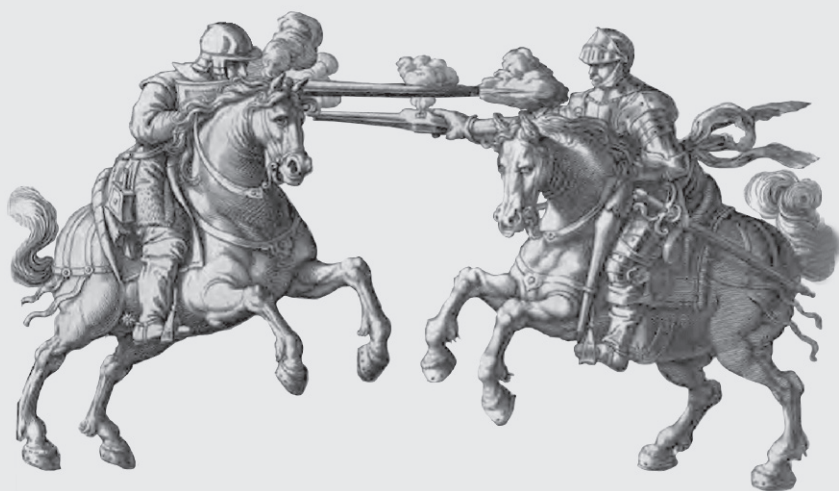


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**Storia Militare Moderna**



*Società Italiana di Storia Militare*



Borgognotta “a coda d’aragosta” (“zischägge”, “cappellina”, “capeline”) per corazzieri, raitri e archibugieri a cavallo, di derivazione ottomana (szyszak, çiçak). Esemplare olandese, ca. 1630/50, donato nel 1964 dal Dr. Douglas G. Carroll, Jr. al Walters Art Museum di Mount Vernon-Belvedere, Baltimore (MD), kindly licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license (wikipedia).

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# Logistics and the Path to Military Modernity

## Britain and the crucial advantage of naval strength, 1793-1815

By JEREMY BLACK

\* I have benefited greatly from the comments of Mike Duffy and Roger Knight on an earlier draft.

The apparent route to military modernity underlines the teleology offered by those who discern military revolutions. The problems posed by this thesis are readily apparent, not only in terms of an analysis of past periods, events and developments, but also with reference to the far greater complexity of modernity than is generally assumed.<sup>1</sup> The capacity of the state to delimit, control, direct and support war is generally a key element of the historical equation as far as modern scholars are concerned, although that approach ironically leaves unclear how best to handle the very contemporary nature of different practices across the world. The latter, indeed, encourages a reading of the past that subverts the standard usage of the terms modern, modernity and modernisation. Furthermore, some important scholarly work has redirected attention to the deficiencies of past states. This is especially notable with the work of David Parrott, particularly his *Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642* (2002) and *The Business of War. Military Enterprise and Military Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (2012), which very much undermined not only standard discussion of the French army in the seventeenth century but, more generally, the flimsy construction of the hypothetical early-modern European military revolution.<sup>2</sup>

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\* Similar work is urgently needed on some of the non-Western militaries of the period.

1 J. BLACK, *Rethinking Military History* (London, 2004).

2 J. BLACK, *War in Europe, 1450 to the Present* (London, 2016).

Turning to a more recent era, the emphasis for the *Wehrmacht* on its dependence on horses very much undercuts the usual view of its armoured prowess. Most of its army was singularly unmechanised. This contrast is more generally applicable when considering all militaries, not least supposedly cutting-edge ones. There is a tendency to focus on the ‘tip’ rather than the bulk of a military. The *Wehrmacht* is further instructive due to the many limitations of the German war effort, including a weak logistical basis, notably, but not only, for fuel, a poor grasp of coalition warfare, inadequate strategic understanding and processes, and a reliance on a predatory economics. Among supposedly cutting-edge militaries, none of these factors was unique to the *Wehrmacht*. Indeed, they can all be seen in the case of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France.

Alongside an emphasis on deficiencies, it is important to note that most military activity is a matter of managing weaknesses as well as risk. Indeed, weakness does not necessarily lead to failure, a point that is instructive when discussing the methodology of assessing capability. Similarly, failure does not automatically demonstrate weakness. As well as deficiencies, it is appropriate to assess strengths. In this short paper, I wish to consider the case of British army logistics in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, in which Britain fought from 1793 to 1802, 1803 to 1814, and in 1815. Logistics is not necessarily fundamental to success, but it is a crucial enabler and it brings together strategic, operational and tactical capabilities and effectiveness; and to a degree that many of the factors that attract attention do not match.

The contrast in that period between France and Britain can be given a greater resonance by comparing it with that in the Second World War between Britain and America on the one hand and the Axis powers on the other. Key elements included more effective alliance coordination, a greater ability to innovate and implement the results, as well as better inter-service co-operation at the strategic, operational and tactical levels. The strength of maritime systems was a key element. That raises the inevitable question of how best to place the achievement of the Soviet Union in World War Two and of Russia in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. In part, this was a matter of financial and economic help in both from the maritime ally (allies), notably with weaponry in World War Two, as well as the impact on Germany of diverting the *Luftwaffe*, and related industrial

production, to home defence. So also with the use of British subsidies to help Austria, Prussia, Russia and other allies in the period 1793-1815. The ability to do so rested on the sophistication and strength of British public finances, and on a maritime economy that drew on naval power and a hard-won dominance. This situation represented a continuance of a pattern going back to 1688, one that undermines the supposed novelty of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic period.

Thus, it is the range, and capability within that range, of British warmaking as opposed to that of France, that commands attention. This was certainly apparent with logistics during the period 1793-1815. The logistical challenge facing the British army was greater than that facing any other army due to the variety and range of British commitments. Alongside rivalry with expenditure on the Royal Navy, there were competing challenges for army activity, notably security in the British Isles, conflict with other powers in Europe, trans-oceanic conflict with European powers on land, and conflict with non-European powers. Between 1793 and 1815, the areas in which the army operated included the British Isles, North America, the West Indies, South America, Cape Town, Egypt, Iberia, Italy, the Low Countries, Denmark, India, and the East Indies. There was no single organisation overseeing this variety, not only due to the inherited structures of British administration, but also because of the need for, and practice of, autonomy on many distant stations. This was especially the case with India where the East India Company played a major role.

Furthermore, the extent of co-operation with the navy on trans-oceanic expeditions and amphibious operations was such that the value of differentiating army from navy should not be pushed too hard. So also with the inherited organisational structure. Thus, the Board of Ordnance provided gunpowder for both army and navy. The Navy's Victualling Board had responsibility for provisioning all overseas expeditions and it was far more experienced and efficient, and less corrupt, than the Army Commissariat.

At the same time, bureaucratic practices and possibilities were not static. The rise of the War Office, under the Secretary at War, from 1783, especially under Henry, 3<sup>rd</sup> Viscount Palmerston (later Prime Minister) from 1809, and, above him, under the Secretary of State for War after 1793 provided a larger and more effective bureaucracy for the conduct of

overseas operations. The Secretary of State for War had the real power, although the army commander-in-chief, situated in the Horse Guards, administered personnel.<sup>3</sup> This process of administrative reform was taken further from 1806 with the appearance of the first of a number of reports by the newly-established Commission of Military Enquiry.

The key means of logistics was not administrative structures, but money. This was crucial for funding activity, both in Britain and abroad, notably in the important Indian military labour market. Unlike in the War of American Independence (1775-83), when it was restricted to defending Gibraltar against siege, there was large-scale conflict in Europe. The British contested the French advance and presence on the European mainland, most obviously, although not only, in the Low Countries (1793-5, 1798-9, 1809, 1813-15), Southern Italy (1806), Iberia (1808-13), and France (1813-15). There was no inherent military need for such a policy, and certainly so in terms of defending Britain from invasion, but successive ministries felt it necessary to demonstrate to actual and potential allies that the British could challenge the French on land. This was crucial to coalition warfare: as in 1942-4, allies frequently demanded a second front to divert French troops away from the Eastern Front and, equally, Britain needed such a statement of strength to ensure a bargaining place at the subsequent peace conference.

As a consequence, the percentage of defence spending devoted to land service rose from an average of 32 per cent in 1784-92 to 51 per cent in 1793-1802 and 57 per cent in 1803-15,<sup>4</sup> although, in part, this rise reflected the limited possibilities for expanding expenditure on the navy, given the number of sailors that could be raised and the absence of a naval equivalent of the large forces in British pay. Naval manpower peaked at 147,000 in 1813, and was at about that level from 1809.<sup>5</sup> There was not much point in building very large warships at the end of the war, since there were no significant enemy warships at sea, although Britain was building small warships for trade protection right up to the end. But the shortage of skilled

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3 R.J.W. KNIGHT, *Britain against Napoleon: the Organisation of Victory, 1793-1815* (London, 2013), p. 104.

4 David FRENCH, *The British way in warfare 1688-2000* (London, 1990), pp. 91, 117.

5 N.A.M. RODGER, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain II: 1649-1815* (London, 2004), p. 639.



seamen was the real issue and naval commanders could have done with more men.<sup>6</sup>

There are problems with the analysis of available figures, as the army expenditure was always swelled by the inclusion of the subsidies transferred to Continental powers, which has led to confusion. Most of the heavy gun ordnance expenditure went towards naval guns, so that it is difficult to calculate 'land service' expenditure. The figures for 1812 presented to Parliament in 1813, offer the figure:

Services	Expenditure	Percentages
Army (a)	£24,987,362	50.2%
Ordnance	£4,252,409	8.5%
Navy	£20,500,339	41.2% <sup>7</sup>
Total	£49,740,110	100%

(a) Continental subsidy of £5,315,528 already taken out

Wartime public spending was certainly unprecedented, rising from an average annual expenditure in millions of pounds of 14.8 (1756-63) and 17.4 (1777-83), to 29.2 million in 1793-1815, a figure that was higher in the later years. These figures were even more striking given the limited inflation of the period and the degree to which liquidity was far lower than in a modern economy.

The supply requirements of the forces of Britain and her allies were considerable. Operations at a distance exacerbated the situation, although it was not new. In 1760, the munitions to be sent to South Carolina, then involved in conflict with the Native Americans, included 36,000 musket cartridges and ball, and 3,600 flints.<sup>8</sup> In 1780, when the British had many other commitments in the War of American Independence, by then a world war, the force on St Lucia, recently conquered from the French, submitted a request for 1,800 spades, 800 pickaxes, 800 hand-hatchets, 500 wheelbarrows, 600,000 musket cartridges, 200,000 flints, 2,400 cannon shot, 12,000 barrels of powder, 50 tons of musket balls, 366

6 KNIGHT, *Britain*, pp. 437-8.

7 *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* 26 (1813), columns 23-4.

8 NA. (London, National Archives), WO. (War Office papers) 34/84 fol. 44.

reams of musket cartridge cases, and four light six-pounders on travelling carriages.<sup>9</sup> Artillery was especially demanding. In 1809, 46 British guns fired 4,000 shot and 10,000 shells in attacking the French on Martinique.<sup>10</sup>

The sources from the period make clear the burden, one that called on the resources of the revolutions of the period, industrial, agricultural and transport. At the risk of being difficult, if the term revolution is to be applied to warfare, and that is problematic for a number of reasons, then the ‘early modern military revolution,’ a concept incidentally that means little or nothing in many national historiographies, should be focused on the British army/navy capability, which properly developed only after the ‘Glorious Revolution’ of 1688-9 and did not become clearly effective until the Seven Years’ War of 1756-63.<sup>11</sup>

In late 1805, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in 1805-6 and 1807-9, noted that the Ordnance was to provide 10,000 muskets to the Hanoverians; three years later, his correspondence covered such items as the dispatch of 300 artillery horses to the British army in Portugal and the ‘half-yearly delivery of shoes to the army at home.’<sup>12</sup> Vast amounts of munitions were sent to allies. At the end of 1813, Castlereagh announced in Parliament that 900,000 muskets had been sent to the Continent in that year alone. The Portuguese army was pretty well-equipped entirely by equipment from Britain.<sup>13</sup>

The burden of the Peninsular War was particularly notable. Supplies dispatched in 1811 included 1,130 horses at the beginning of the year, clothes for 30,000 Portuguese troops, 46,756 pairs of shoes in July and August, and two portable printing presses. The costs of the Peninsular commitment mounted from £2,778,796 in 1808, to £6,061,235 in 1810, plus another £2 million in Ordnance stores and in supplies in kind. Rising costs reflected increased commitments, the dispatch of more troops, and the reestablishment of the Portuguese army with British assistance and

9 NA. WO. 34/126 fols. 86-7.

10 R.N. BUCKLEY (ed.), *The Napoleonic War Journal of Captain Thomas Browne 1807-1816* (London, 1987), p. 87.

11 R. HARDING, *Seapower and Naval Warfare, 1650-1830* (London, 2003).

12 Castlereagh to Colonel J.W. Gordon, 17 Oct. 1805, 20 Nov. 1808, London, British Library, Additional Manuscripts, vol. 49480 fols 6, 58-9.

13 KNIGHT, *Britain*, pp. 410, 422-3, 425.

leadership; and this expenditure led to pressure for victory, or for the cutting or withdrawal of British forces.

Britain moved from the obligation of supporting the defence of Portugal to that of seeking to overthrow the French in Spain, which was the major theme from 1812. Obligated to fight in allied countries, and, thus, unable to requisition supplies, Arthur Wellesley, later 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Wellington, needed hard cash, but, by 1812, his shortage of money was a serious problem: the troops had not been paid for five months. When campaigning abroad, it was necessary to pay troops and foreign suppliers in British bullion, the reserves of which fell rapidly. As a result, going off the gold standard was, like the introduction of income tax, a key element in the strengthening of the logistical context and in the strategic dimension to logistics. Due to the length of the commitment, the government faced particular difficulties in meeting Wellington's demands for funds.<sup>14</sup>

Resources from Bengal made this issue less serious in India. The British came in India to apply power in a systematic fashion, and theirs was not an army that dispersed in order to forage or to pursue booty. Appointed Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India in late 1790, Charles, Viscount Cornwallis swiftly wrote to General Sir William Medows, who had failed to defeat Tipu Sultan of Mysore earlier that year:

'I conceive that we can only be said to be as nearly independent of contingencies, as can be expected in war, when we are possessed of a complete battering train, and can move it with the army; and whilst we carry a large stock of provisions with us, that ample magazines shall be lodged in strong places in our rear and at no great distance from the scene of our intended operations... I hope that by a systematic activity and vigour, we shall be able to obtain decided advantage over our enemy before the commencement of the ensuing rains.'<sup>15</sup>

As a reminder of the range of logistics, these issues were very different

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14 NA. WO. 6/35, pp. 118-19, 5, 17, 331, 54-9, 75-9; C.D. HALL, *British Strategy in the Napoleonic War 1803-1815* (Manchester, 1992), pp. 20-1; F.O. CETRE, 'Beresford and the Portuguese army, 1809-1814,' in A.D. Berkeley (ed.), *New Lights on the Peninsular War* (Almada, 1991), pp. 149-56.

15 Cornwallis to Medows, 4 Jan. 1791, London, National Archives, Cornwallis papers, PRO 30/11/173 fols 43, 45.

from the use of wayside grass for draught animals, a long-established usage that was an instance of an ability to use local resources that was not fully matched in the case of fleets although they did make use of their facility to fish. Moreover, draught animals posed problems. For a while, the British were unable to move their battering train and provisions efficiently because of their lack of understanding of the quality of bullocks necessary for military purposes, and it was only their capture of Tipu Sultan's breeding stock of bullocks in Mysore in 1799 that gave them more mobility.<sup>16</sup>

Army administration employed both officials and independent entrepreneurs, such as Indian *brinjarries* who wandered round with bullocks and rice looking for armies to supply. Finance was a key element, and ensured that the British army was not one that dispersed in order to forage and ravage, or a force that had to be held together by booty, and that thus dedicated itself to the strategy of pillage. Logistics were a factor at the tactical, operational and strategic levels of war.

Like John, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Marlborough in the War of the Spanish Succession, Wellington employed a magazine system, as opposed to the process of requisition pursued by the French, but this system relied on support from the host nation, whether Portugal or Spain, as well as a Commissariat that worked for the benefit of the men and not for the system or themselves. This required Wellington being able to hold the Commissariat's feet to the fire, which was called 'Tracing the biscuit.'<sup>17</sup>

A persistent problem, more serious than that of personalities, was provided by the convoluted command and administrative system of the army, a system that evolved in the eighteenth century as a means to prevent the army from overextending itself in politics. The Commissariat came under the Treasury and the Commissariat General, and the latter's large host of deputies and assistants, were inevitably under pressure from Whitehall. Wellington did not seek to circumvent this, but he made it clear that what he ordered was what he required. He sacked a few Commissariat generals, and other close personal staff, before getting the men he wanted.

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16 R.G.S. COOPER, *The Anglo-Maratha Campaigns and the Contest for India: The Struggle for Control of the South Asian Military Economy* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 65.

17 William REID, 'Tracing the Biscuit: The Commissariat in the Peninsular War,' *Militaria. Revista de Cultura Militar*, 7 (1995), pp. 101-8.

In the face of Treasury pressures, the Secretary at War, like his boss the Secretary for War, could provide Wellington with help, but the Secretary for War was extremely busy as he also had the colonies as well to contend with from 1801. Palmerston was Secretary at War from 1809 to 1828, having been a Junior Lord of the Admiralty from 1807 to 1809. Aside from Castlereagh, senior politicians held the rank of Secretary for War, including Henry Dundas, William Windham, and, in 1809-12, Robert, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Liverpool before he went on to become Prime Minister. Wellington complained about Liverpool who was succeeded for 1812-27 by Henry, Earl Bathurst, whose tact kept the lid on Wellington whose complaints were beyond strident. Successive ministers did their best to keep Wellington supplied.<sup>18</sup>

There were also structural problems in the role of the Transport Board, which was the key body in the planning and execution of expeditionary warfare. Economy and efficiency were in a continuous trade off, and this affected administrative structure and process. Thus, the role of the Transport Board in planning was inadequate because Secretaries of State for War did not consult it before major Cabinet decisions were taken. Nevertheless, once preparations were in progress, there were frequent meetings, and Castlereagh clearly understood the difficulties inherent in the transport procurement process. The Transport Board did better than it had done before 1794 when Pitt made it effectively independent of either the army or the navy. There was no repetition of the situation at the beginning of the War of American Independence (1775-83) when the different departments were bidding against each other for hire of the transports.<sup>19</sup> The impact of the weather and the inability of all the departments involved to perform in harmony during the preparation phase were often underestimated. The lack of information on future requirements was an issue, but the Board skilfully used the price mechanism to attract ships, while refusing to pay an overly-high rate. The Board came to have a reputation for efficiency and were given other tasks because of this, such as the administration of the Sick and Hurt Board. The transport agents on station incurred criticism, but there

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18 KNIGHT, *Britain*, pp. 427-9.

19 KNIGHT, *Britain*, pp. 109-70.

was often a failure to appreciate the difficulties they faced.<sup>20</sup>

These difficulties were eased when distance was lessened. Thus, success in northern Spain in 1813 enabled the British to use the harbours there, and thereby to shorten the lines of communication that had hitherto been via Lisbon, although there were problems in developing an effective supply system. Distance was always easier to overcome when able to operate with naval support. On expeditions, troops carried their supplies with them in store ships which provided mobility, as with the supplies for 40,000 men for eight months carried by the fleet taking a large expedition to the West Indies in 1795,<sup>21</sup> although the ships did not carry the wagons and draught animals that helped mobility on land. Wellington repeatedly urged other commanders in Iberia that:

‘I recommend to your attention my first campaign in Portugal. I kept the sea always on my flank; the transports attended the movements of the army as a magazine; and I had at all times, and every day, a short and easy communication with them. The army, therefore, could never be distressed for provisions and stores, however limited its means of land transport; and in case of necessity it might have embarked at any point of the coast.’<sup>22</sup>

In 1813, Wellington added, ‘If anyone wishes to know the history of this war, I will tell them that it is our maritime superiority gives me the power of maintaining my army while the army is unable to do so.’<sup>23</sup>

The contrast with the French was instructive. When the Royal Navy cut off sea supplies to Barcelona in 1810, the French sent a convoy of over 1000 wagons overland and its passage required three divisions for its protection. The next required five and hamstrung all French offensive operations in Catalonia.<sup>24</sup>

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20 Robert SUTCLIFFE, *British Expeditionary Warfare and the Defeat of Napoleon, 1793-1815* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016).

21 M. DUFFY, *Soldiers, Sugar and Seapower: The British Expeditions to the West Indies and the War Against Revolutionary France* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 190-1.

22 John GURWOOD (ed.), *The Dispatches of Field Marshal, the Duke of Wellington* (12 vols, London, 1837-8), IX, 363, X, 162, 479-80.

23 R.W. HAMILTON (eds.), *Letters and Papers of Sir Thomas Byam Martin* (London, 1898), II, 409.

24 M. DUFFY, ‘Festering the Spanish ulcer. The Royal Navy and the Peninsular War, 1808-1814,’ in B.A. ELLEMAN and S.C.M. PAINE (eds), *Naval Power and Expeditionary Warfare* (Abingdon, 2011), p. 21 and p. 28 note 13.

The operational side of logistics attracts most attention, but the strategic dimension was the most significant. The British were unique both because they had cash and because their operations required naval support. These provided two very different strategic parameters. If these parameters might seem a long way from commissariat wagoners urging unwilling oxen forward, there was in practice an important linkage.

This was important to the need to respond in theatre. The difficulties facing the Commissary General were accentuated by the lack of a collective experience. The British army had encountered major logistical difficulties in Iberia in 1703-13 and 1762,<sup>25</sup> but, by 1808, when new forces were sent, there was no relevant experience. Instead, that of operating in the Low Countries in 1793-6 and 1799 was very different. In part, Iberia posed issues of limited supplies, harsh environment, and poor road system, that were very different to those in the Low Countries, as with the complaints of Lieutenant-Colonel Guard, who was in command of Almeida in Portugal in 1808-9.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, in part, whatever the area, relations with allies were a similar problem. Issues faced were also seen in operations in British territories, notably North America in 1754-60, 1775-83, and 1812-15, and Ireland in 1798. In Iberia, however, language proved an additional burden, while the poverty of the region posed a more acute pressure on food supplies. A key aspect of poverty was the weakness of the communications network.

There was not, however, the issue of operating in hostile territory, until Wellington moved into France, and, even then, there was concern not to offend local sensitivities, for the British were the allies of the Bourbon cause, committed to a Bourbon restoration, and reliant on local acceptance to move from military output, in the shape of victory, to political outcome in the shape of compliance.

This situation was linked to politics of logistics in the shape of not angering local opinion. In contrast, French requisitioning, which so often

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25 Re 1762, San Marino California, Huntington Library, Loudoun papers, nos. 10125, 8607, 8604, 8608; James, Lord Tyrawly, British commander, to Marquis of Pombal, Portuguese First Minister, 24 July 1762, Belfast, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, T 2812/8/48.

26 Memorandum of 17 Dec. 1808, Exeter, County Record Office, Guard's letterbook, 49/33 fol. 10.

meant looting, compromised support for client regimes, notably that of Joseph I in Spain, and thus posed an additional military burden in the shape of the counter-insurgency overlap of obtaining supplies. Spanish guerrilla and regular operations hit French logistics. The British were harsh in their treatment of looters. There was summary hanging and flogging, both carried out in front of the unit in question in order to drive home the point. This exemplary punishment was an aspect of the disciplinary system.

In part, this discipline addressed both the politics of the situation and the nature of recruitment, but it was also a response to the more particular problem posed by the juxtaposition of supply shortages at the point of operations, where troop demands were highest, with the resource-funded availability of plentiful supplies at the depots accessible to British seaborne supplies, notably Lisbon and Oporto. This was a consequence of transport problems, notably the difficulties of supply columns arriving on schedule. These difficulties were accentuated when units advanced unexpectedly, whether in direction or in speed or in both, as in 1811.

Yet, the British proved better able to do so than the Americans did when advancing into Canada in the War of 1812. At the same time, logistical issues posed problems and could lead to pressure to engage or prevent moving forward.<sup>27</sup>

Conveying instructions to non-nationals in these circumstances exacerbated the difficulties, not least strain on the commissaries. This situation was made more difficult by the extent to which the British did not generally advance near coastlines and usually could not rely on riverine transport. Paperwork exacerbated the strain on the commissariat, though leaving the historian with plentiful records. This paperwork was particularly apparent in the case of operations within Europe, and less so for those in India.

Logistics can be too readily separated for analytical purposes. In reality, it was part of a supply bundle that crucially included recruitment and maintenance, the latter encompassing care for men and horses as well as equipment. In practical terms, logistics was not really separated out, and this was even more the case given the coalition dimension of British operations and its generally external location. It is easy to emphasise the

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27 J. BLACK, *The War of 1812 in the Age of Napoleon* (Norman, Ok., 2009), pp. 96, 162.



disadvantages of the British army's logistical 'system' in comparison with its advantages; but, in practice, the latter were considerable.

The strength of British logistical capability would have mattered little if it had not brought success. So also for the 40,000 round-shot and shell used in the bombardment of Algiers in 1816.<sup>28</sup> French victory in 1805, or German in 1940 might have encouraged a different view; and this is not an idle counterfactual. Yet, it is the ability of Britain to sustain struggle even when faced with a number of enemies, as in 1762, 1778-83, 1796-1802, and 1803-14 that is striking. That speaks to the ability of an *ancien régime* society, one that had 'modernised,' notably in the 1690s, and again in 1797-1801, to draw on strengths, political, economic, cultural and institutional, that its predatory opponents lacked. The same was to happen again in World War Two.



<sup>28</sup> C. N. PARKINSON, *Edward Pellew, Viscount Exmouth, Admiral of the Red* (London, 1934), pp. 419-72.





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