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On the Mortality among Officers of the British Army in the Crimea.
By R. THOMPSON JOPLING, F.S.S.

[Read before Section F, Economic Science and Statistics, of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Cheltenham, on Monday, the 11th of August, 1856.]

LUCIAN, in his Dialogues, tells us, that in the contest for precedence in the lower regions before the tribunal of Minos, between Hannibal, Alexander, and Scipio, Hannibal says: I set out with a handful of men; I overran the whole country around the Po, and levelled a vast number of cities, and subdued the whole plain of Italy, and advanced to the suburbs of their chief city, *καὶ τοσούτους ἀπέκτεινα μίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥστε τοὺς δακτυλίους αὐτῶν μεδίμους ἀπομετρήσαι, καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς γεφυρῶσαι νεκροῖς*: or I slew so many in one day that I measured their rings in bushels, and I bridged over the rivers with the dead.

Alexander also speaks of having set out with a mere handful of men, and having advanced to Issus, where Darius awaited him, having many myriads of an army, *μυριάδας πολλὰς στρατοῦ*: and after that, you yourself, Minos, know how many dead I sent down to you in one day, so that the Ferryman stated that the boat was not sufficient for them, but that having joined planks together he made them to sail or pass over; *καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου, ὦ Μίνως, ὑμεῖς ἴστε ὅσους ὑμῖν νεκροὺς ἐπὶ μίας ἡμέρας κατέπεμψα, φησὶ οὖν ὁ πορθμεὺς μὴ διαρκέσει αὐτοῖς τότε τὸ σκάφος, ἀλλὰ σχεδιάς διαπηξαμένους τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διαπλεύσαι.*

There is no doubt that war with the ancients was much more lengthened and destructive than that of modern times, and the statistics of our last war also confirm, in a striking manner, this somewhat extraordinary fact.

The battle of the Alma was fought on the 20th September, 1854, and Sebastopol was taken on the 9th September, 1855—a period of little less than a year. During this interval, three—or including the capture of Sebastopol, four—distinct battles were fought, besides several minor ones; such as the attack on the Quarries on the 7th June, the attack on the Redan on the 18th June, and others.

The following table (Table I) shows the number of Officers of Her Majesty's Army in the East who were killed in action, or have since died of wounds received at the four battles before alluded to.

It may be as well here to state that the data upon which the statistics given in this paper are founded have been collected with great care from the official returns issued by the Government in the "London Gazette," and from other authentic sources. A careful abstract under the names or initials of each officer who died was first made, including his rank, regiment, cause of death (distinguishing the separate engagements), and date of death. The labour to the statist of arriving at anything like accuracy in questions of this description may be easily understood, when we take into consideration the scattered and imperfect manner in which all statistical returns, *et hoc genus omne*, are issued by the British Government. It would occupy too much space to detail the *modus operandi* by

which the various facts have been collected and analyzed; but suffice it to say, that it is believed that the results at which we have arrived approximate very nearly to the truth.

TABLE I.

*Showing the Mortality among Officers of the British Army in the Crimea.**

RANK.	Alma.		Balaklava.		Inkerman.		Sebastopol.		Total.		
	Killed in Action.	Died of Wounds.	Killed in Action.	Died of Wounds.	Killed in Action.	Died of Wounds.	Killed in Action.	Died of Wounds.	Killed in Action.	Died of Wounds.	Both Causes.
Major-General.....	....	....	....	....	1	2	1	....	2	2	4
Colonel .....	....	....	....	....	1	....	3	1	4	1	5
Lieutenant-Colonel	1	....	....	1	8	3	6	2	15	6	21
Major	2	....	1	....	2	1	6	4	11	5	16
Captain	8	2	6	1	14	1	34	11	62	15	77
Lieutenant	9	3	3	....	15	3	33	22	60	28	88
Ensign and Cornet	3	1	1	....	2	1	1	2	7	4	11
Quartermaster.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	1	1
Surgeon .....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	1	....	1
Total	23	6	11	2	43	11	85	43	162	62	224

Under the column of "Sebastopol," the deaths therein stated occurred from the two attacks on Sebastopol on the 18th June and the 8th and 9th September, 1855, as well as from the attack on the Quarries on the 8th June, and they also include officers killed in the trenches by chance shots, &c.

From this table it appears that the total number of officers killed in action was 162, and of those dying subsequently from wounds 62—making together 224. Of these, 4 were major-generals, 5 colonels, 21 lieutenant-colonels, 16 majors, 77 captains, 88 lieutenants, 11 ensigns and cornets, 1 quartermaster, and 1 surgeon. Among the captains 62 were killed in action and 15 died subsequently from wounds; while among the lieutenants 60 were killed in action and 28 died from wounds; proving how much more captains are exposed to sudden death (*i. e.*, to be killed in action in proportion to dying subsequently from wounds) than lieutenants, and, indeed, looking generally at Table I, than any other class of officers. It will also be seen, under the column of "Sebastopol," which includes, as before stated, the minor battles and casualties in the trenches, that the number of those who died from wounds amounted to 43, and of those killed in action to 85, being about 50 per cent., or one-half. In the three battles, Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, the number dying from wounds was 19, which, in proportion to the number killed in action, 77, gives a per centage of 25, or one-fourth. So that the risk of being wounded and dying subsequently, in relation to being killed or dying a sudden death, bears the relative proportion of one-half to one-fourth of action in battle and minor attacks and trench work.

The number of officers killed in action at the actual taking of

* The Foreign Legions, Artillery, Engineers, Land Transport Corps, and *Staff* Surgeons, are not included.

Sebastopol on the 8th and 9th September, 1855, amounted to 25; being composed of 4 field officers, 10 captains, and 11 subalterns.

In the following abstract (Abstract A) will be found, in a condensed form, the numbers killed, as also those who died of wounds, at each battle, without regard to rank; and in Abstract B the same information for all the Crimean battles, distinguishing the rank of the officers.

ABSTRACT A.

Showing the Mortality among Officers of the British Army in the Crimea.

BATTLES.	Killed in Action.	Died of Wounds.	Total.
Alma	23	6	29
Balaklava	11	2	13
Inkerman	43	11	54
Sebastopol	85	43	128
Total	162	62	224

ABSTRACT B.

Showing the Mortality among Officers of the British Army in the Crimea.

RANK.	Killed in Action.	Died of Wounds.	Total.
Field Officers	32	14	46
Captains	62	15	77
Subalterns	68	33	101
Total	162	62	224

The taking of Sebastopol, with the incidental attacks and work in the trenches, caused a loss to the country of 128 officers, of whom 85 were killed in action and 43 died of wounds; at Inkerman the loss was 54, 43 being killed in action and 11 died of wounds; at Alma 29, of which the killed in action were 23 and died from wounds 6; and at Balaklava only 13, being 11 killed in action and 2 died from wounds. Among the field-officers the loss was 46, 32 killed in action and 14 died of wounds, being 44 per cent. of the killed in action; among the captains the casualties were 77, consisting of 62 killed in action and 15 died of wounds, being 24 per cent.; while the loss among the subalterns amounted to 101, or 68 killed in action and 33 died of wounds, showing a percentage of 48. To be enabled, however, to judge of the intensity of the mortality from each battle, it is necessary to ascertain the number of officers present on the field exposed to risk.

As no records at present exist, or at least exist so far as the public are concerned, to enable us to ascertain the exact number of officers present on the field at any particular battle, we have estimated the number by a careful analysis of the army lists and other published documents, which number may be considered as representing pretty accurately those actually in the Crimea at the stated periods. Although it may be argued that these numbers do not represent the numbers actually under fire in each battle, yet upon

consideration it will be seen, that for the purpose of showing the proportion killed by the casualties of each battle, the total number on the field should be taken; for if only a small portion happen to be actually under fire, it arises from the fact that the battle did not last long enough to require all the troops being called into action.

TABLE II.

Showing the Mortality among Officers of the British Army in the Crimea.

BATTLES.	Number Exposed to Risk.	Number Killed.	Being one in	Number Killed and Died subsequently from Wounds.	Being one in
Alma	1,065	23	46·3	29	36·7
Balaklava	1,146	11	104·4	13	88·2
Inkerman	1,115	43	25·9	54	20·7
Sebastopol	3,250	85	38·8	128	25·2
Crimea	3,250	162	20·0	224	14·5

It therefore appears that the estimated number of officers of Her Majesty's army, exclusive of those attached to foreign legions, the artillery, engineers, and Land Transport Corps, sent to the Crimea since the commencement of the war, amounts to 3,250. Of these 162 were killed in action or in the trenches, which in proportion to the number exposed to risk will be 5 per cent. or 1 in 20, and 62 died subsequently from wounds, being nearly 2 per cent. (1·9) making together 224 or about 7 per cent. (6·9) or 1 in 14 (14·5). The number of British officers on the field at Alma amounted to 1,065, of which number 23 were killed in action, or 1 in 46 (46·3), and 29 were killed and died subsequently from wounds, being 1 in 37 (36·7). At Balaklava, the number on the field was 1,146, 1 in 104 (104·4) of whom were killed in action, and one in 88 (88·2) were killed and died of wounds. At Inkerman 1,115 officers were present, of whom 43 were killed, being 1 in 26 (25·9), and 54 were killed and died of wounds, being 1 in 21 (20·7). The number exposed to risk during the whole of the Crimean campaign amounted as before stated to 3,250; and the killed in action during this period from the minor attacks, work in the trenches, and the actual taking of Sebastopol, amounted to 85, 1 in 39 (38·8); while the total casualties, namely, the killed, and those who died from wounds, amounted to 128 or 1 in 25 (25·2).

Many other facts of an interesting and valuable nature may be deduced from this table (Table II), but we shall not in the present paper further enter into any comments on them. The table speaks for itself. The following tables (Tables III and IV), showing the number of officers killed in action in the war with the Sikhs, in certain battles fought in the Peninsula, and at Waterloo, will serve for the purpose of comparison. These facts have been collected from official returns.

Of the war with the Sikhs, the statistics of which are given in Table III, it appears that the greatest mortality occurred at the

battle of Ferozeshah where it was 1 in 12 (12·4), and the lowest at Aliwal, at which only 4 officers were killed, the mortality being 1 in 58 (58·2). At the battle of Waterloo, 186 officers were killed, being 1 in 12 (12·3). Vittoria cost us 44 officers killed, the mortality being only 1 in 58 (58·5). Talavera and Salamanca cost us respectively 45 and 48 officers killed, or 1 in 23 and 1 in 48 (48·3) At Albuera, the statistics of which we have not yet collected, it is believed the results would show 1 in 8.

TABLE III.

Showing the Mortality among Officers of the British Army in the War with the Sikhs.

BATTLES.	Number Exposed to Risk.	Number Killed.	Being one in
Ferozeshah	460	37	12·4
Moodkee	344	14	24·6
Sobraon	598	13	46·0
Aliwal	233	4	58·2

TABLE IV.

Showing the Mortality among Officers of the British Army in some of the battles of the Peninsula, and at Waterloo.

BATTLES.	Number Exposed to Risk.	Number Killed.	Being one in
Waterloo	2,295	186	12·3
Talavera	1,034	45	23·0
Salamanca	2,318	48	48·3
Vittoria	2,574	44	58·5

The following curious table (Table V) has been compiled, shewing the general result of casualties among all classes of the British troops in some of the Indian battles before alluded to.

TABLE V.

General Result of Casualties to British Army—Indian Wars.

CASUALTIES.	Number.	Per Centage of Total Number.
Killed and died of wounds	1,337	35·14
Disabled—Unfit for further service	507	13·33
Wounded—Since returned to duty	1,946	51·14
Wounded—Result not known	15	·39
Total	3,805	100·00
Total killed and unfit for further service ...	1,844	48·47

The mortality from disease of an army during a period of war, influenced as it must be by the different circumstances by which it is

surrounded, is a question the solution of which is of even greater value than that of the mortality in the battle field. For the present, however, we shall merely give the number of British officers, distinguishing their rank, who died from disease during the Crimean campaign.

TABLE VI.

Showing the Deaths from Disease among Officers of the British Army in the Crimea.

RANK.	Number of Deaths from Disease.	RANK.	Number of Deaths from Disease.
Field Marshal	1	Ensign and Cornet	5
Major-General	2	Quartermaster	12
Colonel	2	Paymaster	2
Lieutenant-Colonel	9	Surgeon	5
Major	14	Assistant-Surgeon	13
Captain	30	Veterinary Surgeon	4
Lieutenant	49		
		Total	148

By this table (Table VI) it will be seen that the number of British officers in the Crimea, exclusive of those attached to special services as hereinbefore stated, who died from disease, amounted to 148, consisting of 28 field officers, 30 captains, and 90 subalterns. If we add the numbers of those who were killed in action and died subsequently from wounds, we shall have 74 field officers, 107 captains, and 191 subalterns, making a total of 372. Comparing the total number of deaths from disease with the total number of officers sent to the Crimea, we shall have a per centage of $4\frac{1}{2}$ (4·5), or 1 in 22.

Abstract C shows the general result of mortality from all causes among officers of the army in the Crimea.

ABSTRACT C.

Showing the Mortality among Officers of the British Army in the Crimea.

Killed in Action	5 per cent.
Died from Wounds	2 „
Died from Disease	$4\frac{1}{2}$ „
Deaths from all causes	$11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Hence the total number of deaths from all causes during the whole of the Crimean campaign—which extended over rather more than twelve months—was 372, being $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (11·5), or nearly 1 in 9 (8·7) of the number sent out.

At a subsequent period I purpose laying before the public a complete statistical review of the whole question—including every branch of Her Majesty's service, and enlarging more particularly upon the general sickness of the army and on the mortality from disease. On these latter points the peculiarities of each disease will

be carefully considered; with the causes producing them, the influence of seasons, temperature, humidity, the prevailing winds, and other *incidental* conditions.

Connected with this subject great importance attaches to the numerous improvements of late years effected in the implements necessary for carrying on a war to render it more quickly destructive of human life, and by such means to shorten its operations or bring them to a more speedy end. To the statist a wide and interesting field of inquiry is open, and it is somewhat strange that we have not hitherto had laid before us any scientific researches on the subject. In Fuller's "Holy Warre," written about two centuries ago, we find the following valuable and unique remarks: "We must not think that the world was at a loss for war-tools before the brood of guns was hatched. It had the battering-ramme, first found out by Epeus at the taking of Troy; the balista to discharge great stones, invented by the Phœnicians; the catapulta, being a sling of mighty strength, whereof the Syrians were authors; and, perchance, King Uzziah first made it, for we find him very dexterous and happy at devising such things. And although these bear-whelps were but rude and unshaped at first, yet art did lick them afterwards, and they got more teeth and sharper nails by degrees, so that every age set them forth in a new edition, corrected and amended. But these and many more voluminous engines are now virtually epitomised in the cannon. And though some say that the finding of guns hath been the losing of many men's lives, yet it will appear that battles are now fought with more expedition, and Victory standeth not so long a neuter, before she expresses herself on one side or the other."

It is said, that on Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, being presented to George III., the king took the opportunity of paying him a high compliment on the successful application of his knowledge of chemistry to the improvement in the manufacture of gunpowder. "I am afraid, your Majesty," replied the bishop, "it is a sorry subject on which to compliment a Christian bishop." "Not at all, sir," rejoined the king, "anything that can tend to humanize, by shortening the horrors of war, is a very fit subject on which to compliment any man."
