

Charles E. Callwell and the British Way in Warfare

Daniel Whittingham presents the first full-length study of one of Britain's most important military thinkers, Major-General Sir Charles E. Callwell (1859–1928). It tells the story of his life, which included service in military intelligence, the South African War, and on the General Staff before and during the First World War. It also presents the first comprehensive analysis of his writing: from his well-known books *Small Wars* (1896) and *Military Operations and Maritime Preponderance* (1905), to a host of other books and articles that are presented here for the first time. Through a study of Callwell's life and works, this book offers a new perspective on the nature and study of military history, the character of British strategy, and on the army to which he belonged.

Daniel Whittingham is Lecturer in the History of Warfare and Conflict at the University of Birmingham. He is a Councillor of the Army Records Society and International Secretary of the British Commission for Military History.



Cambridge Military Histories

Edited by

HEW STRACHAN, Professor of International Relations, University of St Andrews and Emeritus Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford GEOFFREY WAWRO, Professor of Military History, and Director of the Military History Center, University of North Texas

The aim of this series is to publish outstanding works of research on warfare throughout the ages and throughout the world. Books in the series take a broad approach to military history, examining war in all its military, strategic, political and economic aspects. The series complements *Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare* by focusing on the 'hard' military history of armies, tactics, strategy and warfare. Books in the series consist mainly of single-author works – academically rigorous and groundbreaking – which are accessible to both academics and the interested general reader.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/militaryhistories



Charles E. Callwell and the British Way in Warfare

Daniel Whittingham

University of Birmingham





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108703185

DOI: 10.1017/9781108628846

© Daniel Whittingham 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

First paperback edition 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Names: Whittingham, Daniel, 1984- author.

Title: Charles E. Callwell and the British way in warfare / Daniel Whittingham.

Other titles: Military thought of Charles E. Callwell

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Series: Cambridge military histories | Revision of

author's thesis (doctoral) – King's College London, 2013, titled The military thought of Charles E. Callwell. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

thought of Charles E. Callwell. | Includes bibliographical references and index. Identifiers: LCCN 2019028792 (print) | LCCN 2019028793 (ebook) | ISBN

9781108480079 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108628846 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Callwell, C. E. (Charles Edward), Sir, 1859–1928. | Great Britain. Army – Biography. | Generals – Great Britain – Biography. | Military art and science – Great Britain – History. | Military art and science – Philosophy. |

Great Britain – History, Military.

Classification: LCC DA68.32.C15 W47 2020 (print) | LCC DA68.32.C15

(ebook) | DDC 355.4/2092–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019028792

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019028793

ISBN 978-1-108-48007-9 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-108-70318-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

	Acknowledgements	page vi
	Introduction: Charles E. Callwell and British Strategy	1
1	Callwell's Early Career	20
2	'An Art by Itself': Charles Callwell and Small Wars	37
3	'Another Page in the History of Tactics': Charles Callwell and the South African War	81
4	Khaki-Clad Maritime Theorist: Charles Callwell and Amphibious Warfare	113
5	'I Did My Best to Throw Cold Water on the Scheme as a Whole': Charles Callwell and the Dardanelles	159
6	Not 'One of That Band of Dug-Outs Who Became Dug-Ins': Charles Callwell, the War and Retirement, 1914–28	206
	Conclusion	240
	Bibliography Index	249 271

v



Acknowledgements

This book began life as a PhD thesis, 'The Military Thought and Professional Career of Charles E. Callwell (1859-1928)', which I submitted in 2013. I was very lucky to join the Department of War Studies at King's College, London, for the MA History of Warfare cohort of 2006–7, and to study for my PhD there from 2008 to 2013. I must first pay tribute to my first and second supervisors, Alan James and William Philpott respectively. Throughout my time at King's I benefited immensely from their teaching and guidance, and they have been a tremendous support to me since. I cannot thank them enough. Indeed, I would like to give Alan James the credit for coming up with the idea to write a thesis on Callwell in the first place, when I was desperately searching for an appropriate PhD topic. Many of the academic and professional services staff at King's offered me their time and wisdom, and I would like to thank all of them. I should single out Andrew Lambert for his support for the project, which helped me to refine the ideas that went into the thesis, and subsequently the book. My PhD examiners, David French and Hew Strachan, gave me plenty to think about in my viva, and I hope they can see the improvements that resulted in this book. I should also like to thank Hew for encouraging me to submit the book to Cambridge University Press, and for offering his thoughts along the way. I would also like to thank my friends from the MA History of Warfare class of 2006–7, who have been the source of much inspiration for which I am very grateful, and the veterans of 'the PhD room' 2008-13, who were the best possible company during the long days and longer nights that I spent working on the original thesis.

I moved to the University of Birmingham in 2013 to take up a lectureship in the Department of History, where I have spent a very happy six years. Here I should especially like to thank successive heads of school Corey Ross and Sabine Lee, and heads of department Nick Crowson, Elaine Fulton and Matt Houlbrook, for their support. I would like to thank my friends and colleagues from the department, and the regulars at the War Studies research seminars. Adam Dighton shared his views on military thought in

vi



Acknowledgements

vii

the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and his knowledge of the Blackwood Papers. Jonathan Boff, Jonathan Gumz, Matthew Hughes and Klaus Richter kindly read some, or all, of the book manuscript. Andrew Duncan provided me with some last-minute help when I realised some of my notes were missing. I would also like to thank the many people from across the historical community who have given me their friendship and expertise over the last ten years: I am very lucky that there are too many to mention by name. I would also like to thank Cambridge University Press. The suggestions of the anonymous reviewers of the manuscript undoubtedly made this book better. Michael Watson has been a supportive – and above all patient – editor. I hope all of the above can see how they helped to make this book better; but all errors that are left are entirely my own.

I have received valuable assistance, sometimes above and beyond the call of duty, from the staff at the various archives and libraries in which I have worked. While at King's I made extensive use of the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives. Students at King's are extremely lucky to have a facility like the Liddell Hart Centre on campus. I would also like to thank the staff at the Berkshire Record Office, British Library, Imperial War Museum, Joint Services Command and Staff College Library, National Archives, National Library of Scotland, University of Durham, West Sussex Record Office, and the Prince Consort's Library, Aldershot, for all their help. I would like to thank the Trustees of the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives and the family of FM Sir William Robertson for allowing me to quote from the Robertson papers, and the Trustees of the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives for allowing me to quote from the Edmonds and Hamilton papers. The National Library of Scotland kindly gave me permission to quote from the Blackwood papers. The Berkshire Record Office kindly gave me permission to cite the Glyn papers. I would like to thank Mr Tony Maxse for his permission to quote from the Leo Maxse papers.

At home, I would like to thank my friends and family who have always supported me through thick and thin. I would especially like to thank my brother Mike, Mum and Dad. It is only because my parents have sacrificed so much that I am where I am now. My PhD thesis was dedicated to them. I would also like to thank my Turkish family, especially Orhan amca, Canan teyze, Ayşe teyze and Ece. I would like to dedicate this book to my beautiful Gönenç: seni çok seviyorum sevgilim.