

Training Trenches at Redmires, Sheffield

The Great War Remembered



**Archaeological Surveys conducted by students from
The Institute of Lifelong Learning, University of Sheffield**

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**With a contribution by Christine Stirling
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Fieldwork at Redmires, West Sheffield 1999-2006

Summary

Archaeological surveys of an area of high ground to the west of Sheffield revealed an extensive network of World War I training trenches cut by both volunteer and professional military personnel in preparation for action on the Western Front. Whilst wartime trenches have been recorded and preserved on the Continent, training trench systems within England remain relatively rare. The opportunity to record detailed surveys of military activity at Redmires not only produced significant evidence of army training strategies during the early years of WWI, but also generated popular responses within local Sheffield communities.

1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This report presents the results of field surveys conducted by students from The University of Sheffield's Institute of Lifelong Learning as part of their assessment for an archaeological module (Fieldwork in Archaeology) offered by the Institute. Work commenced in 1999 under the auspices of the Hallam Moors Project, designed by Dr. Phil Sidebottom providing a suitable uncharted landscape (with the kind permission of the present landowner, Sheffield City Council) where students could learn the principles of land survey. Initial archival research prior to the field work failed to elucidate the nature of any archaeological features on either Quarry Hill or 'Hill 60' (see Section 1.3). The students, supervised by Dr. Sidebottom and Helen Ullathorne, recorded the surveys during four weekends in June and July (1999, 2000, 2004 and 2006). Mapping of this landscape revealed a series of complex trench systems believed to be cut by WWI trainee soldiers before they embarked for action on the Western Front.

1.2 Site location and general description of present land use

The study area (centred SK 255859) lies 7 km due west of Sheffield city centre, north west of the upper Redmires reservoir. West of the site, the land rises to the highest point of Stanage Edge at High Neb (458m AOD) as an extensive area of peat moorland, the Hallam Moors (see Fig. 1). To the south the site is bound by a coniferous plantation (created mid 20th century), whilst to the north and east the land dips to the Rivelin Valley and Sheffield basin. The area under investigation (approximately 0.25km²) is within a series of partially improved agricultural enclosures (possibly intakes), marked by walls of locally quarried stone. The vegetation is typically rough pasture with coarse grass and small colonies of rush.

As public access to the site is good, the area is now a popular amenity for leisure pursuits. The combined attractions of suitable car parking, the reservoirs, well defined footpaths and extensive views makes this landscape one of particular worth for local communities.

1.3 Geology and topography of the site

The study area consists of a series of shale sandstone, the Redmires Flags, overlying the millstone grits of Stanage Edge (Eden, et al., 1957). The nature of this fine-grained, permeable local bedrock has created an atypical environment within the locality, mostly differentiated by the vegetation cover and topography. Whilst to the west and north of the site on the millstone grits, podsolised soils and peat horizons have developed which generally support moorland species (*cullana vulgaris*), with the study area characterised by grass species. Of import to this project, the geology of the survey area appears to be a contributing factor for the cutting and survival of the trench systems. Whilst the surrounding millstone grit zones were set aside as grouse moors during the early 20th century, the shale sandstone did not provide a suitable vegetation regime for the rearing of grouse. Although summer pasturage was (and is) available, this was a limited economic resource. The land was donated to the city by the then landowner, Mr. William Wilson, for the purposes of military training in 1914. Furthermore, the shale sandstone is more conducive for trench cutting than the durable millstone grits. It would be expected that deeper trenches could be cut in the study area than elsewhere in wider landscape, not only meeting the objectives of the military in getting the men physically fit (Sparling, 1920) but also aiding the survival of the trench systems ninety years later.

Topographically, the study area is dominated by two hills, the higher Quarry Hill (402m AOD) to the east and the lower 'Hill 60'* (390m AOD) to the west. The original profiles of these hills would have been similar - rounded knolls with smooth contours and slopes no greater than 30 degrees incline. The summit of Quarry Hill, however, was the focus of stone extraction during the 18th/19th centuries and is distinguishable by a series of spoil heaps (now grassed over). An enclosure wall was set on a NNW/SSE axis on the lowest ground between the two hills. South of 'Hill 60' the land dips to a shallow valley through which a narrow stream flows into the upper Redmires reservoir. The southern flanks of this valley now support a plantation. North of Quarry Hill and 'Hill 60' the land similarly drops to a stream and overlooks a spur of land (Brown Edge).

*'Hill 60' was a locally derived name for this hill (otherwise unnamed on the Ordnance Survey map). During two WW1 battles at Ypres in Flanders (1914,1917), Hill 60 became an infamous landmark subject to ferocious fighting, causing considerable casualties on both sides. The naming of Redmire's Hill 60 is attributed to Digby Sutton who served at the camp and is cited in a publication produced for the Fulwood Historical Society (Hall, 1974).

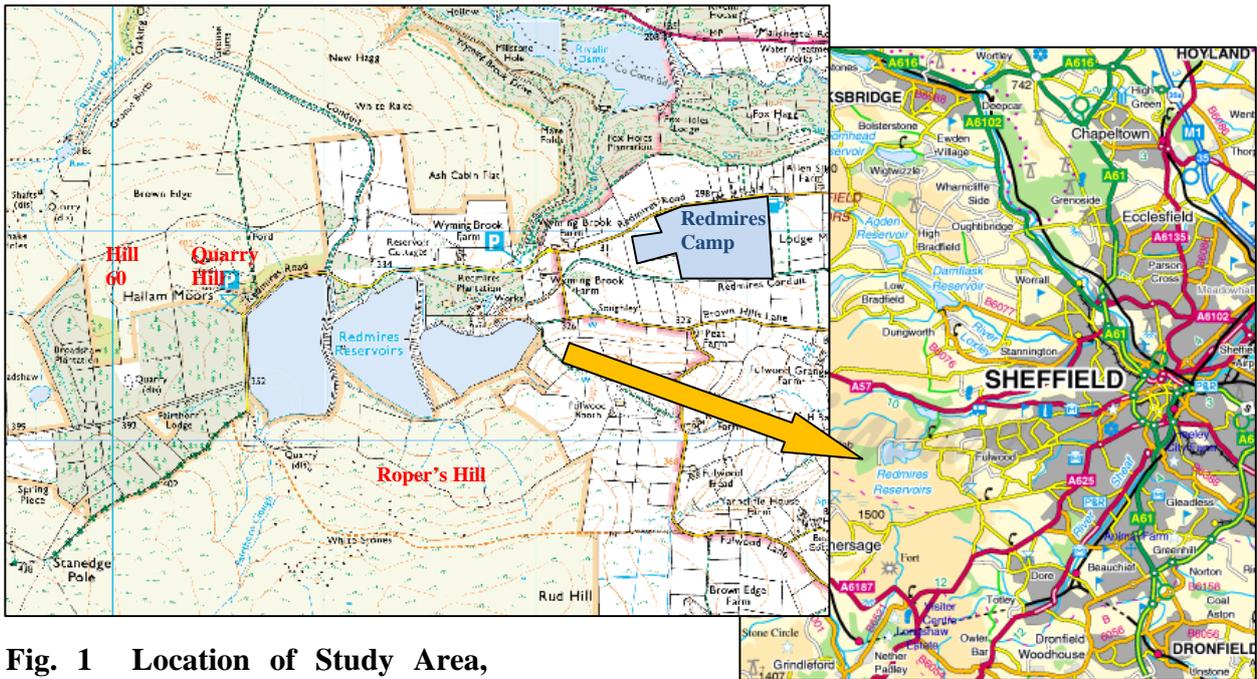


Fig. 1 Location of Study Area, showing key places mentioned in the text.



Fig. 2 From the summit of Hill 60 looking south east towards Redmires reservoirs (*Stirling*)



Fig. 3 Quarry Hill from west (*Stirling*)



Fig. 4 Southern flanks of Hill 60, from east (*Stirling*)



Fig. 5 Roper's Hill from northwest (*author*)

1.4 Archaeological features

Features associated with early 20th century military activity within the study area are of three forms: low-lying banks (no greater than 30cm high, 1m spread. See Fig 6); 'cuts' within the turf (generally 20cm deep. See Figs. 8 & 9) and platforms (of varying dimension. See Fig. 7). The distribution of features extends over the whole of the study area and will be discussed in greater detail in section 4. In some areas the features (particularly the cuts) are poorly preserved and during maximum vegetation growth and bad light conditions, are hardly visible. However, in places all three types of feature can be easily identified and a section of unfilled trench (12.5m long, 1.3m deep), located beneath the summit of Quarry Hill, is in a good state of preservation (see section 4).

1.5 Previous archaeological investigation of the site

A desktop assessment of the site failed to reveal any previous archaeological investigation of the subject area. The Sites and Monuments Records provided by the South Yorkshire Archaeological Service listed chance surface finds and features within a 2 km radius of Quarry Hill, but without exception, these were all of prehistoric origin.

2 Fieldwork

2.1 Personnel

The Institute of Lifelong Learning (TILL), University of Sheffield offers a wide range of archaeological modules for part-time students participating in Certificate of Higher Education and/or degree (BSc) programmes, or for others who wish to learn in a more formal setting yet do not want to commit to an accredited qualification. To provide a module for students to gain practical skills in the field, Dr. Sidebottom, TILL's Director of Archaeology, designed a level 1, 20 credits module to be taught in the field (ACE 1247 Fieldwork in Archaeology). To give geographic focus to the fieldwork undertaken for this bi-annual module, an area of archaeologically rich yet unrecorded landscape, west of Sheffield, was selected. The Hallam Moors Project covers an expanse of 2 square kms, including Wyming Brook (SK 270860) and Ash Cabin Flat (SK266863) in the east, White Rake (SK263866) to the north, with the subject area of this report to the south.

Generally, students attending Fieldwork in Archaeology have little, if any, previous experience of archaeological survey. Tutored by Dr. Sidebottom and Helen Ullathorne (part-time tutor at TILL), the students are taught the basics of metrically measured land surveys using the methodologies detailed below (see section 3). The success of this module rests with the students' enthusiasm to record areas of landscape that have not been mapped previously - the students recognise they are contributing to the body of archaeological information and are learning field skills in a 'real life' situation.

Three former students warrant special mention. Christine Stirling attended the second (2000) season of fieldwork and subsequently undertook extensive archival research on the Sheffield Battalion (still ongoing). She has not only accumulated a detailed collection of information regarding the battalion but has also contributed to various public talks, given interviews to the local press and appeared on a BBC 'Time Flyers' episode (see section 6). Paul Smith, who also attended the second season, independently produced a report that examined the relationship between the track that circumnavigates 'Hill 60', the enclosure walls and the training trenches. Paul and Christine also represented TILL during initial liaison with the

BBC for the preparation of the Time Flyers programme. David Willis volunteered as survey assistant during the third season's fieldwork and crafted some of the final drawings.

During 1999, Alice Ullathorne (Consultant Archaeologist) supervised the students who excavated the test pits on Quarry Hill and compiled the final drawings.

2.2 Aims of archaeological investigation

TILL endeavoured to achieve many equally important aims concerning the fieldwork conducted on the study area. Whilst TILL acknowledges its responsibility to meet the learning outcomes of the module, it is also aware that information gained from the fieldwork is of interest to wider audiences. The aims therefore, can be subdivided into three groups: -

A. Students

- To provide the students with a basic working knowledge of field surveying techniques.
- To enable students to select and practise appropriate techniques within a landscape setting.
- To produce a final drawing of the students' survey for distribution to those who contributed to the survey.

B. Archaeology

- To survey all the extant archaeological features within the study area.
- To synthesise individual surveys in a coherent map of the study area.
- To provide a detailed interpretation of the recorded features.
- To investigate archival material concerning the site.
- To protect the site by recommending the site becoming a Scheduled Ancient Monument.

C. Dissemination of information

- To deliver illustrated talks to a wide range of interest groups.
- To establish a web site promoting both the archaeological surveys and the archival information.
- To produce a detailed site report, to be deposited with the South Yorkshire Archaeological Service (and elsewhere).
- To raise sufficient funds to be able to provide information boards in the car park, to place a simple memorial stone on the site and to publish a guidebook for the general public.



Fig.6 Low lying bank on Hill 60 looking east.
Scale 1m (*author*)



Fig. 7 Platform on quarry spoil, Quarry Hill East, looking south (*author*)



Fig. 8 Trench cuts, showing crenellated form.
Quarry Hill north east, looking north east
(*author*)



Fig. 9 Trench cuts emphasised (*author*)

3 Methodology

3.1 Land Survey

Three different survey techniques were employed to map the study area - offset, plane tabling and levelling.

Offset Survey

Most commonly used for surveying the trenches, offset survey proved to be an effective means to record features. In each survey area (see Fig. 10) a datum point was established and fixed by both triangulation to Ordnance Survey recorded features and Global Positioning System (GPS). From the datum point a baseline was set, from which a series of 20m equilateral triangles (using 30m hand-held tapes) were laid. Features in each triangle were measured by recording the co-ordinates of one or more sides of the triangle and a tape set at right angles to that/those side/s. Co-ordinates were then plotted on Permatrace



overlying graph paper at a scale of 1:100 and features were drawn by hand. Magnetic north was recorded for each survey triangle. A team of three students laid and surveyed a single triangle, with individuals in the team periodically changing tasks.

Fig. 10 Offset Survey (*author, 2004*)

Plane Table Survey

Although this technique was used infrequently on the study area, students were given the opportunity to use the plane table to survey. A station was established by the same method as the datum points on the offset surveys and the table assembled directly above this point. Once the drawing board was set on a horizontal plane, direction to features was established through the alidade sight resting on the fulcrum pin (representing the station). Measurements to the feature were taken by hand-held tapes and drawn to scale (1:100) on Permatrace.

Survey by Levelling



Several slope profiles of both hills on the site were mapped. These were set at right angles to the datum baseline of the offset surveys and accordingly fixed on the final drawings. Height readings were made from a dumpy level and 5m staff, taken at regular intervals (2m) along the profile baseline. Where the two baselines intersected, a GPS height reading was made. Once the students had collected the raw data, a scaled (horizontal and vertical 1:100) drawing was completed.

Fig. 11 Levelling (*author, 2006*)

3.2 Test pits

Generally, because of limits on time and finance, TILL does not normally provide the opportunity for students to practise any form of excavation. However, in 1999, a series of four test pits were cut across selected features on the summit of Quarry Hill (see Fig. 26). These were opened to a) ascertain the character and fabric of the features and, b) to understand the relationship between different features on the site. Each pit measured 2m x 1m, and was hand trowelled to a depth of an undisturbed horizon. Observations and drawings were made on separate recording sheets.

4 Results

4.1 Land Surveys

In total, the students have surveyed five large areas and the unfilled trench (see Fig.12). Each of these is considered individually in this section.

Quarry Hill South

Conducted in 1999, this survey covers an area of 150m (W/E) x 225m (N/S) on the summit of Quarry Hill (formerly named Lords Seat [1791]) to the west of the stone extraction zones. The features recorded are low-lying banks, raised mounds or shallow troughs (see Fig. 13). No cuts (trenches) were observed, although aerial photographs produced by David MacCleod of R.C.H.M. for the 2002 BBC 'Time Flyers' episode (see Figs. 14 & 15) show evidence of shallow ridge and furrow on the gently west-dipping land from the summit of the hill, believed to be associated with a small plantation, no longer present on the site.

Of all the survey areas, this proves most difficult to interpret. The linear banks to the north and south of the site are well defined and appear not to be truncated by quarry activity, suggesting they post date the mid 19th century when stone extraction ceased. Similarly, the morphology of these features is comparable to that of other banks on the south facing flank of Hill 60 (see below) which are irrefutably of military training origin. What confuses a secure interpretation is the lack of a coherent pattern, for military use, of the features in this area.

It must also not be discounted that some of these features represent much earlier, possibly prehistoric, activity. Extensive areas of Bronze Age remains (Barnatt 1990, TILL unpublished) have been recorded within unimproved areas 0.5km to the E and NE of Quarry Hill. The hill itself is a distinctive topographical feature of the wider landscape with distant views in all directions, making it a likely focus of prehistoric activity (Tilley 1994).

Interpretation of this area is further complicated by evidence of stone-getting. Whilst large-scale extraction occurred to the east of the survey, it is possible that some of the troughs recorded are remains of small-scale delves or track-ways in association with quarrying. Raised mounds might also indicate spoil from excavation for the shale sandstone, yet are very regular in profile, indicating purposeful constructions, possibly relating to military activity.

Further investigation is necessary to fully understand how this part of the study area was used (if at all) by the military. The lack of trenches and a relatively open enclosure loosely bounded by the banks may indicate this was a collecting area for those training within the locality, yet more evidence is needed to substantiate this interpretation. Information gained from four test pits cut within this survey area is discussed below (see Section 4.2).

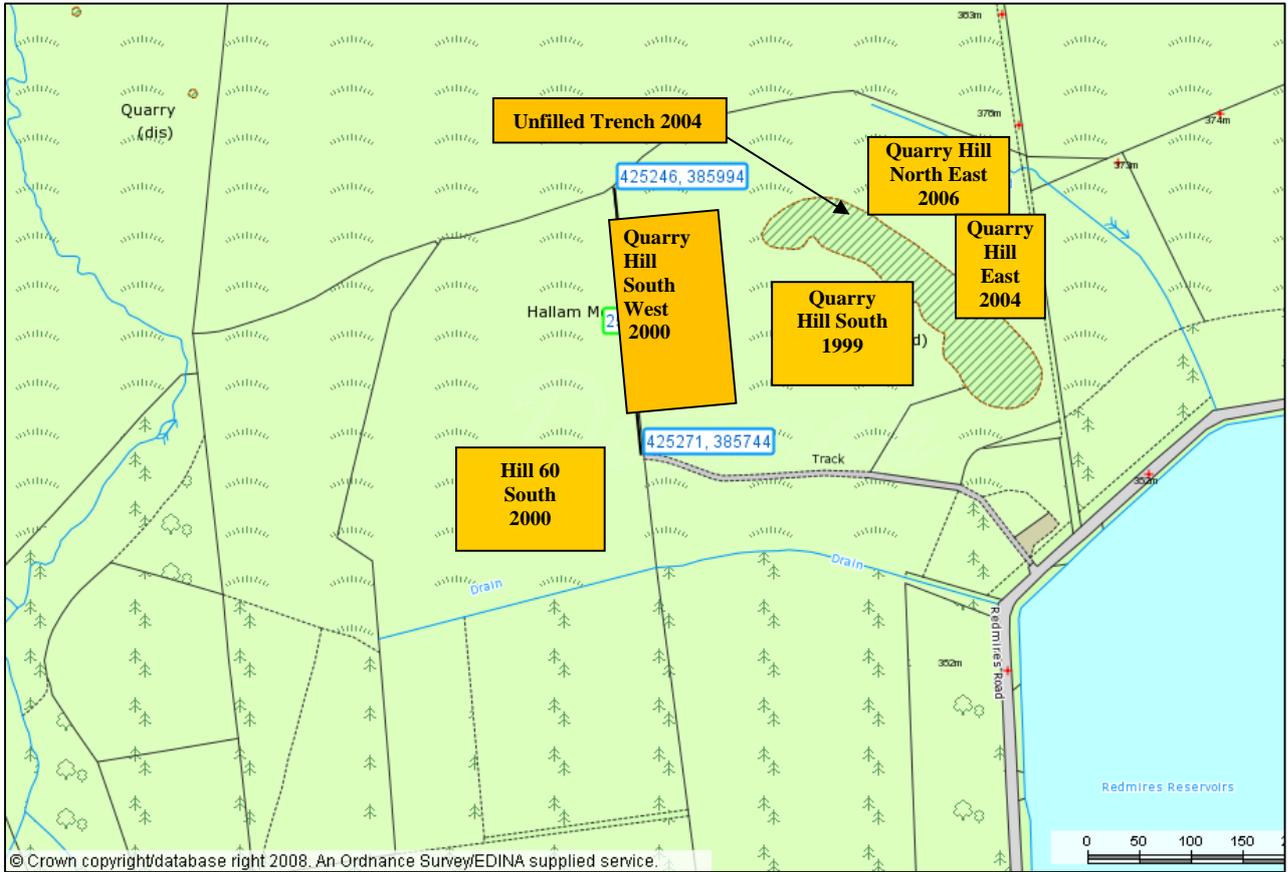


Fig. 12 Surveys within study area (TILL 1999, 2000, 2004 and 2006)

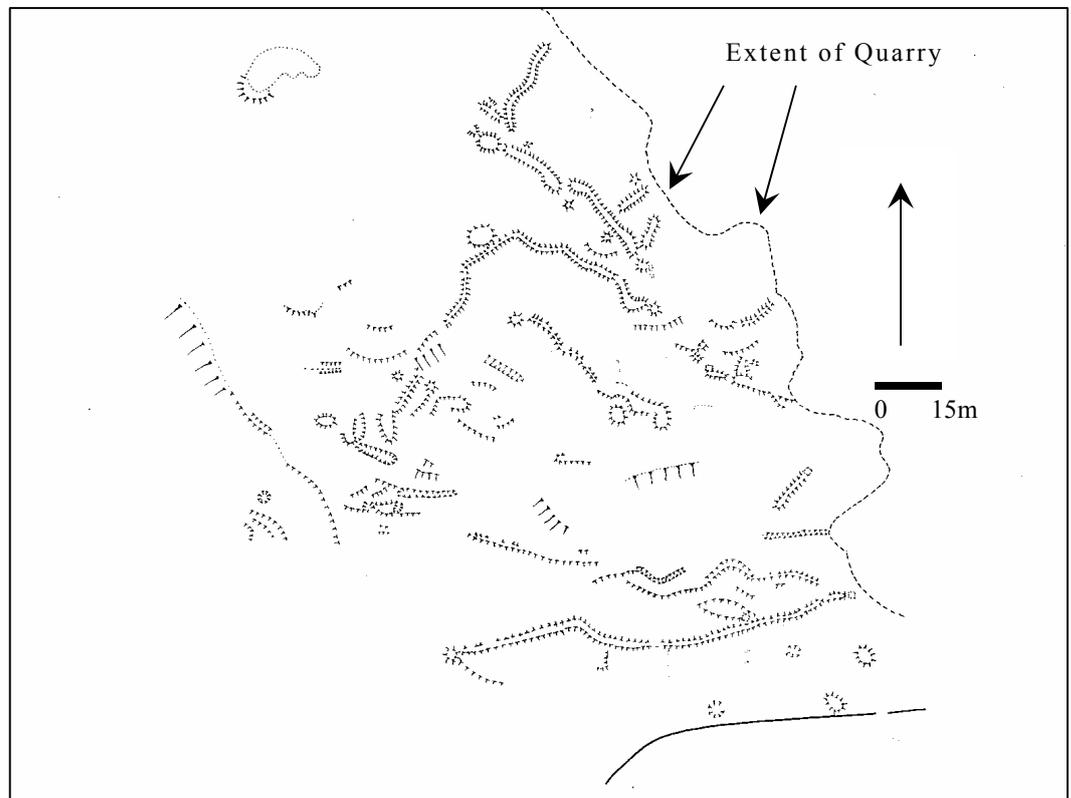


Fig. 13 Quarry Hill South Survey (Drawn by A. Ullathorne, surveyed by TILL 1999)



Fig. 14 Aerial photograph of Quarry Hill from north east showing trench systems on the northern and eastern flanks of the hill. Centre of the image are faint parallel features thought to be associated with an early plantation (*D. Macloed RCHAM 2003*)



Fig. 15 Aerial photograph of the southern flank of Hill 60 from the north showing 'trench system' (*D. Macloed RCHAM 2003*)

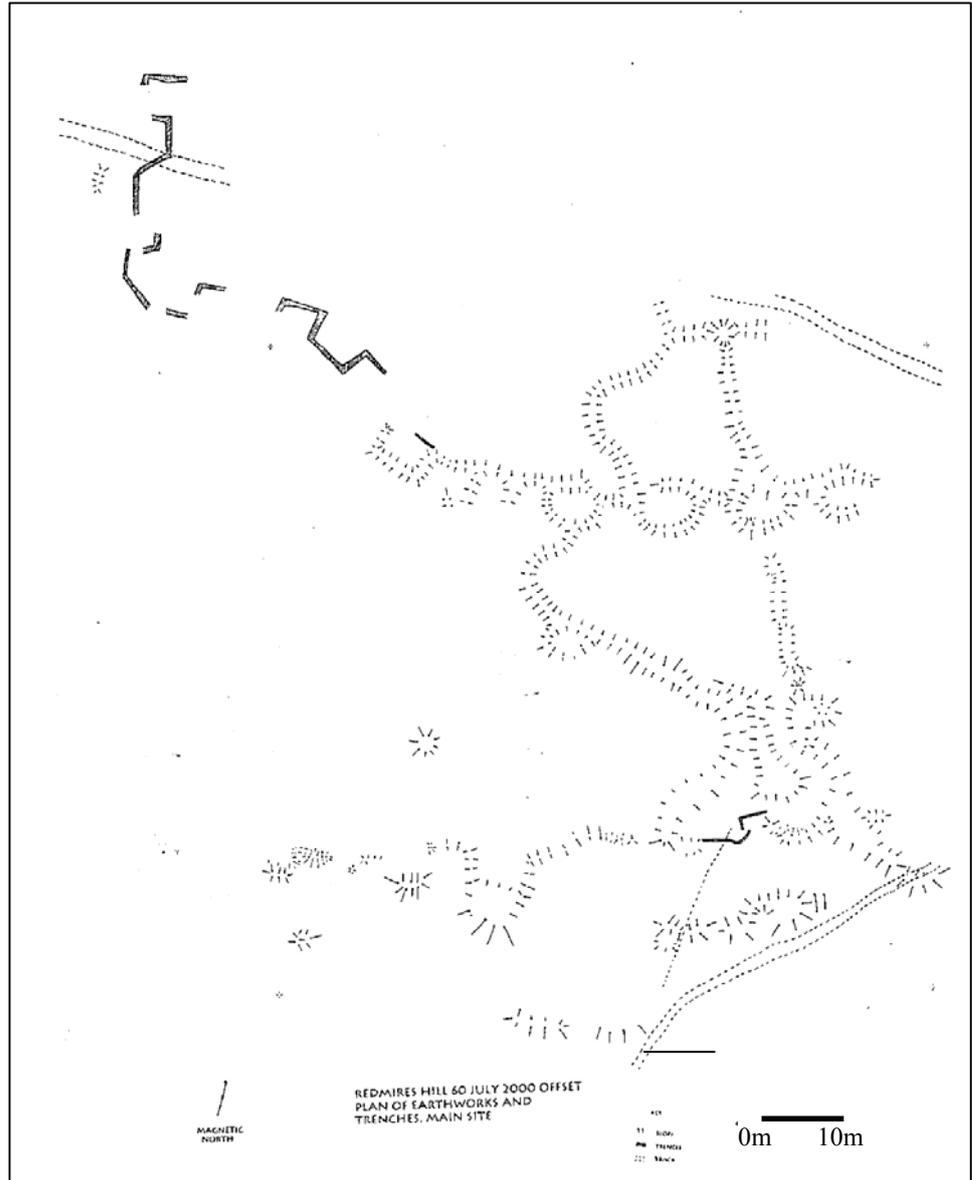


Fig. 16 Hill 60 South Survey (Drawn by D. Willis, 2000)

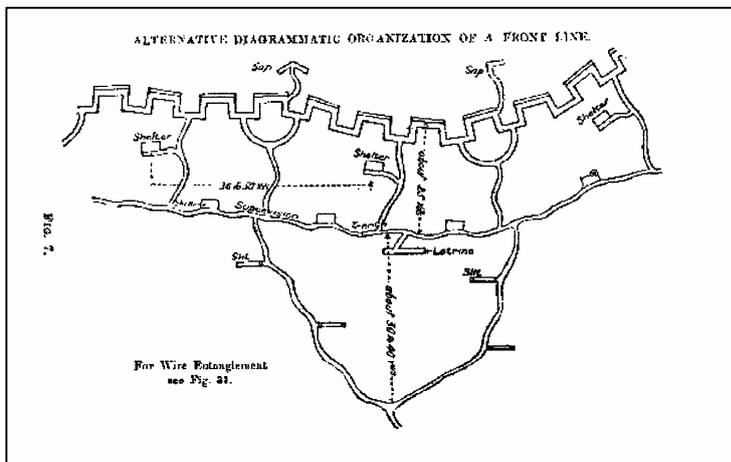


Fig. 17 WW1 model trench system (War Office 1916)

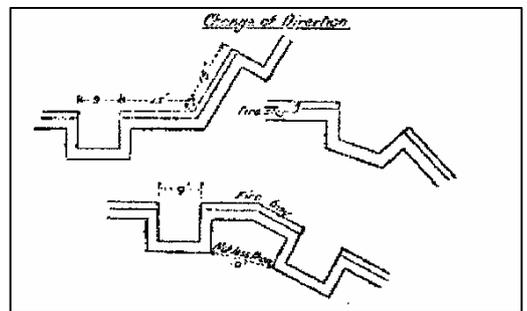


Fig. 18 Change of direction for Trenches (War Office 1916)

Hill 60 South

Conducted in 2000, this survey extends 112m (W/E) x 130m (N/S) mid-slope on the south facing flank of Hill 60, bordered and between two diverging tracks (see Fig 16). The survey area contains a series of interconnected, low-lying, sinuous banks that closely resemble in pattern to one of the trench systems depicted in an officers' field book (War Office, 1916) used on the Western Front (see Fig. 17). Why banks were constructed rather than trenches cut for this configuration is not known, but evidence at Rugeley Camp, Staffordshire, of a model trench system of the same period, does have several bank features within it (see Section 7). It is also not fully understood whether this system had the 'front line' to the north (the summit of Hill 60) or the south of the site.

Extending west of the banks and also in a discreet area in the southern section of the trench model, several trench cuts are present. Those to the west are of crenellated plan form (firing trenches) that again replicates illustrations from the officers' field book (see Fig. 15). Of note is the change of direction of these trenches from an east/west to north/south alignment that can be matched with further drawings from the field book (see Fig 18). Dimensions of the cut trenches (at present) slightly differ to the diagrams in that they are slightly larger in scale (16.4 feet [5m] rather than 13 feet [3.9m] - crenellated buttress inner wall). Two trench cuts in the southern section of the bank series appear anomalous to the system and may represent a different phase of military activity on the site.

With the exception of one small section of trench on the eastern slope of Quarry Hill (see below), it is believed all practice trenches within the study area were backfilled. When this was done is unknown (although see Appendix 1).

Quarry Hill South West

Using the boundary wall between the two hills as the western extreme, this survey conducted in 2000, covered an area of 195m (W/E) x 335m (N/S) on the western slope of Quarry Hill (see Fig. 19). Topographically, the land rises from the south to a ridge on which a track is laid then drops to a stream in the north of the survey area.

Although low-lying banks are present in this survey area, trench cuts predominate. Those to the south of the track are generally aligned with the contours and are fragmentary sections of crenellated trench systems in a good state of preservation. The patterning of these suggest that teams of men were allocated small patches of ground to learn the technique of trench cutting, rather than using them as facsimile trench systems in which manoeuvres were taught. Trenches to the north of the track appear far more cohesively organised than those in the southern section of the survey area. A series of contour respecting, crenellated trenches are present mid slope between the track and the stream. From each of these, several interconnecting trenches were cut that converge in single trenches aligned cross contour to the base of the slope.

The contrast between these two zones of trench cuts may be explained by the logical division of Quarry Hill into blocks of land that the track and topography define, with areas set aside for different training purposes. What remains uncertain is whether these zones represent a

single episode of trench cutting or two (or more) phases of military activity. Records show trench training occurred at Redmires in three episodes (the Sheffield Battalion 1914-15, the Royal Engineers June 1915 and the Sherwood Foresters 1915), yet little is known about the specific areas each group used on the site.

Of the low-lying banks, those south of the track seem most likely to be associated with military training. With the exception of a pair of parallel banks in the south-west quadrant of the survey area, all other banks appear to be spoil generated from trench digging. The function of the parallel banks remains to be interpreted. The banks are regular in profile, extend 20m (NW/SE), separated by 1.5m and measuring 5m from outer edges.

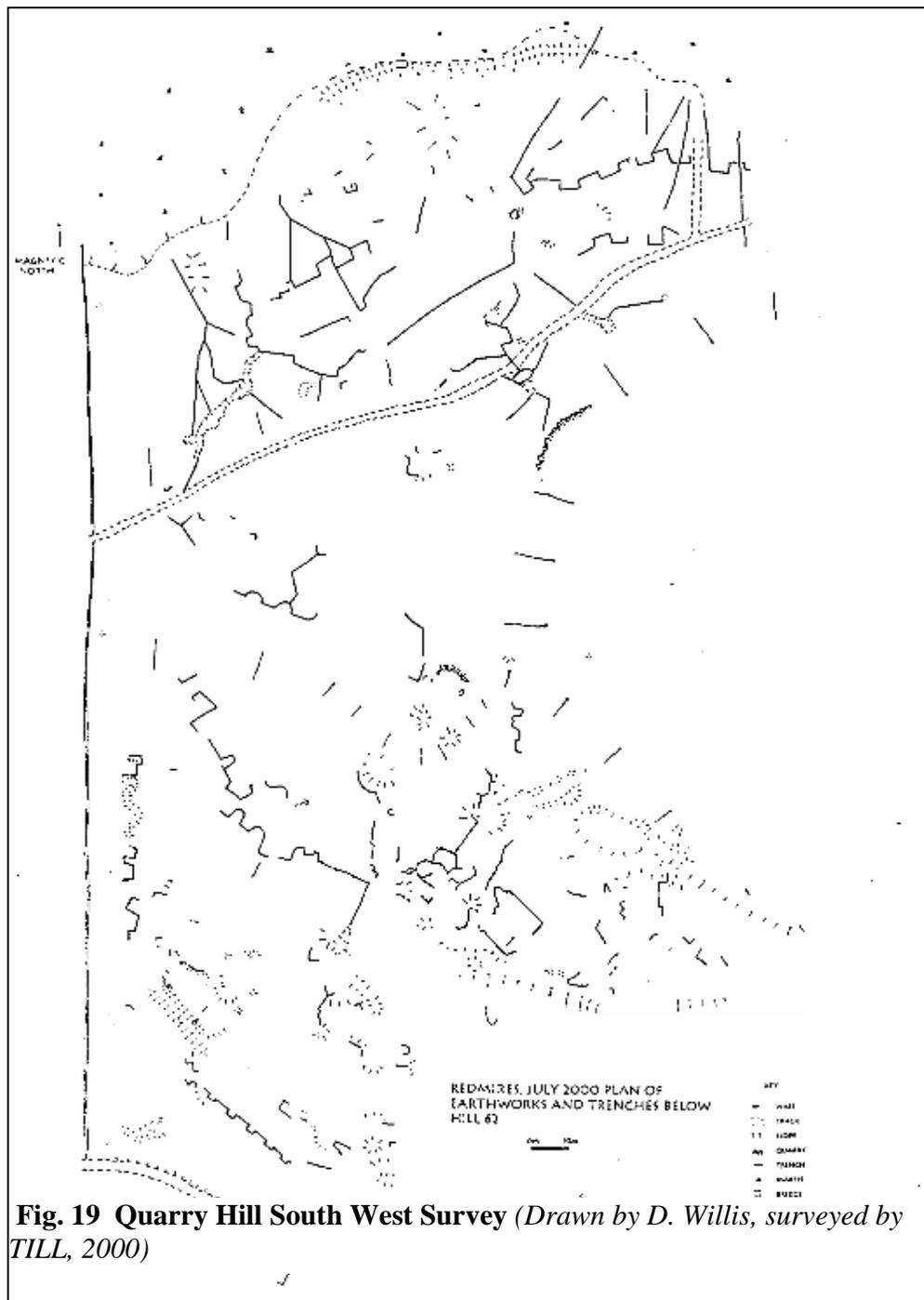


Fig. 19 Quarry Hill South West Survey (Drawn by D. Willis, surveyed by TILL, 2000)

Quarry Hill East

An area 108m (N/S) x 58m (E/W) on the east-facing slope of Quarry Hill was surveyed in 2004 (see Fig. 20). This survey was bound by a footpath and enclosure wall to the east, a track to the south and quarry spoil to the west. Two slope profiles set at right angles to the datum baseline show gradients of 16° to the east that graduate to 30° toward the summit of Quarry Hill in the west (see Fig. 21).

The features recorded in this area include all three forms - trench cuts, low-lying banks and platforms. Trench cuts are in a ranked crenellated series of three, set roughly parallel, contour respecting and extending the length (108m) of the survey. Between the upper two ranks a further line of trenches, also crenellated, has been cut halfway (N/S) along the survey area. The upper ranks are well preserved and visible regardless of conditions, whilst the lower rank is less easy to detect, possibly due to accumulation of hill-wash. Several trenches, set perpendicularly from the crenellated trench alignments, connect the two lower ranks.

What is interesting in the patterning of trenches in this area is that a near complete system appears to have been cut, in contrast to the area south of the track on the Quarry Hill South West Survey (see above). The organisation of the trenches at Quarry Hill east mirrors those to the north of the track in the previous survey and might well be the furthest extent of the same system. Unrecorded walkover surveys, aerial photographs and the Quarry Hill North-East Survey (see below) support this case. However, it is still uncertain when and by whom these trenches were cut.

Several small platforms were recorded in this area. These are typically less than 5m across x 3m deep, set into the slope and within the trench alignments or inserted into the quarry spoil. Those on the spoil heaps might well represent either gun emplacements or platforms on which the officers could direct training, whilst those within the trench systems makeshift shelters.

A length of low-lying bank lies on the shorter crenellated section of trenches, to the north of the survey. This seems most likely to be the spoil from trench cutting rather than a purposeful construction as its form is rather irregular and dissimilar from those banks on Hill 60 south.

Unfilled Trench

A 12.5m length of unfilled trench (SK 254860, 396m AOD) was surveyed in 2004. This is unique to the whole site and gives impression of the dimensions of the trenches prior to being backfilled (see Fig. 22). Its survival poses a problem. All other trenches on the site appear to have been backfilled by army personnel during or shortly after the trenches were cut (see Casey diary entry, Appendix 1) yet this short stretch of trench remained open. No apparent explanation can be given for the survival of this feature, although a further trench abutting the unfilled trench has been backfilled.

The trench is aligned on a NW/SE axis with a dogleg to the east from the NW corner. From this point, down-slope, the depth of the trench corresponds to filled trenches elsewhere on the site. The SE terminal of the unfilled section is set where two quarry spoils converge. Overall, the morphology of the trench is uniform with steep sides dropping to a depth of 1.3m to a narrow trench floor (see Fig. 23). Spoil from cutting the trench appears to be deposited midway along the section on the eastern side of the feature. A small area of landslip has occurred in the west wall of the trench.

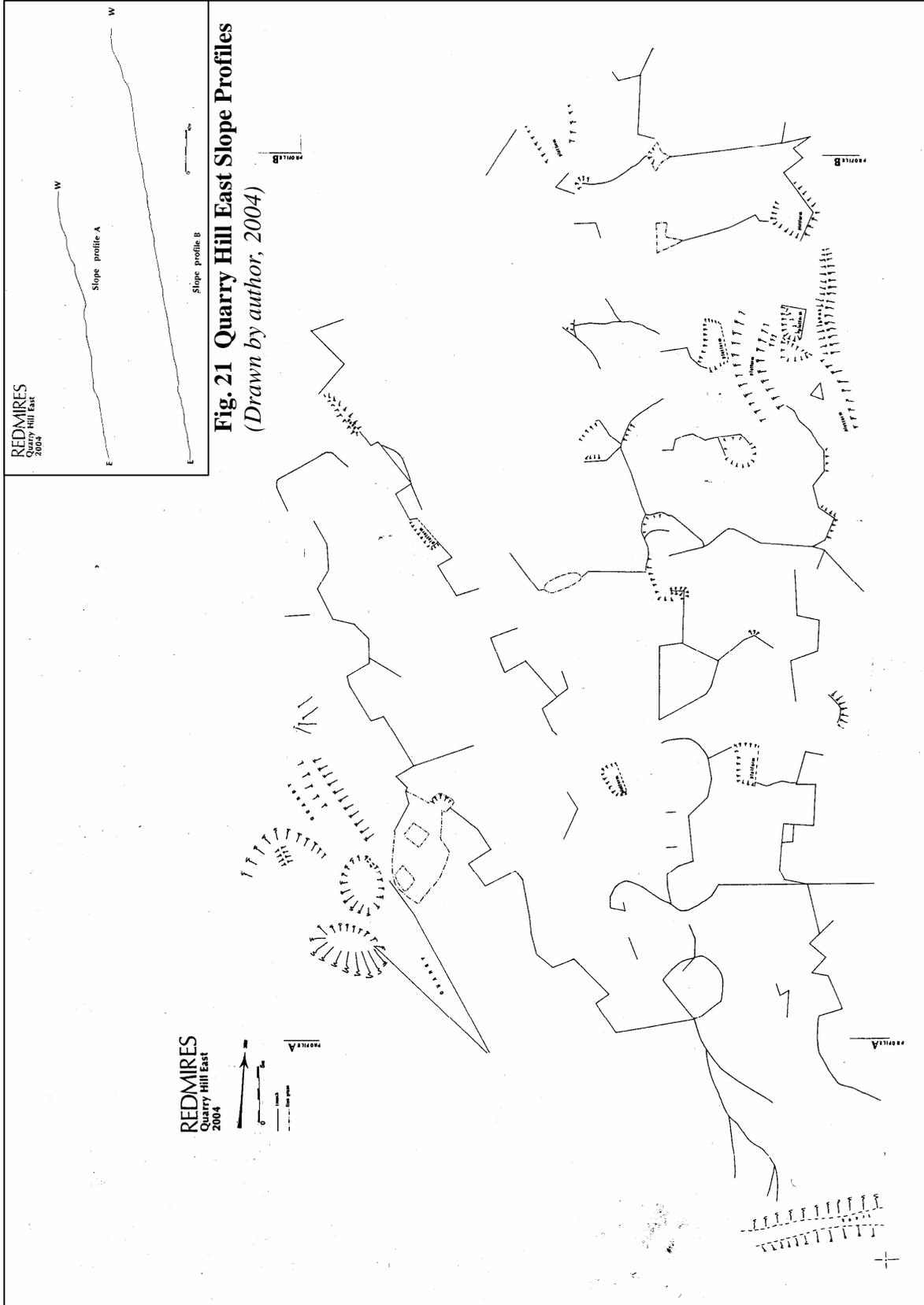


Fig. 21 Quarry Hill East Slope Profiles
(Drawn by author, 2004)

Fig. 20 Quarry Hill East Survey *(Drawn by author)*

Quarry Hill North East

Conducted in 2006, this survey was located to map further features on the eastern flank of Quarry Hill and links with the survey made in 2004. An area 97.3m (NW) x 65.7m (SE), extending to a track in the north east, abutting Quarry Hill East survey to the east and bounded by quarry spoil to the south west, was recorded (see Fig. 24). A slope profile was made at right angles to the datum baseline from the track to the summit of the quarry and showed no variance to those recorded for Quarry Hill East, with a slope gradient between 15° and 30° (see Fig. 25).

Features recorded in this survey consist of trench cuts and platforms. Three of the ranked, crenellated trench systems identified in the Quarry Hill East survey continue in this survey, with the lower rank extending to the north of the track and beyond the parameters of the area covered. The upper trench system is present, in a good state of preservation, across the length of the survey. Here the up-slope facing buttresses are separated by distances of between 3.9m (22.5 feet) and 14.2m (46.4 feet). Mid length of this system a two pronged trench, cut perpendicularly (down-slope) from the rank, converges and terminates on a shallow platform which possibly marks the location of the shorter section of trenches identified in the Quarry Hill East survey. Fragmented portions of this rank are present to the east and west of this point. If this sequence is correct, then the upper rank post dates the shorter section of crenellated trenches.

Parallel (by a distance of 23.6m) to the upper rank of crenellated trenches is the second lowest system of trenches recorded in the Quarry Hill East survey. This has buttresses regularly spaced (5m) along the line, which in part utilises a large platform (25.7m length x 5.2m depth) cut into the slope. Because there are no other examples of similar platforms associated with trench cutting elsewhere in the study area, it is possible this feature represents earlier quarry activity. Several sinuous, cross contour trenches (communication trenches) diverge from this system.

Small platforms (average dimension 5m x 2.5m) cut into the natural slope and associated with the trench systems are evidenced in this survey. Although these might be remnants of earlier quarrying, the uniformity of these features and close spatial relationship with the trenches strongly suggests a military rather than stone-extractive use.

A few amorphous mounds of raised ground were noted in or by the two continuous trench lines within the survey area. These were interpreted as spoil heaps created by the cutting of trenches.

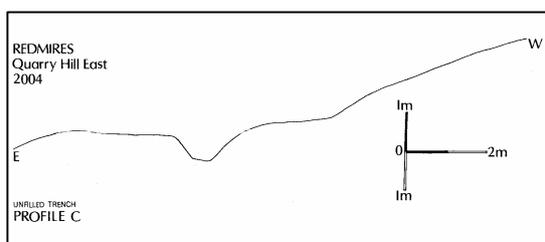


Fig. 22 Profile of Unfilled Trench
(Drawn by author)

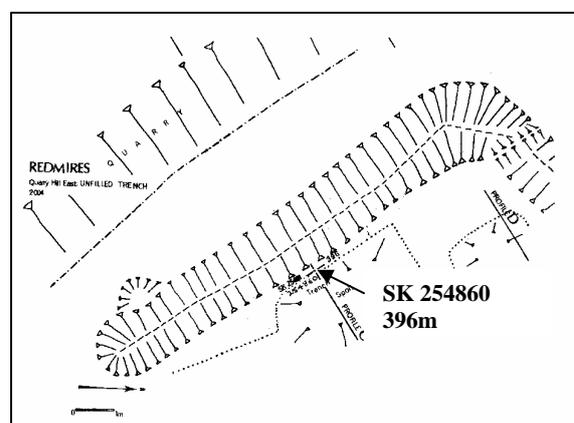


Fig. 23 Plan of Unfilled Trench (Drawn by author, 2004)

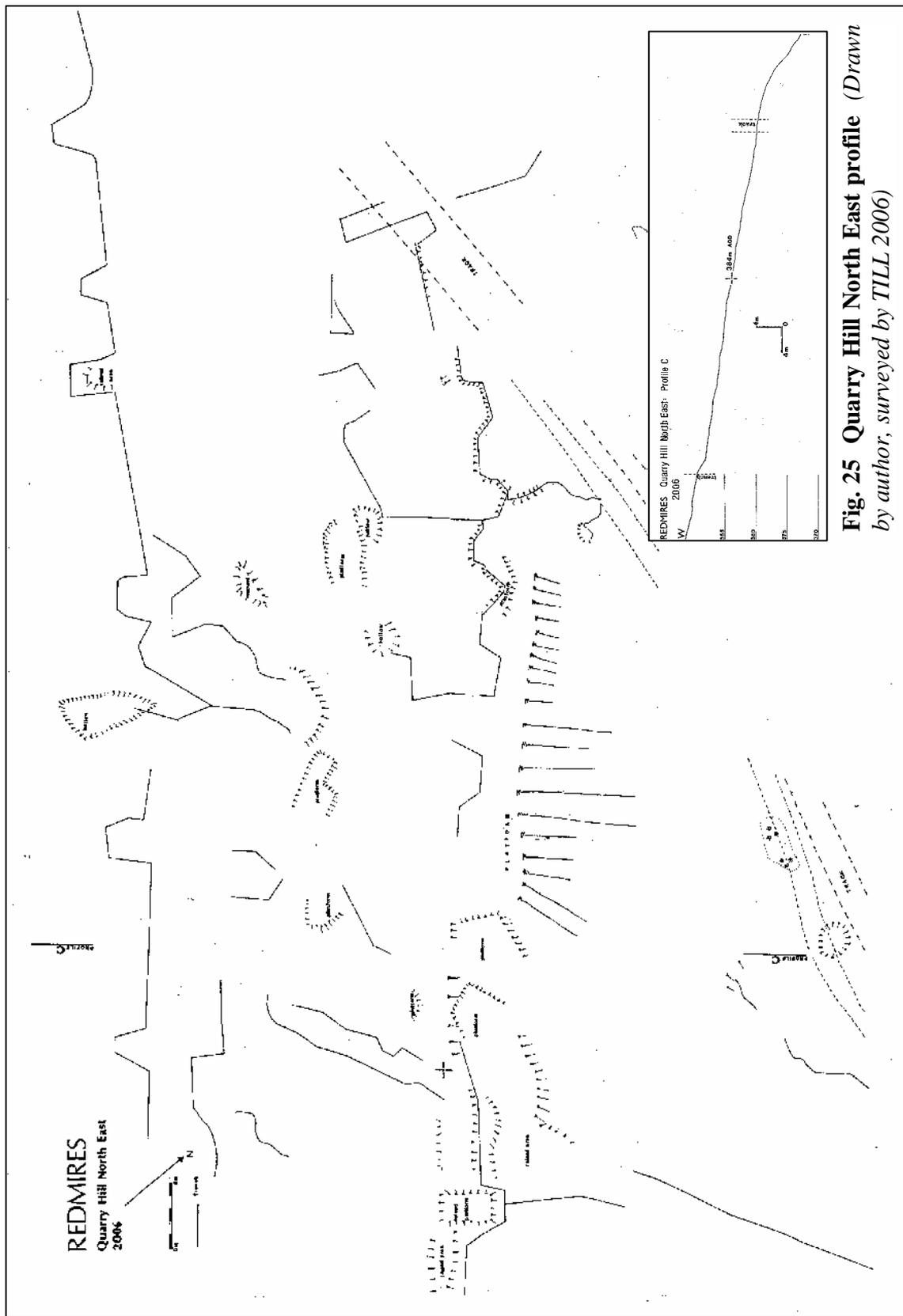


Fig. 25 Quarry Hill North East profile (Drawn by author, surveyed by TILL 2006)

Fig. 24 Quarry Hill North East Survey (Drawn by author, surveyed by TILL 2006)

4.2 Test Pits: Quarry Hill South

Of the test pits sunk in 1999 three were placed on low-lying banks to investigate the nature of the banks and understand the stratigraphic relationship between these features and their local environment (see Fig. 26). All test pits revealed soil conditions of an orange/red loamy sand within which were 25% small (<5cm) shale/sand stone inclusions. Two thin peat lenses (horizontally deposited) were recorded in each of these test pits, one directly beneath the turf and a second between loamy sand horizons (see Fig 27). The banks were constructed of

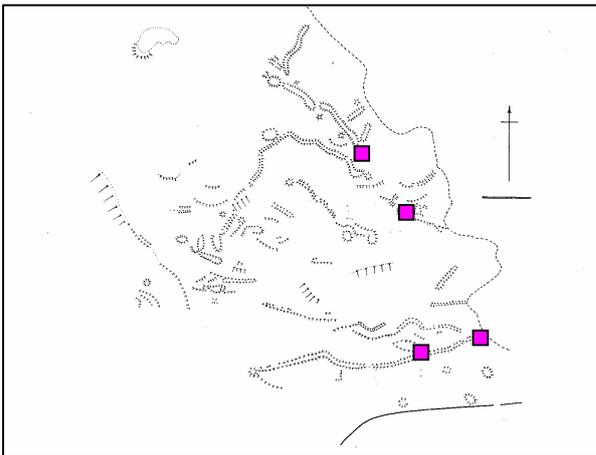


Fig. 26 Distribution of test pits on Quarry Hill South (*not to scale*)

medium (8-20cm) and small (0-8cm) closely packed stones quarried from a ditch adjacent to the bank, over which the deeper peat horizon had been deposited. This raises the question of the chronology of the ditches and banks. Peat horizons accumulate over some time (H.M.S.O., 1957) yet above the ditches are two peat horizons. If the peat formed *in situ*, it is unlikely that ninety years (since military activity occurred on the site) is sufficient period for these horizons to form. However, management of the surrounding grouse moors involves the burning of mature heather to produce young growth. This process accelerates erosion of the underlying soils and peat particles may have been wind transported and redeposited on Quarry Hill (Heath, pers comm 2000). Dating of the banks therefore remains unresolved.

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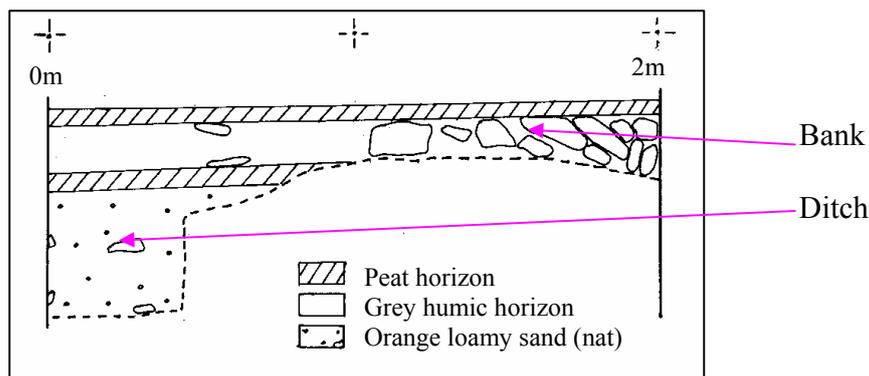


Fig. 27 Schematic drawing of test pits on Quarry Hill South (*Drawn by author, 1999*)

5 Archival Research (Christine Stirling)

In tracing the history of the Sheffield Battalion various sources held within local and national institutions, together with online organisations were consulted. This melding of archaeological and historical research has allowed a fuller understanding of the features recorded within the study area and placed information gained from the documents into a landscape setting. Of the primary and secondary historical sources viewed, all fall into the categories detailed below.

5.1 Official military documents

Although extensive research of documents relating to Sheffield's battalion training at Redmires yielded no official papers, three publications originally issued by the British War Office in 1911, 1916 and 1917 were particularly useful in the interpretation and dating of the features recorded in the study area. All three books were field instruction manuals for infantry officers, giving written and diagrammatic descriptions for the construction of defensive trenches. The correlation between the nature and patterning of trenches surveyed at Redmires to those illustrated in the manuals has allowed a secure identification of the features. Recent reprints of *'Manual of Field Engineering 1911'* (2002, Fredonia Books) and *'Notes on Trench Warfare for Infantry Officers 1917'* (2003, Imperial War Museum) are now freely available.

5.2 Newspaper reports

Sheffield's Local Studies Library, Central Library and the Archive Office hold extensive runs of local newspapers published during the battalion's period of training at Redmires. Many staff from the Sheffield Daily Telegraph enlisted with the battalion (Gibson & Oldfield, 2006) with at least one reporter, Richard Sparling, regularly contributing articles to the newspaper (ibid. p. 31). One illustrated (see section 5.3) article published on 24th April 1915 described training activities from Redmires Camp, perhaps in response to an earlier report in the 'Sheffield Independent' of 5th February 1915. Whilst all of these written accounts are helpful in understanding public reaction to the formation and early training of the Battalion, they do not fix activities to specific areas within the Redmires locality.

5.3 Images

Photographs of the Sheffield Battalion are held in the Local Studies Library. Of special interest to this report are a series of images taken for the Sheffield Telegraph showing Battalion members training and resting in the general areas around Redmires Camp (see Fig. 29). To date the exact locations of where these photographs were taken are unknown, but it is hoped that further research will at least identify some of these areas. Other photographs are known to exist (see Gibson & Oldfield, 2006 ed.) most particularly showing conditions within the camp, yet at present these remain beyond the scope of this project.

5.4 Personal documents

Perhaps the most relevant document to the archaeological surveys is a recently available diary written by Alphaeus Abbot Casey (www.pals.org.uk - see Appendix 1). This document details the battalion's stay at Redmires Camp from 1st January until its departure to Cannock Chase on May 13th 1915. Casey, a recruit from the University of Sheffield, not only provided a

narrative of conditions within the camp but also fully described the nature of training on a daily basis. Whilst another diary written by a battalion member is housed in the York and Lancaster Regiment Museum, there is only one short entry for the time spent at Redmires.

5.5 Implications and Discussion of Archival Material

Alphaeus Casey's diary undoubtedly compliments the archaeological fieldwork, yet one major problem arises. Casey situates trench cutting on Roper's Hill (see Wednesday 27th January), south of the camp, rather than on Quarry Hill or 'Hill 60'. Several possibilities concerning which military unit cut the trenches recorded by the archaeologists can be postulated. Sheffield Battalion was 1,131 men strong when stationed at Redmires Camp (7th December, 1914 Sheffield Daily Telegraph) and subdivided into four companies - A,B,C and D (Gibson & Oldfield, 2006). For purposes of trench-cutting training, it is likely that each of these companies was allocated a different part of the nearby landscape in which to practise. Casey was a member of A Company that might have only practised on Roper's Hill whilst the other companies were elsewhere (Quarry Hill and 'Hill 60'). However, other explanations could be given. Ralph Gibson and Paul Oldfield (2006) state that the West Riding Division Artillery Territorial Force trained in the Redmires area before the war (ibid. p. 43), yet little is known about the nature of that training. Could it be possible that the trenches surveyed by TILL students were cut during this early phase of military activity on the site? Finally, it is also possible that military units stationed at the camp *after* Sheffield Battalion had left (Sherwood Foresters [Chatsworth Rifles] 1915; Royal Engineers [Field Auxiliary] 1915/1916) used the study area for trench training.

It is clear further research of other military units that trained in the Redmires locality is necessary to fully understand the sequence of features recorded in the surveys.

6 Dissemination of information

6.1 Local Audiences

Several public talks to a variety of interest groups have been given by personnel from the survey teams. The first was presented by Helen Ullathorne and Christine Stirling in 2002 for the South Yorkshire Archaeological Day. This is an annual, day conference organised by the South Yorkshire Archaeological Service and The Institute of Lifelong Learning, promoting recent discoveries/research in the local region. Audiences for this event are drawn from a broad geographic spread.

The illustrated presentation was given in two sections. The first gave background information of the site and the archaeology present, whilst the second part focused on the formation and local training (at Redmires) of the Sheffield Battalion, concluding with the battalion's first experiences of active service at the Battle of the Somme.

Individual clubs and societies within the Sheffield area made requests, in response to this talk, for further presentations. Since 2002, Christine Stirling and Helen Ullathorne have given a series of illustrated talks to the Hunter Society, the Ramblers' Association, the Friends of the Porter Valley and, most recently, the Congregational Church of Cross Pool. In 2003, Dr. Sidebottom and Adele Geraghty also produced two separate evenings of archaeology and poetry for the Hope Valley Rotarians, Derbyshire and the British Legion, of which military training at Redmires was a central theme.

Helen Ullathorne gave further presentations to students at the Archaeology Department, University of Sheffield and also escorted, with Christine Stirling, a group of Doncaster school children from Rossington High School (year 10) on a site tour in 2004. Dr. Sidebottom has also led several interested parties, including Sheffield City councillors and Sheffield Hallam MP, Richard Allen on guided walks of the study area. On occasion, members of the public would approach the survey teams whilst they were conducting their fieldwork, to whom information was given freely by students and directors alike.

In all cases, the public talks generated enthusiastic audience responses and invariably produced local anecdotal information that added fresh knowledge for the site archive. Many of those in the audiences were familiar with the study area yet unaware of the military significance of this landscape and have since returned to the site to trace the features mapped by TILL students.

BBC Radio Sheffield (2000), the Sheffield Star (2000, 2003) and Sheffield Telegraph (2004) newspapers all reported on the fieldwork, raising local interest in both the surveys and the battalion.

Although no recent publications exist on fieldwork conducted at Redmires (a matter which this report hopes to address), Helen Ullathorne has been invited to write an article for a free, locally available magazine, Archaeology and Conservation in Derbyshire (ACID) published and distributed by the Derbyshire Archaeological Advisory Committee of the Peak District National Park Authority. This should be available in the forthcoming issue (2006).

Bert Heyvaert, a masters student (European Historical Archaeology) at the Department of Archaeology, University of Sheffield produced a dissertation, 'Landscape of conflict, landscape of commemoration' (2003) in which the archaeology of the study area was the central topic. This research focused on why and how this tract of upland should be preserved for future generations of Sheffield residents, offering suggestions for management of the site. A copy of this unpublished dissertation is held in the department library.

Students attending the TILL fieldwork module also submitted working diaries for assessment which are available at the Institute's office.

Christine Stirling has researched and prepared a short companion book to this report, outlining the history of the Sheffield Battalion from its inaugural recruitment meeting at Sheffield Town Hall in 1914 to the catastrophic events of the 1st July 1916 at Serre, on the Somme. It is hoped this will be available for local distribution within the near future.

6.2 Nation-wide Audiences

To access wider audiences beyond Sheffield, Dr. Sidebottom was instrumental in attracting the British Broadcasting Company's series, 'Time Flyers', to produce a half-hour programme solely focused on the study area, entitled 'From Sheffield to the Somme'. The format of this episode was to create a narrative of the landscape by use of aerial footage, expertise advice, archival records and historic images (both stills and moving). The production team not only

filmed the study area (and kindly donated digital images of the trench systems for the survey) but also at Serre. The first broadcast of this episode was transmitted on BBC 2, 2nd December 2003, with several reruns on BBC2, BBC4 and UK TV History channels. Responses to the programme have been generally favourable (www.bbc/timeflyers; www.thegreatwarforum), stimulating online debate from contributors across the country.

6 Discussion and Proposals for Further Work

The preservation, and in some cases reconstruction, of sections of WW1 Western Front trenches has been a concern for continental authorities since the latter half of the twentieth century (see Saunders, 2002). It is only recently that attention in Great Britain has been paid to military sites of the same era (Schofield, 1998). Investigation, recording and, if warranted, scheduling 'structures, earthworks and other remains representing the increasingly global conflict which has characterised the twentieth century' (Schofield 1998 p. 1) became one of the remits of English Heritage's Monuments Protection Programme (MPP), under the auspices of the Defence of Britain Project launched in 1995 (Saunders, 1998). Whilst WW1 military sites are an intrinsic part of the scope of the project, because of the ephemeral nature of training trench structures, they remain poorly represented in the record. Exceptions to this rule exist. In south Angus, Barry Budden Camp trench system and training trenches (NGR: NO 53653295) are listed in the National Monuments Record of Scotland (No NO53SW 90) and Scheduled. At present three sites in Wales, Bodelwydan Castle Denbighshire; Maesdu Golf Course, Conwy Caernarfonshire (NGR SH 77838022) and Penally Pembrokeshire are listed with training trench systems. Of the ten listings of practice trench systems in the Defence of Britain Project's catalogue for England, only two are described in good/fair condition (Shipton Bellinger, Hampshire and Clipstone, Nottinghamshire). Sections of an instruction trench model also survive in a good state of preservation at Rugeley, Cannock Chase (NGR SK 00281681) and are now Scheduled (National Monument No. 35861).

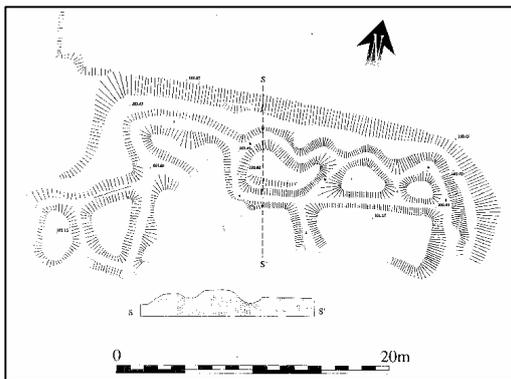


Fig. 28 Model Trench System, Rugeley Camp Staffs. (Welch, 1997)

Rugeley Camp is of special relevance to Redmires, for it was here that the Sheffield Battalion was posted *en route* to the Western Front. The trench model (see Fig. 28) extends over gently sloping ground (west to east) on the eastern fringes of the former camp, covers a rectangular area (32m E/W x 12m N/S) and is characterised by raised earthworks (1m - 1.4m high) which bound a complex of small trenches (Welch 1997). These trenches are V shaped in profile (2m wide at the top, 500mm at the base and 600mm deep) and patterned (by plan) in zigzag form (ibid.). Initial interpretation of this trench system suggests it was a quarter scale model (ibid.) yet it remains uncertain what phase of the war

it was constructed. The only similar trench model referenced in 1997 was sited by another Staffordshire transit camp at Brocton, 3km north west of Rugeley (Welch 1997). Constructed of concrete, this model replicated the Messines Ridge captured by the Allied Forces in June 1917 (ibid.) but was in a very poor state of preservation by 1997.

What makes Redmires distinctive in comparison to other British WW1 training areas is the extent and completeness of the trench systems. By good fortune, the configuration of low-lying banks and trench cuts on both Quarry Hill and Hill 60 survive as testament to military training operations on home ground. Surveys conducted by TILL's students allow fuller interpretations of those operations, for posterity. As with all sites of this nature, the features are fragile and subject to the normal processes of erosion expected at such an altitude.

The archaeological surveys presented in this report testify to locally significant activity that was one constituent of a global event, the Great War. That the exact location of the training trenches had been lost from collective memory marks this fieldwork as one of poignancy for communities living in Sheffield and those students who conducted the surveys. Quarry Hill and Hill 60 now represent a landscape that is redolent of the city's past, a past that has previously only been visible through memorials to the dead and archive-held documents. Viewing history through the lens of commemorative monuments is useful (eg. Borg, 1991), but is always predicated on the end story, the death of servicemen/women. What makes the

Redmires training area special is that those who served on the moor were inspired by the optimism, nationalism and moral conviction typical of the early years of the war (see Fussell, 1974, Macdonald, 1983). Experience of trench training at Redmires was undoubtedly tough but also mixed with fellowship and common goals that bound the men into a community. Photographic images of the Sheffield Battalion cutting trenches (see Fig. 29) at Redmires show young men



demonstrating their fitness for serving king and country that sharply contrasts with the incomplete human bodies that war memorials evoke.

Fig. 29 Trench training at Redmires. Sheffield City Battalion circa 1915 (*Sheffield Daily Telegraph*).

A further reason why the study area is one of particular resonance for local communities is the synthesis of archaeological and archival research conducted on/of the site. Although further investigation of documents relating to other military corps who trained at Redmires Camp is necessary to complete the narrative, the documents recovered relating to the Sheffield Battalion (Stirling, in preparation) already make this landscape a valuable educational resource. History taught at Key Stages 3 and 4 (www.qca.gov.uk) may well involve study of WW1. Whilst field trips to the Western Front battlefields on the continent undoubtedly benefit pupils, so too would comparable visits to WW1 training grounds in this country. Redmires and its environs are in close proximity to over a hundred secondary schools (source: Sheffield Yellow Pages), making it a viable addition to study of the period.

The Future

Whilst the integrity of the training trench systems on Quarry Hill and Hill 60 remain intact at present, there is no guarantee that in the future these rare features will survive. TILL therefore seeks to achieve the following aims:

The Archaeological Features

- To protect the site by means of Scheduling under English Heritage's Monuments Protection Programme (MPP). This would ensure statutory rights to prevent destruction of any part of the landscape.
- To complete mapping all features present on this landscape. Three areas to be surveyed have been identified: 1) the summit of Hill 60 on which several banks and large platforms have been noted, 2) the northern flank of Quarry Hill to join two existing surveys and, 3) the quarried areas on the summit of Quarry Hill where features appear to cross-cut quarrying activity. Whilst these tasks are dependent on sufficient student numbers, TILL envisages all surveys to be completed by 2010.
- To produce a final interpretation of the survey area. Further archival research is necessary to understand phasing of military activity on the site. To date, three different WW1 units are known to have trained at Redmires, yet it is uncertain what part/s of the landscape each corps utilised.

Dissemination of Information

- To provide a freely available site archive. This would consist of aerial and ground photographs, surveys, site drawings and maps from the archaeological fieldwork, together with copies of primary documents and images recovered from archival research. The site report and companion history of the Sheffield Battalion will also be deposited with the archive. It is hoped that individual copies of this resource will be held by various institutions within Sheffield (eg. The Sites and Monuments Record Office, Local Study Library, University of Sheffield Library).
- To establish a website solely presenting information on WW1 activity at Redmires. This will be particularly targeted to pupils studying at Key Stages 3 and 4 and will include National Curriculum recommended data. Specialist educational advice will be sought to compile this resource.
- To provide a set of information boards near to the site. Funding and permission allowing, these would include both archaeological and archival information in text and images, emphasising the local significance of the study area. TILL proposes that information boards be set within the car park rather than the survey areas. This is a more appropriate location for visitors and protects this memorial landscape from unsightly intrusion (Heyvaert, 2003).

A Marker of Remembrance

- A simple yet permanent stone of remembrance to be erected within the study area. Permission and funding to be sought for provision of an inscribed stone detailing the military units that trained in this area (see Heyvaert, 2003).

The Students

Without the dedication, enthusiasm and skills of the following students, these surveys would not have been completed. Grateful thanks must be given not only from the archaeological community but also the people of Sheffield.

Pat Bamber, A. Barber, T. Barber, T. Barnard, Nigel Bastable, Jeremy Bannister, Peter Bayliss, K. Bentley, Margaret Booth, Roberta Bunn, Gill Burns, Jane Chadwick, Lesley Chapman, Jacqueline Clarkson, Carl Clayton, Tim Cockrell, N. Davies, Lavinia Dixon, J. Dobson, P. Drew, J. Elsom, Lyn Flude, Jane Ford, L. France, D. Godfrey, Keiron Goodwin, Jill Gorvett, Thelma Griffiths, Alice Holland, Erin Hollis, Anne Hudson, Sylvia Jordan, Kirk Keoghan, Terry Knapton, John Lawrence, Anita Leversidge-Bowden, Derwent Levick, Jo Marsh, Richard Marsh, Stella McGuire, A McNulty, Jason Mole, Steve Moran, Eileen Parker, C. Perry, Stuart Porteous, J. Rawson, B. Richardson, Sarah Roberts, Kevin Ruane, Rosemary Shaw, J. Short, Jane Sissons, Paul Smith, Christine Stirling, Cornelia Stuurman, Jonathon Styring, Samantha Taylor, Moira Thompson, Joan Tozer, Robert Travis, Rob Turnbull, Rachel Walker, Stuart Wheeldon, Mary Wilde, David Willis, Anne Windless, David Windless and Elaine Woodhall-Windle.

For those who participated and are not included in the list, I can only apologise. The mists of time and the university's policy of retaining attendance records for five years has meant some people who contributed to the surveys are not mentioned.

Helen Ullathorne



Appendix 1

Extracts from Alphaeus Abbot Casey's diary (with permission, J. Hodgson, University of Sheffield Library)

A student from the University of Sheffield, Alphaeus Abbot Casey enlisted with the University and City Special Battalion [later known as the Sheffield City Battalion, 12th (Service) Battalion, York and Lancaster Regiment] on 10th September 1914 in response to rallying speeches by the university's Vice Chancellor, H. Fisher. Casey's diary presently held at the university library and recently available online (www.pals.org.uk) provides detailed description of training with the battalion at Redmires during January to March 1915. The following extracts characterise the nature of trench digging and exercises undertaken by the trainee soldiers.

Friday 8th January 1915

Clear sky, cold wind. Brekker:- fried liver. Refuse bucket orderly. Practised attacking trenches, advancing in column, then line of sections and line by sections. Screened trenches. Formed part of picket.
Dinner:- Usual, Bread Pudding. Very good.

Tuesday 12th January 1915

Clear sky, crisp. Cold almost better. Brekker:- porridge and bacon. Good. Marched to hill overlooking camp and completed trenches by making loopholes over ammunition places [?]. Loophole 9' by 3' at end. [] 18 in, roof made of flat stone. Elbow rest of 9 in. Stood pieces of rubble in parapet (from slope in front and rear).

Afternoon marched past "Grouse and Trout" towards top side of dams on moors. Practised semaphore. Tea:- jam and usual. After tea had outpost [sheme?] between Fulwood Booth and 1175 on Ordinance (sic) Map, on land 1/2 ml front and 1/2 ml rt of Grouse and Trout. 2 and 4 platoons marched out to the Stanage Pole, and represented army trying to get at rear of defeated army retreating on 2 || rds on Sheffield. We spread out to prevent enemy getting between. Formed part of screen on rt of Redmires Rd. Secured ground. Devilish dark. Lost touch with one another. Mistook Crick for enemy and special constable for enemies picket. Sgt Major got through (at Fulwood Booth) to camp and fetched [].

Friday 15th January 1915

Very windy, dull. Completed Chap. 11, St. Matthew, describing journeys taken by Joseph according to divine instruction.

Brekker:- Porridge and bacon. Very satisfying.

Battalion route march thro' Redmires Rd, turn to left, over Roper's Hill, Camp. Forming part of van guard, was thrown out as flanker on Roper's Hill, joining rear guard at 1st rest on moor.

Sleet and hail came heavily for 2 hrs, making me very fatigued, walking, running climbing, over moor, walls, ravines, hills, ridges, and close thicket....

Wednesday 20th January 1915

...Afternoon went on moors top side of Roper's Hill and practised attack. Formed part of supports. Sleet falling, lay on damp moors, climbed lot of walls. Holmes [scouted?] with rifle at slope. 7-9 practised attack on parade ground, no noise. Line of platoons in fours [] by line of men, formed 2 deep, formed line, charged with linked hands. To dig trenches form line at 2 paces interval, [] slope [] put pick and shovel down [].

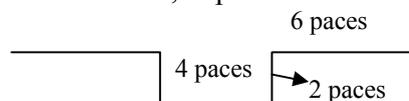
Monday 25th January 1915

...Afternoon one of 6 on fatigue cleaning wash bowls with bathbrick. Finished 4.30, beat Jackman at chess. 6-9pm night operations, with pick and shovel on parade ground. Pick in left hand, in ground at \perp to trench line, spade //, interval 2 paces, for straight trenches. For traverse 2 deep, rear 3 form traverse $\text{---}\perp\text{---}$ so. March back 4 paces, equipment off, back, start work.

Wednesday 27th January 1915

...Morning worked in quarry, getting sandstone for roads. Ground thinly covered with snow. Fine snow fights during breaks.

Afternoon trench digging on Roper's Hill; new type. 6 paces lth, 4 paces traverse, width of trench 18 ins, depth 3'6".



Colonel came up. Dug trench within regulation time of 3 hrs.

Night march 6-9. 10pm, over Roper's Hill on way to Ringinglow. Near dams deployed to rt and extended to 2 paces, having supposedly come in contact with enemy. Foggy, snow made look near. Hot cocoa when returned.

Thursday 28th January 1915

...2-5pm formed screen for trenches, practising sectional rushes, advances and retirement. Snow fight at break. Report slight skirmish with Turks near Egypt...

Friday 29th January 1915

...Afternoon trenching. Made parapet at back of trench to stop back effect of shrapnel. Paid 7/- at 4.30. E Company marched up for uniform, about 160 strong, inspected trenches.

Monday 1st February 1915

Clear sky, frosty.

Digging connecting trenches on Roper's Hill, 5'6" deep, 2'6" wide top, 1'6" bottom, zigzag side 6 paces. Draycott partner. Did about 4'6" in 3 hrs. Hard work, especially when deep down.

Afternoon route march carrying equipment, coat in haversack and entrenching tool on. Went via Ringinglow and back, practising fixing bayonets on road. Nicols [Nichols?] hit brewery man with snowball. Very amusing.

6-9pm more trench digging. Stables as partner. Very fatigued, hands sore. Teased Foster and Clark.

Soup for supper.

Hear a cook going to Aldershot April 2nd for course in field cooking. Looks as if we shan't leave until April.

Piano arrived, 5d each per month.

Wednesday 3rd February 1915

...Afternoon trench digging. Cover trenches 2ft wide at bottom, 5 ft deep. After 2 hrs started sniping with clay pellets. Developed into fusillade, Capt Allen and Lieut Storey joining in...

Friday 5th February 1915

...Outpost scheme. Was detailed as sanitary man of no. 1 picket. Had to dig trench 3 ft wide and 1 ft deep, earth piled on one side only...

Tuesday 9th February 1915

...Heard Hanforth died having had relapse after operation in January. Neumonia (sic). 20. Eldest son. Rotten luck. Military funeral.

Wednesday 10th March 1915

...Afternoon, dull, drizzle, filled in trenches.

Appendix 2

Extract from Arthur, M. (in association with the Imperial War Museum) 2002 Forgotten Voices of the Great War St. Helens; The Book People.

Marjorie Llewellyn Schoolgirl in Sheffield

"As a young schoolgirl I remember there was great excitement in Sheffield when the posters went up showing Kitchener saying 'We Want You' and a number of our young men joined up - they were the pick of the city. They were highly educated, most of them, what was called the officer class. And they went to the Town Hall, signed on, and then to their great disappointment were sent home again. This of course was very unexpected. They had expected to be in uniform straight away and rush off to win the war, which of course everyone thought would be over by Christmas. However, they had to go each day to the drill hall and sign on again. Then they were sent down to the Bramhall Lane Football Ground and to Norfolk Park where they were drilled and learned to dig trenches, and this went on for quite a long time. They felt they were playing at soldiers, not really doing what they intended. However, soon they were put into a camp a short distance out of the town and there their training began in earnest. They were kept up there pretty well full time, but they did get a bit of leave and come down now and again, and would go to the famous pub, The Three Merry Lads. They were very excited of course because they were quite convinced that now we were in the war, it would soon be over. This went on some time and then eventually their training was completed and we saw them going through the streets marching off to the war." (p. 22).

Appendix 3

Extract from Macdonald, L. 1983 Somme London; Michael Joseph Ltd.

"In the first wave (1st July 1916, 'The Big Push'), Willie Parker in the Sheffield Pals was probably the only man who had not rehearsed the battle. He had only been with the Battalion for two weeks. Since he had joined up with his young brother Reg on the very day the Battalion had started recruiting, his belated arrival was due, in his own view, to unreasoning wilfulness on the part of Authority. First they had trained him as a soldier and then, at the end of six months, had plucked him out of the ranks and sent him back to his proper trade as a skilled engineer. No one from Lord Kitchener downwards could have convinced Willie that the year he had spent making munitions at Armstrong-Whitworth's was more valuable to the war effort than his presence in the khaki ranks of the Sheffield Pals, armed with a rifle that he barely know how to use. He had badgered the Army, he had petitioned the Lord Mayor, he had made such a nuisance of himself by pestering the factory manager that Armstrong-Whitworth's had given in and released him. The Army had taken Willie back into the fold and he had considered it the greatest piece of luck that a draft of men was on the point of leaving to join the Battalion in France in time for the Big Push. Waiting now in the front-line trench, clad in new khaki, taking pleasure in the unfamiliar weight of rifle and tin hat (sic), Willie would not have changed places with the King himself." (p. 57)

William Parker died on 1st July 1916, Reginald Parker survived.

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