, 2 December 1897.
102. E. Wilson, ed., Leeds Grammar School Admission Books from 1820 to 1900 (Leeds, 1906), p. 138.
103. J. Hole, The Working Classes of Leeds: an essay on the present state of education in Leeds, and the best means of improving it (London and Leeds, 1863), Appendix J, p. 151.

104. G. Chesney, 'The Battle of Dorking: Reminiscences of a Volunteer', Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. CIX, No. DCLXVII, May 1871, 539-72.
105. Testimonies of Sergeants H.W. McMasters, Edward Hawkshaw, Kenneth Stokes, Fred Verity; Councillor Alan Pedley.
106. The Problems and Responsibilities of the Territorial Army, p. 63.
107. Leeds Mercury, 18 December 1873.
108. Yorkshire Evening News, 9 September 1908.
109. Yorkshire Evening Post, 18 September 1907.
110. J. Goodchild, The Coal Kings of Yorkshire (Wakefield, 1978), pp. 88, 90.
111. W.T. Pike, ed., Contemporary Biographies, (Brighton, 1902), p. 359.
112. W. Wheeler, in W. Smith, ed., Old Yorkshire, Vol. II (London, 1881), pp. 273-5.
113. The British Army in the First World War: The Regulars, The Territorials and Kitchener's Army, with some of the campaigns into which they fitted (London, 1968), p. 37.
114. Royal Commission on the Condition of the Volunteer Force, q. 868; 1862 (3053). xxvii.89. 172 HC Deb. 4s. 9 April 1907, col. 148.
115. 71 HC Deb. 5s. 27 April 1915, cols. 616, 619; 19 HL Deb. 5s. 1 July 1915, cols. 189-190.
116. Yorkshire Post, 6 July 1915.
117. Article, 'The boys and girls of the new brigade', Evening Post, 4 April 1974.
118. All the information in this paragraph has been obtained from oral testimony.
119. Leeds Mercury, 5 January 1861.
120. S.T. Anning, 'The Medical School and the Yorkshire College', University of Leeds Review, 17, (1974-5), 193.
121. Yorkshire Post, 6 November 1909.
122. W. Wheeler, loc. cit.
123. Leeds Intelligencer, 1 October 1859.
124. J.H.D. Matthews & V. Thompson, eds., The Register of the Leeds Grammar School 1820-1896 (Leeds, 1897).
125. A. Scarth & C.A. Braim, History of the Lodge of Fidelity, No. 289, Leeds ... from 1792 to 1893 ... (Leeds, 1894).
126. Debt Book. The relatives were identified from the Census Enumerator books and other sources.
127. Obit., Yorkshire Post, 5 June 1979.
128. Obit., Yorkshire Evening News, 25 January 1911.

129. Yorkshire Evening Post, 29 September 1916.
130. Oral testimonies.
131. For its wording, see Rev. R.V. Taylor, The Biographia Leodiensis, or, Biographical Sketches of the Worthies of Leeds and neighbourhood... (London, 1865), p. 311.
132. Testimonies of Thackery and Fozard.
133. In 1980, employees of Tetley's were still joining the military successors of the Leeds Rifles, A Coy, 1st Bn Yorkshire Volunteers (article, 'Into Battle ... for the Third World War', Yorkshire Evening Post, 2 October 1980).
134. Testimonies of 1610 Tom Doran, 8th, and 1679 Charles Lonsdale, 7th.
135. Yorkshire Evening Post, 9 September 1915.
136. Testimony of Trooper Horace Merry, 20th Hussars.
137. Yorkshire Weekly Post, 2 May 1903.
138. Personal communication from Mr George Porteus.
139. Yorkshire Evening Post, 1 April 1908, 3 July 1915.
140. Yorkshire Evening News, 24 July 1915.
141. Testimonies of Mr Cecil Rhodes and 1699 Harold Booth, 7th.
142. Leeds Mercury, 4 May 1896.
143. Personal communication from Mr Norman Marsh.
144. Testimonies of Mrs A. Cairns (née Capp) and Mrs L. Glew.
145. Yorkshire Evening Post, 26 June 1915.
146. Richardson letter, 13 December 1914.
147. Yorkshire Evening Post, 3 July 1907.
148. Testimony of brother-in-law, 534 Thomas Dickinson, 8th.
149. Testimony of brother, Mr Jack Smith.
150. Yorkshire Evening Post, 16 August 1916.
151. Yorkshire Evening News, 19 July 1916.
152. Testimony of 2006 Ernest Woodhead, 7th.
153. Yorkshire Evening News, 25 November, 15 October 1915.
154. Ibid., 4 January 1911.
155. For example, 8th Bn Orders, June 1914; 7th Bn Orders, October 1924.
156. See M.W. Beresford, 'The face of Leeds, 1780-1914', in D. Fraser, ed., A History of Modern Leeds, p. 98.
157. See, for example, Leeds CB Corporation, Leeds: Social Area Analysis, 1971 (Leeds, 1971); J. Shepherd, J. Westaway and T. Lee, A Social Atlas of London (Oxford, 1974); R.Q. Gray, The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh (Oxford, 1976), Map 2, p. 17.
158. Evening Post, 12 April 1978.

159. Only those whose relatives were willing to buy a copy of this book when published were included on the Roll (testimonies of Mrs Madge Dowling and James Macken). It was compiled by house-to-house canvassing, and it is obvious from the Leeds volume that some areas of the city were not canvassed at all. Allegations were made by several respondents that families were required to pay a fee in order to have their dead relatives' names included on church war memorials and on the Leeds Roll of Honour included in W.H. Scott's volume, Leeds in the Great War 1914-1918: A Book of Remembrance (Leeds, 1923).
160. Census of England and Wales 1901, County of York. Area, Houses and Population, Table 9, p. 46; 1902 Cmd. 1107, cxxi, 639.
161. Knowles letter, 23 August 1915.
162. Oral testimony.
163. Yorkshire Evening News, 15 May 1915.
164. Yorkshire Evening Post, 3 October 1916.
165. Testimony of 132 Harry Thackray, 8th.
166. Testimony of 2607 Walter Atkinson, 7th.
167. The Northern Rugby Union, usually known as "The Northern Union", changed its title to the Northern Rugby League in 1922. It was made up of senior (professional) and junior (amateur) teams.
168. Yorkshire Evening Post, 16 August 1916.
169. Yorkshire Post, 14 September 1914; memorial notice, Evening Post, 11 November 1978; Leeds Mercury, 19 May 1915.
170. Yorkshire Evening News, 19 July 1916.
171. Article, 'War Games for the Yorkshire Volunteers', Yorkshire Post, 9 September 1975.
172. Testimonies of 1090 James Rhind, 8th; 167 Charles Young, 7th, and others.
173. Yorkshire Evening Post, 5 April 1906.
174. (London, 1909), p. 6.
175. Not proscribed until 1878, Volunteer Regulations, para. 672. Rifle regiments do not have Colours.
176. Testimony of Lt. Col. David Glazebrook, OBE.
177. Times, 12 July 1860, 12b; 1 September 1860, 12b; 13 August 1860, 12e; 20 October 1860, 12b; 22 October 1860, 10e.
178. Personal communication from great-grandson, Col. H.V. Dawson; obit., Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer, 1 November 1880.
179. Obit., Yorkshire Evening Post, 4 April 1917.

180. A. Scarth and C.A. Braim, op. cit.
181. H.W.C. Davis and J.R.H. Weaver, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography 1912-1921 (London, 1927), pp. 284-5.
182. Up Hill to Holloway (Penobscot, Maine, 1962), p. 29.
183. P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], RG9: 1861 Census of Leeds, Enumerators' Books.
184. Another Leeds Rifles chaplain, the Rev. Dr. John Gott (1874-86), cousin of Thomas Kinnear and grandson of Benjamin Gott, founded the Leeds Clergy School, a theological college for University graduates, in 1876.
185. See C.F. Forshaw, Yorkshire Notes and Queries, Vol. V (Bradford, 1909), p. 166.
186. W. Smith, ed., Old Yorkshire, Vol. II (London, 1881), pp. 220-2.
187. E. Kitson Clark, 'The Founders of the Thoresby Society', Publications of the Thoresby Society, XXXVII (1945), 189-192.
188. White's Directory 1871.
189. Edward Whympster, Scrambles Among the Alps (London, 1871; 5th edn 1900), pp. 96, 109, 270-1; for further information on the Schulze organ, see Dr K. I. Johnstone, The Armley Schulze Organ (Leeds, 1978); G. Benham, 'The Organ in St. Bartholomew's Church, Armley, Leeds', The Organ, XXX (1950-1), No. 117, July 1950, 14-21.
190. Obit. notices, Batley News, 29 July 1901, Batley Reporter, 28 June 1901; J. Willans, Batley Past and Present, its rise and progress since the introduction of shoddy (Batley, 1880), p. 12.
191. Article, 'How it might have been ...', Evening Post, 23 December 1975.
192. White's Directory 1866, Kelly's Directory 1897.
193. W.T. Pike, op. cit., p. 314.
194. Obit., Yorkshire Post, 26 November 1914; E.P. Hennock, 'Fit and Proper Persons': Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth Century Urban Government (London, 1973), pp. 237-45. For Wilson's work with the Industrial Dwellings Company, see his article, 'The Housing of the Working Classes', Journal of the Society of Arts, XLVIII (1899-1900), 253-63.
195. E.P. Hennock, op. cit., p. 263.
196. Yorkshire Evening Post, 4 March 1933; 'Formation of the Yorkshire Dyeware and Chemical Co. Ltd', The Dyer, Vol. 103, 14 July 1950, 26-7; Journal of the Society of Dyers and Colourists, 66 (1950), 484.
197. For these, see W.H. Scott, Leeds in the Great War, pp. 193-9.
198. Obit., Yorkshire Post, 2 December 1897.
199. W.T. Pike, op. cit., p. 355.

200. Obit. notices, Yorkshire Post and Yorkshire Evening Post, 11 July 1938.
201. Royal Automobile Club Yearbook, 1910; obit., Yorkshire Post, 2 January 1959.
202. Evening Post, 25 June 1977.
203. W.T. Pike, op. cit., pp. 129, 405, 303.
204. G. Black, 'City Square and Colonel Harding', Publications of the Thoresby Society, LIV, Part 2 (1974), 106-122.
205. Testimony of 497 Arthur B. Routh, 7th.
206. Testimony of 3149 Sgt James William Warman, 1/7th.
207. Testimony of 4328 L/Cpl L. Frederick Hudson, 1/7th.
208. Testimony of 2505 Sgt C.C. (Jim) Coulson, DCM, 1/8th, commissioned in the Field.
209. On the general advantages of army service as perceived by American veterans, see S.A. Stouffer et al., The American Soldier, Vol. II (Princeton, NJ, 1949), pp. 612-3. K. Lang feels that the actual transfer value to the civilian milieu of most military experience has been greatly exaggerated: see Military Institutions and the Sociology of War (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1972), pp. 97-8.
210. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Minutes of Evidence, Vol.I, q. 9153; 1904 Cmd. 2062, xxx. 259.
211. Testimony of Col. Sir Douglas Branson, 1/4th Y & L.
212. Personal Diary of Lt. Col. F.W. Turner, 1/4th Bn The Suffolk Regt., 2 August 1914-21 May 1916.
213. Obit., Yorkshire Post, 31 May 1980.
214. The Iron Duke, the regimental journal of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, Vol. L, No. 164, April 1974, 39.
215. Leeds University Library, Business archives; Foster family tree, Foster 299 [Hudson].
216. Yorkshire Post, 8 October 1900.
217. The last member of the Tetley family to hold a commission in the Leeds Rifles was Richard Tetley, who resigned his commission in 1960. He was the son of C.H. Tetley's first cousin, J.Noel Tetley, who had been commissioned late in 1918 and who was commanding officer of the 7th Bn when it became the 45th Bn, Royal Tank Corps. In 1940 the battalion became part of 24th Brigade, 8th Armoured Division, which took an important part in the Battle of El Alamein. In the invasion of Italy Noel Tetley commanded the 25th Brigade RTC (of which the second-line regiment of the Leeds Rifles, the 51st Bn RTC, was a member) which

had been involved in tough fighting during the North African campaign. The Brigade's best-known exploit was the breakthrough of the Hitler Line in May 1944 in co-operation with the 1st Canadian Division, as a consequence of which the Canadians asked that, in token of their appreciation, the Maple Leaf should henceforth be worn by all units of the Brigade. Tetley was awarded the DSO: see Yorkshire Evening Post, 4 January 1963. In vivid contrast to World War I, during World War II four Leeds Rifles officers were promoted to Brigadier: J.B. Gawthorpe (see G. Blaxland, Destination Dunkirk: The Story of Gort's Army (London, 1973), pp. 189, 196-7, 204), Sir A.M. Ramsden, J.N. Tetley, and K. Hargreaves, the only Leeds Rifleman to become Lord Lieutenant of the County (1970-8) and President of the Yorkshire TA Association.

218. For Busk's personal campaign for the nation-wide establishment of volunteer corps, see his letters to The Times, 30 October 1860, 6d; 6 November 1860, 12e.
219. W.T. Pike, op. cit., p. 325.
220. Testimony of Lt J.B. Gawthorpe, 8th.
221. Testimony of Brigadier K. Hargreaves.
222. Indicated by the Lupton letters.
223. 'The pattern of one man's remembering', in G.A. Panichas, ed., Promise of Greatness: The War of 1914-1918 (London, 1968), pp. 286-7.
224. Leeds Mercury, 3 December 1859.
225. Testimony of Lt Col. David Glazebrook, OBE.
226. Sergeants' Mess photograph album.
227. T. Butler Wilson, Two Leeds Architects; Cuthbert Brodrick and George Corson (Leeds, 1937), p. 66.
228. W.T. Pike, op. cit., p. 236.
229. Personal communication from P.K. Stead.
230. G. Kitson Clark, 'The Leeds Elite', The University of Leeds Review, 17 (1974-5), 257; W.T. Pike, op. cit., p. 232.
231. F.M. Lord Carver, Harding of Petherton: Field Marshal (London, 1978), p. 5.
232. Yorkshire Post, 11 August 1916; Army List, October 1914.
233. W.T. Pike, op. cit., p. 228.
234. Lord Reith, Wearing Spurs (London, 1966), pp. 14-19.
235. 'The First Hundred Thousand by the Junior Sub', Blackwood's Magazine, 197 (1915), 333-5.
236. I.F.W. Beckett, op. cit., pp. 158-9, 160.
237. Yorkshire Evening News, 5 July 1911.

238. E.W. Clay, ed., The Leeds Police 1836-1974 (Leeds, 1974), p. 64.
239. See, for example, Gerald Brenan, 'A Survivor's Story', in G.A. Panichas, op. cit., p. 39; Sir Compton Mackenzie, 'From Naples to Calais', ibid., p. 242. Mackenzie was a former Volunteer officer who was aged 31 in 1914.
240. Loc. cit.
241. Oral testimony.
242. Yorkshire Post, 12 July 1951.
243. Sunset Dreams (London, 1918 edn.)
244. From 'The Volunteer', a poem found in many anthologies.
245. The Spectator, Vol. 118, 7 April 1917, p. 632.
246. Testimonies of Capt.H.R. Lupton, Lt J.B. Gawthorpe, 2/Lt J.R. Bellerby, 8th; 2/Lt H. Whitham, 7th.
247. For statistics and further information, see W.H. Scott, op. cit., p. 113; Lt Col.R.M. Benzie et al., The Fifth Battalion The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) 1914-1919 (Glasgow, 1936), p. xviii; Lord Reith, op. cit., p. 103.
248. Testimony of 2222 William Horsman Reynard, 8th.
249. The information on officers in this and the next paragraph has been obtained from the List of Officers, 1/7th (Leeds Rifles) Bn West Yorkshire Regt., 1915-1918, and from personal testimonies.
250. Student records of the College of the Resurrection, Mirfield: information supplied by the principal.
251. Soldier from the Wars Returning (London, 1965; 1970 Arrow paperback edn.), p. 87.
252. P.W. Turner and R.H. Haigh, Not for Glory (Oxford, 1969), p. 82.
253. Oral testimony.
254. Testimony of 1326 John Speechley, 8th.
255. Testimonies of 2/Lt J.R. Bellerby, Lt J.B. Gawthorpe, Capt.H.R. Lupton, 8th.

CHAPTER 3. LOCAL SUPPORT

The Leeds Rifles war memorial was dedicated by former Regimental Chaplain, the Rev. J.C.F. Hood, Vicar of Holbeck, on Armistice Sunday 1921. The Vicar of Leeds wrote in the December issue of the Leeds Parish Church Magazine: "We have had abundant evidence in the last year or two of the place which the 'Leeds Rifles' hold in the affections of the people of Leeds, but, never surely, can this have been more strikingly demonstrated than when Sir E.[dwin] Lutyens' Cross was unveiled on Sunday last. There was a great congregation in the Church for the morning service, but outside the Church an immense assembly of people gathered for the ceremony of unveiling and dedication of the cross. Opposite the churchyard the crowd stretched back to the railway, numbers of people gathering on the railway embankment; and east and west of the square, which was kept for the relatives of the fallen by the troops, there must have been thousands of men and women." The Yorkshire Post estimated there were 20,000 people in the immediate vicinity of the church: "the spectacle, at once moving and splendid in its sombre setting, showed with what affectionate sympathy and remembrance Leeds regards the gallant achievements of its famous Rifles."¹ The Yorkshire Observer attributed the specially warm place occupied in the hearts of the whole of the citizenry by the Regiment² to the fact that the memorial had "a personal interest for almost every family in the city."³ There would have been very few inhabitants of the city at that time from the Lord Mayor himself (ex-Corporal W. Hodgson of the 3rd VB PWO (Leeds Rifles)) downwards, who did not have some kind of family or personal connection with the Regiment. During the Great War alone, some 21,000 men, at a conservative estimate, had passed through its ranks and 2,050 had lost their lives.

Perhaps the most outstanding quality of the Territorial Force, and its greatest strength, was its "superb unit esprit de corps."⁴ The most powerful source of this esprit de corps in any unit derived from the locality in which it had been raised and recruited. "Home" was "the uniting bond of the Territorials."⁵ This fact and its importance were recognised by a former Territorial, the Very Rev. F. Llewellyn Hughes, CB, CBE, MC, TD, MA, Dean of Ripon, in his sermon at the Leeds Rifles Remembrance Day service in 1959, the Regiment's centenary year: "Their morale has been fed by the pride and respect of the City of Leeds. The content of a soldier's heart comes to him from his home town. The trust, the interest, the encouragement of the general community go to his making and reinforce him in times of trouble. The general public of this city have shown themselves glad to see a Rifleman, leading citizens have been their generous supporters, Lord Mayors and the City Council have

welcomed them home in civic receptions, young men have become eager to join the Regiment and it has become accepted that for a spirit, standard and civic pride a high place must be found for the Leeds Rifles in any future of the Territorial Army."⁶

The degree of local support, some of it from decidedly unlikely quarters, enjoyed by the Leeds Rifles in the period 1908-1919, and, indeed, in the preceding period from 1859, was of a considerable order of magnitude, one that may have been rarely equalled elsewhere. In Halifax, for instance, the local authority often adopted a hostile attitude to its Territorials.⁷ In Bradford, the home of the Independent Labour Party (the most resolutely anti-militarist section of the Labour movement), the local Territorials, always considerably below strength, appeared to have little general popular support: it was stated in 1913 that large areas of the city provided no recruits at all to the 6th Bn WYR whose colonel was left wondering if "the spirit of militarism said to be rampant in our midst" really existed.⁸ In many towns and cities, public apathy reigned, as in, for example, Glasgow: "On the occasions of the annual ceremonial recruiting marches the regimental columns were more or less relegated to the minor city thoroughfares, where they wound their way through a sparse crowd whose tribute to the volunteer soldiers consisted principally of careless chaff."⁹

The reasons for the widespread support given to the Leeds Territorials in general and to the Leeds Rifles in particular were largely historical and fall within four main areas: (1) local volunteer tradition prior to 1859; (2) the prevailing political and religious climates of Leeds since 1830; (3) the particular circumstances surrounding the formation of the Leeds Rifles; (4) local patriotism in its various aspects.

Local volunteer tradition¹⁰ extended back to "The Leeds Gentlemen Independents" (1757-9) and "The Associated Corps of Volunteers of Leeds" (1782-7). The corps regarded in Leeds Rifles mythology as the Regiment's "military ancestor", however, was the Leeds Volunteer Infantry (1794-1802; 1803-8), raised initially "for the express Purpose of the Internal Defence of this Borough against Insurrection or any sudden commotion". Thomas Lloyd was elected commandant and colours were presented, one bearing the Leeds Corporation Arms and the civic motto "Pro Rege et Lege". On 29th September 1794 the Corporation passed a vote of thanks to the Volunteer Corps of the Borough "for their readiness in enrolling themselves for its defence" and also ordered an elegant sword [which cost £84] to be purchased and presented to Col. Lloyd as a token of its appreciation. On 5th May 1802 another vote of thanks was passed and a dinner given to the corps at the Corporation's expense.¹¹ The corps was

stood down after the Treaty of Amiens only to be re-enrolled in August of the following year when the country was threatened by French invasion. Within a fortnight over 2,000 Volunteers were sworn in and the corps formed into two battalions, the Northern and the Southern, with Col. Lloyd in overall command. In April 1804 the two battalions were placed on permanent duty and they returned three weeks later to be given a heroes' welcome at the borough boundary by the Mayor, the magistrates and a huge crowd of admiring citizens. The Volunteers entered Leeds amidst the cheers of the populace and the ringing of church bells, every window thronged and every street jammed with spectators. They were placed on a further three weeks' spell of permanent duty in October of the following year and returned to the town to yet another tumultuous welcome from the Mayor and Corporation and fellow-citizens. Every non-commissioned officer and private was presented with a crown from the Corporation defence fund in appreciation of his services. A reserve formation, the Leeds Armed Association, had been enrolled in 1798 "for the defence of the Borough in case the Volunteers were called off from the town".¹²

The Leeds Volunteer Infantry, commonly referred to locally as "The Defenders of the Borough of Leeds" and obviously looked on by the citizenry as Leeds' own private army, enjoyed immense popularity and universal admiration in the town, receiving the whole-hearted moral support of the Mayor, Corporation and all classes of the population, for not only were the Volunteers never called upon to quell public disorder, but they were invariably summoned to the scene of serious fires, thus assuming a valuable civil defence role which they filled more than adequately and in which they took a justifiable pride.¹³

Some other Hanoverian Volunteers in the West Riding did not have an equally happy relationship with their local inhabitants. In 1799-1800 the Huddersfield Fusilier Volunteers and the Halifax Volunteer Troop of Cavalry were sent to the Saddleworth district for a time in order to suppress potential disorder,¹⁴ creating a legacy of bitterness and distrust in the area which endured for over a century. The Captain and Adjutant of the Huddersfield Fusiliers at this time was William Horsfall of Marsden who in April 1812 was assassinated by Luddites; another officer of the Fusiliers at the same time was the next man on the Luddites' death list. William Horsfall was commissioned captain in the Upper Agbrigg Volunteers raised in August 1803.¹⁵ The role of Volunteers as an aid to the civil power was, of course, a potentially politically explosive issue in the Victorian period.¹⁶ As early as June 1861 the Secretary of State for War had issued a circular to Lords Lieutenant, pointing out that the Volunteers were not intended to be called out in aid of the civil power and that it was inexpedient to do so. The outburst of Fenianism in 1867 led to the

codification of the Volunteer role in a memorandum,¹⁷ and in a circular of October 1867, which largely precluded their use except as individuals enrolled as special constables armed only with the staff, but which permitted Volunteers in plain clothes to repel with arms attacks on their armouries. Section 15, paras 430-4, of the 1878 Volunteer Regulations reiterated that the civil authority was not entitled to call upon or order Volunteers to act as a military body in the preservation of peace, but might summon their aid only as any other subjects of the Crown might be summoned. Paragraphs 212-5 of the Regulations of the Territorial Force in force between 1908 and 1914 unequivocally re-stated the principle: units of the Force were not liable to be called out in aid of the civil power for the preservation of peace (the duties of the Regular Army in aid of the civil power were laid down in King's Regulations, 955-75). This did not, however, prevent the ILP MP for East Leeds, James O'Grady, Secretary of the National Federation of General Workers, when addressing the Trades Union Congress in 1909, from claiming that it was absolutely inconsistent with the policy of trade unionists to enlist in the Territorial Force "as they are thereby liable to be called out in times of industrial disputes to quell, and possibly shoot down, their fellow-workers who are struggling to better their conditions",¹⁸ although workers in dispute with their employers had not been fired on since the Ackton Hall Colliery Riot at Featherstone in 1893 and then by troops of the Regular forces. Despite a categorical denial from Haldane some delegates to the 1910 TUC conference remained unconvinced that the Territorials would not be used against workers involved in strikes or lock-outs.¹⁹ The calumny was spread about, probably with malicious intent, in Pudsey during the early summer of 1912 and seriously interfered with the attempts to recruit a local contingent for A Coy of the 8th Bn.²⁰

In chapter 1 it was shown that the first recruits to the Leeds Rifles were drawn from all shades of local political opinion - and, from the very beginning, from the various strata of society including manual and non-manual employed workers, a feature which available evidence suggests was extremely rare at the beginning of the Rifle Volunteer movement.²¹ The proposition is now put forward that the Leeds Rifles was a product of and a reflection of its political milieu.

In the field of politics, "Leeds in the 1830s was second only to Manchester as a centre of radical and working-class movements in the north."²² All the "great movements" of the 19th century-factory reform, the suffrage issue, Poor Law, Corn Law repeal, Catholic emancipation, the Co-operative movement, pacifism, temperance, operative conservatism, adult education - found immensely strong support in Leeds.²³ In complete contrast to Manchester, there was in

Leeds no sharply defined dichotomy between capital and labour. Though great contrasts existed between the squalor and wretchedness of working-class districts like Holbeck and the opulence of merchants' houses in Headingley, there was no polarisation of politics on a class basis in Leeds as there was in Manchester. Derek Fraser ascribes this to the fact that in Leeds the industrial proletariat and the working class were not synonymous. The classes shaded gradually into one another and it was hard to distinguish between masters and men as most employers were "little masters" who earned a living by their own hands in small workshops.²⁴ Craftsmen, tradesmen and small shopkeepers, all self-employed, were admitted to the Leeds Political Union, started in 1831, as working class members.²⁵ Despite its Radicalism, "while nearby Radical boroughs like Bradford were living proof of the almost unbreakable link between the great cities and Liberalism, Leeds distinguished itself by its large and persistent Conservative minority".²⁶ Leeds was in fact one of the first newly enfranchised industrial boroughs to return a Tory member to Parliament: Sir John Beckett in 1835.

The Leeds brand of politics, as revealed by the studies of Fraser and, to a lesser extent, of Harrison, was characterised by moderateness, or lack of extremism, and by an emphasis on class co-operation between the working classes and the superior classes. Leeds was "proverbially peaceable";²⁷ the vast majority of its inhabitants respected the rule of law and appeared to abhor politically-motivated physical violence. Though there was great popular sympathy for the Luddites in Halifax and Huddersfield and district, there was little Luddite activity in Leeds. Militant Chartism, so much to the fore in Bradford and Huddersfield,²⁸ met with a negligible response in Leeds.²⁹ The editor of the Radical weekly the Leeds Times, in 1843, attributed the lack of support for Chartism and, indeed, the moderateness of Leeds politics to the character of Leeds itself which he summed up as "a dull, spiritless and inert town... wanting in social as well as political activity and energy... an inert mass always difficult to be moved."³⁰

Class unity and class co-operation formed for very many years the cornerstone of the political philosophies of both Edward Baines Senior and Junior and of the "Baines line" put forward in the columns of the family's newspaper, the Leeds Mercury. It was a recurring theme in Leeds politics. Fraser identified among strands of local working class political activity prior to 1840 the Holbeck Operative Reform Association, founded 1836, whose members were Liberal supporters and which rejected extreme Radicalism and Chartism, being always found on the same side as Radical Liberals from the business and professional classes; and the Operative Conservative Society whose members had adopted surprisingly diehard Tory doctrines. The famous Leeds "new move"

of 1840 - the Leeds Parliamentary Reform Association - reunited all classes on household suffrage; over 16,000 people signed a petition in its support. Its initial committee was drawn half from the superior classes and half from the working classes, the latter from amongst the ranks of the Holbeck Operative Reform Association and of the Leeds Working Men's Association. It was widely hoped and believed that this was "the beginning of a glorious movement of class co-operation." Samuel Smiles, one of its originators, expected it to develop into a national movement, but it was not to be.³¹ Leeds Chartists became involved in the Temperance Movement, grew increasingly respectable politically and went into local politics, seeking election as councillors and office holders. Chartist councillor (later Alderman) Robert Meek Carter, at a public meeting of the Parliamentary Reform Association in 1851, "exhorted the working classes to lend the middle classes all the aid in their power. (Applause.) Nothing would be so gratifying to the aristocracy as to see differences between the middle and working classes, and to find them quarrelling by the way. (Hear, hear.) Let the men of Leeds unite, and work well and firmly for the Manchester scheme. (Applause)."³² Such sentiments evidently found support.

Leeds remained "proverbially peaceable". The troops garrisoned in the town proved to be responsible for causing more public riots³³ than they were ever called upon to quell. The only serious threats to public order that occurred in Leeds between 1844 and 1890 (the year of the Gas Strike), a span of 46 years, were the so-called Dripping Riot of 22nd February 1865,³⁴ which started as a hostile demonstration against "one law for the rich and one law for the poor", and the Fenian disturbances of December 1867. In the first week of December 1867 Major Robinson of the Leeds Rifles, unaware that he would be called out on duty less than a fortnight later, said "there was not a more peaceable town in England than Leeds", while only a few days later the Mercury leader referred to the reputation of Leeds as "a peaceable and well conducted town."³⁵ Even in the summer of 1890, when relations between capital and labour in the town were already causing considerable concern, it was possible for a local manufacturer at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce to say, "Leeds workers are the quietest in the world, and I see no reason for any Board of Conciliation."³⁶ In 1836 the members of the new Borough Police received on the whole "a friendly reception" from local residents; they were "fortunate in not meeting the opposition from all classes that had greeted the new London policemen only a few years earlier... There were some who greeted their appearance on the streets with jeers, but the majority of the citizens found much to praise. The city's newspapers spoke highly of their efficiency..."³⁷

The relative social tranquillity of Victorian Leeds was undoubtedly a reflection of the borough's even tenor of industrial development and of its increasing diversification of economic activity which made it more resistant to external pressures and less susceptible to cyclical fluctuations in trade. Dr. Robert Baker reported in 1858 that the Leeds citizens' "freedom from popular tumults depends greatly upon their diversified employments, few of which languish simultaneously",³⁸ whilst nearly half a century later, local journalist W.H. Scott wrote that "Variety of trade gives Leeds an unique stability."³⁹

Such local crime statistics as are available for the Victorian period appear to confirm this state of relative social tranquillity. Whilst bearing in mind the warnings regarding the possible distortions in the criminal statistics, and the difficulties and dangers likely to be encountered in utilizing them, given by V.A.C. Gatrell and T.B. Hadden,⁴⁰ it nevertheless appears possible to discern a certain pattern in the local crime figures. The Gas Strike apart, Leeds appears to have been surprisingly law-abiding for a town of its size, the statistics presenting a low level of incidence of violent and other serious crime markedly below that found in other large towns.⁴¹

In common with urban Volunteers up and down the country, the Leeds Rifles was called out by the magistrates, under the limited conditions permitted by the Government, to guard the armoury during the Fenian scares of December 1867 and January 1881. Leeds' peaceable reputation seemed to affect even the large Irish population. A funeral procession to take place in Leeds on Sunday, 15th December 1867, "in honour" of the Fenians executed for the murder of a police sergeant in Manchester was announced at the same time as the news broke of the "diabolical" Fenian bomb outrage outside Clerkenwell Prison. It was immediately banned by the magistrates who sent for the military and all available police and enrolled a large number of special constables, both mounted and on foot. The demonstrators never showed themselves.⁴² There were no Fenian incidents in Leeds in 1881.

A postscript to public order in Leeds and the Irish is provided by the bomb attacks of 6th and 7th February 1914 during the latter stages of the Municipal Strike. Journalists naturally jumped to the conclusion that the two bombings, the first on the municipal power station, the second on Harewood Territorial barracks, where detachments of police drafted in from Liverpool and Huddersfield were quartered in the drill hall, and at the rear of which the City Mounted Police Department had its stables, were connected with the strike. The persons responsible were never traced.⁴³ After the

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attack on the barracks, which took place at 9 pm, a time most likely to endanger life, and which bore the hallmarks of a typical IRA bombing, the chief police suspect became an Irish political activist who had, two or three days earlier, been shouting anti-British slogans outside the barracks entrance and who had been punched and knocked down by a Territorial sergeant when he had refused to be quiet. As he ran away, he had shouted murderous threats at the sergeant. Following the bombing, the suspect could not be found.⁴⁴

In mid-Victorian Leeds attendance at church or chapel was comparatively high for an industrial town. Though the Religious Census of 1851 had shown Leeds to be below the index of attendance for England and Wales, the town had come 4th in the list of large towns of over 10,000 population that were below the index.⁴⁵ Nonconformism was very strong in the West Riding woollen districts. Leeds possessed the highest percentage of Wesleyan Methodists of the 8 largest English provincial boroughs and Dissenters comprised nearly 60% of those attending a place of worship on Census Sunday.⁴⁶ The first Leeds Rifles companies drew recruits from both Anglicans and Dissenters, the former predominating, though the Unitarians, who exerted a wholly disproportionate influence in relation to their small numbers on many facets of local life, were considerably over-represented. No religious group voiced opposition to the formation of the corps. In some parts of the country, however, for example in Halifax,⁴⁷ members of the Society of Friends spoke fiercely against the enrolling of Volunteer corps. Quakers W.E. Forster, MP, and J.W. Pease raised corps in Wharfedale and in Hull respectively.

In face of the religious beliefs held by Dissenters, particularly that which stated that war was contrary to the teachings and spirit of Christianity, it is perhaps surprising to find so many Nonconformists in the Volunteers and Territorials, not only in Leeds, but in other strong Nonconformist areas. Nonconformists generally were evidently doubtful about the Volunteer movement;⁴⁸ Nonconformist journals argued that the military ardour of the Volunteers "was an evil influence tending to draw youths away from mechanics' institutes, reading rooms and teetotal pledges."⁴⁹ In Territorial times Nonconformist opposition was centred on Sabbath-breaking. In 1910 the York Free Church Council sent a circular to each minister asking him to point out from the pulpit that the forthcoming annual church parade of the York garrison, known as "York Military Sunday", caused desecration of the Sabbath.⁵⁰ In 1900 the 1st V.B. PWO of York held musketry courses on Sundays.⁵¹ Proposals for Territorial training and parades to be held on Sundays were actively opposed by the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association and the Lord's Day Observance Society; in deference to public feeling, Sunday drilling was "absolutely prohibited" in the Royal Parks.⁵² The Leeds Rifles could not be

accused of Sabbath-breaking, and newspaper reports of camps always emphasised that Sunday military duties were kept to the barest minimum, and so the Nonconformists, particularly the Wesleyans, the least anti-militaristic group and easily the largest group numerically in Leeds, accounting in 1905 for over 42% of the total 25,516 chapel membership,⁵³ continued to give them their support. There is evidence to indicate that a very high proportion of members of the Regiment in the Volunteer period were church or chapel attenders from newspaper reports, e.g. at the 1900 Camp, "The Rev. A.E. Campbell, the cheery chaplain, has so popularised his ministrations that nearly the entire corps has voluntarily attended his early morning short service preceding the work of every day;"⁵⁴ from the large numbers of men who attended the annual church parades; and from ex-Volunteers interviewed, e.g. "Col. Sgt. Shoesmith went to the same church as we did."⁵⁵ The proportion of regular church or chapel goers perhaps fell in the Territorial period as the proportion of men from the upper working class fell, but there is ample anecdotal evidence to suggest that it remained large. There is evidence to suggest that this was a characteristic of many Territorial units.⁵⁶ The only statistical data available for the Leeds Rifles in the period 1908-1919 relates to B Coy of the 8th Bn, which, on 1st January 1919, comprised 15% Nonconformists, 8% Roman Catholics and 64% (nominal) Church of England.⁵⁷ Few of the men in any of the Leeds Rifles battalions between 1908 and 1919 would not have attended Sunday School as children as, generally speaking, only parents in the lowest social strata of Leeds failed to send their offspring to Sunday School regularly. The number of Sunday School scholars given in the 1905 Annual Report of the Leeds Free Church Council is 48,236. The corresponding number of Anglican scholars unfortunately does not appear to be available.

Throughout the period 1859-1919 the Church of England remained an important supporter of the Leeds Rifles. The head of the Church of England in Leeds, the Vicar of Leeds,⁵⁸ was traditionally Regimental Chaplain. In the Territorial period Anglican clergy actively aided recruiting for the Leeds Rifles, e.g. at Horsforth and in Armley; in 1908 the Vicar of Hunslet offered the use of Hunslet Parish Church School as a drill centre.⁵⁹ Recruiting from church and chapel congregations and from ex-members of Boy Scout troops and the various boys' brigades ensured a large proportion of Riflemen with some form of religious upbringing. Hymn-singing, without hymnals and often in parts, was a popular voluntary activity both at peacetime camps and on active service.⁶⁰

The attitude of local Quakers to the Leeds Rifles showed some remarkable and perhaps surprising features. In the first place, they did not oppose the raising of the corps in 1859. In 1842 Leeds Friends had founded the Leeds

Peace Association to oppose all war and to organise public opinion against it. They campaigned against the Kaffir War, the 2nd Burma War, the Crimean War, the Persian War, the Indian Mutiny, the bombardment of Canton and the war with China, and also opposed the Militia Bill of 1852.⁶¹ Leeds had by then become known as a centre of pacifism. Following the packed first annual meeting of the "League of Universal Brotherhood" in Leeds, an anti-war petition organised by the Liberals was signed by over 36,000;⁶² the Mercury of 5th February 1848 reported that a Borough petition against increasing the military establishment had received over 23,000 signatures. Amidst mounting British anxiety in an atmosphere of international conflict Leeds took the initiative in the anti-war movement of 1859. An "overflowing" and "influential" meeting was held in May in the Town Hall so that local people could express their "deep conviction that it was both the duty and the interest of this country to abide strictly by the principle of non-intervention." The meeting was non-sectarian and bi-partisan in character: Quakers do not appear to have been prominently concerned in it. All the speakers were against intervention, but they equally desired to impress upon the government the urgent necessity for making the defences of the country "a matter for careful consideration."⁶³ The Quakers may have refrained from opposing the formation of the Leeds Rifles because 14 of the men named in the Mercury report of the anti-war meeting were prominently concerned in it. "Arming for peace" and "Defence not Defiance" were evidently not slogans that offended Leeds Friends who, in 1899, had the third largest meeting in England.⁶⁴ From 1902 they supported the Leeds Rifles, if only by default, for in that year they appointed Ernest Edward Powell, who had been a member of the Regiment for over 8 years, as Secretary of the "Old Queen" Adult School Social Club in Woodhouse Street, and apparently turned a blind eye to his use of the club as a recruiting agency.

Strictly speaking, it was not against the principles of Quakerism either to enlist in the Territorials for home defence or to fight as a combatant in a war in which one's native country was engaged. Whereas the upholding of the Peace Testimony is the concern of the whole Society of Friends, it is nevertheless a matter of individual conscience. "To have put any pressure upon the young men principally involved would have been to deny the whole basis of spiritual freedom upon which the Testimony rests." As regards those who in 1914 chose a way of action differing from that of the Society, the Friends "continued to uphold them in fellowship, whilst going forward steadfastly with its own 'war to end war'".⁶⁵ A surprising number of Quakers actually enlisted during the War. Of Returns relating to 1666 Friends and recognised Attenders submitted in 1917, 33.6% had enlisted in the armed forces.⁶⁶

Leeds, the birthplace of the Band of Hope, was one of the strongholds of Temperance. The first Temperance brass band in Britain was the Bramley Old Band of Leeds, established in 1836. Members of the Leeds Temperance Society became increasingly more numerous (and more militant) on the Council from the early 1860s. At least 14 of the 21 Liberal Committee chairmen of 1891-2 were regular members of the teetotal lobby and, until the Conservatives came to power in 1895, the Council was said to be "predominantly teetotal."⁶⁷ The drawing away by the Volunteer movement of young artisans from beer houses would have been thoroughly approved of by Temperance workers. The Temperance Movement appears to have exerted a not inconsiderable influence on the Leeds Rifles from the early 1860s, certainly until the beginning of this century and perhaps beyond, since there is ample anecdotal evidence to suggest that the Regiment contained a considerable number of teetotalers even in 1915 and 1916. It is estimated that about half of the respondents were abstainers when they enlisted: unfortunately not all were questioned on this topic. Cunningham asserts that drink played "a not unimportant role in the life of the Volunteers," and cites in support, in addition to instances of Volunteer drunken behaviour occasioning scandal, the large number, over 170 in England alone, of public houses named "The Volunteer", "The Volunteer Rifleman", or "The Rifleman", nearly all dating from the post-1859 period.⁶⁸ There was only one such public house in the Leeds area and this considerably pre-dated the 1859 Movement. Joshua Tetley & Son, according to Mr. William Hassell, a retired member of the firm's top management, never even considered naming a tied house "The Volunteer" or "The Leeds Rifleman",⁶⁹ despite the brewery's long and close associations with the Regiment. Notwithstanding these associations, for very many years drink played no part in the official life of the Leeds Rifle Volunteers, apart from the occasion of the official opening of Roundhay Park in 1872 when, as a matter of necessity, there being no drinking water available and the men not being equipped with water bottles, beer to the value of £4. 14s 10½d was supplied to the 475 men who were on parade for the whole day.⁷⁰ No recreation room was provided at the Oxford Row Barracks. The first men's canteen was opened at Carlton Barracks in February 1889 as a "Recreation Room and Coffee Shop." Alcoholic liquor was not sold to the rank and file until 1892, from which time the canteen was conducted on the Regimental Institute system as laid down under Section 174(1) of the Army Act: no sale of liquor to any but members of the corps and any profit from sale of such to be devoted solely to regimental purposes. Even then, the sale of alcohol was severely limited by selling only (Tetley's) light ale and that to over-age men, by exchanging it only for specially-made metal tokens which had to be purchased beforehand, and by restricting its sale to one hour after drill four evenings a week and one hour on Sunday mornings, though the canteen itself was open from 7-11 pm

daily except Sundays throughout the year. Cocoa and coffee were sold in the canteen in addition to beer, and the sale of spirits was prohibited altogether. Immense pride was taken in the fact that only one case of drunkenness (which was punished with the utmost severity)⁷¹ occurred in the Regiment between the first camp of 1873 and the camp of 1912, a span of 39 years. The degree of abstinence in the corps was frequently a matter for press comment; for example, reporting in 1880 on the inclusion in the daily camp rations of a pint of beer or bottle of ginger beer, the Leeds Mercury noted that a "considerable number of men preferred the temperance beverage to intoxicating liquor."⁷² In 1902 the Yorkshire Post reported that the Regiment had become the first Volunteer battalion in the country to be associated with the Royal Army Temperance Association, which had presented 60 Temperance medals to members of the corps.⁷³ It may have been no coincidence that the respectable working class districts which provided the bulk of recruits possessed very active Temperance Societies and Bands of Hope. Woodhouse, which consistently provided the largest percentage of recruits from 1888, when the Regiment took over Carlton Barracks, had the strongest and most influential Temperance Society in Leeds. The example set by the officers and by senior NCOs, many of whom were Nonconformists, was also of great importance, as was the policy towards drinking in the corps adopted by the commanding officer.⁷⁴ At least one Regimental Chaplain, the immensely popular Rev. A.E. Campbell, was very active in the Temperance Movement.

Asa Briggs entitled his chapter on Leeds in Victorian Cities (1963) 'A Study in Civic Pride.' It concerns the building of the Town Hall which turned out to be, as was intended, a splendidly impressive monument to the wealth and energy of mid-19th century Leeds and a symbol of its newly-awakened civic consciousness. In 1858 Leeds "arrived". This was the year when the town opened the most magnificent public building yet seen in the West Riding, when the Queen herself visited Leeds to perform the opening ceremony, when the first citizen, Mayor Peter Fairbairn, had been knighted on the Town Hall steps, when the first Leeds Musical Festival and the first Exhibition of local manufactures were held, and when the British Association met for the first time in Leeds, "a great intellectual occasion, always a landmark in the history of nineteenth century provincial towns."⁷⁵

After the publication of the first Government circular on Volunteers on 12th May 1859, Mayors all over the country were petitioned to convene public meetings "to consider the propriety of enrolling a volunteer corps in the district." The meetings were usually organised and canvassed by interested parties, the local mayor presiding merely in order to lend official weight and approval to the proceedings. Only rarely did the local council take a dominant or major part in the enrolling of corps : the Southampton Town Council formed a corps on 18th May and immediately enrolled 100 men; Derby Town Council appointed a Volunteer Committee; the Mayor and Magistrates of Leicester invited intending volunteers to submit their names and addresses to the Town Clerk.⁷⁶ The raising of the London Rifle Brigade was a special case: for historical reasons, it was under the government of the City of London Lieutenancy which comprised a certain number of citizens, the principal being the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, which from its inception, had had the privilege of appointing officers to the Trained Bands.⁷⁷

In Leeds, although Abraham Horsfall had begun taking names⁷⁸ there was a general feeling that in the matter of raising a volunteer corps for the town the local parliament, the Town Council, should take the lead: "The feeling of the public was that the Council should recommend the establishment of this resolution." At a General Meeting of the Town Council on 31st May a resolution to form a Volunteer Rifle Corps was the first item on the agenda and it was passed unanimously. In his speech of proposal, Ald. Kelsall, deputising for the Mayor, Sir Peter Fairbairn, declared "it was the duty of the corporation to take the initiatory steps in establishing" such a corps. "Rifle corps upon this plan had already been formed in Liverpool, London, Portsmouth, and other places, and he saw no reason why Leeds should not follow their example and raise a corps second to none in Her Majesty's dominions."⁷⁹ The raising of the Leeds Rifles by the Leeds Corporation can thus be seen as a further manifestation of civic pride. Fairbairn and James Kitson Snr, who was Mayor from 1860 to 1862, both raised companies from among their own employees. Members of the Council sent their relatives and their employees to join, while some councillors joined themselves. Among the first prizes presented for annual competition within the corps was "The Mayor's Cup."

Members of the Council continued to send their young male relatives into the ranks of the Rifle, Engineer and Artillery Volunteers and to give the Volunteers their unqualified support. Over the years, a

considerable but uncomputable number (the records of the Leeds Engineers and Artillery not being available) of serving and retired Volunteers and Territorials were elected to the Leeds Council and not a few rose to become Alderman, Deputy Mayor, Mayor, Deputy Lord Mayor and Lord Mayor. The first Leeds Rifleman to become Mayor was Robert Addyman in 1878, the latest to become Lord Mayor was Alan Pedley in 1975. The first Lord Mayor was a Rifleman, the second the eldest son of a founder-member of the Leeds Rifles and the father of a serving officer, the third the colonel of the Leeds Artillery Volunteers, the fourth another Rifleman. The Lord Mayor who saw off the first Leeds Rifles contingent to the 2nd Boer War, the Lord Mayor who saw off the Regiment to France in 1915, the Lord Mayor who saw the Regimental War Memorial unveiled in 1921, were all Riflemen, while the Lord Mayor who welcomed back the 7th and 8th Bns with civic receptions in 1919 was the grandfather of a serving officer. From the outset, it became the traditional duty of the Mayor (and Lord Mayor) to cherish and to protect the interests and welfare of the local Volunteers. Very few - notably Ald. John Badlay - First Citizens failed to discharge this duty faithfully, whatever their political colour, and many performed it with enthusiasm, notably James Bedford and John Gordon, who were both Riflemen. On September 13th 1915 Lord Mayor Bedford noted in his civic diary that "General Mends, of the Northern Command, called on his return from the Front and gave a splendid account of the Leeds men. He said the Leeds Rifles were equal to the Guards."⁸⁰

Civic pride was not the sole motive behind the strong support given to the local Volunteers by the Council, extremely important though it was. Political ideology played a vital part in strengthening the support until it became virtually permanent. The Volunteer Movement was something the local Liberals, Tories and former "moderate" Chartists could all believe in. In 1859 the Council was dominated by Liberals, a state of affairs that lasted until 1895, when William Lawies Jackson became the first Tory Mayor. Leeds Liberals were committed to a reduction in the establishment of the Regular Army, a reduction in military expenditure, and a reduction in taxation. As the Mayor of Manchester had pointed out in 1859, the Volunteer Movement "was the cheapest mode of attaining an object which could not otherwise be accomplished without enormous expense."⁸¹ The Liberal Leeds Mercury in 1862 claimed that "but for the rifle movement, a large increase of the army would have been inevitable... an enormous addition to the burdens of the country", and in 1889 reported Col. Freeman of the Huddersfield Rifle Volunteers as claiming that an increase in the

Regular establishment to replace the Volunteers would entail an increase in income tax of 3d. in the pound.⁸² This line of argument was followed over and over again by Leeds Liberals, whose support from about 1900 for the Volunteers and their successors, the Territorials, tended, if anything, to increase, on the grounds that they "saved the country from conscription", to which they were vehemently opposed. Although no actual figures can be obtained, it is possibly safe to say, on the basis of available evidence, that, from the closing decades of last century, members who were serving or retired Volunteers or close relatives of serving or retired Volunteers were in a majority on the Leeds Council. This is in complete contrast to the state of Volunteer MPs in Parliament, where the percentage of Volunteers, serving, honorary and retired, in the House of Commons seriously declined in the closing decades from the peaks of 1869 and 1875:⁸³

	Conservatives (incl. Liberal Conservatives & Liberal Unionists)	Liberals	Total:
1869	51	78	129
1875	73	56	129
1886	53	18	71
1890-1	52	17	69
1895	36	8	44

In the same period the percentage of Volunteers, serving and retired, on the Leeds Council appears to have progressively increased. This had very important implications for the outcome of Haldane's scheme (see below, and Chapter 5, section 5.4).

The Corporation did not offer merely moral support to the local corps in the Volunteer period. On March 2nd 1868 it purchased the Grove House Estate off Claypit Lane and on March 31st leased it at a nominal rent to the Engineer Volunteers for use as the headquarters they badly needed, and 21 years later sold it to them for £5,538.⁸⁴ (These transactions took place long before the passing of the Military Land Act (1892) by which a county or borough council was empowered to purchase land compulsorily and hold it on behalf of Volunteer corps for military purposes). The Corporation may have allowed the hire of various parts of the Town Hall to the local corps without charge : no such items appear in the Leeds Rifles' Account Books that survive. James Wardell, the Deputy Town Clerk, was appointed Honorary Secretary and Treasurer of the Leeds Volunteer Rifles in June 1859; he used, first,

official Town Hall notepaper and, later, specially printed notepaper bearing the Civic Arms, the address "Town Hall, Leeds" and the designation "Leeds Rifles" which may or may not have been paid for out of the Government Stationery Allowance. The Corporation paid for the attendance and for the refreshments of men of the Leeds Rifles who were required for civic occasions. Every local Volunteer who went to South Africa in the period 1900-02 was presented with a handsome Illuminated Address, by unanimous resolution of the Council, 1st October 1902, and brass memorial plates recording their names were placed inside the main entrance of the Town Hall. The notoriously tight-fisted City Fathers, however, did not confer the Freedom of the City upon the returning Volunteers, nor give them a complimentary dinner, as in some other towns and cities.

During the Territorial period there was no falling-off in the municipal support for local units, rather the reverse. At the end of the Volunteer year, in November 1907, the West Riding Territorial Force Association came into being. It comprised a president, chairman, vice-chairman and secretary, 34 military members nominated by their units, 15 representative members (6 nominated by the County Council, 1 each from the 7 county boroughs, and 1 each from the Universities of Leeds and Sheffield) and 15 co-opted members representing employers and labour. The 3 Leeds employers co-opted were all retired Leeds Rifles officers : Ald. F.M. Lupton, Arthur Greenwood and Lord Airedale. Leeds City Council nominated as their representative Councillor E. Audus Hirst, a serving officer in the Leeds Artillery. The County Association, being fully alive to the importance of the role employers would play in the Territorial scheme and anxious that local government should set an example to private employers, in April 1908 sent out a circular letter, asking for their support and co-operation, to all municipal authorities in the West Riding (except Sheffield Corporation, which, notable for the very great support it gave to its Volunteers and Territorials, had already implemented the Association's proposed scheme). Among the questions the letter asked were the following: (1) whether the Council had any objections to employees enlisting in the Territorials and, if not, whether it was willing to encourage them to do so; (2) whether the Council would be willing to give facilities to employees to attend camp by, for example, granting them half the period of training of 15 days in addition to their annual holiday; (3) whether the Council would allow recruiting notices to be posted up in the public buildings under its control; (4) whether the Council was prepared to give preference in

the matter of employment to Territorials and Army reservists.⁸⁵

The Lord Mayor, Wilfred L. Hepton, was willing to comply with all the Association's requests and put down a suitable resolution on the agenda for the next Council meeting. The meeting was a stormy one and revolved round Question (4). A deputation from the Trades and Labour Council attended specially to lodge an objection against preference being given to men who had served in the Regular or Territorial Forces on the grounds that it struck at the liberty of the citizen by the penalty it might inflict on young men who had been unable to serve in either force (it was silent about the young men who were unwilling to serve in either and about the preference that was customarily given to relatives of existing employees). A member of the Socialist group on the Council, John Badlay, after heartily condemning the extravagant expenditure of the Liberal Government on armaments and declaring that no one was more ready to defend their hearths and homes than Socialists, moved an amendment that any Corporation employee desiring to join the Territorial Force should do so at his own expense and in his own leisure time, adding that, as the Council had no right to direct or influence the private conduct of employees, it had no right to encourage them to join. Furthermore, he went on, no particular section of person should receive preferential treatment for any position under the Corporation, nor should the fact of being a Territorial influence the promotion of present employees. Only 5 other members supported his amendment, but the question of preferential treatment aroused considerable controversy in Council and a member's resolution referring the relevant clause to a sub-committee was adopted. The remainder of the Lord Mayor's resolution was passed unopposed.⁸⁶ Badlay was the only councillor who consistently opposed the Territorials. His motives in doing so are often unclear and apparently confused and illogical. He certainly did not follow Ramsay Macdonald's line of opposition and it is obvious that he did not object to Territorials or the Territorial Force in principle (although in later years he became a militant pacifist). In April 1909 the Lord Mayor, now Ald. F.J. Kitson, a Volunteer and member of the prominent Volunteer/Territorial family, moved in Council that one week's extra holiday with half-pay be granted to all officers, servants and employees of the Corporation who were or who might become members of the T.F. in the event of their attending annual camp for not less than a fortnight. The only 3 votes against were cast by Labour councillors, one of them Badlay.⁸⁷ In May 1910 a deputation waited upon the Council to seek its support in the Leeds Rifles' "struggle" against the

War Office in the matter of the confiscated trust fund. A resolution which "heartily" supported the representations made by the deputation and which requested the City Members to render the Regiment their utmost assistance, at the same time expressing the hope that Mr. Haldane would give full consideration to the deputation to be made by the County Association, was carried in Council with only one vote against, that of Badlay.⁸⁸

Apart from Badlay, Council members invariably gave the Territorials full support. The new infantry battalion Leeds had been ordered to raise, the 8th Bn, had no drill hall. The Elementary Education Subcommittee granted temporary use, from 1st April to 31st July 1908, of Armley Park, Ingram Road, Hunslet Lane, and Upper Wortley Board Schools for drill purposes on 4 evenings a week; the period was later extended to April 1909 when the new drill hall, a converted locomotive shed (now occupied by Leeds Commercial Van & Truck Rental, Wellington Bridge), was opened by the Lord Mayor.⁸⁹ Other committees willingly lent corporation vehicles, horses and attendants to horsed units; Councillors attended and spoke at recruiting meetings; no complaints were made about the activities of Sgt. T.H. Anderson of the 7th Bn., an official in the City Treasurer's office, who was sending round all departments of the Town Hall recruiting circulars for B Coy,⁹⁰ presumably in the Corporation's time and presumably using the Corporation's stationery. There was none of the apathy and hostility reported of many local authorities in some parts of Lancashire where, for example, "in Manchester and some other places the force is not only discouraged, but the members of the councils think the Territorials fit subject for their cheap wit", and in Nelson the local council refused to allow the display on their tram cars of cards advertising the Territorial Force.⁹¹ It should be noted that these areas of Lancashire were for the most part those which had been hostile to the Volunteer Movement 50 or more years earlier, chiefly on political grounds.⁹²

In their official capacity as Lord Mayor, Hepton and Kitson made personal efforts to stimulate Territorial recruiting, to win the co-operation of local employers and to demonstrate publicly their support in general for the Movement. Civic heads all over the country undertook these duties as a matter of course but with varying degrees of vigour and enthusiasm. It was usual to convene local meetings of leading townspeople "for the purpose of considering the best means to be adopted to obtain additional recruits for the local Territorial forces",

as at Huddersfield.⁹³ The Mayor of Salford, for instance, showed what could be done by a special effort to obtain recruits for a local battalion.⁹⁴ Mr. Hepton, at the beginning of May 1908, sent out a circular letter to all Leeds employers asking them if they were prepared to assist in the furtherance of the Territorial scheme by affording facilities to their employees. He asked a series of questions relating to these facilities, such as whether they would allow recruits in their employ a period of the year free from overtime working, in addition to the more obvious ones regarding time off to attend camp and musketry courses.⁹⁵ A few days later he held a meeting of employers and, on the basis of their written and verbal replies and suggestions, drew up a letter, bearing the names of all employers willing to affix their signatures, which he proposed to issue as a poster, copies of which would be displayed throughout the city. The poster issued contained 72 names including the Leeds City Council and the Lord Mayor's own firm.⁹⁶ Ald. Kitson was prominent among those responsible for the success in April 1909 of the "Leeds Rifles' Rush to Scarborough", a mobilisation experiment based on motor cars. Although 180 cars had originally been promised, only 124 actually turned up and without the vehicles lent by the Corporation, councillors and Ald. Kitson's friends and relatives (among them his cousin Roland Kitson who later was commissioned in the Leeds Rifles), led by the Lord Mayor driving his own car, the experiment would have been a failure.⁹⁷ Earlier the same month a combined Territorial recruiting march through the city centre streets was held, Deputy Mayor Robert Armitage MP, accompanied by councillors, taking the salute.⁹⁸ Armitage, the squire of Farnley, son of the first commandant of the Leeds Rifles, materially assisted the Regiment by allowing it to use his park free of charge for field training and providing refreshments for the Riflemen.

Recruiting was a key to the success of the Territorial scheme. In any district its level depended directly upon the degree of public support that existed locally for the Territorials. In the matter of local support the attitude of the Council and in particular of its head probably exerted more influence than any other factor. The councillor and alderman were highly respected public figures; the citizenry were ready enough to follow them on any non-party matter were a clear lead given. Generally speaking, a high level of municipal support for the Territorials almost invariably ensured a high level of public support; the opposite was certainly true. Naturally enough, a corporation

containing an appreciable number of serving or retired Volunteers and relatives of serving or retired Volunteers, a state of affairs of itself reflecting past public support locally for the Volunteer Movement, and in particular one having in addition a Volunteer as its head, would show more enthusiasm for the Territorial scheme than one containing few or no serving and retired Volunteers. This was illustrated in Leeds, as we have seen, and elsewhere, from other large cities, like Sheffield, to small townships, like Guiseley, near Leeds.

G.E. Branson, who was Lord Mayor of Sheffield 1913-14, had retired as Commanding Officer of the Hallamshires in the year of his election. Many members of the leading industrial families involved in local politics served in the Sheffield Volunteers, e.g. the Vickers, Firths, Tozers and Mappins, associated with the Hallamshires, each provided at least one Mayor or Lord Mayor, and at least two Volunteer officers, [Sir] John Brown and [Sir] Frederick Thorpe Mappin, held the two high offices of Mayor (or Lord Mayor) and Master Cutler. In Guiseley, a popular Volunteering centre, the Chairman of the Urban District Council 1904-5 was Councillor R.L. Jackson, JP, otherwise Quartermaster-sergeant Jackson of the 2nd VB DWR in which he had served since 1883.⁹⁹ Many instances could be cited of the extent to which mayors and individual councillors were able, by virtue of their office, to influence Territorial recruiting in peacetime. The Redcar Company (F Coy) of the 4th Bn Yorkshire Regt. was raised, 128 strong, in 1908 by a very popular local councillor, Col. Sgt. S. Wardman.¹⁰⁰ Even in the hostile environment of Halifax, whose "city fathers contained at least their full proportion of anti-militarists and anti-conscriptionists",¹⁰¹ it was possible to make progress in recruiting in 1909 when the Mayor was actively aiding the Territorial movement.¹⁰² An outstanding example of the result of mayoral support was afforded in 1906 by Dewsbury, a small textile town that provided a surprisingly large number of Volunteers in relation to its size. The Mayor showed what he personally thought of the local citizen soldiers by not only asking Baden-Powell to unveil the District Volunteers' South African war memorial but also paying a "splendid tribute" to the Dewsbury Volunteers in his speech accompanying the ceremony. In its comment the Yorkshire Evening News gave recognition to the value of civic support: "If every Mayor in the kingdom would only take a personal pride in the Volunteer corps of his constituency, the public, perhaps, would follow suit, and actively support, instead of merely tolerating the movement." The two Dewsbury companies of the

4th KOYLI were still heavily over-subscribed in 1911.¹⁰³

One of the reasons for the wide support for the Volunteer Movement given by all classes and all political parties was its thoroughly non-political nature: Volunteers were seen to be politically impartial and not the creatures of any political faction or party. This was the result of the Government taking action during the 1860s to curb the growth of political activity within the Movement. The awful example of the Duke of Leinster's Volunteers of 1779 had, only too well, illustrated the potential threat of an army of volunteers who might desire a particular political end and wring concessions from a reluctant Government by threats of armed force.¹⁰⁴ In the 1860s Volunteers had occasionally been collectively involved in politics at local level, including the campaign for manhood suffrage,¹⁰⁵ but not in Leeds, where the Movement represented a broad cross-section of the local political community, as it did in the country as a whole, Whigs, Tories and Radicals uniting willingly and good-humouredly in the cause of national defence. Volunteering seemed to assuage the socio-political internal rivalries within the superior classes endemic in the mid-19th century town. Though the threat posed by the Volunteers was perhaps more apparent than real, the political issues of the time were sufficiently sensitive for this particular source of undue influence to be removed. At the approach of the 1868 General Election the Secretary of State for War reminded all Lords Lieutenant that Commanding Officers of volunteer corps should be forbidden to assemble their men for drill, or any other purpose, between the issue of a Writ and the termination of the Election in their particular county or borough, nor should Volunteers in uniform take part in any political demonstration or party meeting.¹⁰⁶ This regulation was carried over to the Territorial era, with the added proviso that no rank of the TF, whether in uniform or not, was permitted to discuss political questions during speeches at any kind of military gathering such as prize distributions or concerts during the pre-election period.¹⁰⁷ From 1887, bands had not been permitted to play in public at any time without the express sanction of the officer commanding the Regimental District who had first to ascertain that "nothing of a political tendency" was likely to occur at the venue where the band was to play.¹⁰⁸ Permission for the Leeds Rifles Band to play at the Ball of the Combined Conservative Clubs of East Leeds and Burmantofts on 8th February 1889 was refused.¹⁰⁹

The Leeds Territorials, and in particular the Leeds Rifles, continued to receive the wide political support and the support from all classes of society enjoyed by the Volunteers. In not a few places, such as York and Halifax,¹¹⁰ the Territorial scheme was boycotted by Labour supporters and Trade Unionists, and in not a few places, too, the Territorials were subjected to "traditional hostility" from certain sections of the working class, perhaps stemming from long-felt grievances regarding the suppression of public disturbances by militia or yeomanry and folk myths about Luddites and the like. Cunningham cites several instances of mobs or crowds of "roughs" showing real hostility to bodies of Volunteers and in some cases actually physically assaulting them. He plausibly argues that the class of person responsible may have regarded Volunteers as symbols and representatives of authority and law and order, Yeomanry in another form, to be harassed and attacked on sight.¹¹¹ Nothing of this kind had ever occurred in "proverbially peaceable" Leeds and "traditional hostility" or antipathy from any section of the working classes just did not exist. The long era of relative social tranquillity, together with the town's long-standing reputation for being law-abiding and having a comparatively low incidence of violent crime, perhaps only served to increase local respect for the Volunteers and their successors, the Territorials. It is abundantly clear that in Leeds, notwithstanding the views of the Member for East Leeds and Councillor Badlay, Labour supporters and Trade Unionists gave the Territorials at the very least tacit approval, sending their sons to join in appreciable numbers. (Two respondents were convinced Marxists; both had joined the Leeds Rifles before 1914 and were firm and enthusiastic believers in the Territorial system, as were four other respondents who later became prominent local Trade Union officials.) The local Co-operative Movement continued to give the support it had maintained since early Volunteer days: as an employer, the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society appeared on the Lord Mayor's poster.¹¹² The protest made by the Trades and Labour Council in 1908 was a protest against the city's largest employer, not against the Territorials. It was a symptom of ailing industrial relations (the Strike came in 1913), a cloak for fundamental grievances, a politically respectable stick with which to beat the employer. It may be that in other towns opposition to the Territorials was associated with unhappy industrial relations. In Leeds, the greatest proportion of recruits came from the workplaces that were unionised: the largest firms in the city, principally in engineering, owned by pro-Territorial employers.

Most of them had been "Volunteer shops" and three of them had been supporting Leeds Rifles companies of their own since 1860. Evidence is brought forward in the next chapter that suggests that, in Leeds, "Volunteer shops" tended to be characterised by harmonious industrial relations. No complaints were reported in the press about Territorials receiving preferential treatment in the matter of employment or promotion at these firms, nor about the local employers who operated Territorial closed or quasi-closed shops, despite the national furore caused in 1909 by the Alliance Assurance Company's attempt to impose a Territorial closed shop (see Chap. 5, section 5.4). It seems likely that the shop stewards and convenors at the "Volunteer shops", having been brought up with the practice of giving preferential treatment to Volunteers, some of them perhaps having been Volunteers themselves, could see nothing unusual in it. No respondent condemned it in any way whatever; some even declared that a Territorial employee as such showed he was "one of the right sort". It is significant to note that, in general, the towns which showed the highest levels of Territorial strength in the period 1908-1914 were those in which, in early Volunteer days, employers had raised companies from among their own employees and in which employers had continued or repeated the process in the years 1908-9. Were a study undertaken, it may be found that in these towns Trade Union and Labour opposition to the Territorial scheme was minimal.

There was, in addition, a further reason why the Labour supporters and Trade Unionists of Leeds should approve of and support the local Territorials: an identification of interest, opposition to conscription. Official general and unit recruiting posters invited men to enlist in the Territorials and "thus avoid conscription", or "thus help to save the country from CONSCRIPTION",¹¹³ as a poster in the latter days of the Volunteers had it. Although some prominent Leeds Territorials, like Lt. Col. J.W. Stead of the 7th Bn,¹¹⁴ were in favour of universal military training for boys, none appeared to have embraced the conscriptionist cause before the outbreak of war. MP James O'Grady, following his visit of August 1915 to the Ypres Salient where a good many men from his constituency were serving, recanted his anti-military and anti-conscription views and ironically found himself under fire from the anti-conscriptionist diehards of his constituency party, even being accused of being a Tory, for assisting recruiting campaigns, for advocating compulsory service, and for voting for the Military Service

(No. 2) Bill.¹¹⁵ Some Leeds Labour men remained anti-conscriptionists to the last : from a report of an anti-conscription meeting held in Cross Flatts Park in February 1916: "Counc. Tallant expressed the opinion that the Military Service Bill was 'a tremendous step backwards in the progress of our nation'... They, the Labour and Socialist Party, desired to see England free, and in this compulsory service measure, they saw 'the beginnings of a movement to trample underfoot the cherished liberty of the subject'".¹¹⁶

The Leeds newspapers could be said to have been largely responsible for the widespread public support given to the local Volunteers and Territorials since they, at one and the same time, reflected, shaped and nourished that support in their columns. All the local newspapers had been firm supporters of the Volunteer Movement from the outset, albeit from differing motives. Two newspaper proprietors - William Hobson of the Radical Leeds Times and Edward Mainwaring Baines, part owner of the Liberal Leeds Mercury - did not content themselves merely with moral support: in 1863 they enrolled as privates in the Leeds Rifles. In the Territorial era, Ernest William Terrey, part owner of the Liberal Yorkshire Evening News, became a subaltern in the Leeds Rifles, being gazetted on 11th April 1908. The Baines family and its printing and newspaper publishing firm had a long association with the Regiment. E.M. Baines became an officer in 1864 and served for over 20 years; his cousin, Edward Baines III, had joined the corps in 1860 and his second cousin, Alexander Talbot Baines, brother of Herbert Stanhope Baines, editor of the Mercury, enrolled as an officer in 1900. Employees of the Mercury were among early enrolments: 58 Andrew Keenan, clerk, was a founder member of the corps and was followed in 1860 by his son, 264 Samuel Keenan, printer, 265 John Hall, clerk (who lived next door to the then editor, Frederick Baines), 266 A.G. Ewing, compositor, and 370 E. Goodall, clerk; 244 John Dent Davidson was the son of a Mercury reporter. The nephew of Fred Spark, proprietor and editor of the Liberal Leeds Express, enrolled in the Leeds Rifles in 1875 and took a commission in the Leeds Engineer Volunteers in 1878. Only one employee of the Tory Leeds Intelligencer, 1123 Samuel Tallantine Oates, compositor, was identified on the Leeds Rifles nominal roll, 1859-1875. The newspaper with easily the largest circulation, the Mercury, discovered a financial benefit to itself in supporting the Leeds Rifles and the other two local corps: from the mid-1860s these corps, in order to reduce administrative costs, had their Orders and Regimental Notices

put in the Tuesday and Saturday editions. This was a fortuitous spin-off, however, and there is no reason to suppose that the resulting revenue from advertising and increased sales of the paper (by 1865 the number of Leeds Volunteers had reached nearly 2,400) influenced editorial policy.

At first, the number and size of Volunteer news items in the Leeds papers were small, in keeping with the size of the papers, but by the mid-1880s, with the growth in newspaper readership, the increase in the number, size, scope and frequency of publication of newspapers themselves, improvements in methods of news-gathering, and increased public anxiety about home defence, coverage had increased enormously. Editorials and special articles on Volunteer matters became common and reporters were despatched to camps to send back daily accounts of the activities. Support was not unqualified praise and commentators did not hesitate to make constructive criticisms or point out faults in the local Volunteers, though never in a spiteful or censorious fashion as in, for instance, this example from the Bradford satirical journal The Yorkshireman: "Riflemen coming from the Baildon butts should beware of the Baildon ale. It doesn't look well for three members of H.M. 3rd W.Y.R.V. [the Bradford Rifle Volunteers] to be staggering about the streets and poking their rifles into people's eyes".¹¹⁷ Light-hearted accounts of say, a field day, which attempted to be amusing at the Volunteers' expense, were evidently strongly discouraged by Leeds editors; only one such account was found. By 1899 the two leading newspapers, the Leeds Mercury and the Yorkshire Post (formerly the Leeds Intelligencer) had appointed special Volunteer correspondents, obviously ex-Volunteers, and were devoting an appreciable amount of space to Volunteer affairs, news, comment and opinion. From 1902 coverage increased and support for the Volunteers became increasingly enthusiastic and vociferous, lecturing government, employers and eligible young men alike on their "patriotic duties", and it is significant to note here that the post-war decline in Volunteer numbers in Leeds was appreciably less than the national average. The evening papers started weekly columns of Volunteer news and comment, written by ex-Volunteers, which occupied anything up to 30 column inches. That of the Yorkshire Evening News (successor in 1905 to the Leeds Daily News) was given a specially designed heading and entitled "Volunteer Chat"; it was compiled by "Observer" who changed his nom de plume in 1906 to "The Scout" and who seems to have been a former member of the Leeds Rifles. The Yorkshire Evening Post's column also had a specially

designed heading, was entitled "Our Citizen Soldiers" and was compiled by "Non-Com." Both columns are valuable sources of contemporary Volunteer, and later Territorial, opinion and are noteworthy for their lack of bias and maturity of thought. In 1909 as local interest in the Territorials and national public anxiety about matters of defence neared their peak, the Mercury started a whole-page feature on Saturdays entitled "The Yorkshire Territorial Army: our Home-Guards Page." In Leeds, Territorials were eminently newsworthy and all the papers devoted an amazingly large amount of space to their affairs and activities. For instance, the Mercury of 26th April 1909 devoted over 92 column inches to its account of the "Leeds Rifles' Rush." This journal, now modelling itself on the "popular" national dailies, having become the property of the Harmsworth brothers who were known for their interest in defence matters, gave over its back page to photographs. During the drill seasons, photographs of local Territorials, sometimes in posed groups, frequently appeared; during the annual trainings, the entire back page was daily composed of photographs taken at camp, the Leeds Rifles not surprisingly predominant, and sometimes additional photographs appeared on the inside pages. During the camping season, the Yorkshire Post devoted on average a minimum of two-thirds of a page daily to accounts of the activities of the various Yorkshire units, dominated by those of the Leeds units.

It is impossible to assess which of the local newspapers gave the greatest amount of support to or showed the greatest enthusiasm for the Volunteers and Territorials. It is remarkable that, whatever their particular political slant, whatever government was in power and whatever that government's policy towards the citizen soldiers was, the newspapers' support was unswerving and unshakeable and, viewed overall, increasing. The Liberal Mercury and the Liberal Evening News (which was directed at a working-class readership) never shrank from criticising or attacking a Liberal Government's attitude to the Volunteers and Territorials. The latter paper made a point of fiercely attacking any government measure which put obstacles in the way of working men joining what it was fond of referring to as "the people's army". Citizen soldiers were people Leeds newspapers could identify with. At least some of the journalists themselves were or had been Volunteers or Territorials, while all of them came into regular professional contact with them as fellow citizens. There were four main headlines on the leading news page of the Yorkshire Post on 5th August 1914, but the one in the boldest type read: "Territorials Embodied".

For the first two or three years of the Volunteer Movement the country's newspapers in general had over-praised and eulogised the Volunteers. The same treatment was accorded the Territorials. A tendency to sensationalise Volunteer news items had occasionally manifested itself : for example, although insubordination must have been an everyday occurrence in the Regular Army, the cases in 1870 of 4 members of the 16th Staffs RVC (Newcastle-under-Lyme), charged before magistrates with insubordination and prosecuted by one of their own officers,¹¹⁸ received wide publicity. In 1908-9, anything to do with the Territorials was "News" with a capital N. The attitude of the "popular" national daily and Sunday papers became quite hysterical in tone. The more irresponsible elements in the press had a field day. Trivia abounded and sensation-seeking journalists inflated every news story out of all proportion. Serious or fatal injuries to or involving Territorials, accidental shootings, cases of serious illness at camp, cases brought before magistrates for non-efficiency, absence from camp, or insubordination, received maximum coverage. For example, a gun-team of the Leeds Artillery at camp at Fleetwood became bogged down in the mud as the tide was turning.¹¹⁹ Various newspapers and periodicals, including the Military Mail, took up the story and sensationalised it until it became a death-defying race against the treacherous tide, a thrilling experience unparalleled in the annals of the British Army. The insubordination in one company of the 8th Bn in 1910 was immediately seized upon as a "mutiny" and became headline news in virtually every daily and Sunday newspaper in the country; the highly coloured and grossly over-exaggerated publicity given to this incident so alarmed the Army Council that they ordered that at all Territorial Camps in 1911 the first 40 sections of the Army Act were to be read out to each unit immediately on arrival, together with a warning that the penalty for inciting mutiny was penal servitude for life.¹²⁰

The implications for the Territorials of this surfeit of publicity were extremely serious. The Territorials quickly came to be regarded as public property to be freely discussed, subjected to a large number of uninformed generalisations, and criticised by all and sundry. There was the inevitable reaction in the national press to the initial hysterical over-readiness to praise the Territorials. Adulation turned in 1909 - the year of the naval scare, the hysterical press campaign for more battleships, and Capt. Guy du Maurier's play about a German invasion, "An Englishman's Home" - into hypercriticism and hostility,

and every peccadillo, fault or shortcoming tended to be highlighted and magnified. Even Leeds was not immune from this swing of opinion. In August 1909 the Rev. N.L.T. Hodgson, acting chaplain to the Leeds Rifles, was accidentally shot dead at camp while watching Brigade manoeuvres.¹²¹ Six days later the Yorkshire Post printed a letter attacking the Leeds Rifles. The writer asserted that the Regiment had "sacrificed" the young curate's life (an irresponsible allegation that aroused much bitter feeling in that part of East Leeds where Mr. Hodgson had ministered to the people of the slums) and condemned the bands' playing of "lively airs" between the railway station and Carlton Barracks as "disrespectful". The paper's editorial on the subject, which, since it was the local holiday period, may not have been written by the regular leader writer, appeared only too ready, though the results of the official inquiry (which completely exonerated the Leeds Rifles) had not yet been made known, to condemn the Regiment unheard.¹²² This surprising and completely uncharacteristic outburst was an isolated instance and was strangely at variance with the sympathetic reports which had appeared in the paper earlier.

Local patriotism was perhaps the chief driving force behind the Volunteer and Territorial Forces and was an important element in local support, as was recognised by Cunningham: "...the Volunteers were fired not so much by love of Britain as by pride in and a sense of belonging to their local community... their success or failure was seen as a commentary on the civic or village leaders, and on the community as a whole."¹²³ An illustration of its strength and magnitude is given by the fact that the official decision in 1908 to form the 20th London Regt. from the 2nd and 3rd Volunteer Battalions Royal West Kent Regt. caused, or so it was claimed, wholesale resignations, since Kentish men were being deprived of serving in a regiment bearing the county name.¹²⁴

Local chauvinism was strong in the industrial towns of the West Riding. It was a sentiment that grew as the conurbation developed, and intensified as the town boundaries advanced threateningly towards each other. Inter-town jealousy was rife; that between Leeds and Bradford and between Leeds and Sheffield¹²⁵ was particularly keen. Any measure that would lead to further local aggrandisement would meet with widespread approval, providing it did not involve a crippling increase in the rates. The booming industrial towns had become extremely status-conscious by about 1860. A favourite spur employed in Leeds to rally

support for any scheme was to suggest that the town was falling behind in the race. In May 1859, reporting on the apparent lack of progress in establishing a volunteer corps, the Leeds Mercury waspishly remarked that "If the Deputy Lieutenants would take up the matter heartily, Leeds would not be behind less important towns in this patriotic movement," while the writer of a letter signing himself "A Briton" complained in the same journal: "I am sorry to see Leeds so much behind many other towns (some of which are much less important) in getting up a Volunteer Corps."¹²⁶ The Yorkshire Post, canvassing support for the new 8th Bn in 1908, resorted to this time-honoured ploy, claiming that the city of Leeds, in respect of the number of its local volunteers, had been "much behind other centres of the same rank and importance,"¹²⁷ meaning Manchester and Liverpool. Brian Thompson, an incomer, in his book Portrait of Leeds, nicely described the fierce pride felt by a native of Leeds for his city: "To a Leeds citizen, Leeds is the best place in the world, bar none... Sometimes, to an outsider, Leeds pride can seem impractical and even foolhardy... [To a Northerner] His town, his city and - above all in Yorkshire - his county is the best place in the world, bar none. Nobody has ever compared Leeds with Venice. That is only because nobody has thought it worth the bother. Leeds is bound to be better."¹²⁸

As Cunningham rightly remarks, the Volunteers were "the local military Force par excellence."¹²⁹ Col. Edmund Wilson described the Leeds Rifles as being "in one sense the property of the city of Leeds."¹³⁰ Country-wide, the Volunteers became a focus of local pride and chauvinism: at a public meeting held in September 1859 the committee members of the Rifle Corps promised to do all in their power "that in general efficiency it might be worthy of the town of Leeds";¹³¹ the men of the Leeds Artillery, on arrival at camp in 1880, were told that they must at all times remember that they had to maintain the credit of the corps and of "the good old town of Leeds";¹³² the 1st Lanarkshire RVC of Glasgow "delighted in upholding the honour of the city of its birth";¹³³ in 1861 T.H. Battye, Hon. Secretary of the 6th WYRVC, told his comrades "your ranks comprise much of the flower, the pride and promise of this my native town. I know that enterprise, endurance, perseverance and courage are characteristic qualities of my fellow townsmen... and if hostile aggression shall ever call you out to war I am confident that no corps of the Rifle Volunteers will acquit themselves with more heroic fortitude and bravery than the Huddersfield or 6th West Riding of Yorkshire."¹³⁴

It was usual for the early rifle volunteer corps to add the name of the town or village of origin unofficially in brackets after the title; civic arms were often adopted as badge,¹³⁵ on the regimental colour and on the corps' official stationery. The 11th (later 7th) West Riding of York Rifle Volunteer Corps, as the Leeds Rifles were officially designated, had an official stamp designed bearing the civic arms and the title "Leeds Volunteer Rifles 1859"; the pouch belt badge consisted of the civic arms within a circlet inscribed "Leeds Volunteer Rifles" surrounded by a wreath of laurel and oak leaves in which the civic motto was entwined, the whole surmounted by the Victorian crown; the notepaper bore the civic arms. Of the Colours, presented by Mrs. John Gott on November 3rd 1860, the Regimental Colour bore the full coat of arms of Leeds with the civic motto, while the Queen's Colour bore a scroll at the top containing the legend "Leeds Rifle Volunteers."¹³⁶ The first Rules of the Corps, dated 18th November 1859, was headed "Leeds Volunteer Rifles." This title was used on the black patent leather pouches used by the corps, and was also habitually employed by the Leeds Mercury. The first entry, dated 25th October 1860, in Minute Book I of No. 9 (Tetley's Brewery) Company is headed "Leeds Rifle Volunteers", and in 1864 the Regiment was given official permission to use the designation "the Leeds Rifle Volunteer Corps."¹³⁷ It is likely that the corps was becoming informally known by its shortened title "Leeds Rifles" before the end of 1860.

Under the Cardwell reforms of 1872, 66 infantry districts were formed and the 14th Regiment of Foot, previously the Buckinghamshire Regiment (from 1809) and the Bedfordshire Regiment (1791-1809),¹³⁸ was assigned to the West Yorkshire District. Following the completion of the territorial reorganisation of the Foot regiments in 1882, the volunteer corps of the Regimental Districts were asked to become Volunteer Battalions of the territorial regiment, now given the territorial title. For a reason not disclosed, the volunteer corps in the 14th Regimental District declined to comply,¹³⁹ perhaps because of the regiment's lack of Yorkshire connections. (It is interesting to note that, at the same time, the County of Buckinghamshire had "deeply regretted" being deprived of the 14th Foot. The Buckinghamshire Rifle Volunteers, much in the same manner of the Leeds Rifles, "had not only refused absolutely to regard themselves as the 3rd Volunteer Battalion" of their new territorial regiment, the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, "but had clung to the distinctive uniform of a rifle regiment." The War

Office eventually agreed to add "Buckinghamshire" to the title of the territorial regiment.¹⁴⁰ This example tends to lend support to the suggestion that local chauvinism lay behind the Leeds Rifles' persistent refusal to join the West Yorkshire Regiment.)

A circular memorandum dated 23rd April 1887 ordered, in the most gentlemanly way possible, Volunteer corps that had not yet consented to become Volunteer battalions of their territorial regiment to do so, offering the concession that the Secretary of State was "prepared to meet susceptibilities of particular corps bearing special designations by retaining such designations in brackets before the words 'Volunteer Battalion'".¹⁴¹ This concession was continued into the Territorial era: any attempt to deny it would have had disastrous consequences. The official title of the senior Leeds Rifles battalion then became the "7th (Leeds Rifles) Battalion West Yorkshire Regiment (Prince of Wales's Own)." The titles of the two battalions were immediately unofficially shortened to "7th Leeds Rifles" and "8th Leeds Rifles", by which designations they are popularly known to the present day. Official permission was granted in 1909 to add the words "Leeds Rifles" to the brass shoulder titles.¹⁴² The Hallamshires of Sheffield naturally retained their designation. Following the Haldane reorganisation comparatively few of the new Territorial battalions outside London sought to retain special designations, though in some areas the general public and the press evidently perpetuated local associations: for example, the Bridlington Company of the 5th Bn Yorkshire Regt. was referred to as "the Bridlington Rifles" and the Wakefield HQ companies of the 4th Bn KOYLI as "the Wakefield Light Infantry",¹⁴³ while non-infantry units were, or often continued to be, known by local names, such as "Leeds Artillery" and "Otley Howitzers".

The unacceptable face of local chauvinism in the Volunteers showed itself in 1907 and 1908 in Sheffield where two separate serious grievances arose out of the reorganisations proposed under Haldane's scheme, the first concerning the Engineers, the second the Artillery. Two corps of Engineers were not needed in the new West Riding Division. Although the Sheffield corps took precedence in the VF, the Leeds unit had for many years been regarded as the "crack" corps of the service: it had 3 times been placed first in the Order of Merit of Efficiency of the entire VF, and in 1869, when at maximum strength, had comprised 1,000 "extra efficient".¹⁴⁴ Under the initial scheme, the Sheffield corps was to be

reduced to company strength. The Sheffield men were outraged. They resented and objected to this proposal most strongly and declared they would fight it resolutely, vowing they would never "play second fiddle to Leeds", nor become a mere appendage of the Leeds corps.¹⁴⁵ The honour of Sheffield was at stake. The Sheffield Artillery, the Hallamshires, the Lord Mayor and Corporation, and the local Members, who included Sir Howard Vincent, a leader of the "Volunteer Trade Union" in the Commons, swiftly rallied to their support. As a result of their combined political pressures, the War Office, spurning a judgement of Solomon, reversed its original proposals for the West Riding Engineers. The Leeds corps now it was who were to be disbanded as "surplus to requirements" and the Sheffield unit left intact. For some reason unknown, the Leeds City Council registered no official protest. (The eventual outcome was that the Leeds corps was reduced to company strength, instead of being disbanded, and was designated "Army Troops".) A Royal Horse Artillery unit was required in the new division. The 4th West York (Sheffield) Artillery immediately offered to raise this locally. However, Earl Fitzwilliam, possibly the largest landowner in South Yorkshire, whose seat was at Wentworth, near Rotherham, also offered to raise this unit on his own estates, providing both horses and men, and it was his offer that was accepted. Sheffield was furious and the City Council lodged an official complaint on the Sheffield Artillery's behalf. Ald. Styring described the acceptance as "being prejudicial to the welfare of the Sheffield Artillery, and contrary to the best interests of the Territorial Army scheme in the City of Sheffield".¹⁴⁶ A question was asked in the House.¹⁴⁷ The strong feelings aroused were based entirely on a series of misunderstandings and misapprehensions;¹⁴⁸ Sheffield chauvinists had failed to grasp certain salient facts. The Sheffield Artillery had hitherto been a corps of Garrison Artillery whose huge guns were drawn by teams of heavy draught horses led by men on foot who had to be skilled in horse management, but who did not need to learn to ride. The Earl employed many young men who were skilled not only in horsemanship, but also in horse-breaking and horse-training, and would accordingly make excellent recruits for the RHA Territorials.

In his speech at the 1886 Prize Distribution, Col. Wilson said he trusted that they, the Rifles, would never lose sight of the fact that they in a sense represented the inhabitants of Leeds, and he trusted that the latter would never lose sight of the fact that they were represented by the Rifles.¹⁴⁹ The validity of this concept of the local Volunteers as the representative team or side of their district was

vividly confirmed in 1900, when the first contingents were sent to South Africa. The Leeds Rifles "team" was very carefully selected to obtain the men with the finest physique and the highest military qualifications. Said the Yorkshire Post editorial of 30th January 1900: "There is not a man who does not consider himself 'fortunate' in having secured selection... The people of Leeds especially will be proud of them, and of the men they take with them, and will watch their movements as eagerly as their parents and friends themselves." Four days later the Volunteers departed: "The occasion gave rise to a great public demonstration, such, indeed, as perhaps has never before been witnessed in Leeds." ¹⁵⁰ "The occasion was made in every case one for the exuberant display of patriotic enthusiasm. The scene which attended the departure of the Leeds Rifle Volunteers... will effectually prevent the charge being made against Leeds that its people are phlegmatic. Their march from Carlton Hill Barracks to the North Eastern Station partook almost of the character of a triumphal progress, for everywhere along the route the streets were almost impassable, traffic was at a complete standstill, while their fellow-citizens of every social grade went really wild with enthusiasm... It was originally intended that the route should be through Carlton Hill, Woodhouse Lane, Upperhead Row, Briggate and Boar Lane, but Carlton Hill was cut out, for there was an obvious danger of the railings which flank the roadway being carried away by the crush. A force of about two hundred police was requisitioned to regulate the traffic, but their efforts made the smallest of impressions on the crowd that turned out. Flags were displayed all along the route, while scores of enthusiasts marched with the procession waving everything from the Union Jack and the Royal Standard to the Stars and Stripes. And everywhere, old and young cheered themselves hoarse." ¹⁵¹ "An enormous crowd assembled in the vicinity of the railway station, and in the crush several persons fainted." The mounted police had to be telephoned for. Lord Mayor John Gordon was there to see off the contingent, shake every man's hand and bid a cordial good-bye; "a scene of great enthusiasm prevailed." ¹⁵² Each Rifleman went off loaded with presents, including a silver watch from "Mrs. C.O." (Mrs. Tannett-Walker), a patent pipe-lighter for field service from Capt. E. Kitson Clark, and mittens from Dr. Hann, the regimental surgeon. The Lord Mayor sent to each man a 1-lb tin of tobacco and a handsome pipe with amber mouthpiece and silver mounting, suitably inscribed, accompanied by a letter: "Dear Sir - I have much pleasure in asking you to accept from me the enclosed pipe and tin of tobacco, so that when you are far away in South Africa they may

serve as a slight reminder of Old Leeds and be to you a token of the pride and satisfaction which your fellow citizens felt that you should be so willing to leave the ease and comforts of home to share in the stern struggle imposed on our motherland. I am sending them to the Depot with the intention that they should reach you just as you are leaving England, and so serve at the last moment as a reassurance of our appreciation of your eagerness to go to the front, and day by day as you use them I hope they will tell you that we are ever thinking of you, and that we will save you a warm corner in our hearts until you come back, as we earnestly trust you will, sound and well, after sharing in the glorious triumph which, I believe, awaits our country - I am, yours faithfully, John Gordon." ¹⁵³

A wildly enthusiastic welcome, such as was never, according to the several eye-witnesses interviewed, experienced by Leeds United bringing home a cup, nor even by visiting Royalty, awaited the Leeds Rifles contingent on its return 15 months later. Leeds went crazy. Although it was Whit Saturday enormous crowds packed the city centre and all available police were on duty. The streets from the station to Carlton Hill and the streets in the vicinity of the barracks were garlanded with bunting. A reception committee, consisting of the Lord Mayor and about 17 members of the Council, was waiting on the station platform when the Volunteers' train arrived. ¹⁵⁴ "All along the route to Carlton Hill... the returning Volunteers were literally besieged and cheered to the echo"; crowds spilled over from the pavements until they occupied half the roadway. ¹⁵⁵ Street parties were held to welcome individual Riflemen back. ¹⁵⁶

The later contingents, strangely enough, did not receive similar treatment, even though the second draft departed before the return of the first contingent; the send-offs and welcomes were warm, but not hysterical. The notion of the locally-raised units as "representative sides" was well to the forefront in World War I. For instance, Lord Mayor James Bedford, on the eve of the 7th Bn's Embarkation, sent to Col. Kirk the following telegram: "Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress of Leeds tender hearty good wishes for the welfare of the officers and men of the 7th West Yorkshire (Leeds Rifles), of whom the city has always been proud." ¹⁵⁷ Many civic heads actually visited local regiments in the war zone: e.g. in March 1916, the 9th HLI ("The Glasgow Highlanders") were visited by the Lord Provost of Glasgow who gave the Territorials "messages of good cheer from their fellow-citizens." ¹⁵⁸ In June 1919 "a rousing welcome was

accorded by the citizens of Leeds", despite the miserable rainy weather, the 7th Bn cadre commanded by Major Sir Edward Dunbar. Accompanied by several hundred demobilised local members of the battalion, and by Lt. Col. Tetley and Capt. George Sanders VC, both in uniform, the cadre was received on the Town Hall steps by the Lord Mayor. Mr. Joseph Henry (the Liberal leader, an ironfounder known as "the King of Holbeck") "whose remarks were endorsed with bursts of cheering, expressed the citizen's pride at the way in which the Rifles had upheld the honour of the city. 'It has been the greatest honour in my life', he said, 'to take part in this rejoicing'".¹⁵⁹

In the final analysis, the degree of local support in general which any Volunteer corps enjoyed depended on the extent to which it had become involved in the life of the community and the extent to which it enhanced and enriched that life. In some districts there was serious conflict between Volunteers and public upon the issue of common rights and ground used for drill and rifle practice.¹⁶⁰ One of the biggest problems for London Volunteers was finding exercise grounds where howling mobs or crowds of "rowdies" would not interfere with drilling. These areas of conflict did not exist in Leeds. Up to 1872 there was only one public park in Leeds - Woodhouse Moor. The Leeds Rifles ranges, first at Farnley, later at Middleton, were established on land which already belonged to members of the corps and over which there were no public rights of way. Drilling took place on land belonging to members of the corps, such as the park of Osmondthorpe Hall (owned by Capt. John Robinson), or to well-wishers, such as Templenewsam Park, or on land like the Headingley Cricket ground, Cardigan Fields, or the Royal Park Gardens¹⁶¹ where the Volunteers were allowed free use but the public was charged admission by the owner or lessee. The public park was used on a regular basis only between 6 and 8 o'clock in the morning; its occasional use on a Saturday summer evening brought forth only plaudits from members of the public, not protests about infringements of rights. Volunteer-watching was a highly popular spectator-sport in Leeds. "A Great Military Festival" - a Grand Volunteer Review - which was held in Leeds on 26th May 1795 had attracted "not less than 60,000 astonished and delighted spectators."¹⁶² As a form of public entertainment, whether free or not, the Leeds Volunteers were an irresistible attraction to the local population, and they contributed more than their share of the organised ceremonial that was such a conspicuous part of the public life of the mid- and late-Victorian



Civic Welcome for the 7th Bn, Wednesday, 25 June 1919: Major Sir Edward Dunbar shakes hands with the Lord Mayor on the Town Hall steps. George Sanders VC on right.

(photograph supplied by Sir Archie Dunbar)

and Edwardian city.

At a Field Day of Engineer and Artillery Volunteers in 1869, "when the Volunteers took up position in the field they were immediately surrounded by a large gathering of spectators, whose persistent manifestation of curiosity seemed to impede the movements."¹⁶³ The Leeds Rifles Annual Inspection of 1871 was held at the Royal Park Gardens in an enclosure from which the public was excluded: "The desire to witness the movements, however, was so general, that when the inspecting officer... presented himself for admission, and the gate was opened for his horse to pass through, a tremendous rush followed, the policemen were borne helplessly away upon the stream."¹⁶⁴ For the 1881 Annual Inspection held on Woodhouse Moor, police were engaged to control the spectators.¹⁶⁵ Volunteer-watchers evidently studied the local newspapers in order to follow their hobby: in 1881, as an experiment, and without previous warning, a Leeds Rifles march-out with the two bands was announced for that evening in the morning paper: "The popularity of the corps was unmistakably evinced by the large numbers of the public who turned out along the whole distance" of about 8 miles;¹⁶⁶ many thousands of spectators turned out for the first combined Leeds Volunteers Whitsun Marching Column;¹⁶⁷ the papers even inserted special items of advance publicity, e.g. "An event of much interest to a large portion of our readers will take place in Leeds; we allude to the annual inspection of the 7th West Yorks (Leeds) Rifle Volunteers."¹⁶⁸ Even as early as the summer of 1860 the organisers of horticultural shows and agricultural fetes up and down the country had found that by inviting Volunteers to parade at their functions gate receipts could be boosted considerably. In Leeds local showman Tommy Clapham, owner of the pleasure gardens, Royal Park, who charged 4d admission and 6d on Gala Days,¹⁶⁹ contrived to provide a Volunteer corps as an attraction on most Saturday evenings during the summer months; when the Leeds Rifles held their Battalion Drill there each man was served out with 10 rounds of blank ammunition.¹⁷⁰ The 1889 Grand Theatre Christmas Pantomime, "Mother Goose", which had been given a local setting, included "a realistic review of Yorkshire Volunteers which draws round after round of applause" and whose evolutions were "gone through with amazing smartness and strict adherence to regulation."¹⁷¹ (Since the theatre's Director of Music was Mr. Sidney Jones, the Leeds Rifles' Bandmaster, these Volunteers would be Leeds Riflemen.) Every kind of Volunteer activity was extremely popular with

the Leeds public, whether purely military (drill parades, reviews, etc.), fund-raising (bazaars, theatrical entertainments, assaults-at-arms, etc.), or social (balls, funerals, etc.), whether lending dignity to civic occasions by providing guards of honour,¹⁷² taking part in processions, or providing official trumpeters for H.M. Judges at the Courts of Assize, or whether firing a feu de joie on the Moor on the occasion of royal birthdays. A photograph of the opening of City Square in 1903¹⁷³ shows a large attendance of Volunteers. Even the Victoria Hall of the Town Hall, which holds over 2,000 people, was usually packed to the doors on the occasion of the Leeds Rifles Annual Prize Distribution. The most popular spectacle was the sham fight where the spectators usually got in the way to such an extent that the troops could justifiably complain they were so hemmed in by their friends that they were unable to see their enemies. 19,000 Volunteers participated in the 1862 Brighton Review, but the number of spectators was estimated at 50,000. Every hotel, tavern and boarding house in the district was full.¹⁷⁴ Many Volunteer corps found it advisable to ask a neighbouring corps to "keep the ground", i.e. keep back over-enthusiastic spectators, on the occasion of inspections and battalion drills held in public.

Also extremely popular were the spectacles, specifically designed as military entertainments in response to a public demand, put on by the Volunteers. (The present day Annual Royal Tournament started life in 1880 as a Volunteer entertainment, "The Grand Military Tournament and Assault-at-Arms."). The first Grand Assault-at-Arms, a display of the Victorian martial arts, was held in Leeds in 1868 by The Oriental and General Bath Company of Leeds Ltd, which conducted fencing, boxing and gymnastic classes for the Leeds Athletic Club, to which several members of the Leeds Rifles belonged. The Regiment started its own Fencing and Gymnastic Club, which had an experienced instructor, in January 1870 and with the assistance of the 5th Dragoon Guards, then in residence at Chapeltown Barracks, put on an Assault-at-Arms at the Mechanics' Institution in July of the same year; the band played selections between the various displays.¹⁷⁵ Such was its popularity, this form of entertainment was held regularly thereafter until World War I. That held at the 1874 Leeds Rifles Camp, for instance, gave "great gratification to the large concourse of spectators."¹⁷⁶ That in May 1906 attracted 1,000 spectators to Carlton Barracks: "Colour-sergeant Instructor Daniels swings swords with marvellous dexterity, and provides the sensation of the evening, after cutting in two bars of lead, sheep,

broom handles resting on tumblers filled with water, etc. etc. by cutting in two apples placed on the neck, throat and hands of Miss Nancy Roland, the plucky daughter of the sergeant major." Daniels was a man of outstanding ability in every respect. During his 18 years' service with the West Yorks he had won 15 medals for gymnastics, fencing and bayonet fighting and had become champion of the British Army in fencing and the bayonet exercise.¹⁷⁷ He formed a gymnastic class for the children of Riflemen comprising 17 boys and 14 girls whose "extremely clever" displays¹⁷⁸ charmed audiences at popular local events like the Hunslet Carnival and the Crossgates Flower Show. During his army service he had been responsible for organising military tattoos, a type of entertainment that became extremely popular in the first decade of this century. He introduced this spectacle to Leeds in 1906 to the immense delight of many thousands of paying spectators in Roundhay Park. The Yorkshire Evening News asserted that "the vast crowd" at the 1907 Tattoo was "ample proof of the popularity of anything pertaining to the military in Leeds."¹⁷⁹ Two Leeds Rifles tattoos were held in 1908, the first in Potternerton Park, attended by "many thousands", the second in Roundhay Park in aid of the NLBI. The Lifeboat Tattoo, "one of the best military tattoos ever seen in this district", and featuring a Musical Bicycle Ride, each man carrying 6 lanterns, "further enhanced the reputation of the popular Riflemen."¹⁸⁰

A terrible tragedy marred the Lifeboat Tattoo of 1910: a firework display supplied by contractors had been arranged to take place simultaneously. During the opening a maroon weighing 9 lbs exploded prematurely in the mortar.^{Two} (2) people, including L/Sgt. Harry Pullen, were killed by flying fragments, 2 were very seriously injured, 4 others sustained fractured limbs and 5 collapsed with shock. A thorough search of the Park for injured persons was made by the men of the 7th Bn carrying the lighted torches they were to have used in the Tattoo.¹⁸¹ The excellent discipline shown by all ranks of the battalion averted all panic or signs of hysteria among the spectators, according to Lt. Col. Stead's message to all ranks printed in the July 7th Bn Orders. The men of the Leeds Rifles were widely praised for their conduct on this occasion and received many expressions of sympathy. L/Sgt. Pullen's impressive funeral, despite being held on a weekday afternoon, was attended by over 500 of the 7th Bn, several hundred of the 8th Bn, detachments from every other T.F. unit in Leeds and a detachment from Chapeltown Barracks, numbering well over 1,000 in all, and many

thousands of members of the general public.¹⁸² Beckett noted that relations between public and Volunteers were soured on occasion by accidents, on the ranges, to members of the public.¹⁸³ This sad disaster, however, served only to increase the respect in which the Leeds Rifles were held. Even the bitterness aroused by the death of the Rev. Hodgson had been short-lived, for it evaporated when the report of the official enquiry completely exonerating the Regiment was published.

As a form of public entertainment the Leeds Territorials were, if anything, even more popular than their predecessors. A Whitsun tactical scheme of the 7th Bn held at Aberford in 1909 was "witnessed by large numbers of people from surrounding villages, and by holiday makers who had come in by train or cycle from Leeds."¹⁸⁴ Large numbers of spectators turned out along the route, despite heavy rain, to watch the "Leeds Rifles' Rush to Scarborough" in 1909. At Malton "the utmost enthusiasm was displayed. The streets were crowded, flags fluttered from scores of windows, the school children carried Union Jacks and waved them lustily, the whole place displaying a fine patriotic fervour."¹⁸⁵ Territorial manoeuvres were popular all over the country. At Meltham near Huddersfield "great crowds bent on making holiday swarmed over the field of operations" getting in everybody's way; "Meltham folk seemed to think the battle was much better than a circus." Country people tended to regard manoeuvres as a holiday attraction specially arranged for their benefit, as the Leeds Rifles Marching Column had discovered at August Bank Holiday in 1903. Near Sunderland "enormous crowds" turned out to watch the local Territorials' first field day; a spectator who got too close to a Territorial taking aim was accidentally struck in the face by his rifle and rendered unconscious.¹⁸⁶

The Leeds Rifles Church Parade, held annually, was always a highly popular event, since the men were always dressed in review order. The first parade of the 8th Bn at Armley Parish Church was attended by about three-quarters of the enrolled strength: "the line of route on their return was simply congested, all Armley and Wortley turning out to see the local Territorials." The following year, 1909, "great crowds of spectators lined the route both going and returning... the thousands who witnessed it could not help being impressed with the strong muster and smart appearance of the local Riflemen in their full dress uniform,

and the soldiers themselves were proud of having caused such a sensation."¹⁸⁷

The citizenry evidently welcomed any opportunity to see the local Territorials in review order, such as occurred during the Royal Visit of July 1908, when the King opened the extensions to the University Buildings, and the Memorial Service and Procession for the late Edward VII.¹⁸⁸ Unfortunately, these opportunities became increasingly rare. By 1913, apart from church parades and the marches to and from the station at the time of annual camp, hardly any Leeds TF unit held a public parade. Not surprisingly, both the Yorkshire Evening News and the Leeds Mercury were reporting that year the quietest exodus of the Leeds Territorials for camp on record.¹⁸⁹ "The Scout", of the former paper, put the lack of public interest down to the adoption of the "unromantic and indistinctive" khaki service dress, but it is evident that the real reason for the decline in public enthusiasm was that put forward early in 1914 by the Mercury: "the Leeds Territorials are seen far too rarely in the streets to be very popular."¹⁹⁰ In support, the frequent public parades held all the year round in Hull were cited: "...there can be no doubt that the popularity of the Hull regiments is in a great measure due to the fact that they are better known amongst the people of the city owing to their more frequent appearance in the streets". In order to popularise the Territorials, it advocated frequent short route marches in full dress during the evenings or Saturday afternoons.¹⁹¹ This was the answer, for at the 1914 Leeds Rifles' Church Parade, the streets along the return route were "simply congested", so much so that the masses of spectators hampered the progress of the troops.¹⁹²

Leeds was still clinging to the independent church parade instead of holding a combined Military Sunday, an idea repeatedly canvassed by "The Scout" since he had first mooted it in 1908 and which he considered would give the people of Leeds living proof of the extent of the strength of their citizen army.¹⁹³ The York Military Sunday was one of the highlights of the year. A brilliant military spectacle in itself - a body of about 1,500 troops, including Territorials, followed by a civic procession consisting of the Lord Mayor, Sheriff and Corporation in state, preceded by sword- and mace-bearers, marched to the Minster for a special service - Military Sunday attracted something in the region of a hundred thousand sightseers who poured into the city from far and

near.¹⁹⁴ A similar event in Leeds would have provided an excellent opportunity to collect for the local hospitals. The fact that the Leeds Volunteers and Territorials were frequently to be found involved in raising funds for some charity that was widely recognised as being socially desirable also added to their popularity with the general public. In 1907, for instance, a grand assault-at-arms, a display by the children's gymnastic team and a torchlight tattoo were held at Carlton Barracks to raise funds for the Invalid Children's Aid Society, the combined bands of the Leeds Engineers and the Leeds Rifles gave a sacred concert at the Town Hall, attended by over 2,000 people, in aid of the funds of the Public Dispensary, the Leeds Rifles Band gave a sacred concert at Carlton Hill for the Leeds Workpeople's Hospital Fund, the RAMC Band gave two concerts in aid of the Poor Children's Holiday Camp Association.¹⁹⁵ The Leeds Rifles tattoos in aid of the National Life-Boat Institution have already been referred to. In addition, the Leeds Rifles and their bands usually took part in the annual fund-raising Infirmary Sunday demonstrations.

The Leeds Rifles' splendid bands were in part at least responsible for the Regiment's immense popularity. In 1906, for instance, the corps was said to possess "one of the best Volunteer bands in the country", while in 1907 it was described as "the best known military band in Yorkshire for the last thirty years or more."¹⁹⁶ A full military band of 45 performers, it comprised 30 enrolled Riflemen and 15 supernumeraries; it always included several professional musicians, while the majority of the players were former Army bandsmen. Regrettably, contests were not held for Volunteer bands but, by all accounts, the Leeds Rifles band had few equals in Volunteer circles, and it was greatly in demand for balls, garden parties, fetes, shows, the University Sports Day, and concerts in the public parks; millionaire Lord Airedale hired it to play for his guests at balls, garden parties, and parties at Gledhow; the band toured the houses of the wealthy at Christmas to play selections of seasonable music.¹⁹⁷ At the annual camps the bands usually gave several concerts for local residents. The Bandmaster from 1877 to 1897 was the celebrated J. Sidney Jones, one of the leading bandmasters of his day, who was also director of music at the Grand Theatre, the foremost theatre in Leeds, and owner/principal of the Yorkshire Training College of Music opposite Leeds Town Hall. His career reads like a story from Charles Dickens. Apparently left an orphan at an early age, he was an itinerant child musician, playing in the streets for pennies. When he was old

enough he enlisted in the Dragoon Guards, where his extraordinary talent was recognised and he was sent to Kneller Hall, now the Royal Military School of Music, to train and qualify as a bandmaster. In 1897 the Harrogate Borough (or Municipal) Band was raised by public subscription to provide music 4 times a day for visitors taking the waters at the newly opened Royal Baths and Winter Gardens. Mr. Jones left Leeds to become its bandmaster and he placed it in the forefront of the brass band world.¹⁹⁸ His son, Sidney, played under his direction in the Leeds Rifles band as an enrolled member of the corps and later in the "Gay Nineties", became well-known as a composer of operetta, ("The Gaiety Girl", "The Geisha", etc.) being hailed as a natural successor to Sir Arthur Sullivan. Nowadays he is usually regarded as the "Father of English musical comedy." S. Renton Gardner, director of music at the Grand Theatre, and formerly bandmaster of the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regt., became bandmaster in 1900.

Very little can be discovered about the first Leeds Rifles Band. All Volunteer corps needed a band. As it takes about two years to train a band from scratch, it follows that a corps would have been well-advised to take over a band already in existence. It would have been an act of the utmost folly not to have done this, as to have appeared with a partly-trained band would have invited nothing but public scorn and ridicule. Fortunately for the Volunteers, the brass band craze had been in existence for nearly 15 years and had, in fact, conquered the country by 1860,¹⁹⁹ and there were plenty of bands locally to choose from. The Leeds Mercury of 17th November 1859 reported that "the services of some of our excellent local bands have we understand been offered on condition that their clothing be provided", but unfortunately the identity of the band appointed to the Leeds Rifles was not recorded and there are several likely contenders; the sum of £477. 10s. 8d was spent on the band during 1860.²⁰⁰ The band appointed to the Huddersfield RVC was the Meltham Mills Band, then one of the best in the entire West Riding.²⁰¹ The earliest known photograph, thought to have been taken in 1865, of the John Foster & Son Ltd., Black Dyke Mills Band, which won the first national brass band contest, held at the Crystal Palace in 1860, depicts the bandsmen clothed in the uniform of Rifle Volunteers;²⁰² since John Foster Jnr. and his brother Abraham Briggs Foster were officers in the Bradford RVC, it is reasonable to assume that the Black Dyke Mills Band also appeared as the band of the Bradford RVC. The practice of taking over a band that was already a going concern was resorted to in Leeds

in 1888, when the Leeds Model Brass Band became the Leeds Engineer Volunteers Band, and again in the Territorial era, when the Leeds City Prize Band became the band of the Leeds ASC. The band of the new 8th Bn was recruited individually in 1909. The brass band became firmly established very early in the working class culture of the West Riding. Brass bands and brass and woodwind bands and their music were extremely popular in Leeds throughout the period 1860-1914. At the beginning of this century, the sound of the band striking up at Carlton Barracks was sufficient to bring running to the spot hundreds of local children who delighted to chant as they marched behind the band playing the regimental march "Ça Ira": "Old Tommy Rot, Tommy Rot, Tommy Rot - He's gone a-wa-ay to Alder-sho-ot".²⁰³

A local organisation which supported the Leeds Rifles (and played an important part in its formation) was the Chamber of Commerce, a pressure group immensely influential both locally and nationally, which was consulted by the Government of the day and at whose beckoning the local Members came rushing to do its bidding, at least in Victorian times. A large number of the first Leeds Rifle Volunteers belonged to the Chamber (see Chap. 1, section 1.1). As President at the time, Darnton Lupton, father and grandfather of Leeds Riflemen, must be regarded as the founder in 1859 of No. 3. Company. Leeds Riflemen Presidents of the Chamber include James Kitson Jnr. (1880-1), J.H. Wurtzburg (1903-4), J.H. Wickstead (1912-3) and J.E. Bedford (1916-7). As the Chamber was a bi-partisan society for the protection and encouragement of trade, its interest and intervention in matters of local and national defence are only to be expected. In 1908, however, while it evidently supported the Territorial Force and individual members were actively concerned in promoting it, as a body it seems to have taken no positive steps to further it. It appears to have been much more interested in Lord Roberts' scheme for compulsory military training to boys, passing enthusiastic resolutions in favour in 1906 and 1909.²⁰⁴ The national Association of Chambers of Commerce, while taking a favourable view of the Territorial system, had, nevertheless, by 1913 become in favour of compulsory universal military training by conscription. When asked by Prime Minister Asquith for its views on the attitude of employers to the Territorial scheme, the Association replied that the only way to deal with the many employers "whose actions have made it impossible for any of their young men workers to undertake the duty of national defence" was to enact a Bill compelling all employers to provide the necessary facilities.²⁰⁵

On the other side of the coin of public support was public ridicule. "Our gallant Volunteers had a good deal to put up with at first from the street arabs and other idlers, who could find no better employment than to fling all kinds of rough sarcasm and gutter criticisms at the members of the different corps. An unfortunate Volunteer, for instance, was fined for shooting a dog on Blackheath common, as he was going to drill, and almost immediately every other Volunteer was hailed in the streets of London with the cry of 'Who shot the dog?' When the Volunteers met for public drill, they were closely surrounded by a critical and tantalising crowd, which obstructed their movements, and laughed heartily at their mistakes. The comic papers were filled with more or less amusing caricatures of our citizen soldiers..." wrote Frederick Green in 1887 of his early Volunteering career in London.²⁰⁶ The Hanoverian Volunteers and Militia had been cruelly savaged by contemporary satirists (John Dryden's lines from Cymon & Iphigenia about the "rude militia" are so well known they need no quoting); the Victorian Volunteers provided an easy target for the would-be humorists and the mindless gibes of the ignorant alike.

"Saturday Night Soldiers" tripped easily off the tongues of those who considered fellows who preferred to spend their Saturday evenings drilling and at their own expense, rather than drinking in an alehouse or music hall, were weak in the head; "Feather Bed Soldiers" and "playing at soldiers" were cheap sneers uttered by many who were only too willing to leave all soldiering, whether on a full-time or part-time basis, to other people. It would be a mistake to attach too much significance to the ridicule the Volunteers had to endure from street urchins and street corner loungers who jeered at and mocked anybody who smacked of "authority" or any section that appeared to possess privileges or advantages that were denied to them.²⁰⁷ Very many different groups were the butts of their ribaldry, and the Volunteers were only one of these. Charles Booth remarked on the "rough hobble-dehoys... making uncomplimentary remarks regarding any decently dressed pedestrian."²⁰⁸

More general public ridicule, however, was occasioned by the Volunteer's personal appearance. The Victorian and Edwardian militia were a permanent laughing stock owing to the cheap, wretchedly ill-fitting clothing with which they were issued. Many a Volunteer provided much amusement as he tried to look soldierly wearing a hat or

helmet two sizes too large for him or trousers 2" too short. Some early Volunteers brought ridicule upon themselves by adopting extravagant and fanciful uniforms and embellishments. There were no fancy uniforms in the West Riding Rifle Volunteers; the Lord Lieutenant chose a common uniform: dark grey with black facings, forms of trimming to be left to the discretion of individual corps.²⁰⁹ It would have been foreign to the Yorkshireman's careful nature to have squandered money on expensive uniforms. Some Volunteers invited ridicule and scorn by the way they wore the uniform. Sir Robert Loyd-Lindsay had pointed out in 1881 that unless the Volunteer looked like a soldier, the general public would "never believe him fit to be entrusted with the higher duties of the military profession."²¹⁰ The public expected to see a Volunteer look soldierly and if only a few were slovenly and did not dress strictly according to regulations, they brought the entire corps into disrepute. This was a perennial problem. "The Scout", commenting on Col. Rowe's instruction to the 8th Bn that men in uniform without rifle should always carry a swagger stick, said: "This is one of the greatest failings of our citizen soldiers, and they cannot be too plainly told that cases of individual slackness in the streets do more to bring ridicule upon the force as a whole than anything else. A man in uniform should walk as if he was proud of it and of himself, but without a cane to swagger with he can only make a very poor attempt to do the corps justice, and his hands invariably find their way into his pockets, with the result that he appears only a caricature of a soldier and loses instead of gains respect for the cause."²¹¹ (The Regular Army was fully alive to this danger and it was for this reason that a recruit was kept confined to barracks until he had completed his basic training and all soldiers on pass were required to have their appearance vetted at the guardroom before leaving camp or barracks.)

The early Leeds Rifles tunics had baggy sleeves and the trousers were rather baggy and without creases but, since these were characteristics of contemporary male dress, they would not have appeared unsmart. By the 1880s, the uniform style had changed: sleeves and trousers had narrowed and the Sergeant Tailor of the corps ensured that individual uniforms fitted well. In the 1890s black serge kerseys, as worn in the Rifle Brigade, were issued to wear as undress uniform with the black trousers. Small boys used to shout "Blackclocks!" [Dialect: the common black beetle] after the Riflemen in the street.²¹² Inspecting Officers repeatedly praised the smart appearance of the Leeds Rifles.²¹³

Volunteers who took their Volunteering seriously perhaps became hypersensitive to public derision and it is all too easy to form an impression from their accounts and complaints that public ridicule of Volunteers and Territorials was much greater than it possibly was in reality. Brig. General Mends, Secretary of the West Riding County Association, for instance, in a letter to the Editor of the Yorkshire Post, complained that "The very name 'terrier', constantly used by the Press and in conversation is employed in derision."²¹⁴ One would, however, search in vain the columns of the Post and many other papers for derisory connotations of the term "Terrier" applied to Territorials. "The Scout" considered the term "Saturday Night Soldiers" highly offensive.²¹⁵ Many respondents who were peacetime Territorials shared this view, but others had been able to recognise such unthinking remarks as teasing, mostly good-natured. Even in Woodhouse, where Volunteering was virtually a way of life, remarks about "Saturday Night Soldiers" were common.

It is impossible to assess the extent of public ridicule in Leeds. The local newspapers frankly discouraged it; when they reported it, they did so in tones of such indignation that they probably over-exaggerated its importance. The press took Volunteering, as did the local Volunteers themselves, extremely seriously indeed. This editorial extract from the Mercury, written on the occasion of the Leeds Rifles fund-raising Bazaar in 1862, expresses timeless, and uncannily prophetic, sentiments: "The Rifle Corps is as essentially an English institution as cricket is an English game... other people can play at soldiers in a half-hearted, irregular sort of manner, and other people can get up armies... But the English have a way of turning their very games into earnest, and playing at things with very serious purposes. Thus for the last two years the cricket club has languished, boating has been put aside, and the drill, with all its monotony of routine, has been turned into the popular pastime. No doubt it half took the place of amusement, but it was an amusement with a keen eye to business. It was a pastime taken up with the deliberate knowledge that it might be turned into a grim and awful reality. It was an amusement adopted with the full consciousness that it might have some day to be practised amidst the roar of artillery, and in the death-struggle for the defence of the country."²¹⁶ From the Yorkshire Evening Post leading editorial of 1st April 1908: "There was a day, prior to the South African War, when it was the fashion among the

thoughtless to wear a scornful smile when reference was made to the Volunteers, and dismiss the subject with a comment in which 'playing at soldiers' was the pet phrase... [The War had] silenced the scoffer completely." Respondents who were peacetime Territorials, whatever their motivation for enlisting had been, strongly resented suggestions that they had been "playing at soldiers". Anecdotal evidence suggests that public ridicule of Volunteers and Territorials in Leeds was on a petty level in every sense of the term.

Public attitudes to the Territorials in general and to the Leeds Rifles in particular, as revealed by the respondents, showed some interesting variations, chiefly on a class basis. Although middle-class people generally would look with favour upon the Territorial Force as an institution, actually joining it themselves, or sending their sons to join, was an entirely different matter. Gordon Stowell, in his fictionalised portrayal of the Leeds middle-class suburb of Chapeltown before World War I, has his teenage characters dismiss Volunteering as playing at "toy soldiers" and "the most childish game of the lot."²¹⁷ This suburb, which provided very few recruits for the Territorials before the war, contributed virtually an entire company to the Leeds Pals in September 1914.²¹⁸ Some people regarded part-time soldiering as a good enough amusement for "those who liked that sort of thing":²¹⁹ one respondent, Harry Whitham, had held this opinion himself before the outbreak of war. Although Hugh Lupton, a member of an elite family, had friends and relatives in the Territorials, his social circle tended nevertheless to view the Territorial Force as "a gentleman's club for men who liked playing at soldiers." A number of respondents, for example 2158 Harold Dean, a member of the lower middle class whose mother had been educated at a private school, reported their parents had been opposed in peacetime to their joining the Territorials on social grounds. Status-conscious people of uninformed opinions appeared much inclined to look down socially on and to dismiss the Leeds Rifles Territorials as "a lot of scruffs."²²⁰ 2771 Harold Edward Hirst, who came from a status-conscious part of South Headingley and who carefully pointed out that his father had belonged to the Leeds Rifles "in the days when they had all been gentlemen", slanderously described the men of the 1/7th in 1914-15 as "mostly very rough types, potential jailbirds. Not the types I would have wanted to mix with in civilian life."

The chief supporters of the Territorials and of the Leeds Rifles, as in Volunteer days, were the "respectable" sections of the working classes, who were opposed to the Regular Army on social and moral grounds; in Woodhouse, the chief stronghold of support for the Rifles, joining the Regular Army or the Militia was virtually unthinkable. This sector of Leeds society, which comprised a majority of the population, looked upon the Territorial Force as an institution socially desirable in itself from every point of view (see chap. 4). Some people, however, had sneered at the Volunteers and Territorials because they were not "proper soldiers"; 2313 Herbert C. Sweetman, 8th, gave this as his reason for not joining before the war. Territorials were accused, perhaps by old Volunteers, of enlisting in the Force for what they could get out of it,²²¹ but it is unlikely that this allegation had more than a marginal effect on public opinion, if indeed it had any at all.

No mention has been made of the extent of financial support for the Leeds Rifles as an index of public support. Such an assessment would be impossible. So many variables are involved that any attempt would be unrealistic as well as fruitless. Before the introduction of the Government Capitation Grant in 1863 the corps relied heavily on public donations. Over £690 was received from firms and private individuals when the subscription list was opened in the summer of 1859; a further £192 was given in November and December of that year and £670 was donated the following year. The Bazaar and Amateur Theatricals held to raise funds for a drill-ground and armoury together realised £2,662, although the land alone cost £2,800²²² and the completed Oxford Row head-quarters £5,000 in total.²²³ The fact that donations failed to make good the shortfall between income and outgoings proves not lack of public support, but rather that Leeds men lived up to the traditional Yorkshireman's motto "Cop hod an' stick".

The lists of subscribers to the Regimental Prize Fund, together with the amounts or goods in kind given, printed in the programmes for the Annual Prize Distributions every year up to and including 1907, give a very broad cross-section of local society. They include retired members of the corps, local members of Parliament (who often publicly demonstrated their support by attending the Prizegivings), prominent local citizens, business firms, shopkeepers, tradesmen, publicans and private individuals who cannot be identified and who gave sums as

small as one shilling (in the early days at Oxford Row, an unidentified benefactor called regularly with a shilling to pay for the gas).²²⁴ Herbert Gladstone and Gerald Balfour are two names that appear every year over a long period. Herbert Gladstone, who was three times elected an MP for Leeds, and who was himself an ex-Volunteer,²²⁵ was a very close friend of Lord Airedale and in fact regarded him as his adopted father.²²⁶ Gerald Balfour, whose brother Eustace was CO of the London Scottish in 1899, was elected MP for Central Leeds in 1885 and subscribed to the Leeds Rifles' funds from that year until 1906. When the Territorial scheme came into operation the vast majority of subscribers naturally assumed there was no further need of their generosity: in 1910 only 51 of the 270 subscribers to the Prize Fund of 1903 remained and there were now two battalions to provide for.

Cunningham claims that Volunteers were little esteemed in their own society.²²⁷ This was clearly not the case in Leeds which displayed an above-average affection and respect for its citizen soldiers. In particular this claim is manifestly not true of the Leeds Rifles which, raised by the Mayor and Corporation and inheriting the mantle of popularity of Col. Lloyd's Volunteers, in the matter of local support got off to an auspicious start and never looked back. The first time the Leeds Rifles ever appeared in public in uniform, in January 1860, they were warmly received by the citizenry. The Radical Leeds & West Riding Express reported: "They were everywhere hailed with kindly feelings, and eulogistic expressions on their manly bearing... it was well known, the Volunteers intended to march from the Town Hall to the Parish Church; consequently, a very large number of persons assembled to welcome them"; whilst the Liberal Leeds Mercury wrote: "... thousands of spectators witnessed the march to and from the church. The corps presented a very respectable appearance, their smart and gentlemanly uniform eliciting the admiration of every spectator."²²⁸ The Regiment was well-integrated in local society. Members of different social strata joined it, and all groups in society, social, political, economic, and religious, supported it, although naturally some groups were more enthusiastic than others. This brought two important consequences. The first was that, unlike the other local military units, the Leeds Rifles in the autumn of 1914 represented a substantial cross-section of Leeds society. The second was that, confident in the knowledge that they had the whole-hearted support of all their fellow-citizens, from the Lord Mayor and Corporation downwards, the members of the Regiment were eminently well-equipped psychologically to face the challenge that loomed ahead.

NOTES

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5. G. Valentine Williams, With Our Army in Flanders (London, 1915), p. 311.
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8. Yorkshire Post, 18 December 1913.
9. I.S. Munro, Youth of Yesteryear : campaigns, battles, services and exploits of The Glasgow Territorials in the last Great War (Edinburgh & Glasgow, 1939), p. 23.
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11. James Wardell, The Municipal History of the Borough of Leeds (London, 1846), pp. 87, 88.
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19. Ibid., 14 September 1910, 8b.
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22. J.F.C. Harrison, 'Chartism in Leeds', in Asa Briggs, ed., Chartist Studies (London, 1959), p. 65.
23. See D. Fraser, 'Areas of Urban Politics', in H.J. Dyos & M. Wolff, eds., The Victorian City (London, 1973), Vol. II. p. 783.
24. See W.G. Rimmer, 'The Industrial Profile of Leeds, 1740-1840', Publications of the Thoresby Society, L (1967), 130-157.
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28. Asa Briggs, Victorian Cities (London, 1963), pp. 148-9; E.J. Hobsbawm, Labouring Men : Studies in the History of Labour (London, 1964), p. 29.
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30. Leeds Times, 16 December 1843.
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42. Leeds Mercury, 14, 16 December 1867.
43. Ibid., 8 January 1914; Times, 8 January 1914, 6b, 9 January, 8c.
44. Testimony of ex-Sgt. Charles Harold Marshall, Leeds City Mounted Police in 1914.
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89. Ibid., 23 March 1908, 30 April 1909.
90. Yorkshire Evening News, 21 April 1909.
91. Ibid., 21 January 1914; Times, 8 January 1914, 8b.
92. See I.F.W. Beckett, op.cit., for example, p. 162.
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94. Yorkshire Evening News, 4 February 1914.
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111. op.cit., pp. 78-9, 80. One such incident was recounted by Friedrich Engels in his article, 'The War Office and the Volunteers', first published in The Volunteer Journal for Lancashire & Cheshire, Vol. II, No. 40, June 8th 1861, p. 125, and reprinted in W.H. Chaloner & W.O. Henderson, eds., Engels as a Military Critic (Manchester, 1959), pp. 37-8.
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147. 187 HC Deb. 4s. 6 April 1908, col. 904.
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149. Leeds Mercury, 18 December 1886.
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166. Leeds Mercury, 14 May 1881.
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171. Yorkshire Post, 23 December 1889.

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177. Yorkshire Evening News, 9 May 1906; Yorkshire Post, 14 May 1906.
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191. Leeds Mercury, 13 February 1914.
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213. For example, Yorkshire Post, 1 July 1878, 27 July 1891, 29 July 1895; Leeds Mercury, 2nd August 1880.
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CHAPTER 4. THE VOLUNTEERS AND TERRITORIALS IN SOCIETY

The Volunteer Force had come into existence during a period especially favourable to its development as a national institution, "The Age of Equipoise",¹ an era of social stability and unprecedented economic prosperity, the "high period", or "golden age", of Victorian capitalism. Class tensions had eased considerably and conciliation was being widely encouraged; the ethic of "Respectability", a popularised version of the social value system of the campaign for moral regeneration that had been begun in the reign of George II by John Wesley, was enjoying a great vogue;² the campaign for rational recreation was in full spate and any organisation that morally elevated its members could automatically qualify for a place among the "improving" voluntary social institutions; the artisan class, gaining self-confidence as it gained in prosperity,³ was claiming recognition. Though the Volunteer Movement was not expected to outlive the invasion panics and rumours of war that had called it into being, in such an eminently favourable economic and social climate it took root, developed and flourished, becoming one of the most prominent examples of rational recreation formally organised on a national scale and, in an age of voluntary institutions, perhaps the most important and most successful social-reforming institution of them all.

By 1907 the Force had become firmly established as a national institution and as such, though it was clearly in crying need of reform, its abolition was unthinkable on the grounds of its low cost and its political usefulness to both Tory and Liberal administrations alone. However many its military shortcomings, there can be little doubt that it had proved a valuable stabilising and cohesive factor in a rapidly changing society.⁴ Though subjected to continual criticism at the national level, usually published in London-based newspapers and periodicals, at the purely local level it received widespread popular support. As was shown in the previous chapter, this was very considerable in Leeds, where the major support, in numerical terms, emanated from the Respectable working classes. This sector of local society, as respondents repeatedly emphasised, looked upon the Force, and its successor, as an eminently socially desirable institution which conferred an extensive range of benefits both on the individual Volunteer and on society at large; the Respectable working classes themselves were perhaps the chief recipients of these benefits. Many of these benefits continued into the Territorial era; in addition, the Territorial Force had benefits of its own to bestow, notably the free holiday with pay. Such discrete benefits apart, the extent to which the Volunteer Force influ-

enced various spheres of civil life, such as leisure and entertainment, education, trade unionism, institutional religion and religious youth movements, as well as civil-military relations and the Army itself, was not insignificant.

Although not founded as a social-reforming institution, the Volunteer Force was recognised as such almost immediately. It was enabled to function effectively as such by reason of the size of its membership and of its age composition. No statistics were ever kept on the number of recruits. Any estimate of this number must be based on the annual returns, which gave the actual numbers of enrolled and efficient Volunteers on the strength at the end of each Volunteer year, but not the maximum strength reached during the year. If the numbers of enrolled Volunteers in the years 1860-1907⁵ are totalled and divided by 3 (3 years was said to be the average length of service),⁶ a figure of 3,386,299 is obtained; if divided by $3\frac{1}{2}$, a figure of 2,902,542 is obtained. The strength returned annually by the Leeds Rifles, however, was on average some 4% below the maximum strength reached during the year. It seems reasonable, then, to estimate the eventual total membership of the VF as at least 3 million, equivalent to over 15% of the total male population of England, Wales and Scotland in 1911, i.e. nearly 1 in 6. This estimate agrees with that of Spenser Wilkinson who argued that, as the average length of service was about 3 years, there must have been, in the spring of 1908, something like one million men "in the prime of life" who had received Volunteer training.⁷ If "in the prime of life" referred to men aged 30 or under, this would apply only to men who had enrolled since 1894. The total of enrolled Volunteers for 1895-1907 is just under one-third of the grand total for the full 48-year period for which statistics were kept. The VF was actually in existence for 48 years 11 months.

Volunteering was essentially a young man's activity. Although the average age in 1859 was rather high - for instance, 29.2 years in the 1st Lincoln (city) RVC and 29.25 years in the Leeds Rifles - the average age of recruits markedly declined during the first ten years: as Volunteer training became physically more demanding, a trend over time to younger age groups was inevitable. The average age of recruits to the 1st Lincolns declined from 29.2 years in 1859 to 25.6 years in the period 1859-63 and further to 21.4 years in 1864-68.⁸ Cunningham also found a marked trend over time from older to younger age groups: his Table 6 shows a statistically very significant trend over time from older (over 20) to younger

(aged 18 or under) groups in recruits to the Lincoln RVC and to the 36th Middlesex RVC.⁹ A similar trend was found in the Leeds Rifles: in the period 1865-7, the first period for which sufficient data was available, 69.73% of the recruits were aged 25 or under, with 20-year-olds as the largest single group. In the succeeding period, 1867-75, this percentage rocketed to 81.8%, with the 17-19 year-olds forming the largest group and accounting for 44.0% of the total number of recruits. A very similar age composition was presented by the 7th Bn in the period 1930-37: 78.2% of recruits were aged 25 or under, with the 17-19 year-olds comprising 44.2% of the total. 64.3% of the men on the strength of the 23rd Middlesex in 1887 were aged 25 or under.¹⁰ It was not possible to analyse the age composition of the actual strength of the Leeds Rifles at any point of time apart from 1859 - early 1860, but it seems reasonable to infer from the ages of recruits that in the Volunteer period, from 1865 onwards, at least two-thirds of the actual strength was aged 17-25, a period which accepted wisdom regards as the most impressionable of a man's life.

In the 1930s the Territorial Army was described as "the greatest youth movement of the age".¹¹ This soubriquet could equally have been applied to both the Volunteer and the Territorial Forces. There is ample evidence that contemporaries viewed them in this light, though the actual use of the term "youth movement" tended to be restricted to organisations aimed at age-groups appreciably younger than 17. The Volunteers certainly came on the scene at a time when there was a great need for a youth movement that catered for the young adult male. In Leeds in 1859, for instance, a contemporary observer reported that the town possessed "120 houses of ill-fame; 30 public houses; 50 beer houses; and seven coffee shops, all being resorts for thieves and prostitutes. There are also 120 low lodging houses, which accommodate 622 persons nightly, several of them of questionable character requiring the attention of the police."¹²

Volunteer commanding officers and their company commanders were in an excellent, if not unique, position to exert influence on their men. It seems significant that so many moral and social reformers actively sought Volunteer commissions and that not a few rose to command, e.g. George Cruickshank (24th Surrey RVC) who was Vice-President of the Temperance League; John Hope, a wealthy Edinburgh Presbyterian, who raised a corps composed entirely of men who neither drank nor smoked;¹³ Thomas Hughes of the 19th Middlesex RVC; James Walter, founder of the Liverpool Artillery; Edward Akroyd,¹⁴ first commandant of the Halifax Rifle Volunteers;

William Child, founder and first commandant of the Leeds Engineer Volunteers; and William James Armitage, first commandant of the Leeds Rifles.

Armitage, heir of the Lord of the Manor of Farnley, founded, with his brothers, the Farnley Ironworks and a firm manufacturing sanitary ware and sanitary tubes etc. which later became the Leeds Fireclay Company. He was keenly interested in the welfare of his workpeople and created a colony for them at New Farnley, building and maintaining day schools, erecting a large iron church in 1863, establishing a 2-acre recreation ground with racquet court, and starting a small cotton doubling mill near Wortley station to employ his workmen's daughters. He was the principal founder of the YMCA in Wortley in 1854, the first in Yorkshire, and patron of the Leeds YMCA. He was one of the managers of Headingley Hill Orphans' Home. About 1875 he built St. James's Temperance Hall in York Street. He was a friend of William Booth and a prominent benefactor to the Salvation Army: he paid for the building of a Salvation Army hall at Attercliffe, Sheffield, and took a great interest in the Leeds and Castleford corps, supporting both financially. ¹⁵

Such reformers were quick to spot the moral and "improving" potentialities of the Volunteer Movement and proceeded to infuse its activities with the highest social and moral significance.

"'which is to be the most dreaded' demanded James Walter of his fellow merchants in 1859, 'places of resort for the promotion of idleness or the well-conducted drill-room?'.... Walter certainly regarded his mission as that of a moral reformer. 'Once get yourself thoroughly exercised in manly, soldier-like carriage,' he told his gunners, 'and you will scorn the debasing allurements fatal to many of your class'." ¹⁶

"A reading room set up for the Liverpool Artillery as early as November 1859 had as its hopes 'to wean young men from amusements and places tending to immorality, to make the drill room and military duty recreative and attractive'." ¹⁷ William Child, a director of the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society, clearly saw himself as a moral reformer in his role of commanding officer. In his annual report for 1865-6 he stated

"We have been most successful in providing for the improved intellectual and physical education and training of the men of the Corps. Your gymnasium is replete with every necessary appointment; your library is large and increasing; your chess and conversational rooms are well-furnished and comfortable, and they are regularly and freely opened to

you, and as is proved by your constant and orderly attendance, duly appreciated. For myself and my brother officers, I can assure you that these evidences of attachment to the extraordinary but useful provisions made for the Corps are most satisfactory, and that every means will be employed by us to make these conveniences such as to afford you all the advantages of a good club, and thus give you the opportunity of escaping the dangers and temptations of questionable intercourse and companionship."¹⁸

He was highly gratified to be informed by his Quartermaster at the 1883 Camp that out of 500 men present, 283 were teetotalers.¹⁹

In the beginning some moralists, perhaps chiefly Nonconformists, had expressed considerable misgivings about the Volunteers, but these seemed to have been entirely dispelled by 1862. In Nonconformist Huddersfield, at the annual meeting of the local corps in January 1862, Major Crosland referred to

"the anticipation entertained by some that the Volunteer Movement would be the means of promoting loose habits among young men. That anticipation had not been realised in the slightest degree.... There was nothing that could have had, in his opinion, a more moralising effect upon the youth of the district than the Volunteer Movement. After drill, there was no visiting public houses, no indulgence in loose habits...."²⁰

Eleven of the 51 witnesses who gave evidence before the 1862 Royal Commission on the Condition of the Volunteer Force stressed the beneficial moral effects of Volunteering.²¹ It was claimed that it improved the health, physical condition and appetite, raised standards of personal cleanliness, and promoted steadier habits. "Discipline, cleanliness, order, punctuality, promptitude, and obedience have been imparted to them in such a manner as could not have been done by any other means whatever." Volunteers became "less idle and dissipated, and more respectful to authority." Many young men who had previously been "lounging and idling about and spending their evenings in places of questionable resort", such as billiard rooms and public houses, had enrolled.²² One billiard hall keeper, being examined in the Court of Bankruptcy in 1861, blamed his position on losses "sustained through his principal customers having become Volunteers"²³

These claims regarding the beneficial physical and moral effects of Volunteering were not exaggerated. Col. Edward Wilson of the Leeds Rifles stated in 1899 that after a Volunteer recruit had been drilled for 6 months he had increased his height and his chest measurement.²⁴ The London

Scottish had a song about the benefits of Volunteering and particularly of those which accrued from the Annual Camp, which included:

"When the fortnight is o'er and he goes back to town
He's fit and he's strong and he's healthy and brown."²⁵

Col. W. Coates, principal medical officer of the East Lancs. TF Division, stated in 1909 that he had

"watched over and over again the effects upon recruits of their first three months' service It has been marvellous. The lank, ungainly, casual loafer becomes an alert, strong, intelligent, orderly, self-respecting man. The good effect of even two weeks' training in camp on general health and physique is known to many."²⁶

This was heartily endorsed by the wife of 1880 David W. Young who joined the 7th Bn in February 1914:

"When I first met David he was a slack set-up lad who walked very round-shouldered. I didn't fancy him at all for my sweetheart. But after he joined the Territorials, what a difference! They turned him into a smart young fella in no time."²⁷

The benefits to health to be gained by joining the Territorials seemed to be known to many general medical practitioners, and not merely to doctors who happened to be Territorials themselves. 976 Thomas Wilson who joined the 7th Bn in February 1909 aged 16 had been sickly since infancy. The family doctor advised him to join the Territorials "for the exercise and fresh air and to build me up. My mother was very pleased to see how well I looked when I came back from my first camp. She was right glad I'd joined."²⁸ Several other respondents reported that they had joined the Territorials to improve their health and physique. It was one of the specific points made by Territorial recruiters.²⁹

The beneficial effects of military training became more readily apparent to civilians after the outbreak of war in 1914. The astonishing effect of army diet and physical exercise upon the average Army recruit, the gaining of perhaps an inch in height and over a stone in weight, has been frequently remarked upon.³⁰ Some members of the Leeds Rifles were able to furnish vital personal statistics to illustrate the effects of Army rations and full-time training upon physique. 17-year-old 2363 Ben Clark, who weighed 9st. 6 lbs. when he joined the 8th in September 1914, weighed 11st. 6 lbs. exactly 6 months later. 1987 Sydney Appleyard, aged 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ years and 5' 2" in height when he joined the 7th in 1914, measured 5' 7" when he received his discharge certificate in 1919. When he joined the 7th in

1914 aged 17½, 2738 Norman S. Sanderson was 5'2½" in height and had a chest measurement of 28" expanded to 32", and in October 1916 weighed 10st. 7lbs, was 5'6½" in height and took size 16 in collars.³¹ Although 2865 Harry L. Yeadon, who was aged 22 when he joined the 7th in 1914, could provide no vital statistics, he produced photographs showing him as a skinny recruit in 1914 and, now completely unrecognisable, as a burly bronzed warrior in August 1915. Virtually all respondents who had appropriate photographs showed quite marked improvement in physique between time of enlistment and 9-12 months afterwards.

From early days philanthropists, and social imperialists in particular, had extolled the physical training aspect of Volunteering,³² and not surprisingly, the Volunteers were dragged into the "Physical Deterioration" question. Concern had begun to be voiced about the physical condition of the British working class in the early 1870s. Mayor Mr. Oxley, father of a Leeds Rifleman, considered that Volunteering brought real personal health benefits:

"It was said the physique of the British had declined, and were not as strong or as healthy as our forefathers.... he knew of nothing which was better calculated to remedy this state of things than the volunteer movement. (Applause.) He was quite sure that every member of that battalion could tell those who had not joined that they were stronger and better men than before they entered. (Hear, hear, and applause.)"³³

Volunteer peers and MPs were wont to recommend Volunteer training as a means of improving the health and physique of the masses.³⁴ Two of the important medical witnesses called before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration drew especial attention to the physical and mental occupation and training provided in the Volunteer Force.³⁵

The Volunteer Force may have been largely instrumental in improving the standards of personal cleanliness and tidiness in the upper echelons of the Victorian working class. Certain standards had been insisted on in the Leeds Rifles from the beginning. One of Col. Markham's early directives was "The Commanding Officer would like to see the members of the Battalion wear their hair of a reasonable length."³⁶ The Inspecting Officer of 1878 claimed that he could almost always tell on entering a town whether it possessed a regiment of Volunteers or not, as experience demonstrated that Volunteering smartened men up "in a most wonderful way....where there were no Volunteers, men went about with long hair,

unclipped beards, and paid little attention to their personal appearance", whilst in a town that possessed Volunteers "the men generally were as smart and neat looking as possible".³⁷ The Inspecting officer of 1895, enthusiastically congratulating the Leeds Rifles on their exceedingly smart turnout, confessed he was quite unable to mention anything in which the men might improve themselves. He particularly observed that every man on parade had shaved that morning and that the hair of each was properly trimmed.³⁸

The superior classes tended to view the Volunteer Force, and approve of it, as a commendable form of rational recreation or youth movement: "it requires a degree of physical training, and an exercise of the virtue of self-denial, which cannot but be highly beneficial to the vast numbers, chiefly of our young men, who compose it";³⁹ "in time the Volunteer regiments have come to be regarded as a valuable means of discipline and physical training for the young men of our great cities and towns."⁴⁰ Volunteer colonel Sir R. Loyd-Lindsay, MP, declared that Volunteering had

"the advantage of being patriotic and national, elevating what is to a great extent a relaxation and pastime into the performance of an act of duty and citizenship which is recognised and admired by the public, and which adds to the self-esteem of those who engage in it."⁴¹

An adjutant of the 7th Lanarks. RVC observed that the Volunteers

"received the encouragement of the leading people - first, because of the fact that healthful employment was found for the young men during their leisure hours; second, it was smartening up those who previously had slouched in their gait; and lastly, by becoming Volunteers they were not only improving and preserving their health, but becoming more valuable members of society." ⁴²

The Volunteer and Territorial Forces were undeniably an important agency of socialisation and moral education, since the bulk of recruits were young men at the most impressionable age. The CO set the tone of the regiment and the senior NCOs, all older men, followed his lead. Many of the Leeds Rifles officers and sergeants were deeply religious men having strong affiliations to church or chapel, the type of men who were church or chapel trustees, church wardens, or Sunday School superintendents. The Riflemen were continually lectured on the importance of personal cleanliness, neat appearance and of behaving decorously at all times when appearing in public in uniform, and of refraining from swearing and spitting and

any kind of behaviour which would tend to lower the regiment's reputation in public eyes. Parents in the Respectable sections of the working class adopted a far from indulgent attitude towards their offspring and teenagers were kept on a very tight rein: "Father fixed the number of evenings on which they could go out and required to know precisely where and with whom they had spent their leisure."⁴³ The father of the Cameron brothers, being an Attender at the Friends' Meeting House in Woodhouse Lane, and the parents of 1712 John Wm. Sanderson, being Left-wing socialists, were ardent anti-militarists, opposed to standing armies, yet they had no objections whatever on principle to their sons joining the Territorials. As 552 L/Cpl William Wilson Cameron, 7th, explained, working-class parents liked their teenage sons to join "because they knew where they were, who they were with and knew they weren't getting into bad ways." Widowed mothers of teenage sons were also keen for them to join the Volunteers or Territorials;⁴⁴ it must be remembered that the working class harboured a horror of homosexuality and male weaklings were accordingly viewed with great concern,⁴⁵ as were, indeed, adolescent males who were only sons in fatherless households.

The new industrial society had brought entirely new problems to employers. Those of establishing and maintaining work discipline, of conditioning an often recalcitrant labour force to the habits of regular attendance, punctuality, application and sobriety, were common to all workplaces but the smallest. Employers whose industrial activities demanded fixed working hours were especially keen to have their workpeople relinquish the old pre-industrial work rhythms and other behaviour patterns that could no longer be considered acceptable. They tended to attempt to raise their employees' standards of conduct both inside and outside the work situation. Such employer interference in private behaviour was naturally much resented.

Not surprisingly, a major target for moral reformers in the new work-oriented society was leisure. Moral values had been increasingly injected into leisure activities from the end of the 18th century, and "rational amusement", that which was patently moral and "improving", or "elevating", in intent and which prepared body and mind for work instead of being an end in itself, had become a cliché by about 1850.⁴⁶ The campaign for rational recreation was part of the larger movements for temperance and educational reform (in turn, themselves part of the overall campaign for moral regeneration) and abstinence, or at least moderation, and edification in fact figured prominently in many forms of "rational recreation." Recent

historians have demonstrated that a "leisure revolution" occurred in Victorian England.

"Leisure became the subject of a crucial debate about how people should make use of their time, both for the good of their souls and for the good of their country. Reform and respectability came into all aspects of spare time for the Victorians, either to condemn or to encourage."⁴⁷

There can be little doubt that the Volunteer Force made a significant contribution to the Victorian leisure revolution. It fulfilled the ideals of the proponents of rational recreation since it was a means of building a community of all classes and all political and religious creeds united by a common sentiment and interest, here, the defence of hearth and home. It was, in fact, the only institution for popular recreation which the business and professional classes were willing to lead and superintend.⁴⁸

Volunteering came as a particularly felicitous solution to the problem of leisure for the working classes, a rational amusement under superior hegemony which could safely be recommended to everyone. It came, moreover, at a time, as Geoffrey Best and J.F.C. Harrison suggest, when working men were beginning to demand amusement as well as, or instead of, self-improvement in their leisure activities. In 1853 James Hole of Leeds, the Hon. Secretary of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, was advising the introduction of "moderate and rational amusement" into Mechanics' Institutes in order to attract and hold increased memberships.⁴⁹ Beckett considers that the Volunteer Force's greatest contribution to society was in the field of recreation: in the encouragement it gave to the growth of sports, particularly athletics and football, and in the previously unknown recreational opportunities it opened up to "the lower middle and artisan classes of Victorian England."⁵⁰ A contemporary credited it with "fostering a love of outdoor life that has been utterly wanting among the great middle-classes for a century."⁵¹ Many corps had sports clubs:⁵² the Leeds Rifles had clubs for Association football, rugby football, cricket, running, fencing, boxing and gymnastics. Some Volunteer clubs were prominent in the early history of Association football. The club of the 3rd Lanarkshire RVC, started in 1874, one of the founder clubs of Scottish football, became the Scottish League club, Third Lanark,⁵³ which became defunct only in recent times. The contribution to public entertainment made by Volunteer corps was outlined in the previous chapter. Cunning-

ham takes the view that the provision of the many supplementary social activities that developed in Volunteer corps "became a weapon in the hunt for recruits, and an inducement against resignation."⁵⁴ Although this was undoubtedly true to a certain extent - compare the development of supplementary social activities in churches, chapels, Sunday schools, YMCAs, Temperance societies and mechanics' institutes as a measure to extend their respective spheres of influence and to retain or increase membership, particularly as a counter-attraction to public house - based recreations - ⁵⁵ there were other factors involved. Bailey's study shows that there was an increasing demand for additional leisure activities in the 1860s and 1870s, and a diversification of social activities in any voluntary institution could therefore be expected. The examples of the Leeds Engineers and the Liverpool Artillery clearly show that there was frequently a moral aim behind the introduction of supplementary activities in Volunteer corps. Further, it is obvious from the example of the Leeds Rifles that, as in many other contemporary organisations, primarily churches, chapels and Sunday schools, feasts (the first social provision in this corps) were provided as a reward for regular attendance. Lt Charles Ryder invited all members of No.9 Company to an anniversary supper in the Drill Room on 9th October 1861, while all members of the corps who were present at the 1863 and 1864 Annual Inspections were treated by the officers to a dinner on return to headquarters from Inspection.⁵⁶ Such annual "blowouts" were themselves deliberate imitations of the traditional feasts provided by landowners and employers for their dependents.⁵⁷

The beneficial moral effects of Volunteering naturally commended themselves to many employers. It became an axiom of the early days that Volunteering made a man a better workman. In Edinburgh "it was alleged that employers preferred men who belonged to the Volunteer Rifles, in the belief that such military training was conducive to discipline at work."⁵⁸ Lt. Col. Dreghorn told the 1862 Royal Commission that artisan Volunteers were now more loyal subjects, much better members of society, were more trusted by their employers and that they now attended work more regularly. Col. Sgt. John Pettie, himself an artisan, expressed similar views to the Commissioners, declaring his belief that "a man who is a volunteer is worth 3s a week more to a jobbing master than a man who is not", and stating as a fact that the former headquarters of political agitation in London had furnished a complete company to the 19th Middlesex RVC.⁵⁹

It has to be noted, however, that the "axiom" was almost invariably put forward by the converted, Volunteers or persons closely associated with Volunteers. Leeds Mayor Mr. Marsden, whose son was, or had been, a private of the Leeds Rifles, considered that "the drill and discipline of a Volunteer corps was calculated to improve a man physically, make him a better citizen, and better fit to make his way in the world."⁶⁰ Col. Gillespie declared that "the military training which a Volunteer gets makes him not only a better citizen, but a better man and a better servant to his master. Employers will find that, like good soldiers, they have learned habits of order, discipline, punctuality, and steadiness,"⁶¹ claims that continued to be reiterated up to the eve of World War I.⁶² Sir Howard Vincent maintained that the great mercantile houses "recognised the great moral value of the Volunteer Force" and that there was "hardly a place of business in the country whose best hands have not been, or are not, Volunteers", whilst the industrialist J.T. Brunner, MP, who employed a number of Volunteers, said "he recognised them as amongst the smartest, most upright and most trustworthy men he had."⁶³ James Kitson II, now Lord Airedale, speaking at the Leeds Rifles' Jubilee Dinner in 1909 said that

"Leeds owed a great obligation to those in that corps who devoted themselves to the service of their country. In so devoting themselves they were elevating the working population of Leeds, giving to young men a sense of responsibility, the habit of discipline, and an association which raised their characters and rendered them good citizens and good workmen."⁶⁴

Cpl. C.H. Moxon of the Leeds Rifles, chairman of the Leeds Volunteer Corps Corporals' Association, speaking in 1883 from personal experience (he was a stationer), claimed that volunteering benefited the self-employed businessman:

"Drill was a good thing both for the body and the mind. Volunteering made a man a better workman and a better master too. The drill they underwent made them more punctual in their engagements and more systematic in conducting their business. (Cheers.)"⁶⁵

Col. C. Allen of the Sheffield Artillery was typical of the Volunteer employers who extolled the virtues of Volunteering. He told the 1904 Royal Commission that "every Volunteer who has had any training at all

is worth 5 per cent more to an employer of labour than an ordinary man who goes indifferently about his work and does not know anything about discipline." Mr. T.E. Vickers, chairman and managing director of Vickers, Son and Maxim Ltd. (who was Hon. Colonel of the Hallamshires in which he had served for over 40 years), however, considered there was no difference between Volunteers and non-Volunteers in matters of "better habits of discipline and punctuality", while the General Managers of the London and North Western Railway and the South Eastern and Chatham Railway and the General Manager of Harrod's emphatically told the Commissioners in their experience men who had acquired the principles of military discipline did not make better workmen than others.⁶⁶ To the bulk of employers the "truth" of the axiom appeared exaggerated and unconvincing and was far outweighed by the disadvantages of employing Volunteers. The very large number of employers who were opposed to the Movement must be allowed to speak for itself.

It is not possible to assess the extent of the influence of the putative moral benefits of volunteering on the decision of many substantial employers to raise their own companies of Volunteers and, later, Territorials, since other factors, such as patriotism or the protection of British industry and commerce, may have played an important part. In the first two years of the Volunteer Movement, large employers in towns all over the country raised companies from amongst their own employees, e.g. in Glasgow in 1860 the firm of J. and W. Campbell raised a company for the 1st Lanarkshire RVC and its first lieutenant was Henry Campbell-Bannerman.⁶⁷ There may be a parallel in the fact that a considerable number of members of the substantial employer class gave moral and financial support to various voluntary institutions and forms of rational recreation, notably mechanics' institutes, choral societies and the brass band movement,⁶⁸ indeed it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that employer-funded brass bands were largely responsible for the success of the movement in mid-Victorian Britain. It was noted in Chapter 1 that employer-supported companies were probably the greatest single factor not only in the upsurge of growth in the Volunteer force in the early years but also in the success of the Movement as a whole.

In Leeds three of the most prominent self-made industrialists raised companies. Part of their motivation was a mixture of patriotism and self-

interest. Contemporary opinion was that Britain was a prize worth picking. Leeds Rifleman George Beecroft MP, addressing the Annual General Meeting of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce in January 1862, asked his listeners "'Was not this country the greatest prize in the world? And therefore ought it not to be defended better than any other?' (Hear, Hear.)"⁶⁹ In Leeds, well on the way to becoming one of the richest towns in the world, company principals could easily form the impression that Leeds itself was "The Workshop of the World"; the largest manufacturers had immensely valuable investments to protect. What reasons other than patriotism lay behind their action? A desire for special status in the eyes of the local community? An attempt to obtain from the ruling landed classes recognition of their increasing power and importance? Some historians might wish to regard the "industrial Volunteer companies", particularly in the light of the history of political movements in Leeds, as an attempt by the newly ascendant industrialist class to win the support of the working classes for a policy of mutual alliance in their own struggle against the political power of landed interests. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether a valid case could be made out in favour of this argument. Changing economic factors, far more than anything else, led to the decline in the political power of the large landowners and the eventual shift in the political balance. The argument, moreover, would ignore the fact that many members of the gentry and aristocracy played an important initial role in the Movement.⁷⁰ The first two commanding officers of the Leeds Rifles were, in fact, members of the landed gentry.

A complaint made by Peter Fairbairn at the 4th Annual Meeting of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce in 1855 suggests a far more solid motive behind the raising of 3 companies in "the metal and machine trades" in Leeds, following the raising of the Woollen Trades Company: that of "One-Up-Man-Ship." The Chamber was dominated by the textile interests, and the non-woollen members suffered, or were made to suffer, from feelings of inferiority by the majority group in the membership. Fairbairn had pointed out somewhat bitterly that although there were very many other important Leeds trades besides textiles, such as locomotive-building and machinery manufacturing, these were never mentioned in the monthly reports on the state of trade in the borough.⁷¹ What better way was there of demonstrating the growing ascendancy of the metal and machine trades over textiles than by raising 3 companies of Volunteers to their one? Economically, it was an

auspicious time to make such a demonstration. The December 1859 Trade Report of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce contained the following passage: "State of the iron trade very satisfactory. General machine trade good and considerable improvement in locomotive engine dept."⁷² In 1860 business was booming in the local metal and machine trades.

Other sound, pragmatic motives existed. The early industrialists had faced a variety of major management problems: work discipline, including absenteeism; the difficulty of obtaining and/or training skilled men; and the poaching of skilled men by trade competitors.⁷³ These problems may have been no less intractable by 1860. It was the steady and reliable workman, not necessarily the best craftsman, who was worth most to his employer. The problem of keeping the best men at work on a regular basis was a perennial one, for where skill and experience were at a premium, dismissals could be applied only as a last resort. Employees who possessed irreplaceable skills and special responsibilities were particularly at risk from the temptations of both drink and competitors. Iron and steel manufacture, machinery manufacture and brewing were all trades having a special interest in suppressing that most notorious of production-crippling traditional, i.e. pre-industrial, social customs, Saint Monday, whose prime devotees were the better paid. A few manufacturers were in the 1830s and 1840s providing recreational and welfare facilities for their workpeople: lending libraries, brass bands, savings banks, festive outings, garden allotments, baths, reading rooms, mutual improvement societies, gymnasias, cow clubs, burial societies, and housing.⁷⁴ Bailey notes that such welfare provisions did not guarantee industrial peace at the workplaces concerned, and refers to instances of working-class hostility to or resentment of recreational schemes set on foot by the employer class.⁷⁵

In 1831 Dr. C. Turner Thackrah, the leading medical man of the day in Leeds, "the Father of Industrial Medicine", and a founder of the Leeds Medical School, who was aware of the detrimental effect of excessive drinking on health, but not of the high correlation between alcoholism and the industrial accident rate, had strongly urged employers to discharge men who broke time through intemperance or who spent their evenings at the ale-house, arguing that

"A master can, a master ought, to interfere. He has a right to inquire into the way in which his men spend their evenings, because on this depends their future usefulness to himself. Benevolence

and public spirit also urge his interference."

He urged masters, in the interests of promoting the good health of their workpeople, to encourage exercise and outdoor pursuits.⁷⁶ Eleven years later, Leeds social investigator Dr. Robert Baker declared that

"Public walks and gardens, and places of innocent amusement and recreation, and, in fact, whatever can tend to produce moral results in the labouring classes, ought to be considered as duties confided to the educated classes." ⁷⁷

Thackrah's and Baker's were merely restatements of the old 18th century code of social ethics in the context of the escalating campaign for moral regeneration. Many of the new manufacturing class had been prepared to accept and follow the 18th century code of ethics.⁷⁸ It is possible that the doctors' pamphlets exercised some influence on Kitson, Fairbairn and Greenwood, and also on Tetley and Ryder, who were all devout Christians possessing more than a passing interest in moral and social reform. These Leeds industrialists may well have considered volunteering, on the basis of personal experience, to be an ideal form of rational recreation for their employees. Raising companies of Volunteers may well have appeared to these intelligent and forward-looking businessmen as the solution to some of their management problems, an excellent idea for attempting to stabilise one's workforce: to keep one's skilled workers by inculcating personal loyalty to the firm, by instilling in them greater self-discipline, and by fostering class collaboration as a consequence of increased mutual co-operation and increased identification of mutual interest both on the drill ground and on the factory floor.

Notions of this sort appear to have motivated Tetley and Ryder to raise the Brewery Company, since they stipulated right at the beginning that any Volunteer who left their employment for any reason would be automatically dismissed from the Rifle Corps. The Brewery records suggest a strong causal relationship between the existence of the Volunteer company and the low personnel turnover at the firm. The company, as first raised, was 70 strong and comprised all the office staff and more than half of the brewery workforce. 22 of these men, 31.5%, remained with the firm for more than 25 years.⁷⁹ 6 of them served for over 50 years, one of them being James Millington who served for over 38 years in the Rifles and was the first Rifleman to receive the Volunteer Long Service Medal. Although two men left within a fortnight, one for health reasons, the average length

of service in the Leeds Rifles (and therefore the minimum length of service with the Brewery from November 1860) of the men in the original No.9 Company was nearly 6 years. Only 6 men, including the two above, had less than 1 year's service in No.9 Company. 39 men (55.7%) had over 4 years' service, as follows: over 4-7; over 5-6; over 6-3; over 9-2; over 10-10; over 11-11 (the records stop in January 1872). If the aim of raising a Volunteer company at Tetley's was to encourage employees to stay in the job, it certainly succeeded. In addition, volunteering satisfied important psychological needs, such as inducing feelings of responsibility and accomplishment, some of the things that in the long run make people happier and make them work more effectively, and, according to Col. Sgt. Pettie, it gave working men a sense of purpose in life, self-respect and personal dignity.⁸⁰ It also encouraged temperance in employees: Saturday night was the highlight of the Volunteer week and it was the night most commonly given over to prolonged drinking in the working classes, particularly in the most bibulous section, the artisan class. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, the raising of Volunteer companies does not appear to have been interpreted and resented as employer interference in private behaviour.

James Kitson I, shortly to be elected Mayor, was the first industrialist in Leeds to recruit his own workmen, in July 1860. The origin of the idea is obscure. It may have arisen from folk memories of the Feudal Array, or from the time-honoured post-feudal tradition of raising military contingents by local magnates, last followed in Leeds during the 1745 Rebellion, or from the advice to Volunteer officers on training given by Gen. Sir Charles Napier in May 1859 which included the following passage:

"Do not be exclusive in forming your corps. Take your game-keepers as your comrades and any of your labourers that will enrol themselves. A gentleman will find no braver or better comrades than amongst his own immediate neighbours and tenants. Should you require to throw up a breastwork, they will be more handy with the spades and pickaxes than yourselves."⁸¹

Kitson may have borrowed the idea from Sheffield steelmaster John Brown, who raised the 4th Company of the 2nd WRYRVC (The Hallamshires) at the Atlas Works in November 1859 and a further company in 1860, or from his own customers, the Chairman and Directors of the Great Northern Railway Company, who raised, at the beginning of 1860, the first Doncaster company of Rifle Volunteers, later the 8th WRYRVC, and clothed and equipped them.⁸²

He may have been inspired by the editorial in the Leeds Mercury, a newspaper he would, as a Liberal, almost certainly have read regularly, that appeared on 29th November 1859, or been influenced by an article in the Cornhill Magazine (whose circulation in Leeds in May 1860 was said to be 700 monthly)⁸³ by Gen. Sir John Fox Burgoyne, 'Our Volunteers', which advocated "the expediency of rendering the volunteer system attractive among the labouring classes."⁸⁴ Wherever he obtained the idea, it must be said that the germ, or nucleus, of the idea had existed in Leeds Rifles from the beginning: there are several sets of master(s) and men amongst the "First 97" and amongst the first three companies formed.

The Volunteer Force had a further influence on industry and commerce: it gave considerable impetus to both the Early Closing and the associated Half-Holiday movements which by 1859 had made little general headway in the country outside London and Manchester.⁸⁵

It is possible that in many places the Volunteer Movement was actually responsible for the introduction of shorter hours and the 5½-day working week. This seems to have been the case in Leeds. Thomas Greenwood, who enrolled his works company on 4th August 1860, immediately introduced the shorter working week, reducing the Saturday knocking-off time from 4pm to 2pm or 1pm (it is unclear which of these two times is correct), so that employees who had become Volunteers could have a proper rest and ample time to prepare themselves for the evening's parade and drill which always took place in full dress. The Radical Leeds Times claimed that Greenwood was the first employer to introduce the Saturday half-holiday into Leeds: "the inauguration of that event was the cause of much rejoicing, his house at Burley being en fete on the occasion, and hundreds of the workpeople of the firm going thither with bands of music to thank him for the concession he had so voluntarily made." He was "also the first to concede the nine hours to the workpeople", "without any solicitation on their part" and "without any reduction in the weekly wages."⁸⁶ It is not known when the Monkbridge and Wellington Foundries introduced the shorter working week, but the Saturday 2pm finish was instituted at Tetley's Brewery at the beginning of April 1861. When the company had been enrolled, just over 5 months earlier, work finished on Saturdays at 4pm. As all the clerks and over half the workforce were Volunteers, not to mention the partners, the head brewer and his assistant, the Brewery was unable to function whenever they were required on duty during normal working hours, and was accordingly closed on these occasions, e.g. at noon on Saturday, 23rd February

1861, the day of the first Parade and Marchout of the season. Even after the adoption of the Saturday half-holiday, the Brewery continued to close early on occasions the members of the Rifle company were required for inspections, parades and reviews. Members who attended the York Review on Wednesday, 25th September 1861, were provided with railway tickets and refreshments at the firm's expense⁸⁷ and were also evidently given a day's holiday without loss of pay, since no deductions are apparent in the relevant wages book. The Half-Holiday Movement in Leeds held its first public meeting in December 1865 in order to discuss the recent recommendation to the Chamber of Commerce that all mercantile establishments in the borough should be closed at 2pm on Saturdays. The newspaper report included a list of supporters of the movement: it named 6 members of the Leeds Rifles, four of them officers.⁸⁸ The association in Leeds between the Volunteers and the movements may well have contributed to the Volunteers' popularity with the working classes.

Almost immediately, contemporary observers had hailed the Volunteer Movement as a valuable agency of class conciliation.⁸⁹ This was one of the greatest benefits that the Volunteers and Territorials bestowed on society. It may be noted here that all the major voluntary non-thrift institutions under superior hegemony had explicit class-conciliationist objectives, and some, including the Temperance Movement, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, and the Mechanics' Institutes, involved active co-operation between the classes in their operation.

One would expect the results of class conciliation to show up most clearly in the state of industrial relations within those firms which possessed a company of Volunteers or Territorials.

An identification of mutual interests between employer and employees established in the sphere of home defence could easily lead to the development of identification of mutual interests elsewhere; the association of proprietor, managers, supervisors and workmen outside working hours could only lead to increased mutual understanding, particularly if continued on a long-term basis. With the inception of the Leeds Artillery and the Leeds Engineer Volunteer Corps, several large employers raised companies for these corps. The outcome was a number of "Volunteer shops", some of which became "quasi-closed-Volunteer-shops". Industrial unrest and stoppages appear to have been usually rare at the firms concerned. Alfred

Barnard, who visited Tetley's Brewery about 1889 in order to gather material for chapters for a book, Noted Breweries of Great Britain and Ireland (London) was greatly impressed by "the provisions made for the recreation and comfort of the workmen" and recorded that "everywhere, in our progress through the various departments, we saw, among the industrious workmen, signs of content and happiness."⁹⁰ Kitson, Fairbairn and Greenwood were each on the most amicable terms with their respective considerable workforces. Thomas Greenwood, his two sons, George and Arthur, and his nephew Henry, employed by him, and his future son-in-law and partner, John Henry Wurtzburg, were all members of the Leeds Rifles, the Greenwoods being members of the firm's company. Thomas was a philanthropic employer who "always showed great consideration for the physical and moral welfare of his workpeople," who, according to his obituary in the Radical Leeds Times, "always appeared to be on friendly and encouraging relations with him." He had retired only a few months before his death and "his workpeople unanimously subscribed to present him with a life-size portrait and address, as a mark of their respect." At his death in 1873 he employed getting on for 2,000 people, and about 1600 of them attended his funeral.⁹¹ Although by the Territorial period, the volunteer shops had become strongly unionised, no Trade Union official thought fit to protest against at least some of them becoming quasi-closed shops or post-entry closed shops to non-Territorials.

It is pertinent to ask to what extent, if any, the Volunteer Movement through its artisan membership was responsible for the new turn that trade unionism took in the third quarter of the 19th century, when the movement was wholly remodelled, the existing unions reformed and others founded on new principles in which the ethic of respectability played no small nor insignificant part. This aspect of labour history has not yet been researched. Nevertheless, it appears from the evidence already cited, that the existence of a Volunteer company within a firm tended to produce harmonious industrial relations. Since Leeds Volunteer shops were unionised, some effects on the local trade union movement ought reasonably to be expected, and some effects were indeed noted in the previous chapter. Significantly perhaps, some skilled trade unions adopted the Volunteer motto, "Defence not Defiance", as their own, e.g. the Operative Spindle and Flyer Maker's Association, founded in 1856.⁹² The Deptford ASE strike committee of 1879 also took the motto;⁹³ the ASE was the most "respectable" of the New Model Unions.

In addition to building bridges between the islands of class, the Volunteer Force provided virtually the only bridge between civilians and the Army. The Victorian army and its soldiers were held in very low regard by the public at large,⁹⁴ although their increased popularity by the last two decades or so of the 19th century, as evinced by popular art and literature, has frequently been remarked upon. Though the reports of war correspondents may have been partly responsible, a number of contemporaries had little doubt that this increased popularity was largely due to the Volunteers.⁹⁵ In 1878 Sir Garnet Wolseley acknowledged the Army's debt: "the Volunteer movement has popularised the Army, and the soldier is now looked upon as one of whom much is to be learnt, as a model to be copied, rather than as the pariah to be despised, which he was before our citizen army sprang into existence."⁹⁶ In 1887 Col. Routledge of the 23rd Middlesex RVC considered their great popularisation of the Army to be "probably the best service that the Volunteers have rendered to the country." He was of the opinion that they had been responsible for breaking down civilian prejudice: "The number of men who are now Volunteers, and the much larger number who have passed through the Volunteer service and have been brought into contact with the regular branch of the army, have been the means of removing these prejudices." He averred that the Volunteer Force provided a superior class of recruit for the Army and so raised the Army's status in public eyes.⁹⁷ As the Chairman of the Yorkshire Rifle Association put it in 1907, "Volunteers had made it possible for people to think the Army offered a respectable career for young men."⁹⁸ The Army had need to be grateful to the Volunteers, and later to the Territorials, for the several thousand "superior" recruits - between 2,000 and 4,000 -⁹⁹ it received from them annually, men "who would never have joined the colours had they not learnt something, if only a little, in the ranks of the junior force."¹⁰⁰ A notable example of the "superior" recruit supplied by the volunteers was Major-Gen. Sir Hector Macdonald ("Fighting Mac"), believed by many to have been the real hero of Omdurman, who enlisted as a ranker from the Inverness-shire Highland Rifle Volunteers.¹⁰¹ Much evidence was brought before the 1904 Royal Commission that the average Volunteer was of a much higher class than the average Army recruit, being more intelligent, better educated, often working in a skilled trade, and in regular employment. Haldane was aware that the VF functioned as a bridge between civilians and the Army. He fervently hoped that his scheme for the Army and the auxiliary forces would "bring the people and the Army more closely

together than had been the case in the past." His motive in using the terms "Territorial Army", "soldier" for Territorial, "enlist" instead of "enrol", and "Army of the Second Line" was to impress upon the people that the Territorial Army was being founded in the very nation itself, that it was "an Army of territorial soldiers, who are just their own selves."¹⁰² The Territorials continued to bridge the gap between soldiers and civilians and to provide recruits for the Regular Army until 1967.¹⁰³

Despite its low military credibility, the Volunteer Force and its members (one of whom was Spenser Wilkinson, later to become the most highly regarded military theorist of his day)¹⁰⁴ were able to make a number of technical and tactical contributions to the Army, of which the Army Postal service was only one.¹⁰⁵

Since religious beliefs were the driving force behind the campaign for moral regeneration, ministers of religion of all denominations and leading members of their congregations were prominently involved in the campaign's supporting voluntary institutions (as they were in philanthropy and social policy generally),¹⁰⁶ particularly with three of the more important, the Temperance Movement, the Mechanics' Institutes, and the Working Men's Club and Institute Union (which was founded in 1862 by a clergyman, the Rev. Henry Solly). They were keenly interested in promoting rational amusement. Churches and chapels were to the fore in the formation of clubs for the new athletic sports and team games and not a few church-run or church-affiliated clubs became prominent in their particular fields of sport.¹⁰⁷ Some local examples are: Leeds St. Mark's Harriers, Pudsey St. Lawrence Cricket Club (the nursery of several famous cricketers), Leeds St. John's Rugby Club (now Leeds RLFC), Wakefield Holy Trinity Young Men's Society Rugby Club (now Wakefield Trinity RLFC), and Headingley Rugby Union Football Club (which was formed of attenders of three Nonconformist churches).¹⁰⁸ The Victorian secular ideal was for the clergy to "closely watch all measures which tend to promote the general welfare, and above all, the morals of the people"¹⁰⁹ and to give them their support and co-operation.

It came almost in the natural order of things, therefore, that one body which particularly welcomed the Volunteer Movement both in Leeds and in the country generally was the Church of England. The Volunteers came increasingly to be viewed as a defence no less against the enemy within

as against the enemy without; the Territorials were viewed in the same light. "From the first there were those who saw the Volunteers not merely as a defence against the French, but as a defence against the chaos and irreligion that they observed about them in the great Victorian cities."¹¹⁰ Olive Anderson records that in its early days the Force "promoted an abundance of enthusiastic moralising along the lines made familiar by Martin Tupper, Samuel Smiles and Toulmin Smith. It is therefore not surprising that it was enthusiastically supported by some home mission circles, as well as by Low Church militarists and the muscular Christians of Kingsley's breed, and did much to spread acceptance of defensive military training as part of the good Christian's youthful duty."¹¹¹ Martin Luther had taught that a Christian could become a soldier, provided he did so from altruistic and purely unselfish motives. The Christian warrior had been held in high regard as the ideal type of manhood since the Middle Ages and patriotism, or duty to one's country, was a watchword of the Anglican church. Added to this was the fact that a missionary "Evangelical Movement" had been hard at work in the Army since the middle 1850s.¹¹² These factors, together with the moral aspect of volunteering, help to explain the Anglican church's interest in the Volunteer Movement. The following extract from the Vicar of Leeds' address at the Leeds Rifles' Prize Presentation in 1880 appears to express a typical Anglican attitude:

"Being a Volunteer might seem to some a pleasant pastime, and others might consider that they were thereby afforded such pleasures as were to be had in a club in which they could meet some of their best friends. To a looker-on half from within and half from without, as he was, it seemed that the chief gain to be derived was in being led to take a deeper interest in one's country. When a number of men, the pick of the youth of England, banded themselves together for the defence of their country, they became, in the fullest sense of the word, citizens taking an interest in all that belonged to the country."¹¹³

As H.J. Hanham points out, the Volunteers were "for the most part, active members of churches and chapels."¹¹⁴ This was certainly true of the early Leeds Rifles which, like so many Volunteer corps, was far from being a homogeneous body as regards the religious persuasion of its members. Although a large minority appear to have been Dissenters, the head of the Church of England in Leeds, the Vicar of Leeds, Dr. James Atlay (afterwards Bishop of Hereford), was invited to become Chaplain of the Corps, and he

enrolled as a Volunteer on 3rd March 1860, regimental no.242. The first time the Leeds Rifles appeared in public it was to parade in front of the Town Hall to march down to the Parish Church for divine service.¹¹⁵ It was remarkable how men sank their religious, as well as their political and class, differences in the Volunteers. Henry Stooks Smith, for instance, one of the two chief initiators of the Leeds Rifles, was a "Tory Anglican who was wont to pour scorn on Radicals and Teetotalers",¹¹⁶ of which there was a shortage of neither in the Corps. The Vicar of Leeds came to hold the appointment of Chaplain ex-officio. There was never a shortage of assistant chaplains. The church appears to have had no objection to ordinands enrolling as Volunteers, for many of the assistant chaplains had been Volunteers as students. A notable example was the Rev. A.E. Campbell, brother-in-law of Secretary of State for War Brodrick, whose passion for Volunteering led him into joining in musketry practice and field days at every opportunity and who remained in post as assistant chaplain when he became Provost of St. Ninian, Perth (in 1901) and even after becoming Bishop of Glasgow (in 1904), resigning with the greatest regret on 31st March 1908, when the new TF regulations compelled him to do so.¹¹⁷ Sons of clergymen, such as 1061 Samuel Flood, son of the vicar of St. Matthew's, Camp Road, were not rare in the Rifles, nor were young men, such as 2054 Oswald Gordon Young and 374 Walter Henry Cariss, who later entered the ministry.¹¹⁸ In the late 1860s 3394 Ebenezer E. Rand, curate of St Mary's, Quarry Hill, a working-class parish, enrolled as an ordinary private, but he seems to have been exceptional. Beckett observed 6 members of the clergy among the men who enrolled in the Lincoln RVC between 1859 and 1863.¹¹⁹ The Church of England remained an important supporter throughout the Volunteer and Territorial eras, with the parochial clergy frequently actively engaging in recruiting campaigns in the latter period (see Chap. 3).

In return, the churches, both Anglicans and Nonconformist, were not reluctant to call upon the Volunteer Movement for support. Volunteers were directly responsible for the birth of the uniformed (unfairly dubbed by some, "para-military") youth movements. The Boys' Brigade was founded in 1883 by William A. Smith, a member of the Free Church of Scotland, Sunday School teacher and officer in the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers. The Church Lads' Brigade was started in 1891 by Walter M. Gree, a former Volunteer officer, and Secretary of the Church of England Temperance

Society, Junior Section. The object of the Church Lads' Brigade was "to extend the Kingdom of Christ among lads and to make them faithful members of the Church of England"; "the development of character by progressive challenge and the commitment of service to others through team work."¹²⁰ That of the Boys' Brigade was very similar: "The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys, and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness."¹²¹ The fundamental object of both Brigades was to combat hooliganism and rowdyism among boys by Christianising them; "the true and only object of the Boys' Brigade is to train up men to fight against evil and wrongdoing."¹²² The leaders of both bodies saw their roles as being those of home missionaries. Military organisation, drill and articles of uniform were nothing more than means of attracting and securing the interest of the boys and of promoting among them such habits as the brigades were designed to form.¹²³ Since many Volunteer officers, NCOs and men were committed Christians, both brigades recruited them to officer and instruct their companies. The attempt to Christianise boys by cashing in on the popularity of the Volunteer Movement, though successful with the young, did, however, meet much vocal opposition from anti-militarists, pacifists and religious workers.¹²⁴

Baden-Powell, who often appeared as Inspecting Officer or as an official speaker at Boys' Brigade gatherings, was a close friend of Sir William Smith, and he actually wrote his famous textbook Scouting for Boys at Sir William's invitation for use in the Boys' Brigade. It was not Baden-Powell's intention originally to form a separate organisation of his own,¹²⁵ but eventually some divergence in the objects of the two men manifested itself. The Boy Scout movement, which placed much less emphasis on the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys, though remaining broadly Christian, aimed "to develop good citizenship among Boys by forming their character, training them in habits of observation, obedience and self-reliance, inculcating loyalty and thoughtfulness for others."¹²⁶ Baden-Powell, who was appointed GOC of the Northumbrian Territorial Division in 1907, made no secret of the fact that his was a patriotic youth movement: he believed that "every boy should prepare himself, by learning how to shoot and drill, to take his share in the defence of the Empire."¹²⁷

The Volunteers had a further influence on religious movements. K.S.

Inglis is convinced that the popularising by the Volunteer Force of military discipline in the late 1870s influenced William Booth to turn his Christian Mission into the uniformed Salvation Army, complete with brass bands which were used to attract "heathens" as well as to drown the roar of the hostile mobs of roughs.¹²⁸ Since it is certainly true that during the two years preceding William Booth's momentous decision the Volunteer Force was enjoying an upsurge of popularity, Inglis's thesis must be accorded a deal of plausibility. It is not known whether Leeds Rifleman W.J. Armitage became a close friend of General Booth prior to 1878 and so in a position to influence his thinking. The Anglican Church Army was set up in 1882 in open imitation of Booth's Army and had, broadly, the same aims, though not identical methods.

There was at least one case of the Church of England starting a Volunteer cadet corps as a boys' club. This was the corps attached to Oxford House missionary settlement in Bethnal Green.¹²⁹

The Volunteer Force had a long-lasting influence on education. In 1860 elementary military drill started to be introduced into public and other schools as a part of the curriculum. The Provost of Eton claimed that it had "been found to conduce to the discipline and order of schools, and to the mental advancement of scholars as well as to their physical development and improvement."¹³⁰ Drilling by peripatetic ex-Army "drill sergeants" was taken up by the new Board Schools from 1870. "Drill" continued to influence the curricula of elementary schools in a somewhat modified form until 1939 and even beyond. School children were referring to "physical training" as "drill" as recently as the late 1950s.

The Victorian period saw a very considerable growth of formally constituted clubs or societies, each of which performed a significant social function, perhaps only dimly perceived by their founders. The club met a variety of important social needs. It functioned as a focus of social life and could be seen by its members in the light of a social fortress or a quasi-kinship system.¹³¹ Much of the social value of the Volunteer Force and its successors, the Territorial Force and the Territorial Army, stemmed from the fact that in peacetime the unit functioned as a club, with all that that implies. Professor Michael Howard has commented: "If the British were to be educated to arms in peacetime at all, perhaps it could only be through the medium which they had developed and made so peculiarly their own: the club."¹³² The rules of many early Volunteer corps give an

impression of a series of exclusive military clubs, as indeed some actually were. Members were proposed and seconded in order to exclude undesirables and officers were elected by the membership. Journalist Hugh Shimmin, writing in the Liverpool journal Porcupine, stated: "In the Volunteer corps, patriotism is a mask for social relaxation; not only is each company or regiment as distinct a section of English society as a club, but its most prominent features are those of club life."¹³³ The Leeds Rifles up to the end of 1862, with its nine companies drilling separately in different parts of the town and meeting only monthly for battalion parades, was clearly a conglomeration of nine small clubs, and, as we have seen, the industrial companies can take their place in the history of recreational and welfare provision in industry as the forerunners of works' sports and social clubs. Cunningham speaks of "the eradication of the club-like atmosphere of the early days" of the Force,¹³⁴ but this never, in fact, took place, despite the eventual abandonment of the annual meeting and the election of officers and various committees.¹³⁵ On the contrary, the club-like atmosphere of the Volunteer and Territorial units was deliberately fostered as a matter of policy and became their greatest strength, the foundation of their esprit de corps. A conscious attempt was made in the majority of units, and certainly in the Leeds Rifles, to make the drill hall the social centre of the men's lives, a real "home away from home",¹³⁶ clearly setting out to compete with the working men's club, even to the extent of selling beer at below bar-room prices.

The "regimental life" of the Territorial Force/Army had a distinct flavour all its own which attracted the recruit and sustained the interest of the serving Territorial. Not for nothing had the TA by 1939 become known as "The Greatest Club in the World".¹³⁷ Here is an extract from an historical souvenir-cum-recruiting booklet, Twice a Citizen, written by Lt. Col. M.J.P. Corbally and published in 1958 to mark the golden Jubilee of the TA:

"But there is still in this day the unique and splendid life of the Territorial Army in peacetime, the old Volunteer spirit fully revived. There are the cheery, friendly evenings at headquarters. The beer and billiards after parade.... The 'old sweats' are there, their active Territorial days at an end, ready to spin their old soldiers' yarns.... There are the dances and social occasions when the best uniform of blue or Rifle green is flaunted before the admiring

gaze of wives and girl friends. Camp, you may be sure, is the same as ever it was In the sergeants' mess is to be found the same camaraderie, in the officers' mess the same feeling of 'family' Thus there is no drudgery in the life of the modern Territorial but plenty of comradeship with facilities for sport and social life as well, as the more serious business of soldiering."¹³⁸

The TF/TA unit was a military club which embodied all the aspects of soldiering which have a positive attraction and none, or virtually none, of those which have a negative attraction. All the respondents who had served in the Territorials in peacetime clearly thought of it as a club. Several quoted the hoary joke that if the Barracks had burnt down, a thousand men would have been rendered homeless. At Carlton Barracks the officers, sergeants, corporals and the men each had their own "messes", the last called a "canteen" which was equipped for darts, dominoes and billiards, which were open every evening except Sunday. To Riflemen out of work in the 1920s and 1930s, the barracks was somewhere to go and drill nights "something to look forward to".¹³⁹ The Rifleman, through the medium of public parades and displays, railway excursions to camp, regimental "at homes", concerts, social evenings, whist drives, dances, children's parties, the annual ball in the Town Hall, and Sunday morning band practices, was able to involve his sweetheart, wife, children and other relatives in his "regimental life" to an appreciable extent.

The individual social benefits to be gained by the Volunteer and Territorial were many. First, there were the joys of friendship, a benefit heavily stressed by all respondents. Friendships formed in the Leeds Rifles were frequently friendships for life. Patent agent A.E. Laing, retiring after 15 years' service in the ranks, said "I am richer by scores of friends made in the corps during that time".¹⁴⁰ Lord Airedale, reminiscing near the end of his life, "had grateful memories of the friendships he formed in the Rifles";¹⁴¹ he had personal experience of the power of these friendships, for in 1896, when it was learnt that the Queen in Jubilee year would confer the title of Lord Mayor on the civic head, a Conservative Council led (and persuaded) by his old comrade, William Lawies Jackson MP, the then Mayor, had offered him, a Radical without previous municipal experience, the mayoralty.

Founders and supporters of mechanics' institutes claimed a direct relationship between adult education and upward social mobility.¹⁴² Like

attending classes at the Leeds Mechanics' Institution, joining the Leeds Rifles could be the means of achieving upward social mobility. Lt. Col. Corbally's claim - that "Territorial commanding officers, and other officers, are often influential men. The keen young Territorial may therefore well find that his spare-time soldiering is the means of improving his prospects in civilian life" -¹⁴³ has been found to possess more than a measure of plausibility. It was claimed in Victorian Edinburgh that a Volunteer had better prospects of promotion at work.¹⁴⁴ Lt. Col. E.H. Carlile claimed in 1907 that

"men who were selected for positions as heads of departments in business concerns were frequently appointed because they were in the Volunteer Force. He remembered when it was his good fortune to be in command of a Volunteer battalion in an industrial district, a man at the head of a large industry, who was not himself a Volunteer, was asked by him why he selected men from the Volunteer Force as heads of his different departments, and his reply was that he did so because they were accustomed to receive words of command and to see that they were carried out. He found that that was a great advantage to both employers and employees."¹⁴⁵

This may well have often been true, but the more usual reason for a Volunteer per se to receive promotion would be that he had revealed his potential and his loyalty while performing his Volunteer duties and that someone of influence had noted the fact. In attempting to identify examples, great care must be taken not to attribute to Volunteer service advancements in the social scale that may easily have been brought about by other factors, such as inherited wealth or family influence. For example, 2224 John Audus Hirst, clerk, aged 23, who joined in 1868, is described in a later Directory as "stock and share broker", and, later still, is found living in some style at Killingbeck Hall in a park of 143 acres: he was a member of the Hirst family of Hirst, Brooke and Hirst, manufacturing chemists, and his social position can therefore be attributed to inherited wealth increased by business acumen; 25 Thomas Marshall, articled solicitor's clerk, who joined in 1859 aged 28, became Registrar of Leeds County Court and Court of Bankruptcy: his father was a County Court judge.

Despite such considerations, there do appear to be large numbers of instances where service in the Leeds Rifles may have contributed to the individual's advancement.¹⁴⁶ Among the original members of No.9 (Tetley's)

Company, George Moore, cashier of the firm on enlistment (3½ years' service in the Rifles), was appointed the firm's York agent in 1867; Sgt. John Shaw, clerk (over 11½ years' service), was appointed Head Clerk in 1866; Edward King, clerk (1¾ years' service), in 1890, when the firm began to buy houses, was appointed to the purchase and control of licensed properties; CQMS James Millington, clerk (over 38 years' service), was promoted head traveller; John Portues (Porteus), drayman (10½ years' service), became Stables foreman, and James Blackah, yardman (6½ years' service), became Yard foreman. A selection of examples from other companies: 514 James Moorhouse, mechanic at Fairbairn's on enlistment, became Foundry Manager; Henry Brougham Whitehead, surveyor, became Chief Clerk in the Borough Surveyor's office; 3140 George Weaver, schoolmaster, became a Church of England day school inspector; William Cockerlyne, schoolmaster, became Headmaster of York Road Board School; Herbert Columbine, schoolmaster, became Headmaster of Meanwood Road Board School; 1184 Thomas Knight became assistant librarian at the Leeds Mechanics' Institution; 145 Henry A. Thorne, agent's clerk, became Secretary of the Leeds YMCA; 2205 Charles Colgreave Jolliffe, solicitor's clerk, became Solicitor and Deputy Town Clerk of Leeds; William Henry Hirst, clerk/cashier, became Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce; 316 Robert Boyne Shillito, became a partner in Edward Irwin and Co. [283 Edward Irwin, Leeds Rifles 1860-70]; 285 Col. Sgt. Peregrine Dixon Lazonby, woollen warehouseman, became a partner in David Little & Co., woollen manufacturers [David Little, Leeds Rifles 1860-?]; Charles Henry Hopps, salesman, became a partner in H. Brooke & Co., woollen manufacturers; 3600 Robert William Levitt, clerk, became a partner in Hepper & Sons, auctioneers [regular subscribers to the Leeds Rifles]; 377 Samuel Hudson, day waiter, who served in the same company as 774 William Scrope Ayrton, Commissioner in the Court of Bankruptcy, became usher in the Court of Bankruptcy. (Several other examples are given elsewhere in the text.)

Some doubt must attach itself to the case of 4087 William Burns Lindley, warehouseman, who, after 9 years' service, resigned to join the Borough Police and worked his way through all ranks to become Chief Constable, the first man to achieve this feat in the Leeds force, 28 years later. It was at that time a rare pathway to the office of Chief Constable in the police service nationally, retired Army officers being commonly appointed. He was a very able man, but the presence of former and serving

Volunteers on the Watch Committee (1 Leeds Rifleman, 3 Leeds Engineers and 2 leading supporters of the Rifles), and particularly that of Leeds Rifleman E.E. Lawson, Chairman, and William H. Clarke (son of a long-serving Leeds Rifleman), for a long period Deputy Chairman, does not appear to have hindered his career. Lindley's successor was Robert Lee Matthews, another ex-Leeds Rifleman, who had been a clerk at Tetley's prior to joining the police in 1900 as a constable.¹⁴⁷

Two men who obtained career benefits as a result of war service in the Leeds Rifles were Lt. George Zucco of the 1/7th and 1712 L/Sgt. John William Sanderson of the 1/8th. Success is recognised in the acting profession as being largely a matter of luck. Zucco was selected for the part of Lt. Osborne in "Journey's End" by the author on the basis of his service in the Leeds Rifles;¹⁴⁸ he became a star overnight and eventually was lured to Hollywood where he appeared in leading supporting roles in many films. After he obtained his Colliery Manager's Certificate of Proficiency, First Class, in 1924, Sanderson tried for a considerable period without success to obtain a post as a Colliery Manager or under-manager. He was given his first appointment as a manager at Farnley Colliery by Robert Armitage, MP, a friend and supporter of the Leeds Rifles and son of William James Armitage.¹⁴⁹

Many a Rifleman found that a fellow member of the regiment could obtain for him a better-paid or a more secure job, or find him work when he became unemployed. The usual thing was for a Rifleman who hired labour to say to a comrade, as Capt. Roland Kitson did, "If you're ever looking for a job, just come to Monkbridge and ask for me." 2586 Sgt. William Wilson and 1788 John Allman were two men who took up Capt. Kitson's offer and they received favoured treatment in the shape of more lucrative work and protection from lay-offs.¹⁵⁰ The classic example of this extremely valuable benefit was Tetley's Brewery. At the end of the war, Col. Tetley persuaded his father, Chairman of the firm, to make the Brewery a Leeds Rifles post-entry closed shop. As a result, a great many serving and former Riflemen enjoyed secure, regular employment throughout the inter-war depression when a considerable number of men in Leeds had no work at all for years at a time. The only known case of a Rifleman being assisted by an officer to set up in business for himself was that of Sgt. Harry Butler, for whom Capt. Ramsden bought a milk round in Kirkstall,¹⁵¹ but there may well have been others. During the Volunteer period, some

members of the labour elite may have been enabled to set up in business for themselves by low-interest or interest-free loans from affluent comrades or officers.

Professional men and businessmen, particularly small masters recently emerged from the labour elite, frequently found membership of the Volunteers of assistance to them in their careers, especially as the "freemasonry" of the corps liked to keep business matters "in the family" by giving or obtaining work for members of the corps. In the Regiment's early days, the bulk of the uniform cloth was supplied by John Vance & Co, the remainder by John T. Beer. The accounts of February 1864 relating to the Oxford Row barracks show that the land was bought from the Kirkby family, that the solicitors handling the sale were Messrs. Nelson & Bulmer, that Woodheads did all the painting, that James Meldrum did the asphaltting, that Baines & Sons (honorary members) and Edward Pulleyn handled all the corps' advertising and printing, and that Carver & Co. (hon. members) were the corps' carriers.¹⁵² Capt. Charles J. Fowler (a descendant of the celebrated Yorkshire mapmaker) designed the alterations and additions, costing between £13,000 and £14,000, to Carlton Barracks immediately after its purchase, and Longley Brothers carried out all the bricklayer's and mason's work involved.¹⁵³ About one-third of the shareholders and the majority of the directors, including the chairman and deputy chairman, of The [Grand] Theatre and Opera House Company, Leeds, Ltd. were Volunteers. The company's auditor and accountant was Leeds Engineer John Routh, who was succeeded by Leeds Rifleman John Gordon. In the building of the theatre, Leeds Rifles firms Illingworth, Ingham & Co. supplied the timber and Jas. Nelson & Sons the heating and plumbing systems, while in 1890 The Teale Fireplace Company was given a contract to modify the heating system. Leeds Rifleman Thomas Winn was appointed architect to the Theatre about 1889.¹⁵⁴ Messrs. John Gordon, Walton & Co. and Messrs. Beever & Adgie, both headed by Leeds Riflemen, were appointed auditors of the Leeds Permanent Benefit Building Society¹⁵⁵ of which Capt. J.J. Cousins was a director. 3736 Robert Chorley, who had worked his way up from clerk to principal of Chorley & Pickergill's, became printer to the Regiment. On return to civilian life after the end of World War I, master printer Walter Gardham, who had been in the Rifles since 1895 and served in the war as Quartermaster of the 2/7th, adopted as his logo a white rose, emblem of the 49th Division, enclosing a Pelican, emblem of the 62nd, presumably to attract business from former

members of both divisions; his firm became printers to the University. Volunteer businessmen advertised in regimental Year Books, in Volunteer publications and on the pages that reported Volunteer news in local newspapers.

Riflemen were apparently also able to obtain benefits for their children. Sgt. Richard Neville of the 4th West York Militia, the drill sergeant of No.9 Company, was able to obtain employment as clerks at the Brewery for his three youngest children, all of whom joined the Rifle company in due course. 2261 Richard and 2292 James, who enrolled in 1868, both stayed with the firm for the whole of their working lives, Richard becoming Head of the Delivery Department. 797 Thomas Sutcliffe obtained a clerkship at the Brewery for his son Francis (Frank) who later became the well-known photographer of Whitby. 2093 Francis Somers, iron-monger's assistant, followed the sons of his employers, Jas. Nelson & Sons, iron-mongers and ironfounders, into the Leeds Rifles, and he later became a partner in the firm. His son Richard became a heating engineer, AIEE and AMIME, went to work for the Teale Fireplace Company, owned by 47 Thomas Pridgin Teale, the Leeds Rifles Surgeon, and later became managing director of his own firm, the Leeds Marble Heating and Fireplace Co. Ltd.¹⁵⁶ In 1886 John Portues' son George, who was in the Leeds Rifles and who had been apprenticed as a mechanic at the Brewery, set up in business for himself (the firm was trading until recent years as George Porteus & Sons (Leeds) Ltd.) as a brewer's engineer across the road from Tetley's, and much business was initially put in his way by Charles Ryder.¹⁵⁷

The Volunteer and Territorial Forces held a great appeal for teenage boys and were of especial value to this section of society. Young males on the threshold of adulthood have needs quite distinct from the rest of the adult population and the Forces met them. In a Family Doctor booklet, Young People Growing Up (1978), Sir Ronald Gibson pinpoints two particularly dangerous ages: 11-12 and 17-18. It is natural for adolescents to join a group or "gang" of peers. Sir Ronald recognises that "daring, enterprising and full-bloodied young people need adventure - even of a potentially dangerous kind - with which to fill much of their spare time." He goes on, "There is not sufficient positive and organised incentive to encourage them to indulge in constructive adventure. What there is is first class but it is insufficient to fulfil all the needs of all the adolescents and it is not nationally or locally co-ordinated." The Volunteers and

Territorials fulfilled this need for constructive adventure in admirable fashion, and on a locally and nationally co-ordinated scale. They channelled the adolescent male's fund of energy and aggression and made use of his proclivity to join gangs. (1953 George Wood, 7th, and 1327 Walter Garnett, 1757 George Alfred Blaymire and Fred Hearn, all of the 8th, had each been members of large gangs of teenagers who had decided to join the Territorials together).¹⁵⁸ "Dressing up" is part of the "theatrical episode" that is adolescence and they provided him with a uniform to wear as a means of group identity. They provided him with a goal as he sought his own identity. And, to their delight, teenagers of 17 and over found themselves being treated as adults and equals. (Since the minimum age for enlistment in the Regular Army was 18, 16- and 17-year old Territorials discovered that, when wearing khaki service dress, they could get served without question in public houses.)¹⁵⁹

Virtually all respondents extolled the virtues of the Volunteer and Territorial Forces as a means of combatting hooliganism and vandalism. Lads were taken off the streets and transformed into capable and reliable young men. Albert Bowden, who joined the Rifles in 1904 said,

"There were quite a lot of young lads in the Volunteers. It was a very good hobby for them because it stopped them from hanging about street corners getting into mischief and improved their characters by teaching them discipline, self-reliance and all kinds of useful skills, and it also improved their bodies."

1764 Arthur G. Illingworth, 1st WR Field Ambulance, had associated with a gang of "roughs" before he enlisted and he spoke with particular feeling on the subject:

"It's the RAMC Territorials that have made me what I am today [a retired senior nurse, SRN]. It wasn't only somewhere to go and something to do in my spare time. If I'd continued going round with those lads, I'd have ended up like them. So the RAMC stopped me from becoming a hooligan, no good to anybody, especially to myself."

As Richard R.W. Dennison, Northern Signal Companies RE (Leeds Engineers), put it,

Everybody benefited from the Territorials when I was a lad: the lads who were in it, the local community, and the country as well."¹⁶⁰

Three respondents, all pre-war members of the Leeds Rifles, Thomas O'Brien, 7th, and 1332 Charles Cornish and 1712 John William Sanderson, both of the 8th, had been so convinced of the moral and social value of peacetime part-time military service to adolescent males that they became long-serving dedicated workers in the Cadet Movement.

There were further social benefits of especial value to the working classes, some fairly obvious, some less so. Holidays with pay did not become customary for manual workers until the 1938 Holidays with Pay Act, but a Territorial got a free fortnight's holiday with pay, usually at the seaside, and plenty of food to eat. If a Rifleman was absent on duty from his HQ on a Saturday for more than 2 hours he got a haversack ration consisting of a 1lb. veal and ham pie containing a hard-boiled egg which he could take home to his mother or wife if he wished. Volunteering was an excellent means of realising one's potential. Judged on the respondents, the Leeds Rifles (and other units) appeared to have attracted as a large proportion of their membership, young men denied educational opportunities by social and economic circumstances. To have to leave school at the age of 13, like 1712 Jack Barker, 7th, after being consistently at the top of his class throughout his school career, created an unfulfilled gap in many a young man's life. Joining the Territorials seems to have been a conscious (as in Arthur Illingworth's case) or sub-conscious (as in Jack Barker's case) attempt to redress this particular social and cultural deprivation (see also Chap.2, section 2.1).

There was very little opportunity before 1914 for the Leeds Rifles to reclaim social deviants, as Samuel Smiles' Temperance Hall/Mechanics' Institute had done in Woodhouse,¹⁶¹ or to rescue or rehabilitate other casualties of the industrial society. In Volunteer times "undesirables" had been rigorously excluded and physical entry requirements high, and though standards were relaxed from 1908, comparatively few recruits came forward from the lower working classes. The answer seems to have lain in the perceived role of the military: the public saw the Territorials and the Regular Army as occupying two contrasting social roles. The former was an essentially respectable and worthy youth movement, the latter a welfare agency that rescued delinquents and waifs and strays.¹⁶² When war came, everything changed: in public eyes, the Leeds Rifles had become part of the Army and ergo, by definition, a welfare agency. After the

war, with the peacetime Army vastly reduced in size and becoming much more selective in recruiting than it had been prior to the war, following mounting unemployment and social distress and after the introduction of an annual TA bounty, the Leeds Rifles' perceived social role, which had temporarily reverted to its pre-1914 form, reverted once more to that of the welfare agency (see Chap.2, section 2.1). It would be true to say that, throughout the history of the Leeds Rifles a particular social need for it had existed and the Regiment had never failed to fulfil it.

The social value of a military unit is frequently overlooked. Full-time military organisations are total institutions¹⁶³ that make comprehensive provision for the welfare of their personnel. The institutional protection of the Army in World War I was tremendous and had no counterpart in civilian life. It offered shelter, food, clothes, transportation, entertainment, free medical, legal and religious advice, regular pay days, separation allowances for wives and children (or allotments to parents if desired), regular work, no redundancies, and pay while off sick. Men from the working classes were better fed, better clothed, healthier and stronger than they had ever been in their lives. When war came, the casualties of society flocked to Carlton Barracks, aware that the Leeds Rifles followed non-discriminatory practices in relation to racial-ethnic, religious or social class prejudice, and sought admittance to the Regiment: the orphans, the abandoned teenagers, the bastards, the half-castes, the petty criminals and semi-criminals, the foreign first - and second - generation immigrants, the half-starved, half-wild men of the alienated and violent slum communities bred by poverty and lack of opportunity. Men from all these disadvantaged groups found a haven in the Leeds Rifles. The youth from the lowest social class was, typically, emotionally neglected, having in childhood and adolescence lacked consistent and continuous concerned parental care. Generally speaking, parents in this class, whether through ignorance or indifference, were not prepared to accept their responsibilities in giving their children proper guidance and encouragement, and let them run wild and fend for themselves, not caring where they went nor with whom they were associating.¹⁶⁴ The Regiment, with its ability to satisfy the need to "belong", offered a particular refuge to this category of recruit. The extent to which it could help the socially disadvantaged is well illustrated by the example of 1803 Alfred Kennedy Owen of

the 8th Bn, a very successful businessman, pillar of local society, a leading member of the local Royal British Legion and indefatigable worker for ex-servicemen's charities, who declared, "I owe everything I am today to the Leeds Rifles". An orphaned outcast of society, having no visible means of support and no fixed abode, suffering from malnutrition, he joined the Regiment in May 1914 very much as a last resort, seeking an answer to his personal problems: friendlessness, homelessness, unemployment, failing health and fear of the workhouse. He knew that if he could gain entry, not only would the Rifles provide him with clothes and a free seaside holiday where he would get plenty to eat, but that among its members were men who would get him a job and respectable lodgings. He found the answer to all his problems, together with hope and self-respect where none had existed before.¹⁶⁵

The Army was traditionally recognised as a refuge for marginal categories of adolescents, maladjusted to civilian life, who found in the Army a way of life and social structures on which they could depend.¹⁶⁶ Civilian society has unfortunately long regarded the Army as a kind of preparatory school for life which can "make a man" out of a recruit and long cherished the belief that the military establishment can operate as a reformatory, penal colony or forced labour camp for delinquents and criminals.¹⁶⁷ An anonymous leading article in The Lancet in 1941 attacked these pernicious "common fallacies" held by "misguided patriots".¹⁶⁸ "Military misfits" have always constituted a major problem in the Army. In September 1952 former Army psychiatrist Dr. J.C. Penton presented a paper, 'The Juvenile Delinquent in the Forces', to the Psychology Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. His research into the military careers of Borstal boys when called up for war service showed that the delinquent group revealed itself to be less satisfactory on all counts. About 50% made "satisfactory" soldiers, 20% "tolerable" soldiers, while 30% remained a liability. Of a control group, 90% made good soldiers and 4% were a complete liability. Since the 50% of former delinquents who made good in the Army correspond directly with the similar percentage of juvenile offenders who made good in civil life, Dr. Penton concluded that the military and the civil delinquent was the same creature. He found no evidence to support the view, "still held by some magistrates", that the Army provided a cure for juvenile crime.¹⁶⁹ During World War II Major G.H. Gilbey, West Yorkshire Regt, produced a scheme for special training

units to reclaim young "delinquents" and convert them into good soldiers. The system worked excellently with the average offender and achieved an estimated 75% success rate.¹⁷⁰ It is true, as Janowitz and Little point out, that "The military establishment is an all-male culture which informally tolerates behavioural excesses to a greater degree than does mixed civilian society", and that the Army provides a disciplined and predictable environment that can help teenagers in the throes of inter-generational conflict, the immature without clear-cut goals and near-delinquents.¹⁷¹

These were the categories that the Leeds Rifles was able to help. There is no evidence to suggest that any habitual criminal was reformed and certainly the psychopaths Mangham and Capp were incapable of being reformed. Men used to social inferiority and prejudice derived satisfaction and new self-confidence from the equalitarianism of the Leeds Rifles. The socially disadvantaged man found himself a member of a worthwhile organisation where he was really wanted for himself¹⁷² and where he was doing a job judged as valuable by society at large. The erstwhile outcast of society wearing the uniform of the city's own regiment now became someone the citizens cheered, admired and looked up to. His latent qualities were developed: a bright lad would find openings denied him in civil life, for "genuine talent - of a military kind, of course - is more quickly recognised in the army than in any civilian body, promotions - with the rare exception - are by merit and results".¹⁷³ He learnt how to adjust to an orderly existence and how to organise himself. The officers and NCOs were interested in him, his comrades cared about him. Whatever his job was, however lowly, he knew it was important. All this would often achieve a remarkable change in his moral character.

The social benefits that drew working men into the Territorials in peace and war had very little to do with the motives that drew working men into the Volunteer Movement in the first place. The Force was not originally intended to enrol working-class Volunteers. General Peel's second circular, dated 25th May 1859, was a specific attempt "to induce those classes to come forward for service as Volunteers who do not, under our present system, enter either into the Regular Army or the Militia".¹⁷⁴ The 1862 Royal Commission, however, discovered that in rural districts about half the Volunteers were "artisans", whilst a majority in large towns were "artisans", and 16 years later the Bury Committee found the Force heavily

dominated by working men. Cunningham estimates that the Force became largely working-class in social composition within the first ten years of its existence.¹⁷⁵ During this period, working men had "more often" been led into the Force by their employers,¹⁷⁶ and by its close, the business man-at-arms had virtually disappeared and his place taken by the working man-at-arms. Sir W.M.S. M'Murdo considered that "the artisan class" had "added materially to the number and permanence of the force",¹⁷⁷ while Sir J.H.A. Macdonald maintained that "if it had not been for the zeal and energy of the working classes the Volunteer Force might have dwindled and possibly perished altogether."¹⁷⁸ Many of the witnesses questioned by the 1862 Royal Commission were of the opinion that artisans made the most efficient and zealous Volunteers. In 1907 the working-class membership of individual Volunteer corps, all arms, was stated to comprise between 60% and 86% of the total.¹⁷⁹

On the face of it, it is puzzling that an institution which offered no monetary reward but imposed obligations should attract so many working men. There were many positive disincentives to enrolment: the possibility of court proceedings and fine if the Volunteer failed to make himself efficient under the terms of an agreement; the financial outlay of paying subscriptions, travelling expenses and purchasing ammunition and articles of uniform; the actual financial loss incurred by foregoing wages in order to attend camp, with the real possibility of losing one's job. Cunningham suggests that employers coerced their men to join, though Beckett discounts entirely pressure from employers as a motive for joining.¹⁸⁰ In Leeds it is quite clear that working-class men were pressing to join, though the question of cost proved a formidable barrier. At a public meeting in Leeds in June 1859, nine working men expressed their willingness to volunteer if the outfit were provided.¹⁸¹ Within three days of announcing his intention to raise a company at his works, Sir Peter Fairbairn had enrolled 120 men, 20 over the permitted maximum. The Leeds Mercury and the Radical weekly, the Leeds and West Riding Express, strongly demanded a "fair" working-class representation in the Volunteer Movement. The Express editorial line was that the Movement

"could answer no good purpose if the working people were not drawn into it in large numbers. We protested most strongly against the dilettanti [sic] spirit in which it was begun in Leeds, and insisted that economy should be studied in everything, so

as to bring it within the reach of the sober and industrious portion of the working classes."

The editorial claimed that uniform and accoutrements could be had for £3.

"Any number of companies may be got up at this cost, and if the central fund which has been collected, is to be properly applied, and will give to artisan companies thirty shillings a man, leaving them to find another thirty shillings themselves, Leeds may soon stand out pre-eminently as a town of Volunteers".¹⁸²

John Laird MP told the 1862 Royal Commission that about 1/12th of his own employees were Volunteers.¹⁸³ In Leeds, the figures for the industrial companies, based on the statistics of employees given in the 1861 Census, are as follows: Monkridge - 12.8%; Fairbairn's - no data given in the Census; Greenwood & Batley's - 26.6%; Tetley's - 56.5%. By the end of 1860, approximately half the members of the Leeds Rifles were working men. This proportion appears to have been considerably above the national average.

The remarkable working-class response to the Volunteer movement suggests that "traditional" working-class opposition to any form of organised militarism was much less entrenched and widespread than some historians have led us to suppose. Nor was the working-class Volunteer's attitude to patriotism as frivolous as the author of an 1868 leader in the Volunteer News, quoted by Cunningham,¹⁸⁴ thought. "Leeds, May 14th 1798 - upwards of 150 of the workmen of Messrs. Hartley, Green & Co., of the Pottery, near this town, have offered their services to Government, in case of actual invasion, to any part of the country".¹⁸⁵ At the 1879 Annual Prize Distribution of the Leeds Rifles Major Harding ascribed the surprising increased strength of the regiment, in spite of the extremely bad state of local trade and industry, to "the patriotism of men who had come forward when there was the slightest appearance of their services being required".¹⁸⁶ At a special meeting of the corps convened in 1878 to consider the matter of adopting a new uniform and which had attracted a "very large muster", Col. Robinson took the opportunity of addressing his men on the subject of the Eastern Crisis. He asked for a show of hands of those who were willing to volunteer to go to Portsmouth in case of mobilisation, adding that the War Office intended only to call upon the

services of one-quarter of the corps in such an eventuality. The immediate result of the Colonel's appeal, however, "was that the hands of every man present - rank and file - were held up amidst loud cheering".¹⁸⁷ Featherstone, where rioting miners had been fired on by troops in 1893 and 2 people killed, became a Territorial stronghold: a local colliery owner in 1909 recruited a company of 107 of his employees at Featherstone Main within 3 days.¹⁸⁸ It may be added that Max Weber was deeply sceptical of the "pacific instincts" so often claimed by radicals and socialists as being characteristic of the masses.¹⁸⁹

The working men who entered the Leeds Rifles in its early years, apart from a tiny proportion of labourers, belonged to the artisan class and in particular to the elite of that class. E.J. Hobsbawm estimated the size of the labour aristocracy, including small masters, in 1867 as "something under 15" per cent of the total working-class population of 7.8m. men, women and children.¹⁹⁰ Labour aristocrats were very heavily over-represented in the Leeds Rifles: excluding small masters, they constituted 69.9% of manual worker recruits in the period 1860-66; 57.9% in the period 1866-7; and 63.9% (39.9% of all enrolments) in the period 1867-75. They remained prominent in the Regiment throughout the Volunteer period. In the Territorial period, up to 1919, skilled manual workers dominated the membership of the Regiment.

In order to attempt to explain the heavy dominance of the Regiment's membership by the artisan class it is first necessary to examine in some detail the aspirations of this class during the Victorian period.

The ethic of respectability achieved the greatest measure of adoption in the upper working classes ("the artisan class") and in the classes comprising clerks, supervisors, shop assistants, etc. (today commonly termed "the lower middle classes"), which together accounted for a substantial portion of society, perhaps one-third or greater. This sector of society was characterised by anxiety about status. To quote J.F.C. Harrison, what its members wanted "were opportunities for bettering themselves, both materially and culturally, and thus rising in the social scale".¹⁹¹ The artisan class adopted the new norms readily, if not eagerly. The more articulate 19th century artisans were in many respects in revolt against the prevailing ethos of working-class culture, and early began to develop a class consciousness.¹⁹² Henry Mayhew described them in 1861 as a separate class.¹⁹³ Harrison asserts that, by the 1850s and 1860s

"the goal of respectability" had been established among "the more prosperous sections of the working classes".¹⁹⁴ Perhaps the most striking contemporary corroboration of this was provided by Engels, who was disgusted by the artisans' craving for respectability. His complaint to Marx in 1858 was a bitter one: "...the English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie".¹⁹⁵

From the artisan class during the period 1840-1880, as Geoffrey Crossick and Robert Q. Gray¹⁹⁶ have recently demonstrated, emerged the "superior artisans", or labour aristocracy, as an identifiable stratum, having a range of distinct social relationships, material and status aspirations, values and patterns of behaviour. Although its existence has been disputed by some present-day historians,¹⁹⁷ it seems to have been real enough to contemporaries. F.B. Smith sees the recognition by the ruling classes of the existence of a labour elite and its aspirations to respectability as a prime condition for the making of the Second Reform Bill.¹⁹⁸ The economic and, in particular the cultural, distance separating the "superior artisan" from the mass of the working class has been frequently remarked upon, and the forms of behaviour associated with "self-improvement", both moral and intellectual, and "respectability" have long been thought characteristic of this stratum. The so-called embourgeoisement thesis, which states that the working-class elite, as it achieved relatively higher incomes and living standards, assumed aspirations and values that were intrinsically "middle-class" has proved attractive to many historians.¹⁹⁹ The studies of sociologist J.H. Goldthorpe and his associates who tested the thesis in a modern industrial context,²⁰⁰ however, led them to reject the idea of embourgeoisement as part of a logic of advanced industrialism. Now Crossick and Gray have questioned the extent to which the respectability of the Victorian working-class elite represented a real belief in and attachment to so-called "middle class values", and suggest that this elite generated its own kind of respectability, reformulating the official ethic's conventional values and preserving a distinct working-class identity in its practice. Peter Bailey, it can be said in support, found no proof of cultural embourgeoisement in the popular recreations of the latter years of the period covered by his study.²⁰¹

The labour elite was conscious of its superiority over the other sections of the working class. Its value system was concerned with "rising in the world", achieving a higher social status, but not necessarily leaving the working class. The status sought was expressed in the ethic of respectability and its network of supporting voluntary institutions. Since only those who had a money income that provided a margin above subsistence level could aspire to respectability, the elite's life-style, to quote Gray, "tended to project a sense of social superiority, a self-conscious cultural exclusion of less-favoured working class groups".²⁰² This was the result of the basic difference that distinguished the elite: its ability to make certain choices denied to the rest of the working class:²⁰³ the ability to distance itself physically from the labouring classes, particularly "the disreputable poor", by moving to higher-status housing; to join thrift institutions; and to take up leisure time activities that depended on the possession of resources of time and money. Further ways of establishing social distance from the mass occurred, certainly in Leeds, from the 1860s onwards: keeping a living-in servant;²⁰⁴ having daughters educated at the dearer local private schools, presumably to improve their marriage prospects.²⁰⁵ Only the more affluent artisan could afford to take up the minimum holding, one share, to which the weekly subscription was 2s 6d, in the Leeds Permanent Benefit Building Society.²⁰⁶ The cultural aspirations of artisans found satisfaction in the voluntary institutions, some of which made no attempt to attract the poor,²⁰⁷ and, for the most part, the membership of these institutions showed a high participation by the better paid artisans and a low participation by unskilled manual workers.²⁰⁸ Gray found high participation by skilled workers and considerable participation by business ("petty-bourgeois") and white-collar groups in various Edinburgh voluntary institutions he surveyed, such as Mechanics' Library, Working Men's Flower Show.²⁰⁹ Of the first 1,000 members of the Leeds Permanent Building Society, who joined during its first year of operation, 1848-9, 63.3% were working men, 19.5% tradesmen and small shop-keepers, and 7.2% clerks, overlookers, etc.²¹⁰ As was shown in Chapter 1, the Leeds Rifles strikingly presented in its social composition this typically high participation by skilled workers, particularly the better paid, and considerable participation by petit bourgeois and white-collar groups. This pattern is also presented by other Volunteer corps for which data is available: the Galloway Rifles 1897, the Lincoln RVC 1859-91, the 36th

Middlesex RVC 1860-99; and the 23rd Middlesex RVC, 1887.²¹¹

Gray and Crossick are in broad agreement about the motivation that lay behind the labour elite's ready acceptance of the ethic of respectability. Gray's view is that

"The claim to 'respectability' must be set out in the context of a strong sense of class pride. I would argue that it is properly interpreted as a claim to status recognition and citizenship on behalf of skilled workers as a corporate group". (He asserts that) "the growth of those voluntary associations favoured by skilled workers was linked to their claim to be brought within the pale of civic respectability",

and goes on to appear to suggest that the remarkable and increasing number of artisans who joined the Volunteer Force from the early 1860s onwards did so in order to demonstrate their fitness to be given the vote.²¹²

Crossick says:

"At the centre of the skilled artisan's concern for rising in the world was the achievement by this elite of a wider recognition of its value and respectability within Victorian society - as individuals and as a group through their institutions".

The elite of his study came to dominate the politics and the organised social life of working-class Kentish London. Anxious to project a general image of intelligence and self-discipline, this elite sought active support and approval from the local social elite.²¹³

It is submitted that artisans joined the Leeds Rifles (and other corps) basically for the same reasons that they joined any other voluntary institution: to satisfy their social and cultural aspirations. Through Volunteer membership they were seeking an active share in society which would compel the rest of society to recognise their value. It was one of several ways in which the members of the artisan class of the period were claiming the right to status recognition and citizenship. One witness told the 1862 Royal Commission that the 4,000 artisan Volunteers in Glasgow "would contemplate a discontinuance of the Volunteer movement with considerable disgust." The Commissioners were startled by the implied threat:

"For what reason would they desire a continuance of the volunteer force ? - On account of a certain trust, which they feel has been given to them by the government; that they have been considered worthy of

that trust, and they have taken considerable pride in it; and I believe that they would be [only] too happy, speaking of a large portion of them, to continue. - You consider that their feeling is that serving in the volunteer force is an honourable trust reposed in them ? - I do."²¹⁴

In this feeling lies the most likely explanation of the Volunteer's puzzling reaction to Haldane's scheme: half of them declined to join the Territorial Force. Throughout the 48 years of the Force's existence, the Volunteer's boast had been that he was proud to serve his country for nothing (which automatically set him, in his own eyes, above those who soldiered in the Regular Army for money); available evidence (see Chap.5, section 5.1) suggests that a large number of Volunteers who declined to become Territorials did so because they were opposed to the principle of pay. Haldane's scheme came as a violent and gratuitous slap in the face to the working-class Volunteers. All these years they had cherished the illusion that the ruling classes had trusted them, respected them and valued their unpaid public service and their dedication, loyalty and self-sacrifice. To be summarily dismissed, without thanks, and tossed aside as unwanted and useless by an ungrateful government, and one that declared itself to be sympathetic to the working classes at that, was deeply hurtful and humiliating. Small wonder that the Volunteers were so bitter and angry.

Artisans would have approved of the high moral aims attributed to volunteering.²¹⁵ The ethic of Respectability had been championed by working-class publicists and supported by Chartist orators, Radical newspapers, trade unions and friendly societies.²¹⁶ Bailey notes that working-class reformers and writers recommended rational recreation, "both to continue the political and educational improvement of the class and, through public good manners, to oblige the other classes to respect the working man".²¹⁷ A particular aspect of volunteering which would have especially appealed to artisans was that a volunteer corps had several characteristics in common with a working-class friendly society: it was self-governing with a degree of democratic control and it was a combination of brotherhood and mutual trust. Like all working-class institutions, a corps was a collective enterprise that rested upon the collective abilities and commitment of its members, one in which the individual could succeed only by participation in collective action, and it was pervaded by a sense of mutual support and collective strength. As in the friendly societies, men of different

social levels were brought together and treated as equals, asserting the principle of equality of opportunity without calling into question the fact of social stratification. As in a friendly society, advancement in a volunteer corps was on the basis of individual merit, and like many friendly societies, the average volunteer corps applied character and social criteria to applications for membership, admitting only the "respectable" in order to ensure at least a measure of social exclusiveness. A volunteer corps like the Leeds Rifles was to the working man, as was the friendly society, a sanctuary from the class system that dominated his working hours, and was thus able to offer him self-respect and a limited independence. Also to be taken into account as an attraction of volunteering was the familiar mid-Victorian assumption that associating with people of higher social status produced elevation of mind and character.²¹⁸

The "friendly society spirit" was often seen in evidence in the Leeds Rifles. A "Leeds Rifles RAOB Lodge" was formed; collections were taken for members injured at camp; band concerts were held in aid of working-class supported charities such as local hospital funds and the fund for the dependents of the men killed and injured in the Hunslet Steel Works disaster of 1913.²¹⁹ In 1908 Thomas Bates, an Army Pensioner who was in charge of the Armoury, shot himself in Carlton Barracks. He had stood £50 bail for a man who had then absconded and he could not pay. The officers and NCOs got up a benefit concert for his wife and 7 young children which raised a "very substantial sum", and, notwithstanding the fact that he had committed suicide, Bates was accorded a full military funeral which was attended by a large proportion of the regiment.²²⁰

The large number of labour aristocrats in the membership was reflected in the character early assumed by the Leeds Rifles, that of "a corps of gentlemen". Col. Markham had addressed his Dress Regulations of December 1860 to the "Gentlemen of the Battalion" in the knowledge that at least half of the members of that battalion were working men. The first newspaper use of the term "corps of gentlemen" traced was found in the Leeds Mercury of 24th June 1873. Alfred Marshall noted of artisans in 1873 "how all are rising, how some are in the true sense of the word becoming gentlemen";²²¹ a Woolwich Arsenal wheelwright, Henry Knell, had written in 1861 that "by attention to the rules of good breeding the poorest man will be entitled to the character of a gentleman".²²² Samuel Smiles, in Self Help published in 1859, had drawn out the ideal of the "gentleman" from

its upper class context and related it to moral worth.²²³ Having enrolled in a Volunteer corps was, according to the Volunteer Service Gazette of 22nd September 1866, "taken to afford a well-recognised presumption of respectability",²²⁴ and no doubt many artisans who aspired to "respectability" enrolled for this reason. (In the Territorial era men from the lower working classes of Leeds joined the Rifles for the express purpose of acquiring the badge of "respectability", a pair of Sunday trousers.)²²⁵

The labour aristocrats who joined the Leeds Rifles, however, evidently aspired to something higher than mere respectability. Artisan institutional concern for the basic "Victorian" principles of moral behaviour and character development, with its emphasis on decorum, sobriety and respectable manners,²²⁶ dominated the companies. When Col. Sgt. A. Shoesmith, a compositor, told recruit 167 Charlie Young in 1904 that he had joined a corps of gentlemen and must never allow himself to forget that fact for an instant,²²⁷ he was handing on a tradition that had been assiduously followed for over 40 years. Not only could no young man be enrolled in the Leeds Rifles unless he was proposed and seconded by two members of the corps, but these two members were made responsible for his good conduct.²²⁸ By its public good manners, this corps of working class gentlemen obliged all classes, not merely their class superiors, to respect them, even to admire them. The test came when the Annual Camp was instituted in 1873:

"In the best sense of the word, the corps is a corps of gentlemen, and it was scarcely necessary to put them on their honour to ensure that they would act as gentlemen. No one who knows anything of the composition of this excellent corps would have any misgiving on this score. If anything, they might be a little too dignified. Happily, at Pontefract they have known how to unbend without forgetting what was due to their corps generally and themselves individually, and the result is the cordial praise of all with whom they came in contact".²²⁹

After the end of the 1874 Camp the Mayor of Pontefract sent a letter to Col. Robinson which referred to

"the very high opinion expressed on all sides on the conduct of the Leeds Rifles their conduct during the whole time had such a gentlemanly bearing, the good impression produced upon the inhabitants will take years to efface".²³⁰

At the end of this camp a private who had become intoxicated inside the

camp during the week and who had spent several days under arrest was summarily dismissed. The customary punishment in other corps for being inebriated whilst in uniform was a hefty fine of 2s 6d.²³¹ The Mercury commented:

"To some it may appear as if the single offender of the week had been treated with undue severity, but Lieut-Colonel Robinson has the honour of his regiment at heart; he is desirous that all its members should be above suspicion, and to draw towards it the most respectable young men of the town, he considered it his duty to make an example which would serve as a warning to others".²³²

This policy did not harm the corps; on the contrary. It was the strongest Rifle Volunteer battalion in Yorkshire in 1874, and during the next year showed a net gain of 81 men. In 1878 it was claimed that "no better conducted body of men could be found in any part of England than the Leeds Rifles".²³³ Such an ideal state was obtained only by insisting on the highest standards of personal conduct from all ranks, and those that failed to meet these standards were dismissed for misconduct or discharged, "services no longer required". In the period February-December 1897, for instance, 28 men were struck off for failing to make themselves efficient and 14 for absenting themselves from the Annual Inspection without leave, but 1 man was dismissed with ignominy, 6 discharged "services no longer required", and 7 struck off, no reason specified.²³⁴ Financial probity was insisted upon: 937 William Halstead was struck off in 1863 when it was found he had left the town owing money;²³⁵ officers who became bankrupt were ordered to resign whatever the circumstances.

At an individual level, the labour aristocrats sought and obtained the respect and approval of the members of the local social elite who served with them in the corps. More than that, they enjoyed equality of footing and a most cordial relationship with them. It was this aspect of volunteering which, according to 2222 William H. Reynard, 8th, particularly appealed to his father's relatives and friends, all labour aristocrats, who served in the Leeds Rifles.²³⁶ There seems to have been no patronising attitudes on the part of those who belonged to the superior classes to irritate or alienate the labour elite. Cunningham reports social tensions within some corps, together with allegations that "middle-class" members had been "elbowed out" of some corps by artisan Volunteers.²³⁷ Although patronage and management by "gentlemen", i.e. members of the local social elite, were very much resented in Mechanics' Institutes and working men's clubs,²³⁸

working men adopted a different attitude to patronage in the Volunteers. Realists, they knew that the weight of finance involved in running a Volunteer corps would for ever prevent them from throwing off superior hegemony, as they had done in the Club and Institute Union, and ruling and controlling the Volunteer Movement (if ever such a thing could have been regarded by the government as being a non-revolutionary action). Patronage which offended against the concept of "independence" was, however, resented. Cunningham notes some examples of working men's refusal to accept charity from their employers in the matter of uniforms, etc.²³⁹ In the Leeds Rifles, and in many other corps, in the early years working-class members paid for their uniforms by weekly instalments. From 1863 men were excused paying the annual subscription if they made themselves efficient and earned the corps the government capitation grant. This did not contravene the code of independence, since it did not involve obtaining something for nothing. On the contrary, the excusal was earned: since "consideration" (in the legal sense) on the part of the Volunteer earning the grant was involved, the transaction could be seen in the light of a legal contract which satisfied all parties concerned. Working-class Volunteers were not excluded from participation in corps management. Through annual general meetings, and election of various committees, including the Finance committee, which advised the Commanding Officer, the wishes of all the membership were taken into consideration. The membership of the Clothing Committee of Tetley's Company elected in 1860 comprised the head brewer, a clerk, the head cellarman, the yard foreman, a stoneroom labourer and a mashroom labourer.²⁴⁰

R.N. Price says that the working men's clubs "for twenty crucial years were very clearly a movement for the working classes which was accepted by the working classes," adding, "The reason was simple: they fulfilled a need of the working-class community."²⁴¹ Equally clearly, though the Volunteer Force's membership was not exclusively working-class and though it remained under superior hegemony, it, too, was essentially a working-class movement accepted by the working classes because it fulfilled a need of the working-classes, matching many of their interests and fulfilling many of their aspirations. Volunteering helped to sustain the values of the radical working-class subculture, central to which was "an assertion of the worth and dignity of working men, and their right to develop their faculties to the fullest" and implicit in which was "a denial of the middle-

class claim to social, intellectual, and moral superiority."²⁴²

Recent local historians have commented on Leeds' working-class conservatism in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, (reflected, for example, in the strength of nationalist feelings and support for the Empire). T. Woodhouse suggests that up to 1914 Leeds socialism rejected the class struggle and placed public service and citizenship above class loyalty; even the left-wing British Socialist Party in Leeds regarded "national feeling" as an important part of socialism.²⁴³ D. Fraser draws attention to Leeds' puzzling failure, despite its strong Radical tradition and prominent place in 19th century movements, to realise its potential for "a strong and radical Labour movement" which would have turned it into "a working-class Labour town such as Bradford". He associates this failure with the city's economic structure of a well-varied employment base and a large service section and with the presence within the local economy of very many small businesses where the gulf between master and men was narrow. Leeds, he says, "was more a town of respectable artisan than of industrial proletariat".²⁴⁴ Leeds was also a place with a considerably-above-average enthusiasm for volunteering, particularly in the artisan class. This factor may have played a part in working-class conservatism in Leeds, in the local conception of socialism, and in the town's failure to fully realise its "Labour potential".

The Volunteer Force had manifest moral aims approved of by orthodox morality and it can therefore be regarded as part of the general campaign for moral regeneration. If the Leeds Rifles was in any way typical of the Force, it provided an ideal agency for the dissemination of the ideology of Respectability. If this is so, it would help to explain why, although the Force was frequently criticised on military grounds, its moral purpose was never called into question. These moral aims were equally upheld by the new Territorials of the West Riding, who regarded them as part of the traditional values of volunteering but did not trumpet them like their Victorian predecessors had been wont to do. The Territorials were essentially "Respectable". Its moral aims and its social benefits approved of by the Respectable working classes, the Volunteer/Territorial Force may have done more than any other single voluntary institution to elevate and improve the condition of the working class. The early 20th century Woodhouse, once an extremely rough, squalid and lawless neighbourhood,²⁴⁵ but now priding itself on having become the most "Respectable" working-class

district of Leeds, cannot be claimed as the sole product of adult education and temperance: it was also the city's premier stronghold of volunteering. The commercialisation of the Force in 1908, with its concomitant lowering of entry standards, conferred a considerable benefit on the working class, since it opened membership on a large scale to the semi-skilled and unskilled strata.

Like other important social-reforming movements, the Volunteer/Territorial Force, in both its membership and its support, cut clean across class, party and religious lines. Class-conciliation remained a prominent aim in the Territorial period and it was a feature of volunteering that evidently appealed to most respondents. Like most, if not all, voluntary institutions the Volunteer/Territorial Force can be viewed as an agency of social control or discipline,²⁴⁶ even though it was not, in contrast to the working men's club movement, originally devised as such.²⁴⁷ Very many of the respondents stressed the importance of this aspect of the Territorial Force/Army and virtually all greatly deplored the 1967 axeing of the Territorial Army on the grounds that society had deprived itself of an extremely useful means of combatting the hooliganism-vandalism problem among late adolescent males.

In contrast to many other voluntary institutions, the Volunteer/Territorial Force could not be said to have disappointed the hopes of its founders. Indeed, many of the benefits it conferred on its members and on society at large were entirely unanticipated, and came about by accident rather than by design. The fact that the vast majority of its members had joined to obtain amusement and recreation did not matter. The value of volunteering was timeless and not by any means confined to the Victorian and Edwardian eras. In 1965 Edward Heath, a former commanding officer of a battalion of the Honourable Artillery Company, spoke in a Parliamentary debate on the Territorial Army on its benefits "which are not to be ignored": "There are the opportunities for voluntary service, for developing the individual's potentiality and for reinforcing the life of the community. Anybody who has ever been associated with the Territorial Army, with local government or with employers and trade unionists in the Territorial Army, knows the value of that reinforcement of communal life".²⁴⁸

In 1966 Professor Howard wrote "the Territorial Army has continued

to serve a social purpose of undeniable value even after the development of nuclear weapons cast reasonable doubt on the validity of its traditional military role".²⁴⁹ The Territorial Army, its social value unregarded and uncomputed, was judged an irrelevancy and an anachronism in a nuclear age, was very drastically reduced in size, and lost its identity as such in 1967. Twelve years later, the TA, still very small, accounted for 1.1% of the total defence budget.²⁵⁰

NOTES

1. A phrase coined by W.L. Burn and used as the title of his book published in 1964.
2. See, for example, G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875 (London, 1971), pp. 256-63; J.F.C. Harrison, Learning & Living 1790-1960 (London, 1961), pp. 204-11. A number of recent historians, including G. Best, op.cit.; Brian Harrison, Drink & the Victorians (London, 1971); G. Crossick, An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880 (London, 1978); Caroline O. Reid, "Middle Class Values & Working Class Culture in Nineteenth Century Sheffield", unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Sheffield, 1976 (the central argument of this thesis is summarised in her article, 'Middle Class Values and Working Class Culture in Nineteenth Century Sheffield - The Pursuit of Respectability', in S. Pollard & C. Holmes, eds., Essays in the Economic & Social History of South Yorkshire (Barnsley, 1976), pp. 275-95), have identified the ethic of Respectability as a key factor in producing the relative social stability of the mid-Victorian decades.
3. G. Best, op.cit., pp. 82-4.
4. H. Cunningham, The Volunteer Force: A Social & Political History 1859-1908 (London, 1975), p. 28; I.F.W. Beckett, "The English Rifle Volunteer Movement 1859-1908", unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of London, 1974, p. 186.
5. See The Annual Return of the Volunteer Corps of Great Britain for the year 1907, p. 1041; 1908 Cmd. 3801, lxiv, 979.
6. H. Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 49-50; note 14, p. 51; Spencer Wilkinson, 'The Volunteer Force: a retrospect', Yorkshire Evening Post, 2 April 1908.
7. Spencer Wilkinson, op.cit.
8. I.F.W. Beckett, op.cit., p. 137; Table H, p. 138.
9. Op.cit., pp. 42-3.
10. Calculated from statistics given in [Col.] R.W. Routledge, 'A Volunteer Battalion', The Nineteenth Century, XXI (1887), 742-7.
11. Col. Evelyn Wood et al., The Citizen Soldier (London, 1939), p. 190.
12. Quoted E.W. Clay, ed., The Leeds Police 1836-1974 (Leeds, 1974), p. 31.
13. Olive Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', English Historical Review, 86, no. 338 (1971), 68.
14. Akroyd was an industrialist devoted to the cause of working-class improvement. His most notable achievements were the building of the sizable colony of model workmen's dwellings named Akroyden & the founding of the Yorkshire Penny Bank (now the Yorkshire Bank): see T.R. Tholfsen, Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England (London, 1976), p. 204; H.B. Sellers, Memoranda from a Note Book on the Yorkshire Penny Bank (Leeds, 1909).
15. Obit., Yorkshire Post, 13 August 1895; White's Directory, 1871, p. 327; R. Sandall, The History of the Salvation Army, Vol. II (London, 1950), p. 318.
16. R.B. Rose, 'Liverpool Volunteers of 1859', Liverpool Libraries, Museums & Arts Committee Bulletin, vol. 6, nos. 1 & 2 (1956), 62.

17. H. Cunningham, op.cit., p. 117.
18. Leeds Mercury, 24 April 1866.
19. F. Green, The History of the 2nd West Riding of Yorkshire Engineer Volunteers: A Brief Record (Leeds, 1887), p. 51.
20. R.P. Berry, A History of the Formation & Development of the Volunteer Infantry, from the earliest times, illustrated by the local records of Huddersfield & its vicinity from 1794 to 1874 (London & Huddersfield, 1903), p. 445.
21. Royal Commission on the Condition of the Volunteer Force, qq 1554-1556, 1573-1575, 2152, 2573-2575, 2904-2905, 3258, 3537-3538, 4274-4276; 1862 (3053). xxvii.89.
22. Ibid., qq. 2607, 2608, 3258, 4276.
23. H. Cunningham, op.cit., p. 118.
24. Pseudonym "A Volunteer Colonel with Thirty-Five Years' Service", article, 'Our Volunteers', The Westminster Review, CLI (1899), 52.
25. Leeds Mercury, 14 August 1909.
26. Ibid., 26 June 1909.
27. Testimony of Mrs. David Young.
28. Testimony of 976 Thomas Wilson, 7th.
29. For example, Yorkshire Post, 11 March, 7 August 1909; 20 December 1913.
30. R. Roberts, The Classic Slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century (Manchester, 1971), p. 152; C.E. Carrington, Soldier from the Wars Returning (London, 1965; 1970 Arrow paperback edn.), p. 256; A.R. Skelley, The Victorian Army at Home (London & Montreal, 1977), p. 136; Report upon the Physical Examination of Men of Military Age by National Service Medical Boards from November 1st 1917 - October 31st 1918, p. 18; 1919 Cmd. 504, xxvi, 307.
31. Testimonies, discharge papers & other documents of the men named.
32. For example, James Hole, The Working Classes of Leeds: an essay on the present state of education in Leeds, & the best means of improving it (London & Leeds, 1863), p. 122.
33. Leeds Mercury, 14 December 1872.
34. For example, Sir R. Loyd-Lindsay, 'The Coming of Age of the Volunteers', The Nineteenth Century, X (1881), 209.
35. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, Vol. II, List of Witnesses & Minutes of Evidence, qq. 2103, 2430; 1904 Cmd. 2210, xxxii, 145.
36. From Dress Regulations, December 1860, Tetley LRVC Minute Book, Vol.I.
37. Yorkshire Post & Leeds Intelligencer, 1 July 1878.
38. Yorkshire Post, 29 July 1895; see also ibid., 27 July 1891.
39. Editorial, Leeds Mercury, 23 April 1862.
40. Cyril Ransome, An Advanced History of England (London, 1895; 1907 edn.), p. 1002. Professor Ransome of the Yorkshire College of Science (University of Leeds) was a known supporter of the Leeds Rifles: see, for example, Yorkshire Post, 17 December 1887. His son Arthur achieved fame as a writer. His daughter married Capt. H.R. Lupton, 8th Bn.

41. Op.cit., pp. 208-9.
42. J. Orr, History of the Seventh Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers (Glasgow, 1884), p. 446, cited H. Cunningham, op.cit., p. 118.
43. R. Roberts, op.cit., p. 33, also pp. 28-9.
44. Testimonies of 167 Sgt. Charlie Young, 7th; 1813 Stanley Holmes, 7th; 1310 William Gill, 8th; 1610 Thomas Doran, 8th.
45. R. Roberts, op.cit., pp. 36-7.
46. R.W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850 (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 168-9.
47. J. Lowerson & J. Myerscough, Time to Spare in Victorian England (Brighton, 1977), p. 3; see also P. Bailey, Leisure & Class in Victorian England: rational recreation & the contest for control 1830-1885 (London, 1978).
48. For "the middle class failure" to answer the reformers' call to reform popular recreation by taking the lead in providing new amenities, and in setting an example by displaying and projecting approved standards of leisure conduct, see P. Bailey, op.cit., pp. 172-3.
49. G. Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875, p. 211; J.F.C. Harrison, Learning & Living 1790-1860, p. 213; J. Hole, An Essay on the History & Management of Literary, Scientific & Mechanics' Institutions (London, 1853; 1970 reprint), pp. 75-6.
50. Op.cit., pp. 186, 375.
51. A. Wynter, 'Our Sports & Pastimes', Once a Week, Vol. V (1861), pp. 151-3, cited P. Bailey, op.cit., p. 61.
52. I.F.W. Beckett, op.cit., p. 185.
53. P.M. Young, A History of British Football (London, 1968), p. 98; note 6, p. 108.
54. Op.cit., p. 118.
55. See Brian Harrison, op.cit., for example, p. 192; P. Bailey, op.cit., p. 99. For these social activities, see Caroline A. Reid, op.cit., pp. 145-6, 190-2; Lilian A. Shiman, 'The Birstall Temperance Society', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XLVI (1974), 128-39; R.J. Morris, 'The History of Self-Help', New Society, Vol. 16, no. 427, 3 December 1970, pp. 992-5; B. Harrison, 'Temperance Societies: some questions for the local historian', Local Historian, VIII (1968), 180-6.
56. Tetley LRVC Minute Books, Vols. I & II; copies of regimental orders of 24 April 1863 & 6 May 1864 are included.
57. J. Lowerson & J. Myerscough, op.cit., p. 100.
58. W. Stephen, History of the Queen's City of Edinburgh Rifle Volunteer Brigade (Edinburgh, 1881), p. 219, cited R.Q. Gray, The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh (Oxford, 1976), p. 3.
59. Royal Commission on the Condition of the Volunteer Force, qq. 1555, 1573, 1574, 1575; 829, 851, 857, 858, 863, 864; 1862 (3053). xxvii. 89.
60. Leeds Mercury, 13 December 1873.
61. Ibid., 22 December 1881. On the beneficial moral effects of drill & military discipline, see also R.P. Berry, op.cit., p. 300.

62. Yorkshire Post, 20 December 1913.
63. 303 HC Deb. 3s. 22 March 1886, col. 1508; 329 HC Deb. 3s. 25 July 1888, col. 493.
64. Yorkshire Post, 6 November 1909.
65. Undated news-cutting of 1883 in Sergeants' Mess newspaper cutting book, 1880-.
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129. Ibid., pp. 157, 164; H. McLeod, Class & Religion in the late Victorian City (London, 1974), note 85, p. 127.
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131. See H. McLeod, op.cit., pp. 134-5.
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133. Issue of 10 February 1866, quoted P. Bailey, op.cit., p. 76.
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135. Ibid, p. 54.
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137. Col. Evelyn Wood, op.cit., p. 189.
138. pp. 35-6.
139. Testimonies of Reginald Rivers, 7th; Harold Grant, 8th, & others.
140. Yorkshire Evening News, 28 March 1906.
141. Yorkshire Post, 6 November 1909.
142. Edward Baines' letter, 'Are Mechanics' Institutes a failure or a success?' Leeds Mercury, 17 April 1858, reprinted in the Journal of the Society of Arts, VI (1857-8), 358-60; J.F.C. Harrison, Learning & Living, p. 212. James Kitson I was a former student of the Leeds Mechanics' Institution: see R.J. Morris, 'The Rise of James Kitson: Trades Union & Mechanics' Institution, Leeds, 1826-1851', Publications of the Thoresby Society, LIII (1971-73), 179-200.
143. Twice a Citizen, p. 36.
144. W. Stephen, cited R.Q. Gray, op.cit., p. 130.
145. 176 HC Deb. 4s. 18 June 1907, col. 389.
146. The information in this paragraph on later occupations has been obtained from Tetley's booklet, A Hundredth Birthday reviewing a Century of Progress, & from Leeds Directories.
147. Testimony of ex-Sgt. C.H. Marshall, Leeds City Police.
148. Personal communication from R.C. Sherriff.
149. Testimony of 1712 L/Sgt. John W. Sanderson, 8th.
150. Testimonies of 2586 Sgt. William Wilson & 1788 John Allman, 8th.
151. Testimony of 2227 Gilbert Freeman, 8th.
152. Account Book 1859-1872.
153. Yorkshire Post, 11 January 1888, 4 February 1889; Leeds Mercury, 17 December 1887.

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156. E. Wilson, op.cit., p. 223.
157. Personal communication from Mr. George Porteus.
158. Oral testimonies.
159. Testimony of 1987 Sydney Appleyard, 7th.
160. Oral testimonies.
161. See R.J. Morris, 'The History of Self-Help', p. 993.
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174. For the full text, see R.P. Berry, op.cit., pp. 125-8.
175. Op.cit., p. 2.
176. Ibid., p. 21; I.F.W. Beckett, op.cit., p. 146.
177. Loc.cit.
178. Fifty Years Of It: the experiences & struggles of a Volunteer of 1859 (Edinburgh & London, 1909), p. 92, cited H. Cunningham, op.cit., p. 42, and R.N. Price, op.cit., p. 217.

179. Article, 'The future of the Volunteers', Times, 2 February 1907, 4d-f.
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182. Ibid., editorial, 29 November 1859; Leeds & West Riding Express, 28 January 1860.
183. Royal Commission on the Condition of the Volunteer Force, qq. 2541, 2542; 1862 (3053). xxvii. 89.
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188. Yorkshire Post, 21 May 1909.
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226. See G. Crossick, op.cit., pp. 150, 186, 190.
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230. Ibid., 11 July 1874.
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PART II. THE CITIZEN-SOLDIER AS CITIZEN:

THE TERRITORIALS IN PEACETIME

CHAPTER 5.

RECRUITMENT AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION 1908-1914.

5.1. From the outset, and throughout the prewar period, the Territorial Force was beset by manpower problems. In the summer of 1908 Haldane was relying on the bulk of the Volunteers and Yeomanry transferring to his new Force, but their response was surprisingly unfavourable. On October 1st 1908 approximately 79% of the strength of the TF were ex-Yeomen or ex-Volunteers; approximately 60% of those Volunteers and Yeomen who were serving on 31st March transferred and of this total, 57% engaged for only one year, but less than one-third (32%) for four years.¹ 40%, however, had declined to transfer and many Volunteers had already left the Force prior to 31st March. In the West Riding the total number of Yeomen and Volunteers had declined from 438 officers and 12,146 other ranks on 31st October 1907 to 420 officers and 9,708 other ranks on 31st March 1908, a fall of almost 20%. Numbers of officers and men who had transferred to the new Force were supplied to the meeting of the West Riding County Association on 27th April;² from these can be calculated the percentages by arms, officers first: yeomanry 90%, 47%; engineers 55%, 33%; artillery 100%, 81%; infantry 97%, 64%. It was reported in May that 82.54% of the total strength of the West Riding VF serving on 31st March had transferred to the new Force,³ but since the figure given is not far short of that reported on 1st June for other rank strength which included recruits, it must have included Volunteers who had still not decided whether to transfer.

No definitive statistics exist as to the numbers in the Leeds Rifles who transferred to the new Force. 5 officers and 150 men, the combined strength of D & I companies, were assigned to form the nucleus of the new 8th Bn. Although only 85 of the men enlisted immediately, the final figure was said to be just over 100.⁴ 421 Volunteers joined the 7th Bn on a one-year engagement,⁵ but the numbers who enlisted for 2, 3 or 4 years cannot be computed, since no complete set of Orders exists. As the highest regimental number of the ex-Volunteer rankers given permission, in the February 1909 Orders, to re-engage is 802, this suggests that not less than 930 of all ranks of the Leeds Rifles transferred to the new Force, a percentage enlistment very considerably higher than the national average. There was thus a great measure of continuity between

the old 3rd VB PWO (Leeds Rifles) and the new 7th Bn WYR (Leeds Rifles), whilst the new 8th Bn could easily be built up on the nucleus of the old D and I Companies of the 3rd VB PWO. For this happy state of affairs, credit must go to the personal influence of the popular commanding officer, Col. Tannett-Walker, who, in the closing months of the Volunteer era, repeatedly urged his men to reserve judgement and give the Territorial scheme a fair trial.

The necessity for such action by the Colonel arose from the considerable unrest and many uncertainties engendered by the proposals for the reorganisation of the Force. Haldane chose to ignore the wise advice given in the first paragraph of Colonel O'Callaghan-Westropp's memorandum to the 1904 Royal Commission Report⁶ and presented the Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill to Parliament before many important points of detail had been worked out. Insufficient time had been allowed for the study of the ramifications of the proposals which deserved to have been scrutinised with the utmost care. Haldane and his advisers seemed to understand neither the Volunteer system nor its personnel. The result was a long list of difficulties which ought to have been foreseen but which had to be tackled one by one in some fashion or other while resentment and bitterness featured in the ranks of the Volunteers. Muddled thinking behind some proposals caused Haldane's intentions and expectations to appear to the Volunteers contradictory, even mutually exclusive. He repeatedly said in the beginning that he wanted men no older than 24,⁷ but this would have automatically disqualified a significant percentage of the VF, perhaps more than 40% (in November 1899, 42% of Volunteers were aged 25 or over).⁸ He initially insisted that nobody would be enlisted in the new force who could not undertake to serve for six months when it was embodied and specifically excluded government employees from enlisting.⁹ This rule would have effectively excluded, of course, not only the entire membership of the VF but also almost the entire male population of military age. It would, as "The Scout" pointed out, leave only two classes from which to draw the recruits: "the moneyed idlers and the corner boys and out-of-works in our large cities", who, he said, would not join unless conscription was resorted to.¹⁰ Haldane was obliged to abandon this standpoint; dockyard workers, finally, were the only class of employee debarred from enlisting in the TF and then not until the summer of 1909.¹¹ The Special Army Order that was issued in 1908 prohibiting the enlistment of apprentices (who had formed the largest single group amongst recruits in many corps, including the Leeds

Rifles), however, was widely resented and condemned as being completely unreasonable, particularly since the Army Act did not prohibit their enlistment into the Regular Army.¹² This seems to have been rescinded early in 1909 and the applicability of Section 96 of the Army Act to the TF restored.¹³

The issue of the TF attestation form in February 1908 caused a considerable scare. It was vigorously attacked in the House of Lords, where the Earl of Donoughmore claimed that it differed "in a most offensive manner" from its Volunteer equivalent and that it would deter men from enlisting. The form commenced with a warning that anyone who gave incorrect answers would go to prison with hard labour, and went on to emphasise unduly the penal clauses of the Act (which included a liability to be called up for a period of 30 days in any one year by an Order in Council) and to ask highly impertinent personal questions, e.g. a married recruit was asked whether he had married a spinster or a widow and asked to state the date and place of baptism of his children and the name of the officiating minister. Perhaps its most menacing feature was the omission from the Territorial oath, following the words "... to serve honestly and faithfully and to defend His Majesty against all enemies", of "in Great Britain for the defence of the same". Viscount Midleton declared there was "very great doubt, hesitation, and anxiety with regard to the whole of this attestation form. The minatory clauses in it have been construed very much against the attesting Volunteer."¹⁴ As a result of pressure from the former Secretary for War and Volunteer peers, the Government withdrew this ill-advised document and later issued it in a considerably modified form.¹⁵

The terms of service upset many Volunteers and led to resignations. Objecting to the arrangements for camp, all but one of the 80-strong Flamborough Company refused to transfer.¹⁶ The Army Council fixed the upper age limit at 35, with the possibility of extension to 40 under special circumstances. Only sergeants would be granted special terms by being allowed to serve up to 50 years of age, with the possibility of a 5-year extension being granted.¹⁷ The Volunteer upper age limit for all ranks had been 55. 15.36% of all Volunteers enrolled on 1st November 1899 had been aged 35 or over; 16.31% of Volunteers at this date had over 10 years' service.¹⁸ Thus, virtually all corps contained a significant proportion of men over 35 who stiffened and lent "tone" to their respective units and provided examples to the young recruits. Volunteering was their chief, or even sole, hobby; they were men who had "so far identified themselves with the movement that, death apart, only the inexorable age clause would prevent them serving until they could no longer walk to the Drill Hall."¹⁹ In 1906 the Leeds Rifles had

6 privates whose combined period of service totalled 172 years; Pte W. Gelderd, who retired the previous year and whose 4 sons served with him, had over 38 years' service; retired Sergeant G. Renton (who contrived to stay on to the age of 60) had spent the years 1859 to 1865 in the United States and been compelled to serve two years in the Confederate Army.²⁰ All men under the rank of sergeant over the age of 35, or on reaching that age, were to be obliged to resign, and their experience and moral example lost to their corps. The outcry this ruling aroused eventually compelled the Army Council to raise the age of discharge to 40 (45 in exceptional circumstances), with bandsmen and clerks being allowed to remain until the age of 55; the Volunteer practice of enlisting buglers and bandsmen aged between 14 and 17, subject to written parental consent, was allowed to continue.²¹ Sergeants, too, became worried by the new age clause, for many of them were middle-aged: e.g. the 9 sergeants of G Coy had an aggregate service of 215 years, only one short of the national record.²² The substitution of "enlist" for "enrol" and reference to Territorials as "soldiers" led them to think they would be obliged to retire after 21 years' service, as in the Regular Army.

The exclusion of privates and of lance-corporals (except two per company) from receiving separation allowances for wives and children, made in order to save money, caused another major outcry since it was felt that married privates would be doubly penalised. The angry reaction of the Volunteers to this proposal was voiced by "The Scout" who alleged that the married private was being "called upon to pay for the privilege of, in case of invasion, not only fighting for the women and children, but for a large percentage of the men as well",²³ an interesting point of contact between the Volunteers and the conscriptionists (who condemned "the voluntary system" because, they maintained, it believed it was the duty of the men who possessed a sense of duty to protect the life, family and property of the man who did not). Leaving such political arguments aside, the married private had a very real grievance. In some trades men were able to, or did, marry young; volunteering was a cheap hobby for the man with a small disposable income, but unless he was earning an above-average wage, his wife and family got neither money nor holiday of their own during the period he was compelled to attend camp. The regular, as opposed to the casual, worker was said, in any case, to suffer a decided monetary loss from a fortnight's camping.²⁴ Not surprisingly, many married Volunteer privates resigned. Although it became increasingly obvious from the early summer of 1908 onwards that

the exclusion was having an increasingly deleterious effect on recruiting and on the numbers of Volunteers transferring, and later, re-engaging, and despite the widespread dissatisfaction being expressed, since the Estimates were involved, the Government refused to give way on the issue.²⁵ Some of the wives and families of Territorials applied to the Guardians of the Blackburn Union for outdoor relief in 1909 while their bread-winners were away at camp. The Guardians promptly complained to the Army Council who replied that it was "undesirable that Territorial troops should unwittingly become paupers" and that the men concerned should have applied for leave of absence if they could not afford to attend annual training.²⁶ The Government did not have a change of heart until 1912 - even then, the allowances did not come into effect until 1913-14 - when it was forced upon them by a continued drop in recruiting, a continued net loss in strength, a large increase in the number of men absent from camp, and a 75% increase on the previous year in the number of men due to complete their engagements before 30th September.²⁷

By then, however, it was too late: the Government's short-sighted policy was already reaping, and would continue to reap, its reward: the policy had resulted in a considerable lowering of the average age of the Force. In the year 1908-9 48% of Territorials were under the age of 21 and 76% were aged 25 or under, compared with 40% and 70% respectively in 1906-7, the last full year of the Volunteer Force.²⁸ In the years 1910-13, 56% of recruits were under 19, whilst in the year 1912-13 81% of recruits were under 21.²⁹ The implications were extremely serious: firstly, men who were aged 21 or 22 when their time expired were much less likely to re-engage than men aged 25 or over, a fact clearly shown by analysis of the 7th Bn Roll Book 1930-37, in which considerably more than half of the 370 terminations of engagement fell in the 21-22 age group. Respondents gave the following reasons for not re-engaging: marriage; seriously contemplating marriage; being promoted to more responsible work in civilian employment; getting a better paid job which involved weekend and shift working; desire for a change due to developing new spare-time interests.³⁰ Secondly, such a high proportion of physically immature young men was highly undesirable from a military point of view. Doctors in the late Victorian army had repeatedly expressed grave reservations about youthful troops, that

"immaturity and defective physical conditions render individuals unfit for carrying the weight of a soldier's equipment on marches or other active exercises, for enduring the effects of severe and frequent drills, of

broken sleep, exposure to cold, bad and indifferent food, reverses and other depressing influences, and that the ill effects of imperfect physical development will make themselves more severely felt in time of war than peace."³¹

These doubts continued to be voiced both inside and outside the Army.³²

The increased liabilities of the Territorial, particularly that to be embodied for a period of six months after outbreak of war, undoubtedly caused many Volunteers who had permanent situations and settled careers and/or who had homes and families to support to resign before the end of June 1908, the deadline set by Haldane. It has already been noted how the more stringent regulations introduced in 1901 adversely affected the strength of the VF. Part IV of the 1904 Royal Commission Appendices quoted commanding officers: "The majority join primarily as a recreation, but as they find their duties become irksome many cry off"; "There is a limit beyond which civilians cannot be expected to give their services and time to the state."³³ The increased liabilities certainly tended to deter men with good prospects for they could not be undertaken by some without risking or impairing civilian career.³⁴ The thinking underlying Haldane's statement that the Government did not intend to waste money on training men who, owing to the nature of their civil employment, could not be embodied for military service in the event of national emergency³⁵ was surprisingly never challenged. It had long been accepted that in the event of invasion only about one-quarter to a half of the VF would be released by their employers and so able to turn out;³⁶ this was presumably the reason why the Volunteers were allocated such comparatively humble roles in Victorian mobilisation plans (see Chap. 7, Section 7.1). Asked to comment in 1890 on the latest mobilisation instructions, Col. Wilson replied that in the event of an emergency he did not think anything like one half of the Leeds Rifles would respond, as

"a very large number of the men in the Regiment are men working for weekly wages, that to many of these men absence from business may mean the loss of a situation and it must not be overlooked that many of the factories and workshops in Leeds are large and complicated and the absence of one man or of a number of men in many cases means not only the loss of their work but enforced idleness of others whose work depends upon them. Much therefore depends upon the state of trade at the time when the call is made. If trade is slack many men would be able to respond to the call who in time of brisk trade would be unable to do so. There would I believe be a very general desire to respond to the call, but

the loss of a situation to a man whose existence and that perhaps of a wife and family depends upon his exertions is a very serious matter." ³⁷

The proposal to make the Territorial who desired a premature discharge give 3 months' notice and pay a fine of £5 or £8 was much criticised. It was considered that recruiting would be rendered almost impossible in corps composed of professional and commercial men, particularly civil servants and clerks in banks, insurance offices and export firms, who might be ordered abroad or to another part of the country at short notice. ³⁸ As a result it was modified to allow for individual circumstances: the West Riding County Association's regulations, for instance, provided for a sliding scale of fines, £1-£4 according to the number of annual trainings completed, whilst in special circumstances a commanding officer was allowed to submit a recommendation that the whole or part of the fine be remitted. ³⁹ The actual term of the engagement - four years - was not objected to, since 3- or 4-year contracts were common, if not general, in the Volunteer Force. Col. Tannett-Walker claimed that the average Leeds Rifleman remained in the corps without any compulsion for "a much longer period" than 3 or 4 years; ⁴⁰ the average wastage rate for the period 1899-1907 was 21%. There was, however, considerable delay in promulgating the terms of engagement for serving Volunteers. This led to rumours, anxiety, uncertainty and, of course, resignations, many Volunteers assuming they would have to either enlist for (a further) 4 years or resign. ⁴¹

By the beginning of 1908 it had not been finally decided whether Territorial units would be allowed to retain their Volunteer full dress uniforms, considered in some Liberal circles as an unnecessary expense. It was said, in the case of the Leeds Rifles, that their removal would undoubtedly "hurt the susceptibilities of a very large proportion of the battalion." ⁴² This probably applied to most, if not all, other corps. It was reported that the so-called "class corps" of London, and in particular the London Scottish, were insisting on having their traditions fully respected and retaining their titles and uniforms, hinting darkly and heavily that unless these concessions were granted, a large percentage of their membership would decline to enlist. ⁴³ To have abolished dress uniforms would have proved a false economy of massive proportions. The opportunity to parade in review order in public in front of his friends and relations was a major incentive to a teenage recruit, and the withdrawal of the uniform would undoubtedly have lost the TF much

of its local public support. The possibility of its withdrawal, however, caused a great deal of Volunteer unrest, as did, particularly in the West Riding, the compulsory discharge to pension of sergeant-instructors with 21 years or more service in the Regular Army in order to find employment for senior NCOs from regiments disbanded under Haldane's cut-back of the Army. Sergeant-instructors became something of an issue in 1910.⁴⁴

Although Volunteers who declined to become Territorials did so for any one or several of a variety of reasons, perhaps the chief reason, as has already been suggested in the previous chapter, centred on the scheme's wounding of the Volunteer's amour propre. The Report of the 1904 Royal Commission had remarked that "The work of the Volunteers has been a labour of love."⁴⁵ It had indeed. The Volunteer was immensely proud of the Force's long tradition of unpaid public service. The initial reaction of the Leeds Volunteer rank-and-file to Haldane's proposals seems to have been one of hurt, dismay and bewilderment: they felt they were being cast aside without thanks, considered as out-of-date and useless. Although the leading editorial of the Yorkshire Evening Post of 1st April 1908 welcomed the new scheme because the Volunteers were now being "recognised at last by the official heads of the Army as the useful body they really are", the Volunteer commentators "Non.-Com." and "The Scout" were bitter. The former considered the Volunteers had been bandied about for years, many changes taking place without any very noticeable good accruing, only to be finally put out of existence altogether;

"Ever ready and willing to give the best service possible to the country, this patriotic body of men have, at considerable self-sacrifice, given, out of the best years of their lives, time which, in many cases, they could very ill afford to lose, and they have accepted the changes, whether for better or worse, as they have come, and endeavoured loyally to carry them out for the good of the community."

The latter, who held strong views on "buying patriotism", said:

"...to think that after all these years the proud title of Volunteer is dispensed with and for the sake of a shilling a day whilst in camp... The Volunteer soldiered at his own expense, and was proud of it ... Now that all will receive pay the taint of professionalism will cling to them, and the scoffer and idler have some tangible reasons for doubting a man's disinterestedness in belonging to the Army of the Second Line."

A contributor to the Yorkshire Evening Post, referring to the various farewell meetings of local Volunteer corps, had spoken of "an unmistak-

able feeling of regret that the old familiar system of purely voluntary service" was now ending: "'Auld Lang Syne' has been a very favourite tune lately at all the recent gatherings, and has been sung with quite pathetic earnestness."⁴⁶ A large number of Leeds Volunteers refused to transfer. Without exception, every respondent who had been a Volunteer himself or had had a brother in the Volunteers at the relevant time gave the same reason for the refusal: they were opposed to the introduction of pay and allowances for camp on a permanent basis and thus the abandonment of the voluntary principle.⁴⁷ Later, Lt Gen. Sir John Keir, a former peacetime TF Divisional GOC, was to express the opinion that one of "the two serious enemies" of the prewar TF had been the Volunteer who felt that his years of unpaid patriotic service had been "treated with ingratitude" (the other was the conscriptionist).⁴⁸

In other parts of the country, reaction appears to have been mixed: the passing of the Volunteer Force was celebrated by some, but mourned by others. "With the object of being the first companies to parade in the new Territorial Army, A and B companies of the Fourth Volunteer Battalion Devon Regiment marched through Barnstaple at midnight, headed by the regimental band playing 'Hail, Smiling Morn!'" Early next morning over 100 of the 5th Middlesex Volunteers held a demonstration, in the form of a mock funeral, in Whitehall. The coffin bore a wreath carrying a card inscribed "In memory of the Volunteer Forces, killed by Act of Parliament, 31st March 1908. After Fifty Years' Faithful Service. 'Missed, but not wanted.'"⁴⁹

Haldane's various proposals, whatever their individual effect on the strength of the Force, combined to produce a great feeling of uncertainty among the Volunteer rank and file which was sufficient in itself to cause a large number of resignations,⁵⁰ as had happened in the period 1902-6;⁵¹ the Colonel of the 2nd VB PWO (Bradford) reported in March 1908 that he was receiving "considerably more" resignations than he had expected.⁵² The effects of this uncertainty were nowhere better seen than in the Leeds Engineers, which had been well over establishment in both officers and men on 31st October (34 officers, 891 other ranks) and declined to 400, a fall of about 56%, in less than 5 months. Originally threatened with disbandment as being surplus to requirements (see Chap. 3), various schemes had been put forward but no establishment was published until the last minute,⁵³ and its Otley, Ilkley and Castleford companies had been transferred to entirely different arms of the service (see Chap. 7, section 7.3).

The doubts and uncertainties that had arisen since the passing of the Act, Volunteer unrest, delays in decision-making, the lukewarm reception given to the Territorial scheme by many political and influential persons, the conspicuous lack of public support given to Haldane by his Parliamentary colleagues, together with their general lack of interest in his legislation, inevitably meant that recruiting for the new Force got off to a slow start. The fact that there was a great deal of local unemployment in 1908⁵⁴ may have further hindered the recruiting campaigns in Leeds. The expected rush of recruits failed to materialise in many areas. Commentators soon began sounding off about "shirkers". "The Scout" was not slow off the mark:

"What name, then, is to be given the thousands of able-bodied men who are prevented by nothing but their indifference to the movement from joining the Territorials? The authorities cannot penalise them for not enlisting. They are safe from conscription, thanks to the Territorial, and yet they are the last to acknowledge that they are under any obligation to the citizen soldiers. Talking to a gentleman on this subject, he gave me as his reasons for never having joined any of the Leeds corps that he was never directly approached to do so, didn't know anyone belonging to them, and always thought there were plenty without him."

Punch weighed in with a full-page cartoon by Bernard Partridge:

"Territorial: Now then, mate, why don't you join us?
 Loafer: Not me. I like my liberty. This is a free country.
 Territorial: Well, it won't be a free country much longer if everyone goes on like you!"⁵⁵

Recruiting campaigns were not launched nationally, but left to County Associations,⁵⁶ individual commanding officers and civic heads to organise as they saw fit. Posters were put up: those of the 4th Bn DWR emphasised pay at camp, free food, free uniform, prizes and recreational facilities and the absence of subscriptions⁵⁷ (those of the Leeds Rifles in early 1914 emphasised a free fortnight's seaside holiday at Scarborough,⁵⁸ the city's favourite resort). Recruiting meetings were held, former Leeds Rifleman Arthur Greenwood, head of Greenwood & Batley's, and a civilian member of the County Association, presiding over 8th Bn recruiting meetings in Armley Temperance Hall, and recruiting parades, complete with bands, often with specially made banners and flags, marched through the streets. Saturday afternoon marchouts into the country, e.g. to Templenewsam, for field training, accompanied by both military and bugle bands, aided recruiting. It was said that by playing its matches at a ground at Armley, the 8th Bn rugby team popularised the battalion

in the district and attracted recruits.⁵⁹

In Leeds and district, local commanding officers put in considerable groundwork prior to April 1st 1908. Capt. Atkinson, OC Cleckheaton Coy of the 4th DWR "has given addresses on the Territorial Army at all the political clubs in the district, interviewed employers of labour, and generally brought the urgent need of supporting the movement so prominently before the public that I shall be greatly disappointed if I am not able shortly to congratulate him on having secured the required number."⁶⁰ Lt. Col. G.H. Rowe of the Leeds Rifles, senior surgeon and Trustee of the Leeds Public Dispensary and Warden of the University's Hall of Residence, Lyddon Hall, had the monumental task of raising the new 8th Bn from scratch, and was allocated the whole of the city south of the river as his recruiting area. He personally canvassed employers of labour, churchmen, and councillors of wards in the area. Before the end of April the Yorkshire Post was able to report that "most encouraging expressions of goodwill and sympathy have been received from many of the South Leeds employers of labour, members of the City Council, and others." Many doubted the feasibility of raising a complete battalion. Col. Rowe, however, visited the factories and engineering shops of South Leeds and addressed meetings of employees in their lunch hours.⁶¹ On his death in 1910 (the result of contracting a severe chill at the 8th Bn's Whitsun weekend camp) he left behind the fruit of his remarkable enthusiasm and energy: a battalion at full strength. In his work he had been more than ably assisted by Captains Tetley and Alexander. Capt. (later Lt. Col.) Alexander, a general medical practitioner practising in Armley and Wortley, assisted by fellow officers Major G.W. Chadwick and Capt. R.A. Hudson, Lt. Col. and Second-in-command respectively of the Leeds battalion of the Church Lads' Brigade, and 312 Lance-Corporal Charles Twose of the 7th Bn, commandant of the St. Bartholomew's CLB Armley,⁶² managed to recruit so many men from amongst the sons of patients and friends and from among ex-CLB members that three Regular corporals had to be specially sent for from Fulford Barracks, York, to drill them; the Armley Company was easily the largest in the nascent battalion. Some NCOs also made notable contributions to recruiting: e.g. Sgt T.H. Anderson of the 7th, an official in the City Treasurer's office, sent recruiting circulars round every department of the Town Hall;⁶³ Cpl Tom Parker, a surveyor with the Sun Assurance Company, toured the city insurance offices seeking likely-looking recruits for G Coy of the 8th.⁶⁴

Newspapers played an important part in publicising and popularising

the new Force and promoting recruiting. Far more column-inches in newspapers and periodicals were given over to the Territorials than had ever been devoted to their predecessors, the Volunteers. The Times in February 1909 ascribed recent increases in London recruiting entirely to du Maurier's sensational play, "An Englishman's Home", and the "strenuous advocacy" of the Daily Mail.⁶⁵ Haldane also paid tribute to the campaign run by the Daily Mail and some other papers.⁶⁶ It was in 1909 that former soldier Robert Blatchford wrote a series of articles for the Mail that warned the British public against German military preparations and recommended national service.⁶⁷

In any district the level of recruiting depended directly upon the degree of civic and public support that existed locally for the Territorials. In Leeds this was considerable (see Chap. 3). Many local authorities set up Territorial Recruiting Committees. That in Leeds brought the need for recruits before employers and the general public by circulating literature, having notices and posters exhibited, and holding meetings at works and factories, in addition to organising public meetings and recruiting parades.⁶⁸ Socialist opposition affected recruiting and hence levels of strength in some areas but was noticeably absent in Leeds (see Chap. 7, section 7.6). A major negative factor influencing recruiting was provided by the activities of the National Service League whose well-orchestrated campaign of denigration against the TF eventually succeeded in seriously undermining both public confidence and the self-confidence and morale of serving senior regimental officers. Lord Roberts' personal campaign for national preparedness, however, did influence some men to enlist in the Territorials, as in Leeds (see Chap. 7, section 7.7).

A piece of Liberal legislation that aided Territorial recruiting as an unexpected side-effect was the Coal Mines Act of 1908 which restricted the miner's shift to a nominal eight hours a day, and (theoretically) abolished Saturday afternoon working. Owners in some areas were led to introduce the three-shift system,⁶⁹ which tended to militate against Territorial recruiting in those districts.

Employers occupied a key role in recruiting (see section 4, below). It was early evident that, despite the co-operation being given by some employers, a major obstacle to the recruiting campaign was employer resistance, resistance that was financially based. "The Scout" pointed out before the scheme was a month old that local corporations and public-spirited large employers were giving concessions to Territorials at the

expense of ratepayers and shareholders. An employee who paid a man's wages in addition to granting leave of absence was, in effect, he said, paying a voluntary war tax in money and in lost production, whilst his competitors by employing non-Territorials reaped the benefit.⁷⁰ In its evidence to the 1904 Royal Commission the National Service League had referred to the double tax that was being virtually imposed on both patriotic employers and employees, as both suffered in competition with those who did not employ Volunteers or volunteer themselves.⁷¹ In August it was reported that Southern associations and units were bewailing a dearth of recruits caused by the fact that businessmen were taking not at all kindly to the fortnight's annual training, many complaining of the penalties enforced on patriotism. By October, recruiting in London, never brisk, had slowed down to such an extent that Lord Esher issued an appeal to employers. Many London businessmen, however, apparently rebuffed him, telling him bluntly that they would welcome some sort of compulsory military training as being the only fair and efficient way of securing national defence, since the Territorial system was an individual tax on patriotism which "more selfish competitors evade by taking no interest in the movement and discouraging, if not absolutely declining, to allow men in their employ to do so."⁷²

Finance was held by many to be the major obstacle to the recruits themselves. Financial inducements of various kinds invariably figured largely in suggestions for remedying the numerical deficiencies of the TF. In his 1911 article on deficiency in numbers in the TF, Repington gave it as his opinion that, "failing leadership by some of those most competent to give it", the only way to attract recruits was by "an improvement of their material condition." He listed various suggestions which had already been considered by county associations: £1 bonuses for 15-day campers, 10/- bonuses for 8-day campers, bonuses for re-engagements, recruiting bounties, pay for attendance at drill and musketry within defined limits at the rate of 6d a drill, separation allowances for married privates, free issue of boots, shirts and socks for every 15-day camper. He estimated the cost as £545,000 annually. The same issue and page of The Times contained a plea from the Colonel of the 7th London Regt. for drill payments and training bonus:

"The Territorial was undoubtedly a poorer man financially than the Volunteer. The cost of living had increased during the last two or three years and employment had been scarce, and a large number of men were quite unable to spend the money which it was necessary for them to do if they wished

to be members of the battalion.... the expense of attending drills and going to the range and what they had to lose in going to camp was a very serious matter to them... Any man who was patriotic enough to give up his spare time and his services to the country should not be in a worse position financially than if he had not joined the Territorial Force." 73

It is significant that measures introduced by the authorities that conferred monetary benefits on Territorials, however small, did influence recruiting. The free railway tickets provided by the West Riding Association at the beginning of 1909 to all men who lived more than 3 miles away from barracks enabled the Leeds Rifles to recruit a detachment in Horsforth for the 7th and a Bramley and Pudsey Company for the 8th, and also two very fine military bands, some of whose members travelled from as far away as Normanton and Castleford. The governmental consent at last in 1914 to the award of recruiting bounties by county associations (1/6d in the West Riding) led to some men like 1485 Alfred Clarkson of the 7th Bn recruiting up to 20 of their friends and workmates.⁷⁴ The £1 training bounty for 1914, announced in the advance of the Army Estimates, did not show an immediate effect in Leeds. No marked response was noted until May when, e.g. 51 recruits joined the 8th Bn and 25 men re-engaged (a number exceeding by only 5 that of men taking their discharge). It had been hoped locally that the prospect of obtaining a bounty would result in the return of many ex-members, but in this respect the response was disappointing. A colour-sergeant who approached over 50 men who had formerly served in his company was able to persuade only half a dozen to re-enlist. Of the 8th Bn May recruits only 5 were ex-Territorials; of 44 recruits in June only 7 were ex-Territorials, whilst of 37 recruits to the 7th Bn in June only 3 were ex-Territorials.⁷⁵ The introduction of the bounty, for which only efficient were to be eligible, did have one especially pleasing local effect, however: when "Special correspondent" of the Mercury made his rounds of the local units in June, he found them all hives of the greatest activity and keenness. It appeared to have a marked effect on camp numbers in the Lancashire and Cheshire areas.⁷⁶

Financial considerations were undoubtedly responsible for the domination of the TF by the young single man, still residing with his parents, and "keeping himself", i.e. paying a fixed weekly sum for his board and lodging. Indeed, without its teenage members the Force would have completely lost its viability. Not only was the average age of the TF appreciably lower than that of the Volunteer Force,⁷⁷ but its average age was considerably lower than that of the Regular Army. In the year

1909-10, for instance, the percentage of the strength of the Army aged under 20 was 13.1%, whereas in the TF it was 32.3%; that under 25 in the Army 62.4%, whereas in the TF it was 72.05%; that between 20 and 30 in the Army 71.5%, whereas in the TF it was only 52.99%. The average age of the Territorial infantry was lower than that of the Force as a whole. Here 34.68% of the strength was under 20, 73.07% under 25, and only 50.82% between 20 and 30.⁷⁸ The average age of the 8th was

Table F. Distribution by age of members of the Regular Army, Territorial Force (all arms) and the Territorial infantry, 1909-10

	<u>Regular Army</u>	<u>TF, all arms</u>	<u>Territorial Infantry</u>
under 18	2.0%	5.06%	5.51%
aged 18	3.9	11.73	13.00
" 19	7.2	15.51	16.17
aged 20-24	49.3	39.75	38.39
" 25-29	22.2	13.24	12.43
" 30-34	9.1	7.16	6.82
" 35-39	5.3	4.44	4.38
" 40 & over	1.0	3.11	3.29 ⁷⁸

(Note that the rounding process has produced a total of 99.99 in the last column.)

considerably lower than this national average. A very large majority of its recruits were aged 17-18. Lt Gawthorpe (and other respondents) estimated that in the period 1909-1914 between 75% and 80% of the battalion was aged under 20, an estimate well-supported by both press comments⁷⁹ and photographic evidence. A major factor contributing to this low average age was the lowering of the height standard in 1908 to 5'4". Since the Territorials had inherited their predecessors' image of ultra-respectability, the vast majority of the recruits continued to be drawn from the "respectable" sections of the working class. "The Scout" noted with satisfaction in June 1909 that "Recruiting for the South Leeds Battalion continues brisk, and the class of men now joining are all that could be desired."⁸⁰

The national recruiting boom of 1908-09 was never repeated before the outbreak of war. M.J. Allison attributes the boom to the fears and political pressures of 1909.⁸¹ This might, however, have been nothing more than a coincidence. In Chapter 1, section 1.4, it was suggested that, during the Volunteer period, local factors were paramount in determining recruiting and that national or international political events had little influence. The most likely explanation for the boom in recruiting in Leeds is that during the year 1908-09, joining the

Territorials became fashionable among young men under 20, the group from which a large majority of the recruits were drawn.⁸² Certainly, several respondents described it as being "all the rage" in Leeds. 1096 Edgar S. Fendley, one of the four 1909 teenage recruits, who all gave "the fashion" as a motive for enlistment, described the Territorials as having "a terrific appeal for teenagers": "everybody" seemed to be joining the Leeds Rifles, so he thought he might as well join himself.⁸³ Territorial recruiting had been going so well in Leeds, partly a result of the above-average co-operation and support from employers, Corporation and citizens, that a combined Territorial recruiting parade, in which well over 3000 men took part, was held on 17th April 1909 in order to produce the comparatively few recruits needed to complete all local units. The 7th Bn Leeds Rifles, whose Other Ranks strength had been 943 on 3/3/09, was complete by the end of the month and was over-establishment in May (990), June (1016) and July (1006).⁸⁴ It was not possible to assess the effect on local Territorial recruiting of Guy du Maurier's play, which came to Leeds in September, since only the 8th Bn was still open for recruits at the time, though with very few vacancies. In June 1910 all Leeds units were over-establishment and holding waiting lists, a state of affairs on which many units of other towns and cities looked with considerable envy. Progress in recruiting in the Leeds Rifles suggests no links with the political situation. On 31st December 1908 the strength of the 8th Bn was 55%, in February alone 72 recruits were obtained, and by 31st March 1909 Other Ranks strength was 740; G. Coy, started at the beginning of the year, was 107 strong within 6 months.⁸⁵ In June 1908, it was reported that all previous recruiting records held by the Leeds Rifles Volunteers were being broken in the 7th Bn.⁸⁶ Despite the boom, there was considerable variation in response as between the different areas of the West Riding in both 1908 and 1908-09 (see Table G). As time went on, considerable variation also developed between the various arms of the West Riding Force (see Table H). Throughout the pre-war period, the West Riding Force displayed a strength well-above the national average and reached its maximum recorded strength on 31st March 1912: 538 officers (94.05%), 16,490 OR (93.5%).⁸⁷

Tables G and H illustrate the dangers involved in attempting to determine reasons for numerical deficiencies from national statistics. The 3% increase in OR strength in the West Riding TF between 1 October 1913 and 31 May 1914⁹⁰ may, or may not, reflect the effect of the

Table G. West Riding Division Infantry Battalions: Comparative Strengths of Other Ranks as at 30th September annually, 1908-1913

UNIT	LOCATION OF HQ	1908 (6mths)	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
5 WYR	York	527	808	794	722	729	574
6 "	Bradford	567	743	710	785	729	567
7 "	Leeds	801	993	982	896	789	594
8* "	Leeds	517	921	949	823	683	628
4 DWR	Halifax	649	749	736	751	755	635
5 "	Huddersfield	636	749	795	875	855	792
6 "	Skipton	761	941	965	927	956	901
7* "	Milnsbridge	360	601	833	951	929	937
4 KOYLI	Wakefield	624	954	973	997	985	852
5* "	Doncaster	845	950	996	936	851	761
4 Y&L	Sheffield	681	821	918	912	876	824
5 "	Rotherham	720	841	862	893	890	830

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* New battalions raised 1908.

- Notes (1) Establishment in each case: 980.
- (2) These figures do not record the maximum strength which was usually reached in June, at the close of the peak recruiting season, March-June. According to the statistics above, the 8th Bn never reached establishment, yet it was at full strength on 30th June in both 1910 and 1911. (May/June usually saw a rush of recruits eager to qualify for pay at Camp.)

announcement of the £1 training bounty. Between February and March 1914 the strength of the Glasgow Association was raised from 74% to 83% of establishment, entirely the result of a recruiting fortnight which produced 1,220 recruits.⁹¹ To give the percentage strength of a large association, like that of the West Riding or Glasgow, is itself to make a sweeping generalisation. The 74% strength of the Glasgow

Table H. West Riding TF: Percentage of Strength to Establishment by Arms and Brigades

	<u>as at 1st June 1912</u>		<u>as at 28th June 1913</u>	
	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Other Ranks</u>	<u>Officers</u>	<u>Other Ranks</u>
Yeomanry	100	99	104	99
Artillery	102	91	101	87
Engineers	106	84	116	93
1st (WYR) Infantry Brigade	87	79	82	62
2nd (DWR) " "	94	97	90	86
3rd (KOYLI & Y & L) "	107	96	103	86
ASC	82	105	82	88
RAMC	80	95	76	91

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Association as at 31st December 1913 concealed the following important facts about its constituent units: 2 were over-strength, one was at full strength, 4 were over 95%, 3 were between 90 and 95%, one was 88%, one 79%, one 73.5%, one 68.2% and the remaining 4 between 53 and 60%.⁹² This pattern was typical of TF divisions during 1913 and 1914.⁹³

Throughout the pre-war period the recruiting response varied widely throughout the country, some counties being markedly more enthusiastic than others. The Annual Returns summarise and list the results by counties. Naturally, it was easiest for the smallest to achieve the best results. Nevertheless, there were significant variations between counties in the same size group: e.g. in 1908, of the 46 in the 1000-5000 group, Dumbarton had 85.5%, Renfrew nearly 85%, Shropshire nearly 82% of establishment, but 32 achieved less than 70%. In 1908-09 the majority of counties did well: 32 obtained over 90%, 39 over 80%, 14 over 70%, 7 over 60%, 1 58%, 1 just under 50%. In the year of the manpower crisis, 1912-13, of the military districts the North Midlands had 88%, the South Midlands 86%, three others had over 80% and the remainder 70-80% of establishment; despite the general overall fall in strength 20 counties actually managed to increase their strengths during the year. 8 of the counties with quotas of less than

5000 had strengths of 95% or over; in the 5000-10000 group Stafford and Warwick had over 90%, and in the top group, counties with quotas over 10000, the West Riding had 80%, but the City of London and the County of London had 74% and 73% respectively.⁹⁴ In the top group, composed of the 6 largest county associations, the West Riding, West Lancs. and East Lancs. performed consistently better than the remainder throughout the pre-war period, the West Riding heading the list for 5 of the 6 years and coming second in 1909. Stafford, Warwick and Durham were consistently the best performers of the second group of 11 counties, with results of over 90% throughout.

Before the war the TF never reached its establishment, nor did it ever approach the largest recorded strength of the Volunteer Force and Yeomanry (303,469 in 1901). The maximum pre-war strength of the TF was recorded at the end of 1908-09: officers 9,652 (just under 86% of establishment), other ranks 260,389 (just over 86% of establishment). In subsequent years, the net loss in Other Ranks strength was: 1909-10: 3,052; 1910-11: 2,649; 1911-12: 2,534; 1912-13: 15,765,⁹⁵ an accumulated net loss of exactly 24,000. The bulk of the loss occurred in the infantry.

As Col. Seely had pointed out in his Memoranda relating to the Army Estimates for 1913-14, and for 1914-15,⁹⁶ the shrinkage in numbers of 1912 and the unprecedented drop of 1913 were not due to any failure in recruiting. In both years, the numbers of recruits had exceeded those of men taking their discharges on termination of engagement, even though the number of the latter in 1912 was more than double that of 1911, and the number of 1913 nearly double that of 1912 (see Table J). The very large increases in both the number and percentage of men discharged time-expired in 1912 and in 1913 were a cause of much official concern. They were, however, a natural consequence of recruiting very large numbers of 17 and 18 year olds in 1908 and 1909, and it was both futile and wasteful to attempt to induce men in their early twenties to re-engage: they had found other things to do. (It should be noted that the progressive increase in the percentage of time-expired men taking discharge occurred over a period during which the average age of the TF was progressively declining.) A major cause of the net losses from 1909-10 onwards, and one which ought to have been the cause of much greater concern, was the unbelievably large number of men leaving prematurely each year whose numbers and reasons for leaving were tabled in the Annual Returns. The numbers leaving annually for only three of the reasons listed are given in Table K. In the year 1909-10 alone, in addition to the 16,850 given

Table J. Recruits and Terminations of Engagements in the Territorial Force, 1908-1913.

	1/4/08- 30/9/08	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Number of recruits	39,636	110,020	42,239	39,086	57,946	67,205
Men discharged on termination of engagement	-	31,859	23,422	15,962	34,585	62,978
Percentage of men due to complete term of engagement who actually took discharge	-	~ 30	(figs. not given)	~ 35	~ 43	~ 55

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Table K. Premature Leaving in the Territorial Force, 1908-1913

	1908-09	1909-10	1910-11	1911-12	1912-13
Discharged at own request	2,649	8,584	13,360	11,873	9,742
Strick off as deserter or absentee	737	1,639	1,303	2,270	1,504
Joined Army, Navy or Special Reserve	6,889	6,627	5,958	6,260	7,017
Total no. pf premature leavers (all reasons)	10,275	16,850	20,621	20,403	18,263

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in Table K, and men in other categories not listed here, 1,886 were discharged medically unfit, 2,061 discharged as "not likely to become an efficient soldier", and 1,318 were struck off for misconduct.⁹⁸

With wastage at such a rate - well in excess of 20,000 annually - the failure of the TF to increase, or even to maintain, its numbers cannot be wondered at. Little or nothing was done to tackle the problem of premature leaving.

The provisions of the 1911 National Insurance Act may have contributed to the huge increase in the percentage of time-expired men taking their discharge in 1912. The Territorial had to pay both his own and his employer's contributions for Unemployment and Health for the period of the Annual Camp. As the totals for both together amounted to one shilling weekly, this loss of 1/7th of his pay caused hardship to the private. The Government did not remedy this until the following year's Estimates when refunds, according to the length of time spent in camp, were to be provided for the 1913 camping season;⁹⁹ this cost the country £12,000.¹⁰⁰

Other Ranks strength in the West Riding TF fell from 92.82% to 82.15% of establishment, a drop of 1809 men, between 1st June 1912 and 20th April 1913, and by 24th November 1913 had fallen further to 79.02% of establishment, below that of 28th April 1909¹⁰¹ for the first time. As will be apparent from Tables G and H, the loss was not evenly distributed through the Force, but concentrated chiefly on the infantry, and in particular on the 1st (WYR) Brigade. In Table G, showing the infantry battalions, all show an increase between 1908 and 1909 of 100-404, but they do not show corresponding decreases in 1913; only 3 show decreases below the 1908 figure (7 WYR, 4 DWR, 5 KOYLI), 4 show small drops, while 2 show increases in absolute terms on 1909 and one not only an increase on 1908 but also on 1912; in only 2 of the 12 units could a corresponding decrease be claimed (5 and 6 WYR). The best records are possessed by the 6 and 7 DWR, in the north-west of the county where an explanation may lie in a dearth of social counter-attractions in these mixed agricultural/textile areas or, alternatively, may lie in the personalities of the commanding officers concerned. In Chapter 7, section 7.6, long-standing socialist and trade union opposition has been advanced for the consistently lowish strength of the 4 DWR and the 5 and 6 WYR, but it may, of course, not be the whole reason. Anti-military feeling in York may have aggravated the 5th Bn's problems, and the attitude of the large Irish community in Bradford those of the 6th Bn. The two Y&L battalions of

South Yorkshire and the two KOYLI battalions show consistently good records.

The falling-off of the Leeds Rifles battalions from the summer of 1912 after more than three years of great enthusiasm is puzzling and can be only partly explained by the very large numbers, obviously higher than the county average, of men declining to re-engage. The problem was a local one, for in March 1914 Leeds was responsible for almost one-third of the total deficiency in manpower, all arms, in the West Riding Force.¹⁰² Leeds' long-standing enthusiasm for and devotion to volunteering made it even more puzzling. After a particularly slow and cautious beginning, Leeds developed a remarkable enthusiasm for volunteering. Statistics presented to the 1862 Royal Commission show that on 1st April 1862 Leeds had 1,565 Volunteers,¹⁰³ 2.98% of the 1861 male population aged 15-49, above the average for Yorkshire as a whole, and comparable to the national average.¹⁰⁴ At the end of the Volunteer year 1865, Leeds had 2,390 Volunteers,¹⁰⁵ 4.55% of males aged 15-49, well above all the regional percentages given in Cunningham's Table 9 with the exception of Scotland (5.0). This was a rate of growth 4 times greater than the national average. The strengths of the Leeds corps remained at, or close to, their establishments for the very large part of the Volunteer period.¹⁰⁶ In 1910 the number of Leeds Territorials totalled a minimum of 4,360, the fixed establishment, equivalent to 13.3% of the male population aged 17-24 (though only 3.55% of males aged 15-49).

In Leeds in March 1914, the deficiencies of the various units were: Artillery 18.5%, 1st Field Ambulance 17.4%, 2nd Field Ambulance Nil, 2nd Northern General Hospital 23.2%, ASC 6.4%, Northern Signal Companies RE 11.4%, 7th Bn Leeds Rifles 38.5%, 8th Bn Leeds Rifles 39.0%.¹⁰⁷ It will be seen that during the manpower crisis certain arms were better able to maintain their strength and attract more recruits than others. The reasons appeared to be social. According to respondents, potential recruits graded the Leeds units according to the following social ranking order: Hussars, ASC, Signal Companies, RAMC, Artillery, Leeds Rifles. Various factors were involved in the social grading of each unit: dress uniform, pay, type of work undertaken, social class of recruit accepted.

All serving and former soldiers are aware that the corps and regiments of the Regular British Army are arranged in a social ranking order. This does not correspond with the official order of precedence. According to Regular respondents, the three "poshest" regiments

immediately prior to World War I were the 1st Life Guards, the 10th Hussars and the 17th Lancers, which in order of precedence in Cavalry ranked 1st, 20th and 27th respectively. Every regiment in the Army at this period was rated according to its social status, the highest rated demanding the highest private income of newly gazetted subalterns.¹⁰⁸ The three cavalry regiments named achieved their high status by virtue of the very high social status of their officers, many of whom were members or relatives of the Royal Family.¹⁰⁹

Since its headquarters were located at York, the Yorkshire Hussars was not classed as a Leeds unit, though it had a squadron, 120 men strong, based there, which always had a long waiting list. It had an extremely showy dress uniform. Because of the heavy incidental expenses involved, including the payment of gratuities in return for the loan of Regular Army cavalry horses and the purchase of the expensive dress uniform, which the War Office refused to provide, the Hussars was the province of the middle class, and the few working-class troopers were necessarily drawn from the more affluent sections. The ASC was the "posh" TF regiment of Leeds, where it became "wonderfully popular"; its smart cavalry-style uniform was a big attraction to recruits.¹¹⁰ The officers deliberately set out to make it difficult to enter: all recruits were taken on 3 months' probation before attestation, home backgrounds were vetted, preference was given to regular church and chapel attenders, and no man was recruited into the specialist trade categories unless he had served, or was serving a recognised apprenticeship (the bar on apprentices was lifted before March 1909). Saddler Staff-Sgt Oates, for instance, was in business on his own account as a military saddler in the Lowerhead Row. Farrier Staff Sgt Perkins was himself a prime example of careful selection: the son of a self-employed blacksmith, he was apprenticed to the veterinary surgeon, Mr. McCormick, an officer in the Leeds Artillery, and was training to become a farrier and horse doctor. The ASC other ranks were almost exclusively recruited from the upper working class, with a sprinkling of self-employed tradesmen.¹¹¹ The deficiency reported in March 1914 would exist only nominally until probationary periods expired; the unit was reported to be 10 over establishment in January and as having a long waiting list in February.¹¹² Because they offered free further education, RAMC units tended to attract consciously educationally-deprived men, like Sgt Arthur Illingworth, who had been denied, for financial reasons, the opportunity of a full grammar school education. In 1910 it was reported that two men of the

2nd WR Field Ambulance had won engineering scholarships to Leeds University.¹¹³ The Signal companies were largely composed of trained tradesmen, telegraphists, telephone engineers, electricians etc. and necessarily drew their recruits from the upper working classes; their uniform was the eye-catching scarlet and blue of the Regular RE.

Some units needed a very special type of recruit. At the request of the Army Council the Leeds ASC started a Mechanical Transport section in 1910 in order to test and experiment with three steam waggons with trailers made by George Mann's of Leeds.¹¹⁴ Since these waggons could easily get out of control and run away if not handled carefully downhill, the men of the section were necessarily all Mann employees, their Corporal, R. Lumb, a qualified engineer, being employed as a technical representative, in which capacity he travelled all over Britain and the Continent erecting and giving instruction in the handling of these machines.¹¹⁵ Other special recruits required by the ASC were butchers and bakers. These tended to be difficult to obtain because of the problems of employers in the securing of substitutes for the periods of Annual Trainings. The 2nd Northern General Hospital was composed of three officers, including Major Berkeley Moynihan, formerly of the Leeds Rifles, and 43 other ranks who were all employed in some kind of administrative capacity in large undertakings, not necessarily hospitals, in civilian life; their peacetime task was to draw up plans, in the minutest detail, for a 500-bed military hospital which would exist only on paper until such time as the unit was embodied.¹¹⁶

The infantry was regarded as having the least interesting work; it easily had the most barrack-square drill, and it certainly had the worst pay. In the RFA a gunner, driver or trumpeter got 1/2½d a day, with special rates for tradesmen like saddlers, fitters, wheelwrights, shoeing smiths etc. In the ASC a driver or private got 1/2d a day with special rates for tradesmen and corps pay ranging from 3d to 1/2d a day, according to rating. In the RAMC a private or bugler got 1/2d, with corps pay of 4d to 1/- according to rank and duties. In the Engineers a sapper, driver or trumpeter got 1/1½d with corps pay of 4d to 2/- according to rank and rating. The infantry private or bugler got 1/- a day; the few tradesmen got special rates.¹¹⁷

It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that the strengths of the Leeds Rifles battalions were very considerably below those of the other city units in March 1914. In Volunteer days, the Leeds Rifles, "the corps of gentlemen", had headed the local social register of Volunteer

corps. Leading citizens,¹¹⁸ from millionaire Lord Airedale downwards, were wont to fondly recall their days in the ranks of the Regiment. It had been considered an honour to be allowed to join, as "The Scout" never tired of telling his readers.¹¹⁹ Now the Regiment was at the bottom of the social register and obliged to recruit much lower down the socio-economic scale than the other Leeds units. Many more recruits from the semi-skilled section of the working class were being admitted than formerly, particularly since the beginning of 1913 when the height standard was reduced to 5'3". This social trend had begun in 1908, after the War Office in its wisdom had rashly banned the enlistment of apprentices. Before the first camp, ex-Leeds Rifles Volunteer "The Scout" was warning local commanding officers against the indiscriminate enlistment of men "unsuitable in many ways", telling them that "nothing but good will result from a careful selection of the raw material" and counselling them to restrict recruitment to "men of approved character and respectability",¹²⁰ which had always been the recruiting policy of the Leeds Rifles Volunteers. While Haldane was congratulating himself that "a considerable number of men whom the old Volunteer organisation does not appear to have reached are coming forward",¹²¹ "The Scout" was bemoaning the fact that "a younger and different class of men are wearing the Rifles' uniform."¹²² No doubt this was largely true, since the offer of a free two-week holiday with pay attracted recruits to whom such a thing had been hitherto unknown, and the Leeds Rifles was in practice the only unit to which they could gain entry. During the general slump in enthusiasm of the summer of 1911 (see Chap. 7, section 7.8) he was again issuing warnings of the potential dangers involved in recruiting those who join "in a temporary fit of excitement", whose enthusiasm quickly flags and who rapidly become nothing but a "regular nuisance" to officers and NCOs: "unless recruits are selected with care the craze for mere numbers can only have one result", a view shared by Lt Gen Sir John Keir,¹²³ at that time GOC of a TF Division. Unsuitable recruits were, in fact, held responsible for the IoM "mutiny" in 1910, thereby besmirching the Leeds Rifles' good name.¹²⁴

A factor which only served to strengthen the social gradings was the entry standards laid down for each unit.

The health and physique of both older schoolchildren and adults in Leeds was well below the average of England and Wales as a whole. Witnesses before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration had quoted the research findings of Dr William Hall who had

examined 2,335 board school children in Leeds in 1903 and found that more than half of them were rachitic; he had estimated the prevalence of rickets among the school population of Leeds to be 15-20%.¹²⁵ It was stated that, on average, children aged 12 attending Brudenell Board School [South Headingley social area] situated in a "good" neighbourhood, were over 2" taller and 3 lbs heavier than their counterparts attending Sweet Lane Board School [Inner Holbeck social area] situated in a "poorer" neighbourhood.¹²⁶ Another witness referred to statistics that revealed a 5" difference in height among children and a 3½" difference among adults "according as the circumstances under which they are reared are favourable, or otherwise."¹²⁷ The Reports of the Leeds School Medical Officer for 1909 and 1910 indicated that the heights and weights of 13-year-old boys (who would be aged 18 and 17 respectively in 1914) were markedly below the averages for England and Wales. The Leeds averages in 1910 were only slightly above the results given by Rowntree for the "poorest class" of York 13-year-old boys in 1900. A further surprising fact that emerged was that boys from the better districts and the suburbs of Leeds were not, as might have been expected, above the national average. The character of the school neighbourhood was classified by the School Doctor as suburban, better, ordinary, poor, and Jewish. The results have been included in Table L.

Table L. Heights and Weights of Leeds Schoolboys, Age 13, 1909, 1910

	Suburban	Better	Ordinary	Poor	Jewish	Leeds average	Average for England & Wales 1908
Height 1909	56.8	57.4	54.8	54.3	54.7	55.8	57.1 inches
Height 1910	56.3	56.9	54.3	53.6	-	55.1	
Weight 1909	77.9	79.3	73.4	72.2	76.3	75.9	83.7 lbs
Weight 1910	78.2	78.6	70.9	69.7	-	73.6	
			<u>Height</u> (inches)			<u>Weight</u> (lbs)	
England & Wales 1908			57.1			83.7	
York Average 1900			56.75			79.08	
Leeds Average 1909			55.8			75.9	
Leeds Average 1910			55.1			73.6	
Batley Average 1908			54.5			73.25	
Batley Average 1910			53.6			69.6	

contd..

Table L. cont'd

		<u>Height</u> (inches)	<u>Weight</u> (lbs)
York Poorest	1900	55.0	73.0
Leeds Poorest	1909	54.3	72.2
Leeds Poorest	1910	53.6	69.7 128

Despite the general below-average results, a broad correlation between physique/social area does emerge. A point to be noted is that results in every category were lower in 1910 than in 1909, a pattern also repeated in Batley, a West Riding woollen town where great economic deprivation existed. These facts were bound to influence Territorial recruiting. The Field Ambulances would not admit any applicant who was unable to expand his chest a minimum of 2½". The Leeds Artillery standards were a minimum chest measurement of 35" expanded and minimum heights of over 5'3" for drivers, and over 5'6" for gunners.¹²⁹ These standards tended to limit recruitment in Leeds to men from the upper working classes where the bulk of applicants were under the age of 21, though they might have had no such effect in many other parts of the country.

From the summer/autumn of 1912, when numbers started to drop dramatically due to terminations of engagements, the Leeds Rifles, in its search for recruits, was forced to recruit further and further down the social scale. The height standard was in due course lowered to 5'3". From oral testimony, it appears that the PSIs resorted increasingly to well-known Regular Army methods of obtaining recruits, some dishonest and devious. Teenagers up to 1" below the standard (like 1953 George Wood, 7th) were admitted (something that was permitted in the Army, but forbidden in the TF), no chest measurements were taken, under-age recruits who gave false ages (like 1688 Harry Slater and 1327 Walter Garnett, 8th) went unchallenged, while recruits who admitted to being only 15 or 16 were told kindly to "have a walk round the parade ground and you'll be older when you come back." A particularly regrettable feature of their conduct was their complete disregard of the strict rule of the regiment that "only men of good character will be enlisted, and unless they are accompanied by a member of the Battalion they must produce a certificate of character." The combined result was the admitting of men from the lower classes and in particular, the admitting of a small, but significant number of recruits, variously described by respondents as "scruffs",

"roughnecks" and "tearaways", some of whom had police records, from the slums of York Road, Burmantofts, The Bank, Quarry Hill, the Marsh Lane area, and inner Hunslet. In consequence, the social standing of the Leeds Rifles locally plummeted, the men of other units tended to look down on them, and the regiment acquired the unfortunate local reputation of taking anybody. The overall-clad 2363 Ben Clark, for instance, when he went to enlist in the Leeds Pals in September 1914, was very rudely told, "Clear off, we don't want your sort in the City battalion. Get off and join the Leeds Rifles."¹³⁰

Their social reputation may have contributed to the Leeds Rifles' recruiting problems of 1913-14. Many young men from occupational classes III(b), IV(a) and IV(b)(i), who in Volunteer days and in the period 1908-11 would have joined the Regiment, now joined the more socially exclusive ASC or Artillery instead. Skilled workers 501 Harry Rankine and his brother 1052 Leslie Rankine, from a labour aristocratic family, did not re-engage when time-expired, but instead joined the Leeds Artillery and the Yorkshire Hussars respectively.¹³¹ Clerk James A. Hullah, who enlisted in 1909, did not re-engage in 1913; he ignored the August 1914 appeal to ex-Riflemen to rejoin, but instead later joined the Leeds Pals which excluded manual workers, regtl no. 485, becoming Signal Sergeant.¹³² The Yorkshire Post had been prompted by the 1910 "mutiny" to wonder what had happened to "the best class" of recruit: it felt that the TF was "antipathetic to 9/10ths of the better type of man" and that such men fought shy of entering a Force which seemed to them to be a kind of bastard Militia.¹³³ The so-called "best class" of recruit may have been dissuaded from enlisting by the self-evident fact that the Leeds Rifles was by no means as socially exclusive as formerly and that there was no longer a social cachet attached to joining. Robert Roberts noted in Salford that "People complained that the Territorials had attracted nothing but 'scruff', out for beer money and a free holiday in camp."¹³⁴ There were people in Leeds who voiced similar complaints, however exaggerated this claim was; 2892 Herbert Creswick, 7th, gave the reasons "too many scruffs in it" for not joining the 7th Bn before the war. 966 Thomas Green chose the 2nd WR Field Ambulance because its members were "definitely better types, nice lads from good homes, the sort I preferred to mix with."¹³⁵

Thus, although the Leeds Rifles had had a considerably above-average, if not rare, degree of continuity between the old and the new units, the Regiment in the period 1908-1914 underwent a drastic change

in social and age composition, slow up to 1911, but progressively speeding up as the ex-Volunteers gradually dropped out, time-expired, and as the manpower crisis developed from the summer of 1912. By the end of 1913 only 107 ex-Volunteers were still serving in the 7th and only 41 in the 8th.¹³⁶ (In view of the 20-25% annual turnover, however, these must be regarded as high figures).

The Regiment undoubtedly became much more working class in character: manual workers as a whole may well have become over-represented. The occupational analysis of pre-war enlistments (data derived from respondents) given in the Table 10 Summary may have been typical of much of the later period. The percentage of semi-skilled workers had undoubtedly risen considerably, yet the percentage of skilled workers remained high and over-representative, being largely composed of apprentices earning only nominal wages and attracted by the free holiday. The percentage of employed non-manual workers also remained high and over-representative. Each battalion had a company - A Coy of the 7th and G Coy of the 8th - composed exclusively of white-collar employees, shop assistants excluded: bank and insurance company employees, civil servants, local government officers, solicitor's and accountant's articled clerks, school teachers, and commercial apprentices. This class of recruit accounted for up to 12% of OR strength. G Coy were known among the rest of the 8th Bn, which contained far more factory workers than the 7th, as "The Posh Company" because they dressed comparatively well when in mufti and "talked posh". Ordinary clerks appear to have been excluded from A and G Companies. Compared with that of Volunteer days, the social composition of the Regiment by 1914 had approached much closer to that of the population of the city as a whole, though some occupational categories remained somewhat over-represented and others under-represented. A comparison of Tables 6 and 6A, Appendix II, reveals the extent to which the social change was reflected by the Sergeants and Colour Sergeants. The 7th and 8th Bns were the only units in Leeds that could be described as being socially representative and so deserving the title of "The People's Army". The 8th Bn included Lt the Hon. Roland Kitson, son of a millionaire industrialist and heir to a barony, and 1803 Alfred K. Owen, former workhouse pauper.

The low strengths of the units of the 1st Infantry Brigade, and particularly of those of Leeds, in 1913 and 1914 were a constant source of speculation to commentators, without any solutions emerging. The author of a 1913 Times article on the West Riding Division stated that

"experienced observers attribute much of the want of success met with in Leeds and Bradford to the wide assimilation in those towns of the attractive but superficial theories of Mr Norman Angell."¹³⁷ No evidence could be found, however, to substantiate this claim as far as Leeds was concerned. Local commentators agreed with the Leeds Mercury who admitted that "The wave of enthusiasm which ushered in the movement is now almost entirely absent, and notwithstanding the inducements offered for men to join, and the attractiveness of a splendidly situated camp, there is a real difficulty on the part of practically all regiments not only to obtain recruits, but also to retain the services of the men they already possess."¹³⁸ The really excellent provision of leisure activities and social amenities, the like of which did not exist in the Hallamshires, for instance, held to be a major inducement to recruiting and re-engaging, ceased to attract and hold men to the Leeds Rifles. A successful and enjoyable camp was often thought to be a stimulus to recruiting.¹³⁹ Although officers, NCOs and men alike were unanimous in declaring the 1913 Aberystwyth Camp an unqualified success from every point of view,¹⁴⁰ it appears to have had little effect on Leeds Rifles' recruiting. The selection of camping grounds was also thought to affect recruiting, but although its influence had been demonstrable in the Volunteer era, its effect now seemed to be no more than marginal. Seeing no other possible explanation, local writers not surprisingly fell back on the pessimistic and disparaging Mastermanian type of social comment¹⁴¹ so typical of the Edwardian era. During 1913 and early 1914 they repeatedly referred to a kind of malaise that had overtaken young men.¹⁴² It is difficult to assess the validity of their criticisms when viewed in their historical context, yet it was nevertheless perfectly true that eligible young men by the several hundred were to be seen every Sunday morning at Carlton Barracks watching what was beyond doubt the most popular regular free entertainment in the city - there were seldom fewer than 1,000 and sometimes as many as 2,000 spectators present - the spectacle of the four Leeds Rifles bands playing and practising their ceremonial marching and counter-marching. 2892 Herbert Creswick admitted to being one of them.¹⁴³ Said "The Scout": "Such gatherings are fine object lessons, clearly demonstrating as they do that the average youth of today prefers to watch others work and play instead of taking a hand in the game himself."¹⁴⁴ Perhaps the fairest example of comment was provided by an anonymous article of 1914 on the position in Territorial recruiting in the West Riding:

"The numerous expedients adopted to popularise the force and to induce men to fulfil the primary obligations of citizenship have practically failed of their purpose... The root of the difficulty is economic. There is no lack of patriotism among the youth of the country. But there is a strong disinclination to undertake the burden of national defence, so long as it remains on a voluntary basis, without adequate remuneration for loss of time under present circumstances, when demands made on the Territorial soldier involve a handicap in the economic race. Nor is the factor of the physical burden to be overlooked... This is cheerfully and willingly borne by the men in the force, but the disability is sufficiently apparent to deter other men from undertaking it, unless they receive some adequate compensation for so doing... until the government realise this, and will give men adequate compensation for this extra burden, there will be no improvement ... The real problem is how to overcome the inertia of the great mass who remain outside, whose indifference can only be removed by making it worthwhile from the monetary point of view... the crux of the whole question is financial. The government are relying on the Territorial army for home defence, and if that method of national insurance is to be worth anything the country must be prepared to pay the premium by giving a substantial inducement to the young men of the country to abandon the meretricious delights of the picture palace and the football field for the sterner duties of the drill hall and the weekend camp." 145

Such comments, which possessed the ring of truth, only confirmed the Volunteers' worst fears concerning the consequences of commercialising the Force.¹⁴⁶

Four possible explanations for the low strengths of the Leeds Rifles battalions in 1913 and 1914 can be considered: one, already discussed, the palpable decline in the Regiment's social status. Two, there were a great many social and recreational counter-attractions in a large city like Leeds and volunteering, such a fad earlier amongst teenagers, had gone out of fashion as quickly as it had become all the rage. Three, certain Leeds trades, particularly those which contained pro-Territorial employers, were suffering a recession, with the result that potential recruits and time-expired men (like 552 W.W. Cameron, 7th) were having to seek work outside Leeds or with another local employer who might not have been well-disposed towards the Territorial Force.¹⁴⁷ Four, the decline in recruiting to all Leeds units may have been in part a self-inflicted wound. Signs that Leeds units, and in particular the Leeds Rifles, were developing the essentially self-defeating "Private Army Syndrome", a collective state of mind induced by real or imagined

lack of public and governmental support, had begun to appear in 1913 (see Chapter 3). The units retired inside their barrack gates and seldom ventured out in public, though it had surely been amply demonstrated that a healthy level of recruiting was synchronous with frequent public appearances, preferably in review order.

Clearly, special recruiting efforts were called for. Col. Kirk of the 7th Bn, however, complained about unco-operative and hostile employers¹⁴⁸ and retired from the unequal contest; he appears to have made no additional efforts to obtain recruits. Col. Kitson Clark of the 8th held recruiting marches, which he managed to get allowed for efficiency after a struggle. He travelled all over the recruiting area, to Armley, Hunslet, Holbeck, Wortley and Pudsey, giving lectures illustrated by slides taken at Aberystwyth. They aroused great interest, his lecture at the Wellington Road Drill Hall being packed to the doors,¹⁴⁹ but unfortunately achieved little result. Far more go-getting methods were required. A special "recruiting fortnight" in Glasgow brought 1,220 recruits.¹⁵⁰ The experience in Salford also showed what was achievable by the use of aggressive methods. The 8th Lancashire Fusiliers organised a special cinematograph show and lecture, introduced by the Mayor, at the Victoria Theatre, Salford. After speaking on the duties and advantages of Territorial Service, the Colonel asked "Now, who's the first to join?" Nearly 50 hands immediately shot up and over 100 recruits were signed on before the end of the evening.¹⁵¹ This proved the existence of a large reservoir of untapped recruiting potential. Of 53 Leeds Rifles respondents eligible to join the TF before the outbreak of war who had not done so, 13 said they had not been attracted to the Territorials. 12, however, said they had merely never considered the possibility of joining. Evidently the idea of joining the Territorials had not been sufficiently "sold" to eligible young men.

No recruiting campaigns were launched nationally. A national recruiting campaign during 1913 or early in 1914, led by the Prime Minister himself, with newspaper appeals, and supported by Ministers and MPs addressing public meetings, would surely have filled the ranks of the depleted Territorial Force. The Prince of Wales could have led the campaign and become a Territorial himself, amid a plethora of press publicity. His father, after all, had been Honorary Colonel of the 3rd Middlesex Artillery Volunteers (Kensington),¹⁵² whilst Edward VII at the age of 19 had become Hon. Colonel of the Civil Service Rifles. Instead, the Prince joined the University OTC when he went up to Oxford.¹⁵³

5.2 Officer recruitment 1908-1914

Although the chief burden upon officers, that of making up deficiencies in their corps' finances, which had been the fundamental cause of the chronic officer shortage during the Volunteer period, had been removed by Haldane's Act, the Territorial Force nevertheless inherited many of its predecessor's officer problems. It commenced with a grave shortage: in the West Riding Force the total number was 28.75% below establishment. As in Other Ranks, there had been a serious decline in numbers since Haldane had first announced his scheme. In October 1907 there was an acute shortage in Yorkshire as a whole: 24 captains and 130 subalterns. Although the infantry alone had a shortfall of 11 captains and 90 subalterns, even the Yeomanry was deficient.¹⁵⁴ Three Leeds Rifles officers resigned, one on the grounds of serious ill-health, between the introduction of Haldane's Bill and the end of the year.

The shortage was never eradicated in the West Riding Division, nor in any other division, before the outbreak of war; the highest percentage of actual strength of officers to establishment in the West Riding was attained in November 1910 and June 1911: 98.43%, which was claimed as a national record.¹⁵⁵ This figure, however, concealed a permanent and considerable unevenness of distribution between the various units and arms. For example, the March 31st 1909 returns of strength of the West Riding Territorial Force showed 6 units with 3 or more officers in excess of establishment, including the Leeds Artillery, and several units, including the two Leeds Rifles battalions, with a serious shortage.¹⁵⁶ The authorities were powerless to intervene to correct these anomalies, since no Territorial of any rank could be compelled to serve in any unit but that of his choice. In general, as in the Volunteers, non-infantry units were much better off for officers and other ranks than infantry battalions (see Table H above), although the 4th Y & L (Hallamshire) were consistently over-establishment throughout the entire prewar Territorial period, while in 1913 the OC of the Scarborough & Whitby Artillery battery was advertising for officers in order to save his unit from disbandment.¹⁵⁷ The Leeds Rifles continued to suffer from their by now traditional serious shortage of officers: the prewar figures, for the 7th & 8th Bns respectively, are: 1908: 7, 18; 1909: 13, 9; 1910: 9, 8; 1911: 10, 5; 1912: 8, 4; 1913: 9, 5 officers short.¹⁵⁸ They are the worst in the Division.

Several factors were involved. There was the competition from the other local units, with their far showier full dress uniforms. There

was keen competition for officers among local units for, although the populations of Leeds and Sheffield were comparable, the former had been allocated twice as many Territorials as the latter under the Haldane reorganisation and the officer establishment of Leeds units totalled 140 compared with only 77 of those of Sheffield. Chronically under-officered units were often trapped in a vicious circle, unable to attract officer recruits because of the additional heavy and continuous sacrifice of leisure time demanded of officers in such units. Furthermore, financial contributions were demanded from the more senior Leeds Rifles officers to maintain the Regiment's traditional range of social activities, unusually large by national standards. (The social aspect of Territorial life had been pointedly ignored by Haldane's Act, an omission which eventually became a common nationwide grievance,¹⁵⁹ since it was widely held that the provision of social amenities was essential in order to obtain and retain men.)

At the end of 1908 Sir John French had, somewhat optimistically, ascribed the shortage of Territorial officers as "often due to the desire of Commanding Officers to obtain the best class they can."¹⁶⁰ Though this was undoubtedly true to a certain extent, the problem was far too entrenched and intractable to be amenable to a simple solution. The chief factors in the officer shortage were still those of time and expense, as they had been in Volunteer days. Though it had been lightened considerably since 1908, the officer's financial burden was nevertheless not inconsiderable, even in units where he was not called upon to contribute to the financing of social amenities for the Other Ranks. The government no doubt considered it was making a determined effort to secure more officers when it doubled the outfit grant in 1913 from £20 to £40 for all men appointed to commissions on or after 1st April 1913, although the qualifying period of efficient service required was increased to 4 years. The effect of this on the officer strength of the WRTF was barely discernible.¹⁶¹ A greater effect might have been produced by the implementation of the proposals of the Council of County Territorial Associations for additional pay and an annual personal allowance (see Chap. 7, section 7.5), but these were rejected, presumably on the grounds of cost, nor would the Government agree to camp allowances being made free of income tax and thus remove a frequently-voiced grievance.¹⁶²

Despite these problems the Leeds Rifles and other local units continued to draw many of their officers from leading local families.¹⁶³ The Leeds Artillery included B.H. and S.R. Butler of Kirkstall Forge;

H.B. Barran of the pioneer ready-made clothing firm; the son of A.G. Lupton, cloth manufacturer, chairman of the Yorkshire Electric Power Co. and Pro-Chancellor of Leeds University; the sons of John Gordon, Lord Mayor 1899, and prospective Conservative parliamentary candidate for Central Leeds 1914; the sons of colliery proprietor A. Curren Briggs, Lord Mayor 1903; the son of E.E. Lawson of Lawson's Foundry, Chairman of Leeds Watch Committee. The Howitzer Brigade included F.W.B. Maufe of the department store, Brown, Muff & Co. Ltd, of Bradford (now Rackhams) and Francis A. Arnold-Forster, son of textile manufacturer Edward P. Arnold-Forster (a retired Volunteer officer, the adopted son of W.E. Forster MP, brother of the War Minister, nephew of Matthew Arnold, and grandson of the celebrated Dr. Arnold). The Leeds Engineers included the son of J.T. Boyle, of the famous Burmantofts terracotta brick and faience works; John, Arthur and George Bray of Geo. Bray & Co. Ltd.; and a McLaren of J. & H. McLaren & Co. Ltd, engineers. The Leeds ASC, commanded by ex-Rifleman Lt Col. J.C. Chambers, provincial superintendent of the National Telephone Co. Ltd (i.e. manager of the Leeds telephone exchange) and said to have been a friend of Alexander Graham Bell,¹⁶⁴ included a maltster, a worsted spinner, two architects, an auctioneer who was a partner in Hollis & Webb (now Weatherall, Hollis & Gale), several solicitors including Jimmy Milner (Labour MP for Leeds SE from 1929 to 1950 when he was created Lord Milner of Leeds), son of the City Deputy Coroner, a member of Peacock & Son Ltd, carpet warehousemen & house furnishers, members of Leeds' largest department store, Monteith, Hamilton & Monteith Ltd, and a member of the Kitson family. The officers of the 6th DWR of Skipton and Keighley included Capt. Dixon, timber merchant and bobbin manufacturer; Captains A.P. and F.L. Smith of Smith, Prince & Son, textile machine manufacturers; Capt. S.F. Marriner, of Marriner, Son & Naylor, knitting yarn spinners.

Leeds Rifles officers included members of three of the most prominent families in the city, the Kitsons, the Luptons and the Tetleys; several members of the Wilson family of Joshua Wilson & Sons Ltd, worsted coating manufacturers; sons of leading businessmen who included a department store owner, a ready-made suit and coat manufacturer (the firm became Maenson Clothes Ltd), and C.S. Salter JP, the largest boot and shoe manufacturer in the area and owner of a large chain of retail outlets; the son of the Secretary of The Chamber of Commerce, the son of the Vicar of Leeds, the son of the Director of the National Physical Laboratory, the son of George Corson, the leading Leeds architect of

his day, designer among other buildings, of the Municipal Buildings, the (Old) Medical School, and Leeds Grand Theatre; and the son of a founder-partner of Cooper Brothers (now Coopers & Lybrand), one of the largest firms of chartered accountants in the country. Many of the local men who joined the Regiment as officers during the war came from similar middle-class backgrounds, for example, public schoolboy Charles Brian Stead, son of a leather manufacturer; Cambridge graduate T.C. Vause, a schoolmaster, son of Councillor T.O. Vause of Moortown, shoddy manufacturer; George Cecil Ward, articled pupil to an analytical chemist, the son of a brewer; John Illingworth, assistant Conservative & Unionist agent for the Skipton division.

Despite a natural desire to maintain the social exclusiveness of the officer class of the Leeds Rifles, the fact that officer strength continued to remain well below establishment compelled the commanding officers to seek recruits from what may have appeared an obvious source, the lower and middle strata of the middle classes, members of whom were to be found in A Coy of the 7th & G Coy of the 8th. Yet here many obstacles existed, all connected with the traditional factors of time and expense. Respondents J.A. Rudd, wool merchant's son, and Ernest Pickering, furniture retailer's son, who worked for their fathers, both stated that their fathers refused to give them sufficient time off to enable them to take a TF commission.¹⁶⁵ The much increased training requirements and the necessity of passing examinations in order to obtain Certificates A and B (see Chap. 6, section 6.6) particularly deterred articled pupils and university undergraduates. Many employed men found it difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the extra fortnight's leave of absence, additional to camp, needed in the first two years of service to put in the required period of training with a Regular battalion. Only 3 officers were promoted from the ranks before the war. They were 1012 Cpl Lewis M. Wilcockson, 7th, commissioned March 1910, and employed at the Bank of England local branch; and Sergeants 637 H.A. Adams and 649 John B. Gawthorpe, 8th, commissioned July 1911, and both employed as insurance clerks. All three had been awarded Distinctions in the examination for the NCO's Proficiency Certificate; Gawthorpe had come first in the Pass list of 43 of December 1910.¹⁶⁶ Although Gawthorpe had an employer willing to give him ample time off, he found the expenses of being an officer compared with those of a sergeant burdensome. Despite the fact that he was living with his parents, even when he was receiving a salary of £100 p.a. he was obliged to borrow a minimum of £15 over the year from his bank manager father. The uniform

allowance did not cover the cost of kit and the minimum requirement of 3 uniforms (full dress, service dress and mess kit). All the Leeds Rifles officers patronised the same expensive military tailor and outfitter.¹⁶⁷ In the Edwardian middle classes it meant social death to appear unsuitably or badly dressed.¹⁶⁸

Virtually all the pre-war officers, apart from these ex-rankers, belonged to what was, by Leeds' standards, the upper middle-class (though the Kitson family had joined the aristocracy), the most privileged stratum of local society. Though at first sight the Leeds Rifles officer class and the Army officer corps appear totally dissimilar in social composition, certain startling aspects of similarity between the two nevertheless existed.

Since Woolwich provided virtually all new officers to the Artillery and the Engineers and Sandhurst provided about 55% of new officers to the Guards, Infantry, Cavalry, and the Indian Army, the social origins of their cadets may perhaps be regarded as being typical of the officer corps as a whole. In the year 1910 the social origins of the cadets were as follows:

	<u>Sandhurst</u>	<u>Woolwich</u>	
gentlemen [aristocracy and gentry]	20.5%	12.9%	
businessmen and managers incl. bank managers	9.3	12.2	
military professionals	43.8	35.3	
civilian professions	23.0	36.0	
all others	3.4	3.6	169

Although only one Leeds Rifles officer belonged to the aristocracy (and his father is entered in Table 12, Appendix II, as a company chairman), at least 20% of the officers came from the city's equivalent of the "Upper Ten Thousand", the highest status families of considerable wealth and local influence,¹⁷⁰ while about 27% came from professional families. Otley found that self-recruitment was extremely important in the officer corps: a large proportion of cadets were the sons of Regular officers. Although no peacetime Leeds Rifles officer was the son of an Army officer, a considerable number, however, belonged to the Territorial counterpart of the military family, the Volunteer family (see Chap. 2).

It is impossible to estimate the degree to which the officer class of the Leeds Rifles and other local units was typical of the officer class of the peacetime TF as a whole. Col. Sir Douglas Branson considered the

Hallamshires and the Leeds Rifles comparable.¹⁷¹ Henry Williamson's fictional TF battalion, "The Gaultshires", may well have been typical of those units recruited in non-industrial areas: the CO was a University lecturer, his 2i/c a University bookseller, the adjutant an estate agent and auctioneer, and, apart from two officers who belonged to the aristocracy and gentry, the remainder were sons of "members of the established provincial middle-class" and had been educated at public school and university.¹⁷² A large proportion of officers in industrial areas came from business and manufacturing families. Lt Col. A.N.B. Garrett of the 4th KSLI was a director of the Coalport China works and as a captain had commanded the Ironbridge Company of Volunteers.¹⁷³

5.3 Recruiting Agencies

During the period 1860-1914 there existed in Leeds 6 organisations which proved to be valuable sources of recruits to the Regiment. These were: the Leeds Grammar School Volunteer Cadet Rifle Corps; the three most famous of the uniformed youth movements, the Boys' Brigade, the Church Lads' Brigade, and the Boy Scouts; two Adult Schools and Social Clubs, run by the Society of Friends; and the Leeds Postal Telegraph Messengers' Cadet Corps.

The Grammar School cadet rifle corps, for boys aged 10-16, was founded and commanded by one of the senior boys, William Gustavus Nicholson of Roundhay Park, a military-minded 15-year-old who intended to make a career in the Regular Army. The corps was in existence from December 1860 to 1862, when Nicholson left school for the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, passing into the Academy at the head of the list.¹⁷⁴ He eventually became Chief of the Imperial General Staff. He may well have been influenced and encouraged to raise the cadet corps by a lay member of the staff, tutor Francis William Jackson, who enrolled in the Leeds Rifles at the end of 1859. The cadet corps was quite independent of the Rifles although it was permitted to march out in public with them. Sgt Major Neville, the drill instructor of No. 9 Company, was its instructor. The uniform was light grey with black and red facings and buff belts.¹⁷⁵ Drill was introduced into the school curriculum in 1863 when "Mr. Oates, late Serjeant, 68th Regiment" was engaged as "Drill Master."¹⁷⁶

Old boys of the school had been prominent in the Leeds Rifles since the beginning: 37 were members of the original Nos. 1 & 2 Coys, 1859-60

(Table 2, Appendix II). By the end of 1862 a further 25 Old Boys had enrolled, and altogether about 120 Old Boys (identified from the Admission Books), enrolled in the Leeds Rifles up to 1875, a large majority before 1867. Approximately one-third of the officers commissioned up to 31st March 1908 had attended the school; at least three commanding officers, Edmund Wilson, F.W. Tannett-Walker and H.D. Bousfield, were Old Boys. An attempt by Wilson, then a Governor, to establish a cadet corps as a source of potential officer recruits at the School in 1891¹⁷⁷ came to nothing, though "drill" was reintroduced into the regular school curriculum in 1898.¹⁷⁸ A Junior contingent of the OTC was formed at the school under the Haldane scheme and provided several officers to the Regiment in the period 1909-1919.

The uniformed youth organisations, the Boys' Brigade (1883) and the Church Lads' Brigade (1891), though religious in tone, since they were inspired by the Volunteer Movement, founded by Volunteer officers and frequently led by serving Volunteers and Territorials, had many military features, and it would have been surprising had they not produced more future Volunteers and Territorials than future evangelists and home missionaries. The upper age limit for membership of the Brigades and the lower age limit for the Volunteers and Territorials was 17. It was "the natural progression", to use the phrase of respondent Col. Sgt Archibald MacKellar of the 5th Scottish Rifles, for boys who had acquired a taste for camping and military drill in the former to join the latter. The brigades and the Boy Scouts (which began as an offshoot of the Boys' Brigade) came under continual attack for encouraging a military spirit.¹⁷⁹ Baden-Powell, who had been appointed GOC Northumbrian Division (TF) in December 1907, was accused by detractors of introducing the Boy Scouts primarily to provide a source of recruitment for the Territorials.¹⁸⁰

It could not be denied that the three organisations did produce a considerable number of recruits for the Volunteers and the Territorials and, at a later date, for Kitchener's Army. Ex-Boy Scout Col. Sgt MacKellar stated that every member of the 5th SR before the war had been a former member of the Boys' Brigade or Boy Scouts; William Smith Jnr was one of his officers.¹⁸¹ Springhall quotes a 1910 issue of the monthly journal of the Essex branch of the NSL, The Patriot, in which the Secretary of the West Essex Scouts wrote that "the large number of old Scouts joining the Territorial force is also a satisfactory feature. In one year one troop alone supplied thirteen Territorial recruits. As there are 300,000¹⁸² scouts in the country, the organization is a possible

recruiting ground by no means to be despised."¹⁸³ In 1914 the 16th and 19th Bns KRRC were raised entirely from ex-members of the Church Lads' Brigade and the 16th HLI from ex-members of the Glasgow Boys' Brigade. In May 1915 it was estimated that 200,000 former members of Boys' Brigades and over 50,000 former members of the CLB had joined the Colours, and the Mayoress of Pudsey unveiled a Roll of Honour containing the names of 52 former members of the 2nd Leeds (Pudsey Fulneck Moravian Church) Company of the Boys' Brigade who had joined the armed forces.¹⁸⁴ By February 1916 over 700 "past and present members" of the Leeds CLB had joined up.¹⁸⁵

All three organisations were offered official recognition under the pre-war National Cadet Force scheme. The Boy Scouts and the Boys' Brigade did not apply. The Church Lads' Brigade eventually applied for affiliation, amid very considerable opposition from within the Church, in 1911.¹⁸⁶ The CLB leadership could not afford to turn down the government offer of grants and free hire of camping equipment (worth a total of some £20,000 a year when withdrawn in 1923), both of which were considered vital to the further development of the CLB movement.¹⁸⁷ The Headquarters Executive of the Boys' Brigade decided not to seek official recognition when they learnt that nearly 90% of the churches and chapels associated with the movement were against the proposal.¹⁸⁸

Some indication of the importance of the youth organisations in recruiting for the Leeds Rifles is given by the fact that, although not all respondents were questioned on this topic, 6 of the peacetime and 6 of the wartime enlistments stated they had been Boy Scouts, while 5 of the peacetime and 3 of the wartime enlistments stated that they had been members of the Brigades. A very large proportion of the original recruits to A Coy of the 8th in 1908 were ex-Brigade members; RSM Yates was most impressed by them and "inclined to give credit to the Boys' Brigades for having prepared him such capital material."¹⁸⁹ The Brigades proved a particularly valuable source of officer recruits.

The first Boys' Brigade companies were not formed in Leeds until 1892 when companies were formed at Rodley United Methodist, Meanwood Wesleyan, Burley St. Matthias' Parish Church and Woodsley Road Congregational Church.¹⁹⁰ By December 1908 there were 12 Companies with 350 boys on the rolls.¹⁹¹ The first Church Lads' Brigade company in Leeds was formed in 1894, apparently at All Hallows Church, Hyde Park. 21 Companies had been formed by the end of 1905, but only 13 were still viable in 1908 (including two in Hunslet, three in Armley and one

in New Wortley);¹⁹² no figures of membership appear to exist for 1908. (Figures are given in the Leeds Battalion Roll for 15 of the companies in 1904: numbers ranged from 10 to 49, averaging 25 per company).

The Brigades in Leeds were closely associated with the Volunteers and in particular with the Leeds Rifles. Very little information unfortunately appears to have survived concerning the officers of the Boys' Brigade. An officer in 1906 was Walter Gardham, an NCO in the Leeds Rifles; an officer in 1908 was J. Rhodes Simpson, an officer in the Leeds ASC; the founder of No. 8 Company in 1905 at Woodhouse Moor Methodist Church was a member of the RAMC Volunteers and a teacher in the Sunday School. The Leeds Rifles influence appears to have been strong in the Boys' Brigade: the Founder was petitioned several times in 1906 and again in 1908 for permission to wear crossbelts. Many of the officers were serving Volunteers or Territorials: the arrangements for the 1902 Camp had to be cancelled because so many of the officers would have been "away with the Volunteers"; when war broke out in 1914, 5 of the 6 officers of the 8th Company were immediately embodied.¹⁹³ A leading worker for the Boys' Brigade and the first captain of Burley St. Matthias' company was Frank T. Chadwick, son of a mill-owner who was very active in church and educational affairs. His brother George, who had joined the Leeds Rifles as a private in January 1890, also became an officer in the Boys' Brigade between 1892 and 1895, but later transferred to the Church Lads' Brigade, becoming Lt Col. of the Leeds Battalion in December 1905. Ex-Rifleman the Rt Hon. William Lawies Jackson early became a patron of the Leeds Boys' Brigade, and presented the Senior Drill Shield for competition in 1895.

Although the Boys' Brigade as a whole did not apply for cadet affiliation, one former Leeds company did. This was the former 6th Leeds Company, belonging to the Headingley Hill Congregational Church. This company, under its leader ex-Leeds Rifleman Capt. Percy Stock, (district manager of the London Assurance Corporation and first Battalion President of the Leeds Boys' Brigade) is said to have broken away from the Boys' Brigade organisation proper in 1901, though the local Boys' Brigade records suggest that it was expelled for activities contrary to official policy, rifle shooting in this case. The company changed its name to "The Boys' Rifle Brigade" and affiliated itself to the Leeds Rifles. It drilled on school premises in Queen's Road, South Headingley, and was entirely undenominational, being unconnected with any one place of worship. The uniform was rifle green and black, similar to that of the

Leeds Rifles, but with peaked caps, and the sergeants wore crossbelts. The BRB retained, broadly, the aims of the Boys' Brigade. A syllabus/programme dated January 1903 stated that "The Boys' Rifle Brigade is a public institution which, with a military organisation, has for its object, the physical, moral and religious welfare of the boys in its ranks... It accepts the military ideal as a means of influencing boys to become good all-round men, strong in body, mind and character and aims at a standard of precision and smartness equal to that of a well-managed and well-organised Cadet Corps." Weekly activities included a Bible Class, a parade, and rifle practice at the Leeds Rifles' miniature (30-yard) range at Buslingthorpe; in addition, summer and Easter camps and marksmanship competitions were held. The boys paid an annual subscription of 5 shillings and bought their own ammunition. Major Walter Braithwaite of the Leeds Rifles was a Staff Officer. The BRB appears, at any rate in the early years, to have been markedly more successful than the Boys' Brigade was locally in attracting members: in 1905 it comprised 7 officers and 53 boys.¹⁹⁴ It seems to have been wound up in 1912. It had no connection with the Lads' Drill Association which amalgamated with the NSL in March 1906.¹⁹⁵ Owing to the expenses involved, it was necessarily a middle-class organisation. Some of the members attended Leeds Boys' Modern School, West Park.¹⁹⁶

The Leeds Rifles was also represented among the instructors of the Boys' Brigade: one of the Matthewman brothers in the 7th Bn was asked to become a Drill Instructor in 1909; J.W. Fearnley, a member of another Leeds Rifles "other ranks" family (a junior bandsman in the 7th Bn and an elder brother of Herbert Fearnley), was elected Battalion Sergeant-Major in 1895.¹⁹⁷

Members of the Leeds Rifles heavily outnumbered members of other corps amongst officers and NCOs of the Church Lads' Brigade. The first Lieut. Colonel, appointed in 1901, was Major J.C. Chambers, with Lt R.A. Hudson as Adjutant, both of the Leeds Rifles. Chambers was succeeded by Capt. George Chadwick, who in turn was followed by Hudson, whose seconds-in-command were successively Capt. E. Sykes Ward and Capt. G.E. St. Clair Stockwell, both of the Leeds Rifles. Appointed Chaplain in 1897, when the Leeds Battalion was formed, was the Rev. A.E. Campbell, acting-chaplain to the Leeds Rifles; he was succeeded in both offices in 1906 by the Rev. S. Bickersteth. An early officer was John F. Mallandaine, son of the Surveyor of Taxes 1st Leeds District, who was a ranker in the Leeds Rifles who went out to South Africa in 1900 with

the Imperial Yeomanry. At least two Leeds Rifles rankers were officers in the CLB: Charles Twose and W. James Houston. Buglers Herbert Brown and George H. Hawkridge, both winners of the Silver Bugle competition in the Leeds Rifles, were appointed Sergeant Bugler of the CLB in 1907 and 1910 respectively. C.R. Simon, an NCO in the 7th Bn, was appointed sergeant-instructor in 1909 and Battalion Sergeant-Major in 1913. Members of the 6th Bn WYR (2nd VB PWO) were prominent in the 2nd Battalion (Bradford): in 1908 its Hon. Colonel, Lt. Colonel, 2nd in command and Adjutant were all 6th Bn officers and the Battalion Sergeant-Major was the former Sergeant-Major-Instructor of the 6th Bn; in 1911 a 6th Bn officer was appointed Assistant Adjutant.¹⁹⁸

Even from the extremely sketchy records available, it is apparent that the Brigades were a source of officer recruits for the Leeds Rifles. Lt S.C. Fritch, son of the principal of J.J. Fritch & Son, leather manufacturers, and Capt. George Chadwick, became officers in the Boys' Brigade before they took commissions in the Regiment. When the Roundhay Company of the CLB was started in 1905, 3 officers were appointed: Stanley S. Sykes (Captain), S.A. Albrecht and J. Findlay. Sykes became an officer in the Leeds Rifles three weeks later, Findlay in 1914; Albrecht had become an officer in the Leeds Artillery by 1909. H.A. Adams, who became a CLB lieutenant in 1906 and a captain in 1910, joined the 8th Bn in 1908 as a private and was offered a commission at the end of 1909. The officer recruits were of course obtained by Brigade officers who were serving officers in the Leeds Rifles. In turn, serving officers may have recruited Brigade officers from the Leeds Rifles: C. Twose and W.J. Houston were both NCOs in the company commanded by Capt. Stockwell, for instance. It is interesting to note that, on receiving his commission, 2nd/Lt Findlay joined Capt. Stockwell's Company and 1712 Henry Kitching, a former member of St Columba's CLB, Potternewton, commanded by Capt. Stockwell, was assigned to him as servant.

Concern at the decline of the Friends' Adult School movement in Leeds at the beginning of this century led to the development of new ideas, one of which was that it should develop on social lines and on an undenominational basis. The first Social Club to be established and which was described in 1909 as "a very valuable adjunct of the work" of the Woodhouse Carr First-Day Adult School was located at a former public house, "The Old Queen", in Woodhouse Street. During the period 1906-8 three new Adult Schools and Social Clubs were established, one at another former public house, "The Fountain" in Caroline Street in the

West Street slum district "where vice and squalor abound on every hand."¹⁹⁹ "The Old Queen" and "The Fountain" also provided an appreciable number of recruits for the 7th Bn. Very little is known about the latter. One of its members, Rfm J. Dalton, told a friend in August 1915 that "A lot of the lads who were members of the Fountain have been killed."²⁰⁰ Several respondents, however, were members of the former. In 1902 Ernest Edward Powell, said by his daughter, Mrs. Alice Wormald, to have been a recognised attender at the Carlton Hill Meeting House and the son of a recognised attender (although neither appeared in the only lists of Members and Attenders in existence, those of 1912 and 1914), was appointed Secretary of the "Old Queen" Adult School and Social Club. It was intended for local youths who had left day school, and was run on broad undenominational lines, although Members and Attenders at the Carlton Hill meeting naturally sent their sons. Attender Walter Cameron sent his four sons, the eldest John, being a founder member.²⁰¹ Powell had been a member of the Leeds Rifles since January 1894 and rose to become Col. Sgt of G Coy of the 7th which was recruited in Woodhouse. The "Old Queen" Club seems to have become the chief recruiting agency for G Coy: Powell invariably recruited members into the Leeds Rifles as soon as they were old enough, sometimes even falsifying their ages on the Attestation Form, as in the case of 1726 Jack Barker.²⁰² The Carlton Hill Meeting could not have been unaware of this. No respondent could recall a single instance of a club member serving in the Rifles in 1914 who, if eligible, failed to volunteer for active service, whether from a Quaker family or not. CSM Powell was wounded twice and gassed and died prematurely after the end of the war as a direct consequence of his injuries; John Cameron was killed, his brother Colin died of wounds as a POW. A conscientious objector who came up before the Leeds Military Tribunal in 1916 was stated to have spent four years before the war in the Leeds Rifles;²⁰³ he may have been a member of the club.

The Leeds Postal Telegraph Messengers' Cadet Corps, 100 strong, was formed in 1910 and affiliated to the 7th Bn with the idea of supplying the battalion with recruits in due course. It drilled at Carlton Barracks and marched behind the 7th Bn in public parades. The supervisor of the telegraph boys at the GPO was Tom Weldon, a Colour Sgt in the 8th Bn. By the beginning of 1914, however, the entire corps had been transferred en bloc to the Northern Signal Companies, presumably on the grounds that this unit contained a higher proportion of GPO employees

among both officers and other ranks. Nevertheless, ex-GPO cadets did join the 7th Bn, e.g. 2668 Alwyne G. Atkinson.²⁰⁴

A cadet corps was formed at Carlton Barracks during the war. It was affiliated to the 7th Bn and Percy Stock, formerly of the Boys' Rifle Brigade, was its Sergeant Major-in-Command. Boys paid £1 on joining and were provided with a uniform.²⁰⁵ Men who volunteered in advance of receipt of calling-up papers were allowed to choose their regiment: this was its raison d'être.

5.4 The Role of Employers

Employers were the key to the size and success of the Territorial Force, as they had been the key to the size and success of the Volunteer Force. Mr. J.T. Brunner MP, an employer of Volunteers, had pointed out to his Parliamentary colleagues as long ago as 1888 that had it not been for the patriotism, generosity and self-denial of the large employers of labour, the Volunteer Force would have been a very small body.²⁰⁶ From 1907 onwards speakers in Parliamentary debates recognised the role of employers as crucial. Haldane himself was all too aware of their vital role in his scheme.²⁰⁷ Employers were a favourite theme of the speeches made during his nationwide campaign on behalf of his scheme, e.g.: "If employers .. realised that what was being done was for the protection of their industries and capital, he did not think there would be much difficulty in getting the Territorial Army to take the necessary training."²⁰⁸ Some Volunteers and supporters of Haldane's scheme went so far as to put the onus of the scheme's success on the employers, threatening them that they would do well to bear in mind that its failure meant the inevitable introduction of some form of compulsory service.²⁰⁹

Employer opposition had been an increasing problem in the Volunteer period. Beckett quotes the Volunteer Service Gazette's opinion of 1881 that most employers had become opposed to the Movement, severely discouraging men, if not actually prohibiting them, from joining. He states that although many employers originally supported the Movement there were some opposed from the very beginning, and names employers who ordered their employees to resign from the Force.²¹⁰ Cunningham found "a significant change over time in the attitude of employers."²¹¹ Opposition had undoubtedly escalated since the early 1870s when week-long camps became general: increased obligations were likely neither to impress nor please employers. Complaints about employers did not figure prominently in evidence given to the 1878-9 Bury Committee; in the questionnaire

sent out to all corps, the three reasons concerning employment - "nature of men's employment", "opposition of men's employers" and "loss of men's wages" - came fairly low down the list in reply to a question about hindrances to the formation of camps. The editor of the Volunteer Service Gazette told the Committee that employers were objecting to increasing liabilities, that some employers would not allow employees to join the Volunteers and that he firmly believed that the fact of being a Volunteer militated against a man's employment in civil life. A witness before the 1894 Select Committee on Volunteer Acts, Lt Col. Thorne, spoke of difficulty currently being experienced in getting employers to allow men to join the Volunteers; employers were thought to have greater objections to the increased liabilities of Volunteers on the same grounds that they objected to employing Army reservists.²¹² Volunteer MPs continually called the Government's attention to employers' opposition to increased liabilities.²¹³

It is clear from evidence given to the 1904 Royal Commission that as a rule large employers were well-disposed towards Volunteers: the difficulty arose with the small employer who had only a handful of workers, and who could therefore not afford to be liberal in giving time off since, having insufficient men to give cover for those absent on military duties, he ran the risk of seriously disrupting his business and incurring financial loss. Unskilled men would almost always be allowed to go to camp. Only in the case of skilled men would there be any difficulty in obtaining leave outside the week of a firm's annual shutdown. This particularly obtained in industrial processes where men worked in gangs and the absence of key men meant a complete stoppage of work.²¹⁴ Speaking of the more stringent Regulations of 1901, Part IV of the Royal Commission Appendices said,

"It is to be the best class of men who feel the difficulty of the regulations most. Men in responsible civilian positions find it impossible to get away for the requisite period; for the highly trained man is equally valuable both to his military unit and also to his employer, and, generally speaking, the more capable he is, so much more indispensable does he become to both, and the latter has the first claim."²¹⁵

The goodwill and co-operation of large employers was clearly not enough, however. Mr. T.E. Vickers, Chairman and Managing Director of Vickers, Sons & Maxim Ltd (who had 40 years' service in the Hallamshires behind him) told the Commissioners he had found it necessary to interfere personally to prevent foremen dictating to Volunteer work-

men and ordering them not to go to camp; he knew of a large number of men in Sheffield who had lost their jobs for going to camp.²¹⁶ Such a lack of sympathy possibly arose because Volunteering tended to be looked upon by the uninformed in the same light as a sport or pastime like cricket, merely because a Volunteer spent his spare time soldiering and his annual holiday in camp.

As in the beginning of the Volunteer Movement, large employers in 1908 and 1909 provided companies composed of their employees, e.g. Mitchell & Butler's Brewery (5th RWR), Birmingham Small Arms Company (6th RWR), Dunlop Rubber Company, Williams & Robinson Ltd. (7th RWR), Selfridge's (13th London Regt), Eyre & Spottiswoode, Messrs. Harmsworth & The Daily Mail, South Metropolitan Gas Company (6th London Regt);²¹⁷ Rudge, Whitworth Ltd. furnished a complete company of officers, NCOs and men to the Warwick battalion.²¹⁸ Lt Col J.R. Shaw, CO of the 3rd Bn (SR) KOYLI, and Hon. Colonel of the 5th KOYLI, a colliery owner and industrialist, raised a company, complete with officers, for the 5th KOYLI from amongst his own employees at his colliery at Featherstone.²¹⁹ No new companies were provided by Leeds employers, although B Coy of the 8th Bn became known unofficially as "Kitson's Company;" B Company of the 7th continued to be known as "Fairbairn & Lawson's Company".

The Treasury set a splendid example to employers by giving every civil servant who joined the TF 15 days' leave, together with any difference between military pay and civil pay if the latter was the larger. If annual training happened to coincide with his annual holiday he was to receive both civil and military pay in full.²²⁰ It was unreasonable, however, to expect companies and their shareholders to subsidise a Government scheme to this extent, and not surprisingly, the number of firms offering concessions of this order of magnitude were in a tiny minority. A fair number were, however, willing to offer some kind of financial inducement to their employees to encourage, or indeed, enable, them to join the TF. John Barran & Sons, the leading clothing manufacturers of Leeds, offered full wages to employees for the second week at camp.²²¹ Henry Bessemer & Co. Ltd. paid 10/- per week to all men attending camp and gave preferential treatment in the matter of employment to Territorials. Kayser, Ellison & Co. Ltd. made wage allowances and Samuel Law & Sons Ltd of Cleckheaton paid £1 per week to Territorial employees absent at camp. As time went on, the number of such firms increased. In 1909 several employers in Halifax and district decided to grant facilities and promised to pay at least half wages whilst absent from work at camp, and in 1912 a "Territorial Wage Fund" was

opened by manufacturers at Elland, in the Heavy Woollen District, so that local Territorials should not lose any part of their wages while away at camp. Brunner, Mond & Co., of Northwich (one of the founder firms of ICI), a leader in chemical manufacture, paid the usual holiday pay (2 weeks' wages) for the first week in camp and 10/- for the second week; good timekeepers not yet qualified for holidays received 10/- weekly during camp, whilst bad time-keepers not entitled to holidays received 10/- if they remained in camp for 15 days.²²²

In 1909 a Mr. George Pragnell initiated a movement among large employers in the Home Counties to give Territorial employees 21 days' holiday on full pay, providing 14 full days of the period were spent in camp. As a result, 1183 firms (480 in London and 703 in the provinces) gave an undertaking to that effect, and 10,000 recruits were obtained from these firms, 98% of whom underwent the full fortnight's training. In 1910 Mr. Pragnell, in conjunction with the Council of County Territorial Associations, endeavoured to turn his scheme into a national movement, an Employers' Territorial Association for every county: "It has been found that, while all trades cannot give 21 days, most of them are willing to concede the necessary 14, and there will be a register formed by each Association, containing the names of all firms which will encourage the men to join and agree to give them facilities for making themselves efficient." A list of 150 City, 60 Middlesex and some provincial firms was attached to the press report.²²³ It contained some familiar names, leading insurance companies and West End department stores, who had been prominent supporters of the Volunteer Movement. It is likely that were the names on the list investigated at least half of them would be found to have been closely associated with the Movement.

The vast majority of co-operative employers, however, limited their concessions to giving time off. The Lord Mayor of Leeds in 1908 sent a personal circular letter to all local employers, asking them whether they were prepared to assist in the furtherance of the Territorial scheme by affording certain facilities to employees.²²⁴ The letter was based on the circular letter earlier sent out to local authorities by the West Riding Association (see Chap. 3). As a result of the "very encouraging" replies he received, the Lord Mayor convened a public meeting of employers at which a declaration of intent was drawn up to be signed by all employers prepared to offer facilities. The declaration, headed "The Territorial Army" and dated May 5th 1908, read as follows:

"We, the undersigned employers of labour in the city of Leeds, having carefully considered the Government scheme for the raising of a Territorial Army for the defence of the United Kingdom, do pledge ourselves to give all reasonable assistance to the West Riding County Association and the local military authorities in their endeavours to enlist men for this force.

We intend to give every possible facility to our employees to encourage them to join and to go to camp for the necessary training, to allow them to attend the required number of drills, and otherwise perform their military duties; and we appeal to each able-bodied young man in this city to remember that the first duty of a good citizen is to take his share in the defence of his country.

The employers of labour, at a meeting held in the Council Chamber at the Town Hall, Leeds, on Tuesday, May 5th 1908, agreed to fall in with the following suggestions:

1. To allow Bank Holiday week, without wage, to men in the Territorial Army, say from Friday night or Saturday, to Saturday week. In this scheme payment is arranged for men attending camp, and thus employers are not expected to pay wages during that period.
2. To allow a recruit a fortnight's training at camp, viz., the week before Bank Holiday and Bank Holiday week, for the first year only on the same conditions as to wages.
3. To allow non-commissioned officers to attend camp for a fortnight when at all possible, viz., the week before Bank Holiday and Bank Holiday week each year for the necessary training of recruits on the same conditions as to wages.
4. To allow recruits for the first year to attend drill nightly for six weeks, 7 to 9 during some period of the year, freeing them from over-time work during that period to enable them to do so.
5. To allow a member of the Territorial Force to have one fixed night in each week free from overtime for thirteen weeks between May and the end of July, to enable him to attend his company drill."²²⁵

A list of 72 willing local employers was published on a poster, copies of which were displayed throughout the city.²²⁶ The list, which was not definitive by any means, contained at least 45 names of firms who kept "Volunteer Shops" or were known as supporters of local Volunteer corps. It appears to include a majority of the city's large employers: all the heavy and medium engineering firms of any consequence, the largest tannery, the largest printing and bookbinding firm, the largest soap and glycerine manufacturer, the largest clothing manufacturers, the largest chemical manufacturers and the largest department store, as

well as the city's largest employer, the Leeds City Council. The name of the largest brewery, Joshua Tetley & Son, was unaccountably missing. A small printing firm, Gardham & Baldwin, which kept a "Leeds Rifles closed shop" which included the two principals, did not appear on the list. Definitive lists of employers willing to employ Territorials were kept in both Orderly Rooms at Carlton Barracks.²²⁷

Two London insurance companies who, in an excess of patriotic zeal, attempted to impose "Territorial closed shops" on their employees attracted adverse publicity and censure. The Alliance Assurance Company made joining the Territorials a condition of employment for all entrants after 1st March 1909, a decision applauded in the Times City columns. The Westminster Fire Office followed suit.²²⁸ Their action was widely condemned as a method of enforcing military service, particularly by Quaker groups and by Radical and Labour MPs such as Arthur Henderson.²²⁹ At the September Trades Union Congress it was claimed that the protests of the Labour party had forced the abandonment of these "attempts to introduce compulsory military service." The quarterly report of the Shipwrights' Association had condemned the companies' action: "It is an attempt to introduce conscription, whereas a democracy with a real stake in their country would never require conscription to defend the land of their birth."²³⁰

There remained, however, a considerable number of employers completely out of sympathy with the Territorial scheme who, like some employers of Heckmondwike in 1907, "told men that they would either have to drop Volunteering or seek work elsewhere." Some refused to set Territorials on: the Brighton Argus contained an advertisement for an Ironmonger's improver which stated that "no Territorial will be considered."²³¹ Not all local authorities were as well-disposed as Sheffield or Leeds: a Hull Corporation employee, entitled to receive 2 weeks' annual holiday with pay in 1908, had his Territorial pay deducted from his wages;²³² if he had spent his holiday lounging on the beach at Bridlington instead, he would have suffered no deductions. Several farm servants in the Malton district were dismissed from their employments for attending camp in 1913,²³³ the heatwave having brought the harvest forward. The railway companies had a mixed attitude to the scheme: certain categories of employees were actively encouraged, e.g. large recruiting posters were displayed in the workshops in Holbeck and Ardsley, but certain others, such as signal box staff and booking clerks, were forbidden to join.²³⁴

The railways, of course, were busiest at Bank Holiday times, when Territorials tended to be most active. The North Eastern Railway objected to their employees in York joining the TF, yet in other areas it was willing to let employees attend camp during their annual holiday and allow them to remain longer than 8 days "subject to the exigencies of the company's business."²³⁵ It has to be stated that some of the most favourably disposed employers were those that found little conflict between "patriotism" and business interests. The West End stores, for instance, catering for a middle and upper class clientele, closed for the half-day on Saturdays and experienced their slackest trading period of the year in August and September. It was little hardship for them to grant facilities to Territorials. Denby & Spinks, the high-class furnishers in Leeds which employed a high proportion of Territorials, closed at mid-day on Saturdays. Employer opposition was almost always financially based, concessions to Territorials not only being looked on as a hidden form of taxation, but offering unfair advantage to business rivals. Small employers were simply unable to spare men.²³⁶

1522 Sgt J.E.T. Wilson, 7th, a bookkeeper, the only respondent to report an adverse employer attitude, ascribed employer opposition in Leeds entirely to commercial reasons: "Some Leeds employers were all for the Territorials, some weren't too keen at all, some were dead against them. If you were a Territorial, you often couldn't work over in the evenings or on Saturday afternoons and then, on top of that, you had to have an extra week off over and above everybody else in the summer for camp. You can imagine what was said when you said it was CO's parade and it was stock-taking!" (Overtime working naturally prevented men from attending drill.) Sgt Wilson, who initially worked at a small company, was compelled to leave his firm, but he quickly found a much more sympathetic employer, Mr. Herbert Lowden, an old Leeds Rifleman.²³⁷ When Col. Kirk said in 1913 that "He knew that a great many did not take any interest in the Territorial Force, and he knew of many establishments in the city where it was detrimental to the employees if they were in the Force, and where men already in the Force could not get employment",²³⁸ he spoke as a dispirited and disappointed CO watching his battalion dwindling away as terminations of engagement outstripped recruiting, a state of affairs that had become general throughout the TF.²³⁹ He appears to have considerably overstated the case. The indications are that, judged on a national basis, the response of Leeds employers to the Territorial scheme was outstandingly high and their attitude to the TF during the pre-war period unusually favourable, as witness, for example, the remarkably high

musters of the 8th Bn at the 1908 camp: 95% for the full fortnight and 99% for the second week.²⁴⁰

The general response of Leeds employers may have been partly the result of the personal approach made by the Lord Mayor, but it was undoubtedly chiefly due to the fact that many local employers had themselves served in the Volunteers, perhaps a majority in the Leeds Rifles. The head of the largest engineering firm, Lord Airedale, and the head of the largest tannery, Lord Allerton, had been founder members of the regiment. The principals of a good many of the firms on the Lord Mayor's list were former Volunteers; e.g. Robert Chorley, Walter Harding, Col. Coghlan, Alf Cooke, Walter W. Johnson, Arthur Greenwood, F.W. Tannett-Walker, not to mention the Butlers, Barrans, Pauls, Lawsons, Armitages, Hirsts, Brays, Inchbolds, Bousfields, Luptons, Middletons, who were members of other firms listed and other Volunteer families prominent in Leeds industry and commerce. Clearing banks and insurance companies were national leaders among employers who supported the Territorial scheme, and their employees were to be found in A Coy of the 7th and G Coy of the 8th, whose recruits from the offices of solicitors and chartered accountants were often employed by ex-Riflemen such as Alf Masser, William Ward, John Gordon and Charles Beevers. Some Leeds Rifles recruits came from the Leeds branch of the Bank of England and the Leeds offices of the Aire and Calder Navigation, traditional supporters of the Regiment since its inception.

An additional but extremely important way in which local employers aided local recruiting was by example. "The Scout" had early declared that if employers or their sons joined as officers, the workpeople would quickly fill the ranks.²⁴¹ However old-fashioned this idea may have been thought, his prediction proved correct. Leading businessmen and sons of employers, particularly in large concerns, became prominent numerically in the officer ranks of both the Leeds Rifles battalions, particularly the 8th Bn, and of the Leeds Artillery. This seems to have been somewhat exceptional nationally: professional men appeared to predominate in the officer ranks of many TF units. There was not the slightest hint of coercion on the part of local employers to join the TF. Arthur Greenwood, the head of Greenwood & Batley, firmly believed that "it was the duty of all young men to devote a portion of their time to military training."²⁴² It was only natural, with his own and his family background, that he should adopt this viewpoint.

Various courses of action were put forward nationally to encourage

employers to support the TF, or to discourage them from obstructing it. A frequent suggestion was to grant a deduction of income tax on company profits for every employee attending annual training, but the idea of making Territorials tax-deductible naturally held no appeal for the Treasury. In a 1912 Parliamentary debate, Mark Sykes suggested a 10/- bounty to employers in compensation for every man allowed to go to camp for 15 days, whereas Capt. Gilmour wished to see fines imposed on employers who refused to allow their men to join the TF.²⁴³ Proposals to pay compensation to employers came up again in March 1914.²⁴⁴ John Ward, a Labour MP who could never have been accused of having double standards, had in 1907 suggested amending Haldane's Bill to constitute it intimidation to enquire whether a man was a Volunteer, and to treat as a criminal offence the making it a condition of employment that a man should not belong to the TF.²⁴⁵ It was frequently pointed out during the autumn of 1908 that the Australian Defence Bill (passed in October) proposed to inflict very severe penalties upon employers who placed obstacles in the way of their workmen's military training.²⁴⁶ The Director-General of the TF, Maj-Gen. E.C. Bethune, toured the country in 1912 in an attempt to collect suggestions that would help the Army Council to resolve the difficulties some employers experienced in releasing employees and to devise some satisfactory means of compensating employers who helped their employees to join the TF,²⁴⁷ but his report appears to have sunk without trace. The Government would take no action, either to encourage employers to support the TF, or to discourage them from obstructing it, despite the fact that the need for such action was continually being demonstrated. For instance, at the nadir of the manpower crisis, the fact of the 1st London Bde RFA being practically at full strength was ascribed entirely to the patriotism of employers in the City.²⁴⁸ The answer lay, of course, in the cost to the Government involved. As Capt. Gilmour MP perspicaciously observed, "I am bound to say that in all Territorial matters we are brought up against this question of finance."²⁴⁹

NOTES

1. Calculated from statistics given in the Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1908, p.5; 1909 Cmd. 4496, li, 521.
2. Yorkshire Post, 9 November 1907, 28 April 1908.
3. Ibid., 26 May 1908.
4. Ibid., 28 April 1908; Yorkshire Evening Post, 6 August 1908.
5. 7th Bn Monthly Orders, January-July 1909.
6. Royal Commission on the Militia & Volunteers, Report, p.23; 1904 Cmd. 2061, xxx, 175.
7. 169 HC Deb. 4s. 25 February 1907, cols. 1295, 1300, for example.
8. Annual Return of the Volunteer Corps of Great Britain for the year 1899, p.33; 1900 Cmd. 199, xlix, 351.
9. Yorkshire Evening Post, 12 June 1907.
10. Yorkshire Evening News, 26 June 1907.
11. Times, 28 May 1909, 4d.
12. See Memorandum showing how various enactments are affected by the Territorial & Reserve Forces Bill; 1907 Cmd. 3361, xlix, 259; Times, 12 May 1909, 8c; Yorkshire Evening News, 20 May 1908.
13. See H. Baker, The Territorial Force, A manual of its law, organisation & administration (London, 1909), p.170; The General Annual Report on the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1910, with which is incorporated the Annual Report on Recruiting, Table 5, Section II, Part XII, p.121; 1911 Cmd. 5481 xlvi, 617.
14. 184 Parl. Deb. 4s. 20 February 1908, cols. 942-946.
15. Yorkshire Post, 5 March 1908.
16. Ibid., 11 April 1908.
17. Yorkshire Evening News, 4 December 1907.
18. Annual Return of the Volunteer Corps of Great Britain for the year 1899, p.33; 1900 Cmd. 199, xlix, 351.
19. Yorkshire Evening News, 17 April 1907.
20. Yorkshire Evening Post, 23 August 1906; Yorkshire Evening News, 3 October 1906; ibid., 21 March 1906.
21. F.A.M. Webster, Britain's Territorials in Peace & War (London, 1915), p.91.
22. Yorkshire Evening Post, 25 September 1907.
23. Yorkshire Evening News, 18 December 1907.
24. Ibid., 8 January 1908.
25. Yorkshire Evening News, 31 March 1909, 12 June 1908.
26. Yorkshire Post, 26 July 1909.
27. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1911, p.7, Table 8, p.113; 1912-13 Cmd.6066, li, 691. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1912, p.5; 1912-13 Cmd. 6657, li, 811.

28. H. Cunningham, The Volunteer Force: A Social & Political History 1859-1908 (London, 1975), Table 8, p.45.
29. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1911, Table 11, p.116; 1912-13 Cmd. 6066, li, 691. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1912, Table 11, p.116; 1912-13 Cmd. 6657, li, 811. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1913, Table 11, p.128; 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407.
30. For reasons for premature retirements in the Volunteer Force, see Yorkshire Evening News, 1 August 1906.
31. Report of a Committee of General and other Officers of the Army on Army Reorganisation, p.16; 1881 Cmd. 2791, xxi, 185.
32. Report of the Committee appointed ... to consider the Terms & Conditions of Service in the Army, Minutes of Evidence, p.10; (evidence of General Viscount Wolseley) pp.153-68, (evidence of HRH Duke of Connaught), p.315; 1892 Cmd. 6582, xix, 73. Sir J.L.A. Simmons, 'The Inefficiency of the Army', The Nineteenth Century, XXXI (1892), 885-98.
33. Royal Commission on the Militia & Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Part IV, pp.264, 263; 1904 Cmd. 2064, xxxi, 587.
34. Yorkshire Evening News, 6 March 1907.
35. Ibid., 26 June 1907; Yorkshire Evening Post, 12 June 1907.
36. See, for example, Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, XXI (1877), No. XCI, p.803.
37. CO to OC 14th RD, 1 September 1890, LRMT, Correspondence Book VI.
38. Leeds Mercury, 27 February 1907.
39. Yorkshire Post, 5 July 1910.
40. Ibid., 27 February 1907.
41. Yorkshire Evening News, 25 March 1908.
42. Ibid., 1 January 1908. Only one suit (service dress) was provided for in the Approximate Estimate of the cost of the proposed Territorial Force (1907 Cmd. 3296, xlvi, 799), published in January 1907. An Additional Estimate of the Cost of the Territorial Force (1907 Cmd 3369, xlvi, 805), published four months later, included a second suit (walking-out dress).
43. Yorkshire Evening News, 8 January 1908.
44. For example, ibid., 28 September, 2 November 1910.
45. Royal Commission on the Militia & Volunteers, Report, para. 75, p.14; 1904 Cmd. 2061, xxx, 175.
46. Yorkshire Evening Post, 1 April 1908, 30 March 1908; Yorkshire Evening News, 1 April 1908.
47. See also letter to the Editor, Yorkshire Evening Post, 22 June 1905.
48. A Soldier's Eye-View of Our Armies (London, 1919), p.34.
49. Yorkshire Evening Post, 1 April 1908.
50. Ibid., 19 February 1908.
51. See Chapter 1, section 1.4; also Yorkshire Evening Post, 15 March 1906.

52. Yorkshire Post, 6 March 1908.
53. Ibid., 20 March 1908, Yorkshire Evening News, 25 March 1908.
54. See, for example, Yorkshire Evening News, 3 November 1908.
55. Ibid., 15 April 1908; Punch, 20 May 1908, Vol. CXXXIV, p.363.
56. See Chapter 7, section 7.5, for an account of the organisation, work and difficulties of the West Riding County Association.
57. Yorkshire Evening News, 6 May 1908.
58. Testimony of 1803 Alfred Kennedy Owen, 8th.
59. Yorkshire Post, 31 March 1909; Yorkshire Evening News, 14 June, 29 March 1911.
60. Yorkshire Evening News, 8 April 1908.
61. Yorkshire Post, 23 April 1908; (obit.) 18 July 1910.
62. Record Book of the Leeds Battalion, Church Lads' Brigade.
63. Yorkshire Evening Post, 27 May 1908; Yorkshire Evening News, 13 May, 21 April 1908.
64. Testimony of Lt J.B. Gawthorpe, 8th.
65. Times, 15 February 1909, 6a.
66. 1 HC Deb. 5s. 4 March 1909, col. 1597.
67. D. Read, Edwardian England 1901-1915: Society & Politics (London, 1972), p.247.
68. Yorkshire Post, 28 March 1911.
69. For example, G.D.H. Cole & R. Postgate, The Common People 1746-1946 (London, 1938; 1971 University paperback edn.), p.463.
70. Yorkshire Evening News, 29 April 1908.
71. Royal Commission on the Militia & Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix XI, p.20; 1904 Cmd. 2064, xxxi, 587.
72. Yorkshire Evening News, 12 August, 21 October 1908.
73. Times, 20 November 1911, 4a-c.
74. Testimony of 1485 Alfred Clarkson, 7th, 1327 Walter Garnett, 8th & others.
75. Leeds Mercury, 27 February, 3 July 1914; 8th Bn Monthly Orders, June & July 1914.
76. Leeds Mercury, 26 June 1914. For the statistics on camp numbers, see 64 HC Deb. 5s. 30 June 1914, col. 202.
77. See H. Cunningham, op.cit., Table 8, p.45.
78. Calculated from The General Annual Report on the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1910, with which is incorporated the Annual Report on Recruiting..., Table 5, Section II, Part VII, p.85; 1911 Cmd. 5481, xlvi, 617. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1910, Table 10, p.115; 1911 Cmd. 5482, xlvi, 743.
79. For example, Yorkshire Evening Post, 6 August 1908; Yorkshire Post, 1 June 1909, 20 December 1910.
80. Yorkshire Evening News, 16 June 1909.

81. "The National Service Issue, 1899-1914", unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1975, pp.168-9.
82. Inferred by comparing the age tables in the Annual Returns of the Territorial Force for the years 1909 & 1910; the ages of recruits were not given in the Annual Returns until 1911.
83. Testimony of 1096 Edgar S. Fendley, 7th.
84. 7th Bn Monthly Orders, April, June, July, August 1909.
85. 8th Bn Monthly Orders, January 1909; Yorkshire Evening Post, 1 March, 7 April, 28 July 1909.
86. Yorkshire Evening News, 24 June 1908.
87. Yorkshire Post, 12 April 1912.
88. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1908, Table 2, pp. 95-6; 1909 Cmd. 4496, li, 521; for the year 1909, Table 2, p.92; 1910 Cmd. 5017, lx, 781; for the year 1910, Table 2, p.104; 1911 Cmd. 5482, xlvi, 743; for the year 1911, Table 2, p.104; 1912-13 Cmd. 6066, li, 691: for the year 1912, Table 2, p.104; 1912-13 Cmd. 6657, li, 811; for the year 1913, Table 2, p.116; 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407.
89. Yorkshire Post, 2 July 1912, 8 July 1913.
90. Ibid., 10 October 1913; Leeds Mercury, 3 July 1914.
91. Times, 9 March 1914, 12d.
92. Calculated from Table of Strengths, Glasgow Herald, 7 January 1914, 13a.
93. See, for example, Table of Strengths of the West Riding TF, Leeds Mercury, 25 November 1913.
94. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1908, p.5 & Table 2, pp. 70-96; 1909 Cmd. 4496, li, 521; for the year 1909, pp.4-5; 1910 Cmd. 5017, lx, 781; for the year 1913, pp.5-6; 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407. The quota classification is explained in Chapter 7, section 7.5
95. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1909, p.4; 1910 Cmd. 5017, lx, 781; for the year 1913, Table 8, p.125; 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407.
96. Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates for 1913-14, p.5; 1913 Cmd. 6688, xlii, 231; for 1914-15, p.4; 1914 Cmd. 7253, li, 231.
97. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1913, Table 8, p.125; 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407.
98. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1910, Table 7, p.112; 1911 Cmd. 5482, xlvi, 743.
99. Yorkshire Evening News, 23 July 1913; Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates for 1913-14, p.6; 1913 Cmd. 6688, xlii, 231.
100. Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for the year 1913-14, Vote IV, p.48; 1913 xlii, 1.
101. Yorkshire Post, 2 July 1912, 6 May 1913, 4 May 1909; Leeds Mercury, 25 November 1913.
102. Leeds Mercury, 13 March 1914.

103. Royal Commission on the Condition of the Volunteer Force, Appendix 2, pp.223-4; 1862 (3053). xxvii. 89.
104. H. Cunningham, op.cit., Table 9, p.47.
105. White's Directory, 1866.
106. For the Leeds Rifles, see Table 5, Appendix II.
107. Calculated from statistics given in Leeds Mercury, 13 March 1914.
108. See J. Baynes, Morale: A Study of Men & Courage (London, 1967), pp.29-30, 31-2.
109. For the "status ladders" of the 1950s & mid-1970's see S. Raven, 'Perish By the Sword', in H. Thomas, ed., The Establishment (London, 1959), pp.58-9; J. Keegan, 'Regimental Ideology' in G. Best & A. Wheatcroft, eds., War, Economy & the Military Mind (London & Totowa, N.J., 1976), p.6.
110. Yorkshire Evening Post, 20 April 1910, 3 May 1911; Yorkshire Evening News, 30 June 1909.
111. Testimonies of Staff Sgt-Major A.E. Welburn, Farrier Staff-Sgt William Perkins, CQMS William Wilson, Leeds ASC.
112. Yorkshire Evening News, 28 January 1914; Leeds Mercury, 27 February 1914.
113. Yorkshire Evening Post, 17 August 1910.
114. Unattributed, 'A History of the Yorkshire District Column RASC', unpublished MS, 1964.
115. Yorkshire Evening Post, 28 September 1910.
116. Ibid., 31 August 1910.
117. Yorkshire Evening News, 26 March 1914.
118. For example, Alderman Gordon, Yorkshire Post, 14 December 1899.
119. See, for example, Yorkshire Evening News, 10 August 1910.
120. Ibid., 1 July 1908.
121. Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates for 1909-10, p.6; 1909 Cmd. 4495, li, 233.
122. Yorkshire Evening News, 10 August 1910.
123. Ibid., 5 July 1911; Sir John Keir, op.cit., p.35.
124. Yorkshire Evening Post, 8 August 1910; Yorkshire Evening News, 10 August 1910.
125. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, Vol. II, Minutes of Evidence, qq. 12112, 2083; 1904 Cmd. 2210, xxxii, 145.
126. Ibid., Vol. III, Appendices, Appendix XIX, p.77; 1904 Cmd. 2186, xxxii, 655.
127. Ibid., Vol. II, Minutes of Evidence, q. 2194; 1904 Cmd. 2210, xxxii, 145.
128. Leeds Education Committee, Reports of the School Medical Officer for the year ended 31st December 1909; and for the year ended 31st December 1910 (copies available in Leeds City Reference Library, Local Collections); B.S. Rowntree, Poverty: A Study of Town Life (London, 1901; 1971 edn.), pp.250,251; F. Finnegan &

- E. Sigsworth, Poverty & Social Policy: An Historical Study of Batley, Papers in Community Studies, No. 19, University of York, 1978, pp.18,21.
129. Yorkshire Evening News, 9 February 1910.
 130. Oral testimony.
 131. Testimony of 501 Harry Rankine, 7th.
 132. Testimony of 1096 Edgar S. Fendley, 7th; Roll Book of 15th Service Bn PWO West Yorkshire Regt. Leeds Pals, 1915 (Pontefract, 1915).
 133. Yorkshire Post, 18 August 1910.
 134. A Ragged Schooling: growing up in the classic slum (Manchester, 1976), p.155.
 135. Testimonies of 2892 Herbert Creswick, 7th, & 966 Thomas Green, 2nd WR Field Ambulance.
 136. Yorkshire Post, 20, 23 December 1913.
 137. Times, 15 August 1913, 3a-b.
 138. Leeds Mercury, 1 August 1913.
 139. For example, Yorkshire Post, 10 August 1908; Yorkshire Evening News, 30 July 1913.
 140. Yorkshire Evening News, 13 August 1913.
 141. See, for example, C.F.G. Masterman, The Condition of England (London, 1909), esp. Chapter 3; L.V. Shairp, 'Leeds' in Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, ed., Social Conditions in Provincial Towns (London, 1912), Paper VII, pp.73-82.
 142. For example, Leeds Mercury, 16 January, 27 February 1914; Yorkshire Post, 17 February 1914.
 143. Oral testimony.
 144. Yorkshire Evening News, 23 July 1913.
 145. Yorkshire Post, 24 February 1914.
 146. For example, Col. E. Wilson (pseudonym "A Volunteer Colonel with Thirty-Five Years' Service"), 'Our Volunteers', The Westminster Review, CL1 (1899), 48.
 147. Testimony of 552 L/Cpl William W. Cameron, 7th.
 148. Yorkshire Post, 20 December 1913.
 149. Yorkshire Evening News, 11 February 1914; Leeds Mercury, 27 February, 27 March 1914.
 150. Times, 9 March 1914, 12d.
 151. Yorkshire Evening News, 4 February 1914.
 152. Edward J. Springett, 'Scarlet and Blue', unpublished MS, [1970?], Museum of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, Halifax.
 153. Leeds Mercury, 23 June 1914.
 154. Yorkshire Post, 3 October 1907.
 155. Ibid., 8 November 1910, 12 June 1911.
 156. Ibid., 5 April 1909.
 157. Ibid., 29 July 1913.

158. Calculated from Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1908, Table 2, p.95; 1909 Cmd. 4496, li, 521; for the year 1909, Table 2, p.92; 1910 Cmd. 5017, lx, 781; for the year 1910, Table 2, p.104; 1911 Cmd. 5482, xlvi, 743; for the year 1911, Table 2, p.104; 1912-13 Cmd. 6066, li, 691; for the year 1912, Table 2, p.104; 1912-13 Cmd. 6657, li, 811; for the year 1913, Table 2, p.116; 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407.
159. See, for example, Yorkshire Post, 2 April 1913.
160. Memorandum by the Army Council on the existing army system & on the present state of the Military Forces in the United Kingdom, Appendix E, Report of the Inspector-General of the Forces, III, Memorandum on Inspections of the Territorial Force, p.22; 1909 Cmd. 4611, li, 497.
161. Yorkshire Evening News, 30 April 1913; Leeds Mercury, 3 July 1914.
162. For example, letter to the Editor, Yorkshire Post, 15 August 1908.
163. The identifications and other data on the officers named in this paragraph were obtained from newspaper articles, local directories and from respondents who were members of the Units named. Local units had recruited officers from elite families in Volunteer times: see W.T. Pike, ed., Contemporary Biographies (Brighton, 1902), pp.280, 303, 306, 228, 257, 151, 219, 360, 281, 308, 220, 312, 331, 339, 342, 131.
164. Evening Post, 5 February 1980.
165. Testimonies of J.A. Rudd and Ernest Pickering.
166. 8th Bn Monthly Orders, January 1911.
167. Testimony of Lt J.B. Gawthorpe, 8th.
168. See, for example, P. Thompson, The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society (London, 1975), pp.19-20.
169. C.B. Otley, 'The Social Origins of British Army Officers', The Sociological Review, 18 (1970), 221, 222; Table V, 225; Table VI, 226.
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171. Oral testimony.
172. A Fox Under My Cloak (London, 1955; 1963 revised Panther paperback edn.), pp.136-7.
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174. E. Wilson, Leeds Grammar School Admission Books from 1820 to 1900 (Leeds, 1906), p.137.
175. A.C. Price, A History of the Leeds Grammar School from its foundation to the end of 1918 (Leeds, 1919), p.315; Times, 18 December 1860, 5f.

176. Leeds Free Grammar School, Calendar 1863.
177. CO to OC 14th RD, 13 November 1890, LRMT, Correspondence Book VI.
178. A.C. Price, loc. cit.
179. See, for example, the correspondence in the Yorkshire Post, 18, 20 February 1901; J.O. Springhall, 'The Boy Scouts, Class & Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908-1930', International Review of Social History, XVI (1971), 125-158.
180. P. Wilkinson, 'English Youth Movements 1908-30', Journal of Contemporary History, 4, no. 2 (1969), 17; J.O. Springhall, op.cit., 134.
181. Oral testimony.
182. Presumably former as well as current members were included in this figure. Wilkinson gives the British membership of the Boy Scouts in September 1910 as 100,298 (op. cit., 14).
183. J.O. Springhall, op.cit., 134-5.
184. Yorkshire Post, 17 May 1915; Yorkshire Evening Post, 3 May 1915.
185. Letter to editor, Yorkshire Post, 12 February 1916.
186. J.O. Springhall, op.cit., 144-7.
187. Testimony of G. Oswald Plackett, (8th Bn), Hon. Colonel, Leeds Battalion, CLB.
188. Yorkshire Post, 20 May 1911.
189. Yorkshire Evening News, 13 May 1908.
190. Austin E. Birch, "Sure and Stedfast": The History of the Boys' Brigade in Leeds from 1892 to 1942 (Leeds, 1942), p. 12.
191. W.F. Vickers to editor of the Yorkshire Evening Post, 21 December 1908, Correspondence Book, Boys' Brigade, Leeds & District 1902-.
192. Church Lads' Brigade, Roll of 1st Battalion (Leeds), 1897-; Church Lads' Brigade Yearbook for 1908.
193. Anon. souvenir booklet, Golden Jubilee of 8th Leeds Company Boys' Brigade (Leeds, 1956); Correspondence Book, Boys' Brigade, Leeds & District, 1902-: 8 March, 27 August, 19 October 1906; 14 October 1908; 24 June 1902.
194. Evening Post, 26 April 1980; Boys' Rifle Brigade booklet in Braithwaite Scrapbook.
195. Times, 15 March 1906, 8c.
196. See Leeds Boys' Modern School Memorial of Old Boys who made the supreme sacrifice in the Great War 1914-1918 (Leeds, no date).
197. Correspondence Book, Boys' Brigade, Leeds & District, 1902-, 28 October 1909; Leeds & District Battalion, Boys' Brigade, Minute Book 1895-1908.
198. Church Lads' Brigade, Roll of 1st Battalion (Leeds), 1897-; Church Lads' Brigade Yearbooks, 1908-1911 inclusive, 1913.
199. Anon. booklet, The Story of the Leeds Adult Schools (Leeds, 1909), pp. 8, 11, Carlton Hill Meeting House Archives of the Society of Friends, Leeds, 011/13.
200. Leeds Mercury, 10 August 1915.

201. Testimony of 552 L/Cpl William W. Cameron, 7th. His father Walter Cameron is included in the List of Members & Attenders in Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting 1914, Carlton Hill Meeting House Archives, FF27.
202. Testimony of 1726 Jack Barker, 7th.
203. Yorkshire Post, 7 March 1916.
204. Testimony of 1987 Sydney Appleyard, 7th.
205. Letter to editor, Yorkshire Post, 11 April 1917.
206. 329 HC Deb. 3s. 25 July 1888, col. 493.
207. 170 HC Deb. 4s. 4 March 1907, cols. 516-517.
208. Yorkshire Post, 17 December 1907.
209. For example, see ibid., 6 March 1908.
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218. Yorkshire Evening News, 23 July 1913.
219. Yorkshire Post, 21 May 1909, 19 March 1908.
220. Ibid., 21 March 1908.
221. Testimony of 2221 George A. Fletcher, 8th, one of the firm's apprentices.
222. Yorkshire Evening News, 29 April 1908; Yorkshire Evening Post, 24 April 1912; Yorkshire Post, 8 April 1908, 16 March 1909, 3 May 1913.
223. Times, 23 April 1910, 18a.
224. Yorkshire Evening Post, 2 May 1908.

225. Yorkshire Post, 6 May 1908.
226. Ibid, 6, 20 May 1908.
227. Testimony of L/Cpl William W. Cameron, 7th.
228. Times, 6 February 1909, 9b; 8 February 1909, 13b; 10 February 1909, 11c.
229. Minute 12, 1 March 1909, Great Wilson Street Adult School Minute Book, 1906-1929, Carlton Hill Meeting House Archives, S35; 2 HC Deb. 5s. 8 March 1909, cols. 56-58.
230. Times, 9 September 1909, 4e; 19 May 1909, 4d.
231. Yorkshire Post, 14 December 1907; letter to editor, Times, 6 June 1910, 9d.
232. Yorkshire Post, 19 March 1909.
233. Ibid., 8, 10 September 1913.
234. Testimonies of 1543 Harper Stott, 2222 William H. Reynard, 2227 Gilbert Freeman, 8th, all railway employees.
235. Yorkshire Post, 4 May 1909; 5 June 1908.
236. See 59 HC Deb. 5s. 10 March 1914, col. 1130; 12 March 1914, col. 1460.
237. Oral testimony.
238. Yorkshire Post, 20 December 1913.
239. See, for example, the London Irish: Times, 12 January 1914, 4c.
240. Yorkshire Evening Post, 19 August 1908.
241. Yorkshire Evening News, 6 May 1908.
242. Yorkshire Post, 28 April 1908.
243. 40 HC Deb. 5s. 4 July 1912, cols. 1367, 1422.
244. 59 HC Deb. 5s. 12 March 1914, col. 1468.
245. 172 HC Deb. 4s. 10 April 1907, col. 272.
246. See, for example, Yorkshire Evening News, 21 October 1908.
247. Yorkshire Post, 2 October 1912.
248. Times, 23 February 1914, 4b.
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CHAPTER 6. RECRUITMENT AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION 1914-1918

6.1 Recruiting 1914

An outstanding feature of the first few weeks of the war on the home front was the extraordinary response to Kitchener's first appeals for recruits. About $\frac{3}{4}$ million men enlisted in August and September alone.¹ "The surge to the colours in the Great War" writes Anne Summers "remains without adequate explanation. We still lack any real understanding of the social, political and cultural basis of British patriotism as it was manifested at this particular moment in history."² Contemporary observers, almost entirely drawn from the upper and middle classes, immediately labelled the response as emotional and ascribed it to patriotism, an explanation that most writers and historians since have been content to accept without question. Three recent writers, however, have mentioned other factors as being involved: Alan Lloyd refers to motives such as the urge to break parochial limits, and the desire to escape the drudgery of ill-paid jobs or the drabness of slum life,³ while John Keegan concedes there were many among the First Hundred Thousand who had been without work when they joined up.⁴ Eric J. Leed considers the chief motive was "precisely a longing to throw off a too narrow and confining identity."⁵

As already indicated, the subject of motivation to enlist is extraordinarily complex. The advent of war served only to complicate it, not to simplify. The issues involved did not become more clear-cut, as Table E, Chap. 2, shows. Nearly all the 100 men in the Leeds Rifles wartime cohort expressed more than one overt motive for enlistment. It is probably true to say that every army recruit was conscious of more than one motive and was subject to several influences. This is demonstrated by the men of other TF units included in the Table, and numerous examples are to be found in literary sources, one particularly good example being that of John Francis Tucker who joined the Kensingtons (13th London Regiment) "out of duty". He did, however, hate his job; he was keen on sports, was an ex-member of the Church Lads' Brigade, and his father and two uncles had formerly served in the regiment.⁶

Since 6,250 men enlisted in the Leeds Rifles during the first year of war,⁷ the size of the cohort surveyed is far too small to allow any generalisations to be based on the information obtained from its members. Nevertheless it is clear that many of the factors and influences that were prominent in all the groups surveyed, including recruits to the Regular Army, in

peacetime continued to be important after war broke out. It will be noted that social inheritance factors continued to be paramount and that a desire for adventure, new experiences and foreign travel, unemployment or an anxiety to escape personal dilemmas were important factors in many cases. Military service, particularly in wartime, offers opportunities for escape from any number of civilian problems.⁸ This often appeared as a latent factor of which the respondent was, more often than not, quite unaware: 22% of this cohort had an unsatisfactory home-life. Surprisingly, this appeared to be an important element in the wartime motivation for officers: the next-of-kin data in the 1/7th List of Officers revealed that 26.6% of the total, i.e. 31.5% of the single officers, had no father or no parents. The latent factor of unsatisfactory home life shows up as being clearly important in the admittedly tiny sample of other TF soldiers. (The figure should be corrected to 2 out of 10, since the sample of 13 included 3 men who declined to be interviewed but who agreed to complete a brief questionnaire which did not seek information of this nature.)

The single motive given more frequently than any other by Riflemen was "patriotic duty". A large majority of those giving this answer came from the working classes. The usual reply was "My King and Country needed me", but two replies were particularly interesting since they came from members of the lower echelons of the working classes. William Kendrew, son of a labourer:

"There was that great patriotic feeling about. We wanted to do what we could to safeguard the country from the Germans. We had heard what had happened in Belgium and we didn't want it to happen here."

James Macken, a worker at the Leeds Fireclay Co.:

"We had to stop what had happened in Belgium happening here and we had to honour our treaty obligations to France and Belgium and go to help them."⁹

These men, willingly accepting the country's responsibilities as their own, happened to be expressing the "Militant Crusader" stance adopted in August 1914 by the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church and nearly all the Nonconformist churches. Dr W.R. Nicoll, the editor of British Weekly, the most influential of the Free Church papers, and close friend of Lloyd George, wrote at the War Office's request an appeal to Young Nonconformists, which appeared in the issue of 3rd September 1914, setting down the reasons why they should volunteer. Issued shortly afterwards in pamphlet form, it had an immense circulation. Its arguments, summarised, ran thus: the war was thrust upon Britain; we went to war to be true to our sacred and solemn

obligations; Britain was in danger of enslavement by a vindictive tyrant, the Kaiser; "This is a war on behalf of the common people ... The success of Germany would be the end of democracy."¹⁰ The spirit of the "Militant Crusader" was often expressed in the letters of Riflemen written at the front in 1915 (see Chaps. 9, 10, 12). The influence of the churches on recruiting at the beginning of the war may thus be greater than has been hitherto realised.

Although patriotism was undoubtedly a factor in inducing many men to enlist, other influences seem to have assumed considerable importance. There was the part played by popular militarism¹¹ in all its various forms - amateur soldiering in the Volunteers and Territorials, the number of whose former members was astonishingly large; the patriotic Leagues, whose membership exceeded those of any political party of the time;¹² the uniformed youth organisations; Christian militarism; military entertainments - which, like the contemporary popular art and literature that portrayed military life, were essentially romantic in character. There were undoubtedly many young men who hoped to discover themselves by means of the challenge offered by the war.¹³ There were romantic idealists like Vivian de Sola Pinto,¹⁴ and others who went to fight in the war for "a reason beyond reason". There were those who considered that the army and the war provided the antidote to the diseases that were felt to beset contemporary society. Subliminal influences on both recruiting and on the public mood generally have been adduced by not a few writers: the effects of the prewar deluge of invasion literature,¹⁵ of the subtle indoctrination of the creed of British supremacy in every field taught to all schoolchildren, of the fact that Britain had not been involved in a major European war for a century. An influence of immense importance, however, was the self-evident fact that, to the vast majority of the British public, soldiering had become a socially acceptable profession overnight. 1764 Arthur G. Illingworth and his friends of the 1st WR Field Ambulance, were daily supplied with free roast pork sandwiches by the landlord of "The George Hotel" in Great George Street;¹⁶ OR Sgt William B. Burrell, 8th, inundated with presents of "comforts" (as was W. Linton Andrews of the 4th Black Watch)¹⁷ while at home on a 48 hour-pass, wrote in his diary: "Cannot help but feel impressed by the treatment meted out to anyone in the King's Uniform just now":¹⁸ while guarding the railway lines at the approaches to Selby station in August's middle weeks, the men of the Leeds Rifles were continually literally showered with gifts of buns, cakes, pies, bags of sweets, bars of chocolate, sticks of rock, more than they could possibly eat, by passengers in the passing trains.¹⁹ A man who enlisted in the army now attracted praise and adulation, not opprobrium.

The uniform was now the symbol of a highly prestigious role instead of a barrier to social acceptance.

Up to the outbreak of war, hostile opposition to the Army had been prevalent throughout virtually the whole of British society. This hostility was traditional; its roots lay buried in the sands of time. The vast majority of the general public based their opposition to the Army and to soldiering as a career in particular chiefly on moral and social grounds. For generations it had been popularly believed that the Army was recruited from "the scum of the earth". Despite the efforts and accomplishments of the "army evangelical movement"²⁰ this ancient creed still commanded widespread assent, however unthinking, up to the outbreak of war in 1914. Joining the Army was not considered respectable: "There was in the minds of the ordinary God-fearing citizen no such thing as a good soldier; to have a member who had gone for a soldier was for many families a crowning disgrace."²¹ In time of peace, as Rudyard Kipling had pointed out in his famous poem 'Tommy', the general public looked down on "the common soldier" and held him in contempt. The reason why going for a soldier was regarded as such a social disgrace and why soldiering was not a socially acceptable profession can be easily drawn from the following opinions about soldiers and army recruits given by respondents:

They were "riff-raff", "the dregs of society", "ne'er-do-wells";
 "low types";
 A lot were "rough types", "scally-wags and ruffians";
 They were "bad lads" and ex-jail birds; "jail-bait";
 They were always thieving and not to be trusted; they were always causing trouble;
 They had had to leave home because they had got into some kind of trouble, such as losing their jobs through fighting at work, or had been thrown out by their fathers on account of some kind of misdemeanour;
 They were lads on the run from the police or from fathers or brothers of girls they had "got into trouble";
 They had a reputation for promiscuity and for consorting with prostitutes: "only girls of easy virtue went out with soldiers" (Civilian men who associated with soldiers tended to be regarded as bad characters);
 They were workshy - "too lazy to look for anything else"; "they thought the Army would be easier than working" - or unemployable - "they were lads nobody else would give a job to"; "you only joined the Army if you couldn't do nowt else";
 They were unemployed youths who had been unable to obtain any other kind of work;
 They were from poor homes.

John Terraine's observation that hostility to the Army was most pronounced in "the lower middle class and the respectable working class"²² was more than adequately borne out by the present study. Hostility and prejudice

against soldiers, whilst commonplace among respondents of the lower middle class and the semi-skilled section of the working class, was clearly most deeply entrenched in the upper working class, only two of the respondents from skilled families failing to express adverse opinions of soldiers. (Some civilians were unwilling to relinquish these attitudes even during the war. A man charged in 1916, under the Defence of the Realm Act, with making statements likely to prejudice the recruiting, training, discipline, or administration of His Majesty's forces, declared that "Those who go soldiering are the scum of the country, and too lazy to work." "Traditional" complaints about the conduct of home-based troops were still being made in September 1916.)²³ On the other hand, the replies given by respondents from the unskilled section of the working class strongly suggest that, in Leeds, these echelons of society were, in fact, well-disposed towards both soldiers as individuals and the Army as an institution. (Interestingly, a study undertaken in the USA in 1958 by Rufus C. Browning into the social origins of military personnel found that, within the enlisted groups, men who came from the lower socio-economic levels were more favourable towards the Army than were those from the higher strata of American society.)²⁴ This favourable attitude may, at least in part, have been the result of Leeds' proverbial social tranquillity and long history of harmonious civil-military relations, and may not have obtained in towns and districts with less happy records of military involvement in the maintenance of public order or in coastal areas where troops had played a large part in combatting smuggling during the 18th or early 19th centuries. Social factors, however, appear to have been paramount in shaping attitudes to soldiering in these sectors of society. Respondents repeatedly stressed both the positive aspects of soldiering as a profession and the value of the Army as a welfare agency; also, encouraging sons to join the Army, like sending daughters "away to service", was a practical solution to the serious overcrowding problem that so often beset parents in the lower classes. In 1914 Leeds had the second highest proportion of population living in accommodation with over 2 persons per room in the northern half of England: 171 per 100 (Newcastle, the highest: 722 per 1000). 11.7% of Leeds houses had only two rooms, 24.8% had three.²⁵

The name of the chief recruiting officer in the first weeks of war, however, both in the country as a whole,²⁶ and certainly in Leeds, was Unemployment. (By the end of 1914 unemployment appeared to be losing its primacy as a factor in recruiting.²⁷ The February 1915 Report of the Board

of Trade on the State of Employment declared that enlistment was no longer "even mainly determined by lack of employment".)²⁸

Unemployment was traditionally regarded as the army's chief recruiting officer in times of peace and war alike.²⁹ The War Office had long been uncomfortably aware of the fact that army recruiting was heavily dependent on the state of the labour market and the Annual Reports on the British Army seldom failed to refer to the employment situation. The Report on the Health of the Army for the year 1909, for instance, reported that, of the number of approved recruits under 21, which accounted for 72.0% of the total, probably well over 90% were unemployed when enlisted.³⁰ As long ago as 1846, J. MacMullen, a former Staff Sergeant in the 13th Infantry, had stated that 80 out of every 120 recruits ($\frac{2}{3}$ rds) were unemployed labourers and mechanics.³¹ Victorian social commentators and investigators also perceived the connection: Charles Booth noted the importance of "the want of civil employment" among the most potent factors in recruiting which was "briskest in the winter months",³² i.e. January to March, the quarter of the year which traditionally shows the highest unemployment figures. Richard Price, by studying the Attestation Forms for the Imperial Yeomanry, demonstrated that a correlation existed during the 2nd Boer War between the patterns of working-class recruitment and the levels of employment and real wages: "working class volunteering was far more a response to environmental pressures and needs of day-to-day living than to the pretentious patriotism characteristic of the period".³³ Interestingly, recent studies by Professor Ian Bellany have demonstrated that increases in service pay relative to civilian pay and rises in unemployment, particularly in the male 18-19 age group, were the prime factors in army recruitment in the period 1975-80 and in service enlistment as a whole in the period 1960-76.³⁴

Price's statement could certainly have been applied to Leeds in the autumn of 1914 when recruiting patterns showed a marked correspondence with the pattern of local economic activity and hence unemployment.

The first effect of war on the nation was "an abrupt and considerable curtailment of production". The contraction of employment as indicated by the September returns amounted to 10¼% for males, a figure "only equalled in the severest of industrial depressions."³⁵ The Prince of Wales's National Relief Fund to relieve social distress had been set up in the middle of August. In Leeds the economic effects of the declaration of war on Germany were immediate and catastrophic. The shipping trade, i.e. freight forwarding, was abruptly halted in all industrial centres, including Leeds, as

ship owners, faced with crippling insurance premiums that had rocketed sky-high overnight, kept their vessels in port, and the railway companies placed their rolling stock at the disposal of the Government. Local trade and industry were immediately thrown off balance, the effects of the war already being "seriously felt in the majority of trades in Leeds"³⁶ on the second day. The many textile and engineering firms that had had a large export trade faced total closure or a severe curtailment of working hours by the weekend, John Fowler's (a leading manufacturer of steam traction engines) and the Farnley Iron Company being especially affected, both going on to short-time working immediately; the clothing trade was also hard hit. Bradford, virtually a one-industry town with a huge export business in which Germany was its biggest customer, faced imminent ruin.³⁷ To add to their economic troubles, Leeds industry and commerce were further disrupted by (a) a severe curtailment in the postal service caused by the call-up of Reservists and Territorials,³⁸ and (b) the large-scale commandeering by both the Territorials and the Regular Army of horses and vehicles,³⁹ whose drivers and keepers were naturally thrown out of work. A respondent, Stephen Whitacker, joined the Regular ASC at the end of August 1914 after he and his father, haulage contractors, had been put out of business by the requisition of all their motor lorries. Harry Riley, the brother of another respondent, was a brewery drayman who joined the 7th Bn when he learnt his horse was going to be taken by the Regiment.⁴⁰

Virtually at a stroke, then, a very large number of men of military age had been put on short time or rendered wholly unemployed. In a rapidly deteriorating employment situation there was only one bright spot: as a result of the large number of Corporation employees called to the Colours as Territorials or Reservists, the municipal strikers were reinstated.⁴¹

Leeds, one of the richest cities of the Empire and certainly one of the most stable economically, seemed stunned by events, scarcely able to comprehend the scale of the disaster which had befallen it. Bradford was well-accustomed to the vagaries of the trade cycle. Although the local political climate had ensured that its Territorial units remained chronically much below strength before the war, Bradford working men now took note that Territorials received Army pay and allowances, pragmatically ignored the principles of the Independent Labour Party and rushed to join up. On mobilisation the 6th WYR was just under 60% of establishment, but by midnight on 5th August 215 had joined, bringing the strength up to 82% of establishment. On 8th August the colonel officially reported his battalion

complete, the first commanding officer of infantry in the West Riding Division to do so.⁴² It is interesting to note that in a Table showing the state of the West Riding Territorial Force published in the Yorkshire Post of 16th September 1914, the two units showing the greatest surpluses of manpower over establishment were those of the 4th DWR and the 5th WYR, which had both suffered markedly from Socialist opposition before the war (see Chap. 7, section 7.6).

Recruiting went comparatively more slowly in Leeds during the first week of war. Eligible men were evidently expecting trade to improve. When the Rifles left for Selby on 10th August each battalion had been augmented by only approximately 150-200 men.⁴³ By the end of the first week, the Northern Signal Companies ("Leeds Engineers") had turned away about 600 would-be recruits, the two Field Ambulances were turning men away, the Leeds Artillery needed only a few specialist tradesmen to complete;⁴⁴ recruits for the Regular Army were being accepted at the rate of about 80 a day.⁴⁵ The slump was now worsening in Leeds. A great deal of uncertainty existed in the engineering trades; Fowler's, nearly all of whose markets had collapsed, had laid off about 1,700 of its workforce. Clothing firms were now suffering severely and all were reduced to short-time working. Cloth manufacturers and finishers were also feeling the pinch. Long queues were to be seen outside the Labour Exchange all day and every day.⁴⁶ By 16th August, nearly 1,000 Leeds men had enlisted in the Regular Army⁴⁷ and on the following day the two Leeds Rifles battalions stopped recruiting, both reporting complete with several hundred men on the waiting list; the Leeds Artillery had reported being over-establishment five days earlier.⁴⁸

The Yorkshire Evening News of 17th August reported at least 7,000 trade unionists wholly unemployed, a number without precedent in Leeds; the Yorkshire Evening Post of 27th August stated that this number was approaching 8,000. The actual totals of unemployed were, naturally, very much in excess of this, since the numbers laid off of clerks, shop assistants and workmen, including apprentices, who were not members of a trade union were not included. (In 1914 29.5% of the UK male labour force belonged to trade unions.)⁴⁹ Unemployment was now causing a heavy drain on unions' funds and the Yorkshire Evening Post of 26th August reported that local officials were advising the younger unemployed to join the army, although the Leeds Labour Party, which was to remain staunchly anti-military, anti-conscription to the last, strongly denied this.⁵⁰ It did not decide to support the local recruiting campaign until 20th September, over a fortnight after widespread publicity had been given to the manifesto of the Parliamentary Committee of the TUC calling upon all eligible trade unionists to enlist and save the country from conscription.⁵¹ A sort of conscription was already in

operation, "the conscription of hunger", a phrase used by prewar advocates of conscription to describe army recruiting and usually attributed to Lord Roberts himself.

The effects of the initial body blow and its necessary concomitant, a crisis in business confidence, were now working through not only Leeds commerce and industry, but the whole of the British economy, in a vast chain reaction. Industries, such as building and construction and cotton manufacture, which were already depressed at the outbreak of war, slumped further.⁵² Previously thriving and expanding industries now faced mounting economic problems. For example, the coal industry's difficulties were becoming increasingly serious as export orders remained unshipped and home demand slumped due to widespread short-time working in industry: 1.82 million males were returned as being on short-time in September.⁵³ National coal output in 1913 had amounted to 28.7m. tons, of which over 25%, 73.4m. tons, had been exported.⁵⁴ A large percentage of the world's shipping had been coaled by the steam coal mined in the South Wales Valleys. By the end of the third week of war there were 10,000 miners idle in the valleys⁵⁵ and no apparent prospect of ever selling the vast pithead coal stockpiles. The principals of some colliery companies, particularly those with army or Volunteer/Territorial connections, and not merely in South Wales, started encouraging their men to join up; a great rush to the Colours was, in fact, reported from South Wales, the area with the highest proportion of miners laid off.⁵⁶ In Leeds, the majority of the printing works were on half-time working.⁵⁷ The teeth regulations for Regular Army recruits had now been relaxed.⁵⁸ The Yorkshire Post of 27th August reported that "many clerks and fitters are being impelled to enlist by the pressure of economic conditions", and on 1st September that "quite a number [of recruits] are skilled artisans who find themselves temporarily out of employment." On 3rd September the Post and the Evening News announced that the 7th and 8th Bns had been selected for foreign service, which meant they were again open for recruiting, this time up to 25% of establishment: the following day the queue of men waiting outside the barrack gate to join stretched all the way along Carlton Hill to Woodhouse Lane.⁵⁹

Some Leeds employers actively encouraged their employees to enlist at this time. Reuben Gaunt and Sons Ltd of Farsley paid a weekly parents' allowance of 5 shillings; Hepworth's Ltd, the multiple tailors, gave every man who enlisted £2 to buy necessary kit and paid his dependent 5 shillings weekly.⁶⁰ The Corporation paid weekly allowances to manual employees who enlisted and half salaries to non-manual grades; by October 31st 1915 it had paid out £34,484.⁶¹ Some Leeds employers, however, as employers

elsewhere, coerced their employees in what was regarded at the time as a form of conscription: Chadwick Bros. Ltd., of Hunslet announced that all male single employees between 18 and 35 who had not offered themselves for enlistment by 4th September would be given notice of dismissal; all employees joining the forces were promised reinstatement on return and a weekly allowance of ten shillings for a dependent relative during absence.⁶² A member of the firm, John Collinge Chadwick, a married man over 30, showed a superior example by applying for a commission in the 8th Bn, the local regiment of South Leeds; he was killed in 1917.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Derby, a former member of Haldane's "Duma", evidently noting the large number of shipping and other clerks out of work in Liverpool, had proposed the raising of a local battalion of "commercial men", a "battalion of Pals". Although Lord Derby is generally credited with the idea of "Pals" battalions, the original concept of 1914 appears to have been Rawlinson's.⁶³ The idea of raising middle-class "Pals" battalions was not new, however. It had been suggested during the Crimean War, but had been firmly squashed as totally impractical by Sidney Herbert.⁶⁴

A full battalion was enrolled in one hour on Friday, 28th August, and between that day and the following Tuesday, 1st September, four battalions of Liverpool Pals, later designated the 17th-20th King's (Liverpool) Regt, a total of approximately 4,000 men, were enlisted. Predictably, the Yorkshire Evening Post demanded "Cannot Leeds do what Liverpool has done and Birmingham is preparing to do?"⁶⁵ unaware that Col. J.W. Stead, the former commanding officer of the 7th Bn, had already proposed to the West Riding Territorial Association the raising of a battalion of "commercial men" for Kitchener's New Army to be called "The City of Leeds Battalion" (but promptly christened "The Leeds Pals"), and that the Lord Mayor had, that very day, wired Lord Kitchener endorsing the suggestion and offering to defray the cost himself out of his own pocket.⁶⁶ Leeds Labour Party strongly condemned the proposal to raise the new battalion from the middle classes and restrict recruitment to non-manual workers.⁶⁷ It was therefore decided to raise a battalion, perhaps two, of manual workers. The announcement, made by Alderman Charles H. Wilson while touring with the Leeds Pals illuminated tramcar, to the large crowd in City Square, was greeted with very great enthusiasm. The Lord Mayor evidently expected the recruits to be "better class artisans". Recruiting for the "Workers Pals" battalions opened on 10th September.⁶⁸

Up to 10th September recruiting nationally had been going exceptionally well: the September unemployment returns showed that enlistment and the calling up of Reservists and Territorials had effectively reduced the 10¼% "contraction of employment" to 1½%.⁶⁹ Recruiting had perhaps been going too well, for by now the difficulties of housing, feeding and clothing the recruits had become so unmanageable that on 11th September the War Office was obliged to raise the entry standards of physique;⁷⁰ the minimum height for recruits to the infantry of the line was raised to 5' 6" and the minimum chest measurement to 35½" "until further notice".⁷¹ In Leeds, by 10th September, approximately 11,000 men had enlisted in the Territorials or Regular forces. Up to 16th August less than 2,000 men had enlisted in Leeds, a rate of about 160 a day. During the next 25 days, the rate more than doubled to over 360 a day as at least 9,000 men joined up.⁷² During this period, the recession had deepened and the unemployment situation had continued to deteriorate. What happened during the next two months gives further evidence that there existed in Leeds a direct relationship between the level of unemployment and the level of recruiting.

On 10th September the nadir of the local economic crisis had been passed: the upsurge was set in motion that day when a large contract arrived for the supply of bright blue serge uniforms, to be worn by recruits and invalids.⁷³ Three days later further Government cloth and clothing contracts arrived on which work was to start immediately; significantly, a lull in recruiting was reported.⁷⁴ Shortly afterwards, a large boot contract was placed by the French Army;⁷⁵ Leeds was perhaps the principal centre in Britain for the manufacture of heavy industrial boots. A week later an "unprecedented" boom was reported in the Leeds clothing trade: several firms were working night shifts, and one was actually working on Sundays,⁷⁶ something previously entirely unheard-of in the Nonconformist city. The CWS clothing factory had obtained a "huge" contract and another firm was working on a contract for army greatcoats.⁷⁷ The Yorkshire Post was sufficiently encouraged by the revival in fortunes to publish a trade review. Thanks to Army orders for clothing and boots, trade had improved and business confidence increased: "one who receives reports on such matters from all parts of England stated yesterday that Leeds is more favourably situated than almost any other town." The revival was extremely patchy, however. Although engineering unemployment in skilled categories had dropped from 780 on 22nd August to 310 on 19th September, some men having left the city to work at armament factories elsewhere, many of the engineering shops engaged on making "the implements of peace" had had to shut down almost completely and short time was worked everywhere. The "ordinary" clothing trade remained

very depressed, those not on Government contracts working only 2 or 3 days a week.⁷⁸ Trade was so slack at Kitson's, the largest engineering employer, towards the end of September that Lt Col. Kitson Clark, the managing director, was going round the works recruiting Riflemen from among his own workmen and apprentices.⁷⁹

Despite this mixed news, the working men of Leeds evidently felt renewed confidence. "Special correspondent" of the Mercury reported on 9th October that the recruiting rush was now over and that the numbers of men enlisting had dwindled to a very low figure. He was completely unable to explain the phenomenon, and complained "Compared with other large towns, it is a matter of regret that the city should have sent such a small proportion of its population to serve the country."⁸⁰ The local trade boom was, in fact, now under way, but this complaint would be made, with increasing frequency, by persons who considered themselves patriotic in the coming months.⁸¹ "Special Correspondent" himself returned more than once to his theme of the very poor response by Leeds youth to "The Call".⁸² Recruiting to the Leeds Rifles had dwindled away to the merest trickle, e.g. the Mercury of 23rd October reported 8 men enlisted, and the Post of 28th October only 2, the Mercury of 27th November only 4. By the beginning of November the 2/6th WYR in Bradford had enlisted over 1400 men, but the 2/8th in Leeds had sworn in only 365.⁸³ At the meeting of the West Riding Territorial Association at the end of October the Chairman, Lord Scarbrough, particularly commented on the dramatic fall in recruiting in Leeds. He ascribed it to the fact that "there was no unemployment in Leeds but, on the contrary, almost a boom in trade."⁸⁴ Just over a fortnight later the depressed engineering trade was reported to be "booming": Fowler's were working overtime and Greenwood and Batley's, who were destined to become the principal manufacturers in the UK of rifle cartridges, were working overtime and night shifts.⁸⁵

Towards the end of November a national recruiting table placed Leeds 10th, with approximately 8,000 men, or 1.8% of the population, enlisted in the Regular Army: 9.5% of the population of Birmingham, the leader, had enlisted. Newcastle, half the size of Leeds, had obtained twice as many recruits as Leeds: 16,000.⁸⁶ The grand total at the end of November for all branches of the armed forces, including Territorials, enlisted in Leeds was 15,444,⁸⁷ almost exactly 20% of the men in the eligible age groups, a low figure compared with other industrial centres. The Central [Parliamentary] Recruiting Committee decided to send a special deputation to inquire into the reasons why Leeds was not pulling its weight and sending

more recruits into the Army. They found Leeds busily engaged in making army boots, service clothing and armaments. The deputation "agreed that a big proportion of the able-bodied manhood of the city must remain to manufacture army necessities" and recognised, like Lord Scarbrough, that it was the state of trade and not necessarily lack of patriotism or moral fibre that was holding men back from enlisting.⁸⁸ The Chamber of Commerce was sufficiently conscious of the slur being cast nationally on Leeds' good name to issue a special statement:

"It has been suggested that recruiting in this district has not been as strong as in other parts of the country, and the Council feel it is only right to place on record their opinion that too much has been made thereof and that the recruiting in our midst compares favourably under all the circumstances with that elsewhere. It must be remembered that Leeds is a centre for the manufacture of numerous articles required for military and naval purposes, and a very large demand has been made upon manufacturers in the district which could not be fully met on account of the difficulty in getting workpeople. Men employed under such circumstances are doing work which is absolutely necessary if our troops are to be equipped; and khaki cloth, uniform clothing, boots, small arms, cartridges and other munitions of war, which are made in Leeds, must be supplied if we are to succeed in defeating the enemy."⁸⁹

It was unreasonable, under a purely voluntary system of recruitment, to expect a man to join the army at 7 shillings a week (less 1½d National Insurance) when he had, or could get, a good, steady, well-paid job in a city where industry was booming, where skilled men were now at a premium, where the semi-skilled might obtain skilled work, and where a man might gain accelerated promotion because so many of his seniors had enlisted. To many men, joining the army was traditionally the last resort of the unemployed. 2586 William Wilson, 8th Bn, a riveter who came from a family of Regular soldiers and sailors, was probably typical of such men. When asked why he had not joined the Regular Army before the war, he replied, "Don't be silly. I'd have been daft to give up such a good, well-paid job."⁹⁰

When the boom came in Leeds, the supply of recruits suddenly dried up. It was particularly unfortunate for the Leeds Rifles that the recruiting for their reserve battalions, the Workers' Pals, did not commence until 10th September, since these new battalions, aimed at the upper working class, bore the brunt of the sudden fall in unemployment. Recruiting got off to an excellent start; 248 men, including 15 prospective officers, enrolled at the Town Hall the first day. There was talk of a Tramways' Company and a teacher's contingent and 350 Leeds Jews who had been trying to raise their own battalion offered their services in a body to the Lord Mayor.⁹¹ The Evening Post of 12th September reported

"All classes of men are coming forward and ... the applicants are for the most part of exceptionally fine physique. Amongst those enrolled are plumbers' fitters, waiters, cooks, and bank clerks, and on one list alone this morning amongst the occupations noted were those of cloth finisher, mechanic, litho-transferer, clothing trade employee, tailor, dental mechanic, motor mechanic, joiner, dyer, striker, painter, stone grate worker, and warehouseman. It will be seen therefore, that the applicants are pretty representative of the trades of the city."

By the 5th day of recruiting 1,058 names had been taken, and some recruits had been sent forward to the 1/8th at Strensall; during the next few days numbers trailed off rapidly, and though one battalion was reported complete on the 9th day,⁹² soon enrolments virtually ceased. As there was no clothing, equipment, arms or accommodation for the men, they had merely been enrolled, not attested. The lists of names were handed over to the recruiting staffs at Carlton Barracks. In due course postcards were sent to all the 1,145 men on the lists, asking them to attend for attestation, "but the great majority ... made no response at all. Many of those who did turn up were either under age or failed to pass the standard"; the net result was that, of the whole number, only about 100 men passed into the Regiment.⁹³ The vast majority of the would-be recruits, and this included the 350-strong Jewish contingent, had evidently reconsidered - and returned to their civilian occupations. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the return of prosperity had changed their minds for them.

Henceforth, army recruiting in Leeds was dependent on specially mounted campaigns of entreaty and exhortation - rallies, meetings, marches, tours of the illuminated tramcar, door-to-door canvassing, canvassing of employers (anticipating Lord Derby's attestation scheme) - that increasingly resorted to all kinds of moral pressure. Less than 5,000 men were obtained during December and January, and three-quarters of these were the result of specific campaigns: 1,211 for the "Leeds Bantams" [men under 5' 2"], 1,074 for Kitchener's Army in general, 460 for the 2nd line Leeds Artillery, 400 for the 2nd line Leeds ASC, and 616 for the 2nd line Leeds Rifles.⁹⁴ The men of the first line Leeds Rifles, the Imperial Service battalions, were bitterly disappointed at the slow progress being made in the raising of their second line units. A young 8th Bn officer wrote home from York to his mother "It looks as though we should stay here for some time to come, but I do wish we could get to the front. It is awful that our Reserve Battalions do not get filled up with recruits."⁹⁵ Recent regulations had laid down that Imperial Service battalions would not be taken for foreign

service until their reserves were complete.⁹⁶ The 2/8th did not manage to recruit up to full strength until 20th February,⁹⁷ four months after the completion of the 2/6th of Bradford.

Nationally, the Government and War Office found that, when they came to remove the brake on recruiting by lowering the standard, the seemingly inexhaustible supply of eager recruits had somehow melted away, and were obliged to adopt special measures to stimulate recruiting.⁹⁸ Although it was not realised at the time, by a freak coincidence the limitation on recruiting was operating at the same time as the British economy was emerging from its war-induced recession, a recession greatly exacerbated by the Government's lack of preparedness for the placing of the economy on a war footing, particularly in the matter of drawing up and allocating contracts for military supplies.

The pattern of economic activity that had manifested itself in Leeds was repeated in some degree, though rarely as spectacularly, in many other towns and districts. On a national basis, unemployment appreciably declined during October except in one or two trades; by the middle of the month "the progress of recruiting" was equalling the reduction of male employment due to the war.⁹⁹ Manchester, badly hit by a prewar slump in the cotton trade that was much aggravated by the war, had reduced the number of unemployed, and created a national record in the process, in September by enlisting eight battalions of Pals. By February 1915 the industries producing war material were emphatically booming. On the basis of the numbers employed in July, the sizes of the male workforces in these industries had increased as follows: Chemicals, including explosives, by 18.6%, Leather and leather goods by 18.5%, boot and shoe manufacture by 9.8%, woollen and worsted manufacture by 9.3%, iron and steel manufacture by 10.4%, and engineering by 7.0%. 17.3% of the men employed in the coalmining industry in July, however, were known to have joined the forces.¹⁰⁰ These industries were all included in the industries of Leeds.

6.2 Social Composition, 1914-1918

The only definitive statistics of social composition available for the war period relate to B Coy of the 8th Bn, as at 1st January 1919, for which a roll showing civil occupations was specially drawn up in order to determine priority ratings for demobilisation. These statistics have been incorporated in Table 10, Appendix II. The remaining statistics for the wartime Leeds Rifles given in this Table are essentially impressionistic. None of these samples are representative, but have been included to give some

indication of the social background of some of the recruits to the Regiment during the war, no other statistics being available. Table 9, Appendix II, which shows the distribution of recruits according to the social areas of Leeds in which they resided, may be a fairly reliable, though very broad, guide to their social background, since a comparison made between the occupational analysis of the men on the Roll of the 7th Bn 1930-37 and their geographical distribution shows a fairly marked correlation between occupational groupings and social area:

<u>Occupational category</u>		<u>Social area</u>	
III (b). Self-employed	0.36%	Middle class	0.54%
IV (a). Employed, non-manual	4.38	Lower middle/upper working class	5.54
IV (b).(i) Manual skilled	31.96	Better working class	7.42
(ii) Semi-skilled	32.23	Intermediate	19.55
		Council Estates	15.62
		Outlying villages & towns	19.29
(iii) Unskilled	28.57	Poor	4.37)
		Transitional	16.87)
		Slum	8.21)
		Unhealthy	0.54)
		Other towns	2.05)
No data (unemployed?)	2.50		29.99

In the 1930s, the Poor, Transitional (degenerated into slums since the war), Slum and Unhealthy Areas tended to house the indigent population: the unskilled, particularly the casual, workers and one-parent families. The council estates and the Intermediate Areas tended to house the semi-skilled. Although skilled workers were to be found in appreciable numbers in the Intermediate Areas, they tended to congregate in the Better Working-Class Areas and the Lower Middle Class/Upper Working Class Areas, where the majority of non-manual employees tended to live. The fact that nearly 20% of recruits lived in villages and towns on the outskirts of or near Leeds, and a further 2% much further afield, makes the comparison somewhat problematic. However, none of the non-Leeds residents were self-employed, and virtually all were manual workers. Some of the Morley and Gildersome residents lived at addresses with names like Whitaker Buildings, Haigh's Buildings and Holroyd's Buildings, slum property typical of substandard Industrial Revolution workers' housing in the West Riding textile district.

Available evidence appears to show that military enlistment during World War I had a class basis. Although about 10% of industrial workers joined up in the early months of the war, the highest enlistment rates were those for men employed in commercial and clerical occupations. (No similar statistics are available for social and educational elites, but there is every indication that rates of enlistment among them were even higher.)¹⁰¹ This trend continued throughout the war, even after the introduction of conscription. By the end of the voluntary period, February 1916, 29.4% of the total men employed in July 1914 had enlisted: 28.3% of the industrial workforce had enlisted, but 40.1% of the men employed in Finance and Commerce, 41.7% of men in the professions, and 41.8% of men employed in the entertainment trades had joined the forces.¹⁰² By July 1917, 58% of the men employed in commerce 3 years earlier were in the armed services; no other occupational group could match this figure.¹⁰³ The stringent medical examinations of the last year of the war reinforced the trend. These confirmed the longstanding fears of the "Physical Deterioration" lobby: they revealed appallingly low standards of health and physique in industrial areas and in many manual occupational groups, the exceptions being miners and "outdoor workers".¹⁰⁴ 2½ million men were examined and placed in one of four categories. Men placed in Grade III were unfit for combat duty and judged ineligible for foreign service; men placed in Grade IV were rejected outright. 36% were placed in Grade I, 22.5% in Grade II, and 41.4% in Grades III and IV. London and Leeds were found to have the worst fitness records in Britain: the National Service Boards Report referred to "a very alarming state of the physical condition of a very large section of the manhood of Leeds ... 7 men out of 10 are hors de combat before they even shoulder a musket." Of 2027 men examined in Leeds in January 1918, 24% were placed in Grade I, 15.2% in Grade II, 46.5% in Grade III, and 14.8% in Grade IV. Two explanations were offered for this: (1) Housing conditions for the working classes, said to be worse than in many other cities. The fact was noted that Leeds possessed a greater proportion of back-to-back houses than any other town: "this appears to have a most marked influence on the health of the occupants"; (2) The large number of working wives, which was thought to favour the incidence of children's deficiency diseases, particularly rickets, and consequently lead to ill-health and poor physique in adult life (the Report indeed appeared to establish a correlation between high female employment rates and a high incidence of children's deficiency diseases in industrial areas).¹⁰⁵ No statistics regarding the social class of recruits placed in Grades I and II were offered, but the overall impression is that non-manual employees and the self-employed together formed a

substantial majority. Numerous studies on urban schoolchildren undertaken between 1900 and 1914 had established beyond doubt a clear correlation between poverty, and therefore social class, and health and physique. For example, a study of York schoolchildren revealed that at age 13, boys in the upper working class were on average 3½" taller and 11¼ lbs. heavier than boys from "the poorest class".¹⁰⁶ It therefore seems reasonable to assume that a majority of the manual workers placed in Grades I and II belonged to the upper working class. It also seems likely that the majority of recruits in Grades I and II came from younger age groups. A table showing the percentage of men in grade I by age among 71,382 men examined in the West Midland Region, November 1917–April 1918, included in the Report of the War Office Committee of Enquiry into "Shell Shock", shows a clear correlation between fitness and age: 71.7% of 18 year olds examined were placed in Grade I, 67.6% of 19 year olds and 60.0% of 20 year olds; the percentage declined steadily with age, only 33.7% of 30 year olds being placed in Grade I.¹⁰⁷

One hundred and twenty five

(125) (62.5%) of the 200 men of B Coy of the 8th Bn on 1st January 1919 were conscripts.¹⁰⁸ In view of the above, it comes as no surprise to note that, compared with the 1911 occupational class percentages given in G. Routh, Occupation and Pay in Great Britain 1906–60 (1965), Table 1, pp. 4–5, categories III(b) and IV(a) were considerably over-represented in B Coy of the 8th Bn, and manual workers as a whole were under-represented. Skilled workers were over-represented, forming easily the largest single group, whilst semi-skilled and unskilled workers were under-represented, particularly the latter. The figure for skilled workers, 40%, is actually under-stated, since it does not include 15 skilled coal mining workers who had been sent back for demobilisation prior to 1st January 1919. Miners formed the largest single occupational group in B Company on 1st January: 7%.

The important influences on the social composition and age structure of the Leeds Rifles at the beginning of the war were: (1) unemployment, (2) the age limits of the TF as compared with Kitchener's Army, (3) the teeth regulations, (4) the raising of separation allowances in September 1914, (5) the barring of manual workers from the Leeds Pals. Unemployment brought in recruits from the depressed trades, particularly from engineering, furniture manufacture, the clothing and leather industries, including boot and shoe manufacture, printing, coal mining, and cloth finishing. There was a particularly large number of engineering apprentices. There was a

large number of coal miners from collieries at Rothwell Haigh, Woodlesford and Micklefield, some distance beyond the city boundary, as well as from local collieries like Broom Pit and Waterloo Main; many of them were work-mates of men who were already in the regiment on the 4th August. Since miners as a class, though well-developed in the chest, shoulders and arms, tended to be rather undersized,¹⁰⁹ they sought entry to the Leeds Rifles because its height standard was lower than that of the Artillery; they were automatically excluded from enlistment in the Pals.

"Loss or decay of many teeth" had been the principal cause of rejection of would-be recruits to the Regular Army in the period 1902-1911.¹¹⁰ At the end of August 1914 the teeth regulations were relaxed to allow the acceptance of men, otherwise fit, who had sufficient teeth to enable them to masticate their food properly; wearers of false teeth, however, were to continue to be automatically rejected.¹¹¹ The teeth regulations did not apply to recruits to the Territorial Force. The School Medical Officer for Leeds had before the war established a correlation between social class and the incidence of dental caries, which was markedly most prevalent in the scholars attending elementary schools located in the "Ordinary" and "Better" districts whose parents, being comparatively better-off, fed their offspring sweets and "rich" food.¹¹² There was also a correlation between age and the incidence of dental caries and loss of teeth. The teeth regulations thus led to the enlistment in the Leeds Rifles of men in Categories III(b) (like 2538 Ernest Pickering¹¹³ and 3300 Joe Knowles, both of the 7th), and IV(a) who had been rejected by the Regular Army, or Kitchener's Army, as well as of older men in all occupational categories.

The age limits for Kitchener's Army were laid down as 19-30. Those of the TF were laid down as 19-35, with an extension of up to 45 for ex-Regulars, ex-Militia, and Class II National Reservists.¹¹⁴ Older men wishing to enlist accordingly went straight to Carlton Barracks. According to respondents' testimony and photographic evidence, a considerable number of men over 35 obtained entry to the Regiment. Lt J. B. Gawthorpe was given as servant a white-haired ex-Regular with an impressive row of medal ribbons, including that of the Khedive Star, who cheerfully admitted to having lopped more than 10 years from his age.¹¹⁵ Many of the ex-Regulars and ex-Militiamen would have been unskilled or casual workers who were without work when they enlisted; the Militia was traditionally recruited from this class. Linton Andrews "struggled in a mob of old militiamen and unemployed to reach the recruiting sergeant" of the Dundee Territorials, the 4th Black Watch.¹¹⁶

The separation allowance increases announced in September led to a great number of married men enlisting or re-enlisting in the Regiment. It was stated at the end of October 1914 that nearly half of recent recruits were married.¹¹⁷ In July 1915 it was said that the majority of the men in the 1/7th at the front were married, many with families of young children.¹¹⁸ A Regimental rumour current in the autumn of 1915 ran: "The Division's going back to England to be broken up. It's got so many married men in it, it's costing the Government too much to run."¹¹⁹

The weekly allowances were: 12/6d for a wife, 2/6d for each child up to 3, 2/- for each additional child. The result was that many soldiers' wives with children received from the Government an income equal to, if not better than, that they had received from their husbands before the war. A woman with 3 children received a weekly income of £1 clear, with no husband to feed and clothe or take pocket money. Leonard Glew, 7th, father of 3 children, had earned only £1 per week as a cloth dyer before he was thrown out of work.¹²⁰ The wife of National Reservist Joe Ball, 7th, said to have 15 children when he joined up, would receive 44/- per week, an amount far in excess of the sum he was able to earn as a labourer in civil life. The increased separation allowances offered a legal and respectable solution to the problems of the unemployed man unable to provide properly for his wife and children, that of joining the armed forces.

It is easy therefore to understand why a large number of married men in their twenties and early thirties with families of young children should enlist, but less easy to account for the large number of older men, some well into their forties, some even older, joining up. Richard Aldington cynically wondered "how many patriotic English gentlemen in the war armies were rather avoiding their wives than seeking their country's enemies."¹²¹ There was more than a grain of truth in this observation: of the respondents who were married when they enlisted at least two were unhappily married and at least two wanted to escape marriage's responsibilities and become carefree bachelors again. Writer C. E. Montague provides another clue to the older man's motivation. Aged 47 when war broke out, he dyed his grey hair in order to enlist in the ranks and lived "a second boyhood" in the training camp.¹²² World War II service psychiatrists M. H. Maskin and L. L. Altman do list among "compensating aspects of military life" "the phantasy of re-captured youth" for older recruits.¹²³ There was a considerable number of older men in the second-line Leeds Rifles battalions, at least in the period 1914-16, a proportion of them sent back from the first-line. 1688 Harry Slater of the 2/8th described how, during the training

period, the older recruits "took on a new lease of life and became like boys again". He considered that the majority had enlisted in an attempt to recapture lost youth and a spirit of adventure, and he was inclined to discount marital difficulties as a motive.¹²⁴ Another motive may have lain in the low life expectancy of the average manual worker in his forties who, having brought up a family and reached or passed the peak of his working career and earning capacity may well have felt that his useful life was virtually over and that joining the army was his last chance to make a worthwhile contribution to the country's welfare. The father of Riflemen Walter and Louis Hawkshaw, a printer, though 47 and well over military age, saw his duty clearly: "his place was at the Front in the firing line, with the younger men well behind"; he gave a false age and joined the West Yorks, but did not succeed in being sent abroad.¹²⁵

1182 Cpl Arthur Fisher, an insurance clerk, gave his estimate of the social composition of the 1/7th Other Ranks on embarkation in April 1915 as: "35% middle class (i.e. non-manual and professional); 10% upper working class; 50% Respectable working class; 5% slum dwellers."¹²⁶ In the period 1st January-12th April 1915 a total of 191 men of the 1/8th (about 1/5th of the Other Rank strength) had been classed as over-age or medically unfit and sent back to the 2/8th for disposal.¹²⁷ Comparable figures can be assumed for the 1/7th.¹²⁸ It is expected that the bulk of these men belonged to the unskilled and semi-skilled manual worker categories, the least fit of the adult male population, miners excepted. A large proportion of the unskilled workers who joined in the early months of the war would not have proceeded abroad with the Regiment. Cpl Fisher's estimate may therefore be not far wide of the mark, though 2158 Harold Dean, 1/8th, pupil industrial chemist, considered that the social composition of the 1/7th would have been similar to that of the 1/8th which he estimated as: "25% middle class (i.e. non-manual and professional); 20% upper working class; 50% Respectable working class; 5% slum dwellers."¹²⁹

The second-line battalions, originally raised as Workers' Pals battalions, seemed to have retained their character for a considerable period. Respondents estimated that on embarkation in January 1917 at least 95% of the Other Ranks personnel belonged to the working classes. Rfm Cecil Crowther of the 2/8th, a pupil architect and builder (he was the builder responsible for developing Bramhope as a high-status commuter village in the 1930s), thought that no more than a mere handful of his battalion came from a similar social background to himself.¹³⁰ During the two years retained in England, the members of the self-employed and non-manual element in the second-line battalions, never very large, had gradually been

depleted, taken for service in other formations or sent for officer training. The heavy losses sustained by both battalions in 1917 and 1918 resulted in their social compositions undergoing a fundamental change, as witness B Company of the 8th Bn.

The analyses given in the Summary to Table 10 for various "samples" relating to the war period are essentially impressionistic. No kind of representativeness can be claimed for any of the samples; those relating to the Workers' Pals recruits' parents/guardians and to the Riflemen and their parents/guardians on the "Wartime Register" are partial analyses only of the total samples, since only a proportion of the members of each total sample could be identified. Although the analysis for "Wartime enlistments" covers such a numerically tiny sample, it shows categories II, III(b) and IV(a) over-represented, and category IV(b) as a whole under-represented, with, however, category V(b)(i), skilled workers, considerably over-represented and forming easily the largest single group.

6.3 Recruiting and Social Composition of the Officer Class, 1914-1918

After the outbreak of war the Leeds Rifles continued to recruit its officers from the middle class. Despite the broad generalisations that can be made, it is possibly true to say that the actual social composition of the officer class of any TF unit was unique, like that of the TF unit itself as a whole, the product almost entirely of local factors and influences. The four active service Leeds Rifles battalions amply illustrate the point, for the officer class of each differed from the others. The commanding officer was free to determine his officer recruiting policy. The 2/7th CO attempted to restrict recruiting to Old Boys of Harrow and other leading public schools, preferably distinguished sportsmen like himself, while the 2/8th CO gave preference to local applicants and Leeds undergraduates given personal recommendations by his University don friends;¹³¹ both were largely thwarted by fierce competition from the Leeds Pals and Leeds Bantams and other local Kitchener battalions. There were some striking social differences between the 1/7th and 1/8th in the autumn of 1914. A comparative analysis of the two battalions as they were on 1st November 1914 is presented in Table 11, Appendix II.¹³² 48.48% of 1/7th officers had been engaged in professional occupations and 33.3% came from professional families compared with 27.27% of 1/8th officers, 21.21% of whom came from professional families. 9.09% of 1/7th officers were company directors compared with 30.3% of 1/8th officers. This was a reflection of the fact that the 8th Bn had been recruited south of the river where the bulk of

the city's industry was located. 33.3% of 1/7th officers' fathers were chairmen or principals in sizable business/industrial firms compared with 42.42% of 1/8th officers' fathers (see Table 12, Appendix II). The Leeds Rifles' officers represented the city's major industries: heavy and light engineering; the manufacturing of iron and steel, readymade clothing, woollens and worsteds, boots and shoes, leather, and glass; coalmining and brewing; Leeds' importance as a commercial and shopping centre and University city was also represented. The percentage of university students and school-boys in the 1/7th was 15.15 compared with 27.27 for the 1/8th: this reflected the 8th Bn's close connections with Leeds University OTC (see below, section 6.5). Each battalion contained a medical practitioner, surely something extremely rare in the TF, yet continuing the Regiment's connection with the medical profession. The Army List actually contains the names of 3 doctors: Capt E.W. Braithwaite, a consultant physician, and a Hythe-qualified Instructor of Musketry, was back at Carlton Barracks instructing the Reinforcement Company, and has therefore been omitted from Table 11.

Although only scattered data exists for the second-line battalions, the record of officers commissioned in the 8th Bn up to the end of November 1915 (see Table 15, Appendix II), and the 1/7th List of Officers suggest that very little real change in the social composition of the officer class took place in the period up to the end of 1915. Two points of interest arise, however. First, the two military professionals (NCOs) were two former RSM-instructors who evidently having no desire to leave the Regiment, were commissioned in the 8th Bn, one as quartermaster in the 1/8th, the other as a subaltern in the 2/8th. Second, the large influx of Leeds University undergraduates had introduced into the 8th Bn 3 sons of substantial tradesmen, all of whom lived in high-status housing, and sent their sons to fee-paying independent grammar schools and university.

The only data on officers' professions/occupations for the entire period of the War existing relates to the 1/7th and is contained in the 1/7th Bn List of Officers, from which Tables 13 and 14, Appendix II, have been compiled. Owing to the huge demand for officers and consequent lowering of social and educational pre-entry requirements, a low order of comparability between these Tables and Tables 11 and 12, which relate to 1914, would be expected. It is accordingly somewhat surprising to find that professional men still account for 27.2% of the total number, students for 11%, and self-employed businessmen (excluding farmers) and company directors for 10.4%. Men in clerical occupations have now assumed a much greater importance - 14.5%

of the total - and men in working-class occupations 5.2% of the total. (No data could be obtained for 11.5% of the officers.) The massive influx of rankers into the officer class of the 1/7th was thus essentially middle-class in origins. Following the colossal officer losses of 1914-16, the army was obliged to rely ever more heavily on recruitment of men from the petit bourgeoisie and lower middle class and the working classes, what Col. Tannett-Walker would have called "the sergeant class", or even "the corporal class", in order to maintain its officer strength, yet the percentages of 1/7th Bn officers who had been engaged in clerical, supervisory, minor managerial, and working class occupations appear remarkably small. The first working-class officers did not join the 1/7th until after the heavy officer losses of 9th October 1917, when 4 such officers joined out of the 29 who came up to the battalion in the period 9/10/17 to 31/12/17. Despite the staggering losses of 1918, out of the 65 officers who joined between 1/1/18 and 12/12/18 only 5 had previously been employed in working-class occupations. This suggests that the commanding officer had a considerable say in the selection of officer reinforcements for his battalion. Perhaps significantly, all the working-class officers were Yorkshiremen. Table 14 also reveals some surprisingly "conservative" features in spite of the fact that the profession/occupation of only 32.4% of officers' parents or guardians could be obtained. 5.2% of officers' fathers/guardians could be classified as aristocracy, gentry or of independent means; 7.5% belonged to the professional classes, 9.2% were principals of sizable business/industrial concerns, a further 2.9% were self-employed businessmen, and 2.9% were engaged in working-class occupations, mostly skilled trades (these are percentages of the total number, not of those for whom data could be obtained). It would thus be no exaggeration to say that the officer class of the 1/7th remained solidly middle-class to the end.

6.4 Education of Officers

In the pre-1914 Territorial era, public school men had formed a majority of Leeds Rifles officers, most of them having attended one of the top 10 schools; nearly all the remainder appear to have attended independent grammar schools. This was the picture also in the Hallamshires,¹³³ although it may not have been typical of the TF. In complete contrast, 88.5% of Woolwich entrants and 91.9% of Sandhurst entrants in 1910 had attended public schools, whilst only one Woolwich cadet and no Sandhurst cadet had come from a grammar school.¹³⁴

Despite Haldane's scheme for direct entry from universities, university-educated officers were rare in the Army. The 8th Bn's adjutant, Capt Dundas, son of an archdeacon, was a Cambridge man, but he was a former Volunteer. University men were common, however, in the TF officer class. University graduates and undergraduates were even to be found in the ranks of some TF regiments, particularly in the "class corps" of several of the largest cities, some, such as the 5th Scottish Rifles of Glasgow, having "University" companies. CSM Edmund Gill of the Hallamshires was a graduate of Sheffield University.¹³⁵ The actual proportion of university men among the officers of any given unit probably largely depended on local factors. The percentage in the pre-war Leeds Rifles was high. Of 42 officers, excluding quartermasters and medical officers, on the March 1914 Army List, at least 20 had been educated at a University and one other, Lt Col. A. E. Kirk, had qualified by examination as an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects which was then, as now, regarded as being equivalent to a degree (he was elected a Fellow in 1927). At least two had excellent degrees: Lt Col. E. Kitson Clark had a First in Classics, 2/Lt A. R. Glazebrook a Double First in English and History.¹³⁶ Another two, Major J. W. Alexander and Capt E. W. Braithwaite, were Doctors of Medicine, Members of the Royal College of Physicians and Licentiates of the Royal College of Surgeons. This high percentage may reflect local enthusiasm for university education. Sir Douglas Branson stated that there were only 4 University men including himself amongst the Hallamshires' officers. According to him, Sheffield businessmen were not university-minded and desired their sons to go straight into business on leaving school,¹³⁷ a curiously old-fashioned attitude for a university city. The idea that university life unsettled or spoiled a boy for a business career had been prevalent in Victorian times;¹³⁸ the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge tended to be regarded as resorts of the dissipated and idle rich.

University students represented a major area of expansion in officer recruitment after the outbreak of war. 15 (62.5%) out of the 24 men who joined the first-line battalions between March and November 1914 were current or former University students. Of the 61 officers of the 8th Bn who enrolled between August 1914 and November 1915, 12 were currently pursuing full-time University courses, whilst a further 9 were former University students, making a total of 21, or 34.4%. These are minimum figures, for many of the entries in the 8th Bn Record of Officers' Services are incomplete. Of the 12 undergraduates, 6 were attending Leeds, 1 Oxford, 4 Cambridge, and 1 Trinity College Dublin. One of the graduates was David Bowen,

lecturer in mining at the University of Leeds, who had obtained Triple First Class honours, in Geology, Chemistry and Mining, at University College Cardiff, heading the list in all three subjects.¹³⁹ Of the remaining 8 former students, 5 had attended Leeds, 1 Oxford and 2 Cambridge. A further 2 officers had attended courses at a teachers' training college.

The final percentage of university men who served in the Leeds Rifles officer class during the entire war period can only be guessed at. Educational details were not given in the 1/7th List of Officers: the total numbers of university/college students (15), medical/dental students (2), divinity student (1), assistant university lecturer (1), medical practitioner (1), dentist (1), schoolmasters (8) in Table 13 can only give a very rough indication of the numbers of university-educated officers, since it cannot be assumed that other professional categories did not contain university men, nor that the categories named (totalling 29, or just under 17% of the total sample) contained university men to the exclusion of others.

Nearly all the Cambridge men amongst the Leeds Rifles officers had been up at Trinity, the largest, richest and most fashionable college. They included the Hon. (later Sir) F. Stanley Jackson, E. Kitson Clark, the Hon. R. D. Kitson, N.D., F.A., M. and H.R. Lupton, C.H. and M.H. Tetley, and A.R. Glazebrook.

In November 1914 about two-thirds of the 1/7th officers and just over half of the 1/8th officers had attended public schools. The only data about secondary education available on the wartime Leeds Rifles officers is given in the 8th Bn Record of Officers' Services which goes up to November 1915 only. Of the 61 officers who enrolled after 4th August 1914:

24	attended a public school
22	" grammar (independent and LEA-maintained) school
1	" technical college
1	" Board school
2	" Army school

No data given or obtainable: 11.

The officer who attended a Board school was ex-RQMS Walter Gardham, appointed Lt and Quartermaster of the 2/8th in October 1914; the officers who attended Army schools were the two former RSM-instructors.

This pattern of virtually equal numbers of grammar school and public school men was not necessarily displayed in the 1/7th and 2/7th of the same period, since it was the necessary outcome of the fact that more than 3 times as many current and former students of Leeds University took

commissions in the 8th than in the 7th. Perhaps on account of its low social status as a new university, or perhaps because of its emphasis on vocationally-oriented courses, such as textiles, dyeing, leather science, engineering, mining, physical sciences and commerce, which were relevant to the needs of West Riding industry, Leeds held very little appeal to the men who sent their sons to public schools.

The connection between the public schools and the army officer corps has become a cliché, despite the fact that in peacetime only a small proportion of public school leavers embarked on a military career. Conscious of their role as educators of the country's and the Empire's future leaders and administrators, the public schools aimed at turning out a certain type: men of integrity, men possessing the manners and modes of thinking of an English gentleman. The public school system supplied what was in many ways the ideal socialisation for a future army officer. (John Keegan sees the British regiment as an extension of the Victorian public school system.)¹⁴⁰ Pupils were instilled with the virtues of discipline and self-discipline, service, loyalty, self-sacrifice, idealism and patriotism and in particular with the concepts of esprit de corps, of duty and of Noblesse oblige.¹⁴¹ The public school product had been accustomed to the idea of responsibility and command by the prefectorial system. Used to living in an all-male community, he was already emotionally adapted to military life. The spartan regime, together with the emphasis on manly team and individual sports to the point of glorification, had made him physically tough and robust. The many rules of public school life led him to accept readily and largely unquestioningly the oddities of army regulations.¹⁴² Public schools also had several militaristic features which tended to benefit the future army officer. All schools had cadet corps or OTCs, which were considered to be character-building and which provided an interesting leisure time hobby for the boys. Membership of the OTC was strongly encouraged in many schools and even made compulsory in others, such as in Edmund Blunden's school. In many leading schools, such as Harrow, while membership of the OTC was not obligatory, rifle shooting was.¹⁴³ The school's drill and gymnastics instructor was invariably a retired Regular Army sergeant or colour-sergeant.

The public schools did not, of course, hold a monopoly in the matter of turning out "men of integrity". Very many of the independent grammar schools deliberately aped the public school, endeavouring to reproduce its "tone" and to inculcate their pupils with the public school ethic and its ideals, and thus to turn themselves as far as was humanly possible into

Day substitutes for or editions of public schools. (Perhaps the headmasters of these schools were considerably aided, as Robert Roberts suggested their colleagues in lower grade schools were, by the fact that many of their pupils were avid readers of Frank Richards' school stories in The Magnet and The Gem).¹⁴⁴ Leeds Grammar School was one that actively promoted the public school ethic. It even had some of the public school trappings, including a chapel, an OTC, a miniature rifle range and a retired Regular Army colour-sergeant (ex-RSM Arthur Yates of the Leeds Rifles) as school drill and gymnastics instructor.

Not a few recent writers, doubtless influenced by R.C. Sherriff's initial failure to obtain a commission,¹⁴⁵ have tended to assume that the 1914-15 expansion of the army officer corps was exclusively based on ex-pupils of recognised public schools.¹⁴⁶ The army officer corps now included the officers of the Territorial Force and the New Army. Though most, if not all, COs of Regular Army units may well have taken the decision to select their new officers from ex-pupils of recognised public schools, the example of the Leeds Rifles and the evidence provided by the rolls of honour of grammar schools such as Leeds Grammar School and Leeds Modern School, to name only two, show that this decision was not general throughout either the Territorial Force or Kitchener's New Army.¹⁴⁷

The essential the public school could not teach the potential officer recruit, however, was leadership. It has been repeatedly found that military leadership qualities are unrelated to academic achievement and in fact display a low correlation with above-average general intelligence.¹⁴⁸ The ability to lead is not confined to any one social class, nor can it be generated by training, contrary to widespread belief. General Erich Ludendorff wrote "The capacity for leadership is a gift ... zeal and courage cannot always take its place."¹⁴⁹ Leadership qualities of the kind demanded of officers were as likely to be found in the grammar school recruit as in the public schoolboy, as, indeed they were, also to be found in the working-class senior NCO, a fact the Army itself was obliged to recognise in 1916.

6.5 The Role of Leeds University and the University OTC

The University had been closely associated with the Leeds Rifles since its very beginnings as the Yorkshire College of Science. Three of its Founding Fathers, James Kitson II, Sir Andrew Fairbairn and Charles E. Bousfield, had had lengthy periods of service in the Regiment both as rankers and officers. Two others, Dr John Deakin Heaton and Francis Lupton, were fathers

of Leeds Rifles officers. Other members of the Regiment were prominent among the subscribers to the funds necessary to establish the College. Since 1904, when the College became a University, 3 of the 8 former Pro-Chancellors and 3 of the 7 former Treasurers of the University have been Riflemen (C.H. Tetley, J.N. Tetley (who occupied both posts), Lord Allerton, Sir A.M. Ramsden and Sir William Tweddle).

The Leeds University Contingent, Senior Division, Officers' Training Corps came into being on 1st September 1909 and naturally enough became immediately associated with the Leeds Rifles: Major E. Kitson Clark was seconded from the 8th Bn as its first commanding officer, whilst Col Sgt William Fear, an 8th Bn sergeant-instructor, was appointed RSM. Other 8th Bn officers, including J.B. Gawthorpe, were appointed as "visiting lecturers". Membership was not restricted to staff and students of the University.

Although no records of the pre-war period survive, it is evident that very few members sought commissions in the TF prior to the outbreak of war, the majority having insufficient time to spare from their studies or work.¹⁵⁰ Cuthbert Hartnell seems to have been the only member to take a commission in the Rifles. The only records relative to the war period that survive are contained in the Supplement, "Military Service", attached to the 12th Annual Report of the University, 1915-16, which lists all members of the University and all extramural OTC members who had enlisted in the armed services up to the end of December 1916. Unfortunately for the present study, not only does the Supplement contain errors and omissions, but it also seldom refers to the "Leeds Rifles" as such and instead usually employs the designation "West Yorkshire Regt. (T.F.)" which comprised the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Bns. The following table, which gives some indication of the University's and the OTC's contribution to the Leeds Rifles up to the end of 1916, has had to be drawn up on the basis of recognisable names in the Supplement, hardly an ideal method, and accordingly cannot be regarded as definitive:

TABLE N. Contribution of the University and of the University OTC

	Students	Past Students	Academic Staff	Ancillary Staff	Extramural OTC members	Totals
<u>7th Bn</u>						
Rankers	-	-	-	1	-	1
Officers	4	3	2	-	8	17
OTC members	4	-	1	-	8	13
Totals	4	3	2	1	8	18
<u>8th Bn</u>						
Rankers	3	-	1	1	2	7
Officers	16	3	1	-	6	26
OTC members	16	1	1	-	8	26
Totals	19	3	2	1	8	33
<u>Grand Totals</u>	23	6	4	2	16	51

In view of the fact that, according to the Supplement, 965 students, 69 staff and 397 extramural OTC members had joined the armed services in the same period, the contribution of the University and its OTC to the Regiment during the war, notwithstanding their previous associations, was comparatively very small. The suggested percentages of these totals who joined the Regiment in the period up to December 1916 were: students 3%, staff 8.7% and extramural OTC members 0.25%.

During the war 1596 members of the University went on active service and of these, 1435 (89.9%) held commissioned rank. The casualties numbered 501, comprising 202 killed and 40 missing (15.16% of total who served) and 259 wounded.¹⁵¹

6.6 Training of Officers

The Edwardian Volunteer infantry officer, in order to qualify for his corps' capitulation grant, had been required to attend Annual Camp and to put in as many drills annually as the Other Ranks. On joining his corps he was required to spend one or two weeks with the home-based battalion of the mother regiment and to take and pass, after pursuing various, generally short, courses of study and instruction, fairly simple written and practical examinations, E535 and E571, which would qualify him for promotion to captain. After obtaining certificate E571, an ambitious officer could take, if he wished, Examination C, success in which qualified him for promotion to Lt. Colonel.

Following the Haldane re-organisation the regulations concerning officer in-service training were considerably tightened up and the syllabuses and examinations made much more difficult and more comprehensive in scope, although the suggestions made in the 1907 White Paper on the training of officers were not carried out in full.¹⁵² The training period with a line regiment, known as the "Initial Course" of instruction was fixed at a month, which could be taken in two separate periods of a fortnight in successive years. Machine-gun officers were required to undergo, in addition, a 3-week course of instruction at the School of Musketry at Hythe. No officer was qualified for promotion to Lieutenant until he had obtained the (Proficiency) Certificate A, nor for promotion to Captain until he had obtained Certificate B. These certificates could also be taken by members of OTC contingents. Sir Douglas Branson, who had already matriculated and obtained a place at Oxford to read law, and who took Certificate A as a member of the Marlborough Upper VIth, found he had to work hard to achieve the pass standard. Lt J. B. Gawthorpe, 8th, who obtained both certificates, found both the syllabus and the examination of Certificate A "considerably more advanced" than those of the NCOs' Proficiency Certificate he had taken to obtain promotion to sergeant.¹⁵³ Every Territorial officer, in addition to his courses and "night school classes" (3 hours nightly for 3 nights a week for 5 weeks in January-February), in the Leeds Rifles was required to attend Annual Camp and to attend the stipulated minimum number of annual drills laid down for Other Ranks.

In the early months of the war Territorial officer recruits received commissions direct from commanding officers following a personal interview and receipt of referees' recommendations and immediately joined their units. In the Leeds Rifles newly-gazetted second lieutenants not already in possession of Certificate A joined a special officers' recruit squad; all entrants without previous service in a school or University OTC were first put into an ordinary recruits' drill squad alongside enlisted men. The 1/8th Officers' Squad, comprising 10-12 men, was drilled and instructed by the Assistant Adjutant, Lt J.B. Gawthorpe, who was eminently qualified for the task. At the end of the month's intensive course, which commenced in October, the members were given a written and practical examination and on the basis of the results some were offered the vacant commissions in the 1/8th, others retained as "reserves" in case any 1/8th officer should be unable to proceed overseas with the battalion, and the remainder offered commissions in the 2/8th. A second Officers' Squad, primarily to train officers for the 2/8th, was instructed in February/March 1915.¹⁵⁴

This system was followed until the beginning of 1916. Variations of this system, perhaps including attachments to a University OTC or battalions like the Inns of Court Regt which had been designated as officer training units, were used to train the majority of officers in Kitchener units. One of the greatest objections to the early methods of selecting and training "temporary" officers was that they were frequently appointed without any kind of test and that once appointed it was extremely difficult to deprive them of their commission. All a commanding officer could do to rid himself of an unwanted officer was to have him seconded to another unit, such as a cyclists' company, or recommend him for an appointment such as Railway Transport Officer (RTO).

From February 1916, under Army Order 295, "temporary" commissions were offered only to two categories: men who had joined an officer cadet unit from a school or college officers' training corps (a comparatively very small category), and men with previous service in the ranks who had received the recommendation of their CO. Both categories received a 4-months' course of training at an Officer Cadet Battalion before joining their unit. Whilst attending the OCB course each cadet in the latter category retained his former rank so that at any time up to and including the final examination anyone considered unsuitable for a commission could be returned to his unit; men in the former category who failed to qualify were held to serve in the ranks.¹⁵⁵ From the 1/7th List of Officers it appears that the minimum period of service in the ranks was 6 months (see Table P). On 29% of the record sheets of the 1/7th officers who joined the battalion between July 1916 and December 1918 all details of any previous service in the ranks are missing, however.

TABLE P. OFFICER REPLACEMENTS, 1/7th Bn, 29/6/17-12/12/18: LENGTH OF SERVICE IN THE RANKS

Length of previous service in ranks	
Less than 6 months	Nil
6-11 months	12
1 year-1 year 5 months	7
1 year 6 months-1 year 11 months	13
2 years-2 years 5 months	10
2 years 6 months-2 years 11 months	23
3 years-3 years 5 months	8
6 years-6 years 11 months	3
7 years-7 years 11 months	2
8 years-8 years 11 months	Nil
9 years-9 years 11 months	1
Over 20 years	1
	80

6.7 THE OFFICERS OF 1914-18

Height and physique. Photographs taken both before and during the war reveal the officers to have been, in general, tall and of good physique. The 8th Bn Record of Officers' Services gives the heights of 32 of the 61 officers who enrolled after 4th August 1914. The average is 5ft 10.46 inches. 2/Lt J.R. Bellerby, 1/8th, described the men of his battalion as follows: "They shared a characteristic common throughout the British Army of being about 6" shorter and 2 or 3 stones lighter than the typical British officer."¹⁵⁶ (For "British Army" read "49th Division".)

Since the work of a regimental officer, in war or peace, Regular or Territorial, required considerable physical vigour and stamina, together with a robust constitution, it attracted the athletically-inclined, fond of outdoor life. Such men tended to possess tall and well-developed physiques. A good many of the Volunteer officers had been keen on rugby, cricket, swimming, fencing, gymnastics and mountaineering; John Cecil Atkinson (1876-79), for instance, had played with Yorkshire Wanderers Rugby Club and was a member of the Alpine Club.¹⁵⁷ Volunteer officers were often to be found associated with sports clubs: Col. C.E. Freeman of the Huddersfield Volunteers (1860-95), for example, had played rugby for Yorkshire from 1870 to 1873, was a founder member of the Huddersfield Football and Athletic Club and became president of Huddersfield Lawn Tennis Club; in 1890 four of the nine directors of the Leeds Cricket, Football and Athletic Co. Ltd which incorporates Leeds Rugby League Football Club¹⁵⁸ were prominent Volunteers, one from the Leeds Engineers, one from the Leeds Artillery, and two from the Leeds Rifles. In the Territorial period a majority of the Leeds Rifles officers played cricket and rugby regularly; some were outstanding performers. E. Walling was an Oxford Blue or Half-Blue in hockey, football and golf; C. Hartnell had represented both his school and Leeds University at rugby; S.H. Elkington was secretary and playing member of Haileybury Wanderers Rugby Football Club;¹⁵⁹ Capt. (later Major) Arthur William Lupton, eldest son of a prominent wine and spirit merchant who was Mayor of Bradford 1899-1902, was appointed adjutant in 1908 and first played cricket for Yorkshire that year. He was appointed captain in 1925 and that year led Yorkshire to the County Championship, restoring the reputation that had become so severely tarnished in the preceding seasons. Among the wartime officers were a number of well-known sportsmen: several members of Headingley RUFC including R.C. Calvert, the secretary, and Andrew Stephen Hamilton, the Scottish international; several first-class cricketers including F.L. Fayne, F.A.L. Wood, Rupert L. Tinsley and the Hon. F.S. Jackson,

the former England captain; A.E. Battle played rugby for Yorkshire.

The men clearly expected their officers to conform to well-defined physical standards. Officers of outstandingly good physique were almost always admired for this very characteristic, whilst officers below average height invariably came in for ridicule until they were able to prove themselves (compare the unkind male "shorthouse" jokes of civilian life). 2/Lt J.C.K. Alexander of the 1/8th, brought up in South Africa, was only 5' 6" or 5' 7": "He had a very light-coloured voice, but he was a very tough fella indeed. He was on the short side and when he joined us first we started singing 'And a little child shall lead them'.¹⁶⁰ He got his own back. Next thing we knew, there it was in Orders: 'Route March in FMO [Full Marching Order]. And a little child shall lead them, but he'll be riding a horse.' We were all kay-legged when we finally got back."¹⁶¹ A virtually identical story was told about 2/Lt Brian Stead, 2/8th, who was about the same height.

Age and Length of Service. The only record which gives dates of birth is the 8th Bn Record of Officers' Services. The average age of the 1/8th officers, excluding the Quartermaster, in Table 11, Appendix II, is 26.7 years, the range extending from 18 to 51. The average age and age range of the 1/7th officers in this Table were probably similar; the exact age of only a dozen officers could be obtained, but most of the other ages could be estimated. The average age of the 2/7th officers up to 1916 was said to be well over 30.¹⁶² The ages of 40 of the 2/8th officers in Table 15, Appendix II, are known: the average is 23.95 years, the range extending from 18 to 45. Sir Douglas Branson stated that the age composition of the 1/4th Y and L (Hallamshires) at the end of 1914 was very similar to that of the 1/8th, adding that "The average age of an officer in the TF was higher than that in the Regulars. At the beginning of the war, many of the officers in the TF as a whole were too old." Col. Sgt A. MacKellar of the 1/5th SR, a middle-class battalion, however, stated that, although his CO was around 40, virtually all the unit's officers were in their early twenties and that the average age of the battalion, all ranks, was only 22.¹⁶³

Despite the fact that dates of birth are not given in the 1/7th Bn List of Officers, some useful pointers to the age composition of the battalion officers during the complete war period have been found by compiling from other data contained in the List Tables Q and R, which show in Q married officers, numbers and percentages according to rank; and in R the numbers of "students" and "apprentices" amongst the second-lieutenants, providing that the average age of marriage is assumed to be 29 years 11 months, that

given in the Registrar-General's Report for 1913, and that the maximum age of students and apprentices is assumed to be 22 years. Tables Q and R show a fair degree of correlation.

TABLE Q. OFFICERS OF 1/7th Bn: MARRIED MEN, NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES

ACCORDING TO RANK

	No. of officer replacements		Second lieutenants	% of Total of 2nd Lieutenants	Other Officers	Married Officers as % of total of officer replacements
	2/Lts	Others				
Embarked with Bn 15, 4.15			-		11	
16.4.15-13.12.15	10	1	1	10.0	-	9.1
1.1.16-30.6.16	22	-	2	9.1	-	9.1
1.7.16-31.12.16	29	2	6	20.7	-	19.4
1.1.17-8.10.17	16	-	1	6.25	-	6.25
9.10.17-31.12.17	28	1	5	17.9	-	17.2
1.1.18-30.9.18	28	9	3	10.7	3	16.2
1.10.18-12.12.18	22	5	11	50.0	1	44.4
Totals	155	18	29		15	

TABLE R. NUMBERS OF STUDENTS AND APPRENTICES AMONG OFFICER REINFORCEMENTS

PERIOD	Number	% of total of 2nd/lieuts	% of total of all officer replacements
Embarked with Bn 15.4.15	9	90.0	
16.4.15-31.12.15	4	40.0	36.4
1.1.16-30.6.16	8	36.4	34.8
1.7.16-31.12.16	Insufficient data		
1.1.17-8.10.17	3	18.75	18.75
9.10.17-31.12.17	4	14.3	13.8
1.1.18-30.9.18	6	21.4	16.2
1.10.18-12.12.18	3	13.6	11.1

The time periods in the Tables have been sub-divided according to the battalion's major military operations rather than into equal calendar periods. On embarkation, 11 officers, 38% of the total, or nearly two-thirds of those above the rank of 2/Lt, were married, and 9 2/Lts, or 31% of the total number of officers, were students and apprentices. It will be seen that during the first two periods, up to the Battle of the Somme, the percentage of married men among the second-lieutenant replacements remains low, and the percentage of students and apprentices high. During the ensuing period, covering the Battle of the Somme, the married percentage rose sharply; no corresponding data for students and apprentices was available. From the beginning of 1917 until the end of September 1918, the percentage of married men among the second-lieutenant replacements fluctuated erratically, while the student and apprentice percentage remained fairly steady but rather low. During the final period, the married percentage soared to a maximum of 50, whilst the student and apprentice percentage slumped to the minimum figure of 13.6. These figures suggest that, up to the Battle of the Somme, the majority of 1/7th officer replacements were under 30 and over one-third under 22; that during the Battle of the Somme, the average age of replacements rose appreciably; that from January 1917 to September 1918 it fell back to some extent; and that during the remaining quarter about half of the officer replacements would be described as "older men" whilst really young men were very much in the minority.

Officer losses and official officer recruiting policy had undoubtedly resulted in a considerable raising of the average age of newly-gazetted second-lieutenants by the summer of 1918. There are frequent references in the literature to COs being required to recommend for commissions a minimum number of sergeants and other NCOs every month:¹⁶⁴ Capt H.R. Lupton lost his CSM and several other useful sergeants in this manner.¹⁶⁵ 60% of the 80 second-lieutenant replacements who joined the 1/7th between 29th June 1917 and 12th December 1918, and for whom details of previous service in the ranks were given, had served in the ranks for 2 years or longer, 7 of them for 6 years or longer (see Table P). One was ex-Sgt Alfred Frankland of Armley who was almost 40 years of age and who had served continuously in the Leeds Rifles since January 1897.

Of the 44 officers, including quartermasters, in the March 1914 Army List, 15 (34.1%) had enrolled before 1st April 1908, whilst a further 7 had enrolled between 1st April 1908 and 31st March 1909, giving a total of 22 officers (50%) with over 5 years' service. Soon after the outbreak

of war, 3 of these officers left the first-line battalions, two to go to the second-line, the third, E.J. Clarke, to take command of the 62nd Divisional Cyclists' Company. Shortly before embarkation, the 1/8th lost its CO, Lt Col. E. Kitson Clark, who had almost 24 years' service.

An estimated number of 56 officers embarked with the Regiment in April 1915. Of these, 18 had more than 5½ years' service. The longest serving officer was Major E. Booth, the 1/7th Quartermaster, with over 28 years' service; he was followed by Lt Col. Kirk, 27 years, and Lt Col. Alexander, 23 years. 4 officers had 15-19 years' service, 2 10-14 years' service, and 9 between 5½ and 9 years' service. The 1/8th's Quartermaster, Lt Benny Farrar, promoted from RSM, had had more than 27 years' continuous service in the Regular Army.

Marital Status. Data concerning marital status could be obtained only for the 1/7th. Next-of-kin was entered on virtually all the records in the 1/7th Bn List of Officers. As indicated by this data, 44 of the 203 officers on this list were married and 159 single; no data was entered for the remaining 4 officers.

Scattered entries of next-of-kin were found in the "Casualty List of the 7th Bn."

Geographical Origin. Even before the war, by no means all the Leeds Rifles officers had been local men. At least 7 of the 44 men on the March 1914 Army List were not natives of Leeds and district: Major Alexander was a Scot; subalterns Tarr, Walling and Glazebrook hailed from London, Ingleton and Cambridge respectively; 2/Lts Waddington and Hossell came from the same suburb of York; GPO engineer Lt Ap Ellis was apparently a member of the old Welsh aristocracy and had been transferred from the London Irish Rifles. Between August 1914 and the embarkation, 5 non-Yorkshiremen joined the 1/7th: Captains Todd and Law had previously held commissions in London Territorial regiments, 2/Lts Cox, May and Foulds were newly-gazetted Extra-mural members of Nottingham University OTC. One of the 1/8th's new officers had been a sheep rancher in Australia, but as he was a member of a Leeds family he had been classified as a local man.

Tables 16 and 17, Appendix II, have been compiled from the home addresses given in the 1/7th Bn List of Officers 1915-1918 and the 8th Bn's Record of Officer's Services 1914-15. Table 16 relates to the first-line 7th battalion for the complete war period, while Table 17 relates to the officers who enrolled in both active-service battalions of the 8th in the

period ending 16th November 1915. Very little is known about the geographical origins of the 2/7th officers; several were domiciled in the Leeds area and several in Harrogate and district.

There was more than one way whereby an officer recruit could get into the unit of his choice. For the first year or so of the war he could apply direct to its commanding officer, providing there was a vacancy.

C.A. Lupton, who left Wellington in December 1915, wanted a commission in the 49th Divisional RFA but there was no vacancy, nor any apparent prospect of one, and he was obliged to make a general application for a commission in the Royal Artillery; he was commissioned in July 1916 and posted, without any choice in the matter, to 188 Siege Battery at Pembroke Dock, Milford Haven.¹⁶⁶ From the end of 1915 an officer candidate filled in an official application form and was invited to state his first three choices of unit in order of preference. According to Cecil Crowther, 2/8th, when he applied in the middle of 1917, a candidate considered himself lucky if he obtained his third choice: getting a first choice was unheard of.¹⁶⁷ The third method was for a candidate, by exerting some kind of influence through a relative or family friend, to induce the commanding officer of the unit concerned to request his posting: Charles E. Carrington, originally gazetted in the 9th Y & L, but left behind under age at a training establishment when the battalion went to France, got his uncle in the 1/5th RWR to ask his CO to apply for him.¹⁶⁸

The Tables show features of considerable interest. 118 of the 203 officers of the 1/7th, i.e. 58.13%, were Yorkshiremen. Of these, 47 (23.25% of total) came from Leeds itself, 12 (5.91%) from districts on the outskirts of the city and a further 34 (16.75%) from towns and villages within a 16-mile radius of Leeds Town Hall, a total of 93, or 45.81% of total. A close examination of the records suggests that, contrary to Rfm Crowther's statement, officers, right up to the end of the war, were permitted to state a preference in the matter of posting. Indeed, this seems to be the only plausible explanation of the presence, after July 1916, when postings by common repute were supposed to have been made on a purely arbitrary basis, of two pairs of brothers, several pairs of close friends, and 19 ex-rankers of the Leeds Rifles in the 1/7th. Brothers Harold Charles and Cyril George Edwards from London arrived together in September 1916 accompanied, perhaps significantly, by ex-Rfm W. Sefton Pomfret, of No. 2 platoon, A Coy. The South brothers who joined in 1918, the elder in January (ex-4th Lincolnshire Regt), the younger in October (ex-7th Notts and Derby), were Leeds men. G.J. Nye and A.H. Rogers had served together in the 29th RF (Public Schools

and Universities battalion), transferred together to the 8th NF, gone to the OCB together, been gazetted on the same day, and joined the 1/7th together in December 1917. Towards the end of the war, officers were generally sent to the 1/7th in batches and it frequently happened that one (or more) officer in a batch came from Yorkshire or even from the Leeds district itself: on 2nd November 1917 two officers arrived from No.5 cadet unit and one was a Shipley man; on 24th November 7 officers arrived from the Special Reserve and all were Yorkshiremen, one being from Leeds and 3 others from nearby towns; on 4th December 7 officers arrived from the 21st OCB, including two from Leeds, and 2 officers from the 20th OCB, including one from Stanningley, near Leeds.

The number of Yorkshiremen in the 8th Bn sample is remarkably high: 48, or 78.7%. 25 of these (41% of total) had been domiciled in Leeds, a further 5 (8.2%) in towns and villages immediately outside Leeds and 14 (22.95%) in other towns and villages within a 16-mile radius of the city centre, giving a total of 44 men (or 72.1%) from the West Riding. Credit for this very large percentage of Yorkshiremen must be given to Col. Hepworth's recruiting policy. It is possible that at least some of the officers originating from outside the county had some kind of connection with Leeds or with the Regiment itself, although it appears more likely that the majority of these men found themselves in the 8th Bn after writing a good many letters of application to commanding officers all over the country.

Colonial Officers. The 1/7th List includes 6 officers who had seen service in colonial units prior to being commissioned, but only 2 of these appeared to be genuine colonials: G.W. Lund (ex-Natal Light Horse), whose parents lived in Natal, and E.H. Matheson (ex-Canadian Scottish), whose father was Archbishop of Winnipeg. The parents of P.E.H. Van Baerle (ex-Canadian Mounted Rifles) and of A.J.H. Hobson (ex-27th Canadian Infantry) lived in London. The next-of-kin of E.C.A. Learmouth (ex-Transvaal Scottish) was an unmarried sister living in Paris. E.E. Brannigan (ex-Transvaal Scottish) had gone out to South Africa with a Volunteer contingent, qualified for both the Queen's and King's South African medals, and settled there after the war.¹⁶⁹

It is known that a large proportion of the forces of both Australia and Canada had not been born in those dominions.¹⁷⁰ Many paragraphs appeared in the local papers concerning Leeds men who were serving, or who had been killed or wounded while serving, with the Canadian, Australian and South

African forces. 2/Lt John C. Bottomley, 1/8th, a former ranker in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, who was thought by the men to be a Canadian, actually came from Hyde Park, Leeds, and had served in the ranks of the Leeds Rifles some years before going out to Canada.¹⁷¹

Between 1902 and 1914 a considerable number of young men had left Britain to work in the dominions and colonies and when the war broke out many of them either immediately returned to their homeland to join up or enlisted in the expeditionary forces being raised in the country they were working in. In the former category were Samuel Coates, 8th, who returned from Australia to apply for a commission in the regiment of his native Leeds; William Sefton Pomfret, who threw up his job as an agent and operator for the Canadian Pacific Railways to return to his native city to enlist in the ranks of the 1/7th; William Edgar Potts resigned from the Alberta Hussars because they showed no signs of leaving Canada and returned to Leeds to re-enlist in the 8th Bn which he had left in 1912.¹⁷²

Only scattered data exists, and that very meagre, on colonial officers in the other Leeds Rifles battalions. Lt A. Milligan, 8th, was said to be a Canadian-Scot. In 1917 each of the first-line battalions had a medical officer who was a United States national.

Religious denominations. Data concerning religious denominations could be obtained only for the 1/7th, whose list of officers gave an officer's religious denomination on a regular basis only from November 1917. The 83 officers concerned were entered as follows: Church of England - 61; Nonconformist - 17; Roman Catholic - 5. Information could be collected only for a few other officers of the battalion: Lt Col. C.H. Tetley was a regular attender at and a benefactor of Christ Church, Hunslet; Capt. G.E. St. Clair Stockwell was a devout Anglo-Catholic; S.F. Jackson and the various members of the Lupton family were Unitarians.

Discipline. The British army officer corps cherished a heroic, chivalrous concept of warfare, placing emphasis on qualities of character and prizing courage above professional expertise. Accordingly, the code of discipline and its punishments bore more severely, in many respects, upon the officer corps than upon the Other Ranks. To be "cashiered", i.e. dismissed with ignominy, spelt social disgrace and frequently personal ruin. It may be thought a reflection of the extremely high standards of personal conduct of the new officer corps of World War I, overwhelmingly comprising civilian members with no career commitment to the Army, that, in all theatres of war taken in total, an infinitesimal number of officers faced trial for

cowardice (10) or desertion (21), and only 3 (2 for desertion and 1 for murder) were executed. A total of 3,562 officers were tried abroad. Drunkenness was easily the most common court-martial offence of officers, accounting for over one-third of all trials.¹⁷³

In the peacetime army, an officer who was considered unsuitable by reason of wilful neglect of his duties, excessive drinking, living beyond his means, etc, would be asked to resign his commission. In wartime, a CO could ask only for an "unsuitable" officer to be seconded to another unit. Since Trench Mortar Battery men were extremely unpopular with front-line infantry because their activities invariably provoked enemy retaliation,¹⁷⁴ TMBs were favourite repositories for unwanted infantry officers. Lt E. Walling, whose bloodymindedness continually antagonised and alienated his NCOs,¹⁷⁵ was one of 11 1/7th officers seconded to 146 Bde Trench Mortar Battery. No conclusions should be drawn from the number of officers seconded, attached or transferred to the RFC/RAF, Machine Gun Corps, and Royal Engineers (Table 18, Appendix II), since certain corps, notably the last-named, habitually plundered infantry units of officers possessing specialist qualifications. The pupil sewerage engineer, Lt A.W. Wilson, 1/7th, was seconded to a Tunnelling Company, for example.

No information exists on the number of courts-martial of officers in the 2/7th and 2/8th, if any, but one officer of the 1/7th and one officer of the 1/8th were court-martialled, both for drunkenness, and coincidentally both committed their offences in November 1917, when the Brigade was in the notorious Broodseinde sector. 2/Lt William Frank Lean, an engineering student from Cornwall, joined the 1/7th on 23rd October 1917, having no previous overseas service, and was placed under close arrest exactly three weeks later on 13th November. He was tried by General Court Martial on 29th December 1917 on a charge of drunkenness, found guilty and sentenced to forfeit all seniority.¹⁷⁶ 2/Lt W. Renny joined the 1/8th on 16th August 1917 but does not appear to have taken part in the Battle of Poelcappelle in October. Nothing can be discovered about his antecedents. While at Corps School, he got drunk one night and wrecked the mess and was returned to his unit under close arrest. Two months later, he was still awaiting trial, perhaps because the 1/8th was about to be disbanded, but he was not included in the officers transferred to the 2/8th. To the 1/8th's CO, this would have been a heaven-sent opportunity to get rid of this loutish officer who, while confined to quarters, broke out and threatened his company commander with personal violence.¹⁷⁷

Casualties. E. Wyrall, The West Yorkshire Regiment in the War, 1914-1918 (n.d.), 2 Vols, gives lists of officers killed, but very little information, and that scattered throughout the text, about numbers of officers wounded or taken prisoner. The lists of killed are poorly classified: officers who lost their lives while attached to other units or corps are included in the list of their original battalion, e.g. the only 8th Bn officer killed at La Montagne de Bligny, Capt Norman Müller, is listed among the 6th Bn casualties.

The only Leeds Rifles statistics obtainable that appeared anything like complete were for the 1/7th Bn. They were contained in the "List of Officers of the 1/7th (Leeds Rifles) Bn, West Yorkshire Regt., 1915-1918" and are set out in Table 18, Appendix II. 203 officers, excluding MOs, served in the battalion in the period 15th April 1915-12th December 1918. During this period 168 officers left the battalion for good: exactly two-thirds of this number were in the categories killed, missing, invalided to the UK wounded or sick, or taken prisoner. Of the 203 grand total, 36 (17.7%) lost their lives, 34 (16.7%) were invalided wounded, 31 (15.3%) were invalided sick, and 11 (5.4%) taken prisoner, while 9 (4.4%) were transferred to other battalions, and 40 (19.7%) seconded/attached/transferred to other units or corps. No definitive figures for officers wounded or sick who were not invalided home could be obtained.

The number of dead, though above the average (15.2%) for the British Army as a whole,¹⁷⁸ nevertheless appears to be below the average for the 49th Division.¹⁷⁹ The high number of officers invalided home sick reflects the environmental conditions under which the battalion operated. The number taken prisoner may appear excessive, but 10 officers were captured on 16th April 1918 when the depleted battalion was completely surrounded by two enemy divisions in fog on Kemmel Ridge.

Many books and articles have referred to the extremely short - "10 days to 3 weeks was the average"¹⁸⁰ - life expectancy of a front-line infantry subaltern. This is one of the most persistent World War I myths ever foisted upon credulous civilians, and Martin Middlebrook has performed a valuable service in exposing it.¹⁸¹ It was undoubtedly an expression of the hostility felt by front-line soldiers towards civilians, an attempt by the officer corps to shock British civilians into an acceptance and realisation of its sufferings and sacrifices. Many front-line officers and men believed, or affected to believe, the myth themselves.¹⁸² 1712 L/Sgt John William Sanderson, 1/8th, gave the "three-week life expectancy" as the reason he refused to accept a commission. Lt Col. A.J. McCulloch, 9th KOYLI, 64th Bde, told respondent Cecil Crowther and his fellow sub-

alterns on their arrival at Bn HQ in 1918: "In 3 weeks' time you'll either be wounded, dead or decorated."¹⁸³ Some participant-authors, however, have attempted to give a more honest and realistic estimate: John O. Nettleton gives the "average life span" as 3 months,¹⁸⁴ Gilbert Hall "something like 3½ months".¹⁸⁵ It comes as something of a surprise to learn that World War II officer casualties tended to be proportionately higher than in World War I.¹⁸⁶

Middlebrook investigated a Kitchener battalion, the 10th WYR, through which 174 subalterns passed during its period of active service. 37 (21.3%) were killed, 48 (27.6%) were wounded and did not return to the unit, 6 (3.4%) were taken prisoner, and 83 (47.7%) left for other reasons. After allowing for periods of temporary absence he found that the average subaltern spent 6.17 months with the battalion before becoming a casualty or leaving for some other reason.¹⁸⁷ Even in an extreme case, the myth cannot withstand examination. The 1st Northamptonshire Regt, 2nd Bde, which went to France in August 1914, lost its first 34 officers by 10th May 1915, killed, wounded or invalided:¹⁸⁸ the average length of service of all these officers was 10.8 weeks, the average for subalterns only marginally lower. Despite the fact that 18 (nearly 9%) of the 1/7th officers, all subalterns, left the battalion or became a casualty within 3 weeks, the average length of service for all officers in this battalion of the Leeds Rifles was 32.96 weeks (about 7½ months), the average for subalterns somewhat lower at 30.69 weeks (approximately 7 months). (Periods of absence have been excluded from these figures.) Only 3 officers, all second-lieutenants, were killed within 3 weeks of joining the 1/7th; all were inexperienced.

Books and articles have also alleged that officers received favoured treatment in the matter of medical care and were hospitalised with conditions for which Other Ranks were given "medicine and duty". It is impossible to comment usefully on such generalisations. No such allegations were made by any of the respondents who, without exception, expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the medical attention they had received at both regimental and higher levels. The only complaint was made by a 1/7th officer respondent who unfairly criticised the RMO (who was invalided to the UK 3 weeks later, suffering from "shellshock") for declining to administer treatment that was the province of the surgeons at the CCS. It had to be conceded, however, that a casual observer, reading through the 7th Bn's Casualty List book, 1915-17, could easily form the impression that officers were in fact receiving favoured treatment. This would principally arise from the classification employed in writing hospitalis-

ation reports. The RAMC recognised only two categories: "Severe" - potentially liable to place, or actually placing, the patient on the "Danger" or "critical list" - and "Slight" - all the rest. Thus, influenza was classed as "slight" if the patient's temperature was under 103.5°F. Merely by their wording, reports such as "Lt R.W. Banks: slight varicose veins 31/1/17", "Lt G.A.M. Darwin: slight trench feet 24/3/17", or "Lt H.E. Newton: slight tonsillitis 29/3/17" suggest that these officers were malingering. Medical conditions given hospitalisation that appeared to have been common are synovitis, haemorrhoids, varicose veins, bronchitis and influenza. The first three rendered a soldier ineffective; the last two were potentially dangerous to the patient.

The large and disproportionate officer losses, which so appalled Lloyd George¹⁸⁹ and many others, gave rise to the "Lost Generation" myth, principally, Correlli Barnett suspects, because the "governing classes" sustained an immensely higher proportionate loss than the nation as a whole.¹⁹⁰ Large officer losses were, however, inevitable. As Professor Sir Charles Oman pointed out, British infantry units habitually used about 3 times as many officers in the line as their adversaries: 25 or more combatant officers as compared with the German battalion's 9 or 10. The Germans used Offizierstellvertreter (substitute officers), who were in theory only non-commissioned officers, and by 1916 in "very many" German battalions more than half the platoons were in the charge of these highly-trained NCOs.¹⁹¹

This over-officering was a fault which weakened the British army in two World Wars. As the World War I Official History said, writing of the Battle of Arras, "when British troops lost their officers, they were ... apt to fall back, not because they were beaten but because they did not know what to do and expected to receive fresh orders."¹⁹² A World War II officer, in his recent memoirs, commented "The British Army with its large number of officers tended to wet nurse the men mentally with the result that the rank and file never thought for themselves and all, including warrant officers and NCOs, lacked initiative."¹⁹³

The readily identifiable appearance of the British officer, with his open-necked tunic, easily visible cuff insignia, Sam Browne belt and breeches, and his practice of carrying a revolver into action rather than a rifle, has been widely criticised¹⁹⁴ and frequently regarded as a major contributory factor in the large officer losses. This danger was recognised during the first year of the war, however, and could not have figured as

prominently in officer losses as has been popularly supposed. From July 1915, when the 49th Division joined VI Corps, Leeds Rifles officers were ordered to wear privates' tunics and carry rifles when in the line.¹⁹⁵ General orders were received in June 1916 to remove all braid from sleeves and transfer pips etc., to shoulders,¹⁹⁶ while the Official History states that, during the Battle of the Somme, officers in most units were dressed like the men.¹⁹⁷ X Corps Orders concerning fighting kit issued in June 1917 laid down that "All infantry officers must be dressed and equipped the same as their men. Sticks are not to be carried."¹⁹⁸ The Report made by Major C.K. James DSO, commanding the 2/7th (Leeds Rifles) Bn WYR, on the battalion's immensely successful attack at Cambrai on 20th November 1917, contains the following significant passage:

"Officers were dressed exactly the same as the men in every respect and carried a rifle and bayonet. It is considered that the fact that no officer casualties were sustained in the actual attack was due to this fact, as there was considerable enemy sniping at certain periods."¹⁹⁹

Out of the line officers reverted to the customary officers' field dress.

Notes

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4. The Face of Battle (London, 1976), p. 217.
5. No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I (Cambridge, 1979), p. 47.
6. Johnny Get Your Gun: A Personal Narrative of the Somme, Ypres and Arras (London, 1978), p. 12.
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13. See, for example, G. Brenan, 'A Survivor's Story' in G.A. Panichas, ed., Promise of Greatness: The War of 1914-1918 (London, 1968), p.46.
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22. 'The Inferno, 1914-18', in Theo Barker, ed., The Long March of Everyman, 1750-1960 (London, 1975; Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 169.
23. Yorkshire Post, 17 March 1916; letter to Editor, Yorkshire Post, 19 September 1916.
24. C.H. Coates & R.J. Pellegrin, Military Sociology: A Study of American Military Institutions and Military Life (University Park, Md., 1965), p. 272.

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26. Report of the Board of Trade on the State of Employment in the United Kingdom in October 1914; 1914-1916 Cmd. 7703, xxi, 25.
27. Report of the Board of Trade on the State of Employment in the United Kingdom in December 1914; 1914-1916 Cmd. 7755, xxi, 67.
28. Report of the Board of Trade on the State of Employment in the United Kingdom in February 1915, p. 9; 1914-1916 Cmd. 7850, xxi, 77.
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68. Ibid., 8, 10, 11 September 1914.
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71. Yorkshire Post, 12 September 1914.
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86. Yorkshire Evening Post, 22 November 1914; Yorkshire Evening News, 25 November 1914.
87. W.H. Scott, op. cit., p. 21. The figure amounts to 20.01% of men in the 19-39 age group, estimated at 77,178 (calculated from statistics given in the Census of England and Wales 1911, Vol. VII, Table 11, p. 357; 1912-13 Cmd. 6610, cxiii, 379).
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90. Oral testimony.
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92. Yorkshire Post, 15 September 1914; Yorkshire Evening News, 19 September 1914.
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96. Ibid., article 'The Expanding Army', 18 May 1915; Military Mail, 9 October 1914.
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99. Report of the Board of Trade on the State of Employment in the United Kingdom in October 1914, pp. 5-6; 1914-1916 Cmd. 7703, xxi, 25.
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115. Testimony of Lt J.B. Gawthorpe, 8th.
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117. Leeds Mercury, 30 October 1914.
118. Lt Col. Kirk, quoted Yorkshire Post, 9 July 1915; Major H.D. Bousfield, quoted ibid., 26 July 1915; see also Knowles letter, 13 June 1915.
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128. See Yorkshire Post, 13 May 1915.
129. Oral testimony.
130. Oral testimony.
131. Testimonies of 2/Lt H. Whitham, 7th, and 2/Lt J.R. Bellerby, 8th.
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CHAPTER 7. THE TERRITORIALS, 1907-1914

7.1 The need for reform of the Volunteer Force

Although the Volunteer contingents attached to Regular units appear to have performed creditably the various tasks assigned to them in South Africa,¹ the Volunteer Force per se possessed very little military credibility. Its main role, in effect, had been the allaying of public anxiety about home defence,² though this confidence had been seriously undermined by a revival, at the beginning of 1900, of invasion panic produced, in the absence of the bulk of the Regular Army, by the hostile posture adopted by European powers towards Britain immediately following the outbreak of the 2nd Boer War, and, further, by a growing opinion, that was expressed by the Report of the 1904 Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers,³ that the Volunteer Force was incapable of combatting an invading army.

Since its inception, the Force had suffered from government parsimony: financial provision had perennially been less than adequate. It had never had enough money spent upon it to enable it to become a military asset. At the time of the [Bury] Committee of Inquiry into the Financial State and Internal Organisation of the Volunteer Force in Great Britain, appointed in 1878, the average annual cost of a Rifle Volunteer was between £2 and £3: in the case of the Leeds Rifles, government grants met only about £1.12s.0d. of the average cost of £2.7s.11d; only 38 of the 293 Volunteer corps had an annual expenditure that was lower than the annual capitation grant.⁴ Shortfalls in income were thus general in the Force. In 1885 Col. Sir Robert Loyd-Lindsay stated that expenditure in his corps over the past 3 years had exceeded the Government grants and allowances by £2,797; in 1888-9 the Huddersfield corps received a grant of only £895.10s. but the expenses amounted to £1,144.⁵ Volunteer COs understandably tended to become obsessed with financial matters. Certainly finance was a constant worry to Col Wilson of the Leeds Rifles in the late 1880s.⁶ By then, a major qualification for a Volunteer colonel had become the size of his personal fortune and the extent of his willingness to accept sole responsibility for his corps' pecuniary liabilities. The vociferous opposition to Arnold-Forster's proposals of 1905 to make substantial cuts in numbers was not as factious or as obstructive as it might appear to present-day historians:⁷ to Volunteer COs his proposals, which would involve correspondingly heavy cuts in capitation grants, spelt only inevitable insolvency.

In 1906, when the annual cost to the country of each Regular soldier was £81, only a simpleton would have expected to obtain a viable home defence force of about a quarter of a million men at an annual cost per head of something in the order of £7, the cost of a Volunteer.⁸ It was the fault of party politicians that the country did not even get full value for the small amount of money that was expended on the Volunteers. In the words of the Earl of Scarborough, "the Volunteer's patriotic efforts were allowed to run to waste without any organisation or definite aim or object."⁹ Nor was this all: no one in Government, apparently, could perceive the waste of money involved in, for instance, maintaining units recruited from dockyard, arsenal or railway workers (e.g. 26th Kent (Royal Arsenal) RVC, 27th Kent (Deptford Dockyard) RVC) who could not be released from their civilian employments in time of invasion. The British public, with its traditional indifference, indeed apathy, to matters of national defence, had no one to blame but itself for the fact that Volunteers were not better organised nor treated more seriously than they were.

The Volunteers themselves and their friends and supporters among Regular Army officers were evidently aware of the Force's shortcomings and the remedies required to turn it into a force of real military value.¹⁰ As the 1904 Royal Commission's Report was careful to point out, the fault lay with the system, and not, in any way, with the personnel of the Force. Definite relations with the Regular Army had never been devised. Never taken properly in hand by the War Office, throughout their history the Volunteers remained as far outside the military system as they had been at the very beginning. They had no place in the line of battle and even their role in home defence, their raison d'être, had not been properly thought out. The first Mobilisation scheme for the British Army in the event of invasion (surprisingly not drawn up until 1875) and the next, the Brackenbury and Ardagh Mobilisation Schemes of 1886 and 1888 respectively, had assigned only a very humble role to the Volunteers. No really feasible scheme for the mobilisation of Volunteers in the event of foreign invasion was ever worked out.¹¹ Even in 1900, when the government woke up to the fact that it had only the Volunteers to depend on for the defence of the country, the many concessions offered gave every appearance of having been occasioned by panic rather than having resulted from serious thought. Though the Volunteers had undoubtedly improved out of all recognition since the early days of the Movement and had become "much more efficient than John Bull has any right to expect,"¹² their fundamental problems remained virtually untouched. At the heart of these problems lay the fact that prior to Haldane assuming office no one with the political will and the political power had emerged to organise the Force properly

and to assign it a well-defined role and to consider and work out a practical scheme whereby it could be made fit to take the field at comparatively short notice. Successive Secretaries of State for War, the Royal Commission of 1862, and various Committees had shared an inability to perceive the wood for the trees. Even some very important trees proved difficult to see: for example, that vital item of clothing, boots (never provided by the Government before August 1914), was never discussed by the Bury Committee, and did not figure in the Minutes of Evidence of the 1904 Royal Commission, though it is mentioned in a paper by Maj Gen Parr that is included as Appendix VI of the 1904 RC Appendices.¹³

The members of the 1904 Royal Commission were agreed that "the Volunteer Force, in view of the unequal military education of the officers, the limited training of the men, and the defects of equipment and organisation, is not qualified to take the field against a regular army." The standards of discipline and efficiency varied immensely amongst the different corps. The Force had been allowed to grow and develop in a haphazard fashion regardless of the requirements of organisation, of training, or of mobilisation for national defence; the existing establishments bore "no relation to any regular system for either peace or war."¹⁴ The Force was completely lacking in Transport and Supply Columns and, as Dunlop points out, no machinery existed for mobilising the units of the Force in case of war, nor for securing drafts of reinforcements, and it was extremely unlikely that any unit had more than a small proportion of men sufficiently trained or physically fit to proceed on active service.¹⁵ The Volunteer Medical corps suffered from very serious defects: no provision for the sick, no field ambulances, no field hospitals worth speaking of, no "sanitary" officers. Perhaps the worst feature of the Force, its greatest defect, was its military training which, instead of being laid down and carried out in a uniform manner on a national basis, depended on the sympathy and goodwill of GOCs District and OCs Sub-District and on the energy, capacity and initiative of the individual unit commanding officer who was left, more or less, to organise training as he thought fit. The Force was, moreover, equipped with obsolete weapons for which the Regular Army had no further use.¹⁶ When Col Coghlan joined the Leeds Artillery in 1873 the corps was equipped with old Crimean War pattern 32-pounder guns that fired round shot. Shortly afterwards the corps received four 40-pounder Armstrong breech-loading guns which it retained until after the end of the 2nd Boer War.¹⁷

"In personnel and esprit de corps the Volunteers were second to none,"¹⁸ but they remained badly organised, badly armed, badly trained, badly clothed and badly equipped to the end. It is hardly surprising that this should have been so. Up to the end of the 19th century successive governments had failed to ensure that the Regular Army was properly armed with the most up-to-date weapons available, was thoroughly equipped and suitably dressed for all campaigns; at the same time the Army hierarchy had failed not only to organise its forces effectively but also to lay down and have carried out comprehensive programmes of up-to-date progressive training. A country which neglected its Army to the extent the British Army was neglected was hardly likely to treat its Volunteers any better if, indeed, it treated them as well.

By the year Haldane took office, then, a thorough reorganisation and a fundamental reappraisal of the Volunteer Force were long overdue. It was, moreover, an opportune time for introducing army reforms, since the incoming Liberal administration had pledged itself to carry out extensive reforms in all areas. The Volunteer Force had come to be regarded as a permanent national institution and, as such, its abolition was clearly unthinkable. This course of action was never, however, considered: as "the citizen army" it was tailor-made for an integral role in Haldane's grandiose scheme for "a nation in arms".

7.2 Some aspects of Haldane's scheme

Although Haldane's scheme for the Territorial Army (as it was initially called) contained few, if any, original ideas,¹⁹ it had much to commend it. The scheme in itself was original, for it gave to the new Territorials three things the Volunteers had never had: proper organisation; a much greater degree of stability; and a definite role, a place in the military framework (though this was revealed to be ambiguous). The new Force was to be organised and trained as complete large divisions able to take the field unsupported; the administrative framework based on County Associations (with the aim of relieving the War Office of the burden of work and expense of administration) was capable, whether by accident or design, of infinite expansion in time of need, although in itself it was far from efficient (see section 7.5 below); a glaring weakness of the Volunteer Force was abolished: the facility given to the Volunteer to quit his corps upon giving 14 days' notice.

As the basis of Haldane's planning was Blue-Waterism - since the Committee of Imperial Defence's 1903 study of the invasion question it had

been stated policy that invasion was unlikely - he wished to change the military role of the Volunteers. In the summer of 1906 he had publicly put forward the idea of the VF as "a sort of second Reserve for the Regular Army." It was his intention and belief, as stated in his Fourth Memorandum to the Army Council of 25th April 1906, that the new Force should be primarily a Reserve to, and the sole means of support and expansion of, the Expeditionary Force in time of war.²⁰ He told the House, when speaking on his new scheme in February 1907, that on outbreak of war the Territorial Army, or "Army of the Second Line", "should be mobilised in its units, and be embodied for war training for six months."²¹ This was hardly a practical proposition for a home defence force, and a cynic, of course, would point out that this was by far the cheapest method of training a home defence force, particularly if the need for mobilisation never arose (as well as the cheapest method of training an Army Reserve). The changed role involved a liability to serve outside the British mainland. In both his first reading speech and during the second reading debate, however, Haldane switched his emphasis to the TF's home defence role,²² perhaps in an attempt to placate the many Radicals and the Labour supporters, inside and outside Parliament, who were becoming restive about the Territorials' planned role. The general public and most Territorials not surprisingly continued to believe that the Force's prime, or even sole, purpose was home defence and Haldane found it politically impossible to introduce a liability for overseas service. In 1910 members of the TF were invited to accept the foreign service liability ("Imperial Service") voluntarily, but only 991 officers and 16,548 other ranks did so.²³ Haldane's persistence in the notion of six months' training after embodiment, which he declared to be "the root principle" of the Act,²⁴ played straight into the hands of the conscriptionists.²⁵

Anonymous articles in the Yorkshire Post of April 1907, under the title 'The New Army Considered', drew attention to the need for (1) the new army to be "thoroughly complete in every detail", in a "state of preparedness" with "nothing ... left wanting until the moment of urgency"; (2) the special six months' training to be given during the first six months' service of the recruit [as was the case for the recruit to the Special Reserve], followed by short annual trainings of 8 to 15 days.²⁶ The writer (who does not appear to have been a conscriptionist) pointed out that "a force so trained would be far more efficient and valuable on embodiment than one requiring six months' instruction before it could be effectively used." The system of training he advocated, though logical on military grounds, was of course impracticable since it was commonly, but erroneously, believed that it would cause large-scale disruption of business and industry. It

became a practicable proposition only if (a) apprentices and men in regular, as opposed to casual, employment were specifically excluded from enlisting in the new Force (which they were), and (b) the Government was willing to meet the costs (which it was not). The all-important questions: "Is the amount of training proposed sufficient to render efficient the force to which will be committed the defence of the country?" and "Will the new force be properly armed and thoroughly equipped so that it will be fit to take the field at short notice?" were glossed over and pushed to one side by Government and War Office. The signal failure to answer these two questions satisfactorily in the prewar period represented the major flaws in the Territorial scheme.

Haldane's proposals accordingly indicated to his opponents, many of them outside Parliament (where opposition to the Bill proved feeble and ineffective), that cynical political motives lay behind the Bill. He had already made substantial cuts in Army manpower by disbanding some units and reducing the establishments of others. These, together with the associated reorganisation of the auxiliary forces which (a) involved an expansion of "the citizen army", and (b) gave the appearance on paper of enlarging the Regular Army by converting the Militia to the Special Reserve, were seen as devices for getting or rather, appearing to get, defence on the cheap, allegations that were uncomfortably close to the truth. Haldane's predecessor, Arnold-Forster, in a letter to the Times condemned his scheme as "a system of pure makebelieve" and the Territorial Army as "a makebelieve Army", and he was not alone in this view.²⁷ Haldane's former close associate, Admiral Fisher, considered the scheme to train the TF after the outbreak of war "childish".²⁸ Conscriptionists saw no surer way of ensuring future disaster than to reduce the Regular Army and defer the training of the second line until after the war had actually broken out.²⁹ Mutterings about sham armies and confidence tricks inevitably arose. A French military critic, after attending Territorial camps in the south of England in 1909, condemned the TF as "so much window-dressing".³⁰

In view of the fact that most Liberal politicians showed apathy, if not hostility, towards military affairs, and that the Secretary of State for War himself was personally committed to a policy of economy and retrenchment in military expenditure, the idea of a Liberal Government introducing such a scheme was probably enough to arouse such suspicions in the mind of an ally. A leading Territorial, Major (later Lt Col Sir) Mark Sykes, who was not a conscriptionist, saw the TF as nothing more than a machine provided to soothe public opinion by a martial parade when the Regular Army

was absent abroad. He held that, as it then stood, the TF was a menace to the national safety, for it served only "to blind the public as to the extreme peril of their situation,"³¹ a view that was shared by many, not only conscriptionists. Whether or not the general public was gulled into believing that the various reorganisations had produced, or would produce, both a larger and more efficient Regular Army and a larger and more efficient home defence force than formerly, and at less cost, is immaterial. The fact remains that Haldane's reorganisations brought about what he had always intended, a substantial reduction in the Army Vote: the estimates for effective services were reduced by well over £2¼m. from £29.813m. in 1905-6 to £27.435m. in 1909-10.

The Liberal Government's consistent failure, amounting to refusal, either to arm the Territorials with the most up-to-date weapons available to the Regulars or to equip them even with the minimum clothing necessary to enable them to mobilise for training, hardly suggests that it was ever really prepared to treat the Territorials seriously, or as anything more than "so much window-dressing" for public consumption, as Mark Sykes and others had maintained. In view of this failure and Haldane's plan to give serious training only after embodiment, it is well nigh impossible to escape the conclusion that the Government never seriously contemplated the possibility of having to embody the Territorials. Other evidence lends support to this contention. The Agadir crisis of 1911 and the report of the Invasion Inquiry, made at the beginning of 1913, did not result in an increase in the TF establishment. The Government's response as regards the Territorials to the Inquiry report was to make good, on paper only, the deficiencies in the Force's manpower with the (literally) old soldiers of Class II of the National Reserve,³² an exercise, it should be noted, that cost virtually nothing. The Army Veterinary Corps component included in the structure of the TF can only be described as inadequate. Although the West Riding Division needed at least 1,700 animals in the camping season, it did not include a single AVC (TF) officer in its establishment and horsed units were obliged to make their own unofficial arrangements by recruiting veterinary surgeons as regimental officers where possible, or by "borrowing". As at 1st October 1913, although the AVC total establishment of the national TF was 210 officers and 217 other ranks, only 148 officers and no other ranks were actually on the strength; 7 veterinary hospitals (one between every 2 divisions), each to have a staff of 4 officers and 29 other ranks, were still only in the planning stage.³³ A division was helpless and immobile without its animals: both the procrastination of the Government in the

provision of veterinary services and the lackadaisical attitude of the Army Remount Dept. (see section 7.8 below) were further indications that the TF was not being treated seriously. The 1913 re-organisation of the home Army infantry battalion into 4 large companies, in order to improve efficiency and strengthen firepower, was unaccountably not applied to the TF until January 1915 even though it should have been obvious that organisational differences must have proved detrimental should TF and Regular battalions have been required to act together under battle conditions. N.W. Summerton's study suggests that neither the Committee of Imperial Defence nor the Government at any time up to August 1914 addressed themselves properly to the military needs of a war against Germany.³⁴ The Government's policies towards the Territorial Force give further support to his thesis.

Haldane's opponents had suspected him of cynical political motives. Even before the Bill was passed, other, more unworthy, even sordid, motives emerged. Many of the Volunteer corps had borrowed Government money in order to provide themselves with drill halls, etc. One of Haldane's proposals was to transfer these debts, amounting to £459,000, from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, who were receiving £28,000 per annum in repayments, to the War Office, ostensibly to facilitate the transference of the property of the corps concerned to the County Associations. Austen Chamberlain contended that the Secretary of State for War was really proposing to use a surplus which ought to be used for the reduction of the National Debt to secure for himself an annuity of over £20,000 with which to reduce future Army Estimates. In this he had the support of several members. Another member accused Haldane of attempting to infringe, if not actually break, the Sinking Fund Act. This lengthy discussion about appropriations in aid³⁵ merely presaged later events. The Haldane who had travelled indefatigably up and down the country, wooing the Volunteers with flattering and honeyed words and false promises of unstinted funds, revealed himself as a scheming and unscrupulous predator. The Volunteers had agreed to hand over their drill halls and armouries, but they also possessed considerable assets besides in the form of bank accounts, land and property, a fact that Haldane had not been slow to perceive. In a Parliamentary answer of 1907, Haldane had stated that, as at 31st March 1906, the estimated value of buildings, drill halls and ranges belonging to Volunteer corps was £1.08m. vested in the officer commanding, and £92,000 vested in trustees.³⁶

Notwithstanding that Section 39(3)(c) of the Act stated that all lands and properties belonging to a Volunteer corps were to be transferred to

its County Association where they were to be held "by the Association for the benefit in like manner of the corresponding unit of the Territorial Force or for such other purpose as the Association, with the consent of such corresponding unit, to be ascertained in the prescribed manner, shall direct", and that it also stated that the corresponding unit was to become entitled to the interest in such property, Haldane set out deliberately to sequester these funds and properties, determined that neither corps nor associations should have the financial benefit of them. Their destination was evidently general Army Funds so that a corresponding reduction in the Estimates might be made: a short paragraph in the Committee of Public Accounts report dealing with Army and Navy expenditure 1908-9 contains the following significant passage: "... the credit balances on the public accounts of Volunteer and Yeomanry Corps have now been applied to the relief of Army Funds under the provision of the Territorial Forces Act."³⁷ An item appears under "Appropriations in aid" under Vote IV in prewar Army Estimates: "Proceeds of sales of property no longer required for Territorial Force purposes." The figure in the 1909-10 Estimates against this item for 1908-9 is £13,000, in the 1910-11 Estimates it is only £1,000.³⁸ It was legal and praiseworthy to sell buildings and adjoining land in order to finance replacement buildings being erected in perhaps more convenient locations or to provide better accommodation, but disputes arose concerning the sale by the War Office of property belonging to corps that had been amalgamated with others or to corps that had ceased to exist under the reorganization. One such dispute involved the Yeomanry drill hall at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.³⁹

Some corps perceived Haldane's intentions before the Bill passed into law and tied up their funds and property in government-proof trusts or spent their financial surpluses on improving amenities. The Leeds Engineers, and the Wakefield and the Goole companies of the 1st VB KOYLI, for instance, all opened new fully-furnished recreation rooms before the end of 1907, while the Leeds Rifles had erected on the parade ground the Wells light installation, a forerunner of floodlighting, which enabled company drills to be performed outside during the darker months.⁴⁰ Others, to their cost, took no apparent action to protect their property. They first began to realise the seriousness of their omission in the spring of 1910. This was when Treasury officials, about to complete the Territorial estimate for 1910-11, which was to show an increase of £355,000 over the previous year, suddenly discovered that the County Associations were seriously over-spending, which was said to be "due mainly to the unexpectedly rapid growth of the Territorial Force": a Treasury minute, dated 7th April, showed a "probable excess over grants of £382,000".⁴¹ This was one of the sums to be set against

the Army Vote surpluses of the previous year. Early in the new financial year the War Office began slashing Territorial expenditure in all directions. Actual expenditure on the TF in 1910-11 was over £81,000 less than the estimate, and over £133,000 less than the actual expenditure in the previous year. In 1910-11 expenditure on Votes III (Special Reserve) and IV (Territorial Force) was cut in order to meet increases in Votes VII, IX, X, and XI.⁴²

A considerable under-calculation of the future costs of the Territorial Force had been made at the very beginning, but this was not admitted. If the 1911-12 Army Estimates were to be reduced (which they were), extra money had to be found somewhere. The private incomes currently being enjoyed by a number of corps were an obvious target: small though they were individually, they were evidently thought worth sequestrating. Haldane and the War Office overlooked the fact that the lands and property of Volunteers had been acquired with money obtained by public subscription, by bazaars and other fund-raising means, and by the munificence of private individuals, and that the people who had subscribed would, not unnaturally, be indignant that their money was being diverted into the national purse.

One battalion that suffered was the 7th DLI of Sunderland, the former 3rd VB DLI. Its drill hall had been erected on a 3-acre parcel of land of which "the commanding officer for the time being" was the Trustee. On this land the annual Sunderland Fair was held, the corps receiving some £300 in rents. The drill hall was duly conveyed to the County Association. The War Office demanded the deeds of the surrounding land. The CO would agree only if Haldane kept to the letter of the Act and guaranteed that the rents would continue to be used for the benefit of the regiment. In retaliation a furious War Office and Secretary of State refused to grant the CO an extension of his command, compulsorily retired him under the age clause and refused to appoint Major E. Vaux, a local brewer, as successor until the deeds were handed over. The Earl of Durham and the Borough Members intervened in the dispute without success.⁴³ Another case was that of the Leeds Rifles and their former barracks in Oxford Row.

In order to possess himself of these private incomes and such private property as had not yet been handed over, Haldane took advantage of two legal loop-holes. The first was that, just as a Volunteer commanding officer was held in law solely responsible for his corps' financial affairs, the commanding officer "for the time being" was usually the sole trustee of land and property owned by the corps. If the title deeds of the Oxford Row property had been in the name of "Fred Tannett-Walker, engineer", or if

the trust had comprised 3 or more trustees, the War Office would have had no kind of claim whatever.⁴⁴ The second was that the Order in Council transferring the property of a Volunteer corps to an Association, in the words of Section 29(3)(c), "may, if it is deemed proper, having regard to the special circumstances of the case, provide for the appointment of special trustees to act together with, or to the exclusion of, the Association in regard to any such property", a typical lawyer's clause that was open to more than one interpretation.

Col Tannett-Walker was an industrialist who believed that a gentleman's word was his bond. When it came to dealing with a politician of Haldane's calibre, he was the complete innocent. He had asked the Secretary of State himself as long ago as 1907 whether it was likely the State would set to work to rob the Leeds Rifles⁴⁵ and had naturally received a negative reply. The Leeds Rifles was probably the wealthiest corps in the entire Volunteer Force: its collections of silver (the property of the officers' and sergeants' messes) alone had to be seen to be believed, and no other corps possessed similar valuable land and property not used for military purposes. Carlton Barracks was widely acknowledged to be the finest Volunteer headquarters in the country: it was bought in 1886 for £9,500, and before 1890 over £13,000 had been spent on extensive additions, alterations and improvements,⁴⁶ whilst further improvements, costing about £6,000, were carried out soon after the turn of the century. Part of the Oxford Row headquarters and also its drill ground had been sold and the remainder let as a warehouse and two shops, yielding a total annual rent of at least £300 (it has been variously reported as £300 and £350). In 1908 the let property was worth perhaps between £7,000 and £8,000; the original property had been valued complete at £8,410 in 1887, and in 1905 would have been worth "more than £10,000."⁴⁷ The let property was sold in 1926 to the Leeds Watch Committee by the County Association for £10,000.⁴⁸ The Oxford Row property had become part of the general property of the corps by conveyance in 1887 and as such was legally conveyed to the West Riding Association in 1908. Col Tannett-Walker admitted later that he had frequently been urged to sell the property and apply the proceeds for the benefit of the corps but he had, he said, regarded his duties as Trustee too seriously to do this. When the Territorial scheme had been put forward he had been advised to sell out and vest the money in trustees, but he had declined "to do anything so paltry, as he was sure that in the hands of the War Office they were safe."⁴⁹ The Association, carrying out the terms of Section 29(3)(c) of the Act, forwarded the rent to the Leeds Rifles in addition to the grants and allowances to which they were ordinarily entitled, and the money was spent, as it always

had been, on field days and weekend camps which otherwise could not have been held.

In the second week of April 1910 the War Office demanded all the rents that had been paid over to the Leeds Rifles since the Act came into force, and by way of enforcing this claim, the Northern Command auditor surcharged the West Riding Association with the amount of rent received in 1909 and sought to recover from it the amount received in 1908. The Association immediately protested to Haldane but failed to receive a satisfactory reply. It then asked permission to send a deputation; Haldane refused. At the quarterly meeting of the Association, largely attended, the members showed themselves to be very strongly opposed on principle to the War Office claim, chiefly on the grounds that the Oxford Row rents were the private property of the Leeds Rifles. A civilian member, County Councillor E.H. Foster, moved a resolution, later carried unanimously, that the Association

"request the Secretary of State for War to reconsider the position he has taken up with regard to the private property of the Leeds Rifles in Oxford Row, Leeds." He said that the position was that "their funds were to be depleted and that the benefit of this money subscribed privately by the citizens of Leeds was to be reaped by the Army Council, money which might be applied to purposes quite foreign to home defence or the Territorial Force", and he maintained that the War Office was relying on "the barest legal quibble."

Ald. Lupton declared that there was no right or equity in the War Office action. Col Tannett-Walker (now retired from command) said he had recently spoken personally at a meeting to Mr Haldane who had said he rather suspected the County Association would do everything they could to get their hands on the money, and that he saw no method by which they could do this, except he believed it was not possible for a regiment to own private property. The Colonel said he had been told later by fellow senior Territorial officers that the regiments of the Household Brigade owned substantial property.⁵⁰

A week or so before the quarterly meeting, an old friend and comrade of the Leeds Rifles, Lt Col E.H. Carlile, formerly commanding officer of the Huddersfield Volunteers, and now Conservative MP for St Albans, was requested to ask a question in the House on the method whereby the Leeds Rifles' private property was proposed to be confiscated and diverted from the local uses for which it was intended. The final part of Haldane's answer was: "The income derived from the property will be taken into account in estimating the amount required to be expended from Army funds in the administration of the unit, and the amounts to be paid out of money voted by Parliament under Section 3(1) of the Act will be reduced by a corresponding

amount."⁵¹ This was an admission that the Leeds Rifles' moneys were going into Army funds to effect a corresponding reduction in the Estimates.

As a result of pressure from the Leeds Members and the Lord Mayor and Corporation, Haldane eventually, albeit reluctantly, agreed in June to receive a deputation from the West Riding Association. This was led by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Harewood, and the Earl of Scarborough, President and Chairman respectively. Haldane told the deputation that he could act only as a mediator between the Leeds Rifles and the Treasury, "with whom the matter finally rested", on the basis that (1) the Regiment could have re-transferred the property to trustees before the Act came into operation and taken it completely out of the control of the War Office; (2) public money was not represented in the Oxford Row investment. He was

"prepared to concede that it was a case for exceptional treatment by the Treasury on the terms that the Oxford Row property should be held in trust for the Leeds Rifles, subject to the Battalions taking over the responsibility of the £3,000 mortgage which was on Carlton Barracks at the time the Act came into operation and would make a recommendation to the Treasury to this effect."⁵²

With this "Irishman's rise", an arrangement, on the face of it, of dubious legality, which worked very much in the Treasury's favour and which would undoubtedly leave the Regiment out of pocket, the Leeds Rifles had to be content. It cannot be discovered whether the Regiment accepted it.

7.3 The military organisation of the Territorial Force

Under Haldane's scheme, the Volunteer Force was placed under the administration of county associations and completely reorganised in large divisions on Regular Army lines. Many new units which had no Volunteer equivalent were created to conform with Army formations, and all units were individually reorganised internally on the Army pattern, e.g. infantry battalions were formed into 8 companies.

The War Office scheme for the West Riding Territorial Force required the following expansion: (1) Each Infantry Brigade to raise one new battalion, to be based at Leeds, Marsden, and Doncaster. (2) Leeds, Bradford and Sheffield each to find one Field Artillery Brigade and one Ammunition Column. Leeds in addition to find one Howitzer Field Artillery Brigade with Ammunition Column. York to find one Heavy Battery with Ammunition Column. (3) The existing Sheffield Engineer Corps to furnish the Divisional Telegraph Company and two Field Companies. (4) The existing Leeds Engineer Corps to find the "Army Troops" Engineer Companies, comprising one wireless telegraph company, one cable telegraph company, and one airline telegraph company

(later collectively termed "The Northern Telegraph Companies RE"). (5) A Divisional Transport and Supply Column ASC to be raised. (6) A Mounted Brigade Transport and Supply Column ASC to be raised. (7) A Royal Horse Artillery Battery to be raised. (8) The Medical Volunteers to be reorganised and provide one Mounted Brigade Field Ambulance, three Divisional Field Ambulances, one Divisional Clearing Hospital, and two General Hospitals.⁵³

The West Riding reorganisation illustrated the salient points of the new schedule. Some of the new units, like the West Riding Royal Horse Artillery Battery and the WR Divisional Transport and Supply Column ASC, were begun completely from scratch, but the majority were formed from redundant corps, for example, the 2nd West Riding (Leeds) Engineer Volunteers became, or formed the nuclei of, the Yorkshire Mounted Brigade T & S Column ASC, the 4th West Riding (Howitzer) Brigade RFA (two batteries strong), the 4th WR Ammunition Column, and the Northern Telegraph Companies RE. Most of the Volunteer Artillery, with the exception of that in coastal towns, became field artillery and ammunition columns were formed by existing Artillery brigades. Most Rifle Volunteer battalions became a single corresponding battalion of infantry, although sometimes two amalgamated to form one battalion, e.g. the 1st and 2nd VB KSLI became the 4th KSLI. Five Volunteer Battalions, including the Leeds Rifles (which had the old army 10-company organisation), were required to recruit up to double-battalion strength. A special case was that of the 5th KOYLI, which was formed from part of the 1st VB KOYLI, part of the 2nd VB Y & L, and one company of the Leeds Engineers. All infantry battalions were numbered, in order of Volunteer precedence, after the Special Reserve battalions, following the Regular battalions. In the West Yorkshire Regiment, a "large regiment", the two Regular battalions were numbered 1st and 2nd, the two former militia battalions, 3rd and 4th (Special Reserve), and the three Volunteer battalions, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th (TF).

Since the various arms of the Volunteer Force had been raised unsystematically, it was naturally found, when the new schedule had been completed, that there still remained a certain number of supernumerary units, infantry and engineers, which could not be fitted into the divisional structure. The Engineer Volunteers were undoubtedly the most effective section militarily of the VF and had been highly regarded by the Royal Engineers since the 1860s. For instance, at their 1866 Annual Inspection the Leeds Engineer Volunteers, a corps composed almost entirely of skilled artisans and tradesmen, astounded and delighted the watching Regular officers by making and dismantling, without a word of command, a barrel pier bridge

in 2 minutes 40 seconds,⁵⁴ and that year the corps was placed first in the Order of Merit and Efficiency in the entire Volunteer Force. The essentially pragmatic Corps of Royal Engineers, who doubtless had looked upon the class of recruit to Volunteer units with some degree of envy, had never displayed prejudice or animus towards their amateur colleagues but, on the contrary, had never hesitated to ask the War Office for the use of their services in time of need. The authorities had been glad enough to comply, since taking Volunteers temporarily into the Army was far cheaper than engaging civilian postal workers and telegraphists, or railway contractors and their gangs. In 1882 a detachment of the Post Office Rifles (24th Middlesex RVC) was sent to Egypt to perform the duties of an Army Postal Corps and assist with telegraphy.⁵⁵ The War Office intended to send detachments of Engineer Volunteers, including one from Leeds, but the campaign ended before arrangements could be completed. In 1885 a detachment of postal workers and telegraphists from the 24th Middlesex and detachments from the 1st Newcastle and Durham EV and the 1st Lancashire EV, to undertake railway work, were sent to Suakin.⁵⁶ The Royal Engineers found the services of the Volunteers in South Africa, especially in view of the destruction wrought by the Boers on the railways, invaluable, not to say indispensable. In addition to the Engineer Volunteer detachments of tradesmen, composed according to current RE requirements, that were sent out, the Corps was able to call upon Volunteer infantry companies from the summer of 1900 onwards. For instance, several Volunteer companies, including the 1st Volunteer Company of the Hampshire Regiment, with which J.H. Seymour, in civilian life a railway locomotive superintendent and formerly a ranker in the Leeds Rifles, was serving, formed part of the force of 2,000 engaged in laying a permanent way and building bridges at the Vaal River: "the RE officers", he wrote, "told us they had asked specially for us to help them as they knew we should have plenty of skilled artisans in our ranks, which at that time owing to casualties, sickness, etc., they are very short of."⁵⁷ Entertaining no doubts as to the potential value of Territorial Engineers, the Royal Engineers asked for the surplus Engineer Volunteers, with the exception of the London Balloon Company and the Cheshire Railway Battalion (both disbanded before 1914), to be trained as Wireless, Airline and Cable Telegraph Companies. These provided the Corps with a valuable reserve force of some 101 officers and 2,825 other ranks.

These Royal Engineer Companies, the Honourable Artillery Company, the Artists' Rifles and the remaining 23 surplus infantry battalions, together with all cyclist corps and all General Hospitals, were designated as "Army

Troops" (and so described in the Annual TF Returns), which meant that, on mobilisation, they would be at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief. In peacetime the Army Troops were attached for administrative and statistical purposes, to their home divisions and County Associations, but the War Office, and not Divisional GOCs, supervised or rather, more correctly, was supposed to supervise their training. The Leeds Engineers complained of very serious neglect by the Regular Royal Engineers in their pre-war training.⁵⁸ No unit of the Army Troops did, or was required to, accept the Imperial Service liability.

The Army Troops infantry battalions, with two possible exceptions, were probably selected on an arbitrary basis from the battalions in their home regions; they comprised two from London, two attached Home Counties Division, 2 attached Wessex Division, 5 attached Welsh Division, 2 attached East Lancs. Division, 7 attached Lowland Division and 5 attached Highland Division, the comparatively high number from Scotland reflecting the greater popularity of Volunteering in that region.⁵⁹ The two possible exceptions were the London units. It can have been no coincidence that the HAC (a "large" mixed infantry/artillery regiment) and the Artists' Rifles were included among the Army Troops, since these two "class corps", which in the Territorial period continued to require their members to pay sizable annual subscriptions, comprised, almost exclusively, men who would have been described as "obvious officer material." To become an Officer Training Corps was the destiny of the Artists' Rifles, which was retained at GHQ in 1914 for that purpose: going up to the front line on 5th November 1914 the battalion was halted on the Meteren-Bailleul road by Sir John French and his staff and asked to supply 50 men from the ranks to be made officers immediately in order to make good the terrible officer losses suffered by the 7th Division which had just been relieved.⁶⁰ G. Valentine Williams stated that by September 1915 the Artists' had supplied more than one thousand officers to the army in the field.⁶¹ Although the HAC supplied many officers, its batteries and infantry battalions continued to function as active fighting units.

7.4 The Organisation of the Leeds Rifles

From 1875 to 1908 the Regiment was organised on the 10-company Army basis. The companies were numbered A to K. The establishment was fixed at 1000 (100 per company); the Adjutant and the 3 sergeant-instructors, the four Regular soldiers on the staff, brought the total up to 1004. The establishment was temporarily increased during the period of the 2nd Boer War.

In accordance with regimental tradition, dating from 1860, the upper limit of company strengths was not strictly adhered to. On 30th July 1897, for example, the Other Ranks strength of the companies was as follows: A-90, B-105, C-95, D-104, E-103, F-102, G-90, H-100, I-96, K-89, total 974.⁶² The War Office had no objection to the practice, provided the battalion establishment was not exceeded.

In 1908 the Leeds Rifles was reorganised into a double-battalion regiment, the 7th and 8th (Leeds Rifles) battalions, the West Yorkshire Regiment. The regiment had one Honorary Colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, four majors, etc. Each battalion was organised on Home Army lines, i.e. into 8 companies, numbered A to H, and was divided, for tactical purposes, into a right-half battalion and a left-half battalion, each commanded by a major. The senior major additionally held the office of second-in-command of the battalion. Each company was divided into sections. The establishment of each battalion was fixed at 31 officers and 980 other ranks, comprising 8 staff-(or Colour-) sergeants, 42 sergeants, 42 corporals, 16 buglers, 800 privates, 12 machine-gunners, 28 transport men, and 32 orderlies and batmen, making a total of 1011. In addition there were 23 "supernumerary and attached": 3 permanent staff-sergeant instructors, 6 drivers second-line transport, 5 RAMC water duties, and 9 headquarters employment. There is some doubt whether the members of the regimental military band were included in the establishment. Although the Other Rank strength was 122 or 123 per company, the limit continued to be disregarded. On June 1st 1910, for instance, when the 7th Bn was over-establishment in Other Ranks, the company strengths were as follows: A-111, B-130, C-130, D-133, E-119, F-115, F-125, H-124, total 987.⁶³

In January 1915 the TF infantry battalions were reorganised to conform to the group basis of the Regular infantry battalions. The Leeds Rifles' establishments were apparently fixed at 1009, comprising 29 officers and 980 other ranks. The Other Ranks were divided into 4 companies, each of 245 men, which in turn were each further divided into 4 platoons, each of about 61 men, giving a total of 16 platoons. The numbers of men in each platoon who were employed regimentally on HQ staff and the specialist sections reduced platoon strength to about 48. Each platoon was sub-divided into 4 sections, each comprising about 12 men. The four companies were formed by amalgamating pairs of companies: in the 1/7th, for example, B and G Coys were amalgamated to form C Coy and A and E Coys amalgamated to form D Coy, while in the 1/8th, B and H Coys formed the new A Coy and C and E Coys B Coy. The amalgamations appear to have been governed by the seniority of

the officers commanding the old 8 companies, the four senior becoming company commanders, the four junior their seconds-in-command. The senior Colour-Sergeant in each of the new companies became Company-Sergeant-Major, the junior Company Quartermaster-Sergeant.

The outstanding characteristic of the organisation of the Volunteer corps and of the prewar Territorial units was the presence of the Regular permanent staff. In the very beginning corps had obtained adjutants and drill instructors by advertising for army pensioners, but as the Government began to treat the Volunteer Force more seriously, a system was gradually evolved whereby senior NCOs of more than 18 years' service and senior sub-alterns could apply, subject to their colonel's approval and recommendation, for a posting to a Volunteer corps, the Government continuing to pay them their normal pay and allowances, while periods of service with a Volunteer corps counted towards the NCOs' and the officers' pensions. The two key men in a Volunteer or Territorial unit, the men responsible for its general and military efficiency, the Adjutant and the Regimental Sergeant-Major, were thus both serving Regular soldiers on secondment from their regiments. After the establishment of the 14th Regimental District with headquarters in York, the Leeds Rifles frequently, but not invariably, obtained the permanent staff members from The West Yorkshire Regiment. For a long time Regular colonels tended to recommend only sergeants they were anxious to be rid of, and several of the Leeds Rifles instructors were dismissed for misconduct or dereliction of duty, e.g. two were dismissed in 1872 for acting "in a very unsoldierly and illegal manner."⁶⁴ In order to obtain the services of the best instructors available, the Leeds Rifles (and other corps) was obliged to offer them unauthorised inducements. In 1883 Col Harding admitted to the Financial Secretary of the War Office, who had queried certain items in the annual accounts, that the corps was making additional weekly payments of 12s. to Sergeant-Major Palmer and of 9/6d each to Sgt Instructors H. Slack and R. Graham, pleading that "my predecessors found it impossible to obtain really competent Sergeant Instructors without the inducement of extra pay over and above their government pay."⁶⁵ He omitted to mention that, when appointed, Palmer had additionally insisted on the corps paying the school fees at an Inspected school for his 3 children as it was too far to send them to the Army School at Chapeltown Barracks. Sgt-Major Hardy, who served from 1891 to 1901, was given an extra remuneration of 1s. a day, a clothing allowance of 2d. a day, and a rent-free house with free coal and gas.⁶⁶

By the turn of the century, however, the general standard of instructor candidates had risen very considerably: a sergeant-instructor appointed

in 1905 was the remarkable Col Sgt F. Daniels, and virtually all the instructors appointed between 1900 and 1914 were men of outstanding ability. There were a number of reasons for this: in addition to the fact that the Volunteers had risen in the esteem of the Regular NCO, he had begun to realise that there were definite personal advantages to be gained from secondment to a Volunteer or Territorial unit as a PSI. First, it was a perfect solution to the perennial problem of being passed over. In 1906 Col Sgt Yates became Sgt-Major Instructor of the Leeds Rifles when, as Acting RSM of the 2nd WYR, he was passed over for promotion in favour of an RSM from the Scots Guards.⁶⁷ Respondent RSM C.H. Marshall of the 17th Lancers recalled that when he retired, the 4 senior warrant officers had all got their names on the list for appointment as PSIs to the Yeomanry; the new RSM was brought in over their heads from another regiment and, much to the colonel's chagrin, all four promptly applied for appointments to the Yeomanry.⁶⁸ Second, the duties of a PSI were in many respects less onerous than those of an RSM or Colour-Sgt in a Regular unit. Third, there were paid part-time posts to be obtained as a school gymnastic and drill instructor. Fourth, Volunteer and Territorial units frequently became very attached to their PSIs,⁶⁹ and collections would be made among the membership for retirement gifts. An instructor retiring from the Leeds Rifles after a lengthy period of service could look forward to receiving a valuable clock, gold watch or silver tea service together with a purse full of gold sovereigns.

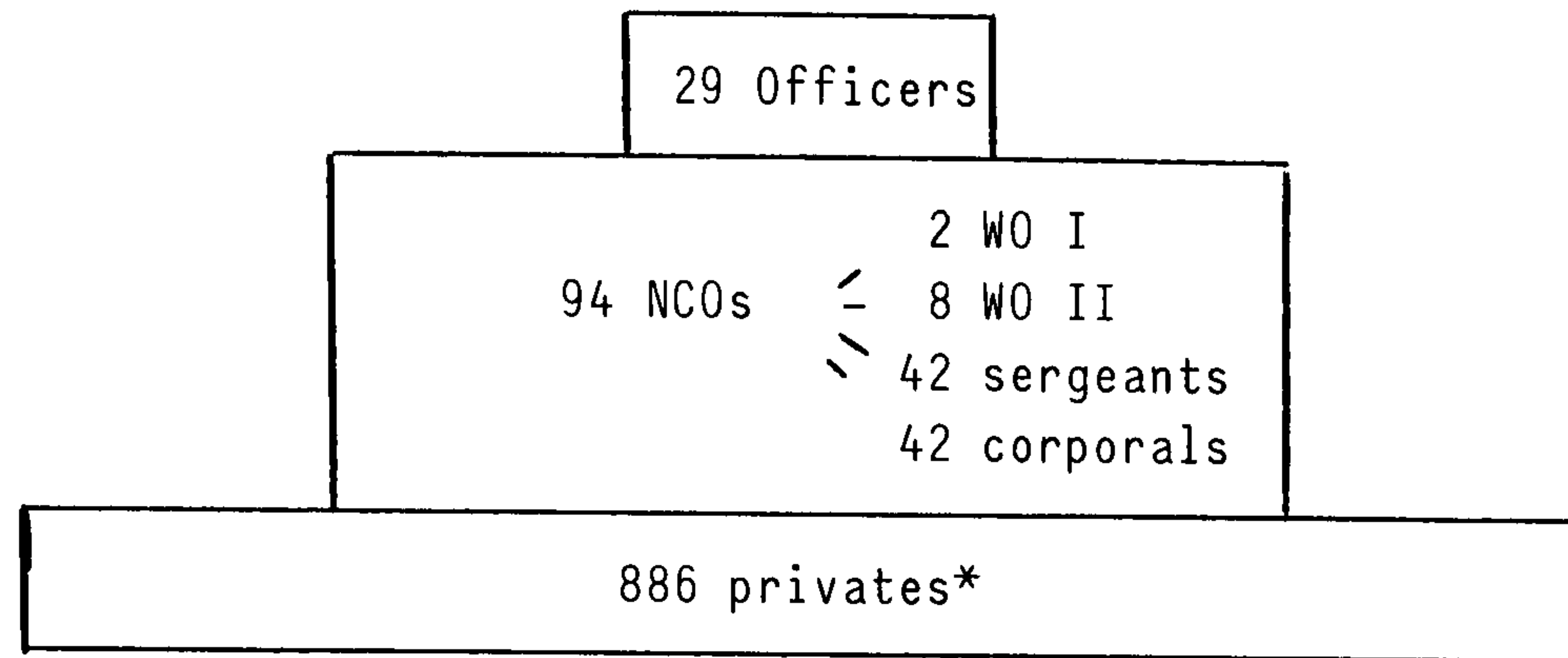
The citizen soldiers also frequently became very attached to their adjutants. Capt H.L. Hunt, the first Leeds Rifles adjutant, stayed for over 20 years, until he reached the Army retirement age (his successors served for terms ranging from 2 to 3½ years, usually the latter). Capt A.A.W. Spencer (1904-7) was given a Leeds Rifles wedding when he married in 1907: his wedding photograph shows 14 sergeants in review order providing the couple with an archway guard of honour with drawn swords, in accordance with army custom. Since adjutants were selected from senior subalterns who were automatically gazetted temporary captain on secondment, appointment to a Volunteer/Territorial unit would particularly appeal to a senior subaltern who had been waiting a long time for a vacancy for a captain to occur in the establishment of his regiment. Early in 1914 both battalion adjutants left, one to rejoin his regiment which was proceeding to an overseas station, the other to take a post in Australia. Only one officer from the incoming WYR Regular battalion was available, filling the vacancy in the 7th, and the vacancy in the 8th was filled by Lt A.C. Dundas of the Middlesex Regt. who, according to the March 1914 Army List, had been a senior subaltern for over 8 years.

In Volunteer times the Government had paid the permanent staff and in 1908 the County Association took over this responsibility. Inside the barracks was a block of 6 houses provided by the Regiment as married quarters. In 1908 these were occupied by the two battalion RSMs; one of the sergeant-instructors; the Armoury Sergeant; RQMS Harry Rhodes of the 7th; and Sgt William Taylor, the Regimental Caterer, who ran the messes and the canteen;⁷⁰ the remaining instructors took houses in the immediate vicinity of the barracks and would receive the regulation rent, heating and lighting allowances from the County Association.

The British Army and the Territorial Force and their constituent units were organised on the line and staff system, a form of management organisation known to have existed in the armies of Egypt and Assyria about 1600 BC. In the 20th century mass-armies staff functions became predominant. In the US Army of World War I, it has been estimated, just over one-third of all personnel were fighting soldiers.⁷¹

The commanding officer of a TF infantry battalion was assisted by a staff of officers, NCOs and men known collectively as "Battalion Headquarters". In peacetime its numbers were small, very much smaller than its Regular counterpart, and basically comprised the Adjutant, the second-in-command, the Quartermaster, the RSM, the sergeant-instructors, the RQMS, the Orderly Room Sergeant and regimental clerks; the Chaplain and his assistant were notionally attached. Only at the Annual Camp did the specialist sections, such as Military Band, Corps of Drums and Bugles, Transport, Signals, Machine-gun, Sanitation and Pioneers, and Regimental Police become part of HQ staff. In the postwar Territorial Army the Quartermaster's staff and all the specialist sections merged to form a permanent separate company called "Headquarters Wing", or HQW. After the outbreak of war, HQ became very large, 200 or more strong, and included all specialists, officers' servants, and the staff of the RMO, an attached officer holding a commission in the RAMC.

In the infantry battalion the delegation and sub-delegation of authority and responsibility through the ranks gives a general pyramidal character to the rank hierarchy as a whole, viz.



* including lance-corporals, who are not, technically, NCOs.

Fig. 3 (The numbers refer to the 1915 establishment.)

The basic line and staff organisation is as follows:

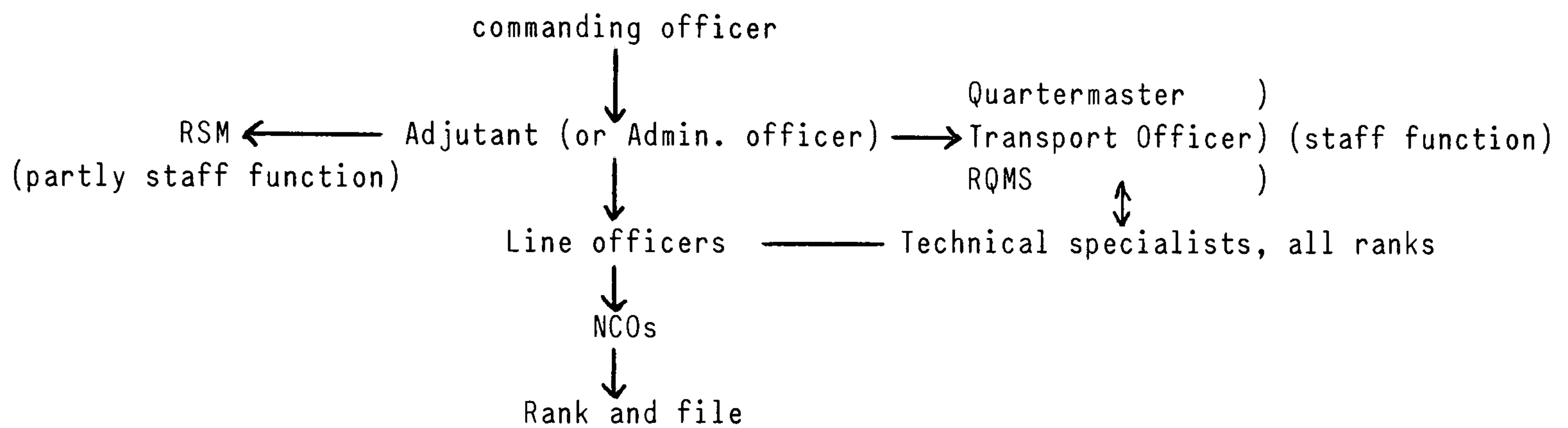


Fig. 4

The 1915-18 line organisations of the Officers and the Other Ranks are set out in Figs. 5 and 6. This brings out the fundamental split into two sections that existed in the rank hierarchy. Military sociologists often refer to this as the "Officer-Other Rank Dichotomy". Fig. 5 requires further explanation: the junior major was commander of A Company. The officer establishment comprised the commanding-officer (a lieutenant-colonel), two majors, the Quartermaster, the Adjutant, the transport officer, 7 captains and 16 subalterns.

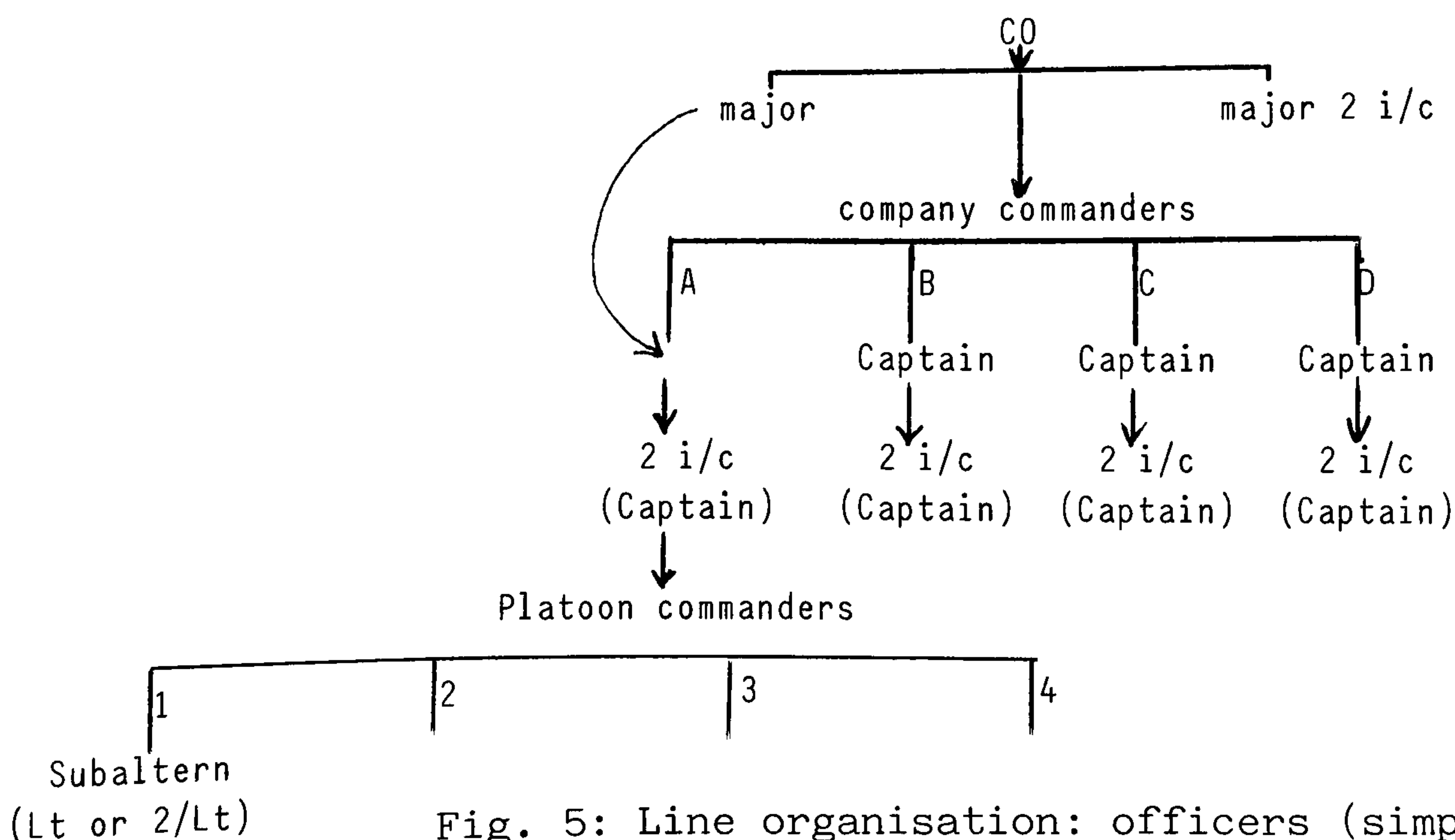


Fig. 5: Line organisation: officers (simplified)

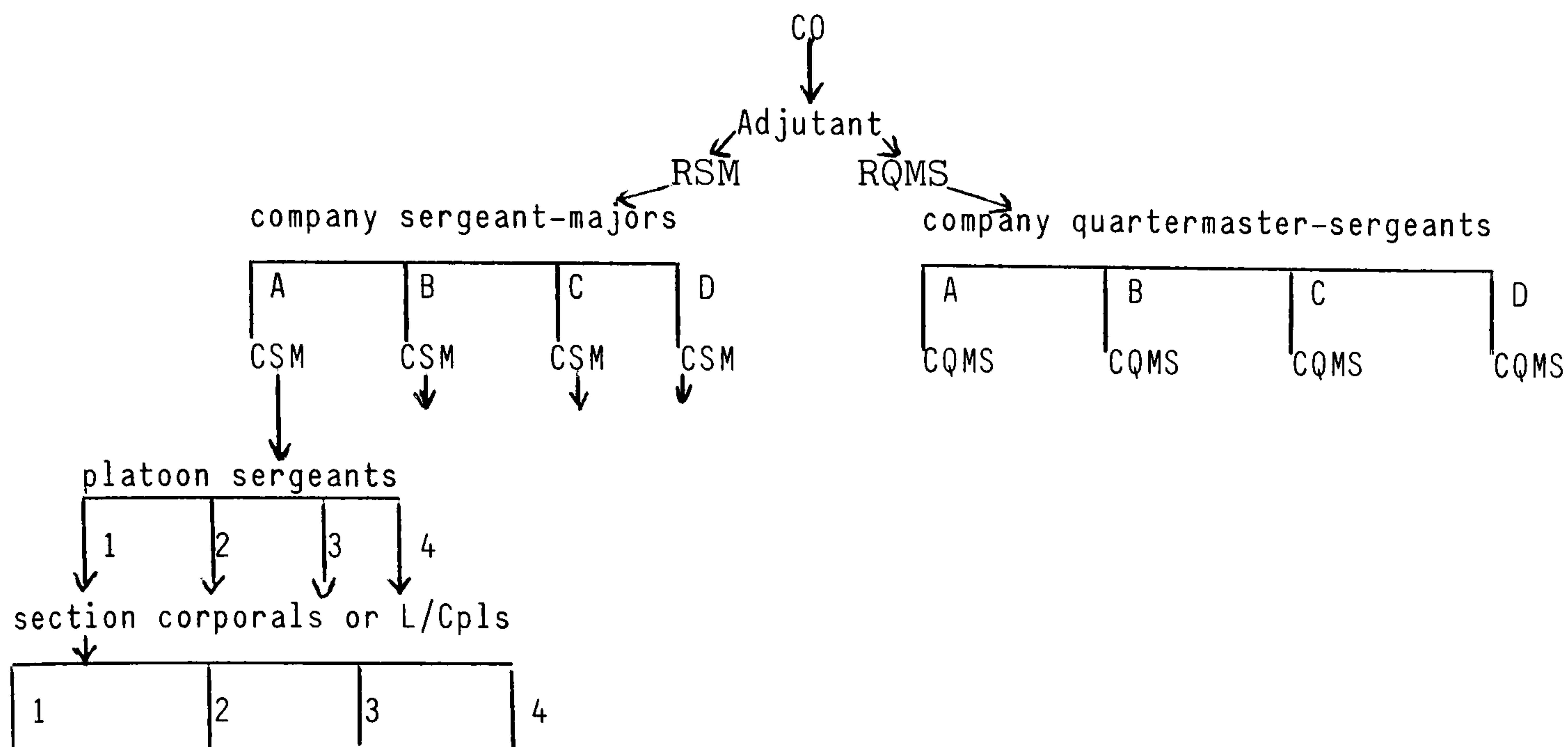


Fig. 6: Line organisation: Other Ranks (simplified)

7.5 The County Associations

The County Association scheme, as finally drawn up, worked remarkably well. It harnessed local patriotism and local interests in a common cause, involving local authorities, local businessmen, local universities and local members of the aristocracy and landed gentry. Ironically, the burden of work fell upon two classes, landowners and large employers of labour, the two groups continually chastised by radicals as parasites and oppressors of the poor. Members of the House of Lords, which was constantly reproached with obstructing the "people's will" and threatened with reform, were invited by the Government issuing the threats, to take a leading part in raising and administering "the People's Army". By 1909 no fewer than 115 members of the Lords were serving on the Associations.⁷² The scheme possessed the virtue, from the Government's point of view, of being extremely cheap to operate: only the Secretary, usually an Army officer pensioner, and any clerical staff required, were paid; the Association members received neither fees nor expenses.

Being organised on a geographical "administrative county" basis inevitably introduced, however, a large measure of inefficiency into the workings of the scheme. Each county was allocated a quota, or establishment, of men to be raised, whose size was roughly calculated according to the population of that county. As population was unevenly distributed over the country, there was necessarily an enormous variation in the size of these quotas. It resulted in 6 associations required to raise over 10,000; 11 raising between 5,000 and 10,000; 4 between 4,000 and 5,000; 9 between 3,000 and 4,000; 11 between 2,000 and 3,000; 22 between 1,000 and 2,000; 12 between 500 and 1,000; and 19 raising less than 500 men; the smallest county was

Nairn, required to raise less than 70 men. (Nearly all the smallest county associations were to be found in Scotland and Wales.) This meant that only 3 of the 94 associations were able to administer a complete division: the West Riding of Yorkshire, East Lancashire and West Lancashire. The largest association was the County of London, which was responsible for 28,500 men, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ divisions. Amongst the smallest associations, for instance, Wigtown was administering 2 companies of the 5th Bn Royal Scots Fusiliers and 1 company of the 5th Bn KOSB, and Anglesey just 1 company of the 6th Bn RWF; 3 counties shared in the administration of the 4th Bn KOSB and 4 counties the 2nd Scottish Horse.⁷³ In this way was military and administrative efficiency necessarily sacrificed to local chauvinism.

Haldane stated that "the entire work of administration" of the TF had been handed over to the County Associations on 1st April 1908,⁷⁴ but this decentralisation scheme, though sanctioned by Parliament, never came into being in practice. The War Office, which over the preceding century or so had developed a deep distrust of and a profound contempt for civilians, was not prepared to relinquish control. It was not prepared to stop interfering once resources had been allocated to associations; it denied associations autonomy in determining not only priorities, but virtually everything else, and it well-nigh strangled them with red tape. Worse still, being accustomed to treating Regular regimental officers like children of below-average intelligence, the War Office appeared incapable of treating tactfully civilian bodies mainly comprising successful businessmen, many university educated. It was a familiar story of officious inflexibility, over-interference, and over-administration, leading to frustration, endless delays, and the inevitable waste of resources.

The West Riding Association was already feeling considerably aggrieved when the Leeds Rifles trust moneys brought matters to a head. At the meeting of 2nd May 1910 Lord Harewood, after first emphasising that he did not wish to say one word in derogation of the intentions of the Army Council, spoke feelingly on the "difficulties from without" with which the Association had been forced to contend over the past two years or more.

"When the Territorial Association was first established Mr Haldane personally assured him there should be no lack of money, and it was quite incomprehensible that any large and important body like the West Riding Association and Division should be set on foot without considerable expenditure; but the Army Council had hampered them at every turn by petty objections, such as, for instance, when the Association wished to move from one corner of a drill hall to another, which surely was a matter for the Association, and not for the Army Council. 'If this Association', added his Lordship, 'is not to be trusted with these minor details of every

£50 we wish to spend, I really do not see how we are going on ... In every letter from the War Office there is the same phrase, "That the matter is being inquired into", and I should like to point out that while the matter is being inquired into we are losing recruits all the time' (Hear, Hear)."

Col Hughes of the Hallamshires evidently voiced the views of his fellow members when he remarked, to loud murmurs of approval, that it was difficult to get the people to appreciate the West Riding Force at its full value when it was obvious that those in authority appreciated it so very much less.⁷⁵

The next meeting, two months later, was marked by vigorously worded protests against the unbusinesslike methods and unjustifiable interference of the War Office. Ex-Leeds Rifleman Ald. Lupton, a prominent manufacturer, moved a resolution to the effect that change was necessary in the Association's relations with the Army Council. He objected to the interference in the business side of their work. It had been presumed, he said, that those who had been selected with such care to serve on the Association would be entrusted with the performance of important duties, and that their views and opinions, both individually and collectively, would carry weight, and not be overridden without any grave cause. "We are businessmen, most of us have been Volunteer officers," he said, "and nearly all are used in after life to managing considerable bodies of men, and I can only say that not one of us would attempt to manage a business on the pettifogging lines adopted by the War Office." He pointed out that the population of the West Riding exceeded by more than a million the whole of that of Wales, and was greater than that of some independent European states, and submitted that the members had a right to be treated with consideration and respect. He described the Army Council's attitude as unreasonable and one of "contemptuous indifference to our views and decisions." He averred that if the Association had been given a freer hand by the War Office they could have produced vastly better results with the grants available. He could not see the use of having an Association at all if everything, down to the minutest detail, was to be administered by the War Office. The Army Council had spent months over points of trumpery detail and caused endless trouble about matters which ought to have been left entirely to the Association. He heartily condemned the continuance of a system "which we know has rendered so much of our efforts nugatory, and caused such disheartenment among all ranks of the Territorial Force." Mr Hobson of Sheffield said that "the greatest eagerness was displayed to claim from the Territorial Force the same slavish obedience to regulations that existed in the Army," referring to the "positive delight" manifested by the Army Council "whenever one of its petty-minded officials discovered some slight infraction of a regulation." Another civilian member remarked that the correspondence between the Association and the War Office on the

subject of the Doncaster HQ read like a libretto written by W.S. Gilbert.⁷⁶ Lord Scarbrough went to London to deliver in person to the Minister a very strong complaint on the Association's behalf. He informed the October meeting that Mr Haldane had "undertaken personally to endeavour to put matters straight, and to improve the machinery in many respects", and he expressed what was to prove an over-optimistic view, that their protest would prove helpful in removing the causes of friction between the Army Council and the County Associations generally.⁷⁷ Very little change occurred, however. The War Office did not seem over-eager to offer increased co-operation and relations deteriorated badly in 1912, and again in 1913. At the February meeting in 1913 Col Hughes, referring to the continued deficiency in numbers, said there were so many "restrictions and denials of this, that, and the other, and he for one was not in the least surprised that officers and men were beginning to ask themselves whether it was worthwhile carrying on an unequal contest with the powers that be." He gave as an example the new restrictions on the hiring of drill fields for infantry, which indicated, in his opinion, that the Army Council was not in earnest about the training of infantry.⁷⁸

Such experiences were not confined by any means to the West Riding Association: they were duplicated all over the country. To many Associations suffering the continual pin-pricks of the Army Council, the cut-backs in grants to Associations made in 1910-11 were the final straw and they started voicing their complaints in public via the press. Complaints about the War Office not bothering to reply to letters and interfering with the details of the erection of drill halls or vetoing building plans were fairly common,⁷⁹ but complaints of parsimonious treatment, however, were widespread. The Sussex Association resigned en bloc in protest, and the Essex and City of London Associations threatened to follow suit unless higher grants were made to enable them to carry out their work properly.⁸⁰ The Scottish Associations complained of financial problems caused by the War Office deducting the upkeep and replacement grant for clothing and personal equipment from the initial general grant instead of making it additional to this grant as heretofore.⁸¹ Lord Heneage, a businessman for nearly 50 years, resigned in disgust as Chairman of the Lincolnshire Association. He described the Army Council as being

"nothing less than a ridiculous farce," and declared, "If the Association had been allowed to carry out the various recommendations sent forward to the Army Council, the Lincolnshire Territorial Force would not now have been deficient in ranges, sergeant instructors, or necessary buildings, and, as a consequence therefore, deficient both of officers and men."⁸²

A comparison between the annual Territorial estimates and the actual expenditure on the TF shown in the Statement of Expenditure in the 1914-15 Army Estimate⁸³ clearly reveals that the Government had seriously underestimated the costs that were incurred up to the end of the 1909-10 financial year, and, equally clearly, reveals that retrenchment took place in the succeeding years: expenditure was considerably below estimate in the period 1910-13, whilst in the year 1913-14 a certain amount of "robbing Peter to pay Paul" must have taken place within the TF to meet additional expenditure incurred. The annual average cost of a Territorial was kept below £9 (calculated on the TF establishment, all ranks), a hopelessly unrealistic figure if the 1907 Act was to be fully implemented; the partially self-financed Volunteers and Yeomanry cost £1.971m. in the Volunteer year 1904-5 compared with the £2.139m. of the TF in the corresponding period 1908-9.⁸⁴ Territorials and their supporters could not help noticing that the attitude of the Treasury was strangely at variance with the promises repeatedly made by Haldane in 1907 and 1908 that adequate funds would be made available.

Successive governments had never been able to forget that the Volunteer Force had begun as an entirely self-financed body. Government parsimony had been the scourge of the Volunteers, now it was seriously undermining the Territorial system. Economy cuts had never failed to damage military efficiency, often severely. In the 1880s, although it was regarded as axiomatic that a Volunteer learnt as much in a week's camping as in a year's drill elsewhere,⁸⁵ restrictions were repeatedly imposed on camp numbers in order to reduce the amount paid out in camp allowances and travelling expenses;⁸⁶ the camp allowances were, in any case, inadequate, for example, the Leeds Rifles' camp deficit in 1889 was £151.13s.3½d, since the allowances did not even cover the costs of rations, straw, water, rent of ground and hire of tents.⁸⁷ In the 1880s the War Office also repeatedly refused to allow the enrolling of supernumeraries (to maintain establishments) so as to reduce the number of enrolled efficient and thus reduce the Capitation Grant.⁸⁸ WO Circular memorandum R24/193 dated 6th February 1890 offered allowances for either one week's camp or one Marching Column per annum, but not both. Volunteers were the victims of retrenchment in 1906, when the annual camp was cut to one week and no allowances were given for Whitsun camps, and again in 1907 when annual camps were once more restricted to one week in order to save the country £58,000. Col Tannett-Walker had complained in 1905 that opportunities for increasing efficiency were restricted by want of money. The possession of great coats, water bottles and haversacks was made a condition of efficiency in 1890. In order to raise the extra £1,000 required

Col Wilson asked permission to hire out Carlton Barracks and its parade ground during the summer months for the Leeds Exhibition. This gesture of protest was entirely wasted on the War Office who did not appear to care that the Leeds Rifles lost almost the whole of the drill season that year; permission was granted without comment.⁸⁹

Government parsimony damaged Territorial efficiency in many ways. It materially contributed to its numerical deficiency in the early years by continual refusal to extend separation allowances to the rank and file. This refusal was frequently cited as the reason why ex-Volunteers declined to re-engage;⁹⁰ if one-year Volunteers had not claimed their discharge in 1909, the other ranks strength on 30th September 1909 would have been almost 97% of establishment.⁹¹ At camp in 1909 the Bradford Artillery was ordered to aim between targets as direct hits cost the county association between £2 and £3 a time in replacements.⁹² The money spent on refreshments was drastically reduced by making a rule that any exercises during or after which refreshments were provided were not to count towards efficiency; less than 20% of unit strength was usually willing to attend field exercises that were not counted. This was a particularly short-sighted economy and may well have contributed significantly to the inefficiency of the infantry. To reduce building costs, the floor area of new buildings was restricted, often to dimensions impracticable for training purposes, and Associations were instructed to purchase only sufficient land to accommodate the actual buildings, since the provision of drill yards was considered profligate extravagance (a good example of this type of headquarters was built at Skipton). In June 1910 the WR Association was ordered to cease expending public funds in purchasing army-pattern transport wagons; suitable vehicles were to be hired locally in future as required, though no objection was seen to well-wishers donating army-pattern wagons. (The Territorial scheme was supposed to have abolished the need to solicit gifts of necessary clothing and equipment from patriotic persons.)⁹³ The economy cuts of 1910 bore particularly harshly on training arrangements. The Leeds Engineers had to cancel their Whitsun Trek because the special grant they usually received as a horsed unit had been refused, and the two Leeds-based Field Ambulance units were obliged to cancel their usual Whitsun camp for the same reason. The 7th Bn thought at first that their Whitsun Trek would have to be cancelled, particularly as the trust moneys had been taken away, but this highly popular annual event took place as usual, presumably due to the munificence of Col Stead who regarded his role as "Father of the Regiment" extremely seriously and was never slow, in consequence, to put his hand in his pocket. The 8th Bn went ahead as planned with their

essential musketry camp; owing to the economy cuts, however, the tents were not provided with wooden floors and the camp was flooded out by heavy rains on both Saturday and Sunday nights.⁹⁴ In order to reduce camp costs the Association fixed the 1910 Annual Camp nearer home in Settle, but these plans had to be abandoned when it was eventually found that the cost of laying on an adequate water supply to the proposed camp site in this limestone country would be astronomical. By the time this was discovered, the only camping location left available was in the Isle of Man and the cost of transporting the Division there was considerably higher than the costs of transportation to the Yorkshire or Lincolnshire coast.⁹⁵ Ironically, the weather in the I. of M. was appalling and most of the training schedule had to be abandoned. Training grant allowances were again seriously curtailed in 1913 and once again there were no Whitsun Treks for the 7th Bn and the Leeds Artillery; the 8th Bn had a purely voluntary camp which did not count towards efficiency nor qualify for separation allowances.⁹⁶

The composition of a County Association dominated by military members had been forced upon Haldane chiefly by the Association of Volunteer Commanding Officers and the "Volunteer Trade Union" in Parliament (or what was left of it). As far as the West Riding was concerned, this was no bad thing. The selection of members proved admirable, and they worked extremely well together, united in their single-minded devotion to the interests of the West Riding Division. The Association consisted of a president, chairman and vice-chairman, all Volunteers or Yeomen, 34 military members, 15 local authority representatives, nearly all Volunteers or serving Territorials, and 15 co-opted representatives of employers and labour, most of the former being Volunteers; the membership included 4 earls of ancient lineage and 6 knights or baronets.⁹⁷ The members were men of education and wide experience, chosen both for their great local knowledge and great local influence. They needed to be men of character and resolve, for their task was immensely difficult, fraught with problems of all kinds. Every facet of the administration of a complete division came within their province, and in addition, the War Office, in a circular memorandum, No. 131, dated 14th January 1910, asked the Association (and all others) to make arrangements for the provision of the vehicles and animals required on mobilisation not only for the Territorial Force but also for the Regular Army, an unwelcome imposition that caused great difficulties for the Transport and Supply Committee.⁹⁸ Some problems like those of obtaining rifle ranges and permanent training and camping grounds, proved virtually unsurmountable, others only slightly less so.

A matter for perennial concern was boots, which the Association was allowed only to subsidise, not provide. As the Chairman said in his Report of October 1909, "Under present conditions, should the Force be mobilised, it would be found to be incapable of marching."⁹⁹ The men of the Leeds Rifles could purchase army pattern boots from the Quartermaster at 7/6d a pair, the contract price. Every man wearing the boots in camp in a serviceable condition was paid an allowance of 3 shillings from Association funds. The regulations were changed in 1914: each man was allowed to buy one pair a year for 5 shillings; if he failed to attend camp he incurred a fine of 4/6d, the difference between the contract price and the subsidised price.¹⁰⁰ It was perhaps easy enough for the Divisional GOC to submit to the Association reports on defects and deficiencies in military and personal equipment and in harness, but it was immeasurably difficult for the Association to get them remedied. The Association had 153 properties within its jurisdiction. A major hampering cause to improving recruiting in 1910 was thought to be the tedious delay in providing suitable headquarters for new battalions and new outlying detachments alike. It was considered significant that recruiting had slumped most in places where the Association was experiencing the most difficulty in getting premises on account of the attitude being taken by the Army Council. In May there were 21 cases of headquarters not yet settled where the Army Council was stubbornly refusing to give in "in some degree to the wishes and necessities of the Association." A major difficulty was that requirements had been seriously underestimated by the War Office, but the burden of proving this and having recommendations sanctioned had been a "very uphill task."¹⁰¹

To take only one example: in 1909 the Association's scheme for St James's Lodge, the former Leeds Girls' High School, later renamed Harewood Barracks, with its proposed shared facilities with the adjoining Fenton Street Barracks, was vetoed by the War Office. After a great deal of often fruitless and at times acrimonious negotiation, Harewood Barracks was eventually opened in May 1910 for occupation by 7 different units of the Yeomanry, ASC and RAMC, and it was immediately obvious that the new accommodation was very much cramped for space. Despite the extension of the common parade ground, the Artillery, now up to full establishment, found it inadequate for their summer training. Riding drills were later transferred to the Military Field, or "Soldiers' Field", in Roundhay Park; 4 guns and harness were kept in a stable there for practice purposes. The Fenton Street drill hall roof had partially collapsed during the winter of 1909-10, but there were considerable delays in getting official sanction for the necessary repairs. These were not attended to until the summer, causing a long spell of enforced idleness of

the barracks and consequent serious interference with training.¹⁰² Stables were not erected at Fenton Street until 1913. Previously the Artillery horses were boarded out at privately-owned stables in nearby Tonbridge Street,¹⁰³ at no little expense. The Association was not able to report all its units provided with premises until April 1914, six years after commencing work. Even then, it could not be said they were all of the required standard. The Heckmondwike battery of the 2nd WR Bde RFA, for instance, had a "sadly inefficient" headquarters which lacked several essentials: not only stables and stalls, but also horses. Every horse had to be hired and the men sent to a riding school, all at considerable expense.¹⁰⁴

The members of the Association prepared for the day of mobilisation to the best of their abilities, but their ideal goal, instant readiness, was perpetually frustrated by lack of money. By the summer of 1914 they had not provided all the necessary buildings, nor supplied all the requisites for mobilisation, nor arranged with all employers of labour as to holidays for trainings, nor discharged fully all the myriad duties numbered from (a) to (1) in Section II(2) of the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907. For instance, the funds promised in the 1913-14 Army Estimates to County Associations to enable them to complete provision of clothing and equipment for the full war establishments of the units under their care¹⁰⁵ had never materialised. Any failures were invariably due to forces and causes beyond their control. Any shortcomings, any deficiencies, were their misfortune, not their fault. Even at the sixtieth minute of the eleventh hour, even after the outbreak of war, the War Office was being unco-operative and obstructive. On 27th August 1914 the Association wrote to the Army Council suggesting that the Association should make provision for cardigans, warm drawers and other articles of clothing which its troops would need during the coming winter. The Army Council refused this offer, saying that it would be providing these articles itself, but on 9th October wrote intimating its inability to supply them, and requested the Association to provide them. The final Gilbertian touch was added when the Association contacted the suppliers only to be informed that all manufacturers of the articles in question had been forbidden by the Army Council to supply anyone but the War Office.¹⁰⁶

The Council of County Territorial Associations. The publication of the open letter to the Prime Minister from the Committee of the National Defence Association, of which Lord Scarbrough was a signatory¹⁰⁷ in February 1913, followed by a drop of over 11% in the enrolled strength of the Division, the increasing importance being assumed by the disadvantages, pecuniary and otherwise, of Territorial service, the fact that conscriptionists now openly looked forward

to the failure of the Voluntary system, and declining public interest and support for the TF, combined to convince the West Riding Association that drastic alterations in the Territorial system were called for. A list of proposed remedial measures was drawn up¹⁰⁸ which was circulated to all Associations for comment. A central Council of County Territorial Associations had been formed in the autumn of 1908 to act as a clearing house between the counties and the War Office; between November 1908 and July 1909 alone it submitted 32 recommendations to Haldane, several recommendations and two deputations being sent on the matter of giving assistance to men to enable them to come in to drill.¹⁰⁹ At the end of 1913 the Council, after 5 years of continuous effort, was at last obliged to admit that, despite having the advantage of a proper structure and organisation, the Associations had failed to fill the ranks of the Territorial Force. Now regarding the current state of the TF as desperate, it decided to put forward to the Prime Minister a scheme of proposals, in substance the West Riding scheme, which it considered, if carried out, would restore the Force to a satisfactory level of strength and efficiency. A deputation was sent to Downing Street in November to present the scheme. Its proposals can be summarised as follows:

- (1) For officers: an annual personal allowance of £20-£75, according to rank; adequate pay for weekend camps and staff tours; greater facilities for both attachment to Regular units and local classes of instruction;
- (2) For other ranks: an annual training bonus of 10 shillings-£2, according to level of efficiency attained; higher separation allowances; national insurance contributions to be paid by the State; preference for Government posts to be given; larger funds for social purposes; more generous provision for clothing, including grants for the supply of boots, shirts and socks.
- (3) All employers to be allowed £30 free of income tax for each qualified Territorial officer or soldier in their employ.

The main causes of the deficiency in strength were held to be (a) lack of the necessary public spirit in the country; (b) inadequate remuneration; (c) the difficult position of employers, especially with regard to the training period; (d) insufficient and inferior accommodation at regimental and detachment headquarters; (e) considerations peculiar to particular localities.¹¹⁰

The deputation was received by Mr Asquith in a very kind and sympathetic manner. He gave the impression that all the Council's points were remediable; he praised the TF and laid stress on its achievements; he gave a promise that "We shall endeavour to produce as great an impression as we can on the Chancellor of the Exchequer consistent with his other requirements to meet

your legitimate demands."¹¹¹ Field Marshal Roberts' reaction was a predictable one. In a letter to the Editor of the Daily Mail published 26th November 1913, he estimated the cost of the Council's proposals at £1.68m. per annum above the current cost of the TF, leaving the Force's main weakness, its lack of efficiency due to inadequate training, unaffected. He claimed (quite recklessly) that his system of National Service would cost about the same in total for a much superior force. Lord Roberts had in fact seriously underestimated the costs of the proposals which, according to Magnus,¹¹² were something of the order of £2.3m, excluding the proposed grant for social amenities, although no estimate of costs was apparently submitted by the deputation. At this time persistent rumours were circulating in military quarters that the Army Council was contemplating reducing the TF establishment in March 1914 to 250,000 and disbanding 20% of its artillery in order to reduce the Army Estimates.¹¹³ Perhaps they had been deliberately planted beforehand in order to weaken the Council's case.

It was politically unrealistic to expect the Government to implement the Council's proposals; an increase of over 70% in the Territorial Vote was completely out of the question for all sorts of reasons. But, perhaps in consequence of a shortfall of some 8,000 men in the Regular infantry, some concession was made. The Vote was increased by £271,000, mainly in order to provide for the following: to increase the Yeomanry bounty by 10/- to 30/- for 15 days' attendance in camp and to introduce a £1 bounty to 15-day campers in all other arms; to add about £20,000 to the training grants; and to allocate a sum to meet increasing demands for warming drill halls arising from the increased amount of training being undertaken in winter.¹¹⁴

This was only a fleabite on an elephant. The size of the problem was now too big and it was too late for remedies. The TF had suffered far too long from alternate or simultaneous doses of public indifference and official neglect, from the Government's policy of procrastination in matters of home defence and its all too evident reluctance to spend money on the Force. The 1913 Annual Return had suggested a state of the TF which may have been irremediable even by the Council's proposals: a shortage on 30th September of 1,843 officers and 64,778 other ranks, a force which contained over 49,000 immature youths under 19 years of age, one in which the annual wastage rate of men who left prematurely before completing their engagements ran at 12½% a year (as against 7% in the Regular Army), and in which 1,362 officers and 33,350 men had been absent from the annual training, including 37 officers and 6,019 men absent without leave.¹¹⁵ Only one remedy was capable of opening the Treasury's purse strings wider, bringing the strength of the TF up to

establishment, increasing its efficiency, getting it better clothed, improving public spirit in the country, ensuring the co-operation of employers, and making the existence of inadequate and inferior headquarters irrelevant, and the Government provided it on 4th August 1914.

7.6 Socialist Opposition

Liberals in general had warmly supported the Volunteer Movement in its early days. Available evidence strongly suggests that men of Liberal views had formed a sizable minority of the Leeds Rifles' original membership. Liberals had certainly formed the majority among Volunteer MPs of the 1860s.¹¹⁶ Considerable support had also been given to the nascent Movement by Radicals and ex-Chartists, as was the case in Leeds; the Working Men's College became an early stronghold of Volunteering. An enthusiastic supporter was Friedrich Engels, who enjoyed a considerable and deserved reputation in his lifetime as a military critic, while William Morris, one of the first members of the Social Democratic Federation, regarded and revered by Marxist writers as the first British socialist, was himself a Volunteer, as were other members of the anti-Establishment Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.¹¹⁷

The Territorials, however, enjoyed no such political advantages: theirs was a completely different story. Official Liberal support for the TF, even at its most enthusiastic, was never more than lukewarm. The Liberals elected in 1906 were committed, in order to bring in a programme of social reforms, to a much reduced level of military expenditure but, in any case, the state of the army and of the auxiliary forces was a matter of no more than peripheral concern to the great majority of the MPs. Speaking in purely general terms, the Trade Union movement and Socialists of all kinds were actively opposed to the Territorial scheme; the attitude of the more extreme elements was positively hostile. The implications for a Force that was obliged to rely for its membership on the working classes were therefore serious and not to be lightly regarded.

Fundamentally, the basis of this opposition was anti-militarism and the conscription issue. When York Council discussed on 4th May 1908 a recommendation of the Finance Committee aimed at encouraging Corporation employees to join the TF, one Labour councillor asserted that "there appeared to be a movement on foot throughout the country to induce large companies to close down their works and simply compel men to enlist in the Territorial Force, or be idle and have no wages at all", whilst another considered the recommendation to be "an attempt to establish municipal conscription".¹¹⁸

York Labour Party flatly refused to aid local recruiting on the grounds that its members regarded the scheme as a first step towards conscription.¹¹⁹ This was a prevalent Labour attitude. The popular claim was that the TF was intended, and was being used insidiously, to force men into the Regular Army. Haldane's error of judgement in christening his new force "The Territorial Army" and his continual use of "enlist" only served to lend credence to this allegation. Many convinced anti-militarists in fact appeared to be firmly under the impression that the TF was an integral part of the Regular Army, with the same terms and conditions of service. Labour MP Will Thorne told the Lord Lieutenant of Essex, who had invited him to serve on his County Association:

"I desire to see the abolition of a professional standing army, and I could be no party to bringing any number of the young men of my class under the barbarous operation of military law as a military caste deprived of citizenship and in antagonism to the civil population."¹²⁰

At a meeting of the Bristol Board of Guardians, which decided by a large majority to grant an extra week's holiday annually to Territorial employees, "Socialist members present protested against militarism, and one said he would rather see his three sons in the grave than wearing soldiers' coats." When Nelson Town Council refused the application for the display in its tram-cars of cards advertising local TF units, one Labour councillor said the cards would be "a danger in the way of influencing the young men of the town to join the Army", while another declared "that when a young man joined the Army he left self-respect behind."¹²¹

Ramsay Macdonald, during a debate on the Bill, after declaring that the Labour and Socialist Party was not in favour of a Nation in Arms, said it objected to the Bill because it virtually destroyed the civil character of the Volunteer Force, sought to interfere in relations between employer and employed, sought to make officer training the monopoly of the rich and well-to-do classes, and gave preferential treatment to men who had been soldiers. It had very strong objections to county associations, because they were a return to a medieval idea and would become a new nucleus of political and social influences, and to cadet forces because they would introduce militarism into school. He considered the scheme would be a first step towards conscription, since if it broke down there was no other alternative for the country. One Labour MP, John Ward, had already declared himself a supporter of the Bill: he wanted to democratise the Force by ensuring that able working-class men became officers.¹²²

The Social Democratic Federation adopted a militant stance. It issued a manifesto protesting against and condemning Haldane's scheme on the grounds he was

"seeking to militarise the youth of the nation": "We want no standing Army at all, no class of men set apart from their fellows, divorced from civil life, regarded and treated almost as convicts, but a national citizen force in which, while every man will be a soldier, no man will cease to be a civilian. Such a force is not conscription, which can only be successfully opposed by ensuring that every man shall be trained to use arms as a civilian."¹²³

The SDF's "revolutionary" ideas for a citizen army were to be embodied in a parliamentary bill, to be sponsored by Will Thorne, whereby the standing army, "a menace to civil liberty", would be abolished and a citizen army, recruited on a militia basis, substituted and available only for home defence. The members of such an army, it was thought, would be able to demand greater rights of citizenship and a greater share and interest in the country they would be called upon to defend and so advance the cause of socialism and democracy.¹²⁴ In 1907 the SDF plastered London with posters inviting the working classes to assemble and protest against the Territorial scheme; apparently there was no response. Two disturbances by militants were reported in March 1909. A Territorial recruiting meeting at Battersea was seriously disrupted by "a large number of socialists", accompanied by "a number of unemployed", who sang "The Red Flag". Speakers at another meeting at Wandsworth Town Hall were continually interrupted by persons shouting that they had nothing to defend. Considerable disorder followed an attempt by one man to put forward an amendment "That this meeting, having no country to protect, as it belongs to the landlords and capitalists, and also having no homes worthy of the name, refuses to support militarism in any shape or form."¹²⁵ No similar disturbances were subsequently reported, although Suffragettes naturally took advantage of any opportunities to demonstrate at Territorial meetings attended by members of Parliament.

The Territorial advocate Mark Sykes blamed "the strange apathy" of the trade unions for at least part of the prewar numerical deficiency of the TF.¹²⁶ He may well have been right: in Halifax, for instance, the Labour party members and trade unionists did "all they could to thwart recruiting"; among "permanent handicaps" to the recruiting of the 4th DWR were said to be "the wave of pacific sentiment, fanned by hot blasts from Labour circles, and the acute suspicion of the hidden hand of compulsion."¹²⁷ In the spring of 1909, the attempts of certain employers to impose "Territorial closed shops" had produced a storm of trade union and socialist protest, both inside and outside Parliament. Mr Seddon MP told a meeting of the National

Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, that they could count on the support of the whole of the Labour party and the trade union movement in resisting "this deplorable method of conscription." A delegate who pointed out that their protests against this principle were inconsistent since they had claimed the right to limit the employer to engage only trade union labour was greeted with howls. Later that year the TUC discussed a resolution, later carried with only a few dissentients, protesting against employers' attempts to compel their men to enlist in the TF. It was moved by Mr James O'Grady, the Leeds ILP MP, who described it as an unscrupulous and sinister attempt to introduce compulsory military service in its most subtle and invidious form. Mr Heyday of the Gasworkers' and General Labourers' Union, seconding, claimed that the Territorial system militated against trade unionism, that it was derogatory to trade unionism, and that it was therefore the duty of trade unionists to make it as unpopular as possible.¹²⁸

The extent of Labour and Trade Union opposition throughout the country, however, was notably uneven. In some areas it was strong, in others, remarkably weak, even negligible, as in Leeds. For instance, the strongest infantry battalion in the Glasgow Association before the war was the 9th HLI, a working-class kilted regiment recruited from the shipyards of Clydeside, an area noted for its extreme left-wing socialism. The West Riding experience suggests that tradition and historical factors exerted far more influence on the strengths of local TF units than the pronouncements of MPs and trade union leaders. Enthusiasm for the TF was particularly marked in Leeds and in the coal mining and iron and steel districts of South Yorkshire. It was weakest in Halifax, Bradford and York, though it should be noted that in these towns numerical deficiencies were appreciably greater in infantry units than in units of other arms. On 31st March 1912, the date on which was recorded the highest prewar strength of the West Riding Division, the infantry deficiencies of these three towns amounted to well over half the total deficiency, all arms, in the Division: Halifax had the weakest infantry battalion, being 7 officers and 238 other ranks under strength.¹²⁹ Its Volunteer predecessor had been chronically very weak in numbers, unable to attract many working men into its ranks and suffering from working-class hostility of long standing; Thomas Latimer, the Liberal editor/proprietor of The Halifax Courier, had noted in 1854 a bitter class feeling between employers and workmen such as he had never before witnessed.¹³⁰ Bradford's Volunteers had been weak in numbers since the foundation of the Independent Labour Party; in 1906, for instance, though Leeds had a population only about 1½ times greater than that of Bradford, it had well over twice as many Volunteers, while in

the Spring of 1910 all Leeds units were up to strength, but the 6th WYR of Bradford was below 60% of establishment. In the city of York, a major garrison town, anti-military feelings and anti-militarism had been gaining ground for many years; although only half of the 5th WYR was recruited in the city itself, almost the entire deficiency was accounted for by the York companies.¹³¹

Trade union and Labour opposition could therefore exert considerable influence on recruiting for and on the strength of the Territorial Force in districts where enabling historical factors were present. In this sense it was merely voicing feelings and attitudes prevalent in the local community. In areas of traditional support for the Volunteers, socialists and trade unionists showed little or no inclination to oppose the Territorials; exceptionally, as in Leeds, they were even prepared to encourage and support them.

7.7 The Conscription Issue

Amongst the difficulties and problems with which the Territorial Force had to contend was the mounting and increasingly vociferous campaign of the National Service League, founded in 1902, to get universal military service by compulsion introduced, in spite of the fact that conscription was anathema to the vast majority of the British public. The NSL did incalculable harm to the Territorial Force, initially, by purporting to support it through Lord Roberts and his National Service Bill which proposed to apply conscription to the TF, so associating conscription in many people's minds with the Territorial system, and later, by pouring destructive criticism on the TF in order to bolster up its campaign which, though it failed in its main purpose, served to convince many by its relentless propaganda that the TF was militarily worthless and therefore not needed. It made it all the easier for the Government to resist requests from the Territorials for increased funding and improved conditions of service. It also enabled the anti-conscriptionists to use the Territorials as pawns in their campaign to prevent the introduction of conscription and to reduce military expenditure.

Lord Roberts' National Service (Training and Home Defence) Bill was introduced in the House of Lords in 1909 and defeated on the second reading. The Field Marshal was always at some pains to point out that he had no desire to do away with the TF or in any way alter it, apart from introducing into it the principle of compulsory service. Viewed after more than 70 years of wars and rumours of wars, his proposals, the first one excepted, seem amazingly moderate: (1) compulsory military and physical training for all boys between 14 and 18; (2) all able-bodied youths between 18 and 21 to be liable, without

distinction of class, for service in the TF; (3) all Territorial recruits in their first year to undergo 4-6 months' continuous full-time training, followed by 15 days' continuous training in camp annually, together with all drills and musketry practice prescribed for efficiency; (4) no Territorial to be liable for service overseas.¹³²

The NSL's chief criticism of Haldane's scheme, that the six months' training should precede, not follow, outbreak of war, was a perfectly valid one. The NSL was able to bring forward other valid points in support of its case for conscription: that, though the national service movement was claimed in England to be hostile to the interests of working men, it was distinctly a Labour movement in Australia, "the most socialistic part" of the Empire; that, though it was claimed that conscription would disorganise industry and weaken the competitive power of the country's economy, it did not appear to have any such effect on Britain's greatest European industrial competitor;¹³³ that, though the British Labour movement saw universal military training, even applied without distinction of class, as a negation of popular liberty, French and German socialists regarded it as an essential safeguard for that liberty, and expected equality of sacrifice in the matter of military training. The NSL preferred, however, to work on the precept that prejudice is more powerful than reason and sought to strengthen its case, or so it thought, by wholesale denigration of the TF. Despite the facts that it possessed a not inconsiderable Territorial membership and that it resolved initially to assist and support the county associations, 13 of the Lords-Lieutenant being members of the League,¹³⁴ its attitude to the TF was ambivalent from the outset and was fundamentally hostile even in 1909. Said member Lord Curzon of Kedleston, speaking on Lord Roberts' Bill on 13th July:

"When we hear this stream of undiluted panegyric poured upon the Territorial Army, it is necessary to remind the House that of its 270,000 heroes as many as 100,000 are under twenty years of age, and to ask whether a single independent military critic in this House or in the country will say that the Force, whatever its merits, is adequate in physique, in training, and in numbers for the objects which it may be called upon to perform, or will deny that it is hopelessly unreliable for purposes of serious war."¹³⁵

General Sir John French, in his 1910 report on the TF, recorded complaints made to him by

"more than one commanding officer that their endeavours to obtain recruits were much hampered by agents of the National Service League, who are said to go about certain districts, advising men not to take service with the Territorial Force,"¹³⁶

allegations denied at the time by NSL officials. A conscriptionist signing himself "Regular", taking advantage of the saturation newspaper coverage

of the 1910 "mutiny" in the 8th Bn, wrote to the popular Sunday Chronicle to point out that "It only needed an incident like this to show that it is not wise to play at soldiers."¹³⁷ From about the end of 1912 the NSL, conscious of the fact that over 45% of the existing personnel of the TF, already standing at less than 84% of establishment, were due to complete their engagements before 30th September 1913, became overtly hostile and no longer attempted to conceal its avid desire to see the early demise of the TF. If we are to judge by the attack on the TF contained in the conscriptionist tract The Territorial Sham and the Army: An Exposure, with its inaccuracies, half-truths, distortions of the truth, and deliberate lies, some of its methods were dubious indeed.

M.J. Allison has drawn attention to the fact that a substantial number of Volunteers, up to 1908, and later, Territorials, were members of the NSL. The 1904 Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers had exceeded its terms of reference by recommending, in its majority Report, a period of 12 months' continuous military service for the entire eligible male population after, suspiciously, calling a surprisingly large number of Volunteer officers who gave evidence supporting the conscription principle. Allison asserts that by April 1913 the demand for compulsion began to be voiced by the Territorials themselves,¹³⁸ citing in support the Parliamentary answer given by Col Seely on 9th April 1913 that nine of the 94 county associations had passed resolutions in favour of some form of compulsory training.¹³⁹ It has to be pointed out that it was Volunteer and Territorial officers in persistently under-strength units who could see no alternative means of getting recruits except by some form of compulsion who tended to be converted to the conscriptionist cause.¹⁴⁰ The Annual Return of the TF for 1913 shows a wide variation in the strengths of the various county associations, with an appreciable number having strengths of less than 80% of establishment.¹⁴¹ Conscription appears to have had few supporters amongst the officers of the West Riding TF which, significantly, was consistently one of the strongest in the country. Brig-General Sir G.C. Helme, GOC 1st WR Bde until November 1913, was firmly in favour of Lord Roberts' scheme,¹⁴² but such views do not seem to have been held by any officers of units based in Leeds, whose typical attitude may rather have been that expressed in a cartoon that appeared in a Leeds evening paper: Facetious youth (foppishly dressed and smoking a cigarette) to smart Leeds Riflemen dressed in review order and wearing a medal: "Hello Jack - got your medal! Is it for taking life?" Rifleman: "No, you bounder - it's for saving life. Conscription would be the death of such chaps as you!"¹⁴³

The following extract from a letter to the Editor of the Yorkshire Post in 1904 by a conscriptionist signing himself "An Infantry Volunteer" does, however, give some insight into the motives which led a Volunteer or Territorial officer to support the NSL cause:

"... when the occasion [i.e. emergency] passes, there is a reaction, and discipline and the ties of attendance at drill, range, and camp become irksome. What officer of Volunteers has not experienced the heart-breaking lukewarmness of his men during the training season? Small musters at parades and drills, because there happens to be a band night in a park, or a football or cricket match on at the time. With the Volunteer officers tactfulness takes the place of the fear of the guardroom or fine, and it is not every officer or non-commissioned officer who possesses that very necessary qualification. A momentary irritation owing to inattention in the ranks, and the Volunteer takes it out of his superior by not attending the next drill, and perhaps induces his fellows to do the same. He is the 'master', and he knows it; he can always resign at a fortnight's notice ... The Volunteer gives as much time as he is able, in some cases as he is willing to give, and no more can be expected of him... At present some men do the work which is admittedly the duty of all. Why should they give their time and money - for to be an officer costs a good deal of both - so that others may shirk what is their bounden duty? Of course, it may be asked - Why do they do it? Well, when a man is keen, the work gets a grip on him, and he holds on, very often to the extent of interference with business, till at last, it may be after many years, he sees the hopelessness, the uselessness of it all, and he retires, to consider at his leisure, how much better it might have been only if he had left soldiering to soldiers."¹⁴⁴

There was justification for the view, quite frequently expressed (here by a prewar GOC South Midland Division TF):

"Without some sort of compulsion life in the force became a life of shams. Everything in reason, and some things [not specified] out of reason were resorted to to tempt men to enlist and to make the Force popular, even at the expense of discipline, training and efficiency. The sites for summer camps, for instance, were chosen more with a view to the enjoyment of the men than for the benefit of their training."¹⁴⁵

This view, however, tended to be held by Regular officers and other critics who failed fully to appreciate that Territorials were first and foremost civilians who had to give priority to their livelihoods and were soldiers only in their spare time.

Not all supporters and advocates of compulsory military training were members of the NSL, and not all conscriptionists were eager to see the collapse of the Territorial system. Two Parliamentary Bills were introduced to amend the 1907 Act and to authorise National Military Training in the Territorial Force: 1908 (151) iii. 853 and 1909 (101) iv. 235. The latter was Lord Roberts' Bill, the former aimed to introduce a modified form of the Swiss militia system and was sponsored by anti-conscriptionists.¹⁴⁶

Six Bills were introduced amending and applying the Militia Ballots Acts to the Territorial Force, the last one only 3 weeks before the outbreak of war: 1909 (55) v. 311, 1910 (207) v. 437, 1911 (157) v. 751, 1912-13 (274) v. 451, 1913 (287) v. 821, 1914 (312) vi. 435.

According to Repington, the Radical press in 1913 attributed the deficiencies of the TF chiefly to "an octogenarian field-marshal and a wicked League" and to Regular officers "determined" that the scheme should fail.¹⁴⁷ Although Army men were said to fear a corresponding reduction in their Vote if Territorial spending were increased,¹⁴⁸ (the Volunteers had tended to be regarded as a constant threat to the Army Vote), the number of high-ranking officers so determined was probably small, but they were influential. One, Henry Wilson, Director of Military Operations, formed at the end of 1912 with F.S. Oliver, Arthur H. Lee MP, Sir Charles Hunter MP, Lord Milner, and Major the Hon. Hugh Dawnay, a cabal dedicated to the downfall of the TF and the adoption of conscription.¹⁴⁹ Wilson's motives in joining this cabal can hardly be described as disinterested, since, as N.W. Summerton has demonstrated, British military plans for a war against Germany were nullified by an insufficiency of army personnel to execute them.¹⁵⁰ As Allison has indicated, many senior Army officers, both active and retired, were adherents of the conscriptionist cause; many senior Army officers had been opposed to the Territorial scheme from the beginning. Some, however, looked with favour, even enthusiasm, upon it: these tended to be men who had considerable knowledge of the Volunteers, perhaps gained as an adjutant of a Volunteer corps. Sir John French held a high opinion of Territorials, acquired during his term as Inspector-General of the Forces,¹⁵¹ though he appears to have temporarily recanted after he succeeded Nicholson as Chief of the Imperial General Staff,¹⁵² when he came under the baneful influence of Wilson. Douglas Haig, entrusted by Haldane with the implementation of his scheme, seems to have thought highly of Volunteers: while commanding officer of the 17th Lancers, he had restricted recruitment, as far as was practicable, to Volunteers; this policy may be connected with the fact that when Haig joined the regiment, the RSM was Thomas Rhind, who had served for 5 years in the Leeds Rifles before he enlisted.¹⁵³

In 1913 the NSL embarked upon a great campaign, spear-headed by Lord Roberts who toured the country giving a series of speeches aimed at Liberal and Labour supporters. He arrived in Leeds on 17th April. The local press, whatever its political colour, held the Field-Marshal in the highest respect and was wont to refer to him as "the greatest soldier of the age." The Victoria Hall of the Town Hall was crammed to overflowing and Lord Roberts'

speech was relayed on a screen for the benefit of the people at the back of the hall and in the foyer. According to two eye-witnesses interviewed, Police-Sgt C.H. Marshall and John A. Rudd, there was "absolutely no heckling" from the audience. "Tremendous crowds" had gathered in Victoria Square in front of the Town Hall and in the approaches to Central Station to see Lord Roberts off, and on his emergence from the Town Hall there were repeated "great outbursts of cheering."¹⁵⁴ Though the people of Leeds gave him a hero's welcome and listened attentively to his message, his visit had an unlooked-for effect as far as the NSL was concerned: it caused "a quite unexpected rush of recruits" to the local Territorial units.¹⁵⁵ Three respondents said that Lord Roberts had influenced them to join the Territorials, whilst a fourth, J.A. Rudd, said he had wished to take a Territorial commission but his father, who was also his employer, would not permit it: he would give him only sufficient time off to enable him to join Leeds University OTC.

7.8 Training; Discipline and Esprit de Corps

It was frequently claimed by some Army officers during the prewar period that the efficiency of the TF was greatly superior to that of the Volunteers.¹⁵⁶ This claim must be challenged and not only on account of the 1914 caveat of Capt Wilson MP: "It may be that the [inspecting] officers suffer somewhat from a feeling of relief that the Territorial units are as good as they are, and not as bad as they think they must be."¹⁵⁷ What were their points and standards of comparison? Were they comparing the best Territorials with the best Volunteers - or the worst?

During the last 12-15 years of the Volunteer period there were some very good Volunteer corps. Among them was the Leeds Rifles, in which training emphasis was placed on drill, scouting, skirmishing and outpost duties. The chronic shortage of officers seemed to have caused the Regiment no great harm: the "missing" subalterns' duties fell upon the colour-sergeants, e.g. in 1895 the left half of D Coy was commanded by Col Sgt A.H. Swabey.¹⁵⁸ Inspecting officers hardly ever failed to be most favourably impressed, and by 1890 the Leeds Rifles had come to be recognised as one of the country's crack Volunteer infantry regiments.¹⁵⁹ In August 1900 Lord Wolseley attended Aldershot manoeuvres of Regular, Reserve and Volunteer forces, in which 10 infantry brigades, 4 artillery batteries and 4 cavalry regiments were engaged. The Commander-in-Chief was harshly critical, severely censuring some participants, and pronouncing all the corps present - save one - "totally unfitted, by reason of insufficient teaching, to take the field." The exception, which he actually commended and specifically excluded from his comprehensive denunciation, was the Leeds Rifles.¹⁶⁰ The Inspecting Officer of

1900, Brigadier-General F.A. Graves-Sawle, Coldstream Guards, described the Regiment as "a model corps" which acquitted itself in an "excellent manner" in every aspect of its work.

"The men appeared to take great interest in the work which they had from time to time to perform." He "considered their conduct on all occasions most exemplary. Both on and off parade the men were exceedingly smart and, indeed, would do credit to any Line regiment. The discipline in the battalion was of a high order, men of all ranks showing the greatest intelligence in the duties required of them."¹⁶¹

The level of enthusiasm was high. Col Tannett-Walker stated in 1902 that "the number of drills specified in the new regulations was nothing like as great in the average as the Leeds Rifles put in"; in 1899-1900 the average was 47 per man.¹⁶² Comparing the Leeds Rifles monthly orders, little difference can be detected between the training schedules of the postwar Volunteers and those of the Territorials. The drill season started in March or April and ceased on return from the August camp; drills were held in September and October only for recruits and non-efficient. Carlton Barracks was open for drills and classes on the evenings of Monday to Thursday. Company drill was held on each of these evenings, two (or sometimes, three in the case of Volunteers) companies at a time, so that "drill night" for, say A and H Coys, was Wednesday; the indoor miniature range was open for practice at the close of the drill session. Battalion parades were held fortnightly and the Adjutant's parade monthly. During the high season, May-July, company field training was held fortnightly in the Volunteers, monthly in the Territorials. There were twice-weekly classes for the Signal and Transport Sections, twice-weekly practices for the Bugle and Regimental Bands (in addition to the public practices on Sunday mornings), weekly classes for the pioneers (sanitary orderlies), stretcher bearers and machine-gun section, and weekly proficiency classes for NCOs. In the close session, the training programme included the School of Arms (physical drill and bayonet exercise, boxing, gymnastics), held twice weekly; instructional practice, by company, on the miniature range; twice-weekly proficiency classes for NCOs; monthly lectures for NCOs, scout, machine-gun and transport sections; a monthly lecture on military history; and, for the officers, a monthly staff ride and a monthly war game and lecture in connection with the Leeds Tactical Society. When the Territorial scheme began, a night school for officers, to prepare candidates for Certificates A and B, was set up each winter. It is interesting to compare these programmes with those of the Regiment in the 1870s and late 1860s: in the 1868-9 season, for instance, the CO held a battalion drill, known as "CO's parade", twice a month between February and June; the Adjutant held a battalion drill, known as "Adjutant's parade",

twice a month between April and June; setting-up, musketry- and company-drills were held 3 evenings a week during the drill season, which lasted from March to September; monthly march-outs were held in the close season.¹⁶³

During the last 25 years or so of the Volunteer period, the Regular general officers in charge of training in the West Riding seem to have been keen and enthusiastic and capable of communicating their enthusiasm to the corps under their command which included the West Riding Volunteer infantry brigade composed of 7 battalions. Maj Gen, later Sir, W.G. Cameron, GOC Northern District 1881-4 (his son, Maj Gen N.J.G. Cameron, was GOC 49th Division from 1917), took a great interest in the Volunteers under his supervision.¹⁶⁴ The Bingham Trophy (The Yorkshire Field Practice Trophy), valued on purchase at 800 guineas, was given in 1894 by Col Bingham of the Sheffield Engineers to encourage sectional practice with ball cartridge at a time when this type of work formed no part of the regulation musketry course (it became obligatory only in 1899). By 1901 the competition had become one of scouting and skirmishing as well as marksmanship, involving fixed head and shoulder targets and surprise figures which appeared at short intervals for only 20 seconds at a time, and was designed to simulate as closely as possible active service conditions.¹⁶⁵

Although attendance at camp had been made compulsory and the musketry courses redesigned and improved to produce, it was hoped, a uniformly higher average standard of shooting, in the matter of drills the efficiency regulations laid down for Territorials were more or less those introduced into the Volunteer Force in 1902.¹⁶⁶ For all ranks in the infantry, these were 40 drills for recruits, of which 20 were to be performed before the annual training, and 10 drills annually, to be performed before the annual training, for trained men; in order to enforce these regulations, no pay or allowance was issued to any rank who had not performed the necessary drills prior to camp. All ranks, except field officers, were required to attend a course of musketry annually.

To have increased the efficiency requirements would have been self-defeating. Experience had repeatedly shown that increased liabilities and more stringent regulations inevitably caused large losses in strength, both by resignations and by discouraging recruiting. The greater degree of compulsion introduced by Haldane may well have deterred some young men from enlisting, despite the fact that a certain amount of compulsion already existed in a great many Volunteer corps. In the Leeds Rifles all recruits were required to sign a legally-enforceable 3-year contract, and no man was allowed to attend camp unless he had put in at least 10 Company drills. Ironically,

the degree of compulsion intended by Haldane never existed in practice, for his measures proved unworkable and impossible, if only on the grounds of expediency, to enforce: not every Territorial attended camp and not every Territorial completed the musketry course, let alone passed the Standard Test. In the summer of 1908, Mr F.D. Acland, Financial Secretary to the War Office, wrote to all the major newspapers: "There is no hard and fast compulsory attendance at any camp for eight days or fifteen. No one will be fined for non-attendance if there is a good reason."¹⁶⁷ A citizen force recruited entirely by voluntary means can tolerate only a small amount of compulsion. The existence of this "threshold of tolerance", however, was but dimly perceived; the conscriptionists failed to take advantage of it.

Infantry, field companies RE and yeomanry were required to fire the musketry course; musketry training was also required in other arms. In 1908-9 103,126 men qualified in the Standard Test; in 1909-10 126,912; in 1910-11 142,435; in 1911-12 153,510 (about 86% of those tested). In 1912-13 148,766 men qualified, and out of 294 units required to fire the course, 261 qualified 75% or more of their strength, 32 qualified 50-75% of their strength, and only one qualified less than 50% of its strength, which was claimed as a great improvement on the previous year when the corresponding figures were 224, 54 and 15. In the year 1910-11 just over 39% of recruits and just over 11% of trained men failed the Standard Test. In the year 1911-12, nearly 25% of recruits and nearly 9% of trained men failed, and about 11.5% of recruits and 4% of trained men did not complete the course. 18.4% of recruits and 6.7% of trained men failed in the year 1912-13. In 1911-12 34 infantry battalions carried out battalion field firing and 92 battalions had been exercised in company field firing; there were 62 battalions in which some, but not all, companies had been exercised in company field firing, but 53 in which no company field firing was performed. In 1912-13 196 infantry battalions carried out field firing.¹⁶⁸ In 1910 Lord Lucas, Under-Secretary to the War Office, claimed that the musketry course was "an extremely stiff test" and that a man who could pass it was "at least as good a shot as the average European Regular soldier."¹⁶⁹ Although the figures show a very marked improvement over the period 1909-1913, the position at its close remained clearly unsatisfactory. Camp attendance figures were also not satisfactory and improved only slightly over the period.

	In camp for <u>15 days</u>		In camp for <u>8 days</u>		<u>Absent</u> from camp altogether	
	Officers	OR	Officers	OR	Officers	OR
1909-10	73%	62%	12%	28%	15%	10%
1910-11	73	58	11	29	16	13
1911-12	74	61	11	26	15	13
1912-13	76	66	10	23	14	11

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The sad truth was that many of the training difficulties experienced by the Volunteers remained with the Territorials. Complaints about inferior and obsolete weaponry, an insufficiency of drill grounds and range accommodation, and inaccessible ranges continued unabated.¹⁷¹ Camps were still at the mercy of both weather and employers. The quality of the military training still depended, in the final analysis, on the quality of the individual commanding officer - far more, in the opinion of Field Marshal Lord Methuen,¹⁷² than in the Regular Army - and of the general officer commanding. The problems were greatly exacerbated by the dilatoriness of the War Office who behaved for all the world as though Haldane's scheme, as far as equipping the new Force was concerned, had caught it entirely unprepared. No sense of urgency was displayed. The Territorials had to continue to use the often worn rifle of their predecessor, the Lee-Metford; the issue to the TF of the obsolete charger-loading Lee-Enfield, Mark I, was not announced until August 1909 and not put into effect until the following spring. Five weeks after the starting date of the TF scheme the Leeds Artillery was loudly complaining that the non-arrival of its field guns was impeding recruiting. The Northern Telegraph Companies, an essentially mobile unit, did not receive the 9 horses and 4 Army-pattern four-wheel carts needed until April 1910.¹⁷³ The GOC West Riding Division, in his report to the County Association on the first Annual Training in 1908, said:

"As regards the equipment necessary, this is very far from being complete, and I hope, before many months pass, steps will be taken to remedy this great and dangerous defect. The Artillery were deficient of guns and wagons, and the harness is unsuitable for issue to Territorial Troops ... The Engineers were deficient in necessary equipment, consequently all ranks suffered as regards instruction and training."¹⁷⁴

The Association had, of course, to justify to the War Office every piece of personal and military equipment they wished to order and then wait for the requests to receive official sanction. The personal equipment of the West Riding infantry had early been condemned as "generally bad, of obsolete pattern, and useless for active service" before the first camp, but it was over a year before the first battalion in the division, the 8th Bn WYR (Leeds Rifles), was fully supplied with webbing equipment.¹⁷⁵

Financial considerations lay behind the policy of equipping the TF with obsolete weaponry, a policy continued into the war. None of the Leeds Rifles' machine-guns, for example, was manufactured after 1901; none was ever replaced with newer and more efficient weapons before the Leeds Rifles machine-gunners joined the Machine Gun Corps at the beginning of 1916, and the NCOs of the 1/8th section were compelled to go round throughout 1915 with their tunic pockets crammed with spare parts.¹⁷⁶ The issue of the converted 15-pounder field gun, Mark I, was defended on the grounds that it was uncomplicated and safe to use even in the hands of summarily trained men;¹⁷⁷ it seems not to have been realised that, under conditions of active service, these guns and the 4.7" guns issued to Heavy Batteries would be hopelessly inefficient, their previous wear making range-finding well-nigh impossible, and being often responsible for causing as many casualties to the British infantry as to the enemy (see Chapter 9).

The unsatisfactory average standard of musketry in the TF arose, as it had done in the days of the Volunteers, from the difficulty of finding ranges, not from lack of zeal in practising to become good shots. 130 corps had informed the Bury Committee that they found difficulty in obtaining drill space and rifle ranges.¹⁷⁸ The greatest difficulty obtained in large centres of population. Appendix LXXXIV of the 1904 Royal Commission Report complained that "the jerry builder and that ilk" had "already captured and closed three-fourths of the rifle ranges round London ... Now the few ranges left are vastly overcrowded in the hours when Volunteers can use them, and increased target accommodation is unobtainable."¹⁷⁹ In his report on the TF for 1908 Sir John French estimated that not more than half of the infantry units possessed adequate range accommodation and stated that some existing ranges were so inaccessible that the test firing had not been able to be carried out.¹⁸⁰ Lord Lucas reported in 1910 that in 1909-10 7 infantry battalions had not been able to get on to an open range at all, and admitted that the lack of range facilities was responsible for the "very large" numbers who had either not completed the musketry course or failed the Standard Test.¹⁸¹ The Army Estimates for 1913-14 conceded a continuing need for range accommodation, despite the fact that during the previous year 30 ranges had been constructed, and 50 re-constructed or extended, although 5 had had to be closed for reasons of safety.¹⁸² The position would have been considerably improved if the Government had been willing to pay the market price for the land required or to take powers of compulsory purchase under the Military Lands Act of 1892. For instance, the respective owners of suitable tracts of land situated near Bardsey and Crossgates railway stations were not willing to sell for the prices the West Riding Association was able to offer.¹⁸³

The range problem was acute in the West Riding conurbation and many corps experienced difficulties in getting their men through the prescribed courses;¹⁸⁴ men could not be turned into efficient marksmen at Annual Camp. Said the Divisional GOC in 1910: "Owing to insufficient range accommodation the present standard of musketry training is in my opinion dangerously inadequate."¹⁸⁵ His successor was of the opinion that the amounts of both practice and ammunition allowed his Territorials were insufficient to bring them up to a high standard of musketry.¹⁸⁶ It was strikingly noticeable that the prestigious Bingham Trophy was repeatedly won by battalions with good and easily accessible range facilities.

The experience of the Leeds Rifles well-illustrated the size and extent of the range problem that confronted so many units. The Regiment was probably the worst placed of any in the whole of Yorkshire as regards range accommodation. In 1865 it had obtained from a member the use of a fine range on his land at Middleton, situated between Dewsbury Road and Middleton Woods, some 2 miles from headquarters and about a mile from Hunslet station. The corps became known as a crack shooting unit, members frequently figuring in the prize lists of national competitions, and its team winning the Bingham Challenge Shield in 1888, 1889 and 1890. By 1889 the estates of speculative builders were advancing increasingly closer and the range had to be closed in 1892. Its closing was the death blow to the Regiment's shooting reputation, for the Rifles were now obliged to share the range of the Bradford corps which was situated on Baildon Moor on land belonging to Bradford Corporation Waterworks. The round trip to Baildon Moor was more than 20 miles. The distance and the fact that the range was shared limited both the time that could be spent there and the actual opportunities for practice, and when more stringent musketry regulations were introduced in 1903 which demanded more attendances, the Regiment found it impossible to fire the full course.¹⁸⁷ In 1905, in an effort to raise the standard of musketry within the Regiment, a series of fortnightly camps were arranged, at no small expense, on Baildon Moor. Two or three companies went at a time, going on a Friday night after work by the 7.30 p.m. train, so as to be able to make an 8 a.m. start the next day and be back in Leeds by teatime. The weather, however, was often unkind, for the range was badly sited, being windy and subject to mists, and the experiment was not repeated the following year. In the Territorial era things went from bad to worse, for now all Leeds units and all Bradford units had to share the range. A visit to Baildon range for practice meant losing a half day's wages, for all Saturday afternoons were booked up for courses.¹⁸⁸ This fact and the distance involved resulted in "The Scout" declaring that "The journey to Baildon is looked upon as a penance, and both NCOs and men only go there when practically compelled." By the middle of

June in 1910, for instance, nearly one-third of the 7th Bn had yet to fire their instructional practices. Class-firings often meant losing a Saturday morning's wages, and men had to make an early start, leaving by the 7.5 a.m. train to Shipley and marching up to the Moor from there. In order to encourage attendance, two meals, at least as good as the men would have got at home (breakfast - coffee, bacon, egg and bread, and lunch - cold roast beef, boiled potatoes and pickles),¹⁸⁹ were provided out of regimental funds. In 1911 a motor omnibus service was hired to meet certain trains at Shipley.¹⁹⁰ It meant a very long day for sergeants and officers, since the range was kept open until sunset in order to accommodate shift workers and shop assistants. Congestion at the range, however, had got so bad by 1910 that the 8th Bn held a musketry camp at Strensall over Whitsun and about 320, mostly recruits, attended. In 1912 the encroachment of housing development compelled the closure of the Baildon range. No replacement could be found¹⁹¹ and from 1912 onwards, the Leeds Rifles were obliged to make do with their 30-yard range in a quarry at Buslingthorpe belonging to Lord Allerton, an ex-member, and Saturday afternoon trips by special train to Strensall army range.

In the year of transition, 1908, Sir John French inspected the Annual Training of only one Territorial Division, that of the strongest numerically, the West Riding Division. The result of his inspection was

"in the highest degree, satisfactory and most encouraging. The most important point to notice is the extraordinary keenness, the desire to make progress, the zeal, the energy displayed by all ranks from General to private ... The physique of the men was decidedly good on the whole, although here and there one saw under-sized men. The general standard of intelligence was very satisfactory."

He was at once amazed and extremely impressed by the Artillery: "I am now quite convinced that after 4 months' continuous training these batteries would be able to perform very valuable service." (Lord Roberts (and others) had heartily condemned the whole idea of Territorial Artillery, alleging they would be "not only absolutely useless in the field, but would be positively dangerous.") Interviewed during the Inspection, French had told reporters he had been surprised beyond measure by the work of the artillery:

"He really thought it was quite wonderful; it surpassed what he had expected to see ... Although they had only had their guns a short time they were driven in perfect order, and he did not see any gun rolled over, or any man or horse thrown down."¹⁹²

In his report on the year 1909-10, French considered that the system and methods adopted in the instruction of Territorial units was showing a great improvement:

"Some of the work I have seen carried out this year was quite extraordinary and entirely surpassed my expectation, and I feel sure that the progress already attained can only result from the boundless energy and splendid spirit which pervades all ranks in the Territorial Force."

He was of the opinion, however, that the training of the infantry was still "too advanced, considering the limited knowledge of officers and men under instruction" and he wished to discourage ambitious and advanced tactical schemes involving large bodies of troops.¹⁹³ "The Scout" welcomed the Army Council announcement arising from this Report that in future tactical training schemes would be confined to small bodies, and that accordingly brigade exercises would take place only very occasionally. He declared that the individual Territorial got only physical training out of divisional manoeuvres and wasted much time hanging about, doing and learning nothing.¹⁹⁴

The West Riding Divisional Camp was held during the last week in July and the first week of August, a period not particularly noted for settled weather in the North of England. The weather often interfered with training to a considerable extent, but never to that of causing field days to be completely abandoned, as happened in Volunteer days, for example, in 1907;¹⁹⁵ unlike most Volunteers, the Territorial had another uniform to change into while his service dress was drying.

In camp the Territorial was able to get some inkling of conditions on active service. He learnt to take the rough with the smooth and to develop a stoical endurance to trying weather conditions, to sleep under dripping canvas, to look cheerful with water trickling down his neck and his boots full of water. Part of his training seemed to have had this very intention. On the final Friday at Aberystwyth in 1913 the infantry were in the field over 12 hours after a hurried and scanty breakfast, with only a haversack ration to sustain them till suppertime;¹⁹⁶ one morning at Aberystwyth the 7th Bn men were given salted herrings for breakfast, were not ordered to fill their water bottles and at the end of a boiling hot, sunny day spent in the field were all suffering from raging thirsts.¹⁹⁷ Local conditions often produced useful training effects. At Aberystwyth, owing to the exigencies of the water supply, all training areas were some distance from the encampment. Every day there were laborious marches of 4 or 5 miles involving an ascent of nearly 1,000 feet in temperatures already approaching the 80s by 8 a.m. These marches, though gruelling, were a useful means of inculcating march discipline and greatly improved the troops' health and physical fitness; the Leeds Rifles wore canvas fatigue dress and large straw sombreros, the only troops in the division to be suitably attired for the sub-tropical

weather conditions. The frequently-expressed fears that the many 17- and 18-year-old recruits would be incapable of withstanding the physical strains of a 15-day camp training proved completely unfounded; the 8th Bn, about 75%-80% of whose strength was aged under 20, performed very creditably altogether.¹⁹⁸ An extremely valuable part of every annual training to the urban-based units were the night marches and exercises.¹⁹⁹

In 1913 The Times published a long, well-informed, well-balanced and fair article by "Our Special Correspondent" entitled 'Territorial Training. The West Riding Division.' The author gives the impression of being impressed by what he saw. In his view, the weakest spot of the Division was the infantry:

"Territorial infantry, with its exiguous training, can never be compared with its Regular prototype ... still it was clear that there was a sound substratum of knowledge on which to develop future efficiency."

He summed up:

"In many ways it is one highly representative of the [Army of the] Second Line. Led by keen and able Regular officers, who in turn are loyally supported by all ranks, it is an organisation far from being negligible by any enemy. The weak spot is the Infantry, which is not up to establishment and contains too many youths unfit for service. The Artillery is wonderful considering its length of training and is steadily improving, while the auxiliary services are in many ways as efficient as those of the Regular Army. With such material the wit of man should be able to effect a further advance towards perfection."²⁰⁰

The White Paper issued in July 1907, Principles to be kept in view in training the Territorial Force ..., noteworthy for its eminently intelligent, sensible and sympathetic approach to its subject, pointed out that

"In view of the limited time which soldiers of the Territorial Force will have at their disposal for the purposes of training during peace, it is impracticable to suppose that they can be fully trained up to the standard of Regular troops prior to mobilisation. The training in peace should, therefore, be directed towards laying the foundation on which the more extended training on mobilisation should be based."²⁰¹

There appears to be every likelihood that this desired foundation was laid. Certainly, the ASC, engineer and medical arms were highly praised by Army officers of the highest ranks, including F.M. Lord Methuen²⁰² and French. A "further advance towards perfection" did not appear likely in peacetime, however. There were several factors militating against it, such as the provision of horses; the virtual abandonment of the doctrine which had become prevalent in the latter days of the Volunteer era, of training citizen soldiers with Regulars; and the swings of enthusiasm at unit level. The Army Council could not be said to be helping matters when it was capable of coming out

with pieces of advice like the one suggesting that artillery drivers might be trained in city streets²⁰³ which were invariably cobbled and complete with trams and tram lines.

The horse question was a prime example of lack of preparedness on the part of the War Office. Summerton has shown how the Army's mobilisation plans were rendered unsatisfactory by the inadequate arrangements for acquiring horses. Henry Wilson, when he took office as DMO, found horse mobilisation plans "in a lamentably backward state."²⁰⁴ The responsibility for taking censuses of vehicles and animals and for drawing up schedules of owners of such vehicles and animals required on mobilisation by both Regular Army and Territorial Force was, with undue alacrity, shuffled on to the Territorials in 1910. While drawing up the scheme for the reorganisation of the auxiliary forces, the War Office had completely overlooked the fact that the Territorial Force would require a very large number of horses, considerably in excess of that used in training by their predecessors. As a result, the position at the takeover was chaotic and hopelessly confused. At the April 1908 meeting of the West Riding Association it was alleged that the question of horse provision had been shockingly neglected to such an extent that the Army Council could not even say whether the Remount Department had enough animals to go round. Commanding officers of both horsed units and infantry were instructed to make their own arrangements locally for 1908.²⁰⁵ The Volunteers (who had required far fewer horses) had always made their own arrangements locally and in Leeds had experienced no difficulties: an ample supply of suitable animals was readily available from Volunteer employers and supporters. On Saturday afternoons, the local Volunteers and Yeomanry borrowed every available horse, 80-90 on average, from their friends, the Regular RFA at Chapelton Barracks, for riding drills in Roundhay Park. The Leeds Artillery got their heavy draught horses from Tetley's, Monkbridge Ironworks, Illingworth, Ingham and Co., Rishworth, Ingleby and Lofthouse, Clarence Ironworks, and Leeds Corporation, and their ammunition wagons from Hunslet Forge (of which their Colonel was principal) and S. Kirk and Sons (one of whose directors, William Whewell, was a retired Leeds Rifleman). The Leeds Engineers borrowed horses and drays from Tetley's. The Medical Volunteers borrowed horses for their ambulances from the Corporation Sanitary Department.²⁰⁶

Following the change-over from Garrison to Field Artillery, the Leeds Artillery found it had considerable problems:

"The difficulty of finding suitable horses for Field Artillery Batteries was made evident on Saturday, when the Leeds gunners were detained over an hour at Fenton Street whilst mews in the neighbourhood were scoured for mounts ... Being fine, horses of the type now required for the guns were in great request for

waggonettes, etc, and the emergency collection that eventually did duty sorely tested the soldiers' patience. It was with manifest reluctance that the horses could be prevailed upon to start, but the order to trot was flatly disobeyed by many, and the drivers had anything but a comfortable time of it."²⁰⁷

In view of such experiences, all too common, the Leeds Artillery decided to march all the way to the Annual Camp at Redcar, taking 8 days over the journey. By the time they reached their destination men and horses were working well together: "the men had the appearance and bearing of regulars, and were, in fact, taken as such by some of the regular instructors at camp."²⁰⁸ Mounted men in all arms received professional instruction in horse management, stable duties, harnessing, saddling, riding and driving; recruits with previous experience were naturally preferred. It was therefore of great advantage from the viewpoint of military efficiency to borrow horses locally so that the same animals could be used throughout the drill season and during annual training, year after year. Sir John Keir states that no good boarder scheme for the supply of the 100,000 trained and fit animals required on mobilisation existed.²⁰⁹ The Leeds Rifles' Transport Sections each required 2 carts and 11 horses at camp.²¹⁰ These were always hired locally, arrangements being in the extremely capable hands of Sgt Glover of the 8th Bn,²¹¹ a cab proprietor and experienced horse breaker and trainer.

By the summer of 1909 the Remount Department of the War Office had apparently made little or no progress in organising supplies of horses for Territorial training. The annual training of the West Riding horsed units was in consequence seriously interfered with. The animals supplied were clearly a scratch collection, hastily assembled, and were largely, if not entirely, untrained in military work: drums and bugles (used to transmit orders) frightened them, and most of them took a week to settle down and become accustomed to the strange sights and sounds. It was particularly unfortunate that the weather was wet and chilly, for bad weather puts a horse in an irritable temper which is not improved by having a cold saddle thrown on his back. Some horses are pullers, some hangers-back, some cannot work without blinkers; the mounted men were new to the vagaries of their charges and much time was wasted in selection. The Regular Army transport and artillery driver had ample time to select a horse, accustom it to its task and to select another which would work willingly with it, but his Territorial counterpart had not. The Artillery had the greatest problems: a gun-team had to be carefully selected and graded, the two heaviest for the shafts and the two lightest for the lead. Few of the horses had ever seen a gun or limber before and became restive, jibbing and fretting; sometimes a gun-team might even

stampede. The Leeds Artillery required 360 horses for the annual training. Between 75 and 80% of them were young and frisky and in order to make them more tractable they had to be exercised with gun carriages on the sands where the going was exceedingly heavy before the day's work could commence. Firing practice was delayed, even shortened considerably, because some guns were not properly horsed.²¹² It is difficult to understand why this highly unsatisfactory state of affairs was ever allowed to arise, and why trained horses were not borrowed from the Regular Army, since the Territorial camping season (1st May-30th September)²¹³ and Army manoeuvres (usually commencing 1st October) did not coincide. A certain number of horses were placed on the permanent establishment of TF horsed units the following year, but complaints continued to be voiced about the "poor and inadequate" supply of horses from the Remount ^{Department,} and the dearth of suitably trained animals for the annual trainings.²¹⁴ One War Office solution was to make contracts with the London omnibus companies for the supply of horses for Territorial manoeuvres, thereby causing a considerable number of drivers, conductors and stablemen to be laid off without wages for several weeks at a time.²¹⁵

During the last 12-15 years or so of the Volunteer period many corps had derived immense benefits from camping at Army camps and being brigaded for training with Regular troops. The Leeds Rifles undertook their first spell of training alongside Regulars in 1895 when they camped at Aldershot and won "golden opinions" from several high-ranking officers and special praise from HRH the Duke of Connaught, commanding the Aldershot Division.²¹⁶ (At the Leeds Rifles Jubilee dinner in 1909 Col Tannett-Walker claimed the Duke had once told him that he regarded the Leeds Rifles as the best Volunteer battalion in England.)²¹⁷ Although London Territorials appeared to carry out at least part of their training in association with Regulars - the City of London Division TF trained with Regulars in 1910²¹⁸ - the doctrine seems to have been largely abandoned in the Territorial area, a fact greatly deplored as a retrograde step by "The Scout":

"The new system of divisional camps is undoubtedly good training for staff and officers commanding, but the presence of one or two battalions of regulars in their midst would do most towards smartening the young Territorial. He would quickly learn what to do and how to do it by observation, make the most of his height when standing practically shoulder to shoulder with a linesman [i.e. a soldier of a Regiment of the Line], and whilst either on or off parade never allow himself to slacken or behave other than as a thorough soldier."

He later quoted in support of this argument the Military Correspondent of The Times who was pleading for the closer association of Regular and Territorials at manoeuvres.

"How can we expect Territorial units to improve by looking at each other's faults. It is good for Territorials to work with and against Regulars. Nothing sharpens them up better, nothing gives them more to think and talk about for the rest of the year."²¹⁹

Though "The Scout" and Col Repington appear to have found little support among the Army hierarchy of the time, today, when the TA is regarded as an integral part (amounting to some 30%) of British NATO defence forces, Territorials train with and take part in large-scale exercises alongside Regular troops.²²⁰ To have had the prewar Territorials undertake even part of their training with Regular troops would have immeasurably improved their efficiency, yet this opportunity was not taken. Cardwell had been aware of the benefits of training Volunteers with the Regulars and he had arranged joint manoeuvres in 1871, 1872 and 1873.²²¹

Despite the energy of individual COs like Col Stead, who tackled the training of the 7th Bn with remarkable zest and started the drill season in the 2nd week of February, a serious impediment to routine training during the greater part of the year was the fact that enthusiasm seemed to wax and wane in cycles. This is a problem that always confronts part-time forces: that of maintaining enthusiasm at a consistently high level. Many Territorials tended to turn out only when they felt like it. A greater degree of compulsion would have meant that proper training timetables and duty rosters could have been worked out; the Home Guard by common repute became much more efficient militarily after conscription had been applied to this force. Every unit, and the Leeds Rifles were no exception, tended to have a hard core of dedicated enthusiasts (like 1522 Jack E.T. Wilson of the 7th who attended 3 or 4 evenings a week and put in over 200 drills annually) amounting to about 20% of its establishment. It was said of the Leeds Engineers at the turn of the century: "About two hundred men attended parades throughout the season: the remainder merely qualified."²²² In 1909, 1911 and again in 1914, the Territorial correspondents of the News, Evening Post and Mercury were making general and specific complaints about "slackers" in various local units absenting themselves from drills and field exercises, or failing to put in a single appearance before June, often drawing invidious comparisons with Volunteer times in an attempt to shame the defaulters into activity.²²³ It is evident that the Territorial system itself was thought to be at least partly to blame for lukewarm enthusiasm:

"... the willing man does all the work, the slacker knows just when to put in an appearance and draw the same pay ... Apparently the day has passed when soldiering was considered a pastime. All drills and parades are now classed as work and treated accordingly,

hence the unsatisfactory musters. And as proof of the above I need only to refer to the parade of the 7th Battalion Leeds Rifles last Saturday. Here is a battalion which years ago turned out 600 or 700 strong Saturday after Saturday, marched to the Cardigan Fields or even Adel and returned to headquarters seldom before ten and often after eleven o'clock at night, that at the present time is taken by train to Crossgates, given refreshments after a brief drill in the park at Temple Newsam, brought back to Leeds by train, and yet could barely raise 200 of all ranks. The reason is not far to seek. The men have a certain number of drills to put in before the annual training. According to law laid down by the County Association, when refreshments are issued no marks are given for drills, and therefore it is a case of a pie and a pint versus a drill which counts for efficiency, and the latter wins. Certainly the weather was all against a large muster but had the four hours' parade counted two drills, the prospect of a wetting would not have kept so many away."

"The Scout" felt very strongly that the ranks of "The People's Army" were being filled with men "who would sell rather than give their services", "slackers" who "won't put in even one extra for anybody. I expect", he added in disgust, "it's too much like working for nothing ..."²²⁴ Unfortunately, middle-aged ex-Volunteers, of which "The Scout" was one, tended to adopt this viewpoint. Here is "Special Correspondent" of the Mercury on men who are seen at Carlton Barracks only in the summer quarter of the year:

"... many men say that the work of a new season commences too soon after the close of the old, and they intend to take a rest from it until the next drill season. In many cases, I am afraid, it is sheer indifference, as the 'rest' often extends so long that only just sufficient time is left to become efficient in drill. In this respect, and also in his zeal for finding recruits, the present-day citizen soldier compares very unfavourably with the Volunteer of old. Even social functions do not seem to have the same attraction as formerly, and it is often difficult to get a decent muster at these."

He went on to deplore the pitifully meagre attendances at physical culture classes held at Carlton Barracks despite the provision of free knickers and plimsolls and two instructors possessing the highest Army qualifications;²²⁵ such classes had certainly been over-subscribed in Volunteer days, but in 1909, in order to encourage attendance at the School of Arms, 3 attendances had to be allowed to count as one drill, up to a maximum of 5.²²⁶

The Volunteers, however, were by no means guiltless in this respect. In 1881 Col. Harding had publicly complained about the "9-drill men" in the corps who joined solely to become eligible for shooting competitions: although they maintained they could not find time to put in more drills than the minimum, they were nevertheless frequently to be seen practising on the range.²²⁷ In the Leeds Rifles Orders of April 1898 the CO drew the attention

of officers commanding companies to the number of men who had so far not attended a single drill: they totalled 98 out of a strength of 877, just over 11%. However, these appear to be isolated examples. Available evidence seems to substantiate, on balance, the oft-repeated claim that the Volunteer was more "dedicated" than his successor. The War Office called for a special return in respect of drills, exclusive of camp, performed in the year 1910-11; the Infantry average was: officers 18.19, other ranks 18.35,²²⁸ a figure that presumably included recruits. The average drill attendance in the Leeds Rifles, 1880-1902 was 29.34. Members of the winning section in the 1897-8 season had an average drill attendance of 84.20; the 4 best attenders in 1894-5 had attendances of 122, 100, 95, and 94; postwar Volunteer prize distribution programmes each annually listed several men having maximum possible attendances.²²⁹ An example of the "dedicated" ex-Volunteer was Col Sgt Spencer of Wakefield who, in 1911, had attended every camp in the previous 32 years and never missed a single parade over a period of 16 consecutive years. Another was Col Sgt Ernie Powell of the 7th who was so keen on musketry that he practised on his own private miniature range in his sand-bagged attic at home.²³⁰ A possible explanation of the greater enthusiasm and dedication of the Volunteer may lie in the fact that to the average Volunteer spare-time soldiering was a hobby, but to the average Territorial it was the only means he knew of qualifying for and obtaining a free holiday with pay.

The Territorial commanding officer was in no better position than his predecessors had been to compel or order attendance. Common phrases in Regimental Orders of the 1860s had been "a numerous and punctual attendance is earnestly requested", "a full attendance is particularly requested on Saturday next", and "every member is begged if possible to attend."²³¹ Like his predecessors, the Leeds Rifles CO could merely plead or cajole; he could arrange special drill sessions at lunchtimes or range practices on Friday or Saturday evenings to accommodate shift workers and shop assistants or others who worked on Saturday afternoons; he could offer some kind of inducement in the form of money prizes or medals for drill attendance. In 1893 two silver medals were awarded to the best attender at drill among trained men and recruits respectively, while small monthly prizes were given in 1898 and 1899, measures which achieved the desired results. Various ploys were tried to increase musters at Battalion parades, such as issuing Friends' tickets for popular social events like the Regimental Sports and the Lifeboat Tattoo only at these parades. These methods were copied in the Territorial era. 7th Bn Orders of April 1911 announced monthly prizes of 5/- for the Commander (sergeant) of the Section showing the best attendance at drill

and, in addition, a prize to be given at the end of the drill season to the Company judged best at drill. In order to get a good muster for the route march with bands on December 18th 1909, the 7th Bn Ladies' tickets for the Annual Regimental Ball were issued at this parade.²³² (In the late 1930s, in order to persuade men to put in more drills than the required minimum, the Government authorised additional payments for additional attendances.)²³³

The prewar Leeds Rifles' "cycle of enthusiasm" nevertheless appears, on balance, to have had more peaks or plateaux than troughs. One feature of Territorial training was the facility with which the Territorial absorbed and mastered the various components of his work. The members of the 8th Bn Signal Section, after only 9 months' instruction at the rate of 2 hours a week, passed the Government test, a level of efficiency generally attained by Regular signallers after 6 months' full-time training.²³⁴ The Territorial's "superior intelligence" as compared with the average Regular Army recruit was widely recognised:²³⁵ in the period 1907-1913 an average of less than 30% of army recruits had the educational attainments of Standard V of elementary schools (eleven-year-olds), or higher, while an average of 11% were illiterate.²³⁶ Available evidence suggests that at least 70% of the personnel of the Leeds Rifles in the same period possessed educational attainments of Standard V, or higher, while the number of illiterates were negligible; virtually all the respondents had passed Standard VII (or higher) and would have been classed by the Army as "men of good education", a category to which less than 6% of army recruits belonged.

RQMS Edgar Fendley, 2nd WYR, was asked to compare the 1909 7th Bn he had known with a Regular battalion, taking the minimum standard of the latter as being "good" in all departments. His ratings were as follows: Discipline - "Moderate"; Drill and general turnout - "Fair"; Musketry - "Fair"; Enthusiasm - "Good"; Morale and esprit de corps - "Good". Lt J.B. Gawthorpe, who had been in the 8th Bn since March 1909, rated it in August 1914 as "definitely not equal to the task of fighting in a major war." He expressed the gravest doubt whether any TF unit at the time was sufficiently trained to be able to take the field without incurring heavy losses and cited the example of probably the most efficient TF battalion of the time, the London Scottish. In his judgement, the 1/8th by April 1915 was "not very far" below the standard of a 1914 foreign service Regular battalion. He rated its discipline as "excellent, of a high order" and its morale and esprit de corps as "wonderful" and "superior to anything I ever encountered in my subsequent

Regular Army experience." He considered it then needed only a few weeks' "battle experience" in the form of front-line trench duty to complete its military education. Its education completed, he seriously doubted whether the 1/8th had its equal outside the 49th Division for, personally, he had "never served in a Regular unit to touch them." Only in weaponry, and hence in the standard of musketry, was it below the highest Regular standards.²³⁷

It must therefore be said that 4 years of part-time soldiering emphatically did not train the Territorial to the standard of a Regular soldier, and particularly was this true of the infantry at which the greater bulk of the criticism of the Territorials' level of training was, or should have been, directed. The several respondents who served in the Rifles before joining the Regulars were agreed that up to 6 months' full-time training, comprising company and battalion drill, physical drill, musketry practice and fire discipline, endurance training and field training, was required to bring the battalions up to the standard of a fully trained Regular battalion judged fit to proceed on foreign service. The Leeds Rifles can be regarded as two typical infantry battalions in a typical, though perhaps somewhat above-average, Territorial division, yet they were mere shadows of their immediate Volunteer predecessors. This can only be attributed to the much lower average drill attendance of the Territorials, as compared with their predecessors. The statutory minimum number of drills for infantry had, quite simply, been set at too low a figure to ensure that the individual Territorial received a reasonable amount of practical training in the field. It was, however, impracticable and inexpedient to increase training requirements substantially for the infantry or, indeed, other arms. Proposals put forward by the War Office in 1900 for war-emergency camps of 1 month for infantry and 3 months for artillery Volunteers met severe opposition from employers and had to be reduced to 15 days.²³⁸ The only feasible area of increase was the imposition of an additional number of drills to be performed exclusively during the close season. In 1906 Brig-Gen A.J.A. Wright had proposed a scheme of winter (November-February) training which aimed at increasing the average drill attendance of all West Riding infantry Volunteers to an absolute minimum of 35. He suggested that all NCOs and men should attend one hour's squad or arms drill weekly and, in addition, a monthly route march of not less than 6 miles, progressively increasing to 12 miles. If this scheme was followed, he said, it would mean that during the drill season all ranks would then be able to devote exclusive attention to Company or Battalion exercises in the field: the statutory 10 drills for trained men could be entirely devoted to War Exercises such as skirmishing, the attack

and defence of positions, and defence of convoys.²³⁹

The artillery and other non-infantry arms had made extraordinary progress and their efficiency was undoubtedly superior to that of the old Volunteer Force, but the question whether the Territorial infantry, with its exiguous training, was even marginally more efficient than its Volunteer predecessor must be left open. It may reasonably be concluded that, although Territorial training was inadequate in the sense that it was incapable of producing on demand a viable military force, combat-ready and available for active service abroad, it had realised the ideal envisaged by the 1907 White Paper. It had provided a firm and solid foundation on which an invaluable efficient fighting force could be built up in a comparatively short space of time, i.e. less than 6 months of full-time training. The personnel were keen and intelligent and of a higher educational standard than those of the Regular Army, factors which would tend to shorten the training period in any case. These were, broadly, the conclusions expressed by General Sir John French in April 1912.²⁴⁰ The degree of training needed to make the TF fit to take the field, as the conscriptionists had always maintained, could not be given in peacetime under the voluntary system existing.

It was not until the spring of 1914 that MPs began to become alarmed about the level of training in the TF which was, in truth, "gravely deficient and imperfect" for a force that in the near future would have to be embodied for service. Sir Mark Sykes, yet again attempting to startle his uninterested fellow Members out of their ostrich-like complacency, pointed out that 75,000 Continental troops had put in more camp days between them than a million and a half Territorials "of the most efficient kind" and that a Territorial "would have to serve for 71 years to equal the number of camp days of a Continental" soldier.²⁴¹ Few MPs had bothered to comment in 1907 on Haldane's scheme for 6 months' training after embodiment, though it was attacked outside Parliament by Volunteers,²⁴² by the press and by conscriptionists. The implications of this scheme came under attack in the House for the first time in March 1914.²⁴³

Territorial training, in addition to providing instruction in every aspect of the soldier's work, including the use of weapons, aimed at inculcating a "satisfactory" standard of both discipline and esprit de corps. These key factors in military effectiveness are discussed in detail in the two final chapters (Chapters 13 and 14). Suffice it to say here, for the moment, that the methods used in the Regular Army to inculcate discipline and esprit de corps could not be employed in a peacetime, part-time civilian force,

and that the character of both extant in the prewar Leeds Rifles was very largely inherited from their Volunteer predecessors.

Discipline and its administration up to 1914. The citizen soldiers had adopted their own particular style of discipline from the first. From 1863 to 1871 Volunteers had been subject to the Mutiny Act only when on actual military service, and from 1871 on all occasions when operating with militia or Regular troops. At other times discipline was left to the discretion of individual commanding officers. The ideal was to secure a ready and willing obedience from the rank and file. Volunteer discipline, which was discipline held together by mutual consent, depended almost entirely on the social authority of the officers and, to a certain extent, of the NCOs and it understandably worked best when the structure of authority within the corps reflected that in society at large. As we have already seen in Chap. 1, in the Leeds Rifles the officer class was deliberately kept socially exclusive, whilst the senior NCOs tended to be clerks, tradesmen, supervisors and members of the labour elite, men who naturally commanded respect. The corps itself, over virtually the whole of the Volunteer period, was highly selective and the rule whereby the two members required to propose and second a new recruit were made "responsible for his good conduct" had the desired effect of preventing "any entering the ranks who were not disposed to do their duty and to learn their drill."²⁴⁴ The "corps of gentlemen" from the earliest days took considerable pride in upholding the very highest standards of public behaviour and devotion to duty: the commanding officer repeatedly reported at Annual Prize Distributions that "not a single case of insubordination by any member of the corps had been brought before his notice during the past year."²⁴⁵ Although these standards could be, and were, maintained where necessary by a ruthless policy of striking off all those who appeared in any way unwilling to conform to the corps' disciplinary code, dismissal for neglect, misconduct or disobedience being allowed by a provision of the 1863 Volunteer Act, the Colonel tended to rely on exhortation or encouragement. The following paragraph, from 'Orders and Instructions for Camp, 21 July 1904' is typical:

"The Discipline of the Battalion is at all times sufficient to ensure a ready obedience to orders; the commanding officer therefore feels that it is merely necessary to remind the Battalion that he is sure that the same excellent standard will be maintained."

The most serious "crimes" in Volunteer times were non-efficiency (which damaged the corps' finances) and insubordination. In the Leeds Rifles the latter was punished by summary dismissal, and absence without leave from camp was similarly punished.²⁴⁶ Both crimes were extremely rare. From 1864

non-efficient were fined or taken to court to have the fine enforced²⁴⁷ and from 1868 were also automatically struck off the strength unless extenuating circumstances were present. This procedure served the double purpose of "encouraging the others" and recovering from the Volunteer concerned the amount of the capitation grant forfeited. It also produced, as is shown in Table 5, Appendix II, a corps that was above average for the VF in both numbers and efficiency. In the 18 years from 1869 to 1887 the corps had a total of only 3 non-efficient and these were chaplains.

According to the Territorial Regulations which came into force in 1908, a CO was empowered to deal with any offence against the Army Act which was cognisable by a court martial and proceedings against an offender could be instituted before either a court martial or a civil court. The CO's powers were limited to summary dismissal for insubordination or misconduct. He was allowed to discharge a private whose conduct was "unsatisfactory", i.e. whose retention in the TF was thought undesirable; a recruit who was "not likely to become an effective soldier"; men who had proved themselves unsuitable for the duties of their corps or inefficient in their rank; and men whose services were "no longer required". In the 7th Bn during the period 1930-7, 2 men were summarily dismissed, 2 discharged for "unsatisfactory conduct", 9 as "not being likely to become an efficient soldier", and 56, their "services no longer required."²⁴⁸

A Territorial who was non-efficient in drill or who absented himself from the Annual Training without leave could be fined, proceeded against in a civil court, dismissed, or struck off. It was the worst cases that tended to be brought before magistrates. The maximum punishment for refusing to obey a lawful command was 3 months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, and/or a £20 fine: a farrier in the 5th London Bde RFA was sentenced to one month's hard labour, a private in the 8th LF (Salford) fined 5/- and costs, whilst a lance-corporal in Stafford was fined 40/- and costs for using obscene and threatening language to a superior on parade. For failing to attend camp 4 men of the 8th Leeds Rifles in 1910 were summoned before the magistrates: one was ordered to pay costs, the other three were each fined £1 and costs.²⁴⁹

West Riding COs took a hard line on gambling and drunkenness. At the 1913 Camp some men in the 7th DWR were found in possession of a complete gambling outfit "such as is carried by racecourse sharps" and were instantly dismissed.²⁵⁰ On the first pay-night of the 1912 Annual Training, a handful of teenagers from the 7th and 8th Bns, waiting on the platform at Filey station for an overdue train back to Hunmanby, became involved in a drunken brawl with some teenagers from the 6th Bn. They were arrested for fighting

and being drunk and disorderly. One man from each battalion was sentenced by court martial to 5 days' detention in York [Castle] Military Prison, followed by dismissal with ignominy (i.e. "drummed out"). Teenagers from all three battalions were reported to be lying "ill from drink" "in heaps" on the platform, and one 17-year-old recruit was later found totally insensible and had to be rushed to hospital suffering from alcoholic poisoning: he was discovered to have drunk 17 whiskies in a local public house during the evening.²⁵¹ All those who had returned to camp drunk that night, apart from those arrested for fighting, were said by respondents to have been taken the next day before their CO and handed their discharge.

Concern was voiced in 1910 about the increase in the number of disciplinary cases occurring in the TF.²⁵² This may have been only another facet of the "abusive campaign of depreciation" and the "constant stream of criticism"²⁵³ that was being directed against the Force that year. Nevertheless, statistics later presented in the Annual Return for the year 1909-10 appeared to indicate that an increasing number of "unsuitable" recruits were being admitted: the number struck off for misconduct (1318) showed an increase of 57% over the previous year, and the number struck off as deserters or absentees (1639) an increase of 122%. The Annual Return for 1911-12 showed that 2270 men had been struck off as deserters or absentees that year; this represented 0.89% of the previous year's strength.²⁵⁴ The War Office, too, became concerned as the TF's manpower problems mounted. Statistics relating to strength and efficiency issued in 1913 included a section on "punishments of absentees without leave."²⁵⁵

The so-called "mutiny" of the 8th Bn at the Ramsey IoM Camp in 1910²⁵⁶ which caused such a sensation in a popular press already happily enlivening "the silly season" with a feverish hue and cry after the fugitive Dr Crippen was "the product of extraordinary circumstances". The week before Camp started Lt Col Rowe, the CO, had died suddenly and been buried with full military honours. The Camp weather was abominable; there was not a single fine day during the entire fortnight, and on two of the days severe gales and torrential rain did considerable damage to the Leeds lines. The camp was turned into a quagmire, beds got wet and there was no provision for drying clothes and blankets. One of the "mutineers", Boy Ernest Foster, then only 16 years of age, described his state of mind: "We all felt thoroughly fed up. Every night we came back worn out and wet through, and every night we came home to a flooded tent with nowhere to dry our wet clothes. It was grim. Everything seemed pointless." On the Wednesday of the second week, a hot and mainly dry day, a Brigade Day was held. Owing to a mistake in signalling orders, the

left-half of the 8th Bn, which largely comprised teenagers, many of them raw recruits, had been marched, carrying about 80 lbs FMO, 23 miles in the wrong direction. They arrived back exhausted at 4 p.m., having missed dinner, and the makeshift meal they were given was poor. During the night heavy thundery rain kept many of the tired men awake. A 24-hour Brigade manoeuvre to include a night bivouac was planned to commence the following day straight after dinner. Despite the "exceptional hardships of their unaccustomed camp life", the men had hitherto borne the trying conditions with a commendable stoicism, but shortly after the battalion set out up the mountain-side a cloudburst, accompanied by strong winds, occurred. The men were quickly drenched to the skin and the unmetalled cart-tracks became veritable bogs through which the heavily laden, "dispirited men wearily plodded their way." After about two hours, during which time the deluge continued unabated, numbers of men began to fall out. Some, all belonging to the left-half of the battalion, flatly refused to go any further and were said to have given their officers "old buck". "Some 30" men were escorted by the 5th Bn back to camp where three of them became so unruly they were put under close arrest in the guard tent. The remainder were put in a marquee under guard, and all of them were charged with insubordination. There was no court-martial. Six "older men", four of whom had been brought up before the CO for insubordination only a few days earlier, were judged by Major (Acting Lt/Col) Hepworth to have been guilty both of insubordination and of inciting the remainder to fall out without permission. They were summarily dismissed, on the grounds that they had not shown "the proper military spirit" and had not set the example to younger men that they should have done. The remaining men, all teenage recruits, were brought before the CO and severely lectured. All had been examined by the RMO. "One or two cases" were found to have been "incapacitated" by physical exhaustion, or raw and bleeding feet. The rest were sentenced to be confined to camp for the remainder of the training period and one of them was discharged "as not likely to become an efficient soldier."

Major Hepworth, the officers and RSM Farrar protested about the "scandalous" newspaper coverage of the incident. The term "mutiny" had been a gross exaggeration, they said: although falling out without permission was in itself an act of insubordination, there had never been any spirit of defiance in the battalion, nothing that could have been called mutiny or rebellion. Had there been a mutiny, in fact, a Divisional Court of Inquiry or even a Divisional Court Martial would have been held, they claimed. The Regular Brigade Major told the Times reporter that without the incitement of ring-leaders there would have been no serious trouble. The War Office was dis-

pleased. While admitting that the CO had exercised his powers "very discreetly" in dealing with the men, it heavily pointed out that the Territorial in training was under military law and warned Territorials at large that both the attitude of Major Hepworth to the incident and his subsequent action "cannot be taken as precedent". Only the pro-Territorial Leeds Mercury was left to demand that "the question to be resolved in connection with the Isle of Man incident is whether or not the men were pressed beyond a degree which reason and commonsense justified." The disciplinary action taken by Major Hepworth, however much it was deplored by the War Office, had been entirely consistent with that of the leader of a "normative organisation" (for an explanation of this term, see Chap. 13, section 13.5).

Esprit de corps. Esprit de corps before the war had been surprisingly high. As already noted above, RQMS Fendley rated the level of morale and esprit de corps of the 7th Bn in 1909 as being equal to that of a contemporary Regular battalion. Part of the reason can be attributed to the Regiment's official standing as a rifle regiment whose full dress uniform was quite different from any other unit in the West Riding Division.

The process by which the Leeds Rifles had achieved official recognition as a rifle regiment had taken many years, and several factors had been involved. The original uniform of 1860, one chosen by the Lord Lieutenant, was dark grey with black braidings and facings. A uniform lasted about 7 or 8 years, and the second set purchased was French grey and the third dark grey. The Army List of December 1876 shows that the Leeds corps was one of the very few left in the county still wearing grey: Bradford, for instance, was wearing scarlet with dark green facings, and Halifax scarlet with blue facings. The reasons why Leeds had not changed were entirely pragmatic: the cost of the cloth and its serviceability. Scarlet was the most expensive serge; grey was the cheapest and also wore better and kept cleaner appreciably longer in the heavily polluted atmosphere of Leeds.²⁵⁷ The third set conformed exactly, except for colour, to the regulation pattern of the Rifle Brigade, a fact which seems to have gone unnoticed by the Army. The Leeds Rifles' long-standing "love affair" with the Rifle Brigade may have existed before 1873 when letters were sent to various London military outfitters asking for pattern samples and invoice prices of articles of officer's and private's dress "same as worn in the Rifle Brigade."²⁵⁸ In 1877 the CO wrote to the Under Secretary asking if the colour of the uniform could be changed to Rifle Green, "the same as worn by the Rifle Brigade, as scarlet would not answer in a smoky town like this." The reply was an emphatic no; the only change the War Office was prepared to sanction would be one to scarlet.²⁵⁹

The corps was run on democratic lines. In 1878 a special meeting was convened to consider the question of retaining the present uniform or adopting a scarlet one. A resolution to retain the dark grey was carried unanimously amid loud applause. Although by the following year the uniforms were shabby and threadbare, the placing of a new order was delayed because it was expected that the Bury Committee would recommend that the Government make provision for the re-clothing of the Volunteers. This expectation was not realised and the corps was obliged to cancel camp in order to purchase new uniforms, this time in very dark grey, almost black.²⁶⁰ In 1880 the corps head-dress was changed to the new green Light Infantry helmet; its colour was changed in 1886 to black,²⁶¹ as was worn in the Rifle Brigade at this period.

In 1887 Col Wilson eventually agreed that the corps should become the 3rd VB West Yorkshire Regiment on condition that a complete change of outfit would not be "immediately or remotely involved" in the alteration of title, giving as his reason the cost such a change would involve. He continued to draw official attention to the corps' serious objections to the question of a uniform change, emphasising the current state of the corps' finances and the enormous expense it would entail. Around this time he objected to an Order from GOC Northern District that all Volunteers armed with the Long Rifle should be instructed in its drill:

"This Regiment ... is essentially a Rifle regiment, clothed like the Rifle Brigade, and the men have always been accustomed to the drill applied to Rifle Regt^s; having regard to the fact that we have many young men in the ranks some of whom joined before they had finished growing and many of whom have not obtained their full strength, it is a matter of serious consideration how far they would be able to attain proficiency in the long rifle drill, involving marching with fixed bayonets and marching past at the shoulder."

This brought forth an outraged letter from the OC 14th RD demanding to know under what authority the battalion was drilled as a Rifle Regiment. Col Wilson sweetly replied that all regulations had been strictly complied with, that the corps had been instructed according to the Official Manual Exercise for the Rifle and Carbine, and that it had been always drilled as a Rifle Regiment.²⁶² The hallowed "custom and tradition of the Service" argument was unanswerable, and there the matter of rifle drill appears to have rested.

No one in authority apparently noticed that the regiment was now "clothed like the Rifle Brigade", a change that had probably taken place in 1886 when new uniforms would be required and when the black helmet was adopted. No Inspecting Officers had apparently submitted a report on the Regiment's uniform in 1887, 1888, 1889 or 1890, and the Army List continued to describe

it in former terms. Maj Gen Daniell commanding the Northern District had himself in 1887 presented the prizes at the corps Annual Prize Distribution²⁶³ which all ranks attended dressed in full review order. Accordingly Wilson felt confident enough by 1st May 1891 to apply, in a somewhat casual fashion, to the OC 14th RD for sanction by HRH the Commander-in-Chief that

"the dress of the Regt. be hereafter green, facings black, instead of grey, facings grey, as it is now officially described. This change," he went on airily, "took place in the Regiment some years before I was appointed to command the Regt., and therefore no extra expense will be entailed if the change is authorised by HRH the C in Chief. I may add that the original colour was found very un-serviceable, changing colour from exposure to weather. It was made specially for the Regt., and it was found impossible to obtain two pieces of cloth exactly the same shade of grey."²⁶⁴

Reaction from the Horse Guards was predictable. The Duke of Cambridge was furious, but found himself helpless to take effective action against the Regiment. Wilson's tactics had been masterly. He knew that the staffs at both the 14th RD and the Northern District offices changed constantly and he was only too aware of their low standard of administrative efficiency. His letter of 1st May contained a bare-faced lie, one that moreover implied he knew nothing of the changeover, but he was relying on the fact that his word as a gentleman would not be challenged. Finally, if all else failed, he held in his hand the Volunteer Colonel's trump card when dealing with the Horse Guards: that the Volunteers were, in practice, the property not of the state, but of their commanding officers. As the Times explained in 1907:

"Owing to the manner in which the force was allowed to grow up and the total absence of all organisation higher than the corps for so many years, the commanding officer became master and owner of his corps. Arms and a limited supply of ammunition are supplied by Government, but the commanding officer is responsible for the administration of all moneys which his unit earns, and the whole of the property belonging to the corps is vested in him ... By allowing the officer commanding to pay the piper, the State allows him to call the tune. If a commanding officer is given an order he may allege that his funds do not permit him to carry it out, or that if he does his men will leave."²⁶⁵

He had very cleverly presented the Duke with a fait accompli that was in actuality irreversible, since the C-in-C could not very well order the corps to change the uniform and accoutrements and so involve it in an expense of anything up to £6,000, then a huge sum.

At the end of June the OC 14th RD received the following on the subject of the uniform of the 3rd VB West Yorkshire Regiment: "His Royal Highness has no alternative under the circumstances but to sanction the alterations. HR Highness however is compelled to observe that there has been great neglect

of duty on the part of some one unknown in permitting this breach of orders to continue for so long a time unnoticed." The July Army List appeared with the Leeds Rifles entry amended, and the Duke could do no more than insist on the full dress helmet being changed to the Rifle Brigade busby and on the Regiment wearing the correct Rifle Brigade dress in every other respect.²⁶⁶ The Leeds Rifles adopted the Rifle Brigade cap badge, with modifications to title and omitting the battle honours, for the Other Ranks, but as a sop to the feelings of the West Yorkshire Regiment, the officers adopted collar badges and buttons bearing the Prince of Wales plumes, and its regimental motto, Nec aspera terrent, was taken as the Regiment's own.

Thus, by what amounted to a confidence trick, the Leeds Rifles achieved their long-cherished ambition to become officially recognised as a Rifle regiment unofficially affiliated to the Rifle Brigade. They had won their struggle against the "incomers", the West Yorkshire Regiment, and got away with the deliberate flouting of official orders to join this Regiment to which they had belonged never more than in name only. For very many years, for instance, they had marched to the Rifle Brigade marches "The Huntsmen's Chorus" and "The Old Ninety-Five", then in 1897 a set-back occurred when the Rifle Brigade complained that the Regiment was breaching its copyright by playing the latter march.²⁶⁷ The band instead played "Ça Ira" and "God Bless the Prince of Wales", the two marches of the West Yorkshire Regiment.

From early Volunteer days the overwhelming dominance of recruiting by social inheritance had produced a remarkably high level of esprit de corps that was often commented on by Inspecting Officers at camp,²⁶⁸ and, basking in the "corps of gentlemen" self-image, in the corps' locally-acknowledged high social status, and in the encomiums of generals, all ranks feeling it was a high honour and privilege to belong to the Leeds Rifles, the men had become convinced they were aristocrats among Rifle Volunteers, members of an elite, or "crack", Volunteer regiment.

In the prewar Territorial period esprit de corps had been engendered and maintained by continuing to use traditional recruiting methods - enlisting men previously known to each other - by organising the companies of the new battalion on the traditional geographical and friendship bases²⁶⁹ (even in September 1914 recruits were still being asked which company they preferred to join),²⁷⁰ and by organising both sports and training on company lines. Concerts and a wide range of other social activities held at the barracks and the Annual Camp also promoted esprit de corps.²⁷¹ Many life-long friendships were said to result from the close companionship of a 15 days' camp.²⁷²

Retired members demonstrated their esprit de corps by attending or visiting camp or attending public parades in uniform, often in appreciable numbers.²⁷³ (In more recent times they have worn specially designed regimental ties and blazer badges.) The formation of the Retired Sergeants' Association, the Old Comrades' Association, the Leeds Rifles Benevolent Fund and Old Comrades' Reunions were, and are, manifestations of esprit de corps. On the outbreak of war in 1914 old members demonstrated their esprit de corps by returning when the Regiment needed them. For example, Arthur Fitzackerley, Sgt boot-maker, who went out aged 49 with the 1/7th, had joined in 1884; Sgt Master Tailor Harry Altman, who had retired in 1903 after 27 years' service, was retained at the Regimental Depot at Carlton Barracks because he was over 61 years old. Many retired and serving members displayed a syndrome, widely recognised by relatives and neighbours, known as being "Leeds Rifles mad". The mother of 1522 Jack Wilson, 7th, had repeatedly grumbled, "I don't know why you don't take your bed to that barracks."²⁷⁴

Three additional methods of promoting esprit de corps were introduced in the prewar Territorial period. First, an enamelled lapel badge (the designs of the 7th and 8th were different) was issued to every NCO and Rifleman of the Regiment to wear when in plain clothes. The January 1910 Orders of the 8th Bn expressed the hope of the Commanding Officer that "all NCOs and Rifle-men will take a pride in wearing the Badge on all occasions when in plain clothes." No man in plain clothes was served in the Canteen unless he was wearing his lapel badge. Second, a group system was operated in the 8th from 1913. The 1914 8th Bn Yearbook explains it thus: "The system of dividing a Company into groups of eight men, and which had proved to be successful, will be adhered to in future. The groups will, whenever practicable, stand together on parade and share the same tents, railway carriages, etc."²⁷⁵ The third, and most important, was the great rivalry that sprang up between the two battalions. Every kind of competition was keenly contested and added zest to training. The 7th was the senior battalion and as 1986 Bugler Thomas O'Brien explained: "We had to keep the 8th in their places, you know. We only let them have a bit of Carlton Barracks and we always had to beat them at football to stop them getting uppity. That was why we wouldn't let them wear busbies like us." 1712 L/Sgt John W. Sanderson, who served in the 7th for 5 years before the war, explained, perhaps only half-jokingly, that the 8th was issued with ordinary service pattern caps "to stop them getting swelled heads."²⁷⁶ This intense rivalry continued throughout the war and well beyond. Retired Rifleman B. Thompson, father of a 1/7th Bn Signaller, wrote to the Editor of the Leeds Mercury in 1915: "The 7th don't like to

be behind the 8th in anything. It is a very sore point with the 7th that the 8th were the first to capture two prisoners. The 8th have no doubt got a real poet,²⁷⁷ but the 7th won't be long in whacking them - as usual."²⁷⁸

7.9 Friends and Critics

Born into an atmosphere of renewed great public anxiety about Britain's defence capability and controversy about conscription, with the result that it was never far from the centre of debate, sponsored by a Government and political party who had neither enthusiasm for it nor even apparent interest in it, over-publicised by the newspapers and popular magazines, who denied comparable coverage to the Regular Army and virtually ignored the Special Reserve, permanently in the public eye, the Territorial Force was inevitably subjected to a great deal of criticism, much of it uninformed and ill-founded, that was destructive, unreasonable and undeserved, some ill-natured, malicious and intentionally mischievous. As a result of over-exposure in the news media, the TF became the victim of exaggerated expectations. Far too much was expected of the Force from the beginning and the hysterical adulation of its formative period²⁷⁹ turned all too quickly to hypercriticism and hostility when it inevitably failed to fulfil the impossibly high hopes that had been claimed for it. As the Territorials had become public property, anyone and everyone felt entitled and qualified to criticise them, irrespective of whether they possessed any actual knowledge of military matters. The Territorials thus became obvious and convenient whipping boys for the fears, worries and frustrations of press, public, politicians of all shades and in particular of those with axes to grind and political capital to make. The noisiest criticism came from those with a vested interest in the abolition of the Territorial Force, the advocates of conscription, whose parrot-cries were that the TF was "lamentably short in officers and men, deficient in training, in discipline, and mobility",²⁸⁰ and, as the last hope of the voluntary system, had failed.

Like the Volunteers, the Territorials had friends and champions, both at the local level (like "The Scout" and "Non.-Com." in Leeds) and at the national level (like Col C. àC. Repington of The Times), ever-ready to offer sympathetic and constructive criticism, and influential members, some of them serving or prospective Members of Parliament, who were willing to go on to public platforms or into print to say what they thought was wrong with the Force and suggest remedial measures. A notable Territorial advocate was Lt Col Sir Mark Sykes, CO of the 5th Yorkshire Regt (TF), who entered

Parliament in 1911. He was an outstanding example of what an energetic, young, wealthy, influential employer and landowner could do for the Movement. He had served throughout the 2nd Boer War as a captain of Militia. Before succeeding to the title, he had raised a detachment for the 5th Bn from the estate employees and he had also trained many of the farm workers and cart-drivers on the estate in military methods of riding, driving and horse-management, finally obtaining for them official War Office recognition as paid members of the "Yorkshire Waggon Drivers' Special Reserve"; he also horsed the Regimental Transport.²⁸¹

The Yorkshire Post published a series of three articles by him in August 1910. The second article discussed the defects of the TF at some length: it was seriously, if not vitally, deficient in numbers; a large proportion of its members were of poor physique and medically unfit for active service; the men were not provided with many essential items of clothing and equipment; they were under-trained, particularly in musketry and horse management. Discipline was poor:

"... an imitation of Regular discipline is a vain ritual, and unhappily at present discipline in the Territorial Force is generally a pretence and not a reality ... Officers are continually dreading lest they disgust their men with distasteful work, non-commissioned officers dislike to assert their transient authority; the men are ever encouraged to look upon their work as a holiday ... As a consequence, there is a general lack of cohesion and confidence which causes the average Territorial unit to be at once as immobile and inflexible as a bad Regular unit, yet as apt to dissolve and straggle as a Bedouin raiding party. Lack of discipline means discomfort in itself, but to the uneasiness arising from disorder, the Territorial soldier has also to add the added inconvenience of inexperience. Officers and non-commissioned officers do not know how to look after the men, and the men do not know how to look after themselves. As a result, foolish indulgence in pastry and unwholesome foods, unsuitable boots, badly fitting equipment, uncomfortable clothes, and general unhandiness and incapacity to settle down, are responsible in camp for more pains 'than wars or women have'. Sore throats, sore feet, chafed thighs, colic, vomiting, cold, ill-served meals, dirtied bread, wasted rations, spoiled equipment, unshaven faces, want of sleep, wet blankets, and muddy tent floors, are among the petty ills which scarcely afflict the Regular soldier or the irregular bushwacker, but which descend with crushing force on the devoted body and interior economy of the citizen Territorial."

Regarding clothing and equipment, he particularly condemned the Government's failure to issue the thick flannel Army shirt. "Were it mobilised during the cold season and called upon to face the enemy within two months" he predicted the TF would be slaughtered, being beaten before it began fighting, its transport broken down, its cavalry "incoherent", its artillery "immobile", its infantry "dejected by innumerable discomforts, paralysed by want of confidence, and shaken by the inevitable series of hitches and mishaps which must need arise the moment they take the field."²⁸²

His third article posed the question: "What can be done to make the TF efficient without compulsion?" He supplied six solutions: (1) all privates, and lance-corporals not in receipt of separation allowances, to receive a £1 bounty to compensate them for loss of earnings, provided they remained in camp for 15 days; (2) discipline to be improved by making deductions from this bounty, if necessary; (3) "haphazard" recruiting, whereby specialists at one trade were allowed to "play at" being specialists in another, to be discouraged; (4) a systematic organisation for recruiting (a "National Recruiting League"), to include an Employers' Union composed of those pledged to allow a percentage of their employees to join the TF, to be set up; (5) socks, shirts and boots to be issued; (6) a Territorial overlord - "a master hand" - to be appointed²⁸³ (unnamed, but obviously Kitchener).

Like many a stern critic from within (and many a prospective Parliamentary candidate), Mark Sykes very much tended to over-state his case, and, like many a former Army officer, was inclined to judge Territorials by Regular standards and accordingly make insufficient allowance for the fact that they were essentially civilians.

Professional French and German military critics were allowed to attend Territorial camps and manoeuvres. In 1909 one Frenchman condemned the TF as being of little value as a fighting factor; another, while praising the Territorials for being exceptionally keen and imbued with an excellent spirit, saw them as being manifestly unskilful and insufficiently trained. In 1910 one German officer was surprised at the vast improvement that had taken place over the past twelve months and considered that the Territorials were now "a force indeed to be reckoned with", while another dismissed the majority of Territorial units he had seen as "mere cadet corps, or no better than the ordinary run of Boys' Brigades", and roundly declared that with their narrow chests, physical immaturity and evident lack of physical fitness, quite apart from their ignorance of drill and discipline, "it would be nothing short of murder on a large scale to put such men into the field against an army trained on Continental lines." French critics stated candidly that, though much of the material was good, the Force was so small and unprepared that it would be "of little use to assist them in a war." Col Gädke, a "well known German military critic", writing in the Berliner Tageblatt in 1910 on recent TF manoeuvres, criticised the "poor" marching of the infantry who dropped out "too easily" and the insufficiently trained NCOs; declaring the infantry to be "not yet ripe to meet a Continental opponent", he was nevertheless quite impressed by the Artillery, despite their "poor" horses, and he was astounded by the high quality of the specialised arms, particularly Engineers and cyclists. Though he naturally found much to criticise, on the whole he

was agreeably surprised: "It is an army in the making, and if it receives support in the process it will shortly become a very considerable army."²⁸⁴

Domestic critics, however, were seldom as fair-minded or as temperate in their language. Hysterical emotionalism too often coloured allegations about the TF's shortcomings. Professional and lay critics invariably let their hearts and not their heads dictate their judgements, and commonsense was often conspicuously lacking.

Criticisms chiefly concerned the general standard of training, the training of NCOs and officers, standards of musketry, the physique and immaturity of other ranks, the class of recruit attracted, discipline, and absence from camp. Complaints about Territorials being "fair weather soldiers" and being willing to attend only seaside camps can be classed as taunts of a somewhat irresponsible nature. Critics who complained of "inadequate" training usually meant that they considered the TF unfit to take the field. Although this was perfectly true, they completely overlooked, usually deliberately, the fact that peacetime training was intended to be in the nature only of a foundation course. Allegations that NCOs received no more training than the men under their command were completely untrue: all NCOs above the rank of lance-corporal were required to be in possession of the Proficiency Certificate.²⁸⁵ The level of training that could be attained by both NCOs and officers was totally inadequate by Army standards, as the Territorials themselves were the first to admit,²⁸⁶ but, although this criticism was entirely valid, to complain was unreasonable, since neither category of men could afford the expense and time involved in the attendance at long full-time courses of training without seriously endangering job or business, a fact which fair-minded critics, like F.M. Lord Methuen, alas in a tiny minority, accepted. The unsatisfactory standard of musketry was due almost entirely to circumstances beyond the control of the Territorials themselves, but complainants evidently automatically rejected explanations offered by the Secretary or Under-Secretary of State. A radical defect in the Territorial scheme in relation to infantry, but one that was neglected by critics, was the fact that it was completely impossible to develop battle, or fire, discipline in the short period of the annual training. Young recruits in particular easily got carried away with the excitement of a sham fight. A minimum of 4 months' full-time training was considered necessary to develop battle discipline.²⁸⁷

Complaints about the physique of recruits were commonplace, probably because many corps lowered their standard when they converted from Volunteers

to Territorials: the Leeds Rifles lowered their minimum height requirement from 5'6" to 5'4", the then standard of the Regular battalions of the West Yorkshire Regt. At the time of its formation in 1908 E Coy of the 8th, raised in Hunslet, suffered very adverse criticism on account of the comparatively short stature of its members,²⁸⁸ nearly all of whom were only 17 years of age, some 16-year-olds masquerading as a year older.²⁸⁹ Many critics liked to describe the TF as "a lot of weedy youngsters" or "only boys with just a sprinkling of men",²⁹⁰ forgetting that youth was something that would all too soon be remedied and that the TF was recruiting lower down the socio-economic scale than the Volunteers and attracting recruits who were perhaps not as well-nourished and as physically well-developed as formerly. The question of immaturity, however, did have a most serious aspect: in the event of embodiment, all "immatures", those under 19 years and those below certain physical standards, would have to be struck off the strength of an active service battalion and put back for further training. It was, therefore, highly undesirable from a military point of view for a unit, let alone a division's 3 brigades of infantry like those of the West Riding Division, to have a large proportion of 17- and 18-year-olds, particularly those who had been admitted at or very close to the entry standards.²⁹¹ The complaints about immaturity and poor physique were valid, yet they too were unreasonable in that the considerable lowering of the average age of the Force was a direct consequence of Government policy. On the other hand, few critics bothered to complain about the high level of medical unfitness in the TF and the very superficial nature of most medical examinations, which together represented a major blot on the Territorial system and which was to have serious consequences after the outbreak of war. Men who had been discharged as medically unfit from the Army, Army or Special Reserve could be enlisted as fully fit for service in the TF if so pronounced by "the medical authority".²⁹² The number of Army recruits rejected on medical grounds for example, on account of their teeth or because they were below the chest standard, the two commonest causes of rejection, who later joined the TF is unknown, but may have been considerable. Critics of Territorial discipline were invariably Army men who failed to recognise the problems involved. Regular Army style discipline was completely out of the question in a citizen force. In 1913 General Smith-Dorrien especially congratulated the Territorial NCOs under his observation on their greatly improved style of command. "The Scout" commented:

"In the Territorials the men of the company come from the same neighbourhood, and the man who is made NCO is not necessarily a man who in civil life is in a position superior to those who come under his command; in fact, it may be very often otherwise. The

result must naturally be that the NCO is diffident about exerting the authority that he only wields by virtue of his rank for the time he is actually doing duty as a soldier. The fact that this difficulty is being overcome shows that all ranks are getting imbued with the spirit of military discipline, and getting to feel that when doing duty with their units they are really soldiers, and not merely armed civilians doing a fortnight's training in a camp for the sake of the outing."²⁹³

F.M. Lord Methuen, who looked on the officers and NCOs as the two weakest points of the TF, considered that any extra money in the form of grants and allowances spent in assisting these categories to undertake additional training would be "more than repaid."²⁹⁴

The large numbers of men absent from annual training came in for heavy criticism. This was a problem with many aspects, none of which appears to have been officially recognised, though there was much hand-wringing in official circles. Although the Annual Camp was the major agency whereby the TF received its training, only about three-quarters of the officers and less than two-thirds of the other ranks attended for the full 15 days, while an unsatisfactorily high percentage of both absented themselves altogether. As "The Scout" said in 1913,

"The great stumbling block to the Territorial scheme is the fortnight's training. In comparison with the thousands of eligible young men who get a week's holiday each year, only hundreds get a fortnight. The first wave of enthusiasm having passed, employers are beginning to look askance at the movement. Everybody is NOT doing it, and therefore they don't see why they should be understaffed for that period whilst their competitors²⁹⁵ are suffering no inconvenience for their lack of patriotism."

In most towns the factories and workshops would close down for a week's annual holiday during the local fair, feast or wakes week. In Leeds the local holiday week was Bank Holiday week, one of the weeks of the Annual Camp. In 1908 the 8th Bn had a 99% muster for the second week, 95% for the fortnight; in 1911 635 of the 7th went to camp and 160 came for the second week, while 624 of the 8th went, 40 went home at the end of the week, and 130 came for the second week; in 1913 35 men of the 7th went home at the end of the first week and 2 officers and 115 men arrived, while 1 officer and 40 men of the 8th went home at the end of the first week and 130 men arrived for the second week.²⁹⁶ (The Annual Returns give only the average muster for a fortnight.)

A complicating factor in the West Riding Division was that the dates of local holidays did not coincide. They were, for instance, Barnsley Feast, Bradford Bowlingtide and Halifax Wakes, none of which coincided with the usual dates of the Divisional Camp and as a result the units of these towns had very low musters at camp and their training suffered seriously in consequence. Employers engaged in the retail or wholesale trades, or in trades supplying the retail trade direct, who might otherwise have been prepared to be co-

operative, were extremely reluctant to give Territorial employees leave of absence for the week immediately preceding the local holiday week, since the greatest volume of the year's retail sales was achieved in this week; this applied in Bradford as well as in Leeds. So many men from these two cities began to apply for leave of absence from camp for the week preceding Bank Holiday or Bank Holiday week itself, which was the week preceding Bowlingtide, that camp in 1914 was fixed for the first two weeks in August.²⁹⁷

Territorials were frequently taken to task for wanting their Annual Camps to be held near seaside resorts. Such criticisms failed to take account of the fact that the annual training represented the only summer holiday that the majority of Territorials got.²⁹⁸ The Territorial was voluntarily giving up his holiday in order to learn to defend his country and he was entitled to look forward to the pleasures of a seaside resort in his free time: strolling along the foreshore or promenade, swimming, boating, fishing, going on the pier, watching the pierrots. The following year's venue was usually announced shortly after camp and there is some evidence that the selection influenced the decision of some Territorials to re-engage. In June 1914 it was announced that the introduction of the training bounty and "the return to seaside camping" had "greatly increased" the strength of the units of the East Lancs. Division then under canvas.²⁹⁹

Cheap taunts about "fairweather soldiers", which had often been flung against the Volunteers, were greatly resented on account of their manifest unfairness. As a result of prolonged training and often superior dietary intake, the Regular soldier was much hardier than the Territorial; moreover, the Army disciplinary code dealt harshly with suspected malingerers. Being a civilian, the Territorial was necessarily more sensitive to adverse weather conditions, and was less able to withstand the physical strains of prolonged marching, if only because as a general rule he took insufficient physical exercise. If a Territorial contracted a severe chill, he and his family would lose his wages during his enforced absence from work and he might well lose his job altogether; he ran the risk, so it was believed, after getting wet through, of developing serious conditions like TB, rheumatism and arthritis, which would wreck his working life. A Regular would not suffer the loss of his pay if he was hospitalised, and if he developed a serious incapacitating medical condition he would, after treatment, be discharged with an invalidity pension, something that was denied to the civilian Territorial. (Although the Territorial Regulations, paras. 453-460, provided that an NCO or man incapacitated by illness arising from or injured in or through the performance of military duty and disabled from following his civil calling, "may be granted 3s 6d a day for not more than six months", it was notoriously

difficult to obtain this temporary benefit.) An answer to these taunts was provided in 1910 when only two cases of "shirking" in the appalling August weather were reported in the whole country: a handful of men in the 8th Bn (Leeds Rifles), and the big drummer of the 6th Welch Regt. of Swansea court-martialled for insolence to a superior officer after falling out without permission.³⁰⁰

1914 critics of the strength of the TF failed to view the statistics in the perspective of the contemporary strengths of the Regular Army and Special Reserve, both of whom were below establishment in both officers and men. On 1st February 1914 the Regular Army strength in other ranks was nearly 4% below establishment, the Special Reserve strength in other ranks 18% below, while on 1st January the TF strength in other ranks was nearly 21% under establishment; the TF officer strength was about 17% under establishment, considerably below that of the officer strengths of both Regular Army and Special Reserve. The shortfall in the Regular Army amounted to 9,223 other ranks.³⁰¹ This represented a further deterioration of the manpower situation presented by the General Annual Report on the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1913, published in March 1914, which showed a shortage of 8,580 all ranks, an increase on the previous year of 5,503, and a decrease in the number of recruits accepted of 2,225, despite the lowest rejection rate since 1907. The decline in the number of recruits was attributed to "continued activity in trade and emigration." The shortfall in establishment was greatest in the infantry, which was short of 6,148 men; the Household Cavalry, the Foot Guards, the ASC and RAMC, however, were all in excess of establishment.³⁰² By February 1914, the shortfall in the Regular Army infantry had reached some 8,000 men, which the Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates for 1914-15 admitted was due to the "abnormal" number of men passing into the Reserve, a consequence of changes made in the periods of colour service in 1904 and 1906.³⁰³

Following the boom year of Territorial recruiting, 1908-9, when the strength of the TF shot up nearly 38%, recruiting inevitably slumped and the net strength fell. Criticism from inside and outside Parliament, concerning Territorial efficiency and deficient numbers, began to mount. Heavy criticisms made by influential persons, based on the outrageously unfair conscriptionist premise that the Territorial Force should at all times be fit and ready to take the field, of its defects, nearly all of which were completely beyond Territorial power to control, or even influence, were extremely damaging to the Force, seriously undermining both the morale of its senior officers and administrators and public confidence in it. The

Territorial Force was labelled by one conscriptionist "The Territorial FARCE"; it was condemned as useless for all practical purposes, its officers unfit to command and its men unfit to be commanded. The NSL, through its most well-known spokesman Lord Roberts, was saying in 1912,

"The Territorial Force is now an acknowledged failure - a failure in discipline, a failure in numbers, a failure in equipment, a failure in energy ... So long as the Territorial Force is based on voluntary enlistment, it is impossible to give its members a sufficiently lengthy and continuous period of training to ensure a discipline which will stand the severe test of modern war."

The anonymous conscriptionist "Staff Officer" declared:

"During his long term of office Lord Haldane succeeded in concentrating the attention of the majority of those concerned with National Defence on that worthy body of imitation soldiers which he pompously termed the 'Territorial Army'. To this colossus of clay he sacrificed, in all, nearly 80,000 regular soldiers, robbed the Army of its uniform to clothe it, and prostituted the rank and title of the soldier in a vain attempt to give it prestige. The net result of Lord Haldane's administration is that he has left the Army weaker and less fitted for its task than any of his predecessors, while his clay creation, to which he sacrificed it, is crumbling and tottering to its fall."³⁰⁴

The general public could not form any opinions of its own about the Territorials. It read exaggerated and emotive adverse opinions such as these that had been uttered by politicians and other influential public figures, some of whom, like Lord Roberts, were highly respected by "the man in the street", and, being unable to assess the truth of them, understandably frequently adopted them as its own. In 1911 Repington listed among the factors militating against Territorial recruiting "the encouragement given in many quarters to the belief that the Territorials are useless."³⁰⁵ This had unfortunately become the opinion of the majority of the British public by 1914.

Although the NSL could be conveniently blamed by Haldane himself, and by Liberals and their supporters for undermining or sabotaging the Territorial Force, the real and fundamental cause of its lamentable condition at the beginning of 1914 and its general lack of pre-war success, was a combination of three factors of great enervating force: Haldane's own lack of a determined and sincere desire to see his scheme succeed, "lack of support from the Cabinet, the Liberal party in Parliament and their political allies", and "want of convinced belief and of sustained interest in the Force on the part of the upper and middle classes, a majority of whom are adherents of the National Service League",³⁰⁶ who were regarded as the country's natural leaders. As Brig. Gen. Mends, Secretary of the West Riding Association, complained in 1913:

"The whole difficulty with the Territorial Force is that in spite of many recommendations made to them, the Government will not do anything for the Territorial soldier ... Those accepting the full responsibility of citizenship are given by the Government no advantage whatever; in fact, in many cases their patriotism leads to pecuniary loss and other inconvenience." "From its birth the Territorial Force has never received fair treatment. Ignored by many from whom it had every right to expect support, hindered and obstructed financially, it has been the subject of many jeers, ill-natured ridicule, and spiteful criticism. One wonders if the country realises how seriously the force has been affected by this treatment. The bulk of our manhood steadily refuses to qualify for the first duty of citizenship, viz., to take part in the country's defence if needed. Surely the few who accept the burden merit something better than that accorded to them, and which has only served to irritate and discourage."³⁰⁷

Lord Scarbrough spoke of dwindling public interest:

"... in many quarters a hope that failure would pave the way to some form of compulsory service took the place of sympathy with the Territorial Force. Had the scheme received support and sympathy from those it was entitled to look to for such, it is possible that sufficient numbers might have been obtained and kept up, but the main cause of failure has undoubtedly been inadequate recognition and remuneration."³⁰⁸

"The Scout", as usual, unerringly put his finger on the problem:

"The necessity for a numerically strong citizen army is not sufficiently emphasised by our politicians. Hence the state we are in at present. Recruiting for the National Army of Defence is left almost entirely to the goodwill of those who for years have voluntarily undertaken the duty. It is time now that men of all parties should work with the one object in view of persuading their followers to 'fall in'. "³⁰⁹

Repington, who was always ready to blame England's lack of military preparedness on her political leaders and on party politics,³¹⁰ was in no doubt where to place the blame for the TF's shortcomings:

"Why has it failed to produce even the inadequate numbers of its establishment? It has been boycotted by Labour men and Trade Unions, who recognise that it is essentially a Conservative force. Except Lord Haldane himself, not one member of the Cabinet has stirred hand or foot to help on the cause. The Territorials have not enjoyed the administration of a Tory Government, and are still regarded as a Radical nostrum. Destructive criticism has done them very great harm. Men have not all been ready to abandon their personal fads and inclinations and to make the Territorial scheme national and successful. As a result, experience has shown us that there are not sufficient men in this busy country with the energy necessary to make the scheme a success on a voluntary basis."

"Not a single member of the Cabinet except Lord Haldane has done one honest day's work in the Territorial cause, and very few other members of the party have done much better. The left wing, who now scream the loudest against Lord Roberts, have done everything in their power to injure the cause of voluntary service ... Never

was seen in all our political history a great administrative measure worked zealously for six years by the opponents of the Government which introduced it, and as zealously neglected by the Government itself."³¹¹

For various political motives, very few Liberals in Parliament were openly anxious to see the Territorial scheme succeed. The Cabinet displayed a general indifference and kept the Force starved of money. Active and passive opponents of the Force in both Houses were able to stand up and cynically attack its deficiencies secure in the knowledge that they had voted it insufficient funds to allow it to remedy these deficiencies. This was so manifestly unfair that, by 1914, the members of many county Associations had become disheartened both by the attitude of the War Office and the chronic shortage of funds and had become thoroughly disillusioned with their political masters who had signally failed to give them adequate support, either moral or financial. The Associations understandably felt unappreciated. Sir Hugh Shaw-Stewart, Vice-Chairman of the Council of County Territorial Associations complained that "except for Lord Haldane and his successor at the War Office, not one Cabinet Minister has ever had a good word to say for the work we are doing or, indeed, for the system we are endeavouring to carry out."³¹² Virtually identical sentiments were expressed by Col Sir John Bingham, a member of the West Riding Association, at the annual meeting of the Council of the Yorkshire Territorial Team Association in June 1914.³¹³ Many senior officers at regimental level had evidently become demoralised; Col Albert Kirk of the 7th was one of them. This fact was undoubtedly partly the cause of declining numbers, since energetic recruiting campaigns were still capable of obtaining surprisingly large numbers of recruits (see Chap. 5, section 5.1). No such campaigns were launched either by the West Riding Association or by the Leeds Rifles, and in consequence, on 30th June 1914, both battalions were under 65% of establishment, the strength, all ranks, of the 7th Bn being 649, and that of the 8th Bn 655.³¹⁴

The impression of widespread disillusion and low morale within the TF itself given by its administrators and senior officers, however, is seriously misleading. The spirit of the junior officers and the other ranks who, of course, made up almost the entire membership, remained excellent, quite unimpaired by the political struggles that raged above their heads. It is true nevertheless that from 1911 many politicians and senior Army officers became increasingly convinced that the Territorial system had failed, and that "the growing tide of disillusion with the Territorial Force"³¹⁵ became a flood once Haldane departed, but the NSL's parrot-cry that "the last hope of the voluntary system" had failed was all too easily accepted as a self-evident

truth both at the time and subsequently by historians. The TF could not be condemned out of hand as worthless, since it had never been put to the test, and after the declaration of war, the peacetime deficiencies in numbers disappeared like magic as former officers and men returned to their units. Basically, there was very little wrong with the Force that adequate funding and adequate moral support from the country's leaders could not have speedily put right, as the events of the autumn of 1914 were to prove, but the upper ceiling of £28 million placed upon the Army Estimates by the Government hung round the TF's neck like an albatross and made it impossible for it to achieve or even approach its potential in peacetime.

Although the TF was much better organised than its predecessor and had acquired additional branches to conform with Army organisation, it retained most of its problems. It was not noticeably better off in arms, equipment and clothing. It was armed with "second- and third-rate weapons",³¹⁶ obsolete and worn guns of all calibres discarded by the Army. On the outbreak of war there was not even a sufficient reserve of arms and ammunition to fully equip the peacetime establishment of the TF, and of the 400,000 rifles needed by the war-expanded TF, only 240,000 had been obtained by mid-December 1914.³¹⁷ How this affected the TF at the individual unit level is illustrated by the example of the 2/8th which had no rifles until 28th September, when 240 CLLE rifles were borrowed temporarily from the National Reserve. At the end of October it was issued with 230 very old Mark I Lee-Metfords and on 20th April 1915 with 700 Japanese rifles (these were condemned by John Nettleton as being "quite useless" under active service conditions),³¹⁸ which were not called in until May 1916 when the 62nd Division was issued with mobilisation equipment and its personnel adjusted to war strength. CLLEs, probably obtained from the 49th Division, were not received, to be issued in their place, until 21st June 1916,³¹⁹ the battalion remaining unarmed for a period exceeding a month.

Haldane's reorganisation of the Volunteers by his 1907 Act was in itself an impressive achievement and for this he deserves posterity's thanks. He provided the essential foundation of what was a potentially invaluable force. Yet his creation, considered by J.K. Dunlop³²⁰ and others as the greatest of all his achievements was, before the war, widely regarded as a useless and costly failure, and for this Haldane himself must take a large share of the blame. He was a convinced adherent of Blue-Waterism. He showed no sincere interest in making the Territorial Force a success and appeared indifferent to, or incapable of comprehending, its problems and difficulties. The cost of the TF, not its condition, was the chief, if not the sole concern

of the vast majority of Parliamentary Liberals, who included Haldane himself. While he had remained on the Opposition benches he had been firmly in the mainstream of Liberal opinion in that, inside and outside the House, his interest in military matters and army reform, the South African war period excepted, had been minimal and his interest in the Volunteers nil.³²¹

His unwitting alienation of half of the membership of the Volunteer Force dealt the nascent TF a crippling body blow and his subsequent policies served to discourage rather than encourage the Territorials. As has been indicated in this chapter, there existed in the Territorial system not only considerable areas of inefficiency and consequent waste of resources which could, and should, have been tackled, but also considerable areas where significant improvements in the efficiency of the Force could have been effected at trifling cost. All were ignored. The prewar Territorial Force was, thanks to the spirit of its men and its county associations, much more efficient than Haldane and his colleagues had any right to expect. Its distinguished record of service in World War I owed far less to Haldane than he subsequently cared to remember.

NOTES

1. See Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Minutes of Evidence, Vol. I, (evidence of F.M. Lord Roberts), q.893; 1904 Cmd. 2062, xxx, 259.
2. 163 Parl. Deb. 3s. 7 June 1861, col. 786; editorial, Leeds Mercury, 23 April 1862.
3. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Report; 1904 Cmd. 2061, xxx, 175.
4. Reports of the Committee appointed ... to inquire into the Financial State and Internal Organization of the Volunteer Force in Great Britain (hereinafter referred to as "Bury Cttee. Report"), Appendices VII, VIII, X, pp. 197-211; 1878-9 Cmd. 2235, xv, 181.
5. Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, XXIX (1885), 667-8; Leeds Mercury, 23 November 1889.
6. LRMT, Correspondence Book V.
7. See H. Cunningham, The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908 (London, 1975), pp. 133-8.
8. Figures obtained from: 153 HC Deb. 4s. 8 March 1906, col. 661; Approximate Estimate of the cost of the proposed Territorial Force; 1907 Cmd. 3296, xlviii, 799.
9. Yorkshire Evening News, 17 May 1911.
10. See, for instance, Discussion on Lt. Gen. Sir Edward Hamley's paper, 'The Volunteers in Time of Need' (The Nineteenth Century, XVII (1885), 405-423), Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, XXIX (1885), 629-685; Lecture by Col R. Harrison, 'What can the Volunteers of England do to Render Themselves Fit to take the Field?' and ensuing Discussion, ibid., 1090-1112.
11. See I.F.W. Beckett, "The English Rifle Volunteer Movement 1859-1908", unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1974, pp. 275-6. The "Citizen Army" was not allotted a major and integral role in British defence policy until 1935, when the entire ground defence of Britain was entrusted to the Territorial Army. "It is a daring innovation that places a volunteer unit in the first line of defence against an invader", remarked Lt Col J.K. Dunlop in his The Problems and Responsibilities of the Territorials, published that year (p.21).
12. Col E. Wilson, 'Our Volunteers', The Westminster Review, CLI (1899), 44.
13. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, p. 9; 1904 Cmd. 2064, xxxi, 587.
14. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Report, paras. 37-38, 48, 49, pp. 7, 9; 1904 Cmd. 2061, xxx, 175; Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix IX (F.M. Sir Evelyn Wood's precis of evidence), pp. 12-13; 1904 Cmd. 2064, xxxi, 587.
15. The Development of the British Army 1899-1914 (London, 1938), pp. 65-6.
16. See, for example, the complaints of Col W. Hope VC, Commandant of the City of London Artillery Brigade, Capt. Todd, and Col C. Allen: JRUSI, XXIX (1885), 1105, 1107-8; Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Minutes of Evidence, Vol. I, qq. 9158-64; 1904 Cmd. 2062, xxx, 259.
17. Yorkshire Post, 26 February 1910.

18. Yorkshire Evening News, 17 December 1913.
19. Col T. Sturmy Cave's 1900 lecture (JRUSI, XLIV (1900), 395ff., discussed in Dunlop, The Development of the British Army 1899-1914, pp. 122-3) foreshadowed Haldane's scheme; Col R. Harrison put forward the idea of local Associations in 1885 (loc.cit.); Sir R. Loyd-Lindsay had suggested using the VF as a feeder to the Regular Army Reserve in 1881 ('The Coming of Age of the Volunteers', The Nineteenth Century, X (1881), 213ff.); the designation of Territorial battalions had been suggested as early as 1885 (JRUSI, XXIX (1885), 647); several of the ideas had appeared in the Appendices of the 1904 Royal Commission Report and the scheme, in fact, incorporated many of the Royal Commission's recommendations; Arnold-Forster had outlined the "present needs" of the Volunteers in February 1905 (141 HC Deb. 4s. 23 February 1905, cols. 1181-2); Haldane himself admitted publicly that he had received great help in working out the administrative details from Kaiser Wilhelm and the German War Office (Yorkshire Post, 20 December 1907). For other sources of Haldane's ideas, particularly Col Gerald Ellison, his military secretary, see E.M. Spiers, Haldane: an Army Reformer (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 96-7.
20. 160 HC Deb. 4s. 12 July 1906, col. 1114; H. Cunningham, op.cit., pp. 143, 140-1.
21. 169 HC Deb. 4s. 25 February 1907, col.1301.
22. 170 HC Deb. 4s. 4 March 1907, cols. 507-8, 518; 172 HC Deb. 4s. 23 April 1907, col. 1679.
23. General Annual Report on the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1910, Table 9, Section II, Part XII, p. 124; 1911 Cmd. 5481, xlvi, 617.
24. Yorkshire Post, 23 March 1908.
25. See, for example, the Duke of Bedford's articles, 'The Territorial Force Fiasco' and 'How to Restore our Military Efficiency', The Nineteenth Century and After, LXXIII (1913), 1376-98; LXXIV (1913), 38-67.
26. Yorkshire Post, 19, 23 April 1907.
27. Times, 7 October 1907, 8b; see also Yorkshire Post, 23 April 1907.
28. Admiral Sir R.H. Bacon, The Life of Lord Fisher of Kilverstone Admiral of the Fleet (London, 1929), Vol. II, p. 183.
29. See, for example, "A Staff Officer", The Territorial Sham and the Army: An Exposure (London, [1913]).
30. Yorkshire Evening News, 18 August 1909.
31. Article, Yorkshire Post, 17 August 1910.
32. Times, 7 February 1913, 8a; 12 February 1913, 8a; for details of the scheme, see Yorkshire Post, 30 April 1913. The majority of Class II National Reservists were in their 40s.
33. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1913, pp. 88-9; 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407.
34. "The Development of British Military Planning for a War against Germany, 1904-1914", unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1970.
35. 170 HC Deb. 4s. 6 March 1907, cols. 826-50.
36. 172 HC Deb. 4s. 15 April 1907, col. 578.
37. Yorkshire Post, 30 April 1910.
38. Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for the year 1909-10, p. 49; 1909, li, 1; for the year 1910-11, p. 49; 1910, lx, 1.

39. Yorkshire Post, 27 April 1910.
40. Yorkshire Evening News, 3 April 1907.
41. Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for the year 1910-11, p. 47; 1910, lx, l. Public Accounts (Army Votes, 1909-10). Treasury Minute dated the 7th April 1910; 1910, lx, 621.
42. Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for the year 1914-15, pp. 2-3; 1914, li, l.
43. Yorkshire Post, 27 April 1910.
44. Ibid., 5 May 1910.
45. Ibid., 21 December 1907.
46. Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement, 23 October 1886, Yorkshire Post, 11 January 1888, 4 February 1889.
47. Yorkshire Post, 16 April 1910; Adjutant to Chief Accountant, Northern Command, 14 October 1905, LRMT, Correspondence Book VII.
48. Personal communication from the officer-in-charge, City of Leeds, Dept. of Estates and Development.
49. Yorkshire Post, 3 May 1910.
50. Ibid.
51. 16 HC Deb. 5s. 21 April 1910, cols. 2446-7.
52. Yorkshire Post, 24 June 1910.
53. Minutes of the West Riding Territorial Force Association, Vol. I, 27 April 1908; Leeds City Libraries Archives Dept., Acc. 1469.
54. Leeds Mercury, 23 July 1866.
55. J.K. Dunlop, The Territorial Army Today (London, 1939), p. 62.
56. I.F.W. Beckett, op.cit., pp. 270-1.
57. J.H. Seymour to Sgt Alf Lloyd, 27 September 1900, Sergeants' Mess South African War Correspondence Book, 1900-1. Seymour was killed in the 1907 Kingston Earthquake when Chief Engineer of the Jamaican Government Railways.
58. Col W. Boyle, History of the 2nd West Yorkshire Royal Engineers Volunteers, The Northern Telegraph Companies, Royal Engineers (Army Troops), The 49th (West Riding) Divisional Signals, 1861-1936 (Leeds, 1936), p.44.
59. See H. Cunningham, op.cit., Table 9, p. 47.
60. Eye-witness account, The Old Contemptible, No. 487, August 1974, 10. This differs substantially from that given in J.K. Dunlop, The Territorial Army Today, p.46.
61. With Our Army in Flanders (London, 1915), pp. 306-7.
62. Battalion Orders, August 1897.
63. 7th Bn Orders, February 1909, June 1910.
64. Yorkshire Post, 8 July 1872.
65. Letter, 26 October 1883, LRMT, Correspondence Book IV.
66. LRMT, Correspondence Books III and VI.
67. LRMT, Correspondence Book VII.
68. Oral testimony.

69. See, for example, Yorkshire Evening Post, 1 June 1905; Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement, 4 October 1890.
70. Testimony of Sgt Taylor's grand-daughter, Mrs Rene Bramley.
71. C.H. Coates and R.J. Pellgrin, Military Sociology: A Study of American Military Institutions and Military Life (University Park, Md., 1965), Table 1,, Chap. IV, p. 81. The proportion of combat soldiers in the Vietnam war was said in 1967 to be only 15 per cent (calculated from statistics given in The New York Times, 13 July 1967, p. 16).
72. H. Cunningham, op.cit., p. 146. On the Associations, see also F.A.M. Webster, Britain's Territorials in Peace and War (London, 1915), Chap. VII, passim.
73. The data in this paragraph was obtained from the Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1908, Tables 1 and 2, pp. 10-96; 1909 Cmd. 4496, li, 521.
74. Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates for 1909-10, p. 6; 1909 Cmd. 4495, li, 233.
75. Yorkshire Post, 3 May 1910.
76. Ibid., 5 July 1910.
77. Ibid., 4 October 1910.
78. Times, 4 February 1913, 8c.
79. See, for example, ibid., 22 April 1910, 9a.
80. Yorkshire Evening News, 11 May 1910.
81. Yorkshire Post, 6 May 1910.
82. Ibid., 16 August 1910.
83. Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for the year 1914-15, pp. 2-3; 1914, li, 1.
84. Return showing the Strength and Estimated Cost of the Regular Army, Reserve of Officers, Army Reserve, Special Reserve, and Territorial Force on the 1st January 1909, as compared with the corresponding Strength and Cost on 1st October 1905, Table 1 (D), p. 3; 1909 Cmd. 4494, li, 485.
85. See, for example, Bury Cttee.Report, p. 191.
86. See LRMT, Correspondence Books IV, V and VI.
87. CO to OC 14th RD, 15 August 1889, LRMT, Correspondence Book VI.
88. LRMT, Correspondence Book IV; Yorkshire Post, 22 December 1883.
89. LRMT, Correspondence Book VI; Leeds Mercury, 16 May 1906; Yorkshire Evening News, 5 December 1906; Yorkshire Post, 28 January 1905, 11 January 1890.
90. For example, Yorkshire Evening News, 31 March 1909.
91. Calculated from figures given in the Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1909, p. 4; 1910 Cmd. 5017, lx, 781.
92. Yorkshire Evening News, 28 July 1909.
93. Ibid., 22 June 1910; 40 HC Deb. 5s. 4 July 1912, col. 1364.
94. Yorkshire Evening Post, 7 May 1910; Yorkshire Post, 7, 17, 16 May 1910.
95. Yorkshire Post, 5 July 1910.
96. Yorkshire Evening News, 7 May 1913.

97. Lists of members are given in the Minutes of the West Riding Territorial Force Association and in L. Magnus, The West Riding Territorials in the Great War (London, 1920), Appendix I, pp. 222-6.
98. Yorkshire Post, 3 May 1910.
99. Quoted L. Magnus, op. cit., p.23.
100. 7th Bn Orders, May 1909; Yorkshire Post, 28 April 1914.
101. Yorkshire Post, 3 May 1910.
102. Yorkshire Evening Post, 15 June, 6 July 1910. The "Soldier's Field" was so-called because the unit stationed at Chapeltown Barracks was permitted to exercise there.
103. Leeds Mercury, 2 May 1913.
104. Yorkshire Post, 14 February 1914.
105. Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for the year 1913-14, p. 48; 1913, xlii, 1.
106. Yorkshire Post, 29 October 1914.
107. Times, 28 February 1913, 6c.
108. See Yorkshire Post, 6 May 1913.
109. See L. Magnus, op.cit., p.9.
110. Daily Mail, 25 November 1913.
111. Quoted L. Magnus, op.cit., pp. 12-13.
112. Ibid., footnote, p.13.
113. Yorkshire Evening News, 26 November 1913.
114. Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates for 1914-15, pp. 3, 5; 1914 Cmd. 7253, li, 231.
115. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1913, pp. 4, 6; Table 10, p. 127; 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407.
116. I.F.W. Beckett, op.cit., Table K, p.234.
117. J.F.C. Harrison, A History of the Working Men's College 1854-1954 (London 1954), pp. 51-2, 83, 84, 85; W.H. Chaloner and W.O. Henderson, Engels as a Military Critic (Manchester, 1959); W. Richards, His Majesty's Territorial Army ... "The King's Imperial Army of the Second Line" (London, [1910?]), Vol. III, pp. 129, 82.
118. Quoted in L. Magnus, op.cit., p.4.
119. Yorkshire Post, 4 May 1909.
120. Ibid., 3 January 1908.
121. Times, 21 March 1913, 2f; 8 January 1914, 8b.
122. 172 HC Deb. 4s. 23 April 1907, cols. 1593-1601; ibid., 10 April 1907, col. 271.
123. Yorkshire Post, 4 April 1907. But, see the illustration 'A Souvenir for May Day 1907', D. Read, Edwardian England 1901-1915: Society and Politics (London, 1972), p. 96.
124. M.J. Allison, "The National Service Issue, 1899-1914", unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1975, p. 235.

125. Times, 25 February 1913, 7f; 2 March 1909, 8f; 17 March 1909, 9c.
126. Yorkshire Evening Post, 31 July 1913.
127. Yorkshire Post, 4 May 1909; L. Magnus, op.cit., pp. 21-2.
128. Times, 13 April 1909, 5e; 9 September 1909, 4e.
129. Yorkshire Post, 12 April 1912.
130. F.R. Spark, Memories of My Life (Leeds, 1913), pp. 88-9.
131. Yorkshire Evening News, 19 December 1906; Yorkshire Evening Post, 30 March 1910.
132. Daily Mail, 8 December 1913.
133. Yorkshire Post, 12 April 1910.
134. M.J. Allison, op.cit., pp. 172, 110.
135. 2 HL Deb. 5s. 13 July 1909, cols. 462-3.
136. Report of the Inspector-General of the Forces on the Territorial Force, p.2; 1911 Cmd. 5998, xlvii, 657.
137. Quoted Yorkshire Evening News, 10 August 1910.
138. Op.cit., p. 205.
139. 51 HC Deb. 5s. 9 April 1913, col. 1160.
140. See, for example, Yorkshire Evening News, 18 December 1907.
141. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1913, pp. 5-6, 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407.
142. Yorkshire Post, 17 December 1910.
143. Yorkshire Evening News, 2 June 1909.
144. Yorkshire Post, 16 June 1904.
145. Lt.Gen. Sir John Keir, A Soldier's Eye-View of Our Armies (London, 1919), p.35.
146. Yorkshire Post, 12 March 1908.
147. Times, 25 February 1913, 7f.
148. Yorkshire Evening News, 17 December 1913.
149. M.J. Allison, op.cit., p.202; F.S. Oliver, Ordeal by Battle (London, 1915), pp. xvii-xx.
150. "The Development of British Military Planning for a War Against Germany, 1904-1914", Chap. 10, esp. p.570.
151. F.M. Viscount French of Ypres, 1914 (London, 1919), p. 296.
152. E.M. Spiers, op.cit., p. 185.
153. Testimonies of RSM Charles Harold Marshall, 17th Lancers, an ex-Volunteer himself, and 1090 Sgt James Rhind, 8th.
154. Yorkshire Evening Post, 19 April 1913.
155. Yorkshire Post, 26 April 1913.
156. See, for example, F.M. Lord Methuen, 'Impressions of the Territorial Force', The Nineteenth Century and After, LXXIV (1913), 775.
157. 59 HC Deb. 5s. 17 March 1914, col. 1990.

158. Battalion Orders, January 1895.
159. Yorkshire Post, 27 July 1891; 10, 17 August 1895; 3 September 1898; 8 August 1901.
160. Ibid., 17 August 1900; Yorkshire Evening Post, 21 August 1900.
161. Yorkshire Post, 20 August 1900; Leeds Mercury, 20 August 1900.
162. Yorkshire Post, 1 March 1902. Average drill attendances are listed in Table 5, Appendix II.
163. Tetley LRVC Minute Books, Vols. I and II.
164. I.F.W. Beckett, op.cit., p. 266.
165. Yorkshire Post, 30 September 1901.
166. Special Army Order, 22 April 1902; Order in Council, 11 August 1902: see, for example, Sir J.M. Grierson, Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force (1909; London, 1972 facsimile edn.), pp. 102-3.
167. Times, 8 June 1908, 5c.
168. These statistics have been obtained from, or calculated from figures given in, Statistics relating to the Strength and Efficiency of the Territorial Force and National Reserve, pp. 2, 3; 1912-13 Cmd. 6505, li, 945; 1912-13 Cmd. 6616, li, 949; Statistics relating to the strength of the Regular Army, Special Reserve, Territorial Force, and Territorial Training and Musketry; 1914 Cmd. 7255, lii, 555; Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates for 1914-15, p. 5; 1914 Cmd. 7253, li, 231. It should be noted that many of the statistics presented in these command papers are not comparable, whilst others are irreconcilable.
169. 5 HL Deb. 5s. 23 June 1910, col. 988.
170. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1910, p.6; 1911 Cmd. 5482, xlvi, 743; for the year 1911, p. 6; 1912-13 Cmd. 6066, li, 691; for the year 1913, p. 6; 1914 Cmd. 7254, lii, 407.
171. See, for example, Leeds Mercury, 19 June 1914.
172. Op.cit., 779.
173. Yorkshire Evening Post, 6 May 1908, 13 April 1910.
174. Quoted L. Magnus, op.cit., p. 23.
175. Minutes of the West Riding Territorial Force Association, Vol. I, 23 July 1908, section (h), Leeds City Libraries Archives Dept., Acc. 1469. Yorkshire Evening Post, 4 August 1909.
176. Testimony of 2/Lt J.R. Bellerby, machine-gun officer, 8th.
177. Yorkshire Evening News, 19 August 1908.
178. Bury Cttee. Report, Appendix XIX, p. 244.
179. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, p. 140; 1904 Cmd. 2064, xxxi, 587.
180. Memorandum by the Army Council on the existing army system and on the present state of the Military Forces in the United Kingdom, Appendix E, Report of the Inspector-General of the Forces, III, Memorandum on Inspections of the Territorial Force, p. 22; 1909 Cmd. 4611, li, 497.
181. 5 HL Deb. 5s. 23 June 1910, cols. 988-9; see also Statistics relating to the Special Reserve and Territorial Force, p. 7; 1910 Cmd. 5018, lx, 887.

182. Army Estimates of Effective and Non-Effective Services for the year 1913-14, p. 48; 1913, xlii, 1; Memorandum of the Secretary of State for War relating to the Army Estimates for 1913-14, p.5; 1913 Cmd. 6688, xlii, 231.
183. Yorkshire Evening News, 27 August 1913.
184. Ibid., 4 August 1909.
185. Farewell Order, 8th Bn Orders, January 1910.
186. Yorkshire Post, 8 July 1910.
187. CO to officer i/c musketry, Northern Command, 20 March 1905, LRMT, Correspondence Book VII.
188. Yorkshire Post, 1 July 1905, 23 March 1906, 20 December 1909.
189. Yorkshire Evening News, 14 September, 15 June 1910; 23 May 1906.
190. 7th Bn Orders, April 1911.
191. Yorkshire Post, 16 May 1910, 16 March 1914.
192. Memorandum by the Army Council on the existing army system and on the present state of the Military Forces in the United Kingdom, Appendix E, Report of the Inspector-General of the Forces, III, (f) Territorial Force, pp. 19-20; 1909 Cmd. 4611, li, 497. Yorkshire Post, 13 March, 6 August 1908.
193. Report by the Inspector-General of the Forces on the Territorial Force, pp. 2, 5; 1911 Cmd. 5998, xlvii, 657.
194. Yorkshire Evening News, 11 January 1911.
195. Yorkshire Post, 24, 27 May 1907.
196. Leeds Mercury, 15 August 1913.
197. Testimony of 1726 Jack Barker, 7th.
198. Yorkshire Evening Post, 6 August 1908; Yorkshire Post, 31 July 1908.
199. Yorkshire Evening News, 28 July 1909.
200. Times, 15 August 1913, 3a-b.
201. Para. 16, p.5; 1907 Cmd. 3515, xlix, 433.
202. 'Impressions of the Territorial Force', 776, 781.
203. Yorkshire Post, 24 September 1909.
204. Op.cit., pp. 413-6, 419; Major Gen. Sir C.E. Callwell, Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson: His Life and Diaries (London, 1927), Vol. I, pp. 90-1.
205. Yorkshire Post, 28 April 1908.
206. Yorkshire Evening Post, 22 March, 28 June 1906; Yorkshire Evening News, 16 May 1906; Yorkshire Post, 10 September 1906.
207. Yorkshire Evening News, 1 July 1908.
208. Yorkshire Evening Post, 6 August 1908.
209. Op.cit., p. 36.
210. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1910, Table 1, p. 57; 1911 Cmd. 5482, xlvi, 743.
211. Testimony of 1326 John Speechley, 8th.
212. On horse problems, see Yorkshire Post, 28, 29, 30, 31 July, 2 August 1909.

213. H.Baker, The Territorial Force, A manual of its law, organisation and administration (London, 1909), p. 183.
214. For example, Yorkshire Evening News, 16 November 1910.
215. Times, 23 July 1910, 12c.
216. Yorkshire Post, 10, 17 August 1895.
217. Ibid., 6 November 1909.
218. Yorkshire Evening News, 17 August 1910.
219. Ibid., 25 August, 1 September 1909.
220. Account of TA participation in "Operation Crusader", Yorkshire Evening Post, 2 October 1980; article, 'Real value of NATO's mock war', Yorkshire Post, 21 October 1982.
221. E.M. Spiers, The Army and Society 1815-1914 (London, 1980), p. 197.
222. Col. W. Boyle, op.cit., p. 89.
223. Yorkshire Evening News, 16 June 1909, 13 May 1914; Yorkshire Evening Post, 30 June 1909, 5 July 1911; Leeds Mercury, 15 May 1914.
224. Yorkshire Evening News, 21 June, 12 July 1911.
225. Leeds Mercury, 16 January 1914; see also ibid., 27 February 1914; Yorkshire Evening News, 8 November 1910.
226. 7th Bn Orders, January 1909.
227. Leeds Mercury, 22 December 1881.
228. Statistics relating to the Strength and Efficiency of the Territorial Force, p. 4; 1912-13 Cmd. 6505, li, 945.
229. Calculated from statistics presented in the Annual Reports of the Adjutant included in the Prize Distribution programmes, Braithwaite Scrapbook.
230. Yorkshire Evening News, 12 April 1911; testimony of Mrs Annie Worsnop (née Powell).
231. Tetley LRVC Minute Books, Vols. I and II.
232. Battalion Orders, June 1903, July 1907; 7th Bn Orders, April 1911, December 1909.
233. Testimony of Sgt Harry Sanderson, 7th, and others.
234. Leeds Mercury, 27 November 1909.
235. See, for example, R.B. Haldane, Before the War (London, 1920), p. 34; Principles to be kept in view in Training the Territorial Force and the Special Contingent; 1907 Cmd. 3515, xlix, 433.
236. General Annual Report on the British Army for the year ending 30th September 1913, Table 6, Section II, Part VIII, p. 96; 1914 Cmd. 7252, lii, 267.
237. Oral testimonies.
238. Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers, Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix XI, p. 20; 1904 Cmd. 2064, xxxi, 587.
239. Circular letter dated 19 October 1906, LRMT, Correspondence Book VII.
240. Quoted by Col. Seely, 38 HC Deb. 5s. 14 May 1912, col. 943.
241. 59 HC Deb. 5s. 17 March 1914, cols. 1972, 1990; ibid., 10 March 1914, col. 1122.

242. See, for example, E.N. Bennett, 'Playing at Soldiers', The Nineteenth Century and After, LXI, (1907), 742-51; Col. Lonsdale Hale VC, 'Home Defence "Unrest"', ibid., LXVIII (1910), 755-64.
243. 59 HC Deb. 5s. 10 March 1914, col. 1131; ibid., 11 March 1914, cols. 1252, 1258, 1971-2.
244. Yorkshire Post, 18 December 1877.
245. Ibid., for instance.
246. Ibid., 29 May 1891.
247. For example, Yorkshire Evening Post, 24 April 1907.
248. Data obtained from the 7th Bn Roll Book, 1930-37.
249. Yorkshire Evening News, 8 September 1909, 8 June 1910; Yorkshire Post, 16 October 1909, 19 August, 24 September, 7 October 1910.
250. Yorkshire Post, 29 July 1913.
251. Ibid., 7 August 1912; Leeds Mercury, 6 August 1912.
252. For example, Yorkshire Evening News, 19 October 1910.
253. Leeds Mercury, 10 August 1910; Yorkshire Post, 8 November 1910.
254. Annual Return of the Territorial Force for the year 1910, Table 8, p.113; 1911 Cmd. 5482, xlvi, 743; for the year 1912, Table 7, p. 112; 1912-13 Cmd. 6657, li, 811.
255. Statistics relating to the Strength and Efficiency of the Territorial Force, p. 2; 1912-13 Cmd. 6505, li, 945.
256. This and the following paragraph are based on press reports: Leeds Mercury, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16 August 1910; Yorkshire Evening Post, 5, 8 August 1910; Times, 6 August 1910, 8b, 8 August 1910, 8e. The names of those punished appeared in the 8th Bn Orders for September 1910.
257. Compare Bury Cttee. Report, digest of evidence of Lord Elcho, p. xxvii.
258. Sgt Major Hardcastle's clothing and correspondence book 1871-.
259. LRMT, Correspondence Book III.
260. Leeds Mercury, 15 July 1878; Yorkshire Post, 5 May 1879.
261. LRMT, Correspondence Books III and V.
262. LRMT, Correspondence Book V, letters dated 11 May, 13, 20, 10, 21, 24 October 1887.
263. Yorkshire Post, 17 December 1887.
264. CO to OC 14th RD, 1 May 1891, LRMT, Correspondence Book VI. Significantly, no documents relevant to the uniform change appear in the Correspondence Books. The problems concerning colour changes referred to were genuine enough: see article, 'The Leeds Volunteers', Leeds Daily News, 28 April 1879.
265. Article, 'The future of the Volunteers', Times, 2 February 1907, 4d-f.
266. WO to OC 14th RD, 3, 27 June 1891, WO to GOC NE District, 21 December 1891, LRMT, Correspondence Book VI.
267. Yorkshire Post, 16 August 1897.
268. See, for example, ibid., 21 December 1892.
269. See, for example, Yorkshire Evening News, 3 June 1908.

270. Testimony of 2222 William H. Reynard, 8th.
271. B.H. Liddell Hart, The Remaking of Modern Armies (London, 1927), p. 154.
272. For example, Yorkshire Evening News, 11 August 1909.
273. For example, ibid., 23 May 1907.
274. Testimony of 1522 Sgt. J.E.T. Wilson, 7th.
275. G. Kitson Clark papers, Leeds City Libraries, Archives Dept., Acc. 2004.
276. Oral testimonies.
277. A reference to a poem, 'The Company Signaller' by Signaller J. Boucher, 1/8th, published in Leeds Mercury, 1 September 1915.
278. Leeds Mercury, 4 September 1915.
279. For example, the main streets of Redcar, the venue of the 1908 West Riding Divisional Camp, were bedecked with flags and bunting and hung with banners proclaiming "Welcome to the Terriers, Our Brave Defenders" (Yorkshire Post, 27 July 1908).
280. Lord Roberts, introducing the NSL deputation to the Prime Minister (Yorkshire Post, 28 February 1914).
281. Yorkshire Post, 26 January 1911; Leeds Mercury, 1 August 1913. See also Shane Leslie, Mark Sykes: His Life and Letters (London, 1923), p. 171. The military style of riding was completely different from the civilian, and for this reason cavalry regiments preferred to take recruits who were total novices.
282. Yorkshire Post, 17 August 1910.
283. Ibid., 18 August 1910.
284. Yorkshire Evening News, 18 August 1909, 24 August 1910. Times, 21 September 1910, 6f. The military correspondent of the Münchener Zeitung in 1936 described the TA as "a sort of Sunday School for amateur soldiers" (quoted A.V. Sellwood, The Saturday Night Soldiers (London, 1966), p. 181).
285. 7th Bn Orders, June 1909.
286. See the open letter to Mr Asquith from the Committee of the National Defence Association, Times, 28 February 1913, 6c.
287. Yorkshire Post, 5 August 1909; Yorkshire Evening News, 15 September 1909.
288. Leeds Mercury, 29 August 1913.
289. Testimony of 1610 Thomas Doran, 8th.
290. Yorkshire Evening News, 23 June 1909; Yorkshire Post, 13 October 1913.
291. See Yorkshire Evening Post, 6 August 1908.
292. H. Baker, op.cit., p. 169.
293. Yorkshire Evening News, 17 September 1913.
294. 'Impressions of the Territorial Force', 781.
295. Yorkshire Evening News, 21 May 1913. 'Everybody's doing it' was a popular song of the period.
296. Yorkshire Evening Post, 19 August 1908, 29 July, 2 August 1911; Yorkshire Post, 5 August 1913.
297. Leeds Mercury, 29 August 1913.

298. Yorkshire Evening News, 23 August 1911.
299. Yorkshire Post, 2 June 1914. For statistics, see 64 HC Deb. 5s. 30 June 1914, col. 202.
300. Yorkshire Post, 17 August 1910.
301. Statistics relating to the Strength of the Regular Army, Special Reserve, Territorial Force, and Territorial Training and Musketry; 1914 Cmd. 7255, lii, 555.
302. Part II, Table 3, p. 33; p. 30; Table 1, p. 31.
303. p. 3; 1914 Cmd. 7253, li, 231.
304. "A Staff Officer", The Territorial Sham and the Army, pp. 64, 119.
305. Article, 'Territorial Recruiting in London', Times, 20 May 1911, 5a-b.
306. C.àC. Repington, article, 'The Territorial Force, deficiency in numbers', ibid., 20 November 1911, 4a-c.
307. Yorkshire Post, 3 April, 11 December 1913.
308. Ibid., 6 May 1913.
309. Yorkshire Evening News, 25 March 1914.
310. See J. Luvaas, The Education of an Army: British Military Thought 1815-1940 (London, 1965), Chap. 9, esp. pp. 313, 323.
311. Times, 6 February 1913, 8b; 25 February 1913, 7f.
312. Quoted L. Magnus, op.cit., p.12.
313. Yorkshire Post, 17 June 1914.
314. 7th and 8th Bn Orders, July 1914.
315. E.M. Spiers, Haldane: an Army Reformer, p. 184.
316. W.S. Churchill, Times, 3 April 1919, 10a.
317. Sir J.E. Edmonds and Lt Col R. Maxwell-Hyslop, History of the Great War, Based on Official Documents, Military Operations, France and Belgium, 1918, Vol. V (London, 1947), p. 598; Sir J.E. Edmonds and Capt G.C. Wynne, History of the Great War, Based on Official Documents, Military Operations, France and Belgium, Vol. III, 1915 (London, 1927), p. 57.
318. The Anger of the Guns: An Infantry Officer on the Western Front (London, 1979), p. 27.
319. 2/8th Bn War Diary, September, October 1914, April 1915, P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], War Office, WO 95/3082.
320. The Development of the British Army 1899-1914, p. 147.
321. E.M. Spiers, Haldane: an Army Reformer, pp. 36, 42-5.