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WORTHY OF REMEMBRANCE: A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF LETTERS WRITTEN BY SEMI-LITERATE SCOTTISH SOLDIERS FROM THE TRENCHES OF THE GREAT WAR

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To my family

Will you forget?
When all the fight is done,
And victory is won,
Will you forget?
The soldiers in their pride,
Who freely fought and died,
Will you forget?

-David Mackie, ‘Songs of an Ayrshire Yeoman’, 1920

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Abstract

Historical correspondence has been the object of increasing interest in the field of English linguistics; in particular, there has been a significant growth in the interest in letters written by encoders from the lower classes. This work focuses on the letters produced by two soldiers from the lower social classes who served as soldiers in Highland regiments on the Western Front in the Great War. For serving soldiers, and for their families at home, the creation of Great War epistolary discourse served the purpose of bridging distances and maintaining family bonds. The conservation of Great War letters by families grants a precious insight into how the lower classes discursively constructed their experiences of the conflict, in their own words.

This thesis analyses a corpus constituted by letters that were sourced, scanned and transcribed. The transcribed letters led to the creation of a corpus of approximately 94,477 running words which were written between September 1914 and late November 1916, covering the first two years of the conflict. Since letter writing is a socially situated practice, one in which meaning, and significance derive from its situation in "cultural beliefs, values, and practices" (Barton and Hall, 2000), in-depth research was conducted in order to examine the context of production and consumption of the letters.

The corpus was then subjected to three different analyses investigating three different linguistic aspects. The first analysis conducted is a rhetorical move analysis which seeks to identify whether the letters constituting the corpus share sufficient rhetorical moves to warrant the trench letters being considered as a genre in their own right. The second analysis of the corpus employs a Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). For the analysis, the DHA three-dimensional model was applied to the analysis of epistolary discourse (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p.93); such an approach allows for the identification and analysis of the discursive strategies employed in the letters by the soldier letter-writers to share their experiences of the conflict with family at home. The third analysis examines the corpus adopting a psycholinguistic perspective and seeks to identify instances of expressive code-switching between English (L1), Scots (L2) and French (L3) with the twofold aim of verifying the language preference for emotion and emotion-laden words, and of investigating how the "emotional context" of the trenches may play a meaningful role in the processing of emotion words.

By adopting three diverse approaches for the analysis of the corpus, the thesis seeks to identify and document the key features of the soldier letters in order to better understand the dynamics and characteristics of such writings.

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Introduction

The focus of this thesis is the analysis of a corpus of letters written by semi-literate Scottish soldiers during the Great War. The collections of letters led to the creation of a corpus of approximately 94,477 running words written from the trenches of the Western Front covering the period from September 1914 up until late November 1916. The letters constituting the corpus are from two different sources: one collection was sourced at the Highlanders Regimental Archive at Fort George, Ardresier, while the other letters are from a private collection. Given that this thesis is interested in language use 'from below' and due to the approaches chosen for the analysis of the corpus, it was essential to gather data enabling a reconstruction of the soldiers' pre-military lives and their time in the army.

There are six chapters in this thesis. Chapter 1 presents a detailed biography for each of the writers whose letters constitute the corpus; the biographies include information relating to their work, schooling and family histories. The online archives of the National Records of Scotland and their digitized sources enabled the reconstruction of each of the soldiers' lives and family histories dating back to the mid-1700s. The primary sources held at the National Archives allowed for a reconstruction of the soldiers' movements with their battalions from their departure from their training camps in Bedford and Salisbury to their movements in and around the trenches of the Western Front.

In Chapter 2, the focus shifts from the individual soldiers and their respective families to the broader context that enabled the production of trench letters. Chapter 2 provides a detailed description of the socio-historical factors that influenced the population's ability to engage in the exchange of epistolary discourse; it includes sections on the Scottish

Education System, the postal service and the British Army Postal Service, all of which contributed to the creation of conditions that ensured that letter writing was a reliable, efficient and economic means for maintaining bonds when separated by physical distance.

Chapter 3 consists of a detailed description of the data collection procedure adopted to source the materials necessary to create the corpus. A detailed description is given of the main corpus and is followed by an individual description of each of the collections included in the corpus. A brief section is included explaining 'honour envelopes' and their importance to the soldiers during the conflict.

Three different perspectives were chosen from which to analyse the corpus. The first perspective identified as both interesting and suitable for the analysis of the texts in the corpus is Genre Analysis.

Chapter 4 presents the analysis of the corpus from a genre analysis perspective. In particular, a genre analysis was conducted with a particular focus on the identification of the rhetorical moves present in the corpus; the aim of the move analysis of the soldier letters is to verify whether there are a sufficient number of moves typical of trench letters for these letters to be considered as a genre in their own right. Furthermore, the analysis seeks to establish whether the move structure is fixed or whether there is flexibility in the order in which moves appear in the letters.

Chapter 5 reports the study of the letters by applying a Discourse Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis for the investigation of the discursive strategies used by the soldiers in the sharing of their personal experiences of the conflict. The DHA was chosen as a branch of CDA due to the importance of extra-linguistic information for an in-depth understanding of the context of production, reception and distribution.

Chapter 6, instead, adopts an approach that is influenced both by psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. The study described in Chapter 6

details the instances of trilingual code-switching in the corpus and seeks to identify if any particular language was associated with the expression of certain emotions. The languages identified for the code-switching analysis are: English (L1), Scots (L2) and French (L3).

CHAPTER 1

Reconstructing lives: soldier biographies

1.1 Introduction

This Chapter describes the steps taken and the archival sources consulted in order to retrace the steps and history of the soldier letter-writers upon whose writings this thesis is based. The letter collection that was the inspiration for this research project consists of a private collection of letters from a family collection. While some biographical information was known about the letter-writer Thomas Clark Russell, his life appeared to be shrouded in silence, unspoken. When the second collection of letters was sourced, it became apparent that genealogical investigation of both letter-writers would prove to be essential. What ensued was an extended research project using a variety of online archives as well as visits to physical archives, the archives and archival sources consulted are described in Section 1.1. Given that the current work is interested in the writings of the semi-literate, which affords us a 'from below' insight into the lives of the soldier letter-writers, it was necessary to investigate if the two men whose writings constitute the corpus were from the working classes. Section 1.2 provides a detailed description of the steps taken and archival records accessed. The results of genealogical research of the Murray Family of Fortrose permitted the creation of a family tree covering five generations of the family[1]; it is described in detail together with the results of the genealogical research on the Murray family is described in Section 1.3; Section 1.3.1 provides a detailed description of

[1] The family trees of both George Murray and Thomas Clark Russell were created using the archival sources consultable through a paid subscription service to the online genealogy website www.ancestry.co.uk. See Appendix 1, p. 206.

Sergeant George Murray's service in the 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders. Reports from the War Diaries of the 1/4th Seaforth Battalion War Diaries are used to add detailed information regarding Murray's military service, permitting the Battalion's movements, from their Bedford training camp to the trenches of the Western front, to be accurately retraced and reported in section 1.3.2.

The same procedure was adopted and applied in researching the Russell family history. The research conducted resulted in the creation of a family tree that traces five generations of the Russell family. The findings of this research are reported in Section 1.4. The family history focus shifts from the Russell ancestors to Thomas Clark Russell in Section 1.4.1 which documents his life and service with the 10th Gordon Highlanders until his death in February 1916. A detailed account of Russell's movements during his active service is provided in Section 1.4.2; the reconstruction was made possible by consulting entries of the Battalion War Diaries. Section 1.5 provides an overview of the structure of the British Army prior to the outbreak of war; the section also describes the changes made by the Army to meet demand for men created by the outbreak of the conflict. The chapter ends with Section 1.6 which presents the conclusions of the chapter.

1.2 Sources for Murray and Russell family biographies

In reconstructing the lives and histories of the families of both George Murray and Thomas Clark Russell, data were retrieved from a variety of sources. Official documents were sourced from the online archive ScotlandsPeople (SP). This is a partnership between the National Records of Scotland and the Court of the Lord Lyon; it currently holds a total of 90 million digitised records related to Scotland and its people which can be accessed through the site. Records of births and baptisms; banns and marriages; deaths and burials are to be found in the Old Parish Registers which contain data up to 1855 when the Statutory Registers of births, deaths and marriages began. Further

valuable sources of information are the national censuses conducted every ten years, with the first census being carried out in 1841 and with 1911 the most recent one accessible. While the data in the earlier censuses are not as extensive as later census returns, they do, however, allow the opportunity to reconstruct the family unit.

In the present work, the online NRoS archive was used to access records pertaining to the Statutory Registers of births, deaths and marriages; Old Parish Registers of births and baptisms, deaths and burials, and banns and marriages.

Information on the soldiers' respective villages was sourced from the online edition of the New Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1845[2] (Gordon, 1845) which were compiled by parish ministers entrusted with the task of writing a detailed description of their parish, including data on its geographical composition, types of employment and industries and the population (including commentary on their education, character and vices).

Details regarding both Murray and Russell's military service were sourced from The National Archive; this preserves an extensive collection of World War I records, including military records and private correspondence. Many British Armed Forces records, and government documents have been digitised, however the collection is far from complete due to a fire following an incendiary bomb which hit the War Office Record Store in London in 1940. It is estimated that two thirds of the 6.5 million soldier records from World War I were destroyed. Many of the records surviving the fire were damaged and are not fit for consultation; they have become known as the "burnt documents". From the existing and accessible records, it has been

[2] The Statistical Accounts of Scotland document life in Scotland in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The Old (or First) Statistical Account of Scotland (OSA) was published between 1791 and 1799 and the New (or Second) Statistical Account of Scotland (NSA) was published under the auspices of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland between 1834 and 1845. The first two Statistical Accounts of Scotland are held to be among the best European contemporary records of life during the agricultural and industrial revolutions.

possible to access records such as Medal Index Cards (MICs)[3], Medal Roll Records[4] and, where applicable, the British Army Register of Personal Effects; all the aforementioned records provide data relating to enlistment, deployment and length of service.

1.3 Murray Family - Fortrose, Ross and Cromarty

According to the Statistical Accounts of Scotland, the Parish of Rosemarkie and Fortrose, in Ross and Cromarty (see Figure 1) was a community where farming and fishing were the main forms of employment with both shoemaking and weaving also being traditionally popular trades (OSA, 1794, p. 339).

There are archival sources recording the presence of the Murray family in the neighbouring parishes of Resolis and Fortrose, Ross and Cromarty since 1785 (NRS, 1785) when George Murray, son of Hugh Murray and Jannet Munro was born.

George Murray (b. 1785) married Lilly Davidson and had a son, Joseph (b. 1803). When the first census was conducted in 1841, Joseph Murray was in the nearby parish of Killearnan where his occupation was given as house carpenter (NRS, 1841, p.19). He married Catherine Reid (b. 1817) in 1842 (NRS, 1842) and they had three children: George (b. 1846), James (b. 1851) and Lilly (b. 1855). At the time of the 1851 census, Joseph was employed as a house carpenter (NRS, 1851, p. 5) and lived with his wife Catherine, their son George and John Roy, a plumber who boarded with them. According to the 1861 census, James Murray lived within the parish of Rosemarkie and Fortrose; both he and his brother George attended school,

[3] Medal Index Cards were created by the Army Medal Office towards the end of the First World War. They record soldiers' details including Corps, rank and service numbers as well as date of entry into the theatre of war, and the medals that they were entitled to claim.
[4] Medal Roll Records are indexes recording the details of entitlement and distribution of the various Great War campaign medals.

James as a pupil and George as a pupil-teacher[5] (NRS, 1861, p.17). According to the 1871 census, James Murray was residing with his maternal grandfather, James Reid and his occupation was given as Foot Post (NRS, 1871) while his siblings, George and Lilly lived in the parental home, George as a house carpenter and Lilly as a scholar. However, in the period between 1871 and 1881, James Murray changed occupation as, in the 1881 census his occupation was given as House Joiner and he was, once again, residing with his parents (NRS, 1881). In the period after the April 1881 census and prior to December 14th, 1882, James Murray travelled to the Cape Colony, South Africa. On December 14th, 1882, he married Jessie Cunningham (b. 1852) in East London, South Africa[6]. James and Jessie had a son, Joseph (b. 1884) who was born in the Cape Colony. However, by the time their daughter Alexandrina (b. 1885) was born, both Jessie and James Murray were again in Fortrose, James having been present to sign her birth certificate. Alexandrina was followed by a sister, Catherine (b. 1888) (NRS, 1888).

There is no record of James Murray in Fortrose in the 1891 census, however, his wife Jessie is listed as residing in Fortrose along with their three children Joseph, Alexandrina and Catherine[7]. In the 1891 census Jessie was recorded as a House Joiner's Wife, and the older children were recorded as scholars. However, in the period between April 1891 and Spring 1894, James Murray returned home to his family in Fortrose; in fact, James and Jessie Murray had a fourth child, a son called George, on the 25th of November 1894[8]. At the time of George's birth, James was employed as a Master House Carpenter. In the 1901 census, James Murray was recorded as residing with his family in Fortrose where his profession was recorded as a House

[5] Under the pupil-teacher scheme, bright children aged 13 and above, from humble backgrounds but considered as talented or promising, continued at elementary school, teaching younger children; the pupil-teacher was also more informally known as a 'lad o' pairts'. For further information see Anderson *et al* (2015).
[6] See Appendix 2, p. 207.
[7] See Appendix 3, p. 208.
[8] See Appendix 4, p. 209.

Carpenter. The 1901 census also records his wife Jessie, his daughters Alexandrina and Catherine and his younger son George as resident in Castle Street, along with his father-in-law, Alexander Cunningham (NRS, 1901)[9]. In the 1901 census, James' elder son, Joseph, was recorded as residing in Govan, Lanarkshire with his paternal uncle George Murray, where he was employed as a clerk.

The final census currently available online is the 1911 census[10] (NRS, 1911), which was conducted on Sunday, April 2nd, according to which the Murray family was residing in Fortrose at Castle Street. James Murray was recorded as a House Carpenter, and residing with him were his wife Jessie, his daughter Catherine and his son George.

1.3.1 Sergeant George Murray

George Murray was born on the 25th of November 1894 in Fortrose within the parish of Rosemarkie and Fortrose, Ross and Cromarty. He was the youngest of the four Murray children. According to both the 1891 and 1901 censuses, George Murray attended school between the ages of 6 and 16. The New Statistical Accounts of Scotland (1845, p.358) record that there were several schools in the parish, none of which were strictly parochial due to the parish school having been merged with the burgh school in Fortrose; unfortunately, school rolls and records for this period no longer exist, however, it is likely that Murray attended the burgh school in Fortrose. In the 1911 census, George was living in Fortrose with his parents and his occupation was given as scholar, aged 16[11]. No further census data are currently available as these records are not made public until 100 years after the census; however, it has been possible to reconstruct George Murray's life

[9] See Appendix 5, p. 210.
[10] Census contents are not released for 100 years.
[11] See Appendix 6, p. 211.

through the information obtained from British Army Records and his letters home from the front.

Figure 1 - Map showing the location of the County of Ross and Cromarty

Figure 2 - Detail showing map of the Parish of Rosemarkie

At the outbreak of the war George Murray was a member of the Territorial Force; unfortunately, his attestation papers are not in the National Archives soldier records. However, in such cases, medal records, including the Medal Index Card (MIC) records can provide useful data. MIC data

relates to the soldier's battalion, medal entitlement including the page number of the Medal Roll Record, the theatre of war first served in, entry into the theatre of war and there is also a blank space for remarks. According to George Murray's MIC[12], he was a member of the 1/4th Battalion of the Seaforth Highlanders[13]. He enlisted with the rank of Private and rose to the rank of Sergeant. On the right-hand side of the MIC, a blank space is left for remarks, and there, annotated is the following: "Dis. 11.8.14". According to the Silver War Badge records, George Murray results as having enlisted on the 12th August 1914; therefore, it would appear that Murray had been a member of the Territorial Force prior to the war and had undergone the requisite military training. His discharge on the 11.8.14 may have been due to his having completed the period of service for which he had initially signed up and by re-enlisting with the 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders[14] he was able to stay in the same battalion.

The 1/4th Seaforths were part of the Highland Division, which was one of the original infantry divisions (MacLeod and Reid 2016, p.15); the Highland Division was created in 1908 by the establishment of the Territorial Force[15]. From its creation up until the outbreak of war, the 1/4th Seaforths had remained in Scotland following mobilization (French, 2016); the battalion was then sent to Bedford in mid-August 1914 (Bewsher, 1921, p. 1) where they participated in a period of training. They were inspected by King George V on October 22nd. The 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders joined the 152nd Brigade in the 51st (Highland) Division in November 1914 for service on the

[12] See Appendix 7, p. 212.
[13] The 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders were a first line battalion, initially intended for home defence, however, consequent to the British Army being outnumbered by German forces, they were deployed to the Front.
[14] The correct name of the Battalion is the 4th Seaforth Highlanders; however, throughout the present work, the nomenclature used is that adopted by the soldiers and by Murray in his letters, the 1/4th Seaforths.
[15] The Territorial and Reserve Forces Act (1907) established the Territorial Force; it was part of the reformation of the British Army after the 1899-1902 Second Boer War (MacLeod and Reid, 2016).

Western Front as reinforcements for the British Expeditionary Force (BEF)[16] which had suffered considerable losses and was below fighting strength.

George Murray served with the 1/4th Seaforths for the duration of his time at the front; his sisters had tried to encourage him to apply for a transfer home as his skills as a trainee engineer would have enabled him to make a valuable contribution to the war effort, however, from his letters it would appear that Murray was not altogether keen on the idea. He continued on Active Service on the Western Front and was in action at Festubert and Givenchy-en-Gohelle (spring 1915) participating in the Second Battle of Ypres in May 1915, the Battle of the Somme at High Wood (Jul-Aug 1916) and the Battle of Ancres, also known as the Battle of Beaumont Hamel (Nov 1916).

Photograph 1 - Sergeant George Murray, 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders.

Murray's Active Service came to an abrupt end in early December 1916 when he received what was initially considered to be a minor wound;

[16] The British Expeditionary Force (BEF) was formed by members of the regular army, approximately 250,000 soldiers were stationed overseas at the start of the conflict and the BEF consisted initially of 120,000 men (MacLeod and Reid, 2016: 22).

however, Murray's wound was in fact significantly more serious than initially thought and effectively brought his active service at the front to an abrupt end. Murray received a shrapnel wound to his leg and, according to a letter in the Murray collection written by a fellow serving soldier at the front to Murray's father, Murray received prompt medical attention at a nearby dressing station. Despite having received prompt medical attention, doctors were unable to save Murray's leg, which was amputated due to the wound not healing well. The doctors attributed this to Murray's "bad blood", due to his two years in the trenches. Murray spent time in military hospital in France before being marked up for transfer back to Great Britain. Upon arrival in England, he was sent to Leicester Military Hospital[17] where he spent some time before being transferred to the Red Cross Hospital in Bellahouston Park, Glasgow. The letters written by Murray continue up until spring 1917. Research conducted on army records and at the NRS reveal that Murray was discharged from the army on the 21st of November 1917 due to wounds received. He was also awarded the Silver War Badge (SWB)[18] (WO329/G/88/1, p. 91). After his discharge from the army, George Murray returned home to Fortrose. At the time of his death in 1935, his employment, as given on his death certificate was merchant (NRS, 1935)[19].

While Murray's letters provide a valuable insight into a soldier's experience of life at the front, further useful information can be found in the Battalion War Diaries which have been digitised and can be consulted online from a variety of sources including the National Archives Discovery

[17] The 5th Northern General Hospital Leicester was located in the County Asylum building which had been identified in 1911 as a suitable location for a military hospital, should the need arise. According to the 5th Northern General Hospital Leicester 1914-1919, the original building had 520 beds (p. 3) which was extended in two phases providing a further 1045 beds.
[18] Soldiers who had been wounded in action and who, post injury, were no longer fit for Active Service, were issued with the SWB to wear on their lapel signifying that they had completed their war service. See Appendix 9, p. 216 for Murray's SWB record.
[19] See Appendix 11, p. 218.

website[20]. Battalion War Diaries document the minutiae of army life, recording training and practice activities, movements to and from different lines in the trenches, as well as how the soldiers were occupied when not in the trenches. While the War Diaries were written in standard diaries issued by the army, the amount of detail contained therein was dependent on other variables including the person responsible for completing them and how much time was available to record activities in the diaries. The War Diaries certainly provide a valuable insight into how, when and why brigades were moved around the Western Front, and through such information, it is possible to retrace the steps of the 1/4th Seaforths from their entrainment at Bedford to their disembarkation at Le Havre and their onward journey to the front.

Photograph 2 - The Seaforth Highlanders entraining at Bedford.

1.3.2 The 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders on the Western Front

The War Diaries contain daily diary entries for the battalion and its movements from the moment they received their embarkation orders and

[20] The National Archives Discovery website currently holds over 32 million descriptions of the records held by The National Archives and more than 2,500 archives across the country. Currently, more than 9 million records are available for download.

started preparations to leave Great Britain[21]. The 1/4th Seaforth Highlander War Diaries record that the battalion commenced preparations for departure from their training camp in Bedford on the 2nd of November 1914 and departed on the 5th of November 1914, travelling to Southampton by way of Oxford and Basingstoke (WO/95/3941/2, p.21). Their transport ship, The City of Dunkirk, arrived in Le Havre on the 6th of November at midday. Disembarkation orders were not received until the following day, thus the battalion disembarked on the 7th of November 1914[22] and marched through Le Havre until they reached the rest camp at Bleville (WO/95/3941/2, p.22).

The battalion departed from Bleville on the 8th of November and undertook a "long and wearisome journey" via Rouen to Abbeville (WO95/3941/2, p.23). On the 9th of November 1914, the battalion left Abbeville and travelled to Etaples, and then to Boulogne and Calais before reaching Saint Omer where they were billeted in barns in Ecques, approximately 6 miles south of Saint Omer (WO95/3941/2, p. 24). The War Diary entries record that the battalion completed further training including entrenchment, route marches, exercise attacks and field firing practice from the 11th of November until the 22nd of November 1914. On the 22nd of November 1914, due to the unsatisfactory billets in Ecques, the battalion moved to Arcques, approximately3 miles south of Saint Omer (WO/95/3941/2, p.29). Training recommenced on the 23rd of November and continued until the 15th of December 1914 when the battalion started to make preparations for departure (WO95/3941/2, p. 35).

The battalion departed from Arcques on the 16th of December 1914 and arrived in Vielle Chapelle[23] by way of Béthune on the 18th of December 1914; on the 19th of December 1914, the battalion received orders to move to

[21] See Appendix 8, pp. 213-215.
[22] Disembarkation at Le Havre on 7th November 1914 as stated in the Battalion War Diaries corresponds to the date recorded on Murray's MIC.
[23] Vielle-Chapelle is a commune in Pas-de-Calais.

the trenches the following day (WO/95/3941/2, p.36). The battalion arrived in the trenches on the night of the 22nd of December 1914 (WO95/3941/2, p.36) where they joined the Dehra Dun Brigade[24] From the 23rd of December until the end of January 1915, the 1/4th Seaforths, were engaged in activities in the Pas-de-Calais region. acquiring a reputation 'as one of the very best divisions on the western front' (Campbell, 2013)[25].

1.4 Russell family – Lanarkshire

Archival records have provided evidence of Thomas Clark Russell's family living in Lanarkshire since the late 1700s, thus it has been possible to reconstruct the Russell family tree to the mid-1700s[26]. William Russell (b. 1770) (NRS, 1770) married Margaret Kirkwood (b. 1773) in 1789 in Glasgow, Lanarkshire (NRS, 1789). They had five children Margaret (b.1790), William (b. 1792), Marion (b. 1796), George (b. 1805) and Janet (b. 1815). William Russell (b. 1792) (NRS, 1792) married Elizabeth Whitwright[27] (b. 1795) on January 29th, 1815 (NRS, 1815). At the time of his marriage to Elizabeth, he was working as a carter, as stated on the marriage register in the parish records. During their marriage, William and Elizabeth had eleven children; four girls and seven boys. William Russell (b. 1818) was the second child of William Russell and Elizabeth Whitwright. He married Elizabeth Wright (b. 1819) on the 4th of February 1838 in Dalziel, Motherwell (NRS, 1838), at the time of his marriage he was employed as a miner in Holytown in the parish of Bothwell, in the County of Lanark. William Russell's first child, a son, was born on the 27th of June 1838 in the parish of Dalziel; he would be the eldest of eleven children. At the 1841

[24] The Dehra Dun Brigade was part of the 7th (Meerut) Division, a part of the British Indian Army that was serving on the Western Front, see Edmunds (1992).
[25] For more detail on the 51st Division in the Great War see Bewsher (1921) and Campbell (2013).
[26] See Appendix 12, p. 219, for the Russell family tree. In archival sources, Russell has been recorded as both Russall and Russel.
[27] Spelling of Elizabeth's surname varies and is, at times, recorded as Whitewright.

census, William was employed as an Engine Keeper in Harthill in the parish of Shotts, Lanarkshire (NRS, 1841, p.1). According to the 1851 census report[28], William lived in Shettleston, Lanarkshire with his wife Elizabeth and their eight children: William (b. 1838), James (b. 1840), Elizabeth (1841), Jane (b. 1843[29]), Alexander (b. 1845), Janet (b. 1848), Anne (b. 1850), Jane (b. 1851) (NRS, 1851, p.15). William and his two oldest sons, William and James, were employed as Coalminers according to the census report (NRS, 1851, p.15).

By the 1861 census, William and Elizabeth were living in Holytown, Lanarkshire and had had a further three children: David Wright (b. 1853), John (b. 1855) and Margaret (b. 1859). William was employed as a Coalminer as were his sons James and Alexander (NRS, 1861, p.14)[30]. William's mother, Elizabeth Whitwright died in 1864 (NRS, 1864) and it was William who registered her death. From his mother's death certificate, we know that William was illiterate as he signed the register with an 'x'[31]. William's spouse, Elizabeth, died in 1865 (NRS, 1865) aged 45.

David Wright Russell (b. 1853) had left his parental home by the time of the 1871 census; the census reports that he was employed as a Coalminer and that he lived as a boarder with another miner and his family in the village of Milnwood, in the parish of Bothwell (NRS, 1871). His first child, a daughter, Sarah Russell was born in 1871 out of wedlock[32]; the mother was Margaret Clark. The birth certificate for Sarah Russell records that she was illegitimate, but the father was named on the certificate (NRS, 1871). A request was made subsequently to emend the certificate, Margaret's father

[28] The 1851 Census in Scotland was conducted on the 30/31 March 1851. The census officials collected information on each of the people in the household, including place, name, relationship to head of family, marital status, age, gender, profession, birthplace, and whether blind, deaf, and dumb.
[29] It is thought that Jane died in the period between 1843 and the birth of Jane Russell in 1851.
[30] See Appendix 13, p. 220.
[31] See Appendix 14, p. 221.
[32] See Appendix 15, p. 222.

having gone to the Sheriff Court asking that David Wright Russell be recognized as the child's father (NRS, 1871)[33]. After the birth of their illegitimate daughter Sarah, David Wright Russell and Margaret Clark (b. 1856) married on the 31st of December 1873 (NRS, 1873)[34]. At the time of the marriage he was employed as a Coalminer and signed the marriage certificate with his name, while his wife signed the register with an 'x'. David and Margaret had twelve children: Sarah (b. 1871), William (b. 1874), Elizabeth (b. 1875), Moses (b. 1877), Margaret (b. 1882), Jeanie (b. 1882), Thomas Clark (b. 1885), David (b. 1888), Archibald (b. 1889), Alexander (b. 1891), Isabella (b. 1892) and Sarah (b. 1895).

According to the 1881 census, David was employed as a Coalminer and resided in a house with 2 rooms, most likely a room and kitchen, in Scotts Land, Main Street, Holytown, in the parish of Bothwell (NRS, 1881)[35]. The census records the inhabitants of the dwelling as David, his wife, their three children and two boarders.

In 1891, David had moved from Holytown to Coatbridge, in the parish of Old Monkland. He was employed as a Pit Oversman[36] and his son Moses, age 13, was employed as a Pit Pony Driver. According to the census, his school age children, including Thomas Clark Russell were recorded as attending school (NRS, 1891, p.11)[37].

The Russell family moved from Coatbridge to Dalziel, Motherwell, where they are recorded in the 1901 census. According to the NSA (Gordon, 1845, p.466) in the parish of Dalziel, the children attending the parish school were taught a variety of subjects including Latin, Greek, English grammar,

[33] A modification was made to the birth certificate which was recorded in the Register of Corrected Entries, see Appendix 16, p. 223.
[34] See Appendix 17, p. 224.
[35] See Appendix 18, p. 225.
[36] According to the 1856 report by the Inspector of Coal Mines for the Western District of Scotland, an Oversman is an Underground Manager responsible for the whole operative details of the Colliery.
[37] See Appendix 19, p. 226.

English writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and practical mathematics. The NSA also states that all the children in the parish were taught to read and "a good many" were also taught to write; furthermore, the minister who wrote the report for the parish of Dalziel found the local population to be "alive to the advantages of education" (Gordon, 1845, p.466). At the time of the 1901 census, David Wright Russell was no longer an Oversman and was once again a Coalminer. He lived with his wife and six children in a two-roomed house in Parkhead Street, Motherwell; two of his sons were also employed as Coalminers. At the 1911 census, David was recorded as living at 31a McDonald Street, Motherwell. He was employed as a Colliery Fireman and lived with his wife and five of his children (NRS, 1911, p.8). His son Archie, aged 21, was also employed in the mine as a Colliery Roadsman, however, by the 1911 census, Thomas Clark Russell was no longer residing in the parental home.

1.4.1 Sergeant Thomas Clark Russell

Thomas Clark Russell was born on the 18th of August 1885 in the district of Hamilton, in the County of Lanark[38]. He was the sixth child of David Wright Russell, and Margaret Clark. According to the 1891 census Thomas was a scholar aged 6 and was living with his parents and five of his siblings (NRS, 1891, p.11). Despite the school leaving age having been raised to 14 in 1883, Thomas's older brother Moses had already found employment down the mine as a Pit Pony Driver. By the 1901 census, Thomas had finished his schooling and was employed as a Coalminer, as was his younger brother David (aged 13) (NRS, 1901)[39]. From the data available from the census, given that by the age of thirteen his brothers had ended their schooling and were already

[38] See Appendix 20, p. 227.
[39] See Appendix 21, p. 228.

employed in the coal mining industry, it is also likely that Thomas Clark Russell had completed his education at a similar age.

Figure 3 - Map showing the location of the County of Lanarkshire

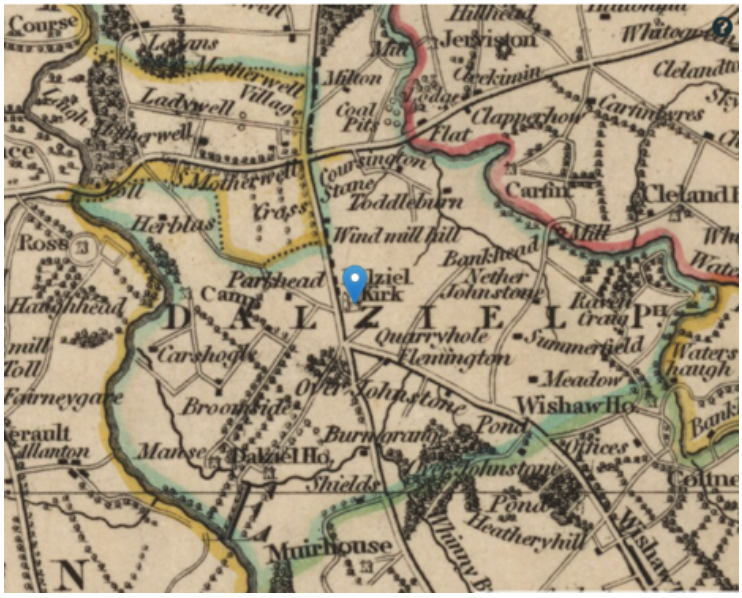

Figure 4 - Map detail showing the Parish of Dalziel, Lanarkshire.

Thomas Clark Russell married Annie McRoberts Faichen (b. 1887) (NRS, 1887) on the 2nd of January 1911 in the parish of Colinton, Edinburgh[40]. At the time of their marriage, he was employed as a Coalminer and Annie was employed as a Laundry Maid. After their marriage, they set up home in Motherwell and, according to the 1911 census, lived in M^{c}Donald Street, the same street as Russell's parents (NRS, 1911, p. 7)[41].

Thomas Clark Russell and Annie M^{c}Roberts Faichen had their first child, a son, Thomas Faichen Russell, born on the 10th of May 1912 in the parish of Dalziel, Motherwell (NRS, 1912)[42]; at the time of his son's birth, Thomas was employed as a Coalminer. Thomas and Annie had a second child, a daughter, Margaret Clark Faichen Russell, who was born on the 2nd of December 1913 (NRS, 1913)[43]. At the time of his daughter's birth, Thomas was still employed in the coal mine, but he was no longer a coal miner. In fact, on his daughter's birth certificate, his occupation is given as an Electric Coal Cutting Machineman.

When Great Britain declared war on Germany on the 4th of August 1914 following the German invasion of Belgium[44], as a coal miner, Russell would have been under no obligation to enlist for two reasons: firstly, the coal industry was considered to play an essential role in Britain's war effort and as such its workers were required on the Home Front (Martin, 1981). Secondly, Russell would not have been conscripted as his entry into the armed forces preceded the introduction of conscription in April 1916[45].

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[40] See Appendix 22, p. 229.
[41] See Appendix 23, p. 230.
[42] See Appendix 24, p. 231.
[43] See Appendix 25, p. 232.
[44] The official declaration of war against Germany was made on 4th August 1914 in The London Gazette. See Appendix 26, p. 233.
[45]The Military Service Act (January 1916) was introduced following the Derby Scheme which had been launched in autumn 1915. The purpose of the Derby Scheme was to identify if the army could be formed exclusively by volunteers or if conscription would be necessary. Under the Military Service Act, single men aged from 18 to 40 were liable to be called for military service; exemptions from conscription were granted to widowers with children and religious ministers. See Simkins (2007) for further details.

Photograph 3 - WWI recruitment poster

It is quite possible that several factors influenced Russell's decision to enlist: his brother[46] George Allan, a regular with the 1st Gordon Highlanders had been captured at Le Cateau and was a German POW; the effective wartime propaganda and patriotic fever are also likely to have contributed (Sanders and Taylor, 1982). On the 8th of August 1914, Lord Kitchener called for 100,000 volunteers to join the army; Kitchener issued a direct appeal to the Scots, saying:

> 'I feel certain that Scotsmen have only to know that the country needs their services to offer them with the same splendid patriotism as they have always shown in the past." (Royle, 2007:30)

[46] Russell used the term 'brother' however, George Allan was in fact a very close friend and was best man at Russell's wedding.

Kitchener's appeal may have resonated with many of the working classes. At the outbreak of the conflict, wages were low and, among the working classes, living conditions were poor; Royle states that 25% of Scottish coal miners enlisted in the Army in the Great War (2007, p. 20). In addition to, perhaps, earning better wages in the Army, the war was also presented as an adventure, and one that was expected to "be over by Christmas."[47] (Hallifax, 2010).

While little is known about Thomas Clark Russell's reasons for enlisting, official documents relating to his enlistment are not available. However, as with George Murray, records held at the National Archives, including MICs and Medal Roll Cards, allow a reconstruction of Russell's service in the army. Thomas Clark Russell joined the 10th Gordon Highlanders[48], one of Kitchener's Service Battalions and part of the 'New Armies'[49]. From MIC data, Russell enlisted in the 10th Gordon Highlanders (Service) Battalion with the rank of Private and was assigned a service number of S/5568 (WO 372/17)[50]. From archival sources for soldiers with the 10th Gordons with service numbers similar to Russell, it would appear that he enlisted between the 7th and the 8th of September 1914; furthermore, it seems that he is likely to have been posted to the 10th Gordons between the 8th and the 10th of September 1914.

[47] See Hallifax (2010) for further detail on this commonly held belief which is present in war fiction, memoirs and histories.
[48] The correct name of the Battalion is the 10th Gordon Highlanders (Service) Battalion; however, throughout this work, the nomenclature used is that adopted by the soldiers and by Russell in his letters, the 10th Gordons.
[49] Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener was Secretary of State for War. Kitchener predicted that the war would be lengthy and that the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) of six infantry divisions and four cavalry brigades would be insufficient in a major European conflict. Kitchener decided to raise a series of 'New Armies' each duplicating the original BEF. His first appeal for volunteers was launched on August 7th, 1914. For more information on Kitchener's New Armies, see Simkins (2007).
[50] See Appendix 31, p. 239.

Photograph 4 - Sergeant Thomas Clark Russell, 10th Gordon Highlanders

Russell was on Active Service at the Front from July 1915. He returned home on leave in December 1915 and was at the Front again by Hogmanay[51]. He was killed in Action on the 11th of February 1916[52] when, according to the War Diaries of the 10th Gordon Highlanders, a mine exploded under a section of the trench occupied by the Battalion (WO/95/1938/2, p.91). A total of four men were killed by the explosion with only one body being recovered; Russell was one of the three men whose bodies were not recovered. There is no grave for Russell, however according to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC), he is remembered on the Loos Memorial at Dud Corner Cemetery by Loos-en-Gohelle, Pas-de-Calais[53] as well as on a memorial stone in Colinton Cemetery, Edinburgh, placed by his wife Annie McRoberts Faichen Russell.

[51] Hogmanay is the Scots word for the last day of the year and is synonymous with the celebration of the New Year.
[52] See Appendix 28, p. 236.
[53] The CWGC was founded on May 21st, 1917 and was initially known as the Imperial War Graves Commission. It was entrusted with the task of listing both the names and places of commemoration of the fallen. For more information on the history of the CWGC see Summers (2007).

1.4.2 The 10th Gordon Highlanders (Service Battalion) on the Western Front

The 15th (Scottish) Division was raised at Aldershot in September 1914 with a nucleus of men who were surplus to the requirements of the 9th (Scottish) Division (Stewart and Buchan, 2003). Since the public response to Kitchener's call to arms had been so great, a Second New Army was authorized in September 1914. Thus, the men who were surplus to requirements of the 9th (Scottish) Division were soon joined by volunteers from Scotland, creating the 15th (Scottish) Division. The 15th, like all British Divisions, was formed by three Brigades (44th-46th), each brigade consisting of four battalions (Simkins, 2007). The Division was inspected by King George V on the 26th of September 1914. This was recorded as the first occasion on which they paraded as a formed unit, but they did so in plain clothes. The Division was inspected by Field Marshal Lord Kitchener on the 22nd of January. The Division continued training until early summer 1915 by which time the Division was held to be ready for deployment (Stewart and Buchan, 2003). The 10th Gordon Highlanders War Diary[54] records that on July 3rd, 1915, while at Parkhouse Camp, Salisbury, orders were received that they were to embark for France on July 8th. The battalion entrained at Tedworth to Folkestone and at 11.30pm embarked on the SS Victoria; the battalion arrived in Boulogne at 9am the following morning. The soldiers then marched to the rest camp and subsequently marched to the Pont-de-Brique station where they took a train to Eperlecques where they were billeted until the 15th of July. Upon leaving Eperlecques, the Battalion marched to Hazebrouck, where they bivouacked.

The battalion received orders to enter the trenches in Houchin on the 19th of July. The 15th (Scottish) Division served with distinction on the Western Front for the duration of the war, participating in most of the

[54] See Appendix 27, p. 234 – 235.

significant actions, including the Battle of Loos and the first Battle of the Somme. They were considered by the enemy as one of the most formidable divisions of the British Army (Stewart and Buchan, 2003).

Photograph 5 - The Gordon Highlanders returning from the line

1.5 The British Army 1914

The body of epistolary discourse produced during the Great War was, in part, due to the significant numbers of civilian men who enlisted to serve at the Front. Prior to the outbreak of the war in 1914, the British Army in 1914 was constituted exclusively by professional soldiers who had volunteered to serve in the Armed Forces (Chappell, 2003).

Prior to the Great War, the British Army was a small professional force consisting of 247,432 regulars (Conrad, 1996). It had gained experience of non-domestic service and, at the start of the conflict, almost half of the British Army was stationed overseas throughout the British Empire (Tucker

and Roberts, 2005). While the regular army was deployed throughout the British Empire, it was assisted domestically by other organisations.

It was both the Territorial Force and reservists who provided domestic support to the regular army. The Territorial Force was a part-time volunteer organisation which was created in 1908 in an attempt to meet the military demands of the United Kingdom without having to rely upon conscription. Members of the Territorial Force could be deployed anywhere within the United Kingdom, but its members were not obliged to serve overseas (Messenger, 1996). The reservists, instead, consisted of three distinct categories of men, namely the Army Reserve of retired soldiers; the Special Reserve which was a form of part-time soldiering similar to the Territorial Force; and the National Reserves[55].

In addition to the regular army, the Territorial Force and the reservists, Field Marshall Lord Kitchener decided to raise so-called New Armies consisting exclusively of volunteers (Young, 2001). In August 1914, 300,000 men volunteered to join the army; by the end of September 1914 they were joined by another 450,000 (Chandler 2001, p.11). Both the British Army infantry divisions were divided into regiments, many of which were historical regiments with strong territorial links to the geographical area in which they were raised. With their strong identity, the regiment offered the soldier something less abstract than 'King and Country' to identify with. Prior to the start of the conflict, most infantry regiments had two active battalions, each consisting of approximately 1,000 men, as well as a part-time Territorial battalion. Each battalion was divided into four companies, each numbering 200 men, each of which was commanded by a Major or a Captain. A company consisted of four platoons, each of about 50 men and were commanded by a Second Lieutenant or a Lieutenant with a Sergeant as his support; platoons were divided into four sections of twelve men under the

[55] For further information on the Army Reserves and the Territorial Force see Chandler (2001).

command of a Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO), usually a Corporal (Reid, 1996).

In early 1918 there were about 60 British divisions on the Western Front, numbering approximately 720,000 men (Boff, 2014). The division was the basic strategic building block of the war, a permanent formation that moved and fought together. It was customary for three or four divisions to be grouped together according to requirements in order to constitute an 'Army Corps', with generally three or four corps making up an Army. Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, overall commander of the British Expeditionary Force in France, had five armies subordinate to him in 1918. This corresponded to approximately 1,500,000 men on Active Service in France and Flanders, who would have regularly written letters from the Front to friends and family back home. While Murray and Russell were but two individuals in such a body of men, their writings represent a very small body of the letters that were crossing the Channel regularly during the conflict. The volume of mail produced by soldiers on Active Service with the British Army necessitated an effective mail system in order to ensure that letters written by serving soldiers were dispatched in a timely manner and that letters and parcels sent from friends and family on the Home Front would also arrive promptly at their intended destination.

1.6 Conclusions

This chapter has shown how the research into the family histories of both George Murray and Thomas Clark Russell, provided the necessary information to obtain a better understanding of the familial context of both men. Murray was from a line of skilled manual labourers, mainly woodworkers. His parents spent a few years in the Eastern Cape, South Africa but returned home when their first child was still young. The area of Ross and Cromarty is one that had suffered from depopulation followed by forced

removal of people from the land in the Highland Clearances; therefore, it is understandable that Murray moved south to the large urban centre of Glasgow to seek an apprenticeship. Murray's membership of the Territorial Force did not oblige him to serve overseas during the conflict, this is something that he, like many others, volunteered for. While the official military records do not provide great detail, the Battalion War Diaries provide us with a day to day account of the events of life at the Front.

The research regarding the Russell family history demonstrated that Russell was the 4th consecutive generation of his family to work down the mines. Despite being employed in manual labour, it would appear that both of Russell's parents were literate, albeit mechanically literate, as confirmed by their signatures on archival records. In Lanarkshire in the early 20th century, the main employment sector was the mines of which there was a concentration in that area. For the lower working classes, the salary offered by the army may have seemed attractive and this could well have been a contributing factor in Russell's decision to enlist. While his reason for volunteering is unclear, what is known is that when he enlisted, he left behind a wife, and two young children below the age of three.

Murray and Russell both come from very different geographical areas: Murray from the Highlands and Russell from the industrial Central Belt, yet they were united by their belonging to the working class. Despite both men being from the working classes, they both possessed a level of instruction that created an ability to communicate with their family members in writing as confirmed by the collections of letters that they wrote. It is most likely that both Murray and Russell had received compulsory schooling, certainly until the age of twelve; the degree of literacy that they achieved during their elementary school education was put to good use in maintaining contact with family members at home whom they were separated from during the conflict. The creation of Great War epistolary discourse, and its

conservation by previous generations, grants us a precious insight into how the lower classes discursively constructed their experiences of the conflict, in their own words, to be shared with their loved ones at home, helping to keep family bonds strong, overcoming distance.

CHAPTER 2

The socio-historical context of production

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of the socio-historical context that contributed to making the significant exchange of epistolary discourse throughout the Great War possible. In fact, the volume of correspondence produced and exchanged during the Great War can be attributed to a series of factors that were particular to Scotland at that time. In order to understand the conditions that fostered literacy, letter writing and epistolary exchange, first a brief, detailed description will be given of the Scottish Education System which, for centuries, had believed in the importance of universal instruction and placed that at the centre of its philosophy; the section also considers 19th century educational reform and its impact on the provision of education in Scotland. Increased literacy in the Scottish population was not solely responsible for the volume of correspondence generated during the conflict; the advent of affordable, efficient postal services also had a significant role in the adoption of letter and note writing as a means of communication; the 'penny post' and its impact on communication is discussed in section 2.2. With approximately 750,000 men on the Western Front by late September 1914 (Chandler 2001, p.11), the British Army had to ensure that it had a system that was able to manage and distribute incoming and outgoing mail efficiently. The demand for efficient mail services at the front led to the creation of the Army Postal Services (APS); section 2.3 provides an overview of the creation and running of the APS and the various tasks that were entrusted to it. Section 2.3 is followed by the conclusion in section 2.4.

2.2 The Scottish Education System

Scotland, historically, has benefitted from an international reputation as being one of the most educated societies in the world (Knox, 2000). The Scottish education system was distinguished from the English system due to the early use of legislation in order to provide schools with financial support. The 1696 Act for the 'Settling of Schools' legally obliged local landowners to fund schools and schoolmasters' stipends (Brown and Mann, 2005).

As early as the 1700s, the Church of Scotland and landowners paid for the establishment of schools in all rural parishes and burghs. The schools offered education to all children irrespective of gender or social class without charging fees; it was, in essence, a democratic system which allowed even children from impoverished families to access instruction. A consequence of the principle of universal instruction was an increased level of literacy. It has been stated that literacy tended to be higher in Protestant countries (David, 2012) since the Church was active in the teaching of literacy, in particular reading, as it was seen as vital to be able to read in order to 'save your soul'.

In terms of literacy, Scotland fared favourably also in comparison with other European neighbours, as highlighted by Finkelstein:

> Literacy rates amongst men and women, above average in comparison to European and English counterparts, underwent steady improvement to near universal literacy by 1900. (2007, p.432)

Anderson describes the achievements of the Scottish parish school system as "widespread literacy, economic progress, a contented "peasantry"-and […] that they illustrated the advantages of a public system of school" (1983, p.518). However, despite attaining improved literacy rates, the Scottish education system faced difficulty in meeting the

educational needs of a growing population, especially in industrialized urban areas due to population growth throughout the 19th century.

Conditions in urbanised areas were impacted not only by population growth but also by migration (Devine, 2001). During the 18th and 19th centuries, rural Scotland suffered from extensive depopulation and significant immigration to urban centres located in the Central Belt[56], (Raftery *et al*, 2007) which led to overcrowding in schools.

An attempt to meet the educational needs of Scotland's increasing population was made by the established Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland General Assembly[57] established a committee for education in 1824 which, by 1865, had established 214 "assembly schools"; the assembly schools were joined by approximately 120 "sessional schools" which were predominantly created by kirk sessions in towns with the aim of educating the children of the poor (Checkland and Checkland, 1989). The 1843 Disruption of the Church of Scotland[58] which gave rise to the creation of the Free Church of Scotland, resulted in a fragmentation of the kirk school system. Of the teachers employed in kirk schools, 408 left the established church and joined the breakaway Free Church. By May 1847, the Free Church claimed that it had built 500 schools, employed 513 schoolmasters and that more than 44,000 children were receiving instruction in Free Church schools (Lynch, 2011).

The Scottish school system, with its perceived problems and fragmentation, gave rise to a process of secularization in which the state assumed increasing control. The state started funding buildings from 1830, and from 1846 it started to fund schools by means of direct

[56] The Central Belt is the area of central Scotland, which extends from the River Forth in the East to the River Clyde in the West. It stretches from Edinburgh to Glasgow encompassing the surrounding industrial towns.
[57] The governing body of the Church of Scotland.
[58] The Disruption of 1843 was a division which took place within the established Church of Scotland, in which 450 evangelical ministers of the Church broke away over the matter of the relationship of the Church with the state. This division led to the formation of the Free Church of Scotland. For more information on the 1843 Disruption see Buchanan (1849).

sponsorship. Furthermore, prior to the 1861 Education Act, Scottish teachers either had to be members of the Church of Scotland or subscribe to the Westminster Confession[59]. The Argyll Commission was established in 1866 by the government; its remit was to investigate the schooling system in Scotland (Cruickshank, 2010). The commission found that 200,000 of the children requiring instruction received it in efficient conditions, a further 200,000 children received instruction in schools of questionable merit with no inspections and 90,000 children were receiving no instruction whatsoever. While this situation fared favourably compared with schooling in England, with 14% more children in education and with relatively low literacy rates of between 10 per cent to 20 per cent for pupils in Scotland, the Commission's report was used to support extensive reform of Scotland's educational system. This culminated in the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, which was based on the 1870 Elementary Education Act in England and Wales (Smelser, 1991). However, the Scottish law sought to provide a solution that was more comprehensive than that provided in both England and Wales; this led to the establishment of approximately 1,000 local school Boards as a direct consequence of The Education (Scotland) Act (Findlay, 1973). Furthermore, the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act made school attendance compulsory from the age of 5 to 13[60]. In order to enforce compulsory attendance, School boards recruited School Enforcement Officers who were entrusted with the task of enforcing compulsory schooling; failure by parents to ensure their child attended school meant that they could be prosecuted (Knox, 2000; M^{c}Dermid, 2015).

The principal function of compulsory elementary education was essentially to eradicate illiteracy and to attain mechanical efficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic; in order to meet its objectives, the

[59] The Westminster Confession of Faith is a Reformed confession of faith written in 1646; it became and remains to be the subordinate standard of doctrine within the Church of Scotland.
[60] The school leaving age was raised from 10 in 1872 to 14 in 1901 (Knox, 2000).

elementary school curriculum had a specific focus on the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic (the three 'Rs') (Duncan, 2017). Mitchell (2007) states that the letter writing abilities of the general population were due to the educational tools of grammar books and letter-writing manuals. Pupils received a solid foundation in basic literacy skills through the use of grammar books while letter-writing manuals were utilised by schoolmasters for the teaching of grammar, rhetoric and composition; furthermore, letter-writing manuals served to develop pupil awareness of appropriate social conventions.

Photograph 6 - An Edwardian village school, with its Dominie

Literacy was defined not solely by gender; occupation and social status were also influential factors. According to Veitch (n.d.) by the late 1800s, approximately 89 per cent of men and 79 per cent of women were sufficiently literate to sign their names and by the early twentieth century, Scotland's population was almost universally literate. The reason for the development of reading and writing skills needs to be considered taking into account the motivation of the population to acquire literacy in both reading and writing.

It is essential to consider motivations for acquiring reading and writing skills in terms of popular culture; according to Laqueur (1976), literacy was not acquired due to any one specific reason but was rather the consequence of the impact of communication that was only rendered possible by the written word. Being informed and keeping others informed, therefore, was a motivation to learn to read and write. The acquisition of such skills permitted the more effective functioning of men and women in a range of social spheres. While the population enjoyed high levels of literacy, handwriting was often variable; however, poor handwriting found in primary sources may not necessarily be an indicator of a low level of instruction (Horner, 1990). Depending upon their occupation, some writers may not have had frequent opportunities to engage in writing thus leading to a deterioration in their penmanship. Lack of practice is not the only reason proposed for less than perfect handwriting; Veitch (n.d.) suggests that the quality of handwriting in a given text may have been dependent on the purpose of the writing and to whom it was addressed. When writing was of a personal nature, and thus unlikely to be circulated publicly, the writer would often adopt a more cursive writing style which could well be more inconsistent and abbreviated than the one they had learned at school.

The provision of education and the consequent improvement in literacy together with the formalities of letter writing which were taught both in schools and through letter writing manuals (Hall and Gillen 2007) facilitated the creation of epistolary discourse by soldiers at the Front. Both Murray and Russell, while they possessed good levels of literacy for that period, were not what could be considered as fully literate.

In order to quantify the level of literacy possessed by both Murray and Russell, the corpus of letters was divided into two corpora: one for Murray and the other for Russell. The letters written by each soldier were edited to remove all formulaic openings and closings, dates were also

deleted; the editing allowed the creation of two bodies of texts, one for each writer, which could be assessed for readability. Significant research has been conducted on the reliability of readability formulae and, while not held to provide results that are entirely dependable, it permitted an estimation of the reading grade level of the corpus, which, in turn, provides an indication of the letter writers' literacy levels. An online tool[61] was used to assess the readability of the respective corpora, the results obtained are shown below in Table 1. The analysis shows that the average grade level of Murray is 7.16, that of Russell is 6.65 and the average grade level of the entire corpus is 7.01.

Readability Score (Index)	MURRAY	RUSSELL	Entire corpus
Gunning fog	8.63	8.67	**8.62**
Flesch-Kincaid	6.08	6.05	**6.05**
SMOG	8.22	7.21	**7.97**
Coleman-Liau	6.56	5.19	**6.16**
Automated	6.32	6.13	**6.24**
Average GL:	7.16	6.65	**7.01**
Median GL:	6.56	6.13	**6.24**

Table 1 – Readability score index (RSI) TL corpus

The results of the analysis should be taken as an approximate indicator of the literacy level of the soldier letter writers. The soldiers' level of literacy and their ability to write letters was not, however, the sole factor

[61] The online resource Analyze My Writing (http://www.analyzemywriting.com) was used. The tool offers different categories of analysis and includes: readability, lexical density, basic text statistics and word frequency. While many studies have been published regarding the variability of reliability of reading level calculation formulae (see, for example, Fry, 1968; Janan and Ray 2012; Plaven-Segray *et al,* 2017), in the present study such analyses are used to provide an approximate indication of the respective writers' educational level. The average Grade Level result of 7.01 corresponds to US Grade 7 which, in turn, corresponds to Primary 7 in Scotland. Therefore, in order to produce a text which requires Primary 7 level literacy to read and understand it, it is assumed that the writers produced writing literacy of the same level as the texts they produced.

contributing to the usefulness and popularity of letter-writing during the Great War.

2.3 Postal Services

As essential as literacy was in facilitating the exchange of epistolary discourse, it was not the sole contributing factor. There is, however, little doubt regarding its development prior to 1914 which, as stated by Hanna (2014) meant that letter writing was critical to the emotional well-being of both soldiers at the front and their families at home. Badsey (2014) further highlights how the Great War was in fact marked by the close bonds between the home and fighting fronts.

While it is clear that correspondence had an important role in the lives of Great War soldiers, the exchange of letters had to be efficiently managed. Altman (1982) highlights the importance played by the reachability of the addressee in facilitating the exchange of epistolary discourse. If the addressee cannot be easily reached by the postal service, the epistolary exchange is rendered futile.

The 'Penny Post', which was established in Britain in 1840, played a pivotal role in the proliferation of letter writing as a social practice; it ensured that all members of the population were able to access a postal service that was both economical and efficient. The reasonable cost of British postal services soon ensured that it became a popular means of communication; its popularity was furthered by the rapidity with which deliveries occurred. In her study on the popularity of the picture postcard in Edwardian Britain, Gillen (2013) states that the reality of six or more mail deliveries per day in towns and cities led to an experience which was "closer to the synchronicity of the digital communications than vernacular written communications" (p. 488). Such synchronicity in the exchange of written communications would prove to be a challenge to provide to soldiers serving in the trenches.

For the soldiers serving in the British Army during the Great War, where there was a high rate of literacy, communication with people at home had the potential to make a significant contribution to the psychological and emotional well-being of the troops and to the maintenance of army morale. Likewise, a lack of mail could detrimentally affect the serving soldier and, for those at home lead to worry that their letter writer had been wounded or even killed. The bidirectional exchange of correspondence between front line soldiers and family members at home served as a valuable aid in helping the soldiers maintain contact with the life that they had left behind when they enlisted; furthermore, the act of letter writing may also have been therapeutic, allowing the soldiers to unburden themselves (Roper, 2009). Ensuring that mail from the home front reached soldiers on active service was not the exclusive domain of the Royal Mail; the British Army had long instituted a unit responsible for the managing of soldiers' personal correspondence[62].

2.4 The British Army Postal Service

The British Army had gained valuable experience in managing and distributing mail to its soldiers during a variety of campaigns preceding the Great War[63]. Mail services to the British Army during the First World War were provided by the Royal Engineers (Postal Service)[64] whose members were predominantly recruited from the General Post Office (GPO)[65]. The British Army published the Field Service Regulations

[62] The Royal Post, established during the reign of King Edward IV is regarded as the origins of the army postal service; it was instituted by King Edward to support his troops who were engaged in a war against Scotland.
[63] Such as during the First Boer War of 1899, however, the sheer numbers of troops serving in WWI made army postal service an unknown challenge. See Kennedy and Crabb (1977) and Wells (1987).
[64] The Royal Engineers (Postal Service) (REPS) during peacetime was a part-time reserve unit formed by GPO staff with some military training; the unit was incorporated into the army upon the outbreak of war but, on the whole, continued to be managed by the GPO.
[65] At the outbreak of the Great War, the GPO was the largest industry in Great Britain, with more manpower than the army, the navy and the royal dockyards combined. See Campbell-Smith (2012).

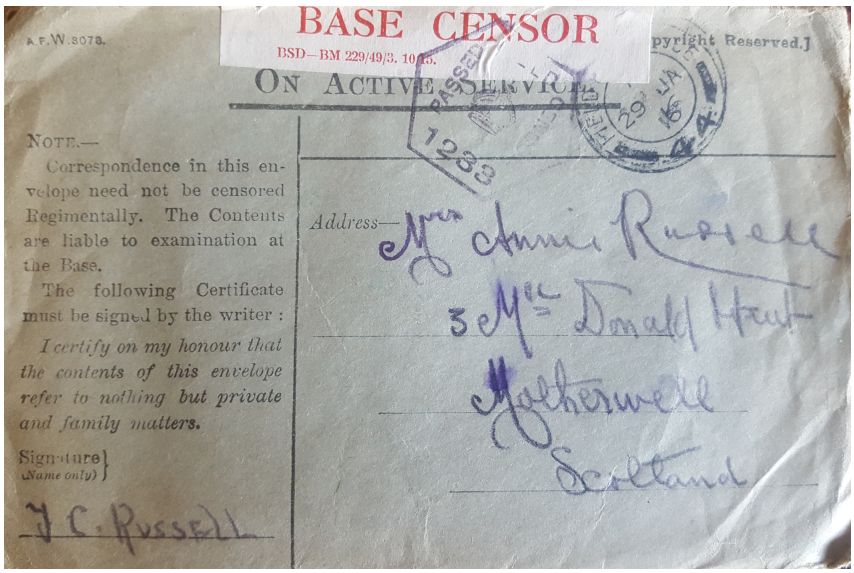
(FSR), Part 2, in 1909 in which it referred to the service as the Army Postal Service (Fenwick, 2012). At the outbreak of the war, the APS was relatively small and was constituted by 10 officers and 280 soldiers of other ranks; these numbers grew significantly, and, by the end of the conflict, there were approximately 7,000 people serving in the unit (Fenwick, *ibid*). The APS had Base Army Post Offices (BAPO) and stationary Army Post Offices (APO) which were located on the Western Front, both of which were staffed by men recruited from the GPO.

Managing the volumes of mail traversing the Channel was a complex task and one that required the coordination of several distinct processes. Mail for serving soldiers on active service was handled by the GPO until it reached the Home Postal Depot (HPD) located in London. Once the mail had arrived at the HPD it was then sorted according to theatre of war and unit. Prior to reaching its destination, the mail was transported by means of different forms of transport until it reached the Field Post Office (FPO) where it would be received and distributed by FPO staff to Unit Post Orderlies (UPOs) who had been entrusted with the task of collecting mail from the FPO to then distribute it to the men in the trenches. Mail to be distributed was usually handed out in the evening when the men received their evening meal. Correspondence sent from the Front, usually in the form of letters or postcards, was sent in the reverse direction (Vallance, 2015). The army was responsible for the management of homeward bound mail until it reached Great Britain when it entered the GPO system for delivery to the addressee. Homeward bound mail was first sent to the BAPO, which would be responsible for loading it onto vessels bound for the UK. On the mail's arrival in the UK it was put into the GPO system for delivery to the addressee (Campbell-Smith, 2012). The APS was not only responsible for the delivery of letters from home and the collection of soldiers' letters for loved ones; it was also charged with the task of censoring mail.

Censorship of mail was carried out at the trenches, whereby each letter written home by a soldier was opened, read and censored by a junior officer (Demm, 2017). Once the letter continued its journey towards Britain, it was opened and read once more upon arrival at the HPD, in order to ensure that it contained neither classified information regarding troop movements, nor information about casualties which had the potential to negatively impact public morale. While it was recognized that censorship was necessary, it also determined what information soldiers on active service could share with loved ones in their letters (Mason and Parton, 2018). Serving soldiers developed strategies allowing them to circumvent the censors; they could entrust a letter to a fellow soldier going home on furlough for posting once in Great Britain, or they could adopt a type of code whereby clues were given to allow the reader to glean information regarding location[66]. Such strategies adopted to elude the censors gave rise to writings that offer a view of soldier experiences which is both powerful and extremely personal.

APS censorship served to ensure that military secrets were neither accidentally nor deliberately leaked; indeed, the only way for soldiers to guarantee that their letters were not opened by regimental censors was to send their letter in a sealed green envelope also known as an 'honour envelope' due to the declaration printed on the front bearing the following words: *I certify on my honour that the contents of this envelope refer to nothing but private family matters.* While the letters posted in such letters were exempt from censorship by the soldier's superiors, they could, instead, be opened for censorship upon arrival at the HPD. The introduction of such envelopes in March 1915 effectively removed one of the many demands on the field censors whilst providing the soldiers with an opportunity to write of more personal matters without fear of the contents being read by a superior.

[66] Such strategies were, at times, adopted in the letters in the current corpus.



Photograph 7 - Letter written by Thomas Clark Russell

Letters were not the only objects sent to the Front, soldiers would often receive parcels from home providing them with some home comforts. Such was the volume of parcels being sent that their dispatch created difficulties for the APS (Hanna, 2014). British families sent approximately 60,000 parcels per day (Hanna, *ibid*) and in December 1916 they reached a total of 4.5 million parcels. Parcels sent from home often contained edible items which could spoil if not delivered relatively quickly, therefore, it was essential that parcels arrived promptly at the Front; Hanna (ibid) states that, in fact, parcels tended to reach their destination within a week of posting. The arrival of such parcels was met with enthusiasm and the contents were often shared with fellow soldiers. Working-class families also endeavoured to send parcels to their loved ones at the Front, although these parcels were frequently a cause of financial worry to the soldiers in the trenches, both in terms of the contents as well as of the costs involved in sending parcels internationally. Despite financial constraints, parcels with carefully chosen items and homemade cooking were frequently sent to loved ones on active service. During the course of the war, mail families at home generated large amounts of mail

which amounted to approximately 2 billion letters and 114 million parcels that were dispatched to the trenches (Cornish, 2014), which significantly contributed to the maintenance of soldier morale.

2.5 Conclusions

This chapter has sought to provide a detailed description of the socio-historical context that facilitated the creation and exchange of personal correspondence during the Great War in order to facilitate understanding of how the two soldier letter writers had a sufficient knowledge of penmanship, reading and writing to be able to engage in frequent and sustained letter writing.

The mass literacy of Scotland in the late 19th century provides testimony of the Scottish tradition of commitment to education as a means of self-improvement and as a vehicle for social progression. With the introduction of compulsory schooling, due to the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. The 1872 Act made elementary education compulsory for all children aged between 5 and 13, raising to the age of 14 in 1901. School attendance officers were responsible for delivering warnings to parents as well as instigating prosecutions of parents who failed to ensure their children attended school (Sheldon, 2007, p.735). The provision of compulsory education for all children of school age and the role of School Attendance Officers may well have led to the high literacy levels in Scotland during that period. A population with a good degree of mechanical literacy was equipped with sufficient skills to engage in the exchange of correspondence; however, improved literacy was not the only factor in the popularity of letter writing during the war.

An effective postal system that was cost-effective was also essential in facilitating the exchange of personal correspondence. The introduction of the 'penny post' and postal reform contributed significantly to the popularity of letter-writing as a means of

communication. Also, the rapid evolution of transport during the 19th century led to an acceleration of communication which was almost akin to synchronicity in large towns (Gillen, 2013). With the outbreak of war, personal correspondence was to gain even more importance and, as such, it was essential for the British Army to have a structure capable of managing the vast amounts of mail sent to the troops at the front.

The APS, with its staff primarily from the GPO, was capable of efficiently managing communications both those sent to the front, as well as those sent from soldiers on active service. The APS developed a degree of efficiency that allowed for parcels and letters sent from the UK to reach the front within a week. The rapidity and dependability of the services provided by the APS were essential for soldiers and their families at home. During the Great War, epistolary discourse was effectively an essential experience that enabled soldiers to maintain connections with those they left behind at home and, as equally important, provided soldiers with a valuable form of release.

CHAPTER 3

Soldier letter corpus

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the data collection procedure that was adopted for the creation of the corpus. The starting point for the research project was a private collection of letters written by a working-class soldier serving in the British Army. While the collection of letters appeared interesting for investigation of the written discursive strategies used by semi-literate soldiers during wartime, it soon became evident that the collection did not create a sufficiently consistent corpus for analysis. Section 3.1 details the challenging process of collecting other data sources. A detailed general description of the corpus in its entirety is given in Section 3.2. Detailed information regarding the collection of letters written by George Murray is included in Section 3.2.1, while detailed information regarding the collection of letters written by Thomas Clark Russell is in Section 3.2.2. The properties of the letters in the Russell Collection rendered it necessary to dedicate a section to what were known as 'honour envelopes', which is the topic of Section 3.3. Lastly, the chapter ends with Section 3.4, which contains the conclusion of the chapter.

3.2 Data Collection

The letters forming the basis of this research are from two separate collections and consist of letters written by George Murray and by Thomas Clark Russell. The Thomas Clark Russell letters were the starting point of this research project; they are from a family collection and while interesting, did not constitute a sufficiently large corpus to be used for a linguistic analysis of the discursive strategies employed by Scottish

soldiers serving in the trenches on the Western Front. The need to trace other similar collections became necessary in order to create a more substantial corpus.

In order to source other letters, contact was made with a range of bodies, both public and private, in an attempt to source letters written by soldiers serving in kilted Scottish regiments on the Western Front, from a similar educational and socio-economic background to that of Russell. Social media for family history groups and local newspapers were contacted in an attempt to source letters held in private collections.

An email was sent to the regimental archives and museums of a selection of Scottish regiments[67]. Furthermore, contact was also made with the National Archives[68], the Imperial War Museum (London)[69], the National Records of Scotland (NRS)[70] and the National Library of Scotland (NLS)[71] enquiring as to whether they had such letters in their archives.

The IWM, TNA, NRoS and NLA all responded positively that their collections included letters written from the trenches of World War I. The aforementioned institutions were subsequently contacted to arrange visits to the archives to examine their primary sources.

Visits to the IWM, TNA and NRoS revealed that the Great War letters in their collections were not suitable for inclusion in the corpus, the object of this thesis, for a variety of reasons. The majority of the letters

[67] Contact was made with the following regimental museums and archives: the Black Watch (Perth), the Gordon Highlanders (Aberdeen), the Queen's Own Highlanders (Fort George), the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (Stirling), the Royal Scots (Edinburgh).
[68] The National Archives (TNA) is a non-ministerial government department, which is the official archive of the UK and holds historical documents pertaining to England and Wales.
[69] The Imperial War Museum (IWM) was created in 1917; it was created with the objective of recording the efforts and sacrifices, both civil and military, of Great Britain and its Dominions during the Great War. For further information on the IWM see Malvern (2000).
[70] In Scotland, the National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh, is the equivalent institution to the TNA.
[71] The National Library of Scotland is Scotland's largest library whose collection includes a wide range of sources ranging from historical documents to online journals. Their collections have a special focus on the knowledge, history and culture of Scotland.

held in their respective collections turned out to have been written either by soldiers from the lower/upper middle classes or by soldiers from the upper classes, whom had received more than compulsory schooling, and so their letters could not be classed as the writings of the semi-literate. Other instances of primary sources written by semi-literate soldiers were not appropriate for inclusion in the corpus, as they consisted of isolated letters written by individuals rather than a larger collection produced by one individual. Likewise, the visit to the NLS revealed an interesting collection of writings from World War I, including letters and diaries; however, they were written by soldiers with the rank of Captain, Officer and higher ranks and, therefore, were excluded as the writers were from different socio-economic and educational backgrounds compared to Russell.

Since institutional archives did not yield low-ranking soldier war letters, it was then decided to extend the search for sources to both family history groups and military archives and museums.

Social media was used to contact family history groups on Facebook describing the research project; an appeal for personal World War I letters was published on a variety of Scottish family history Facebook groups[72]. However, apart from two emails with a total of three letters by two soldiers attached, it was not possible to source any collection of sufficient size; it was then decided to attempt to access sources held at the military museums and archives of Scottish regiments.

A visit was made to the Royal Scots museum and archive, which is the regimental home of the Royal Scots Greys, a cavalry regiment, and the Royal Scots, one of the oldest infantry regiments of the British Army (Weaver, 1915) at Edinburgh Castle. The letters from their collections

[72] In particular, the appeal for letters was published on the West of Scotland Family History Group, the Lanarkshire Family History Group, the North-East Scotland Family History Group. Contact was also made with the British Legion and the non-profit governmental organisation WW100.

were written by higher ranking soldiers (Officers, Captains, Lieutenants) and had been bequeathed to the Officer's Club; these letters were held to be unsuitable for inclusion in the corpus due to the different social and educational background of the writers when compared to Russell.

The Black Watch archives in Perth hold an interesting collection of letters primarily of the Black Watch Association, which document requests for assistance from veterans and the response of the association to these requests; while interesting, they were not appropriate for inclusion in the current study. The archive also held a very limited collection of letters written from the trenches by lower ranking soldiers. However, they consist of isolated letters written by several individuals rather than a substantial collection written by one person over an extended period of time.

The Gordon Highlander Museum in Aberdeen, like the other regimental archives, has letters in its collection and a visit to the archive was made. Upon examining the sources, it was found that one of the collections was of a substantial size but had been written by a higher-ranking soldier and thus was not suitable for inclusion in the corpus. Similarly, to the Black Watch archives, other letters present in their archives consist of isolated letters written by individual soldiers, but there was no substantial collection written by lower ranking soldiers.

The Queen's Own Highlanders Museum and archives at Fort George, Ardersier, replied positively that they did indeed have such letters in their archives. The Highlanders Museum and archives house a collection of approximately 20,000 artefacts and an estimated 10,000 documents and photographs; it is, in fact, the largest regimental museum in Scotland outside Edinburgh. Their collection consists of war diaries for the Seaforth Battalions in both the First and Second World Wars, as well as a collection of private notebooks, letters and diaries; scrap books and collections of ephemera, the majority of which were bequeathed by the

soldiers themselves or by relatives. The archivists at the museum had selected two collections for examination: a collection written by a soldier with the Seaforth Highlanders Machine Gun Corps and a second collection written by a soldier in the 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders. Upon examination, the letters written by G.W. Frask of the Seaforth Highlanders Machine Gun Corps were not appropriate for inclusion in the corpus for the following reasons: he held the rank of lieutenant and had been on active service in Mesopotamia and not on the Western Front; furthermore, while he served in the Seaforths, he was originally from Bradford, Yorkshire. The other folder selected by the archivists appeared upon initial inspection to be more suitable.

Upon closer reading of the letters in the second folder, they appeared to have been written by a soldier serving with the 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders and thus were appropriate for inclusion in the corpus due to several factors, including his geographical origin, his social background, his level of instruction, his profession, the theatre of war he served in and the similar temporal period in which he was in the armed services.

The second folder of letters from the Fort George museum archives were written by a soldier, George Murray, in the 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders. The letters written in the collection immediately appeared to be of interest as they covered an extended period of time (from October 1914 to March 1917).

The collection of letters was scanned electronically and saved. Subsequently, in order to verify the suitability of the letters for inclusion in the corpus, genealogical research was conducted in order to obtain information pertaining to the writer, his family and socio-economic background. The genealogical research demonstrated that Murray was from a family in Ross and Cromarty in the Highlands of Scotland. His family was of modest means, his father James Murray, was a house joiner to trade and at the outbreak of the conflict, George Murray was an

apprentice engineer at a shipyard in Govan, Glasgow, and a member of the Territorial Force; therefore, his letters appeared suitable for inclusion in the corpus.

3.3 Corpus description

The corpus consists of a total of 250 letters with a total of 94,477 running words; the letters in the corpus were written by both George Murray and by Thomas Clark Russell during their time on Active Service on the Western Front. Table 2 reports the number of running words for the Murray letters, the Russell letters; the final column reports the total number of running words in the combined corpus.

MURRAY Word count	RUSSELL Word Count	TOTAL word count
67,309	27,168	94,477

Table 2 - Corpus total number of running words

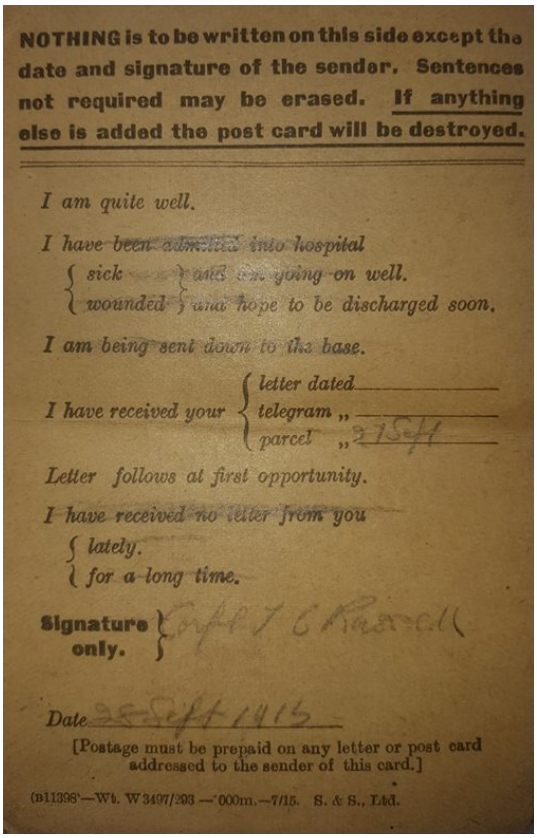
All texts included in the corpus were hand written by Murray and Russell; the texts include letters and postcards[73] and are addressed to members of their immediate families. Field postcards, (shown in Photo 8, below), which consist of preformulated texts in which the writer selects the option that best meets the information he wishes to communicate were removed from the corpus as they do not contain samples of original text written by the soldiers. This decision to remove field postcards did not significantly impact the corpus, as there were just three field postcards altogether in the two collections of letters.

The letters in the corpus do not contain references exclusively to the conflict and life at the front; they also contain instances in which there

[73] Picture postcards were used by neither of the writers, however, Russell did send a collection of picture postcards to his wife but did not write on them.

was a transmission of information from the home front to the trenches, most frequently news of significant events at home. In the case of explicit references to events, these were corroborated by referring to the British Newspaper Archive (BNA), whereas in the case of implicit reference where no specific data was given, research was conducted in order to identify the event which had occurred.

Specifically, the letters in the corpus demonstrate that the exchange of information between the front and the home front was not exclusively limited to the sharing of personal information; indeed, the letters contain references to tragic events on a national scale such as the Quintinshill rail disaster in which more than 200 men perished (Routledge, 2002), as well as the sinking of the HMS Natal in the Cromarty Firth in which between 390 and 421 people died (Hampshire, 1961).



NOTHING is to be written on this side except the date and signature of the sender. Sentences not required may be erased. If anything else is added the post card will be destroyed.

I am quite well.

I have been admitted into hospital
{ sick } and am going on well.
{ wounded } and hope to be discharged soon.

I am being sent down to the base.

I have received your { letter dated ____ / telegram „ ____ / parcel „ 3 Sept }

Letter follows at first opportunity.

I have received no letter from you
{ lately. / for a long time. }

Signature only. { Capt T C Russell }

Date 25 Sept 1915

[Postage must be prepaid on any letter or post card addressed to the sender of this card.]

(B11398)—Wt. W3497/293—'000m.—7/15. S. & S., Ltd.

Photograph 8 - Field postcard

3.3.1 The George Murray Letters

The Murray letters cover a total period of 40 months, consisting of 36 months at the front and 4 months in military hospitals in Great Britain. Only the letters written from the front, including Murray's time in both field hospitals and military hospitals in France, were included in the corpus for transcription.

A total of 208 letters were written by Murray from the trenches of the Western Front, all of which were addressed to members of his immediate family. Murray wrote most frequently to his two sisters Kate and Alex; a total of 91 letters were addressed to Kate who was living with her parents in Fortrose during the war and 99 letters were addressed to his sister Alex who was living in Glasgow with their maternal uncle. Murray wrote six letters to each of the following family members: his father, his mother and his brother Joe[74]. The Murray letter collection has 67,309 running words, including opening and closing formulaic expressions.

The Murray letters were scanned during a visit to the Fort George archives; they were subsequently printed, put into chronological order and transcribed. The transcription is faithful to the original letters and, consequently, presents occasional errors in terms of grammar and punctuation, yet there are very few spelling errors.

The corpus was created after having culled the aforementioned sections; furthermore, signed names and dates were also deleted. However, post scripts making specific requests were not deleted, neither were pre-scripts, usually written in the top left corner, which consist of a comment from the writer either referring to a letter received in that moment, or to the weather. The editing of the letters to insert them in the

[74] Joe had emigrated to South Africa prior to the start of the war; in his letters home to his sisters, George often requested that the sisters forwarded letters on to each other and to Joe in South Africa once they had finished reading them.

corpus permitted the creation of clean texts consisting of extended discourse, which is more useful for analysis.

3.3.2. The Thomas Clark Russell Letters

There is a total of 42 letters written by Russell in the corpus; the 42 letters consist of a total of 27,168 words, covering a period of 7 months from 4th August 1915 to 30th January 1916 written from 'somewhere in France'. Thirty-five letters are addressed to his wife; one to his sister-in-law and six letters to his wife's parents. His letters are written predominantly in English (L1), however, there are instances of use of Scots (L2) lexemes and of French (L3) lexemes.

For transcription, the Russell letters were removed from the envelopes and carefully placed in chronological order before being transcribed. The letters were transcribed without any interference; therefore, errors present in the original letters, incorrect spelling, inaccurate grammar and inconsistent use of punctuation, were transcribed and are present in the corpus, thus allowing the writer's voice to remain as intact as possible. Interestingly, the majority of the letters in the Russell collection were sent in green envelopes, which were commonly referred to as 'honour envelopes'; such envelopes were issued sparingly.

3.4 'Honour' envelopes

Honour envelopes were distributed approximately one per soldier per month. Hanna states that "Green envelopes were, however, more a privilege than a right and any misuse of the system carried with it the threat that the privilege would be revoked." (2014, p.11). Therefore, even if regulations were clear about the issuing of honour envelopes, there was always the risk that this privilege could be withdrawn. Of the Russell letters in the corpus, a total of 27 of letters were sent in honour envelopes, all of which were sent during the period from August 1915 to January

1916. According to regulations regarding the distribution of green envelopes, Russell ought to have sent six or seven letters in green envelopes during that period. The reason behind Russell's access to such an abundant supply of green envelopes is not clear; however, Brophy and Partridge (1969) stated that despite the sparse and infrequent issuing of honour envelopes "some could be obtained by bribery or by barter" (Brophy and Partridge, 1969, p.129). None of the letters sent by Russell had sections cancelled or removed by censors, not even the letters he sent in regular envelopes.

The letters written by Murray were not, on the other hand, kept in their envelopes, therefore it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty which letters were sent in honour envelopes and which in regular envelopes. There are occasional in-text references stating that the writer hopes it will get past the censor and there are even some letters where the censors have cancelled some key words or phrases that must have been held to be sensitive and not for reading by people at the home front, or even worse if mail was intercepted.

The different nature of the letters forming the corpus, uncensored at the front in the case of Russell, and censored at the front in the case of Murray, also allows for a comparative study of the discursive construction of the soldier letter-writers' experiences and allows the researcher to analyse if and how the discursive strategies used by the two soldiers differ.

3.5 Conclusions

This Chapter has sought to provide a detailed description of the soldier letter corpus and the steps taken to create it.

What soon became evident from visits to the different regimental museums throughout Scotland was the distinct absence of wartime letters written by soldiers from the lower social classes; in fact, the archives visited from Edinburgh to Inverness had a veritable abundance of life-

writings from that period, and earlier, which had been created by higher ranking officers and which had been donated to the archives by their descendants. While such texts are, undoubtedly, interesting and grant a precious insight into the contemporary events of that period they are, however, events experienced and seen 'from above', as it were. The reason for the lack of Great War letters 'from below' in the archives is not clear, although the work of historian Professor Jay Winter[75] (2010, 2017) on the silence that continues to surround the Great War may provide an explanation that contributes to explaining such silence. Winter (2017) posits that silence assumes many forms and is enacted by different people, using it as a coping mechanism allowing life to continue after difficult events. This seems a credible explanation for the family silences that have formed part of the Russell family narrative. However, Winter (2017) suggests that some events are too traumatic to relive and that the experiences of World War I by its soldiers were held to be incomprehensible to people from outwith that group (p. 175).

The difficulty in sourcing letters was a significant challenge, and a continuing cause of concern; fortunately, the visit to the Highlanders Museum at Fort George was successful and revealed a collection of letters written by an apprentice engineer from Ross and Cromarty who was living in Glasgow at the outbreak of war[76].

George Murray, aged just 19 at the start of the war, spent over two years in the trenches, during which time he engaged in regular correspondence with his family members back home, especially his two sisters. Thomas Clark Russell wrote mainly to his wife, with seven letters in the corpus addressed to other people in his wife's family. The combined collections of letters permitted the creation of a corpus with a total of

[75] Jay Winter is the Charles J. Stille Professor of History Emeritus at Yale University; he delivered a keynote at the "What Tommy did next" conference at the University of Edinburgh in March 2017.
[76] Unfortunately, there is no information on the provenance of the letters.

94,477 running words. The corpus provides a clear insight into the hardships and horrors of life in the trenches, experiences that lie beyond the comprehension of the general, modern day public. The life-writings offer an insight into how the common man lived in the trenches; the letters provide us with precious information regarding their thoughts, hopes and fears, allowing previously unread stories to be heard.

CHAPTER 4

Trench Letter genre analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the corpus of trench letters from the perspective of genre analysis and describes the research study conducted on a sub-corpus of soldier letters created from a larger corpus created for the purposes of the research presented in this thesis. This chapter applies genre analysis and, specifically, rhetorical move analysis, for the analysis of the soldier letter sub-corpus specifically created for the application of such an analysis. There are ten sections in the chapter. Section 4.1 provides an outline of the chapter structure while in Section 4.2, an introduction to the development of genre analysis is presented. Section 4.3 considers the role of epistolary discourse as a means of communication. Section 4.4 discusses some works from the growing body of literature on emigrant letters while Section 4.5 regards the study of rhetorical moves in the letter genre. Section 4.6 considers the increasing focus on studies of life-writings 'from below'. Section 4.7 presents the study of the chapter and is divided into subsections which present the aim of the study (Section 4.7.1) and the materials and methods used (Section 4.7.2). The results of the analysis are reported in Section 4.8 and are discussed in Section 4.9. The conclusions are presented in Section 4.10.

4.2 Genre Analysis

The term 'genre' derives from Latin and literally means "kind", "class" or "sort". Used in relation to written discourse, it generally refers to different types of texts that are created to fulfil different communicative aims.

Swales (1990) states that genres are constituted by discourse forms possessing a shared ''structure, style, content, and intended audience,''

which are employed by specific discourse communities to realise communicative purposes by means of the "socio-rhetorical" activities involved in writing (pp. 8-10). The conception of genre proposed by Swales establishes four criteria for identifying a genre: communicative purpose, schematic structure, constrained choice of content and, finally, linguistic style. Bhatia (1993) considers the definition of genre offered by Swales (1990) to consist of "a good fusion of linguistic and sociological factors" (p. 16).

For Fairclough (2003), genres are constituted by the "specifically discoursal aspect of ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events" (p. 65); furthermore, Fairclough states that when we analyse a text or interaction in terms of genre, we are effectively seeking to understand how it is represented in, and how it contributes to, social action and interaction; consequently, genres are defined by social practices. Genre according to Miller (1984) is "a recurrent social action taking place in recurrent rhetorical situations in particular discourse communities" (p. 159), while Cope and Kalatzis (2014) claim that, regardless of the definition provided for genre, the definition must necessarily take into account that the forms assumed by texts are dependent upon the social purpose for which they were created and, in very simple terms: ''texts are different because they do different things'' (p. 7). Genre analysis involves the study of language and both its usage and application in different settings (Bhatia, 1997). In considering genre, it is also essential to consider intertextuality and the role it plays in our understanding of texts.

Intertextuality is a generic term to refer to the interconnectedness of different text types. Devitt (1991) proposes the division of intertextuality into three different typologies, namely: referential, generic and functional intertextuality. Furthermore, Devitt (1991) states that referential intertextuality is the "reference in one text to other texts" (p. 342), whereas generic intertextuality is the repetition of rhetorical forms

in rhetorical situations that reoccur. Functional intertextuality, instead, refers to instances when members of a shared community share their knowledge and a set of genres in order to achieve their goals, effectively creating a type of functional intertextuality in which their creation of a present text by using a past text has the potential to impact future texts by creating a need for them (Devitt, 1991, p.350).

Bazerman (2010) claims that knowledge of genre is essential in order to navigate complex communication and symbolic activity; moreover, the letter as a genre, for Bazerman, can constitute a flexible medium which can give rise to "many functions, relationships, and institutional practices—making new uses socially intelligible at the same time as allowing the form of the communication to develop in new directions" (2010, p.15).

4.3 Epistolary discourse as a means of communication

A letter is a written message that is sent from one person to another; its message has a specific function which is interpreted by the reader based on how the writer has formulated the topic(s) so that he, or she, can reply to it (Nevala and Palander-Collin, 2005). Epistolary discourse has, for centuries, represented the most popular means of communication; letters were an efficient, rapid and cost-effective means to communicate with physically distant family members and friends. By the late 19th century, letter writing, in a literate country, constituted an accessible means to communicate with people from whom the writer was physically separated. Letter writing was, and continues to be, one of the "most widespread form[s] of sustained writing" (Barton and Hall, 1999, p. 2). For Barton and Hall the most appropriate way to investigate writing is to consider it as a social practice; in doing so, we ought to examine "the texts, the participants, the activities and the artefacts in their social contexts" (1999, p.1). In terms of artefacts used in the social practice of letter writing, in

the past, letters were commonly written in ink on paper whereas nowadays this social practice is conducted either on paper or electronically. Regardless of the instruments used for this activity, it is often the case that people have "distinctive memories" of periods in their lives when letter writing was profoundly meaningful (Barton and Hall, 1999, p. 2). These letters that were exchanged and which circulated among family members were, like other forms of discourse, characterised by a number of particular features.

Epistolary discourse possesses a series of features that render it unique. Dossena and Del Lungo Camiciotti (2012, p.4) state that epistolary discourse can be identified as distinct from other discourse types due to "certain pronominal and predicative traits that, taken together, constitute what is unique to its language".

In recent years, an increase in interest in the study of epistolary discourse has been documented with the publication of numerous works investigating different aspects of epistolary discourse (e.g. Dossena, 2012a, 2012b; Del Lungo Camiciotti, 2012, 2014; Mazzon, 2012; Housiel 2013). The particular nature of epistolary discourse is one that sets it apart from other types of discourse as it provides testimony of human experiences. In fact, Lanson (1895) considered letters as being 'incontestable and sole human documents'. Several features contribute to the status of epistolary discourse as decidedly unique human documents.

The letter writer, when engaged in the act of encoding a letter, essentially creates an intended recipient for his/her letter; therefore, epistolary is marked by *I* and *You* and by the relation between them; the writer's presence in the letter is achieved through the use of *I* as well as through the closing signature (Barton and Hall, 2000, p.6). While the encoder is present by means of the use of *I,* the recipient is referred to by the encoder with *You;* thus, in epistolary discourse I and *You* represent the interpersonal bonds between the correspondent and his reader whilst

structuring meaning in the letters. In this kind of discourse, the *I* is defined in relation to the *you* to whom the letter has been addressed (Dossena, 2012) while the *You* is, in turn, constructed as an intended reader by the writer (Barton and Hall, 2000, p.6) and refers to a specific person within the writer's world. Not only is the definition of *I* bound to the *you* of the letter, but this relation is further characterized by the fundamental requirement of participation of the '*you'* who received the letter; the *you* is required to participate in the epistolary exchange. Without the *you*-recipient's participation in this practice, there can be no meaningful epistolary exchange. The receiver becomes the reader and, as such, is duty-bound to actively participate in the discursive practice for its full realization. It is precisely the reader's response that produces one of the most distinctive features of epistolary discourse, namely the degree to which it is influenced not by one, but rather by two persons and the type of relationship that exists between them (Altman, 1982). On the other hand, if the '*you'* of epistolary discourse does not participate in the exchange, then the discourse would not differ significantly from a diary entry. It is, indeed, the utterances made by the *you*-recipient that form the continuance of the epistolary exchange. Within this process, the '*you'* of the original letter then becomes the '*I*' in epistolary exchange and the original *I* is transformed into the *You* of the addressee's epistolary response. Epistolary discourse is also distinguished from other forms of discourse due to the role of the present which constitutes temporal relativity; the letter writer is able to invoke two worlds in his texts: "the here and now of the writer and the here and now of the reader" (Barton and Hall, 2000, p.6). The 'here and now' referred to by Barton and Hall are essentially at the centre of the discourse, constituting a pivot; it is in the present that the letter is written, but it is a present from which the writer considers the past and events that have already taken place. The writer also contemplates the future, and the events that may take place there, from the

present. Altman (1982) states that the relationship of the past and the future to the present is of importance in the unfolding of epistolary discourse, as the writer is anchored in the present at the moment of writing.

Epistolary discourse is marked also by temporal polyvalence as the temporal aspect of any epistolary statement relates to an infinite number of moments. It can refer to the specific moment when an act, described in the discourse, is actually performed; to the moment when the act is encoded, and also to the times in which the letter is sent, received, read and reread.

As a discourse type, epistolary discourse shares similar characteristics to spoken conversation (Amador and M^{c}Cafferty, 2012); lower-order letters may represent the vernacular or ordinary language of the writers, thus, for historical linguists they constitute "a possible alternative to the spoken language studied by modern sociolinguists" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 2009, p.122). Letters can be considered as constituting turns in a succession of interactions between people (Palander-Collin 2010, p.661); furthermore, letters consist of exchanges which are akin to conversational exchanges as each letter (text) "responds to a previous text, whether spoken or written, and at the same time anticipates new texts" (Fitzmaurice 2002, p.1). Yet, despite the aforementioned shared characteristics between letters and conversation, they also share the same potential as conversation for occurrences of misinterpretation, misunderstanding and creation of conflict; however, letters should not simply be considered as a "conversation on paper" (Fitzmaurice 2002, p.233). For centuries, letter writing constituted the main method of bridging gaps and maintaining presence despite the potential for barriers to communication consisting of time delays between the writing and receiving of the letter and of the physical separation between the addresser and addressee. The time lapses between the sending and receiving letters were even more of an obstacle for emigrants who had

left Europe and emigrated to the North Americas, Australia or New Zealand, to name just a few. For such emigrants, letter writing was the only way of maintaining bonds with families at home, with letters becoming treasured possessions (Amador and M^{C}Cafferty, 2012) in addition to being a substitute for personal interaction.

4.4 Immigrant Letters

Immigrant letters represent another letter genre that is becoming an increasingly popular research field with growing bodies of research dedicated to its study; the reasons for increasing interest in this particular genre is that primary sources, in the form of historical letters, permit the contemporary researcher to deconstruct texts and to more closely examine how language was used in the past (Amador and McCafferty, 2012, p.27). The sentimental value attributed to letters received from home and from emigrants in distant lands has ensured that letters were frequently carefully kept by their addressees and handed down to future generations, thus they now present a potentially extremely interesting source for linguists.

Erickson (1972) examined letters written by both English and Scottish immigrants to relatives and friends back home. Erickson's work, which includes extensive detail about the origins, migration processes and experiences in their new land, examines the adaptation of immigrants to their new lives and countries. A potential issue with Erickson's work and, indeed, with any study on historical letters, is that in selecting letters to analyse, we are essentially giving a voice to the few and silencing many others. The letters studied by Erickson grant an insight into the actions and attitudes of 19th century immigrants, providing an alternate explanation of the reasons behind voluntary migration. As in other studies on migrant letters, Erickson describes the immigrants' motivations for engaging in letter writing and proposes that unassimilated immigrants engaged in letter writing more frequently than those who had already

started the process of assimilation. Erickson, furthermore, suggests that the general tendency to view British immigrants as assimilating easily in their new country does so by failing to consider the role played by communities and institutions in facilitating the assimilation process (p. 407).

Gerber has published numerous works on immigrant letters and the immigrant experience (1997, 2000, 2001, 2006, 2016); in 2006, he published a monograph based on two collections of immigrant letters consisting of 45 archival collections of 19th century English, Scottish and Protestant Irish letters sent to North America and 27 published letters. His work systematizes knowledge of immigrant letters and presents valuable and new insights; furthermore, he makes a valid case for the need for a new approach to immigrant letters. Gerber argues that immigrant letters should be understood on 'their own terms and not as the servants in other projects' (2006, p.29); he claims that immigrant letters should be considered as valuable sources that allow the reconstruction of the immigration experience 'from below'.

Gerber has also made interesting contributions to the study of immigrant letters; however, his works examine the topic from an exclusively historical perspective from which he considers a range of extra-linguistic variables and their impact on the immigrant experience, with a particular focus on how the immigrant manages identity crisis and how epistolary discourse mitigates the crisis and ensures the maintenance of interpersonal connections with family members left behind. While the author uses detailed information regarding the psychology and relationships of immigrants, presenting a convincing argument for the need for a change in attitude towards the study of immigrant epistolary discourse, his study could be enhanced if it incorporated a more interdisciplinary perspective.

De Haan (2010) investigated a collection of letters produced in the spring of 1916 by emigrants during emigration from the Netherlands to the United States. Her article explores the essential role of immigrant correspondence in the creation and evolution of diasporic identities. De Haan highlights how the letters examined functioned rhetorically "as a means of maintaining familial connections[77] providing justification for migration" (p. 111) and also constituted a space in which these changing identities were negotiated. In this respect, the rhetorical functions identified by De Haan in her study are also present in the trench letter corpus as the soldier letter writers also used correspondence to maintain interpersonal relations with family members at home and also, although not frequently, used their letters to provide justification for their decision to volunteer for service in the British Army. While De Haan offers interesting insights into the construction and mediation of identity in the letters, it is also necessary to consider to what extent the letters studied allow for the creation of theories that can be applied across the emigrant letter spectrum as the Dutch were a population with high literacy levels for whom letter writing was a standard discourse in their repertoires (p. 125).

The increasing interest in immigrant letters as a field of study is also confirmed by Moreton *et al* (2014). In their 2014 study, Moreton *et al* claim that despite letters being used as a study object across different disciplines, such work is very rarely interdisciplinary, and it is often the case that groups research the same letter collections individually. In their article, Moreton *et al* highlight the need for the development of a collaborative, cross-disciplinary approach to the digitisation and mark up of historical emigrant letter collections. The authors emphasise the importance of the annotation procedure as, without it, pathways through the material will remain unavailable. The article offers a description of a

[77] The function of maintaining familial connections through letter writing has also been highlighted by other academics, see, for example, Amador and McCafferty (2012), Mc Cafferty (2017) and Watts (2015).

three-year project for the digitisation and mark up of Irish immigrant letters that included more than 20 scholars, confirming an increasing interest in 'histories from below'. Moreton *et al* (2014) describe a project that is both interesting and inspiring for any scholars working with historical texts who are familiar with the difficulties involved in searching for and accessing electronic versions. The procedure for the encoding of the corpus is described clearly, and the explanation of the interconnecting letter connection process is described succinctly. The authors end their paper with a clear explanation of precisely how such a digitisation process can facilitate the research of historical letters and how technology can visually model and map connections, potentially finding and marking connections that to the human eye would pass unobserved, effectively arguing the case for the need for more projects of this type that would benefit scholars working with historical texts in a variety of disciplines.

Stanley (2002, 2004, 2008, 2015, 2016) has published extensively on epistolary discourse. The majority of her work on epistolary discourse examines the Schreiner epistolarium, a collection of 4800 extant letters written by Olive Schreiner from South Africa. Schreiner wrote on a wide range of topics, including issues related to politics, race, feminism, imperialism, and colonialism under transition, to name just a few. The topics of the articles published by Stanley reflect the myriad topics discussed by Schreiner in her letters. The Schreiner epistolarium grants a valuable insight into the writings of one person over an extended period of time. Stanley also was engaged in an ESRC funded project to digitise the Schreiner collection thereby opening the collection to scholars around the world. Stanley also uses the Schreiner letters as the basis for her important work co-authored with Margaretta Jolly called Letters as / not as genre (2005).

Jolly and Stanley (2005), in recognising the increasing interest in life writing studies, also recognise that letters have become an interest for

a growing number of interdisciplinary studies. The authors' essay ponders the shared characteristics that hold interdisciplinary analyses together and the challenges they encounter in seeking to theorise a genre which, as argued by Jolly and Stanley may well be the type of writing practice that highlights the limitations of genre theory. The authors choose a novel structure for their essay which is in the form of a dialogue in which Jolly asks questions about letters which Stanley answers in relation to her personal experience of epistolary projects during which she has worked with the Schreiner collection. Letters, suggests Jolly, are proto-genres with features that are distinctive yet changeable; Jolly suggests the best way to understand them is by means of the social and literary codes of relationship, while Stanley, after initial scepticism about the concept of genre in her seminal work 'The Auto/Biographical I', understands the properties that render the Schreiner letters unique.

The study of immigrant letters and the insights such studies offer can help guide the investigation of trench letters; while the soldiers who wrote the letters were not genuine immigrants, they were people who were separated from the place and family of origin who had to adapt, not only to life in the trenches, but also to a foreign land. A useful aid in interpreting and understanding trench letters is represented by the analysis and study of their structure and, in particular, the rhetorical moves used.

4.5 Rhetorical moves in the letter genre: commonality of moves?

Rhetorical move analysis has been applied in numerous studies examining academic writing genres[78]; such an approach has also been interestingly

[78] Such as studies by Connor (1996); Connor and Upton (2009); Hyland (2004; 2009); Hyland and Tse (2005); Swales (1981, 1990, 2004); Swales and Najjar (1987).

applied for the analysis of different letter genres[79]. Upton (2002) conducted a study investigating the rhetorical moves used in philanthropic letters; a mixed method approach was adopted for the analysis which led to the highlighting of the presence of patterns in the rhetorical structure present in the letters constituting the corpus. Fundraising direct mail letters are marked by their anonymity; the letters are created and distributed as a mailshot, not taking the recipient into particular consideration. Therefore, an interesting case for the application of genre analysis and rhetorical move analysis may be constituted by the case of personal letters written to communicate with a specific recipient.

As a form of communication, letters have long constituted an instrument useful in connecting people across geographical distances and, in the case of emigrants they "facilitated the continuation of personal communication after disruption of face to face interaction" (Elspaß, 2015, p.40). Naturally, letter writing was an accessible form of communication in countries where the population had well-developed literacy; it was also a form of communication that could be considered as democratic communication in that, from the late 18th century, it was an accessible means for the sharing of personal experiences and thoughts with distant family members due to the advent of cheap national and international postal services which made sending a mail more affordable, even for the working class. During World War I, affordable postage services enabled contacts with serving soldiers to be maintained by post with large volumes of mail being transported across the English Channel daily during the conflict. Trench letters appear to have served the same purpose that McCafferty (2017) identified in his corpus of Irish emigrant letters, namely that their purpose was primarily phatic, in that they "[…] they kept channels of communication open" and were mainly used to convey news

[79] Rhetorical move analysis has been reported on in philanthropic direct mail by Upton (2002) and Fusari (2009); in birthmother letters by Upton and Cohen (2009); in suicide notes by Galasinsk (2017); Samraj and Gawron (2015).

regarding daily life rather than "momentous events" (p. 177). Even if used to communicate daily life, letters were often treasured possessions, read and reread over time and also handed down from generation to generation thus allowing for the encoders' thoughts and feelings to be shared through time (Davies, 1983, p.313). Private letters, as an instance of life writings, are becoming increasingly of interest for a variety of linguistic research.

4.6 Life writings 'from below': an increasingly popular trend in linguistic research?

The increasing research interest of global scholars in handwritten documents produced by the "lower classes" has been highlighted numerous works including those edited by Auer *et al* (2015), Hernandez-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre (2014) and Jucker and Taavitsainen (2010). Confirmation of the growing interest in the writing produced by the lower classes is further demonstrated by the extent of the body of research published on this topic conducted by scholars in a range of different countries[80]. Life writings and, in particular, the writings of the semi-literate, grant the modern-day scholar a precious insight into language use, seen 'from below'[81]. Cowan (2012) claims that, private letters "have for decades been the preserve it seems of philatelists who all too often have dismembered their materials leaving only those parts which show the post marks." (p. 164). Such letters offer a unique opportunity for the study of language use and literacy in history given that, if written by the semi-literate, they can give an insight into the written language of the lower

[80] For example, in Canada, Dollinger (2008); in Belgium, Vandenbussche (2006); Puttaert (2016); in Finland, Meurman-Solin (1999, 2000); Klippi (2013); Nordlund (2007); Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen (2007); in Germany, Elspaß (2007a, 2007b, 2014); in Austria Mazzon, (2012); in Italy, Dossena 2007, 2012; in the Netherlands, Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2012, 2010)van der Waal (2012); van der Waal and Rutten (2013); in Norway, McCafferty, 2017.

[81] As a concept, 'from below' is interested in the 'common man or woman' as subject and seeks to focus on his or her experiences and perspectives, which are usually not part of the official history. See Elspaß (2007b).

classes. The letters can demonstrate what the writers had learned at school and how they were able to apply actively the knowledge that they had acquired.

Fairman (2007b) suggests that the degree of writing skills should be classed as "*letteracies*" as historical letters written by the semi-literate imply nothing about the writers' reading abilities (p. 193). In the same work, Fairman proposes four levels of "*letteracies*": *mechanically-letterate*, *partly-letterate, letterate and fully-letterate* (p. 193). The least competent writers are those who are *mechanically-letterate*, as they would write only what was essential (Fairman, 2007, p.193). The *mechanically-letterate* had not acquired the ability to express their own thoughts in writing and tended not to adhere to letteracy requirements. Instead, the *partly-letterate* were able to write adhering to contemporary letteracy requirements even if only to a limited extent; in order to be considered *fully-letterate*, the writers would have a sufficiently developed lexical repertoire at their disposal in order to be able to use a significant number of Latin derivate words (Fairman, 2007, pp.193-194). The four degrees of letteracy proposed by Fairman effectively create a clear hierarchy ranging from the less letterate to those who could be considered fully-letterate and who, due to their greater level of letteracy, paid more attention to achieving both politeness and sophistication in their writing (Dossena and Tieken–Boon van Ostade, 2008, p.15).

Fairman has conducted extensive research on lower-order letters[82]; consequently, Fairman has stressed how writing is essentially a learning process and not one that can be randomly acquired (2007a, p.40); thus, lower-class letter writers would have been instructed in writing either in school or by means of self-learning (2007a, p.40). Fairman suggests that in the 19th century, people acquired writing skills in two stages: the first stage included the mechanical writing part, in which learners acquired the

[82] See Fairman (2000, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2010, 2012, 2015).

skill to "to form all the graphs (upper and lower case) in at least three handwriting styles" (Fairman 2007b, p.195); instead, the second stage consisted of school taught compositional writing which, due to the cost of schooling (in terms of materials) and the need for lower class families to derive income from a working child, was often not acquired by the lower classes; therefore, the majority of people in the lower class acquired only mechanical writing skills (Fairman, 2007b, p.196). In addition to the categories of *letteracies* and writing skills acquired by the lower classes, Ashplant (2018) proposes the categorisation of lower social class letters into three distinct categories.

The three categories proposed by Ashplant (2018) have all been the focus of significant research interest in recent years. The first consists of paupers' letters[83], written to petition for financial assistance; such letters, consisting of a description of the circumstances leading to the need for assistance, offer an autobiographical insight into the petitioner's life. The second category proposed by Ashplant is that of migrant letters[84] that have often been conserved in family collections. Due to the significant migratory flows from Europe in which skilled and unskilled labourers, artisans, rural workers and peasants emigrated to the Americas, South Africa and Australia, there was increased production of writings by the lower classes in order to maintain contacts with family members they left behind. The third category proposed by Ashplant is formed by soldiers' letters[85]; the mass mobilisation of men into the armed forces during World War I created *"*a sudden and irrepressible 'bulimia' of letter—writing*"* (Lyons, 2013, p.77), permitting the soldiers to maintain contact with their people at home.

[83] See Gestrich and King, 2013; Gestrich, 2016; Sokoll, 2006.
[84] See Auer, Schreier and Watts, 2015; Dossena, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Moreton, 2012; Amador and McCafferty, 2012; Richards, 2006.
[85] See Housiel, 2008, 2013, 2014; Vicari, 2012, 2014, 2017, 2018.

Research interest in the third category of life-writings proposed by Ashplant has undergone a significant increase since 2014, coinciding with the centenary of the start of the First World War. Recent research on World War I, unlike previous research with a purely historical stance, has seen the involvement of scholars from a range of different disciplines including, but not limited to, Film Studies, Cultural Studies, Literary Studies, Memory Studies and Tourism Studies[86]. The Digital Humanities have also made an important contribution to First World War research through the creation of a variety of online resources relating to the conflict, considering the war from a variety of disciplinary perspectives[87].

Numerous are the scholars who have studied Great War letters from a historical perspective; such studies have focused on the writing produced by soldiers serving with a number of the belligerent armies[88] ; however, such studies have examined the letters to uncover the information they contain that could contribute to understanding of the role of letters in the soldiers' lives[89]. The study conducted by Lyons (2003)[90] examined letters written by French soldiers during the Great War to reveal the history of the nature of letter-writing of *poilus*. However, there appear

[86] For Cultural Studies, see Carden-Coyne, (2015); for Film Studies, see Smith and Hammond, (2015); for Literary Studies, see Hutchinson, (2015); for Memory Studies see Saunders and Cornish, (2009); for Tourism Studies see Jansen-Verbeke and George (2015)..
[87] The 1914-1918 International Encyclopaedia of the First World War is an English-language online reference work on World War One. It is a multi-perspective, public-access resource created by a worldwide network of Great War researchers, see http://www.1914-1918-online.net. Another collaborative Digital Humanities project has resulted in the creation of a virtual research infrastructure granting access to historical resources across institutional and national boundaries. See http://www.cendari.eu.
[88] The Allies of World War I is the term commonly used to refer to the countries that opposed the Central Powers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria during the 1914-1918 First World War.
[89] Such as Barkhof (2017) on the writings of German POWs in Japan during WWI; Hallett (2007, 2010) on the writings of First World War nurses and volunteers; Hanna (2003, 2008, 2014), Housiel (Omissi (1999) on the WWI letters of Indian soldiers; Royle (2014) on the writings of Scottish soldiers in WWI; Stiaccini (2015) on the writings of Italian WWI soldiers; Wilkinson (2017) on the writings of British POWs in Germany; Crouthamel (2014) on the writings of German soldiers of WWI.
[90] For the past two decades, Lyons has published numerous studies on the history of reading and writing, with a distinctly 'from below' focus. See Lyons (2003, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2013).

to be very few studies in the field of linguistics examining WWI soldier letters.

The field of linguistics appears to have gradually developed an increasing research interest in the Great War and its letters, especially in the field of CDA, as shown by work by Housiel (2008, 2013, 2014) and Vicari (2012, 2014, 2017, 2018); however, to date, such research has predominantly concentrated on the *poilus* letters*;* moreover, it appears that no WWI soldier letters have been the object of a rhetorical move analysis. Such an instrument would allow for the categorisation of the moves and constituent steps present in such texts and could, potentially, within the larger genre of letters, allow the creation of a genre specifically for trench letters.

4.7 The trench letter: a genre in its own right?

4.7.1 Research study aims

The present study aims to analyse the corpus of soldier letters to verify if the texts have similar structures and text organisation. As with other studies of (semi)occluded genres[91], such as the research analysing conference abstracts (Salager-Meyer, 1992; Samar, *et al,* 2014), and those investigating suicide notes (Galasińsk, 2017; Lester and Leenaars, 2016; Yang and Lester, 2011), this study analysed the corpus to identify whether the same rhetorical moves were present in all the letters of the corpus, irrespective of the encoder who wrote the letter. The analysis of the corpus was based on the analyses of other letter genres (Samraj and Gawron, 2015; Fusari, 2009 and Upton and Cohen, 2009) and by other studies on rhetorical move analysis of other communicative texts (Bhatia, 1998; Catenaccio, 2008; Swales, 1990; Upton, 2002).

[91] A semi-occluded genre is one that remains “out of sight’ to "outsiders and apprentices" (Swales, 2004, p.18). While the term was proposed by Swales and originally used with reference to the academic research genre, its use has also been extended to other genres of writing.

4.7.2 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following four research questions:

1) Do all the letters in the corpus share the same rhetorical moves?
2) Are there moves which can be considered as 'core moves'?
3) Is the move sequence fixed?
4) Are there sufficient shared rhetorical moves in the corpus texts to be able to consider trench-letters as a sub-genre in its own right?

In addition to identifying the rhetorical moves used by the soldier letter-writers, the analysis also seeks to identify whether the rhetorical move sequence was fixed or flexible and whether there were any specific moves that characterise the letters by the mandatory selection of one or more moves from a set of core moves, the presence of which is to be expected in any letters belonging to a proposed genre (Samraj and Gawron, 2015).

4.7.3 Materials

For the analysis of rhetorical moves in the letters, a sub-corpus was created from the main corpus. In order to develop a representative corpus, attention was paid to ensure that the letters collected are representative of the duration of the soldiers' active service; therefore, the letters were grouped according to the date appearing in the date line. Next, the corpus was edited in order to create a corpus consisting of letter bodies; thus, field postcards were removed while dates, initial greetings and closing salutations were removed from the texts. Field postcards were culled due to their consisting of pre-printed texts while initial and final salutations were discarded as they are considered as structural rather than rhetorical moves (Sadeghi and Samuel, 2013). Deletion of these elements led to the

creation of a sub-corpus that could be considered as more prototypical to facilitate analysis of the rhetorical moves. The Russell collection of letters required additional editing as all his letters ended with multiple lines of kisses[92]. The editing procedure led to a reduction of 3% of the total running words in the Murray collection and of 2.3% for the Russell collection; overall, the total reduction in the running words of the main corpus corresponded to 2.8% of the total running words. The changes in the word count totals are reported in Table 3 which shows the original and edited word count for Murray, Russell and the main corpus.

MURRAY Word count	Murray word count (Ed)	Russell Word Count	Russell Word Count (Ed.)	Main Corpus word count	Main Corpus word count (edited)
67,309	**65,274**	27,168	**26,545**	94,477	**91,819**

Table 3 - Corpus word count for Murray, Russell and for the combined corpus calculated using LWIC[93]

The deletions led to the creation of a corpus with a total of 91,819 running words. The letters written by Murray (*N*=202) correspond to 69% of the total letters in the main corpus; instead, the letters written by Russell (*N*=45) correspond to 31% of the letters constituting the corpus.

A total of 125 letters, corresponding approximately to 50% of the total letters in the main corpus, were used to form the sub-corpus used for the present analysis. The sub-corpus created, hereafter referred to as MAC (Moves Analysis Corpus), contains a total of 59,339 running words[94], of which a total of 32,744 running words were written by Murray (corresponding to *N*=88 letters) and 26,595 running words (corresponding

[92] Represented with numerous 'x' over a number of lines ranging from a minimum of 2 to a maximum of 5 lines.
[93] A software created by Pennebaker, Booth, Boyd and Francis (2007; 2015) which also allows for the categorisation of the psychometric properties of words in a given corpus.
[94] This corresponds to 62% of the total running words in the main corpus.

to *N*=37 letters) written by Russell. In the MAC sub-corpus, as in the main corpus, the Murray letters account for 69% of the total letters while the Russell letters account for 31% of the total letters. Examination of the letters in MAC permitted identification of the longest, the shortest and the average letter lengths for each writer and for the entire corpus; the relative data are reported in Table 4.

Table 4 – Letter data reported for the individual writers and for the full MAC

Name	Total wc	Longest lett.	Shortest lett.	Average l.
Murray	32,722	1235	59	376
Russell	26,538	1396	148	719
MAC	59,260	-	-	479

The longest letter in MAC was written by Russell and consists of a total of 1396 running words, whereas the longest letter written by Murray in the corpus has a total of 1235 running words. The shortest letters in MAC contain a total of 59 running words in the case of Murray and 148 running words in the case of Russell. The average length of letters written by Murray in MAC is 376 running words and of 719 running words for Russell; the average letter length of the entire corpus is 479 running words.

4.7.4 Methods

In order to seek to categorise the discourse structure of the soldier letters in MAC, the texts were carefully read, and their structures analysed. The text contents were coded according to thematic content, then for each theme, moves were identified. Rhetorical moves were identified by using both contextual and linguistic clues for recognition of the function and purpose of each text unit. Moves were identified based on the methodologies proposed by Bhatia (1993, 1997, 1998, 1997, 2004); Biber,

Connor and Upton (2007); Sawraj and Gawron (2015) and Swales (1990). Following identification and categorisation of rhetorical moves, the moves were then subjected to a fine grain analysis in order to codify the constituent steps of each move. The moves and constituent steps were formatted into a table, the contents of which were crosschecked with MAC to capture instances of the occurrence of the identified moves and constituent steps suitable for discussion in Section 4.9.

4.8 Results: Structural Move Analysis of Soldier Letters

The analysis of the 125 letters in MAC led to the identification of a total of 12 shared moves; Table 5 reports the 12 rhetorical moves that were identified as accounting for the functions expressed in the soldier letter corpus. The moves identified present differing levels of complexity and consist of different numbers of steps. The moves and steps identified highlight the different communicative purposes of trench letters which will be discussed in Section 4.9. Some moves contain several constituent steps and are more complex than others. The list of moves and constituent steps reveal the multiple communicative purposes of this genre.

Table 5 – Rhetorical moves and constituent steps in MAC

MOVE	STEPS
1. Acknowledge receipt of correspondence	**1.1** State when letter received **1.2** Apologise for delay in replying* **1.2.1** Tentative explanation for delay **1.3** Express gratitude **1.4** comment on sender's health; **1.5** share own state of health;
2. Give update on shared acquaintance	**2.1** Reference correspondent's request for information. **2.2** State when person was last seen or heard from **2.3** Share news **2.4** Refer to possible future encounter:
3. Share current location	**3.1** state present location **3.2** state previous location

	3.3 state when moved **3.4** relate current location to firing line **3.5** Reassure addressee of safety of location
4. Describe weather	**4.1** State weather conditions **4.2** Comment on difficulty of weather conditions **4.3** Refer to weather conditions at home **4.4** Express hoped for change
5. Describe time in trenches	**5.1** Describe proximity to enemy **5.2** Describe enemy **5.3** Share opinion of the enemy **5.4** Explain personal impact warfare
6. Inform correspondent of casualties	**6.1** Inform of sad contents **6.2** Express uncertainty about how to formulate news **6.3** State number of casualties **6.4** Give names of casualties known to correspondent **6.5** Express regret **6.6** Express wonder at own surviving unscathed
7. Describe how war changes a man	**7.1** Explain impact of conflict on personal level **7.2** Express conviction of decision to enlist **7.3** Refer to physical consequences
8. Reference other letters received	**8.1** Inform of reception of letter from other correspondent **8.2** Share information from letter **8.3** Comment on letter contents
9. Solicit response (a) Solicit response (b) Solicit response (c)	**9.1** (a) state generic need **9.2** (a) explicitly state item required **9.3** (a) request addressee to send requested item **9.1** (b) instruct addressee to thank 3rd party for letter/parcel/gift **9.2** (b) explain reason for delegating task **9.1** (c) Inform addressee not to send items **9.2** (c) justify request
10. Advise of possible reduction in frequency of letters	**10.1** Inform addressee of potential reduction in number of letters **10.2** State reason (army regulations) **10.3** Express frustration at regulations **10.4** Advise addressee to forward letter received to other family members
11. reassure correspondent of adequate comforts	**11.1** Inform correspondent of access to adequate comforts (clothes/food/)
12. Call to action	**12.1** request addressee responds frequently **12.2** state importance of receiving mail

	12.3 repeat request for addressee to send item requested in Move 9.3 (a) **12.4** Repeat request for inaction **12.5** Briefly give reason

4.9 Discussion

All the letters in MAC present a number of common moves employed by their writers to achieve their communicative purpose. This section provides a detailed discussion of the rhetorical moves present in the texts throughout MAC and also details the constituent steps particular to each move. Such a description and details are given for each of the moves identified (Moves 1 – 12) through the use of examples extracted from MAC. For each of the moves and constituent steps, an example is given followed by TL (Trench Letter) and the respective number of the letter from which it was extracted.

Acknowledging receipt of a letter sent by the addressee to whom the soldier is writing a letter represents Move 1 and, as such, is present in some form in the majority of texts in MAC, albeit articulated in different ways depending upon the type of correspondence received and also depending on who was engaged in letter writing. Examples (1) and (2) of Move 1, show the different ways in which acknowledgement could be communicated:

> (1) *I received your welcome letter tonight & was pleased to get all the news. Glad to see that you are all as per usual despite the disagreeable weather.* (TL 3)

In Example (1), the writer uses three constituent steps in the one sentence; he first acknowledges receipt (step 1.1), then states when the letter was received (step 1.2) prior to expressing gratitude (step 1.3). Furthermore,

the writer also uses an additional constituent step (step 1.4) to comment on the health of the letter writer and does so by commenting on the weather at home which he may well have read of in the letter to which he is replying.

> (2) *I am keeping well & healthy & hoping this finds you & the children keeping fit & well. I have been looking forward to your parcel arriving which I received on Thursday of last week.* (TL 112)

Instead, in Example (2), the writer adopts the same constituent steps from Move 1 as employed in Example (1), with the exception of expressing gratitude (step 1.3); however, the steps constituting Move 1 are sequenced differently in the second example. The writer starts with the sharing of information relating to his own state of health (step 1.5) prior to commenting on the health of his correspondent (step 1.4); only after having shared information relating to his health and having expressed his hope of the recipient's health does the writer expressly acknowledge receipt of correspondence (step 1.1) and specify when it was received (step 1.2). Analysis of the structure of Move 1 in the texts in MAC would appear to suggest that while Move 1 can be considered as a requisite move, it does not, however, present an evidently preferred sequence of constituent steps.

Move 2, consisting of providing the addressee with an update on a shared acquaintance, results as being constituted by three distinct steps. The move is initiated with a reference to the addressee's request for information of the shared acquaintance (step 2.1); such a step may be followed by the sharing of information of when the writer last saw the person, in the case that they are a soldier on active service at the front in the same section as the letter writer, or when the writer last received correspondence from the person in question (step 2.2). Analysis of the

letters in MAC would appear to suggest that Step 2.2 of Move 2 could be considered as optional since not all occurrences of Move 2 include constituent step 2.2. The final step of Move 2 consists of the sharing of news about the person enquired after (step 2.3). Example (3), below, shows Move 2, as constituted by the aforementioned steps.

(3) *You were enquiring about Alick McKeddie in one of your letters. Well, I had a letter from him yesterday & he is stuck at the base & cant get past that as he says they left their papers or passports at some place on the way.* (TL 69)

The constituent steps of Move 2 in Example (4) vary compared to those employed in the previous example. In Example (4), the writer refers to the addressee's request for information regarding the well-being of shared acquaintances and, more specifically, from the soldier letter writer's writing, we can infer that the addressee may well have specifically requested her addressee to report honestly. The first constituent step in Example (4) is one in which the letter writer refers to the addressee's request for information (Step 2.1). After having referred to the correspondent's request, the soldier then informs his correspondent of the whereabouts of the shared acquaintances (Step 2.3) which also contains information pertaining to their state of health. The writer does not inform the addressee when he last saw or heard from the people enquired after.

(4) *You said that you wanted the truth as you heard so many rumours floating about. I am sorry to say that Willie & Alister are in Hospital with slight attacks of Scarlet Fever. There are also a few threatening cases in our company, Donnie Sutherland having been sent to Hospital tonight. I forgot to mention Willie Campbell who is also in Hospital with the same thing.* (TL 1)

The structuring of Move 2 may be subject to variation as shown in Example (5). In Example (5), the writer does not refer explicitly to his correspondent's request for information regarding a shared acquaintance; however, from the fact that he includes information about a soldier of the name Jim Stuart, who evidently must be known to the writer's correspondent, we may infer that the correspondent has an acquaintance with the person and, as such, the writer considers information about his encounter with him as worthy of being shared with his addressee. The writer shares the information transmitted in Move 2 by first stating when he saw the person (Step 2.2). He then proceeds to share news about the acquaintance by informing his correspondent of the possibility of a future encounter (Step 2.4) which, however, is hypothetical due to the uncertainty regarding the length of time in which he will remain in his current position.

(5) *I think that I told you about Jim Stuart's regiment being in the vicinity. He came over to see us one night & I saw him the next night so we had a long "confab" chiefly about The War. He looks well & is in good form. I will perhaps see him again as we go out soon, but I have no idea how long we are to be here*. (TL 29).

Move 3 which consists of the sharing of information relating to the letter writer's current location is present in all the letters in MAC, however, it is present in a significantly abbreviated form in shorter texts, such as postcards, which have a lower word count (total > 150 running words) than other texts in the corpus. In Example (6), Move 3 is introduced with a statement of the writer's current location (Step 3.1) and is followed by information communicating when the move occurred (Step 3.3). The writer seeks to offer his correspondent implicit reassurance of

the safety of his new spatial location in an attempt to allay his correspondent's concerns (Step 3.5) and does so by stating his perception of how unlike a war zone his current location is.

(6) *We are now back in our old rest camp again. We arrived here last night. behind the firing line. It is very quiet here now & you wouldn't think there was a war within a thousand miles.* (TL 19)

A further occurrence of Move 3 is shown in Example (7); it starts with the writer informing his correspondent of his current location (Step 3.1) but omits to communicate when the move occurred. However, he does relate his position to the firing line (Step 3.4) and then seeks to reassure his correspondent of the perceived safety of his location in a dugout within the firing line (Step 3.5) when under bombardment.

(7) *We came into the trenches that is the firing line […] we are in a dug out nigh on fifthy feet down in the ground so you can feel pretty safe when the shelling is going on.* (TL 126)

Another variation of Move 3 is shown in Example (8) which presents different constituent steps compared to Examples (6) and (7). The writer introduces Move 3 by stating his current location (Step 3.1), yet he does not do so explicitly; instead, he invites his correspondent to note his location from the address given at the start of his letter. The correspondent is then informed of the writer's present location by a comparison of his current position with the front line (Step 3.4). The writer seeks to reassure his correspondent of the safety of his current location (Step 3.5) by informing them of the quietness of the location.

(8) *As you will see by the above address we are back in the danger zone again for another spell. We are not in the front line but are in dugouts directly behind the firing line in supports while the left Batt. are in the firing line.[…] Today it is quiet except for an occasional shell & rifle shot. It is at night that the rifle fire becomes brisk.* (TL 24).

The letter writers' location in relation to the front line was not the only information regularly shared with correspondents; weather was a further topic that was addressed frequently.

The frequent recurring references to weather throughout the corpus can be attributed to the importance of weather as a factor that could impact the soldiers' daily lives significantly. References to the weather are communicated by means of Move 4 which allows the writer to share information relating to weather conditions with their correspondents. Move 4 is formed by 3 constituent steps as seen in Example (9). In (9), the writer starts the move by informing his correspondent of the current weather conditions in his specific geographical location (Step 4.1); the writer then proceeds to offer a comparison of the weather in his location with that in the correspondent's location (Step 4.2). The writer concludes, in Example (9) with an expression of a hope for change in weather conditions in the future (Step 4.3). By adopting these three constituent steps, the writer manages to not only share information about the weather he is experiencing but shares it in such a way that the reader, who may not be familiar with continental European weather conditions, can understand and relate it to his or her own personal experience.

(9) *The weather here is pretty miserable and cold just now […] with occasional rain like yours at home but next month should see a change for the better.* (TL 16)

Adverse weather conditions in the form of cold, wet weather, were not the only conditions that proved to be challenging for Scottish soldiers on the front. From the information shared in their correspondence, the soldier letter writers reveal that hot weather conditions were held to be as equally challenging, especially to those who may not have been accustomed to such weather. In Example (10), the soldier starts by sharing the current weather conditions (Step 4.1) and states how hot weather is almost as great a challenge as the colder weather (Step 4.2). The writer does not include step 4.3 nor step 4.4.

(10) *The weather is still dry & very warm. The heat is nearly as trying as the cold.* (TL 34)

A further illustration of Move 4 in the corpus is provided by Example (11) in which the writer states the current weather conditions also by referring to previous weather conditions. The reference to the difficulty of the weather conditions is not expressed explicitly in terms of a description of the weather, however, the writer does offer a description of the consequences of the current weather conditions on the trenches which remain muddy (Step 4.2). The move concludes with a phrase which makes reference to the hoped-for weather conditions at home in Fortrose (Step 4.3) for the correspondent's holiday there.

(11) *The weather just now is pretty good, but the night we came here we had some very heavy rain. A strong wind has been blowing ever since & the place is quite dry again, though the trenches are a bit muddy. I hope you will have good weather in Fortrose during your stay there.* (TL 70)

Weather appears to constitute an important factor in the soldiers' lives also due to its inclusion in texts with a reduced number of words, whereby its inclusion may allow us to comprehend the importance of it in life at the front. Example (12) consists of a short text with a total of 126 running words. Despite the short nature of the letter, the writer dedicates 31 words to the offering of a commentary on the weather, corresponding to approximately 25% of the total running words in the letter. In Example (12), the writer starts by informing his correspondent of the weather conditions (Step 4.1); since the weather described is agreeable in that it is classified as 'good & not too warm', it does not constitute challenging conditions for the soldier. Furthermore, the writer expresses his hopes that the weather is favourable in the correspondent's location, his home town (Step 4.3) due to the fact that visitors are present.

(12) *There is nothing new just now. The weather is good & not too warm. I hope you are having good weather in Fortrose for the sake of those on holiday.* (TL 41)

The subsequent move is represented by Move 5 in which the letter writer describes the trenches to his correspondent. Move 5 consists of a maximum of 4 distinct steps used to fulfil a variety of communicative events. The analysis of the presence of this move in the corpus appears to show how not all instances of Move 5 are characterised by the presence of all 4 constituent steps, as shown by the three examples provided below.

The writer shares information illustrating the close physical proximity between British troops and the enemy in Example (13); this is accomplished through the writer's use of Step 5.1 in which the lack of physical distance between the two factions is described. The writer subsequently offers a description of the enemy; it is not a physical description but rather a description that refers to, perhaps, to their emotive

state (Step 5.2) in which the writer comments on the singing and whistling that emanates from the German trenches. The writer then offers his opinion of the enemy (Step 5.3) and does so by hypothesising that their perceived jolliness may be attributable to the superior conditions of their trenches compared to the trenches occupied by our soldier.

(13) *The German trenches were about fifty yards distant & we could hear them singing & whistling. They must have better trenches than we have or they would not feel inclined to sing*. (TL 6)

In Example (14), the writer commences the move with a description of the enemy (Step 5.2) in which he refers to their regional identity; the writer's opinion of these Prussian soldiers (Step 5.3) is embedded within his description of them. The next step present in the text refers to the physical vicinity of the Germans (Step 5.1) in relation to the writer; the writer's discourse then returns to provide a further description of the enemy (Step 5.2) but this time it is a vivid description of the facial expressions of the enemy which further emphasises the physical proximity of the enemy.

(14) *the Prussian guards are up against us & they are a treacherous lot to deal with. The trench has only about 25 yds distant, you can see their scowling faces now & again.* (TL 93).

A further instance of Move 5 occurs in Example (15) in which the soldier starts by stating the lack of physical distance between the two armies (Step 5.1); the writer then proceeds directly to the sharing of his considerations of the personal impact of trench warfare (Step 5.4) and the fact that he considers that it '*would make you grey headed'* implying the

shock involved in fighting. The writer effectively conveys the trauma of trench warfare but does so in a way that does not require the sharing of graphic detail.

(15) *[…]no more than sixty yards are between us and the Huns so you have to keep pretty well down, but the shell – oh they are something hellish. Thousands at a time both sides going at it hell for leather. No wonder I swere it would make you grey headed.* (TL 92)

The soldiers also informed their correspondents of the casualties suffered in the trenches. Move 6 is used to share information relating to the loss of companions. The constituent steps of this move appear to be rather varied; furthermore, the number of constituent steps present in the move appears to be connected to the extent of the loss being shared. Example (16) consists of an excerpt from a letter in which the writer is informing his correspondent of the considerable loss that has occurred; in particular, the writer informs his correspondent that his company has suffered extensive casualties. The sharing of such information occurs in a move that is articulated, and which includes a maximum of six constituent steps as, in Example (16), a number of the casualties are known to his correspondent at home. The first step to appear in Example (16) is the one in which the writer forewarns his reader of the sad nature of the contents of his letter (Step 6.1); the writer proceeds immediately to the subsequent step (Step 6.2) in which he expresses his dilemma as to how to express the events he has witnessed in writing. The writer then informs his correspondent of the extent of the loss suffered by quantifying the number of fallen soldiers (Step 6.3). The move continues with the sharing of the names of shared friends who perished in that particular attack (Step 6.4);

for each fallen soldier, the writer informs his correspondent of the name, the outcome and the provenance of each soldier[95].

(16) *[…] my letter contains sad, sad news. I do'nt know how to write it. There is I think about sixteen of our company left of about eighty. I will give you the local casualities:*
Jock Paterson - Killed
David McRae – Killed
C.F. Smith – Killed
Willie Campbell – Killed
Ian McKay – Missing (confirmed)
Jack McKenzie – Wounded. not Killed
Duncan Ross (Rosemarkie) injured Killed
David Fraser " Wounded
George Hossack " Wounded
James Fraser " Wounded
I may tell I had a good cry over it. I do'nt know how I escaped, in fact I do'nt know how anyone got away scathless. (TL 30)

Example (16) concludes with the writer's expression of regret at the losses (Step 6.5) which is followed by his expression of wonder at how anyone could survive such an event without any harm. Example (16) is an instance of particularly detailed information regarding casualties[96]. Example (17) presents a more typical format in which the soldier informs his correspondent of casualties but does so in a more general manner; consequently, the steps used to complete the move are significantly reduced.

Example (16) is particularly elaborate, perhaps, due to the impact of such a number of casualties on such a small town as that of the writer. A more typical instance of Move 6 can be seen in Example (17) in which

[95] While the loss of 10 men in one attack, compared to the scale of loss that occurred during the conflict, is neither remarkable, nor unusual, it is worth highlighting that the casualties were all from Fortrose/Rosemarkie which, according to the 1911 census, had a population of 970; therefore, the loss of 10 men corresponds to approximately 10% of the population.
[96] See Appendix 32, p. 237.

the move is brief and conveys only what, for the writer, is essential information, namely that at the start of the action his platoon numbered 50 and subsequent to the attack no more than 16 men were alive. The writer, in this case, does not even give the casualties names, opting just to reduce the casualties to a numerical value (Step 6.3).

(17) *[…] We went into action fifty strong […] When roll call came after the advance was gunned down sixteen answered there names.* (TL 102)

Example (18) starts with the writer requesting that his correspondent inform his fellow soldier Martin, currently at home, of the casualties suffered by the platoon. The first step used is to state the number of casualties (Step 6.3) which the writer does but not by stating the number explicitly; instead, he informs the correspondent that his platoon now consists of '*only eleven men*' when a platoon should number approximately 50 men (Boff, 2014). The correspondent is required to interpret the information if she wishes to know the specific number of casualties. The writer then states the names of the casualties (Step 6.4), asking his correspondent to share the names of the casualties with her visitor; given that the writer does not list the names of all the casualties but refers specifically to two men, we may assume that the two named men were acquaintances shared by both the writer and the soldier visiting his mother.

(18) *I see you are inviting little Martin out, tell him it's time he was out here again. I have only eleven men left out of my Platoon. Tell him Snowden was killed on Hill 10, also King, he was killed too: he is a lucky fellow.* (TL 113)

The letters in the corpus also demonstrate that the soldiers were engaged in contemplating the impact of the war at a personal level, and the changes it may have led to in their view of the world. This is represented by Move 7, which is constituted by a maximum of three steps, the first of which is marked by different temporal aspects.

(19) *My enthusiasm was great at the beginning of the war but it is considerably less now. All the same I will never repent of the fact that I came out here to do my bit. However the nerves wont stand a continual strain & mine are not as good as they used to be.* (TL 67)

In Step 7.1, the soldier may consider the current impact of the conflict on a personal level, as in Example (19) when he compares his current state of lack of enthusiasm for the war with his initial enthusiasm. He develops this move by then sharing his belief with his correspondent that, despite his current lack of enthusiasm, his belief in the righteousness of his enlisting remains unchanged. Example (19) ends with the soldier referring to his perceptions of the physical/psychological impact of his war experiences (Step 7.3).

(20) *Mother, I can tell you that I forgot all about you at home. I was just an inhuman maniac for four hours after I seen my chums go I laughed at the Huns in front of me.* (TL 102)

In Example (20), the soldier describes the changes brought about by war with regards to his persona (Step 7.1) in that he recognises the impact of the conflict as resulting in his becoming an '*inhuman maniac'* who, as a consequence of the attack which led to the death of his fellow soldiers, was so impacted by the events that he was capable of forgetting

about his loved ones at home. Furthermore, he alludes to a form of hysteria when he states that after having seen his friends killed, he laughed at the enemy facing him and thus shares the physical/emotional consequences of the impact of the conflict (Step 7.3).

While Example (19) contains a reference to the past and Example (20) contains a reference to the present, Example (21) contains the soldier's contemplation of the conflict and how it will change him but with reference to a future time.

(21) *[…] but with God will I will come home a far better man for I can tell you this war makes a man think and think serious.* (TL 105)

The writer suggests that upon his return home, the war and his experiences will have transformed him and made him a better man; the soldier attributes the improvement to the war having given him occasion to contemplate life seriously.

As highlighted by the Examples given for Move 7, it is possible to note that while the purpose of the move remains unchanged, the soldiers use it differently in their letters in order to communicate the impact of the war on a level that goes beyond the physical.

Along with sharing their personal experiences of war, the soldiers also kept their correspondents informed of the correspondence they received from other friends and relatives. Move 8 accomplishes the task of informing the correspondent of other correspondence received; the analysis of the letters in the corpus reveal that this occurred mainly when the other correspondence being referred to had been written by a person with whom both the soldier and his correspondent were familiar. Move 8 results as being constituted by three steps.

(22) *I had a letter from Kate & one from Mrs Robinson she is very worried about me I hope it is not another case like Jeanie's as she is rather old.* (TL 2)

As shown in Example (22), the letter writer references two letters that he received from two separate correspondents (Step 8.1), he then comments on the content of the letter received from Mrs Robinson (Step 8.2) informing his current correspondent of the gist of the letter received. In Example (22), the move concludes with the writer commenting on the information contained in the letter (Step 8.3), although this is in the form of his perception of the correspondent's intentions towards him.

(23) *I may tell you I had a P.C. from Lizzie when she says keep smiling she does not half joke.* (TL 97)

Example (23) also represents Move 8; it starts with the writer informing his current addressee that he received correspondence from a third party (Step 8.1), the writer also shares information that was contained in the correspondence with the addressee to whom he is writing (Step 8.2). In Example (23), the move is brought to an end with the writer offering his comment on the correspondence received (Step 8.3).

Move 9 has the specific purpose of soliciting a response; the analysis of the letters in MAC has revealed that there are three distinct variations of the 'solicit response' move, proposed by Upton in his 2002 study on philanthropic discourse. The response that the soldiers seek to solicit mainly regards having the addressee of their letters send an item to them at the front; however, the analysis of the corpus revealed that there are three different ways in which the soldier may solicit a response. While there is a difference between the ways in which a response is solicited, the difference was not sufficiently marked as to warrant being considered a

distinct move in its own right, Move 9 has, therefore, been divided into three sub-moves all of which seek to achieve the aim, but do so in slightly different ways, with the first move as Move 9 (a).

(24) *I want a shirt & a pair of socks […] A light, dark coloured shirt is preferable, & a good size at the neck. Please do not send anything else in the way of clothing unless I write for it, but in the donkey bin a tin of Health Salts or any such drink would be very acceptable* (TL 64)

Move 9 (a), in Example (24) is formed by three constituent steps, namely 9.1a, 9.2a and 9.3a. The first step (step 9.1a) is used to communicate a generic need of the letter writer which, in TL 64, is for a shirt and a pair of socks. The subsequent step (step 9.2a) further develops the request by means of an explicit, detailed statement of the item required by the letter writer in which he informs his correspondent of both the colour of shirt and neck size required. Furthermore, the writer requests that his correspondent refrain from sending any items for which a need the writer has not specifically expressed; such a request is further strengthened by the writer's use of underlining in order to emphasise his message. Move 9a, concludes with a step in which the writer seeks to provide his correspondent with potential items that would be welcomed should his correspondent feel compelled to send something (step 9.3a); in Example (24), the soldier suggests that Health Salts or a similar drink would be gladly received.

(25) *You will thank all the people who have sent things enclosed in your parcel, for me. […] if you write him, you can let him know You will thank Duncan Stewart for me as I can't write everybody.* (TL 70)

In Example (25), representing Move 9b, the writer seeks to solicit a response from his correspondent. Differing from the response solicited in Move 9a, Move 9b does not require the reader to respond by sending an item; instead the desired and solicited response is for the correspondent receiving the letter to respond by thanking a 3rd party on behalf of the soldier. In effect, Move 9b consists of two steps; the first (Step 9.1b) is used by the writer to instruct his addressee to thank a 3rd party correspondent, also known to the addressee, on his behalf. In fact, step 9.1b appears to be a hybrid utterance in that it is neither an order nor a simple request; it does, however, seek to solicit a response from the reader. It is followed by Step 9.2b which consists of a justification of the soldier's entrusting the task to his correspondent which, in the case of Example (25), is due to his inability to reply to all the correspondence he receives, although the reason why is not stated explicitly.

The final variation, Move 9c, consists of two steps that together contribute to realisation of the communicative purpose. As with Moves 9a and 9b, Move 9c also seeks to solicit a response from the correspondent, yet 9c is different in that the response it solicits does not consist of an action but, instead, of inaction. This is illustrated in Example (26).

(26) *please don't send anymore of these Puddings. I can't get them warmed & they are anything but nice eating them cold although they have been eaten for all that.* (TL 95)

Step 9.1c serves the purpose of soliciting the response of inaction whereby the writer explicitly requests the recipient **not** to send puddings[97]. The writer follows Step 9.1c with an explanation justifying his request in

[97] The Puddings to which the writer refers should not be confused with sweet puddings; references to puddings elsewhere in the corpus appear to suggest that they are most likely to have been white puddings, a savoury dish typical of Scotland, Ireland and Northern England, consisting of suet, oatmeal and breadcrumbs encased in a sausage type casing (Ayto, 1990).

Step 9.2c which not only offers a reason for his request but also reassures his addressee that, even if unpalatable, the food sent did not go to waste.

(27) *my letters will be fewer. We are not allowed to hand in more than one letter per man, per day. This one-letter-a-day business is a bit awkward for those with a lot of correspondence to answer, so you can send this on to her when you are finished with it.* (TL 20)

Move 10, as shown in Example (27), consists of the writer forewarning his correspondent that there is a possibility that letters will be written and sent with a lesser frequency. For family and friends at home, receiving correspondence constituted a tangible sign that the person at the front was alive and well. Given the importance of letters from the front in maintaining morale on the home front, it would have been preferable to inform correspondents in advance of any likely change in order to avoid potential distress at a lack of correspondence. Move 10 consists of a total of four steps; the first step (Step 10.1) serves the purpose of informing the addressee of the reduction of correspondence. The second step (Step 10.2) provides the recipient of the letter with the reason responsible for the reduction in correspondence. Well aware of the importance of correspondence, the writer then expresses frustration at the regulations responsible (Step 10.3), which also, to an extent, absolves the writer from any real responsibility. In order to ensure that the letter writer's correspondence continues to circulate within the family and keep family members informed of his well-being, the writer informs his recipient that she can share her correspondence with other family members once she has finished reading it (Step 10.4).

Letters written from the front also sought to reassure those at home that serving soldiers had sufficient food and clothing to ensure their

comfort. The move used to communicate to correspondents at home that the writer has sufficient clothing and food is represented by Move 11, which is shown in Example (28) below.

(28) *Anyone who wanted a shirt or a pair of socks could have them the other day so I took a pair of socks. We still get "eternal Stew" every day but we are jolly glad of it.* (TL 2)

Move 11 is formed by one constituent step (Step 11.1), which serves the purpose of informing the addressee that the writer has access to adequate provisions and clothing. In Example (28), the writer reassures his addressee of the abundance, during that particular period of time, of changes of clothing offered by the army. The same step is used to inform the writer's correspondent also that there is sufficient food, albeit often '*eternal Stew*'.

(29) *Today we had soup for dinner & the vegetables being procured from ajoining gardens. Carrots, potatoes leeks & some oxo cubes make a jolly good soup & after that a detail of tea & biscuits & jam to polish it off. Not such a bad dinner & a welcome change from stew & bully*. (TL 24)

Example (29) provides the recipient of the letter with reassurance that the soldier is not going hungry, but unlike the previous example, in (29), the abundance of food is not due to the army, but is, instead, due to the fortuitous location of the billets, situated beside a vegetable garden, which the soldier was able to visit and use to pick vegetables to make soup, providing a welcome change from stew.

(30) *we have got a fairly good billet. There is an orchard at the back of the house & there is plenty fruit although not quite ripe yet. There are potatoes too & we have some for dinner every day, so we are not behind the times.* (TL 73)

Likewise, Example (30) communicates an abundance of fruit and vegetables that, as in the previous example, are to be found in proximity to the soldiers' billets and which the soldier may well have used to supplement his army rations.

The last move identified in the corpus is potentially more contentious as it is essentially constituted by a post-script, the communicative purpose of which is variable and depends upon the message from the letter chosen by the soldier as worthy of repetition prior to closing the letter.

The post-script invariably is what could be considered as soliciting a response, Move 12, which may be constituted by a maximum of two steps as shown in Example (31).

(31) *so please write a little more keep me from wearying try lassie & send something out here & mind the tobacco Black.* (TL 104)

In Example (31), the first step (Step 12.1) consists of a request for the addressee to write more frequently, followed by a justification of the request expressed (Step 12.2). In (31), the move concludes with the reiteration of a request for the addressee to send the soldier an item that had been requested earlier in the same letter in Move 9, Step 9.3.

Example (32) is a further occurrence of Move 12 from the corpus but, differing from the previous example, it solicits a response constituted by inaction (Step 12.4).

(32) *please send no more tobacco & cigarettes just now as I have what will do me for some time.* (TL 5)

The writer reinforces his request for inaction from the correspondent by means of Step 12.5, in which he briefly states why he currently does not require the addressee to send him either tobacco nor cigarettes.

The different moves and steps discussed in this section provide evidence of the range of rhetorical moves and constituent steps employed by the semi-literate soldier letter writers in order to realise their desired communicative purpose. While the letters mainly share information about the daily events in their lives, given the location where the letters were written, the events reported were often far from mundane, and were often shocking.

Letters written from the trenches of WWI grant an insight into the writing practices of ordinary people seen 'from below' and may therefore provide a view that differs from the official narratives of life in the trenches.

4.10 Conclusions

This chapter has examined the corpus of letters within a genre analysis framework. While there is a significant body of research on historical letters and, in particular, on the writings of immigrants in the long 19th century, very few of these studies adopt a genre analysis approach. While, it is evident that immigrant letters can be considered as a genre in their own right, marked by their particular features and structures, very little work has been conducted on the analysis of the rhetorical moves used in such letters. Soldier letters, unlike immigrant letters, have tended to be

overlooked in research on epistolary discourse; however, they do share some common traits with the immigrant letter, especially in the reasons for the correspondence and the role it played in closing physical distances. The analysis of the rhetorical moves present in the sub-corpus created for the study reported in this chapter, reveals that the trench letters are indeed marked by a series of rhetorical moves that are present in the letters studied. While the analysis revealed a total of 11 distinct moves, the results show that not all of them are obligatory. The analysis also highlights how the order of the rhetorical moves is flexible.

The results of the analysis are interesting in that they reveal that the letters in the corpus possess properties that could allow for them to be considered as a genre in their own right, as a sub-genre of the letter genre. However, the current study is not without its limitations as the findings are based on a corpus of letters written by two soldiers, both of whom were from Scotland and with similar socio-economic backgrounds, therefore, it could be said that the results obtained are not sufficiently representative of the trench letter genre if we consider the volume of correspondence held in archives, although the majority of such letters were either written by more instructed soldiers from higher social classes, or consist of isolated letters written by individual soldiers. The current study could be improved by applying the same approach to a more substantial corpus of trench letters, consisting of letters representative of a greater range of social classes, socio-economic backgrounds and also including letters from soldiers from other parts of the United Kingdom; this would allow for the adoption of an approach that also considers sociolinguistic factors and would allow a comparative study of how different soldiers from different parts of Great Britain recorded their experiences of the war. Moreover, by extending the corpus, the results found could be considered as being more representative of the proposed sub-genre.

CHAPTER 5

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Trench Letters

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study of the letters using a Discourse Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis. The chapter starts with Section 5.1 which introduces its structure and contents. Section 5.2 seeks to provide an overview of the different definitions that have been proposed for discourse which vary according to the stance of the scholar. Section 5.3 discusses Critical Discourse Analysis; it is followed by Section 5.4 which details the Discourse Historical Perspective of text and context. Section 5.5 describes the Discourse Historical Approach to CDA. The aims of the study are stated in Section 5.6 and the research questions are given in Section 5.6.1. The materials and methods are described in Sections 5.6.2 and 5.6.3 respectively. The results of the analysis are reported in Section 5.7 with sub-sections numbered 5.7.1 – 5.7.5 for each of the themes for which the discursive strategies used were analysed. The findings are discussed individually for each theme in the sub-sections numbered 5.8.1 – 5.8.5. The chapter ends with Section 5.9 which presents the conclusions of the study.

5.2 Discourse: a definition

Discourse is a word imbibed with numerous definitions; its particular definition at any given point is partially dependent on the point of view from which it is being considered.

The field of linguistics proposes a formal definition which considers discourse as a set of linguistic elements represented as the linguistic level in which sentences are combined in order to constitute larger units; in such a definition, the focus is on form. An alternative definition is the one which considers discourse as language in context and

considers its use in social situations; such a definition constitutes a focus on function. Regardless of whether a form focused, or function focused definition is adopted, discourse research is flourishing in a range of disciplines across the humanities, the social sciences (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999, p. xi) and beyond[98].

Numerous scholars have sought to define and categorise discourse; their definitions and categorisations have evolved and modified over the years, reflecting changing trends and developments in methodological approaches. Amongst the extensive body of influential works on discourse, those that appear to be of particular interest in the present work are those created by Foucault (1969, 1972), and Fairclough (1992, 1993, 1995, 2003) as their works on the concept of 'discourse' have laid the foundations for the development of the methodological approaches adopted in this study.

Foucault (1972) considers 'discourse' as a culturally constructed representation of reality and as practices that constitute the objects that they discuss (p. 49). Inclusion and exclusion, enacted by means of power, are central to Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse. On the theme of inclusion and exclusion, Foucault's work considers the following aspects: a) who participates in the creation of discourse; b) who contributes to the creation of discourse; and c) who is excluded from the discourse. Foucault's definition of discourse considers power as being at the centre of and circulating through society, furthermore, power is at the heart of inclusion and/or exclusion from discourse and thus (re)produces power and knowledge simultaneously. However, Foucault does not believe that power need be considered as a negative force; he suggests that, on the contrary, power can be viewed to have a role of discipline rather than of domination (1972, pp. 23-24). Consequently, the person or entity that

[98] Such as Hart and Underwood's 2012 application of Foucault's conception of discourse in order to understand the operation of power in computer-based information systems.

holds the power has the capacity to define both the conditions and result of the discourse[99]. In Foucault's numerous studies on discourse, he considers all instances of human interaction as forms of discourse and claims that we are the resultant creation of manifestations of discourse.

For Foucault (1972), our morals, ethics, beliefs and comprehension of our environment are the product of our interactions with the milieu in which we are situated; therefore, it is only possible for a person to understand and situate himself or herself within a discourse that is known to him or her (pp. 10-11). The introduction of the *dispositif*[100] to Foucault's work allowed him to shift his focus towards the analysis of non-linguistic elements. His conceptualisation of the dispositif in discourse theory does not, perhaps, differ significantly from its original meaning as he considers a *dispositive* to be a 'decidedly heterogeneous ensemble' (Foucault 1994 (1977), p.299) of elements ranging from buildings to laws to scientific statements. Foucault starts his definition of dispositive by stressing that it is a 'decidedly heterogeneous ensemble (1994 (1997), p.299) then lists the possible elements of a dispositive which are essentially 'words, but also what is not expressed in words" (1994 (1977), p.299). While the contribution of Foucault's work to the development of Critical Discourse Analysis cannot be denied, he did not succeed in providing a clear, universally accepted definition of discourse. However, at the heart of the Foucauldian literature on discourse is the underlying concept of discourse as an intrinsically social entity. While Foucault and Fairclough approach the concept of discourse from different disciplines, their definitions are united by the view of discourse as an intrinsically social phenomenon.

Van Dijk has contributed extensively to the development of CDA since the 1980s with a particular focus on the study of the discursive reproduction of racism by 'symbolic elites', the study of news in the press,

[99] Of particular interest in the study of censored trench letters.
[100] In French, *dispositif* is used to describe a system set that has been set up for a specific purpose.

and on the theories of ideology, context and knowledge (1988, 1990, 1993a, 1993b, 1997a, 1997b, 1998) proposing definitions that are linguistic, cognitive and socio-cultural. Van Dijk first states that discourse be described at the levels of syntax, semantics, stylistics and rhetoric. In addition, he states that it is essential to understand discourse in terms of the speakers' processes of production, reception and understanding. Thirdly, van Dijk highlights the social dimension of discourse which he interprets as a series of acts that are contextualised, controlled and imbibed with purpose and which are realised in society, i.e., a type of social action occurring in a context, with context being constituted by a physical setting, a temporal space and participants).

While in agreement that discourses are social in nature, Fairclough (1992b) suggests that discourses are at the centre of their very construction and constitution. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that discourse is both socially constitutive **and** socially shaped (p. 276); therefore, discourse effectively creates situations, objects of knowledge as well as the social identities of people and groups of people and, furthermore, discourse constitutes relationships between both people and groups (p. 258). Discourse, being at the centre of their construction, required a particular framework for its examination which was proposed by Fairclough (2003). Fairclough (2003) proposed a three-dimensional framework for the examination of discourse; the framework consists of the analysis of language texts (either spoken or written), discourse practices (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and the discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice. In order to incorporate the non-textual elements of discourse, Fairclough adopted the concept of semiosis is the concept adopted by Fairclough which includes other forms of communication in addition to linguistic communication, such as – for example – visual communication. The concept of semiosis permits generalisation across the different interpretations and intended

meanings of discourse; furthermore, according to Fairclough, semiosis has a role in the representation of the world, in acting, interacting and constructing identity and can be identified with diverse "perspectives of different groups of social actors" (2009, p.164). On the other hand, texts are "the semiotic dimension of events" (ibid.), where it is possible to find differing discourses and ideologies (Weiss and Wodak 2003). The origins of these concepts can be found in the work of Foucault (1972, p.49) according to whom, as mentioned above, discourses are practices that "systematically form the objects of which they speak". Such an interpretation of discourse has been further developed by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) who elaborate further by stating that discourses are not wholly realised by language use but are also realised via other means, such as visual semiosis.

While numerous scholars have sought to provide a concrete definition of discourse in its broadest sense, others have sought to divide the broad category into smaller categories to facilitate comprehension of the concept. Gee (1999) proposes the distinction between **d**iscourse and **D**iscourse[101] . His distinction can briefly be summarised thus: **d**iscourse is of interest to applied linguists or sociolinguists whose research interests consist of examining how language is used in our worlds for the enactment of activities and identities (p. 7); he further proposes that the integration of **d**iscourse with the inclusion of non-linguistic elements, to create specific identities and activities, creates **D**iscourses which inevitably represent a more complex and elaborate system of knowledge production and can be transmitted either in spoken form, written form, or a combination of the two.

Cameron (2001) proposes a different nomenclature, but it is one which has a similar meaning to that of Gee when it proposes a distinction

[101] In his work, Gee classifies the two types of discourse as 'small-d-discourse' and 'big-D-discourse (1999, p.17)

between the discourses of linguists[102] and those of social theorists[103]. While Cameron (2001) does not actually use these labels, *per se*, the meaning she intends is comparable when she distinguishes between the linguists' discourse (i.e. language above the sentence level and language in use) and the social theorists' discourses(s) (i.e. practice(s) constituting objects).

While the definitions of discourse may be varied, they all have in common a shared belief of the social nature of discourse, both in its representations and its manifestations. Given the diverse nature and manifestations of discourse and the varied manners in which it is constructed and (re)produced, we can consider texts as a concrete embodiment of abstract knowledge forms; they are both interactive and influenced by a range of sociolinguistic factors. People, during the construction of self in society, internalise discourses that encompass the centre of a community of practice, in these types of discourses govern and organise what can be discussed, how it can be discussed and by whom. In the process of constructing themselves in society, individuals internalise discourses that comprise the core of a community of practice, in the sense that such discourses control and organise what can be talked about, how it can be talked about and by whom. Texts, intended as a discourse form, can be constituted by a variety of text types which, as discussed above, are neither exclusively written nor exclusively spoken; however, regardless of their concrete form, all texts types can be analysed critically according to the principles of CDA.

[102] Intended as language at a suprasentential level and language in use (Cameron, 2001)
[103] Intended as practices that constitute objects (ibid)

5.3 Critical Discourse Analysis: method, approach or theoretical framework

The origins of the Critical Discourse Analysis approach to the study of language are to be found, according to Wodak and Meyer (2009) in a range of different areas from the humanities and social sciences[104]. For CDA, language is a social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) in which the context of language use is of utmost importance; the approach comprehends discourses as a language use that both organises and structures social life. CDA shares a number of properties with other paradigms interested in the study of discourse[105]. The focus of CDA regards extended units of discourse rather than isolated words, therefore, it considers language use in context rather than in isolation. CDA also studies action and interaction rather than studying grammar that is naturally occurring as used by genuine language users. The starting point for CDA is that language can be neither neutral nor transparent (see, for example, Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2003; Wodak, 2002). CDA views language as a type of ideological practice that can mediate, influence and construct our experiences, our identities and our ways of seeing the environment around us (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p.44).

Given the highly heterogenous nature of CDA, it finds application in a range of different fields for the study of different types of texts and discourses; however, it is necessary to bear in mind that CDA constitutes neither a theory nor a method but is, instead, a collection of different perspectives on situated language use involving a shared theoretical orientation as well as a similar methodological approach, intended in its broadest sense. CDA can assume a wide range of forms, some emphasise that discourse is a social, cultural or political phenomenon and share a

[104] Wodak and Meyer argue that the roots of CDA are to be found in Rhetoric, Text linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Socio-Psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics. (2009, p.1)
[105] See Wodak and Meyer (2009, p.2) for a detailed list.

theory of discourse as both a reflection of and source for society, culture and power. For many discourse analysts, discourse is responsible for the production and reproduction of the social world (Stoddart, 2007). This theoretical stance has led to a method in which there is a close analysis of discursive detail in relation to its context. Research adopting a CDA perspective considers discourse as being socially constitutive and socially constituted (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p.6). It is precisely the interconnectedness of both discourses and events that determines the rules that govern how future events and discourses can occur and interact (Foucault, 1972). For Foucault, discourses and events can continue "their coexistence, their succession, their mutual functioning, their reciprocal determination and their independent or correlative transformation" (1972, p.32) in society, woven into the fabric of unconscious ideas. It is, therefore, essential to consider contextual information when analysing discourse. The form in which a discourse is manifested, whether it is spoken or written, is of little significance if we consider a text as the concrete manifestation of a discourse.

In addition to the elements described above, for Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p.89) discourse is also a "a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices […] situated within specific fields of social action". Thus, discourse, upon the basis of these interrelated definitions, can be considered to be a pattern of semantic representations in a variety of manifestations (spoken, written or visual text) which have been developed within a specific group in order to both convey and create a collective ideology as well as the purposes of the group members.

Research conducted on discourse adopting this approach has the aim of examining linguistic structures as entities that are embedded in the social, political and historical contexts that gave rise to them. In the case of the present study, from a CDA perspective, trench letters can be considered as a communicative action that occurred in a social setting and,

consequently, were subject to social structures, norms and processes. Wodak (2008b) proposes four broad concepts that can characterise the numerous approaches situated within CDA, namely critique, power, history and ideology. The historical approach resulted as being of particular interest given the historical nature of the texts constituting the corpus. CDA as an approach with its consideration of discourse not in isolation, but in relation to the contexts of production, distribution and reception appeared as being particularly appropriate for the present work. However, a branch of CDA that has a greater historical element appeared to be of greater potential interest.

5.4 A Discourse Historical Perspective on text and context

Fairclough (1995, 2003) argues that texts are embedded in the context of their production, distribution and reception, as well as in the wider social, political, economic and cultural contexts, which is the consideration underpinning the current study. The micro-level linguistic features present in texts are influenced by the meso-level of discourse practice that provides a prediction of who can access the means of producing and distributing texts and also who can receive texts and the types of texts that they can receive. Discourse practice is inherently connected with the power that participants have in a given discourse which occurs and is organised in a wider social context in which the producers, distributors and recipients of texts act in specific roles. Given the interconnected properties of texts and contexts, in order to conduct a critical discourse analysis, a combination of a micro-level description of the linguistic features embodied in a text with a meso-level interpretation of the discourse context as well as a macro-level explanation of the social context should be used as it allows for the consideration of the various extratextual properties that influence its production, distribution and reception (Koller, 2009). Texts are produced, distributed and received as a consequence of

the social relations that exist between the text producer and the text recipient and, therefore, constitute instances of discourse.

The connections between the linguistic and social aspects of a discourse can be investigated by adopting the three-dimensional framework proposed by Fairclough (1995, p.9) which consists of text, discourse context and social context. If we consider a specific text as constituting an instance of social action, a critical discourse analysis of the text will allow for the drawing of conclusions that regard the discourse as well as the social context that determines the text and which is reproduced in the text. Text, contexts of production, distribution and reception and their interrelatedness with the wider social context is reflected in the linguistic analysis which also occurs on three levels. In the linguistic analysis, the linguistic features are described at the textual level considering, for example, the forms and frequency of reference to social actors and interdiscursivity[106]; linguistic analysis is followed by an analysis of the discursive practice which takes into account the setting, the participants, and the genre as well as the production, distribution and reception of texts. The third level of linguistic analysis considers the broader social formation that plays a key role in the determining of the aforementioned social factors.

Texts are essentially self-contained units; however, they do not exist in a vacuum, they regularly integrate aspects of previous texts and can also, at times, anticipate future texts. This interconnectedness of texts was considered by Bakhtin (1986) as constituting a metaphorical 'dialogicality' in that texts are always situated in a temporal context that does not relate exclusively to the past, but which may include contexts of reception in the future which, in the case of letters as asynchronous communication, may be anticipated. Not only are texts always historical,

[106] Interdiscursivity is the use of elements in a discourse and social practice which carry institutional and social meanings from other discourses and social practices' (Bartesaghi and Noy, 2015)

according to Wodak, discourse is also always historical as it is inextricably linked to both contexts and other discourses (Wodak, 1996, p.17). It is essential to highlight that in adopting a historical perspective for the analysis of text and context Wodak (1996) states that the analysis does not require the adoption of a diachronic approach. Instead, the approach requires that the discourse being analysed is situated in the specific temporal moment in which it was produced, distributed and received. Given the key nature of historical context and background in the Discourse Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis, it can be considered as a highly interdisciplinary approach which requires the researcher to have at his or her disposal a broad and varied range of analytical methods, empirical data and an in-depth background knowledge which allows for the researcher to go beyond the linguistic dimension, allowing inclusion of "the historical, political, sociological and/or psychological dimension" in the examination and interpretation of a given discursive occasion (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, p.35). Due to the interdisciplinary dimension of the DHA in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion, the approach necessitates the use of fieldwork and ethnography which allows for the study of the phenomena from an internal perspective (Wodak, 2001, p.89). Such an approach connects textual analysis to the contexts in which the discourse was produced, distributed and received, as well as to the wider social context.

5.5 Discourse Historical Approach to CDA

The Discourse Historical Approach to CDA was developed for a study on the discourses of the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign (Reisigl, 2017, p.45), the creation and application of the approach for the study led to a pioneering research approach that combined factors from a variety of disciplines for the analysis of the linguistic manifestations of anti-Semitic prejudice. The data used was not limited to linguistic data but, instead,

included oral and written discourses, historical reports, newspapers and politicians' statements amongst other data (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, pp.91-143). The attractiveness of the interdisciplinary nature of the approach became immediately apparent, as confirmed by its adoption in a variety of studies since it was created in the late 1980s[107]. Since its conception and subsequent development over the past thirty years, documented in detail in Reisigl (2017), DHA has come to be considered as one of the 'most prominent' critical approaches to the study of discourse. The extremely flexible nature of the approach together with its problem-oriented perspective demonstrates an evident preference for research that is interdisciplinary. The approach finds itself located within the broader field of discourse studies and, in particular, within the area of CDA.

Researchers adopting the DHA demonstrate a clear preference for working with authentic data and use diverse analysis methods; attention is paid to a variety of phenomena, including "multi-modal macro as well as micro phenomena" (Reisigl, 2017, p.49); furthermore attention is paid to both intertextual and interdiscursive relationships and the social, historical, political, economic and psychological factors that relate to both verbal and non-verbal communication. While DHA shares many similarities with other CDA approaches, it is also marked by a series of features that are particular to this specific approach as detailed by Reisigl:

> *First, the DHA puts weight on historical subjects and on the historical anchoring, change and echo of specific discourses more than other CDA approaches. Second, in extensive research projects it follows the principle of triangulation more systematically than other CDA approaches do. Third, team research usually plays a greater role. Fourth, the practical application of the*

[107] For a history of the development of DHA see Reisigl, (2017).

> *analytical insights, i.e., practical critique, is occasionally a more important objective.* (2017, p.49)

Critique is included in all the phases of DHA. There are three forms of critique that have been identified in the DHA. They are the text or discourse immanent critique, the socio-diagnostic critique and the prospective critique (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). For Reisigl (2017) the title of the approach emphasises the importance of the historical research interest. Text or discourse immanent critique is knowledge related; it permits the assessment of conflicts, contradictions and inconsistencies in structures that are text-internal or discourse internal. Socio-diagnostic critique seeks to detect problematic social and political goals and functions of discursive practices' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p.32). In order to reveal problematic aspects, it is reliant on background knowledge in the fields of history and politics as they constitute the context in which the discourse was produced. Lastly, prospective critique is 'strongly application oriented' (Reisigl, 2017); its objective is to reduce dysfunctional communication and language barriers. It also seeks to improve communication in public institutions through the creation of proposals and guides based on fieldwork. Reisigl (ibid) reiterates the ten features that characterise the concept of discourse within DHA:

1. Discourse is a socially constituted as well as constitutive semiotic practice.
2. Discourse represents, creates, reproduces and changes social reality.
3. A discourse is a communicative and interactional macro-unit that transcends the unit of a single text or conversation.
4. A discourse consists of groups of actual texts, […]. These concrete semiotic units are tokens.
5. These discursive units relate to specific genres and other semiotic action patterns.
6. Discursive units in a specific discourse are intertextually linked by a macro-topic that diversifies into various discourse topics, subtopics, and content-related argumentation schemes (topoi), etc.

7. Discourses are situated within and are functionally connected within fields of action which frame the discourses.
8. Within these functional frames, discourses become parts of dispositifs and contribute to the constitution of social order.
9. Discourses develop around social problems.
10. Discourse undergoes historical change relating to social change. Historical change deserves special attention in the DHA.

(Reisigl, 2017, p. 51)

In order to approach various discursive features and strategies, discourse-historical analyses systematically work through five questions that can be answered analytically by means of qualitative research. While five questions are proposed by the approach, they are not entirely fixed and may need to be modified, adapted or even reformulated depending upon the analysis being conducted. The five questions guiding the investigation of discursive strategies within the DHA are shown in Table 6[108].

Table 6 - Discursive Strategies in the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001)

Questions to approach discursive features	Discursive strategies	Purpose
How are persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically in the discourse in question?	**nomination**	discursive construction of social actors discursive construction of objects, phenomena, events discursive construction of processes and actions
What characteristics or qualities are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena, events,	**predication**	discursive characterization of social actors, objects, phenomena, events processes and actions

[108] See Reisigl and Wodak (2001, pp. 31–90); Reisigl and Wodak (2009, 2016); Wodak *et al*. (2009 [1999], pp.30–47) for more information and details.

processes and actions mentioned in the discourse?		(e.g., positively or negatively)
What arguments are employed in discourse?	**argumentation**	persuading addressees of the validity of specific claims of truth and normative rightness
From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, arguments expressed?	**perspectivisation**	positioning the speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance
Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified or mitigated?	**mitigation and intensification**	modifying the illocutionary force of utterances in respect to their epistemic or deontic status

5.6 The Aim of the Study

The specific purpose of this study is the analysis of the linguistic devices and discursive strategies used within letters written by semi-literate Scottish soldiers during the Great War from the trenches of the Western Front. Through a careful analysis of the corpus, the study seeks to identify if any particular discursive strategies are more (or less) associated with any particular discourse theme.

5.6.1 Research Questions

The research questions guiding the DHA of the trench letter corpus are the following:

1. What are the main functions of Great War epistolary discourse in private letters?

2. What linguistic devices does the letter writer use to share his knowledge of his personal experiences of the conflict?

3. Do any specific discursive strategies emerge as being particularly associated with any specific topic?

5.6.2 Materials

The materials used for the DHA analysis described in the present chapter consist of the corpus of trench letters described in detail in Chapter 3. The corpus consists of a total 94,477 running words, all of which were written by two Scottish soldiers serving as volunteers in two of the kilted highland regiments of the British army in World War I. The letters constituting the corpus were written from the trenches of the Western Front and cover from September 1914 until the end of November 1916; given that the letters were produced by two men over a significant period of the conflict, they grant the reader an opportunity to examine if (and how) their discursive practices instantiated in their letters were altered by their experiences of the conflict.

5.6.3 Method

The qualitative methodology used in present study is the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Wodak, 2001) as part of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995, 2001a, 2001b, 2005). The DHA appeared to be particularly appropriate for the analysis of the discursive strategies used in the corpus of trench letters for a variety of reasons, one of which is the importance of texts in the approach. At the micro-level, texts are units of either spoken or written language that can be considered as both semantically coherent and syntactically cohesive; in other words, texts constitute occurrences of language use in a way that the constituent parts unite and form a ‘meaningful entity’ (Koller, 2009).

A further reason for the application of the DHA is that when working with historical texts, the importance of the historical element of discourse and its role in the DHA cannot be overlooked as the approach considers the synchronic and diachronic connection of a given discourse with the other communicative events occur contemporaneously to it or which preceded it (Wodak,1995, p.12).

The suitability of this approach is due to the fact that it takes into consideration not only features of discourse and context, but it also places equal importance on extralinguistic variables related to culture, society and ideology in historical terms (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996, 2001), in addition to considering discourse as both a form of knowledge and a social practice (Reisgl and Wodak, 2009) in both its oral and written modes (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997).

In this study the DHA three-dimensional model was applied to the analysis of epistolary discourse: "after (1) having identified the specific *contents* or *topics* of a specific discourse, (2) *discursive strategies* are investigated. Then (3), *linguistic means* (as types) and the specific, context-dependent *linguistic realizations* (as tokens) are examined" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, p.93; original emphasis).

The three-dimensional approach described above led to the identification of a total of five recurring themes which were instantiated in the corpus permitting the soldiers to share their first-hand experiences of the war with their correspondents at home. Specifically, the following topics were identified and chosen for analysis of the discursive strategies used in their representation: 1) life at home; 2) life in the trenches; 3) the enemy; 4) national identity; 5) spirituality and morals. After having identified the five themes object of the analysis, the discursive strategies are investigated, and the linguistic types and tokens are identified for each

topic using the Stanford Log-Linear Part-Of-Speech Tagger[109] which facilitates identification of the constituent elements of the discursive strategies to be analysed.

5.7 Results

The results of the linguistic analysis are presented in this section for each of the categories identified from the close reading of the letters. Instances of discursive strategies identified are reported in separate tables for each of the thematic topics.

5.7.1 Home

The letters in the corpus of materials contain 261 references to home. The instances of reference to home in the corpus reveal use of all five of the discursive strategies described by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) which are shown in Table 7. The use of specific discursive strategies was frequently clustered with only very few discourses employing single discursive strategies.

DISCURSIVE STRATEGY	LINGUISTIC MEANS	TOKENS
Perspectivisation Intensification Argumentation	Negative determiner	(1) *the poem shows that the people at* ***home*** *have* ***no conseption*** *as to what we have done. In the first place Sgt. Wilson never "led them on".* ***I don't believe he ever saw the firing line***
Referential	Positive adjectivisation Positive verb	(2) *I very near* ***came to tears*** *when I sat down & was thinking of our* ***Sunday nights tea****, you know how*

[109] The Stanford Log-linear Part-Of-Speech Tagger; it is a piece of software that reads text and assigns parts of speech to each word (and other tokens). For more information see https://nlp.stanford.edu/software/tagger.shtml

		we used to enjoy *it both of we*
Mitigation	Conditional form Adjectivisation	(3) ***I would not like to see Old Reekie*** *in* ***such an awfull devastation*** *as I have seen some of the places here.* ***It is simply horrible the sights***
Predication Nomination	Positive adjectivisation	(4) *I have many a quiet tear to shed thinking of the* ***happy home I have almost broken up*** *but with God will I will come home a far better man*
Nomination Predication Perspectivisation	Noun Negative adjectivisation	(5) ***Everything*** *in this country is* ***inferior to what we have at home****, even the* ***people****, but whether it is owing to the war or not I do not know.*
Nomination Predication Intensification	Positive adjective Positive noun	(6) *Uncle David writes in* ***good form****. He thinks a lot of the "****brave defender****" of the* ***hearth & home***

Table 7 - Life at home: Discursive strategies, linguistic means and tokens

5.7.2 Trenches

Specific reference is made to the trenches[110] a total of 396 times in the corpus. References to the topic of the trenches are made using all five of the discursive strategies classified by Reisigl and Wodak (2001); the strategies are never present in isolation and are always present in sentences with a minimum of one other discursive strategy per sentence. Relevant examples of the instances of reference to the trenches in the corpus are reported in Table 8.

DISCURSIVE STRATEGY	**LINGUISTIC MEANS**	**TOKENS**

[110] 'Firing line' and 'the front' were considered as synonymous with the trenches.

Nomination Perspectivisation	Passive agency	(1) *Well Nannie I hear the trenches we go in* ***we get no tea*** *God help me if this is so*
Referential Perspectivisation Intensification	Possessive adjective Intensifier Measurement Negative Qualifier	(2) ***our trenches*** *are in a state of* ***utter collapse*** *just now with the rain & we are* ***up to the knees*** *in* ***sticky mud***
Referential Nomination Perspectivisation	Exclamation with implicit negative connotations Exhorting Indefinite quantifier	(3) *Well I was up at a burying party today.* ***Oh what a sight****, bodies lying since the advance****, imagine the state of them****.* ***I have many a good cry*** *as I took down the number of the identy [sic] dice, some of them well known to me since I joined the army.* ***It was no grand job****.*
Referential Perspectivisation Intensification Mitigation	Passive agency Metonomy Qualifier Exclamation with implicit negative connotations	(4) *Nannie* ***we lost seven men*** *on the 11th day of November they were met with a shell & the lot of them* ***poor chaps were blown to atoms pieces of them were hanging on the trees*** *near bye. Oh you see* ***some terrible sights****.*
Referential Perspectivisation	Deixis Passive agent Qualifier Comparison spatial location	(5) […] *there is plenty of old mills* ***out here*** *but they have all been* ***battered down*** *by shell but they are the* ***old windmill kind****, you* ***don't see them very often in Scotland***

Table 8 - Life in the trenches: Discursive strategies, linguistic means and tokens

5.7.3 Enemy

Reference to the enemy occurs a total of 111 times in the corpus; also, for this category all five discursive strategies proposed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) are present. Examples of the instances of reference to the enemy in the corpus are reported in Table 9.

DISCURSIVE STRATEGY	**LINGUISTIC MEANS**	**TOKENS**

Intensification Referential	Positive nominalisation of measurement Reference Reinforcing measurement	(1) *My god,* ***what awfull size of men****, height* ***from 5ft 10 to 6 feet****.*
Referential Perspectivisation Predication	Other regional identity Intensifiers Active agents of non-combat	(2) *I can tell you we are at present up against what they call* ***Saxon German****. They are* ***very human chaps****, they tell you* ***they don't want to fight at all****. They stick up playing cards saying* ***don't you shoot Jock & we wont***
Referential Nomination Predication	Otherness Synecdoche Animalisation	(3) ***They*** *hate the very look of* ***kilted regiments*** *they stand for a few minutes then they are* ***off like rabbits***
Mitigation Referential Predication	Indefinite quantifier Colloquial nominal Possession Passive agents of heroes' actions	(4) *there is* ***the usual heap of dead*** *out in front of us,* ***poor chaps*** *they* ***still belong to some mother or wife like you*** *anxiously* ***waiting the return of her hero***
Referential Nomination Perspectivisation Argumentation	Indefinite quantifier Adjective of positive colloquial identity Sensorial verb Comparison	(5) ***some of them*** *were glad to be taken prisoners but think what did* ***they*** *do with our* ***poor Jock*** *lying wounded. Why, they bayoneted every one of them, now* ***see the differences*** *of the fighting stock.* ***One murders the other give*** *food & dresses there wounded*

Table 9 - Representations of enemy and otherness: Discursive strategies, linguistic means and tokens

5.7.4 National identity

There are 39 specific utterances relating to the theme of national identity in the corpus. Differing from the other topics, this category is characterised by the occurrence of the use of individual discursive strategies to construct meaning. Examples of references to national identity as instantiated in the corpus, are reported in Table 10.

DISCURSIVE STRATEGY	LINGUISTIC MEANS	TOKENS
Nomination	Positive colloquial identity	(1) *Oh if you had seen **the Jock** you would have felt proud of yourself*
Referential Predication Argumentation	Scottish qualifier Personification Positive adjective Identifier	(2) *However I can tell you **Bonnie Scotland** have **done her share here** & will do more before she is finished yet by the **brave lad that don the tartan**.*
Referential Perspectivisation	Regional identity	(3) […] *remember it was the **Highland** and **the Highland Brigade** only who brought Britain's first real victory*
Referential Nomination Predication Perspectivisation	Categorisation of non-membership identifier	(4) *[…] **I am** as I think it, **the outcast far away** from you all […] I am worth a thousand dead one yet chin up and **your wee highland laddie** will always take care of himself*
Nomination	Synecdoche Self as otherness	(5) *British soldiers & especially the **kilties** cause a kind of **sensation** there as there are none billeted in the city. **Their** chief enquiries are, "if **our knees** are not cold" & "if we wear no trousers beneath the kilt". **We amuse them & they amuse us.***

Table 10 - Representations of National identity: Discursive strategies, linguistic means and tokens

5.7.5 Spirituality/Morals

There are a total of 57 references to spirituality and beliefs in the corpus. The occurrences show that they full range of discursive strategies are employed in the texts. Relevant examples of the instances of reference to spirituality and morals in the corpus are reported in Table 11.

DISCURSIVE STRATEGY	LINGUISTIC MEANS	TOKENS
Perspectivisation	Individual viewpoint	(1) *[…] anyone who says that this is not murder* ***I have a vastly different opinion of it.***
Perspectivisation Mitigation	Rhetorical question Adverb Verbal qualifiers	(2) *could anything like this be human for I can tell you it is not****. It is simply murder only in a more brutal manner****.*
Perspectivisation Referential	Modality Qualifier of religious stance	(3) *Oh to God that he would* ***cast a spell*** *over the controllers of* ***this awfull & I may say unchristian war****,* ***people who preach*** *would try to make peace on earth &* ***good will toward men***
Perspectivisation	Spiritual viewpoint	(4) *I hope to the God above he will take me through this* ***awfull slaughter and wholesale slaughter at that****.*
Perspectivisation Intensification Mitigation	Negative verb Possessive adjective coll. Noun Colloquial expression Reinforcement modality	(5) *I* ***do'nt approve*** *of* ***your idea*** *of calling on Fairfield when I go home, as I reckon* ***that is not playing the game,*** *&* ***not only that*** *but there* ***might be trouble*** *about it.*

Table 11 - Representations of spirituality and morals: Discursive strategies, linguistic means and tokens

5.8 Discussion

5.8.1 Home

Modern day perceptions of the Great War are heavily influenced by cultural representations of the conflict and of collective memories. Home is recalled as the place of affection that was missed by soldiers who were on active service. Even the collocates associated with home attest to its

perceived warmth and as a place of comfort[111]; however, contrary to its associated positive properties, the soldiers occasionally give voice to a sense of disbelief at the lack of understanding by those at home when considering battle action. In Example (1) from Section 5.6.1, in a letter to his sister, the writer refers to a poem published in a newspaper that he had read at the front. The poem narrates the 'daring deeds' of the 4th Highlanders.

(1) […] *the poem shows that the people at* ***home*** *have* ***no conseption*** *as to what we have done. In the first place Sgt. Wilson never "****led them on****". **I don't believe he ever saw the firing line***

The writer specifically refers to the poem and its reception by people at home, although it is unclear whether the poem was written by a person at home or whether it was written by a soldier at the front. While the author of the poem is unknown, the writer positions his view of the people at home through the use of perspectivisation which allows the soldier to position his point of view, namely that the people at home are far removed from the realities of war. The negative determiner that precedes 'conseption' [sic] constitutes use of a strategy of intensification as it modifies the force of the noun. The excerpt also contains an instance of argumentation as a discursive strategy when referring to the alleged actions of Sgt Wilson who, according to the writer, did not lead the men as it is the opinion of the writer that Sgt Wilson is unlikely to have even seen the firing line. Such a reference to home in a voice that could be considered as negative suggests that the 'home' in this utterance is not the soldier's place of residence but is, instead, intended as the political or

[111] Collocations such as 'hearth and home', and 'keep the home fires burning' as representative of warmth, affection and physical comfort.

public sphere. meaning is rather unusual in the corpus as most references to home are positive and portray home as a place of affection, love and comforts.

While Example (1) does not demonstrate any particular nostalgia for home, in Example (2) the writer expresses how he misses home, its comforts and, by association, his wife.

(2) *I very near **came to tears** when I sat down & was thinking of our **Sunday nights tea**, you know how **we used to enjoy** it both of we*

In Example (2), the referential discursive strategy is used for the construction of an in-group within an in-group, referring to the writer and his wife whom he addresses as Nannie, an affection diminutive for Anne. The discursive strategy of predication is used to accomplish the goal of labelling Sunday night's tea, intended as dinner, in an appreciative manner. The writer succeeds in creating a sense of complicity by reinforcing his belonging to an exclusive unit constituted by the text producer and the text recipient. The writer uses the discursive strategy of perspectivisation to express his personal involvement and to position the writer's viewpoint. Positive adjectivisation together with positive verbs are the linguistic means used by the writer to share his knowledge. Instead, Example (3) while not specifically referring to home, it does, instead contain an explicit reference to Edinburgh, the hometown of the writer's wife and therefore a place with which the writer had an emotional connection.

(3) ***would not like to see Old Reekie** in **such an awfull devastation** as I have seen some of the places here. **It is simply horrible the sights***

Nomination is the discursive strategy used by the writer to imply his membership of the in-group of Edinburgh residents while predication is used in the discourse on the state of the surrounding physical world. 'Awfull' as an adjective preceding devastation constitutes intensification of the impact of the wat on the French countryside; furthermore, the writer employs perspectivisation to position his opinion of the sights that he is faced with. The linguistic means used by the writer consist of the use of the conditional form to express his reluctance to see his wife's hometown in the same condition as the town that he had seen in France; depending upon the interpretation made of the discourse, it may be possible that the use of Old Reekie constitutes an instance of synecdoche whereby the town perhaps is meant to represent not simply the writer's wife's hometown but his wife's family. 'Such' is used to quantify the extent of devastation that the war has visited on the town.

It has been stated that letters from the front are akin to confessional acts; since each letter had the potential to be the last, they had to be "honest avowals of personal conviction" (Hanna, 2008, p.14); moreover, it was not unacceptable for letters to demonstrate a degree of personal weakness when necessary. Example (4) is an excerpt from a letter in which the writer has adopted letter writing as a vehicle for the sharing of his emotions of regret and remorse with a particular focus on the impact that his enlisting has had on those at home. The writer's letter demonstrates that he is well aware of the difficulties caused by his decision; his awareness of the difficulties is shared through a combination of two discursive strategies, namely predication and nomination.

(4) *I have many a quiet tear to shed thinking of the* ***happy home I have almost broken up*** *but with God will I will come home a far better man*

The attribution of positive traits, in the form of 'happy home' is rendered possible by means of predication. Nomination allows the writer to signal belonging to a category and that, despite being spatially separated from his home and family, they essentially continue to belong to the same in-group; this is achieved through the use of positive adjectivisation. The present tense is used by the author which contributes to the multi-temporal nature of epistolary discourse that is written in the present, but a present from which it is possible to contemplate both the past and the future.

A comparison of home with the foreign country is made in Example (5). The writer is writing to his sister requesting that she send him some writing paper and envelopes from home as he is of the opinion that the local products are not of as good a quality as those that can be found in Scotland. The writer uses a total of three discursive strategies to achieve this: nomination is used to refer to the generalisation made by the writer that *everything* is low quality, additionally, the writer uses predication to attribute negative characteristics to the objects to which he is he is referring. The last discursive strategy used is that of perspectivisation which allows the text producer to position his point of view which, in the case of Example (5) is negative. The writer also creates an in-group that includes the writer and his addressee, and it is an in-group that has access to better quality goods in Britain. The linguistic means used by the writer to achieve this are the use of negative adjectivisation and the use of determiners and adverbs to strengthen his statement.

(5) ***Everything*** *in this country is* ***inferior to what we have at home****, even the* ***people****, but whether it is owing to the war or not I do not know*

The letters in the corpus also present instances in which the writer engages in the sharing of information from a letter he received from a third party

with his current addressee constituting an instance of intertextuality in that the writer creates a reference to a previously received text in the text he is writing. The extract reports the contents of a letter from the writer's uncle.

(6) *Uncle David writes in **good form**. He thinks a lot of the "**brave defender**" of the **hearth & home***

The first discursive strategy used by the writer is that of predication in which the writer attributes the characteristics of being 'on good form' to the uncle. The second discursive strategy used is that of intensification with which the writer intensifies the noun 'defender' by collocating it with the adjective 'brave'; the linguistic means used to realise the discursive strategies are the use of a positive noun 'defender' together with the positive adjective 'brave'. Furthermore, the writer's reporting of himself as 'brave defender of the hearth and home' also constitutes synecdoche whereby the writer's use of hearth and home may not necessarily refer to the home but, instead, to the country that he is serving overseas.

5.8.2 Trenches

Everyday comforts of home were extremely important for the combatants (Proctor, 2014). They constituted a way of creating both a direct sense of connectedness with home whilst also seeking, through the semblance of normality, to create distance from the horrors of trenches, the environment in which the social practice of letter writing was situated. the soldiers were located when they produced the letters.

In Section 5.7.2, Example (1), the author voices his concern that he will not receive tea in the section of the trenches where he is to be sent. The writer employs perspectivisation, expressing his involvement and positioning his point of view.

(1) Well Nannie I hear the trenches we go in ***we get no tea God help me*** *if this is so*

Passive agency is the linguistic means used by the writer in the utterance, revealing his passivity and presumed inability to alter his situation in his future spatial location. His utterance is further emphasised by the use of a religious plea for help at his situation.

The soldiers share their personal experiences of life in the trenches in their letters; their experiences are share in different ways by referring to a range of spheres.

(2) […] ***our trenches*** *are in a state of* ***utter collapse*** *just now with the rain & we are* ***up to the knees*** *in* ***sticky mud***.

In Example (2), section 5.6.2, a referential nomination discursive strategy is used to achieve the writer's aim of constructing an in group constituted by 'our trenches'. The use of the possessive adjective *our* allows the author to convey a perceived state of ownership of his immediate spatial location, whilst implicitly constructing an out-group that is a direct product of the construction of the in-group (our/their). Furthermore, the discursive strategy of perspectivisation is employed for the positioning of the writer's viewpoint with regards to the current state in which the trenches are to be found. The qualification of the trenches as in *a state of utter collapse*, constitutes use of the discursive strategy of predication which permits the writer to attribute negative properties to the trenches and to share these negative attributes with his correspondent who has no real experience of such an environment. The intensifier that precedes 'collapse' constitutes an example of intensification. Historical records, including archival photographs held at the IWM provide testimony to the mud that was to be

found in the trenches, it was of an entity that would have been beyond the comprehension of people from beyond that specific spatial environment. To aid the recipient of the letter in visualising the extent of the mud, the writer uses a measurement which relates the depth of the mud to his physical body thus rendering it visible to his correspondent. The use of the negative qualifier 'sticky' with mud, again provides an example of the use of intensification.

The first-hand experience of the conflict is shared by the writer with members of his family, whom he left behind. As mentioned in Chapter 3, 27 of the letters in the corpus were sent in 'honour envelopes' this enabling the writer to express himself more freely without any concern of his letters being censored by his superior officer. Therefore, the letters contained in honour envelopes grant us a view of the life in the trenches that has not been mediated by the possibility of censorship although, it is possible that the writer self-censored his discourse so as not to cause his family greater concern. The information shared by the writer does not only relate to the physical differences of life in the trenches, but it also relates to the horrors that, for those at home, may well have been incomprehensible since they are extremely specific to the spatial and temporal sphere in which the writer is situated. The writer, at times, chooses to share knowledge of some of the more harrowing everyday experiences of life in the trenches, perhaps as an attempt to unburden himself, thus highlighting the distance, both physical and emotional between the two spaces. In Example (3), the author employs three different discursive strategies. Referential discursive strategy is used to refer to the fallen Scottish soldiers. The writer uses an exclamation with implicit negative connotations 'oh what a sight' as a linguistic means, this is emphasised by the use of exhortation? inviting the reader to imagine the condition of the fallen soldiers. Finally, indefinite quantifiers are used as a linguistic means to share knowledge of the soldiers' actions that do not

consist of military actions in terms of warfare, but rather are a consequence of the conflict.

> *(3) Well I was up at a burying party today.* ***Oh what a sight****, bodies lying since the advance****, imagine the state of them****. **I have many a good cry** as I took down the number of the identy [sic] dice, some of them well known to me since I joined the army.* ***It was no grand job****.*

In Example (4), an excerpt from another honour envelope letter, the referential discursive strategy is used for the creation of the in-group of Scottish soldiers. the author utilises a referential strategy to create the in-group of Scottish soldiers. The 'we' is not necessarily intended as a marker of an in-group constituted exclusively by serving soldiers; in fact, it can also be interpreted as referring to the larger in-group of Scots on the home front. When describing the fate that befell the casualties, the writer uses the discursive strategy of mitigation when describing the casualties as 'poor chaps". Furthermore, metonymy constituted by the lexeme 'atoms' is an example of the writer using the part to refer to the whole as it is used to denote the soldiers who had perished and for whom no remains were identifiable or found. Due to the nature of the Great War and the types of weapons that were feasible due to technological advances, men did not simply die but were, instead, blown to atoms which also constitutes an instance of intensification.

> *(4) Nannie* ***we lost seven men on the 11th day of November*** *they were met with a shell & the lot of them* ***poor chaps were blown to atoms pieces of them were hanging on the trees*** *near bye. Oh you see some terrible sights.*

At times, letters from the front were used for the sharing of a different type of knowledge of the soldier's location at the time of writing as shown in Example (5) below.

> *(5)* […] *there is plenty of old mills* ***out here*** *but they have all been* ***battered down*** *by shell but they are the old windmill kind,* ***you don't see them very often in Scotland***

In the early 20th century, international travel was beyond the financial possibilities of the working class, therefore, even if overseas on active service, the soldiers had the opportunity to see foreign lands that they otherwise may never have had the opportunity to see. In Example (5), the soldier describes the particular architectural features of mills in Flanders, connecting it to his home from his location in the trenches by highlighting the differences in the types of buildings as well as the condition in which they are to be found. The spatial location is referred to by means of deixis, passive agency is used as the mills have been passive agents in their destruction, together with a comparison of a spatial location that refers to the writer's own country.

5.8.3 Enemy

Both soldiers reveal a duality in their attitudes towards the enemy. Numerous references to the enemy are made whilst comparing them with their fellow combatants, often expressing a negative stance towards the enemy. However, not all the soldiers' utterances regarding the enemy portray an exclusively negative opinion; there are occasions in which a compassionate and humanistic stance is revealed which is capable of transcending the violence and uniting mankind, regardless of their national affiliations. The writers use discourse to create two groups and confer

different properties on the group members by means of the use of different discursive strategies.

In Example (1), the writer uses the intensification and referential discursive strategies to construct the perceived physical supremacy of the enemy over the Scottish soldiers. Intensification is represented by positive nominalisation of measurement which is then followed by reinforcement of the measurement.

(1) *My god,* ***what awfull size of men****, height* ***from 5ft 10 to 6 feet****.*

Example (2) highlights how the writer was able, despite being enemies, to find a form of understanding and a reluctance to engage in battle by the Saxon-German enemy. The writer is, in effect referring to the out-group that is embodied by the German enemy, however, the writer succeeds in creating a sub-out-group that is, in effect, a hybrid group as it shares common feelings with the Scottish soldier. Perspectivisation is the strategy used by the writer to construct and share his point of view. In sharing his experience of the enemy yet, paradoxically, it is an enemy with whom there is a certain understanding and a share reluctance for war.

(2) *I can tell you we are at present up against what they call* ***Saxon German****. They are* ***very human chaps****, they tell you* ***they don't want to fight at all****. They stick up playing cards saying* ***don't you shoot Jock & we wont,***

Knowledge of the enemy is shared through the linguistic means of representing an 'other' regional identity. The human nature of the Saxons is intensified as they are described as 'very human chaps'. The Saxons are represented as active agents, yet they are active agents of inaction due to

their reluctance to engage in war at this specific temporal and spatial location[112].

The authors' perceptions of the enemy are not limited exclusively to the British troops' views of the enemy; the soldier letter writers also seek to construct self-identity through the eyes of the other, as reported in Example (3).

(3) ***They*** *hate the very look of* ***kilted regiments*** *they stand for a few minutes then they are* ***off like rabbits***

Example (3) shows the use of a referential discursive strategy that consists of the creation of an in-group of kilted regiments and synecdoche is the linguistic means used for its realisation as the uniform is representative of the whole. The out-group referred to as rabbits constitutes an example of predication as it permits the writer to label the other social actors. However, this is done from a perspective that cannot be considered as positive and is constituted by the linguistic means of animalisation

The discursive strategies used in Example (4) communicate knowledge regarding the actual cost of the war in terms of human life. Three specific discursive strategies are used, namely, mitigation, referential and predication.

(4) *there is* ***the usual heap of dead*** *out in front of us,* ***poor chaps*** *they* ***still belong to some mother or wife like you*** *anxiously* ***waiting the return of her hero***

[112] Such instances of communication across the trenches expressing a reluctance to fight were not entirely isolated instances. The reading of primary sources in the archives discovered numerous other references in separate texts to the same phenomenon

The soldier shares specific knowledge by means of the use of an indefinite quantifier as the dead are portrayed as 'the usual heap', such an utterance also suggests an emotive state of being hardened to such a sight, while such an utterance has a significant capacity to shock its civilian reader. 'Heap', a colloquial nominal, is the linguistic means used to refer to the German dead. However, despite the writer's depersonification of the dead, he then reveals both humanity and empathy when he shares his awareness that while the Germans are the enemy, there is an awareness that seems genuine that the German enemies also 'belong' to people on the German home front, thus embodying a type of duality in the discursive representation of the enemy. In order to make such a reality genuinely comprehensible for the addressee, the author likens the mother or wife in the utterance to the mother or wife that will read his letter; thus the writer succeeds in considering all mothers and wives as one large group, without considering the issue of nationality, effectively rendering all wives and mothers passive agents of the actions of heroes who perished in the war.

The soldier's thoughts of the enemy do not construct the German as the 'other', they also reveal a more human stance. In Example (5), the author discursively constructs two distinct groups and recognises them as possessing different qualities which are conferred through the different discursive strategies employed.

(5) ***some of them*** *were glad to be taken prisoners but think what did* ***they*** *do with our* ***poor Jock*** *lying wounded. Why, they bayoneted every one of them, now* ***see the differences*** *of the fighting stock.* ***One murders the other give*** *food & dresses there wounded*

The writer uses the referential discursive strategy which is communicated by the linguistic means of an indefinite quantifier to refer to some of the

German soldiers who were captured; the writer names the social actors and situates them within an out-group. The out-group is socially constructed in relation to the in-group of 'Jock' soldiers. Perspectivisation is used by the writer to further communicate his considerations on both the Germans and the Jocks which serves the purpose of framing the discourse. Through the writer's representations of the actions of the German soldiers, it could lead to the reader feeling anger and pity. The German soldiers are portrayed as inhumane while the Jock soldiers are represented as being more ethical.

5.8.4 National identity

The Scottish soldiers also use the letters as a vehicle for the manifestation of pride as members of Highland Regiments. The writers use different discursive strategies to construct their identity as Highland soldiers; such a construction is shown in Example (1) from Section 5.7.4.

The writer uses the discursive strategy of nomination in isolation for the expression of identity through the linguistic means of positive colloquial identity (the Jock[113]):

(1) *Oh if you had seen **the Jock** you would have felt proud of yourself & of the two who are doing their little bit*

Instead, in Example (2), the writer employs three different discourse strategies to share his opinion about the contribution that Scotland, as a nation, has made to the war.

[113] The use of Jock in the early 20th century did not have the pejorative meaning that it has now when used to refer to Scotsmen.

(2) *However I can tell you **Bonnie Scotland** have **done her share** here & will do more before she is finished yet by the brave lad that don the tartan*

The writer uses a referential discursive strategy together with the Scottish qualifier 'bonnie' as a linguistic type whilst employing predication to label the social actor. Furthermore, Scotland is personified by means of the use of feminine personal and possessive pronouns. Argumentation is used as a justification for the conferring of positive attributes which, in this instance, are constitutes by the linguistic means of the positive adjective 'brave that is collocated with the noun 'lad'. In the extract, 'tartan' is an instance of the use of a noun with strong cultural significance as an additional national identifier.

The strong sense of Scottish identity is further instantiated in Example (3) in which the discourse produced, by means of referential discursive strategy, effectively creates an explicit in-group, constituted by the Highland Brigade, within the implicit in-group of British soldiers.

(3) […] *remember it was the **Highland** and **the Highland Brigade** only who brought Britain's first real victory*

The writer employs the linguistic means of regional identity in this case, furthermore, he uses the discursive strategy of perspectivisation to position his point of view regarding the importance of the role of the Scottish soldiers in the achievement of Britain's 'first real victory', effectively staking a claim and creating a successful in-group of which he is a member. He shares his opinion of the contribution of Scottish soldiers with his addressees.

Example (4) constitutes an excerpt in which four different discursive strategies are present. The writer uses a referential discursive

strategy to create an in-group that is essentially an out-group within a larger in-group. Perspectivisation is employed by the writer to construct the writer's perception of his status as an 'outcast' which is manifested in the linguistic means of categorisation of what is, essentially, non-membership of a group, whilst reporting the point of view of the writer.

(4) […] ***I am*** *as I think it,* ***the outcast far away*** *from you all […] I am worth a thousand dead one yet chin up and* ***your wee highland laddie*** *will always take care of himself*

It is, however, also possible to consider the writer as a member of a group that is outwith the perceived main in-group in that, despite serving alongside other Scottish soldiers, he classifies himself as an outcast and thus, at the time of writing, did not identify with the main in-group in his spatial location. The linguistic means of a regional identifier is represented by the discursive strategy of predication in the utterance of 'your wee highland laddie' which effectively positions the writer as the member of an in-group, consisting of the writer and his correspondent, but it is an in-group that is far removed from the trenches.

A further instance of regional identity is represented in Example (5) in which the writer tells his addressee of the 'sensation' caused by the Highland regiments due to their uniform consisting of a kilt. The soldier uses the adverb 'especially' to emphasise the sensation caused by the 'kilties' whereby the linguistic means of synecdoche is used to denominate the Scottish soldiers.

(5) *British soldiers & especially the* ***kilties*** *cause a kind of* ***sensation*** *there as there are none billeted in the city.* ***Their*** *chief enquiries are, "if* ***our knees*** *are not cold" & "if we wear no trousers beneath the kilt".* ***We amuse them & they amuse us.***

Example (5) is not only a manifestation of national identity but it also has an inherent sense of otherness within the national identity in that the soldier is capable of adopting sufficient objectivity to recognise that the kilt, while everyday attire for him, constitutes an extremely visible sign of otherness for the local people in his specific spatial location. The discursive strategy used for the realisation of the utterance is nomination. The excerpt ends with the soldier's recognition that there is reciprocal amusement caused by his national dress in the form of his service uniform, a perception that is supported also by entries in other letters and in the Battalion War Diaries.

5.8.5 Spirituality/morals

Texts produced from the trenches of World War I provided the writer with an area in which he could share his personal feelings and experiences of the conflict. However, all letters written from the trenches were subject to censorship. The infrequently distributed honour envelopes afforded soldiers the possibility to express thought more freely. In Example (1), the writer uses perspectivisation in order to express both the soldier's involvement and position his personal view of the conflict within the context of private letters which would then be circulated among family members. In the example, the writer expresses his stance clearly on the topic of the war and gives voices to both his morals and ideology:

(1) […] *anyone who says that this is not murder* ***I have a vastly different opinion of it.***

The writer uses an individual discursive strategy with which he succinctly communicates his own viewpoint of the war as murder.

Example (2) employs two discursive strategies in order to express the writer's involvement and position his viewpoint. This is achieved through the linguistic means of a rhetorical question, one that neither needs nor wants a response. The writer employs an adverb and verbal qualifiers to give voice to his stance and consideration that the war is more brutal than simple murder.

(2) *could anything like this be human for I can tell you it is not.* ***It is simply murder only in a more brutal manner****.*

Two discursive strategies are present in Example (6); perspectivisation expresses the writer's involvement; while use of the referential discursive strategy serves to construct groups, that are neither strictly in-groups nor out-groups, but rather groups that transcend the assigning of a particular group. In example (3), the writer refers to those who 'control' the war. Modality 'I may say' and qualifiers of religious stance are the linguistic means used in the discourse.

(3) *Oh to God that he would* ***cast a spell*** *over the controllers of* ***this awfull & I may say unchristian war****, people who preach would try to make peace on earth & good will toward men.*

Instead, Example (4) represents the discursive strategy of perspectivisation within which the writer gives voice to his spiritual viewpoint by means of which, in the midst of the slaughter, the writer hopes that God will ensure that he comes out of the conflict:

(4) *I hope to the God above he will take me through this* ***awfull slaughter and wholesale slaughter***

Lastly, Example (5) grants an insight into the moral stance of the writer. The writer of this letter was, at the outbreak of the war, an apprentice engineer; there was a significant shortage of labour on the home front due to the sheer numbers of men who enlisted. Consequently, Murray's sisters, concerned about their brother in the theatre of war, took it upon themselves to attempt to have him called home to contribute his labour to the war effort.

(5) *I do'nt approve* ***of*** *your idea of* ***calling on Fairfield when I go home,*** *as I reckon* ***that is*** *not playing the gam****e, &*** *not only* ***that but there*** *might be trouble* ***about it.***

However, from the reading of his letters, it would appear that Murray appeared to approve of the idea of returning home and serving his time, he was concerned about other people's views of his actions. Perspectivisation is the discursive strategy employed in which the writer positions his point of view regarding his sisters' initiative; this is realised through the linguistic means of negative verb use. Then the second person possessive adjective is used by the writer to distance responsibility. Both 'I reckon' and 'not playing the game' are colloquial expressions which mitigate the writer's utterances and are examples of hedged language.

5.9 Conclusions

The study reported in this chapter examined personal letters as they constitute a valuable resource that allows the current-day researcher to study and reconstruct social practices that are situated in the past. The current chapter focuses exclusively on epistolary discourse that was produced, distributed and consumed in a specific historical context.

Therefore, it appeared a suitable field of research for the application of the DHA to CDA given that trench letters are the result of a historically situated social practice. The study analysed the corpus and themes were identified that were suitable for investigation of significant aspects of life in the trenches. Such a study grants the reader the opportunity to acquire in-depth knowledge through the analysis of the discursive practice shaping the discourse.

The results of the study demonstrate how the writers possessed an ability to employ a range of different discursive strategies in the sharing of their experiences of the conflict. The most common clustering of discursive practices was for the occurrence of at least two distinct discursive strategies in any of the given excerpts on any of the topics identified; the use of an individual discursive strategy in an utterance was less frequent and, as equally infrequent was the concentrated clustering of more than three discursive strategies in any given text excerpt. The presence of more than three discursive strategies in a given utterance was recorded in a total of 11% (N=3) of the utterances examined, with the maximum number of discursive strategies identified in a single utterance corresponding to N=4. In the examples discussed, the text excerpts on the themes of the trenches, the enemy and national identity were the only ones in which there were more than three discursive strategies used in the utterance examined.

The analysis of the discursive practice revealed the different identities of the combatants, but it also afforded glimpses of the other who was situated within the same historical spatial and temporal locations. The knowledge shared of the enemy does not only paint a picture of an enemy but, much like our soldier letter writers, a picture is painted of soldiers who have multiple roles which, to a certain extent are interrelated, highlighting how, even in the midst of the trenches of the Western Front, the soldiers still possessed their civilian identities as fathers, brothers, husbands,

nephews and so on. Previous research on ego documents created during conflict suggests that letters may constitute a means for the encoder to reveal how he identifies with specific communities during the war (Gill, 2010). Perhaps it was this identification with families at home, and the interconnectedness and inseparability of the different personae that enabled the soldiers to withstand the horrors of the conflict whilst sharing their personal beliefs, fears and hopes with their addressees rendering the addressee present in their lives on an almost daily basis despite the distant separating them. While the soldiers, as social actors, are rooted in the discourse they create, their family members are ever present in the background, sharing the minutiae of daily life on the home front with their loved ones on the active front.

The range of discursive practices used enables the sharing of knowledge on a variety of topics, each of which is influenced by the writer's own knowledge and experience of the conflict; likewise, its reception is also influenced by other texts, not just by other letters but also by other genres. Interdiscursivity is evidently present in the corpus, due to the volumes of mail that travelled back and forth across the Channel. Likewise, there are also references to other discourses in the letters in the form of conversations, a summary of which is shared with the addressee.

Regardless of the content of the discourse, of the knowledge and experience recorded in the letters, an additional particular feature is represented by the temporal polyvalence of epistolary discourse as the letters are represented in and represent several different temporal locations. Not only were trench letters written to share personal knowledge with the addressee, due to the letters having been kept, the modern-day researcher can read and gain an in-depth, detailed perspective of life experiences of soldiers in the Great War.

Great War epistolary discourse, in particular the writings of the semi-literate, are under-represented in the official archives; therefore,

collections of private letters are a precious resource that offer an insight that is both rare and valuable into the lives of soldiers who served in the First World War.

The present study, while interesting, is not without its limitations. The results of the analysis of the letters in the corpus are based upon the writings of two individuals serving in Highland regiments in the trenches of the Western Front; furthermore, both writers were from similar socio-economic backgrounds. A broader ranging study based on a larger corpus that is more representative of the men and women who served in the war would constitute an interesting research opportunity that would allow a comparative analysis of experiences. Such a study, using trench letters encoded by soldiers serving in the armies of the different nations engaged in the conflict, would permit the study and analysis of the human impact of 'total war' as instantiated in trench letters. Furthermore, a study of this type which, as yet, has not been conducted, would be beneficial in order to gain a better understanding of the impact of the war on a pan-European human level as well as a global level.

CHAPTER 6

Expressive trilingual code-switching: Emotional lexical preferences in soldier letters from the Great War

6.1 Introduction

The "expressive" function of code-switching is considered one of its most common socio-pragmatic functions. This is used either to express or emphasise feelings and perceptions in a different language. To date, most studies on expressive code-switching have examined the oral production of bilinguals whilst others have investigated the phenomena in Computer Mediated Communication. The current chapter considers the written production of trilinguals in a corpus of soldier letters from the Great War[114], and their use of expressive code-switching. Specifically, this chapter investigates expressive trilingual code-switching in the personal letters produced by semi-literate Scottish soldiers, Sergeant George Murray and Sergeant Thomas Clark Murray, both of whom served on the Western Front during World War I. The aim of the analysis conducted for this chapter was to seek to identify occurrences of expressive code-switching between English (L1), Scots (L2) and French (L3); the research had the twofold aim of investigating whether the soldier letter-writers had a preference for emotion and emotion-laden words in a particular language, and of investigating how the "emotional context" of the trenches had a significant role to play in whether words are processed as emotion words.

The section starts with a description of the expressive function of code-switching in personal letters in Section 6.2. A definition of emotion and emotion-laden lexemes is provided in Section 6.3, while Section 6.4

[114] For a detailed description of the corpus, see Chapter 3 (p. 41) of the present work.

seeks to provide an explanation of the different ways in which concrete and abstract words are linked to emotions. Section 6.5 establishes the aim of the study described in the present chapter; the research questions guiding the research are provided in Section 6.5.1. The methodology adopted for the analysis of expressive code-switching in the corpus, which was used for the identification of trilingual lexemes permitting their codification according to their evident expressive connotation in terms of the language used (L1, L2 or L3), the code-switching functions (emotion vs emotion-laden) and the emotional valence (positive vs negative), is presented in Section 6.5.2. The results obtained are in four tables and are reported in Section 6.6. The results reported in Section 6.6 are discussed in Section 6.7 considering the cross-linguistic differences in the underlying emotion concepts in Section 6.7.1 and from a sociolinguistic view of the emotional context of use in Section 6.7.2. The chapter ends with Section 6.8, which presents the conclusions of the study and suggests areas for future research.

6.2 The "expressive" function of code-switching in personal letters

Research on code-switching, a natural phenomenon in which two or more languages are mixed in discourse, has primarily focused on oral code-switching. Studies have examined its forms, meanings and grammatical pattern, yet very little research has been conducted on code-switching in its written form and in trilingualism. In the current work, instances of code-switching in a corpus of letters written by semi-literate Scottish soldiers from the trenches of the Great War are examined. Letters written from the front served multiple purposes: they created presence during physical absence, provided for the exchange of information relating to family and wellbeing, thus allowing the soldier to retain a degree of civilian identity, be it as husband, father, son or brother, essentially

creating a form of connectedness (Hanna, 2014). Through the act of writing and exchanging letters, both physical and emotional distances were lessened, and gaps were bridged.

Whilst the corpus of letters analysed in the present work does not serve the same purpose as oral autobiographical memories, it does, however, offer an insight into diachronic language use, since historical letters may in fact be considered "as close to speech as non-fictional texts can be" (Elspaß 2014, p.156) and, therefore, present an interesting opportunity for an analysis of code-switching in relatively recent historical texts.

Code-switching, in historic letters, has been classified as "the co-occurrence of two or more languages in a single communicative event" (Pahta and Nurmi, 2006, p.203); it can be used for different reasons, which can include strategic use in order to negotiate meaning and convey the content of a message. Use of code-switching provides the receiver of the message with information about the code-switcher's social and cultural identity. Gumperz (1982) suggests that a switch to L1 may constitute a means to signal intimacy, belonging to an in-group or for the expression of emotions; instead, code-switching to the L2 may occur to create distance, to represent an out-group attitude, or to achieve detachment in describing emotions.

Numerous studies have examined the expressive function of code-switching. Expressive code-switching can, in fact, be used to highlight emotions, attitudes and opinions (cf. Appel and Muysken, 1987); this has been considered one of its most common socio-pragmatic functions for "emotional release, particularly for tension relief or the unburdening of pent-up feeling" (Chen, 1996, p.271). Prior research suggests that language preference may be reflective of bi- and multilinguals' emotional attachment to what that language represents, especially in the case of autobiographical memories (Schrauf and Durazo-Arvizu, 2006; Marian

and Kaushanskaya, 2008). In this respect, personal stories have been considered key to gaining an understanding of how bilinguals express emotion in their different languages (Pavlenko, 2005). However, written forms of code-switching are also of interest when investigating how switches may occur, especially when considering that research on written code-switching is "much less frequent" than studies on spoken code-switching (Callahan, 2004, p.82).

Interest in written manifestations of code-switching has undergone a slower development compared to spoken code-switching research. While there does appear to be an increasing interest in this area, it does, however, appear to be represented either in relation to specific historical periods, such as the Classical period and the Medieval period where a significant number of studies have been published[115] or in relation to more contemporary forms of written communication[116]. Analysis of historical written texts could contribute a diachronic aspect to the existing studies on code-switching, the focus of which in recent years seems to have shifted from oral production to written production in the form of Computer-Mediated Communication.

Halmari (2014) conducted an analysis of Finnish-English code-switching in informal emails; the results obtained comparing written and oral data demonstrate that the code-switching generalisations and tendencies described in the literature, primarily based on oral data (e.g., Halmari 1997, Muysken 2000; Myers-Scotton 1993a, 2006) can validly be applied to written data. Montes-Alcalá (2000) conducted research analysing code-switching in two forms of ego-documents, namely a journal and a private diary. Her findings revealed that code-switching was not uncommon in the private writings examined and suggests that its

[115] For example, for studies on code-switching in the Ancient World, see Adams *et al*., 2002; for medieval Britain see Pahta (2012) and Schendl (1996, 2012) on code-switching in medieval and Early-Modern Britain.
[116] See Negrón Goldbarg, 2009.

frequent use could be attributable to the confidential nature of this written genre.

Pavlenko (2005) researched bilinguals and emotions and found that some bilingual speakers may actually perceive one language as being conducive for the expression of emotions and furthermore that the type of emotion being expressed has a role to play in deciding the choice of language to be used. The expressive function of code-switching can be used to convey the feelings and attitude of the writer and of the subject; it can also be used to evoke feelings in the reader (Mahootian, 2006). A switch is made from one language to another as an indication that an utterance is a personal statement arising from the speaker's own personal thoughts or experiences. This type of code-switching creates a boundary between fact-based utterances and opinion or emotion-based utterances. Pavlenko (2004) found that the types of emotions being expressed also determine the choice of language to be used.

Some speakers may show a preference for L2 use when conveying negative emotions, whereas the L1 is primarily used for the communication of emotions of love and care. By using the L2 for indicating negative emotion, the speaker effectively creates a distance between him- or herself and these negative emotions thus lessening their expressive effect. However, Pavlenko (2005) suggests that the L1 may not always be the language of intimacy, and the L2 may not always be the language of detachment. In fact, Pavlenko (2005, p.131) states that bilinguals "may use these languages to index a variety of affective stances, and they may also mix two or more languages to convey emotional meanings".

6.3 Emotion and emotion-laden lexemes: a definition

The number of emotion and emotion-laden lexemes varies significantly from one language to another. Altarriba and Bauer (2004) class words with

meanings that are affective, and which have both pleasantness as well as unpleasantness and arousal components (positive or negative) as emotion words. Pavlenko (2008, p.148) points outs that emotion words are those referring to "particular affective states ("happy", "angry") or processes ("to worry", "to rage"), and function to either describe ("she is sad") or express them ("I feel sad"); instead, emotion-laden words "express or elicit emotions from the interlocutors" (ibid.). These can be categorized as: a) taboo and swearwords or expletives; b) insults; c) reprimands; d) endearments; e) aversive words and f) interjections. The boundaries between the categories are not definite, as some words may in fact overlap. Pavlenko's definition of emotion and emotion-laden words does not, however, include words related to emotions such as "tears", "tantrum", "to scream" as they, in fact, describe behaviours that are associated with particular emotions ("sadness", "anger") without explicitly naming them. In the present work, occurrences of such words are included in the analysis since they may be potential code-switched lexemes adopted by the soldiers.

6.4 Concrete and abstract words

Concrete and abstract words are differently linked to emotions. Vinson *et al*. (2014) found that words with greater valence tended to be more abstract while neutral words were found to be more concrete. Kousta *et al*. (2011) found that abstract words tended to be more emotionally valenced than concrete words.

Concrete words denote an object that is tangible while the meanings of abstract refer to concepts rather than to material objects, and thus are not classified as emotion words (Altarriba and Bauer, 2004). Kousta *et al.* (2010) in their research on the role of emotion in the representation of abstract words found that they are more emotionally valenced than are concrete words due to their being bound to different

types of information, including experiential information (sensory, motor, and affective) as well as linguistic information (Kousta *et al*, 2011, p.14). Furthermore, Kousta *et al*. (2011) found that sensory-motor information was more significant for concrete concepts while affective information was more significant for abstract concepts.

6.5 The aim of the study

The aim of the study is to investigate expressive tri-lingual code-switching in the writings of semi-literate Scottish soldiers on active service on the Western Front during the Great War, in order to do so, three research questions were set.

6.5.1 Research questions

In order to analyse the expressive tri-lingual code-switching in the soldier letter corpus, three research questions were formulated:

1.Which language (L1, L2, L3) is used for the expression of emotion?

2. What function (emotion vs emotion laden) do these words serve?

3. What is the emotional valence of the code-switched lexemes (positive vs negative)?

The research seeks to identify the instances of expressive code-switching between English (L1), Scots (L2) and French (L3) with the aim of examining the language preference for emotion and emotion-laden words, and of investigating how the "emotional context" of the trenches plays a significant role in whether words are processed as emotion words (cf. Brierley *et al*., 2007). For the purpose of the study, English was considered as the L1 as it was the 'official' language, Scots was considered as the L2 as it would have been used outwith education and was considered as being indicative of low social class, while French was considered as the L3 as the soldiers, having spent time in Francophone countries, would

presumably have encountered the language and acquired some knowledge of it.

6.5.2 Methodology

The Russell letters were placed in chronological order and transcribed. The transcription is faithful to the original letters and, consequently, errors in spelling, grammar and punctuation were transcribed without any correction so as to preserve the writer's voice as much as possible. The Murray letters were scanned and subsequently transcribed. The transcription is faithful to the original letters and, consequently, presents occasional errors in terms of grammar, punctuation and spelling.

Field postcards, which consist of preformulated texts in which the soldier selects the option that best meets the information he wishes to communicate (e.g. I: am quite well/have been admitted into hospital/am sick and am going on well/am wounded and hope to be discharged soon) were discarded. These were used for the other analyses conducted in this thesis, as they did not contain samples of original text written by the soldiers.

The transcribed letters were analysed for occurrences of emotion and emotion-laden lexemes, based upon Pavlenko's (2008) categorisation, namely: 1) taboo and swearwords or expletives; 2) insults; 3) reprimands; 4) endearments; 5) aversive words and 6) interjections. The occurrence of emotion and emotion-laden lexemes were identified according to Altarriba and Bauer's list of emotion words (2004, p.396) in which a group of 20 words was compiled for each of the three word types (abstract, concrete and emotion). The Altarriba and Bauer (2004) list was further cross-checked with the Laird and Oatley (1989) corpus of 590 English emotion words to verify the evolving relevance of Laird and Oatley's corpus[117].

[117] The Altarriba and Bauer list was cross-checked with the Laird and Oatley corpus for the simple reason that while the latter corpus is of a significant size, it dates from 1989;

The emotion and emotion-laden lexemes identified were categorised in accordance with the five categories proposed by Laird and Oatley: happiness, sadness, fear, anger and disgust (1989, p.108).

Based on a careful analysis of the corpus, trilingual lexemes with evident expressive connotation in terms of the language used (L1, L2, L3), the functions of these (emotion vs emotion-laden) and their emotional valence (positive vs negative) were coded. When instances of non-English lexemes occurred, the Scots (L2) and French (L3) lexemes were duly noted, along with their context of use. Subsequently, raw data was examined in three distinct phases; first the L1 lexemes were identified and analysed for their functions and emotional valence, the same process was then repeated for Scots L2 lexemes and French L3 lexemes.

The data obtained were then analysed from a psycholinguistic perspective in terms of cross-linguistic differences in the underlying emotion concepts, as well as from a sociolinguistic view of the emotional context of use. The analysis considered which emotion was being expressed by the soldiers and in which language, in order to establish if one particular language was preferred for positive and negative emotions.

6.6 Results

A total of 40 emotion words were identified in the corpus, all expressed by the soldiers in English L1 as their preferred language to indicate their different affective states, as shown in Table 12

therefore, data from a more recent study were preferred. With reference to Scots and French, there are currently, to the best of the author's knowledge, no such lists relating to either Scots or French. Also, since the use of both Scots and French lexemes in the corpus was rather limited, there was not sufficient data to create a sizeable corpus. It would be interesting to create this in future work, but it would be necessary first to source other trench letters with samples from a wider geographical area as there are areas in Scotland where Scots is used much more frequently.

Table 12 - Emotion words in the trench letter corpus

anxious	comfortable	hate	sad
afraid	despair	liked	sick of
angry	dippressed	lonely	suffer
anxious	don't like	love	surprised
awfull	dreading	love	thankful
bad	fear	miserable	tired
can't stand	fed up	miss	unhappy
cheered	glad	proud	worry

On the other hand, the 33 tokens of emotion-laden words recorded were found to anticipate a more complex dynamic in terms of preferences for lexical insertions, which clearly suggests that code-switching was performed. The trilingual lexemes reported in Table 13 show a major use of L1 and L2 lexemes (*N*=26) compared to that of L3 ones (*N*=7).

Table 13 - L1-l2-l3 Emotion-laden words in the corpus

English (L1)	**Scots (L2)**	**French (L3)**
1. bally 2. bodies 3. consolation 4. chum 5. boches 6. face 7. guns 8. brutes 9. huns 10. hell 11. muckheap 12. patriotism 13. revelle 14. slaughter 15. slaughtering 16. treason	1. bairns (children) 2. divels (devils) 3. guid (good) 4. hen (duck/dear) 5. kent female face (known female face) 6. laddie (boy) 7. lassie (girl) 8. lussuary (luxuary) 9. semmits (woollen vests) 10. smirry (soft gentle rain)	1. adieu (farewell) 2. allemandes (Germans) 3. angletree (England) 4. avvieur (aviator) 5. au revouier (goodbye) 6. madamemoselle (Miss) 7. souvenir de la guerre (War souvenir)

Table 14 provides instances of the use of English (L1) emotion words in context.

Table 14 - Emotion words in context: preference for English (L1)

1. I'm **fed up** with the red tape of the British Army
2. We are not downhearted by any means, but a bit **fed up,** & will all be **glad** when the war is over
3. The weather is very **miserable** just now
4. If you are **anxious** to send anything send eatables & fags.
5. I have **sad** news we lost thirty five men going into the trenches, luck for me again
6. so I may tell you all at home should be **proud** of the Highlanders somewhere in France
7. They **hate** the very look of kilted regiments
8. Our wee scottie at home is he keeping well again. I **don't like** to hear of them being ill
9. Well now Nannie this is about the hardest days I **cant stand** them at all Sunday & Saturday
10. I **love** my Highland regiment after tonight they are second to none
11. They **hate** the very look of kilted regiments
12. was pleased to get the news, but I am **dreading** the next ones, as they will probably be answers to the letters I sent with the bad news
13. people go about here with a certain **fear**
14. Well Nan I am **afraid** I will not stand the winter
15. we were so **happy** but oh I wish, I wish
16. I am **proud** I am here today to send you these few lines
17. Well Nan, how are you liking Glasgow, mind you I don't **like** the place a bit
18. I am **glad** to hear Willie has got off the working job
19. we were considerably **cheered** by hearing of the great victory on the sea
20. They will **miss** Kate
21. I am sure that Alex will now be in **fear** of a Zepp raid on Glasgow
22. I am **tired** of warfare & perhaps getting too proud to fight
23. he is **sick** of the army
24. You are a bit **dippressed** & should forget all about the war
25. I am awfull **bad** thinking about you & the children but never mind
26. He came out in a draft the other day & I **was surprised** to meet him
27. It is **sad** to see what the advances cost us & the Germans
28. We are very **comfortable** & quite happy
29. However, still we survive, & are not what one could call **unhappy**
30. You **worry** yourself about trifles

31. I know you are always **worrying** when you don't get your wee letter
32. They had cigarettes & stuff I told them I didn't want them, you know I was so **angry**
33. Oh if you only saw this place you would **cry**
34. I see that at last you are driven to a state of **despair** with regard to joining the ranks
35. you will be pretty **lonely** by yourself
36. course I know I will **suffer** for this in years to come but never mind
37. I **love** my Highland regiment after tonight they are second to none
38. We are **thankful** that we are not in the trenches
39. I saw of our poor lads in **awfull** state
40. He has been telling them he was **anxious** about me he never saw me after I dressed his hand

On the other hand, Table 15 reports the use of emotion-laden words in context, where instances of intra-sentential code-switching are highlighted in bold, denoting preferences for both L1-L2 and L1-L3 types.

Table 15 - Emotion-laden words in context: preference for code-switching.

1. Tonight we are to be given new **semmits** so you see we do'nt want for clothing.
2. I am enclosing an old German Newspaper by way of a "**souvenir de la guerre** it was found in a German helmet, I suppose for fitting purposes
3. Oh what a sight, **bodies** lying since the advance
4. The **brutes** have taken to using there gases now
5. That is two photographs I have now, one of Jeannie & the other one of Mrs Robinson. It is some **consolation** to see a "**well-kent female face**" now & again.
6. It promises to be a good day but the "**Allemande**" may make it a bit uncomfortable for us.
7. We are up between these mornings **revelle** being at 6am
8. The "Allemandes" are pretty active just now especially with their **guns**
9. The men at the front doing their **best** and the workers at home doing their **worst**. What a display of **patriotism** & **treason**.
10. I think the "**Allemandes**" would be running for dear life just now all along the line. Better luck next time I hope.
11. The weather here is a bit **smirry** & dull

12. This is an awful place: more like a **muckheap** than a village
13. Today we saw an **avvieur** loop the loop
14. When you are going about looking for your **chum** it is then you feel as if you were dead
15. I thought of you & the **bairns** Nannie, how is Tommy getting on
16. The French women say **Angletree** no **bally** good
17. He is not a bad **laddie** & I dread him running loose like this he will find bad company no doubt.
18. Well Nannie I hope you are looking after the **wee lassie**. Tommy is getting on well
19. It is hard to say but when you think again some of the poor **divils** have wifes at home to & children
20. Aurevouir **Madamemoselle**. You no **compre**
21. Now how are you getting on **hen**
22. but oh for my chair beside the fire what a price I would give for this little **lussuary**.
23. we had two very weak attacks by the **boches** Huns
24. Oh **God** what a thing came out of the bottom of the trench, horrible the land of dead
25. I told them I was going to **hell** to save there skin & money
26. But cheer up my **bonnie lassie**, your highland **laddie** will never say die while there is a Hun in the trenches
27. He had great faith in his '**laddies'** so I expect he wants the Batt to get on even better now.
28. I may come home at any time so till then **adieu** my **bonnie lassie**
29. I wish all at home from the bottom of my heart a right **guid** new year
30. However it was only a graze from a **bullet** but a few inches more & I would have needed no hospital God help me it was near enough I think they were trying to put a centre shed in my hair
31. Well Bella, **au revouier** in the meantime
32. anyone who says that this is not **murder** I have a vastly different opinion of it
33. Well for pure Tommy Atkins sake we gave them a real **burial** that's what we do with their dead
34. when these **bally snipers** are about
35. Nannie please don't send any syrup it gives me the **toothache**
36. My **god**, what awfull size of men
37. You talk about a **lonely** soldier, I was that one on new year day. I had not a soul along with me
38. The **mud** in the **trenches** is some places two feet deep. It is so sticky you can hardly draw your feet out of it but we get along with the **dourness** it
39. Nannie, **tears** filled my eyes at the sight

40. Thinking about it makes me shiver not through the fact that I am afraid of getting killed, but because of the terrible **slaughtering** we have had

6.7 Discussion

6.7.1 Cross-Linguistic Differences in the Underlying Emotion Concepts

All the emotion words in the corpus are expressed exclusively through the use of L1 lexemes as no instances of code-switching were reported for this functional category. As for their nature, the emotion words (cf. Tables 12 and 13) reflect all five categories introduced by Laird and Oatley (1989, p.108): happiness, sadness, fear, anger and disgust. L1 lexemes representing happiness include: *comfortable* to refer to the writer's present state in a rest camp; *glad, proud* to invite the reader to feel pride in the actions of the Scottish soldiers at the Front; *surprised* to denote the writer's affective stance upon hearing news of the safety of fellow combatants; *cheered* to express positive reaction upon reception of news of a victory; *thankful* in terms of gratitude, and thus happiness, at their circumstance removed from the Front Line. Hence, the emotion lexemes present both positive and negative valence. In detail, the happiness category contains words with higher positive valence than the lexemes belonging to the other categories. On the other hand, the category of sadness includes the following lexemes: *sad*, *tired*, *despair*, *suffer*, *miserable*, *dippressed* [sic], *unhappy*, *lonely* and *miss*, while the emotion lexemes are represented by 6 adjectives and 3 verbs, all connoted with negative valence. Both the happiness and sadness categories are the ones with the highest number of lexemes (respectively *N*=9). The categories of fear and disgust each present 4 lexemes: *afraid, dreading, anxious* and *worry* express fear; *awfull, hate, don't like* and *bad* convey disgust. Finally, the expression of anger was rendered through the 3 lexemes *can't stand, sick of, angry*.

As for data findings in context (cf. Tables 14 and 15), instances of insertional code-switching occur only for emotion-laden lexemes (Table 15), which were encountered in the letters written by both Russell and Murray. The preference here appears to be for a more frequent insertion of Scots (L2) lexemes into predominantly English (L1) texts over French (L3) ones. They also seem to reflect how the writers sought to "express or elicit emotions from the interlocutors" (Pavlenko, 2008, p.148). To gain a deeper understanding, L1, L2 and L3 instances of emotion-laden lexemes are respectively discussed below, based on Pavlenko's categorisation of emotion-laden word types, and on the distinction between concrete and abstract words.

The L1 emotion-laden lexemes (cf. Tables 13 and 15) belong to both the concrete and abstract categories of words with the former outweighing the latter. Abstract words acquire meaning for their valence: *hell, treason, lonely, murder and slaughter* have negative valence, whilst *patriotism* and *heaven* are loaded with positive valence. Concrete words are primarily used to refer to the everyday objects encountered in the trenches and to the daily occurrences of trench life. Like the abstract words, they can be classed according to their valence. All concrete words carry negative valence as they refer to warfare, in terms of the spatial location and the enemy (*gun, bullet, snipers, brutes, huns, boches, trenches, muckheap, mud*) and to death (*burial, bodies*). The only exception is given by the positive valence embedded in the word *chum*, which refers to a friend or fellow combatant. The concrete word *mud* could be considered as pointing to the physical reality of life in the mud of the trenches, yet the extent of the mud could render it an abstract word for the receiver of the letters as the reality of the trenches and its discomforts would surely have been beyond the experience and comprehension of those at home. *Hun* is a lexeme which also belongs to both the concrete and abstract category as it was used not only to denote the enemy intended

in the tangible sense of the word but could also be used as an abstract to refer to the figure of the enemy, in an impersonal sense (Walker, 2017, p.169).

According to Walker (2017, p.116), the use of swearwords in the army was commonplace. Nevertheless, taboo and swearwords or expletives are the least frequently occurring emotion-laden lexeme category. This is, in fact, completely absent in all the Murray letters, and hardly present at all in the letters written by Russell. In the latter case, taboo and swearwords or expletives are completely absent in the letters written by Russell to his wife's parents, while some instances occur in the letters directly addressed to his wife. These include: *God* (*N*=54), *bally* (*N*=6) and *hell/hellish* (N=5). The use of '*God'* as a taboo word is in the form of blasphemy. Russell's use of '*God'* in religious terms, such as '*with God's blessing*' and '*God bless you and the bairns*' has not been considered as blasphemy. Russell uses the exclamations '*my God*' and '*oh God*' a total of 5 times, often to add emphasis to the following utterance in the phrase. Russell also uses the term '*thank God*' as a means to express relief. Furthermore, some instances of the exclamation including the lexeme *God* also express sadness with regards to events witnessed in the trenches as well as actions completed by the writer. The functional purpose of these lexemes is primarily to express fear when referring to the experience of events of life in the trenches, and to express disgust, specifically in the case of the lexeme *bally* as an adjective to describe a negative concrete noun (e.g. *bally hut, bally snipers*). Moreover, the lexeme could function as a form of self-censorship and avoidance of a more explicit swearword.

A total of 10 of the emotion-laden lexemes (cf. Table 13) are expressed using the L2. These are both abstract and concrete nouns with positive and negative valence. Reference is made to the distribution of *semmits* - a semmit is a woollen or flannel undershirt or vest, thus it can

be considered a concrete noun. The writer shared information regarding the distribution of underclothing as he had previously lamented the cold weather. Therefore, his receiving a new *semmit* may well have been met with happiness. The writer may have chosen to use the Scots word *semmit* with its connotations of comfort and warmth in order to convey his emotional meaning through a single lexeme, rather than having to employ the L1 two-word term *woollen vest*. Furthermore, the L2 lexeme is loaded with familial affective meaning as family members at home frequently sent parcels containing items of a personal nature to the Front.

The L2 lexeme *well-kent female face* is used to describe the comfort of having photographs of relatives and friends to look at, reminding the writer of the comfort and affection of the domestic environment whilst in the trenches. In this case, the writer may have opted to use the L2 lexeme to reinforce his sense of belonging to a specific language community. His preference further appears to voice the emotional states of both happiness and sadness: happiness when thinking of friends and acquaintances at home, yet the emotion of sadness at having left them behind seems also to be realistically present.

L2 emotion-laden lexemes are also used to arouse emotional states related to the meteorological conditions at the front. For example, the weather is described as being "a bit *smirry* & dull[118]". In this case, cross-linguistic differences may be behind the choice to use an L2 lexeme as there appears to be no direct L1 equivalent to describe that particular type of rain which, according to the Scots Language Dictionary, falls "gently and softly in fine clouds", a type of rain that frequently occurs in Scotland throughout the year. This code-switching preference suggests that the writer creates an image that will be more culturally recognisable to the receiver and manages to convey the weather conditions and the nuances of the weather in a single lexeme.

[118] http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/smirr_n1_v

Russell, in referring to his direct family members at home, does so almost exclusively through the use of L2 terms. The most frequently used lexeme to express endearment is *lassie* which appears a total of 49 times in his collected letters, while it is completely absent in the Murray collection. This may be attributable to the fact that Murray's most frequent correspondents were his two elder sisters. Russell's use of the term is most frequent in referring to his wife (39 occurrences), his daughter (8 occurrences) and his niece (2 occurrences). *Lassie* is generally used to refer to a girl, but it can also be applied in a familiar or jocular manner to an adult woman. The lexeme *lassie* is preceded by the L2 adjective *bonnie* meaning beautiful, pretty or fair, thus again the L2 is used for an intra-sentential code-switch in which *lassie* is used as a term of endearment which is amplified by the addition of the positive L2 adjective *bonnie.* In 5 instances in reference to his wife, the writer precedes *lassie* with the Scottish adjective *bonnie* rendering the term of endearment more tender. In addition to referring to his wife with the lexeme *lassie*, Russell also uses the word *hen, w*hich in the L2 is a term of endearment or familiarity for a girl or a woman and is similar to the English use of the lexeme *duck.* References to Russell's son and daughter are also made predominantly in the L2 in which he uses *lassie* for his daughter and *laddie* for to his son. *Lassie* is preceded by L2 adjectives such as w*ee* meaning little and *bonnie* meaning pretty or fair. Again, in this instance, the L2 is used to express endearment. Russell refers to his son in a similar vein, alternating between referring to him as *wee McGregor*, *wee Scottie.* Interestingly, he refers to his son by name (Tommy) 25 times in the corpus, yet his daughter's name (Retta) is mentioned only 5 times. Perhaps this could be attributed to his preferring to use L2 terms of endearment to his daughter as they are more expressive rather than by addressing her by her name. When referring to both his children collectively, he does so by using the lexeme *bairns*, an L2 lexeme which would be rendered in the L1 as *son* and *daughter* or

children. However, the term *bairns* could be considered as being more emotionally expressive than its L1 equivalent. The lexemes used to refer to Russell's loved ones convey feelings of both happiness – at the thought of them, constituting a sense of emotional comfort – and sadness at their separation and worry about their condition whilst Russell is on Active Service.

Both Russell and Murray use the emotion-laden lexeme *laddie* as a self-referential, expressing a sense of pride in their achievements. Murray writes that his Colonel had 'great faith in his '*laddies'* and uses inverted commas, which demonstrate that it is a conscious code-switch to L2, perhaps for stylistic effect. Russell, instead, refers to himself as a 'brave Highland *laddie*'. Both uses of the lexeme *laddie* with a self-referential function have positive valence.

A further L2 emotion-laden word is *dourness*, an abstract noun meaning 'with dogged reluctance, obstinacy, pertinacity, wilfulness[119], and used in a corpus example to express the relentlessness of life with mud in the trenches. Again, in this instance of intra-sentential code-switching, the writer opts for use of the L2, perhaps due to its perceived greater expressiveness. It can be considered to have both positive and negative valence depending upon the meaning the writer seeks to convey; tenacity and dogged reluctance could be considered as positive traits in certain spheres but could also be considered as negative ones in others.

Russell also manifests a sense of pity and sadness for the enemy and gives voice to this emotion through the use of an intra-sentential code-switch to the L2 in which he refers to fallen German soldiers as *poor **divils** have wifes at home to & children*. The same emotion-laden lexeme is also used to refer to fallen Scottish soldiers (*It fills me with pity seeing these poor **divils** lying out in front*). While the '*divil'* is intangible and thus can be considered as an abstract noun, when the lexeme is used to refer to the

[119] http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/dour

fallen soldiers, it becomes concrete, as the dead soldiers are present beyond the borders of the trenches. The emotion expressed is that of pity which can be categorised as belonging to the larger umbrella category of sadness.

Both writers occasionally employ intra-sentential code-switching to the L3. Knowledge of L3 French appears in the letters written by Russell, especially in his salutations to the addressee: *Aurevouir Madamemoselle* could be considered as an endearment to his wife, but one in which there may also be an element of humour. Russell ends another letter with a phrase rendered through trilingual code-switching: *I may come home at any time so till then* ***adieu*** *my* ***bonnie lassie***. The L3 lexeme *adieu* is a fond farewell and thus can be considered as expressing endearment, while *bonnie lassie* is an L2 endearment. Hence, both the L2 and L3 serve the purpose of reinforcing the emotional state of fondness. Similarly, the use of the L3 in the sentence *Well Bella,* ***au revouier*** *in the meantime* denotes how the French term functions as a constitutive element in an endearment. Instead, Murray often uses the L3 to refer to the enemy as *allemands*. This functional use seems to be consistent with the traditional psycholinguistic assumption that L2, and by extension, L3 are sourced for emotional distancing. In this case, the lexeme *allemands* may represent an attempt to distance the enemy, lessening emotional impact and diminishing the sense of danger, if not for the writer, for his loved ones at home. Murray also code-switches at intra-sentential level from L1 to L3 to refer to a souvenir in the form of a German newspaper, which had been used by a fallen German soldier to line his helmet. It is, however, unclear which emotion the L3 expression *souvenir de la guerre* is meant to describe or convey, beyond the feeling of satisfaction or happiness at sending a souvenir home.

Overall, these emotion lexemes and emotion-laden lexemes appear to be used by the two writers in different language combinations to express

different types of emotion. Russell prefers the use of L2 for expressing endearment and sadness, whilst L1 is used for the expression of anger, taboo and swearwords. The L3 is used to render more expressive terms of endearment to his wife. Instead, Murray favours L1 use with only one instance of L2 and with L3 employed to refer to the enemy.

6.7.2 The Emotional Context of Use

The emotional context of language use of the letters in the corpus is constituted by the trenches, a temporal spatial location marked by both positive emotions, in the sense of camaraderie, and by negative emotions due to the nature and uncertainty of life at the front.

The L2, certainly for Russell, could have constituted the emotion of love associated with home and its comforts. Thus, his predominant use of L2 for endearments is comprehensible. Interestingly, his preference for expressing negative emotions in L1 seems to confirm Pavlenko's (2008) suggestion that L1 might not always be the language of intimacy, nor the L2 the language of detachment. The emotional context of the trenches here plays a key role in determining negative emotions, such as anger, fear, despair and sadness, which are communicated primarily in the soldier's first language. Instead, the L2 is used to create the emotional context of love, as shown by the predominant insertion of L2 lexemes expressing familial endearment and affection.

On the other hand, Murray expresses a range of emotional feelings in his letters through an almost exclusive use of his L1. For example, he creates an emotional context of sadness at his lack of success in obtaining a transfer back to the shipyard to continue his apprenticeship; satisfaction, and thus happiness is instantiated through L1 lexemes to refer to his immediate situation at specific temporal instants. However, unlike Russell, Murray's use of L2 is very infrequent with only one token of an L1-L2 code-switch (*I may come home at any time so till then* ***adieu*** *my*

***bonnie lassie*)** to describe the emotional context of pride, and thus happiness, at the achievements of his battalion. This is likely meant to create a sense of belonging to an in-group formed by other Highland soldiers.

Both Russell and Murray use the L3 to represent the emotional context of fear; and Russell also uses it to represent both happiness and sadness. In particular, the emotional context of fear of the enemy is mitigated through the use of the L3 lexeme *allemands*, which may psychologically serve on a personal level, but might help reduce the interlocutors' sense of anxiety and fear for their family members in the trenches as well. Russell also effectively employs L3 lexemes, although written incorrectly, to communicate endearment and to invoke feelings of love and fondness in his interlocutors. These L3 lexemes contribute to shaping both an emotional context of happiness in the sense of positive thoughts of loved ones and one of sadness due to their forced separation.

6.8 Conclusions

This chapter sought to examine the expressive function of code-switching serving the purpose of releasing emotions, relieving tension and of constituting an outlet for feelings. Private letters, whilst differing from the genre of oral autobiographical memories, provides data, which can be considered as being remarkably similar to speech (Nurmi and Palander-Collin, 2008).

The findings reveal that both Murray and Russell primarily employ the communicative strategy of L1-L2 and L1-L3 code-switches at intra-sentential level; only one instance of L1-L2-L3 code-switching was recorded to arouse the emotional state of hope in the addressee (*I may come home at any time so till then* ***adieu*** *my* ***bonnie lassie***).

The results of the analysis show how both soldiers use L1 to form the majority of their writings, but also use L2 and L3 to further express

underlying emotions. Lexical findings show how the two semi-literate soldier letter writers were able to use different linguistic repertoires to share their own emotions and to elicit them from their readers. The cross-linguistic differences in the expression of emotions were not significant, as both writers predominantly used the L1 to describe their emotional states. However, findings suggest that Scots (L2) was the preferred language to express emotions related to loved ones at home, and particularly, to express forms of endearment as indicated by the preference for emotion-laden lexemes.

L2 emotion-laden lexemes were preferred by Russell for the expression of love and fear; instead happiness was communicated through the use of both L1 and L2 concrete nouns, with the L1 being employed for the communication of abstract emotion-laden lexemes. Both writers occasionally use L3; the contexts in which it is used suggest that it is employed as a distancing strategy, particularly when referring to the enemy; however, there are also instances of it being used to humorous effect. Thus, it seems that the L1 is not the exclusive language employed for the expression of emotions, nor can L2 and L3 be considered as the languages of detachment according to more traditional assumptions in the field. Indeed, their use can vary depending upon the stance adopted by the writer, which was confirmed by the fact that the writers code-switched to L2 and L3 for the functional purpose of emotional expression.

From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, the use of the L2 in reference to loved ones, to the weather and to comforts (in terms of clothing), could be interpreted as denoting in-group membership of the writers and their addressees through the adoption of the language variety associated with the home and hearth. However, these code-switches may also be viewed as individual acts of creative expression. In this regard, code-switching has been, in fact, considered in terms of creativity (Li 2011a, 2011b, 2013; Wei and Wu, 2009), and the term *translanguaging*, which can be

understood as the "deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire" (Otheguy, Garcia and Reid, 2015, p. 281), has been coined to transmit the dynamism and creativity of such a linguistic strategy. Translanguaging theory offers two perspectives on language use: the first is an external perspective representing how society both views and labels bi- and multilingual language use, as well as an internal perspective which is representative of how languages are adopted by bilinguals (Otheguy, García and Reid, 2015), and by extension, by trilinguals. This distinction casts light on the complex nature of translanguaging as both a fluid and flexible form of language use (García and Li Wei, 2014; Otheguy, García, and Reid, 2015). This feature was specifically recorded in the present chapter through the repeated occurrences of intrasentential code-switches functioning as emotional-laden lexemes. Pavlenko (2004, pp.193-196) has addressed this issue suggesting that an extended history of L2 communication may well lead to an alteration of language dominance given that both the feelings and the limbic system[120] are involved. This is confirmed in the study, which revealed a predominant use of Scots (L2) for the expression of emotions.

While the present chapter of this thesis has sought to make a contribution to the expanding field of trilingual code-switching, it has focused exclusively on the phenomenon in its written manifestation in the particular genre of historical private letters which permits an insight not only into historical written code-switching, but which also has the potential to contribute to the understanding of code-switching from a diachronic perspective. Historical code-switching is a relatively unexplored field of investigation with just a few scholars investigating historical code-switching from a diachronic perspective (see Schiegg, 2016; Skaffari and Mäkilähde, 2014). Code-switching in Great War

[120] The limbic system is the area of the brain that is most significantly implicated in emotion and memory. See Le Doux (1993).

soldier letters still remains largely unexplored; therefore, further investigation would help gain a better understanding of the complexity of code-switching from a diachronic perspective.

Conclusions

A collection of trench letters written by two soldiers serving in Highland regiments of the British Army during the Great War was used to create a corpus for the research project described in this thesis. The letters were transcribed, maintaining the original features of the source texts in terms of grammatical and spelling inaccuracies. The combined collections of letters permitted the creation of a corpus with a total of 94,477 running words, written from 'somewhere in France' and covering the initial two years of the war, from November 1914 to November 1916.

Given that numerous studies have highlighted the importance of context in the study of language and language use, the first three chapters of the thesis provide a detailed background for each of the soldier letter writers.

Chapter 1 documents the family history of each of the soldier letter writers. A genealogical research, using sources from the National Records of Scotland, was conducted which permitted tracing of the soldiers' family histories back to approximately the mid 1700s. The family history data consulted was essential in order to verify if both the soldiers were from similar backgrounds, in terms of education and social class.

Chapter 2 provides a detailed description of the education system in Scotland that led to the creation of a population with high levels of literacy, even among the lower working classes. A brief history of the postal service in Britain is given as it was key in ensuring that written communication was efficient and accessible to the general population. Details are also given on the British Army Postal Service in order to explain how the large volumes of mail generated during the war were

efficiently managed and distributed to soldiers on the front who were frequently moved from one location to another.

Chapter 3 reports how the letters included in the corpus were sourced; it also reports data for the main corpus and for each of the letter collections written by the individual soldiers.

The corpus was analysed from three different perspectives with a chapter dedicated to each perspective used for the analysis.

Chapter 4 analyses a smaller corpus, which was created by randomly selecting letters from the main corpus, to identify if there were any specific rhetorical moves present in all the letters in the sub-corpus. The close reading of the letters in the sub-corpus led to the creation of a list of rhetorical moves and, for each of the moves, the constituent steps were classified. From the analysis, it emerged that the trench letters analysed, written by two individuals, did indeed present the use of the same rhetorical moves use to achieve the same communicative purpose. The results obtained were reported and suggest that trench letters ought to be considered as a genre in their own right within the larger context of the letter genre.

In Chapter 5, the corpus was examined adopting a DHA to CDA approach. The study analysed the corpus and themes were identified that were suitable for investigation as representative of significant aspects of life in the trenches. The results of the study highlight how, despite being semi-literate, the writers had a sufficiently developed repertoire that enabled them to use a range of different discursive strategies in the sharing of their experiences of the conflict. The analysis of the discursive practices reveals the different identities of the combatants, but it also affords glimpses of the other who was situated within the same historical spatial and temporal locations. The knowledge that the soldiers share about the enemy does not only represent the enemy as a foe, but also demonstrates that the soldiers were united on a more human level and had multiple roles

which, to a certain extent are interrelated, showing how, in the midst of war, the soldiers still possessed their civilian identities. Interdiscursivity is evidently present in the corpus, due to the volumes of mail that travelled back and forth across the Channel. A broader ranging study based on a larger corpus that is more representative of the men and women who served in the war would constitute an interesting research opportunity that would have the potential to allow the comparative analysis of wartime experiences of those at home and those at the Front.

In Chapter 6, the corpus was examined for instances of expressive code-switching, for the release of emotions, the relief of tension and as an outlet for feelings. While written documents differ from oral memories, private letters do provide useful data for the study of spoken language in different historical periods. The findings reveal that both the soldier letter writers use code-switching in their letters, with L1-L2 (English -Scots) and L1 – L3 (English -French) code-switches at intra-sentential level. The analysis revealed that both soldiers used the L1 for the majority of their letter writing; however, the L2 and L3 were also used for the expression of underlying emotions. Lexical findings show how the two semi-literate soldier letter writers used different linguistic repertoires to both share their own emotions and to elicit them from their readers. Findings suggest that Scots (L2) was the preferred language to express emotions related to loved ones at home, and particularly, to express forms of endearment as indicated by the preference for emotion-laden lexemes. From a sociolinguistic viewpoint, the use of the L2 in reference to loved ones, to the weather and to comforts (in terms of clothing), denotes membership of an in-group constituted by the writers and their addressees; however, such instances of code-switches could also be considered as acts of creative expression. Historical code-switching is a relatively unexplored field of investigation in historical letters with research on historical codeswitching from a diachronic perspective being conducted by just a few scholars (see

Schiegg, 2016; Skaffari and Mäkilähde, 2014) with codeswitching in Great War soldier letters remaining largely unexplored. Further investigation of code-switching in trench letters could help to gain a better understanding of how the English language was impacted and modified by the soldiers' contact with other languages and cultures during the Great War.

It is hoped that this thesis, and the studies reported within, may make a small contribution to the study of historical letters and, in particular, Great War letters written by soldiers serving in the British Army, which appear, to date, to have been overlooked as a research field. Further research is required in order to gain a broader understanding of trench letters and the contribution that they can make to the study of the English language and to the existing knowledge of World War I, the latter has tended to focus on a 'from above' view rather than a 'from below' perspective. The analysis of trench letters lends itself in particular to interdisciplinary studies; a potentially interesting field for further investigation is constituted by the trench letters written by soldiers from other nations involved in the conflict. In order to be able to conduct an in-depth analysis of the letters, their contents and their writers, collaboration with researchers engaged in research in other fields is essential.

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New Statistical Accounts of Scotland,

University of Edinburgh & University of Glasgow

Historical map of Scotland with location of County of Ross and Cromarty. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland. Retrieved from: http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/county/Ross%20and%20Cromarty

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Historical map of the Parish of Dalziel, Lanarkshire. Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland. Retrieved from: http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/parish/Lanark/Dalziel

Imperial War Museum

Photographs

Seaforth Highlanders roll call at Beaumont Hamel, IWM (Q-746).

Wounded troops of various Highland regiments on the road near the 43rd Casualty Clearing Station. Frevent. IWM (Q-332).

The Gordon Highlanders returning from the line during the Battle of Loos, Sept-Oct 1915. leaving for the Battle of Loos, September 1915. IWM (Q 60738), part of the Paul Maze Collection.

The Highlanders Museum

Photo of Sergeant George Murray, 1/4th Seaforth Highlanders. Photo taken in 5th Northern General Hospital, Leicester. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Highlanders Museum.

Private Collection

The Seaforth Highlanders entraining at Bedford.

Sergeant Thomas Clark Russell, 10th Gordon Highlanders.

Letter written by Thomas Clark Russell and sent to his wife in an 'honour envelope'.

Field postcard sent by Sergeant Thomas Clark Russell to his wife, Annie, after the Battle of Loos in September 1915.

Posters

Museum of New Zealand

'Your King & Country Needs You', 1914, United Kingdom, by Lawson Wood, Dobson, Molle and Co. Ltd., Parliamentary Recruiting Committee. Found in collection, 2011. Te Papa (GH017345).

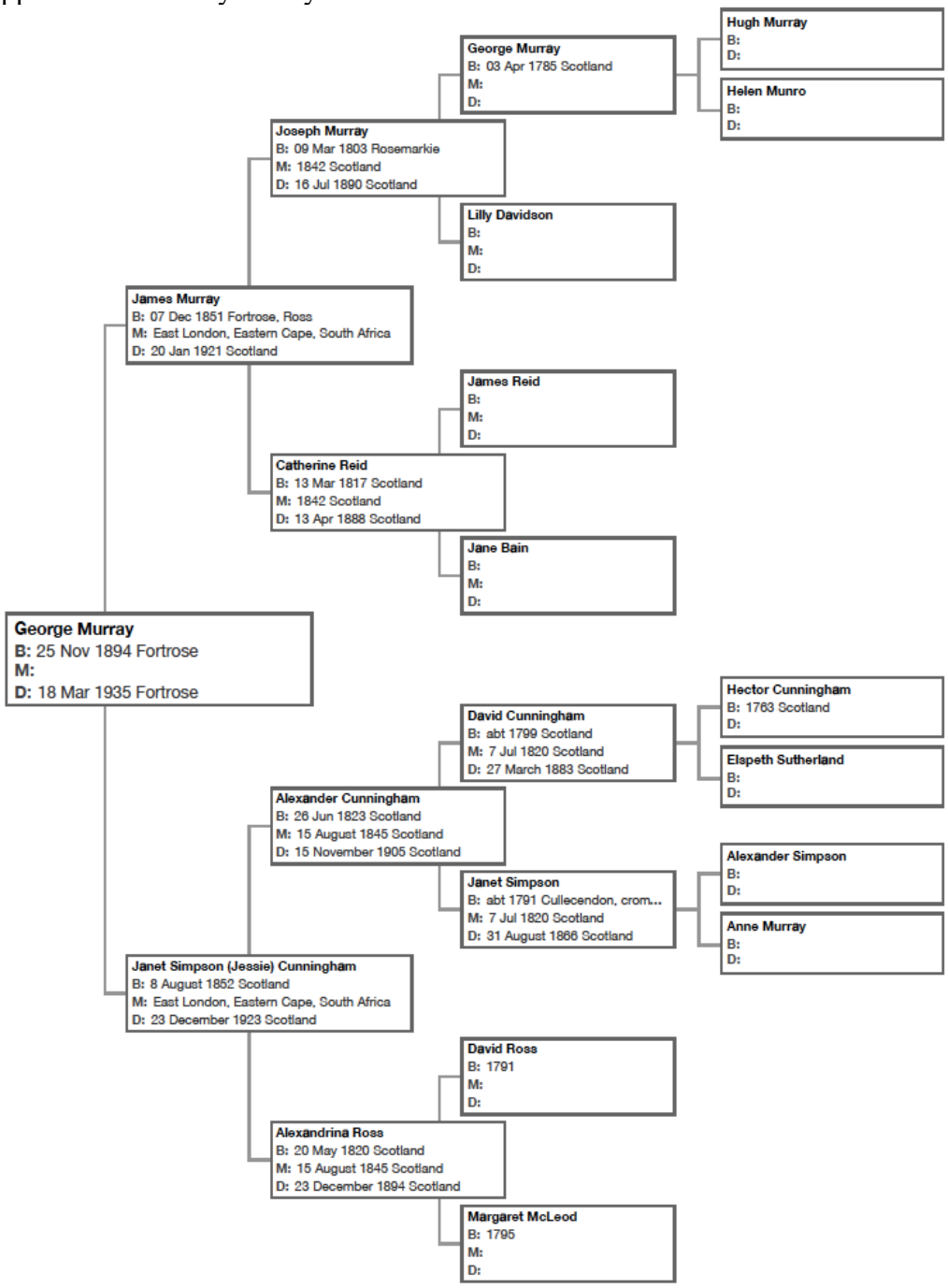
Imperial War Museum

Kitchener recruitment poster, 'Britons. You're your country's army! Alfred Leete. Reproduced by permission of LONDON OPINION Printed by the Victoria House Printing Co., Ltd., Tudor Street, London, E.C. IWM (Art.IWM PST 2734).

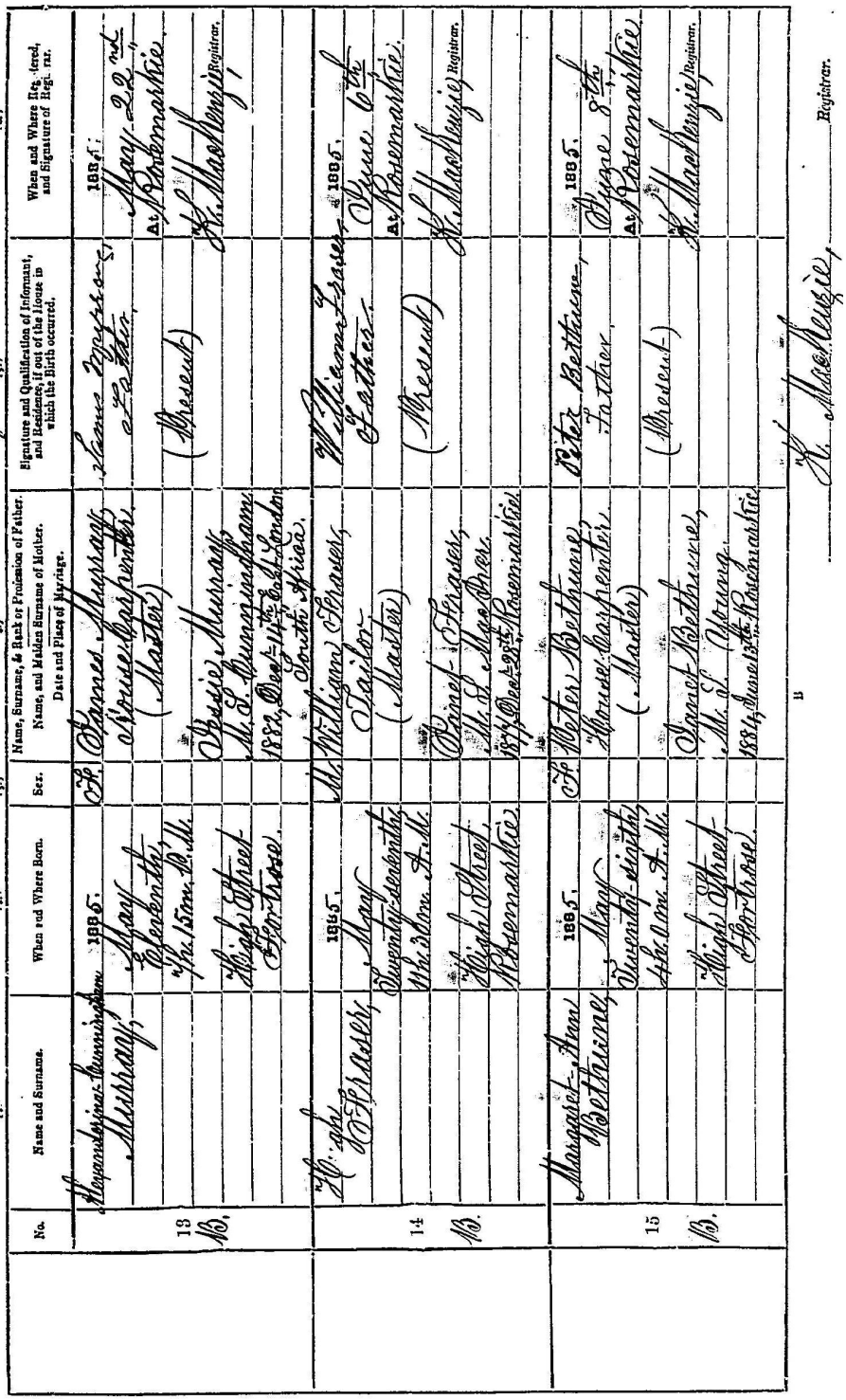
Parliamentary Recruiting Committee poster 'Step into your place'. Printed by David Allen & Sons, Harlow, Middlesex. IWM (Art.IWM PST 0318).

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Murray family tree



Appendix 2: National Records of Scotland, (1885). Statutory Register of Births 080/13 MURRAY, Alexanderina Cunningham



1885. BIRTHS in the Parish of Rosemarkie (2.) in the District of Ross. (4.)

Page 5.

No.	Name and Surname.	When and Where Born.	Sex.	Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother. Date and Place of Marriage.	Signature and Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Birth occurred.	When and Where Reg. tered, and Signature of Regr. rar.
13 No.	Alexanderina Cunningham Murray	1885. May Fourteenth Rosemarkie	F.	Daniel Murray Labourer (Master) Jessie Murray M. S. Cunningham 1882, Dec. 14th, East London South Africa.	Anne Fraser Present at the Birth	1885. May 22nd At Rosemarkie. K. MacKenzie Registrar.
14 No.	4th. gdr. of F. Master,	1885. May Twenty-seventh Rosemarkie	M.	William Fraser Tailor (Master) Daniel Fraser M. S. MacPhee 1881, Dec. 28th, Rosemarkie	William Fraser Present at the Birth	1885. June 6th At Rosemarkie. K. MacKenzie Registrar.
15 No.	Margaret Ann Bethune,	1885. May Twenty-eighth 4th. Dau. of F. M.	F.	Peter Bethune Miner (Master) Margaret Bethune M. S. Strang 1881, June 13th, Rosemarkie	Peter Bethune Father Present at the Birth	1885. June 8th At Rosemarkie. K. MacKenzie Registrar.

K. MacKenzie, Registrar.

Appendix 3: National Records of Scotland, (1891). Census 1891 080/1/14, MURRAY, George. p 17.

Page 14]

The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the

Civil Parish of Great Berry Parish of Dunfermline, | School Board District of Rosemarkie, | Parliamentary Burgh of Fortrose, | Parliamentary Division of | Royal Burgh of Fortrose.

Municipal Burgh of | Police Burgh of | Burgh Ward of | Town of Fortrose, | Village or Hamlet of | Island of

No. of Schedule.	ROAD, STREET, &c., and No. or NAME of HOUSE.	HOUSES Inhabited (I.) or Uninhabited (U.)	Building (B.)	NAME and Surname of each Person.	RELATION to Head of Family.	CONDITION as to Marriage.	AGE [last Birthday] Males	Females	PROFESSION or OCCUPATION.	Employer.	Employed.	Neither Employer nor Employed but working on own account.	WHERE BORN.	Gaelic or G. & E.	Whether Deaf and Dumb, 1. Blind, 2. Imbecile, or Idiotic.	Rooms with One or more Windows.
67	Helen Place			Isabella M'Phail	Head	Wid		54	Living on private means				Ross Rosskeen	Gd		6
				Isabella Do	Daur	Unm		24	Do				Dumbarton, Kirkintilloch			
				Margaret S. Do	Daur	Unm		22	Do				Kenneth Glasgow			
				Elizabeth Ross	Sister	Unm		52	Do				Ross Tain	Gd & E		
				Florence Do	Sister	Unm		50	Do				Do Do	Gd & E		
68		I		Alexander Mather	Head	Mar	58		Retired Shipowner & Master			X	Ross Fortrose			6
				Maria Do	Wife	Mar		58	Merchant Wife				America U.S.			
				Jane Do	Dau	Unm	22		Merchant Assistant		X		Ross Fortrose			
69	Ivy Cottage	I		Margaret Jack	Head	Wid		63	Lodging House Keeper			X	Do Rosemarkie			4
				Patrick & Kinge	Boarder	Unm	70		Clergyman Retired				Argyll Kilmichael	Gd		
70	Castle St	I		Isaac Murray	Head	Mar		38	Forest Hgr				Cromarty			6
				Isabel Do	Son		7		Scholar				Ross Fortrose			
				Alexandrina Do	Daur		5		Scholar				Do Do			
				Kate Do	Daur		3		Scholar				Do Do			
71	do	I		Isabella M'Kenzie	Head	Wid		60	Dress-maker			X	Do Fortrose			3
				Charles Do	Son	Unm	24		Watchmaker			X	Do Do			
72	No 3	I		Ferdinand Quinn	Head	Mar	32		Baptist Minister	Tabernacle			Edinburgh Midlothian			4
				Margaret A Do	Daur	Unm		24	Do	Daughter			Ross-Fortrose			
				Margaret Stewart	Lodger	Unm		46	General Assistant	Domestic			Do Cawdor			
	Total of Houses...	5		Total of Males and Females...			6	13							Total of Windowed Rooms,	21

Scor.—Sheet C.]

NOTE.—*Draw the pen through such of the headings as are unnecessary.*

Appendix 4: National Records of Scotland. (1894). Statutory Register of Births 080/32 MURRAY, George

1894. BIRTHS in the Parish of Rosemarkie in the County of Ross.

Page 11.

No.	Name and Surname.	When and Where Born.	Sex.	Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother. Date and Place of Marriage.	Signature and Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Birth occurred.	When and Where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
31	Hugh Macdonald	Fifteenth November Third Braingead, Parish of Rosemarkie	M.	Neil Macdonald, Quarrier. Margaret Macdonald, M.S. Ross. 1882, Dec. 15th, Cromarty.	Neil Macdonald, Father (Present)	1894, December 1st, Rosemarkie. A. Macaulay, Registrar.
32	George Murray	Fourteenth November Twenty-fifth Str. Cromarty Castle Street, Fortrose.	M.	Samuel Murray, Farmer (Master) Jessie Murray, M.S. Cunningham 1882, Dec. 14th, East London South Africa.	Jessie Murray, (Present)	1894, December 1st, Rosemarkie. A. Macaulay, Registrar.
33	John Cowie	1894, Twenty-third November Twenty-ninth Str. Ross Railway Cottages Fortrose.	M.	John Cowie, Railway Guard. Mary Cowie, M.S. Munro 1864, Dec. 19th, Dingwall	John Cowie, Father (Present)	1894, December 5th, Rosemarkie. A. Macaulay, Registrar.

A. Macaulay, Registrar.

Appendix 5: National Records of Scotland, (1901). Census 1901 080/1/17, MURRAY, Jessie, p.17

[Page 17

The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the

Civil Parish of Rosemarkie — Parish Ward of — Ecclesiastical Parish of — Quoad Sacra Parish of Fortrose — School Board District of Rosemarkie — Parliamentary Division of

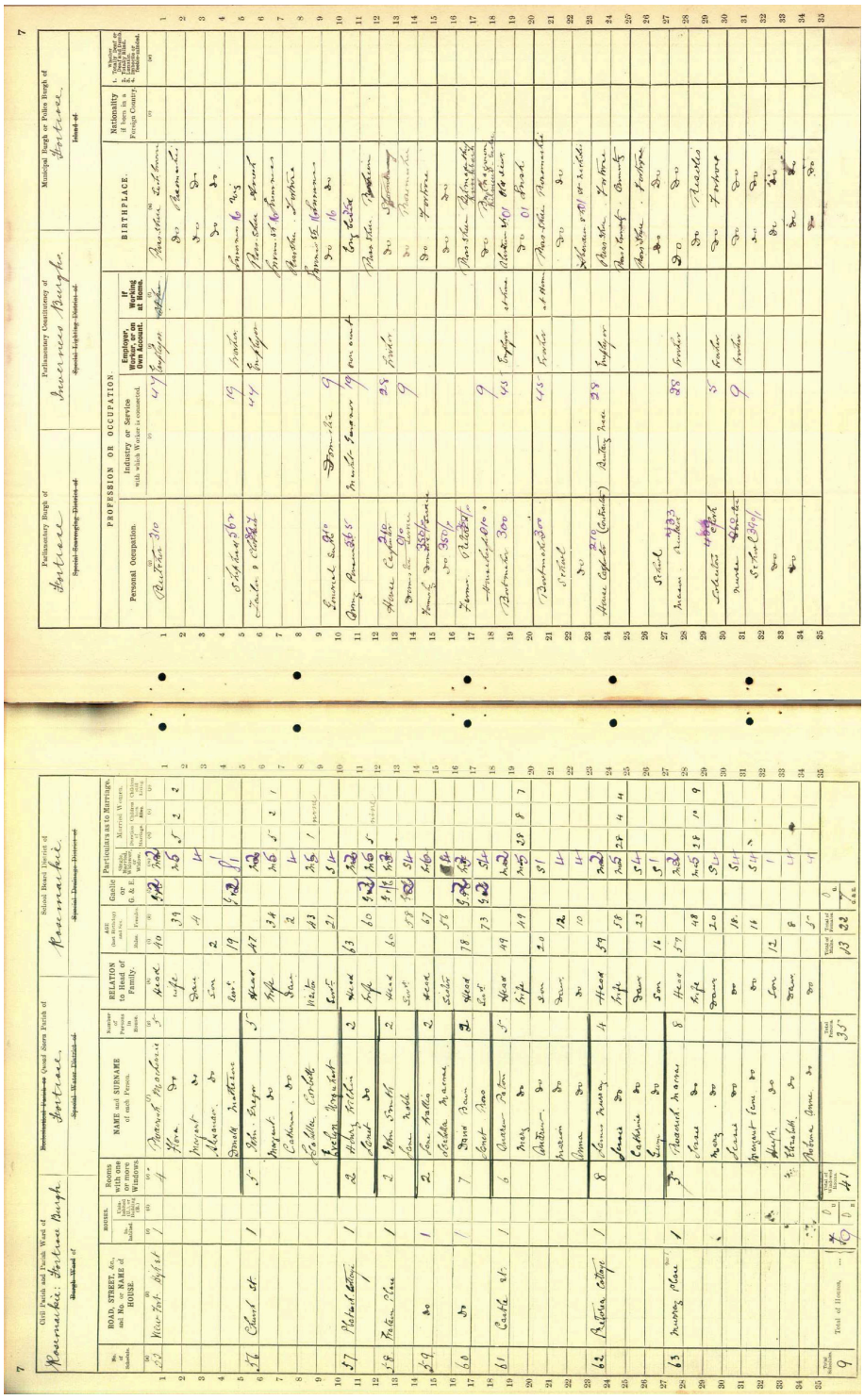
Royal Burgh of Fortrose — Municipal Burgh of Fortrose — Police Burgh of Fortrose — Burgh Ward of Fortrose — Town of Fortrose — Village or Hamlet of — Parliamentary Burgh of Fortrose — Island of

No. of Schedule.	ROAD, STREET, &c., and No. or NAME of HOUSE.	HOUSES. Inhabited.	HOUSES. Uninhabited (U.) or Building (B.)	NAME and Surname of each Person.	RELATION to Head of Family.	CONDITION as to Marriage.	AGE [last Birthday] Males.	AGE [last Birthday] Females.	PROFESSION or OCCUPATION.	Employer, Worker, or on Own Account.	If Working at Home.	WHERE BORN.	Gaelic, or G. & E.	Whether 1. Deaf and Dumb. 2. Blind. 3. Lunatic. 4. Imbecile, feeble-minded.	Rooms with One or more Windows.
44		1		Roderick Mackenzie	Head	Mar	44		Fisherman	Worker		Rosemarkie Ross-shire			4
				Jessie "	Wife	Mar	38					Fortrose "			
				Alexander "	Son	S	15		Scholar			" "			
				Roderick "	Son	S	12		"			" "			
				Margaret "	Dau		10		"			" "			
				Jessie "	Dau		8		"			" "			
				Mary Ann "	Dau		6		"			" "			
				Isabella "	Dau		4					" "			
				Barbara "	Dau		2					" "			
45		1		Alexander Stewart	Head	Widr		64	Master Mariner	Worker		Rosemarkie Ross-shire			5
				Catherine "	Daur		23		Teacher			Cromarty "			
				Isabella "	Daur		21		Teacher			" "			
				Mary "	Daur		19					" "			
				Alexander "	Son		17		Mariner			" "			
46	Royal Hotel	1		Peter Grant M. Grant	Head	M		49	Hotel Keeper	Worker		Kirkmichael Perthshire			11
	Church St			Isabella "	Wife	M		46	Hotel Keeper's Wife	Worker's Wife		Fortrose Ross-shire			
				Peter "	Son	S		26	Commercial Traveller	Worker		Inverness "			
				Jessie "	Dau	S		23	Milliner	"		" "			
				Isabella "	Dau	S		21	"	"		" "			
				Mary "	Dau			18				" "			
				Agnes E. S. "	Dau			10				" "			
				Elizabeth "	Dau			8				" "			
	Total of Houses...	3		Total of Males and Females...			7	14						Total of Windowed Rooms,	

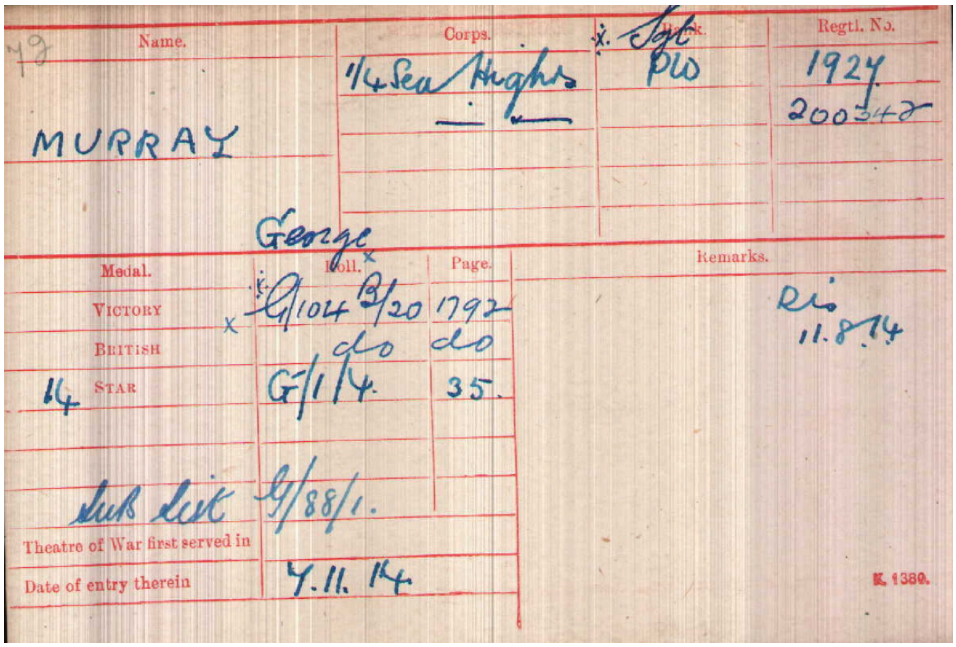
NOTE.—*Draw the pen through such of the headings as are inappropriate.*

[SCOT.—Sheet C.

Appendix 6: National Records of Scotland, (1911). Census 1911 MURRAY, GEORGE (Census 080/ 1/ 7) Page 7



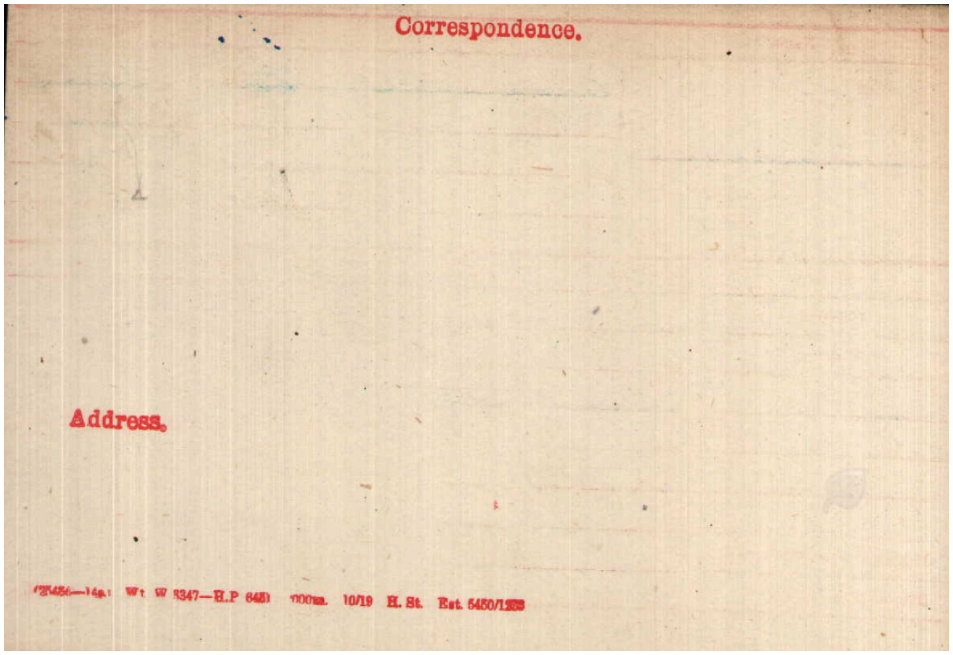
Appendix 7: WO 372/14/158340 Service Medal and Award Rolls Index, First World War, Medal card of Murray, George, Corps: Seaforth Highlanders Regiment No: 1927/200342



Name.	Corps.	Rank.	Regtl. No.
MURRAY George	1/4 Seaforth Highrs	Sgt Pte	1927 200342

Medal.	Roll.	Page.	Remarks.
Victory	G/104 B/20	1792	Rio 11.8.14
British	do	do	
14 Star	G/1/4.	35.	
Sub list	G/88/1.		
Theatre of War first served in			
Date of entry therein	4.11.14		

K. 1389.

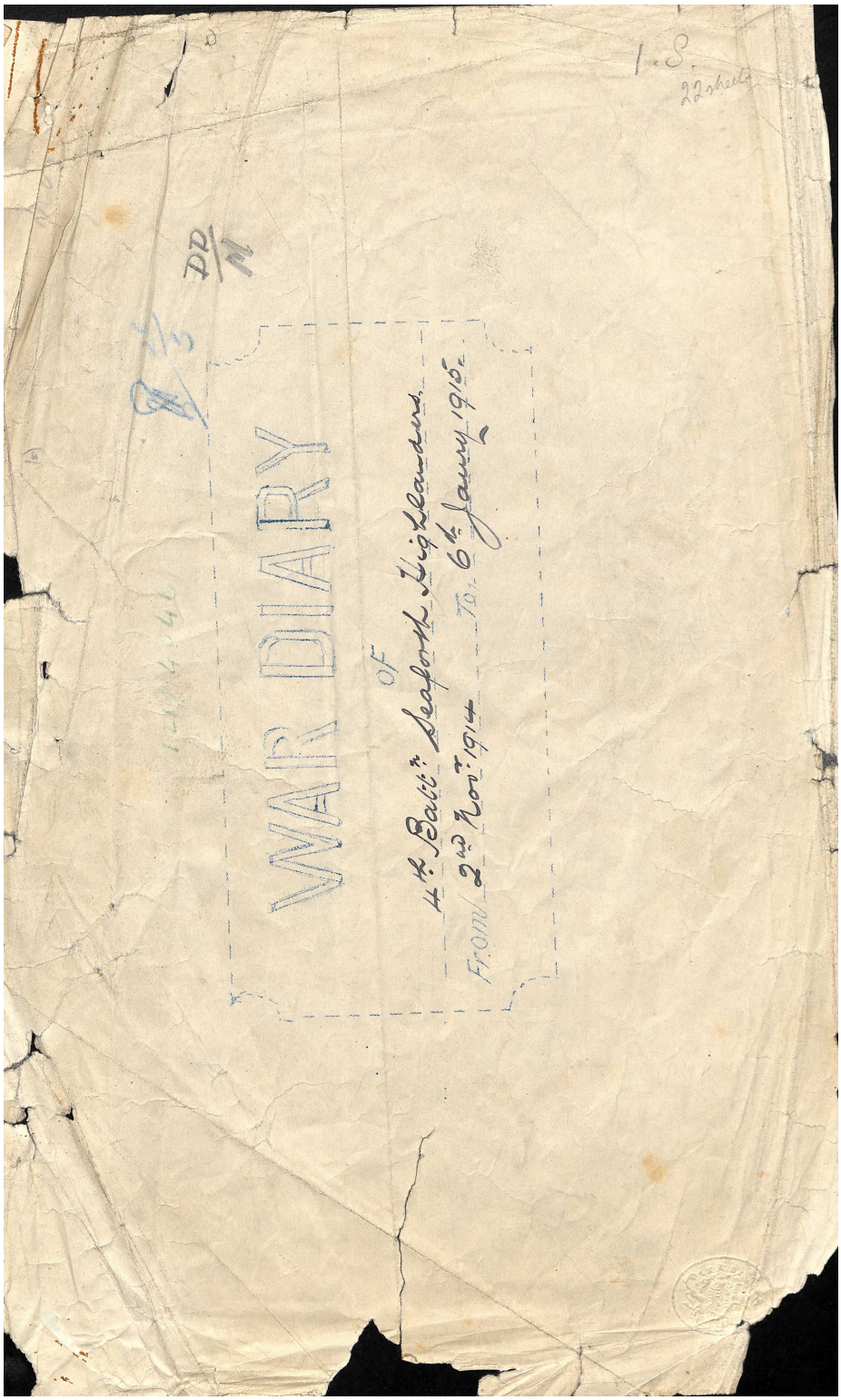


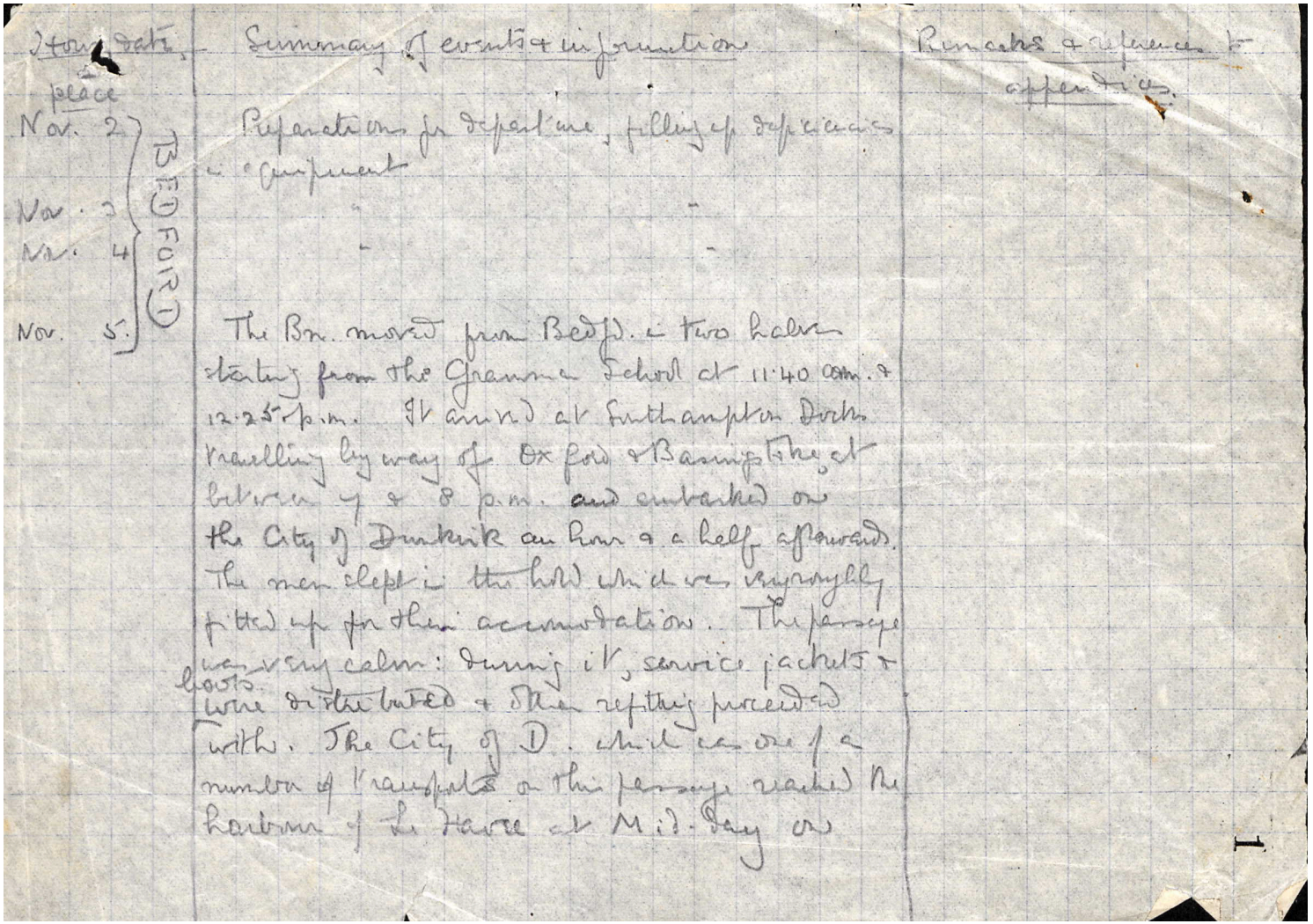
Correspondence.

Address.

(2426—14) Wt W 8347—H.P 6451 100m. 10/19 H. St. Est. 5450/1

Appendix 8: WO/95/3941/2 Cover page of the War Diaries of the 4th Batt.n Seaforth Highlanders, 2nd November 1914 –6th January 1915





Hour, date, place

Summary of events & information

Remarks & reference to appendices.

Nov. 2 } BEDFORD

Nov. 3

Nov. 4

Nov. 5.

Preparations for departure, filling up deficiencies & equipment

The Bn. moved from Bedfd. in two halves starting from the Grammar School at 11.40 am. & 12.25 p.m. & arrived at Southampton Docks travelling by way of Oxford & Basingstoke, at between 7 & 8 p.m. and embarked on the City of Dunkirk an hour & a half afterwards. The men slept in the hold which was roughly fitted up for their accommodation. The passage was very calm: during it, service jackets & boots were distributed & the rest this proceeded with. The City of D. which was one of a number of transports on this passage reached the harbour of Le Havre at Mid. day on

1.

Nov. 6.
LE HAVRE

Nov. 6. The Bn. paraded on deck at 2 o'clock p.m. ready to disembark, but, after waiting all afternoon for orders for the disembarking authorities & receiving none, again went to rest in the hold and other part of the ship which was now in a dirty condition, no proper accommodation for sleeping having been provided. At 11 p.m. the ship proceeded to quay alongside the quay.

Nov. 7.
LE HAVRE
BLEVILLE

At 8.30 a.m. the Bn landed & were guided through Le Havre to Rest Camp, No 2 (Ex) at Bléville, when it arrived at mid-day. In the afternoon a cursory inspection of Kit was made by the Camp Commandant & a hasty indent for a number of deficient articles made up. ~~This consisted of a~~ ~~shaky & dilapidated~~ ~~place with four~~ ~~cooking~~ ~~Field~~. The weather was also gloomy & cold with rain. In the evening

Appendix 9: WO329 Silver War Badge Records, 1914-1920, Infantry (Perth), G0001/2-0215/2, Murray, George, Sgt, Regiment No. 200342, p. 91

201, Gt. Portland St., W.

Note.—In returning this form, care should be taken that "A.G. 10," 8 NOV 1917 is inserted on the envelope.

—90 Abingdon Street, Westminster, S.W., London, SW.,

No. 2885/4.

WAR OFFICE

INFANTRY RECORD OFFICE

NOV 1917

No. 216647

—SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS. T.F.

ROLL OF INDIVIDUALS entitled to the "WAR BADGE."

ORIGINAL

Regtl. No.	Rank	Name (in full)	Unit discharged from	No. of Badge and Certificate (To be completed at War Office)	Date of:— Enlistment	Date of:— Discharge	Cause of Discharge (Wounds or Sickness and para. of K.R.)	Whether served Overseas (Yes or No)
266612	Private	Alton Cuthbert S.	Class W.	269,074	17/ 1/16	5/11/17 112 Age,26 365	392(xvi)K.R. Wounds. Para 2(b)1. A.O.II. d/10/8/17.	Yes.
S/25489	"	Blaydon John Harry	4th. Res.	269 075	17/ 9/17	23/11/17 228 Age,19 365	-"- Sickness Para 2(b)11. A.O.II. d/10/8/17.	No.
240257	"	Crook James	Class W.	269 076	12/ 9/14	5/11/17 330 Age,27 365	-"- Sickness Para 2(b)1.A.O.II. d/10/8/17.	Yes.
200342	Sgt	Murray George	4th Depot	269 077	12/ 8/14	21/11/17 102 Age,22 365	-"- Wounds. -"-	Yes.
267235	Private	McCann John.	Class W.	269 078	13/ 7/15	5/11/17 267 Age,38 365	-"- Sickness -"-	Yes.
266520	"	McKenzie James	6th. Depot.	269,079	7/10/15	22/11/17 230 Age,25 365.	-"- Wounds. -"-	Yes.

I certify that the particulars furnished hereon are correct.

Place PERTH. Date 7/11/1917. For Colonel i/c Records. No. 1. District.

Major.

Signature and Rank of Officer certifying Claimants' service.

I certify that Badges and Certificates, numbered as above, have been issued to the individuals concerned.

Place Perth. Date 25/11/1917. W.S. Nicoll Lt-Colonel

Signature and Rank of Officer certifying issue.

W8548—H22922 100,000 10/16 HWV(B325) H16/1306

No. 1. District.

Appendix 10: WO 329/1649 WWI Service Medal and Award Rolls; 1914-1920 for Murray, George, Corps, Seaforth Highlanders, Regiment No: 1927, p. 29

Army Form W. 6102.

Category (b).

(To be rendered in duplicate.)

Page.....1782.

SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS REGIMENT OR CORPS.

ROLL OF INDIVIDUALS entitled to the Victory Medal and/or British War Medal granted under Army Orders 266 & 501 of 1919.

On 11/11/18 or on becoming [illegible]		NAME	Unit previously served with. Regtl. No. and Rank in same on entry into theatre of war	Theatres of war in which served								Clasps awarded (to be left blank)	Record of disposal of decorations		REMARKS
Regtl. No.	Rank			From	To	From	To	From	To	From	To		(a) Presented (b) Despatched by Post (c) Taken into Stock		
200342	Sgt.	MURRAY, George	4/Bn. 1927 Sgt.	x											
200343	Cpl.	SUTHERLAND, John	" 1965 Cpl.	x											
200344	Pte.	ROSS, Alexander	" 1936 Pte.	x											
			6/Bn. 200344												
200345	Sgt.	HENDRY, James	4/Bn. 1938 Sgt.	x											
			" 200345												
200349	Pte.	MCKENZIE, Angus	" 1946 Pte.	x											
			" 200349												
200350	L/Cpl.	ROSS, Alexander	" 1947 "	x											
200351	Pte.	NISBET, Alexander	" 1960 "	6											Transferred to Command Th Lancs. Fusrs. 26.6.17.
			" 200351												
200354	Sgt.	WILLIAMS, Alexander	" 1954 Sgt.	x											
			" 200354												
200355	A/Cpl.	ELPHINSTONE, George	" 1957 Pte.	x											
			" 200355												
200356	Pte.	MITCHELL, James	" 1958 "	6											
200357A	L/Sgt.	MCLELLAN, Hugh	" 1960 "	x											
200358	Pte.	MCKENZIE, John	" 1961 "	x											
			" 200358												
200360	"	HOSSACK, George	" 1963 "	x											
			" 200360												

I certify that according to the Official Records the individuals named in this ROLL are entitled to the Medal or Medals as detailed above.

Place PERTH.

Date 29th. November, 1920.

Lieut.,

for Officer in Charge of Records. Signature and rank of Officer certifying.

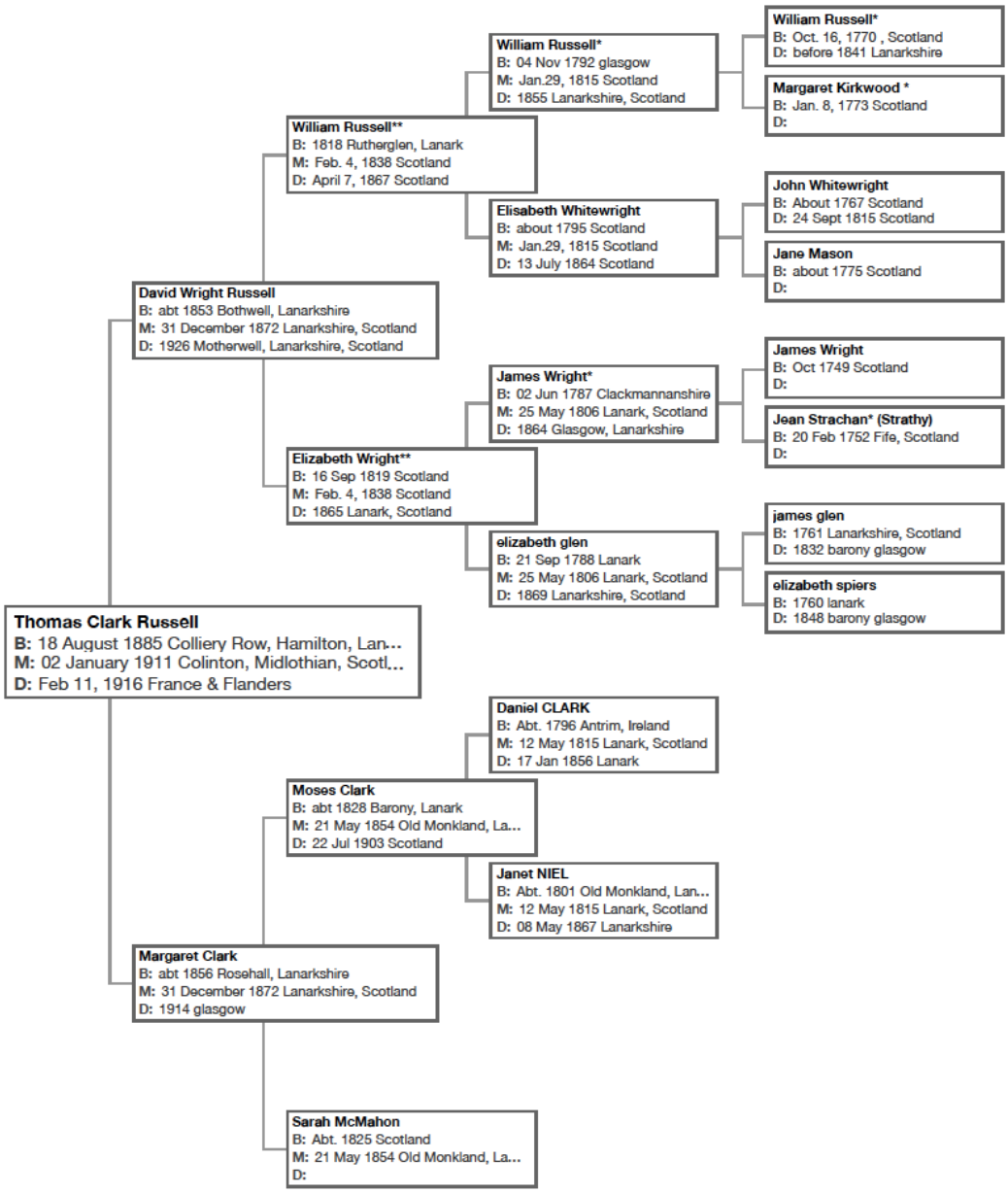
1935. DEATHS in the District (1.) of Rosemarkie (2.) in the County (3.) of Ross & Cromarty (4.)

Cert. Col. (6)	No.	Name and Surname. Rank or Profession, and whether Single, Married, or Widowed.	When and Where Died.	Sex.	Age.	Name, Surname, and Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother.	Cause of Death, Duration of Disease, and Medical Attendant by whom certified.	Signature and Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Death occurred.	When and where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
B	4	May Bain. Widow John Bain, Railway Guard.	1935 March Twentyeighth, 11H.30M. A.M. Thornheath, Greenside, Fortrose.	F.	78 years.	William Munro Farmer (Deceased.) Catherine Munro N.E. Ross. (Deceased.)	Cardio-valvular degeneration, Paraparaesthesia. Vascular As Cert by. N.O. MacKinnon M.B. Ch.B.	D Ellacheyne Friend. Pretoria Castle Street Fortrose	1935 March. 29th. A Rosemarkie. C Fraser Registrar.
B.	5	George Murray. Merchant. (Single.)	1935 March Twentyeighth, 1H.30M. P.M. Pretoria Castle Street Fortrose.	M.	40 years	James Murray. Carpenter, (Deceased.) Jessie Murray, N.E. Cunningham (Deceased.)	Carcinoma Thoracicis. As Cert by. John R. Anderson M.B. Ch.B.	D Ellacheyne Brother-in-Law. Pretoria Castle Street Fortrose	1935 March. 29th. A Rosemarkie. C Fraser Registrar.
B.	6	John Ross. Shoemaker. Married to Annie Macleod.	1935 March, Thirty-first 2H.0M. A.M. Aldersyde, Castle Street Fortrose.	M.	44 years	George Ross. Shoemaker. (Deceased.) Henrietta Ross. N.E. Ross. (Deceased.)	Malignant Disease of Bowel. Ch. Valvular Disease of Heart As Cert by. Jno Cameron. M.B.	D Ellacheyne (Friend.) Pretoria Castle Street Fortrose	1935 April, 1st. A Rosemarkie. C Fraser Registrar.

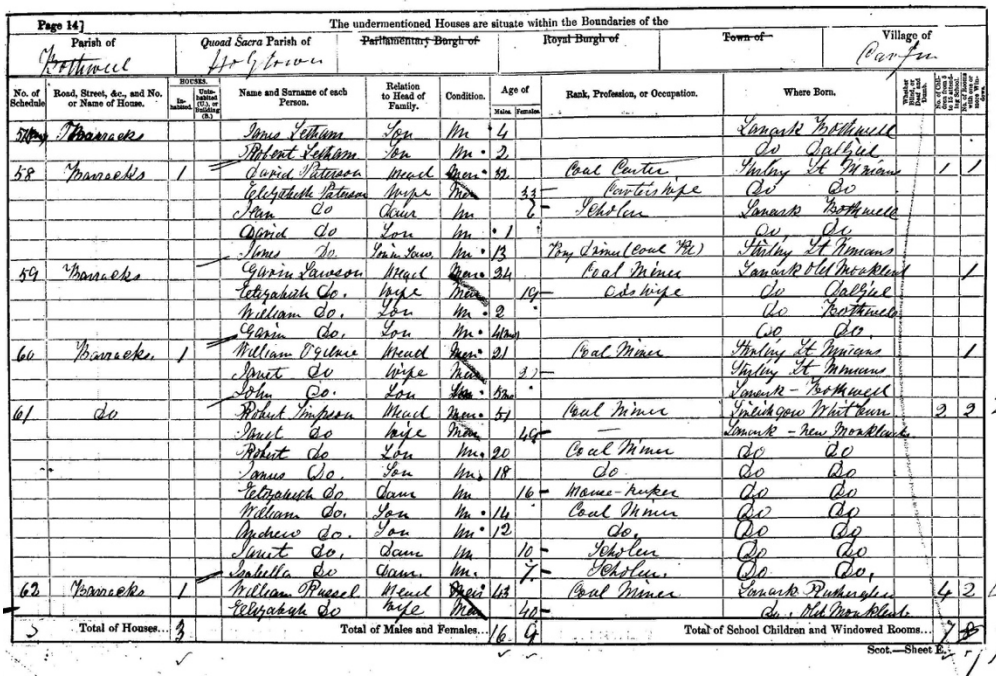
D

C Fraser, Registrar.

Appendix 12: Russell family tree



Appendix 13: National Records of Scotland, (1861). RUSSELL, William (Census 625/28/14) pages 14 and 15

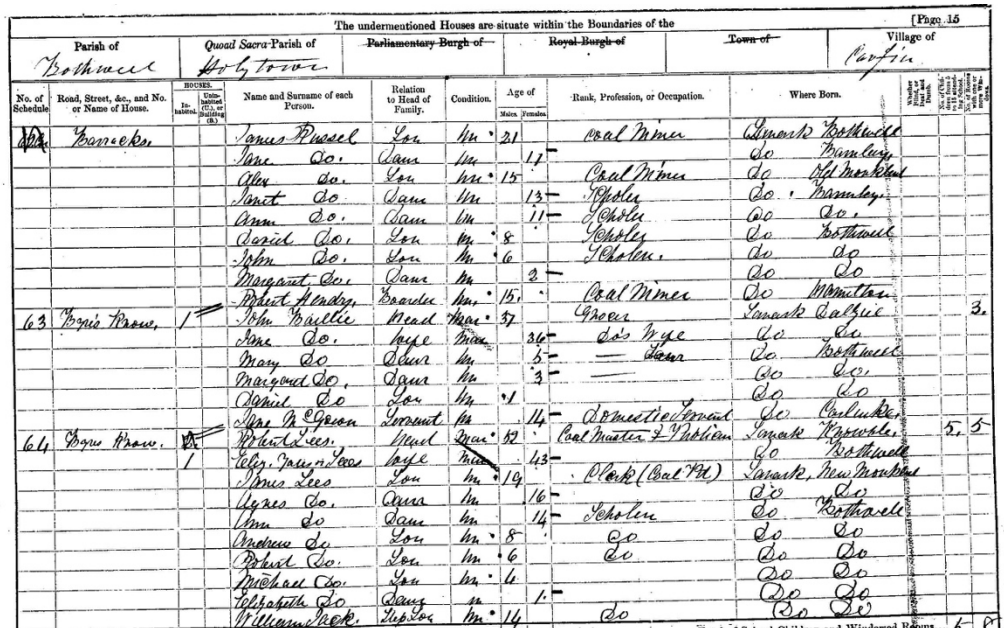


Page 14] The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the

Parish of Bothwell | Quoad Sacra Parish of Hogtown | ~~Parliamentary Burgh of~~ | Royal Burgh of | ~~Town of~~ | Village of Carfin

No. of Schedule	Road, Street, &c., and No. or Name of House.	Houses: Inhabited	Houses: Uninhabited (U.) or Building (B.)	Name and Surname of each Person.	Relation to Head of Family.	Condition.	Age of Males	Age of Females	Rank, Profession, or Occupation.	Where Born.	Whether Blind, or Deaf and Dumb.	No. of Children under 15 attended a School on the Day before the Census was taken.	No. of Persons over 15 who can neither Read nor Write.
57	Barracks			James Latham	Son	Mr	4			Lanark Bothwell			
				Robert Latham	Son	Mr	2			do Carfin			
58	Barracks	1		David Paterson	Head	Marr	42		Coal Carter	Stirling St Ninians		1	1
				Elizabeth Paterson	Wife	Mar		42	Carters wife	do do			
				Jean do	Daur	Un		6	Scholar	Lanark Bothwell			
				David do	Son	Un	1			do do			
				James do	Grandson	Un	13		Boy (Coal Pit)	Stirling St Ninians			
59	Barracks			Gavin Dawson	Head	Marr	34		Coal Miner	Lanark Old Monkland			1
				Elizabeth do	Wife	Mar		19	do Wife	do Carfin			
				William do	Son	Un	2			do Bothwell			
				Gavin do	Son	Un	1 Mo			do do			
60	Barracks	1		William Ogilvie	Head	Marr	21		Coal Miner	Stirling St Ninians			1
				Janet do	Wife	Mar		21		Stirling St Ninians			
				John do	Son	Un	2 Mo			Lanark - Bothwell			
61	do			Robert Simpson	Head	Marr	41		Coal Miner	Lanark Whitburn		3	3 2
				Janet do	Wife	Mar		46	—	Lanark - New Monkland			
				Robert do	Son	Un	20		Coal Miner	do do			
				James do	Son	Un	18		do	do do			
				Peterpaul do	Daur	Un		16	Mause-pieper	do do			
				William do	Son	Un	14		Coal Miner	do do			
				Andrew do	Son	Un	12		do	do do			
				Janet do	Daur	Un		10	Scholar	do do			
				Isabella do	Daur	Un		7	Scholar	do do			
62	Barracks	1		William Russel	Head	Marr	43		Coal Miner	Lanark Ruthglen		4	2 4
				Elizabeth do	Wife	Mar		40		do Old Monkland			
	Total of Houses...	3		Total of Males and Females...			16	6		Total of School Children and Windowed Rooms...		7	7

Scot.—Sheet E...



The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the [Page 15

Parish of Bothwell | Quoad Sacra Parish of Hogtown | ~~Parliamentary Burgh of~~ | Royal Burgh of | ~~Town of~~ | Village of Carfin

No. of Schedule	Road, Street, &c., and No. or Name of House.	Houses: Inhabited	Houses: Uninhabited (U.) or Building (B.)	Name and Surname of each Person.	Relation to Head of Family.	Condition.	Age of Males	Age of Females	Rank, Profession, or Occupation.	Where Born.	Whether Blind, or Deaf and Dumb.	No. of Children under 15 attended a School on the Day before the Census was taken.	No. of Persons over 15 who can neither Read nor Write.
63	Boys Brow			James Russel	Son	Mr	21		Coal Miner	Lanark Bothwell			
				Jane do	Daur	Un		17		do Bumbey			
				Alex do	Son	Un	15		Coal Miner	do Old Monkland			
				Janet do	Daur	Un		13	Scholar	do Bumbey			
				Ann do	Daur	Un		11	Scholar	do do			
				David do	Son	Un	8		Scholar	do Bothwell			
				John do	Son	Un	6		Scholar	do do			
				Margaret do	Daur	Un		2	—	do do			
				Robert Hendry	Boarder	Un	15		Coal Miner	do Monkton			3
63	Boys Brow	1		John Baillie	Head	Marr	57		Grocer	Lanark Carluke			
				Jane do	Wife	Mar		36	do Wife	do do			
				Mary do	Daur	Un		5	— Daur	do Bothwell			
				Margaret do	Daur	Un		3	—	do do			
				David do	Son	Un	1			do do			
				Jane R Gibson	Servant	Un		14	Domestic Servant	do Carluke			
64	Boys Brow			Robert Lees	Head	Marr	52		Coal Master & Publican	Lanark Kirkwood		5	5
		1		Eliz. Jane Lees	Wife	Mar		43	—	do Bothwell			
				Thos Lees	Son	Un	14		Clerk (Coal Pit)	Lanark New Monkland			
				Agnes do	Daur	Un		16	—	do do			
				Ann do	Daur	Un		14	Scholar	do Bothwell			
				Andrew do	Son	Un	8		do	do do			
				Robert do	Son	Un	6		do	do do			
				Michael do	Son	Un	6			do do			
				Elizabeth do	Daur	Un	1		—	do do			
				William Mack	Nephew	Un	14		do	do do			

Appendix 14: National Records of Scotland, (1864). WHITEWRIGHT, Elizabeth (Statutory registers Deaths 625/2 185)

Page 62.

18 . DEATHS in the District of Aberdeen in the County of Aberdeen

No.	(1.) Name and Surname. Rank or Profession, and whether Single, Married, or Widowed.	(2.) When and Where Died.	(3.) Sex.	(4.) Age.	(5.) Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother.	(6.) Cause of Death, Duration of Disease, and Medical Attendant by whom certified.	(7.) Signature & Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Death occurred.	(8.) When and where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
184	Millard Spare Single							
185	Elizabeth Whitewright Married Spouse Prudence Reid William Reid Charles Reid							
186	Lewis Sharp Single							

Appendix 15: National Records of Scotland, (1871). RUSSELL, Sarah (Statutory registers Births 625/2 409)

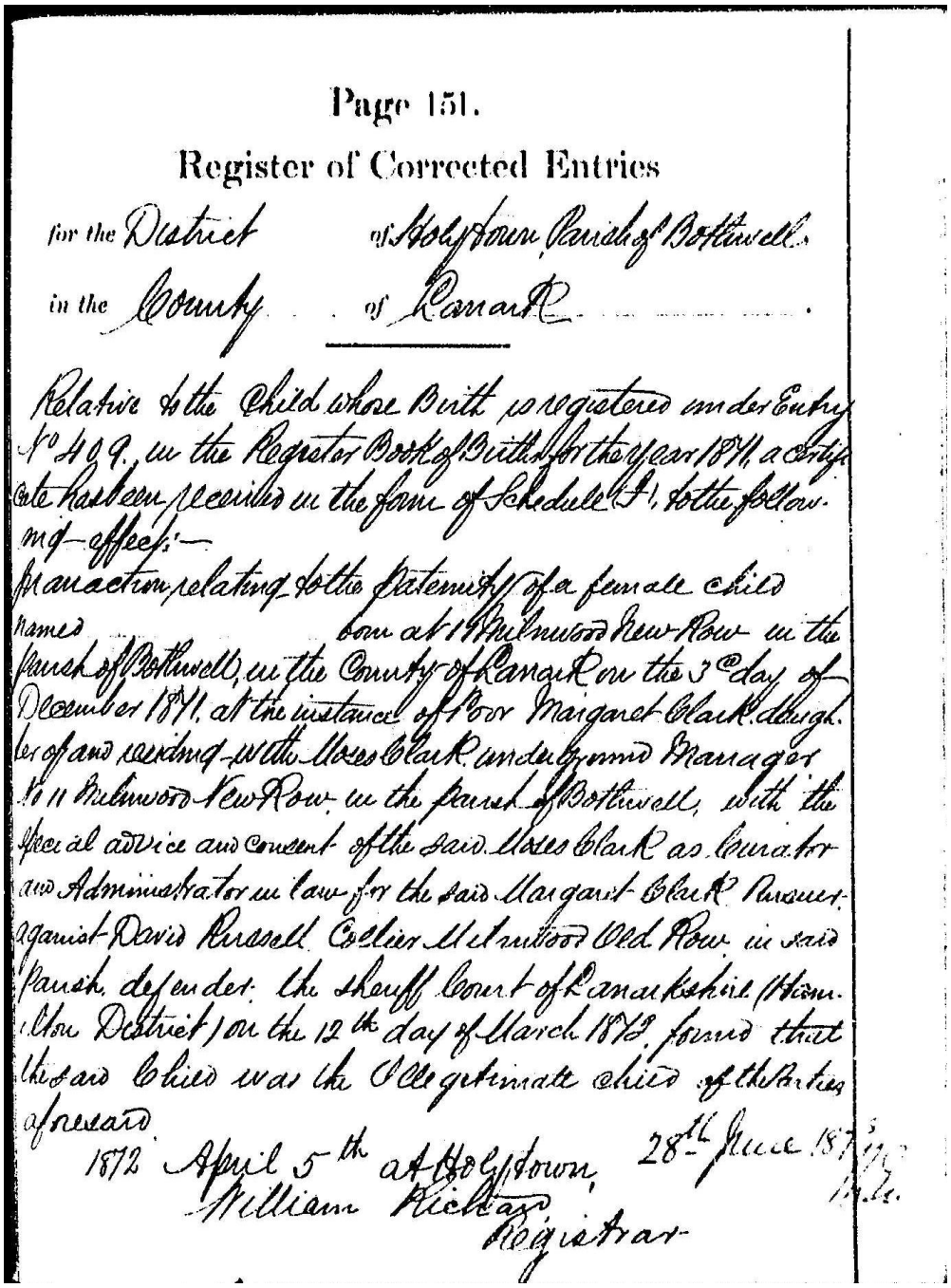
Page 137.

1871. BIRTHS in the District of Aberfeldy in the County of Perth

No.	Name and Surname.	When and Where Born.	Sex.	Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother. Date and Place of Marriage.	Signature and Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if not of the House in which the Birth occurred.	When and Where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
409	Sarah Russell	Fifth December 1871 Aberfeldy	F	David Russell Academician Margaret Lockhart 2 Nov 1870 Aberfeldy	Margaret A Clarke Present Mother	Fifth December 1871 at Aberfeldy
	Elizabeth Russell	Fifth December 1871 Aberfeldy	F	Margaret Lockhart Registrar, Aberfeldy	Margaret Russell Mother	Fifth December 1871 at Aberfeldy
				David Russell Factor	David Russell Factor	William Richard Registrar
410	Thomas Samuel Cameron	Fifth October 1871 Aberfeldy	M	Samuel Cameron Joiner & Cabinet Maker Elizabeth Cameron Mill of Pitilloch 5th October 1865 Blairgowrie	James Lawson Father	Twelfth December 1871 Aberfeldy
411	James Maldonney	Twelfth November 1871 Aberfeldy	M	Peter Maldonney Coachman Alice Maldonney Mill of Aberfeldy 10th October 1st Bridhaven	Peter Maldonney Alice X Brand Father	Twelfth December 1871 Aberfeldy
					William Richard Registrar Present	William Richard Registrar

William Richard, Registrar

Appendix 16: 1 National Records of Scotland, (1871). RUSSELL, Sarah (Statutory registers Corrected Entries 625/02 001 151) (RCE)



Page 151.

Register of Corrected Entries

for the District of Holytown, Parish of Bothwell.

in the County of Lanark.

Relative to the Child whose Birth is registered under Entry No 409, in the Register Book of Births for the year 1871, a Certificate has been received in the form of Schedule F, to the following effect:—

Transaction relating to the Paternity of a female child named born at 11 Brelmwood New Row in the Parish of Bothwell, in the County of Lanark on the 3rd day of December 1871, at the instance of Poor Margaret Clark daughter of and residing with Moses Clark underground Manager No 11 Brelmwood New Row in the Parish of Bothwell, with the special advice and consent of the said Moses Clark as Curator and Administrator in law for the said Margaret Clark Pursuer against David Russell Collier Brelmwood Old Row in said Parish defender. The Sheriff Court of Lanarkshire (Hamilton District) on the 12th day of March 1872 found that the said Child was the Illegitimate child of the Parties aforesaid

1872 April 5th at Holytown, 28th June 1872

William Ricketson

Registrar

Appendix 17: National Records of Scotland, (1873). RUSSELL, David (Statutory registers Marriages 625/2 9)

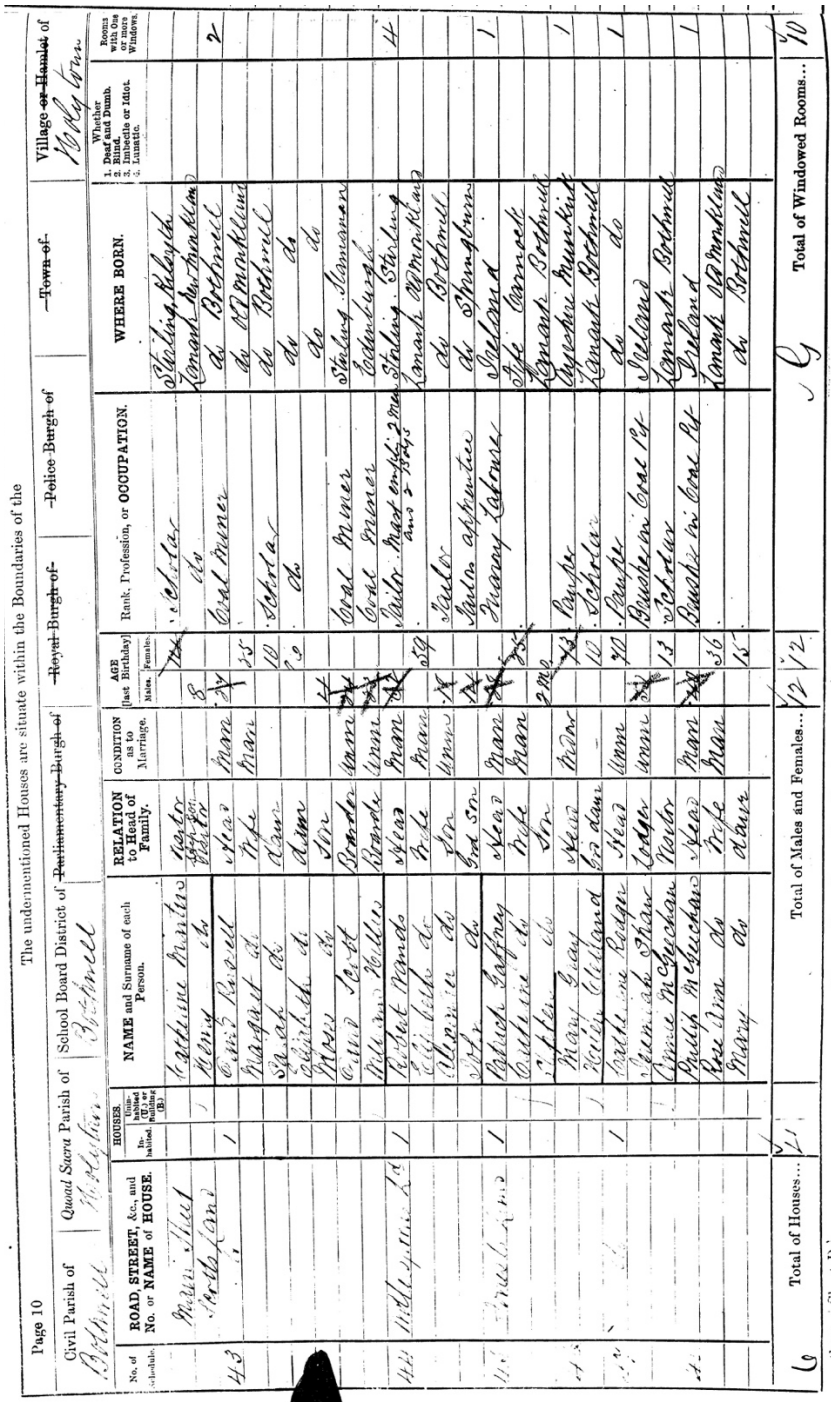
Page 5.

187 3. MARRIAGES in the District of Govan in the County of Lanark

No.	(1.) When, Where, and How Married.	(2.) Signatures of Parties, Rank or Profession, whether Single or Widowed, and Relationship (if any).	(3.) Age.	(4.) Usual Residence.	(5.) Name, Surname, and Rank or Profession of Father, Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother.	(6.) If a regular Marriage, Signatures of officiating Minister and Witnesses. If irregular, Date of Constitution, Decree of Declarator, or Sheriff's Warrant.	(7.) When & Where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
9	1873. on the Ninth day of December at Govan	David Russell Bachelor Engineer	29 years	Govan Road	William Russell Engineer Deceased Elizabeth Russell Maiden Surname Wright	Signed Peter Miller Minister of Govan Free Church	1873. January 4th At Govan
		Isabella Caldwell Spinster		Govan Road	James Caldwell Engineer Deceased Mary Clark	Signed	
		Peter Miller Minister	24	Govan Road	Peter Miller Merchant Deceased Margaret Aikman Clark	Signed Peter Miller	1873.
10	1873. on the Ninth day of December at Govan	Jane Stirling Spinster	24	Govan Road	James Stirling Merchant Deceased Janet Miller	Signed	January 4th At Govan
		Isabella Caldwell Spinster	23	Govan Road	David Caldwell Engineer Deceased Isabella Clark	Signed	

Registrar.

Appendix 18: National Records of Scotland, (1881). RUSSELL, David (Census 625/2 1/10) Page 10



Page 10

The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the

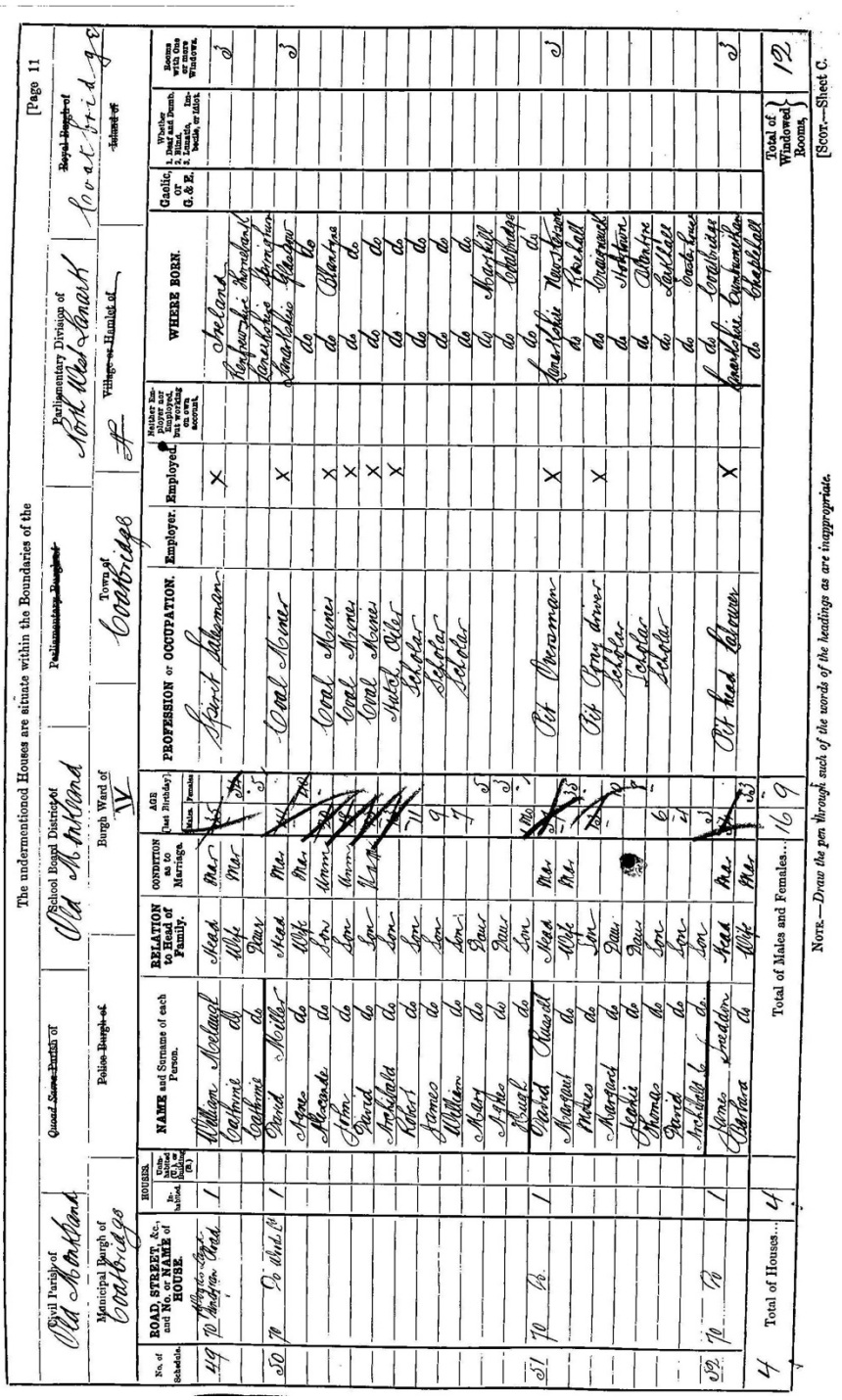
Civil Parish of Bothwell | *Quoad Sacra* Parish of Motherwell | School Board District of ~~Parliamentary Burgh of~~ Motherwell | ~~Royal Burgh of~~ | ~~Police Burgh of~~ | ~~Town of~~ | Village or ~~Hamlet~~ of Motherwell

No. of Schedule.	ROAD, STREET, &c., and No. or NAME of HOUSE.	HOUSES. Inhabited	HOUSES. Uninhabited (U.) or Building (B.)	NAME and Surname of each Person.	RELATION to Head of Family.	CONDITION as to Marriage.	AGE (last Birthday) Males.	AGE (last Birthday) Females.	Rank, Profession, or OCCUPATION.	WHERE BORN.	Whether Deaf and Dumb, Blind, Imbecile or Idiot, Lunatic.	Rooms with One or more Windows.
	Main Street			Catherine Brisbane	Visitor	Widow		72	Visitor	Stirling Kilsyth		
	Do			Henry Do	Visitor	Widower	8		Do	Lennoxtown Dumbarton		
43	Bothwell Cottages	1		Wm Russell	Head	Married	34		Coal Miner	Do Bothwell		2
				Margaret Do	Wife	Married		35	Do	Do Motherwell		
				Sarah Do	Visitor	Widow		70	Visitor	Do Bothwell		
				Elizabeth M.	Visitor	Widow		70	Do	Do Do		
				Mary Do	Son	Unmarried	17		Coal Miner	Do Do		
				Wm Do	Son	Unmarried	14		Do	Stirling Stirling		
				Wm Wallace	Boarder	Unmarried	24		Coal Miner	Bothwell Bothwell		
44	Motherwell Cottages	1		Robert Reynolds	Head	Married	34		Puddler	Stirling Stirling		4
				Eliz Wilkie Do	Wife	Married		34	Puddler Iron & Steel Manufacture	Lennox Motherwell		
				Wm Do	Son	Unmarried	9		Scholar	Do Bothwell		
				Mary Do	Dau	Unmarried	7		Do	Do Do		
				Robert Do	Son	Unmarried	4		Do	Do Do		
45	Motherwell Cottages	1		Patrick Gaffney	Head	Married	35		Quarry Labourer	Ireland Ireland		1
				Catherine Do	Wife	Married		35		Do Lennox		
				Peter Do	Son		2	Mo		Lennox Bothwell		
				Mary Gray	Visitor	Widow		73	Pauper	Lennox Dumbarton		1
				Jessie Gallagher	Boarder	Single		22	Domestic Servant	Lennox Bothwell		
46		1		Matthew Rodger	Head	Married		40	Coalgrieve	Do Do		1
				Jane A. Shaw	Lodger	Married		33	Brother in Law of Head	Ireland Ireland		
				Grace M Gechan	Visitor	Widow		13	Scholar	Lennox Bothwell		
47				Patrick M Cuchan	Head	Married		36	Puddler in Coal Pit	Ireland Ireland		1
				Eliz Wm Do	Wife	Married		36		Lennox Dumbarton		
				Mary Do	Niece		15			Do Bothwell		
	Total of Houses...	21		Total of Males and Females...			72	72		Total of Windowed Rooms...		10

NOTE.—*Draw the pen through such of the words of the headings as are inappropriate.*

SCOT.—Sheet D.]

Appendix 19: National Records of Scotland, (1891). RUSSELL, David (Census 652/2 8/11) Page 11



[Page 11

The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the

Civil Parish of Old Monkland | Quoad Sacra Parish of | School Board District of Old Monkland | Parliamentary Burgh of | Parliamentary Division of North West Lanark | Royal Burgh of | Ward of

Municipal Burgh of Coatbridge | Police Burgh of | Burgh Ward of W | Town of Coatbridge | Village or Hamlet of | School of

No. of Schedule.	ROAD, STREET, &c., and No. or NAME of HOUSE.	HOUSES. Inhabited.	HOUSES. Uninhabited or Building.	NAME and Surname of each Person.	RELATION to Head of Family.	CONDITION as to Marriage.	AGE (Last Birthday). Males.	AGE (Last Birthday). Females.	PROFESSION or OCCUPATION.	Employer.	Employed.	Neither Employed nor Wholly Dependent for support on any other person.	WHERE BORN.	Gaelic, or G. & E.	Whether 1. Deaf and Dumb, 2. Blind, Imbecile, or Idiot.	Rooms with Two Windows or more Windows.
49	70 Main St.	1		William Maitland	Head	Mar	45		Steel Salesman		X		Ireland			3
				Catherine do	Wife	Mar		37					Renfrewshire Renfrew			
				Barbara do	Daur			7					Lanarkshire Glasgow			
50	70 do do	1		David Miller	Head	Mar	44		Coal Miner		X		Lanarkshire Glasgow			3
				Agnes do	Wife	Mar		38					do do			
				Alexander do	Son	Unm	20		Coal Miners		X		do Blantyre			
				John do	Son	Unm	18		Coal Miner		X		do do			
				David do	Son	Unm	16		Coal Miner		X		do do			
				Archibald do	Son		14		Hotel Keeper		X		do do			
				Robert do	Son		11		Scholar				do do			
				Thomas do	Son		9		Scholar				do do			
				William do	Son		7		Scholar				do do			
				Mary do	Daur			5					do Motherwell			
				Agnes do	Daur			3					do Coatbridge			
				Ruth do	Son			1					do do			
51	70 do	1		Oswald Edward	Head	Mar	40		Pot Steelman		X		Lanarkshire Newmains			3
				Margaret do	Wife	Mar	33						do Kirkwall			
				Thomas do	Son		10						do Coatbridge			
				Margaret do	Daur		8		Pot Steel driver		X		do Coatbridge			
				Jessie do	Daur		6		Scholar				do Motherwell			
				Thomas do	Son		4		Scholar				do do			
				David do	Son		2		Scholar				do Airdrie			
				Archibald do	Son		1						do Coatbridge			
52	70 do	1		Agnes Scadden	Head	Mar	31		Pot Steel Labourer		X		Lanarkshire Cumbernauld			3
				Christina do	Wife	Mar		31					do Chapelhall			
4	Total of Houses...	4		Total of Males and Females...			16	9							Total of Windowed Rooms,	12

NOTE.—*Draw the pen through such of the words of the headings as are inappropriate.*

[Scor.—Sheet C.

Page 271.

1885. BIRTHS in the District (1.) of Hamilton (2.) in the County (3.) of Lanark

No.	(1.) Name and Surname.	(2.) When and Where Born.	(3.) Sex.	(4.) Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother. Date and Place of Marriage.	(5.) Signature and Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Birth occurred.	(6.) When and Where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
811	Alexander Douglas Welsh	1885. August Twenty Sixth 10 H. 15 m. Pm. 3 St Johns Lane Hamilton	M.	Alexander Welsh Stone Quarrier Jemima Welsh M.S. Douglas Deceased 1884. November 14th Hamilton	Alexr Welsh Father	1885. August 31st At Hamilton William Potter Asst. Registrar. J.K.
812	Thomas Clark Russell	1885. August Eighteenth 11 H. 30 m. A.M. Home Farm Colliery Row Parish of Hamilton	M.	David Russell Coal Miner Margaret Russell M.S. Clark 1872. December 31st Holytown	David Russell Father	1885. August 31st At Hamilton William Potter Asst. Registrar. J.K.
813	Alexander Paterson	1885. August Twenty First 8 H. 0 m. Pm. Nisbets Buildings Termicgair Parish of Hamilton	M.	Alexander Paterson Underground Overman Elizabeth Paterson A.S. Corson 1872. June 9th Cambusnethan	Alexander Paterson Father	1885. August 31st At Hamilton William Potter Asst. Registrar. J.K.

B

John Rae Registrar.

Appendix 21: National Records of Scotland, (1901). RUSSELL, Thomas (Census 1901 639/00 022/00 029), page 29

[Page 29

The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the

Civil Parish of Dalgiel — Parish Ward of South Motherwell — Ecclesiastical Parish of South Dalgiel — School Board District of Dalgiel — Parliamentary Division of Lanark

Royal Burgh of — Municipal Burgh of — Police Burgh of Motherwell — Burgh Ward of Motherwell — Town of Motherwell — Village or Hamlet of — Island of

No. of Schedule.	ROAD, STREET, &c., and No. or NAME of HOUSE.	HOUSES. Inhabited.	HOUSES. Uninhabited (U.), or Building (B.)	NAME and Surname of each Person.	RELATION to Head of Family.	CONDITION as to Marriage.	AGE [Last Birthday]. Males.	AGE [Last Birthday]. Females.	PROFESSION or OCCUPATION.	Employer, Worker, or on Own Account.	If Working at Home.	WHERE BORN.	Gaelic, G. & E.	Whether 1. Deaf and Dumb. 2. Blind. 3. Lunatic. 4. Imbecile, feeble-minded.	Rooms with less than 1 Window.
136	23 Castlehead Pl	1		David Russell	Head	Mar	44		Coal Miner	Worker		Lanarkshire Bucklandton			2
				Margaret do	Wife	Mar		45				do Bothwell			
				Thomas do	Son	"	15		Coal Miner	Worker		do Bothwell			
				David do	Son	"	13		Scholar			do Baillieston			
				Archibald do	Son	"	10		Scholar			do Coatbridge			
				Margaret do	Daur	"	8					do Hodgston			
				Isabella do	Daur		4	9 months				do Bothwell East			
				Sarah do	Daur		2		Scholar			do Glasgow			
137	24 do do	1		Thomas Davidson	Head	Mar	35		Engineman	Worker		do Bothwell			2
				Margaret do	Wife	Mar	33					do Bothwell			
				Matthew do	Son	Mar	13		Engine Driver	Worker		do Motherwell			
				Alexander do	Son	S	11		Engineman	Worker		do Bothwell			
				Daniel do	Daur	S	9					do Bothwell			
				Robert do	Son	S	7		Apprentice Blacksmith	Worker		do Motherwell			
138	29 do do	1		William M'Donald	Head	Mar	45		Plasterer	Worker		do Glasgow			2
				Margaret do	Wife	Mar	45		Dealer Silk Stockings	Worker		do do			
				Janet do	Daur		24		Dealer Silk Stockings	Worker		do do			
				John do	Son		22		Steel Warm Attendant	Worker		do Dundee			
				Mary do	Daur		18		Dressmaker Silk	Worker		do Glasgow			
139	31 do do	1		George M'Leod	Head	Mar	37		Iron Roofer	Worker		Haddington Longyester			2
				Esther do	Wife	Mar	35					England Liverpool			
				Maria do	Daur		13					England Liverpool			
				Margaret do	Daur		5		Scholar			Lanarkshire Motherwell			
4	Total of Houses...	4		Total of Males and Females...			11	12						Total of Windowed Rooms,	8

NOTE.—*Draw the pen through such of the headings as are inappropriate.*

[Scot.—Sheet E.

(Page 1.)

191/__. MARRIAGES in the Parish of Colinton in the County of Edinburgh

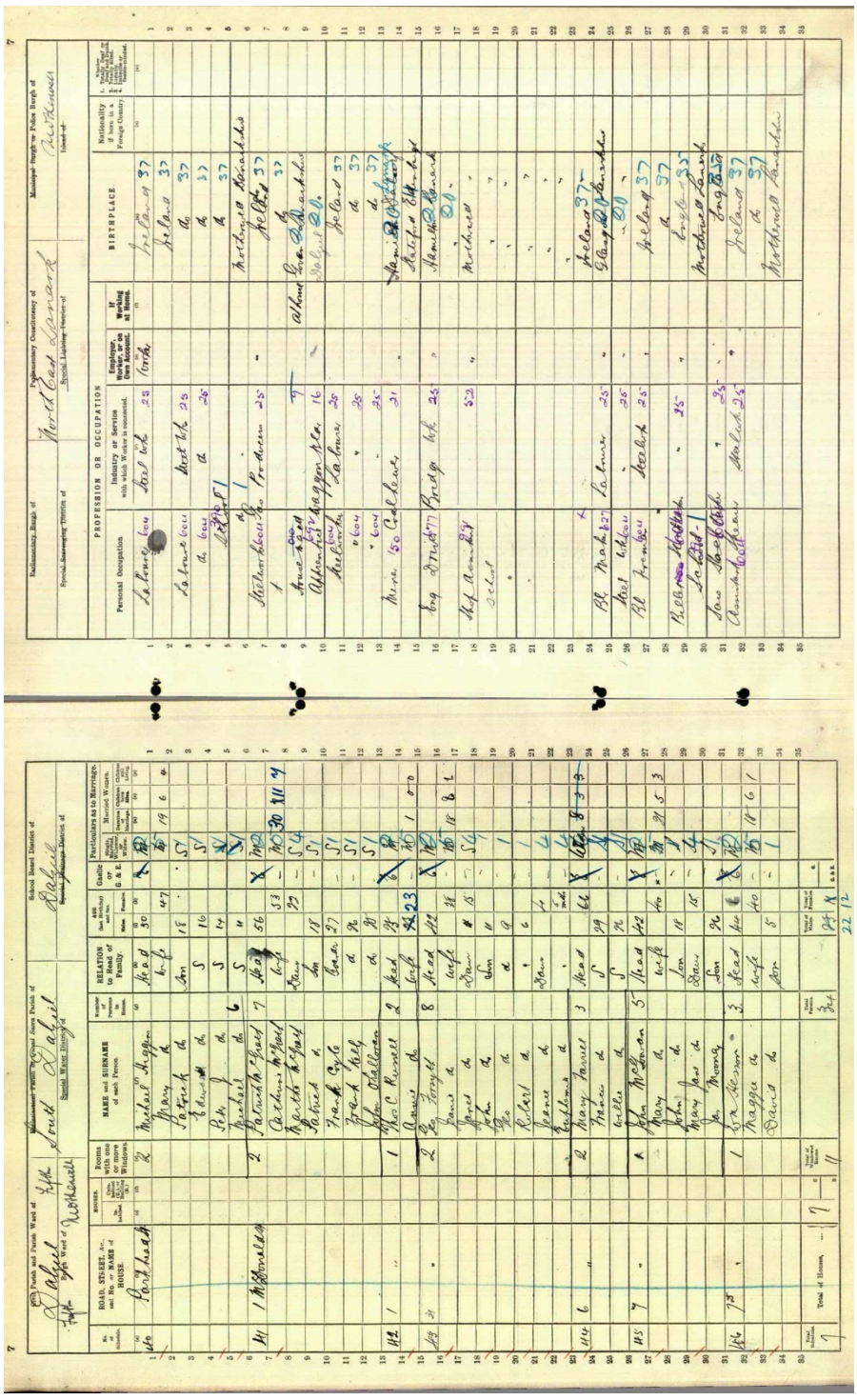
No.	When, Where, and How Married.	Signatures of Parties. Rank or Profession, Whether Single or Widowed, and Relationship (if any).	Age.	Usual Residence.	Name, Surname, and Rank or Profession of Father. Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother.	If a regular Marriage, Signatures of officiating Minister and Witnesses. If Irregular, Date of Conviction, Decree of Declarator, or Sheriff's Warrant.	When & Where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
1	191/. on the Second day of January at Colinton Parish Church. After Banns According to the Forms of the Church of Scotland.	Signed. Thomas Clark Russell. Coal Miner. Bachelor.	26	31a Macdonald Street Motherwell	David Knight Russell. Coal Miner. Margaret Russell. M.S. Clark.	Signed. Thos Macjoribanks. Minister of Colinton.	191/. January 6. At Colinton.
		Signed. Annie McKobb Faichen. Dunrobin Cottage Laundry Maid. Spinster.	24.	Kilbank Stableford	Thomas Faichen. Meal Miller. Sarah Faichen. M.S. McKobb.	Signed. George Allan. Witness. Bella Faichen. Witness.	M'Neill Registrar.
2	191/. on the Seventeenth day of February at Hailes Bank Juniper Green. After Banns According to the Forms of the Church of Scotland.	Signed. William Traill. Carter. Bachelor.	27	Lanark Road Juniper Green	John Traill. Paper Maker. Marion Traill. M.S. Tweedie. deceased.	Signed. R.M. Short. Minister.	191/. February 20th. At Colinton.
		Signed. Catherine Galbraith Allison. Shopkeeper (Confectioner's) Spinster.	29	Belmont Avenue Juniper Tree	Alexander Allison. Carter. deceased. Marion Allison. M.H. Henderson. deceased.	Signed. Robert Traill. Witness. Alison Millar Allison. Witness.	L.B. Simson Assist. Registrar. Colinton

(1.) (2.) (3.) (4.) (5.) (6.) (7.)

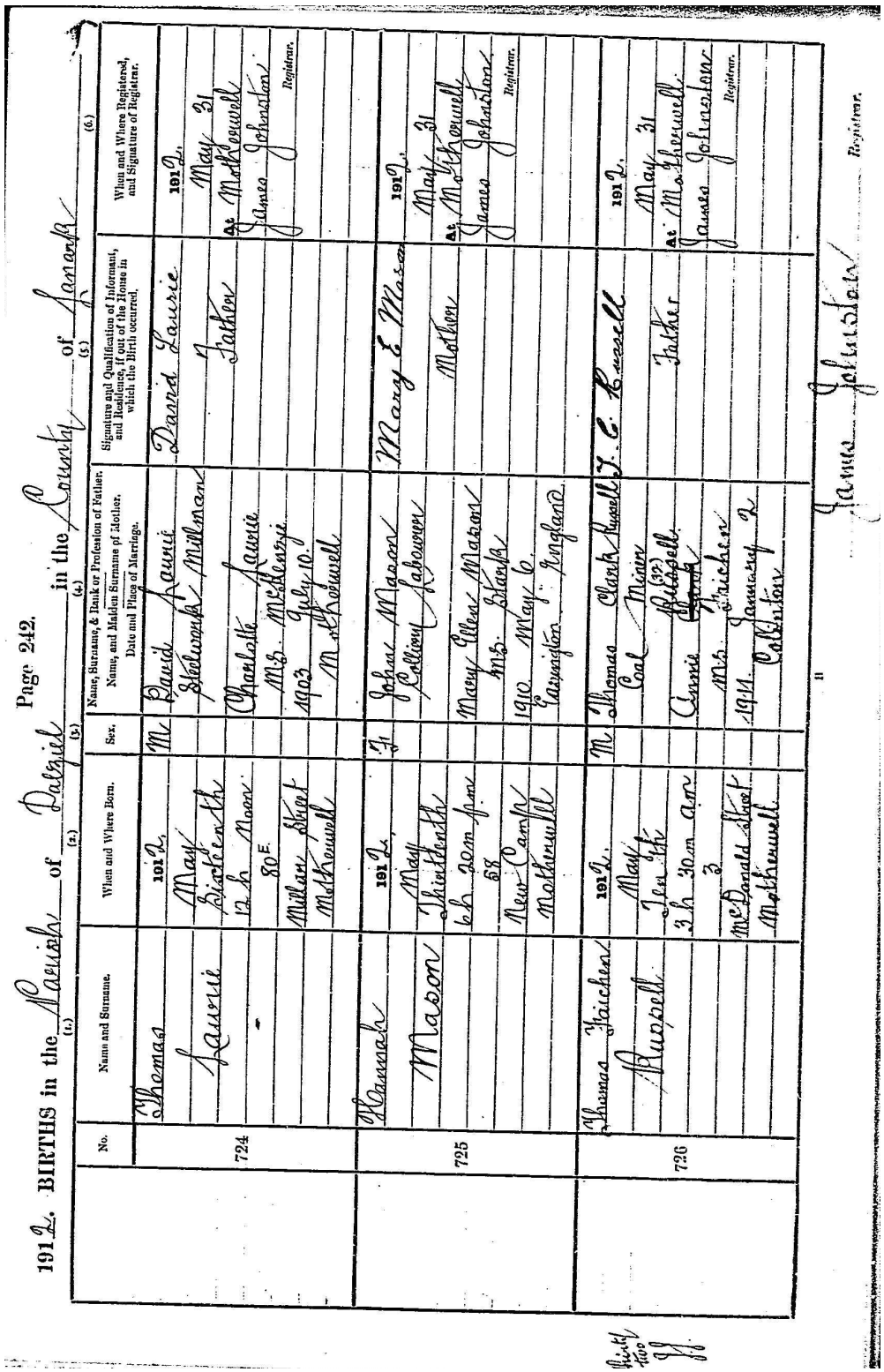
M

Malcolm Scott. Registrar.

Appendix 23: National Records of Scotland, (1911). RUSSELL, Thomas C (Census 639/ 17/7) Page 7



Appendix 24: National Records of Scotland, (1912). RUSSELL, Thomas Faichen (Statutory Births 639/00 0726)



1912. BIRTHS in the Parish of Dalziel in the County of Lanark

Page 242.

No.	Name and Surname.	When and Where Born.	Sex.	Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father. Name and Maiden Surname of Mother. Date and Place of Marriage.	Signature and Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Birth occurred.	When and Where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
724	Thomas	1912. May Sixteenth 12 h Noon 80E Millars Wynd Motherwell	M	David Laurie Blacksmith Millman. Charlotte Laurie M.S. McCleary 1903 July 10. Motherwell	David Laurie Father	1912. May 21 At Motherwell James Johnston Registrar.
725	Mason	1912. May Thirtieth 6 h 20m A.M. 68 New Camp Motherwell	F	John Mason Colliery Labourer Mary Allen Mason M.S. Black 1910 May 6. Carnwath Lanarkshire	Mary & Mason Mother	1912. May 31 At Motherwell James Johnston Registrar.
726	Thomas Faichen Russell	1912. May 1st 3 h 30 m A.M. 3	M	Thomas Clark Russell Coal Miner (32) Russell Lanark Mc Donald Faichen M.S. January 2 1911 Motherwell	J. C. Russell Father	1912. May 31 At Motherwell James Johnston Registrar.

Registrar.

Appendix 25: National Records of Scotland, (1913). RUSSELL, Margaret Clark Faichen (Statutory registers Births 639/ 1656)

1912. BIRTHS in the Parish of Dalziel in the County of Lanark

Page 242.

No.	Name and Surname.	When and Where Born.	Sex.	Name, Surname, & Rank or Profession of Father: Name, and Maiden Surname of Mother. Date and Place of Marriage.	Signature and Qualification of Informant, and Residence, if out of the House in which the Birth occurred.	When and Where Registered, and Signature of Registrar.
724	Thomas	1912. May Bieldenkh 12 h Noon 80 E. Mulan Street Motherwell	M	David Laurie Stewarton Ayr Midlaan Charlotte Laurie m.s. McKenzie 1903 July 10. Motherwell	David Laurie Father	1912. May 31 A. McKerwell James Johnston Registrar.
725	Adamah Mason	1912. May Thirdlenkh 6h 20m p.m. 68 New Camb Motherwell	M	John Mason Colliery Labourer Mary Ellen Mason m.s. Slavin 1910 May 6. Carnwath Lanark England	Mary E. Mason Mother	1912. May 31 A. McKerwell James Johnston Registrar.
726	Thomas Faichen Russell	1912. May Jen Hk 3 h 30 am a.m. 3	M	Thomas Clark Russell Coal Miner (32) Bellshill Annie Fleming m.s. Fletcher 1911 January 2 Caldertax	T. C. Russell Father	1912. May 31 A. McKerwell James Johnston Registrar.

James Johnston Registrar.

Appendix 26: Declaration of War on Germany, Supplement to The London Gazette

SUPPLEMENT

TO

The London Gazette

Of TUESDAY, the 4th of AUGUST, 1914.

Published by Authority.

The Gazette is registered at the General Post Office for transmission by Inland Post as a newspaper. The postage rate to places within the United Kingdom is one halfpenny for each copy. For places abroad the rate is a halfpenny for every 2 ounces, except in the case of Canada, to which the rate, by Canadian Magazine Post, is a penny for every pound or fraction of a pound.

WEDNESDAY, 5 AUGUST, 1914.

A STATE OF WAR.

His Majesty's Government informed the German Government on August 4th, 1914, that, unless a satisfactory reply to the request of His Majesty's Government for an assurance that Germany would respect the neutrality of Belgium was received by midnight of that day, His Majesty's Government would feel bound to take all steps in their power to uphold that neutrality and the observance of a treaty to which Germany was as much a party as Great Britain.

The result of this communication having been that His Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin had to ask for his passports, His Majesty's Government have accordingly formally notified the German Government that a state of war exists between the two countries as from 11 p.m. to-day.

Foreign Office,
August 4th, 1914.

Appendix 27: WO/95/1938/2 War Diaries of the 10th Battalion Gordon Highlanders, 15th Division, 44th Brigade, 4th July 1915 to 17th July 1915. Detail of battalion deployment to France 1916

Army Form C. 2118.

WAR DIARY
or
INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY.
(Erase heading not required.)

Instructions regarding War Diaries and Intelligence Summaries are contained in F. S. Regs., Part II. and the Staff Manual respectively. Title pages will be prepared in manuscript.

Place	Date	Hour	Summary of Events and Information	Remarks and references to Appendices
Bordeaux Camp, Salisbury Plain	1915 July 4	12 noon	Orders to proceed to France on 8th July received	
Do	7		Advance party, including Transport proceeded under Major H.P. Wallace 3rd Lieut. J.B.G. Mackenzie in charge of Transport and Lieut J.D. Lammie, to Edworth Station and there by train to Southampton and thence to Havre.	
Do	8	4.30 pm	Battalion entrained at Edworth to Folkestone and embarked at 11.30 pm on S.S. Victoria.	
Boulogne	9	1 am	Landed at Boulogne. Disembarking good. Marched to Rest Camp. 8.10 am marched from Rest Camp to Pont-de-Brique Station and proceeded in Train containing Advance Party to Watten Station. 2.30 pm detrains at Watten Station, and marches to Billets at Eperlecques	
Eperlecques			Battalion remained at Eperlecques until 15th	
Do	15	6.20 am	Battalion marches out of Eperlecques and passes Starting Point of 44 Brigade at Moulle at 6.50 am. Route - H. Omer, Arques, Renescure, Wallon, Cappel to Camp Rebecq where Batn. remained at outskirts of Hazebrouck	
	16	8.30 am	Batn. marches out of Camp and proceeds via Morbecque, St. Venant, Busnes to billets at Gonnehem	
	17	8 pm	Batn. marches out of billets and proceeds by night via Braquis, Fouquieres, Drouvin to	

1577 Wt. W10934/1773 500,000 1/15 D. D. & L. A.D.S.S./Forms/C. 2118.

Instructions regarding War Diaries and Intelligence Summaries are contained in F. S. Regs., Part II. and the Staff Manual respectively. Title pages will be prepared in manuscript.

WAR DIARY
or
~~INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY~~.
(Erase heading not required.)

Army Form C. 2118.

Place	Date	Hour	Summary of Events and Information	Remarks and references to Appendices
	July		21st London Regiment. Adjutant + 5 Sgts left Y sector and proceeds to W sector	
	23	1.30am	I + K Coys returned to Houchin from trenches at W1 sector.	
		2.30pm	Funeral of Lt. Col. S. MacDougall to Houchin Cemetery.	
Les Brebis	24	7.15pm	I + K Coys proceeded from Houchin to billets at Les Brebis. Lt M Coys left trenches at W1 and joined remainder of Batn in billets at Les Brebis. Batn remained at Les Brebis until 2nd August	
	28		Major H.R. Wallace, Machine Gun Officer (2nd Lieut F.W. Gordon) and 5 Sgts proceeded to trenches in Y sector for two days.	
	30		Officers + NCOs. returned to on 28th inst left trenches at Y sector and proceeded to trenches at W sector.	
			Copy of weekly Fighting Strength Returns appended hereto.	

1577 Wt. W10791/1773 500,000 1/15 D. D. & L. A.D.S.S./Forms/C. 2118.

Appendix 28: WO/95/1938/2 War Diaries of the 10th Battalion Gordon Highlanders, 15th Division, 44th Brigade. Diary entry for the 11th of February 1916, date Sergt TC Russell was killed in action.

Army Form C. 2118.

WAR DIARY
or
INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY.
(Erase heading not required.)

Instructions regarding War Diaries and Intelligence Summaries are contained in F. S. Regs., Part II. and the Staff Manual respectively. Title pages will be prepared in manuscript.

Place	Date	Hour	Summary of Events and Information	Remarks and references to Appendices
	1916			
TRENCHES	11th		The position taken over mines exploded near front N. of Sixth Avenue, about the night of 9th inst. The Sap F. the enemy formed about 15 yards in front; its centre in our line trench, so that the entire flap could be rebuilt with a fine parapet.	
			4 men were buried & killed by the explosion & three bodies have been recovered, 2 men were badly shaken. The Germans made no attempt to advance.	
			M Coy. sent out a patrol (2nd Lt. BLACK & Sergt. TOWERS) & found enemy very quiet & busy little work going on in enemy line.	
			L Coy sent out a patrol (L/Cpl. GILMORE, Pte. CONDIE) which reconnoitred some of the enemy Sap & found no enemy there.	
— do —			In addition to the mine explosion, Sergt MARSHALL was hit in the eye by a bullet, but not killed. His N.C.O. rank not have come up to the trenches, so he was not shown in casualties, but he remained on duty.	
			1 man was hit by 2 rifle grenade that did not explode - but it burned his arm rather badly.	
			The 9th Black Watch relieved us in the night. Took over 14 days of the fire trenches about 200 yards, as our Battalion front was increased. This has ensured us a long morning in bed. Left place at 11pm. all night.	

T.2134. Wt. W708—776. 500000. 4/15. Sir J. C. & S.

3 men sent to Hospital.

Appendix 29: National Records of Scotland, (1916). Statutory Registers of Deaths 118/AF 505 RUSSELL, Thomas Clark

506 505

ARMY FORM W. 3231.

RETURN of WARRANT OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS and MEN

of the 10th. Battalion, Gordon Highlanders. (NAME OF UNIT.) **KILLED in Action**

or who have DIED whilst on Service Abroad in the WAR of 1914 to 10 JAN 1920

RGTL. No.	RANK.	NAME IN FULL (SURNAME FIRST).	AGE.*	COUNTRY OF BIRTH.	DATE OF DEATH.	PLACE OF DEATH.†	CAUSE OF DEATH.
S/5531.	Pte.	Paterson, John.	35.	Scotland.	25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/5568.	Sgt.	Russell, Thos. C.	30.	Scotland.	11. 2. 16.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/6886.	Sgt.	Robertson, Samuel.	23.	Scotland.	23. 9. 16.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/7078.	Pte.	Ramsay, David.	20.	Scotland.	25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/7209.	Pte.	Robertson, James Ashley	29.	Scotland.	25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/5707.	Pte.	Robertson, Robert.	24.	Scotland.	Presumed. 25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Died in the Field.
S/4406.	Pte.	Smith, James.	29.	Scotland.	25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/4759.	Pte.	Snowdon, Robert.	30.	Scotland.	25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/5496.	Pte.	Stewart, Geo.	20.	Scotland.	25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/5646.	L/Cpl.	Stevenson, Robert.	21.	Scotland.	25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/10356.	Pte.	Stark, Wm.	21.	Scotland.	17. 11. 15.	France or Belgium.	Killed in Action.
S/10637.	Pte.	Stewart, Alexr.	19.	Scotland.	22. 11. 15.	France or Belgium.	Died from Pneumonia
S/12890.	Pte.	Simpson, John. G.	29.	Scotland.	29. 12. 15.	France or Belgium	Shock & Collapse.
S/4102.	Pte.	Sutherland, William	31.	Scotland.	Presumed. 25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Died in the Field.
S/5514.	Pte.	Smith, Matthew	25.	Scotland.	Presumed. 25. 9. 15.	France or Belgium.	Died in the Field

* The Age or approximate Age should be given in complete years, i.e., Age last birthday.

† The Country should be entered if the actual place of Death is not known.

Appendix 30: WO 329/2801 WWI Service Medal and Award Rolls, 1914-1920 for T C RUSSELL

(7 12 17) W1804—RF4453 20,000 7/19 HWV(R73) H2723

(To be rendered in duplicate.)

GORDON HIGHLANDERS Regiment or Corps when Decoration was earned.

ROLL OF INDIVIDUALS entitled to the Decoration granted under Army Order 2U of 1919.

To be left blank	On date of Disembarkation: Regtl. No.	On date of Disembarkation: Rank	NAME		Date of Disembarkation	REMARKS (a) If non-effective :—Cause, etc. (b) If transferred :—Present Regtl. No., Rank and Unit. (c) If forfeited :—Cause.	Record of disposal of decoration: (a) Presented (b) Despatched by Post (c) Taken into Stock	To be left Blank for use in War Office
	S/5568	Cpl.	Russell.	T.C.	9.7.15.(I)	Killed in Action 11.2.16.		# Auth £/1a+
	S/3960	Cpl.	Russell.	W.	9.7.15.(I)	Died from Wounds. 25.9.15.		
	S/4533	Cpl.	Russell.	W.	9.7.15.(I)	Discharged 14.12.18.		
	S/5004	Pte.	Russell.	W.	9.7.15.(I)	Trans. to Class Z. 6.2.19.		
	S/5417	Pte.	Russell.	W.	9.7.15.(I)	Trans. to Class Z. 15.2.19.		
	2886/9	Pte.	Rust.	C.	2.5.15.(I)	Discharged 23.11.18.		# Auth £/1a+
	S/9928	Pte.	Rutherford.	A	13.7.15.(I)	Discharged 28.7.17.		
	S/7619	Pte.	Rutherford.	E.	10.5.15.(I)	Discharged 29.10.15.		
	3208/5	Pte.	Rutherford.	J.	12.10.15.(I)	Trans. to Class Z. 24.2.19.		# Auth £/1a+
	S/9599	Pte.	Ruxton.	D.	15.6.15.(I)	Discharged 2.11.17.		
	S/4374	Pte.	Ryan.	J.	9.7.15.(I)	Killed in Action 13.10.16.		
	S/8386	Pte.	Ryans.	W.	20.4.15.(I)	Killed in Action 27.5.15.		

I certify that according to the Official Records the individuals named in this ROLL are entitled to the Decoration as detailed above.

Place PERTH.

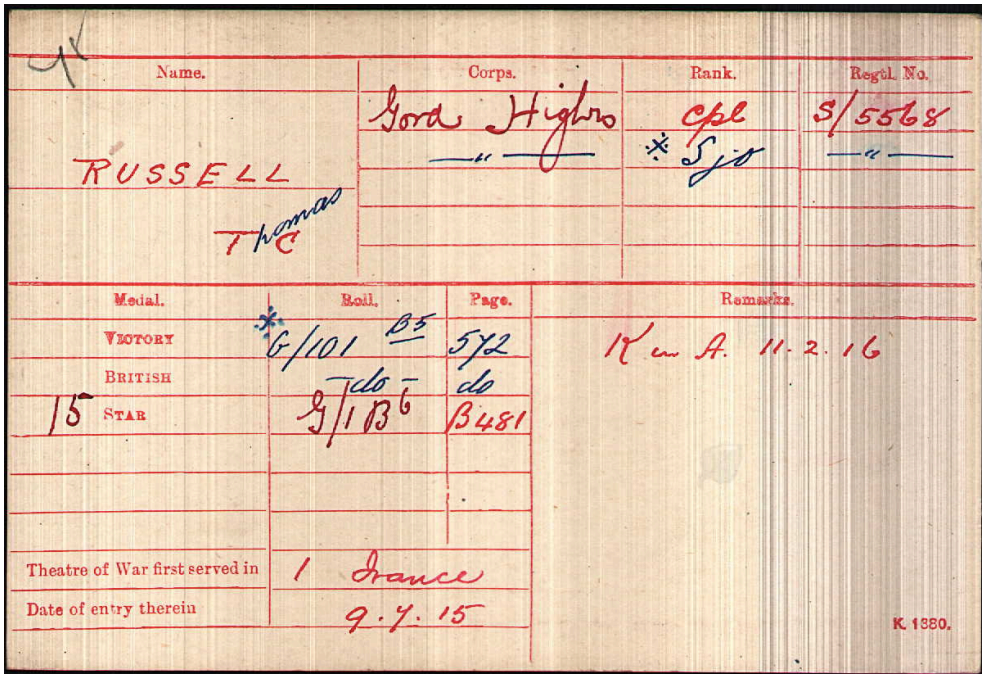
Date 28/10/19.

For Officer i/c Records, No. 1. District.

Signature and rank of Officer certifying.

ORIGINAL

Appendix 31: WO 372/17/129098 Service Medal and Award Rolls Index, First World War, Medal card of Russell, Thomas C., Corps: Gordon Highlanders Regiment No: S/5568.

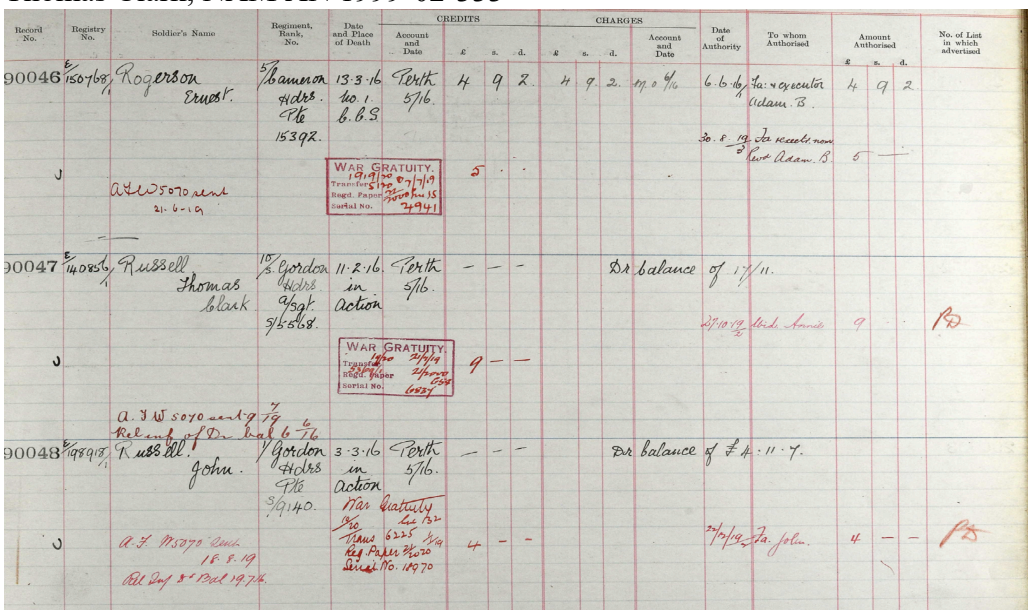


Name.	Corps.	Rank.	Regtl. No.
RUSSELL Thomas C	Gord. Highrs	Cpl	S/5568

Medal.	Roll.	Page.	Remarks.
VICTORY	6/101 B5	572	K in A. 11.2.16
BRITISH	do	do	
15 STAR	9/1B6	B481	
Theatre of War first served in	1 France		
Date of entry therein	9.7.15		

K 1880.

Appendix 32: British Army Register of personal effects, RUSSELL, Thomas Clark, NAM AN 1999-02-333



Record No.	Registry No.	Soldier's Name	Regiment, Rank, No.	Date and Place of Death	CREDITS Account and Date	£	s.	d.	CHARGES £	s.	d.	Account and Date	Date of Authority	To whom Authorised	Amount Authorised £	s.	d.	No. of List in which advertised
90046	150768	Rogerson Ernest.	5/ Cameron Hdrs. Pte 15392.	13.3.16 No. 1. B.G.S.	Perth 5/16.	4	9	2	4	9	2.	m.o. 4/16	6.6.16	To executor Adam. B.	4	9	2	
					WAR GRATUITY. 19,19 Transfer 5/7/19 Regd. Paper 3500 Jan 15 Serial No. 7941	5	.	.					30.8.19	To receipt now Lieut Adam. B.	5	—		
		A.F.W 5070 sent 21.6.19																
90047	140856	Russell Thomas Clark	10/ S. Gordon Hdrs. A/Sgt. S/5568.	11.2.16 in Action	Perth 5/16.	—	—	—				Dr balance of 17/11.						
													27.10.19	Ord. Funds	9	.	.	PD
					WAR GRATUITY. Transfer 21/7/19 Regd. Paper 2/3000 Jan 18 Serial No. 6225	9	—	—										
		A.F.W 5070 sent 9/7/19 Relmt of Dr. bal 6/16																
90048	148918	Russell. John.	1/ Gordon Hdrs Pte S/9140.	3.3.16 in Action	Perth 5/16.	—	—	—				Dr balance of £4.11.7.						
					War Gratuity Nil Trans 6225 Reg Paper 2/3070 Serial No. 1970	4	—	—					27/7/19	To John.	4	—	—	PD
		A.F. W5070 Dec. 18.8.19 Rel Reg 8th Bal 19.7.16.																