

Cambridge University Press & Assessment

978-1-108-79939-3 — Storm and Sack

Gavin Daly

Index

[More Information](#)

Index

- Acre, siege of (1799), 38
 Adye, Stephen Payne, 34
 aggression, 125–6, 155
 Agostina of Zaragoza, 69, 70
 Ahmednagar, siege of (1803), 44, 85, 152, 174–5
 Aitchison, John, 83
 Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, 3rd Duke of, 25, 124
 alcohol, 155
 as coping mechanism, 116
 drunkenness, 115, 209–11, 218, 232, 246
 as plunder, 211, 215
 plunder, exchanged for, 221
 rations, 206–7
 as reward, 130
 Aligarh, siege of (1803), 85, 142–3, 176
 Alvarez, Mariano, 70
 Amantea, siege of (1806–07), 39, 74–5
 anger, 125, 126, 245–6
 Anglo-Maratha Wars, 152–3, 174–6
 Second (1803–05), 9, 43–5, 85
 Ahmednagar, siege of (1803), 44, 85, 152, 174–5
 Aligarh, siege of (1803), 85, 142–3, 176
 Asirgarh, siege of (1803), 152
 Battle of Assaye (1803), 44, 153
 see also Gawilghur
 Anglo-Mysore Wars, 152–8
 Second (1780–84), 156, 157
 Third (1790–92), 43
 Fourth (1799), 9, 43
 see also Seringapatam
 anti-Catholicism, 203
 Antwerp, failed siege of (1814), 41
 armies
 conscript, 6, 10
 masculinisation of, 218
 plunder by, 52
 size of, 36, 47
 army wives, 217–18
 army, British
 alcohol rations, 206–7
 in Anglo-Mysore war, 44
 continuity of regiments in siege participation, 143–4
 food rations, 201
 Iberian civilians, relationship with, 202–4
 pay, of soldiers, 201
 reputation of, 2
 siegecraft of in Spain, 84–6
 social class of, 8
 see also officers; soldiers
 army, French, 163–4
 atrocities by, 252–3
 honour of, 160–1
 mercy/restraint of, 157–8
 officers of, 260–1
 plunder by, 202
 sacks in the Peninsular War, 50–3
 army, Prussian, 39–41
 arson, 209
 Articles of War, 170–1
 artillery
 cannon, 19, 85, 108, 112, 275
 development of, 17, 274
 mines, 108, 110, 112
 Asirgarh, siege of (1803), 152
 Assaye, Battle of (1803), 44, 154
 Astorga, siege of (1810), 68
 atrocities against civilians, 4, 27, 227–68
 bombardment, 186
 denial of, 239–40
 desensitisation to, 254
 duration of, 250–1
 by French soldiers, 252–3
 historiography of, 240–4
 and laws of war, 24, 171
 minority, committed by, 251, 257
 murder, 227, 237–8, 251
 outrage at, 254–5, 257–8

Index

299

- prevention/intervention, 259–62, 266–8
- reasons for, 245–51
 - anti-Spanish views, 247–9
 - blame of civilians, 248–9
 - desensitisation, 247
 - drunkenness, 246
 - rage, 245–6
 - retaliation, 248–9
- sexual violence, 262–8
 - prevention of, 266–8
 - rape, 13, 228, 239, 263–6
- and shame, 252–3
- suicide, avoided through, 265–6
- witnessing of, 252–3
 - see also* Badajoz; Ciudad Rodrigo; Gawilghur; Montevideo; San Sebastian; Seringapatam
- atrocities against combatants, 142, 143, 149–50
 - body parts, as trophies, 149
 - against the wounded, 150
 - see also* executions; garrisons
- Auchmuty, Samuel, 46, 66, 139, 150, 197
 - plunder, orders against, 192, 194–6
- awe, 91–2
- Badajoz, 47, 48, 108, 214, 236
 - 1811 siege, 47
 - British soldiers' animosity towards, 204
 - strategic importance of, 48
 - duration of, 250–1
 - retaliatory, 249
 - sexual violence, 264–5
 - death toll, 1, 86, 114, 208, 236–8
 - drunkenness after, 210
 - engineers at, 86
 - fall, celebration of, 113
 - garrison
 - killing of, 137
 - mercy towards, 126, 129–31, 133
 - surrender of, 128–9
 - obstinate defence of, 55–6, 161–2
 - plunder, 1, 199, 207–9, 216, 218
 - confiscation of, 221
 - sale of, 220
 - practicable breaches, 109
 - sack, 2, 53, 178–81, 213, 230–3
 - siegecraft, failures of, 83
 - storm, 1, 81–2, 92, 96–8, 109–11
 - time pressures in, 86
- weather conditions, 88
 - Wellington and, 120–1, 168
- Bailén, Battle of (1808), 50
- Baird, Sir David, 89, 139, 141, 155–6
- banditti *see* brigands
- barbarism, 154
 - enemy, ascribed to, 145–50, 155–8
- Barcelona, siege of (1714), 30–2
- Barnard, Andrew, 109, 259
- Barrié, Jean Léonard, 235
 - capitulation, refusal of, 55, 57, 161
 - Ciudad Rodrigo, defence of, 107–8
 - surrender of, 128
- Bastia, siege of (1794), 43
- bastions, 18, 61
- Bathurst, Henry, 3rd Earl, 191, 240
- batteries, 19, 21, 87
 - limitations of, 86
- battles
 - decisive, 6
 - use of, 36–7, 40, 41
- battles, individual
 - Assaye (1803), 44, 154
 - Bailén (1808), 50
 - Blenheim (1704), 27
 - Culloden (1746), 27
 - Fleurus (1794), 37
 - Fontenoy (1745), 17
 - Jena (1806), 39, 75
 - Leipzig (1813), 36, 40
 - Pollilur (1780), 156, 157
 - Salamanca (1812), 48
 - Talavera (1809), 48, 158
 - Vitoria (1813), 49, 56
- Bayly, Ralph, 154
- bayonets, 126, 138, 189, 250
- Beatson, Alexander, 140, 156, 157, 173, 243, 244
- Beaurepaire, Nicolas, 64
- Bell, David A., 7, 9–10, 51, 69, 123
- Bell, George, 87, 249
- Bell, John, 110, 131
- Belmas, Jacques Vital, 238
- Bennigsen, Levin August von, 77
- Beresford, William, 45, 91, 120, 148, 194–5
- Bergen-op-Zoom
 - 1747 siege and sack of, 33, 264
 - 1814 failed siege, 41
- Berkovich, Ilya, 98, 104
- Bernadotte, Jean-Baptiste, 181–2
- Berwick, James FitzJames, 1st Duke of, 31, 32, 56, 111
- Best, Geoffrey, 27
- Bingham, George, 120, 196, 207
 - atrocities, outrage at, 254, 256

300 Index

- Blake, Joaquín, 67
- Blakeney, Robert
on atrocities, 259, 260
atrocities, prevention of, 262, 268
on plunder, 52, 225
on sack, 233
- Blakiston, John, 144, 175
on alcohol, 155
on atrocities, 142, 242, 266
on plunder, 176, 222
- Blaquiere, Captain, 230
- Blenheim, Battle of (1704), 27
- blockades, 20, 38, 40, 274
Magdeburg (1806), 75
Malta (1798–1800), 43
Mantua (1796–97), 38
Pamplona (1813), 48, 49
San Sebastian (1813), 111
- Blücher, Leberecht von, 40, 41, 181
- bombardment, 4, 20, 21, 185–8, 274–5
capitulation after, 76
of Ciudad Rodrigo (1810), 186
of civilians, 29, 37, 186, 275, 276
of Copenhagen (1807), 43, 186–7
criticism of, 187
of Danzig (1813), 78
death tolls, 186
of Flushing (Vlissingen, 1809), 43, 186
of Fort Bourbon, Martinique (1809), 186
frequency of use of, 38, 42–3, 186
of Lerida (1810), 53, 186
of Magdeburg (1806), 75
of Mainz (1793), 37
of San Sebastian (1813), 185, 188
vs. siege, 20–1
Wellington's use of, 197
- booty, 169–70
women as, 262, 264
see also plunder
- Boutflower, Charles, 58, 82, 92
- Bowd, Stephen D., 5, 212
- Bowles, George, 90, 100, 248
on atrocities, 265, 268
on mercy, 130
on plunder, 209, 214
on sack of San Sebastian, 231, 241
- Bragge, William, 207
- bravery, 96, 99, 153
lack of, 73, 154
- breaches
access to, 87
practicable, 21, 22, 107, 109, 111
and capitulation norms, 57, 59
defence of (*vs.* capitulation), 57, 61, 79
definitions of, 106–7
- Bridgeman, Orlando, 98, 225
- brigands/banditti, portrayal of guerrillas and insurgents as, 51–2, 75, 145, 151–2, 174
- Britain
Anglo-French relationship, 158–64
Anglo-Spanish relationship, 188, 190–1, 202–4
exceptionalism of, 134, 136
- British army
alcohol rations, 206–7
food rations, 201
Iberian civilians, relationship with, 202–4
pay, of soldiers, 201
reputation of, 2
siegecraft of in Spain, 84–6
social class of, 8
see also officers; soldiers
- British East India Company, 43, 44, 150–3, 170
and prize, 222, 223
- Broers, Michael, 10
- Brown, Patrick, 224
- Brown, William, 206
on atrocities, 227–8, 232, 251, 257
on plunder, 211, 215
- Browne, Gore, 193–4
- Browne, Thomas Henry, 210, 217, 225, 260
- Brownrigg, Henry, 93
- brutalisation, of combatants, 247
- Buchanan, Francis, 244
- Buenos Aires, 45
- Burgos
sack of (1808), 50
siege of (1812), 48, 49, 53, 65, 83
- Burgoyne, John, 57, 59
- burials, 119–20
- Burke, Edmund, 90, 91, 232
- Byron, Lord, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, 70
- Calvi, siege of (1794), 7, 43
- camp followers, 154, 175, 217
- Campbell, Colin, 72
- Canada, 36
- cannon, 19, 85, 108, 112, 275
- capitulation, 55–80
at San Sebastian, 162–3
after bombardment, 76
delayed, 40
French approaches to, 60–1, 64–73
frequency in early 18th century, 30–1
garrisons executed after, 33

Index

301

- geographical distinctions in early 18th century, 30–1
- honour in, 30
- in India, 152
- negotiations for, 21–2
 - before practicable breach, 57, 59
 - summons, refusal of, 58–9
- orders to refuse, 60–1, 64–73
- plunder after, 174–5
- premature, 22, 68, 75, 78–9
- Prussian approaches to, 75–6
- refusal of, 23, 55–9, 66, 134, 161
- rituals, change in, 30
- Carnot, Lazare, 63–5
 - On the Defence of Fortified Places*, 58, 164
- Castanos, Francisco, 120
- Castlereagh, Robert Stewart, Viscount, 93
- Castro-Urdiales
 - sack of (1813), 53, 267
 - siege of (1813), 68
- chamade, beating of, 22
- Chapuis, Charles, 156–7
- Charleroi, siege of (1794), 37
- Childs, John, 126
- chivalry, 266–8
- churches, 50, 69, 202, 203, 215, 237, 246
- citadels, 18, 23, 31, 44, 46, 61
- Ciudad Rodrigo, 48
 - 1810 siege, 47, 67, 68, 186
 - 1812 siege, 2, 7, 47, 65, 83
 - death toll, 114, 235–6
 - garrison, mercy towards, 126
 - garrison, surrender of, 128
 - obstinate defence in, 55, 57, 161
 - plunder, 200, 207–9, 213–14, 220
 - practicable breaches, 107
 - sack, 2, 53, 177–8
 - storm, 55, 89, 91, 99, 101, 105, 107–8
 - time pressures in, 86
 - weather conditions, 88
 - in Wellington's correspondence, 168
 - strategic importance of, 48
- civilians
 - bombardment of, 29, 37, 275
 - death tolls, 27, 33, 69
 - definition of, 26–7
 - disease, vulnerability to, 29
 - evacuation/flight of, 193, 234–6, 238
 - expulsion of, 29, 77
 - humane treatment of, 26
 - military activity of, 29–30, 32, 68, 70, 74, 248–9
 - and plunder, 170, 220
 - protection of, 167, 173, 174, 188, 197
 - safety, guarantees of, 22
 - siege, roles in, 4
 - starvation, vulnerability to, 29
 - vulnerabilities of, 28–9
 - see also* atrocities against civilians
- civility, 11, 131, 145–6
- class, social, 166
- Clausewitz, Carl von, 37, 89
- Clifton, Robin, 24
- Cocks, Edward, 161, 235
- Codrington, Sir Edward, 135
- Coehoorn, Menno van, 17
- Colley, Linda, 92, 100, 159
- Collins, Bruce, 10, 43, 71, 85, 180, 242
- Collins, Randall, 124–5, 140, 245, 250
- Collins, Wilkie, *The Moonstone*, 222
- Colville, Charles, 109
- combat
 - at close quarter, 125–6
 - urban, 69
 - see also* battles; storm
- combatants *see* officers; soldiers
- compassion, 132–3, 253
- conscription, 6, 10
- containments, 20
- Contreras, Juan Senen, 73, 261
- Conway, Stephen, 159
- Cooke, John, 97, 101, 106, 119, 256
- Cooper, John Spencer, 201
- Copenhagen, bombardment of (1807), 43, 186–7
- Copley, John Singleton, *The Siege of Gibraltar*, 71
- Copons, Francisco, 72
- Córdoba, sack of (1808), 50
- Cornwallis, Charles, 1st Marquess, 43, 152
- Corsica, 43
- cosmopolitanism, 159
- Coss, Edward J., 182, 201
 - on atrocities, 241, 245, 251, 263
 - on combat motivation, 98, 104, 167
- Costello, Edward, 105, 117, 133–4
 - on alcohol, 207
 - on Anglo-French relations, 160
 - on atrocities, 246, 250, 257, 258, 265
 - on plunder, 199, 206, 211, 215
 - on sack, 232
- counter-insurgency, 143, 150, 174
- courage, 96, 99, 153
 - lack of, 73, 154
- courts martial, 48, 57, 79, 171
 - and plunder, 257
 - for rape, 263

302 Index

- cowardice, 73, 154
- cowle* (peace terms), 151
- Craufurd, Robert, 105, 107
 - burial of, 119–20
 - death of, 108, 114
 - plunder, rumoured promise of, 196, 207
- Cromwell, Oliver, 24, 25, 124
- Cronström, Governor (of Bergen-op-Zoom), 264
- cruelty *see* atrocities
- Culloden, Battle of (1746), 27
- Dalrymple, William, 243
- Dansey, Charles, 113, 225
- Danzig (Gdansk)
 - 1807 siege, 38, 39, 76
 - 1813 siege, 40, 77–8
- darkness, 91–2, 126, 232
- Daulat Rao Scindia, Prince of Maratha, 44
- Davies, Huw J., 83, 84
- Davout, Louis-Nicholas, 77
- Dawes, James, 234
- dead bodies, 81, 116, 119–20, 140
- death
 - as martyrdom, 92–3
 - representation of, 92–3
 - in storm, 82, 107, 109–10, 114–20
- death tolls, 234–44
 - civilian, 27, 69, 234–9, 275
 - of combatants, 234
 - estimating, 234–5
 - from bombardment, 186
 - from disease, 77, 78
 - from garrison massacres, 139, 140, 143
 - from guerrilla warfare, 147
 - historical sources for, 235
- defence, obstinate, 31–2, 55–80
 - British use of, 71–3
 - critique of, 65–6
 - cult of, 60–4, 79–80
 - Napoleon, ordered by, 57–60
 - pardoned, by victors, 75
 - praise of, 161–4
 - reasons for, 79
 - sack justified by, 67
 - Spanish use of, 66–7
 - support for, 66, 70–1
- dehumanisation, 232
- Denia, siege of (1707), 31
- desensitisation, 95, 115, 247, 254
- Dhoondiah Vagh, 85, 150–2
- diaries, 8, 231
- Dickson, Alexander, 41, 164
- discipline
 - failures of, 208
 - Wellington's stance on, 165–7, 173
- disease, 20, 21
 - civilians, vulnerability to, 29
 - typhus, 69, 77, 78
- dishonour, 22, 88, 252–3, 255–9
- Donagan, Barbara, 12, 62
- Donaldson, Joseph
 - on atrocities, 236, 251, 252, 257, 260
 - on letter-writing, 97
 - on plunder, 179
 - on widows and orphans of war, 117
- Douglas, John, 201, 206, 220
- Dresden, siege of (1760), 29
- Drinkwater, John, 71
- Drogheda, sack of (1649), 24, 25, 124
- drunkenness, 115, 209–11, 218, 232, 246
- Duende, El* (newspaper), 189–91, 239
- Duffy, Christopher, 6, 25, 30, 32, 64
- Duffy, John, 209
- Dummul fortress (India), 85, 151–2
- Dunkirk, siege of (1793), 42
- duty, 22, 62
 - failures of, 22, 167
 - as motivation, 63, 100, 261
- Dwyer, Philip, 5, 6, 24, 50, 145
- Dyneley, Thomas, 209
- East India Company, British, 43, 44, 150–3, 170
 - and prize, 222, 223
- Elers, George, 221
- Elliott, George, 71
- Elphinstone, Mountstuart, 142
- emotions, 94–105, 124–6
 - aggression, 125–6, 155
 - alcohol, managed with, 206–7
 - awe, 91–2
 - calm, 250
 - catharsis, through violence, 245
 - dissociation from, 245
 - fatalism, 97–8
 - fear, 96, 126
 - forward panic, 124–5, 140, 245
 - gratitude, 113–14
 - guilt, 213
 - horror, 110–11, 116, 255
 - rage, 125, 126, 245–6
 - restraint of, 95, 96, 168–9
 - sensibility, 94
 - sentimentalism, 94–5
 - shame, 2–3, 102, 252–3
 - empathy, 132–3, 253
 - enemies

Index

303

- as ‘barbaric other’, 145–50
 delegitimised, 145, 151, 174
 fraternisation with, 160, 163–4, 216, 267
 French as, 160–4
 engineers, 86
 England *see* Britain
 enlisted men *see* soldiers, enlisted
 enlistment, 10
 enmity, 9, 123
 British-Spanish, 203–4
 religious, 146, 147
 entrenchments, 61, 108, 112
escalade, 18, 41, 85, 110
 Esdaile, Charles, 2, 202, 250, 263
 ethics, military, 132
 evacuation
 of civilians, 193, 234–6, 238
 of garrisons, 53
 entrenched positions, 61, 108, 112
escalade, 18, 41, 85, 110
 Esdaile, Charles, 2, 202, 250, 263
 ethics, military, 132
 execution
 of garrisons, 23, 25
 after capitulation, 33
 after obstinate resistance, 66
 of military governors, 22, 57
 for plunder, 173, 175
 of prisoners of war, 62, 134–5, 154, 156, 159
 Favret, Mary A., 95, 126
 fear, 96, 126
 femininity, 117, 218
 Ferguson, Adam, 131, 146
 Ferraris, Joseph de, 42
 fighting
 at close quarter, 125–6, 137
 urban, 69
 see also battles; storm
 fire
 at Ciudad Rodrigo, 209
 at San Sebastian, 2, 185, 188, 189, 210
 at Seringapatam, 243
 flags
 of truce, 59
 white, 22, 33
 Fletcher, Sir Richard, 86, 109
 death of, 118
 Fleurus, Battle of (1794), 37
 flight *see* evacuation
 Flushing (Vlissingen), bombardment of (1809), 43, 186
 Foissac-Latour, François Philippe, 64
 Fontenoy, Battle of (1745), 17
 food, 29
 rations, for army wives, 217
 rations, for soldiers, 201
 shortages, 77, 78
 withholding of, 4, 20, 21, 29, 78
 Forrest, Denys M., 243
 Fort Bourbon (Martinique),
 bombardment of (1809), 186
 fortifications
 bastions, 18, 61
 citadels, 18, 23, 31, 44, 46, 61
 development of, 17–19
 ditches, 18
 effectiveness of, 34–5
 gates, destruction of, 85
 glacis, 18
 scarp/counterscarp, 18
 of towns, 18–19
 trace italienne, 17
 walls, 18
 fortresses, 20, 21, 33, 46
 defensive lines of, 61
 design of, 17–18, 35
 dismantling of, 35
 effectiveness of, 34–5
 Napoleon’s use of, 40
 forward panic, 124–5, 140, 245
 France
 Anglo-French relationship, 158–64
 bombardment, use of, 186
 capitulation, approaches to, 60–1,
 64–73, 78–9
 Fontenoy, Battle of (1745), 17
 Lille, 28
 Longwy, 37
 obstinate defence, use of, 63–4, 73, 77
 September Massacres, 37
 Spanish, attitudes to, 147–8
 Strasbourg, 275
 Toulon, 7, 37
 Tournai, 29
 Verdun, 37, 64
 see also French army; Napoleon
 Bonaparte; Revolutionary-
 Napoleonic Wars
 Francis I, King of France, 164
 fraternisation, 160, 163–4, 216, 267
 Frazer, Augustus, 2, 95, 118, 163
 on desensitisation, 254
 on French military officers, 163, 164
 on sack of San Sebastian, 241
 Frederick the Great (Frederick II of Prussia), 6, 19, 28
 Dresden, siege of (1760), 29
 military governors, execution of, 22
 Freer, Edward, 118
 Freer, William, 118
 Fremantle, John, 126

304 Index

- French army, 163–4
 atrocities by, 252–3
 honour of, 160–1
 mercy/restraint of, 157–8
 officers of, 260–1
 plunder by, 202
 sacks in the Peninsular War, 50–3
 fury, 125, 126, 245–6
- Gaeta, siege of (1806), 39, 74
 Gairdner, James, 55
 garrisons, 122–64
 departure with honour, 22, 74, 76, 163
 evacuation of, 53
 execution of, 23, 25, 129
 after capitulation, 33
 as exemplary punishment, 151–2
 massacres, 134–43
 after obstinate resistance, 66
 laws of war on, 4, 23, 122–4
 mercy/restraint towards, 122, 127–34, 136–7, 151–2
 prisoners of war, taken as, 22, 68, 122, 128, 129
 vengeance on, 126–7
- Gawilghur, siege of (1803), 9, 43–5, 175–6
 atrocities, 242, 266
 death toll, 242
 garrison, massacre of, 141–2
 plunder, 176
 prize, anticipated from, 222
 storm, 141, 154
- Gdansk *see* Danzig
- gender, 97
 femininity, 117, 218
see also masculinity
- Genoa, siege of (1800), 38, 64
- Gentili, Alberico, 23, 24, 34, 61, 230
- George III, King of England, 71
- George IV, King of England, Prince Regent, 170
- Germany, 27, 40, 75
 Dresden, 29
 Hamburg, 40, 77
 Lübeck, 181–2, 267
 Magdeburg, 25, 40, 75, 230, 234, 261
 Mainz, 37
 Prenzlau, 75
 Wittenberg, 40
see also Danzig; Prussia
- Gerona, siege of (1808–09), 47, 56, 68
 obstinate defence of, 68, 70
- Ghent, siege of (1708), 29
- Gibraltar, Great Siege of (1779–83), 71
- Glatz (Kłodzko), siege of (1760), 22
- Gleig, George, 97, 127, 241
- glory, 93, 96, 99
 and compassion/civility, 131–3
 lack of, 88, 256
 through storm, 88, 89, 101, 105
- Gneisenau, August von, 76
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 37
- Gomm, William, 87, 127
 on bombardment of Copenhagen (1807), 186
 on desensitisation, 254
 on French military officers, 163
 on mercy/restraint, 132–3
 on plunder, 214
 on sack of Ciudad Rodrigo, 236
 on sack of San Sebastian, 241
- gothic literary mode, 231–3
- governors, of fortress towns, 22
 bribery of, 152
 execution of, 152
 negotiations with, 21
 obstinate defence, required of, 64
- Goya, Francisco, *Disasters of War*, 252, 273
- Graham, Sergeant (Seringapatam), 89, 93
- Graham, Sir Thomas, 58–9, 102, 112, 113, 162–3, 183, 184
 on laws of sack and plunder, 172
 and San Sebastian, 188, 189
- grapeshot, 103, 108, 112, 138, 185
- Grattan, William, 108, 206
 on atrocities, 265
 on plunder, 208, 213
 on sack, 230–1
- Green, William, 96
- Greig, Matilda, 256
- Greville, Robert Fulke, 239
- grief, 116–21
- Griffith, Edwin, 202, 267
- Grotius, Hugo, 23, 230
- guerrilla warfare, 10, 51–2, 74, 145, 147
- Guibert, Jacques-Antoine-Hippolyte, Comte de, 34, 35
- guilt, 213
- Gurwood, John, 101, 168
- Haarlem, siege of (1572–73), 25, 124
- Hague Convention (1899), 12
- Haider (Hyder) Ali, Sultan of Mysore, 43, 155, 156
- Hamburg, siege of (1813–14), 40, 77
- Hametièvre, Loysel de, 164

Index

305

- Harari, Yuval Noah, 94, 256
 Harley, John, 116, 268
 Harris, George, 44, 152, 172, 173, 223, 224
 Harvest, Horatio, 97
 Hatry, Jacques, 37
 Havana, siege of (1762), 36
 Hay, Andrew, 184
 atrocities, denial of, 239
 Hay, Leith, 209
 Haythornthwaite, Philip, 20, 46, 48
 Henegan, Richard D., 41, 51, 246
 Hennell, George
 on Badajoz, 81–2, 115, 116, 162, 179,
 237, 264–5
 on enemy garrisons, 122
 on plunder, 201
 on San Sebastian, 96, 102, 242
 Henry II, King of France, 61
 heroism, 70–1, 96, 256
 Herrasti, Andrés, 68
 Hesse-Philippsthal, Louis, Landgrave
 of, 74
 Hewitson, Mark, 95, 254
 hierarchy
 and honour, 262
 inversion of, 219
 moral, 260
 social, 267
 Hodenberg, Carl von, 206, 207, 255
 Holmes, Richard, 126
 Homer, *The Iliad*, 126
 honour, 22, 62–3, 74
 among enlisted men, 104–5
 in capitulation, 30
 chivalric, 266–8
 codes, transnational, 159, 267
 and compassion/civility, 131–3
 of French soldiers, 157–8, 160–1
 of Indian soldiers, 153
 lack of, 22, 88, 252–3, 255–9
 and laws of war, 60
 as motivation, 261
 through obstinate defence, 61, 70–1
 and plunder, avoidance of, 195–6
 through prevention of atrocities, 260–1
 and restraint/mercy, 123
 through storm, 88–90, 99, 101–2
 violations of, 150
 honours, of state, 221–2
 horror, 110–11, 116, 255
 gothic, 229–33
 hospitals, 81, 116
 hostage-taking, 152
 Howard, Michael, 275
 Hughes, Michael J., 263
 Huidobro, Pascal Ruiz, 66, 67, 139, 149,
 150
 humanity, 10–11, 54, 123, 145
 lack of, 66
 and mercy/restraint to enemy, 131–4
 through prevention of atrocities, 182,
 259–62
 in response to atrocities, 253
 Hume, David, 94
 Hunt, Lynn, 11, 276
 Iberia
 British relations with, 202–4
 sack in, 50–3
 siege use in, 46–9
 see also Badajoz; Ciudad Rodrigo;
 Gibraltar; Portugal; San
 Sebastian; Spain; Zaragoza
 imperialism, 36
 British East India Company, 43, 44,
 150–3, 170, 222, 223
 and inter-cultural warfare, 146–7,
 149–50, 152–8
 India, 9, 43–5, 84–5, 150–8
 Arnee (fort), 151
 British East India Company, 43, 44,
 150–3, 170, 222, 223
 Budnaghur, 151
 Dhoondiah Vagh insurgency, 85, 150–2
 Dummul (fortress), 85, 151–2
 Jerrah (fort), 151
 Pondicherry, siege of (1760–01), 36
 prisoners of war, 155, 157
 prize in, 222–4
 Rannee Bednore, 151
 rebellions, 85, 150–2
 sack and plunder in, 172–6
 see also Anglo-Maratha Wars; Anglo-
 Mysore Wars; Gawilghur;
 Seringapatam
 Indian Mutiny (Sepoy Rebellion), 274
 insurrection, 50, 51–2, 74
 India, 85, 274
 suppression of, 143, 150, 174
 inter-cultural warfare, 146–7, 149–50,
 152–8
 Ireland, 24, 25, 124
 Ishmail, sack of (1790), 2, 49
 Italy, 38–9
 Genoa, 38, 64
 Kingdom of Naples, invasion of, 73–5
 Mantua, 38, 64
 Rome, 235
 soldiers from, killing of, 137
 Turin, 30

306 Index

- Jacobite uprising, 27
 Jaffa, siege of (1799), 2, 38
 massacre, 49, 124, 134–5, 147
 sack, atrocities during, 135
 James, Charles, 20, 66, 106, 200, 255
 Jasanoft, Maya, 222, 224
 Jena, Battle of (1806), 39, 75
 Jennings, Peter, 191
 Jones, John T., 65–6, 72, 84, 110, 187
 Jones, Rice, 113
 Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor,
 Archduke of Austria, 35
- Kalkreuth, Friedrich, 76
 Keegan, John, 125
 Kennedy, Arthur, 160
 killing
 at close quarters, 129
 of defenceless/unarmed enemy soldiers, 123, 124, 133
 murder, of civilians, 227, 237–8, 251
 of prisoners of war, 123, 124
 execution, 62, 134–5, 154, 156, 159
 see also executions; massacres
 Kincaid, John, 89, 96, 128, 137, 207, 267
 King, Henry, 72
 Kirmani, Mir Hussain Ali Khan, 243
 Kleist, Franz Kasimir von, 75
 Kolberg (Kołobrzeg), siege of (1807), 76
 Küstrin (Kostrzyn nad Odrą),
 capitulation of (1806), 75
- Lake, Gerard, 44, 85, 142–3, 176
 Lamare, Jean-Baptiste, 56, 128, 236
 Larpent, Francis Seymour, 159, 166
 Lasalle, Antoine Charles Louis de, 75
 Lawrence, William, 46, 96, 117, 138,
 139, 144
 on atrocities, 257
 on Badajoz atrocities, 236, 249
 on desensitisation, 247
 on Montevideo massacre, 150
 on Montevideo plunder, 192
 on plunder of Badajoz, 179, 213
 on Spanish civilians, 203
 laws of war, 3–5, 7, 8
 for ‘civilised’ nations, 26, 131–3
 Articles of War, 170–1
 breaches of, 158
 Brussels Declaration (1874), 276
 and civility, 145–6
 disruption of, 148–50
 garrisons, treatment of, 4, 23, 61–2, 122
 Hague Convention (1899), 274, 276
 historiography of, 6
 and honour, 60
 Lieber Code, 275–6
 Mutiny Act (annual statute), 170–1
 and obstinate defence, 58–64, 67, 73
 and plunder, 170–2, 208–9
 and prize/booty, 169–70
 reciprocal nature of, 21
 and sack, 4–5, 23–4
 prohibition of, 12, 274, 276–7
 and siege, 4–5, 12–13, 21–4, 27–8,
 275–7
 and storm, 23, 123–6
 suspended, in counter-insurgency, 51,
 75, 145, 151, 174
 Le Blond, Guillaume, 29
 Leach, Jonathan, 178
 Lefebvre, François, 39, 222
 Leipzig, Battle of (1813), 36, 40
 Leith, James, 110
 Leon, Juana María de Los Dolores de, 267
 Lerida, siege of (1810), 53, 68, 186
 letters, 8
 grief, expressed in, 117
 to families, 97–8
 of Wellington, 168–9
 Levithan, Josh, 5, 196
 Lieber, Franz, 275–6
 Lille, siege of (1708), 28
 Lincoln, Abraham, 275
 Liverpool, 2nd Earl of, Robert Jenkinson,
 86, 187
 Lloyd, Henry, 35, 94, 104
 Lochée, Lewis, 62, 63
 Longford, Elizabeth, 127, 180, 241
 Louis XIII, King of France, 60
 Louis XIV, King of France, 6, 17, 18,
 30, 36
 capitulation, orders on, 60–1
 sieges of, 27–8
 Louis XV, King of France, 33
 Louisbourg, siege of (1758), 36
 Low Countries, 30, 40
 Barrier Fortresses, 35
 Bergen-op-Zoom, 33, 41, 264
 Flushing (Vlissingen), 43, 186
 Ghent, 29
 Mons, 27
 Löwendal, Ulrich Woldemar de, 33
 Lübeck, sack of (1806), 181–2, 267
 Lynn, John A., 4, 30, 90, 217, 220
- MacGibbon, Dugald, 1, 131, 248
 MacGuire, Francis, 101
 Mackenzie, Colin, 156, 208, 228–9,
 244, 266

Index

307

- Mackie, William, 101
- MacKinnon, Daniel, 119
- Mackinnon, Henry, 107, 108, 114, 119
- Macleod, Charles, 118–19, 161, 256
- Macquarie, Lachlan, 140
- Madrid, 48, 204
 - retreat from (1812), 49, 159, 201
 - uprising (1808), 47, 50
- Magdeburg
 - 1631 sack, 25, 230, 234, 261
 - 1806 siege, 75
 - 1813–14 siege, 40
- Mainz, siege of (1793), 37
- Malta, 43
- Mantua
 - 1796–97 siege, 38
 - 1799 siege, 64
- Marcel, Nicolas, 267
- Marlborough, John Churchill, 1st Duke of, 17, 27, 29, 30, 34, 53, 54
- Marmont, August de, 86
- martyrdom, 92–3
- masculinisation, 218
- masculinity
 - chivalric, 266–8
 - and emotion, 95, 117
 - and fear, 96
 - and heroism, 71
 - and sexual violence, 262, 263
- massacres, 10, 25, 50
- Masséna, André, 39, 48, 52, 64, 67, 74, 186
- McGrigor, James, 121
- memoirs, 8
 - atrocities in, 228, 241, 245–6, 257–8
 - disillusionment narratives, 256–7
 - emotional expression in, 94–6
 - fatalism in, 97
 - grief, expressed in, 117
 - honour in, 105
 - plunder, accounts of, 211
 - readership of, 258
 - sentimentalism in, 132
 - violence, descriptions of, 129, 230–1
- memorials, 120
- mercy
 - of French soldiers, 157–8
 - loss of, 145–6
 - refusal of, 151–2
 - to French soldiers, 1, 2, 156–7
 - see also* quarter; garrisons
- Mieszkowski, Jan, 90
- Military Enlightenment, 10, 26, 35
- Military Mentor, The* (book), 132, 259
- Military Romanticism, 89–90
- Millner, John, 31
- miners, 85
- mines, 108, 110, 112
- Miot de Melito, André François, Count, 50
- Mirabelli, Ridolfo, 74
- Mons, siege of (1691), 27
- Montalembert, Marc René, Marquis de, 35, 63
- Montevideo, siege of (1807), 9, 41, 45–6, 66–7, 269–70
 - British casualties at, 138
 - garrison, massacre of, 138–9
 - sack, not subject to, 191–7
 - Spanish enemy, othering of, 148–50
 - storm, 67, 93, 137–8, 191
- monuments, 120
- Moore, Sir John, 52, 120, 201
- moral injury, 252, 255, 258–9
- morality
 - hierarchy of, 260
 - and humane warfare, 131–3, 146
- Moreau, Jean-Claude, 78–9
- mourning, 116–21
- Muir, Rory, 142, 169, 241
- Muller, John, 18, 61
- Murat, Joachim, 75
- Murray, Sir George, 48
- muskets, 81, 90, 110, 112, 133, 186, 250
- Mutiny Act (annual statute), 170–1
- Myatt, Frederick, 42, 216
- Napier, George, 119
- Napier, Sir William, 66, 102–3, 118–19, 172, 240
- Napoleon Bonaparte, 2, 7
 - abdication, 49
 - Acre, siege of (1799), 38
 - and capitulation of Soissons, 79
 - on capitulation of Stettin, 75
 - criminal reputation of, 135
 - Jaffa, siege of (1799), 38, 49, 124, 134–5
 - and Military Romanticism, 89
 - obstinate defence order, 57–60
 - sack, use of, 51
 - siege, involvement in, 36
 - state honours, bestowal of, 222
 - time, value of, 86
 - Toulon, siege of (1793), 37
 - as tyrant, 160
- Napoleonic Wars, 9, 38–41
 - Amantea, siege of (1806–07), 39, 74–5
 - Armistice of Pläswitz (1813), 78

308 Index

- Napoleonic Wars (cont.)
- Battle of Jena (1806), 39, 75
 - Battle of Leipzig (1813), 36, 40
 - Cambrai, escalade of (1815), 41
 - civilian death toll, 234
 - French fortresses, capture of, 41
 - Gaeta, siege of (1806), 39, 74
 - Glogau, capitulation of (1806), 75, 76
 - Hamburg, siege of (1813–14), 40, 77
 - Kingdom of Naples, invasion of, 38, 73–5
 - Kolberg (Kołobrzeg), siege of (1807), 76
 - Küstrin (Kostrzyn nad Odrą), capitulation of (1806), 75
 - Magdeburg, siege of (1806), 75
 - Magdeburg, siege of (1813–14), 40
 - Peronne, storm of (1815), 41
 - Prenzlau, capitulation of (1806), 75
 - Scilla, siege of (1808), 39
 - Silesia, capitulations in, 75
 - Soissons, capitulation of (1814), 78–9
 - Stettin, capitulation of (1806), 75
 - Torgau, capitulation of (1814), 40, 77
 - Treaties of Tilsit (1807), 39
 - Wittenberg, capitulation of (1814), 40
 - see also* Danzig; Peninsular War
- Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of the Mysore* (book), 93, 154, 221
- Narva, siege and sack of (1704), 33
- nationality
- and character, 158–64
 - honour, transcended by, 159, 267
 - prejudice, based on, 158–9, 202–4, 247–9
- Navarro, Garcia, 68
- Nelson, Lord, 7, 92, 120
- Netherlands *see* Low Countries
- neutrality, 181–2, 186
- Ney, Michel, 67, 68, 186
- Nizam of Hyderabad, 44
- Noue, François de la, 212
- O'Donojú, Juan, 190
- O'Neil, Charles, 105, 211
- obstinacy, defensive, 31–2, 55–80
- British use of, 71–3
 - critique of, 65–6
 - cult of, 60–4, 79–80
 - Napoleon, ordered by, 57–60
 - pardoned, by victors, 75
 - praise of, 161–4
 - reasons for, 79
 - sack justified by, 67
 - Spanish use of, 66–7
 - support for, 66, 70–1
- Ochakov
- 1737 siege, 33
 - 1788 sack, 2, 49
- officers, 8
- atrocities
- prevention of, 259–62, 266–8
 - reaction to, 256–7
 - courage, modelling of, 96
 - criticism of, 166
 - death toll of, 114
 - French, 260–1
 - humanity of, 131–3
 - morality of, 260
 - non-commissioned, 93
 - plunder
 - approval of, 206, 207
 - disapproval of, 179, 207–10
 - participation in, 224–6
 - prevention of, 175–6, 192–4
 - toleration of, 207
 - prize, value of, 224, 225
 - professionalisation, 131
 - subaltern, 93
- Olivenza, siege of (1811), 48
- Oman, Charles, 42
- on Badajoz, 130–1, 180, 237
 - on Ciudad Rodrigo, 186, 235
 - on Gerona, 70
 - on sack of Lübeck, 181
 - on San Sebastian, 59, 241
- Oporto, sack of (1809), 51
- Orient, 146–7
- orphans, 117–18
- Ostwald, Jamel, 28
- Oswald, John, 118, 163
- other ranks *see* soldiers, enlisted
- others/othering, 145–50, 158–9, 214, 265
- Ottoman Empire, 49
- Owen, Joseph, 93
- Pakenham, Edward, 255
- Pakenham, Hercules Robert, 97
- Palafox, José, 69, 70
- Pamplona, blockade of (1813), 48, 49
- panic, forward, 124–5, 140, 245
- Parker, Geoffrey, 245
- patriotism, 63, 100
- peace negotiations, 151
- Peacocke, Thomas, 99
- Peninsular War, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 42
- Astorga, siege of (1810), 68
 - Battle of Bailén (1808), 50
 - Battle of Salamanca (1812), 48
 - Battle of Talavera (1809), 48
 - Battle of Vitoria (1813), 49, 56

Index

309

- Burgos
 - retreat from (1812), 201
 - sack of (1808), 50
- Castro-Urdiales
 - sack of (1813), 53, 267
 - siege of (1813), 68
- Córdoba, sack of (1808), 50
- Corunna, retreat to (1808–09), 201
- death toll of British storms, 114–20
- Lerida, siege of (1810), 53, 68, 186
- Madrid, retreat from (1812), 49, 159, 201
- Olivenza, siege of (1811), 48
- Oporto, sack of (1809), 51
- plunder in, 200–2
- restraint, lack of, 147–8
- sack in, 50–3
- Saguntum, siege of (1811), 68
- siege use in, 7, 38, 46–9
- sieges, imperfect, 83–4
- Tarifa, siege of (1811–12), 72–3
- see also* Badajoz; Ciudad Rodrigo; Gerona; San Sebastian; Tarragona; Zaragoza
- Peñíscola, capitulation of (1812), 68
- Peter the Great of Russia, 33
- Philippon, Armand, 55–6, 109, 128, 161
- Pichichero, Christy, 26
- Picton, Sir Thomas, 81, 110, 121, 208
- plunder, 3, 4, 13, 31, 199–226
 - after capitulation, 174–5
 - alcohol as, 206–7
 - confiscation of, 184, 221
 - control of, 180–1
 - coping mechanisms, 116
 - in counter-insurgency, 174
 - enemy cooperation in, 216
 - enlisted soldiers' attitudes to, 205–7, 208–11
 - exchange/sale of, 219–21
 - by French army, 202
 - from allies, 209
 - from churches, 203
 - from civilian homes, 215
 - goods sought in, 215
 - as incentive for soldiers, 23, 167, 196, 206
 - laws of war on, 170–2
 - majority participation in, 216
 - as necessity, 201–2
 - and officers
 - approval of, 206, 207
 - disapproval of, 179, 207–10
 - prevention of, 175–6, 192–4
 - by officers, 224–6
 - othering of practice, 214
- in Peninsular War, 200–2, 209
- permitted/tolerated, 176, 179–80
- planning of, 213–14
- by Portuguese soldiers, 205
- prevention
 - attempted, 175–6, 183–5
 - impossible, 207, 208
- punishments for, 173, 175, 181, 184
- rape, accompanied by, 264–5
- by retreating armies, 52
- right, seen as, 174, 176, 205–7
- rituals of, 212–21
- in River Plate campaign, 192
- by sepoys, 205
- sharing of, 213, 215
- value of, 220–1
- vengeance, distraction from, 130
- and violence, 200, 250
- Wellington's views on, 165–7
- by women, 217–18
- see also* Badajoz; Ciudad Rodrigo; Gawilghur; Montevideo; San Sebastian; Seringapatam
- Poland, 39, 40, 49, 75, 76
 - Kolberg (Kołobrzeg), 76
 - Küstrin (Kostrzyn nad Odrą), 75
 - see also* Danzig
- politeness, 131
- Pollilur, Battle of (1780), 156, 157
- Pondicherry, siege of (1760–01), 36
- Popham, Sir Hope, 45, 149
- Porter, Robert Ker, *The Storming of Seringapatam*, 89, 90, 93
- Portugal, 46–8, 51, 52, 165
 - barbarism, ascribed to, 158–9
 - plunder in, 201, 202
- Potemkin, Grigory, 49
- Power, Sir Manley, 180, 181
- practicable breaches *see* breaches
- Praga, Warsaw, sack of (1794), 49
- prejudice
 - class, 166
 - national, 158–9, 202–4, 247–9
 - religion, 203
- Prenzlau, capitulation of (1806), 75
- Price, David, 213, 221, 223
- primary groups, 104
- prisoners of war
 - British, in India, 155
 - cruelty to, 155–6, 162
 - French, in India, 157
 - garrisons as, 22, 68, 122, 128, 129
 - killing of, 123, 124
 - execution, 62, 134–5, 154, 156, 159
 - in River Plate campaign, 148

310 Index

- prize, 169–70, 173, 213, 222–6
 - in India, 222–4
 - in Peninsular War, 225–6
- promotion, 99, 101, 103
- Prussia, 39, 40
 - capitulation, approaches to, 75–6
 - obstinate defence, use of, 76
- Prussian army, 39–41
- punishment
 - by courts martial, 171
 - for plunder, 173, 175, 181, 184
 - for sack, 182
- see also* execution
- quarter
 - denial of, 4, 137–43
 - in India, 154
 - legitimised, 124, 276
 - granting of, 23
- Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 13
- racism, 147–8, 153–8
- rage, 125, 126, 245–6
- Ramsey, Neil, 89, 93, 94
- ransoms, 261–2
- rape, 13, 228, 239, 263–6
- Rapp, Count Jean, 77–8
- razing, 31
- rebellions
 - Indian, 85, 150–2, 274
 - suppression of, 143, 150, 174
- reciprocity
 - of laws of war, 21
 - of martial civility, 145–6
- recognition
 - of gallantry, 113
 - of military service, 105
- refugees, 193, 234, 235, 236, 238
- Regency Gazette* (newspaper), 190
- relief, humanitarian, 77
- religion, 92–3, 113–14
 - anti-clericalism, 249
 - and enmity, 146, 147
 - Islam, 155
 - Protestant vs. Catholic, 159, 203
- resistance, obstinate, 31–2, 55–78, 79–80
 - British use of, 71–3
 - critique of, 65–6
 - cult of, 60–4, 79–80
 - Napoleon, ordered by, 57–60
 - pardoned, by victors, 75
 - praise of, 161–4
 - reasons for, 79
 - sack justified by, 67
 - Spanish use of, 66–7
 - support for, 66, 70–1
- restraint
 - of French soldiers, 157–8
 - loss of, 145–6
 - in siege, 27–8
 - to French soldiers, 1, 2, 156–7
 - in warfare, 25–7
- see also* quarter; garrisons
- retaliation, 126–7, 130, 143, 156, 248–9
- Revolutionary Wars, 6, 35, 37–8
 - Bastia, siege of (1794), 43
 - Battle of Fleurus (1794), 37
 - British in, 42
 - Calvi, siege of (1794), 7, 43
 - Charleroi, siege of (1794), 37
 - Dunkirk, siege of (1793), 42
 - Genoa, siege of (1800), 38, 64
 - Mainz, siege of (1793), 37
 - Mantua
 - 1796–97 siege, 38
 - 1799 siege, 64
 - Toulon, siege of (1793), 7, 37
 - Valenciennes, siege of (1793), 42
 - Vendée, war in, 51
- Revolutionary-Napoleonic Wars, 2, 3, 6, 7
 - battle use in, 36–7
 - escalation of violence in, 9–10
 - historiography of, 9–12
 - siege use in, 37–41
- see also* Napoleonic Wars; Peninsular War; Revolutionary Wars
- Rey, Emmanuel, 56–7, 59, 112, 188
 - civilians, evacuation of, 238
 - surrender of, 129, 162–3
- Reynier, Jean, 74, 75
- Richardson, Samuel, *Clarissa*, 264
- Richelieu, Duke of (Armand de Vignerot du Plessis), 27
- Rigaud, Jacques, 32
- rights, 11
 - to plunder, 174, 176, 205–7
 - to sack, 4
- River Plate campaign, 45, 148–9, 192, 194–5
- Robinson, Frederick
 - on mercy/restraint to enemy garrisons, 130
 - San Sebastian, role at, 102
 - on storm of San Sebastian, 112, 113
- Robson, Fergus, 10, 147
- Rocca, Albert, 147–8
- Roche, Philip, 66, 67
- Rome, sack of (1527), 235
- Rothenberg, Gunther E., 238
- Rowley, George, 173
- Royal Gazette* (journal), 240

Index

311

- Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, 18
 Rumiantsev, Pyotr, 146
 Russia, 40, 77, 275
 Russian-Turkish Wars, 33
 Austro-Russian-Turkish War (1737–39), 33
 Russo-Turkish Wars (1787–92), 33, 49
- sack
 in 16th-17th century warfare, 24–5
 absence at Montevideo, 191–7
 as carnival, 218–19
 control of, 182
 definitions of, 13, 200
 different forms of, 24, 49–54
 duration of, 250–1
 as gothic horror, 229–33
 historiography of, 2–3, 5, 10, 230
 justification for, 23–4, 67
 laws of war on, 4–5, 23–4
 press reports of, 190–1
 prevention, attempted, 183–5
 prohibition of, 12, 274, 276–7
 punishment for, 182
 relative infrequency in 18th century
 sieges, 24, 30–1, 33–4
 rights to, 4
 rituals of, 212
 total, 229–30
 Wellington’s views on, 165–9
- sacks, individual
 Bergen-op-Zoom (1747), 33, 264
 Burgos (1808), 50
 Castro-Urdiales (1813), 53, 267
 Córdoba (1808), 50
 Drogheda (1649), 24, 25, 124
 Ishmail (1790), 2, 49
 Jaffa (1799), 2, 38, 49, 124, 134–5, 147
 Lerida (1810), 53
 Lübeck (1806), 181–2, 267
 Magdeburg (1631), 25, 230, 234, 261
 Ochakov (1788), 2, 49
 Oporto (1809), 51
 Praga, Warsaw (1794), 49
 Rome (1527), 235
 Tarragona (1811), 2, 53, 68, 147, 235, 261
 Wexford (1649), 24, 25
 Xativa (1707), 31–2
 see also Badajoz; Ciudad Rodrigo; Gawilghur; Montevideo; San Sebastian; Seringapatam
 sacrifice, martial, 92–3, 100
 Saguntum, siege of (1811), 68
- Salamanca Forts, 48
 Salamanca, Battle of (1812), 48
 San Sebastian, 111, 214
 1719 siege, 56, 111
 1813 siege, 2, 7, 47–9, 65
 atrocities, 238–42, 264
 blockade, 111
 bombardment, 185, 188
 burning of, 2, 185, 188, 189, 210
 capitulation, 113, 162–3
 criticism of, 167
 death toll, 114–15, 208, 238–9
 failed assault on, 87
 garrison, mercy towards, 126, 130
 garrison, surrender of, 129
 governor, summons of, 58–9
 in Wellington’s correspondence, 168
 obstinate defence of, 56–7, 162–4
 plunder, 2, 184–5, 209, 221
 practicable breaches, 111
 public controversy over, 188–91
 sack, 2, 53, 183–5, 231
 sexual violence, 264
 siegecraft, failures of, 83
 storm, 2, 82, 91, 101, 102, 111–13
 time pressures in, 86
 vengeance, British desire for, 127
 sappers/sapping, 19, 85–6, 85
 Saxe, Maurice de, 17, 29, 33, 35, 63
 Schaumann, August, 231, 248
 Schiller, Friedrich, *The History of the Thirty Years War in Germany*, 230
 School of Military Engineering, 85
 Scilla, siege of (1808), 39
 sensibility, 11, 94, 131, 168–9
 sentimental soldier, 11, 131, 134
 sentimentalism, 94–5, 116, 266
 Sepoy Rebellion (Indian Mutiny), 274
 sepoys, 173, 175
 Seringapatam, siege of (1799), 7, 9, 43–4, 154–5
 atrocities, 242–4
 death toll, 242–3
 garrison, massacre of, 140–1
 plunder, 208, 213, 215, 221
 by officers, 224
 sale of, 220
 prize, 213, 222–4
 sack, 172–4, 228–9
 storm, 89, 139–41, 154
 Sevastopol, siege of (1854–55), 275
 Seven Years War, 6, 19, 27, 35
 Anglo-Spanish War (1762–63), 36
 Dresden, siege of (1760), 29
 fortification, failures in, 35

312 Index

- Seven Years War (cont.)
 Glatz (Kłodzko), siege of (1760), 22
 Havana, siege of (1762), 36
 Invasion of Hanover (1757), 27
 Louisbourg, siege of (1758), 36
 Pondicherry, siege of (1760–01), 36
 sexual violence, 262–8
 prevention of, 266–8
 rape, 13, 228, 239, 263–6
 Shakespeare, William, 105
 Macbeth, 133
 Troilus and Cressida, 133
 shame, 2–3, 255–9
 Shaw, Claudius, 164
 Shaw, Philip, 90
 Sherer, Idan, 212, 250, 251
 Sherer, Moyle, 88, 201, 253
 Sherman, Nancy, 252
 siege, 16–54
 vs. blockade, 20
 vs. bombardment, 20
 British use of, 42–9
 courtly nature in 18th century, 27–8
 critique of, 35, 37, 63
 definitions of, 20–1
 duration of, 19, 28, 33, 77–8
 forms of, 17–21
 frequency of, 4, 7, 17
 geographical distribution of, 19
 historiography of, 3–7, 10
 imperfect, 82–8
 laws of, 4–5, 12–13, 21–4, 27–8, 275–7
 manuals, 18, 19
 methodology, 19–21, 87
 representations of, 32, 71
 restraint in, 27–8
 soldiers' dislike of, 88
 stages of
 breaches, 19
 breaching batteries, 19
 parallel trenches, 19
 sapping, 19
 surrounding/investment, 19
 strategic value of, 36
 temporality of, 12, 86–7
 siege trains, 39, 41, 44
 sieges, individual
 Acre (1799), 38
 Ahmednagar (1803), 44, 85, 152,
 174–5
 Aligarh (1803), 85, 142–3, 176
 Amantea (1806–07), 39, 74–5
 Asirgarh (1803), 152
 Astorga (1810), 68
 Barcelona (1714), 30–2
 Bastia (1794), 43
 Bergen-op-Zoom
 (1747), 33, 264
 1814 (failed), 41
 Burgos (1812), 48, 49, 53, 65, 83
 Calvi (1794), 7, 43
 Castro-Urdiales (1813), 68
 Charleroi (1794), 37
 Denia (1707), 31
 Dresden (1760), 29
 Dunkirk (1793), 42
 Gaeta (1806), 39, 74
 Genoa (1800), 38, 64
 Ghent (1708), 29
 Gibraltar (1779–83), 71
 Glatz (Kłodzko, 1760), 22
 Haarlem (1572–73), 25, 124
 Hamburg (1813–14), 40, 77
 Havana (1762), 36
 Kolberg (Kołobrzeg, 1807), 76
 Lerida (1810), 68, 186
 Lille (1708), 28
 Louisbourg (1758), 36
 Magdeburg
 (1806), 75
 (1813–14), 40
 Mainz (1793), 37
 Mantua
 (1796–97), 38
 (1799), 64
 Mons (1691), 27
 Narva (1704), 33
 Olivenza (1811), 48
 Pondicherry (1760–01), 36
 Saguntum (1811), 68
 Scilla (1808), 39
 Sevastopol (1854–55), 275
 Strasbourg (1870), 275
 Tarifa (1811–12), 72–3
 Toulon (1793), 7, 37
 Tournai (1745), 29
 Turin (1706), 30
 Valenciennes (1793), 42
 Verdun (1792), 37, 64
 Xativa (1707), 31–2
 see also Badajoz; Ciudad Rodrigo;
 Danzig; Gawilghur; Gerona;
 Jaffa; Montevideo; San Sebastian;
 Seringapatam; Tarragona;
 Zaragoza
 Silesia, 22, 39, 75
 Silesian Wars, 19
 Simmons, George, 100, 111, 160, 161,
 214
 Skerrett, John Byne, 72

Index

313

- Smith, Adam, 94
 Smith, Harry, 88, 118, 144, 259, 267–8
 soldiers
 enlisted
 atrocities, reaction to, 257–9
 and honour, 104–5
 and marriage, 218
 and mercy/restraint, 133–4
 plunder, attitudes to, 205–11
 plunder, value of, 220–1
 storm, motivation for, 103–5
 food rations, 201
 French, 163–4
 atrocities by, 252–3
 honour of, 160–1
 mercy/restraint of, 157–8
 in Mysore, 156–7
 officers of, 260–1
 plunder by, 202
 Hessian, 137
 Indian, 152–5
 Italian, 137
 pay of, 201
 Portuguese, 158–9, 205
 sepoys, 153, 154
 siege, dislike of, 88
 Spanish, 158–9
 trauma of, 81–2, 110–11, 247, 258–9
 Turkish, 214
 welfare of, 26
 wounded, 115–16, 119
 Songeon, Jean-Marie, 163
 Soult, Nicolas Jean-de-Dieu, 51, 56, 86
 South America, 45
 River Plate campaign, 45, 148–9, 192,
 194–5
 see also Montevideo
 souvenirs, 207, 224–6
 Spain
 as ‘barbaric other’, 147–50
 Anglo-Spanish relationship, 188,
 190–1, 202–4
 barbarism, ascribed to, 158–9
 sack in, 50–3
 siege use in, 46–9
 see also Badajoz; Burgos; Ciudad
 Rodrigo; Gerona; Madrid;
 Peninsular War; San Sebastian;
 Zaragoza
 spectacle, 27
 storm as, 89–92
 St Ouary, Colonel (San Sebastian),
 163–4
 Stanhope, James, 181
 Starkey, Armstrong, 104
 starvation, 4, 20, 21, 29, 275
 Staveley, William, 92, 116, 209, 249
 Sterling, Charles, 46, 150, 193
 Sterne, Laurence, *Tristram Shandy*, 34,
 54
 Stevenson, James, 141, 152
 stoicism, 95, 96
 storm, 1, 2, 81–121
 advance parties (‘Forlorn Hope’), 82,
 89, 96, 97, 100–2
 cult of, 88–90
 darkness, carried out in, 91–2
 in day-time, 112
 death toll, 114–20
 emotions of, 94–105, 124–6
 aggression, 125–6
 fatalism, 97–8
 fear, 96, 126
 forward panic, 124–5
 gratitude, 113–14
 grief, 116–21
 horror, 110–11
 rage, 125, 126
 sensibility, 94
 sentimentalism, 94–5
 shame, 102
 exclusion from, 102–3
 failures of, 102
 historiography of, 3
 honour through, 88–90
 in India, 155
 laws of war on, 23, 123–6
 mismanagement of, 82–8
 motivation for participation in, 98–105
 enlisted men, 103–5
 honour, 104–5
 honour of regiment/division, 99–100
 officers, 99–103
 patriotism, 100
 primary group loyalties, 104
 promotion, opportunities for, 99
 representations of, 89
 Romantic qualities of, 90
 sexual violence following, 264
 as spectacle, 89, 90–2
 sublime, example of, 91–2
 successful, 107–8
 volunteers for, 88, 96, 100–5
 see also Badajoz; Ciudad Rodrigo;
 Gawilghur; Montevideo; San
 Sebastian; Seringapatam
 Strasbourg, siege of (1870), 275
 Stuart, Charles, 143
 Sturgis, Julian, 233
 Sturkenboom, Dorothee, 246

314 Index

- sublime, 91–2, 232
- Suchet, Louis-Gabriel, 47, 53, 67, 68, 73, 135–6, 147, 186, 222
- surrender *see* capitulation
- Surtees, William, 147, 219
- on atrocities, 246, 259
 - on Badajoz, 97, 115, 134
 - on desensitisation, 247
 - on Tarragona, 136
- Suvorov, Alexander, 49
- Swabey, William, 159
- Sydenham, Benjamin, 243
- Syria, 38
- Talavera, Battle of (1809), 48, 158
- Tarifa, siege of (1811–12), 72–3
- Tarragona
- 1811 siege and sack, 2, 53, 68, 147, 235, 261
 - 1813 siege, 48
- tears, 117, 120–1
- Times*, *The* (newspaper), 150, 239
- Timewell, John, 179
- Tipu Sultan, 43–4, 140, 154, 155
- death of, 141, 156
 - mechanical tiger, 224
 - prisoners of war, cruelty to, 155–6
 - treasury of, 223–4
 - treaty negotiations with, 156–7
- Tomkinson, William, 206, 237, 249
- Torgau, capitulation of (1814), 40, 77
- total war, 9, 68
- Toulon, siege of (1793), 7, 37
- Tournai, siege of (1745), 29
- trauma, 115–16
- of soldiers, 81–2, 110–11, 247, 258–9
 - unutterability of, 95, 116
- trenches, 19, 39
- soldiers' dislike of, 88
- troops *see* soldiers, enlisted
- trophies of war, 224–6
- Turin, siege of (1706), 30
- Turkish people, 146
- Turreau, Louis Marie, 51
- Valenciennes, siege of (1793), 42
- valour, 89, 90, 105, 255, 266
- Vandamme, Dominique, 76
- Vassall, Spencer Thomas, 93, 138, 192
- Vattel, Emer de, 26–7, 34, 62, 145, 266
- Vauban, Sébastien Le Prestre de, 17–19, 28, 29, 61, 63, 64
- Vaughan, Richard, 70
- Vendée, war in, 51
- Venegas, Eladio Mendez, 237
- vengeance, 126–7, 130, 143, 156, 248–9
- Verdun, siege of (1792), 37, 64
- vigour, military, 63, 132, 161
- Vincent, Exham, 131, 209
- violence
- catharsis through, 245
 - at close quarter, 125–6, 129
 - cold vs. hot blooded, 124, 142
 - and drunkenness, 210
 - escalation of, 9, 10
 - and plunder, 200, 250
 - premeditated, 250–1
 - retaliatory, 126–7, 130, 143, 156, 248–9
- in sack narratives, 229–33, 236
- see also* atrocities; battles; combat; execution; massacres; storm
- virtues, military, 131–3
- civility, 11, 131, 145–6
 - compassion, 132–3, 253
 - courage, 96, 99, 153
 - lack of, 73, 154
 - ethics, 132
 - heroism, 70–1, 96, 256
 - valour, 89, 90, 105, 255, 266
 - vigour, 63, 132, 161
- see also* duty; honour; restraint
- Vitoria, Battle of (1813), 49, 56
- Vitoria, Francisco de, 23, 24, 261
- Vlissingen *see* Flushing
- Walters, Samuel, 195
- War of Greek Independence, 274
- War of the Austrian Succession, 17, 27, 34
- Battle of Fontenoy (1745), 17
 - Bergen-op-Zoom, siege and sack of (1747), 33, 264
 - Tournai, siege of (1745), 29
- War of the Spanish Succession, 17
- Barcelona, siege of (1714), 30–2
 - Battle of Blenheim (1704), 27
 - capitulation in, 30, 31
 - Denia, siege of (1707), 31
 - Ghent, siege of (1708), 29
 - Lille, siege of (1708), 28
 - obstinate resistance in, 31–2
 - in *Tristram Shandy*, 34
 - Turin, siege of (1706), 30
 - Xativa, siège and sack of (1707), 31–2
- warfare
- aesthetic pleasure of, 91
 - civilised, 26, 131–3
 - critique of siege in, 63

Index

315

- guerrilla, 10, 51–2, 74, 145, 147
 horror of, 255
 humanity in, 10–11, 26–7
 industrialised, 274–5
 inter-cultural, 146–7, 149–50, 152–8
 restraint in, 25–7
 total, 9, 68
- Warre, William
 on atrocities, 236, 253, 255, 256
 letters, details of warfare in, 98
 on mercy/restraint to enemy garrisons, 129
 on storm as spectacle, 91
- wars
 British Civil Wars, 25, 124
 Crimean War, 275
 Eighty Years War, 24
 Franco-Prussian War, 275
 Great Northern War, 33
 River Plate campaign, 45, 148–9, 192, 194–5
 Russian-Turkish Wars, 33
 Austro-Russian-Turkish War (1737–39), 33
 Russo-Turkish Wars (1787–92), 33, 49
 Silesian Wars, 19
 Thirty Years War, 25, 230
 War of Greek Independence, 274
see also Anglo-Maratha Wars; Anglo-Mysore Wars; Napoleonic Wars; Peninsular War; Revolutionary Wars; Revolutionary-Napoleonic Wars; Seven Years War; War of the Austrian Succession; War of the Spanish Succession
- weapons
 bayonets, 126, 138, 189, 250
 cannon, 19, 85, 108, 112, 275
 mines, 108, 110, 112
 muskets, 81, 90, 110, 112, 133, 186, 250
 weather conditions, adverse, 77, 88
 weeping, 117, 120–1
- Wellesley, Arthur *see* Wellington, Arthur
 Wellesley, 1st Duke of
 Wellesley, Henry, 168, 188, 190
 Wellesley, Richard, 1st Marquess (Lord Mornington), 173, 223, 244
 Wellington, Arthur Wellesley, 1st Duke of, 7, 41, 43
 atrocities, denial of, 239, 240
 Badajoz
 dispatches, 118
 sack of, 178–81
 storm of, 109
 tears over, 120–1
- bombardment
 aversion to, 185–8
 of Copenhagen (1807), witness to, 187
 Ciudad Rodrigo, siege of (1812), 55, 177–8
 civilians, protection of, 167, 197
 correspondence of, 168–9
 at Craufurd's funeral, 120
 criticism of, 179, 180
 emotions of
 anger, 182–3
 restrained, 168–9
 weeping, 120–1
 gallantry of army, praise for, 113
 garrisons, mercy/restraint towards, 127–8
- in India, 84–5
 counter-insurgency operations, 150–2, 174
 Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, 44
 hostage-taking, 152
 prize, management of, 222–3
 racist views of, 153
 sack and plunder, experience of, 172–6
 Second Anglo-Maratha War, 44–5
 on sepoys, 153
 on obstinate defence, 58–9, 71, 73
 plunder, views on, 165–7, 217
 Portugal offensive, 47
 sack, views on, 165–9, 196–8
 San Sebastian, 102, 111
 public controversy over, 188–91
 sack, attempts to prevent, 183–5
 ‘scum of the earth’, soldiers as, 166
 Seringapatam, 172–4
 siege, use of, 48–9, 53
 siegework, limitations of, 83–7
 on soldiers' drunkenness, 210
 state honours, received by, 222
see also Gawilghur, siege of (1803)
- wells, poisoning of, 154
 Welsh, James, 141, 153, 175
 West, Benjamin
 The Death of General Wolfe, 92
 The Death of Nelson, 92
 Wexford, sack of (1649), 24, 25
 Wheeler, William, 117, 252
 Whitelocke, John, 45, 194
 Wickremesekera, Channa, 154
 widows, 117–18
 Wilberforce, William, 187
 Wilkie, Fletcher, 148, 149, 192, 195
 Williams, Edward, 184, 240
 Wilson, Sir Robert, 135

Cambridge University Press & Assessment

978-1-108-79939-3 — Storm and Sack

Gavin Daly

Index

[More Information](#)

316 Index

Wittenberg, capitulation of (1814), 40
women, 217–18
 atrocities against, 228, 232, 239,
 241–2, 252
 sexual violence, 262–8
camp followers, 154, 175, 217
military activity of, 69
protection of, 266
as war booty, 262, 264
Wood, George, 203
Wrocław *see* Breslau

Xativa, siege and sack of (1707),
 31–2
York and Albany, Duke of (Prince
 Frederick), 42
Zaragoza, siege of (1808–09), 7, 38, 46,
 47, 68, 70
fortification of, 69
obstinate defence of, 68–9