

Notes

Introduction

1. Rasor, 1990
2. Barnett, 1963 p. 185.
3. Rodger, 2001 p. 22.
4. Rodger, 2011 pp. 272–84.
5. Marshall, 2000 p. 160.
6. Palmer, 2005 p. 82.
7. Lewis-Stempel, 2011 p. 96.
8. Potholm, 2010 p. 150.
9. von Clausewitz, 1989 Book One Ch 3.
10. For example see Shillington, 1950 (reproduced *RUSI Journal* 156,(2), 2011, pp. 96–98).
11. Marshall, 2000; Watson, 2008; Fennell, 2011.
12. Watson; Holloway, 2006.
13. Watson, pp.128, 194
14. Fennell, pp. 9–10.
15. 2SLPersRec.
16. Interview with author, 28 October 2008.
17. Herzberg, 2008.
18. Watson, p. 140.
19. A good review of the literature is FitzGibbon, 1995) which, while largely concerning the Battle of Goose Green in 1982, goes in some detail into the theory of *auftragstaktik*, and *befehlstaktik*. It is somewhat inaccessible to the non-military reader. Confusingly he describes the former - mission command – as ‘directive command’, referring to the practice of issuing a single command directive and leaving to the subordinate how the directive is to be achieved.
20. Harris, 2009 p. 192.

1 The Officers of the Royal Navy Before 1918

1. Barnett, 1963 p. 184.
2. Epstein, 2014 p. 213.
3. Bull, 2004 p. 272, Epstein, 2014 pp. 108–9.
4. Epstein, 2014.
5. Wilson and Callo, 2004 p. 159–60.
6. Kent, 1993 p. 27.
7. BR 827 June 1943 p. 4.
8. Buxton, 1978 p. 173; Hodges, 1981 pp. 133–4; Campbell, 1985 pp. 25–8.
9. Farquharson-Roberts, 2014 pp. 97–100.
10. Lambert, 2008 pp. 160–61.
11. Lambert, 2006 p. 34.
12. Corelli Barnett, 1963 p. 184.
13. Lord Hankey was originally an officer in the Royal Marine Artillery. He moved through Admiralty staff appointments to become secretary of the Committee of

- Imperial Defence, to secretary of the War Cabinet and Cabinet Secretary and was Clerk of the Privy Council. Roskill, 1970, 1972 7 1974.
14. 'Jackie' Fisher, later Admiral of the Fleet, the Lord Fisher of Kilverstone, First Sea Lord.
 15. Lord Hankey, 1961 p. 67.
 16. Freeman, 2009 pp. 134–5.
 17. 2SLPersRec.
 18. Jerrold, 1923 p. 43.
 19. Jerrold, 1923 p. 44.
 20. Davison, 2011 p. 92.
 21. After the Second Boer War of 1899–1902 exposed weakness and inefficiency in the British army the Esher Committee recommended radical reform. (See below for more details.)
 22. Barnett, 1970 p. 344.
 23. Jerrold p. 294.
 24. Hankey(Vol. 1) 1961 p. 45
 25. Roskill, 1970 p. 90 states that the committee was established in 1902.
 26. Wragg, 2009 p. 125.
 27. BR1875 p. 17.
 28. Black, 2009.
 29. Rodger, 1979 p. 128, Rodger, 2001 pp. 23–4.
 30. Churchill, 2007 p. 58.
 31. Roskill, 1970 p. 98.
 32. Hankey, 1961 p. 20.
 33. Andrew, 2006 p. 50.
 34. Hamilton, 2011 p. 243.
 35. Information is the term used to describe factual inputs, intelligence is what is derived from a variety of possibly differing informational inputs.
 36. Lambert, 2002; Friedman, 2009 pp 3–12.
 37. Winseck and Pike, 2007 p. 24.
 38. Friedman, 2009 p. 5.
 39. Roskill, 1970 p. 139.
 40. Lees-Milne, 1986 p. 234.
 41. Barnett, 1970 p. 370
 42. McKenna, 1948 p. 108.
 43. Churchill, 1970 p. 58.
 44. Churchill, 2007 p. 48.
 45. Churchill, 2007 p. 58.
 46. ADM 116/3060.
 47. And curiously lacking much naval training, particularly compared with the nautical colleges such as HMS *Worcester* and HMS *Conway*.
 48. Roskill, 1970 p. 99; Lord Fisher, 1919 p. 104.
 49. Goulter, 2002 p. 51.
 50. Goulter, 2002 pp. 59–60.
 51. In view of the division that was to develop between the Admiralty and the rest of the navy through the 1920s, it is interesting that Marder makes this differentiation in 1918.
 52. Marder, 1970 p. 176.
 53. Lavery, 2011 p. 265.
 54. Sir Walter Runciman (letter) to Jellicoe dated 14 November 1918 in A. Temple, 1968 p. 281.

55. Marder, 1970 pp. 190–91.
56. With the addition of Admiral Rodman's USN battle squadron.
57. Originally outside the Admiralty building adjacent to Horseguards, it was removed to the Royal Naval College at Greenwich before being recently restored to its original location.
58. Roskill, 1970 p. 99; Fisher, 1919 p. 104.
59. Fisher, 1919 p. 104.
60. Hunt, 1982 p. 31.
61. Marder, 1952 p. 22.
62. Mahan, 1890.
63. Massie, 1993 p. 256.
64. Mahan, 1892.
65. Corbett, 1911 p. 143 (Appendix).
66. Holmes and Yoshihara, 2010 pp. 42–46.

2 The Naval Officer and Interwar Society

1. Jones, 1999.
2. Davison, 2011.
3. Rodger, 1988.
4. Kemp, 1960, 1964; Freeman, 2009.
5. Gordon, 1996.
6. Richmond, 1933 pp. 14–22 reviews the arguments from the time of the Fisher reforms of 1902.
7. There was some debate, see ADM 167/86, but the conclusion was that the Dartmouth system, recruiting children, was to be preferred.
8. Board of Education, 1937 p. 5.
9. James, 2008 pp. 335–8.
10. Farquharson-Roberts, 2013.
11. ADM 116/2896
12. Perkin, 2002.
13. Rodger, 1988 p. 269.
14. Lambert, 1984; Evans, 2004.
15. Even the bar and hospital medicine were nowhere near as restrictive.
16. Cd1962
17. ADM 167/86.
18. Urban, 2003 p. 18.
19. James, 2006 p. 401.
20. Lewis-Stempel, 2011 p. 14.
21. Lewis-Stempel, 2011 p. 111.
22. ADM 116/1888.
23. Carr, 1930 p. 17.
24. Then Admiral Dreyer.
25. Brodhurst, 2000 pp 84–5.
26. Marder, 1981 p. 284.
27. That said, naval pay, particularly that of its officers, was rapidly falling behind that of society in general.
28. King's Regulations & Admiralty Instructions (KR & AI) para. 178.
29. Hough, 1983 p. 8.
30. Marder, 1966 p. 175.

31. Wireless was in its infancy, had poor range and took significant time to transmit a message.
32. Chatfield, 1942 p. 25.
33. The gunnery school at HMS *Excellent* was established in the 1830s to train officers and ratings, see Lavery, 2010 p. 315.
34. Some officers had been earlier recognised as experts, by way of special interest.
35. The latter was a development of the sailing master, a warrant rank, subsumed by the commissioned cadre as navigation became more complex.
36. It had been originally proposed that Royal Marine officers would be on the naval 'General List'. See Hankey, 1961 p. 24.
37. Lambert, 2008 pp. 160–61.
38. Originally torpedo meant what is now described as a mine. Via spar torpedo – a bomb on the end of a long spar stuck out from a boat – it became the 'locomotive torpedo', a self-propelled weapon.
39. Initially the difference between a boat and a ship was that the latter could hoist the former inboard. Later the distinction became blurred; a Second World War Motor Torpedo Boat (MTB) was never intended to be hoisted on board any kind of ship.
40. Breemer, 2011 p. 23.
41. Bagnasco et al., 2008 p. 91. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hWO-AUI8HDE>, accessed 29 March 2015.
42. Corbett, 1911 p. 105 (Ch3 part 2).
43. The convention for use of initial letters in the Naval service – both UK and US – is that if a letter is already 'taken' then the next letter of a name is used; thus, because the Engineering branch was 'E', eLectrical became 'L'.
44. And with formalisation of the rank, lieutenants per se were given commands!
45. Farquharson-Roberts, 2013 studied the personal records of 485 officers' careers for a statistical analysis. 28 specialised in torpedo.
46. This reflects a difference in specialist training, G, T, N, H, S and to some extent PRT were trained as specialists and staff officers, SM, P and O to do a job. The latter commonly reverted to general service after a period in specialisation, the others retained their specialist designation even if employed in a general service appointment.
47. 2SLPersRec.
48. Field Marshal Robertson remains to this day the only man to progress from the bottom to the top of the army.
49. Sheffield, 2002, caption to picture between pp. 114 and 115.
50. While properly the Edwardian era finished with the death of Edward VII, the social mores of that era continued into the war.
51. William Boyce *Heart of Oak* (libretto David Garrick) 1759.
52. The Sopwith 'Cuckoo', the first truly viable carrier-borne torpedo-dropping aircraft, was not delivered until just before the armistice. See Hobbs, 1996 pp. 29–38.
53. Taylor, 2007 p. 2
54. Hopwood, 1916 p. 20
55. Bush, 1936 p. 3.
56. AFO 2194/25
57. Curtis, 2001 pp. 31–33; Morris, 2008 pp. 226–8
58. Goldhagen, 1997 pp. 1–130
59. Blake, 1998
60. Wren, 1927 pp. 155–8

61. AFO 2857/19
62. Farquharson-Roberts, 2013.
63. Chalmers, 1954
64. Clowes, Vol 3 p. 346
65. AFO 190/25
66. Edwards, 1937 pp. 358–9
67. Church of England, 1985 p. 6.
68. Form S272
69. KR & AI Chapter III article 172 (Table)
70. Packer, 1945 p221
71. 2SLPersRec
72. Packer, 1945 p. 184.
73. Interview with Admiral Sir Jonathon Band, 2 December 2008
74. Packer p. 190, 101
75. 2SLPersRec
76. Packer, 1945 pp. 89–91.
77. Packer, 1945 pp. 219–20
78. Packer, 1945 p. 97
79. Walker, 2013 p. 54
80. David Crane, 2009 p. 317
81. Interview with Adrian Holloway 15 December 2008
82. CAFO 23/2103
83. 2SL Pers Rec,
84. CAFO 23/723
85. 2SL Pers Rec,
86. Farquharson-Roberts, 2014 pp. 131–2.
87. Day, 2007 p. 169
88. Day, 2007 p. 184–5

3 Becoming a Naval Officer: Entry, Education and Training

1. Lambert, 2008 pp. 160–61.
2. Lambert, 2006 p. 34.
3. ADM 116/2896.
4. Leach, 1993 p. 2.
5. Bush, 1936 p. 3.
6. ADM 116/1734.
7. The future Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher.
8. Then Lord Selborne.
9. Cd1962.
10. The regulations did not specify what would happen if such cadets were to be withdrawn.
11. Navy List *Entry and Examination of Officers. Naval Cadets* (August 1919) p. 2335.
12. For examples see Anderson, 1997 pp. 2–3; Gordon, 1957 pp. 11–12; Winton, 1959 pp. 5–22.
13. Anderson, 1997 p. 198.
14. Harrold and Porter, 2005 p. 64.
15. Anderson, 1997 p. 5.
16. Jones, 21 February 2009 p. 62.
17. Davison, 2011 p. 104.

18. Galpin, 1919 p. 10; but see Beattie, 2010, which covers the same ground in much greater detail.
19. Navy List December 1931 Appendix p. 142.
20. It had been an engineering college until closure in 1908 and later again became Royal Naval Engineering College, Keyham.
21. Buxton suggests that she was at a buoy rather than alongside, see Buxton, 1978 p. 131.
22. Interview with Admiral O'Brien, 22 April 2008.
23. As former warships they were allowed to retain their 'HMS' prefix.
24. Stephens, 1991 pp. 13–26.
25. Navy List March 1931 pp. 140–41.
26. Curiously, they were the only entrants who had to provide a certificate of their ability to swim 'at least fifty yards' prior to entry.
27. Rodger, 1988 p. 263.
28. Cavell, 2012 p. 7.
29. Hilton, 2006 p. 144.
30. A warrant officer was an officer by virtue of an Admiralty warrant rather than by the sovereign's commission.
31. Roskill, 1976, pp. 22–3.
32. Roskill, 1976 p. 120.
33. KR & AI Appendix XII, part 3.
34. KR & AI article 261.
35. AWO 2195/18.
36. Navy List, December 1918.
37. The Distinguished Service Cross was awarded for 'gallantry in the face of the enemy'.
38. ADM 116/1734 .
39. A preparatory school was a junior fee paying school attended by boys from 5–7 to age 14.
40. Cunningham, 1951 p. 14.
41. Anon., 1922 p. 6.
42. Anon., 1935 p. 13.
43. Anon., 11 June 2008.
44. Anon. 1937 p. 17.
45. Anon, 1922 pp. 4–5.
46. Harrold and Porter, 2005 p.,33.
47. Colville, 2004 pp. 114–32.
48. Confusingly 'term' described both the group of cadets and an academic period of time.
49. Whinney, 1986 p. 21.
50. Sloan, 2009 pp. 395–7. However, leadership was not actually taught or exercised.
51. Anon., 1937 p. 49.
52. Rodger, 2001 p. 17.
53. Anon, 1922 p. 7.
54. Anon, 1935 p. 9.
55. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach GCB DL, Interview 28 October 2008. He singled out the French and the history masters as exceptions.
56. Adrian Holloway, 1993 p. 20; Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach GCB DL, Interview 28 October 2008.
57. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach GCB DL, Interview 28 October 2008.

58. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach GCB DL, Interview 28 October 2008.
59. For example, see Callender, 1909.
60. Michael Duffy, Personal communication.
61. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach GCB DL, Interview 28 October 2008.
62. Whinney, 1986, p. 21.
63. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach GCB DL, Interview 28 October 2008.
64. Whinney, 1986 p. 21.
65. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach GCB DL, Interview 28 October 2008.
66. 'Areopogus', 1989.
67. The 1935 entry, considered as part of the cohort study included seven Direct Entry cadets. Educationally they would have gone down a similar pathway to the Special Entry cadets and are considered with them.
68. AWO 3448/21.
69. Many contemporary documents describe this as being 'rated as midshipmen', they were not yet officers, and so were not promoted.
70. For example, see AWO 2948/18.
71. Marder, 1952 p. 80–81.
72. AWO 3372/21.
73. Davison, 2004 p. 9.
74. For an example of the administration of the courses, see AFO 2363/23.
75. So called because sailors were administratively grouped into 'Divisions'.
76. AFO 1088/23.
77. Interview Admiral Sir William O'Brien, 22 April 2008. He was a five-oner.
78. AFO 1640/23.
79. Davison ascribes this greater significance than it warrants, see Davison, 2004 pp. 9–10.
80. 2SLPers Rec. The officer concerned was not promoted below the zone.
81. While the regulations were unequivocal about this requirement, scrutiny of personnel records shows that occasionally officers slipped through the net. Some were promoted weeks or even months before the award of their certificate. The most extreme example in the officers studied for this book was of one officer who was promoted lieutenant at the beginning of the Second World War, and ultimately rose to being a Vice Admiral and a navigation specialist to boot without ever having been recorded as being awarded a bridge watch-keeping certificate.
82. The captain, executive officer or navigating officer would contrive to be fairly close to, if not on the bridge.
83. AFO3183/23.
84. Plunkett, 1913
85. Plunkett, 1913 p. 98.
86. Plunkett, 1913 p. 99.
87. 2SLPersRec.
88. 2SLPersRec.
89. Admiral O'Brien, interviewed 22 April 2008. He wanted to go General Service and put gunnery as his second choice as he was sure that this would mean that he would be turned down; he was!
90. Chatfield, 1942, p. 25
91. AFO 252/24.
92. Trevor Preist BSc PhD (latterly Head of Physics, University of Exeter) email 2009.
93. AFO 1954/27.

94. Alan Wall BSc (Hons) MSc PhD FRIN FNI Master Mariner (Reader in Maritime Studies) email 26 October 2009.
95. Interview with Captain S.M.W. Farquharson-Roberts OBE RN, 28 April 2008. He instituted the process when Captain of HMS *Vernon* then the TAS and mine warfare school.
96. Interview with Captain S.M.W. Farquharson-Roberts OBE RN, 28 April 2008.
97. Brian Lavery, 2006 p. 130.
98. This post was occupied at the end of the First World War by Richmond.
99. For example AWO 1193/19.
100. ADM 1/16506 sets out the responsibilities of the CW Division, ADM 198/36 its procedures and ADM 198/37 various precedents.
101. Properly HMS *Excellent*.
102. Leach, 1993 pp. 66–7.
103. ADM 1/8625/82.
104. ADM 1/8768/120.
105. ADM 167/64.
106. AFO 3502/21.
107. Roskill, 1969 p. 654.
108. 2SLPers Rec.
109. AFO 2445/27.
110. AFO 2485/23; AFO 2169/29.
111. AFO 2553/23.
112. Based on those of the cohort studies killed on active service.
113. Obviously this included aircraft carriers, but increasingly cruisers were equipped with a catapult and crane to launch and recover floatplanes.
114. Neither fish head nor fowl.
115. The hydrographic service was effectively a separate navy, and can be ignored in this context.
116. ADM 1/8625/82.–
117. Richmond, 1933. pp. 10–11.
118. Hunt, 1982. p. 107.
119. AWO 20/641.
120. AWO 21/399.
121. AFO 188/24.
122. AFO2038/24.
123. AFO 1168/34.
124. AFO 1751/36.
125. Rodger. 2001. p. 24.
126. 2SLPersRec.
127. Interview with Lieutenant Holloway, 15 December 2008.
128. Interview with Admiral O'Brien, 22 April 2008.
129. In the text of AWO 2196/21.
130. AWO 2196/21.
131. KR & AI Ch. VII para 339.
132. KR & AI App. XII part 5.
133. AFO 3073/30.
134. AFO 2187/25.
135. AFO 2245/31.
136. AFO 3020/36.
137. Norman Friedman, 2009 p. 187.

138. AFO 2589/30.
139. Hill, 1979 p. 246 recounts a good example of a specialist officer appointed to command a destroyer whose skills were found to be wanting.
140. Command of Destroyer flotillas were often given to specialists, Mountbatten a signals specialist etc.
141. Perhaps, to paraphrase Napoleon Bonaparte, the intention was that each lieutenant had an admiral's flag in his ditty box.

4 Personnel Management

1. Although it would have been in his interests to accept some potential 'duds'; e.g. sons of his own patrons! See Cavell, 2012, for an excellent description of the early phases of the system.
2. Greenhill and Giffard, 1994 p. 74.
3. Halpern, 1987 p. 96. Perhaps Wemyss had rather higher standards than successive HM governments; the 'tame Duke' – 5th Duke of Sutherland – among many other political appointments was to be Paymaster General 1925–8.
4. CMO 9/17, referred to in CMO 1096/20.
5. CWO 1096/20.
6. AWO 2946/18.
7. Hamilton, 2011 pp. 257–8.
8. It is difficult to compare the Dartmouth standard of education with that of the grammar schools, the selective academic top end of the state system. Their products appear rarely to have mixed professionally or to come into competition.
9. 2SLPersRec.
10. Forester, 1956 p. 96.
11. Royal Naval officers did not have numbers until the 1960s.
12. E.g. AFO 3248/23 which lists by name each Sub Lieutenant and giving the dates he was to attend each course.
13. Anon. June 11–17, 2011 p. 66.
14. Jeffery, 2011 p. 209.
15. Norman Friedman, 2009 pp. 27, 267.
16. Rankin, 2008 p. 274.
17. Hamilton, 2011 p. 301.
18. ADM 116/4609.
19. Consideration of pensions did not assume the importance it has now.
20. ADM 1/16506.
21. Interview with Admiral O'Brien, 22 April 2008.
22. 2SLPersrec.
23. Marder, 1952 p. 327.
24. Officers were 'appointed' unlike the other two services, whose officers are posted. Other ranks in the other two services are also posted, but naval ratings are 'drafted'.
25. Obviously indicative of the importance of the post being downgraded.
26. Nowadays the equivalent post is designated 'Executive Assistant'.
27. This was to become the 'Manning Department' in 1930, reflecting broader responsibilities for manpower, see AFO 575/30.
28. The Navy List, January 1920, corrected to 18th December 1919, p. 1812.
29. ADM 198/37 lists the civilian personnel of the CW section and their areas of responsibility.

30. ADM 1/16506.
31. ADM 198/37 sets out the format to be used for officer's appointment letters.
32. ADM 1/16506.
33. Owen, 1997 p. 51.
34. James, 1956 p. 172.
35. AFO 1607/20
36. Mars, 1954 p. 140.
37. Anon, May 2011 pp. 139–42.
38. While a marriage allowance was not payable until very late between the wars, an allowance for dependent children was; officers made sure that the Admiralty knew if they had legitimate children.
39. 2SLPersRec.

5 The Officers of the Royal Navy in the 1920s

1. Probably the best social history of this period is Overy, 2009, but also see Hattersley, 2007 and Taylor, 2007.
2. Buntin, 2008.
3. ADM 167/64.
4. Hamilton, 2011 p. 260. Geddes had not long before been a Vice Admiral—the only naval rank he held – subordinate to Jellicoe as Controller of the Navy, having been recruited directly by Lloyd George. He then went on to forge and wield his eponymous axe.
5. Goldrick, 2004
6. Roskill, 1968 pp. 41–3.
7. Marder, 1970 p. 4.
8. Roskill, 1980.
9. Willis, 2008 p. 116.
10. Maiolo, 2010 p. 95.
11. Andrew Lambert, 2008 pp. 335–78.
12. Hamilton, 2011 p. 272.
13. Roskill, 1980 p. 116.
14. Fisher, 1919 p. 38.
15. Andrew Gordon, 1996 p. 97.
16. BR 1875 (previously CB 3013 pp. 3–4).
17. The Parliamentary and Financial Secretary of the Admiralty, the other political appointee, did not become a board member until 1929.
18. While Churchill on many occasions involved himself in operational matters, other occupants of the post did not.
19. Bell, July 2009 pp. 695–716.
20. Roskill, 1976 p. 80.
21. For example, he was never privy to the existence of 'Ultra'.
22. Subject of course to politicians, as Jellicoe had found.
23. Hamilton, 2011, p. 297.
24. 'He it is, who is coming after me is preferred before me ...' BR 401 *The Holy Bible* John 1 v 27.
25. Marder, 1952 p. 303.
26. AFO 1061/27.
27. Andrew Lambert, 2008 p. 366.
28. Hamilton, 2011 pp. 279, 297–9.

29. Roskill, 1968 p. 449.
30. Roskill, 1980 pp. 322–39; Harper, 1927).
31. Yates, 1998.
32. AFO 2280/29.
33. Diary of (then) Lieutenant Commander A. Willis (private collection).
34. Andrew Lambert, 2008 p. 360.
35. Halpern, 1980 p. 251.
36. Roskill, 1968, p. 46.
37. The appointment then had to be approved by the Sovereign, as with all flag appointments.
38. *The Navy List*, December 1926. This date was selected as being the one likely to be close to when the decision about Beatty's successor would have been made.
39. Roskill, 1980 p. 58.
40. Although Keyes had recommended the appointment to Beatty, see Paul G. Halpern, 1980 p. 186.
41. Roskill, 1972 pp. 445–6.
42. Roskill, 1968 p. 46.
43. Roskill, 1976 p. 69.
44. Hamilton, 2011 p. 281.
45. Rowe, 2008.
46. Masson, 2003 pp. 106–22.
47. Stevens, 2003 pp. 123–44.
48. Roskill, 1968. p. 142.
49. Roskill makes no mention of these.
50. Halpern, 2011 p. 75.
51. Halpern, 2011 p. 75, fn 2.
52. Beattie, 2010 p. 29.
53. Hallam and Beynon, 2009 p. 33.
54. AWO 1410/17.
55. AWO 3176/17.
56. AWO 929/19 This AWO originated from the 'CW' section, without mention of ' DTSD', i.e. Richmond, who one might have been expected to be involved. However, Hunt ascribes the origins of the course to Richmond, but gives no supporting reference, see Hunt, 1982 p. 96.
57. AWO 929/19.
58. Rudyard Kipling *The Scholars*, 1919. (<http://www.poetryloverspage.com/poets/kipling/scholars.html> [accessed 15 April 2015])
59. AWO 2855/19.
60. AWO 1370/20.
61. AWO 2959/20.
62. AWO 915/21.
63. AWO 2591/22.
64. AFO 2280/29.
65. Much of what follows is from ADM 116/1734. However, some key documents within it are undated and are obviously not correctly temporally ordered. What follows represents the author's interpretation of the correct sequence of the documents.
66. AWO 2325/18.
67. AWO 2945/18.
68. AWO 182/19.

69. An odd description, Warrant Officers held their rank by virtue of an Admiralty Warrant, Commissioned Officers by authority of the King's Commission. Presumably the title actually meant commissioned former warrant officers.
70. AWO 283/19.
71. AWO 1253/19.
72. ADM 116/1734.
73. Roskill, 1968 p. 121.
74. ADM 116/1734.
75. ADM 116/1734.
76. Marder, 1952 p. 303.
77. He lived until 1946.
78. ADM 116/1734.
79. The question of Latin is discussed in an earlier chapter.
80. Marder, 1952 p. 314.
81. Files in the National Archive are not complete naval 'packs'. The minute sheets in most cases missing, as is the original cover which would have given the distribution. Thus it can only be inferred that Richmond was not sent the papers in the first place.
82. ADM 116/1734.
83. Roskill, 1976, p. 191.
84. ADM 116/1734.
85. ADM 116/1734.
86. ADM 167/86.
87. Chatfield, 1942 p. 252.
88. Bell, July 2009 pp. 695–716.
89. Chatfield, 1942 p. 253.
90. A roll call of what Chatfield would probably have regarded as the 'famous' public schools, see Galpin, 1919 pp. 119–22.
91. ADM 116/2896.
92. *Report of the Committee on the Cost of Training Cadets at Dartmouth College* [sic] 28 January 1922 (Britannia Archive, BRNC).
93. Interview Captain S.M.W. Farquharson-Roberts, April 2008.
94. Undated letter by Lieutenant Commander E. Tyndale Cooper in Captain Royal Naval College Dartmouth miscellaneous correspondence pack containing responses from fleet for feedback on cadets performance at sea 1932 (Britannia Archive, BRNC).
95. ADM 116/1734.
96. AWO 4047/18
97. AWO 2706/20.
98. AWO 3495/20
99. AWO 3333/22.
100. AFO 1701/24.
101. AWO 334/22.
102. The 'L' branch was not finally fully established until 1944, implementing the Phillips committee report. See Moore, 2011 p. 144 et seq.
103. Le Bailly, 1991 p. 31.
104. AFO 3241/25.
105. KR & AI, Article 171.
106. KR & AI 1926, Vol 1 para 172.2.
107. Le Bailly, 1990 p. 51.

108. Minutes Y013 and Y016 1929 of the United Services Club.
109. Other London clubs with military membership did not follow suit. At the Annual General Meeting of the Naval and Military held on 2 June 1924 the Chairman (interestingly it was Admiral Wemyss who had been First Sea Lord at the start of the 'great betrayal') said 'It is ... not right to blackball candidates [for membership] because they happen to belong to any particular branch of the Service.' He repeated the remark at the same meeting the following year.
110. Harrold and Porter, 2005 p. 72.
111. AFO 2363/23.
112. AFO 2247/31.
113. Compare AFO 1857/ 24 with AFO 1723/30.
114. AWO 1255/19.
115. AWO 3632/19.
116. AWO 3080/21.
117. AFO 813/24.
118. The AFO very unusually does not have numbered paragraphs.
119. AFO 1857/24.
120. AFO 1615/26.
121. AFO 930/27.
122. Parkes, 1990 p. 528.
123. Ian Buxton, 1978 p. 131.
124. Although most would have had some military training in the cadet force that was a feature of most public schools.
125. AFO 1901/30.

6 Malign Neglect? The Collapse of Executive Officers' Morale

1. Packer, 1945 p. 93.
2. Davison, 2011 pp. 105–6.
3. Beattie, 2010 p. 11.
4. At the time the term described the entire range of cuts in public spending, see Perkin, 2002 p. 230.
5. Roskill, 1968 p. 104.
6. ADM 116/1888.
7. This is misquoted in Beattie, (2010) p. 38 who conflates the numbers of sub lieutenants/mates/midshipmen/cadets and warrant officers.
8. AFO 2960/33.
9. Roskill, 1968, p. 124.
10. See John Beeler, August 1993 pp. 300–312 for a discussion of earlier redundancy programmes.
11. ADM 116/1888.
12. AWO 3417/19.
13. ADM116/1888.
14. This is the only definition, such as it is, in any document that the author has been able to find of 'Officer Like Qualities'.
15. ADM 116/1888.
16. AWO 906/20.
17. 2SL Pers Rec; and interview with 'Rhymer'.
18. Beattie, 2010 p. 38.

19. Before being ennobled, he was to return – as a civilian – to naval service in 1942. Edgerton, 2012 p. 145.
20. Beattie, 2010 p. 39.
21. AWO 1056/20.
22. ADM 116/1888.
23. Some may even have been on half-pay since promotion.
24. ADM 116/1888.
25. Known as ‘up or out’.
26. As about 120 cadets were entered annually, that would mean each would have a 20 per cent chance of eventually being a captain.
27. Chatfield, 1942 p. 199.
28. Ziegler, 1985 pp. 73–4.
29. Hough, 1980 p. 43.
30. Chatfield, 1942 p. 199.
31. ADM 116/1888.
32. AWO 1849/20.
33. 485 personal records studied revealed three occasions when ‘Exceptional’ was used.
34. It will be seen that this form was revised in 1924. Those revisions were minimal.
35. The subject officer retired having achieved flag rank. The records of those made redundant do not appear to have been retained.
36. If they were recorded; the deliberations of promotion boards which would have had a similar organisation were and are destroyed once their decisions are approved by the Naval Secretary.
37. Hamilton, 2011 p. 267.
38. Marder, 1952 p. 27, confirmed by scrutiny of the Navy List.
39. AWO1970/22.
40. AWO 2896/22).
41. AWO 1809/22.
42. AWO 2114/22.
43. AWO 2970/22.
44. AWO 1900/22.
45. AWO 2336/22.
46. AWO 2589/22; AFO 2893/22.
47. AWO 1853/20.
48. AWO 2337/22.
49. AWO 2523/22.
50. AWO 2894/22.
51. AWO 3335/22.
52. AWO 443/23.
53. AWO 173/23.
54. James, 2006 p. 412.
55. Gibbs, 1938 p. 19.
56. AFO 5/26.
57. AFO 3431/26.
58. AFO 1036/29.
59. AFO 289/31.
60. Andrew Lambert, 2008, pp. 160–61.
61. Robinson and Ross, 1930 p. 21.
62. Beeler, August 1993, pp. 300–312.

63. While some over-zone promotions took place during the later 1930s, during the 1920s and early 1930s the chances were to all intents and purposes non-existent and the officer corps knew it.
64. 2SLPersRec.
65. Through this period, the British currency, based on the pound sterling (abbreviated to '£'), was divided into 20 shillings (abbreviated to 's') and each shilling into twelve pence (confusingly abbreviated to 'd'). Equivalents to modern currency, where given, are intended to be descriptive; no allowance for inflation et cetera has been made.
66. Clayton, 2007 p. 195.
67. Royal Marine officer's ranks while nominally army, were aligned to naval ranks, as was their pay.
68. ADM 1/8614/188.
69. As officers 'transfer[red] to the retired list' at the end of their service, they received 'retired pay'.
70. 2SLPerRec.
71. Chatfield, 1942 p. 82.
72. Chatfield, 1942 p. 202.
73. Anon, 1937 p. 14. At that time (1937) a sub lieutenant was paid 9 shillings a day (45p) and a lieutenant on promotion 13 shillings and six pence (67.5p). Incremental increases would follow, in the case of lieutenants, after four and six years in rank. The pay cuts meant that these 1937 pay rates were less than the 1924 scale, which were for a sub lieutenant 10 shillings (50p) a day, for a lieutenant 17 shillings (85p) a day.
74. James, 2006 p. 451.
75. Unfortunately the records of many of the Grand Fleet Committees have not survived.
76. AWO 407a/19.
77. Cmd 270 1919.
78. Roger Bootle of Capital Economics (email to author), 10 March 2009.
79. Robinson and Ross, 1932 p. 22.
80. AFO 1701/24.
81. Richardson and Hurd, 1925 p. 157.
82. AFO 2858/25.
83. AFO 3433/25.
84. Note the fine disregard for the rule not to mix fractions and percentages.
85. AFO 261/27.
86. AFO1400/27.
87. AFO 3085/29.
88. AFO 1265/30.
89. AFO 436/31.
90. AFO 1119/31.
91. AFO 2239/31.
92. Tracy, 1995 p. 152.
93. AFO 2409/31.
94. AFO 2126/38.
95. AFO 1381/25. This was backdated to 1924 and paid as a special allowance, not the full specialist allowance.
96. Cmd. 5746, 1938.
97. Roskill, 1968, p. 118.

98. AWO 332/19.
99. AWO 2718/19.
100. Cmd. 5746, 1938.
101. Roskill, 1968 p. 337.
102. ADM 167/69.
103. ADM 167/69.
104. ADM 167/69.
105. ADM 167/69
106. AFO 336/30.
107. The ship would wear a garland at the foremast head on the day when any member of the ships company was marrying.
108. Glenton, 1991 p. 17.
109. Halpern, 1980 p. 245.
110. Glenton, 1991 p. 164.
111. AFO 30/133.
112. AWO 2582/19.
113. AFO 78/30.

7 The Officers' Nadir and the Inflection

1. Tracy, 1995.
2. Roskill, 1968, p. 48.
3. Roskill, 1976 p. 80.
4. Roskill, 1976 pp. 79–80.
5. Le Bailly, 1991 pp 49–50.
6. Tracy, 2004.
7. Ultimately Admiral of the Fleet Sir Roger Keyes GCB KCVO DSO 1st Baron Keyes.
8. Brodhurst, 2000 p. 74.
9. Packer, 1945 p. 95; Halpern, 1980 p. 252.
10. Halpern, 1980 p. 122.
11. Roskill, 1972 p. 509.
12. Possibly; though others shared Richmond's view that Keyes had 'courage & independence ... though very little brains', see Marder, 1952 p. 293.
13. Halpern, 1980 p. 251.
14. Roskill, p. 557; Fuller served just over two years, when most interwar Second Sea Lords served three years in post, see Roskill, p. 570.
15. Lloyd-Owen, 2004.
16. Ultimately Admiral Sir Frederic Dreyer GBE KCB. He had a reputation for being strong willed.
17. Field did offer the First Lord his resignation, but it was declined.
18. For a full, if somewhat tendentious, discussion of the issue, see Chatfield, 1947 pp. 54–9.
19. Edwards, 1937 p. 163.
20. Farquharson-Roberts, April 2009 pp. 104–7.
21. Roskill, 1976 p. 89.
22. Jane, 1990 p. 90.
23. ADM 167/64.
24. ADM 156/104.
25. AWO 2971/22.
26. The executive officer is the senior executive branch officer below the commanding officer, i.e. the second in command. If of commander's rank, he would also be

described as 'the Commander'. If junior, he would be the executive officer or First Lieutenant. Confusingly a larger ship would have a Commander (the appointment) and a First Lieutenant subordinate to him.

27. ADM 156/104.
28. Chalmers, 1954.
29. ADM 178/109.
30. ADM 178/109.
31. ADM 156/191.
32. ADM 156/190.
33. ADM 156/90.
34. CAFO 1129/31.
35. Edwards, 1937 p. 111.
36. Letter to the author from Vice Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly, dated 3 October 2009.
37. Letter to the author from Brigadier McGarel-Groves Royal Marines (who commanded the HMS *Hawkins* marine detachment) dated May 2009.
38. Dugan, 1966 p. 200.
39. Carew, 1981; Divine, 1970; Edwards, 1937; Ereira, 1981; Bell, 2003 pp. 170–92.
40. Edwards, 1937 p. viii.
41. Edwards, 1937 p. 283.
42. ADM 12/1706.
43. Roskill, 1976 p. 91.
44. Admiral Hodges, the Commander in Chief Atlantic fleet was taken ill, and Rear Admiral Tomkinson took over temporarily for the period leading up to and over the mutiny. He therefore physically moved to the fleet flagship, a process known as a flag shift. Attendant procedural breakdowns in communications were one of the causes of the mutiny.
45. Bell, 1931, p. 178.
46. AFO 164/26.
47. Divine, 1970 p. 141.
48. Divine, 1970 p. 142.
49. Divine, 1970 p. 153.
50. Divine, 1970 p. 155.
51. Edwards, 1937 p. 264.
52. Whinney, 1986 p. 30.
53. Edwards, 1937 p. 195; Bell, 2003, p. 181.
54. Raising of the ensign and jack in harbour at 0800 or 0900 (dependent on season).
55. A pipe made with a bosun's call, a single note. The 'still' was a mark of respect for the white ensign.
56. Edwards, 1937 p. 289.
57. Whinney, 1986 p. 29.
58. Naval Officers and ratings were not required to swear an oath of loyalty, while Royal Marines, despite being part of the Royal Navy, were.
59. HMS *Valiant*.
60. Wheeler, 2005 p. 283.
61. Ereira, 1981, p. 134.
62. Sater, 2003 pp. 145–69; Corbalan, 2010.
63. Vice Admiral Sir Louis Le Bailly, letter to the author dated 3 August 2009.
64. Farquharson-Roberts, 2012 p. 118.
65. An undertaking had been given that there would be no punishments. For a description of how a member of the 'Strike Committee' in HMS *Norfolk* was 'propelled' out of the navy see Copeman, 1948 pp. 50–51.

66. Roskill, 1976 p. 128.
67. ADM 156/71.
68. Stephen Roskill, 1976, p. 130. However, Winton states that the Commanding Officer of HMS *Rodney* was relieved of his appointment, but promoted later to rear admiral. See Winton, (1998) p. 52. See also 'Ginger' Le Breton in Arthur, 2005, pp. 172–4 for a laudatory lower-deck view of Captain Power at the mutiny.
69. Ultimately Admiral of the Fleet Sir Reginald Tyrwhitt GCB, DSO, 1st Baronet. He commanded the Harwich Patrol during the First World War, see Carr, 1939.
70. Heathcote, 2002 p. 244.
71. ADM 1/27410.
72. ADM 12/1706.
73. ADM 1/27410.
74. ADM 178/89 cited in Brodhurst, 2000 p. 82.
75. Hunt, 1982 p. 208.
76. Only the *Morning Post* used the term in its reporting of the mutiny and the aftermath, see Edwards, 1937 p. 282.
77. Edwards, 1937 p. viii.
78. Roskill, 1976, p. 126.
79. Tracy, 2004
80. AFO 2837/30.
81. AFO 3015a/30.
82. Bell, July 2009, pp. 695–716.
83. Roskill, 1976 p. 33.
84. AFO 2473/31.
85. CAFO 2474/31.
86. KR & AI Articles 261 and 264 and Volume II 1935 Appendix XII part 3.
87. Roskill, 1976, p. 126.
88. CAFO 2572/31.
89. ADM 116/2895.
90. ADM 116/2895.
91. ADM 116/2896.
92. The infantry, artillery and cavalry were organised in regiments, other arms into corps. To confuse matters, the latter designation was applied to some tank (cavalry) units.
93. For example, Colonel Snooks L/KOYLI – Late/Kings Own Yorkshire Light Infantry.
94. Clayton, 2007 p. 195.
95. Reader, 1968 p. 108.
96. Ross, 2002) p. 16.
97. Richardson, 2002 p. 31.
98. Chatfield, 1947 p. 58.
99. Chatham, Portsmouth or Devonport (Plymouth).
100. The list of positions to be manned when the ship was in action or combat.
101. ADM 178/129
102. Edwards, 1937 p. 44.
103. Edwards, 1937 p. 45.
104. The cap worn by a commander and above has gold oak leaves around its peak, hence the term a 'brass hat'.
105. Edwards, 1937 p. 188.

106. 2SLPersRec.
107. AFO 32/592.
108. ADM 1/16506
109. Specialised officers appointing was handled by the relevant division of the Admiralty, thus medical officers were appointed by the Medical Director General (Navy).
110. Ultimately he was to be Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Tovey GCB KBE DSO.
111. Andrew Lambert, 2008 p. 161.
112. AWO 2834/20.
113. AWO 815/ 22
114. AFO 877/23.
115. AFOs 2241/24 and 494/25.
116. AFO 1639/29.
117. AFO 3/30.
118. ADM 116/2896.
119. AFO 1976/31.
120. Chatfield, 1942 p. 201.
121. Chatfield, 1942 p. 201.
122. CAFO 584/33.
123. CAFO 2360/33.
124. ADM 167/86.
125. ADM 116/2896.
126. Beattie, 2010 Appendix 9 p. 1.
127. Jane Harrold (BRNC Archivist) e-mail to author 10 February 2012.
128. ADM 116/1888.
129. Lavery, 2010 p. 259.
130. AFO1662/32.
131. BL Mk1/N 42 calibre, the same gun as in most battleships. See Buxton, 1978 p. 173.
132. AFO1662/32.
133. AFO 2315/32.
134. However, it was not felt 'possible to make any allowance in this respect' see AWO 3369/20.
135. AFO 405/40.
136. AFO 1160/32.
137. Richmond, 1933 p. 95.
138. Chatfield, 1947 pp. 54–9.
139. Some key ratings who knew particular parts of the ship in detail, for example the 'freshwater tankey' would remain.
140. ADM 178/129.
141. ADM 167/86.
142. CAFO 2023/32.
143. AFO 132/30.
144. AFO 2589/30.
145. AFO 2022/31.
146. Up until well into the Second World War, if a ship was lost – even due to enemy action – the senior surviving member of the seaman branch, officer or rating, was court-martialled for the loss of the ship. For an example, see Roskill, 2004 p. 306 fn 2.
147. Roskill, 1976, p. 125.

8 The Ascension: Improving Morale

1. Later Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield PC, GCB, OM, CVO.
2. Marder, 1981 pp. 30–31.
3. Liddell Hart, 1967 p. 325.
4. In February 1939 the Admiralty Board was forced by the Treasury to reduce the Naval estimates, see Roskill, 1976 p. 451.
5. 27 May 1930–30 October 1932.
6. Heathcote, 2002 p. 245.
7. Chatfield, 1947 p. 52.
8. Admiral Sir William O'Brien interview 22 April 2008.
9. Chatfield, 1947 p. 52.
10. Eyre-Monsell, the then First Lord, had been a naval cadet.
11. Robinson, 1936 p. 13.
12. AFO 2134/33.
13. Liddell Hart, 1965 p. 336.
14. Bell, 2000, pp. 162–3.
15. Sowrey, 2002, pp. 35–6.
16. Bell, 2000, p. 175.
17. Cameron Watt, 2001 p. 94.
18. Carr, 1930, 1939; Dorling (writing as 'Taffrail'), 1931; Gibson and Prendergast, 1931; Chatterton, 1932, 1934; Hoy, 1932; Keyes, 1934.
19. Keble Chatterton, E. *The Big Blockade* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1932) republished by Hutchinson and Co as a book club edition annotated on the title page '19th Thousand'.
20. AFO 2485/32.
21. CAFO 2960/33.
22. ADM 1/8795.
23. ADM 1/8795 was a closed file in the National Archive/Public Record Office until 1986, which is probably why Roskill makes no mention of this extremely important report.
24. The recommendations of the committee are scattered throughout its report as conclusions of individual sections, and are capitalised rather than being collated in a section devoted to recommendations at the end of the entire report.
25. Prysor, 2007 pp. 27–28.
26. AFO 813/24.
27. Miscellaneous Correspondence File re Cadet training 1932: Britannia archive BRNC.
28. 'Snotty' was a slang term for a midshipman, the 'Snotties' nurse' was the officer in a ship responsible for the midshipmen on board.
29. Interview with Captain S.M.W. Farquharson-Roberts OBE RN, dated 24 April 2008.
30. Quite how is uncertain. As has been described, since 1926 they had gone to different ships.
31. Miscellaneous Correspondence File re Cadet training 1932: Britannia archive BRNC.
32. ADM 116/2895.
33. Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach, interview 23 October 2008.
34. Harrold, and Porter, 2005 p. 76.
35. Records of the Royal Naval Sailing Association.

36. Anon, 1935 p. 119.
37. AFO 2073/35.
38. Letter in RNSA records.
39. Robinson R.N., 1936 p. 14.
40. Cmd 5746.
41. Packer, 1945 pp. 89–91.
42. Cmd 5746.
43. As defined by Sellar and Yeatman, 1930.
44. AFO 405/40.
45. Friedman, 2009 p. 194.
46. Rose, 2007 p. 66.
47. Archibald, 1987 p. 211.
48. Roskill, 1976 p. 344.
49. Letter Admiral Pound to (then) Commander Everett dated 11 September 1937. (Personal papers of Capatin D.H. Everett RN).
50. Commander Everett distinguished himself at the Battle of the River Plate in 1940, and later commanded an aircraft carrier. He retired as Rear Admiral D.H. Everett CB CBE DSO.
51. Glenton, 1991 p. 79.
52. ADM178/140.
53. Despite being on the retired list, Lieutenant Commander Woodroffe was subject to the Naval Discipline Act as he was, at the time, embarked in an HM ship. Thus disciplinary action would have been open to the Admiralty. Being 'Drunk on Board' was a very serious offence.

9 The Ascension: Admiral Chatfield and the Coming War

1. Peijan Shen, 1999 p. 26.
2. Barnett, 1987; Gordon, 1988; Joe Maiolo, 2010; David Edgerton, 2012.
3. Roskill, 1976 p. 322 et seq.
4. See Howse, 1993 chapters 1–2 for a description of the interwar development of Royal Naval radar.
5. See George Franklin, 2003.
6. Barnett, 1987 p. 112.
7. The British government even in March 1939 did not see war as inevitable. See Cameron Watt, 2001, particularly chapter 10.
8. Lavery, 2008.
9. Maiolo, 1998 pp. 11–38.
10. Japan was seen as being the major naval threat until at least 1936 as the Admiralty view was that the Anglo-German naval agreement of 1935 had significantly reduced any potential threat from Germany.
11. Prysor, 2011 pp. 29–32. The navy was also involved in the civil disturbances in the then Palestine, as well as other what were then termed 'policing actions'.
12. Englebrecht and Hanighen, 1935.
13. Roskill, 1976 p. 247.
14. Cameron Watt, 2001 p. 372.
15. Danchev, 1998 p. 168; Liddell Hart *When Britain Goes to War* (London: Faber, 1935) This was an expanded version of the book *The British Way in Warfare* published in 1932.

16. Miscellaneous Correspondence File re Cadet training 1932 Unreferenced file held in Britannia Archives, BRNC.
17. Roskill, 1976 p. 191.
18. AFO 150/36.
19. AFO 1994/36.
20. AFO 255/36.
21. Some Australian candidates were to be commissioned, but for the Royal Australian Navy.
22. Roskill, 1976 pp. 342–3.
23. AFO 1864/37.
24. Roskill, 1976 p. 34.
25. Chatfield, 1942 p. 254.
26. Roskill, 1976 p. 342.
27. Anderson, 1997 p. 28.
28. Chatfield, 1942 p. 254.
29. AFO 232/37; AFO 1118/37.
30. AFO 1393/37; AFO 1697/37.
31. AFO 190/38.
32. AFO 1740a/38.
33. AFO 87/39.
34. AFO 2133/38.
35. ADM 1/9778.
36. RNR (Officers) Regulations Article 97.
37. In addition to any Board of Trade certificates they might hold.
38. Prysor, 2007, p. 24.
39. AFO 2404/36
40. All Naval Officers could apply for such a warrant to wear a blue ensign on their own personal craft.
41. Lavery, 2011 p. 242.
42. AFO 228/37.
43. AFO 1802/38.
44. AFO 52/38.
45. AFO 51/38.
46. AFO 2479/38.
47. AFO 778/38.
48. AFO 613/39.
49. AFO 146/39.
50. AFO 2898/39.
51. Rayner, 1974 p. 18.
52. Roskill, 1974 pp. 148–76.
53. Roskill, 1976 p. 341.
54. Grenfell, 1951.
55. ADM 116/3509.
56. ADM 116/3509.
57. ADM 116/3509.
58. AFO 2984/36.
59. ADM 116/3509.
60. Rayner, 1974 p. 26.
61. ADM 116/3509.
62. Roskill, 1976, p. 458.

63. AFO 2984/36.
64. Lund and Ludlam, 1979 p. 17.
65. http://www.exeterflotilla.org/pubsite/flot_history.html, accessed 20 April 2015.
66. ADM 1/10054.
67. Unusually, the Navy List does not give totals for RNVSRs. The total given is based on 28 pages of names, and one page contains 57 names.
68. Roskill, 1976, p. 459.
69. AFO 612/39.
70. In a lighter vein, at about this time a description of the three main components of the navy emerged; that the RNR were professional seamen trying to be gentlemen, the RNVR, gentlemen trying to be seamen, and the RN neither, but trying to be both. No original source can be identified, but the text may suggest an origin if not a source. For a poetic version see Winton, 1971 p. 93.
71. AFO 611/39.
72. AFO 688/39.
73. ADM 116/97.
74. See Hobbs, 2011.
75. Roskill, 1969 p. 747.
76. David K Brown, 2010 p. 123.
77. It was not uncommon for officers to hold differing ranks in the two services. Indeed the Navy List shows many officers who were two grades different.
78. Roskill, 1976, p. 403.
79. AFO 1899/35.
80. ADM 178/169 cited in Roskill, 1976 p. 392.
81. Roskill, 1976 p. 241.
82. ADM 1/8768/120.
83. Sir Samuel Hoare as Secretary for Air had in 1923 defeated near identical arguments that he now deployed as First Lord to regain control of naval air!
84. They are well covered in Reader, 1968 p. 170 et seq; Roskill, 1976 Ch XIII.
85. Roskill, 1974 p. 292.
86. It retained the name, not reverting to 'Royal Naval Air Service'.
87. CAFO 1913/38.
88. Churchill, 1948 pp. 133–6.
89. Roskill, 1976 p. 255.
90. A ship's fuel consumption increases as the square of its speed; hence there were (and are) regular restrictions on speed to save money.
91. Gregory-Smith, 2008 p. 5.
92. Roskill, 1976 p. 266.
93. Copeman, 1948 pp. 74–151. The author had been an active Invergordon mutineer before joining the Communist Party and fighting for the Republicans in Spain.
94. Beevor, 2001 p. 163.
95. Roskill, 1976, p. 373.
96. Roskill, 1976 p. 381.
97. Beevor, 2001 p. 297–8.
98. Peter Smith, 1974 p. 20.
99. Moretz, 2002 p. 197.
100. After leaving, allegedly in revenge for the attack on her, she conducted a bombardment of Almeida.
101. Roskill, 1976 p. 382–3.

102. Brodhurst, 2000 p. 97.
103. Evidence perhaps of political pressure.
104. Roskill, 1976 p. 387.
105. Brodhurst, 2000 p. 99.
106. Norwich, 2005 pp. 256–7.
107. Brodhurst, 2000 p. 108.
108. Hill, 1979 pp. 178–9.

10 The Naval Officer in World War Two: The Apogee

1. Rodger, February 2011, pp. 272–84.
2. In this chapter there are many extracts from officers' confidential reports; some are taken from the manuscript originals, some from transcribed typed versions. Any underlining can be assumed to have been in red in the original and original grammar and spelling has been reproduced. To avoid breaking the narrative flow, grammatical solecisms etc. are ignored.
3. Roskill, 1976 p. 357.
4. Roskill, 1976, p. 462.
5. Marder, 1981 p. 31.
6. Murfett, 2004
7. Marder, 1981 p. 34.
8. Unreferenced briefing notes from the Naval Secretary to officers transferring to the retired list, undated.
9. Vice Admiral Stephenson, on recall served as a Commodore in command of the Western Approaches work-up school at Tobermory flying his broad pennant in HMS *Western Isles*.
10. He had been on half-pay as an unemployed admiral and was promoted to Admiral of the Fleet just before compulsory transfer to the retired list. Admirals of the Fleet remain on the active list, even if not employed, but on half-pay.
11. Winton, 1971 p. 30.
12. However, Kennedy was not unique. Commander Findlay, axed by Geddes, was the executive officer of HMS *Danae* at the D-Day landings and flew the same ensign that his ship had worn at Jutland. See D.A. Farquharson-Roberts, 2012 p. 16.
13. Interview with Admiral of the Fleet Sir Henry Leach, 28 October 2008.
14. Fell, 1966 p. 3.
15. He retired as Captain W.R. Fell CMG CBE DSC RN.
16. He was returned to the retired list at the end of the war in Europe.
17. 2SLPersRec.
18. Rayner, 1974. For his 'Munich' mobilisation see pp. XX–X, his Second World War mobilisation p. XX.
19. Cameron Watt, 2001 p. 542.
20. Harrold and Porter, 2005 p. 117. After an air raid, in 1943 the College moved to Eaton Hall in Cheshire.
21. Later in the war HM Ships *Diomedé* and *Dauntless* and the Armed Merchant Cruiser *Corinthian* were used to give eight weeks sea-time to CW candidates, but there was no equivalent for regular cadets. See Lavery, 2011 p. 156.
22. For a good example see Gregory-Smith, 2008. The author, a 'salt horse', commanded a destroyer in the Mediterranean, was a beachmaster at D-Day, and then commanded another destroyer.
23. The term was used for ratings, officers were 'temporary'.

24. Lavery, 2011 p. 144.
25. Rodger, February 2011 pp. 272–84.
26. Cameron Watt, 2001 p. 602.
27. An officer who had served through the Boer Wars and the First World War termed it the 'bore war'. See Carton De Wiart, 2011 p. 164.
28. It was an invaluable period of time for them as a period of training and re-equipment.
29. Plevy, 2006 p. 23. See also Arthur, 2005 p. 210.
30. Lieutenant Commander Burnell-Nugent showed himself to be a cool commanding officer during the Dunkirk evacuation and subsequently.
31. Blair, 2006 p. 67; Terraine, 1989 p. 215.
32. Freedman, 2005 p. 299.
33. Archibald, 1987 p. 197.
34. Harrold and Porter, 2005 p. 112. Their parents were still paying the Admiralty £50 per annum school fees.
35. The ship was being mis-employed over the objections of the First Sea Lord, DCNS and DASW. In the words of the originator of the scheme 'like a cavalry division ... to systematically search large areas over a wide front' for submarines which rather betrays his lack of understanding of sea power. See Brodhurst, 2000 pp 127–8.
36. Roskill, 2004 pp. 105–6.
37. Literally 'frightfulness'. See Tuchman, 1994 p. 378.
38. Hankey, 1961 p. 352.
39. The *Schutzstaffel* (SS) in Germany was an extreme example.
40. See Colville. 2003 pp. 105–29 for a discussion of the social aspects of uniform.
41. Calder, 1992 p. 60.
42. Prysor, 2011 p. 76.
43. Leach, 1993 p. 7.
44. Brodhurst, 2000 p. 108.
45. German foreign minister.
46. Höhne, 1979 p. 343.
47. An officer, or rating, who abides closely to the letter of regulations.
48. Winton, 1971 p. 98.
49. Rayner, 1974 p. 211.
50. Lavery, 2008 p. 23.
51. Roskill, 2004 p. 9
52. ADM 116/4609.
53. The end of the financial year.
54. Total numbers of active uniformed personnel in the Royal Navy authorised by the Treasury.
55. ADM 116/4609.
56. Goldsworthy, 2006 p. 105.
57. While the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was by itself all the USN needed to make the psychological transition from peace to war, it had already lost a ship to a U-boat attack, the USS *Reuben James*, on 'neutrality' duties in the Atlantic.
58. Prysor, 2007 p. 60.
59. Lavery, 2008 p. 19.
60. Winton, 1971 pp. 83–4.
61. He commanded Operations Dynamo (evacuation from Dunkirk), the maritime components of Operation Torch (North African Landings) Operation Husky (Sicily Landings) and Operation Neptune (the maritime component of the D-Day landings in Normandy) and was promoted, on the retired list.

62. Prysor, 2007 p. 74.
63. Monsarrat, 1975 pp. 49–50. The named book was originally published during the war in three parts. The edition quoted anthologises a lot of his writing both autobiographical and fictional.
64. Rayner, 1975 p. 27.
65. Llewellyn-Jones, 2006 p. 17.
66. Churchill, 1948 p. 410.
67. The latter in terms of what was happening to American and European interests.
68. Plevy, 2006 p. 91.
69. Barnett, 1991 pp. 101–2.
70. As well as developing radar specifically for air defence, see Howse, 1993 p. 21, and the multiple pom-pom close-range anti-aircraft weapon, the surviving 'C' class cruisers had been modified as anti-aircraft ships. The '*Dido*' class, with a new dual-purpose (i.e. anti-air and anti-surface) weapon, the 5.25 inch gun, were building. See Archibald, 1987 pp. 209–11; Roberts, 2000 pp. 82–9; Campbell, 1985 pp. 44–6 and 71–3.
71. Murfett, 1995 p. 187 .
72. Lovering, 2005, p. 82.
73. Although it was not gazetted until after the war. It was the commanding officer of the German *Hipper* who recommended him for the award.
74. Levy, 2003 p. 159.
75. Lovering, 2005 pp. 83–4.
76. Lovering, 2005 p. 88; Marder, 1981 pp. 291–2.
77. Lovering, 2005 p. 157.
78. To Commander in Chief, the Nore.
79. For a good account of the Dunkirk campaign and evacuation see Sebag-Montefiore, 2006.
80. Roskill, 2004 p. 207.
81. Which included Commodore Stephenson, and Captain Tennant, who would command HMS *Repulse* when she was sunk in the South China Sea.
82. Lavery, 2008 p. 35.
83. Anon, 19 January 2012.
84. 2SLPersRec.
85. Hore, 2001 p. 23.
86. Stephen Roskill, the noted historian, was one such.
87. 2SLPersRec.
88. Anon, 18 July 2011.
89. Diaries of A/Commander Layard held by the Admiralty Library and Historical Branch.
90. 2SLPersRec.
91. A cruiser, very much a captain's command and usually a senior captain's at that.
92. A commissioned ship has to have a commanding officer.
93. 2SLPersRec.
94. A signals specialist who also qualified for command of a destroyer.
95. In fact one was not, but he was promoted captain over-zone and retired on age the same day.
96. 2SLPersRec.
97. In 1938 this period had been lengthened to four weeks.
98. D.A. Rayner, *Escort* p. 21.
99. Drafting is the administrative process by which ratings are allocated to ships etc.

100. D.A. Rayner, *Escort* pp. 28–31.
101. HM Ships *Havant*, *Hostile* and *Jersey*. See Arthur S. Evans, *Destroyer Down: An Account of HM Destroyer Losses 1939–1945*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Maritime, 2010) p. 57.
102. William Donald, *Stand by for Action*, (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2009) p. 161.
103. An RNR warrant rank.
104. Four hours on, four hours off.
105. The act of placing a ship on active service.
106. D.A. Rayner, 1955 p. 64.
107. Monsarrat, 1970 pp. 8–9. He was one of the ‘green as grass sub-lieutenants’.
108. Diaries of A/Commander Layard RN. Admiralty Library and Historical Branch.
109. Hill, 1979 p. 294.
110. Donald, 2009 p. 188.
111. Macdonald, 1993 p. 132.
112. Leach, 1993 pp. 42–3.
113. This requires the ship to approach the buoy and lower a boat with a man known as a ‘buoy jumper’ who will secure the anchor cable (minus anchor) to the buoy to moor the ship.
114. Hill, 1979 p. 246.
115. He had had service in the Royal Yacht, received good reports and early recommendations for promotion, and held good appointments as well as attending the Imperial Defence College. All would have been regarded as marking out a potential flag officer.
116. Taverner, 2000 pp. 10–13.
117. O’Conor, 1937.
118. Archibald, 1987 p. 220.
119. Taverner, 2000 pp. 282–3.
120. Then known as ‘T.L.C.’
121. E.g. LCF 16 – Landing Craft (Flak) 16.
122. Lavery, 2008) p. 253.
123. Bull, 1973 p. 47. Commander Bostock was obviously a shrewd judge. Peter Bull finished the war as Lieutenant Commander Bull DSC RNVR having commanded a Landing Craft flotilla.
124. As well as his encounter with a staff officer who objected to his appearing on the bridge of his ship wearing red pyjamas!
125. Winton, 1971 pp. 425–7.
126. A captain of a flotilla of destroyers.
127. See Dickens, 2008 for an honest and insightful description of what it was to command such a flotilla.
128. 2SLPersRec.
129. Hill, 1979 p. 127.
130. Rayner, 1955 pp. 226–7.
131. Rayner was an RNVR Commander, with ‘qualified’ status and thus senior to RN acting commanders.
132. The headquarters for Operation Neptune, the maritime part of the D-Day landings.
133. Rayner, 1955 p. 226.
134. An ‘R’ class battleship.
135. Horton was a submarine specialist.

136. Chalmers, 1954 p. 29.
137. Marder, 1981 p. 278.
138. Judged by decorations received.
139. 2SLPersRec.
140. 2SLPersRec.
141. 2SLPersRec.
142. 2SLPersRec.
143. 2SLPersRec.
144. Wilson and Callo, 2004 p. 321.
145. An allusion to pulling on a line, i.e. not pulling his weight; the implication being that he was less likely to enforce discipline, either personal or service.
146. He was promoted on the retired list, so had a commander's pension.
147. 2SLPersRec.
148. The author has found only one other instance of this occurring between the wars, when talking to Lieutenant Commander Drinkwater.
149. Interview with 'Rhymer'.
150. 2SLpersRec.
151. Prysor, 2007.

11 Conclusion

1. Moretz, 2002 p. 24.
2. Lavery, 2010 p. 13.
3. Fisher, 1919 p. 104.
4. Hunt, 1982 p. 31
5. Marder, 1952 p. 22.
6. Rodger, 2001 pp. 23–4.
7. Rodger, 2001 p. 18.
8. Interview with Admiral of The Fleet Sir Henry Leach, 28 October 2008
9. Marder, 1981 pp. 280–82
10. Interview with Lieutenant Holloway, 15 December 2008.
11. The author is indebted to Dr Shaun Kilminster BSc(Hons) PGCEd MSc(Psych) PhD CPsychol FSS Hon FFPM (RCPEng) who is Chairman RN Scientific Advisory Committee and Head of Medical Statistics Division, Institute of Naval Medicine who carried out the statistical analysis. E-mail of 31 July 2012 with attached document SK4MFQR.DOCX.
12. 95% confidence is usually taken as indicating statistical significance.
13. Rodger, 2001 p. 24.
14. AFO 413/32.
15. ADM116/97.
16. Attendees at the IDC and its successor, the Royal College of Defence Studies are now referred to as members, not students.
17. It can be seen that the junior service attendees were to be quite a distinguished group as well.
18. Rodger, 2001 p. 22.
19. Rodger, 2001.
20. Richmond, 1933 pp. 14–22.
21. Burnaby, 1983 p. 4.
22. Oft repeated, and of unknown provenance.
23. Chatfield, 1942 p. 26.

24. Rodger, 2001 p. 22.
25. Lavery, 2008 p. 44
26. Roskill, 2004 pp. 376–7. Others put the turning point as early as ‘the fall’ [sic] of 1942, see Blair, 2000 p. 48.
27. Navy List for June 1943 ‘correct to 18 May 1943’.
28. Coastal Forces comprised the Motor Torpedo Boat (MTB), Motor Gun Boat (MGB), Harbour Defence Motor Launch (HDML) and Motor Launch (ML) flotillas, but not the minesweeping and Patrol Service vessels. However, the latter were also very largely RNVR and RNR manned (particularly the Patrol Service).
29. Scott, 2009 p. 6.
30. Scott, 2009 p. 10.
31. The first RNVR officer to assume command of a coast forces flotilla was Lieutenant Robert Hichens in August 1941, who was the most decorated RNVR officer of the war. See Hichens, 2007 p. 167.
32. Dickens, 2008 p. ix. That said, the mutual resentments were very real, see Hichens, 2007 p. 168.
33. Peter Dickens, 2008 p. 66.
34. Peter Bull, 1973 p. 201.

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Captain S.M.W. Farquharson-Roberts RN (interview 24 April 2008 at his home in Hampshire and subsequent correspondence). Note: this officer is a distant relative of the author.

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