

# Visualising the Aged Veteran in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Memory, Masculinity & Nation

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## Introduction

In December 1914, the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) issued a poster entitled 'The Veteran's Farewell' (Fig. 1). By this point of the war, following the First Battle of Ypres (October-November 1914), the small, professional British Expeditionary Force had effectively been wiped out and the British army was increasingly reliant upon civilian volunteers. The PRC had been established on 31 August 1914 to commission posters, leaflets, and other materials calculated to encourage the enlistment of able-bodied men of fighting age. This particular poster was designed by Frank Dadd (1851-1929), a well-regarded commercial artist who had worked for the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* and who had a penchant for military scenes. It portrays a new recruit being sent off to war by a red-coated, white-bearded Chelsea Pensioner with the words 'Goodbye, my lad. I only wish I were young enough to go with you!' In the background of the image is a recruiting sergeant, leading a group of newly-enlisted men from different social classes. Here, then, the transition from civilian to soldier in the service of the state is given the stamp of approval, not simply by the older generation, but by the veteran professional soldier, the guardian of British military memory. Dadd's work was clearly effective. *The Graphic* described it as 'a powerful appeal to the manhood of the nation' and it was one of the most popular posters of the early war years.<sup>1</sup>

The 'Veteran's Farewell' was not initially commissioned by the PRC, but rather for the British cigarette firm Abdulla and Co. It was not unusual for tobacco companies to capitalise on the appeal of martial masculinities to sell their products in time of war. Neither was it unusual for the image of the aged veteran to feature in advertisements for commercial products more generally. Indeed, 'The Veteran's Farewell' was part of an established visual lexicon which, from the later nineteenth century, was used to sell a range of products ostensibly unrelated to the military. This image for 'Provost Oats' (Fig. 2) from the early twentieth century, for example, portrays an elderly Chelsea Pensioner placing a paternal hand on the shoulder of a Guards drummer boy, suggesting that its product will help the young develop a robust constitution.

Both of these images share a common motif, in that they juxtapose age and youth. As we shall see, this cross-generational relationship was an important aspect of the representation of the aged veteran throughout the long nineteenth century, one which constructed the transmission of national, martial, and moral values in familial terms, speaking in particular to young men and boys, but also to girls.

What is also notable about these images is that they represent a very particular subset of veterans, namely Pensioners of the Royal Hospital of Chelsea. This institution had been founded in 1682 to provide shelter and support for long-serving, retired members of the army.<sup>2</sup> Its naval equivalent, the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, was established in 1692. These men thus embodied the ideal of a reciprocal relationship between the serviceman and the state. For this reason, as well as for their colourful uniforms and picturesque setting, Chelsea and Greenwich Pensioners became an established part of the visual culture and tourist landscape of London. But, of course, the cliché of the Pensioner that such images promoted not only glossed over the complexities of their own experiences, but also those of the majority of aged veterans, who were not cared for by the state to anything like the same extent. Indeed, as we shall see, even in terms of visual and textual

representation, the Pensioner shared space with other, more ambivalent, visions of the aged veteran.

Recent years have seen a significant scholarly interest in the figure of the veteran. Indeed, it is possible to speak of a distinct field of 'Veteran Studies', although it is mostly concentrated in the United States and draws upon a range of disciplines, in which history is comparatively underrepresented.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, even in terms of historical writing, the interest in veterans has been marked. Much of the focus has been on mass military participation in the twentieth century. For example, there has been sustained analysis of the experience of wounded and disabled servicemen in the years following both world wars.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, there is considerable interest in the political role of veterans, particularly in the development of far-right nationalist movements in interwar Europe, but also in other contexts.<sup>5</sup> As regards the nineteenth century, the scholarship is most advanced in the United States, where there is a substantial historiography of 'veteranhood' related to the Civil War. This scholarship is notable for the ways in which it explores the experiences of veterans in post-war society, as well as the broader meanings ascribed to those who had participated in a conflict with complex legacies for national and racial identities.<sup>6</sup> For example, David Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (2002) argues that veterans were central to a Gilded-Age culture of 'reunion' in which the racial politics of the conflict were obscured by an image of shared white sacrifice and fraternal 'Blue-Gray' reconciliation across the stone walls of Gettysburg.<sup>7</sup> Others, meanwhile, have painted a more complex picture, in which veterans on both sides clung to very different, often antagonistic, understandings of the war and its meanings.<sup>8</sup>

Compared to the United States, the literature on veterans in nineteenth-century Britain is less developed. This is to be expected. The Civil War constituted a huge social upheaval involving tens of thousands of fighting men, the vast majority of them civilian volunteers and draftees, rather than professional soldiers. Moreover, the legacy of the war, and hence of its living embodiments, was deeply contested and highly politicised. The experience of Britain, on the other hand, was almost the diametric opposite. In the near hundred years between the Battle of Waterloo (18 June 1815) and the First Battle of Ypres, Britain's conflicts took place at an often considerable spatial remove from the metropole and were fought by a small professional standing army (or by East India Company and colonial troops) and a larger navy. The number of veterans was thus nowhere near those of the United States, and the direct experience of war was shared by a much smaller group of individuals. Neither, for the most part, was their legacy as problematic as those veterans of the defeated, yet largely unrepentant, Confederate states. Even so, the imaginative power of the British veteran was still significant, and historians like Caroline Nielsen, who studies the Chelsea Pensioner in the long eighteenth century, are not only interested in the social history of these men, but also their cultural representation.<sup>9</sup>

It is in terms of meaning, imagination, and representation that we intend to make our intervention into the historiography. In one sense, although the study of the nineteenth-century British military veteran may not be especially well-developed, the groundwork has already been laid by the remarkable flowering of scholarly interest in the cultural history of war which we discussed in the Introduction to this volume. As Joan Hirschberger's seminal *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (1988) suggested, and as subsequent scholarship has confirmed, visual, literary, and material cultures were central to shaping popular understandings of, and attitudes towards, the military and its members. Historians and literary scholars have likewise shown that Georgian and Victorian conflicts enjoyed an extended afterlife through objects, text, and performance, many of which referred to, and often directly involved, the veteran soldier and sailor.<sup>10</sup>

In this chapter we therefore want to explore some of the ways in which veterans came to, quite literally, embody a range of meanings about the conflicts in which they were themselves involved, as well as those which took place in their lifetime; the ways, in other words, in which veterans were made and remade to accommodate new narratives. As we have already suggested, while the figure of the Pensioner spoke of the veteran remembered and rewarded, the reality was rather more complex. In our first section, we therefore explore the dynamics of remembering and forgetting, showing how, while many aged veterans were indeed forgotten by both the public and the state, the figure of the forgotten veteran was, paradoxically, the subject of considerable literary and artistic meditation. Our second section examines the generational qualities of the representation of the veteran and the ways in which he was figured as an exemplar and progenitor for the inheritance of military, masculine, and moral values. Our third and final section considers the issues of materiality and performativity, demonstrating how the imaginative power of the veteran was shaped by his body, his material adornment and even, on occasion, his public performance.

### Remembering and Forgetting

Among the most famous images of the British army in the nineteenth century, Henry Nelson O'Neil's twin paintings, *Eastward Ho!* (1858) and *'Home Again', 1858* (1859), portray the embarkation of troops bound for India to suppress the sepoy rebellion, and their subsequent return. As Hirschberger notes, these paintings draw on 'the stock characters of military genre painting', one of the most recognisable of whom is the Chelsea Pensioner.<sup>11</sup> In *Eastward Ho!* he is seen waving goodbye to his son (or possibly grandson); in *Home Again*, he greets the same, who now proudly brandishes the Victoria Cross. As we shall see, such familial representations were central to the didactic functions of the veteran in popular culture. However, O'Neil's image also contains the seeds of a more ambivalent representation. According to Hirschberger, *Eastward Ho!* was generally better received by critics than *Home Again*. Whereas the former stoked patriotic sentiments, the latter made for more uncomfortable viewing, in part because, according to the reviewer for the *Art Journal*, it was simply 'not true'. The returning soldier, particularly the sick and wounded one, was not greeted by the same dockside throng that had seen him off. Rather, he 'is sent home like a piece of live lumber ... His return is generally unknown until after his arrival... broken health and penury, to be endured in obscurity, are all that remain'.<sup>12</sup>

It is unclear whether O'Neil sought to respond to such criticism of his work, or whether the intention had been there all along. Either way, rather than the diptych they are generally imagined to be, it seems that O'Neil's paintings actually form a triptych, of sorts, for in 1861 he painted a third work entitled *The Soldier's Return* (Fig. 3) which clearly portrays the same wounded sergeant who is pictured in *Home Again* being comforted by his daughter as he reads the last letter from his wife, who has died during his absence.<sup>13</sup> In *The Soldier's Return*, this man is presented as destitute, still in his uniform (though reduced to wearing slippers for want of boots) and with his arm still in a sling. This image draws on the established representational conventions of the soldier's and sailor's return. Traditionally, these kinds of images presented either a benign and domesticated picture of the serviceman restored to the bosom of his family (most frequently true of sailors) or a less heartening, though equally sentimentalised, image of the wounded or 'broken' soldier.<sup>14</sup> O'Neil's image falls into this latter tradition, presenting a man forlorn, his lonely state compounded by the pitying faces of two young girls. Although not an aged veteran in the sense of the decrepit pensioner, his maturity is evident in his greying beard and his status as a senior non-commissioned officer. Doubtless, the pathos of the painting is enhanced by the fact that he is evidently a man of character and responsibility, but one whose prospects outside of the army appear bleak.

This is not the place for a detailed social-historical discussion of the fortunes of ex-servicemen in nineteenth-century Britain. Nonetheless, what is clear is that discharged sailors generally found it easier, with their range of skills, to find work in cognate trades such as fishing or the merchant navy. Soldiers, by contrast, particularly those of line regiments, often struggled to find gainful employment, especially if they were old, incapacitated or 'worn out'. As Peter Reese notes, between 1855 and 1870, 707 men were discharged from the Royal West Surrey Regiment, of whom 'over two-thirds were discharged on medical grounds'.<sup>15</sup> In any case, ex-servicemen occupied an ambiguous place in British society. Most received a pension, although with the sheer numbers involved (the number of Out-Pensioners on the books of Chelsea Hospital stood at 84,000 in 1834) the government was always inclined towards parsimony.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, before the creation of the Reserve in 1870, discharged soldiers were never fully civilians and were required to perform military tasks in times of national emergency.<sup>17</sup> For the truly aged veteran, life could be particularly harsh. A lucky few might find refuge within the walls of Chelsea or Greenwich. However, even here there could be discontent. In 1843, for example, *John Bull* reported on the case of a 65-year-old Chelsea In-Pensioner who had died of a haemorrhage attributed to heavy drinking. The local coroner, the radical surgeon and editor of *The Lancet*, Thomas Wakley, declared that 'although he had lately held a great many inquests on the bodies of out-pensioners who ... came to violent deaths through drunkenness, he had held none on the in-pensioners until the present case'.<sup>18</sup>

It has been suggested that the veteran soldier (the sailor was always a slightly different case) was viewed with relative indifference by the British public until around the time of the Crimean war, an indifference which stemmed from a more general disdain for the rank and file of the army.<sup>19</sup> This is something of an overstatement. Philip Shaw has shown that the sufferings of the soldier could function as a subject for sympathetic sentiment and moral reflection within the cultures of Romanticism, while Simon Parkes and Caroline Nielsen have demonstrated how such emotions might be extended to veterans.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, while aged veterans from the Napoleonic wars continued to feature in popular print deep into the nineteenth century, it is in the latter half of the century, particularly from the 1870s onwards, that one begins to see a marked proliferation of veterans in literary and visual culture. There are a range of potential explanations for this. Traditionally, historians might point to the improved image of the army in the years after the Crimean war, as it came to assume a heroic status equivalent to that of the long-valourised navy. What is also clear is that this period saw significant changes in the technologies of visual reproduction, as well as the growth of working-class readerships and the concomitant expansion of a graphically-rich periodical press, all of which tended towards an increase in the production and circulation of images of all kinds, including those of military veterans. The appeal of aged veterans can, however, be linked to more specific social and cultural developments. In the United States, veterans of the Civil War assumed a particular prominence towards the end of the century. This was due not so much to their scarcity (their numbers were still considerable) as to their cultural appeal at a time of renewed military activity, notably the Spanish-American War of 1898, and during a period of rapid urbanisation, industrialisation, and commercialisation, when there was a marked anxiety about a loss of traditional masculine virtues, virtues that these men were thought (or made) to embody.<sup>21</sup> Similar patterns are evident in Britain, where the advent of New Imperialism, concerns about the physical prowess of the British soldier, and the increasing technologization of modern warfare, all encouraged the drawing of reassuring parallels with the martial masculinities of old.<sup>22</sup>

As we shall see, the figure of the aged veteran, particularly the Chelsea pensioner, was therefore regularly positioned in relation to contemporary conflicts. Conversely, however, the spectre of the forgotten veteran was also often invoked at such moments. In 1870, for example, *Punch* reported on the case of one Janes Kenning, an 'infirm, decrepit, half-bedridden' 83-year-old veteran of the

Peninsula and Waterloo. 'Ninepence a day is what a grateful country thinks of this veteran's worth and wounds', it declared. 'Munificent reward of valour! generous encouragement to brave death or mutilation in fighting your country's battles my boys!'. Reflecting on the army's recruiting crisis and the parsimony of the New Poor Law, *Punch* imagined, with bitter irony, the cost of his upkeep:

A man of eighty-three might live to be ninety-three ... and the amount which the old soldier's two pounds [of meat] a-week ... would cost the Union is too frightful to calculate ... A retiring pension of ninepence a-day is as bountiful a provision for old age as any private soldier can reasonably expect. Why, it is three pence more than an officer would pay for a good cigar! If such prizes will not induce the populace to enter the Army, we must resort to Conscription.<sup>23</sup>

In 1882, the same publication used the occasion of the Anglo-Egyptian war to reflect on the disparity between glorious youth and neglected old age. 'Our young Soldiers have been doing well in Egypt', it claimed, but 'How many of those who will be eager to applaud them on their return, will consider what becomes of "Our Boys", when old or disabled, and compelled to leave the Service'. Thankfully, *Punch* pointed out, there was a worthy exemplar in the late William Woodman who had left £10,000 in his will for the relief of 'soldiers, of good character'. In comedic, pun-laden verse, it urged its readers to emulate his generosity:

Walk up, British public, your *Punch* will trouble you  
To follow the lead of good W. W.  
Kind care for Old Soldiers can't surely o'ertax you  
So stump up and do as the Woodman would axe you.<sup>24</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, one particular group of aged veterans had come to stand as a synecdoche for the more general neglect of their kind. Celebrated in painting and verse, most notably Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade* (1854), the survivors of Lord Cardigan's disastrous assault on the Russian artillery at the Battle of Balaclava (25 October 1854) were, in many ways, first among veterans. They had even formed their own 'Balaclava Commemoration Society' with strict entry requirements.<sup>25</sup> In 1890, however, *Punch* ran a satirical pastiche of Tennyson's ode, entitled 'The Last Charge of the Light Brigade', the 'charge' in this case being that 'bought by the survivors against those – who might have looked after them'. The poem was prefaced with a statement from the 'Secretary of the Balaclava Committee' which claimed that Lord Cardigan had assured those who had 'done a glorious deed ... that you will all be provided for. Not one of you fine fellows will ever have to seek refuge in the workhouse!' The reality was sadly different. 'We are all getting older every year', it read, 'and with the lapse of time, while many have died, a good number have fallen into dire misfortune'. The poem invoked the same dread institution to which Cardigan had referred:

For here they grow old,  
With their grand story told,  
Left to the bitter cold, -  
Starving Six Hundred!  
Workhouse to the right of them,  
Workhouse to the left of them,

Workhouse in front of them!  
Has no one wondered  
That British blood should cry,  
"Shame!" and exact reply,  
Asking the country why  
Thus it sees droop and die  
Those brave Six Hundred?<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps the Light Brigade veterans' most high-profile spokesperson was Rudyard Kipling. In the same year that *Punch* ran its Tennyson-inspired satire, he too published a poem, entitled *The Last of the Light Brigade*, which contrasted the past celebration of these heroes with their current neglect. Kipling imagined the ragged remnants of the Brigade assembling before Tennyson's door:

The old Troop-Sergeant was spokesman, and "Beggin' your pardon," he said,  
"You wrote o' the Light Brigade, sir. Here's all that isn't dead.  
An' it's all come true what you wrote, sir, regardin' the mouth of hell;  
For we're all of us nigh to the workhouse, an' we thought we'd call an' tell.

"No, thank you, we don't want food, sir; but couldn't you take an' write  
A sort of 'to be continued' and 'see next page' o' the fight?  
We think that someone has blundered, an' couldn't you tell 'em how?  
You wrote we were heroes once, sir. Please, write we are starving now."<sup>27</sup>

As the particular case of the Light Brigade suggests, for the remembered veteran, as much as for the half-forgotten one, memory could serve a deeply ambiguous function. In a peculiar irony, the aged veteran reached his pathetic prime at the moment of his own passing. From the Waterloo veterans of mid-century, to the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the veteran was perpetually poised, in the words of the *Punch* poem to 'drop off the stage'.<sup>28</sup> In images such as Sir Hubert von Herkomer's celebrated painting *The Last Muster: Sunday at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea* (1875), much of the imaginative appeal of the aged veteran lay in his essential evanescence. Moreover, even those veterans who were more securely anchored in the land of the living remained, somehow, fixed in time. As an article on the Chelsea Pensioners from 1835 observed:

No expectation lighted up their countenances during the ... morning's proceedings, and now that this had come to a close, the memory of it had fled at the same time. There is nothing inexplicable here. These greybeards had no longer a part to play in the drama of life. Observation was dead within them. They had no motive to crave new sights, or treasure up fresh experiences. Hope for the future had departed from them. They were, and felt themselves, but "sojourners by the wayside".<sup>29</sup>

These aged veterans had no substantive presence. They were, rather, repositories of memory, monuments to their own past glories. Even so, they had a powerful didactic role to play.

## Generators of Feeling

As we have seen, visual and textual representations of veterans frequently juxtaposed aged soldiers and sailors with children and youths. In this way, they were part of a broader discourse which promoted the values of military service through appeals to masculinity and fatherhood, as well as to paternal and familial obligation. This representational culture configured the aged veteran in two key ways. In the first place, he was depicted as the literal progenitor of boys who would go on to enter the armed services.<sup>30</sup> This was a frequent feature of the reporting of veterans' funerals. For example, when the eighty-year old Sergeant-Major Woodhouse was buried with full military honours in 1868, *John Bull* noted his service record, but dedicated most space to remarking upon his family of eighteen children, six of whom served as soldiers, 'three of them non-commissioned officers in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Life Guards'.<sup>31</sup> Such familial links were likewise celebrated in art, such as C. T. G Formilli's painting, *My Son's Regiment* (1903) which depicts seven Chelsea pensioners avidly reading a poster outside a newspaper shop. To some extent, these forms of representation confirmed aged military men's manliness, connecting them with the laudatory characteristics of fatherhood, and demonstrating that they were exemplars of approved values for the next generation.<sup>32</sup>

The idea of veterans having fathered the next generation of soldiers and sailors was common in popular culture throughout the century, and conveyed complex and occasionally ambiguous meanings. In a story from 1811, 'The Pensioner' tells his interlocutor that he had two sons and professed his wish for them 'to be something else than soldiers, for I knew the hardships of a soldier's life; but they liked it, and both fell, sir, fighting for their country.'<sup>33</sup> If the precise configuration of the veteran altered across the century, this maudlin representation of loss and sacrifice in the service of the state remained a consistent feature. Thus, in a much later poem, published in the *Ladies Monthly Magazine*, 'The Old Soldier' recounts that he had not only lost his brave comrades in war, but also his two sons. The first fought alongside him, saving his life by fighting off the enemy until his father's fainting form was carried away; he then fought 'his way to glory'. As the old soldier declared: 'My true son died in manhood's pride'. He then proceeds to explain that his 'second joy, my sailor boy ... lies dead, / Beneath the sun-kissed billow'. If these doleful accounts risked losing their force for recruitment purposes, they nonetheless stirred sentiment and reminded the reader that the soldier-father would find consolation at death, when he and his sons would be reunited.<sup>34</sup>

In situating the veteran as a father of soldiers, the male reader was also reminded of the pleasures and obligations of filial duty, not just to an imagined father, but also to the king and country he symbolised. In 'My Old Regiment,' (1891) a stirring story for children set in 1880, an old pensioner and veteran of the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42), Peter Harwood, watches the soldiers from his old regiment return to their village with glory from the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80).<sup>35</sup> He muses that though his comrades are all gone, 'my boy wears the old uniform and keeps up the old name amongst them'. One of the colour sergeants bearing the encased regimental colours gives him a 'quick smile' as he passes the old soldier's gate, the moment captured in a beautiful illustration (Fig. 3). Later, when permitted to drop out of the ranks, Colour Sergeant Jim Harwood visits his father, who is seated on the bench outside his cottage, beside the hollyhocks. The old soldier feels exceeding joy as his son 'reverently touching the medals on his father's breast, points to his own heart, above which hung on a similar scrap of rainbow ribbon the six-pointed star which commemorated the world-famous march from Kabul to Kandahar'. Deploying all the cultural motifs of British life: families gathered around their cottage doors, hollyhocks blazing, and the emotional tropes of father-son relationships, this story indicated to its imagined male reader that to fill his father with joy and preserve his beloved nation, he needed to fulfil his manly duties in the service of his country and perpetuate the British imperial project.

As we saw in the introduction, Chelsea pensioners were regularly depicted alongside young, uniformed soldiers. As with 'My Old Regiment', these images often explicitly linked past and present conflicts, as the title of an engraving for the *Illustrated London Newspaper* (1882) indicates: 'After the review: Waterloo and Tel-el-Kebir - a sketch on the Chelsea Embankment'. Arm-in-arm, the aged veteran and young cavalryman stroll along, watched by a young girl, distracted from gazing at the Thames (Fig. 4). These motifs reached their peak in 1914, when the PRC issued this poster, part of a series by Lawson Wood (1878-1957), which portrays a young recruit being seen off to war by an old soldier (Fig. 5). The phrase 'Chip of the Old Block' implies a father-son relationship and reiterates the connection between the veteran's military past and the martial valour of the volunteer, as well as between Britain's historic glories and its current endeavours. As James Marten observes, the drilling together of young and old soldiers in the decades after the American Civil War, provided 'a symbolic bridge from the bloody battlefields of the past to the possibility of future sacrifice.'<sup>36</sup> And with its tagline 'Your King and Country Need You / To Maintain the Honour and Glory of the British Empire', Lawson's poster is even more explicit in its appeals to national memory than the Dadd image with which we began.

In the second place, as well as being the literal progenitors of future servicemen, veterans were also visualised as the disseminators of values across generations. Luke Fildes' illustration, 'The Greenwich Pensioner' (1879) from the *Boy's Own Paper* is a particularly notable example (Fig. 6). The pensioner is seated on a bench in Greenwich Park, surrounded by boys ranging from about three to fifteen. The older boy is dressed in naval uniform. All are transfixed by the old sailor, who is pictured in the act of telling a story, gesticulating with stick and hand; except the little one that is, who, like all little boys in such pictures, is focussed on his toy ship.<sup>37</sup> Their dispositions evoke the images, so popular from the eighteenth century onwards, of labourers returning home to be greeted by their young children gathered at their knee and the baby dandled in their arms.<sup>38</sup> Clearly these men were imagined in a paternal-like role, transmitting values to a younger generation. If the images evoke fathers, however, their age suggests that they were grandfathers. Grandfathers often acted as substitute parents, carrying out very similar duties, and they were culturally perceived to be loving – even doting.<sup>39</sup> Elderly folk (in their 'dotage') were understood to prattle and tell tales and this is gestured to in images of old veterans, who are often depicted as inveterate story-tellers. *Bell's Life* gently mocked the Chelsea pensioner's garrulousness in 'enumerating the various battles he had been in.' In the description of the pensioner's stories, however, one glimpses the pleasures for children listening: 'long-prosing stories, hair-breadth escapes, extraordinary adventures, services unrequited, mines exploded, forlorn hopes, fatigues undergone, hardships endured, marches and counter-marches, plunder, patience, and prize-money, forming the sources from whence you must be entertained'.<sup>40</sup>

The values transmitted to the young varied. In the earlier part of the period, some old veterans are depicted telling the young the truth about the hardships of war. This is the case with the mid-century story 'The Old Veteran; His Wooden Leg, and His War Stories'. While playing at being soldiers and beguiled by the imagined glories of war, a group of children spy a 'soldierly looking man' sitting at the foot of a tree, identifiable by his military cap, medal, and wooden leg. This story would appear at first to be a straightforward depiction of boys spellbound by the tales of the aged veteran, yet the text is far more cautionary in tone. Engaging him in conversation in order to indulge their military fantasies, the boys are instead told, in graphic detail, how his leg was blown off at Waterloo and how he was trampled by a French horse. He tells them that being a 'hero' did not ease the agony, nor does it stop the blood he still coughs up or the pain in his missing leg and foot. He refutes the glory of battle, describing the dead soldiers that littered the battlefield, until one of the boys, Marmaduke, begs him to stop, tears his paper cocked hat, and breaks his wooden sword. Another

boy, Manby, asks why his cousin tells jolly tales of the Crimea and the glorious deaths of his comrades, sporting his Victoria Cross at church every Sunday. The old veteran insists that the children must know the misery that war brings to peoples and nations and that 'one quiet peaceable night by your own fireside is worth twenty victories'.<sup>41</sup> In the rather more jingoistic context of the later nineteenth century, however, such images of age and youth were easily harnessed to a sentimentalised glorification of war. For example, Arthur Elsley's *A Young Briton* (1895), which hangs in the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, depicts an elderly pensioner helping a delighted child to draw his sword from its scabbard (Fig. 6).

Aged veterans not only served a purpose in teaching boys about war; they also provided more general instruction, conveying moral and religious messages. In 'The Withered Oak' (1830), a desperately dour story which plays on the familiar trope of the forgotten veteran, a 108-year-old soldier's sheer longevity serves as an object lesson to a child who hoped to live a long life. The boy's father explains that the veteran is a shadow of a man, who had buried his wife and all his children; only one of his grand-children survives, a soldier in India. As such he singularly proves that long life is not sufficient for happiness.<sup>42</sup> As well as providing a lesson in their own selves, old soldiers' tales more often than not had didactic intentions. For example, in 'Always Speak the Truth, Boy' (1871), a grandfather who is also 'an old soldier, with a pension for good and faithful service' teaches his grandson not to lie. While large accompanying illustration of 'Grandfather Quayle' seated on a stool, with a small boy standing in front of him, does not have him dressed as a soldier, his status as a veteran clearly strengthens his message.<sup>43</sup> Girls were often present on the periphery of these depictions and they too were intended to be recipients of the general values of filial duty, obedience, and piety that they imparted. In *The Children's Treasury* (1870), for example, an old, blind soldier is the means by which 'little' Mary's heart is opened to Jesus.<sup>44</sup> By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, images of pensioners and young girls had, for the most part, become clichéd and highly sentimentalised. A typical example is *Grandad's Garden* by Rose Maynard Barton (1856-1929), which plays upon the associations between the Hospital and gardening, an association solidified by the inauguration of the Royal International Horticultural Show in 1912 and evident in this wartime poster from 1915 (Fig 7). In such images the veteran is simply is a bearer of a nostalgic patriotism, and much of the former moral content is lost.

### **Materiality and Performativity**

The veteran's moral message was frequently conveyed through his body. Thus, the readers of *The Penny Satirist* in 1840 were reminded that during their active service, Greenwich pensioners were literal barriers between the British and their enemies; it was thanks to their 'walls of stout and honest flesh, [that] we have lived securely, participating in every peaceful and domestic comfort, and neither heard the roar of the cannon nor seen its smoke'. The sailor (and soldier) often fought at a considerable spatial and imaginative remove from the metropole, but here the author brings the bodily sacrifice of the serviceman directly into the homes of the British middle classes: 'if it had not been for his leg, the cannon-ball might have scattered us in our tea-parlour – the bullet which deprived him of his orb of vision, might have stricken *Our Village* from our hand, whilst ensconced in our study; the cutlass which cleaved his shoulder might have demolished our china vase, or our globe of golden fish'.<sup>45</sup>

Textual representations dwelled on the physical form of the veteran to serve a number of ends. The aged veteran's body could, in some cases, stand for all soldiers, past and present. In an article entitled 'The British Soldier' in *The Ladies Cabinet* (1844), the 'soldier of a hundred battles is

stamped upon the veteran's aspect!' The medals on his breast, the scar on his brow from Waterloo, the bronzed skin, the 'blue and peppery tinges of "foul priming" on the right of his face: all, the author suggests, remind one of the 'thousands – the hundreds of thousands – who, in the buoyancy of hope and youth, commenced their military career with our hero. Alas! how very few survive'.<sup>46</sup>

At the same time, veterans were also the literal embodiment of their specific service record. In the *Boys' Own Paper* of 1897, for example, eighty-three-year-old Chelsea pensioner, William Simcock, is interviewed about his service since joining the army in 1834. The piece offers details of his injuries and hardships while serving in India and during the conquest of Burma and the Andaman Islands. But it also shows how this experience was inscribed on his body, nothing that he was tattooed all over, like Burmese soldiers. Simcock explains, with a flourish, that the Burmese thought such tattoos protected them from being wounded, but, once the British troops appeared, 'they did not believe in it any longer.'<sup>47</sup> This simultaneous appropriation and dismissal of the colonial other's culture doubtless added to the glamour of military conquest and imperial adventure for its impressionable young readers.

In many instances, the veteran's body, though aged and often injured, was still seen as active and appealing. In *Bell's Life* (1830), a semi-fictional Chelsea pensioner was described thus:

This warm-hearted son of Mars was as fine a piece of weather-beaten anatomy (of seventy-five years' standing) as you would meet with... his limbs, unlike his comrades, perfect; and, although they bore stronger symptoms of ossification than sleekness, yet had they been well-formed – his head erect, and a martial fire in his eye that seemed to bid defiance to time ...a deeply furrowed brow (ornamented with a few professional scars ...)

The author linked his service in arms with his body, including his silver hair, 'spared by the tropical climate of the east and swampy vapours of the west'. He was wounded in at least twenty-three places with 'two balls *quartered* in his body;' he had been in as many engagements as he had received wounds, 'and which wounds, he said, would serve him, when his memory began to fall, as an "Orderly-Book," to the number!'<sup>48</sup> Such veterans were a living mnemonic of historic battles.

As well as being intriguing in its own right, the aged veteran's body was also often contrasted with his youthful self. One old soldier was described as 'lit up with not a little portion of his youthful fire, when recounting his life.'<sup>49</sup> In some ways, this noble past counterbalanced the cultural association of old age with garrulousness. In 'Old Soldiers, and Old Sailors' (1843), for example, the author ruminates that elderly storytellers are generally boring or insufferably self-satisfied. Soldiers and sailors, on the other hand, along with players, travellers and retired highwaymen were, he claimed, amusing raconteurs. In this account, an old soldier recalls the scene as the 'clangour of the trumpet rings through the air, and the cold, clear, cruel bayonets flash and glisten in the sun'. The author then contrasts his story of excitement, turmoil, terror, and passions, with its teller, prostheses and all:

and as you look at the crippled narrator of all this, - old, infirm, mutilated, "curtailed of man's fair proportions," a mere piece of patch-work made up for the great part of cork, or common timber, - it requires some exercise of the imaginative faculty to bring it home to you, that this is the creature who has been an actor in these things; that this is the veritable man who has stood ancle-deep [sic] in blood ... As you look at him you cannot help coinciding with the psalmist, that "all flesh is grass."<sup>50</sup>

The veteran's damaged body had long been a problematic reminder of the risks of military service.<sup>51</sup> An article in *Punch*, reflecting on the recent *Report on the Recruiting of the Army* (1866), warned that 'There is no object that more tends to counteract the eloquence of the recruiting sergeant than the sight of a ragged and famishing old soldier, or of a veteran in the workhouse.' Their empty sleeves and wooden legs were a discouragement to marital impulse, 'detering all reasonable spectators from adventuring to treat the path of glory in which he got mutilated'.<sup>52</sup> And yet, what the popular literature of the period suggests, is that the disabled veteran's body could still be presented as manly, displaying its owner's valour though its scars, skin, limbs, and dress. Thus Thomas Kelly's engraving of three Greenwich pensioners, each lacking one or two limbs, produced for *The Good Child's Reward* (c.1860), is accompanied by the text: 'The wooden substituted limb,/The eye, tho' sightless, never dim;/The armless body proudly wears/The laurel gain'd – the laurel shares'.<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, the aged veteran could often serve as a glamorous, if poignant, reminder of manly beauty and courage. In the same *Bell's Life* article as the 'warm-hearted son of Mars' appears, another Chelsea pensioner is connected to his younger self, and glorious deeds, in perhaps the most material form imaginable. The narrator explains that he was the 'identical Serjeant [sic] that received the lamented Abercombe in his arms', when he died on the battlefield of Alexandria in 1801: 'Yes, reader; in the sculptured figure in St. Paul's of the Highland Serjeant [sic], receiving in his arms the dying hero of Alexandria, you behold the once athletic form of the brave veteran, a sketch of whom I am now endeavouring to draw, mixed up, it is true, with the characteristics of the whole Pantheon of Chelsea'.<sup>54</sup>

In some cases, the aged veteran was imagined as still virile. W. C. Safford Esq's 'Old Soldier' in *La Belle Assemblée* (1830) was described as 'hale and hearty in body,' though missing an arm and leg, and with a scar above his left eye, which 'did not add to the beauty of his countenance', and which was bronzed by exposure to other climes. With grey hair, and intelligent eye, he had some fire of youth left in him and 'proved that he *had been* what may be termed a gay man amongst the lasses.' When the narrator looks with interest on what he takes to be the soldier's pretty daughter, the veteran informs him that she is in fact his wife. Thirty years younger than him, they had been married for nearly ten years and he is, he says, 'as happy as the King'.<sup>55</sup> Such virile veterans stood somewhere between the twin poles of the youthful, gay soldier/sailor and the decrepit and dependent pensioner, still merely an echo of the former, yet not so readily sentimentalised as the latter. Perhaps this particular representation imagined one way in which veterans might be rewarded for armed service and bodily damage in the service of king and country.

If veterans' bodies functioned as a metonym for sacrifice and valour, then so too did the objects with which they were associated, notably medals and regimental colours. Like the veteran himself, these objects created an imaginative bridge between past, present, and future conflicts.<sup>56</sup> A particularly powerful example of this can be found in 'Nearly Forty Years Ago. A Reminiscence of a Waterloo Veteran,' (1895) from the adolescent paper *Chums*, which tells the tale of John, an elderly veteran of Waterloo, who ends his life in a small Canadian village. The author recalls that as a boy, he would see this 'antique and martial figure,' who sold fresh fish, tap his left breast proudly when he had served his customers. The boy realises that he wore his Waterloo medal under his coat, a gesture which 'restored him from trade to his soldiership'. His father tells him that a customer had once asked John if he would sell that 'bit of pewter'. The old soldier was so insulted that he thereafter wore it beneath his coat, so it would be 'always felt by the heart of the hero'. In 1855, however, the author meets John walking erect with the medal on his coat; since war had been declared on Russia, the veteran felt it 'right to show it' as his son had gone with the regiment. John displays his medal until the end of the Crimean war, when he leads a torchlit procession 'in full regimentals, straight as

a ramrod, the hero of the night'. The narrator recalls: 'We boys thought the old army of Wellington kept ghostly step with John Locke, while aerial drums pealed and beat with rejoicing at the new glory of English-speaking men'.

Then comes the 'Sepoy Mutiny' and as that conflict unfolds, John and his medal become a barometer for British military fortunes: 'Week after week, month after month, as hideous tidings poured steadily in, his face became more haggard, gray, [sic] and dreadful. The feeling that he was too old for use seemed to shame him. He no longer carried his head high, as of yore'. He was despondent in part because his son was not marching behind Havelock, having sailed to join Outram in Persia before the rebellion. After some months, news comes that his son's regiment has gone to India to fight the 'mutineers', and thus 'John marched into the village with a prouder air ... His medal was again displayed on his breast'. The story ends tragically, however, with the village postmaster reading aloud the press report of the capture of a sepoy fort. The veteran's son is named as a member of the forlorn hope, leading the assault, but as the report unfolds, his son is described dying in action, riddled with bullets. When the report ends, the veteran announces that his son had 'died well for England and duty', nervously fingers the medal on his chest, wheels around and marches to his cabin. The next day, the minister finds him dead upon his straw bed in 'his antique regimentals, stiffer than at attention, all his medals fastened below that of Waterloo above his quiet heart'.<sup>57</sup> Here, then, the medal is a remarkably powerful emotional object intended to convey the generational links of duty and self-sacrifice in the military.<sup>58</sup> Even divested of such explicitly generational meaning, moreover, veterans' medals acted as material cultural reminders of the continuity of national military endeavour. An account of Chelsea Hospital, for example, describes a case of medals in the great hall: 'When a pensioner dies, should no relatives appear to claim his effects, his medals are put into this case, and here are dozens, representing service in every battle since the days of the Peninsular War.'<sup>59</sup>

Indeed, when Chelsea Hospital was described in popular texts, authors often focussed on those spaces that were most intimately linked to the materiality of war. For example, in 'Chelsea Pensioners at Home' (1886) from *The Boy's Own Paper*, the adornment of the chapel is described in highly evocative terms:

captured flags ... form the chief decoration ... Torn to tatters, most of them tender as tinder, they are now sewn on to silken nettings to support them in their decay; but often tiny pieces of the rotting silk come floating into the brown oak pews that line the walls.

The captured flags in the Great Hall are illustrated on the frontispiece (Fig. 8). The account explains that every seven years when the chapel is cleaned, the 'precious trophies' are wrapped and laid in store, 'so delicate are they that slightest draught would blow them into dust'. These trophies are then delineated, naming the battles they were taken in and their various states of decay, including the French Imperial Eagle ('the sacred standard') captured by the Scots Greys at Waterloo.<sup>60</sup> This paradoxical allusion to the ephemerality of the trophies of war, their combination of glory and decay, captures the passage of time, both in the artefacts of war and the bodies of the men themselves.

In addition to medals and flags, veterans' uniforms also had an evocative power. Indeed, part of the appeal of the Chelsea and Greenwich pensioners was that their uniforms tied them irrevocably to their martial past. In 1830, *Bell's Life* observed that the 'dress of your Chelsea Pensioner ... adds very materially to the veteran-like appearance of the man'. With its long red coat and tricorne hat, it evoked the 'Guardsmen's dress of 1745', and, 'although somewhat antiquated' presented a 'more warlike and martial appearance than your more dandyfied and bedizened one of the present'.<sup>61</sup> Of

course, although they might proudly display their medals, most veterans did not wear their old service uniforms as a matter of course, rarely even on special occasions. However, there are examples, which parallel the famous images of the veterans of Napoleon's *Grande Armée* taken in c.1859, where aged British veterans also wore full regimental uniform for the record.<sup>62</sup> For example, in c.1880, Robert Turner, formerly a Sergeant in the Royal Artillery and a veteran of the Crimea, was photographed in full dress uniform in his capacity as Master Gunner at Fort Belvedere, Windsor, with the inscription 'the oldest soldier in the Royal Artillery'. (Fig. 9). Likewise, while most of the photographs taken of the members of the Bristol Crimean War and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association in the later nineteenth century show them in civilian dress, albeit with their medals on display, this remarkable image of J. E. Wright of the 46th (South Devonshire) Regiment of Foot presents him in full field dress, complete with Kilmarnock cap, bedroll and musket (Fig.10).

The appeal of seeing aged veterans in uniform was multifaceted. At one level, as Scott Hughes Myerly has demonstrated, nineteenth-century military uniforms were designed to be spectacular in their own right and so their display had an intrinsic appeal.<sup>63</sup> This was certainly the case for the images of the *Grande Armée* veterans, which included such impressive and 'exotic' uniforms as those of the 1<sup>st</sup> Hussars and the Mamelukes of the Imperial Guard. In the British context, it is likely that the increasingly utilitarian nature of army field dress which, by the 1880s, had fully dispensed with scarlet finery in favour of drab khaki, lent the uniforms of the past a particular mystique. This was especially true when, as with the veteran more generally, past glories could be linked to present concerns. In this sense, it is notable that the image of J. E Wright, which is clearly a carefully-composed studio portrait, contains not only a large, draped Union flag, but also an African-inspired pedestal atop which sits a light-coloured Foreign Service helmet, an allusion, perhaps, to the contemporary Anglo-Zulu (1879) or First Anglo-Boer wars (1880-1). In addition to this, it is clear that the sight of elderly men re-enacting, through dress or action, the prime of their youth, had a peculiar frisson. The large-scale later nineteenth- and early twentieth-century reunions of Civil War veterans on the battlefield of Gettysburg is a remarkable case in point, but, in Britain too, certain veterans, most notably the survivors of the Light Brigade, were induced to relive their experiences, often for commercial gain.<sup>64</sup> For example, Sergeant Frederick Peake of the 13<sup>th</sup> (Light) Dragoons used regularly to don the tattered and torn coatee he had worn during the battle and even had it let out as he aged.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Nehemiah William Eastoe of the 11<sup>th</sup> Hussars offered to recite Tennyson's poem while dressed in 'full uniform' for a 'moderate fee', while Trumpeter Martin Landfried of the 17<sup>th</sup> Lancers would often accompany the actress Amy Sedgwick's dramatic recitals of the same poem, dressed in his uniform and playing a trumpet. In 1890, Landfried was even recorded by the Edison Company, playing the regimental bugle, which had allegedly sounded at both Waterloo and Balaclava.<sup>66</sup> This latter example captures the remarkable potency not only of the aged veteran's self, but also his material accoutrements. This bugle, which had served in two historic conflicts, was only one of a number of claimants to be the 'authentic' instrument which had sounded the fateful charge and, together with Peake's coatee was the kind of powerful emotional object to be preserved for posterity in both local and national museum collections.<sup>67</sup>

The case of Landfried's recording also demonstrates how the performance of veteranhood was shaped by technological innovation. Of course, this performance had deep roots. Chelsea and Greenwich Pensioners had long provided a public spectacle, especially on occasions such as Founders' Day, when the former would be inspected by a member of the Royal family. No wonder that the veteran was understood as a 'type' to be painted. One, it was noted in 1811, 'would have furnished an excellent subject for an artist; his features were fine, and strongly marked; a few white hairs were scattered over a brow which had seen many years; his beard had not lately been shorn of its honours, which added greatly to his venerable appearance'.<sup>68</sup> As with Landfried's bugle, military

accoutrements also provided a performative aspect to the Pensioner's identity. One of the 'postcards' represented on the frontispiece to 'Chelsea Pensioners at Home', for example, depicts two pensioners marching side-by-side, one playing fife, the other a drum (Fig. 8). These immediately recognisable instruments symbolised battle, and its supposed glories. In the poem, 'The Air That Led to Victory' (1884), the 'time-worn Chelsea pensioner', in his long coat and cocked hat, draws a fife from his breast and plays it for his fellow pensioners. As they listen they are transported into battle, dashing across the plain on their horses, until they hear the 'stirring trumpet-blast'; 'then there comes/The memory of muffled drums;/Unbidden rise the silent tears/When sounds "The British Grenadiers"' .<sup>69</sup>

However, it was the development of photography from the 1840s onwards that provided an especially potent means for the performance of veteranhood. The Crimean war had seen the innovative use of photography on the battlefield and, on their return, a number of soldiers were famously captured in the series 'Crimean Heroes 1856' by Robert Howlett and Joseph Cundall.<sup>70</sup> As the century wore on, photography was similarly used to capture veterans in their aged state. Despite the various 'small wars' of empire fought around mid-century, it was veterans of the Crimean war and Indian 'Mutiny' who proved the most enduring in this respect, although veterans from the Waterloo campaign were also photographed as late as 1880.<sup>71</sup> Individual and group portraits of veterans abounded, ranging from members of memorial societies and 'native' troops in India to a photograph taken in front of the Chelsea Hospital in 1910 of 'Mutiny' veterans which included such luminaries as Field Marshalls Frederick Roberts and Garnett Wolsey as well as rank-and-file Pensioners.<sup>72</sup> Even so, at least one example, of uncertain origin, sought to capture the sheer range of conflicts in which British veterans participated. Dating from sometime after 1906, this panoramic photograph consists of veterans, many of them aged, some of whom are carrying poles onto which have subsequently been superimposed somewhat crudely drawn placards bearing the name, and medal, of each major British military land campaign from the Crimean war to the Natal Rebellion (1906) (Fig. 11).

Such attempts to memorialise the veterans of mid-century conflicts peaked in the early twentieth century as their numbers began to dwindle and as renewed conflict and popular militarism encouraged patriotic reflection. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of this was the dinner held at Christmas 1907 to commemorate the Golden Anniversary of the Indian 'Mutiny'. This took place in the imposing surroundings of the Albert Hall, and while invited dignitaries, such as Rudyard Kipling, joined the veterans inside, members of the public crowded in the rain to witness 'the arrival of the veterans and their subsequent inspection by Lord Roberts'. The occasion was reported on by the *Daily Telegraph*, which had sponsored the event, in remarkably florid prose. 'We have seen them', it wrote, 'In the weakness of their age and the glory of their honour, they have come together for the last time on earth, and they have melted again into the mist'. Reflecting on the emotions aroused by these aged men, it claimed, 'Vain are the human triumphs untouched by the sense of tears in mortal things. That sense was present and penetrating yesterday, as in few scenes ever witnessed upon English soil'.<sup>73</sup>

## Conclusion

In many ways, the *Daily Telegraph's* celebratory dinner for the 'Mutiny' veterans encapsulates much of what we have sought to highlight in this chapter about the representation of the aged veteran in the long nineteenth century. In its combination of mass media, sentimentalism and nationalism, it represents both the culmination of nineteenth-century trends as well as anticipating certain cultural forms that would shape aspects of the twentieth- and twenty-first-century conceptualisation of the veteran soldier in Britain. For example, commentators were moved to contrast the bodily infirmity of

these men with the time when they had 'fought and bled for England, when the blood was fresh in their arteries and youth was in their cheeks'. Similarly, veterans were encouraged to performed their identities though the wearing of old uniforms and medals and, in the case of 'Angus Gibson, of the Black Watch, the last surviving piper of the Mutiny', through the emotive re-enactment of former duties. The *Telegraph* even used the opportunity to remind its readers that the 'most pathetic' fact about the celebration was that, 'of all the Indian Mutiny veterans who were eligible to be present at the Albert Hall, at least a hundred are inmates of workhouses'. Most notably of all, however, the entire event was assimilated into a jingoistic discourse in which these aged veterans served not simply as memorials to their own past, but also as exemplars for current and future generations of imperialists As a poem, especially commissioned for the occasion, read:

To-day, across our fathers' graves  
The astonished years reveal  
The remnants of that desperate host,  
Which cleansed our East with steel.  
Hail and farewell! We greet you here,  
With tears that none will scorn –  
O keepers of the house of old,  
Or ever we were born!  
One service more we dare to ask.  
Pray for us, heroes, pray,  
That when Fate lays on us our Task  
We do not shame the day.<sup>74</sup>

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- <sup>1</sup> *The Graphic*, 27 February 1915, p. 278; *St Andrew's Citizen*, 15 May 1915, p. 7.
- <sup>2</sup> The history of the institution was set out in several contemporary periodicals, including *The Ladies Cabinet*, 1 December 1845, p. 379 and *The Boys' Own Paper*, 16 October 1886, p. 41.
- <sup>3</sup> The *Journal of Veteran Studies*, for example, was launched in 2016, but very few of its articles to date are historical in approach.
- <sup>4</sup> There is a voluminous literature on this topic but, for an example from each of the two world wars, see Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) and Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: 'Soul of a Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
- <sup>5</sup> For the European context, see Ángel Alcalde, *War Veterans and Fascism in Interwar Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). For an example of extra-European contexts, see Norma J. Kriger, *Guerrilla Veterans in Post-War Zimbabwe: Symbolic and Violent Politics, 1980-1987* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- <sup>6</sup> An excellent introduction to this literature is provided by Larry M. Logue and Michael Barton (eds), *The Civil War Veteran: A Historical Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2007). For work on the social history of veterans, see James Martens, *Sing Not War: The Lives of Union and Confederate Veterans in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).
- <sup>7</sup> See also, Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
- <sup>8</sup> Caroline E. Janney, *Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); M. Keith Harris, *Across the Bloody Chasm: The Culture of Commemoration Among Civil War Veterans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014). For the differential experiences of black soldiers, see Donald Robert Shaffer, *After the Glory: The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans* (Lawrence, KS: Kansas University Press, 2004).
- <sup>9</sup> Caroline Nielsen, 'Continuing to Serve?': Representations of the Elderly Veteran Soldier in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries' in Stephen McVeigh and Nicola Cooper (eds), *Men After War* (London: Routledge, 2013), 18-35. See also, idem, 'The Chelsea Out-Pensioners: Image and Reality in Eighteenth-Century and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Care', PhD thesis, Newcastle University (2014).
- <sup>10</sup> The Crimean War (1854-6) has come in for especial attention in this regard. For example, see Lara Kriegel, 'Who Blew the Balaklava Bugle? The Charge of the Light Brigade and the Afterlife of the Crimean War', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2015(20), DOI: <http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.713>; Rachel Elizabeth Bates, 'Curating the Crimea: The Cultural Afterlife of a Conflict', PhD thesis, University of Leicester (2015).
- <sup>11</sup> J. M. W. Hirschberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 169.
- <sup>12</sup> Quoted in Hirschberger, *Images of the Army*, p. 170.
- <sup>13</sup> In fact, O'Neil produced a number of images around this theme, but most are studies rather than exhibited paintings.
- <sup>14</sup> Joanne Begiato (Bailey), 'Tears and the Manly Sailor in England, c. 1760-1860', *Journal for Maritime Research* 17:2 (2015), 117-33; Simon Parkes, 'Wooden Legs and Tales of Sorrow: The Literary Broken Soldier of the Late Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 36, no. 2 (2013), 191-207; Nielsen, 'The Chelsea Out-Pensioners', pp. 236-9.
- <sup>15</sup> Peter Reese, *Homecoming Heroes: An Account of the Reassimilation of British Personnel into Civilian Life* (London: Leo Cooper, 1992), pp. 34-5.
- <sup>16</sup> Nielsen, 'The Chelsea Out-Pensioners' p. 4.
- <sup>17</sup> Reese, *Homecoming Heroes*, pp. 36-7.
- <sup>18</sup> 'Sudden Death of a Chelsea Pensioner', *John Bull*, 18 February 1843, p. 102.
- <sup>19</sup> For example, see Kenneth Hendrickson, *Making Saints: Religion and the Public Image of the British Army, 1809-1885* (London: Associated University Presses, 1998).
- <sup>20</sup> Philip Shaw, *Suffering and Sentiment in Romantic Military Art* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013); Parkes, 'Wooden Legs'; Nielsen, 'The Chelsea Out-Pensioners'.
- <sup>21</sup> David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 2001), pp. 208-9; Marten, *Sing Not War*, pp. 249-52.
- <sup>22</sup> Michael Brown, 'Cold Steel, Weak Flesh: Mechanism, Masculinity and the Anxieties of Late Victorian Empire' *Cultural and Social History*, 14:2 (2017), 155-81.
- <sup>23</sup> *Punch*, 2 April 1870, p. 133.

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- <sup>24</sup> *Punch*, 21 October 1882, p. 90.
- <sup>25</sup> National Army Museum, London, NAM.1998-06-107, 'Rules of the Balaclava Commemoration Society' (1877).
- <sup>26</sup> *Punch*, 26 April 1890, p. 196.
- <sup>27</sup> [http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poems\\_brigade.htm](http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/poems_brigade.htm)
- <sup>28</sup> *Punch*, 26 April 1890, p. 196.
- <sup>29</sup> 'The Chelsea Pensioners "at Home"', *The Court Magazine*, 1 December 1833, p. 253.
- <sup>30</sup> For the earlier period, see Nielsen, 'The Chelsea Pensioners', pp. 242-4.
- <sup>31</sup> *John Bull*, 28 March 1868, p. 228
- <sup>32</sup> Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England, 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.174-98; idem, "'A Very Sensible Man": Imagining Fatherhood in England, c. 1750-1830', *History* 95:319 (2010), 267-92. See also, Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers (eds), *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
- <sup>33</sup> *Lady's Monthly Museum*, 1 April 1811, p. 229.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ladies Monthly Magazine*, 1 July 1870, p. 8
- <sup>35</sup> *Our Darlings*, 1 April 1891, p. 199
- <sup>36</sup> Marten, *Sing Not War*, p. 23.
- <sup>37</sup> *The Boy's Own Paper*, 8 February 1879, p. 64
- <sup>38</sup> Bailey, *Parenting in England*, chapter 4. See also, Christiana Payne, *Rustic Simplicity: Scenes of Country Life in Nineteenth-Century British Art* (Nottingham: Djanogly Art Gallery, 1998).
- <sup>39</sup> Bailey, *Parenting in England*, p. 203.
- <sup>40</sup> *Bell's Life*, 11 July 1830, p. 3.
- <sup>41</sup> 'The Old Veteran; His Wooden Leg and his War Stories', *Peter Parley's Annual* (date unknown), pp. 35-43.
- <sup>42</sup> *Child's Companion*, 1 October 1830, p. 289.
- <sup>43</sup> *Chatterbox*, 26 January 1871, p. 65.
- <sup>44</sup> *The Children's Treasury*, 1 October 1870, p. 181.
- <sup>45</sup> *The Penny Satirist*, 21 March 1840, p. 3,
- <sup>46</sup> 'The British Soldier' in *The Ladies Cabinet*, 1 January 1844, p. 30.
- <sup>47</sup> The story is illustrated by a rather fine engraving of the veteran telling his story, from a painting by Arthur Robinson. *The Boys' Own Paper*, 4 December, 1897, p. 145.
- <sup>48</sup> *Bell's Life*, 11 July 1830, p. 3.
- <sup>49</sup> 'The British Soldier', p. 30.
- <sup>50</sup> The old sailor, says the author, is 'more discursive' and speaks of all sorts of subjects. He tells of the parts of the world he has visited from the North Cape, to the Bay of Bengal, to Sierra Leone, California, and New Zealand. His tales revolve around women he loved a 'score of Pollys and Mollys'. His sea-battles are recounted with more coolness, with the loss of limbs alluded to as 'rather unlucky circumstances'. 'Old Soldiers and Old Sailors', *Ladies Cabinet*, 1 September 1843, p. 196.
- <sup>51</sup> Parkes, 'Wooden Legs and Tales of Sorrow'.
- <sup>52</sup> *Punch*, 1 December 1866, p. 221.
- <sup>53</sup> 'Greenwich Pensioners', Henry Sharpe Horsley, *The Good Child's Reward* (London: Thomas Kelly, c.1860).
- <sup>54</sup> *Bell's Life*, 11 July 1830, p. 3.
- <sup>55</sup> *La Belle Assemblée*, 1 September 1830, p. 114.
- <sup>56</sup> For the role of battlefield relics and the artefacts and memorabilia of war that were kept and then later given monetary or emotional value in the post-Civil War period in the United States, see Marten, *Sing Not War*, pp. 138-146.
- <sup>57</sup> *Chums*, 6 February 1895, p. 369.
- <sup>58</sup> Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway and Sarah Randles (eds), *Feeling Things Objects and Emotions through History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).
- <sup>59</sup> 'Chelsea Pensioners at Home', *The Boys Own Paper*, 16 October 1886, p. 41.
- <sup>60</sup> 'Chelsea Pensioners at Home', p. 41.
- <sup>61</sup> *Bell's Life*, 11 July 1830, p. 3
- <sup>62</sup> For the French images, see the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, [https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/collections/id\\_619/?selected\\_facets=genre\\_aat%3Aphotographs&selected\\_facets=keyword%3AVeterans](https://repository.library.brown.edu/studio/collections/id_619/?selected_facets=genre_aat%3Aphotographs&selected_facets=keyword%3AVeterans) (accessed 21/02/2018).
- <sup>63</sup> Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle: From the Napoleonic to Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).

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<sup>64</sup> Harris, *Across the Bloody Chasm*.

<sup>65</sup> NAM. 1956-10-44-1, Short-tailed coatee worn by Sergeant Frederick Peake of the 13th (Light) Dragoons at the Battle of Balaklava, 1854.

<sup>66</sup> Roy Dutton, *Forgotten Heroes: The Charge of the Light Brigade* (Oxton: InfoDial, 2007), p. 307; Kriegel 'Balaklava Bugle', p. 8. Oddly, Dutton and Kriegel disagree on the spelling of Landfried/Landfrey's name, while the 'Rules of the Balaclava Commemoration Society' (1877), p. 12 lists him (surely incorrectly) as 'T. Landfred'.

<sup>67</sup> Kriegel, 'Balaklava Bugle'.

<sup>68</sup> 'The Pensioner', p. 229.

<sup>69</sup> *The Boys Own Paper*, 25 October 1884, p. 62

<sup>70</sup> NAM. 1964-12-154-6, Robert Howlett and Joseph Cundall, 'Crimean Heroes 1856'. See also, Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), chapter 4.

<sup>71</sup> Royal Collection Trust, RCIN 2907241, Last survivors of Waterloo at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, June 1880.

<sup>72</sup> For an example of the memorialisation of 'native' troops, see NAM. 1985-07-27-1, Indian Mutiny veterans of the 2nd (Prince of Wales' Own) Gurkha Regiment, c.1880. For the 1910 group portrait, see NAM. 1991-02-49, Indian Mutiny Veterans, Royal Hospital Chelsea, July 1910.

<sup>73</sup> *The Daily Telegraph*, 24 December 1907, pp 9-10.

<sup>74</sup> *The Daily Telegraph*, 24 December 1907, pp. 9-10.