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14.PART V Historical.(A) The Civil War in England 1642-46.

- Edgehill. 26. Let us now consider a few historical examples from the Civil War in ENGLAND.
- On 23rd. October, 1642, the Royalist and Parliamentary armies met at EDGEHILL. Both may be considered as having enthusiasm but the Parliamentary army had the better discipline.
- RUPERT and WILMOT with the Royalist Cavalry charged and routed the bulk of the opposing cavalry, all except two regiments. The Cavaliers dispersed in pursuit each man absorbed in the joy of chasing his opponent and in the thought of plunder.
- Whilst they were absent from the field the two remaining regiments of the Parliamentary horse charged and broke the Royal infantry.
- "By this time RUPERT's horsemen had begun to reassemble. King CHARLES urged them to charge so as to save his foot, but they could not be induced to do so, the officers pretending that their soldiers were so dispersed that there were not ten of any troop together and the soldiers and their horses were so tired that they could not charge". (15)
- Gainsborough. 27. At Gainsborough on 28th. July 1643, CROMWELL shewed that with discipline cavalry can acquire sufficient steadiness to fight a successful rear guard action against superior numbers.
- Marston Moor. 28. On 2nd. July 1644 was fought the Battle of MARSTON MOOR.
- On their left wing the Parliamentary cavalry were successful, but on their right wing the cavalry were completely defeated. Victory hung in the balance for a time and the Parliamentary infantry were being gradually broken, but "in the nick of time Cromwell returned from the left to rescue them. His appearance turned the scale, and the victory of the Parliament was made certain and complete..... Cromwell alone had his men under perfect control, and had trained them not only to charge but, what is far more difficult, to rally." (16).
- Naseby. 29. At NASEBY on 14th. June, 1645 Cromwell who had charged and broken LANGDALE's cavaliers refrained from completing their overthrow because he realised, first that LANGDALE was out of action for some time and secondly that the decisive point was not LANGDALE's cavalry but the centre of the battle. Meanwhile on the other flank, the Parliamentary left, RUPERT had routed IRETON's horse but had continued after them in pursuit. Rallying some of his troopers with difficulty he returned to the battlefield - too late, for CROMWELL's horse had now broken the Royalist infantry. Rupert now urged a charge against CROMWELL's men, once more reformed, but in

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As the result of these accumulated effects, the discipline of the old army fell far below its former standard, but it is important to note that the traditions of good discipline still remained, and till the end of 1793 the old regular regiments, bad though they were, formed the one trustworthy force at the disposal of the French Government.

- Summary 25. The following are the main deductions that can be drawn regarding discipline :-
- (a) There are two forms of discipline. The lower based on fear, the higher on self respect and pride. The latter is the form required to-day.
 - (b) Although the main foundation of discipline should not be fear, the knowledge that punishment can and will be enforced must exist in the background.
 - (c) Discipline must be :-
 - (i) Suitable to national characteristics.
 - (ii) Progressive so as to keep pace with social developments.
 - (iii) Appropriate to the particular Service.
 - (d) Good discipline depends finally upon officers especially those of the unit.
 - (e) Good discipline, once thoroughly engrained in a force, can withstand the most severe trials.
 - (f) Drill is not as formerly an end in itself. But it is valuable for cultivating mental as well as physical readiness, so that the sub-conscious mind may react instantly to the orders or suggestions of the leader.

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16.

WELLINGTON has interesting remarks on this matter :-

"People are very apt to believe that enthusiasm carried the French through their revolution, and was the parent of those exertions which have nearly conquered the world; but if the subject is nicely examined, it will be found that enthusiasm was the name only, but that force was the instrument which brought forward those great resources under the system of terror which first stopped the allies; and that a perseverance in the same system of applying every individual and every description of property to the service of the army, by force has since conquered EUROPE".

(18).

Errors in 32.
organisation.

The mistakes made by the French Government in the organisation of their armies were remarkable.

The original volunteers of 1791 were at liberty to return home at the end of each campaign, on giving two months notice. A campaign was supposed to end on December 1st, so legally, they had the right to claim their discharge whether operations were proceeding or not.

The officers of the new armies were to be elected, and some contemporary writers stated that this was one of the principal causes of indiscipline that prevailed.

It may be noted that the right of election was gradually taken away and was practically obsolete by 1796.

In August 1793 it was seriously suggested that certain of the frontier districts should furnish a contingent of 24,000 men to hold the line of the frontier, the individuals to be changed weekly and to bring their own food.

Until the beginning of 1793 the French Government refused to amalgamate the volunteers and the levies with the old regular regiments in spite of the fact that all experienced soldiers recommended this step as the only means of ensuring discipline and steadiness amongst the newer troops.

A temporary step in this direction was made in 1792 when mixed brigades of regulars and volunteers were employed but it was not till 21st. Feb, 1793 that the law of the amalgam was definitely passed; demi brigades corresponding to the old regiments to be formed each of one battalion of old regular troops and two battalions of the new. It was not till April 1794 that the amalgam was complete.

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vain for his horses were exhausted. Again it was CROMWELL who was ready and when he commenced another onslaught, the third that day, RUPERT's men failed to meet them; they turned and fled.

CLARENDON's 30.
opinions.

The general deductions to be drawn from those battles cannot be expressed better than in words of CLARENDON who says :-

"That difference was observed all along, in the discipline of the King's troops, and of those which marched under the command of FAIRFAX and CROMWELL that, though the King's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge again the same day: whereas the other troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received new orders."

(17)

The difference was due to discipline.

(B). The Armies of the French Revolution.

The Nation and 31.
the army.

In the history of the early wars of the French Revolution one of the most interesting lessons is the reaction on the army, of the spirit of the country. Jacobin ideals were naturally unfavourable to discipline, but further than this, the faith, almost pathetic in its intensity, that a true republican patriot could do no wrong, led to the belief that he must in himself be more than a match for his enemies, that training and organization were unnecessary, that the only action required was to give him arms and say Defend the country.

It was not till the middle of 1793 that the Government realised its mistake, but then the Committee of Public Safety diverted the great flood of energy that had been liberated by the Revolution, into military channels. On 23rd August, 1793, a decree was passed authorising a true levée en masse with no substitutes and power was given to requisition every man and his property for the service of the Republic.

It is from this date that the war may be counted to have become truly national. The driving power of all this national energy focussed on the army and carried it in 1794 from the MEUSE through ANTWERP and AMSTERDAM to the HELDER, where early in the next year MOREAU riding with his cavalry over the ice, captured the Dutch Fleet at the Island of TEXEL.

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9.The basis of the higher form of discipline.

20. Men of intelligence will understand the necessity for discipline, this was made evident in the American Civil War and can be observed daily in any dangerous trade such as coal mining.

But a mere comprehension of the need for discipline is not enough to maintain it. In times of stress it requires some firmer basis but if this foundation can no longer be fear, what can we use in its place ?

The reply is self respect and esprit de corps.

Self respect comes from a consciousness of superiority, physical, mental or moral; esprit de corps is the pride of belonging to a fine service or a good unit.

With these two qualities fear of the enemy will be replaced in men's minds not by fear of their superior, but by fear of disgrace; of being false to themselves, of letting their unit down.

Self respect.

21. Instances are not lacking of the effect of this spirit.

On 17th March 1645 Cromwell reporting to Parliament on the late mutinous spirit of the army states, referring to his own regiments :-

"For their late mutinous carriage to the Parliament, they had expressed their hearty sorrow."

(7)

After the panics near MOIS and LILLE in the Spring of 1792 the French volunteers are said to have felt the shame of disgrace when they came to themselves, and writing on the 10th April 1793 one of the civil commissioners with the French Army of the North states :-

"Les bon soldats se plaignent de l'indiscipline de leurs camarades".

(8)

Many officers have probably had experience of the effect on discipline of men cleaning themselves and their equipment. This is due to their recovery of self respect.

Esprit de Corps.

22. How can esprit de corps be fostered ?

What objects for pride can be presented ?

(a) The duties to be fulfilled.
The Parliamentary army felt this pride keenly.

"We were not a mere mercenary army, hired to serve any arbitrary power of state, but called forth and conjured by the several declarations of Parliament, to the defence of our own and the people's just rights and liberties."

(9)

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- (b) The efficiency of the unit or service.
- (c) The trust reposed in men by their commander. Both Cromwell and Nelson had a firm belief in their men, which formed a source of pride to the latter.

Cromwell for instance :-

"I have a lovely company. You would respect them did you but know them

x x

They are honest sober Christians they, and expect to be treated as men."

(10)

and Nelson

"I have an exceedingly good ship's company. Not a man nor officer in her I would wish to change."

"Nobody can be ill with my ship's company; they are so fine a set."

(11)

One is reminded of a saying of EMERSON'S

"Trust men and they will be true to you. Treat them greatly and they will shew themselves great."

- (d) Tradition of the unit or service.

Besides past achievements, men take a pride in any small distinction, such as that of dress, which is associated with some past history of their unit, and which to their ~~men~~ ^{minds} raises it above the level of others.

There is always a tendency to cling to old titles of units because of the traditions with which they are associated.

After the old regiments' titles were abolished in the French Army in 1792 the old soldiers still kept them up privately.

Similarly many infantry regiments in the British Army strongly resented the substitution of territorial names for the old numbers.

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12.

During the same period we find Gustine ordering drill for four hours daily, issuing regulations on march discipline and making constant visits and inspections.

Courts Martial were established and disobedience of orders severely punished.

The result became evident in 1794 when the French Army was not only enthusiastic but disciplined.

The decay of discipline.

24. The causes of decay of discipline are worthy of investigation and a good example can be found in that of the French Regular Army during the revolutionary period.

In the middle of the XVIII Century its discipline was good and was based not only on fear but on esprit de corps.

But deterioration was beginning, due mainly to the neglect of their duties by the officers. They regarded regimental soldiering as a penance considered their proper position was at Court, and took no interest in their men.

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The cleavage between the officers and men was accentuated by a decree issued by Louis XVI in 1781 to the effect that candidates for commissions must possess four degrees of nobility, an order directly opposed to the spirit of the times.

Five years earlier corporal punishment had been introduced.

As a result the army was in an insubordinate condition and on the outbreak of the revolution formed an easy prey to Jacobin propaganda. Mutinies occurred in several places. The men absorbed revolutionary theories and began to look upon themselves as serving the country rather than the King. The officers however were not really patriotic but merely loyal to the throne, and when the power of the King became absorbed by the Assembly they felt they had no longer any cause to serve. They gradually therefore emigrated from France with the result that all former officers became regarded by the men as incipient traitors. This feeling was accentuated by the attempted flight of the King in June 1791.

Later on esprit de corps was undermined, the old regimental titles were abolished in the Summer of 1791 and numbers substituted. It is curious to find in May 1793 one of the civilian commissioners with the army urging certain steps for the express purpose of destroying esprit de corps in the old regular regiments. In 1791 it was ordered that N.C.O.'s of the Regular army should be elected, a system extended to a proportion of the officers in February 1793.

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11.

Napoleon lost no opportunity of maintaining the tradition of the individual units. The case of LATOUR d'AUVERGNE of the Grenadier Company of the 46th demi brigade who was killed on 28th June 1800 is typical :-

"Le nom de LATOUR d'AUVERGNE sera maintenu dans les controles et dans les revues, il sera nommé dans tous les appels et le caporal de l'escouade dont il faisait partie repondra par ces mots:-
'Mort au champ d'honneur'." (12)

It may be noted that in order to preserve or even establish traditions, it is necessary for men to remain in the same unit for a long period.

Establishment of discipline. 23

Details of the methods employed to establish discipline in the French army in the Summer of 1793 can be found in a book "La tactique et la discipline dans les armées de la revolution" by General Schauenbourg who commanded a division in the army of the Moselle.

He insists on great attention to cleanliness in camp. When on the move the troops before being dismissed were to be warned to respect private property and officers were to remain on duty until certain that the men had got all they required.

He lays great stress on the value of drill as an aid to discipline.

On 5th May 1793 he issued an order beginning "Le premier de tous les devoirs de l'officier et le plus sacré de tous, est celui de veiller à la conservation du soldat et de lui faire delivrer exactement ce que lui alloue la patrie reconnaissante et genéreuse." (13)

On the 13th July after congratulating the division on their appearance at a review he grants them a holiday which is to be spent in cleaning their arms.

On 16th July he issues an order containing the following:-

"La général de division a été tres mécontent de peu d'ordre du camp. La général de division a recu des reproches à cet égard,

x x

Fraternite et amitié ! mais aussi il sevirá contre ceux qui lui occasion seront de pareils désagréments."

(14)

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22.(B) Application to the R.A.F.Special conditions 42.
in the R.A.F.

Leadership on the part of senior officers is more difficult in the case of the R.A.F. than in that of the Navy, because in the latter the leaders share the same dangers as the men both in peace and in war. The Army seems to occupy a midway position.

Most of the work of the R.A.F. is carried on outside the element in which the fighting takes place, so that the fighter is more separated from the supply and maintenance personnel than in the case of the other services; the method of inspiring enthusiasm in the fighter may therefore have to be different from that adopted to inspire the rest of the personnel.

In order to keep mechanics still keen and accurate in their work in spite of fatigue and different conditions it is necessary for them to have a very high degree of enthusiasm for their trade.

Confidence in individual superiority of the enemy is probably of more importance in air fighting than in any other form of fighting and this will include confidence in material.

Suggestions 43 .
for some
practical steps.

The following are suggested as some practical steps that might be taken with regard to enthusiasm and discipline in the R.A.F. :-

(a) General.

The battle honours of squadrons should be recorded. This might be done on the squadron flag.

Traditions of squadrons should be preserved by writing squadron histories and it might be possible for this to be done by detailing officers for this particular work instead of sending them to the Depot in order to find them employment for two or three months.

For the same purpose squadron songs might be committed to paper.

The individuals of a unit should be kept together as long as possible, and it does appear that administrative convenience is sometimes allowed to over-ride the importance of the development of high morale.

Training should be made interesting and the reasons for drill fully explained to men and boys on joining.

As far as practicable unlucky numbers should be avoided.

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a silent witness, which means in effect a willing accomplice, to this tragic triumph of force over law, and of brutality over freedom, I would see this country of ours blotted out of the pages of history.

(21)

Improved means of communication are of great advantage and may be still more so in the future when broadcasting and tele-vision are utilized.

The type of discipline required.

40.

Modern conditions enhance the importance of the reasons already given against a discipline based on fear.

- (a) The growth of education and democratic ideas renders discipline founded on fear, impossible.
- (b) The nature of modern fighting, in addition to wide formations, implies the use of mechanical and scientific apparatus which necessitates mental activity.
- (c) The form of courage required in modern warfare is the higher form which takes the shape of coolness in emergency; the blind courage which merely sees red is now of little value.

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Human nature but little altered.

41.

In spite of all modern development men are still human, with the powers but also the frailties of human nature. In times of stress they still tend to revert to an elementary state, and will then clutch at any straw that appears to offer them some semblance of support.

In considering the whole subject of morale we must not neglect even the straws, because they may just be sufficient to weigh the balance down on the right side. The legend of the Angels of MONS or of GENEVIEVE and her sheep seem childish when examined in peace by the cold grey light of reason, but when men are stunned by fatigue or by great events they do not reason, their powers to do so are numbed.

Similarly one must allow for the effect of superstitions. It is interesting to note that when reading a letter from the Dockyard (in this connection) Lord FISHER remarked as regards the date of Admiral STURDIE sailing for the FALKLAND Is.

"Friday the 13th. What a day to choose!"

(22).

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23.

Whenever a new type of aeroplane is sent to a squadron, a pilot who is both expert in and enthusiastic over it, should be sent to demonstrate its flying abilities.

As aids to discipline, officers must be instructed to be very punctillious as regards returning salutes and men must be made to address their N.C.O's by the title of their rank.

(b) Active service.

~~On active service,~~ All ground personnel including those of the depot must be kept in touch with the events that are taking place in the air. This can be done to some extent by the circulation of periodical reports.

Repair Depots should be given some definite objective. For instance, it might be to exceed their last month's output, the monthly progress being indicated by means of a clock with one fixed hand indicating last month's output and the other being moved forward daily.

Units can also be encouraged to surpass the work done by the corresponding hostile unit, and to assist in this idea photographs of enemy units or even of individuals might be issued.

Senior officers should take all advantage of their opportunities for interviewing individual fighters. This is far more practicable than in the case of an Army both on account of the better means of travel and of the smaller number of fighting men.

Ground personnel must not be forgotten in allotting rewards.

Broadcast sets might be allotted to units, so that men might be in a position to listen in every night to some good concert being held perhaps at a Base.

- (c) As has been said before discipline and to a large extent enthusiasm, depend mainly upon the officers. The one great essential is for officers to establish a reputation for being absolutely straight forward and just. Besides this, they cannot do better than to aim at Burke's definition of chivalry :-

"that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage while it mitigated ferocity, which enobled whatever it touched; and under which vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness."

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18.

Again in August 1793 an opportunity was given to KILMAINE for defeating his opponents in detail and crushing the Duke of York, but being unable to trust his army to carry out a somewhat difficult manoeuvre he was unable to take the opportunity.

On many occasions, for instance 28th. August 1793 at TOURCOING, the republican troops were successful but were completely disorganised as a result of their success and largely dispersed in search of loot.

On the other hand, the enthusiasm of the French Army enabled them to support fatigue, privation and discomfort. At the battle of WATTIGNIES 16th. Oct. 1793, CARNOT was able to concentrate superior numbers against a portion of the AUSTRIAN line by means of a night march after a hard day's fighting and successfully gambled on the chance of being able to use these troops for further attack next day. During the winter campaign in HOLLAND 1794-5 the French troops bore up against the severe cold better than their opponents but by this time they were comparatively well disciplined.

It would be unfair to draw deductions from the defeats suffered by the French in the Spring and Summer of 1793 without remembering the fact that at that time their army was not only unorganised and undisciplined but consisted mainly of very bad material, men with but little or no enthusiasm. On the other hand we must remember that its enemies missed many opportunities, lacked cohesion, and were demoralised by jealousies.

The rising in
LA VENDEE.

35.

Another interesting campaign bearing on the subject under discussion was that of the rising in LA VENDEE 1793. This was a case of an army, if it can be called one, full of enthusiasm but with no discipline at all as we understand the term. At first, it met with remarkable success but mainly because it encountered bad republican troops who with but little more discipline were far less enthusiastic for their cause; when a stiffening of old regular troops was sent to LA VENDEE the rising rapidly collapsed.

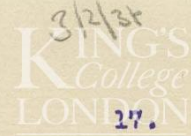
A General TURREAU, who was mainly responsible for the final crushing of the VENDEANS, states the causes of their high morale were :-

"An inviolable attachment to their party (their cause); an unlimited confidence in their chiefs; faithfulness to their promises; an invincible courage proof against every kind of danger fatigue and want".

(19).

This is not likely to be an exaggeration and a stronger basis for enthusiasm is not likely to be found and yet it failed without discipline.

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The different phases.

33. The phases through which the French Army passed at this time may be divided into the following periods :-

- (a) Remnants of the old regular regiments reinforced by volunteer battalions, raised in 1791. The class of men in the latter was good and their officers and N.C.O's had in many cases served in the old regular army.
- (b) The earlier levies. Result of the proclamation "La Patrie en danger" of July 12th 1792. Each district had to provide its quota of men for the army and these were of the lowest class and in many cases physically incapable of bearing arms. Not only were they deficient in discipline and training but also of enthusiasm.
- (c) Levée en masse with no substitutes, August 1793. All classes joined the army which now becomes national. The effect felt in 1794.

The ideals pervading the army at these ^{and later} periods may perhaps be represented by symbolical war cries :-

Up to the end of 1792	...	Liberté.
Middle of 1793 to 1796	...	La Patrie.
1796 to 1804	La Gloire.
1804 to 1814	l'Empereur.

Some typical battles.

34. To turn ^{now} to some of the battles:

VALMY and JEMAPPES, were won mainly by the steadiness of the old regular troops. Further, it is interesting to note that at JEMAPPES 6th Nov. 1792, DUPOURIEZ was unable to carry out his plan in full. He intended a body of troops under D'HARVILLE to move round to the BRUSSELS Road and get in rear of the AUSTRIANS so as to cut off their line of retreat, but as D'HARVILLE did not have any confidence in his troops he did not carry out this movement so that the victory was not so complete as it should have been.

The French success at JEMAPPES was largely due to their overwhelming numbers and though the regular army and the volunteers of 1791 fought well, the later levies refused again and again to advance.

This is not the only example of such an occurrence.

At VALENCIENNES on 1st May 1793 although the French attacked bravely their lack of discipline led to lack of co-operation and the attack failed.



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Incidentally it is interesting to note that the use of poison gas was advocated by the Republicans for defeating their opponents in LA VENDEE.

One SANTERRE wrote at the time :-

"Send us a good chemist, By ^{his} means, by fumigations and other means, the enemy's army might be destroyed, put to sleep, asphyxiated"

(20)

Experiments were actually tried at ANGERS on sheep but were not successful.

Deductions from historical examples.

36. Let us now briefly consider what general deductions with regard to enthusiasm and discipline can be drawn from these historical examples :-

(a) Enthusiasm may achieve striking results at first either in a campaign or in a battle but the effect is not lasting. Properly directed it may supply an enormous driving force, but uncontrolled it is liable to overreach itself and lead to disaster.

(b) Discipline and enthusiasm are inextricably intermeshed; although in analysis it may be desirable to treat them separately, they cannot be regarded as separate in practice.

Not only are they complementary but they react on each other; part of the basis, upon which it has been said that discipline should be founded, namely esprit de corps, may in itself be considered a source of enthusiasm, and like the latter tends to crystalize round some definite symbol.

(c) Both discipline and enthusiasm are essential to a fighting force. It is the function of enthusiasm to supply energy and the function of discipline to control it.

(d) Finally, in words attributed to MARSHAL SAXE :-

"Victory must be sought in the hearts of men, yet discipline does not stand supreme among all technical aids"

PART VI. General conclusions.

(A) Effect of modern conditions.

Increased difficulties in developing high morale.

37. On the whole it seems that the development of high morale has become more difficult to-day, for the following reasons :-

(a) More value is placed on human life.

(b) The men are more highly strung and more imaginative.

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- (c) The standard of living is higher hence men are less accustomed to discomfort.
- (d) The increase in democratic ideas tends to reduce the influence of individual leaders.
- (e) Wars are now waged by nations in arms, so that armies include fully trained men but raw levies. (not only)
- (f) War affects the whole nation. The family of the fighter is threatened as well as the fighter himself and this must have a diverse moral effect on him.
- (g) In some ways the influence that can be exerted by a leader is reduced, for instance, it is more inspiring for troops to see their General gallop up on a horse than to see him helped out of a limousine by his A.D.C.

The strain on the nerves of the fighting man under modern conditions. 38.

Again, the strain on man's nervous energy is greater today than formerly for the following reasons :-

- (a) Death has a far wider range.
- (b) In armies extended formations have to be used with the consequent lack of that moral support afforded by the proximity of one's comrades.
- (c) There is always a feeling that science may develop some new form of killing, up to the present unknown, and this exercises more moral effect than the fear of known forms of death.

Factors facilitating the development of high morale. 39.

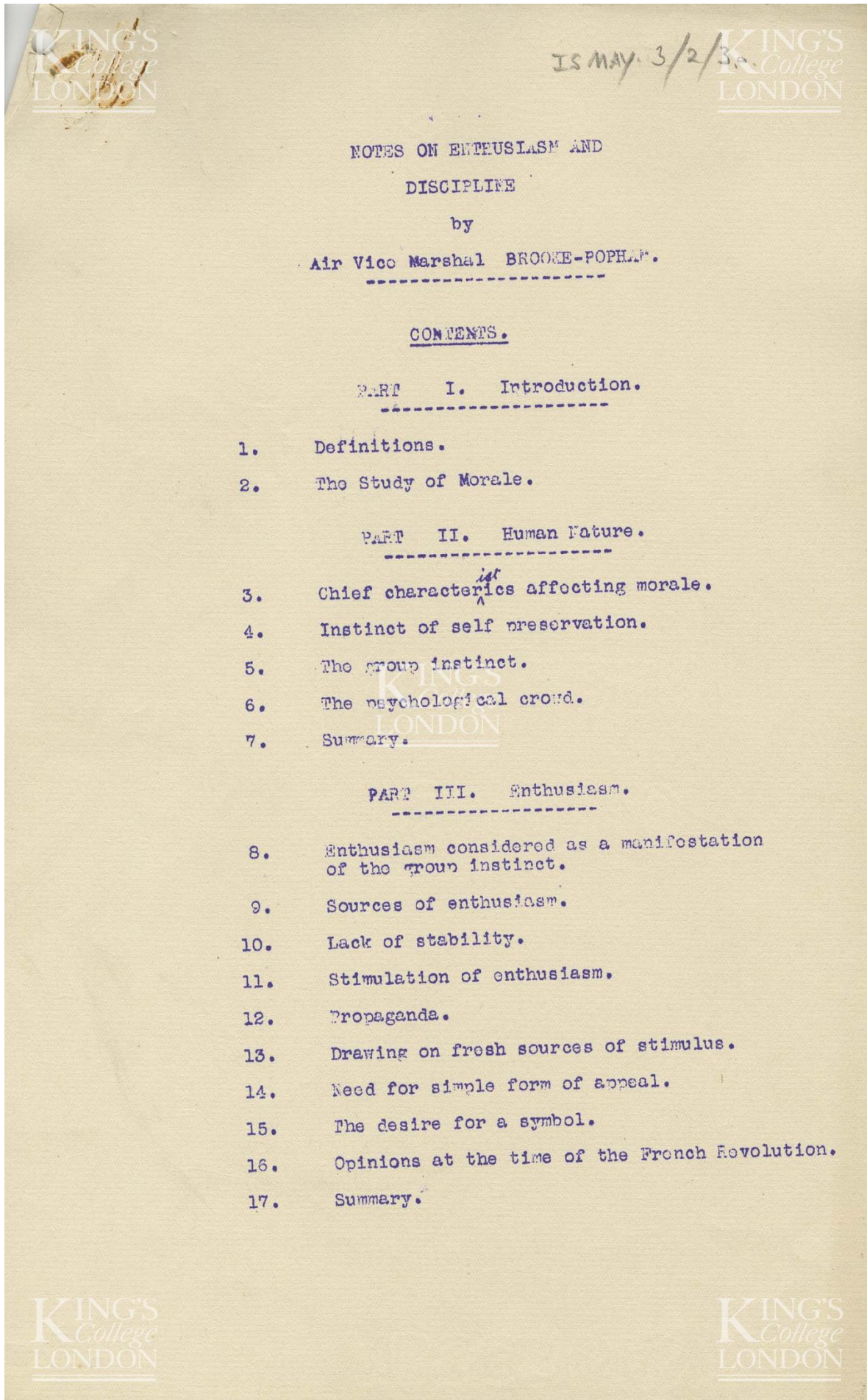
On the other hand it must not be forgotten that men are better educated and so better able to realise the value of discipline, and further, that men to-day are more likely to be influenced by appeals to those higher ideals for which enthusiasm is more durable.

There seems a tendency to set too low a value on the ideals held by one's fellow countrymen, and in this connection the speeches of Mr. Asquith in August and Sept. 1914 are worth reading.

To quote some passages from one made by him in the Guildhall on 4th Sept. 1914 :-

"The issue has passed out of the domain of argument into another field. But let me ask you, and through you the world outside, what would have been our condition as a nation to-day, if through timidity, or through a perverted calculation of self-interest, or through a paralysis of the sense of honour and duty, we had been base enough to be false to our word, and faithless to our friends?..... What account could we, the Government and the people of this country, have been able to render to the tribunal of our national conscience and sense of honour, if, in defiance of our plighted and solemn obligations, we had endured, and had not done our best to prevent, yes, to avenge, these intolerable wrongs? For my part, I say that sooner than be

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5.

The necessity for a popular leader is greater with irregular forces than with a trained and organised army.

Dumouriez's mere presence sustained the spirits of his young soldiers and when he left the army of Holland in March 1793, the French Army became demoralised and was withdrawn to Antwerp in utter disorder.

As regards (b) Dumouriez in October 1792 found it necessary to assume the offensive in Belgium in order to prevent his army becoming demoralised by presenting it with at any rate an appearance of success.

The value of example is too obvious to require emphasis.

Propaganda. 12.

Propaganda, as applied to a fighting force especially of the British race, requires careful handling.

Appeals in flowery language are calculated to provoke derision, whilst their too frequent a use before heavy casualties are anticipated is likely to lead to depression.

The British fighting man wants to be told the truth, he is not liable to be discouraged when told that all is not well, it rather nerves him to special efforts, and he wants to be told it in simple language.

Sir Douglas Haig's order of 11th. April. 1918, seems a model in this respect

"There is no other course open to us but to fight it out. Every position must be held to the last man; there must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight on to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."

The ultimate social effect of propaganda used as a means of arousing hatred against the enemy, is outside the scope of this paper, but it certainly appears to result in general lowering of the moral tone of the people, whatever may be its immediate benefits.

Drawing on 13.
fresh sources
of stimulus.

As regards the last means mentioned in para 11 above, there may come a time when it is no longer possible to stimulate enthusiasm for the original cause to any higher degree, all the means for so doing having been exhausted. But it may still be possible to draw on some other source of enthusiasm and so to bring about the desired action.

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6.

To my mind the use of a hunting horn or of a football to encourage men to follow their leader into the enemy's trenches should be placed under this heading; by a species of sub-conscious suggestion the thought of their passion for the chase or of their prowess on the football field, was conveyed to the minds of the men and this may have supplied just the extra stimulus that was necessary.

Need for simple form of appeal.

14.

As indicated in para.3 above the greater the stress, the simpler must be the form of appeal taken. When men are stunned by great events or by extreme fatigue, words fail to move them at all, and recourse must be had to some more elementary form of appeal. This was recognised by the officer who made such good use of a pony whistle and a toy drum at St. QUENTIN in the retreat from MONS.

The desire for a symbol.

15.

distinct
There is a tendency for men to seek for some concrete object, by which to symbolize the abstract cause of their enthusiasm.

The Royalists in La Vendée in 1793 had a remarkable affection for a 12 pounder gun, known as "Marie-Jeanne". One Percier de Rochor records :-

"it was a sight worthy at once of horror and pity to see these unhappy men, their rosaries in their hands, and their guns under their arms praying to heaven on their knees and kissing with tears of joy the famous piece of cannon. It was covered with flowers and ribands and taken to the church of Notre Dame, where a Te Deum was sung." (2)

Regimental colours fulfil this purpose of a concrete symbol.

Great leaders have often gained much of their influence from the fact that they were regarded by their men as the personification of the cause of their enthusiasm.

Opinions at the 16. time of the French Revolution.

It may be interesting to quote some contemporary opinions of the French Revolutionary period.

Speaking in the Legislative Assembly early in 1792 one JAUCOURT who had served in the army stated:-

"Vous ne pouvez opposer que des corps bien disciplinés et bien exercés aux armées ennemis. On me réprendra que le courage d'un peuple supplée à la discipline et à la tactique militaire. Je n'examinerai point si cette assertion est une vérité de sentiment plutôt qu'une vérité rigoureusement démontrée; mais j'observe qu'une victoire remportée par une armée non disciplinée et mal exercée coûtera beaucoup plus de sang qu'une autre." (3)

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7.

This last assertion was borne out by facts and it is stated that in Alsace the losses of the French were three times as great as those of their opponents.

General MORETON when in temporary command of the French Army of the North wrote to the Minister of War on Sept. 25th 1792 :-

"Le courage et le patriotisme ne manquent point, mais la discipline et l'obéissance sans lesquelles on ne peut obtenir de succès." (4)

Carnot on the 1st June 1793 wrote to the Committee of Public Safety :-

"Il est impossible de songer à aucune conquête suivie avec des troupes de ce genre quelque braves qu'elles soient. Rien ne résiste à leur premier choc, mais au moment qu'il est fait, la débandade se met partout, et si l'ennemi revenait, il ne tiendrait qu'à lui d'en faire une boucherie

(5)

Summary 17.

Summarising we may conclude that the following are the chief characteristics of enthusiasm :-

It arises from emotion rather than from reason.

It tends to be transient and unstable and so requires to be continually stimulated.

The higher the ideal which forms the cause of the enthusiasm, the stronger will that enthusiasm be.

Enthusiasm develops desire for action rather than determination in performance.

It seeks for some definite focus round which it may crystallize.

PART IV. Discipline.The lower 18.

Form of discipline based on fear.

Enthusiasm, then, however valuable in combination, cannot be relied upon by itself to ensure good morale in a fighting force. Discipline is necessary as well and this factor must now be considered.

As has already been stated, the object of discipline is to induce the habit of intelligent obedience, but the addition of the word intelligent may be considered as representing a modern idea; and there were times not so many years ago, when the only type of obedience required was a passive unreasoning one.

If such is the only object, the inculcation of discipline is a fairly easy matter especially if the raw material be of a low grade and uneducated.

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Constant repetition of mechanical movements on parade, can deaden the intelligence and reduce men to the condition of automata. Corporal punishments can be enforced to such a degree, that men's instinct of self preservation prompts them to fear their superiors more than the enemy; with the result that even in the time of battle they will obey blindly the orders they receive.

And this was once the ideal aimed at, perhaps carried to its extreme degree in the Prussian Army under King Frederick William I.

Mechanical 19.
obedience not
sufficient.

But is this discipline based on fear what is required ?

The general effect of modern progress will be considered later, but it can confidently be stated that an intelligent obedience is what is now required. We do not want senseless automata but men with brains and in a condition to use them.

The Duke of Wellington is often quoted as being a martinet, and the following extract from a letter from him to his brother, is worth quoting.

dated 14.4.1812,

"In my opinion, those take an erroneous view of what an army is, if they suppose that well drilled recruits are all that is required for it. Subordination and habits of obedience are more necessary than mechanical discipline acquired at the drill" He also goes on to say;- "these can be acquired by soldiers to any useful purpose only in proportion as they have confidence in their officers; and they cannot have confidence in officers who have no knowledge of their profession, (even of that lowest part of it acquired at the drill) who have no subordination among themselves and never obey an order. The plans for improving such an army should have for their first object the officers, and principally those belonging to the regiments; and it may be depended upon, that there would be no want of drill, or of that military expertness acquired at the drill, if habits of subordination and obedience, and some information, were given to the officers."

(6)

In order to develop a discipline that allows or rather encourages men to use their brains, the raw material must be of as high a quality as possible and this was fully recognised by Cromwell. His remark to Hampden on the subject is too well known to need repetition. One of the contributory causes of the increase in-efficiency of the French Army by 1794 was the decree of August 1793 ordering a *trou levee en masse* with no substitute, thus sweeping all classes into the army and not merely the worst of the population as had been the result of previous decrees.

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I.

NOTES ON ENTHUSIASM AND DISCIPLINE

by

Air Vice Marshal BROOKE-POPHAM.
-----PART I Introduction.Definition. 1.

It is desirable at the beginning to explain the precise meanings that will be attached to certain words.

Morale is used to mean the complete mental and moral condition of a fighting force and is the result of the combined effect of many factors, which may be grouped under two headings:-

- (a) Enthusiasm
- (b) Confidence

The latter is inspired mainly by good leadership and good discipline.

Good morale confers a consciousness of superiority and is made manifest by the will to win and the spirit to endure.

Discipline is used to mean the system that develops a habit of intelligent obedience, i.e. in a somewhat narrower sense than that attached to it by some writers.

Enthusiasm is used in the meaning given by dictionaries namely, an ardent zeal for some cause, as regards a fighting force it is zeal for the cause of the war.

Study of Morale. 2.

It has sometimes been thought that the study of morale is something peculiar to the R.A.F. Staff College, that the word itself is quite new and a product of the war.

This is quite a mistake; it is certainly necessary for officers of the R.A.F. to study the subject because in peace we tend to become too deeply immersed in the mechanical and scientific side of warfare and are thus more apt to neglect the human factor than are, say, infantry officers whose main care is their men in peace alike as in war. But morale was a definite subject for study in the Army for many years before the war, whilst the word itself was in general use in its present meaning as far back as 1870.

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2.PART II Human nature.Chief character-
istics affecting
morale. 3.

In order to have some firm foundations from which to start, a brief reference must be made to two general characteristics of human nature.

The first is the fact that in times of stress men tend to revert to their primal elementary condition and to be governed more by their instincts than by their reason.

The second is the peculiar behaviour given certain conditions, of people collected in a mass.

Instincts of
self preservation. 4.

As regards the first characteristic. The deepest of all instincts would appear to be that of self preservation and it is this instinct that is the most important in the study of morale. The effect of this instinct is usually manifested by fear which normally takes the form of a desire to flee from the source of danger. But it may also take the form of ferocity, of a fierce hatred of the person or thing that is threatening life, of a blind craving to destroy and so remove the threat.

Now for a fighting man it is obviously essential to get rid of the desire to run away from danger and the question then arises whether his training should aim at turning his fear into the form of ferocity, or whether it should aim at overshadowing the instinct altogether.

Without entering deeply into this problem it is evident that the development of ferocity is calculated to produce an objectionable type of citizen, one who will in times of peace be a bane to his fellows. Further ferocity, especially as it must be based ultimately on instinct, will be blind and unreasoning and, as will be shewn later, such a state is peculiarly unsuitable to warfare of the present day.

We may therefore conclude that the suppression of the instinct of fear is the correct course and in spite of the theories of Freud and his followers one may be permitted to believe that the development of such a state of self discipline, or the subjection of emotion to the will, is in itself an achievement and a sign of mental strength and moral courage.

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3.

The group
instinct.

5.

A second instinct which concerns the subject under consideration is that which may be termed the group instinct. It does not appear to be so elementary nor by nature so deep seated as that of self preservation since has become impressed by method of life. It is shared by man with many animals such as wolves or bees, and may develop to such a degree that the desire to preserve the group or pack may overcome the desire of the individual for self preservation.

The psycho-
logical crowd.

6.

As regards the second characteristic, the theory now generally accepted is that developed by GUSTAVE LE BON. This theory is made use of in all his later works, but was first formulated in his book "La psychologie des Foules", translated into English as "The Crowd".

As the subject is one that is more appropriately considered under the subject of leadership, it will not be dealt with in this paper; it may however be noted that drill tends to bring about some of the characteristics of a psychological crowd.

Summary.

7.

We may summarise what has been said as follows :-

The instinct of self preservation as manifested by fear must be suppressed or overshadowed in the fighting man; development of the group instinct and the right use of the peculiarities of a psychological crowd afford possible means of achieving this end.

PART III Enthusiasm.Enthusiasm
considered as
a manifestation
of the group
instinct.

8.

War whether between small tribes or great nations may be considered as struggles for the maintenance or development of the moral or material welfare of each side, in fact for the preservation of the group.

Enthusiasm for the war may, without any heavy demands upon our imagination, be considered then as a manifestation of the group instinct, and as such is of the highest importance.

Sources of
enthusiasm.

9.

The main sources of enthusiasm may be grouped under four headings :-

- (a) Ideals
- (b) Religion
- (c) Patriotism
- (d) Hatred.

The above are placed in the same order as the degree of enthusiasm which it is considered they respectively inspire.

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The fiercest wars have probably been those for ideals, such as ideals of freedom or of justice.

Religion is here used in a somewhat narrow sense, rather than of theological dogma than of a moral code. The latter should, it is considered come more correctly under the heading of ideals. The former has given rise to violent struggles in the past, for instance the Crusade against the Albigenses early in the 13th Century, and though the tolerant attitude of the present day renders such events unlikely to recur, there seems a tendency to underrate the power of religion over men's minds.

Patriotism is the love of one's country, the tie that holds together the whole body of people who have the same origin who speak the same language and who are governed by the same laws. It usually follows that such people have the same ideals.

Hatred includes the desire for revenge, and may be considered as appealing to a lower class of ideas than the other three sources.

Lack of stability.

10.

Whatever its origin, enthusiasm by itself lacks stability.

The French volunteers in 1792 were enthusiastic for their country and its cause, but even though the victories of Valmy and Jemappes might have been expected to stimulate enthusiasm we find it was insufficient to keep them in the ranks. Many of whom had been carried away by the heat of the moment and had enlisted without considering what they were about to undertake, and they are reported to have been 60,000 deserters during the Winter of 1792/93. The men felt they had done enough and that it was time they went home.

"Nous avons fait notre devoir, on veut nous garder pour nous mener à la boucherie!" (1)

A curious reminder of the Spring of 1917.

Stimulation of enthusiasm.

11.

Enthusiasm then must be continually stimulated.

The principal means available for this purpose are :-

- (a) A popular leader.
- (b) Success.
- (c) Example.
- (d) Propaganda.
- (e) Drawing on a fresh source.

As regards the first, in February 1645 when the Parliamentary Army was in a mutinous condition, Cromwell was sent to exert his personal influence with the men and his presence seems to have had a good effect immediately.

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