



From Flanders to Waterloo: The Origins of the Royal Military College

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FROM FLANDERS TO WATERLOO: THE ORIGINS OF THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE

'You will, I trust, confirm the words inscribed on these Colours, equally applicable to the increasing advantages which this institution promises to the Army, and to the prowess of the nation, justly exalting in the distinguished part she has taken in a contest, the object of which is the restoration of the independence and liberties of Europe.'

HM Queen Charlotte, Sandhurst 1813

INTRODUCTION

The Royal Military College was created as a result of early British military failures against the armies of Revolutionary France during the twenty-three years of conflict that became known as the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. These wars, that drew in all of Europe's major powers and many minor ones, began on 1 February 1793 when Revolutionary France declared war on Britain. They would end with the final defeat of Napoleon on the field of Waterloo in Belgium on 18 June 1815 and his subsequent life-long imprisonment on the Island of Saint Helena in the Atlantic Ocean. At the end of the conflict French domination of Europe had ended, France had been expelled from India, there was no Europe-wide war for nearly one hundred years and Britain arguably became the world's primary global superpower for the rest of the nineteenth century.

From the establishment of its predecessor, the Staff School in 1799, to the final campaign that ended the wars in 1815, the Royal Military College played an increasingly important role in the campaigns of the British Army. It provided well-trained and educated officers who distinguished themselves wherever they served, particularly in the Peninsula and Waterloo campaigns. This paper describes the creation and early development of the Royal Military College as it responded to the army's immediate need for a highly competent and professional officer corps in an era when the art of warfare was becoming more scientific and sophisticated, leaving little place for the non-professional amateur

produced by the purchase system who might take some years to achieve an adequate standard of military competence.¹

THE PURCHASE SYSTEM

The purchase of officer commissions in the British Army arguably had its origins in the Middle Ages but was first formally recognized by Royal Warrant in 1684 and would not be abolished until 1871. Commissions could only be purchased in cavalry and infantry regiments (and therefore up to the rank of colonel only). The official values of commissions varied by rank and also by regiment, usually in line with the differing levels of social prestige of different regiments. For example, in 1798 the official cost of commissions in line regiments ranged from £450 for a cornet/ensign's commission to £3500 for a lieutenant colonel's commission. In the Foot Guards the same ranks cost £1200 and £9000 respectively.² (It should be noted that after purchasing his first commission an officer who was subsequently promoted only had to pay the difference in price between his existing rank and the desired rank.) Given that the annual earnings of the average farm labourer (the most common occupation for the male population of Britain for centuries) at this time was between £30 and £40 it is obvious that only the wealthy upper echelons of society - primarily the aristocracy and landed gentry - could afford to purchase a commission.

However, not all first commissions or promotions were paid for. If an officer was killed in action or was appointed to the staff (usually through being promoted to major general), this created a series of 'non-purchase vacancies' within his regiment. Non-purchase vacancies could also arise when new regiments or battalions were created, or when the establishments of existing units were expanded. Also, for young men of modest financial means but of good family there was the possibility of becoming a 'Gentleman Volunteer'. Gentleman Volunteers, at the invitation of the Commanding Officer, served in the ranks of a battalion (but lived with the officers) until a vacancy for an Ensign occurred at which point they could hope to be appointed Ensign without purchase. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars one in twenty new

¹ Bond pp. 12-13ff.

² See also Clayton p. 67.

commissions came about in this way.³ Serving in the ranks was of course a risky business and many Gentleman Volunteers never survived to obtain their first commission.⁴

From the Government's point of view there were a number of advantages to the Purchase System that led to its longevity. One was that it served as a form of collateral against abuse of authority or gross negligence or incompetence as disgraced officers could be cashiered by the Crown (that is, stripped of their commission without reimbursement). Another was that it ensured that officers had private means and were unlikely to engage in looting or pillaging, or to cheat the soldiers under their command by engaging in profiteering using army supplies. Also, from a political point of view the Purchase System had the particularly important advantage of ensuring that the officer class was largely populated by persons having a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, thereby reducing the possibility of Army units taking part in a revolution or coup. Finally, a financial benefit of the Purchase System was that the Government did not have to pay pensions to retired officers as the latter could sell their commissions at the end of their careers, often making a considerable profit in the process.⁵

There were also some disadvantages to the Purchase System that seriously impacted on military efficiency and would eventually lead to its abolition. Individuals such as young boys and old men who were clearly unsuitable for leading men into action could still purchase a commission and - finances permitting - reach the rank of Colonel within a short period of time. As no particular military experience or training was required prior to purchasing a commission many officers began their military career without the necessary skills required by their profession. Also, as promotion was largely dependent on the ability to pay rather than on merit senior officers often lacked competence in military affairs.

Indeed, the financial aspect of the system was easy to abuse as regimental colonels could - and did - illegally sell commissions at a far higher price than the official tariff, allowing very rich individuals to outbid their sometimes more competent and deserving rivals. As Major John Mitchell observed when writing in the *United Service Journal* some years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, commissioning and promoting mediocre officers in this way often led to defeat in the early

³ Haythornwaite 1998 p. 30.

⁴ TWAIV p. 207.

⁵ For a detailed examination of the history, theory and practice of the Purchase System see Bruce.

part of the wars when the British Army engaged in the more elaborate and complex type of warfare on the continent that differed substantially from the colonial wars and police actions with which it was more familiar.⁶

THE FLANDERS CAMPAIGN 1793-1795

The weaknesses of the purchase system were particularly exposed during the Flanders campaign of 1793-95 conducted during the first years of the French Revolutionary War. On 25 February 1793, after the French invaded the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and threatened the Dutch Republic, Britain sent a force under the command of Prince Frederick, Duke of York (the second son of King George III) to fight alongside Dutch, German and Austrian troops in the Low Countries as part of the 'First Coalition'. Despite some early Allied victories, including the Battle of Famars on 23 May 1793 in which the British contingent spearheaded the attack and the successful siege of Valenciennes by the Duke of York (the city fell to British troops on 28 July 1793), the Allies were eventually forced to withdraw by a series of French counter-offensives that led to Austria losing her territory in the Netherlands and the occupation of the Dutch Republic by French troops. British troops were finally evacuated on 14 April 1795 three months after the fall of Amsterdam.

The failure of the Flanders campaign resulted in much criticism of the British Army. Some particularly damning remarks were made in a letter written during the battle of Cassel⁷ by Major General James Henry Craig (the Duke of York's Adjutant General) to Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord Amherst's Military Secretary.⁸ In his letter, Major General Craig described the expeditionary force as undisciplined and poorly supplied, for which he blamed the Purchase System. He wrote:

'[...] there is not a young man in the Army that cares [...] whether his commanding officer approves his conduct or not [...] His promotion depends not on their smiles or frowns. His friends (family) can give him a thousand pounds [...] and in a fortnight he becomes a captain.' He went on to complain that *'Out of the fifteen regiments of cavalry and twenty-six of infantry which we have here, twenty-one are commanded by boys or idiots'*. Craig also criticised the lack of basic skills in the officer corps,

⁶ Bruce pp. 75-76, quoting from Mitchell's article 'On promotion and tactics' in the United Service Journal 1835 Part 1.

⁷ 30 June 1793. Le Marchant (p. 16) relates an extraordinary incident in which British troops were found lying on their faces during the night before the battle so as not to disturb their queues.

⁸ Jeffery Amherst, 1st Baron Amherst KB was Commander-in-Chief of the Forces 1778-1782 and 1793-1795.

such as knowing *‘how to post a piquet or instruct a sentinel in his duty; and as to moving, God forbid that we should attempt it within three miles of the enemy.’*⁹

One problem was that after a long period of peace many of the officers serving in the British expeditionary force sent to help the Dutch against the French invaders had had little or no opportunity to acquire military experience after purchasing their commission. Another was the lack of any formal military training available in Britain meant that newly commissioned young officers had no chance to acquire a military education unless they had the inclination, means and opportunity to study abroad. In fact, many officers, junior or otherwise appear not to have had much inclination to acquire military skills at all. It was reckoned that most junior officers took at least three to four years after they had joined their first regiment to acquire even a basic knowledge of regimental drill and it seems that there were even officers with over twenty years’ service who were unable to manoeuvre a battalion.¹⁰

Nevertheless, one of the factors that may have contributed to British successes early on in the Flanders campaign is the fact that most of the original batch of officers that set out with the expeditionary force in 1793 would have probably spent enough time with their regiment during the preceding years of peace to at least acquire basic military skills. The newly commissioned officers sent out later to replace casualties sustained by the officer corps would have suffered the double disadvantage of neither having had previous combat experience nor having had any time to become familiar with their basic military duties before leading their men into action.

The disastrous failure of the Flanders campaign led to the Duke of York (Commander in Chief of the British Army from 3 April 1795) to initiate a series of military reforms over the following years. These included modifying the Purchase System in 1802 so that an aspirant officer had to be at least sixteen years old (previously some twenty per cent of all new officers were under fifteen years old) and be able to provide a letter of recommendation from an officer of the rank of Major or above (or in some cases a person of social standing) before he could purchase a commission.¹¹

⁹ Thomas p. 20.

¹⁰ Bruce p. 76.

¹¹ Haythornwaite 1998 pp. 23, 25.

Another veteran of the Flanders campaign, John Gaspard Le Marchant also sought to reform the British Army, particularly in the field of education. At the beginning of August 1793 Captain Le Marchant, an intelligent and able cavalry officer from Guernsey, had been appointed Brigade-major of the cavalry brigade commanded by Lieutenant General William Harcourt during the campaign, prior to which he had commanded his own cavalry troop. Le Marchant had been born at Amiens in France (the home of his maternal grandfather) on 9 February 1766, although his paternal ancestors were native to the Channel Islands.¹² Le Marchant was a man of modest means, and had been practically unknown outside Guernsey until June 1789 when as a 23-year-old cornet in the 6th (Inniskilling) Dragoons he had escorted King George III to Weymouth, the King's favourite resort. His talent for watercolour painting, sketching and map making brought him to the attention of the King via the Secretary at War, Sir George Yonge.¹³

Royal patronage would prove invaluable both to Le Marchant's personal military career and to his plans for officer education. When a vacancy for a Lieutenancy occurred in the 2nd Dragoon Guards in November 1789 the King ensured that Le Marchant received the promotion despite there being a large number of applicants for the position including the Marquis of Townshend.¹⁴ Future promotions would follow as a direct result of royal patronage and Le Marchant's own military achievements.

THE STAFF SCHOOL

As a result of his experiences during the Flanders campaign where he had noticed that British cavalry regiments were not as well trained or equipped as their Austrian counterparts, Le Marchant designed a new cavalry sabre for British light cavalry regiments and wrote a ninety-page illustrated manual to train troopers in its use. By now Le Marchant was well known at Court, and so with the support of King George III and the Duke of York he was able to provide cavalry training, not only for the officers of his own regiment, but was also able to send a cadre of instructors to teach his cavalry drills to other regiments. As a result, the King promoted Le Marchant to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in April 1797.¹⁵

¹² Le Marchant pp. ix, 1-3ff.

¹³ Le Marchant p. vii, 10-13, 20; Peaty p. 87.

¹⁴ LG 17/11/1789; Le Marchant p.11.

¹⁵ LG 4/4/1797.

Le Marchant realised that the best way to ensure all officers underwent the same high standard of training that he was providing for his own regiment was to establish a centralised institution that could provide a standardised form of military education. Despite having the support of the Duke of York, Le Marchant's plans for a military college met with considerable resistance from some quarters of the military and political establishment. In the latter case opposition was particularly strong from the Treasury who were reluctant to spend the large sums of money that would be required.¹⁶

Consequently, Le Marchant proceeded cautiously, initially setting up a school for training staff officers in temporary accommodation at the Antelope Inn at High Wycombe on 4 May 1799. At the suggestion of the Duke of York, Le Marchant obtained the assistance of a French revolutionary commander-turned-royalist émigré, the elderly General François Jarry. General Jarry had an international reputation as an extremely competent staff officer. He claimed to have served on the staff of Frederick the Great during the Seven Years' War and been the head of the *Kriegsschule* (Military School) in Berlin. Unfortunately, no evidence from German archives has ever been found to substantiate Jarry's claims¹⁷ but if they are true it is possible that in his youth the Duke of York met Jarry in Berlin during the Duke's military education in Germany.¹⁸

Jarry had served as a divisional commander in the French Revolutionary Army in 1792, but fled to England after falling out with the French government over his burning of the city of Courtrai (he defended his action on the grounds that it might have afforded cover to enemy forces).¹⁹ From 1793, Jarry had been in the service of the British Government, most notably as a military advisor during the Flanders campaign.²⁰ He held similar views to Le Marchant with respect to officer training and in 1798 had offered to run a military school in England - an offer that the Duke of York took advantage of by making him the Director of Instruction at the new Staff School while Le Marchant was in overall charge of the School.²¹

¹⁶ Shepperd pp. 24-24.

¹⁷ Thomas p. 22.

¹⁸ Glover 1963 p. 198.

¹⁹ Thomas p. 22.

²⁰ *Le général François Jarry au service l'Angleterre*, <http://ahrf.revues.org/10581> (via www.napoleon-series.org).

²¹ Shepperd p. 25

The Staff School at High Wycombe began with a class of twenty-six young officers of an average age of 19-20 who were hoping for staff appointments after studying with General Jarry. They were expected to pay tuition fees and also to pay for their own messing and bring their own batmen. In this way it was hoped the School would be self-funding. The training course revolved around a series of lectures by General Jarry covering a number of military topics in some depth. These included for example the many aspects of outpost duty such as the duties of light infantry, setting up camp, the responsibilities of officers in command of infantry outposts, cavalry picquets, patrols, moving the army at night, guarding a river, following a retreating enemy etc.²²

Jarry's lectures were comprehensive in the coverage of their subjects and addressed some of the issues raised by Major General Craig during the Flanders campaign, but were very narrowly focussed and because of Jarry's poor English were delivered in French. In addition Jarry himself was frequently ill and the net result of these issues was that many of the students, most of whom could not understand French derived little benefit from the course.²³ As a result, Le Marchant recruited a superintendent to assist Jarry, an adjutant and three professors to teach a wider range of relevant subjects, namely Military Drawing (Surveying), French and Mathematics.²⁴ Later, professors in German and Fortification and an Assistant Drawing Master would be added to the staff of the School (see appendix 4).

Mathematics, especially in the area of Trigonometry, was important for the study of fortifications and siege warfare and the Staff School benefitted greatly from being able to employ the notable English mathematician Isaac Dalby, who in 1781 had been appointed mathematical master at a private naval school at Chelsea. Prior to his employment at the Staff School he had helped carry out the trigonometrical survey of England and Wales.²⁵ In 1805 he published *A Course of Mathematics designed for the use of the Officers and Cadets of the Royal Military College* in two volumes.²⁶ There was, however, one drawback to the increase in the number of staff employed by the Staff School: the extra salaries that had to be added to the cost of running the

²² See Napier.

²³ In fact, being able to speak a foreign language was highly regarded as part of a gentleman's education, and many British officers could speak French-see Haythornwaite 1998 p. 34.

²⁴ Glover 1963 p. 199.

²⁵ Thoumine p. 72.

²⁶ Le Marchant pp. 86-88.

School meant that it could not be self-funding and had to be subsidised by the tax payer.²⁷

The additional staff employed at the Staff School clearly led to an improvement in the quality of teaching as in a letter of 9 May 1801 Le Marchant was able to write of his students that '*the moment an officer is qualified for the Staff, he is immediately appointed, and any who have reasonable claims to promotion are attended to.*'²⁸ Of particular relevance to Le Marchant's plans for a fully-fledged military college to provide education and training for cadets prior to being commissioned, and staff training for serving officers, was the outstanding performance of three officers sent from the Staff School who accompanied Lieutenant General Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to Egypt in 1801.

The expedition, launched after the defeat of the Second Coalition left Britain standing alone against France, culminated in the defeat of the French Army at the Battle of Alexandria on 21 March and the recovery of Egypt from the French. The Quartermaster General of the expedition, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Anstruther gave a glowing report of the staff work carried out by the three young majors concerned. All three officers were appointed to the staff of the Quartermaster General as Assistant Quartermaster Generals with Major Thomas Birch (16th Light Dragoons) the senior officer. Under his supervision Majors Burgh Leighton and John Pine Coffin (both from the 4th Dragoons) were responsible for the reconnaissance of the theatre of operations, map making and organising the movement and deployment of the army by finding the best positions and routes of march. Their achievements were highlighted by the fact that, as the contemporary historian Charles Dupin wrote, '*the British Staff were in total ignorance*' of these matters.²⁹ Both Thomas Birch and John Pine Coffin would later reach the rank of Major General.

THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE

THE SENIOR DEPARTMENT

The success of the three 'Wycombites' during the Egyptian campaign had a tremendous impact on the British Government and on

²⁷ Glover 1963 p. 199.

²⁸ Le Marchant pp. 102-103.

²⁹ Quoted in Le Marchant pp. 101-102

public opinion in general.³⁰ Establishing a military college for the education of army officers was now seen as desirable and necessary and on 24 June 1801 a Royal Warrant was issued creating the Royal Military College with the Staff School at High Wycombe becoming the Senior Department (known as the First Department until the establishment of the Junior Department). A further Royal Warrant issued on 9 December 1801 provided the College with a Board of Governors and made General William Harcourt the first Governor of the Royal Military College while Le Marchant was designated Lieutenant Governor and Jarry Director General.³¹

It is possible that the appointment of a leading member of the aristocracy (General Harcourt was the 3rd Earl Harcourt) as Governor gave the College more social cachet in the eyes of the social class from which the vast majority of British officers originated³² but there were better reasons for General Harcourt's appointment. He knew Le Marchant well as the latter had served under him in Flanders, and his appointment meant that the three men responsible for running the new college - Harcourt, Le Marchant and Jarry - had all been involved with the Flanders campaign and were aware of the shortcomings of the British officer corps that had made a major contribution to the failure of the campaign.

The regulations for admittance to the Senior Department of the Royal Military College stated that student officers had to be over nineteen years old, have had two years' service, be well grounded in military discipline and the internal workings of an infantry company or cavalry troop, be master of the first four rules of arithmetic and know enough French to be able to start the first French course taught by the College. The fees were thirty guineas (£31 and 5 Shillings) a year.³³

To help get his plans approved Le Marchant had originally told the Treasury that the Royal Military College could be financially self-supporting based on student officer fees, but this turned out to not be the case and, as with its predecessor the Staff School, the College needed to be subsidised by the state. Indeed, despite the support of the Duke of York, Treasury opposition meant that Le Marchant's original aim of setting up a 'Legion' (a mixed formation of one cavalry and four infantry

³⁰ Thoumine pp. 78-79.

³¹ Thomas pp. 33-34.

³² Thomas p. 33.

³³ Army List 1/6/1802.

companies³⁴) attached to the college to provide a free education to the sons of non-commissioned officers and soldiers had to be dropped. As a result, the Duke of York on his own initiative established the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea on 19 June 1801, primarily for the orphan sons of non-commissioned officers and soldiers.³⁵

THE COURSE OF STUDY

The course of study taught in the Senior Department was divided into six classes (see appendix 1). For competent students, with no periods of absenteeism because of sickness or other commitments, the course lasted about a year (one class every two months), although a student could have his studies extended for another twelve months on the recommendation of the teaching staff. The course increased in complexity from the first to the sixth class and student officers' progress was monitored weekly. The subjects covered were the study of Military Surveying or Drawing (including field exercises for which the student officer was required to own a horse, and which involved reconnaissance, estimating the resources of the theatre of operations regarding forage etc and co-ordinating the movements of multiple columns), Fortification, Mathematics, German and French. Finally, the student officer had to pass an oral exam which, if successful qualified him to be a staff officer.³⁶

German could only be studied once a student had acquired an adequate command of French, and as Frederick the Great was still regarded as the ideal teacher of the art of war his *The Instructions of the King of Prussia to his Officers* had to be translated from the German and studied in the fifth and sixth class. As mentioned above learning a foreign language was considered to be part of a gentleman's education, but the German and French language skills taught at the Royal Military College potentially had a greater utility for British officers than simply allowing them to converse with their European peers socially, translate foreign military writings or understand General Jarry's lectures, important though all these were. It is reasonable to suppose that on campaign French would be useful for the interrogation of prisoners and German for communicating with Britain's German-speaking allies and of course its own German soldiers of the King's German Legion.

³⁴ Shepperd p. 24.

³⁵ Thomas p. 33.

³⁶ AL 1/6/1802, 1/8/1802; Glover 1963 pp. 202-205.

Despite some discipline problems at the start, mainly because of the novelty of assembling a group of young officers to study together who did not at first appreciate the importance of what they were doing,³⁷ the reputation of the Royal Military College for producing highly trained staff officers continued to grow as can be seen during 1803-1805 when Britain lived in fear of a French invasion. The British government embarked on a series of measures to defeat Napoleon's planned attack, including building coastal fortifications such as the famous 'Martello Towers' and raising large numbers of volunteer units. Significantly, in 1805 plans were made to use student officers still in training at High Wycombe to act as staff officers to the volunteer brigades in the event of an actual invasion. When a cynical Lieutenant General asked why he would be sent two students in such circumstances the Adjutant General, Major General Harry Calvert, replied: '*for the purpose of ensuring you the immediate aid of intelligent officers*'.³⁸ Le Marchant himself was promoted to Colonel on 30 October 1805.³⁹

In October 1806 General Jarry resigned from his position as Director General of the Senior Department at High Wycombe due to old age and ill health and died on 17 March the following year. Another former French revolutionary, General Charles Dumouriez, who had defected from the French Government in April 1793 and, since 1804 had been an advisor to the British War Office was initially offered Jarry's post. The offer was rescinded when Dumouriez demanded an immediate promotion to Lieutenant General in the British Army.⁴⁰

The history of the Royal Military College, and that of the British and Prussian armies, might have followed a different path as Jarry's post was next offered to the distinguished Hanoverian-born Prussian General, Gerhard von Scharnhorst. Scharnhorst had published a number of military manuals for officers in the field and founded a military journal. He would later carry out much needed reforms in the Prussian Army.⁴¹ Scharnhorst does not seem to have replied to the invitation to run the Senior Department but his capture by the French in November 1806 after the Prussian Army's disastrous defeat at the battles of Jena-Auerstadt on 14 October meant that he was not free to accept in any case, at least not in the short term. After his release from captivity Scharnhorst engaged in a

³⁷ Glover 1963 PP. 207-208.

³⁸ Quoted in Glover 1963 pp. 209-210.

³⁹ LG 29/10/1805.

⁴⁰ Thoumine p. p. 108 fn 1.

⁴¹ Thomas p. 46.

reform of the Prussian Military Academy until 1811 and so continued to remain unavailable.⁴² In his place Major Sir Howard Douglas (a former Royal Artillery officer and veteran of the Flanders campaign now on the muster roll of the York Rangers) who had held the post of Superintendent of the Senior Department since 5 June 1804⁴³ took over Jarry's post while retaining his previous role as Superintendent.

Major Douglas made a significant contribution to the development of the syllabus of the Royal Military College when - after a struggle of some years - he changed the way in which military sketching was taught. General Jarry's method of teaching the subject involved sketching a map of the ground based on a military appreciation of the important features with a few explanatory notes, an approximate scale and no extraneous detail. This so-called 'Wycombe style' technique was based on the need for speed given that the officer making the map may well have to do so under fire from the enemy, and therefore did not use instruments. Douglas on the other hand believed that military sketching/surveying should be carried out with instruments to ensure absolute accuracy and greater detail even though this would necessarily take longer to complete. Despite Le Marchant's argument that there was room for the teaching of both techniques in the syllabus, Major Douglas eventually won the argument, having the support of first the Governor of the Royal Military College, General Harcourt and later of General Robert Brownrigg, Quartermaster General to the Forces. By 1811, the year in which Le Marchant left to serve in Spain under the Duke of Wellington, both the Senior and Junior Departments were teaching the subject of military sketching with the use of instruments.⁴⁴

By the time Le Marchant left the Royal Military College in August 1811 two hundred officers had passed through the Senior Department, many of whom served with distinction in the Peninsular War and obtained senior staff appointments such as Major General (later General) Sir George Murray, Wellington's Quartermaster General in the Peninsula 1809-1814 and Brigadier General (later Lieutenant General) Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Quartermaster General of the Portuguese Army during the same campaign.⁴⁵

⁴² Godwin-Austen pp. 45-46; Thoumine p. 108.

⁴³ Staff Register.

⁴⁴ Thoumine pp. 108-110.

⁴⁵ Peaty p. 88.

Murray had studied in the Senior Department in 1802 and immediately on leaving was appointed Deputy Quartermaster General.⁴⁶ In 1810, as Wellington's Quartermaster General in Spain, Murray based the 'special instructions' that he issued to his department on the teaching he had received at the Senior Department. These instructions stated that officers of the Quartermaster General's Department were to acquire a detailed knowledge of the country in which the army was operating, including geographical and political conditions, the river and road networks, population and resources, and suitable areas for the deployment and manoeuvre of troops.⁴⁷ Wellington later heaped praise on Murray for his handling of the Quartermaster General's Department during the Peninsular War and for his ability to work well with his Commander-in-Chief and interpret the latter's wishes. Murray was Wellington's first choice for the post of Quartermaster General in 1815 but the former was still on his way from Canada when the Waterloo campaign began. Murray would later go on to become Governor of the Royal Military College after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.⁴⁸

D'Urban was a student from 1800 to 1803 and upon finishing his studies in the Senior Department became Superintendent of the Junior Department of the Royal Military College.⁴⁹ He had a reputation for being a very efficient staff officer hence his appointment by Major General William Beresford to the post of Quartermaster General of the Portuguese Army when it was re-organised by Beresford in 1809.⁵⁰ Both Murray and D'Urban were outstanding examples of the quality of staff officer produced by the Royal Military College and illustrate the significant contribution that graduates from the Senior Department made to the successful outcome of the war in Spain.

(An interesting example of an officer without a formal military education suffering a degree of censure for his lack of professionalism is the case of Lieutenant Colonel Hon Frederick Ponsonby, Commanding Officer of the 12th Light Dragoons at Waterloo. In 1812 while leading his regiment in the Peninsular War he had been praised for his personal attributes (gallantry, judgement etc) but also criticized in a report by Major General George Anson, his brigade commander, for his regiment not being '*...well-versed in manoeuvres, having been originally badly*

⁴⁶ Senior Department Return 18/1/1808.

⁴⁷ Godwin-Austen pp. 52.

⁴⁸ Bromley & Bromley 2015 pp. 106-107.

⁴⁹ Senior Department Return 18/1/1808.

⁵⁰ Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 281.

instructed'.⁵¹ Ponsonby had applied for and been given a place in the Senior Department of the Royal Military College in 1803 but had not taken it up.)⁵²

THE MOVE TO FARNHAM

In January 1813 after the longstanding invitation to the Prussian General Scharnhorst to accept the position of Superintendent General continued to remain unanswered (he would die in June of that year) the former Commandant (and now Lieutenant Colonel) Sir Howard Douglas was recalled from Spain to once again become Commandant of the Senior Department.⁵³ He was promoted to Colonel in 1814⁵⁴ and would remain in post until 1820. Despite the fact that the College staff register shows Douglas as being on the staff continuously from 1804 to 1820 (see appendix 5) he actually served in the Peninsular from 1808 to 1809 and in the Netherlands also in 1809.⁵⁵

At the beginning of 1814, three years after Major General Sir Alexander Hope became the second Governor of the Royal Military College and the first one to actually live on site in the Manor House on the Sandhurst estate, the Senior Department moved from High Wycombe to a house (later known as College Gardens) in West Street, Farnham in Surrey to be closer to the Junior Department at Sandhurst. One of the last social gatherings held at High Wycombe before the move was a celebration of the British victory at Vitoria in Spain (21 June 1813) held on 5 and 6 July 1813 when the college building was illuminated and '*general rejoicings were held*'.⁵⁶

In April 1814 the Napoleonic wars appeared to have come to an end with Napoleon's exile to the island of Elba following the defeat of France. His escape in late February 1815 inevitably led to the renewal of hostilities and French armies invaded Belgium on 15 June. When preparing his army for the coming conflict Wellington personally selected for appointments on his staff a number of officers who were currently studying in the Senior Department, such as Lieutenant Colonel Colquhoun Grant who became Wellington's chief intelligence officer for

⁵¹ Bamford 2014 p. 184.

⁵² Senior Department Return 1/5/1803.

⁵³ Godwin-Austen p. 54.

⁵⁴ Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 264.

⁵⁵ Staff Register; Shepperd pp. 38-39; Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 264.

⁵⁶ Godwin-Austen p. 54.

the Waterloo campaign,⁵⁷ as well as others who were past graduates of either the Senior or Junior Departments. In all, twenty-two officers who had studied at the Senior Department and/or its predecessor the Staff School would go on to serve with distinction in the Waterloo campaign of 1815 that finally brought the Napoleonic Wars to an end, some of whom would hold extremely important positions on Wellington's staff such as Colonel William Howe De Lancey and Lieutenant Colonel Sir Henry Hardinge.⁵⁸

De Lancey had studied in the Senior Department from 1801 to 1802 (and was therefore a contemporary of Murray and D'Urban - see above) and passed through four classes of instruction in five months,⁵⁹ nearly double the average rate of progress. He was appointed to one of the very few permanent posts in the Quartermaster General's Department (there were only ten such appointments⁶⁰) immediately after leaving the Royal Military College. He became famous for his professionalism⁶¹ and during the Waterloo campaign he was acting Quartermaster General⁶² and Wellington's *de facto* Chief of Staff, being responsible for organising the movements of the Anglo-Allied army including organising the withdrawal from Quatre Bras to the more defensible ridge at Mont St Jean and the subsequently redeployment of Wellington's army there.⁶³ Sadly De Lancey was mortally wounded at the battle of Waterloo. Wellington himself later said that De Lancey '*was an excellent officer, and would have risen to great distinction had he lived.*'⁶⁴

Hardinge had graduated from the Royal Military College in November 1807⁶⁵ and gone on to hold various important staff appointments in the Peninsular War, including Deputy Quartermaster General in the Portuguese army. Hardinge was mentioned in despatches three times and was highly regarded by Wellington.⁶⁶ In 1815 the Duke selected Hardinge for the position of liaison officer with the Prussian Army, a role he was well suited for given that he was so successful in his studies when a student that he had been admitted into the German

⁵⁷ Godwin-Austen pp. 57-58.

⁵⁸ Morton, A R, 'The Impact of Royal Military College officers on Waterloo: Part One-Wellington's Staff' (publication pending).

⁵⁹ Senior Department Return 30/11/1801.

⁶⁰ Haythornwaite 1997 p. 64.

⁶¹ TWAVI p. 123.

⁶² Dalton p. 7.

⁶³ TWAVI p. 207; Hussey Vol 2 pp. 4, 33; ODNB "Sir William Howe De Lancey".

⁶⁴ Quoted in Miller p. 76.

⁶⁵ Senior Department Return 28/11/1807.

⁶⁶ Bromley & Bromley 2012 pp. 416-417.

language class (only open to those who had reached the 5th Class of Instruction and had reached an adequate standard in the French language). Hardinge would play a vital role during the Waterloo campaign by keeping Wellington informed of the plans and movements of his Prussian allies, thereby facilitating the co-ordination of the two armies.

The widely acknowledged success of the Senior Department during the Napoleonic Wars led to post-1815 France looking to it as an example in establishing her *École d'Application* (Staff College) in 1818, the irony of which has been remarked upon given the French General Jarry's involvement in the foundation of the Royal Military College.⁶⁷ The Senior Department itself would survive the post-war decline that set in following the victory at Waterloo and after being renamed the Staff College in 1858 it would be made independent of the Royal Military College in 1870, leaving the latter to function purely as a cadet college.

THE JUNIOR DEPARTMENT

After the defeat of the Second Coalition by the French, a 'Definitive Treaty of Peace' was signed between Britain and France in the French town of Amiens in March 1802. During the time of uneasy peace that followed Le Marchant was finally able to secure Government support for expanding the Royal Military College to include a department for training cadets for a first commission. While the recently purchased 500 acres of land at Sandhurst were being developed for the permanent home of the College the Junior Department, under its Commandant Colonel Butler, would be housed in rented temporary accommodation at Remnantz, a country house in Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, only five miles from the Senior Department at High Wycombe.

The original aim of the Junior Department of the Royal Military College was, in the words of its founder, to provide '*instruction of those who are from early life intended for the military profession; and who, by becoming students in this department, may be well grounded in science, previous to their attaining that age which entitles them to hold commissions*'.⁶⁸ According to the Royal Warrant of 4 May 1802 a free education was to be provided (there would be no tuition fees) for the sons of officers intending to follow their father's profession and enter the Army. The age of entry was between thirteen and fifteen years of age and

⁶⁷ Godwin-Austen p. 61; Bond p. 52.

⁶⁸ Le Marchant p.71.

no cadet could stay at the College after age nineteen. Candidates had to produce a birth certificate and be mentally and physically fit. They also had to pass certain educational tests before entering the college: being grounded in the first four rules of arithmetic, know Latin grammar and have good handwriting.⁶⁹

The first intake of sixteen gentlemen cadets commenced their studies at Great Marlow on 17 May 1802. (An historical curiosity is the fact that ‘Cadet No 1’ was George Arnold, third son of the famous General Benedict Arnold by his second wife Peggy Shippen. General Arnold had fought for both the United States and Britain during the American Revolutionary War.) By the end of the year 42 cadets had entered the Junior Department of the College, five of which were destined for commissions in the East India Company.⁷⁰

On 19 February 1803 Napoleon turned Switzerland into a client state of the French Empire via his ‘Act of Mediation’. This, together with his continued attempts to exclude Britain from European affairs, and to undermine British influence in the rest of the world, made it inevitable that the war with France would be renewed. Such a prospect gave an extra urgency to the need for training efficient officers and on 17 April 1803 the scope of the Junior Department was widened when King George III issued a Royal Warrant authorising the gradual increase of the cadet establishment at the Junior Department to 400 cadets, divided into four companies of 100 each under the command of an army captain.

The warrant also introduced tuition fees to help pay for the expansion of the Junior Department that would now be divided into three establishments. The First Establishment consisted of 100 cadets who were the sons of officers who either had been killed in action or were in reduced circumstances or had large families to support, and thus would be exempt from having to pay. A further 80 cadets would form the Second Establishment. These would be the sons of serving officers and pay £40 per year. The remainder would be sons of noblemen and gentlemen or cadets seeking a commission in the East India Company, all of whom would pay £90 a year and form the Third Establishment.⁷¹ Clearly the cadets would come from far more varied backgrounds than could be found in the British officer corps as a whole, and a limit was put on the

⁶⁹ Glover 1963 p. 206.

⁷⁰ Smyth p. 47.

⁷¹ Mockler-Ferryman pp. 10-11; Smyth p. 49; Thomas pp. 39-40; Clayton p. 69.

amount of money a cadet could bring to the college in the interests of equality.⁷²

The war with France began again on 16 May 1803. A year later Napoleon crowned himself Emperor of France in the presence of the Pope and on 11 March 1805 Britain and Russia (later joined by Austria, Naples, Sweden and Portugal) formed what would become the Third Coalition. In the same year it was decided to commence the enrolment of the third company of cadets at Great Marlow and the establishment of each company was increased from 100 to 150. In 1807 the fourth and final company of cadets was raised at Great Marlow.

One year later, just as Britain began its involvement in the Peninsula War at the request of the Spanish, a new Royal Warrant was issued 27 May 1808 dealing at considerable length with the affairs of both the Senior and Junior Departments. The new warrant confirmed that the four cadet companies of the Junior Department at Great Marlow would be borne on the establishment of the Army and that each Gentleman Cadet would now receive pay at a rate of 2/6d a day. The Gentleman Cadets now became subject to military law as contained in the Mutiny Act and Statutory Articles of War of 1803.⁷³

THE CURRICULUM

There were two terms each year punctuated by a summer and winter vacation.⁷⁴ The academic element of the curriculum of the Junior Department consisted of the following subjects: Mathematics (including Geometry, Plane Trigonometry in its relation to heights and distances, and Mensuration of Planes and Solids), The Theory of Permanent and Field Fortifications with attack and defence (taught in French), Military Drawing (surveying), English, French, Classics (Latin), Modern History (with particular reference to that of England and France), and Religious Instruction (including lectures on Natural and Moral Philosophy).⁷⁵

In 1809, the study of Eastern languages was introduced for those cadets training for a commission in the East India Company. In this same year the cadets, now numbering 320 were separated into two schools, the 'Under School' that included the first three classes of each subject and the

⁷² Glover 1963 p. 205.

⁷³ Smyth p. 50; Shepperd pp. 36-37; Glover 1963 p. 10.

⁷⁴ Shepperd p. 54.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 2.

‘Upper School’ that taught classes four to six (see appendix 2). Other reforms included fixing the summer vacation at two months, commencing on the 15th July and finishing on the 15th September.⁷⁶

The curriculum also contained practical subjects such as Athletics, Riding, Fencing, Swimming and Drill.⁷⁷ The latter was the most important of all given that unlike later times the drill taught to the cadets at the Royal Military College during the nineteenth century was identical to that used on the battlefield. Officers had to be able to manoeuvre their units in the correct formations in order to engage the enemy. Officers who commissioned from the college had a significant advantage over the majority of their fellow officers who would have to take time to learn such basic and necessary military skills after they had joined their regiment, and who as noted above were often reluctant to do so.⁷⁸

Drill practice was based on the new drill manual by Colonel David Dundas (later General Sir David Dundas) published in 1788 and amended in 1792. Dundas had based his manual on the practices of the Prussian Army under Frederick the Great but was more flexible in his approach. For instance, in his manual Dundas directed that infantry companies should be formed up in three ranks when deployed on the battlefield,⁷⁹ yet he later modified this formation during the Peninsular War and reduced it to two ranks, thereby extending the frontage of a British infantry battalion and increasing its firepower.⁸⁰ (Interestingly, at the climactic battle of Waterloo in 1815 where many RMC-trained officers distinguished themselves, there was not always enough space on the battlefield to deploy in two or even three ranks and some British infantry battalions would have to fight in four ranks instead.)⁸¹

Le Marchant insisted on high standards of behaviour and study from both cadets and staff at the Royal Military College. Outbreaks of serious indiscipline such as the ‘mutinous conspiracy’ entered into by nine cadets in August 1804 were very severely punished; all were expelled after having to endure a humiliating public ceremony in front of the cadets and staff of the College.⁸² Expulsion was the ultimate sanction but for minor wrong doing a cadet might be given extra guard duty or

⁷⁶ Smyth p. 50; Mockler-Ferryman p. 13.

⁷⁷ Glover 1963 p. 206.

⁷⁸ Haythornwaite 1998 pp. 34-35.

⁷⁹ Dundas p. 56.

⁸⁰ Thomas p. 21.

⁸¹ Adkin p. 169.

⁸² Glover 1963 pp. 208-209.

drill, or extra academic work or confinement to the college grounds requiring reporting to the guardroom at regular intervals. More serious infringements could result in confinement to the isolation hospital on bread and water or be confined to one of the 'Dark Rooms' in the basement of the college building, the worst of which was the 'Black Hole'. Serious cases of insubordination which did not merit expulsion could instead result in temporary suspension in term time ('*rustication*') or detention during the vacation.⁸³

Le Marchant's attitude to laziness or apathy on the part of the cadets can be seen in a letter to his wife where he famously wrote '*There is no room in the College for a single drone*'.⁸⁴ The timetable of the Junior Department (see appendix 3) was designed to occupy the cadets for 17 hours per day with only two and a half hours for recreation during the day. Cadets spent six and half hours per day studying academic subjects in the halls of study. A further three hours were spent in physical exercise and military training. On Saturdays the last period of study after supper was omitted, and on Sundays after the church parade and dinner cadets were free to enjoy the limited recreational activities available.⁸⁵

Public examinations were held regularly, and no cadet could be recommended from the college for a commission until he had passed an oral leaving examination and obtained the necessary certificate. Successful cadets were given priority over those who had not graduated from the College in the award of 'non-purchase' (free) commissions. If there were not enough free commissions available (less of a problem in wartime given the rate of officer casualties and the inevitable expansion of the army), then the remaining cadets who had qualified for a commission were given priority over non-cadets in the award of commissions by purchase.⁸⁶

Most cadets appear to have spent between two and three years at the Royal Military College, as per Le Marchant's original plan.⁸⁷ Any cadet who after four years or by the end of his eighteenth year had failed to pass the leaving examination, had to leave the college unless he could show that his failure was due to continued ill-health or other extenuating

⁸³ Shepperd p. 58. See Morton 2010 for examples of punishment involving use of the Dark Rooms and Black Hole.

⁸⁴ Le Marchant p. 88.

⁸⁵ Shepperd p. 54.

⁸⁶ Bruce p. 43.

⁸⁷ Shepperd p. 26.

circumstances.⁸⁸ The most able cadets, on the other hand, once they had qualified for a commission could remain at the college to continue their studies without having to pay anymore fees, were given the brevet rank of Ensign and provided they reached the standards required for a lieutenant would be commissioned in that rank without purchase in a line infantry or cavalry regiment. In some cases, a cadet might acquire (usually by purchase) a commission while he was still studying at the College. Such individuals were still treated as cadets and subject to the rules and regulations of the College despite their newly acquired rank,⁸⁹ providing of course that their Commanding Officer gave them permission to remain at the College to complete their military education.⁹⁰

Not every cadet joined the Junior Department in order to obtain a free first commission. Some, often members of the aristocracy who could easily afford to purchase their commissions, left the College without taking the final exam as their goal was primarily to obtain a good general (and military) education.⁹¹ These cadets would go on to purchase their commissions which meant they had more choice in which regiment they could join (often one of the regiments of Foot Guards in the case of the sons of the aristocracy) and could also use their commissions as a financial investment by selling them on at a later date. Other cadets who had the means to do so might choose to purchase a commission if either they had not been given a college recommendation or could not wait for a ‘non-purchase’ commission to become available.

THE DEATH OF MAJOR GENERAL LE MARCHANT

On 4 June 1811, after having been Lieutenant Governor of the Royal Military College for ten years, Colonel Le Marchant was promoted to the rank of Major General. By then 1,500 cadets had passed through the Junior Department, many of whom had distinguished themselves in Spain during the Peninsular War.⁹² In fact, such was the growing reputation of the Royal Military College that there were far more applications for the Junior Department than there were cadet vacancies. The obvious success of the college led the King to be fulsome in his

⁸⁸ Shepperd p. 54.

⁸⁹ Shepperd p. 37.

⁹⁰ As, for example, happened to Lieutenant John Vandeleur, who was permitted to remain as a cadet at the RMC for a year after obtaining his first commission in the 2nd Battalion 71st Foot in July 1809 (Bamford 2015 pp. 7-8). Vandeleur would go on to serve in the 12th Light Dragoons at Waterloo.

⁹¹ Thomas pp. 41-42.

⁹² Thoumine p. 141.

praise of Le Marchant's work. At Windsor Castle that summer he told Le Marchant that:

*'I consider the Military College an object of the deepest national importance [...] you will all the while be raising a race of officers who will make our army the finest in Europe-the country is greatly indebted to you.'*⁹³

In a similar vein a letter published in the June 1811 issue of the Royal Military Chronicle claimed that the Royal Military College was '*rapidly effecting a very desirable change [...] not only by the numerous accomplished officers they produce, but in the desire of knowledge which has thereby been disseminated through the Army*'.⁹⁴

Shortly after his promotion Le Marchant visited Bagshot Heath where he was pleased to see that work on the new College buildings at Sandhurst had commenced.⁹⁵ However, within days of visiting the building site at Sandhurst, Le Marchant (an experienced cavalry officer) was posted from the College to Spain and put in command of F Brigade (the first heavy cavalry brigade to join the British army in the Peninsula) in Wellington's army.⁹⁶

A year later, on 22 July 1812 Wellington won his greatest military victory at the Battle of Salamanca, destroying a French army of '40,000 men in forty minutes'.⁹⁷ At the height of the battle Major General Le Marchant led the three regiments of his heavy cavalry brigade, the 5th Dragoon Guards and the 3rd and 4th Dragoons, in a dramatic charge against the French 5th Infantry Division and destroyed it. He then led another cavalry charge against the supporting 6th Infantry Division, but although the British heavy dragoons broke the enemy line Le Marchant was killed at the head of his men while charging some survivors who had formed square.⁹⁸ Wellington's despatch after the battle stated:

'the cavalry [...] made a most gallant and successful charge against a body of the enemy's infantry, which they overthrew and cut to pieces. In

⁹³ Le Marchant pp. 145-146.

⁹⁴ Royal Military Chronicle Vol II p. 135. Cf Thoumine p. 145.

⁹⁵ Thoumine p. 139.

⁹⁶ Le Marchant pp. 155-159.

⁹⁷ A famous and pithy summary of the battle originating from the diary of one of the French commanders present, General Maximilien Foy.

⁹⁸ Thoumine pp. 191-195.

*this charge Major General Le Marchant was killed at the head of his brigade, and I have to lament the loss of a most able officer.*⁹⁹

Le Marchant was buried on the battlefield. By the time of his death his contributions to the education and training of British Army officers was seen as of national importance and a monument to him was erected in St Paul's Cathedral.¹⁰⁰

THE MOVE TO SANDHURST

Although the land at Sandhurst (the small settlement of Blackwater was in fact closer to the site but the slightly further hamlet of Sandhurst with its more pleasant-sounding name was adopted by the College¹⁰¹) had been purchased for the Royal Military College in 1801 from William Collins, a member of the landed gentry and a scientist,¹⁰² no building had taken place until 1808. This was mainly due to the financial pressures on the Treasury that had increased enormously after the resumption of war with France in 1803. In fact, to save money the Government seriously considered using existing state-owned buildings for the College such as Nottingham Castle, the King's Palace at Winchester and even an empty hospital at Chatham. However, all of the suggested alternative sites proved too small or too expensive to adapt and were therefore rejected.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, the Treasury did attempt to cut costs by insisting that only the Junior Department should move to the projected new buildings at Sandhurst.¹⁰⁴ As mentioned above the Senior Department only moved to Sandhurst in 1821 after being relocated to Farnham in 1814.

The commencement of the Peninsular War in 1808 involved Britain's largest military commitment to date during the Napoleonic Wars. Officer casualty rates during the fighting in Portugal and Spain were often higher than that of other ranks, mainly because of their more conspicuous position at the head of their men. Generally an officer had a twenty percent higher chance of becoming a casualty than an ordinary

⁹⁹ Le Marchant p. 308.

¹⁰⁰ See Pattison for a succinct summary of Le Marchant's life and achievements.

¹⁰¹ Thomas p. 32.

¹⁰² According to original research by Andrew Orgill awaiting publication it was William Collins (not, as traditionally believed, former army captain John Tekell) who previously owned the Sandhurst Estate. Collins probably bought the estate for the mill and mill pond as he needed water power for his metal pressing experiments. See Orgill 2003-2004 for the traditional version of events and Morton 2015 that references Orgill's revised account.

¹⁰³ Mockler-Ferryman p. 12; Thoumine pp. 82-83.

¹⁰⁴ Shepperd pp. 30-31.

soldier.¹⁰⁵ To give just one example, at the battle of Barrosa in Spain on 5 March 1811 twenty five out of the seventy six officers in one British brigade were killed or wounded.¹⁰⁶ As a result by 1813 the demand for trained officers was so great that cadets of the First and Second Establishments (military orphans and sons of serving officers) who had not passed their final exams were allowed to go to Spain as volunteers with the rank of Ensign.¹⁰⁷

The shortage of accommodation at Great Marlow together with the increase in demand for trained officers made it imperative that the Government proceed with larger, purpose-built buildings for the College to move into Sandhurst. The site itself had been chosen by Le Marchant as there was plenty of open countryside available for military manoeuvres and there were no nearby towns or cities that might prove a distraction for the cadets.¹⁰⁸ By early 1809 the contractor Alexander Copeland had built thirteen houses for the accommodation of the professors and masters of the College in what became known officially as College Terrace, but which for many years was known colloquially as ‘Tea Caddy Row’. (This nick-name originated from coachmen plying their trade along the London-Southampton road - the modern A30 - who felt that the squat, yellow brick buildings looked similar to tea caddies.)¹⁰⁹

Eventually the main building, built in the Palladian country house style seen as suitable for gentlemen, was completed at Sandhurst together with a number of training redoubts set in its grounds and the Junior Department finally moved into its new quarters in October 1812. On 12 August 1813 the move of the Royal Military College to its permanent home at Sandhurst was officially confirmed by its first royal visit, during which Queen Charlotte made the first presentation of Colours and paid tribute to the impact of the College on the fight for ‘*the restoration of the independence and liberties of Europe*’ (see full quote at the head of this paper).¹¹⁰ The Colours were then consecrated in the newly completed College Chapel by the Chaplain, the Reverend William Wheeler following the practice of infantry and cavalry regiments upon receipt of new Colours.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Haythornwaite 1994 p. 28.

¹⁰⁶ Clayton p. 65.

¹⁰⁷ Minutes of the Supreme Board 27/10/1813 pp. 250-251. Cf Thomas p. 65.

¹⁰⁸ Shepperd p. 29.

¹⁰⁹ Shepperd p. 37.

¹¹⁰ ‘Roots in the Past’ (Presentation of Colours 1813), *The Wish Stream Volume 9 No 1 April 1955 pp. 18-19.*

¹¹¹ Clayton p. 69.

Indeed, the term ‘Colours’ normally only refers to the Standards and Guidons carried by cavalry regiments and the Colours carried by infantry regiments.¹¹² The award of Infantry Colours, consisting of two flags, a ‘Regimental’ Colour and the King’s Colour (the cadet body was organised on the lines of an infantry battalion) to the Royal Military College, a training establishment, and their subsequent consecration was perhaps a reflection both of Royal patronage that had begun with King George III’s support of Le Marchant’s plans for officer education¹¹³ and of the status the College now enjoyed in the army and nation as a whole.

THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN

Two years after the Royal Military College moved to Sandhurst it appeared that the Napoleonic Wars were finally coming to an end. Napoleon’s Russian campaign of 1812 resulted in abject failure and a year later he was defeated by the combined armies of Austria, Russia and Prussia at the Battle of Leipzig 16-19 October 1813. Paris fell to the Allies at the end of March 1814 leading to Napoleon’s abdication and exile to the island of Elba.

However, in February 1815 Napoleon escaped from exile and returned to France where he managed to reinstall himself once more as Emperor of France. Realising that he had to destroy the British, Dutch and Belgian forces stationed in the Low Countries under the command of the Duke of Wellington, and their Prussian allies under the command of Field Marshal Blücher, before he could confront the Russian and Austrian forces massing in the east, Napoleon invaded Belgium on 15th June in an attempt to isolate and destroy the British and Prussian armies individually before they could unite and overwhelm him. The ensuing campaign resulted in the Battle of Waterloo three days later and the final defeat of Napoleon.

By 1815, the Royal Military College had only been in existence for 14 years (if one excludes its predecessor the Staff School) and had to operate alongside the traditional and long-lived purchase system. Nevertheless, the College provided just over twelve per cent¹¹⁴ of the

¹¹² Edwards p. 66.

¹¹³ Holdsworth and Pugsley p. 173.

¹¹⁴ Approximately 1395 British officers served in the campaign. This figure includes the officers of the British 6th Infantry Brigade stationed at Hal as part of the force deployed there by Wellington to guard

British officers who served with Wellington's army during the Waterloo campaign and nineteen per cent of its staff officers. In addition to the twenty-two graduates from the Senior Department mentioned above 146 former gentlemen cadets and four former instructors and administrative staff of the College played important roles in the campaign either as staff officers or fighting in the front line with their respective regiments.¹¹⁵

For example, Lieutenant Colonel John Fremantle, a cadet in the Junior Department from 1803 to 1805 who had gone on to distinguish himself in the Peninsular War and was twice mentioned in despatches by Wellington, served as one of Wellington's ADCs at Waterloo. He made a most important contribution to his General's victory when towards the end of the battle at about 6.00pm he went looking for the lead elements of the much-anticipated Prussian army. Having found them Fremantle guided them onto the British left flank in time to relieve the pressure on Wellington's army as Napoleon prepared to launch his final assault.¹¹⁶

Equally important was the initiative shown by Lieutenant Basil Jackson the day before the battle of Waterloo. Jackson had trained at the Royal Military College from 1808 to 1811 and was one of the most able cadets in his class in the Junior Department. After being commissioned into the 26th Foot he was allowed to study for an extra six months at the Royal Military College. On the basis of Jackson's success in his studies the College then recommended that he be transferred to the Royal Staff Corps.¹¹⁷ On 17th June, when Wellington's army was retreating from Quatre Bras through the village of Genappe with the French in close pursuit, Jackson, understanding the importance of a defile along the army's path, singlehandedly cleared the route and prevented the withdrawal from descending into chaos. His actions ensured that the Anglo-allied army would reach Mont St Jean in time to take up defensive positions before the French could take advantage of the vulnerability of the army during its withdrawal.¹¹⁸

Many officers who had benefitted from the education provided by the Royal Military College would go on to serve with distinction in

the road to Brussels and act as a rearguard in case he was defeated at Waterloo. In the event this force was not required and thus saw no action. Seven of the 6th Brigade's officers had trained at the Royal Military College.

¹¹⁵ Morton, A R, 'The Impact of Royal Military College officers on Waterloo: Part Two-Regimental Officers' (publication pending).

¹¹⁶ Siborne pp. 21-22; Glover 2012 p. 212

¹¹⁷ Jackson p. 11.

¹¹⁸ Jackson pp. 27-28.

regiments that played important roles in crucial phases of the Waterloo campaign. Examples include the charges of the 7th Hussars and 1st Life Guards during the rearguard action fought at Genappe on 17 June, the defence of Hougomont by the light companies of the 1st, Coldstream and 3rd Foot Guards (the majority of whose officers had been either cadets or students of the Royal Military College) on 18 June at Waterloo and the repulse of the French Imperial Guard at the climax of that battle by the 2nd and 3rd Battalions 1st Foot Guards and 1st Battalion 52nd Foot, the three battalions together accounting for over twenty percent of the RMC-trained regimental officers who fought at Waterloo.

Four former members of staff of the Junior Department also served at Waterloo. Lieutenant Augustus Brauns, a staff officer in the Quartermaster General's Department had previously been a civilian academic teaching military drawing to the cadets at Great Marlow; Captain Edward Kelly, a troop commander in the 1st Life Guards had been the adjutant at Sandhurst; George Neyland, paymaster to the 16th Light Dragoons had previously been Clerk to the Governor at Great Marlow; and Cornet John Fenn of the Royal Waggon Train had been a staff sergeant at Sandhurst (see appendix 6).

EPILOGUE

The success of the Waterloo campaign marked the high point of the early history of the Royal Military College. The end of the Napoleonic Wars soon meant that both Government and public interest in the College and indeed in the army as whole waned. The Treasury was keen to reap what today would be called the 'peace dividend' and a succession of defence cuts by the government caused the College to enter a period of slow decline in the following decades. It would not be until the mistakes of the Crimean War made clear the need for large numbers of educated, professionally trained officers that the Royal Military College was once again seen as an institution of national importance.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Shepperd pp 41ff.

Appendices

Appendix 1

TABLE OF PROGRESS OF THE SENIOR DEPARTMENT OF THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE

French

- 1st Class: Grammar, construing and writing, French.
- 2nd Class: The Translation of Lectures on Military Survey
- 3rd Class: Second Division of Syntax; construing the Lectures on Fortification.
- 4th Class: Translation of “The Hussar”.
- 5th Class: Construing the Lectures of the Department on the Marches and Movements of Armies.
- 6th Class: This Study is completed.

Mathematics

- 1st Class: Duodecimals.
- 2nd Class: Rules of Proportion. Use of Logarithms.
- 3rd Class: Mensuration; Application in the Field.
- 4th Class: Trigonometry, Instrumentally, etc Application in the Field.
- 5th Class: Mensuration of Solids.
- 6th Class: Algebra.

Drawing

- 1st Class: Practice in projecting Plans instrumentally. Delineation of Plans from Examples and Models.
- 2nd Class: Instructions on the Application of Light and Shade. Shading Plans with a Brush. Instruction on the Application of Colours. Practice in Colouring.
- 3rd Class: Drawing and shading Hills with a Brush, and with a Pen. Drawing, shading, and colouring, other Distinctions of Country. Writing, Tracing, Enlarging, and Reducing. Making finished Copies of Plans; copying the Drawings relating to General Jarry’s Lectures on Drawing. Forming the Eye to Distances and Angles, on Horse-back. Sketching Ground, under the Instructions of a Master.
- 4th Class: Sketching Ground, unattended by a Master. Sketching Ground in Squads.

Fortification

- 1st Class: None. Those who learn German will copy the Lectures on Fortification.
- 2nd Class: None. Copying Lectures in the French and German Classes.
- 3rd Class: The first Principles, Proportions, and Calculations.
- 4th Class: Tracing, on Paper, Plans of Fortification contained in the Lectures of the Department.
- 5th Class: Fortification and Castramentation. The Tracing of Camps on Paper.
- 6th Class: Applications, on the Ground of the Principles of Attack and Defence, adapted to local circumstances.

German*

- 1st Class: The Participles inclusive.
- 2nd Class: The Verbs, and writing the German Characters.
- 3rd Class: The first Division of Syntax.
- 4th Class: Writing Exercises, and translating.
- 5th Class: Reading 'The King of Prussia's Instructions to his Officers'.
- 6th Class: Reading 'The King of Prussia's Instructions to his General Officers'.

*The Instruction of German to officers in the First Class is only to such as are Masters of the French Language, when they join the Establishment; in which case they will belong to the German Class and not to the French.

Source: Army List 1 August 1802 p. 42.

Appendix 2
(Source: WO99/2)

THE STUDIES APPROPRIATED TO THE CLASSES OF THE
UNDER SCHOOL IN THE JUNIOR DEPARTMENT

Arithmetic

1st Class: Arithmetic, including Fractions in general, both Vulgar and Decimal.

2nd Class: Rules of Proportion in general.

3rd Class: The Square and Cube roots, and Logarithms.

French

1st Class: First part of Grammar, including the Regular Verbs. Vocabulary and Dialogues.

2nd Class: Grammar, including Syntax. Construe and Parse French Exercises.

3rd Class: Grammar. Translations from English into French, and French into English. Reading approved Authors. Construing and Parsing French authors; and Repetitions from the same.

Geography and History

1st Class: The Elementary parts of Geography. Problems on the Terrestrial Globe.

2nd Class: Geography continued.

3rd Class: Geography and the use of the Globes. Ancient History, divided into nine epochs, terminating at the Christian Era.

Classics

1st Class: Grammar. Exercises from Exempla Minora. Asopi Fabulae.

2nd Class: Grammar. Exercises from Exempla Minora. Ovid.

3rd Class: Ovid's Metamorphoses. Pomponius Mela.

Writing. The Instruction in Writing is given in three Classes.

Landscape Drawing and Perspective. The Instruction in Landscape Drawing and Perspective is given in three Classes.

Instruction in Moral Philosophy. Fencing. Drill.

THE STUDIES APPROPRIATED TO THE CLASSES OF THE UPPER SCHOOL IN THE JUNIOR DEPARTMENT

Mathematics

4th Class: Geometry in its various branches.

5th Class: Algebra.

6th Class: Application of Algebra, Conic Sections, Projectiles, and Mechanics.

German

1st Class: Grammar, as far as the verbs, and writing the German Characters

2nd Class: Grammar, including Syntax. Writing Exercises, and translating German into English.

3rd Class: Translating English into German, and Vice Versa. Writing German Composition. Reading German authors.

French

4th Class: To read and translate French authors, and to translate English into French.

5th Class: To read French authors, and to read, and transcribe into English, The King of Prussia's Instructions to his officers. To write French Themes.

6th Class: To read French authors; and to translate and transcribe into English, The King of Prussia's Instructions to his officers. To compose in French.

Eastern Languages

1st Class: Grammar, and writing the Persian Characters.

2nd Class: Grammar, and reading Persian.

3rd Class: Arabic Grammar. Reading Arabic and Persian; and writing and translating both Languages into English.

Geography and History

4th Class: Modern History, from the Christian Era, to the formation of the Modern Powers in the year 900.

5th Class: Modern History, from the year 900, to the year 1600.

6th Class: Modern History, from the year 1600, to the present time.

Fortification

1st Class: Regular and Irregular Fortification, with reference to models.

2nd Class: Principles of Field Fortifications. Drawing Plans and Profiles.

3rd Class: Gunnery. Construction of Field works. Attack and Defence of Places. Castramentation.

Classics

4th Class: Caesar. Cornelius Nepos. Virgil. Cellarius.

5th Class: Caesar. Virgil. Cellarius. Terence. Latin Themes. Oratory, and Public Speaking.

6th Class: Caesar. Virgil. Horace. Sallust. Cicero. Tacitus. Latin Themes. Oratory, and Public Speaking.

Landscape Drawing is continued as practice in the Upper School.

Military Drawing and the delineation of Military movements and Formations. The Instruction in this branch, is given in three Classes.

Instruction in Moral Philosophy.

Fencing.

Drill.

Appendix 3

TIMETABLE OF THE JUNIOR DEPARTMENT OF THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE 1813¹²⁰

5.00 am	The ‘warning drum’ is sounded
5.15 am	<i>Éveiller</i> (Reveille)
6.00 am	Parade and inspection
6.30 am	Drum sounded for prayers
7.00 am	Cadets enter the Halls of Study
9.00 am	Breakfast
9.30 am	Recreation
10.00 am	Cadets return to Halls of Study
12.00 pm	Training in fencing, riding, swimming and the sabre
2.00 pm	Dinner
3.00 pm	Cadets return to Halls of Study
5.30 pm	Military Exercises
6.30 pm	Recreation
8.30 pm	Supper
9.00 pm	Prayers and the sounding of the Retreat
10.00 pm	To Bed

¹²⁰ Thomas p. 40..

Appendix 4

Staff who joined the Staff School at High Wycombe from 4th May 1799 to 23rd June 1801 in chronological order

<u>Name and Rank</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Dates of Employment</u>
John Gaspard Le Marchant (2nd Dragoon Guards)	Superintendent General	4/1/1799- 27/7/1801
“	Superintendent General & Lieutenant Governor	28/7/1801- 19/8/1811
Francois Jarry	Director of Instruction	4/1/1799- 23/6/1801
William Bennett	Acting Adjutant	4/5/1799- 24/12/1805
Robert Dawson	Military Drawing Master	2/7/1799- 24/12/1801
Hugues D’Agrain	French Master	5/8/1799- 8/8/1814
Isaac Dalby	Mathematics Master	19/8/1799- 24/6/1820
Charles St Dennis	Mathematics Master	25/6/1800- 1/6/1801
“	Instructor in Fortification	2/6/1801- 24/6/1817
William Stevens	Draughtsman	25/6/1800- 24/6/1820
John William L Gebhart	German Instructor	24/12/1800- 28/12/1802

Sources: The RMC Staff Register supplemented by the Returns of the Officers etc of the RMC (WO99/22).

Appendix 5

Staff who joined the Senior Department of the Royal Military College From 24th June 1801 to 18th June 1815 in chronological order

<u>Name and Rank</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Dates of Employment</u>
John Gaspard Le Marchant (2nd Dragoon Guards)	Superintendent General	4/1/1799-27/7/1801
“	Superintendent General & Lieutenant Governor	28/7/1801-19/8/1811
Francois Jarry	Commandant	4/1/1799-15/3/1807
William Bennett	Acting Adjutant	4/5/1799-24/12/1805
“	Storekeeper	25/12/1805-5/11/1813
Robert Dawson	Military Draughtsman	2/7/1799-24/12/1801
Hugues D’Agrain	Professor of French	5/8/1799-8/8/1814
Isaac Dalby	Professor of Mathematics	19/8/1799-24/6/1820
Charles St Dennis	Professor of Field Fortification	25/6/1800-24/6/1817
William Stevens	Senior Draughtsman	25/6/1800-24/6/1820
John William L Gebhart	Professor of German	24/12/1800-28/12/1802
Charles St Dennis	Instructor in Fortification	2/6/1801-24/6/1817
Frederick Mackenzie¹²¹	Secretary	25/7/1801-23/6/1814
Charles Greenwood Esq¹²²	Treasurer	25/7/1801-24/8/1807
M Zochender	Assistant Draughtsman	1/12/1801-14/4/1802

¹²¹ LG 21/7/1801, 9/7/1814.

¹²² LG 21/7/1801, LG 25/4/1807.

General <i>Hon</i> William Harcourt	Governor	9/12/1801-30/7/1811
Peter Thomas Ryves (22nd Foot)¹²³	Sub-Director of Instruction	25/12/1801-20/3/1805
John Ramsden	Clerk to the Superintendent	8/2/1802-2/4/1804
“	Barrack Serjeant	3/4/1804-24/12/1813
Alfonse Polchet	Assistant Draughtsman	9/4/1802-29/9/1806
Charles Kempfmuller	German Instructor	26/5/1802-2/6/1808
John Hamelin	Assistant Draughtsman	25/6/1802-3/10/1804
Anthony Gilbert Douglas (Dunlop's Corps)¹²⁴	Adjutant	4/7/1807-24/9/1811
David Culverwell	Clerk to the Superintendent	3/4/1804-7/5/1804
Frederick Guy	Clerk to the Lt Governor	8/5/1804-25/3/1805
William Hastler	Clerk to the Superintendent	8/5/1804-29/9/1810
Sir Howard Douglas, Bart (York Rangers)¹²⁵	Superintendent	5/6/1804-5/1/1807
“	Commandant	6/1/1807-25/1/1813
“	Inspector General of Instructions and Commandant	26/1/1813-24/6/1820
Joseph Lovett	Assistant Draughtsman	2/10/1804-24/12/1814
Joseph Lockwood	Servant	25/12/1804-24/12/1813

¹²³ The RMC Staff Register shows Lieutenant T P Ryves. However the only Ryves with those initials in the Army Lists of the period is Lieutenant Peter Thomas Ryves of the 22nd Foot. He was promoted to Captain of a Company in the 69th Foot in August 1803. *LG* 6/8/1803.

¹²⁴ On half pay from Dunlop's Corps. Adopted the surname Douglas from 24/11/1807. *LG* 4/7/1807, 24/11/1807, 3/8/1811.

¹²⁵ On half pay from the late York Rangers. Previously served in the Royal Artillery. Promoted Major 12/10/1804, Lt Col 31/12/1806, Colonel 4/6/1814. While on the staff of the RMC he served in the Peninsula from 1808-1809 and 1811-1812. *LG* 16/10/1804, 23/10/1804, 6/1/1807, 23/1/1813, Bromley & Bromley 2012 p. 264.

“	Barrack Serjeant	25/12/1813- 24/6/1820
George Collyer Esq ¹²⁶	Treasurer	25/8/1807-
Christopher Lochman	German Instructor	25/6/1808- 24/6/1820
Richard Lee	Clerk to the Commandant	30/9/1810- 24/6/1820
General <i>Hon</i> Alexander Hope	Governor	30/7/1811- 27/8/1819
Arthur Johnston	Assistant Commandant	21/1/1813- 24/12/1816
John Chalon	French Master	9/8/1814- 10/1/1815
George Jones	Assistant Draughtsman	1/2/1815- 13/2/1815
Charles Amet	French Master	1/2/1815- 24/6/1820
David Cox	Assistant Draughtsman	14/3/1815- 18/4/1815

Sources: The RMC Staff Register supplemented by the Returns of the Officers etc of the RMC (WO99/22).

¹²⁶ Replaced Charles Greenwood as Treasurer. *LG* 25/4/1807.

Appendix 6

Staff who joined the Junior Department of the Royal Military College in chronological order from 4th May 1802 to 18th June 1815

<u>Name and Rank</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Dates of Employment</u>
Lt Col John Gaspard Le Marchant (2nd Dragoon Guards)	Superintendent General & Lieutenant Governor	28/7/1801-19/8/1811
Samuel Lewis	Purveyor	15/11/1801-23/7/1810
General <i>Hon</i> William Harcourt (16th Dragoons)	Governor	9/12/1801-30/7/1811
Staff Sjt William Bell	Staff Serjeant	1/3/1802-11/10/1804
Lt Col James Butler¹²⁷ (Invalid Artillery)	Superintendent	4/3/1802-4/3/1803
“	Commandant	5/3/1803-19/8/1811
“	Lieutenant Governor	20/8/1811-24/3/1829
Joseph Barbot	French Master	1/4/1802-12/11/1811
“	Fortification Master	11/11/1811-1/9/1821
Thomas Leybourn	Professor of Mathematics	12/4/1802-31/12/1839
Reverend John Owen¹²⁸	Chaplain/Librarian/ Instructor in Classics	26/6/1802-24/3/1804
Captain Charles Stone (16th Light Dragoons)¹²⁹	Paymaster	29/5/1802-22/10/1827
George Cole	Drummer	4/5/1802-24/7/1814
Captain Miller Clifford	Captain of a Company Of Cadets	17/5/1802-25/12/1803

¹²⁷ Replaced Major General Le Marchant as Lt Governor. LG 6/3/1802, 1/3/1803, 17/8/1811.

¹²⁸ LG 26/6/1802.

¹²⁹ LG 25/5/1802.

Charles Lewis Parker ¹³⁰	Surgeon	25/6/1802- 13/8/1809
Henry Clarke	Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Geography	5/7/1802- 5/7/1817
Corporal George Allen	Corporal and Clerk of Kitchen	8/2/1803- 6/3/1804
William Prioreau	Fencing Master	21/2/1803- 19/5/1816
Fruger Lathwillerie	Fencing Master	21/2/1803- 24/3/1829
William Wallace	Professor of Mathematics	26/2/1803- 24/9/1819
Major Benjamin D'Urban(89th Foot) ¹³¹	Superintendent	5/3/1803- 30/5/1805
Captain James McDermott ¹³²	Captain of 2 nd Company of Cadets/ Instructor in Tactics	23/7/1803- 2/12/1807
“	Superintendent	3/12/1807- 24/3/1829
George Clark	Clerk of the Kitchen	18/9/1803- 3/4/1804
Alexander Colville	Fencing Master	19/9/1803- 29/9/1815
Joseph Righy	Clerk	30/9/1803- 24/12/1804
“	Clerk	31/10/1810- 31/8/1812
William Delamotte	Landscape Drawing Master	29/10/1803- 31/12//1843
George Neyland ¹³³	Clerk to the Governor	25/12/1803- 18/7/1811
James Ivory	Master of Arithmetic	25/1/1804- 25/1/1819
George Delamotte	Military Drawing Master	7/2/1804- 24/3/1812

¹³⁰ LG 2/10/1802.

¹³¹ Replaced Lt Col James Butler as Superintendant. LG 1/3/1803.

¹³² Replaced Lt Col Benjamin D'urban as Superintendant. Promoted from Major to Lt Col 1813. LG 23/7/1803, 5/12/1807, 1/6/1813.

¹³³ Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry p. 38.

John M Labbe	Armourer	18/2/1804- 24/12/1823
Corporal William Scott	Corporal and Clerk of Kitchen	7/3/1804- 6/3/1806
William Ambler	?	10/3/1804- 23/1/1807
George Menibus	French Master	23/3/1804- 30/9/1814
Reverend William Wheeler ¹³⁴	Chaplain	25/3/1804- 29/10/1841
Sgt John Willis ¹³⁵	Serjeant	1/5/1804- 10/1/1810
John Lowry	Master of Arithmetic	2/5/1804- 30/6/1840
Staff Sgt Henry Smith	Staff Serjeant	25/5/1804- 12/6/1805
Captain James Maxwell	Captain of a Company of Cadets	6/7/1804- 1/3/1805
Alexander Calder	Clerk	9/8/1804- 11/5/1807
James Goldsmith	?	25/12/1804- 24/3/1810
Captain Charles Wright (14th Foot) ¹³⁶	Captain of a Company of Cadets	29/1/1805- 27/6/1844
Alexander Calder	Quartermaster	7/3/1805- 21/8/1830
James Cunliffe	Master of Arithmetic	12/3/1805- 30/6/1822
Louis Defages	Fortification Master	26/3/1805- 14/9/1812
Charles Merve	French Master	31/3/1805- 31/10/1814
Captain David Erskine (31st Foot) ¹³⁷	Captain of a Company of Cadets	12/4/1805- 7/1820

¹³⁴ Replaced Reverend Owen. *LG* 20/3/1804.

¹³⁵ *LG* 9/1/1810.

¹³⁶ Lieutenant in the 14th Foot given the temporary rank of Captain (made permanent in 1808) while a Captain of a Company of Cadets at the RMC. *LG* 30/11/1805, 18/10/1808.

¹³⁷ On half pay of the 31st Foot. *LG* 6/5/1806.

Captain John Otter (East Middlesex Militia)¹³⁸	Adjutant	16/5/1805-6/2/1807
“	Captain of a Company of Cadets	3/12/1807-25/12/1824
Major Richard Bourke (47th Foot)¹³⁹	Superintendent	31/5/1805-22/9/1806
John Chalon	French Master	11/6/1805-8/8/1814
William Howes	?	13/6/1805-12/9/1811
“	Purveyor	13/9/1811-22/2/1820
Arthur B Evans	Master of History and Classics	30/9/1805-1/9/1822
Anthony Sime	Storekeeper	25/12/1805-10/10/1812
Corporal Robert Sayers	Corporal and Clerk of Kitchen	7/3/1806-31/10/1813
William Gilpin	Landscape Drawing Master	8/3/1806-24/6/1821
Mark Noble	Master of Arithmetic	25/3/1806-24/6/1820
William Vassall (44th Foot)¹⁴⁰	Assistant Surgeon	8/5/1806-24/6/1807
Alfonse Polchet	Fortification Master	30/9/1806-31/12/1836
William Thorneloe	Drummer	14/10/1806-14/11/1806
John Saintard	French Master	26/10/1806-24/12/1814
John W Ould	?	24/1/1807-24/12/1807
Louis Buffet	French master	25/4/1807-25/6/1828

¹³⁸ A former Captain in the East Middlesex Militia, Otter held the rank of Ensign while Adjutant. He then served as a Lieutenant in the 7th Garrison Battalion before returning to a Captain of a Company of Cadets at the RMC. Replaced Captain James McDermott as Captain of a Company of Cadets. *LG* 11/1/1806, 7/2/1807, 5/12/1807.

¹³⁹ Previously a Captain in the 47th Foot. Replaced Major Benjamin D’Urban as Superintendent. *LG* 30/11/1805.

¹⁴⁰ *LG* 6/5/1806.

William Neyland	Clerk	12/5/1807- 23/9/1823
Thomas Hickman/Hickson (Royal Waggon Train) ¹⁴¹	Assistant Surgeon	25/6/1807- 16/9/1807
Peter Cacqueray	French Master	10/8/1807- 29/9/1874
Henry Loving	Master of History, Geography and Classics	23/8/1807- 29/9/1812
Henry Robertson (Royals) ¹⁴²	Assistant Surgeon	17/9/1807- 16/8/1809
John Buckland	Master of Geography and Classics	30/9/1807- 24/12/1812
Staff Serjeant John Bird	Staff Serjeant	25/12/1807- 24/12/1808
George Bird	Drummer	16/2/1808- 24/6/1812
Captain Alexander Dalgety/Dalgatty ¹⁴³	Adjutant	3/3/1808- 24/3/1810
William Scott (Militia)	Drummer	28/6/1808- 29/1/1817
Philip Clark (Coldstream Guards)	?	25/12/1808- 24/6/1829
Matthew Arnold	Master of History, Geography and Classics	18/5/1809- 20/1/1813
Ninian Bruce ¹⁴⁴	Surgeon	25/8/1809- 12/6/1832
Thomas Delamotte	Military Drawing Master	7/2/1810- 24/6/1813
William Cobb	?	8/2/1810- 20/8/1813
William Hickman, Gentleman ¹⁴⁵	Assistant Surgeon	10/2/1810-
Joseph L Mills	Master of History, Geography and Classics	18/2/1810- 20/10/1812

¹⁴¹ The surname is Hickman according to the RMC Staff Register but the London Gazette gives Hickson. Replaced William Vassall as Assistant Surgeon. *LG* 20/6/1807, 19/9/1807.

¹⁴² Replaced Thomas Hickson as Assistant Surgeon. *LG* 19/9/1807, 15/8/1809.

¹⁴³ The RMC Staff Register gives Falgety as the surname but the London Gazette and Army Lists give Dalgatty. *LG* 13/3/1810.

¹⁴⁴ Previously Staff Surgeon. Replaced Charles Lewis Parker as Surgeon. *LG* 26/8/1809.

¹⁴⁵ *LG* 6/2/1810.

Frederick Timme	German Master	2/3/1810- 31/12/1837
Charles Goldsmith	?	25/3/1810- 30/10/1810
Captain Thomas Abraham (16th Foot) ¹⁴⁶	Adjutant	29/3/1810- 11/6/1812
“	Captain of a Company	12/6/1812- 24/3/1829
William Robson(98th Foot) ¹⁴⁷	Assistant Surgeon	5/4/1810- 9/10/1811
Thomas Bridges	Purveyor	24/7/1810- 5/9/1810
Frederick Guy	Writing Master	1/2/1811- 19/7/1815
Augustus Christian Brauns	Military Drawing Master	8/4/1811- 24/12/1811
General <i>Hon</i> Alexander Hope ¹⁴⁸	Governor	30/7/1811- 27/8/1819
Joseph Christie	?	19/10/1811- 14/11/1819
“	Quartermaster Serjeant	15/11/1819- 14/4/1829
Charles L Pelichet	French Master	9/11/1811- 24/6/1824
Valentine Krug	Military Drawing Master	26/11/1811- 30/4/1823
Alexander Robson ¹⁴⁹	Assistant Surgeon	5/12/1811- 30/7/1813
Richard Hall	Clerk	9/12/1811- 19/10/1812
Charles Decker	Military Drawing Master	5/3/1812- 16/4/1813
William Lubeck	Master of Military Drawing	8/4/1812- 6/5/1813
“	Master of Military Drawing	14/9/1813- 23/11/1813

¹⁴⁶ On half pay of the 16th Foot and given the temporary rank of Captain while Adjutant. His Captaincy remained temporary when he became a Captain of a Company of Cadets. *LG* 28/4/1810, 13/6/1812.

¹⁴⁷ *LG* 7/4/1810 (Christian name incorrectly given as James), 4/9/1810 (regiment incorrectly given as 94th Foot), 19/10/1811, 7/12/1811, 2/10/1813. Army Lists 1810.

¹⁴⁸ Formerly Lt Governor of Edinburgh Castle. Replaced Earl Harcourt. *LG* 27/7/1811.

¹⁴⁹ Previously Hospital-Mate. Replaced William Robson. *LG* 7/12/1811.

George Clarke	Quartermaster Serjeant	28/8/1812- 15/11/1819
“	Servant	16/11/1819- 10/3/1820
“	Servant	11/3/1820-?
John Cunliffe	Clerk	1/9/1812- 21/12/1861
Captain Edward Kelly (1st Life Guards)	Adjutant	8/9/1812- 14/4/1813
Louis Fouchecoure	Fortification Master	15/9/1812- 24/3/1815
Samuel Vincent	Staff Serjeant	16/9/1812- 6/1/1814
Jonas Walton	?	16/9/1812- 24/1/1822
Staff Sgt Edward Reynolds	Staff Serjeant	20/9/1812- 14/10/1812
James Wyatt	Clerk	20/10/1812- 7/2/1813
Sgt Major William Fulton	Serjeant Major	13/11/1812- 11/1/1813
James Yates	?	16/11/1812- 28/12/1819
John Potts	?	22/11/1812- 8/4/1813
Thomas Cox	?	4/12/1812- 6/3/1813
Sgt Josiah Nutton (1st West York Militia)	Serjeant	23/12/1812- 31/5/1831
Edward Bracebridge	Porter	25/12/1812- 6/9/1825
John Greenwood	Master of History etc	25/1/1813- 6/4/1816
William Hancock	Master of Geography and Classics	25/1/1813- 25/6/1816
James Hughes	Drummer	6/2/1813- 24/6/1813
Charles Cassaigne	Clerk	8/2/1813- 1/8/1829

Sgt Robert Stewart ¹⁵⁰	Serjeant Major	27/3/1813- 24/12/1813
“	Staff Serjeant	25/12/1813- 23/10/1814
George D Burr	Military Drawing Master	8/4/1813- 30/9/1853
William Allbritton	?	9/4/1813- 1/4/1818
Captain Thomas Kelly	Adjutant	15/4/1813- 14/2/1814
William Stevens	Military Drawing Master	3/5/1813- 21/3/1827
John Pickering ¹⁵¹	Assistant Surgeon	31/7/1813- 28/6/1832
“	Surgeon	29/6/1832- 18/7/1859
Sgt John Fenn (1st Foot) ¹⁵²	Staff Serjeant	21/8/1813- 1/3/1814
David Beatty	Clerk of Kitchen	1/11/1813- 24/12/1813
Thomas Fisher	Clerk	5/11/1813- 26/4/1813
Andrew Wilson	Master of Military Drawing	8/12/1813- 24/12/1817
William Macaire	Clerk of Kitchen	25/12/1813- 28/4/1814
Archibald Maclaurin	Master of History, Geography and Classics	25/12/1813- 20/10/1814
John Holman	Clerk of the Works	25/12/1813- 24/12/1828
William Thorn	Serjeant Major	25/12/1813- 1/1/1844
Francis Stevens	Landscape Drawing Master	24/1/1814- 6/5/1817
John C White	Arithmetic Master	1/2/1814- 25/9/1817

¹⁵⁰ Promoted Ensign in A Veteran Battalion 24/5/1815. *LG* 10/6/1815.

¹⁵¹ Previously Assistant Surgeon to the Forces. Replaced Alexander Robson (deceased) as Assistant Surgeon. *LG* 25/9/1813, 2/10/1813, 14/10/1813.

¹⁵² Promoted Cornet Royal Waggon Train 10/2/1814. *LG* 1/3/1814.

Thomas H L Clerke	Adjutant	15/2/1814- 24/6/1815
John Clough	?	26/2/1814- 24/6/1817
Staff Serjeant Peter Lisson	Staff Serjeant	11/3/1814- 13/5/1814
Reeve Jones	Military Drawing Master	5/4/1814- 24/6/1821
John A Michell	Clerk	27/4/1814- 24/3/1815
Roger Morris (1st West York Militia)	Clerk of Kitchen	29/4/1814- 14/5/1814
“	Staff Serjeant	15/5/1814- 6/1/1815
“	Clerk of Kitchen	7/1/1815- 24/12/1816
Christopher Ecklin	Clerk of Kitchen	9/6/1814- 5/7/1814
Captain John Garvock (1 Garrison Battalion)¹⁵³	Secretary	24/6/1814-
Thomas Woodroffe	Master of History, Geography and Classics	4/8/1814- 1/11/1815
Andrew Watson	Clerk of Kitchen	21/9/1814- 7/11/1814
John Scott	Clerk to the Governor	13/10/1814- 24/12/1819
Sgt Thomas Melven	Serjeant	24/10/1814- 28/1/1815
Edward Wild	French Master	1/11/1814- 24/6/1822
Thomas Crane	Clerk of the Kitchen	13/11/1814- 19/11/1814
Sgt Blowers	Serjeant	7/1/1815- 24/6/1815
George Anderson	Clerk	25/3/1815- 18/7/1816
Alexander Imbree	?	1/4/1815- 8/5/1815

¹⁵³ Replaced Lt Col Frederick Mackenzie. LG 9/7/1814.

Francis Masson	Master of Fortification	11/5/1815- 31/12/1834
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Sources: The RMC Staff Register supplemented by the Returns of the Officers etc of the RMC (WO99/22).

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These records are held in the Sandhurst Collection and have been catalogued using the prefix CAYMA ('Camberley Military Academy') as provided by the Museum Documentation Association (known as the Collections Trust since April 2008). Originally classified as public records and held by the Sandhurst Collection (an Approved Place of Deposit) on behalf of the Public Records Office/National Archives, these records were gifted to the Sandhurst Collection on 13 December 2004 (Instrument 201) and therefore are now the property of the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst.

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Abbreviations

LG	The London Gazette
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
TWA	The Waterloo Archive

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