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OF

THE BRITISH ARMY

A FAMILIAR HISTORY

THE BRITISH ARMY

The Restoration in 1660 *to the Present Time.*

INCLUDING A DESCRIPTION OF THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT, AND THE PROGRESS OF THE

VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION.

BY

J. H. STOCQUELER,

Author of an 'Illustrated Life of the Duke of Wellington;' the 'Memoirs of Sir William Nott;' the 'Military Encyclopædia;' the 'Old Field Officer;' the 'British Soldier;' the 'Familiar History of India;' the 'Familiar History of the United States;' the 'Volunteers' Hand-Book;' the 'Oriental Interpreter;' the 'Wonders and Beauties of Creation;' 'Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage through Persia, Armenia, Turkey, Russia, Germany, Holland,' &c., &c.

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1871.

TO

THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS

OF

The British Army

TOWARDS WHOM THE AUTHOR HAS FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS STOOD IN

FRIENDLY RELATIONS AS

A MILITARY JOURNALIST,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE DEDICATED, WITH SENTIMENTS OF PROFOUND ADMIRATION

OF THE VALOUR, DISCIPLINE, AND LOYALTY WHICH HAVE AT

ALL TIMES DISTINGUISHED

THE ROYAL FORCES.

PREFACE.

A VERY few years ago two large volumes were published bearing the bold and attractive title of a HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ARMY. They commenced with the Militia of the earliest ages of British history, and, after elaborately describing the arms and armour which gradually came into use with the Norman Conquest, stopped short at the Restoration.

Reviewing the book, a critic, writing in one of the most popular and influential daily papers of the metropolis (*The Standard*), remarked:

"The true historian of 'The British Army' has yet to be brought forth; and he must set about his task in a different way to the present author, in the first place resolutely determining not to be tempted astray into all sorts of by-paths, and then pursuing his subject steadily and in chronological order down to a period within the knowledge of living men, not, like Sir * * *, leaving us in the company of Charles II."

"Upon this hint" the "Familiar History" was undertaken. To attempt anything upon a broader scale would have been unwise. The Author had, indeed, been engaged for some years in collecting the materials for a very elaborate work; but when he came to survey his store, and to arrange it after a form that should comprise minute details of the numerous campaigns in which the British Army had been engaged, he found that the History would attain proportions that would militate against its acceptance by the public in an age when the value of time is appreciated. He therefore determined to limit himself to a simple narrative of events, eschewing all technicalities and scientific disquisitions. He did not, however, fail to consult the pages of all the ablest writers who have treated of the enterprise and progress of the British Army since 1660, and he now leaves the work to make its own way with the classes who would desire to trace the history of an institution of which Englishmen, for the past two centuries, have had great reason to be proud.

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ERRATA.

Page 9, last line but one of 1st col., for "the Honble. Lieut.-Col.," read "Lieut.-Col. the Honble."
" 22, 1st col., 3rd line from the top, for "camps," read "camp."
" 37, " 12th line from the bottom, for "ingeniously," read "ingenuously."
" 43, 2nd col., 5th " " "gloom," " "glow."
" 49, " 3rd " " "claims," " "chains."
" 56, " 30th and 31st lines from the bottom, for "of ten Regiments consisted," read "by ten Regiments consisting."
" 57, 1st col., 27th line from the bottom, for "exerted," read "exercised."
" 59, 2nd col., 10th from the top, for "1869," read "1871."
" 84, " 18th " " "importunity," read "importunities."
" 107, " last line of text, for "Lodi," read "Arcola."
" 147, 2nd col., 9th line of Contents, for "Rorica," read "Roleia," and wherever the word subsequently occurs.
" 171, " 10th line from the bottom, for "after the Division," read "after the arrival of the Division."
" 177, " 44th line from the bottom, for "Mawley," read "Mawby."
" 182, " *dele* last paragraph of Chapter XXVII.
" 211, 1st col., 5th line from the bottom, for "They," read "We."
" 243, " 3rd " " "exceptions," read "exemptions."
" 246, 2nd col., 9th " " "soldiers," " "soldier."
" 260, " 21st line from the top, " "regles," " "règles."
" 272, " 15th " " "India Office," " "Council of India."
" 278, " 11th " " "in the transference," read "on the."
" 302, " last line, for "expletive," read "explanatory."
" 309, 2nd col., 28th line from the bottom, *dele* "highly."

"At page 253 the 'Alma' is stated to have taken place on the 14th of September; it should have been the 20th. The 14th was the date of the Army's landing at Old Fort. At page 261, 'Inkerman' is stated to have been fought on the 8th of November; it should have been the 5th. 'Balaklava' was fought on the 25th October, and not on the 5th, as stated at page 269. Attack, 18th June, '55, Sir John Campbell, who was killed, is described as 'Colonel.' He was a Major-General and a Baronet, and in command of the 4th Division, which he led to the assault on the Redan on that day.

"The 'Malakoff' was taken on the 8th, and not 11th September (p. 264)."

A FAMILIAR HISTORY

OF

THE BRITISH ARMY,

FROM THE RESTORATION IN 1660 TO THE FALL OF MAGDALA IN 1868,

Including a Description of the Volunteer Movement, and the Progress of the

VOLUNTEER ORGANISATION.

CHAPTER I.

The Martial Spirit of the Briton—How Evoked—Its Illustrations—Formation of a Standing Army under Charles II.—Pay, Costume, and Arms of the Horse and Foot Guards—Standing Armies Generally—Occupation of Tangiers at the King's Marriage—Lord Peterborough—Knights of the Bath—The Purchase System Introduced—War with Holland—War with France—More Troops Raised—The Bayonet—The Militia—The Royal Hospital.

IF a standing Army and a Militia were synonymous terms, it would be necessary to travel back a good many centuries in the history of Great Britain in search of the origin of our protective Military Force. Oppression and invasion beget resistance even among the most savage tribes, and it was the gratuitous visitations of the Roman legions, intent upon the possession of the tin mines and reputed gold of England, which, in all probability, created that martial spirit among our remote progenitors that excited the surprise and admiration of Cæsar's hardy followers. Four hundred years of foreign domination may have checked for a time the further development of the national combative qualities, but it did not altogether extinguish the valour of the "Ancient Briton." On the contrary, the latent natural courage of the "barbarians" derived strength and cultivation from the perpetual presence of the accomplished warriors of the south, and converted into a passion that warlike sentiment which was at first the mere offspring of circumstance. Thus, when the Romans evacuated the island, the Britons were better able to cope with the Scots, the Picts, the Saxons, and the Danes, than they would have been without the advantage of those lessons of discipline which the first conquerors bequeathed them. And although they ultimately succumbed to the hardy freebooters and pirates who infested their shores from the north and the east, they became, in their amalgam with those invaders, a nation of fierce and daring warriors, who were only not invincible because, in their disunion, they were numerically inferior to the armed hosts who brought them into subjection. The Norman conquest, achieved by the combination of intrigue, infidelity, and force of arms, put a period to British submission to a foreign yoke; and now, for eight hundred years, the islanders have maintained a glorious independence in spite of the occasional assaults and perpetual menaces of formidable neighbours. It were bootless to inquire how much of the heroism of the Norman, the endurance of the Saxon, and the daring of the Dane have been grafted on the original island stock, in itself materially affected by contact with the warlike Roman—let it suffice, that the race proceeding from this miscegenation has proved itself in all time equal to the emergencies created by the ambition, the folly, the misrule, the misfortunes, or the brave and uncompromising spirit of successive Sovereigns. Call them by what name we will—vassals, serfs, retainers, men-at-arms, yeomen, or soldiers; the subjects of the Kings who have been placed by accident or lineal descent upon the throne of Great Britain have always been distinguished for their intrepidity and constancy in the trying exigencies of war. They followed King John to the gates of Angiers; they sustained Strongbow in his Irish expeditions; they upheld Henry IV. during the revolt of the Douglas and the Northumbrians; they immortalised the Black Prince at Cressy and Poictiers; they shook the walls of the French at Harfleur, and defeated them in the

hard-fought battle at Agincourt; led by Talbot and Bedford, they bearded the French at Orleans; they made Henry VIII. an object of the rival courtesies of the German Emperor Charles, and Francis I. of France; they inspired Elizabeth with confidence in her bold resistance to the Spanish monarch; they fought valiantly at Edge Hill, Naseby, Marston Moor, and Worcester; they made Cromwell powerful in Ireland and formidable in the West Indies; and finally, after doing battle first for the King and then for the Commonwealth, ultimately becoming Dictators in their turn, they welcomed the decree of dissolution which was only the forerunner of their conversion into a coherent, loyal, permanent, and efficient Force.

This is the starting point in our history.

The Army of the Commonwealth, at the end of April, 1659, had come to the determination of compelling Richard Cromwell, the Protector, to dissolve the Parliament. His refusal, in the first instance, only led to his being offered the alternative of obeying the behests of the Officers under a guarantee of personal safety or of refusing their commands and incurring personal danger. He accepted the former condition, and the last remnant of liberty acquired by the people through the Rebellion was thus effectually annihilated. The Restoration was a natural sequel to so glaring an act of Military tyranny. In May of the following year Charles II. returned to England to occupy the throne that had been vacant for so many years, and one of the first Acts of the first Parliament called together by his authority was to provide for the disbandment of a Force which had become a nuisance and a terror to the people of England.

The disbandment was scarcely complete when an *émeute* took place in the City of London, which Court policy magnified into a serious revolt. A small body of religious fanatics, calling themselves *millenarians* or fifth-monarchy men, and headed by one Thomas Venner, a crack-brained preacher, went from street to street tumultuously proclaiming the reign of "King Jesus," and committing acts of violence and even murder. Alarmed at their demonstrations, and perhaps rather glad of an opportunity of creating a body of Guards for the protection of the King's person, the Duke of York (afterwards James II.) proposed to the Council, then sitting, to entreat the King to stop the disbandment of General Monk's Troop of Horse and Regiment of Foot, which were to be paid off on that very day, and to employ them in suppressing the fanatical outbreak. This was done. The troops attacked the *millenarians* in the City, pursued them to Highgate, Hampstead, and Caen Wood, and effectually suppressed the disturbance they had created.

Hostile as the people of England had naturally become to a standing Army, this affair had rendered the creation of at least a permanent Royal Body Guard a matter of obvious necessity. Early in 1661, therefore, an ordinance went forth directing the formation of a Corps of Cavalry and a Regiment of Infantry. The nucleus of a Cavalry Corps already existed in the persons of a number of cavaliers who had followed the fortunes of Charles I. during the Civil War, and who, on the Restoration, in May 1660, were embodied in Holland as a Guard for the protection of the Royal person. A portion of these devoted cavaliers followed Charles II. to England and escorted him in public.

The Cavalry Regiments now raised consisted of the Life Guards and the Horse Guards, though the title of the former, continued to this hour, was not given officially for some years later. The Life Guards consisted of three troops, the first of which was called the "King's Own;" the second, the "Duke of York's;" and the third, the "Duke of Albemarle's." General Monk had been raised to the Dukedom of Albemarle in consideration of the services he had rendered the King during his exile. The entire Regiment of Life Guards was placed under the command of Lord Gerard, Baron Brandon. The "King's Own" troop had rather better pay than the others. The Captain received thirty shillings per diem; the Cornet, fourteen shillings; the Corporals, seven shillings each; whereas, in the other troops the Captain had twenty shillings; the Cornet, thirteen; and the Corporal, six shillings. Each troop had four Lieutenants, a Surgeon, a trumpeter, and from 150 to 200 privates or troopers, who were all paid alike. The other Cavalry Corps—the Horse Guards—consisted of eight troops, and was commanded by the Earl of Oxford. The Earl had peculiar claims to Royal favour. He had been engaged in eight several conspiracies (between 1652 and 1659) to obtain the restoration of Charles II., and for his participation in two of these he had been imprisoned twice. At the Restoration he was the first of the six Lords deputed by the House of Peers to proceed to the Hague and petition the King to return and assume the government of the Kingdom.

Monk's Regiment of Infantry became the Coldstream Foot Guards. A year later, the cavaliers who had been left to garrison Dunkirk came over to England, and were formed into the Grenadier Foot Guards—the term "Grenadier" originating in the small hollow spherical ball, filled with gunpowder, which each soldier carried at sieges and assaults, and which was called a *grenade*. Monk's Regiment, the Coldstreams, so called from the locality of their recruitment, was composed of twelve companies, and was placed under the command of Colonel John Russell.

The costume of the Horse and Life Guards at this time consisted of a scarlet coat, breast and back plate, leathern breeches, and jack boots. The heads of the soldiery were covered by an unsightly semi-spherical helmet, called a "pot," and the Officers wore hats with broad brims, decorated with plumes. The arms of both the Cavalry and Infantry were of a heavy, cumbrous, and clumsy character, for the science of combining strength with lightness was very imperfectly, if at all, understood two centuries ago, either in weapons or in architecture. Everything borne by the men was massive, inconvenient, and fatiguing. Indeed, to judge by the orders and regulations of the time, it would seem as if weight were considered synonymous with efficacy. In the ordinance of May 5, 1663, it is prescribed that each horseman shall carry a sword and a case of pistols, the barrels whereof are not to be *under fourteen inches* in length, and each trooper was to have a carbine "besides the aforesaid armes." And the Foot Guards were to have, each soldier a sword, and each pikeman a pike of sixteen feet long, and *not under;* and each musqueteer, a musket with a collar of bandoleers, "the barrel of which musquet to be about *four feet long*, and to contain a bullet fourteen of which shall *weigh a pound weight.*" The bandoleers were leathern belts, slung across the right shoulder, and depending to the left ribs. The cartridges were attached to the belt. The name "bandoleer" was derived from *Banduliers*, a tribe of Pyrenean robbers, who were the first to wear the article.

The creation of the *garde d'élite* was not viewed with entire favour by the people of England. It is true that the great majority of the King's subjects were glad to escape from the gloomy atmosphere of Puritanism, which, for fifteen years, had permeated the social system, and left the masses in doubt whether any change for the better had been wrought when the taxes upon the pocket, imposed by Charles I., had been superseded by the taxes on the conscience imposed by the Roundhead rulers. But they felt that the time passed by the exiled Charles Stuart at the Court of Louis XIV. had not been altogether favourable to his adversity; the "sweet uses" of a reverse of fortune had been totally ignored by the Royal dependant on French generosity. Pomp, frivolity, tedious ceremony, and gross sensualism, had consumed his hours, and raised apprehensions in Protestant England that the Restoration would not be very favourable to the cause of virtue, religion, and liberty. This feeling, and the memory—still green—of the tyranny of the Commonwealth soldiers, caused some alarm lest the Guards should prove more of a scourge than a blessing to the people, however valuable as a protection to the sacred person of the Sovereign.

The fears entertained that the establishment of an organised body of Guards would prove the corner-stone of a Military edifice of more imposing grandeur, commonly known by the name of a standing Army, were well founded; but that the Army would prove a powerful instrument of oppression, as its ill-regulated predecessors had been, was a supposition which the sequel did not verify.

Costly as a standing Army may become, the lessons of history ought to satisfy the most devoted admirers of "peace-at-any-price" that a moderate force is indispensable to the protection of the State. During the Civil War which raged in the United States of America, in 1861-64, it was contended by one of the greatest orators of the North that the cause of liberty had been maintained by the *absence* of a standing Army. It had always been the policy of the American nation to discourage that description of Force, and it was held, in 1861, that if there had been such an Army in existence, it would have been used by the Southerners to control their brethren and perpetuate negro slavery. To give a rigid and thorough education, at the great Military Academy at West Point, to men selected from every State, so that, in the event of war, they might be prepared to teach an intelligent common people, was considered sufficient for the purposes of the community, and therefore, until the Southern States seceded, only 18,000 men were employed regularly as soldiers among a population of 35,000,000. Now this very course produced the danger it was intended to avert. Had there been a standing Army of reasonable magnitude, that Army would have been under the orders of the President of the United States, and used for the *protection* of the liberties of the country against the Southern revolt. As it was, great numbers of the educated West Point men, who had always felt that the Military element was held in too little consideration in the North, while it had always been favoured in the South, immediately placed their swords at the service of the seceded party, and imparted the requisite instructions to the planters and their people, who afterwards became so formidable under General Lee. But even these advantages were insufficient to atone for the absence of that experience of the art of war which a wise nation will always encourage. For the first two years of the terrible civil contest there was an enormous sacrifice of human life, which some previous familiarity with the economy of camps, some sense of discipline, and an acquaintance with the science of moral, as well as professional, command might have averted. Be that as it may—whether it was or was not politic to avoid the maintenance of a standing Army in America—such an institution is indispensable in

England as long as her Continental neighbours preserve, in their armaments, a minatory attitude, and the power of perpetrating mischief.

At the next meeting of the Parliament the King was very profuse of his acknowledgments for the liberality with which the supplies personal as well as political had been voted. In the enthusiasm of his gratitude he called it the "blessed" Parliament. But his impecuniosity, arising out of debts contracted abroad, and an indulgence in expensive luxuries at home, to say nothing of the burthen of supporting a number of poor cavaliers who hung about the Court, rendered it necessary that the wind should be raised through a process not altogether unknown in common life. The "advantageous match" was suggested, and accordingly an offer was made of the King's hand to the Infanta of Portugal, Catherine of Braganza. The offer was accepted, and the Princess brought the King, by way of marriage portion, the province of Tangiers in Africa, and the Island of Bombaim, or Bombay, in the East Indies. It has been said by one historian that Charles received 500,000*l.*—a great sum of money in those days—in addition to the territorial gifts; by another it is averred that Tangiers and Bombay were handed over in lieu of the money. Whether or no, both places were deemed worthy of acceptance as good *entrepôts* of commerce; and to the end that the traders should be protected in their operations from the cupidity and bad faith of the Moors, the Earl of Peterborough, who had established a character for loyalty and courage, was appointed to levy and command a Force to be stationed at Tangiers.

This was another step towards the formation of a Royal Army. As, however, it was to be employed abroad the people did not murmur either at the apparition of a further accession to the Military Force, nor object to the expense which it involved. The Force consisted of a Troop of Horse, which afterwards became the 1st Royal Dragoons, and a Regiment of Infantry. To this latter Corps—the second Infantry Regiment raised in the kingdom—was given the title of "The Queen's Own," and its Regimental colour bore the device of "The Paschal Lamb"—the badge of the kingdom of Portugal—both the title and the badge being considered appropriate to a Corps which was specially raised to protect the property derived from a Portuguese Princess.

The occupation of Tangiers for a period of twenty years supplied abundant evidence of the courage and endurance of the English soldier under very trying circumstances. No episode in our Military history more completely illustrates the excellence of the material of which the Army has been composed from first to last. The troops were frequently attacked by the Moors, and twice were detachments cut off—once in May, 1662, under Major Tiennes, and again in May, 1664, under Lord Teviot.

In spite of the Scriptural injunctions against trusting in Princes, the followers of Charles in France and Holland, and those who had fought his battles in England during the period of the Commonwealth, were greedy of recompense or impatient of recognition, and, to the honour of the King be it said, he did not repudiate the claims upon his gratitude, though it was not in his power to satisfy them all. At his coronation he created no fewer than sixty-eight Knights of the Bath. It was the last occasion on which members of the Order were required to go through the full ceremonies of bathing, &c., as typical of their purity, before they could be considered fit to receive the Royal favour. The King likewise bestowed commissions in the Army on deserving cavaliers and others; but His Majesty's necessities compelled him so far to depart from the gratuitous exercise of the Royal prerogative as to require, in some instances, a money payment for the privilege of holding a Military Commission; and thus commenced the mischievous purchase system, which can only be eradicated at a cost which the nation is ill disposed to incur. The payment of 450*l.* for a first Commission is not *per se* more objectionable than the expenditure of a similar sum in starting a young man in life either as a trader or a member of the other liberal professions, seeing that it is now invariably accompanied by a test of scholastic fitness for the reception of the honour of wearing a sword; but the practice of allowing *promotion by purchase* is mischievous, inasmuch as it enables the Officer with money at command to step over the heads of his seniors who are not equally prepared to take advantage of a vacancy. We shall treat the subject more fully in a subsequent chapter.

With the exception of the episodical expedition to Tangiers, and the opposition of the Scotch Presbyterians, 500 of whom were killed by the Royal troops at the battle of Pentland Hill, in November, 1666, there had been no excuse for raising fresh troops for the first five years of King Charles's reign. But when excuse is needed for drawing the sword it is always at command.

> "Religion, freedom, vengeance, what you will,
> A word's enough to raise mankind to kill."

When Bob Acres in the comedy expresses some doubts of the propriety of fighting unless a man has a "little right" on his side, he is reminded by his unscrupulous Irish second that neither "Achilles nor my little Alexander the Great ever inquired where the right lay. No, they drew their broad swords and left the justice of the quarrel to be settled by the lazy sons of peace." Thus, in the reign of which we treat, and which

the nation fondly hoped would inaugurate an era of peace after so many years of civil bloodshed, two foreign wars broke out.

In 1664 the House of Commons reported that the trade of England was suffering from certain wrongs done to English merchants and their ships by the subjects of the "United Provinces" in India, Africa, and elsewhere. The intense jealousy of the Dutch commercial pre-eminence had previously found expression in the measures taken by the King for obtaining possession of New York and Long Island, and in the capture of Cape Verde; and to that jealousy was now superadded the discovery of an active correspondence between the leaders of a Puritanical conspiracy in York and the Republican Government of Holland. War was declared with Holland in 1665, and for some time it raged upon the seas rather to the advantage of the Dutch than to the English. As the English did not need to send an Army into Holland, and the Dutch made no attempt to invade England, there was no pretence for any large augmentation of the Military Forces at home. When in 1673 an attempt was made to increase the Army, the Commons resolved to grant no more supplies until secured against Popery. An address was voted against a standing Army, because the Duke of York having (in 1673) abjured the Protestant Faith, there was an apprehension of a Popish succession. And in the following year (1674) the Commons voted that any armed Force in the kingdom, excepting the Militia, was a grievance; whereupon the King engaged to disband it. But the ramifications of the political imbroglio ultimately brought France into collision with Holland, and then it was that 10,000 fresh troops were raised in England, and sent under the command of the Duke of Monmouth to aid the French King in his operations against the Dutch. It is recorded that the English troops acquired honour in every action in which they were engaged in the Netherlands, and materially contributed to the successes of Louis XIV. Those successes raised the power of Louis XIV. so considerably, and at the same time afforded Charles II. such good excuses for enlarging the limits of his own authority at home, that the Parliament, alarmed at his apparent disposition to render himself absolute, remonstrated in 1674 against the continuance of the Forces in France; and though the King did not absolutely carry out the resolution for their disbandment he was obliged to cause the recruiting in England to cease. In the same year peace was made with Holland.

Four years rolled on, and the power of France continued to augment. England chafed at this, and, for reasons which the reader is referred to the page of political history to learn, war was proclaimed. An army of 20,000 men was voted at once, and raised in a few weeks. All the Regiments which had been sent to France were recalled, and Monmouth, who had been appointed in 1668 to command the King's Body Guard, vice Lord Brandon, was despatched with 3,000 men to secure Ostend. Other troops went to Jersey and to Flanders. Utrecht surrendered at once to Monmouth, but before any active operations could take place the Peace of Nimeguen restored matters to the *status quo*, and the armaments had to be disbanded.

Seven years later Charles II. died. At the period of his demise the regular Army consisted of no more than 8,000 men. Besides the Corps already named, three other Regiments of the line had been permanently organised, including Dumbarton's, the 1st Royals, and the 3rd Buffs, which had always been previously known as the Holland Regiment.

It was during this reign that the bayonet, a weapon in which the British Infantry soldier has frequently and justly relied for success in actions when ammunition has been scarce and the foe at hand,—came into use, and, singularly enough, was first placed in the hands of Cavalry soldiers. A Royal Warrant, bearing date 2nd April, 1672, directed the arming of a Regiment of Dragoons, under the command of Prince Rupert, with, among other weapons, the matchlock musket, with a collar of bandoliers, and a *bayonet or great knife*. The bayonet, so named, was manufactured by a cutler in Bayonne, and was first *screwed into the barrel* of the matchlock, that, when ammunition was exhausted, the matchlock might be used as a pike. It was not for many years later that the British learnt, in action with the French, that it was possible to attach the bayonet to the musket without interfering with the fire. *Fas est ab hoste doceri* is a good adage, and the English were not slow to adopt its prescription.

Two other measures in connection with the land Forces distinguished the reign of Charles II. One of these concerned the Militia, and was resorted to as a means of strengthening the King's position, without obliging him to go to Parliament for more money for the maintenance of troops. His Majesty introduced a complete change in what hitherto had been called the feudal system. It was left to the several Lords-Lieutenant of counties to form a Militia, and to appoint the officers thereto—a piece of patronage which amazingly stimulated their exertions, and secured their loyalty. The King, however, retained the chief command in his own hands, and reserved to himself the right of annulling any of the appointments at his good-will and pleasure.

Mention of the other measure has been postponed to the last that it may form a climax to the generous acts with which the memory of

Charles II. may fairly be credited. He laid the foundation of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea. It has been alleged that that excellent institution for the support of "war-honoured age" originated in a suggestion of Nell Gwynne's. The story goes, that being solicited by a beggar, who told her he had shed his blood during the civil war in defence of the Royal cause, she urged the King to make provision for such devotees as were now subsisting upon alms. Whether Charles was really influenced by the appeal of his mistress, or was moved by some more responsible adviser, or was only governed by his own generous and unaided impulses, is hardly worthy of inquiry now. It is enough that, on the 12th of March, 1682, he laid the foundation stone of a fabric which has ever since been the home of the decayed and helpless soldier. Between the pensioner and the out-pensioner of Chelsea Hospital some hundreds of thousands have received relief in their old age, and to this hour the institution opens its hospitable gates to all who have a right to claim admission.

CHAPTER II.

Monmouth's Rebellion—Sedgmoor—The First Royals—Encampment at Hounslow—New Regiments—Soldiers and Religion—The Military Test—The Irish Recruits—The Portsmouth Captains—The Prince of Orange Arrives in England—His Force and its Reception—Encounters at Wincanton and Hungerford—Flight of King James II.

It is one of the misfortunes attending the reign of a monarch of loose principles and vicious practices, that his successors, as well as his subjects, have to contend with the consequences of his bequests. This fact was made manifest soon after the accession of James II. Charles, at his decease, left many illegitimate children, nine of whom he had publicly acknowledged and invested with rank, and, in some instances, with sinecure offices. One of these inheritances of the new King became a plague to him, and a charge to the public, in the very first year of the new reign. The Duke of Monmouth, to whom allusion has been made in the preceding chapter, asserted a claim to the throne, founded upon the alleged private marriage of his father, the late Monarch, to his mother, one Lucy Barlow or Waters.

Presuming that the reader is familiar with at least the most prominent events in the history of his own country, it can scarcely be necessary to enter more particularly into the details of Monmouth's rebellion than will suffice to show its connection with and bearing upon the Army.

The King's hands were sufficiently occupied with the Scottish revolt under Argyle, when news reached London of the landing of the Duke of Monmouth, at Lyme, in Dorsetshire. The strong desire of the King to re-establish Popery in his dominions had already awakened a spirit of discontent among his Protestant subjects, which only needed the presence of a pretender to the throne to fan into a flame. "*A Monmouth, Monmouth! the Protestant religion!*" burst from thousands of throats in the West of England, when the Duke's arrival was announced. His handful of followers set up a blue flag in the Lyme market-place as his particular ensign, and this was followed by the publication of a declaration, in which James was denounced as the murderer of his brother, and of Essex and Godfrey. This document, which was conceived in a very inflammatory tone, was full of flattering promises. All sects of Protestants were to enjoy perfect toleration—there were to be annual Parliaments, and no standing Army but the Militia. And although the Duke asserted the validity of his claim to the succession, he declared that he was content to abide by the decision of a free Parliament. This declaration, embracing principles so distinctly antagonistic to those which the Monarch *de facto* was industriously enforcing, yielded immense satisfaction, and attracted large bodies of yeomen, artisans, and tradespeople to Monmouth's standard. The better classes adhered to the King's cause, and assembled the Militia, who drove back the Duke's Cavalry at Bridport. Lord Grey of Wark, who commanded the rebel Cavalry, had seen service in France; but with raw, untrained bumpkins, mounted on plough horses, he could not do much harm. News arriving that Devonshire had declared for the Duke, he advanced to Exeter; thence to Taunton in Somersetshire, where he proclaimed himself—"King Monmouth." In Somersetshire, however, the opposition to his progress became more marked and effective. Churchill harassed him with Squadrons of the Horse Guards (Blue). This Churchill—afterwards destined to fill so conspicuous a place in the Military history of England as Duke of Marlborough—had been sent, in his twenty-third year, being then a subaltern in the Guards, to join the French forces against the Dutch. His intrepidity, his excellent judgment and professional attainments; his magnificent stature, expressive face, and engaging manners, won for him admiration, respect, and friendship. The defects of his education he repaired by close observation and original genius; and the soldiers were proud of their leader, and confided in him.

Monmouth pushed on to Wiltshire, in spite of his growing apprehension of ultimate failure and the vigour of the assaults on his flank by the regular Cavalry, and derived a little hope and con-

solation from the repulse of the Duke of Grafton at Philip Norton. Grafton retreated. The Protestants rising in Monmouth's favour at Bridgewater, he hastened thither without delay, but learnt on his arrival that the King's Forces had collected at Sedgmoor, a vast marshy plain, three miles from Bridgewater. Ascending the belfry of the principal church, the Duke saw the Regulars, to the number of 2,500, supported by 1,500 of the Wiltshire Militia, assembled to meet and repulse him. He distinguished the First Royals by their costume, and exclaimed, "I know those men; they will fight. If I had but those men all would go well."

The King's troops were commanded by the Earl of Feversham, a dissolute nobleman and incompetent soldier. Intelligence reaching Monmouth that Feversham and a large proportion of his troops were intoxicated, he determined upon a night surprise and attack. The moon was up, but the mist, which rose above the swamp, obscured every object at a distance of fifty yards. In the execution of his project Monmouth led the Infantry and Lord Grey the Horse, the whole of the troops shouting "Sots!" as they advanced to the attack. The Foot, however, could not act with the Cavalry, owing to the difficulties of the ground. At first the Regulars were repulsed, although they opposed the arms of the period to the scythes and muskets of the Duke's raw levies. At length a failure of ammunition turned the fortunes of the day, and the rebels gave way. To complete their discomfiture, the King's Artillery was brought into play through the exertions of a Serjeant Weems. The guns were attached to the several Regiments of Infantry, and so badly supplied with the means of transport, that the Bishop of Winchester is said to have lent his carriage horses to drag them into position.

The battle of Sedgmoor was decisive of the fate of Monmouth and his Army. He was made prisoner, appealed fruitlessly to the King's clemency, and was executed.

James was prodigal of his thanks to the troops, and conferred special rewards in money upon the First Royals, for the wounds and hurts the Officers and men had received. To Serjeant Weems a gratuity of 40*l.* was given for serving the great guns in an emergency. The First Royals was a very distinguished Regiment on several grounds:—it was the last of the Scottish Guards which had been kept up in the service of the Kings of France; from the ninth century, when Charles III. took twenty-four Scotchmen into his pay to act as a bodyguard, until the reign of Louis XIV., inclusive, there had always been a certain number of these hardy and faithful soldiers attached to the Royal person. They were recruited in Scotland. Louis XII. sent them over to attend the coronation of Charles I., and eight years later they revisited England to fight under their leader, Hepburn, against the Parliamentarian Army. The Scottish Guard returned to France on the destruction of Monarchy by the Roundheads, but, on the Restoration, they came permanently to England as the "Earl of Dumbarton's Foot," and the Corps was named by Charles II. the "1st Royal Regiment."

Anxious to ingratiate himself with the Army, as a means of realising his favourite project of catholicising the country, King James, at the commencement of his reign, established a camp at Hounslow, where the troops could be instructed in field operations through the medium of sham fights and sieges. The men of all arms at this time, including the troops which were recalled from Tangiers, as the place was found to be not worth the holding, amounted to about 20,000, of whom 12,000 were encamped at Hounslow. At first, the people contemplated the presence of so large a body of men in the vicinity of the metropolis with alarm, but when they found that the entire scene was one of gaiety and frivolity, countenanced by the Queen, the Princess Anne, and some of the beauties of the Court, who occupied marquees on the ground, they ceased to murmur, and resorted in crowds to the heath when their business afforded them sufficient leisure for pastime. Many Regiments had been raised when Monmouth's rebellion broke out, and at first bore the names of the Officers by whom they had been recruited, but they were now numbered and clothed alike. These were the 1st, or King's Dragoon Guards; the 2nd, or Queen's Bays; the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Dragoon Guards; the 3rd and 4th Light Dragoons; the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 16th, and 18th Regiments of the Line. The pay of the troops was good, considering the value of money in those days. Privates in the Life Guards drew four shillings per diem; in the Blues, two shillings and sixpence; the Dragoons had one shilling and sixpence each; the Foot Guards, tenpence; and the Line, eightpence.

Nothing could well be worse than the discipline of the Army at Hounslow. Crimes, exclusively Military, were committed with impunity, for the common law did not recognise Courts-Martial. It was only during a period of actual warfare that a mutineer or deserter was liable to be tried by a Military tribunal, and executed by the Provost-Marshal. James endeavoured to persuade the Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench and the Old Bailey to twist the law to his purposes. They were brave enough, however, to refuse to comply with his wishes: they would not do a great (public) wrong to do him a little (private) right. He therefore removed them, and supplied their places with more obsequious men, who caused

offenders to be convicted, sentenced to death, and executed in presence of their own Regiments.

The result of the trial of the seven bishops afforded King James the pretext he desired for ascertaining the loyalty of the Army, or, rather, its disposition to become a Papistical Force, and an instrument for the coercion of Parliament. Seated in his marquee, at dinner with the Earl of Feversham, after the bishops had been acquitted, he was startled by a loud shout proceeding from the soldiery; he sent the earl to ascertain its cause; the earl said it "was nothing but the soldiers rejoicing at the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that *nothing?*" cried the King. The event had disturbed him, and he soon afterwards quitted the camp. But the moment his back was turned, another loud and general shout proclaimed the delight of the troops. Fearing now that his political ends would be frustrated without the aid of the soldiery, he determined to ascertain, directly and unequivocally, how far they would contribute to the repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, which had been passed for the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from power. He directed, therefore, that each Regiment should be separately addressed, and began with the Earl of Lichfield's Corps, which afterwards became the 12th of the Line. The Major of the Regiment accordingly communicated the King's wishes to the Corps, intimating that, in case of their refusal to obey, they would be required to lay down their arms. The whole of the Regiment, with the exception of two Captains and four or five Popish soldiers, at once grounded their firelocks. The King was speechless for a while. He then told them to resume their arms, and that, for the future, he "would not do them the honour to seek their advice." In James's time, Corporal Trim had not enunciated the solemn fact that a "soldier has a soul, your honour;" the Papistical King looked upon him merely as an instrument of propagandism, or, if he gave the soldier credit for any religious feeling at all, he concluded that it was at least immaterial to the man whether he chose his own road to heaven, or accepted the one offered him by his Sovereign.

In this spirited refusal of the men to espouse the King's views, we are presented with a remarkable proof that a standing Army cannot always be a source of danger to the State.*

King James now lost no time in fashioning the Army to his own purposes. He availed himself of every pretence for cashiering Protestant Officers and soldiers, substituting for them a corresponding number of Irish Catholics. He had no difficulty in getting a large accession of troops in this way, for the good pay and quarters obtainable in England were a strong temptation to the poor Celts. Besides the Earl of Tyrconnel had paved the way for the monarch in forming a reliable Military Force out of the peasantry of the country. Whole Battalions were sent over for the King's Service to the infinite disgust of the English soldiery, who

* Very recently a striking instance occurred of the religious scruples which sometimes influence soldiers. A Highlander left a church in disgust because of the ritualistic absurdities that were in course of performance. Indeed, modern times have presented many remarkable examples of the piety of British soldiers. The names of Gardiner, Henry Havelock, Hedley Vicars, and Shadforth shed as bright a lustre upon the page of history as those which are only associated with deeds of high emprise. And why should it not be so? It has been well said by one of the most eloquent preachers of our day that we have the highest of all authority for affirming that there was no profession in this world upon which God has put so many time-honoured marks of His distinction as upon that of the soldier. "If we go back to the earliest history of the world," observes the Rev. Mr Fleming, "we shall find that the Lord distinguished Himself as the Lord of Hosts, at the head of His own people, and that the profession which of all others seemed to have been especially under His leading was the profession of the soldier. Let them take, for instance, the Book of Joshua. What was it? It seemed to him that it was the record of the exploits of an illustrious soldier, when God might have worked the same miracles to bring His people into the land of promise as He had pleased to do in the wilderness, where He cleft the rock, where He opened the Red Sea, where He fed them with manna from heaven. If He had been so pleased, He could by the breath of His nostrils have dispersed all those nations from before them; but nevertheless He chose, as the successor of Moses, not a law-giver, not a minister, not a priest, but a soldier by profession. Joshua was a man with a sword girded upon his thigh, and he was nominated for the stern mission. If they came to the New Testament, that profession was strikingly put before them. When He who spake as never man spake, who lived as never man lived, and who died as never man could die, hung upon the cross of Calvary, who was the solitary individual who at that crisis acknowledged the Saviour? When the courageous Peter was following afar off, when all His disciples forsook Him and fled, when those who sat in Moses' seat mocked and scorned Him, when the infuriated people who had followed Him for the loaves and fishes, taunted Him, saying, 'Save thyself and come down from the cross,' there was one man who did acknowledge Christ in that dark hour, and he was a soldier, a heathen centurion, a Roman Officer, who stood at the foot of the cross, and gave forth that wondrous confession of faith and honesty, 'Truly this was the Son of God!' He did it when there was no hope of promotion, when there was no hope of popularity, when there was nothing to gain by it, when others scorned and mocked, and offered to the dying Jesus bitter drink, then it was the soldier said, 'Truly this was the Son of God.' Then, coming on to our own days, they found that a wonderful change had passed over the Army and Navy, both being bound up together. There was a time when it was the fashion to fling a sneer at the man who was religious in the Army or Navy. There was a day when it seemed to be the idea that in proportion as a man became holy he ceased to be brave; that if he became religious, which was all very well for a clergyman, then the man was no longer fit to do his duty. They remembered that it had been a matter of record that those in the time of Nelson, who, by way of contempt, were called Methodists, were the men of all others whom, in the hour of need and of peril, that great man knew he could rely upon."

regarded the new comers as foreigners. "No man of English blood," says Macaulay, "then regarded the aboriginal Irish as his countrymen. The very language spoken by the Irish was different to their own. * * * The Englishman was a free man—the Irish were the hereditary serfs of his race: He worshipped God after a pure and rational fashion; the Irish were sunk in idolatry and superstition. He knew that great numbers of Irish had repeatedly fled before a small English colony, and he very complacently inferred that he was naturally a being of a higher order than the Irishman; for it is thus that a dominant race always explains its ascendancy and excuses its tyranny."

Imbued with motives so adverse to the new comers, it was not likely that the English soldiers would co-operate with the Irish, but at the same time the one—the strongest—would certainly control the other, and therefore James was solicitous that a majority of his troops should be brought from the sister isle. Irrespective of their Roman Catholicism there was in the Celt—as two centuries have now abundantly proved — the elements of the finest soldiership, only requiring a strict discipline to be shaped to the purpose of the leader.

The first batch of Irish recruits afforded occasion for a decided display of the hostility of the English to the importations. The detachment consisted of thirty men who were ordered by the Duke of Berwick, the Colonel of the Princess Anne of Denmark's Regiment, now the 8th Foot, to be enlisted. The English soldiers of the Corps refused to serve with them. The Lieutenant-Colonel Besumet, and five Captains, protested against the Irish recruits as an insult, not only to themselves but to the nation, and preferred resigning their commissions to receiving Roman Catholics into the ranks. Be it remembered, in their further justification, that at that period, and for many years later, the Irish were generally regarded by the English "as a stupid and a cowardly race." On receiving the protest of the Officers the King despatched the 6th Dragoon Guards to Portsmouth to bring the Officers before him. On their arrival they were tried by a Court-Martial, and Churchill, now become Baron Churchill, in the fervour of his disciplinary zeal, suggested that they should be put to death. The King, from combined motives of policy and humanity, objected to the adoption of so extreme a measure. The Officers were cashiered for their contumacy, and James actually allowed them to be reimbursed by the Treasury the expense they had incurred in raising their several companies or in purchasing their commissions. These Officers were the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Besumet, Captain the Honourable Thomas Paston, and Captains Simon Peake, Thomas Orme, John Porte, and William Cook. They were long known and reverenced by the people as "The Portsmouth Captains."

While the King was busily engaged in seeking to revive the Romanist religion throughout his realms, an intrigue was afoot, in which many distinguished noblemen took part, for hurling him from the throne and substituting a Prince of more decided Protestant feeling. Choice was made of William of Nassau the Prince of Orange, and the project had further justification in the fact of the Prince's being married to James's daughter Mary. William's prudence forbade his accepting the invitation of the Protestant nobles at once; he desired to be assured that he would be personally acceptable to the people at large, and that the success of his attempt to obtain possession of the Crown would be placed beyond all question. The recent disaster of the Duke of Monmouth was a warning to future adventurers, who should act upon the representations of the discontented, and trust to the accident of such enthusiasm as their presence might create. To all appearance William's success was certain; but, to make assurance doubly sure, he proceeded to collect together a large sum of money, and a strong Military Force. A great many English Officers and noblemen went to the Hague, the capital of Holland, where William was residing, to join the Prince, and in a few months a large and well-disciplined body of British troops was equipped for the expedition to England. No fewer than six hundred ships were freighted with the troops, the munitions of war, and the necessary provisions. King James, alarmed at the menacing aspect of affairs, immediately added four thousand English to the standing Army, and sent for three thousand Irishmen, in addition to the number already formed into Regiments. The French King, sympathising with James, had offered him the assistance of a large body of troops, but their support was declined, and Louis sent them to make war in Germany.

The Fleet in which William's Army was embarked was at first repulsed by a storm. A second attempt was more successful, and in a few days Dutch troops effected a landing at Torbay. The very first measure of the Prince of Orange, and his able General, Frederick Count Schomberg, who was universally esteemed the greatest living master of the art of war, tended to conciliate the people. Orders were issued that the inhabitants of the towns and villages were to be treated by the soldiery with consideration, their property untouched, and every article paid for that might be required in the progress of the troops eastward. Accustomed as the townspeople and peasantry had been to rudeness and pillage from the Royal troops, this conduct on the part of foreigners filled them

with surprise and delight, which were not lessened when they beheld the magnificent armament which William had brought over. The Cavalry were superbly dressed and admirably mounted; some of the big guns were of great length and weight, each requiring sixteen cart horses in its transport; the steadiness of the march, the glitter of the cuirasses, the splendour of the Officers' costumes, rich plumes waving from their hats, and gold lace decorating their coats, excited universal admiration. Nor was it merely in the glitter of his parade, and the protection afforded to the people, that William displayed a sound policy; careful to avoid wounding the pride or rousing the vindictive feelings of the nation he went to deliver and to govern, he took care so to place the British Regiments, which had been raised in his interest, that they should come into collision with the Royal *Irish* troops, which did the outpost duty. He thus assured himself of the sympathy of Englishmen to whom those Royals were obnoxious.

The first encounter—a mere skirmish—took place at Wincanton. The Irish soldiery, commanded by one Sarsfeld, a brave man and good Officer, were forced back by the van of William's troops. Desertions from the Royal cause now increased, and among other estrangements the King had to lament the defection of Lord Churchill and the Duke of Grafton. The King had concentrated a Force at Salisbury, whither he proceeded himself; but neither his presence, nor the exertions of his Officers, nor the devotion of his Irish troops, were proof against the steady onward movement of the Dutch Prince and his followers, and the national enthusiasm in their favour. After a feeble effort to maintain his position, James fled from Salisbury. The camp then broke up, and with so little order, that it rather resembled a retreat before the enemy than a simple retrograde movement. The *morale* of the Force being destroyed, an encounter at Hungerford gave an easy victory to William. Risings now took place all over the country in favour of the Prince. Seeing that all was over, the King directed Lord Feversham to disband the Army, while he, glad to accept the aid and sympathy which he had previously refused, fled to France.

The path being now clear, William hastened to the metropolis. Lords Churchill and Grafton were authorised to re assemble the dispersed English soldiers, and invite them to resume their Military character under the new dynasty. The Irish were compelled to deliver up their arms; all yielded excepting a small detachment at Tilbury Fort, where some acts of violence were perpetrated which only had the effect of augmenting the animosity of the English.

A considerable number of the English common soldiers manifested a reluctance to abandon the cause of King James. Indeed, Lord Dundee, one of the most devoted of the King's adherents, had offered to raise 10,000 men on his behalf, and engaged with that number to "drive out the Dutch and their Prince." This feeling induced William to send some of the disaffected Corps to places remote from London, or to Flanders, or Ireland, for nearly the whole population of the latter country still favoured the cause of the fugitive monarch.

CHAPTER III.

The Mutiny Act Passed—James Arrives in Ireland—New Regiments Raised—Killicrankie—War with France—Expedition to the Netherlands—The Battle of Wallcourt—King William Goes to Ireland—The Battle of the Boyne—Churchill—The Pay of the Troops—War and Weapons from the Earliest Times—Gunpowder and Cannon—Mons Meg—The King Goes to Holland—Churchill Created Lord Marlborough—The Sieges of Athlone and Limerick—The Battle of Steenkerke—A Soldier's Temptations—Camp Life and its Results—The Battle of Landen.

The inadequacy of the Common Law to deal with Military Officers after a fashion to secure discipline and order, induced Parliament, immediately after the accession of "William III.," to pass an Act for the punishment of mutiny and desertion. Its provisions were simple, and have been adhered to with little deviation in principle, but with considerable expansion in detail, to the present hour. This first "Mutiny Act" provided that the Army might be continued, and that the King might levy more troops; that any Officer or soldier who should excite, cause, or join in any mutiny or sedition, should suffer death, "or such other punishment as by a Court-Martial might be awarded;" it gave power to the King or to the General of his Army to grant commissions to Lieutenant-Generals and other Officers, not under the rank of Colonel, to hold Courts-Martial, but enacted that no such Courts should consist of fewer than thirteen Officers, none of whom should be under the rank of Captain; that Field Officers should be tried by Field Officers only, and that no sentence of death should be passed unless *nine* out of the thirteen Officers assented to the decree. Finally, the Act provided that Courts-Martial should be held between eight o'clock a.m. and one p.m.

James had not been long in France ere he was induced by his Irish friends to make an effort to regain possession of the English Throne. He accordingly proceeded to Ireland, sustained by a body of French troops, and was received with wild enthusiasm. William, who was now the recognised Sovereign of the English people, saw

the importance of crushing this attempt upon James's part to resume his authority, and immediately raised fresh troops, as his Dutch Contingent was insufficient for his purposes.

The newly-raised troops became the 7th Dragoon Guards; the 6th Enniskillen Dragoons; the 7th Light Dragoons; the 16th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th Regiments of the Line.

James's progress from Kinsale, in the south of Ireland, where he landed, to Dublin, was very satisfactory to himself. The Roman Catholic religion prevailed generally throughout that portion of the island. In the North, however, where a large admixture of the Scottish element had given a preponderance to Protestant feeling, he found some resistance. The inhabitants of Londonderry and Enniskillen refused to recognise him, preferring to endure a siege rather than open their gates to one whose Papistical sentiments they abhorred. The defence of Londonderry, conducted by a clergyman of the name of Walker—truly a member of the Church militant—is commemorated to this hour, for James, after losing 9,000 men, was compelled to raise the siege both of Derry and Enniskillen, and to direct his attention to other places. Meanwhile, William sent a large Force over to Ireland under Schomberg's command, and many conflicts took place in which the Irish exhibited their combative qualities, much to the advantage of the self-exiled monarch. At Carrickfergus, Newry, Dundalk, and other towns, there was a strong anti-Protestant feeling, and almost everywhere the peasantry, numbers of whom had formed themselves into an armed body, under the name of Rapparees, laid waste the country, intercepted the foraging parties, and, dashing upon them from ambuscades, carried off their horses and arms. The winter was unusually severe, which greatly increased the sufferings of the soldiery. The Dutch troops were better off than the English, because experience had made them masters of many of the minor arts of war, and they were enabled, by collecting timber and straw, to hut themselves. The English soldiers have always been clumsy at contrivances, and have only within the last fifteen years been taught the importance of turning the gifts of Nature to account in procuring shelter from the inclemency of the weather.

While the Irish—to use the language of Mr Disraeli during the great debate (April 1868) on the Irish Church question—were "fighting like gentlemen for their Sovereign," the Highlanders in Scotland were doing deeds of high emprise under the gallant Dundee. Between 5,000 and 6,000 men were in arms for the Stewart. General Mackay was sent by William to subdue them. He managed to coop them up in the hills for a time, but Dundee contrived to shift his quarters continually, and at length forced Mackay to give him battle at Killicrankie. Mackay was defeated because, as he said, the 4th Horse (afterwards the 3rd Dragoon Guards) were away. With that Corps he believed he could have recovered the day. However, Dundee being killed in action, the Highlanders abandoned the field and tranquillity was for a time restored in Scotland.

But troubles arose elsewhere. The King of France, probably taking advantage of the employment of the English and Dutch troops in Ireland and Scotland, violated the treaty of Nimeguen, and invaded Germany. To check this aggressive spirit, a confederation was formed by the Emperor of Germany, the Elector of Brandenburg, the States General, and Spain; and England, having been a party to the treaty, was under an obligation to join the confederation. Each of the allies having to contribute a quota of troops, William, in 1689, sent a Contingent under Churchill, on whom he had conferred the Earldom of Marlborough, to act with Prince Waldeck's Army. This Prince, who was advanced in life, and had not been successful in his Military vocations, was not popular as a Commander, and the share which he had in the hostilities now commenced did not contribute to remove the odium under which he had laboured. In August 1689 the battle of Walcourt was fought. Marshal d'Humieres, the French leader, having advanced with his whole Army to surprise a large body of Dutch Cavalry, an opportunity was given to several British Regiments of distinguishing themselves. Perceiving the danger to which the Horse were exposed, Prince Waldeck signalled their return, but the French fell upon them, the vanguard attacking the village of Forge. Here 800 English troops, under Colonel Hodges of the 16th Foot, with Lieutenant-Colonel Eves and a Major of Horse, were posted. For two hours they maintained their ground with extraordinary resolution. Superior numbers compelling them to give way, they retired in good order to Walcourt, followed by the French, upon whom they now turned, and a fierce conflict ensued. Marlborough commanded the English, among whom were the 3rd, 7th, and 21st Regiments, in addition to the 16th.* They all behaved admirably, finally repulsing the French, who retreated with the loss of 2,000 in killed and wounded, several pieces of cannon, and a quantity of ammunition. The loss of the English was 300 only, including, however, Lieutenant-Colonel Grimes.

* The 16th was one of the Regiments which, under James, refused to fight against the Prince of Orange. James caused the Corps to be disbanded. It was reorganised by Churchill, and, as we have seen, proved of much service to William III. in the Netherlands.

Dissatisfied with the slow progress of Schomberg in Ireland, King William resolved, in the spring of 1690, to take the field in person. Having an Army on foot of 36,000 men, he proceeded to Ireland in the spring, accompanied by Prince George, the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Oxford, and others. In compliment to the latter, and to distinguish them from a Dutch Regiment which wore the same kind of uniform, the Royal Horse Guards were called the "Oxford Blues," a title which they bear to this hour.

William directed his course towards Drogheda, on the banks of the Boyne, where he found the troops of James drawn up to dispute his passage. He immediately attacked them. The conflict was sharp and decisive. The English Regiments were not much exposed, and had little opportunity of distinguishing themselves. To the Dutch, therefore, mainly belongs the credit of reaping victory at the battle of the Boyne, and ridding their Prince of his enemy. Schomberg, unfortunately, was slain during the action; but whether by the Dragoons against whom he was operating at the moment, or by an accidental bullet from the musket of one of his own men, must always remain a question.

It would far exceed the limits of this work to attempt to give the details of any of the battles in which the British Army has been engaged during the last two hundred years. The utmost that can be expected is a minute chronicle of the progress that has been made in the art-Military; a description of the changes effected in the organisation and equipment of the troops; a general record of the mighty achievements of our noble Military establishments; and a faithful accumulation of the incidents of warfare which have shed lustre on the names of privates and Officers alike, in the various fields in which they have been engaged, in every quarter of the world. No detail, therefore, of the movements at the battle of the Boyne is offered.

The successes of William in other parts of Ireland were not so decided as on "the Boyne water." He reduced Waterford, but was repulsed at Limerick, and his General, Douglas, was compelled to raise the siege of Athlone. In fact, it was not until Marlborough went to Cork with 5,000 English and 4.000 Danes that the French and Irish were subdued. The Duke of Grafton was killed at the siege of Cork. William was heard to say that he knew no man who had seen so little of war so fit to be a General as the Earl of Marlborough. The English people went further in the praise of their native hero, and emphatically declared that he had achieved more important results in one month than the King's phlegmatic Dutch friend had done in two campaigns.

Some men are gifted with a natural aptitude for war, and, without any previous preparation, will assume commands, and direct difficult operations which often baffle the exertions of trained warriors. Others, though only occupying subordinate rank, will give so much of their attention to a study of the science of war, that, when opportunity presents itself, they are found to be capable of taking prominent positions, and securing victory where their seniors would only reap defeat and disaster. To the former category belong Cromwell, Clive, Washington, Garibaldi: to the latter, Napoleon, Wellington, Havelock, Nicholson, and Marlborough. The last are by far the safer class. Washington himself, though belonging to the former, in urging upon Congress the importance of Military instructions (see his last Annual Message of December 7th, 1796), used the following words: "Whatever argument may be drawn from particular examples, superficially viewed, a thorough examination of the subject will evince that the art of war is both comprehensive and complicated; that it demands much previous study; and that the possession of it in its most improved and perfect state is always of great moment to the security of a nation." He might have added, that it is the most difficult of all the sciences, for, as the American General Halleck has justly said, "it embraces nearly every branch of human learning." Marlborough, as has been already observed, was not a man whose early education had been much attended to, but when once he embraced a Military life, he seems to have paid close attention to its conditions. His residence in France was an advantage to him, for in those days the French Army was the best school of discipline. Turenne enforced it. He knew that without it an Army would degenerate into a mere rabble of brigands and outlaws, more dangerous to the Commonwealth than to a national enemy. The lessons of history had not been thrown away upon him; the wonderful defence of Thermopylæ by the Spartans, whether a fact or a fable, was, as historians recount it, as instructive an example of the value of strict discipline, as the ruin of Hannibal's Army and of Anthony, on the Parthian expedition, were illustrations of the mischief resulting from its absence. Churchill took a leaf out of Turenne's book, and as his responsibility increased with his advancement, he introduced bye-laws for the regulation of the troops under his immediate command, as opportunity offered. For all this he had ample authority from the King. William III. was himself a strict disciplinarian. The Dutch troops were governed by a rigid code, and the wars in which they had been engaged on the Continent of Europe reconciled them to its value.

As we have entered upon comparatively a new phase in the career of the British soldier, it may

not be amiss to take a survey of the state of the Army in 1690.

In numerical strength the Army consisted of between 40,000 and 50,000 men, English and Dutch, about one-half of whom were to be permanently retained. The composition of each Regiment very much resembled that of the present day in respect to the different ranks and gradations of rank, and the following table represents the scale of daily pay drawn by all classes:

CAVALRY.

HORSE AND LIFE GUARDS.

	£	s.	d.
Colonel, as Colonel, 12s.; as Captain, 10s.; two horses at 2s. each	1	6	0
Lieutenant-Colonel, as Lieutenant-Colonel, 8s.; as Captain, 10s.; two horses at 2s. each	1	2	0
Major, as Major, no troop	1	0	0
Captain, as Captain, 10s.; two horses, 2s. each	0	14	0
Lieutenant, as such, 6s.; two horses, 2s. each	0	10	0
Cornet, as such, 5s.; two horses, 2s. each	0	9	0
Quartermaster, 4s.; two horses, 1s. each	0	6	0
Corporal	0	3	0
Trumpeter	0	2	8
Private Trooper	0	2	6

The pay of the Dragoons was at nearly the same rate as the Horse and Life Guards. The Colonel and Major received precisely the same sums; the Lieutenant-Colonel two shillings less; the Captains had eight shillings; the Lieutenants four shillings; the Cornets three shillings; the Quartermasters three shillings; and only one shilling per day for each horse. The pay of the serjeants was one shilling and sixpence; of corporals and drummers, one shilling; the trooper had to keep himself and his horse on one shilling and sixpence per day. The Adjutant received five shillings; the Surgeon six shillings; the Chaplain six shillings and eightpence; and the gunsmith was allowed eight shillings per diem for himself and a servant.

The following shows the rates of pay of the

INFANTRY.

	£	s.	d.
Colonel, as Colonel, 12s.; as Captain, 8s.	1	0	0
Lieutenant-Colonel, as Lieutenant-Colonel, 7s.; as Captain, 8s.	0	15	0
Major, as Major, 5s.; as Captain, 8s.	0	13	0
Captain	0	8	0
Lieutenant	0	4	0
Ensign	0	3	0
Adjutant	0	4	0
Quartermaster	0	4	0
Surgeon	0	4	0
Surgeon's Mate	0	2	6

The pay of the Chaplain, the serjeants, corporals, and drummers, was the same as in the Dragoons, but the privates had eightpence per day only.

Very little deviation was made from the cumbrous style of costume introduced by Charles II., but a slight improvement was effected in the arms and accoutrements. Out of compliment to three of the new Regiments a light fusil was substituted for the ponderous musket, and the swords were made longer and keener. The bandoleers went out and pouches came in, and a flint lock superseded the old matchlock.

Considering the vast antiquity of war, it is strange that the introduction of special weapons for human destruction, and the various improvements upon them, should have been so very gradual. We read in "Exodus" of chariots and horsemen, of Captains and swords. We learn from "Numbers" that youth went to war at twenty years of age, and we then first read of encampments, their order, and the pitching of the standard. In the same book we find mention made of assemblies at the sound of the trumpet, and of the division of spoil and booty. "Deuteronomy" tells of sieges, of floggings for disobedience of orders and infraction of discipline; of the measures taken for enforcing cleanliness in camps; of arrows, and fortifications. The Book of Joshua speaks of the Commissariat, whose business it was to "prepare victuals" for the soldiery. That great soldier taught his successors a lesson in strategy by the manner in which he took the city of Ai. We read also in the same interesting chronicle of pillage and slaughter. In "Judges" we find mention of "setting watches;" and in "Samuel" use is first made of the word "Artillery," not as applicable to guns, for such things were of course unknown, but to armaments generally. Then we read of armour and armour-bearers, the javelin, the sling, and of garrisons. At this period the Armies were very numerous, consisting of 400,000 or 500,000 men; in Joab's time of 800,000 "valiant Israelites, who drew the sword." And, at a later period, nearly 600 years before the Christian era, we are told in "Jeremiah" of the buckler and the shield, the spear and the helmet, and of the Lydians that "handle the bow." According to tradition and Cæsar, the Ancient Britons were the first to use the battle-axe, and they appear to have improved upon the war chariot system by using two chariots at a time, one drawn by four swift horses and armed with scythes and grappling irons, and directed by a single man, while the other contained a few valiant combatants, who used bows and arrows against Infantry, but, dismounting, attacked the Cavalry with swords. The Normans appear to have been the first to introduce a long bow, and to invent machines for throwing stones of considerable weight. Horse armour likewise owes its origin to them.

The order and arrangements under which Armies assembled, and the peculiar form in which they made their attacks, varied with circumstances and nations. Each, however, borrowed from an

enemy what appeared to have been effective against themselves in action. The idea of the wedge practised by the Grecian and Roman phalanges was not unfamiliar to the Danes. The laws of the latter people peculiarly favoured courage in battle. It was decreed that a Dane who wished to acquire a character for bravery should always attack two enemies, stand firm and receive the assault of three, retire one pace from four, and flee from no fewer than five.

Naturally, the application of gunpowder to purposes of war wrought a very material change in the arms of the soldiery, and, in a great measure superseded individual prowess by skill. Whether invented by the Chinese, or, as alleged, by Schwartz, a German, we know for certain that the explosive came into use in Europe early in the fourteenth century. The Italians employed it to project missiles through tubes which they called *cannone* (a hollow reed), and Edward III. adopted it at the battle of Cressy in big guns formed of longitudinal bars of iron fitted together and firmly braced by hoops covered with leather and fixed in beds or carriages of wood.* This was, as we have said, in the fourteenth century, yet Shakespeare, whose anachronisms are of frequent occurrence, makes King John, who reigned 130 years before the date of Cressy, say to Chatillon, the French Ambassador—

> "Be thou as lightning in the eyes of France,
> For ere thou can's't report I will be there,
> The *thunder of my cannon shall be heard.*"

And King Philip, in the same play, says, speaking of Angiers—

> "—— Our thunder from the south
> Shall rain their drift of bullets on the town."

Probably the noise of the early artillery was as effective as the projectiles which issued from its throat. Petruchio, an Italian, another of Shakespeare's characters, makes a peculiar merit of his indifference to a woman's tongue, "which gives no greater blow to the ear than doth a chesnut in a farmer's fire," because he has "heard great ordnance in the field, and heaven's artillery thunder in the skies." The *idea* of cannon once obtained, the English were not long in applying it to other implements of propulsion. Hand cannon came into use in 1471. They were small pieces of ordnance borne by two men. When Edward IV. landed at Ravenspur he had 300 Flemings thus armed. The arquebus or hacquebus (from *arcus butus*), corrupted into *hackbut*, and sometimes called the petronel, came into fashion in the reign of Richard III. It was a straight matchlock, but as the aim from the chest was bad, the Germans gave a hooked form to the butt which admitted of its being placed against the shoulder. In 1483 the Yeomen of the Guard were supplied by Henry VII. with the improved weapon, and to render the aim more steady and the fire more effectual, the hackbut was provided with a *rest*, with an iron ferrule, which allowed of its being driven into the ground, the other end being bifurcated for the reception of the stock of the piece. The weight of the hackbut rendered it impossible for the soldier to retain it in a horizontal position without this auxiliary.

Pistols, another and more facile manual application of the *cannone*, were now introduced at Pistozia (whence the name), and soon became general. From that time, until 1534, many varieties of cannon, bombs, and mortars were tried. The inventive faculty in this branch of manufacture, stimulated by reward and Royal encouragement, was as active then as it has been since 1852, but with less important results, the most formidable piece of ordnance then introduced being the culverin, or *coulevrine*, which was 5½ inches in the bore, and threw a shot of 18lbs. weight.

It is on record that breech-loaders were exhibited in 1537, in the reign of Henry VIII., but they do not appear to have come into practice.

We can trace no particular advance in the structure and composition of fire-arms during the succeeding reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, James, and Charles, but it is worthy of remark that an improvement in our sword-blades arose out of the quarrel with Spain, whose "Toledos" were formidable in close quarters; and the friendly example of the ponderous Dutch attached us more and more to the heavy cannon, whose weight partially neutralised their utility. They were only fit for the ramparts of fortresses to overawe the citizens, or alarm them with the possibility of their bursting if there should be any occasion for their being discharged. One of these remarkable guns was presented by the Hollanders to Queen Elizabeth in recognition of the support she had given them against the Spaniards. It was affec-

* The most familiar example of a gun of this description is the famous Mons Meg, now at Edinburgh. The legendary history of the gun is curious. It is said to have been made by a blacksmith called McKinn, out of bars of iron contributed by the people of Kirkcudbright during the siege, by James II. of Scotland in 1455, of Threave Castle, the last stronghold of the Douglas family. Its weight was 6½ tons, and its calibre 19½ inches. The charge of powder was a peck, and in a short time the garrison surrendered. The name "Meg" was derived from McKinn's wife, whose voice was said to rival that of her namesake. Mons Meg was of a calibre far exceeding any known in our day; but there were others in excess of her proportions. The Kemerlicks of the Dardanelles reached the enormous calibre of twenty-eight inches. These ancient guns were, in fact, specially designed of this great capacity in order that they might carry rough masses of stone. Improvements in the quality of gunpowder and the introduction of cast-iron shot led to the discontinuance of these wrought-iron guns at the close of the fifteenth century.

tionately called "the pocket pistol," and graced the battlements of Dover Castle. Its length was twenty-four feet, and it bore a singular motto.

To return from the digression regarding firearms to the chronological course of our history.

We have reached the year 1691.

Matters had not proceeded satisfactorily for the Allies on the Continent in William's absence. Marshal Luxembourg was too much for Prince Waldeck. King William's presence became of vital consequence. He was the very life and soul of the Confederacy. His warlike spirit, and the confidence which the soldiery had in him, no less than his professional skill, gave assurance that success would invariably ensue when he commanded. Released from the necessity of attending in person to Irish affairs, the King embarked for Holland in March, and made directly for the capital of the States General. Tempestuous weather checked his progress, but no consideration of adverse winds could control his iron heart. Embarking in an open boat with a few followers, he forced his way to the Hague, where an immense body of confederate Princes and chieftains had assembled to greet his appearance. To gratify them and the inhabitants, rather than to please himself, for he had an aversion to state shows and parades, the King made a triumphal entry into the Hague. Everywhere he was hailed with acclamation. Feasting and ceremonials would have engaged the attention of a people anxious to give a hospitable welcome to the mainstay of the Alliance, but William too well knew the value of time. He hastened to the camp. Marlborough had been doing his work right well, and maintained the reputation of the English arms. Prince Vaudemont said of him to the King: "There is something in the Earl of Marlborough that is inexpressible; for the fire of Kirke,* the thought of Lanier,* the skill of Mackay,* and the bravery of Colchester,* seem united in his person; and I have lost my knowledge of physiognomy if any subject you have can ever attain to such Military glory as this combination of sublime perfections must advance him to."

A brief campaign in the Netherlands, resulting in nothing of importance to either side, and the presence of the King being needed in England, William returned to his seat of government, leaving Marlborough to represent him with the English Contingent.

The conduct of Military operations in Ireland had been assigned to General Ginckel, who displayed much skill and vigour in the execution of his task. Advancing to the shores of the Shannon, where the Jacobites—as James's followers were called—still maintained the cause of the ex-King, Ginckel laid siege to Athlone. The town was defended by the French under General St Ruth, and the Irish under their favourite, the gallant Sarsfield. St Ruth established a *tête-du-pont* at the head of the bridge. Ginckel was unable to force the outwork; it became necessary therefore to ford the river. St Ruth did not believe that such an attempt would be made in his presence; but Sarsfield, who appreciated bravery even in a foe, said, in a melancholy tone, "He does not know the English." And Sarsfield's compliment was not undeserved. On the 31st of June, 1691, the English Grenadiers of the 6th Foot, forming a forlorn hope, dashed into the stream, and, locking their arms together, waded twenty abreast across a ford, and, in the face of a terrible fire of artillery and musketry, gained the opposite bank, and drove the Irish from the bridge-head. This cleared the way, and Athlone fell to Ginckel's arms. Immediately following upon the reduction of Athlone, a battle was fought at Aghrim, and here again the English troops covered themselves with honour, defeating the combined French and Irish Forces, in spite of the natural difficulties of the country, with the loss of 4,000 men, the English losing but 1,400 in killed and wounded. In the following month of August, Ginckel captured Limerick after a stout resistance on the part of the garrison. Every honour was paid to the heroic defenders, and every indulgence granted them that generosity could dictate. On the capitulation of the garrison, the Irish were allowed the alternative of entering the Royal Service, or of going to France. They adopted the latter course. Ten thousand were immediately transported thither, and were formed into the "Irish Brigade," which afterwards acquired so much renown in the French Service.

On the 6th of March, 1692, King William again embarked for the Continent of Europe, and at once joined the Army of the Confederacy at Louvain. Affairs were growing serious. Marshal Luxembourg had defeated Prince Waldeck at Fleurus, and was now laying siege to Namur, which fortress he took. William endeavoured to relieve the town, as its possession was of the greatest moment to the Confederates, but he was unable to effect the desired object. The measures which he took, however, compelled the French to occupy a new position between Enghien and Steenkerke, where they were attacked by a combined German, Dutch, and English Force, under the Prince of Wirtemberg and General Mackay. The advance was made with admirable spirit and rapidity. Count Solmes, a Dutch Officer, commanded the Reserves. At the first assault, a French advance guard were made prisoners, and the main body were thrown into confusion. But even in their broken condition they fought valorously, and the

* All noted Generals of the period.

English troops suffered severely. It was Solmes's duty to support the first column of attack, but, hating the English, he remained idle, and was said to have replied to the recommendation of those about him that he should move forward, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make us." The King, who was on the field, enraged at Solmes's inactivity, exclaimed, "Oh, my poor English; how they are abandoned!" Solmes's wilful neglect enabled Luxembourg to rally his scattered Battalions, and resume the contest. Advancing in his turn, he attacked the English on some broken ground, and in the midst of hedgerows and ditches. The King came up with a strong body of Infantry, including the 1st Royal Regiment, the 2nd Queen's, the 4th Foot, and the 6th Foot. For three hours an unequal and desperate combat was maintained with the enemy. Muzzle to muzzle fought the English and French. Lieutenant-Colonel Fox, one of the 6th, fell mortally wounded. Brigadier-General Scoles was likewise slain. The Horse Grenadier Guards, to which Corps he belonged, dismounted and acted as Infantry in the *melée*. Fitzhardinge's Dragoons did the same. They charged like veterans. At a crisis in the action, Marshal Boufflers came up to the support of Luxembourg with fresh troops. William was obliged to give way. The retreat was effected in excellent order, the Grenadiers and Dragoons covering the rear.* The carnage was terrible. The Allies lost 5,000 men, among whom were Generals Mackay and Lanier, Lieutenant-Colonel Hawley, and the distinguished Sir Robert Douglas. At the head of the Royals, which he commanded, Douglas cleared a hedge of the French troops, and followed them up to a second and a third hedge. Reaching a fourth he overthrew a Battalion of the enemy. Here, however, one of the colours of the Regiment was captured; whereupon Douglas sprang through a gap in the hedge, slew the French Officer who bore the ensign, and flung it back to his men. At that moment the gallant Douglas was shot dead by a French Grenadier.

The headlong intrepidity which the British Infantry displayed at Steenkerke raised them and their country essentially in the estimation of the warrior King, in spite of the laxity of discipline which still prevailed. That they accomplished so much is really a matter of surprise, seeing how little Military training any of the Regiments had had. Excepting those which served at Tangiers against the Moors, none had enjoyed any of the experience which satisfies soldiers that their safety and their success mainly depend upon their subordination and steadiness. Since 1685, when the greater portions of the Regiments were raised for the spurt with Monmouth, the soldiers had been disbanded and hastily re-collected, without the advantage of instruction under Officers who had seen service. Marlborough could not be everywhere, and the necessity for immediately taking the troops into the field, either in Ireland or the Netherlands, precluded the possibility of careful drill under any other Officers. The men were therefore little better than holiday soldiers, who had been selected to swell the pageants and protect the person of the monarch, or raw levies snatched from the plough to carry the matchlock. Add to these circumstances, the temptations to loose indulgence incidental to camp life away from home, and we are left to wonder at the feats achieved in the field. How admirably the eloquent Henry Ward Beecher has described the mischiefs and dangers to which men are exposed, in exchanging the peaceful occupations to which they have been accustomed in their own towns and villages for a Military life in time of war! "As Armies are formed, it must necessarily be the case that they shall come together in an ill-assorted and sociably unfit manner. The art of living with other people as they come up in life is no small art; and surely if a man does not learn it in the Army, it is because he is not apt to learn. You can scarcely conceive of men brought together with less principle of assortment than in voluntary Regiments. Many are ruined in learning this lesson, and many are ruined that need not have been, had some one taught them, warned them, and encouraged them to maintain their own individuality. Old and young are huddled together, men of strong will and impressible dispositions are brought in contact with each other, and you know which will receive the dirt. The hard and the soft are side by side; among them are the proud man that receives no impressions from others, and the approbative man that stands on his own root by a slender stem, and nods and bobs

* It will be in the recollection of the reader of Sterne's 'Tristram Shandy' that Corporal Trim was run over in this retreat by a Dragoon. "Had Count Solmes obeyed orders," said Yorick, drolling a little on the corporal, "he had saved thee." "Saved!" cried Trim, interrupting Yorick, and finishing the sentence for him after his own fashion, "he had saved five Battalions, an' please your reverence, every soul of them. There was Cutt's," continued the Corporal, clapping the forefinger of his right hand upon the thumb of his left, and counting round his hand, "there was Cutt's, Mackay's, Angus's, Graham's, and Leven's, all cut to pieces; and so had the English Life Guards, too, had it not been for some Regiments on the right, who marched up boldly to their relief, and received the enemy's fire in their faces before any one of their platoons discharged a musket. They'll go to heaven for it," added Trim. "Trim is right," said my Uncle Toby. "What signified his mounting his horse," continued the corporal, "where the ground was so straight and the French had such a notion of hedges, and copses, and ditches, and felled trees laid this way and that to cover them. Count Solmes should have sent us: we would have fired muzzle to muzzle with them for their lives."

in the wind like a rush or daisy. It is a good school if it did not spoil so many for the sake of making a few. But so it is. The Army is so formed, that the first lesson and the first danger of those who go into it, is that of living with men who are entirely unlike themselves. There is a sudden change in all the habits of life. Men become their own cooks, their own sempstresses, their own washerwomen; tables, linen, cups and plates of crockery disappear. Men go down to camp life to become almost savage in the midst of domestic economies. No beds receive them, such as they have been accustomed to. No such relations of table and social intercourse as they have previously enjoyed, are enjoyed by them now. All influences calculated to promote the exterior and physical proprieties of life seem to be removed from them. These things are apt to beget great carelessness and rudeness, and even a positive barbarism, unless they are resisted and counteracted. * * * The most important elements of social life are changed. The restraints, the affections, the softening influences of the household, are taken away from the soldier in the camp. No man can imagine the difference that this makes till he has seen it and felt it. Men that at home are not only moral and decorous, but who are without temptations or desire to be anything else, when they get away from home do things so utterly out of character that they seem not to be the same persons. * * * To this must be added the almost necessary rudeness of a womanless state. If God were to take the sun and moon and stars out of the heavens, the chances for husbandry would be what?—if God were to take women out of life, what would be the chances for refinement and civilisation? Woman carries civilisation in her heart; it springs from her. Her power and influence mark the civilisation of any country. A man that lives in a community where he has the privileges of woman's society, and is subject to woman's influence, is almost of necessity refined, more than he is aware of; and when men are removed from the genial influence of womanhood, the very best degenerate or feel the deprivation. One of the mischiefs of camp life is, that women are removed from it. The men may not know what it is that lets them down to a lower state of rudeness, or what that subtle influence was that kept them up to a higher state of refinement, but it is the absence of women in the one case, it was the presence of women in the other. Woman is a light which God has set before man to show him which way to go, and blessed is he that hath sense enough to follow it."

This is so powerfully and truthfully said, that its influence as an excuse for camp irregularities might be weakened by the adduction of any other arguments. But we feel the importance of providing a palliation *d'avance* for the many—unhappily too many—instances of recklessness and insubordination which the following pages will disclose. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse*, is a good maxim in the main. And if we did not know that the accusation must and will inevitably come, we should hold it bad policy to anticipate its arrival by a premature defence. But this is an exceptional case, and it were to be wished that all who read of the excesses of a British Army in bygone times could carry along with them the apologies which are provided in the foregoing extracts from an admirable sermon, and the few passages we shall append.

"To the causes of irregularity already advanced must be added the evils which are liable to spring out of the interplay and alternations of idleness and excessive exertion in camp life. Men whose habits are regular are half saved to begin with. A man who has an order of business which brings something to be done every hour—which fills every hour with occupation, is a match for the devil. Satan finds plenty of mischief for idle hands to do, and very little for busy hands. But men whose calling is spasmodic, who use up their strength in limited forms, and then fall back upon indolence and self-indulgence, are peculiarly in danger. * * * * * Experience will show that while regular and successive industries which furnish employment for every hour conduce to morals, excessive labour for a few hours, followed by long intervals of indolence, is demoralising. No man can go through the experience of such labour and indolence, and come out sound and well. Now this is peculiarly the experience of the camp. The drill goes for nothing—that is mere play. But with camp life comes the long march to-day, and the lying still for three or four days; the desperate conflict with all its excitement for a few hours, and the rest for the ensuing week: long periods of inactivity, interspersed with occasional intensifications of activity. These things shape the habits of the whole moral fabric of men. The body ceases to perform its normal functions, the tendencies of life are different, and the whole character is changed under such circumstances." * * * *

Mr Beecher added some words on the subject of intemperance, but as nothing new was or can be advanced to prove its danger to truth, and morals, and discipline, and its utter folly when water can be obtained to slake the thirst, exhilarate the spirits, and invigorate the system, they need not be quoted here.

To resume the narrative.

King William, as usual, returned to England when the season for Military operations had terminated with the disastrous battle of Steenkerke.

In the following year (1693), however, he again buckled on his armour, and was soon at the head of the Confederate Army in the field. The same skilful General who had baffled the Allies in previous campaigns was still in command of the French Forces. Luxembourg, finding himself confronted by the heroic King of England, now manœuvred to place William in such a position that he should be either obliged to abandon the towns of Brabant to the French, or fight with an inferior Force. With more valour than prudence William accepted the latter alternative, and a very severe battle at Neerwinden and Landen* was the result. The retreat of the combined Forces was the upshot of the contest. William conducted the retreat with a skill which elicited the homage of his adversaries. He fearlessly exposed his person, as he had done at the Boyne, and not only received several shots in his ample clothes while fighting at the head of Galway's Squadrons, but ran great hazard of being made prisoner. Surrounded by French troops, he was on the point of being captured, when Lieutenant the Honourable H. Compton, with a part of a troop, dashed at the enemy and rescued his Sovereign. For this exploit the Lieutenant was subsequently promoted to a Colonelcy. Nor were these the only Dragoons that showed themselves equal to a great emergency. The 1st or Queen Consort's Regiment of Dragoon Guards, and the 4th" Royal Irish Dragoons, then called the 5th or Langston's Horse, enacted prodigies of valour, Colonel Langston himself laying about him fiercely with his broadsword, and stretching many a Frenchman on the sod. Equally redoubtable were the 6th Dragoon Guards, or Carabineers, at Landen. When the French Horse had broken the positions of the Allies, and were spreading carnage and disorder on every side, the Carabineers became "daring competitors for glory." Drawing their swords, their hearts swelling at the prospect of combat, and their breasts heaving with anticipation, they firmly griped their glittering weapons and dashed forward to meet the enemy's *sabreurs*. The first Squadron was led by Colonel Wyndham, the second by Colonel Wood. At the same moment the Duke of Ormond and Colonel Lumley advanced with their Squadrons with a similar object. In one mass they fell upon the enemy's Cavalry. The shock was terrific. Three ranks of French horsemen were broken by the Carabineers—numbers fell pierced by the English sabres—but fresh combatants coming up, there was a fearful recoil, and scores of English saddles were speedily emptied. The retreat became inevitable. The remnants of the Cavalry covered this movement, which was rendered the more difficult and dangerous by the energy with which the French Legions fell upon the retiring Force. Thrice did the intrepid Wood face about his Squadron to punish the temerity of the pursuing horsemen, but he was forced back by the fugitives of his own Army. The King was so well pleased with the Carabineers and their leader, that he promoted Wood to the Colonelcy of the 3rd Dragoon Guards. The loss of the Allied troops in the desperate combat at Landen was 9,000 in killed and wounded. The French appear to have suffered to nearly the same extent. Count Solmes, the Dutchman, received a mortal wound in his foot; and Sarsfield, who was with the Irish Brigade in the action, fell by a musket shot.

* Thus terminated the campaign of 1693.

We have dwelt more minutely upon the actions of English soldiers in combats which are of little account compared with the mighty battles of later times, than the occasion would seem to warrant; but there is a pleasure in dwelling on what the Army accomplished in its infancy, as it foreshadowed the greatness which its lusty youth and manhood were capable of achieving.

* This battle which, in carnage, almost equalled the great encounters at Malplaquet under Marlborough, and Waterloo under Wellington, has been variously called. The English gave it the name of the battle of Landen, because a stream of that appellation ran close to the left flank of the Army.

CHAPTER IV.

The Siege of Namur—Lord Cutts—Treaty of Ryswick—Dismissal of the Dutch Guards of William III.—War with France and Spain—Death of the King—Queen Anne Appoints Marlborough Captain-General—Prince Eugene—The Balance of Power—The Battles of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet—Cadogan—The Siege of Tournay—Marlborough's Military Skill and Character as a General—Alteration in Arms and Colours—New Regiments.

A long and toilsome campaign distinguished the year 1694. Skirmishing and manœuvring constituted the operations of both Armies. The time of the Allies was passed in an attempt to carry the war into France; but the French leader frustrated their endeavours.

Intent upon the recapture of Namur—the value of which fortress could not be over-estimated—the King departed for the Netherlands early in the ensuing year, and immediately began to organise a vigorous siege of the town. He divided his Forces into two parts, assigning to one the duty of watching and holding in check Marshal Villeroy, who had succeeded to the command of the French Forces in the field on the death of the brave and skilful Luxembourg, and committing to the other the investment of Namur.

The former Division was composed of some Dutch troops, and the following English Regiments, viz.:—The 1st, 5th, 6th, and 7th Dragoon Guards; the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Dragoons; the 4th and 7th Light Dragoons (now Hussars); the 5th, 15th, 18th, and 19th Regiments of Foot, the whole commanded by Prince Vaudemont. The Division entrusted with the attack upon Namur was under the command of the King in person, and comprised the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 16th, and 17th Regiments of Infantry. On the 31st May, 1695, the King reviewed this magnificent Force, and immediately commenced the siege operations, which had become the more difficult because, in the interval of the capture of the town and castle by the French, the works originally constructed by the accomplished Cohorn had been materially improved and strengthened by Marshal Vauban, the ablest engineer of the age. Namur was accounted impregnable. The siege was conducted *secundum artem;* lines of circumvallation were established, parallels, approaches, sapping and mining, followed with all the attendant attacks on the trenches and the customary number of casualties. The defence was admirably managed.

At length the counterscarp was blown in, and an assault by the Grenadiers followed as a matter of course. Hand grenades were freely used as precursors of the storm. The French made a desperate resistance, headed by Marshal Boufflers, and many English Officers fell victims to their heroism in leading their men to the attack. Captain Carter, of the 4th Foot, Lieutenant W. Hamilton, of the 1st Royals, Captain Young, of the 6th, Lieutenant Dancey, of the 7th, and Ensign Gardiner, of the 16th, were all slain in the assault on the breach of the counterscarp; Captain Hart, of the 3rd Buffs, was killed in the trenches, and Colonel Courthorpe, Captain Coote, and Lieutenant Evans, of the same Corps, fell while storming the breach of the Terra Nova. The 4th Light Dragoons having been despatched to escort the bread waggons to the camp from Bruges were intercepted by a body of French Horse, through whom they cut their way. Lieutenant Webb was killed in the encounter, and Brigadier-General Wynn subsequently died of the wounds he had received. The *enceinte* having been captured, the enemy retreated to the castle and held it for many days. When Boufflers threw himself into the town he was accompanied by so large an accession of Cavalry, Artillery, and Sappers, that at the commencement of the siege the garrison was 16,000 strong. On the 2nd of August, Namur surrendered, and the garrison was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. The King was extremely pleased with the conduct of the troops. "The bravery of our Infantry," said a communication to the 'London Gazette,' was very remarkable. They forced the enemy from several posts where they were very well lodged." Some of the principal Officers were also serviceable to His Majesty throughout the siege, and none more so than Lord Cutts. This Officer who, as Colonel Cutts, had made his mark in Ireland, earned his Baronetcy entirely by his valour and ability. He was subsequently advanced to other honours, and received the distinguished compliment of being "married to immortal verse." In those days the muses presided over Grub street, and many a pen was employed to extol the merits of good soldiers, *ex. gr.*—

> "The warlike Cutts the welcome tidings brings,
> The true, brave servant, of the best of Kings;
> Cutts whose known worth no herald need proclaim,
> His wounds and his own worth can speak his fame."

One Mackey, a prose writer, writing of Lord Cutts in 1703, declares that "few considerable actions happened in the wars in which he was not, and hath been wounded in all the actions where he served: he is esteemed to be a mighty vigilant Officer, and for putting the Military orders in execution. He is pretty tall, well shaped, lusty, and an agreeable companion."

The fall of Namur caused the greatest satisfaction in England, and much augmented the attachment of the people to their Protestant Sovereign. Its political results were of great significance, for, in the following year (1697), a treaty of peace between France and the Confederates was signed at Ryswick, and the event has further received a lasting record in the amusing pages of Laurence Sterne. The reader will remember that Captain Shandy was wounded in the groin at the siege of Namur.

To counteract the advantages gained by the Confederates, Louis XIV. had, in 1696, devised certain plans for rendering England the scene of another civil war. Disguised for the purpose, the Duke of Berwick and other Officers in the French Service went over to England to organise a revolt in the interest of the exiled James, and a French Army marched to the coast to be ready to assist the consummation of the project. The plot was discovered in good time and abandoned. William had prepared to crush it if it had reached dangerous proportions, but all apprehensions from so feeble a conspiracy being dissipated, the English troops returned home.

In the treaty of Ryswick the King of England saw that his efforts on behalf of the civil and religious liberties of Europe had been crowned with success, and he now directed his attention to the affairs of his kingdom. To the Earl of Marlborough, who had endured imprisonment and disgrace for his supposed complicity in certain treasonous schemes, William became reconciled,

and appointed him to the governorship of his nephew, the Duke of Gloucester, saying, "Teach him but to know what you are, and my nephew cannot want accomplishment."

Peace having been, as the people supposed, firmly established, the House of Commons deliberated on the measures of economy which appeared necessary to repair the finances of the kingdom, and, as became too common in after-years, it first directed its parsimonious attention to the cost of the Army. The Dutch Guards of King William had always been an eyesore and a subject of jealousy, and their dismissal to their homes was now freely discussed and insisted on. The King was indignant and wrathful, seeing that those troops had rendered much service to the nation, and he even meditated abdicating the throne. The advice of able counsellors, however, ultimately prevailed, and when the Bill decreeing their dissolution had passed, His Majesty went down to the House of Peers, and gave his assent to the Parliamentary decree in the following words:

"Though in our present circumstances there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of the troops, and though I might think myself unkindly used that those Guards who came over with me to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have been engaged, should be removed from me, yet it is my fixed opinion that nothing can be so fatal to us as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between me and my people, which, I must own, would have been very unexpected after what I have undertaken, ventured, and acted, for the restoring and securing of their liberties. I have thus plainly told you the only reason which has induced me to pass this Bill; and now I think myself obliged, in discharge of the trust reposed in me, and for my own justification, that no ill consequences may lie at my door, to tell you, as plainly, my judgment that the nation is left too much exposed. It is, therefore, incumbent on you to take the matter into your serious consideration, and effectually to provide such a strength as is necessary for the safety of the kingdom, and the preservation of the peace which God hath given us."

The Dutch troops were disbanded, but it does not appear that any addition was made to the English Army at that time.

Louis the Fourteenth's restless spirit of aggression did not permit to Europe a long continuance of the blessings of peace. On the death of the King of Spain, in 1700, Louis placed his grandson, Philip, Duke of Anjou, on the Spanish throne, to the exclusion of Charles III., and when James, the ex-King of England, expired, in 1701, Louis proclaimed his son by the title of James III.

It was evident, soon after the treaty of Ryswick, that without a strong combination the liberties of Europe would be crushed by the active ambition of the French monarch. William had consequently gone over to the Hague in 1699, accompanied by Marlborough, to take measures for concerting an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the other powers of Europe. After a world of troublesome negotiation with the diplomatists of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Russia, and the States-General of Holland, Lord Marlborough contrived, by his admirable coolness and discretion, to attain the object in view, and "the Grand Alliance," as it was afterwards called, was duly formed. England agreed to furnish a Contingent of 40,000 men to carry out the purposes of the alliance.

The first hostile step of the French King, after putting aside the claim of the Archduke Charles of Austria (Charles III.), and proclaiming his own grandson King of Spain, was to send troops to take possession of the Spanish Netherlands, and to detain the 15,000 Dutch troops who constituted the garrisons of the frontier towns. To assist the Dutch in holding their ground thirteen Battalions of English Infantry were despatched to Holland; but not until the French monarch had given further cause of provocation in asserting the claims of "James III." to the throne of England, did the people at large take an active interest in the quarrel.

In 1702, the soldier-King, William, died, and was succeeded by his daughter Anne. For a time all hostile operations were, by this calamitous event, superseded. The Queen, however, was advised to persevere in the plans that had been matured for "letting loose the dogs of war" upon the troublesome French monarch.

So vast an extent of country was embraced by the scheme of operations now laid down, that it was necessary to send several Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry with the Archduke to Portugal. The Queen, appreciating the Military abilities of Lord Marlborough, conferred upon him the appointment of "Captain-General," and sent him to command the combined Forces in the Netherlands.* Thus, from the eastern shores of the Atlantic to the German Ocean, the flame of war was kindled. Nor was this the only locality of meditated conflict. The plans of the French King comprehending attacks on the commerce of his rivals, the Queen's Government sent seven

* He had previously been appointed General of the Foot, Commander-in-Chief of the English Forces in Holland, and Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Hague. On his death-bed the King commended Marlborough to the Princess Anne as the properest person in all her dominions to conduct her Armies or preside at her councils.

Regiments of Infantry to the West Indies to make war on the possessions of France and Spain in the Caribbean Islands. New Regiments were necessarily raised to meet the exigencies which had arisen, and before Marlborough had completed the task assigned him there were forty Regiments of Infantry, and fifteen of Cavalry, besides the Guards, on the British establishment.

It would exceed the plan and scope of this history to enter minutely into a detail of all the Military operations which distinguished the career of Marlborough, and shed lustre upon the reign of "the good Queen Anne." It will suffice to refer to the leading incidents which were more or less connected with the glory and progress of the British Army. Beginning with the capture of several small forts, and a signal victory over the French at Schellenbourg, Marlborough earned for himself a Dukedom, and the approbation of his Queen and country. But these were merely the heralds of still mightier achievements. In 1703 the Duke took Bonn, Huy, and Berg from the enemy, and, meeting the Archduke Charles (the King of Spain *de jure*), who touchingly represented to him the wreck of his hopes by the defection of the Elector of Bavaria, Marlborough proceeded to England, to demonstrate the importance of assisting the Archduke to obtain the throne to which he was entitled. Marlborough was not long absent. On his return, armed with as much authority as he could exercise, with Dutch Commissioners to hamper his movements, he found the States impressed with the necessity of carrying the greater part of the Army into Germany. That Army was now in so efficient a condition that, after a review held in the presence of Prince Eugene,* who was associated with him in his great undertaking, the Prince remarked that he had never seen better horses, better clothes, or finer accoutrements; "yet," he added, "all these may be had for money; but there is a spirit in the looks of your men which surpasses all these, and cannot be purchased."

Rarely has a war been undertaken with a more politic and righteous purpose than that which commenced in 1704. It was not entered upon so entirely in sympathy with the Emperor or King Charles as to preserve the "balance of power" in Europe. "The necessity of war," writes Lord John (afterwards Earl) Russell, "is occasioned by the want of a supreme judge who may decide upon the disputes of individuals. This is a defect which can never be completely supplied, for, dream as we may of a perpetual peace, it is impossible to erect any Court, with power of enforcing its decrees, against a party who chooses to have recourse to arms. The very same spirit of encroachment which would lead a King to incur the censures of such a tribunal would excite him to despise its mandates, and the very power which made it necessary to repress his ambition of universal monarchy, would enable him to set its judgment at defiance. In the failure of any perfect remedy, however, for the disorder of war, a corrector of its evils has been found in the system called the BALANCE OF POWER. Europe being divided into many separate States, it has been the established policy of all, that when any one, by its aggrandizement, threatened the general safety, the rest should unite to defend their independence. Thus Louis XIV. was checked by England, Holland, and the Empire."—('Affairs of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht to 1723.')

To purge the Netherlands of the French, Spanish, and Bavarian troops, and regain possession of all the fortresses, was the first aim of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. The year 1704 tried the mettle of the allied troops in this attempt. The great battle of BLENHEIM was fought and won. The story of the remarkable encounter is best told in Marlborough's own language. He writes to the Queen:

"It was one of the clock before the battle began. It lasted with great vigour till sunset, when the enemy were obliged to retire, and, by the blessing of God, we obtained a complete victory. We have cut off great numbers of them, as well in the action as in the retreat, besides upwards of thirty Squadrons of the French which I pushed into the Danube, where we saw the greatest part of them perish, Monsieur de Tallard, with several of his General Officers, being taken prisoners at the same time; and in the village of Blenheim, which the enemy had entrenched and fortified, and where they made the greatest opposition, I obliged twenty-six entire Battalions and twelve Squadrons of Dragoons to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. We took likewise all their tents standing, with their cannon and ammunition, as also a great number of standards, kettle-drums, and colours in the action, so that I reckon the greater part of Mons. de Tallard's Army is taken or destroyed. The bravery of all our troops on this occasion cannot be expressed, the Generals, as well as the Officers and soldiers, behaving themselves with the greatest courage and resolution. The Horse and Dragoons were obliged to charge four or five several times."

"It was a glorious victory!"

A great many of the prisoners taken were men

* Prince François Eugene of Savoy was of French descent. His mother having been banished to the Netherlands by the King's order, he vowed eternal enmity to France, and went to reside at Vienna, where he attracted the attention of the Emperor, and received a commission in the Austrian Army. When England took up arms to assert the claims of the Emperor, Prince Eugene was made President of the Council of War, and sent to co-operate with Marlborough.

of superior rank. Besides Monsieur de Tallard, there were thirteen Generals and *maréchaux de camps*, ten Colonels, and several others, nearly all of whom bore the title of Marquis. But the "price paid for them," as the Duke of Marlborough expressed it, was very heavy. The British loss included among the killed five Colonels, three Majors, eleven Captains, and a great many Subalterns. Some of the Officers belonged to the first families in the kingdom. When Tallard was in Marlborough's carriage, he told the Duke that he had "beaten the best troops in the world." The Duke replied, "Your Lordship, I presume, excepts those who had the honour to beat them?"

The victory at BLENHEIM brought fresh honours and rewards to Marlborough, and filled the people of England with joy. But it was yet to be surpassed by a still more remarkable fight. The battle of RAMILIES, fought on the 23rd of May, 1706, was the first in which an English Force triumphed over a French Army numerically its superior. The struggle was tremendous and enduring. The Duke of Marlborough was on horseback for nearly twenty-four hours; and when all was over he was unable to do more than write a few brief lines to his Sovereign and the heads of the other powers interested in the success of his arms, leaving the messengers, whom he despatched with the intelligence, to supply the details. But, from all that subsequently transpired, the contest at Ramilies, or Ramily, as it was familiarly called in England, abounded with illustrations of the pluck of the British soldier, and the amazing skill of the illustrious leader. The Cavalry was essentially serviceable. The battle had lasted three hours with doubtful results, when the Duke of Marlborough seized a critical moment for striking a blow, and, bringing forward his crack Regiments of Dragoons, launched them against the enemy. Five Regiments charged simultaneously, falling like a human avalanche upon the opposing ranks. The foe gave way. The Spanish and Bavarian Horse Guards, headed by the Elector and Marshal Villeroy, covered the retreat of the Artillery. Flushed with the success of their first attack, the 3rd Dragoon Guards, the 7th Horse, and the 5th Dragoon Guards, pursued and overtook them. The "foaming Squadrons" of Cadogan's Regiment were conspicuous in the slashing encounter which terminated in the complete defeat of the enemy as night closed in. Officers, soldiers, standards, colours, cannon, were all captured by the daring assailants. Never was victory more decisive.

It was in this extraordinary fight that the British became acquainted with the ingenious method adopted by the French of using the bayonet without interfering with the fire of their muskets. To the astonishment of the 25th (Royal Borderers), one of the opposing Regiments, after delivering its fire, charged without halting, in the first instance, to screw the bayonet into the muzzle, as until then had been the practice of all the Armies of Europe. The capture of the French firelocks introduced the English armourers to a knowledge of the effective mode favoured by the enemy, and which has since become universal; an improvement, however, having been made in the application of the spring, which keeps the bayonet in its place.

The delight of the English, when the news of the victory at Ramilies reached London, was enthusiastic.

Odes and complimentary verses were then the forms which poetic fervour took to express its admiration of the heroism of the General and his daring followers. Prior, the Poet Laureate, was urged by more than one poetaster to attune his lyre to martial melody. Asked one of the versifications:

> "Shall Marlborough still new victories obtain,
> And shall the muse be wanting to his praise?
> Exert, O Prior! thy melodious voice.
> * * * * *
> William, indeed, is to the gods removed,
> But does not Marlboro' well his place supply?
> In war's mysterious art as deeply skilled;
> Bold to perform, and cautious to advise,
> In whom we find Achilles' warlike heat,
> With Nestor's wisdom fortunately join'd."

Prior, who had been gentleman of the bedchamber to King William, did write an ode in celebration of the battle, which Dr Johnson remarked, in after years, was the only one that lived in the memory of the nation. It certainly better deserved that honour than the volumes of trash of which the foregoing is a specimen.

The Duke of Marlborough and his colleagues followed up their success by capturing more fortresses; but as it was the fashion in those times for Armies to retire into snug quarters during the winter, the progress of their arms was necessarily slow. A suspension of hostile operations gave the opposite party time and opportunity to repair damages and arrange for a renewal of the contest. Two more years elapsed before the antagonistic forces again came into violent collision. The French were advancing to lay siege to Audenarde, or Oudenarde, in 1708. To prevent this measure, Marlborough gave them battle. It was chiefly an Infantry fight, as the ground was too much intersected with hedges and rivulets, and too marshy in its character, for Cavalry operations. Nevertheless, Cadogan's Horse rendered good service, and found honourable mention in an eulogistic poem of the time. Cadogan was a gallant Irishman, but plain language hardly suited the muse who was invoked to do homage to his courage.

We are told in a poem, "occasioned by the glorious victory," that—

> "Since moist Ierne furious Strongbow won,
> And cut in pieces his inglorious son,
> Never that isle a better Captain bore,
> Who lov'd his honour and his country more."

Not the least interesting incident in the battle of Oudenarde was the presence and conspicuous bravery of the Electorate Prince of Hanover, afterwards King George II. He attended the field as a volunteer, and had a horse killed under him, when charging at the head of the Hanoverian Dragoons. He, too, came in for a poetical tribute in a curious copy of verses called "Jack Frenchman's Lamentation" for the defeat of his countrymen. The conduct of the Hanoverian Prince, while it bore out the high opinion always entertained of the courage of the House of Brunswick, contrasted powerfully with that of the "Popish Pretender" and the two grandsons of Louis XIV., who fled from the field of Oudenarde.

The battle of Malplaquet on the 11th of September, 1709, was Marlborough's crowning victory. The enemy had the advantage in position, for to the natural defences presented by the physical conformation of the country, were superadded all the contrivances in the shape of obstacles which Military art could devise. The Cavalry could scarcely act in the midst of treble entrenchments, abattis, palisades, and other defences. Yet the victory was fairly won after a vast amount of slaughter on both sides. Not a little of the success was due to the heroic example of the Duke of Argyll. That excellent soldier, who commanded the 3rd Buffs (formerly the "Holland Regiment," and familiarly called "The Buffs," from the colour of their waistcoats, breeches, and stockings), was always remarkable for his personal bravery. He had been present at all the previous great battles, winning the honour of which he was very covetous, but at Malplaquet he was even more distinguished than hitherto. Bullets passed through the ample curls of his wig—then a fashion with young as well as old—and his vast coat-tails were perforated with balls. He seemed indeed to bear a charmed life, and to show his men, as he urged them forward, that he was not indebted for his safety to any concealed armour, he opened his waistcoat and exhibited his naked breast.

From that time onwards, Marlborough was engaged in recapturing all the strongholds on the French frontier. Lisle had fallen in 1708, Tournay and Bouchains were wrested from Louis XIV. by a combination of skill and bravery. The loss of Lisle affected the King deeply. The siege of Tournay was likewise a bitter mortification, for it had been defended after a manner somewhat novel in that age. The subterranean works established for the purpose of undermining the approaches were more numerous than those above ground. These approaches were carried on by sinking pits several fathoms deep, and working from them underground, until the sappers arrived at the casemates and mines. The soldiers engaged on such services frequently encountered parties of the enemy, and numerous combats took place in the gloomy labyrinths. On some occasions the men at work underground were inundated with water, and others suffocated with smoke, or buried by the explosion of mines.

The Peace of Utrecht put an end, in 1713, to all further hostilities, and to the active Military career of the great Duke of Marlborough. He had now been face to face with the French and their Allies for ten years—a period greatly in excess of that which would have been consumed in the war had he been left to the exercise of a free and unfettered judgment. The wonder is, that he achieved so much in defiance of the many obstacles and vexations with which he was surrounded. The Dutch deputies in his camp frequently interposed to prevent his marching, lest the march should bring on a fight; and when he saw his opportunity for giving battle his purpose was frustrated by the same mischievous *imperium in imperio*, for fear it should eventuate in a defeat. If Marlborough protracted a campaign when he saw good reason to pause, the English Ministry and the foreign troops grumbled. Even his colleague, Prince Eugene, was an occasional stumbling-block. The Prince hindered the Duke from invading France when he wished to push forward; and Marlborough actually had to apologise to his employers for actively pursuing a beaten enemy.—"Yet, giant-like, he hurled Europe against France; pierced right through her least vulnerable frontier; smote her with repeated strokes; and never ceased to 'lay on load,' till her last work was beaten down, and she lay prostrate and powerless at his feet."

If mutual confidence is a guarantee of success in great enterprises where several parties are co-operative, we have a partial solution of the triumphs which attended the Duke of Marlborough's operations in the good understanding subsisting between his troops and himself. Led by such a warrior the Officers and men believed themselves invincible; and the Duke was heard more than once to say, that with 10,000 well-fed Englishmen, 10,000 half-starved Scotchmen, and the same number of Irishmen charged with usquebaugh, he would march from Boulogne to Bayonne, in spite of *Le Grand Monarque*. He preferred the English to any other troops. When, in 1704, a Mr. Wich proposed to buy horses at Hamburgh to remount the Cavalry, Marlborough wrote to Harley, the Secretary of State, to dis-

countenance the proposal: he did not think it to the advantage of the Queen's Service. He was "always of opinion that English horses, *as well as Englishmen, were better than could be had anywhere else.*" If his discipline was severe, he was at the same time just towards his soldiers, and would not allow the highest punishment a Court-Martial could award to be carried into execution until he had read the proceedings of the Court. On the principle that "war should support war," he levied heavy contributions on the inhabitants of an enemy's country, and connived at plunder and other excesses which contributed to the physical gratification of the men. On the other hand, he moved rapidly through the country, partly to relieve the inhabitants of the pressure of a foreign Military Force; but chiefly, that he might anticipate his enemy, or fall upon him unexpectedly. Rapidity of movement is a cardinal rule of warfare: were it not that it is for the destruction of men, it is undoubtedly the golden rule of warfare. It sustains itself from that dim epoch when men fought perhaps only with clubs, with arrows, &c., down to this day when the most fearful arms of destruction are in use. The rule has its roots in reason and logic, and that is why it is absolute. To it every great Captain owes his fame, his victory, and conquest. Justness of eye; quickness in appreciating the exigencies on a given field of battle; rapidity to profit by the eventual faults of the enemy; insight into his aims; and, finally, the inspiration of the moment—this highest gift and attribute of a Military genius—all form the corollaries to the great golden rule. Always all-deciding, all-powerful, it remained the same with various tactics. It was decisive for the Macedonian phalanx—for the Roman legions; and it was decisive for Marlborough's Regiments, Brigades, and Divisions.

Complimentary as Marlborough justly was to the English troops, who won for him so many of his victories, there is no doubt they were a very rough body of men. They were recruited from the very dregs of society. Drunkards, robbers, profane swearers ("they swore horribly in Flanders"), scarcely a dozen would have been enlisted if a certificate of moral conduct had been one of the conditions of their enlistment. Farquhar's Serjeant Kite in the 'Recruiting Officer' was a type of the ruffianly character of the soldiery. "I was born a gipsy, and bred among that crew till I was ten years of age; then I learned canting and lying: I was bought from my mother Cleopatra by a certain nobleman for three pistoles, who, liking my beauty, made me his page: there I learnt impudence and pimping. I was turned off for wearing my lord's linen, and drinking my lady's ratafia, and then became bailiff's follower; there I learned bullying and swearing, I at last got into the Army, and there I learnt wenching and drinking; so that if your worship pleases to cast up the old sum, viz.,—canting, lying, impudence, bullying, swearing, drinking, and a halberd, you will find the sum total amounting to a recruiting serjeant."

The license which was incidental to marches through an enemy's country, and the plunder permitted by Marlborough, were exactly suited to men of this calibre, and would have had a further demoralising tendency but for the exactions of discipline and the wholesome influence of Divine Service. The Chaplains of Regiments were active in their vocation, and Marlborough never went into action until prayers had been offered up to the God of Battles for the success of each enterprise. Moreover, the men were kept constantly employed in the camp even when no engagement or siege was toward. But they were not harassed beyond their strength, and abundance of repose was insisted upon by the Captain-General as indispensable to their efficiency. He cared not how early the men were roused for a march provided they had had three hours at least of sound sleep before midnight. There is nothing which so unfits soldiers and other men for their daily labour as a deprivation of some hours of sleep. In one of the many excellent works produced of late years by Military men we find the following sensible and amusing observations on night marches. "The night march rendered steady and watchful riding no easy task" (it is a Cavalry soldier who writes), "if you got no rest at night there was little chance of getting any by day; and notwithstanding all your efforts to shake off the drowsy god, even to pinching the tender part under the arm, he would at times rule triumphant, and swerving and rolling from side to side necessarily followed. Some rather ludicrous scenes took place during these night marches. On common and ordinary occasions it requires no slight effort to shake off unwelcome drowsiness; but here a consciousness that you were committing a positive wrong in yielding to the sleepy influence made the struggles and convulsive starts to ward off the enemy not only a painful but difficult task, and that you were grappling with and keeping up a running fight against the unmitigated attacks of your inexorable antagonist. Well, after useless efforts, he finds you hard and fast in the land of Nod. The digits of the sinister fin cease their important functions, and drop powerless upon the holsters, the reins become slackened, all restraint is removed from the animal's mouth, and he is abandoned to his own guidance." Naturally the horses took a course not always in accordance with the wishes of the rider; and as these occurrences applied not to one individual only but to many, the troopers got intermingled, and some-

times the very Regiments were blended—"the head of one mixed up with the tail of another." This did not happen in Marlborough's time. It was one of his rules to be invariably the attacking party in war, and never to have his enemy at a distance from him. He always advanced as soon as possible to his opponents that he might observe what they were doing. Such a system of tactics involved the necessity of keeping his men fresh and prepared for any sudden movement. A surprise by the enemy was out of the question.

Marlborough has been accused of making deductions from the pay of the foreign soldiery, and of receiving douceurs from contractors for the gratification of his own ends. There is little doubt that the *auri sacra fames* was one of his besetting sins; but, as we are not writing his biography, we are content to leave the dark shades of his character to other hands. As a soldier and a General, he was without a peer. No Commander in ancient or modern times was his superior. He seems to have united the merits of all. He resembled Hannibal in his command of a variety of nations. He might be compared to Cæsar, in that he never lost a battle or a siege.

The care which Marlborough took of his soldiers, and the constancy with which he led them to victory, assured him their affection and respect. These ultimately resolved themselves into the familiar appellation of "Corporal John," by which title and name alone he was known in the ranks. There is a song or ballad extant written in homely phrase which records the "Corporal's" career. We can only make room for a few verses. It was written in 1711:

Don't talk of Schomberg and such to me;
Noll and King William they might be queer
To deal with, but he'd have beat them all three,
Lord! as easy as I'm taking off this beer;
All along I was with him, and I should know,
And I tell you, my boys, the sun never shone
On one that has led a charge here below
That was fit to be named with Corporal John.
Oh, Corporal John always fought to beat;
He was the one who could reckon upon;
There was glory and plunder, but never retreat,
For all who fought under Corporal John.

At Maestricht's siege I saw him first;
Mynheer fought well and 'twas hard to win;
Monsieur had stormed, but he'd got the worst;
He'd tried right hard, but he couldn't get in;
But Corporal John, he up, with us, there,
And our flag, the breach, he planted upon;
A mine they sprung, but what did he care?
He budged not a foot, did Corporal John.
Oh, he was one that always would win
Whatever it was he ventured upon;
Dutchmen or French, didn't matter a pin;
He always beat all, did Corporal John.

Next with the Frenchmen the game we played,
And now 'twas our Corporal held command,
And with Duke and Marshal rare sport he made,
He played the devil with Louis the Grand;
Burgundy vapoured and Tallard swore;
Boufflers gave us a distant look;
He gave us a look, but he didn't do more,
So our Corporal won, and Liege we took.
Oh, Corporal John always fought to beat, &c.

Then May good luck and Ramilies brought,
At Ottomond's tomb, by the red Mehaigne;
To slaughter our Corporal, Villeroi thought,
But the French and their Marshal we thrashed again;
Eighty standards and every gun
Our Corporal took that glorious day,
And, with it, the whole of Brabant we won,
And Louis, from Flanders, he slunk away.
Oh, Corporal John always fought to beat, &c.

Next year we did nothing: then came July,
When they played us three Dukes, and we trumped each card;
To see Vendôme and his Princelings fly
Was pleasant, I swear, at Oudenarde.
Now came an Autumn of trench and storm;
Lille was strong, and the French fought well;
Three months it took and the work was warm,
In mine and breach, before that it fell.
Oh, Corporal John always fought to beat, &c.

At last came our Corporal's bloodiest day;
That was his latest and fiercest fight,
When blood ran in rivers at Malplaquet,
In Tasnières wood and on Bossu's height.
Of course, we know, battles they must be fought;
So, for all that comes with them, they're fools who care;
Yet, pah! even now how it sickens my thought
To think of the slaughter that went on there!
Ah, Corporal John always fought to beat;
He was the one you could reckon upon;
There was glory and plunder, but never retreat,
For all who fought under Corporal John.

Very few changes of importance took place in the arms and costume of the soldiery during Marlborough's *régime*. The cuirass was laid aside from 1702 to 1706, as adding too much to the weight the soldier had to carry; but as it was found to be disadvantageous to the Cavalry to be without it in actions with the cased French troopers, it was resumed in 1707. The introduction of the bayonet rendered the pike or *pertuison* unnecessary, and it was therefore put aside, excepting as a weapon for the serjeants, in whose hands it came to be called a halberd. The *pertuison* was borne by junior Officers long after the musket had come into general use; and so particular was Marlborough in regard to the uniformity of Officers in their equipments and arms, that a letter of his addressed to Lieutenant-General Ingoldsby, directs that the Officers of the 21st North British Fusiliers must conform themselves to other Regiments, and use *pertuisons*; and those of the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers are cited as examples for them in that respect.

Hitherto each Regiment had borne three colours. They were now limited to two. The union with Scotland having been formally effected on the accession of Queen Anne, the cross of St Andrew was placed on one of the colours, in addition to

that of St George, whence it was called the Union colour. The other colour was of the hue of the Regimental facings, with few exceptions, and bore the device of each Corps, to which were afterwards added the names of battles in which the Regiment had reaped distinction.

It has already been stated that the Army was necessarily augmented in Marlborough's time. The Regiments which had been added to the permanent strength, were the 8th Light Dragoons, the 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th Foot.

While Marlborough was fighting in the north, Peterborough was carrying the arms of England into the south and west. But the exploits of the Army in Spain merit special notice, and are referred to in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER V.

Operations in Spain under Peterborough—Marine Regiments—Gibraltar Taken and Defended—The Capture of Barcelona—The Battle of Almanza—Minorca Captured—The Battle of Saragossa—The Retreat of King Charles and the Allies—The Defence of Alicant—The Mine—Peace of Utrecht—Formation of a Corps of Artillery—Punishment of Officers for Hostility to the Ministry.

In order to connect the course of events in Spain with the progress of warlike operations in the Netherlands, it will be necessary to go back a few years in the history of the period.

It has been stated that an Army was despatched to Portugal—always in friendly alliance with England—to open a way into Spain, the better to serve the cause of the claimants to the throne. This Army was accompanied by a combined English and Dutch Naval Force, and the conduct of the expedition was entrusted to the Earl of Peterborough, whose brilliant Military talents had been lying dormant since his return from Tangiers.

As the Military measures of the expedition would require the services of a class of soldiers who could be equally efficient by sea and land, the Queen's Government determined upon the conversion of certain of the Infantry of the Line into Marine Regiments. A Corps of this description had existed in the reign of Charles II., under the denomination of "The Maritime Regiment of the Lord High Admiral of England;" but William III., doubtful of its loyalty, caused it to be disbanded, and its place supplied by three other Regiments, which, however, found little employment in his reign. Three Regiments were now added to the others. The 30th, 31st, and 32nd of the Line were converted, for the nonce, into Marines. Their services were speedily in requisition for an enterprise which proved, in its results, of enormous and lasting importance. This was nothing less than the capture of Gibraltar, a fortress which, from its position, gave immense influence in the Mediterranean to its possessors. It originally belonged to the Moors, from one of whose prominent leaders, *Gebel Al Tarik*, it took its name. The Spaniards wrested it from the Moors, and held it uninterruptedly for three centuries. The English now snatched it from Spain by a *coup de main*.

On the 21st of July, 1704, the Admiral Sir Cloudesly Shovel and Sir George Rooke having been disappointed in their attempts upon other parts of the Spanish coast, resolved to make an effort to capture Gibraltar. Landing a part of the Marine Regiment on the neck of land northward of the town to interrupt the communication with the country, the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who commanded the Force, summoned the Governor, in the name of "His Catholic Majesty Charles III.," to surrender the fortress. The Governor of course declined. Hereupon, a heavy cannonade was opened by the ships upon the Spanish batteries, and under its cover the boats were manned, and two detachments of Marines in reserve landed and stormed the fortifications. The fire from the men-of-war had for the moment driven the Spaniards from their guns, but when the Marines landed they returned to their posts, poured showers of balls and bullets upon the assailants, and exploded a mine which destroyed two Lieutenants and 100 men. Reinforcements arriving, the gallant little band, nothing daunted by the formidable opposition of the garrison, persevered in their attack and captured the outworks. Simultaneously with their efforts a party of sailors landed in another quarter, scaled the rock, seized upon some batteries, turned them upon the town, and so much alarmed the defenders that the Governor surrendered the fortress at discretion.

For six months subsequently the combined French and Spanish Squadrons, supported by troops, essayed to recover Gibraltar, but nothing could wrest it from the firm grip of the British garrison. For eighty years England remained in quiet possession of the fortress, and then presented a still more memorable instance of the tenacity with which John Bull retains his hold upon a possession whose political importance has been established and whose tenure has become a matter of national pride. But we are anticipating.

The value of Marines having been satisfactorily demonstrated, a special Corps was formed to serve, ashore and afloat, at all seasons, and the Line Regiments resumed their functions. This Corps, on whose account the broad three-cornered cocked-hats, then worn by the Infantry, were put

aside and replaced by lofty conical caps, was rendered subject to the laws which regulate the Army and the Navy. When afloat, the Marines are amenable to the Mutiny Act and Articles of War which govern the Navy; when serving on shore they are liable to the provisions of the same Act and Articles applicable to the Army. The hybrid or amphibious character of the Corps made it, for many years, an object of aversion and habitual ridicule among the common sailors; but its steady bravery on all remarkable occasions, and its excellent and forbearing conduct in peace, has enabled it to live down prejudice, and it now enjoys peculiar and merited distinction.

The main design of the expedition under the Earl of Peterborough being to further the progress of the Archduke of Austria, his Lordship determined to make an attempt on Barcelona. This place had acquired a character for impregnability because it had successfully held out against a French Army 30,000 strong for two months. Undismayed by its appearance and capabilities, Peterborough laid his plans for assaulting the castle and citadel of Montjuick which protected the town, and he carried out his design with characteristic energy and promptitude. With a very small force of 200 or 300 men he attacked the works before dawn on the 17th September, 1705, and, in spite of accidents, mistakes, and repulses, succeeded in capturing the citadel and compelling the garrison of Barcelona to surrender. His own bright example was a great encouragement to the intrepid little band which planted the British standard on the walls of Montjuick, but indeed, the 6th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Southwell, needed no stimulus to the fulfilment of its duty. The Corps forced its way into the Spanish works regardless of the shower of bullets rained upon it from the ramparts. And what it won it manfully held * The French in 1706 endeavoured to retake Barcelona, and utterly failed. Its capture was followed by the submission of the entire province of Catalonia.

* In Cannon's 'Records of the British Regiments,' we find the following incident:—"Lieutenant-Colonel Southwell, of the 6th Foot, being on duty in the trenches with his Regiment, observed that the bombs thrown by a Dutch bombardier, from a small mortar, fell to the left of the fort, and concluding there was a magazine in the place, he traversed the mortar a little to the right himself, and fired it; and the bomb falling into a little chapel where the garrison had stored a large quantity of powder, it blew up, and the Governor and a number of other Officers and men were buried in the ruins. Southwell taking advantage of the confusion, rushed forward with a few men sword in hand, and was met by the survivors of the garrison, who laid down their arms and surrendered the fortress. Lieutenant-Colonel Southwell took possession of the works, and King Charles hastened to the spot, and embraced him in a transport of joy. He was made Governor of the fortress in recompense of the professional skill he had evinced."

Early in 1707 the Allied Army, consisting of Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, and English troops, proceeded to lay siege to Villena. The Force only numbered 12,000 men, a sufficiency, if no other object than the possession of the town were to be attained. But a large French and Spanish Force coming to the rescue it was determined to meet them on the contiguous plains of Almanza, before the Duke of Orleans with still larger reinforcements could arrive. The 6th, 9th, 11th, 17th, 33rd, and 36th Regiments of the British Line took part in the engagement, and had the Portuguese Contingent seconded their endeavours with the zeal the occasion demanded, Almanza would not hold a place in the very brief roll of defeats sustained by the arms of England. As it was, the troops in the interest of the Archduke were broken, and fled to the inhospitable woods and hills of a country to which they were perfect strangers, enduring every variety of misery.

In 1708 the troops under Major-General Stanhope were directed to make an attack on the Island of Minorca, the most important of the Balearic group. Success was assured by the suddenness of the assault by 3,000 of the Allied troops. This event was followed by a Cavalry action at Almanaca, which was so entirely successful that Philip of Anjou retreated, followed by the Forces of King Charles, who proceeded to Madrid. The troops suffered tortures from the insufficiency of water and of wine.

The autumn of 1710 saw the Allied troops triumphant at Saragossa over a superior body of the enemy. Thirty standards were captured on this occasion, and tradition—in the absence of any other more direct authority—holds that the 6th Foot bears an *Antelope* as the badge of its Regimental colour because one of the standards so taken by the Corps was decorated in like manner. Had the Army advanced to Madrid immediately after the battle, the disasters which followed might have been averted. But the advantage of following up a success was of no account in those days in presence of the routine practice of going into quarters in the nearest town for the winter. Time was thus afforded to the French of recovering lost ground. They moved upon the capital, which Charles was obliged to evacuate, retiring upon Barcelona. A more miserable retreat is not on record. About 2,000 men having reached the village of Bichuega, the French pursuing Force surrounded and made them prisoners. Their sufferings in that condition were unspeakable. Many of them being allowed the choice of entering the French Army or going without food, adopted the former alternative and then deserted from the ranks of the enemy; the others were retained in captivity until 1712, when the Emperor of Germany dying, the Arch-

duke was elevated to the Imperial throne, and had no longer a motive for desiring the crown of Spain.

A remarkable episode in the annals of the campaigns in Spain was the defence of Alicant, after the capture in 1709. The place was taken in the first instance by the valour of a number of British seamen, and was then garrisoned by a small force of Infantry, under the command of Major-General Richards. Besieged by a numerous and well-appointed French force, General Richards abandoned the larger defences in the town, and shut himself up in the citadel, which was supposed to be impregnable. That there might be no scarcity of the greatest of man's necessities—water, the General resolved upon sinking three cisterns in the solid rock and filling them. This object having, with great labour, been accomplished, the garrison laughed to scorn the efforts of the 12,000 men by whom they were beleaguered. But the ingenuity and perseverance of the besiegers was eventually too much for them. The French absolutely mined through the solid rock. The English countermined and in every other way endeavoured to interrupt the enemy. At the end of three months, however, the operation was completed, and no less than fifteen hundred barrels of powder were placed in the mine with the devilish purpose—held justifiable in war—of blowing the citadel and its garrison to pieces. With a humanity as honourable as it was rare, the French Commander in the first instance gave the garrison the option of surrendering, and promised it safe escort with all its baggage to Barcelona. General Richards was incredulous as to the existence of the destructive power that lay beneath his feet. The French Officer gave him the opportunity of verifying the fact with his own eyes. Two Field Officers were accordingly sent to inspect the mine, and reported their conviction that there was force enough in the mine to destroy the barracks and the cisterns and every man in the garrison. Hoping that a Fleet would arrive to the relief of Alicant before the time for deliberation which the besiegers had given him should expire, General Richards held a Council of War, at which it was resolved to hold out to the last, and fall rather than surrender. The French and the Spanish (who were associated with the French), as the hour appproached for the execution of their purpose, importuned the English Commander to capitulate before it should be too late. He obstinately refused—the mine was accordingly sprung, and the result was terrific. "The rock opened and shut, the whole mountain felt the convulsion—the Governor and Field Officers, with the men about them, ten guns and two mortars, were buried in the abyss, the walls of the castle shook, part of the great cistern fell, another cistern was almost closed, and the rock shut a man to his neck in its cleft, who lived many hours in that afflicting posture. About thirty-six sentinels and women were swallowed in different quarters, where dying groans were heard, some of them after the fourth mournful day." When the smoke and dust had cleared away, Lieutenant-Colonel d'Alben, with the survivors of the garrison, made a sortie upon the besiegers, but it was of no avail, the position was no longer tenable.

The Peace of Utrecht afforded time and opportunity for a survey of the condition of the Army, and the introduction of such improvements as experience had rendered advisable. Not the least important of the changes now deemed advisable in the organisation of the Force, was the establishment of a separate Corps of Artillery. The opinion of Military men at the time (1713) was not precisely that so tersely expressed in after years by the Emperor Louis Napoleon, that "Artillery is the soul of an Army;" but they had learned that the arm was of sufficient value to merit special consideration and treatment. They had seen that its utility was commensurate with its mobility. The ponderosity of the British guns had not only rendered it difficult to move them with celerity from point to point in action, or to transport them over a great extent of country, excepting with the aid of a larger team of horses than was compatible with a moderate expenditure, or the means of procuring draught at all times; but it often compelled their abandonment in moments of emergency. And while the duty of working the guns detached too large a number of the Infantry from their legitimate functions, it at the same time made manifest their incapacity to deal with a weapon which laid contributions on the law of projectiles, with which they were unfamiliar. The French and Spaniards had proved themselves superior Artillerists, and must have been triumphant in all sieges and battles, if the headlong valour of the English troops had not proved more than a match for the science of the enemy. But our men paid with their blood for their comparative ignorance, and it was desirable that, for the future, victory should be achieved at a lesser sacrifice.

The Tory Ministry, at the head of which was Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, had become extremely unpopular in the Army, because the progress of the war in the Netherlands and Spain had been checked mainly by its means, and it was supposed to be favourable to the succession of Queen Anne's brother, James, who was residing in France as the Chevalier St George, to the exclusion of the House of Hanover, always supposing that he survived the Queen. To such lengths did the Officers carry their hostility, that upon

one occasion they drank as a toast, "Confusion to the New Ministry!" The offenders, Generals Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood, were at once superseded. Sir Richard Temple was removed from his Regiment with the simple intimation that Her Majesty had no longer any occasion for his services. Lieutenant-Colonel Coote was deprived of his company in the Guards for drinking the health of the Elector of Hanover, and expressing his dislike to Lord Oxford. General Cadogan was compelled to sell his Regiment. The Duke of Argyll, Lord Stair, and General Davenport lost theirs, and were further ordered to leave the Army. Lieutenant-Colonel Sidney, brother to the Earl of Leicester, and several other Captains of Foot Guards, were obliged to sell their companies, and men whose politics were less tinged with liberalism, were appointed to succeed them. Let it be said, in partial justification of the Officers, that their hostility to the Ministers did not rest exclusively on their attachment to the House of Hanover. The Duke of Argyll charged the Ministers with having new-modelled the Army, and disbanded certain Regiments out of their turn to serve the ultimate purposes of the Pretender, to whom they had sent money. He said, in the House of Peers, that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men who had never looked an enemy in the face advanced to the posts of several brave Officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were left to starve in prison for debt on account of the detention of their pay.

CHAPTER VI.

Accession of George I.—Marlborough's Return and Death—The Earl of Mar's Rebellion—New Regiments—The Battle of Sheriff Muir—Failure of the Spanish Expedition to England—Bad Military Clothing—The Order of the Bath—George II. Ascends the Throne—Organisation of the Royal Artillery—War with Spain—Augmentation of the Army.

Queen Anne dying in 1714, the Crown of England devolved on the Electoral Prince of Hanover, who came over and ascended the throne as George I.

Marlborough, who had retired to the Continent at the Peace of Utrecht, returned to England on the King's accession, and was immediately appointed Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, Colonel of the 1st Foot Guards, and Master of the Ordnance. It was fortunate for the King that he had so able a counsellor at his side, for in the year 1715 domestic troubles arose, which demanded, for their correction, the advice of a wise statesman and experienced General. Marlborough, however, did not long enjoy the new honours that had been conferred upon him. His faculties rapidly decayed, and in 1722 he died at the age of seventy-three, and was buried with the highest solemnity in Westminster Abbey.

George I.* was not permitted to enjoy his Crown in peace. Those who had been hostile to the Hanoverian succession were not likely to prove very devoted subjects now that the Elector had become their *bonâ fide* Sovereign—and those who had been friendly to the exclusion of "James III." were too exigeant in their demands for recompense to leave the King and the Ministry any hope of satisfying their cupidity or securing their loyalty. Among the malcontents the most conspicuous was the Earl of Mar. He had sought an appointment yielding 5,000*l.* a-year. Failing to obtain it he readily entered into the intrigues which other noblemen, friendly to the Stuart dynasty, had set on foot for placing "the Pretender" on the throne. The Earl was "a man of quick talent, of interested disposition, restless in his temper, inordinate in his ambition." He immediately began to collect troops in Scotland, and was not long in raising five hundred men. He set up the Pretender's standard at Braemar, and announced himself as Lieutenant-General of the Forces. Joined by the Marquis of Tullibardine and other men of rank and influence, he soon had six or seven thousand men and three Squadrons of Cavalry under his command.

As a part of the British Army was absent, holding the new possessions abroad, a fresh levy of troops became essential for the support of the throne at home. Two Regiments of Cavalry, the 9th and 10th Dragoons, and two of Infantry—the 40th and 41st—were immediately raised. Recalled to favour as a matter of necessity, the warlike Duke of Argyll was placed at the head of the Forces for the suppression of the rebellion. He had only 1,500 men; but these were considered sufficient for the discomfiture of raw and undisciplined troops. A noble historian describes Mar's Army in no very flattering terms—"The composition of the Force was as crazy as its attempt was ill-timed. The Infantry consisted altogether of Highlanders, forming an irregular and intractable body, many of whom were not

* During the reign of George I. the amount of purchase-money for commissions in the Dragoon Guards was fixed by the King's authority at the following rates:

Colonel and Captain	£7,500
Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain	4,000
Major and Captain	3,300
Captain	2,500
Captain-Lieutenant	1,500
Lieutenant	1200
Cornet	1,000
Adjutant	200

provided with flints to their guns by their Commanders in order to conceal a lamentable deficiency of powder. The Cavalry were not more effective, consisting entirely of gentlemen and their dependents. They were brave in words, extravagant in hopes, impatient of discipline, eager to meet their enemies in the field, but ignorant of all the other dangers and duties which belong to the profession of a soldier." Lord Harley's quota of Cavalry are spoken of as "large, bulky men, mounted on little horses, their Highland bonnets on their heads, and their rusty muskets hanging at their backs. They had neither boots nor pistols." These men had been living in their Native hills in a state of warlike and heroic barbarism. Their Chiefs were patriarchal Lords with civil jurisdiction—themselves vassals claiming to be of the same blood with their Lords. The Lowlanders were not much better fitted for a subjection to discipline. Yet some of them must have served in the Low Countries with Marlborough, and fought well too, or they never would have earned the compliment which he paid to their combative qualities under a very spare regimen.

One of the Earl of Mar's first measures was to attempt the surprise of Edinburgh Castle. The town sympathised in a measure with the Pretender, and had not the men who were to have been engaged in the escalade wasted two hours of their time in drinking—"powdering their hair," as the facetious landlady of the tavern described it—the attempt might have succeeded. The two Armies subsequently met at Sheriff Muir (or Moor) near Dumblane, and a battle was fought in which both parties claimed the victory. The Highlanders fought with desperate gallantry. They charged fiercely upon the English Infantry with their formidable claymores, protecting themselves from bayonet thrusts with their stout targets. But they did not prevail over the disciplined band. The Pretender, however, was sufficiently encouraged by the reports which reached him, and, aided by the money and arms of the French King, he proceeded to England. The subsequent failure of his adherents at Preston put an early end to his enterprise, and he returned to France.

The danger arising to good government, from having a rude and warlike race, mustering some forty thousand fighting men, but more especially in the north-western parts of Scotland, impressed upon the Ministry of George I. the necessity of forming roads to open up the country, of erecting a chain of forts, of launching an armed galley on Lochness, of raising paid companies, and of disarming the Highlanders—or certain clans of them; and these arduous tasks were assigned to one of the most sensible and able Officers then in the British Service—Brigadier-General George Wade.*

For the primary measure of disarming the clans in the neighbourhood of Brahan Castle, there were ordered four Regiments of Infantry—to wit, Colonel Henry Grove's, now 10th Foot; Major-General Whetham's, now 12th Foot; George Groves, now 19th Foot; the Scots Fusiliers, now 21st Foot; and six companies of the Black Watch.

All these troops, save the last named, were reviewed by George I. on Salisbury Plain on the 30th of August, 1722, when he harangued them in his broken English, and they were then marched into Scotland by the rough roads of those ante-Macadam and pre-railway times.

After being quartered in various Lowland towns in the summer of 1724, they began their march for that district which was then, to Englishmen, a *terra incognita*, the country of the clans, accompanied by fifty Dragoons; while His Majesty's ship Rose, a sixth-rate, of twenty guns and 377 men, took General Wade from Edinburgh for Inverness; but, the weather proving unpleasantly rough, he landed on the coast of Angus, and took horse for the little Highland capital, by the Moors of Nairn, and the future field of Culloden.

Meanwhile, in their quaint uniforms, with cross-belts and Kevenhuller hats, or Grenadier caps like sugar-loaves, their queues and pipe-clayed inexpressibles, the King's troops, those veterans of the Flanders wars, toiled on by the Moors of Rannoch and the Black Mount, where other roads and ways there were none, save the old Fingalian war-paths—by stupendous mountains whose heads are veiled in mist, by deep, solemn, and silent valleys, where the whistle of the curlew or the rush of the torrent alone wakes the echoes—amid the same scenery from which the Hessian Infantry had shrunk some thirty-seven years before, when they declared that beyond the gorge of Killycrankie lay the end of the world; and where the wild and barbaric dress of the inhabitants seemed as strange to the eye as their language was harsh and uncouth to the southern ear.

This "handful" of Englishmen were in a hostile land, too, where (had the tribes been united) they might have been cut off to a man; but they marched, without molestation, past even the mouth of Glencoe, where the bones of some who perished in a massacre there, thirty years before, lay whitening amid the heather.

"How could the humble dweller in those lonely regions become an object of kingly vengeance, or his bleak hills a thing for kingly am-

* The minute description of the disarmament of the Highlanders which follows is derived from the 'United Service Magazine.'

bition?" it has been asked; but the Highlanders, a source of detestation to their Lowland countrymen, were viewed by the English as literal savages, even as cannibals; and in those days our English Officers deemed service among them as a dangerous and profitless banishment, even as the Legionaries of Rome did their campaigns in Britain, or our Linesmen of the present day do their outpost duty among the kraals of the Kaffirs and the pahs of the Maories.

At Inverness a camp had been already formed, and therein the newly-arrived Regiments found Lieutenant-General Piercy Kirke's Battalion, now the 2nd (or Queen's), into which, on the ensuing Christmas Day, there came, by exchange, from Tyrrel's Dragoons, a Captain Peter Garrick, who was afterwards the father of our great actor.

The Scots Fusiliers, the Regiment of General Macartney, went no further north than Aberdeenshire, where they were quartered in several small towns to enforce the payment of an obnoxious malt-tax, the collection of which was causing dangerous riots in Glasgow and elsewhere.

Having issued summonses in writing to the clans, or tribes, of eighteen parishes, the people of which were vassals, or tenants, of the attainted Earl of Seaforth, Wade, on the 25th of August, marched with all his available Force—the detested *Saidaran Dearg*, or red soldiers—to Brahan Castle, the rendezvous of the Mackenzies, a grand old Highland fortress situated on the north side of the Conan River, amid magnificent scenery, and, not without serious misgivings as to how his request would be obeyed; he then halted his troops to receive "the submission of a high-spirited people who had resisted as long as resistance was possible."

Prior to this, the Edinburgh post had brought him many letters of menace, to intimidate him from putting the Disarming Act in execution; and papers were dispersed through the Highlands by the Jacobites, denying the power of Parliament, and urging the Clansmen to retain their means of defence lest they should be sent into captivity, or massacred in cold blood like the Macdonalds in Glencoe.

"The Mackenzies had stipulated," continues the General in his Report of those proceedings, "that they should deliver up their arms at the fortress of Brahan, as it was the seat of their Chief, William Earl of Seaforth, then exiled in France for his share in the rising in 1715. They had no objection to perform this unpalatable task in presence of the Infantry of the Line; but begged that none of the Reicudan Dhu, the Black Watch, who were specially recruited from, and Officered by Campbells, Grants, and Munros, noted Whig Clans, should be present to see their humiliation; for they (the Mackenzies)," says the good-natured General, "had always been reputed the bravest as well as the most numerous of the Northern Clans, and thought it more consistent with their honour to resign their arms to your Majesty's veteran troops—to which I readily assented."

So keeping the six companies of the Black Watch out of view, by detaching them to secure the Western Passes, the General thus endeavoured, as far as was possible, to meet the wishes of the men of Seaforth.

Colonel, after Lieut.-General, Joshua Guest, who was present on this interesting occasion, relates in a letter to the Duke of Gordon, that the Mackenzies "delivered up their armes in a varey hansom manor. First the prinsopall gentlemen waited on the Genrall to the number of fifty, and soon after came the men with their armes."

Under the trees of the grand old avenue, they came by parishes, marching four abreast in their picturesque Native dress, and in slow procession, reluctantly bringing a quantity of arms in bales and bundles, slung on the backs of horses.

In all, 784 weapons, most of which were little better than old iron, were given over to the troops; but the wary Mackenzies and Donald Murchison, the faithful factor, Lieutenant and adherent of Seaforth—great-grandfather of the eminent philosopher, Sir Roderick Impey Murchison—took specially good care that all the really serviceable weapons of the district, the long-barrelled muskets, the good claymores, dirks, skenes, and pistols were well oiled, rolled in tough bull-hides, and secured in secret places, such as bogs and caverns, waiting the time when King James's son should come to claim his own again.

However, those 784 partially useless weapons were taken in good faith by Wade as the arms of Seaforth's country, a tract some sixty miles in length by forty in breadth. The Clansmen—with mental reservations, no doubt—drank "the *King's* health;" their fifty Duine-wassals dined with the Staff, and they all separated with great politeness and mutual assurances of good faith on both sides; though at that very time the Jacobite gentry knew that another revolt in the North and a dissolution of the Union were projected; that the restless Bishop Atterbury was organising a plan "to relieve the Highlanders from the Hanoverian yoke," and had obtained from some source, now unknown, the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand livres to be expended in ammunition, brandy, and biscuits among the Stuart Clans; and that even the Czar of all the Russias, Peter the Great, was expected to co-operate with them—hopes which ended in smoke!

Pleased with his apparent success in the task of disarmament at Brahan, the General's next missives were sent to the Macdonells of Glengarry,

the Macleods of Glenelg, the Glenmorriston branch of the Grants and the Chisholms of Strathglass, who gave him over all their useless arms (exactly as the Mackenzies had done), and were duly paid for them their supposed value, on the 15th September, at the Barrack of Kilcumin, now called Fort Augustus.

The Macdonalds of Keppoch, of Moidart, of Arisaig and the shattered tribe of Glencoe, with the Macintoshes, brought theirs into Inverness; while the Gordons and Macphersons marched to the barrack of Ruthven in Badenoch for the same purpose. The Islesmen were ordered to disarm at the long since disused barrack of Bernera on the inner Sound of Skye; and the men of Mull, before the Officer Commanding a detachment in the Castle of Duart, the stronghold of Maclean; but no means were left untried to delay, evade or utterly defeat the end in view, there as elsewhere, in selling only rubbish to the Government and secluding the really good swords, dirks, and fire-arms for the *coming time*.

Wade appears to have possessed discretionary powers, for in another letter of General Guest's—a distinguished Officer of those days whose spelling was peculiar, as he gives us "knolig" for knowledge, and so forth—we find that Macpherson of Inveresshie and his sons were allowed to retain their arms, as the younger was to adopt the Whiggish name of Grant.

All this time the Regiments remained under canvas in the vicinity of Inverness, and the duty of disarming was performed by detachments sent from thence into different parts of the country—an arduous and dangerous service, as they had to pursue drove-roads and forest paths through which they marched in Indian file; but no straggler was ever cut off, and there is not an instance recorded of an English soldier being molested or assassinated.

Ammunition bread was regularly served out in the camp, and biscuits for the havresacks of the detachments sent to the glens on disarming duty. To the surprise of the English, who had been led to suppose they would be starved in a land of savages, the camp was plentifully supplied with provisions, and an hospital was provided in the town for the sick. All this contributed to preserve the health of the soldiers, of whom only ten died, though the weather was excessively rough and the rains heavy; but when the snow began to fall, the Ness to freeze, and the old Highland winter to set in with all its severity, the troops went to warmer quarters in the forts and towns; while the 10th Foot, the Regiment of Brigadier Grove, an old Williamite Officer, who had bled at Blenheim and Schellenburg, marched home to England.

It must be obvious that but for the powerful influence of the Campbells, the Munros, the Grants of Strathspey, and other Whig clans—by the system of putting one-half the country in opposition to the other—even this mock disarming could not have been attempted by a Force so small. Self-interest made some of the clans Whigs, while Jacobites at heart, and this was particularly the case with the Frasers and Grants.

Believing that the Laird of Rothiemurchus—who was of the latter surname—was well affected to the Government of King George, as a Commissioned Officer, and one whose Chief, Grant of that Ilk, was actually in command of a fortress, General Wade at this time frequently took up his abode with him and remained for weeks, even months, at the old tower of John the Simple amid Rath mher-ghuish (*i.e.*, the great plain of firs), over which rises Craigellachie, the Rock of Alarm, or muster place of the tribe in time of war.

Rothiemurchus secretly detested Wade and all his Staff, and though compelled to receive him with courtesy, would rather have seen him at the bottom of the Spey than a guest at his table, and was resolved to get rid of those protracted visits. One day, when all had left the dinner-table save himself and Wade, he started up and locked the door, resolving that the scene about to ensue should have no witness. Filling their glasses with wine, he stood erect and said with great emphasis:

"General Wade, it is useless for you and me to play false to each other any longer. We both know very well what we are in reality, whatever we see fit to pretend. I propose now that we drink, on our bended knees, the health of King James the Eighth!"

Wade was thunderstruck by the request, and in haste quitted the dinner-table of Rothiemurchus, to trouble it no more.

In the spring of the new year, 1725, the companies of the Black Watch having completed their drill and exercise, were despatched by him to their respective stations, with orders "to prevent the Highlanders from returning to the use of arms, as well as to hinder their committing depredations in the Low Country."

The company of Simon Lord Lovat (who died on Tower Hill in 1746) had to keep all the mountain passes between Lochalsh and Inverness; that of Colonel Grant, of Ballindalloch, the passes from the latter place to Dunkeld, and that of Sir Duncan Campbell, of Lochnell, from Dunkeld to the mountains of Lorn; while the other three companies, under Lieutenants, held Fort William, Kilcumin, and Ruthven, in Badenoch.

Summonses were now sent to the clans in Braemar, Perthshire, Athole, Breadalbane, and Monteith—to the long-oppressed Macgregors, and the fierce Macnabs in Strathfillan, and parties of

regular troops had orders to march from the nearest garrisons to the places appointed for the surrender of arms; but it was even as Dr Johnson was told, that the fiercest tribes were those who dwelt upon the Lowland Border; for Wade felt himself compelled to report that they did not send in their arms in such quantities as the Northern clans, or altogether withheld them.

The whole armoury that was collected, after so much trouble, diplomacy, expense, and personal risk amounted to only 2,685 weapons of all kinds, including Lochaber axes, which were stored up in the Castle of Edinburgh, Fort William, and the Barrack of Bernera. A few of the swords were of great antiquity; but General Wade concludes his report by stating to the King, that "His Majesty had paid near 13,000*l.* for broken and useless arms, which were hardly worth the expense of carriage; rusty by being exposed to rain, they are of little more than the value of old iron."

But the efforts on behalf of the Pretender did not end with the Earl of Mar's futile exertions. Spain, for nearly two centuries, the bitter foe of Protestant England, sympathised with the Catholic Pretender to the throne, and made preparations for assisting him by force of arms. A force of 6,000 men, with arms for 12,000, was shipped on ten men-of-war and transports under the command of the Duke of Ormond, who had turned traitor on Marlborough's restoration to power, and declared for the Pretender. Ormond had actually accepted the appointment of Captain-General of his "Most Catholic Majesty." Troops were despatched to the North of England on the arrival of the tidings of the approaching expedition, and Contingents came from Holland and the Austrian Netherlands. Two of the frigates arrived in Scotland with noblemen in the Stuart interest, 300 Spaniards, and 2,000 stand of arms, but General Weightman advancing against them they were attacked, and the Spaniards were made prisoners. In the meanwhile a storm scattered the Fleet of the Duke of Ormond off Cape Finisterre. To counter the aggressive movement on the part of Spain, the British Government despatched Lord Cobham to Corunna with an adequate Force. He landed at Vigo, seized seven Spanish ships, and captured Vigo and San Sebastian, together with several pieces of cannon which had been prepared for the service of the Pretender. And while these operations were going forward, General Wade, with 1,000 men, attacked Port Nedra, captured 100 pieces of ordnance, 300 barrels of powder, 5,000 small arms, and a large quantity of stores. The operations under Lord Cobham were much assisted by the 34th Regiment of Foot. The Spaniards about this time made another attempt to regain possession of Gibraltar, in which they were entirely unsuccessful.

Although George I. had, during his father's lifetime, served the German Emperor at the head of 8,000 or 10,000 Hanoverians, he had no great passion for soldiership, nor any particular affection for the British Army. Beyond being present at an occasional review, he seldom troubled himself about the soldiers who had shown a loyal readiness to defend his throne from the attacks of the Pretender and his friends. This indifference led many Officers and men—besides those who had been disbanded as no longer needful—to leave the Army and seek other occupations. To add to the disgust of the men, the clothing served out to them was of a coarse and inferior character. Marlborough's Regiment, the 1st Foot Guards, positively refused to wear the under garments issued by his authority. A detachment, in passing through the city, exhibited them to the tradespeople, shouting, "These are the Hanover shirts!"

It has been unfortunate for the British Army in some respects, that, in peace time, it has been made the subject of experiments which, under the name of reforms, have produced changes without always effecting improvements in the articles of Military costume and head-dress. The commencement of the Georgian era was distinguished by some of these alterations. The long flowing wig introduced by Charles II. (in his own person it was the substitute for the magnificent tresses of which Time had robbed him with his youth), and continued in the reign of William, was now superseded by a peruke. The hair was gathered up and tied behind in the form of a long tail, which bore the name of the *Ramilies Tie.* The cuirasses of the Cavalry were returned to store. An alteration was made in the form of the hat, and spatterdashes came into use. But fuller mention of all these changes will be made when we come to treat of the Army costume generally in the reign of George II.

More perhaps to serve political ends than to gratify the Service, Sir Robert Walpole, the Minister, united the Order of the Bath with a regular Military order. Letters Patent were issued under the Great Seal on the 25th May, 1725, "not only to re-establish and support the Order of the Bath in its former lustre and dignity," but to extend its dignity to the Army. The Sovereignty of the association was vested in the Crown, and eight Officers were appointed to assist in its government; but a large proportion of the old regulations remained in force, for, on that occasion at least, Sir Robert Walpole was sufficiently conservative of ancient usages to retain that which might have been dignified and graceful in the fourteenth century, but which in the eighteenth was the shadow of a bygone age. In the reign of George I. it was inexpressibly childish to retain the practices of bathing, of vigils, and the thousand

and one mummeries of obsolete institutions against which the writings of Cervantes had long previously directed such a flood of ridicule as set all Europe in a roar. The sneering sceptical eighteenth century had mocked at higher and holier things than the orders of Knighthood; the wonder therefore is, that the scoffers of that period did not laugh to scorn the puerilities that then disgraced the statutes of this order, and still more strange it is that Sir Robert did not reform a code from the obligations of which he must have foreseen that it would be necessary to give each newly-created Knight a special warrant of dispensation. Thirty-eight Knights were made in 1725.

On the 11th of June, 1727, died George I., to be succeeded by the second of that name.

George II. was peculiarly acceptable to the Army, for he had proved himself a good and brave soldier at the battle of Oudenarde. "He is wild, but he fights like a man," was predicated of him by his father. Under his rule—at the very commencement indeed of the reign—the Royal Artillery was regularly organised. It was formed of four companies, each consisting of a Captain, a Captain's Lieutenant, one First and one Second Lieutenant, three Lieutenant fire-workers, three serjeants, three corporals, eight bombardiers, twenty gunners, sixty-four matrosses,* and two drummers—107 in each company. To Captains and Lieutenants the same rates of pay were assigned as they receive at this day. The fire-workers had three shillings and sixpence. In form the clothing resembled that worn by the Infantry of the period. The coats were loose and long with broad cuffs laced with gold and adorned with a superfluity of heavy buttons. The skirts of the coats admitted of being folded back in front that the leg might be free in marching. Breeches and waistcoats were then in vogue, to which gaiters or spatterdashes, going above the knee, were added on parade or field duty. Three-cornered cocked-hats with lace borders surmounted the heads of Officers and men. The costume of the latter only differed from that of the Officers in the quality of the cloth and the substitution of cotton for gold lace. Fusils without bayonets were the arms of the Officers; halberds and long swords with brass hilts, the weapons of the non-commissioned officers. The privates, or matrosses, bore common muskets and pouches. The gunners carried staves, longer than the halberds, with spear-heads and linstocks branching out of them at either side, and over their left shoulders hung a powder horn, the brass mountings of which were kept highly polished. A sword, similar to that of the serjeants and corporals, completed the equipment of each gunner. The cocked hats were looped up at the left side, so as to leave room for the musket or halberd at the shoulder. White cravats and clean white shirts, or shirt fronts, constituted the remainder of the costume.

The colour of the coats of the Artillery was, as now, dark blue, the facings scarlet; that of the Infantry was red, the facings various. The only striking difference in the two branches of the Service beyond the colour of the uniform, was in the shape of the hat, and the quality of the arms. The conical sugar-loaf cap of black or white felt was general in the line, and all the men carried muskets with bright barrels, for "browning" was then unknown. They also wore short swords with basket hilts and bayonets. Everything about them was cumbrous, and to add to their discomfort, each soldier carried, attached to a belt from the right shoulder, a broad flapping cartouche box.

The land Forces on the accession of George II. amounted to 17,700 men, but even this small number Mr Pulteney endeavoured in the Session of 1729, to reduce to 12,000, and he was sustained in his amendment by "downright Shippen." The strength of the Minister and the Court party, if not the good sense of the House of Commons, prevailed, and the vote passed. But the opposition was renewed in subsequent Sessions, on the feeble ground that a Militia could be relied upon in time of need, and at length the Minister, annoyed that even Military men should oppose the Estimates, obtained the removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham from the command of their respective Regiments. Upon this Lord Morpeth moved for a Bill to prevent the removal of any Commissioned Officer, not above the rank of a Colonel, excepting by the verdict of a Court-Martial; but as this involved a serious interference with the Royal prerogative it failed.

Sir Robert Walpole was a determined friend of peace—whether because he honestly believed that the true interests of Great Britain lay in the avoidance of foreign wars, or because, as his enemies alleged, he did not wish that the funds which he required for corrupt purposes at home, should be diverted to other objects, it is no part of the Military historian to discuss. It is sufficient to know that during ten years of his administration not a single hostile shot was fired. But at length the day arrived when the sword had to be drawn in vindication of the honour and interests of England. In 1737, complaints were made by British merchants that the Spaniards had committed grievous outrages upon their ships and property, on the pretence that the English had gathered salt on the Island of Tortugas, and cut

* These appellations were continued in the Army of the East India Company to as late a date as 1822. Matross still was the name borne by the privates, as derived from the French *mat-tros*.

logwood in the Bay of Campeachy. The Government instituted inquiries into the complaints, and the issue was that a Convention was concluded between Great Britain and Spain, by which the latter State bound itself to make reparation, and to agree to arrangements for regulating the commerce of British merchants on the American coast contiguous to the Spanish possessions. This Convention created the greatest dissatisfaction. In 1739, the dissatisfaction was increased, for Spain failed to pay the sum of money agreed upon as compensation for the depredations committed on British trade, and when it became evident that a war with Spain was inevitable, a vote was obtained for the augmentation of the Army, and several Regiments were raised—viz., the 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, and 48th, and the commands assigned to noblemen who were agreeable to Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister. The 42nd was an exception to the rule of political favouritism. This Corps, which was destined to become one of the most conspicuous in the Army for its gallantry and devotion, was composed entirely of Highlanders. After the affair in 1715, the Government, with the view of identifying the mountaineers with the rest of the people, caused them to be embodied into six companies, the command of each of which was assigned to the chief of a clan, or some distinguished landed proprietor resident in the Highlands. No change was made in their costume; they wore the tartan of their respective clans, and this was generally of so sombre a hue that they acquired the appellation of "the Black Watch." In the performance of the duties assigned to them—that of disarming the peasantry, and preventing depredations on the property of the Lowlanders—they had behaved so well that the King now deemed them deserving of the compliment of being enrolled in the British Line, and put into a costume which should combine the Royal livery with their own national garb. The arms given to them were the musket, bayonet, and basket-hilted sword, and some of the men carried a dirk, pistols, and the favourite target or shield. The other Regiments were dressed like the rest of the Line, the only distinction being the facing or *revers*, originally so called because, when the coat-skirts were folded back and the cuffs turned up, they disclosed the colour of the cloth or serge with which the dresses were lined.

CHAPTER VII.

The Expedition to Carthagena—The Duke of Argyll on the State of the Army—The Troops at Minorca—Soldiers and Innkeepers—The Pragmatic Sanction Violated—War with France and Bavaria on behalf of Maria Theresa—The Battle of Dettingen—The Affair at Fontenoy.

With the object of giving the greatest possible annoyance to Spain in those quarters where she could be reached by the British Navy several expeditions were planned, one of which was to be directed to Ferrol and another to Chili and Peru, but contrary winds and other accidents delayed operations beyond the time when they could be serviceable, and they were therefore put aside. A third expedition, however, was devised consisting of a combination of Naval and Land Forces, the latter under the command of Lord Cathcart, an Officer of character and some professional experience, and the latter under that of Sir Chaloner Ogle. The troops consisted of a large body of Marines, a proportion of Artillery, and the 6th, 15th, 16th, and 36th Regiments of the Line. The expedition proceeded to Jamaica; but before its arrival at that island Lord Cathcart was carried off by an attack of dysentery, and the Military command devolved upon General Wentworth, an Officer of poor capacity and no experience. At Jamaica, Sir Chaloner Ogle found his authority superseded by Vice-Admiral Vernon, his senior. The united Squadrons numbered twenty-nine ships of the line, and nearly the same number of frigates, gun-boats, fire-ships, &c., on board of which were 15,000 seamen and 12,000 troops—a sufficient Force, under good management, for the reduction of the Island of Cuba, and the interception of the treasure of the Spanish West Indies. But the golden opportunity was permitted to escape. Delay and irresolution caused the time to slip away until the designs of the Government were frustrated by the arrival of the hot and rainy season and its pestiferous accompaniments. Admiral Vernon, obtaining wood and water at Hispaniola, sailed to Carthagena and laid siege to the place. It was strongly fortified and courageously defended. The siege operations were conducted with very little skill; but the soldiers did all that courage and endurance could effect, and the attack on Carthagena was not abandoned until 600 true men had been sacrificed to the incompetency of their Commander, and the want of co-operation between himself and the Admiral. So worthless were the arrangements that, while yet before the fortifications, the troops were exposed for three days and nights without tents or entrenching tools. A subsequent attempt on Cuba was equally unfortunate with the fruitless attack on Carthagena.

Let us turn from this gloomy passage in the history of the British Army to subjects of a more interesting character.

Independently of the necessity for arming the country against Spain there was a probability of other complications arising, which would tax the Military resources of the State. The occasion seemed opportune for examining the condition of the Army, and to this point the attention of the House of Lords and the public was directed by the Duke of Argyll in the Session of 1740. The Duke, disgusted with the jobbery and corruption of which the Army was made the victim by Sir Robert Walpole, threw up all the appointments which he held under the Crown, and assailed the malversations of the Minister in language as forcible as it was eloquent. Warm and impetuous by nature, and gifted with a remarkable fluency of speech, he poured forth a torrent of reprobation that was not the less effective because it was founded on truth and justice. After referring to his own experience, training, and services in the field, as giving him a title to be heard, he said that he had always been of opinion that it was necessary to keep up a body of regular troops with reference to the attitude of neighbouring nations. "But, my Lords," said the Duke, "as an Army is to be admitted only for the security of the State, it should be so regulated that it might produce that result—that it may be useful without danger, and protect the people without oppressing them. To this end it is indispensably necessary that the Military subordination be invariably preserved, and discipline indiscriminately exercised without any partial indulgence in malicious severity; that every man be promoted according to his desert, and that Military merit alone give any pretension to Military preferment. To make the Army yet more useful it ought to be under the sole command of one man, exalted to the important trust by his known skill, courage, justice, and fidelity, and uncontrolled in the administration of his province by any other authority—a man enabled by his experience to distinguish the deserving, and invested with power to reward them. * * * It is known equally to the highest and meanest Officers that those who have most opportunities of observing Military merit have no power of rewarding it, and therefore every man endeavours to obtain other recommendations than those of his superiors in the Army, and to distinguish himself by other services than attention to his duty and obedience to his Commanders. * * * Our Generals are only Colonels with a higher title, without power and without command; they can neither make themselves loved nor feared; and what discipline can be established by men whom those who sometimes act the farce of obedience know to be only phantoms of authority? * * * No man will labour to no purpose, or undergo the fatigue of Military vigilance without an adequate motive; no man will endeavour to lessen superfluous duties and neglect the easiest road to honour and to wealth merely for the sake of encountering difficulties; and therefore no man in the Army will solicitously apply himself to the duties of his profession, of which, when he has learned them, the most accurate practice will avail him nothing. * * * Nothing is now considered but Parliamentary interest, nor is any subordination desired but in the Supreme Council of the Kingdom. For the establishment of this new regulation the honours of every profession are prostrated and every commission is become merely nominal. To gratify the leaders of the Ministerial party the most despicable triflers are exalted to an authority, and those whose want of understanding excludes them from any other employment, are selected for Military commissions. No sooner have they taken possession of their new command, and gratified, by some act of oppression, the wantonness of new authority, but they desert their charges, with the formality of demanding a permission to be absent, which their Commander dares not deny them.* Thus, my Lords, they leave the care of the troops and the study of the rules of war to those unhappy men who have no other claim to elevation than knowledge and bravery, and who, for want of relations in Parliament, are condemned to linger out their lives at their quarters, amuse themselves with recounting their actions and sufferings in former wars, and with reading in the papers of every post the commissions which are bestowed on those who never saw a battle. * * * After this manner has the Army been modelled—it has known no other power than that of the Secretary-at-War, who directs its motions and fills up every vacancy without opposition and without appeal. * * * And surely no man could have made choice of such wretches as he has done for Military commands but to show that he considers

* The strictures of the Duke of Argyll upon the facility with which the Officers appointed to Regiments by the Minister obtained leave of absence from their duties, were fully borne out by the indulgence shown to those who were quartered in Minorca. On the 27th of January, 1742, Lord Sandwich moved a vote of censure on the authorities who had permitted fourteen Officers out of the nineteen, constituting the total strength, to absent themselves from their duties at a serious juncture. Minorca was much exposed to an attack by France or Spain, or the States united, as its position contributed to the command of the commerce of the Mediterranean. The Duke of Argyll warmly seconded Lord Sandwich's motion, but the Minister was too powerful for his honest opponents, and when the question was put to the vote it was lost by sixty-nine to fifty-seven, a large minority for the House of Peers constituted as it then was.

himself supreme and unaccountable, for we have seen the same animals to-day cringing behind a counter and to-morrow swelling in a Military dress. We have seen boys sent from school in despair of improvement and entrusted with Military command; fools that cannot learn their duty and children that cannot perform it have been indiscriminately promoted; the dross of the nation has been swept together to compose our new Forces, and every man who was too stupid or infamous to learn or carry on a trade has been placed, by this great dispenser of honours, above the necessity of application or the reach of censure." * * *

The gallant Duke continued much in the same strain to denounce the gross favouritism of Sir Robert Walpole, and to show of how much injustice he had been guilty to the country as well as the Officers. In augmenting the Army very little pains had been taken to reduce the cost of the half-pay. Out of the 250 Officers on half-pay, only thirty-six had been brought on the effective strength, and to make the Minister's patronage the more extensive new Regiments had been raised when the same strength could have been obtained by simply adding to the companies of those already existing.

The Duke of Argyll's speech excited great surprise and admiration. No one but the Lord Chancellor ventured upon a reply, and he could only use a lawyer's special pleading. Lord Carteret was greatly struck with the boldness and truthfulness of the Duke. "Not only the present age," said his Lordship, "but posterity may possibly be indebted to the Duke of Argyll for juster notions of a Military establishment than had yet been attained by those whose profession obliges them to such inquiries."

Posterity, it must be confessed, was a long time in practically acknowledging the lessons taught by the Duke. Nearly a century elapsed before political services ceased to form the foundation of a claim to Military preferment.

The question of the best method of augmenting the land Forces was debated with some earnestness in the House of Commons. Shippen, who had made twenty-one anniversary speeches against standing Armies, fifteen of which he ingeniously admitted had never been seconded—made his twenty-second and left the House. Pulteney was more rational. He contended for the augmentation by companies, not simply because it was the more economical course of procedure, but because he had been assured by "one of the greatest Generals of the world" that raw troops could be disciplined in a short time only by being incorporated with those who had already been taught their duty, and that with an Army *so* mixed, he would "think himself able to meet any Forces of the same number."

In the ensuing Session of Parliament (1741) a subject came before the House of Commons which was at first regarded as too trifling a matter for the attention of the Legislature. Its importance, however, became the more apparent as the debate proceeded—a debate which lasted two days. It referred to the billeting of troops on inn-keepers, or inn-holders as they were then called. Previous Mutiny Acts had provided that soldiers should be furnished, when quartered at public-houses, with diet and beer for fourpence per diem—apparently an adequate sum in those times, but not so disproportionate to the cost of provisions then as it would be now. However, certain country innholders objected to supply the soldiers at that rate, and were equally averse to supply hay and corn for their horses for eightpence per diem. Some disturbances were threatened, and Sir W. Yonge brought under the consideration of the House of Commons the advisability of amending the law, as it was of great importance to keep up a good understanding between the people and the soldiery. After an animated discussion, and the introduction of an amendment which was not carried, Sir W. Yonge proposed that, as soldiers received but sixpence per day, they should not be charged more than fourpence for diet and small beer, but that the publicans should be allowed the alternative of supplying them with fire, candles, vinegar, salt, and five pints of beer or cider *gratis* if the men purchased their victuals themselves. This arrangement was agreed to. It was just to both parties, for while the inn-keeper was protected from any extraordinary loss arising from the cost of provisions in excess of what he received from the troops, the men had all the advantage of those fluctuations in the prices of bread and meat, which occasionally rendered the diurnal fourpence more than was necessary for the man's comfortable sustenance.

Events of startling importance on the Continent of Europe indicated that the policy of placing the British Army on a war footing was not altogether unsound, however anxious a profligate Minister may have been to strengthen his hands by an extension of his Military patronage.

The Emperor Charles VI. of Germany died at Vienna, and was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa. In the year 1722, having no sons, nor any prospect of becoming the father of one, the Emperor had settled the succession on his daughter, and obtained the confirmation of the Diet and the guarantee of *Great Britain*, France, the States-General, and certain other Powers of Europe. This settlement was called "The Pragmatic Sanction." The title was not new. In civil law it meant the rescript of the Sovereign to some college, order, &c., which had addressed him

on matters of interest to their community; but the literal interpretation given to the word "Pragmatic," which came from the French, who had borrowed it from the Greek, was simply *officiousness*, a disposition to be busy and intermeddlesome. Be the appropriateness of the name what it might, under its operation it unfortunately became the obligation of the British Government to interfere on behalf of the Archduchess. As Empress of Austria she was at the same time Queen of Hungary. No sooner, however, was the breath out of the Emperor's body than the warlike Frederick of Prussia marched into Silesia with 20,000 men, and seized upon certain territories alleged to belong to his family, at the same time declaring that he did not mean to act in contravention of the Pragmatic Sanction: and to add to the troubles of Maria Theresa, the Elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge her Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, claiming the Imperial diadem himself. The Queen flew to arms: her troops met the Prussians at Molwitz and were defeated. The Bavarians attacked her in Bohemia, and, as they were supported by the victorious Prussians, Olmutz was taken and occupied. These events made Prussia rather too powerful a neighbour to the Hanoverians to be agreeable to the Elector, King George II. of England, and supplied His Majesty with an additional motive for yielding to the call of the Austrian Queen for the guaranteed assistance. Danish and Hessian troops, on British pay, were ordered to her support, and an English Force was encamped and prepared for embarkation.

Affairs now became complicated by the interference of the French. Always jealous of the Austrians, the French King espoused the pretensions of the Elector of Bavaria, with the design of placing him at the head of the Austrian Empire, to the exclusion of Maria Theresa. With this view a French Army was advanced into Germany to join the Bavarian Prince, while another marched upon the Rhine. In the campaign which followed, Marshal Saxe took Prague, and the Elector was proclaimed King of Bohemia. The war which ensued was prosecuted with great energy and various successes on both sides. Prague was recovered from the French, and the King of Prussia retired from the contest on obtaining the assignment of a large portion of Silesia. The Elector of Bavaria, who had assumed the Imperial title, was obliged to retire with the loss of all his jewels, plate, pictures, treasure, and the family archives, and to consent to remain neutral during the remainder of the contest. France, however, continued in arms against the Empress of Austria, and as she felt unequal to cope with that power the aid of England was invoked. A British Force, 16,000 strong, had been sent into the Netherlands to act as circumstances might require, and as affairs had reached a crisis which rendered its prompt interference necessary, the Earl of Stair was appointed to the command in 1743, and the King himself, accompanied by Lord Carteret and the Duke of Cumberland, embarked for the scene of action, the rather that a dispute had arisen between the King and Frederick of Prussia respecting the claim of the former to the Duchy of Saxe Lowenberg.

In the month of February Lord Stair moved with his Force to unite with Prince Charles of Lorraine, who was fighting the battles of the Empress. In the meantime the French, to the number of 60,000, assembled on the Maine. It was of the last importance to the comparatively small British and Austrian Force, that a junction should be formed with some 12,000 Hanoverians and Hessians, who had reached Hesse. To prevent this junction Marshal Noailles, the skilful Commander of the French Army, sent 25,000 men across the Maine under the Duc de Grammont. As the British advanced they found the French drawn up in a very good position, with a wood on their left, the village of Dettingen on their right, and a morass in their centre. The enemy had placed batteries on the opposite bank of the Maine, which annoyed the British and their Allies on the march, and were feebly replied to by the Hanoverian Artillery. At ten a.m. on June 18 (O.S.)—a day which later achievements rendered memorable in the Military annals of England—the French attacked the English with their characteristic impetuosity. The battle lasted nearly the whole day, and terminated in the French being compelled to recross the river, thus enabling the Allies to proceed to Hanse. Very severe was the encounter while it lasted. Lord Carteret's despatch descriptive of the engagement was curt enough, but there is a volume of letters extant which supplied the deficiency in his narrative. The conduct of the King of Great Britain was universally extolled. His Majesty was at the head of the second line, but as he was anxious to be personally present in any battle that might ensue, Lord Stair manœuvred to delay coming into collision with the enemy until his arrival. At first His Majesty was mounted, and was much exposed to the fire of his enemy. An Officer in Lord Albemarle's troop, writing to his wife, said:

"The King had not rode above a mile towards the French when they began to fire at him from a battery of twelve pieces of cannon—but, as God would have it, they levelled too high. I saw several balls go within a yard of his head. Balls flew as thick as hail. All this time he was uncovered. The Duke d'Arenberg urged him to go out of danger. He made answer—'Don't tell me

of danger—I'll be even with them.' He is certainly the boldest man I ever saw."

The King soon afterwards dismounted and headed the Line, sword in hand. He did not quit the saddle a moment too soon, for scarcely had he set his foot on the ground, than a cannon ball broke the bough of a tree immediately over his head. Mr Thackeray writes of the King:

"Whenever we hear of dapper George at war, it is certain that he demeaned himself like a little man of valour. At Dettingen his horse ran away with him, and with difficulty was stopped from carrying him into the enemy's lines. The King, dismounting from the fiery quadruped, said bravely, 'Now, I know I shall not run away,' and placed himself at the head of the Foot, drew his sword, brandishing it at the whole of the French Army, and calling out to his own men to come on, in bad English, with the most famous pluck and spirit."

It is pleasant to read of such fine examples of cool courage in our Sovereigns. Whether their origin be English, Dutch, or German, they have invariably comported themselves after a manner worthy of the people who have consented to recognise their supreme rule.

The battle of Dettingen was chiefly one of resistance on the part of the Allies, and was highly complimentary to their discipline. The *solidarité* which has always attracted the admiration of foreigners was finely exemplified by the English Infantry. A soldier of the Royals writes:

"The Blue Regiment fought desperately, and suffered but little. All the General Officers declared great satisfaction. The King told us we had beaten such great numbers as *nine* to one, and for the future we should be more equally matched, for he never would have his English lads starved; but turn them out against *two* to one with any Power in Europe."

It was remarked, as a proof of bad leadership and insufficient drill, that the English Infantry were too crowded and much too hasty in their fire—a common error with nervous young recruits when left to "independent" firing. But they made good use of the bayonet. When the French Cuirassiers fell upon the 21st Royal N. B. Fusiliers, Sir Andrew Agnew, who commanded them, made them fall back from the centre by right and left. The Cuirassiers, who fancied they had broken the line thus got into a lane, and were mercilessly bayoneted by the Fusiliers. It was with difficulty a remnant of the Cavalry escaped. "Ah! Sir Andrew," said the King good humouredly after the battle, "the *gens d'armes* got in among you to-day!"—"Yes, your Majesty, but they did not get out again," was the prompt reply.

A trooper of the Life Guards, who gave a very animated account of the battle, wrote to a friend, "Lord Crawford behaved like a 'true son of Mars,' for when the enemy charged them in front and flank he rode from right to left, crying, 'Never fear, my boys, this is fine diversion.'"

At length, after six hours of hard fighting, the French General retreated across the river; but not until great havoc had been made in his ranks by the rush of 3,000 British Cavalry. Rarely has the value of Cavalry been made more manifest. The velocity with which the Dragoon Guards and Scots Greys charged the retiring foe gave them signal advantages. The white standard of the French King's household troops, which never was taken before, was captured at Dettingen by the Greys, "led by Campbell." "They took much pains," wrote a Lieutenant of the Royals, "to be demolished, but escaped best." The 1st Royal Dragoons captured another white standard. It belonged to the *Mousquetaires Noirs*, and was embroidered with gold, having in the centre a bunch of nine arrows tied with a wreath. In the conflict for this prize the lance supporting the standard was broken, the Cornet who bore it cut down by the serjeant who made the capture. The standard had been buckled to the Officer, and he was himself buckled to the horse. He was killed, but did not fall, and the standard was saturated with his blood. Many French prisoners and guns were taken, and some thousands of men and Officers were slain. The loss of the Allies was likewise considerable. General Clayton and Colonel Pearce were killed. The Duke of Cumberland was shot in the leg, and "had," wrote Lord Carteret, "a beautiful Turkey horse killed under him." Generals Huske and Ligonier and Colonel Honeywood were likewise wounded. Lord Albemarle and other Officers of rank also lost their horses by the shot of the enemy. The soldiers had been promised by the King the much coveted privilege of plunder if they obtained the victory. This was a great stimulus to their efforts, and no wonder, for we read of troopers having the next day as much as 14*l.* in their pockets, yet unable to obtain provisions, though completely drenched with a twenty-five-mile march in heavy rain.

The British Regiments present in the remarkable and memorable action at Dettingen were the Life Guards, the Blues, the 1st and 7th Dragoon Guards, the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Dragoons, the 3rd and 4th Light Dragoons, the 6th Inniskillings, the 7th Hussars, the 3rd Buffs; the 8th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 20th Foot; the 21st N.B. Fusiliers, and the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Lieutenant Izzard, of the last-named Corps, reported that a trooper of the 7th Dragoon Guards, who had been charged with desertion, having had his

horse killed, applied to the Lieutenant for a musket, and bravely fought on foot with the 23rd. The Duke of Cumberland gave him a Lieutenancy in the Regiment at once. After the battle of Dettingen, the King's Army resumed its march. New standards were given to the Cavalry to replace their tattered guidons, and the old ones were presented to the Cornets who had borne them so gallantly through the fight.

Fidelity to the course of Military history demands that mention should here be made of an episode which rendered 1743 memorable for more than the battle of Dettingen. The newly-raised 42nd Regiment of Highlanders mutinied! In view to its employment in the Netherlands, the Corps was ordered to London, and after being reviewed was to have embarked at Gravesend. An impression, however, prevailed among the men that they were going to the West Indies, where so many good soldiers had found graves under the Vernons and Wentworths of the day. They at once burst out into open mutiny. One hundred of their number deserted, and went the road to Scotland, chased by squadrons of Wade's Horse and Churchill's Dragoons; they surrendered and returned to their colours; but punishment of such flagrant insubordination was indispensable, and three of the number were tried and shot. The rest of the mutineers were drafted to unpopular service in the Colonies, and the Regiment, having received an accession of recruits, was despatched in the first instance to the Netherlands, and subsequently to Germany, where it laid the foundation of that fame, which has acquired greater brilliancy with every occasion that has offered for the display of courage, discipline, and loyalty.

Another incident fruitful of future advantage to the country claims record here. The Royal Academy for the education of Officers intended for the Artillery was established at Woolwich in 1741 by the Duke of Montague, then Master-General of the Ordnance. The value of the institution has been attested in the distinguished service rendered to the country by the *alumni*, many of whom attained high rank, and by their excellent judgment and scientific acquirements, as well as by their intrepidity, conduced to the capture of numerous strongholds, turned the tide of victory in action, or enlarged the field of geographical discovery. The names of Alexander Dickson, Dacres, Ross, Chesney, and Strangeways, will be for ever embalmed in the affectionate recollection of Englishmen who take pride in the Military history of their land.

There is a dim page in the chronicles of the Army which truth and candour demand should not be passed over—the less so that the record is of so rare a character. A British Army was defeated by a superior French Force, at Fontenoy on April 30, 1745. Marshal Saxe was laying siege to Tournay, which Marlborough had, it will be remembered, taken from the French. To relieve the town the Duke of Cumberland marched onwards with his whole Force, which had now been strengthened by the accession of the 34th and 42nd Regiments. To the Dutch troops had been assigned the duty of attacking the village of Fontenoy, where the enemy were posted in some strength. Upon the British devolved the task of assailing the French Battalions drawn up to protect the besiegers. The British reached their ground late on the evening of April 29. Fatigued as they were, however, they were obliged to pass the whole night under arms, "daunted neither by the strong position nor superior numbers of the enemy, but full of that calm self-reliance, that unboastful resolution, which are scarce ever found wanting in British soldiers." "They have, truly indeed," continues Lord Mahon, from whose history we quote, "that fear-naught feeling ascribed to them by a General who had often led them forward in former wars. When, in 1714, Lord Cobham and General Stanhope went together on an embassy to Vienna, a body of 10,000 excellent Cavalry—deemed the best in Europe—was reviewed before them by Prince Eugene, who, turning to Stanhope, asked him 'if he thought that any 10,000 British Horse could beat those Austrians.' 'I cannot tell, Sir,' answered the General, 'whether they could or not, but I know that 5,000 would try.'"*

On the morning of April 30 the battle began. After a brief contest in front of the village at Fontenoy the Dutch gave way. This *contretemps* left the brunt of the engagement to be borne by the British, who were now exposed to a galling cross fire which thinned their ranks and rendered victory hopeless. Generals Campbell and Ponsonby had been killed. The "Black Watch" distinguished itself at Fontenoy by a mode of warfare which, at the time, surprised both friend and foe, but has since become a recognised manœuvre where Infantry are much exposed to the fire of Artillery. Unable to get at the French Infantry, who were strongly entrenched, and therefore incapable of using their broadswords with effect, the 42nd Highlanders, after marching to the ground to the music of their own bagpipes, to take up a position, fired a volley, and then "clapped down at full length on the sod to let the shot pass over them." The only exception to the prone attitude was the Colonel, Sir Robert Monro, who was so fat and unwieldy that, had he lain down, it would have required a lever to lift

* This anecdote has been ascribed to so many persons at different times, that Lord Mahon performed a service in tracing it to its real source.

him up again. He bravely stood by the colours during the storm of shot, and miraculously escaped unharmed.

After the battle of Fontenoy the war languished in Europe, only two affairs occurring—one at *Roncaux*, and the other notably at *Val* on the Netherlands frontier,—to afford the British Dragoons any chance of reaping distinction. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle brought the war to a close, and the Regiments returned home.

CHAPTER VIII.

French Measures in behalf of the Pretender—The Invasion—The Battle of Prestonpans—Colonel Gardiner—Troops Return from the Netherlands—The Review at Finchley—The Pretender Retreats—The Fight at Clifton Moor—The Battle of Falkirk—The Pretender Takes Stirling Castle — The Duke of Cumberland Assumes the Command of the Army—The Battle of Culloden — Cruelties — Flight of the Pretender — Changes in Military Costume—Corporal Punishment Introduced.

We have arrived at a period of our history which almost borders on the romantic; less, however, from the operations of the Army itself than from the circumstances by which they were surrounded.

Although upwards of a quarter of a century had elapsed since the battle of Sheriffmuir, intrigue was still rife among certain Scottish noblemen and Highland Lairds to restore the Stuart dynasty; and in this they received abundance of encouragement from the French Monarch. The efforts of the British Government to reconcile the Scotch to the House of Hanover had only been partially successful. Between the malcontents, who had not been softened by grants, privileges, or office, and the many Caledonians who cherished an hereditary and undying love for the exiled Prince, there was a party sufficiently numerous to afford encouragement to any renewed attempt to place the son of James II. upon the British throne. But "James III." was getting old prematurely, and had incapacitated himself, by an indolent and luxurious course of life in France, for the toil and hardship necessarily incidental to a hostile invasion of England. In his youthful son, however, there was a substitute for himself, who would be infinitely more popular, because he had no antecedents to contend against, and was moreover gifted with many qualities calculated to engage the affections of those with whom he might come into contact. It was accordingly determined that this youth, Charles Edward, should make a descent on England while the bulk of the Army was engaged in Germany and the Netherlands. In furtherance of this object the French King, in 1743, caused an expedition to be prepared, consisting of 15,000 men, under Marshal Saxe, and a large Fleet to be assembled at Brest, Boulogne, Calais, and Dunkirk, which sailed in January, 1744, under the command of Admiral Roquefeuille. The English Government, obtaining information of this movement, despatched Sir John Norris with a Squadron to intercept the French. The King met his Parliament, and claimed its aid. Parliament and the people of the south were unanimous in their loyalty. Money and troops were voted—the Militia assembled in Kent. Lord Stair, who had got out of favour, was reappointed Commander-in-Chief, and troops were recalled from Flanders. But Roquefeuille's expedition miscarried. The elements co-operated with Sir John Norris, and the French Fleet was driven back, while many of the transports were either totally wrecked or seriously damaged.

To check such mad expeditions in future, Parliament passed an Act declaring all persons who should correspond with the Pretender's sons, and even the posterity of such persons while the sons lived, liable to impeachment for high treason. But even this measure was insufficient to control the restless ambition of the "Young Chevalier," or destroy the hopes of the Scottish nobility who clung to his fortunes. In 1745 he daringly embarked for Scotland with a few adventurous friends—was joined by a French man-of-war, and driven back by an English ship of the line—again ventured forth, and at length landed on one of the western isles, whence he proceeded into the heart of the country. In a very short time he was joined by hundreds of devoted mountaineers, and established a camp near Inverness.

The British Government, which hitherto had been inert, was now alive to a sense of the danger which threatened the peace of the country. Sir John Cope, who commanded in Scotland, "woke up," * and, after some manœuvring and useless marching, proceeded towards Edinburgh, and on the 20th of September reached Prestonpans. In the meanwhile the "Young Chevalier" had established himself *en prince* at Holyrood House, proclaimed his father "King," and published a manifesto in which the Chevalier de St George declared the son Regent of the kingdom. By this time he had contrived to muster some 5,000 or 6,000 men, and moved out to meet the English. Sir John Cope had but 3,000 Regulars. Nevertheless, Colonel Gardiner, of the 13th Light Dragoons, urged the policy of taking the initiative. Sir John, on the other hand, preferred acting on the defensive. He was not permitted to deliberate long. Early on the morning of the 21st Septem-

* The ballad song, "Hey Johny Cope are ye wauking yet," was not the least popular among the many effusions of the Jacobite minstrels.

ber down came the fierce Highlanders *en masse*. They fired a volley, threw away their muskets, and, with characteristic impetuosity, charged the British with claymore and target. Astonished at the audacity of the onslaught, and incapable of offering resistance, the Artillery gave way. The 13th and 14th Dragoons, all tired as they were with the long march of the previous day, and a night of tedious watching, came to the rescue. Overpowered in their turn, they turned their backs on the hardy mountaineers. Colonel Gardiner, who was wounded in the breast, after a vain effort to rally his men, joined some Infantry, and endeavoured to stem the Highland tide. With a rare, undaunted heroism, he was encouraging them to resistance, when a Highlander cut at him with a scythe and disabled his sword arm. Others instantly surrounded and assailed him. His horse was slain, and he, unable to defend himself, fell pierced with wounds. The Infantry now broke and fled, and the *déroute* became general. Prestonpans was a victory to the Pretender.

Two hours after the battle Colonel Gardiner, still breathing, was found by one of his servants, and carried to Tranent Church, whence he was borne to the residence of the Minister, and expired in a few hours.

Colonel Gardiner was one of those Officers, unhappily too rare at all times, but especially so in the last century, who combined a pure Christianity with professional earnestness. From early youth he had paid great attention to his religious duties, and he proved throughout his brilliant career that simple piety was not incompatible with Military zeal and thorough loyalty. On the night preceding the unfortunate affair at Prestonpans, being with his Regiment near his own family dwelling, he caused four of his servants to join him, and dismissing them at three o'clock on the following morning, with exhortations to comport themselves loyally, he spent his time in private devotions until the trumpet called him to head his Regiment. Sir Walter Scott, after describing the personal attractions of this brave and good man, justly wrote, "in calm heroism he has never been excelled;" and Dr Doddridge has consecrated many pages of 'The Christian Biography' to a detail of Gardiner's virtuous career. The British Army is truly honoured in such soldiers.

Unable to follow up his victory by advancing to the south, the "Young Chevalier" returned to Holyrood, and beleaguered Edinburgh Castle. Success had followed his enterprise, and he rapidly received accessions of troops, friends, money, and stores. The British Government availed itself of the pause to assemble Forces for the purpose of crushing the rebellion. The Regiments sent for had arrived from the Netherlands, and the King held a review on Finchley common. The war for the Austrian succession had thinned the ranks considerably, so much so that, when His Majesty saw the 3rd Dragoons, he asked the Colonel (General Bland) whose Regiment it was, and where the rest of the men were. "Please your Majesty," said the General, "it is the remnant of my Regiment. I believe the residue is *at Dettingen*." Brief repose was allowed the troops for recuperation, and they were hurried to the north under Field-Marshal Wade, a brave but vain Officer, with plenty of experience and little natural capacity. The weather was cold; the rain fell heavily; yet in spite of the inclemency of the season and the wretched state of the roads, the 2nd Dragoon Guards marched 100 miles in three days.

Flushed with success, and materially improved in resources, the "Young Chevalier" now advanced rapidly into England. At Carlisle he was received with much circumstance, and his father was proclaimed King. He then moved into the heart of the country, and reached Derby almost unopposed. He had been reinforced, and, further encouraged with promises of French troops, he fully expected that, in accordance with the reports he had received, and the promises made to him, he would have been joined by a considerable number of the English. In this he was egregiously disappointed. Very few, indeed, gave him their adhesion, and they were only such as bigotry of political principle blinded to consequences, or whose broken fortunes induced them to hazard all on a risk so desperate. When Scott's "Baron of Bradwardine" was asked his opinion of the Chevalier's followers, he drily said, after taking a long pinch of snuff, "that he could not but have an excellent opinion of them, since they resembled precisely the followers who attached themselves to good King David at the Cave of Adullam; *videlicet*, every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, which the vulgate renders bitter of soul."

By the time the Pretender reached Derby, all England was up against him, and it became very evident to his Officers and himself, that it would be folly to attempt to penetrate further south. There were two Armies coming upon him from the north. At a Council of War, held on December 6, a retreat to Scotland was resolved upon. It was supposed that the bitter weather, which Highlanders dared with indifference, would impede the movements of an enemy unaccustomed to marching and fighting in the depth of a severe winter. But the rebels were not the only foes of England who had formed an erroneous estimate of the determined character of British soldiers. Nothing can restrain their ardour when well led and well fed. Forward went the Dra-

goons and Infantry. The Chevalier pushed on, and to the honour of his Highland followers be it recorded, that, though sorely pinched with hunger, cold, and fatigue, and often needing shelter, they offered no violence to the people of the country, neither plundering nor molesting them on their route. They were serving a "generous, courteous, and noble-minded adventurer, and they seemed to emulate his generosity and forbearance."

The Chevalier had got as far as Clifton Moor, three miles from Penrith, on the southern borders of Cumberland, when his Highlanders were overtaken by the Dragoons and other troops commanded by General Hawley. As the horses were too much worn out by long marches in the snow to be useful in a charge, the 3rd Light Dragoons dismounted as soon as they met the rebels, and, firing a volley, retired. The Highlanders, mistaking this movement for a retreat, rushed upon them. The Dragoons turned upon them with their broadswords, and a combat ensued, which more resembled the fights of the olden time when gunpowder was unknown, and individual skill and prowess determined the issue of a conflict. The Highlanders were in this instance more than a match for the troopers. In the hand-to-hand encounter they laid about with their claymores with unwonted ferocity, cleaving the steel caps of the Dragoons, and then drawing their daggers upon them. The Dragoons persevered with the obstinacy of old and loyal soldiers, but were ultimately obliged to relinquish the contest. The Chevalier then moved into Scotland, and laid siege to Stirling Castle. General Hawley proceeded thither to relieve the castle, and by January 13, 1746, had reached Linlithgow. On the following day he had assembled his entire Force at Falkirk. Acting upon their uniform tactic of assuming the offensive, the rebels marched out of their camp at Bannockburn in two columns; but so infatuated was Hawley, a conceited Officer, who committed the grand mistake of undervaluing his opponent, that he did not operate against the enemy until they had taken up a commanding position, within three miles of his camp. Hawley directed the Cavalry and Infantry to dislodge them from an eminence they occupied. Ligonier, the Colonel of the 13th Dragoons, an excellent Officer, headed the attack, and so vigorously was it made that it broke the first line of the rebels. The second line, however, was impenetrable. Nothing could stand against the broadsword of the infuriated Highlanders. Slashing away with ungovernable fury, these intrepid men turned back the torrent, and, aided by the heavy rain and wind, which beat in the faces of their antagonists, ultimately drove them from the field. Sir Robert Monro and Colonel Whitney were numbered with the dead, and Colonel Ligonier died a few days after of fatigue and cold. The Regulars returned at once to Edinburgh, leaving behind them their baggage, their tents, and artillery.

The success at Falkirk threw a faint and setting gloom over the arms of the Chevalier. The Duke of Cumberland, fresh from the Continent, where he had earned large experience of war, now succeeded to the command of the British Army, and was sent by the King to extinguish the rebellion. Unlike Wade, Cope, or Hawley, he moved with rapidity and decision. His appearance imparted confidence to the troops. His character, no less than his professional attainments, made him a favourite with Officers and men. It was adorned by considerable virtues. His honesty of purpose, and his adherence to his promises, his unwearied activity and high personal courage, gave him a title to esteem. To these qualities he added great Military capacity, in an age which, in England at least, was singularly barren of Military merit.

Hastening to the north, His Royal Highness proceeded to invest Carlisle, on the 21st of December, and in a week after he had sat down before the town it surrendered. He sent the garrison prisoners to different jails in the Northern counties, and then advanced towards Edinburgh, where he found himself at the head of fourteen Battalions of Infantry, two Regiments of Dragoons, and 1,200 Highlanders. The Dutch troops had been reduced by the States-General, for fear of giving offence to "His Most Christian Majesty," and 6,000 Hessians took their places. With this Army the Duke retook possession of Stirling Castle, whence he marched to Aberdeen.

The popularity of the "Young Chevalier" had undergone no abatement. He was idolised by the Scotch. Their lives, their fortunes, they cheerfully staked to see "Prince Charlie" on the throne of his ancestors, and if spirit-stirring songs, replete with bitter satire levelled at his opponents, could have ensured his success, the Hanoverian dynasty had been expelled. And most assuredly the conduct of the "Young Chevalier," from the hour of his arrival, afforded an excuse for their attachment, if it could not palliate their disloyalty to the reigning house. His *bonhommie*, his accessibility, and his unflinching courage were so entirely the attributes of the Chiefs of clans, that the commonest people looked upon him as one of themselves in an exalted position.

It was near the middle of February before the Duke of Cumberland could establish himself at Aberdeen. Here he was joined by the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Findlater and Aberdeen, and several Lairds of influence and distinction, and recruited his stores and magazines. But he was not long left in doubt as to any course of operations it might be prudent to pursue. Receiving information that the young Pretender, with thousands

of blue bonnets, was on his way from Inverness, the Duke hurried thither to meet him. On the 12th of April he passed the river Spey, the passage of which deep and rapid stream was not, as he expected it would be, disputed by the Highland Army. At Nairne the Duke learned that the Chevalier was at Culloden, nine miles distant. It was the intention of the Chevalier to have surprised the English camp, and to this end he marched his Force towards Nairne on the night of the 15th of April. From some mismanagement the troops did not get near to their point of attack early enough to afford any chance of the successful execution of the enterprise. Footsore, wearied, and hungered, they retraced their steps, and cast themselves on Culloden heath, or moor, to seek repose. Short time had they to recruit their strength and collect provisions. The Duke of Cumberland marched towards Culloden on the morning of the 16th of April, and, coming in sight of the Highlanders, formed his Army in three lines. The Highlanders did not number above 4,000 men, with a few pieces of artillery, with the use of which they were but imperfectly acquainted. The English were infinitely stronger in all arms. After some cannonading on both sides, the Highland gentlemen placed themselves in the van, and, following the mode of attack which had achieved such successful results at Prestonpans and Falkirk, threw themselves upon the British Infantry, who received them with their bayonets. Brief and bloody was the battle which ensued. Both sides fought with desperation. The Duke's first line being disordered by the *élan* of the clans, the Battalions of the second line came up to its support, and these being further sustained by Hawley's Dragoons, the Highlanders relinquished the contest, after losing some hundreds of their comrades, and the Chevalier retired from the field, utterly ruined and heart-broken.

This memorable battle, which entirely extinguished the hopes of the Jacobites, was highly creditable to the generalship of the Duke of Cumberland, and the troops engaged in the close encounter. The 4th Foot, which was the first Regiment to endure the shock of the daring mountaineers, stood its ground so firmly and manfully, that there was not a bayonet in the Regiment that was not either bloody or bent! Happy had it been for the reputation of the Duke and the soldiery, if the former had put a humane construction upon his duty, and restrained the savage vengeance of the latter. Not satisfied with the slaughter of upwards of one thousand of the rebels, while their own loss was only three hundred and ten killed and wounded, the troops fell upon the stragglers and fugitives, giving no quarter * excepting to a few considerately reserved for public execution. "No care or compassion was shown to the wounded,—nay more, on the following day most of these were put to death in cold blood, with a cruelty which, perhaps, never before or since has disgraced a British Army. Some were dragged from the thickets or cabins where they had sought refuge, drawn out in line and shot, while others were despatched by the soldiers with the stocks of their muskets. One farm building, into which some twenty disabled Highlanders had crawled, was deliberately set on fire next day and burnt with them to the ground." The noble historian from whose luminous pages we have quoted, in preference to paraphrasing the horrible tale, goes on, "The Duke of Cumberland soon fixed his head quarters near Fort Augustus, in the very centre of the insurgent districts. It would have been a task welcome to most Generals, and not unbecoming in any, to have tempered justice with mercy—to have punished the Chiefs, but to have spared and conciliated the people at large. Not such, however, was the Duke's opinion of his duty. Every kind of horror and outrage was not only permitted but encouraged. Military licence usurped the place of law, and a fierce and exasperated soldiery were at once judge, jury, and executioner."

It cannot be a subject of wonder that the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland earned for him the unenviable soubriquet of "the Butcher." Considering that he was only twenty-five years of age at the time he stained his green laurels with a hideous carnage, it might reasonably have been conjectured that the generosity common to youth would have induced a more merciful treatment of the foe; but the Duke was obviously cast in a different mould to that which Nature provides for the manufacture of Englishmen; or possibly he was pricked on to acts of vengeance by the recollection of the defeats of Hawley, Gardiner, and Sir John Cope. The Duke's conduct after Culloden was consistent, persistent, and "thorough." His implied doctrine was that every Scotchman who wore a kilt was a Jacobite; and when Duncan Forbes ventured to remonstrate against the massacres, outrages, and burnings taking place by the Duke's orders indiscriminately against such Highlanders as the Sutherland and the Campbell men, who were Whigs, and against the Camerons and the Frasers, who were Jacobites. His Royal Highness is reported to have said, with a smile, that all plaids to him seemed tarred with the same brush.

* Quarter.—This phrase "giving quarter" originates in an agreement between the Dutch and Spaniards, that the ransom of an Officer or soldier should be one quarter of his pay for a given time. Hence to beg quarter was to offer a quarter of the pay for safety.

When soldiers know that history is a stern and impartial judge of their misdeeds, they will be careful not to promote its censures by wanton excesses. Happily, the progress of education, the spread of the Gospel, and the refinements of civilisation, reaching to the humblest classes, have diffused gentleness and humanity among those who compose the ranks of the Army, and Officers have learnt, that even excess of zeal scarcely furnishes an excuse among the British public for withholding mercy from offending foes. Hence, there is little reason to apprehend that at any future time, retribution will be permitted to take the savage form which tarnished the victory at Culloden and perpetuated the popular sympathy for those who fell in the service of the Pretender.

To commemorate the victory at Culloden, the King caused a medal to be struck and worn by the soldiery. The idea of presenting these distinctive marks of approbation seems to have originated during the reign of Charles the First, who presented to certain of his soldiers a medal, bearing his image on both sides and without any superscription, as a badge of good conduct. The Parliamentary Generals followed suit, and chronicled their victories over the Royal troops by issuing medals bearing mottoes which curiously illustrate the manner of men they were. In 1645, probably after the battle of Naseby, Fairfax gave one to his Army bearing in the centre of the reverse one strong word of recommendation, "Meruisti." The Earl of Essex, falling more readily into the tone of the age, surrounds his coarse, heavy-looking face with the words, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon." And Cromwell immortalises the battle of Dunbar by a medal having on the obverse his likeness, superscribed (perhaps intended as a sly double entendre), "The Lord of Hosts." The Naval authorities of that day seem to have been more chary with their medals, and less ready with their Scripture, than the Military Commanders. For only one amongst the many Naval engagements was one awarded, and that was the fierce battle between the Fleets of Monk and Van Tromp, memorable for the English Admiral's inhuman order to give no quarter to the enemy, the death of the gallant Dutchman, and the almost miraculous salvation of Blake's old ship from destruction by fire. The latter incident is the one represented on the reverse of the medal, the "Triumph." Half a century later another was issued to the hero of perhaps the most gallant deed performed even in that age of gallant deeds, when England assumed the supremacy of the sea during the succeeding reigns. In 1708, with a Squadron of only three ships of the line and three frigates, Captain Lampriere succeeded in capturing forty-three French merchant-men and three ships-of-war that were their escort, "on their own coast." Well did he earn the motto on the reverse of the medal presented to him by Queen Anne, "True to my trust." The medal given for the battle of Culloden is the first which bears an allegorical design: on the obverse is the effigy of the victorious General, with the single word "Cumberland" above it; and on the reverse is a naked figure leaning on a bow, from which he has just shot a fatal arrow into the head of a dragon, at which he points: "Actum est ilicet periit" supplies the meaning.

Of the "Young Chevalier" himself, it is unnecessary to say more than that, after wandering over the country, suffering great hardship, and incurring innumerable risks from the vigilance of the troops and authorities empowered to arrest him, he contrived to escape to France. To the honour of the Scotch people, be it said, that no temptation induced them to swerve from their fidelity to the Chevalier's cause. The very poorest among them disdained a bribe which should compromise their sense of honour.*

Among the minor affairs of the Army in the year 1746 may be mentioned the issue of a Warrant, introducing certain changes in the appointments and instruments of different ranks. In the Cavalry, drummers and hautboy players were substituted for trumpeters; carbines were returned into store, and muskets and bayonets given out. At the same time, the flask string was removed from the front belt. Gold lace and embroidery now distinguished the Officers from the non-commissioned and privates, and a crimson silk sash, worn as at present over the left shoulder, was brought into use. Quartermasters wore the sash round their waists. Serjeants had cotton sashes. The pay underwent some modification—that of Lieutenant-Colonel of Dragoons was fixed at nine shillings per diem; that of Major at five shillings; Quartermasters drew five shillings per diem for themselves and a horse.

Somewhat later, after the whole of the troops had returned to England from Scotland and the Netherlands, many important changes were made in the costume of the Army. The Commanders who served in Germany had not only conceived a high respect for the Military talents of King Frederick of Prussia, but likewise for his eccentric and parsimonious ideas on the subject of

* A number of the Highland Officers who had followed the fortunes of the Pretender, on being obliged to leave their Native country, entered into the French Service and were there formed into a distinct Regiment. In one of the battles which subsequently took place, they claimed the post of honour, and, advancing in front of the Army, they bravely bore the hottest fire, until they were mown down by the enemy's cannon. The Frenchmen, on beholding such a noble exhibition, universally exclaimed, "*Une fois gentilhomme, toujours gentilhomme!*"

dress. So the British soldier was victimised that his appearance might assimilate with that of the conquerors of Silesia. The wide skirts of the coats were now clipped and pruned, until nothing was left but the long swallow tail, resembling in form, though not in even its limited amplitude, that of a modern dress or court coat—the large waistcoats, which were a comfort to the men and Officers in winter, were removed altogether—the wide breeches, resembling the Knickerbockers, were reduced to close fitting nether garments of white cloth, which were kept clean with dirty pipe-clay—the sugar-loaf cap became general, and the Ramilies tie was superseded by pig-tails or clubbed-tails—formed by turning up the back hair into a knob, and securing it with a leather strap.

The leisure of peace afforded time for the consideration of the discipline of the Army, as well as its attire, and the conclusion was arrived at, that due subordination in the ranks was only to be assured by the introduction of corporal punishment. At first the rattan—the common instrument of chastisement in the Prussian Army of the day—was employed to control the British soldier; but the cat-o'-nine tails having been introduced into the Navy, it was only deemed fair that the Army should likewise have the advantage of that singular weapon of discipline, and for 120 years it continued to be used with various degrees of severity.

CHAPTER IX.

Peaceful Measures — The "Horse Guards"— Recommencement of Hostilities in 1755 — The Opening of the Seven Years' War—Expedition against Fort Du Quesne —Braddock Defeated—The Defence of Minorca— Capitulation of the Garrison — Magnanimous Conduct of the Duc de Richelieu—French Bombast—Parliamentary Proceedings — Half-pay Officers — Court-Martial Oaths — The Office of Captain-General — Military Pensions—The 32th Foot in India.

After six years of constant occupation in different quarters, a little repose was as agreeable to the Army as it was necessary to its efficiency. None of the troops could fairly be called veterans. They had for the most part been hastily recruited, and almost immediately afterwards sent abroad to fight against the trained and well-commanded Armies of warlike France or the hardy clans of Western Scotland. If they had thereby become inured to the hardships of a campaign, their discipline, on the other hand, had suffered to a certain extent, and their arms, clothing, and accoutrements sadly needed repair or renewal.

The first measure adopted by the Government to meet the untiring demand of the House of Commons for economy was to effect certain reductions in the Active Force; the Life Guards were (in 1746) shorn of two troops, and three Cavalry Regiments, distinguished as "the horse" of certain Officers of rank, were converted into Dragoon Guards on reduced pay.

Naval operations monopolised what little glory was obtainable in 1747 and 1748, for we may pass over in silence the ineffective expeditions against L'Orient and Quiberon in the former year, albeit the 1st Battalion of the Royals, the 28th and the 42nd Highlanders did their duty satisfactorily; and also the defence of Fort Sandberg, an outwork of Hulst, and the repulse of the French at Welshandon, when the troops were embarking after the proclamation of peace.

In the year 1751, a Warrant was issued for the regulation of the clothing, appointments, standards, and guidons of the Regiments of Cavalry and Infantry. The Dragoons were ordered to wear aiguillettes. The previous year had been distinguished in Military history by the occupation of the new building in Whitehall, now known as "The Horse Guards," where Military punctuality was for many years illustrated by the extraordinary regularity of the clock by which it is surmounted. The old building had been occupied as the guard-room of the Life and Horse Grenadier Guards, whence the title still borne; though the chief part of the edifice is appropriated to the offices of the Commander-in-Chief and Staff. It is recorded that King George II. made his first entry into the park, through "the *grand* archway" of the Horse Guards, on the 4th of November, 1750.

Four years now rolled away undistinguished by any events which called forth the energies of the Army, or afforded scope for the talent of its *chefs*. England had few garrisons abroad—few possessions which needed Military protection—and as trade advanced, and the people prospered, the national finances began to recover from the pressure of the disturbances abroad and at home, between 1739 and 1745. But this halcyon state of things was not permitted to last. France, the stereotyped aggressor, again furnished provocation to war, and the year 1755 saw England once more arming to punish her insults. The causes of the strife, which thenceforward tried the mettle of the Military and Naval powers of England and France, may be briefly stated.

The Indian trade in America had drawn many persons to the interior of the great Western Continent, and a company of merchants and planters obtained a charter for a tract of land, lying east of the Alleghany Mountains, and near the river Ohio. The French, who had long been established in the northern part of America, laid claim to this part of the country, drove away the settlers,

and built a fort, which they named Du Quesne, in compliment to an eminent Commander. This fort commanded the entrance to the disputed country, and of course became a grievance and an obstruction in the eyes of the English settlers. Remonstrances, addressed by the authorities in Great Britain to the French Government, were unavailing; and, to add fuel to the flame, some disputes arose between the two nations respecting Nova Scotia.

To destroy or take possession of Fort Du Quesne, General Braddock was sent to America with a small force. We had not then learnt that true economy consists in ensuring the success of any enterprise by preferring an excess of the necessary means and appliances to a limitation of the conjectural maximum. General Braddock had had no experience of war in a responsible position. His services had been confined to a campaign or two in a subordinate capacity. He had little acquaintance with strategy: knew nothing of warfare in a forest country. Consequently he omitted to take the necessary precaution on his advance, and was therefore surprised, attacked, and defeated. In that unfortunate affair Braddock himself and Sir Peter Halket, the second in command, were killed. The loss was altogether very heavy. Sixty-four Officers out of eighty-five, and nearly half the men, originally 1,200 in number, were sacrificed. George Washington, who ultimately became the President of the first American Republic, was on Braddock's Staff, and capable, from his knowledge of the country and Indian forms of warfare, of affording excellent advice and valuable assistance; but Braddock disdained counsel. He believed that courage alone was needful to ensure success in war, and he paid dearly for his temerity.

Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton was entrusted with the operations against the French forts in Nova Scotia while these disasters were occurring. More fortunate than Braddock, he took all the forts, disarmed the French inhabitants, and thus obtained security for the settlers.

It was not deemed necessary to make any great additions to the Army in 1755. A light troop (the 7th) was added to each Regiment of Dragoons, as their heavy horses, so effective in a charge, were useless on such light work as outpost duty, videttes, pursuits, attacks on Infantry and retreating Artillery; and this was all in the way of augmentation* that was effected in the year; but in the following year, when war had been formally declared, a great many Regiments were ordered to raise second Battalions. This measure had become the more necessary, for the French had made extensive arrangements for a descent upon England, probably to prevent the exportation of troops to the Colonies. No time was lost in forming camps at different assailable points of the United Kingdom, and auxiliary troops were obtained from Hesse and Hanover.

As the French Commander in Northern America was evidently bent upon aggressive measures against the British possessions in that quarter, the 17th, 42nd, 46th Regiments, and 2nd Battalion of the 60th Regiment were sent to New York, whence they moved up to Albany.

The first incident of the war, which now commenced with great earnestness on both sides, and which was destined to last for SEVEN YEARS, was the capture of the Island of Minorca by the French. That island was considered, from its position, a material auxiliary to Gibraltar in giving its possessors a command of the Mediterranean, and should have been guarded with extraordinary vigilance alike in peace and war times. Coveted as it was by the French, the Government of England was under a double obligation to keep the garrison effective, and the communication uninterrupted. But security begat supineness. An octogenarian General was placed in command; numerous Officers were continually on leave of absence; and the Fleet was at a distance.

Aware of the comparatively helpless condition of Minorca, the French equipped an immense Fleet at Toulon, for the avowed capture of the island, as soon as war had been declared, and embarking 16,000 men with a large park of siege artillery and stores, under Marshal the Duc de Richelieu, looked forward hopefully to the conquest.

As soon as General Blakeney received intimation of the designs of the enemy, he exerted himself as vigorously as his great age (82) would permit, to place the castle of St Philip, which protected Port Mahon, the accessible harbour of Minorca, in a proper state of defence. The garrison consisted of the 4th, 23rd, 24th, and 34th Regiments, and a detachment of Artillery—3,380 men in all. Major Cunningham, the engineer, had been wrongfully superseded, and was at the time at Nice; but as soon as the imminence of the danger to which Minorca was exposed became apparent to him, he forgot his wrongs and hastened to the island. Under his active superintendence everything was done that professional skill could suggest to render St Philip secure. He took with him a quantity of timber for the repair of the platforms on the bastions, which he knew to be in a very dilapidated condition. He caused the houses in the vicinity of the fort, which appeared likely to afford cover to an

* It may here be mentioned incidentally, that at this time non-commissioned officers were for the first time appointed to the Life Guards. The minor details of duty were, until this date, performed by private gentlemen, called *right-hand men*, who were now called Quartermasters and Corporals of Horse.

enemy, to be removed, and erected fresh batteries at every point whence besiegers could be molested. General Blakeney was indefatigable in his efforts to provision the garrison. He caused roads and bridges to be destroyed, and all the cattle that could be procured to be driven into the fortress. He encouraged and inspired everybody by his example, old as he was. He endeavoured to prevail upon the people of Minorca to take refuge within the walls of the fortress, but the Roman Catholic Priests, who were in the interests of France, dissuaded them from that proceeding, assuring them that they would be protected by the enemy. General Blakeney knew that it would be impossible to hold out for any great length of time against a large and well-appointed Force, but he fully expected to be relieved by a Fleet under Admiral Byng, destined to act against the French, before the siege should be so far advanced as to render resistance hopeless.

On April 13, the French Fleet sailed from Toulon, and in five days arrived before Citadella in the island of Minorca. Not a moment was lost in landing the troops, and taking possession of all the defenceless places. Ground was soon broken by the Sappers, and a few batteries established to annoy the garrison, and cover the working parties. The approaches were made very slowly, for the ground was hard and rocky, and the Engineers were continually interrupted by the cannonading from the fort. But the energy of the besiegers triumphed over all obstacles, and their batteries at length commanded every part of St Philip. The garrison was untiring in working the guns, and keeping up a continuous fire on the French. General Blakeney never changed his clothes by night or day, but was ever on the ramparts or at hand to give instructions and receive reports. So little repose could be allowed the gunners, that many of them fell asleep, from sheer exhaustion, in the midst of heavy cannonades. Upwards of 500 were prostrated by sickness and fatigue, and obliged to go into the hospital. At first each working man was allowed a pint of wine per day—this was gradually diminished to half-a-pint, and when the wine was exhausted, a glass of brandy was the utmost that could be given to sustain the spirits and the strength of the besieged. From April 18 until June 24, the siege went on, and by the latter date there were no fewer than eighty-four pieces of cannon playing on the citadel of Port Mahon, from twelve batteries, and the greater portion of this formidable artillery consisted of twenty-four pounders and twenty-two mortars.

When the defences had been nearly ruined by the fire of the French, a suspension of arms took place for the purpose of burying the dead. The besiegers took advantage of the lull to strengthen the lodgments they had made by adding many more to them. They also got into some subterranean works, and prepared to lay mines. On the termination of the brief armistice, the Duc de Richelieu gave orders for the simultaneous storming of several batteries by strong detachments of chosen Grenadiers. The attack was made with the impetuosity peculiar to the French. *En avant! a la victoire!* were shouted above the roll of the drums. Vigorous and determined was the resistance—not a man was absent from the walls. Even the sick and wounded left the hospital to take part in the defence, but the whole number of defenders was now reduced to 2,760 men. The Anstruther and Argyll batteries were taken by the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffereys was made prisoner; Major Cunningham received a disabling wound on the hand, Lieutenant Whitehead was killed, and many brave soldiers fell at the breaches. General Blakeney, seeing that further opposition was fruitless, now called a Council of War, and as the works were ruined, and the enemy were still in great and overwhelming force, and there was no sign of Byng's Fleet, it was resolved that the garrison should capitulate. The Duc de Richelieu received the capitulation gracefully, and did himself honour in showing the utmost consideration to the brave Blakeney and his devoted garrison. The second article of the capitulation, which was of course drawn up by the besieged, ran thus:

"That all the honours of war shall be granted the garrison on their surrender, such as, to march out with their firelocks on their shoulders, drums beating, colours flying, twenty-four charges for each man, match lighted, four pieces of cannon, and two mortars, with twenty charges for each piece, a covered waggon for the Governor, and four others, for the garrison, which shall not be searched on any pretence."

Considering how entirely the garrison were in the hands of the enemy, this was rather a bold demand, but General Blakeney had not miscalculated the generosity of the Duc de Richelieu. The reply of that Officer to the second article was conceived in a fine spirit of chivalry; it said:

"The noble and vigorous defence which the English have made, having deserved all the marks of esteem and veneration that every Military person ought to show to such actions; and Maréchal Richelieu being desirous also to show General Blakeney the regard due to the brave defence he had made, grants to the garrison all the honours of war that they can enjoy under the circumstances of their going out for an embarkation, to wit, firelocks on their shoulders, drums beating, colours flying, twenty cartouches to each man, and also lighted match: he consents likewise that Lieutenant-General Blakeney and his garrison shall

carry away all the effects that still belong to them, and that can be put into trunks. It would be useless to them to have covered waggons; there are none in the island, therefore they are refused."

Having been embarked in French vessels, the garrison proceeded to Gibraltar.

Much indignation was expressed in England that Minorca should have been permitted to fall into the hands of the French. Admiral Byng was tried by Court-Martial for not going to the relief of the island, and bringing the Fleet of the enemy into action; and although a good defence was made out for him, and the Court strongly recommended him to mercy, after passing the only decree left to them by the Articles of War, the Admiral was shot to death. Lieutenant-General Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, was dismissed the Army and deprived of his Regiment (the 14th Foot) after half a century of service, for disobeying the orders of the Secretary-at-War, and failing to send a timely reinforcement to Minorca. It appears that, on the receipt of his orders, the veteran General called a Council of war—one of those stupid Councils which Marlborough always deprecated, and never would call—and yielding to its advice, he failed in his duty at a critical juncture. The sentence of the Court limited the General's punishment to suspension for a few months; but the King was advised to remove him from the Army altogether. On the other hand, honours were bestowed on Blakeney. He was raised to a peerage and received the Order of the Bath, while the people greeted him everywhere with acclamations. The Colonelcy of a Regiment was conferred on Lieutenant-Colonel Jeffereys, and Major Cunningham received a Captaincy of the Guards, which carried with it the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

If the feeling in Great Britain on the fall of Minorca was one of concern and mortification, in France the delight of the monarch and people reached a ridiculous pitch of enthusiasm. If all England had been conquered they could not have indulged in more extravagant boasts. The King wrote a gasconading letter to the Archbishop of Paris, ordering *Te Deum* to be sung in the Church of Notre Dame. "The English Squadron," wrote Louis XV., "was repulsed by mine. Maréchal de Richelieu, in consequence of a disposition, as boldly contrived, as it was to be rapid in the execution, at last gave French valour its full scope; and when the enemy trusted to the strength of their ramparts, my troops carried the outworks by assault. *Terror did the rest.*"

General Blakeney and "terror" were not identical in the estimation of De Richelieu, but the phrase rounded a point. The French writers of the time were equally insolent with their monarch. In the preface to an account of the siege, one of these persons says:

"La modération du Roi avoit été poussée à bout par des insultes et des hostilités intolérables; il était temps que la France montrait à ces orgueilleux insulaires qu'on ne l'offense point impunément, et qu'elle redoubtait aussi peu leurs citadelles ambulantes que la formidable colonne qu'ils lui opposerent dans les Champs de Fontenoy."

Hundreds of odes, *vers de circonstance*, pasquinades, anthems, effusions of all sorts, gave employment to the pens of poets and poetasters, and even the génius of Voltaire did not disdain to pay homage to the Duc de Richelieu. The reproduction of Voltaire's poem will not be unpleasing to English readers, who can appreciate the chivalry of the Duke.

"C'est rarement que dans Paris,
Parmi les festins et les ris
On demêle un grand caractère:
Le Prejugé ne conçoit pas
Que celui qui sçait l'art de plaire
Sache aussi sauver les Etats:
Le grand homme échape* au Vulgaire
Mais lorsqu' aux champs de Fontenoy
Il sert sa Patrie et son Roi;
Quand sa main des peuples de Gènes
Defend les jours et rompt les chaines,
Lorsqu' aussi prompt que les éclairs
Il chasse les Tyrans des mers
Des murs de Minorque opprimée,
Alors ceux qui l'ont méconnus
En parlent comme son armée;
Chacun dit—je l'avois prévû.
Le succès fait la renommée—
Homme aimable—illustre guerrier!
En tout temps l'honneur de la France,
Triomphez de l'Anglois allier
De l'envie et de l'ignorance—
Je ne sçai si dans Port Mahon,
Vous trouverez un statuaire,
Mais vous n'en avez plus affaire.
Vous allez graver votre nom
Sur les débris de l'Angleterre;
Il seroit béni chez l'Ibére
Et cheri dans ma Nation.
Des deux Richelieus sur la terre,
Les exploits seront admirés;
Deja tous deux sont comparés,
Et l'on ne sait qui l'on préfère—
Le Cardinal affermissait
En partageant le rang suprême
D'un maitre que le haissait—
Vous vengez un Roi qui vous aime.
Le Cardinal fut plus puissant
Et même un peu trop redoubtable—
Vous ne paroissez bien plus grand
Puisque vous êtes plus aimable."

The last two lines were so thoroughly deserved, that we can forgive the reference to the ruin of England, the tyranny practised on the Minorcans, and the claims of the Genoese. Poetical flights are conventionally entitled to indulgence.

In England, the Muse found consolation in

* The orthography of the time is purposely preserved. —*Author.*

doleful compositions, one of which, "*Minorca: a Tragedy,*" would almost appear to have furnished Sheridan with the turgid speeches put into the mouth of the Earl of Leicester, in *The Critic.*

As it had become a rule with the House of Commons that a new Mutiny Bill should be presented every year, occasion was invariably taken to discuss Military questions, more or less affected by its provisions, and to introduce such changes as experience had shown to be necessary.

In 1749, a new clause, making Half-pay Officers amenable to Courts-Martial, gave rise to much difference of opinion. It was looked upon as highly dangerous to the constitution to augment the number of Officers, dependent on the pleasure of the Crown, and make them amenable to Military law. They had relinquished, for the time being, the profession of their adoption, and having become free citizens, were only responsible to the civil law. Mr Pitt (afterwards Lord Chatham), then Paymaster-General of the Forces, took the opposite view of the question. "What danger," he asked, "can happen, by obliging a Half-pay Officer to continue upon the Military establishment? It is admitted, on all hands, that while he is on full pay, he must employ his time, his study, and even his sword, as his superiors shall direct. There may possibly be danger in this; but it never can happen till the direction becomes wicked, nor prevented but by the virtue of the Army. It is to that virtue we, even at this time, trust, small as our Army is; it is to that virtue we must have trusted had this Bill been modelled as its warmest opposers could have wished; and without this virtue, should the Lords, the Commons, and the people of England entrench themselves behind parchment up to the teeth, the sword will find a passage to the vitals of the constitution."

On the presentation of the Mutiny Bill for 1750, it was debated whether the members of a Court-Martial ought to be obliged to take an oath of secrecy as to their votes. The argument in its favour rested on the apprehension, that if an Officer were tempted to disclose the opinion of any fellow member of a Court, he would place that individual in a very unhappy position, and cause dissension to arise in the Army. Moreover, if Officers felt they were not safe in the delivery of an honest verdict, they would seek pretexts for avoiding Court-Martial duty, or be deterred, when sitting in judgment upon another, from the expression of an opinion that might be turned to their disadvantage at any future period. The upshot of the debate was, to require the oath of secrecy from an Officer, excepting when he was called upon to give evidence on the subject of a Court-Martial before a Court of Judicature. He was then absolved from the obligations of his oath. Touching the same Bill, it was enacted in 1750, that no sentence pronounced by a Court-Martial, and signed by the President, should be more than once liable to revision.

In 1751 a debate took place in the House of Commons on the vote for the pay of the General and Staff Officers. Lord Egmont, supported by the Whig party, endeavoured, on this occasion, to procure the abolition of the office of Captain-General, then held by the Duke of Cumberland. It was feared by the popular Members of the House that too much power was placed in the hands of the Duke, and that, as he was much beloved by the Army, and had no great affection for the Prince of Wales, he might turn his influence to dangerous account in disputing the succession. These sentiments had found tolerably open expression in the previous Session, when the propriety of establishing a Regency during the minority of the Prince, supposing him to survive the King, was discussed. Lord Egmont took nothing by his motion, which was rejected by a majority of 205 to 88. Party strife at this period had lost some of its virulence, and the unanimity of the Members during the entire Session of 1751 was "wonderful."

In 1752 a Bill was introduced to the House of Commons for extending the usefulness of the Militia, but at the third reading, owing to the adjournment of the House, it was lost. In 1755 nervous apprehensions of a French invasion led to an increase of the standing Army, which was further augmented in 1756 by 49,749 men. Still the Commons considered a Militia Force of 62,000 men essential, and passed a Bill accordingly. But it was thrown out by the House of Lords, in spite of the wishes of the Ministry, because Lord Chancellor Hardwicke contended that it would, if passed, endanger the prerogative of the Crown in many ways.

The hardships to which the out-pensioners of Chelsea College were exposed by the method in force of paying their pensions led Mr Pitt to bring the subject before the House of Commons in 1754. According to the then existing law, no part of the pension was paid until the man had been admitted for one year. He was consequently thrown into the hands of usurious money-lenders, who appropriated a large portion of the pension as interest on advances. To remedy this cruel evil, Mr Pitt procured the sanction of the House to an alteration in the mode of payment, and thereafter it was decreed that every pensioner should, on his admission, receive in advance such proportion of the pension as should be equal to the remaining number of days of the current half year then unexpired, and afterwards be paid the pension in advance by regular half-yearly payments.

Although two centuries and a-half had elapsed since a trade was opened with the East Indies, and the English had been in possession of factories for a large portion of the time, it had never been deemed necessary to send any Regular troops to India. In 1662, however, Sir Abraham Shipman was sent with 500 Artillery and Infantry to take possession of Bombay as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal, whom Charles II. had espoused. But the Portuguese Viceroy refused to surrender the neighbouring possessions of Salsette, Bassein, &c., and Shipman having no authority to accept of the limited tender sailed away to the island of Angco Diva, twelve leagues from Goa, where he landed the troops he had taken with him. Two years later, the Portuguese offered such terms as the English could accept. An Officer, named Cooke—an Ensign—therefore landed at Bombay as Governor and Commandant, with the Infantry Regiment left behind by Shipman, and now reduced, from the effects of climate, privation, and exposure, to 119 rank and file. This was the nucleus of that European Regiment which was for nearly two centuries known as the Bombay Regiment, and now occupies a place in the Queen's 'Army List' as the 103rd Royal Bombay Fusiliers. To this Corps, consequently, belongs, of right, the proud title of *Primus in Indis;* but as it was not part of the Royal Army when the despatch of Regular troops to India became necessary, its claims were forgotten or passed over in favour of the 39th Dorsetshire Foot. Let justice, however, be done to its deserts. In 1668, the Crown having granted the island of Bombay to the East India Company, and empowered that Company to raise and keep a Military Force, the Regiment became the "Bombay European Infantry," although there was scarcely a soldier in its ranks that was not a *Topass*—a Portuguese, or half-caste of Portuguese descent—called by the Natives *topasses*, because they wore *topees* or hats. Recruiting from the merchants' ships and in England in a very few years rendered the Regiment perfectly European, and it did good service in defending the factories and other property of the East India Company from the attacks of the Natives in 1747, '48, and '49. Old chronicles speak of its gallantry in the defence of Cuddalore (Fort St David) in 1748, in the operations under Admiral Boscawen, and the siege of Davicottah, 1749.

But the services of one small European Regiment were now insufficient for the security of the property of the East India Company. Circumstances had arisen by 1754 which rendered it of large importance that more troops should be despatched for the protection of the factories, and especially of such as were established on the Coromandel Coast. The selection devolved on the 39th Foot, which Corps was immediately embarked for Madras. Fort St George, the citadel of Madras, was in the possession of the English, and was one of the most important positions for the protection of their trade. The French had established themselves upon the same coast, and their head quarters were at Pondicherry. M. Dupleix, the French Governor, had trained some hundreds of the Natives' to become soldiers, after the European fashion, and, at the period of which this history now treats, he was sufficiently formidable to be of use to one of the Native Princes in a struggle for monarchical supremacy. There were two competitors for the Native *musnud* (or throne) in the Carnatic, as that part of the peninsula of India was termed, and as one of these had afforded protection to the English, and had, in their estimation, the best claims to the succession, his cause was warmly espoused by Major Lawrence and Captain Clive, the Officers in the Service of the East India Company. Thus the French and English were brought into collision, and through the energy and skill of the latter their *protégé* was triumphant. The French Power, however, was numerically superior to that of their antagonists, and Dupleix's ambition was of so restless a character that it was evident he would, unless checked in time, ultimately become too formidable for his rivals. Hence an accession of English troops became of great importance to preserve what had been acquired by the East India Company, and to impart solidity to the position of the Nawab of Arcot, as the successful Chief was called. The reader will find in Lord Macaulay's Essays on the Lives of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, so succinct and graphic an account of all the operations attendant upon the struggles of the French and English, until the latter had firmly planted themselves as rulers of a large portion of the Empire of India, that it is needless here to say more than that the 39th Foot, who bear on their colours the inscription, *Primus in Indis*, were of great utility to Clive and Lawrence in the measures they adopted in the interests of the English Company. Two hundred and fifty men and Officers of the Regiment, under Captain Eyre Coote, who afterwards acquired great celebrity as a General Officer, assisted Clive in capturing Fort Hooghly, and investing Chandernagore, and they wound up their services on the plains of Plassey in 1757. The battle of Plassey may be said to have laid the foundation of the British Empire in India. It was the Nemesis which avenged the atrocity of the Black Hole massacre—one of the darkest pages in Indian history. Suraj-ood-Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, was assailed by Colonel Clive in the groves of Plassey (of which, by the way, not a vestige now remains, owing to

the inundations of the Lower Ganges) and totally routed, losing his throne, and soon afterwards his life. The Nawab had an immense Irregular Army. Clive's Force did not number 1,500 men. But Clive's guns were well served, and his Infantry used the bayonet deftly. As the victor he dictated terms which asserted British supremacy. Subsequently, several actions were fought with the French Forces in the Carnatic, on the coast of Coromandel, and on the banks of the Hooghly, in which the English were invariably successful. In several of these the Bombay European Regiment had a conspicuous share, and, therefore, the 103rd bears upon its colours "Plassey," "Buxar," "Carnatic," and "Mysore." Other distinctions it enjoys, to which reference will be made in a later page. In the absence of the detachment of the 39th in Bengal, the remainder of the Regiment was reaping distinction in the Carnatic.

CHAPTER X.

The Conquest of Canada Resolved upon—Despatch of an Expedition under the Earl of Loudoun—Taking of Louisbourg, Cape Breton—The new Battalions become Regiments—Operations against St Malo, Cherbourg, and St Cas—Repulse at Ticonderoga—The Battle of Minden—Lord George Sackville's Conduct and Trial—Guadaloupe Taken—The Capture of Quebec—Death of Wolfe and Montcalm—Niagara taken—Death of George II.

It was as evident now to the British public as to the Government, that if the war was to be prosecuted against France, with any hopes of success, large Forces would be necessary, and competent leaders—men who could supply by their genius the deficiencies of their professional education and the absence of experience. An expedition against Louisbourg, the stronghold of Cape Breton, in the Gulf of St Lawrence, had to be abandoned in 1757, because the great strength of the enemy, as much as the advanced period of the season, rendered its capture impracticable. The Isle of Aix was indeed taken in the same year, but the conquest by the Navy was so easy that there was no occasion to land the troops. Nothing more was accomplished in the entire year. In point of fact, the authorities saw that nothing could be undertaken without adequate armaments. France maintained a threatening attitude in America and on her own coasts; indeed, nothing less was now in her contemplation than an invasion of England.

The following year (1758) exhibited symptoms of vigour. The Earl of Loudoun was sent to Nova Scotia to operate effectually against Cape Breton. With him went the 1st Royals, the 17th, 27th, 28th, 43rd, 46th, 53rd, and 56th Regiments. To conquer Canada and drive out the French was the grand object of attainment, and the capture of Louisbourg was the necessary preliminary.

Lord Loudoun was superseded before operations commenced. To General Amherst was assigned the important duty of striking the first blow. His measures were well planned, and he was happy in his coadjutors, Naval as well as Military. The concurrence was fortunate, for the French had fortified themselves very strongly, and were much assisted by Nature in the protection of their fortress. The rolling surf rendered it difficult for the British to effect a landing, and several attempts were made without success. At length, the weather having moderated sufficiently to encourage the General in another effort, he directed that a landing should be forced on the 8th of June, 1758. The troops were in three Divisions. Brigadier-General James Wolfe commanded the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, and the 42nd Highland Regiment. Brigadier Lawrence had the 15th, 22nd, 35th, 45th, and the 2nd Battalion of a Local Corps, called "The Royal Americans." The Brigade, under Colonel Whitmore, consisted of the 1st Royals, the 17th, 47th, 48th, and 58th Regiments, the 3rd Battalion of the Royal Americans, and a park of artillery. It was a strong and well-equipped Force, and performed its duty admirably. The surf ran high as the boats with Wolfe's Brigade approached the shore. The enemy reserved their fire until the British were near enough to feel its effects, and then poured in a destructive volley. Every shot told. Undismayed by this reception, the Regiments advanced to the attack. Following the heroic example of their daring chief, Wolfe, they leaped into the water, and, wading on shore, soon formed upon the beach. Then, with marvellous celerity, they dashed at the enemy, and drove him from his position at the point of the bayonet. In the meanwhile the boats returned to the ships and brought away the rest of the troops. Scarcely had the whole Force been landed, when a violent storm arose, and was followed by so much bad weather, that General Amherst was much impeded in his parallels and approaches. By dint of perseverance, however, the works were pushed forward, and by the second week in July all was in readiness for an assault. On the 9th of the month the French made a *sortie*, which was gallantly repulsed. The young Earl of Dundonald was killed in the *mêlée*. Louisbourg was then attacked by the Fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, and the Army combined. The French at once capitulated.

Immediately after this operation General Wolfe was despatched with a considerable part of the Army and seven sail of the line, under Sir C. Hardy, to attempt the capture of Quebec.

The fall of Louisbourg occasioned as much delight in England, and as much distress in France, as the fall of Minorca had yielded opposite effects. Among the trophies of the conquest of Cape Breton were eleven pairs of colours, which were deposited with much public formality in St Paul's Cathedral, after Captain Amherst, the Aide-de-Camp of the General, who took the news of the capture to England, had displayed them before the eyes of the overjoyed King. Wolfe's name was in everybody's mouth. His intrepidity in leading the attack in the face of difficulties was the theme of universal praise. Court jealousy, in the person of the Duke of Newcastle, endeavoured to rob him of some of the *prestige* attaching to his gallantry. "He is *mad*, your Majesty!" was the observation of this detractor, in the hearing of the King. "Is he?" rejoined the Monarch; "then I wish I had a few more such mad Generals in my Army!"

This (1758) was a busy year. Contemporaneously with the successes in America, the British were on foot in Germany. To render triumph over the arms of France the more secure, fifteen of the second Battalions were converted into Regiments, and numbered successively the 61st to the 75th inclusive; and a considerable body of troops was despatched to co-operate with Hanoverians and Hessians, in rescuing the Electorate of Hanover from the French. With the further view of keeping the French Army employed, and preventing an increase of its efficient strength in Germany, and the contemplated descent on England, expeditions were fitted out against St Malo and Cherbourg, on the French coast. At St Malo the stores, magazines, and shipping of the enemy were destroyed. The Fleet returned to Portland Road to refit and replenish stores, and then went back to Cherbourg for the purpose of effecting its reduction. The troops were commanded by General Bligh. The Grenadiers* and Foot Guards, under Major-Generals Mostyn and Drury, made good their landing in spite of heavy opposition, and, after a brief but severe contest, Cherbourg was taken.

It had been well if General Bligh had been content with these successes. But he sought a more full-leafed wreath of glory, and it had been suggested to him that the capture of St Malo itself would be a suitable climax to the success of his enterprise. In his absence at Cherbourg, however, the French had used much diligence in repairing the damage which the General had inflicted on his previous visit; and the Commander of the Fleet intimated to Bligh, after he had landed his troops in the Bay of St Lunaire, that he could afford him no assistance. The channels conducting to St Malo were very difficult to navigate by vessels of large burthen, and so well protected by heavy Artillery, that the Fleet would have been seriously imperilled in its co-operation. A Council of War accordingly decreed that the troops should re-embark in the Bay of St Cas, at a distance of nine or ten miles below westward, and that the Army, while passing over the interval, should console the General for his disappointment at St Malo, by attacking the villages which lay scattered between the two bays. *L'homme propose, et Dieu dispose.* General Bligh found little difficulty in destroying a couple of hamlets, and inflicting injury upon the poor inhabitants, but experienced a check as soon as he approached St Cas. A powerful entrenchment had been thrown up by the enemy, to prevent the embarkation of the English, and the Duke d'Aiguiller had advanced from Brest, with a well-equipped reinforcement, to within six miles of the British camp. Another point of embarkation was therefore selected, and had General Bligh permitted himself to be governed by the dictates of prudence, all might have gone on smoothly enough. A Marlborough would have put his troops on board silently, under cover of the night. A Bligh preferred a more demonstrative course. At two o'clock in the morning, he broke up his camp by beat of drum! The French could not have desired a more serviceable signal than the *générale*. Their Commander immediately put them in motion, and they were soon upon the heels of the British. To intercept their approach, General Drury, who was superintending the embarkation, detached a portion of the Grenadiers and 3rd Foot Guards; and this movement, aided by the guns of the Fleet, enabled three-fourths of the troops to get on board. The remaining 1,500, however, had to bear the shock of a mass of fresh Cavalry and Infantry, and a cannonade from ten field pieces and a dozen mortars. They fought with extraordinary resolution, but the disparity of numbers caused them to endure very severe losses. No fewer than thirty-seven Officers, and 750 non-commissioned officers and rank and file, were either killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Lord Frederick Cavendish was among the latter. Sir John Armitage was killed, and General Drury, according to the writers of the time, "took to the water and was never more heard of." The unfortunate Officer, it seems, after being dangerously

* For very many years the right and left Companies of every Line Regiment were Grenadiers and Light Infantry. These were detached when the Regiments were acting in brigades, and formed into distinct corps for the occasion. To the Grenadiers were assigned the forlorn-hope duties, and the van of assaults generally before fortified places. The Light Companies skirmished for the whole Army, or covered the advance of the Line. The "British Grenadiers" became sufficiently popular to form the burthen of a song, set to a tune which is constantly played to this hour as a quick-step.

wounded, rushed into the sea, and was drowned before he could reach a boat. In the disastrous conflict Lieutenant-Colonels Clavering and Forrester, and Lord Adam Gordon, behaved as became British Officers; and it is noteworthy that His Royal Highness Prince Edward, who was ashore when the attack began, conducted himself with the coolness and bravery common to his race. He would have remained on the beach to the last, had not the Commodore held it consistent with his duty to his Sovereign to secure the young Prince's safety by taking him on board the ship almost as soon as the attack began.

After this unlucky affair the expedition returned to England. "The miscarriage at St Cas," writes Smollett, "precipitated the people from the pinnacle of elation and pride to which they had been elevated by the success at Cherbourg, to the abyss of despondence or dejection, and it buoyed up the spirits of the French in the same proportion." The French Ministry published a pompous narrative of the battle of St Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconsiderable detachment.

Recurring to affairs in America, we find that the good fortune which befell the troops before Louisbourg had not been duplicated in the South. Lieutenant-General Abercrombie had been entrusted with the important duty of reducing the French forts on the shores and islets of Lakes Champlain and George. A tongue of land extends between Lake George and the Channel, separating it from the neighbouring waters. The fortress of Ticonderoga stood upon this little peninsula. Its investiture was the main object of General Abercrombie, as preliminary to other proceedings. He had with him a Force of 7,000 Regulars and 10,000 provincial troops, embarked on board a sufficiently large Flotilla. At first the General proceeded with skill and caution, but either from misinformation, lack of *matériel*, or a failure of judgment, he was not ultimately successful in his attack on the fortress; on the contrary, after a desperate attempt to carry the place he was compelled to retire. The chief obstacle to success was a formidable *abattis* which defended the fortress. The 42nd cut through the trees with their broadswords, and tried to carry the breastwork by storm. Having no ladders, they climbed up on each other's shoulders, and digging holes in the parapet used them as steps to the crest. But the French garrison was too strong for the best efforts of the hardy Highlanders, and General Abercrombie found it necessary to abandon his contemplated purpose, and return to his camp on Lake George, whence he despatched Colonel Bradstreet to get possession of Fort Frontenac, in which he succeeded, while Brigadier Forbes marched from Philadelphia and captured Fort Du Quesne on the Ohio, where Braddock was defeated.

Undeterred by the opposition of the Peers, the House of Commons returned, in 1757, to the subject of the Militia, and an Act was introduced for raising that Force upon the principle of the Ballot. It was proposed to establish a Militia of 32,100 men on that principle alone, ignoring altogether that of voluntary service. A Conscription Act was passed applicable to the pauper class only—to men not following any lawful calling or employment, or not having lawful and sufficient support. This Act raised up much opposition among the people, and the gentlemen in many counties refused to co-operate with the Lords-Lieutenant in carrying out its provisions. The commissions in the different local Regiments absolutely remained vacant for some months, and to such extremities did the opposition proceed that four men were declared "Guilty" of high treason and sentenced to death.

Invasion still appearing imminent, the Commons addressed the Throne in 1759, praying that directions might be given to the Lords-Lieutenant to use their utmost diligence and attention to put the Militia laws into execution. Up to July of that year only 17,436 men had been enrolled, and of that number 6,280 were on embodied service. In outline, the plan on which the Militia was formed corresponded with that now in force. Previous to their appointment, however, the names of the Deputy-Lieutenants, and of the Officers, had to be submitted to the House of Commons. The Crown retained in its own hands the appointment of Adjutants and the non-commissioned Staff. A property qualification was insisted upon as the condition of an Officer's appointment, and his commission was revocable every fourth year, excepting in the case of the Adjutant. The men were to be Infantry soldiers, between eighteen and forty-five years of age; their pay, when embodied or called out, exactly the same as that of the Line, with a bounty of a guinea; the service lasted for three years; the training was limited to twenty-eight days. A forfeit of 10*l.* was exacted of balloted men who did not wish to serve, that a substitute might be procured. During training time the Militia was liable to the operation of the Mutiny Act and Articles of War; at other times they were amenable to the civil jurisdiction if they were absent from duty. The fines thus exacted formed a fund for the provision of prizes for good marksmen. The relative rank of the Officers of the Militia was laid down as equal in degree, but junior in service, to the Officers of the Regular Forces. Their duties on Courts-Martial were limited to the trial of their own men.

On the Continent of Europe, the year 1759 was signalised by the distinguished conduct of the British at the battle of Minden. The German Forces, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had, with varying fortunes during the spring and summer, opposed the French, commanded by Marshals de Broglie and Contades. Latterly the advantage was to the French, who occupied several very important towns and fortresses in the north. They had obtained possession of Munster and Rilberg, Lipstadt and Minden, and now menaced Hanover.

To draw them from their strong position was the object of Prince Ferdinand, and as this was not to be effected by strategic manœuvres, he determined to give them battle. He had a large mixed Force at his disposal, among whom were six Regiments of British Cavalry and six Regiments of Infantry, under the command of Lord George Sackville. The Cavalry Corps were the Royal Horse Guards (Blue), the 1st Dragoon Guards, the 3rd Dragoon Guards, the Scots' Greys, the Inniskilling Dragoons, and the 10th Dragoons. The Infantry consisted of the 12th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, 37th, and 51st Regiments. The action commenced at daybreak on the morning of the 1st of August. It was inaugurated by a heavy cannonading from the French Line, followed by a brisk attack of Cavalry. The attack was principally levelled at the British Battalions, who bore the brunt of the engagement with unflinching heroism. Charge after charge of the Carabiniers and *Gens d'Armes* was repulsed with vigour.

To the left of the Allied Army, the Hanoverian, Hessian, and Prussian Cavalry were essentially serviceable. The British Cavalry to the right was, on the contrary, entirely inactive, and lost the opportunity of sharing in the glories of the day. Prince Ferdinand sent orders to Lord George Sackville, by his Aide-de-Camp, to bring up the Cavalry to support the Infantry of the third Line. His lordship did not budge. Whether, as was afterwards alleged, the orders were contradictory and incomprehensible, or that Lord George, who was upon bad terms with Prince Ferdinand, did not care to help him to a victory, it is certain that "some one had blundered," and the French were driven under the walls of Minden without the assistance of the British Dragoons. The loss of the enemy was very considerable. Forty-three large pieces of cannon and numerous colours and standards were the prizes of the Allies, whose casualties were comparatively small. The British Infantry were the principal sufferers. Prince Ferdinand was hearty in the expression of his thanks. "Next to God," he publicly declared, "he attributed the glory of the day to the whole Army, *particularly to the English Infantry*,* and the two Battalions of Hanoverian Guards," to which he added the German Cavalry. In offering his acknowledgments to Major-Generals Waldegrave and Kingsley, he spoke of "their great courage and the good order in which they conducted their Brigades." And the Prince indirectly rebuked Lord George Sackville by ordering it to be declared to Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Granby, that he was persuaded that, "if he had had the good fortune to have had *him* at the head of the Cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant." The Marquis of Granby, who was a bold soldier, was second in command under Lord George Sackville, and of course could do nothing without his authority. The Prince further eulogised the Duke of Richmond, Colonel Fitzroy, Captain Ligonier, Colonel Watson, Captain Wilson, and other Officers of the personal Staff who had been actively employed during the whole day.

If the joy of the people of Great Britain was excessive on receiving the news of the victory at Minden, intense was their indignation when the conduct of Lord George Sackville was made public. The King caused his name to be struck out of the 'Army List.' Nevertheless, on his return to England, he claimed to be tried by a Court-Martial, that he might have the opportunity of vindicating himself; and, as the Judges had given it as their opinion that such a trial would be perfectly legal, he was arraigned on the 29th of February, 1760. Disobedience of the orders which he received from Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the Commander-in-Chief, formed the gravamen of the charges; and the Court, after hearing a great amount of evidence, found that he was guilty, and adjudged him "unfit to serve His Majesty in any Military capacity whatever." The sentence was confirmed in orders of April 13, 1760, and the following remarks were appended:

"It is His Majesty's pleasure that the above sentence be given out in public orders, that Officers, being convinced that neither high birth nor great employment can shelter offences of such a nature, and that, seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders."

The defence set up by Lord George Sackville was, that the orders brought to him at different times by the two *Aides* of the Prince were inconsistent with each other, and that in that dilemma he repaired to the Prince himself in order to ascertain which of the orders he should obey. The loss of time involved in this strange procedure

* The Regiments engaged bear "Minden" upon their colours.

was of course fatal to the utility of a Cavalry movement at a critical moment, and would in itself have condemned Lord George's incompetency; but portions of the evidence disclosed conduct on his Lordship's part, which gave colour to the popular opinions then prevailing, that he was wanting in courage to face the enemy. Colonel Sloper, who was commanding a Corps of Cavalry, observed to Captain Ligonier, who brought the orders of the Prince, "You see the condition he is in," meaning, as he afterwards explained, "that Lord George Sackville was alarmed to a very great degree." He added that, when Lord George did order him to advance, "he seemed in the utmost confusion."

In spite of the vast amount of prejudice accumulated against Lord George Sackville, strengthened by the decision of the Court-Martial, and the displeasure of the King, who followed up the sentence of the Court-Martial, by erasing his name from the List of Privy Councillors, history has judged him with impartiality; and there are few persons who will read Smollett's continuation of Hume's elaborate work without coming to the conclusion that Lord George's worst crime was an error of judgment.* Unhappily, in all conditions of life, and especially in the Military Service, errors are frequently treated as crimes, especially if their results have been disastrous. It is fortunate for those who commit mistakes, through a misapprehension of orders or an infirmity of judgment, if no circumstances should have arisen to create suspicion of their bravery. A blunder in long after years lost an Army its Brigade of Light Cavalry; but the error was sanctified by the marvellous intrepidity which accompanied its commission. In the one case the Cavalry did not move when it was needed; in the other it unnecessarily rushed headlong into the jaws of death.

It is necessary now to retrace our steps to complete the record of 1759.

Towards the close of the autumn of 1758, the British Government, being advised that the French Caribbean Islands were weakly garrisoned, and might easily be reduced, planned an expedition against them, and placed it under the command of Major-General Hopson. The expedition was composed of the 3rd Buffs, under Major Hewitt; the 4th King's Own (Lieutenant-Colonel Crump); the 61st (Lieutenant-Colonel Barlow); the 63rd (Lieutenant-Colonel Desbrisay); the 64th (Lieutenant-Colonel Pym); the 65th (Lieutenant-Colonel Salt); and a detachment of Artillery under Major Cleveland. The Force was subsequently joined by the 38th Foot, under Major Melvill; the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, under Captain Maclean; and 700 Marines—in all about 5,000 men. Martinico was reached in January 1759. The General finding, after a careful reconnoissance, that his strength was unequal to the reduction of the island, shaped his course to Guadaloupe, and resolved upon its conquest. The undertaking was formidable. Unaided by a Naval Force; oppressed by the fierce heat of a West Indian sun; compelled to cross mountains and rivers; to scale precipices and wade through morasses,—the little Army endured terrible fatigues and severe privations. After three months of incredible trials, its patience and valour were rewarded by the capitulation of Guadaloupe, and the surrender of some other small islands.

The crowning incident of the year was the capture of Quebec by General Wolfe.

It has already been mentioned that that able Officer was sent, after the reduction of Louisbourg, to make his way up the river St Lawrence in view to an attack upon Quebec. Alive to the great importance of the enterprise, General Amherst placed a strong armament at Wolfe's disposal. The Fleet was augmented to fifty men-of-war, including three fire-ships; and the Army of ten Regiments consisted of the 15th, 43rd, 48th, and 78th, under Brigadier Monckton; the 28th, 47th, and 60th, composing the Brigade of Colonel Townshend; and the 35th, 58th, and 2nd Battalion of the 60th, commanded by Brigadier Murray. The Grenadiers of each Regiment constituted a separate Corps, under Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, and to these were added the Grenadiers of the 22nd, 40th, and 45th Regiments from Louisbourg; a Corps of Light Infantry formed of the Light companies of the several Regiments, and a Corps of local Rangers.

Probably there never was an undertaking better planned or more ably carried out than that which resulted in the fall of Quebec. General Wolfe was not only a highly-gifted man with a peculiar genius for war, but he was fortunate in the possession of abundant means for the accomplishment of the feat entrusted to him. He was happy in his friendly relations with Vice-Admiral Sanders—a good seaman, who commanded the Fleet,—he was likewise fortunate in the Brigadiers under his orders—he had confidence in his troops, and they had confidence in himself.

As Wolfe proceeded up the river, he carefully surveyed the banks, and availed himself of all the information that could be obtained respecting the position and resources of the enemy. Approaching Point Levi; he despatched Brigadier Monckton in sufficient strength to establish an entrenched

* It is worthy of remark that the similarity of some of Lord George Sackville's expressions in his speeches, and on his trial, and in his letters, led an ingenious writer at Boston (United States) to attempt to identify him with the authorship of 'Junius.' See 'Junius Unmasked,' Boston, 1828. The volume is in the British Museum.

battery, and circulate a manifesto among the people. The Brigadier performed the duty conscientiously. The manifesto was thus worded:

"June 28th, 1759.

"The formidable sea and land armament which the people of Canada now behold in the heart of their country is intended by the King, my master, to check the insolence of France, to revenge the insults offered to the British Colonies, and totally to deprive the French of their most valuable settlement in North America. For these purposes is the formidable Army under my command intended. The King of Great Britain wages no war with the industrious peasant, the sacred orders of religion, or defenceless women and children; to these, in their distressful circumstances, his Royal clemency offers protection. The people may remain unmolested on their lands, inhabit their houses, and enjoy their religion in security. For these inestimable blessings I expect the Canadians will take no part in the great contest between the two crowns. But if, by a vain obstinacy and misguided valour, they presume to appear in arms, they must expect the most fatal consequences; their habitations destroyed, their sacred temples exposed to an exasperated soldiery; their harvests utterly ruined, and the only passage for relief stopped up by a most formidable Fleet. In this unhappy situation, and closely attacked by another great Army, what can the wretched Natives expect from opposition? The unparalleled barbarities exerted by the French against our settlements in America might justify the severest revenge in the Army under my command. But Britons breathe higher sentiments, and listen to the merciful dictates of the Christian religion. Yet should you suffer yourselves to be deluded by any imaginary prospect of our want of success; should you refuse these terms, and persist in opposition, then surely will the law of nations justify the ravages of war, so necessary to crush an ungenerous enemy; and then the miserable Canadians must in the winter have the mortification of seeing the very families, for whom they have been exerting a fruitless and indiscreet bravery, perish by the most dismal want and famine. In this great dilemma let the wisdom of the people of Canada show itself. Britain stretches out a powerful yet merciful hand; faithful to her engagements and ready to secure her in her most valuable rights and possessions: France, unable to support Canada, deserts her cause at this important crisis, and during the whole war has assisted her with troops, who have been maintained only by making the Natives feel all the weight of grievances and lawless oppression."

(Signed at Laurent, in the Island of Orleans, in the Gulf of St Lawrence.)

Monckton placed the foregoing manifesto on the door of a church, and getting a considerable detachment ashore began to make diversions. Wolfe did not long hesitate as to the course he should adopt. He resolved, after Monckton had effected a lodgment, to make an attack upon the French entrenchment in advance of the town. Quebec was strongly fortified—the citadel and ramparts bristled with guns; and besides the garrison, there was an Army of observation 12,000 strong.

The first attack was rendered abortive by the impetuosity of the thirteen companies of the Grenadiers and Royal Americans. Irritated by the fire of the French, they did not wait until their proper formation had been effected; but rushed towards the entrenchments in disorder and confusion. They were checked by the fire of the enemy, and obliged to seek shelter. Many of the Officers were wounded in their endeavours to restrain the men, and afterwards to protect them in their retreat. A storm coming on at night, the General's plans were thwarted—the French were put upon the alert, and some weeks elapsed before another attempt was made. General Wolfe rebuked the haste and rashness of the Grenadiers in a special Order.

"The check," thus ran the Order, "will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come; such impetuous, irregular, and unsoldierlike proceedings destroy all order, make it impossible for their Commanders to form any disposition for an attack, and put it out of the General's power to execute his plan. The Grenadiers could not suppose that they alone could beat the French Army!"

Finding it very difficult to obtain a good position in the presence of his brave and vigilant enemy, the Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded the French, Wolfe resolved upon a surprise. Accordingly, making a feint to withdraw his Army, he dropped down the river with some frigates under a heavy and continuous fire, while the Army marched down the southern bank. Reaching a little bay or inlet (since called Wolfe's cave), he here determined upon effecting a landing, with the purpose of ascending the rugged heights, and so reach the plains of Abraham in the rear of Quebec. The graphic description of the sequel, as given by the Reverend Mr Gleig in his memoir of General Wolfe may be quoted in its entirety:—"The landing at this point was effected in a manner most creditable to the steadiness of the British Army. The Fleet had far advanced on its downward passage, and the last glimmerings of twilight were departing when the troops began, in profound silence and perfect order, to take their places in the boats. Two hours sufficed to see them all arranged, when, on a given signal, the Flotilla pushed off, and the

whole glided, like a huge flock of water-fowl, down the current. Not a word was spoken from the van to the rear of the brave Armada. The soldiers sat erect and motionless; the sailors scarcely dipped their oars in the water, so fearful were they lest the splashing might attract the notice of the enemy, who lined the shores at narrow intervals. There was a redoubt defending the inlet; to seize it by a *coup de main* was the first object, and happily the enemy were not upon the alert. Not a cry was heard nor a shot fired while the advance mustered upon the beach, and under the guidance of Colonel Howe began to ascend, as they best could, the face of the bank. The leading files, indeed, were already close upon his station ere the French sentinel challenged; but it was then too late. With a hearty cheer the men rushed forward; they received, but paused not to return, a single irregular volley; and then, springing upon the high ground, closed with their bayonets upon the devoted Guards. The latter fled in dismay."

It was under cover of the darkness of the night—the very dark hour which precedes the dawn—that the landing was effected. On the 13th September, as the day broke, Wolfe himself landed, pushed his troops forward, and reached the plains of Abraham in the rear of Quebec. When Montcalm was informed of the approach of the British, he treated the report with scornful incredulity. "It is only Monsieur Wolfe," he replied, "come to burn a few houses, look about him and return." A little later he was informed that the invaders were actually drawn up on the plain.—"Then," said he, "they have at last got to the weak side of this miserable Garrison, and we must endeavour to crush them by our numbers, and scalp them all before 12 o'clock." He immediately took the field, and prepared to meet the British. His troops were sent forward in great force under cover of the Light Infantry, who drove back our skirmishers. The Battalions stood firm, keeping their firelocks at the shoulder, until the enemy were within forty yards of them. Then, at a word from Wolfe, they fired a volley, and rushed upon their antagonists. The contest lasted for several hours, and resulted in the complete defeat of the French, and the surrender of Quebec to the British arms. But Wolfe did not live to enjoy his triumph—nor did Montcalm long survive his defeat. Wolfe received a mortal wound and died on the field, expressing his happiness when he was told that the enemy were flying—Montcalm lived until the following day, and when informed that his wounds were mortal, he exclaimed, "I am glad of it—then I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." The memory of the two heroes, Wolfe and Montcalm, is perpetuated on a monolyth erected by the English in the citadel of Quebec. But England went much farther in the display of her sorrow and her gratitude. A monument was erected at the public expense, and the visitor to Westminster Abbey reads, in the inscription on Wolfe's tomb, the expression of a nation's admiration of her young General. Every town, every village in Great Britain, was illuminated in honour of the victory, the sole exception being the village in which Wolfe's widowed and grieving mother still lived. A respect for her character and bereavement forbade any demonstrations of joy on the part of the rustics. Large subscriptions were entered into to supply the soldiers who were appointed to garrison Quebec on its surrender, with such comforts as the severe Canadian winter rendered necessary—nor were the 1,000 Frenchmen who had been taken prisoners forgotten in the ebullitions of public charity. A considerable sum was raised, which, in addition to the allowance made to prisoners of war by the Government, tended to abate the miseries of their captivity.

General Townshend, as the next Senior Officer, had succeeded to the command upon the death of General Wolfe; and after he had placed the Garrison in a sufficiently defensive position, he returned to England, leaving General Murray in charge. General Monckton and 500 Officers and soldiers were wounded in the battle on the Plains of Abraham, but the loss in killed was trifling, amounting to no more than fifty men.

Three Regiments of Light Cavalry, numbered successively the 15th, 16th, and 17th Dragoons, having been raised in 1759, the Colonelcy of the latter was conferred on Lieutenant-Colonel Hale, who had been selected to convey to England the news of the fall of Quebec. Hale, purporting that his Regiment should consist of men of decided character, who would emulate the glorious example of the heroic Wolfe, whose gallant conduct the Colonel had witnessed, procured the King's authority for his Regiment to bear on its standards and appointments the "Death's Head," with the motto "or Glory."

The troops in America which had been sent to the north, under General Wolfe, were not idle while he carried the British arms successfully into Eastern Canada. Brigadier Prideaux having been entrusted with an expedition against Fort Niagara, which commanded the communication between Lake Erie and Ontario, he adopted such excellent measures for investing the fortress and protecting his rear against the French troops and their Indian Allies, that the success of the enterprise was assured. A sharp attack by the savages was repulsed by the bayonet; equally unfortunate was the attempt made by the French to relieve the beleaguered garrison. Finding it hopeless to

expect succour after the last disaster, the garrison capitulated. In the encounter with the enemy, Colonel Johnson, a provincial Officer of singular Military ability, was killed, and General Prideaux fell by the accidental bursting of a cohorn in the trenches. Meanwhile, General Amherst operated on Lake Champlain, but was compelled by storms and the advanced state of the season to defer further movements until the ensuing year.

Greatly to the regret of the people of Great Britain and of the British Army, King George II. died in October 1760, rather suddenly. He had reached a respectable old age, and had reigned for thirty-five years. Had his demise been preceded by a disease of a dangerous character, the event would not have come upon the nation with any degree of astonishment. But its unexpected occurrence shocked and grieved the community at large, who had become attached to a Sovereign whose reign had been distinguished by so many events contributing to the importance of Great Britain in the scale of nations, and to her commercial prosperity, and who had, individually, displayed such remarkable courage in the field of battle.

At this point it seems desirable to cast a retrospective glance at some of the laws and measures affecting the Army, which had been passed or amended in the reign of George the Second.

One measure of importance, passed in 1748, was the incorporation of the Articles of War in the Mutiny Act. Theretofore, the Articles were made and constituted by the sole authority of the King; but the Lords made the discovery that by enabling the Crown to establish Articles of War, to determine offences and inflict punishments, Parliament had vested in the Crown the sole legislative power over the Army—a power which, delicately said the Protest, "how safely soever it may be lodged with his present Majesty, and how tenderly soever it may be exercised by him, may yet prove of dangerous consequence should it be drawn into precedent in future reigns." To remedy this state of things, the Articles of War were ordered to be inserted in the Mutiny Act, and a declaration was passed that no person should suffer any punishment extending to life and limb by the Articles of War, except for such crimes as should be expressed to be so punishable by the Mutiny Act.

In 1754 the Mutiny Act was extended, after great opposition in Parliament, to the troops of the East India Company, and then to His Majesty's troops serving in North America. This Act always seems, in the earlier years of its operation, to have been regarded with much jealous apprehension by the people. It appeared to their leaders to be an instrument for the control, under Military law, of persons, other than soldiers and Officers, actually serving the State. Lord Egmont, when its extension to the troops in India was debated, called it "a noxious weed, which had already overshadowed the Constitution." Its application to reduced Officers on half-pay was long a subject of debate.

The reign of George the Second was one of great interest in a Military view. At the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the Marines had been totally disbanded. They were revived in 1755, and placed under the Admiralty on their present (1869) establishment. Commissions ceased to be purchaseable, and it was decreed that the Officers should rise by seniority. In the same reign the Ordnance or Scientific Corps dated as a Military Corps. Up to that time they were persons in Civil employ, and had no Military rank whatever. The Engineer-in-Chief was expected to be a person of considerable scientific attainments, to be skilled in all the principles of attack and defence, to be well versed in the strength and cost of material, and to be competent for the construction and superintendence of fortifications and works. He had a few assistants, but no establishment until 1717, when fifty Engineers were appointed; but in 1759 their number was raised to sixty-one. Military rank was assigned to them, dating from 1757. The Artillery originated much in the same way. In the wars of William III. and Marlborough, the Dutch found all the artillery and artillerymen for sieges; but, after the Peace of Utrecht, when Gibraltar, Minorca, and other places came into British hands, a Military branch of the Ordnance was established, and two companies of gunners and matrosses were raised in 1715 for the service of the Artillery in Scotland. In 1716 a Regimental establishment for the Artillery was sanctioned, but not until 1743 was the pay of the Regiment included in the Estimates. It then consisted of six companies. The Officers were commissioned in 1751. The commission was given by the Crown, countersigned by the Master or Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.

During the reign of William the Third, and subsequently in that of George the First, Acts of Parliament were passed enacting that no person born out of the kingdom of Great Britain, unless they were the offspring of English parents, should hold any office or place of trust under the Crown. It was deemed a necessary step, in order to secure the religion, laws, and liberties of the country, at a time when foreign intrigue was at work to disturb the succession. But the paucity of the British population, and the unwillingness of many persons to enter the Army, rendered a relaxation of the alien law necessary, in order to carry on the war in America. A Bill was therefore passed which allowed of the appointment of fifty foreign officers, whose rank should be limited to that of Lieutenant-Colonel.

The Mutiny Act, as the reader is aware, is

annually submitted to the House of Commons for such revision as circumstances may suggest. In 1760, a question had arisen as to the amenability of an Officer to trial by Court-martial long after the offence had been committed, and the Mutiny Act in force during its commission had expired. The House determined that a limitation should be put to an Officer's liability, and, accordingly, in 1760, three years was fixed upon as the time within which an Officer should be arraigned for an alleged crime. In the same year it was decided that an Officer having been dismissed the Service, and having no Military employment, should be triable by a Court-martial for a Military offence committed by him while on actual service, and in receipt of pay as an Officer.

CHAPTER XI.

Strength of the Army—The 15th Light Dragoons—Coote in India—Capture of Belleisle, Dominica, Guadaloupe, &c.—The "Family Compact"—War with Spain—Expedition against Havannah—Prize Money—Operations in Portugal—Loss and Recapture of Newfoundland—The Treaty of Fontainebleau—Return of Troops from Germany—The Marquis of Granby—His Letter and Character.

From causes which have been mentioned in the order of their occurrence, the Army had been steadily augmented during the reign of George II., until it reached the respectable number of 100,000 men, not including some 60,000 Hanoverian, Hessian, and German auxiliaries maintained at the British cost. This Force, in the middle of 1760, was thus distributed. There were in Great Britain, under the chief command of Lord Ligonier, two troops of Horse Guards, two of Horse Grenadiers, five Regiments of Dragoons, three of Foot Guards, and twenty-three Infantry Regiments of the Line. In Ireland there were seventeen Regiments of Foot, two of Horse, and eight of Dragoons, under the Earl of Rothes. Lord Howe had six Regiments of Foot under his command at Gibraltar. General Amherst retained twenty-one Regiments in America. Five Regiments and a half were stationed in the West Indies. The European Force in India had been augmented to four Battalions; and there were two Regiments of Foot in Africa, and one in the Island of Jersey. The Force remaining in Germany, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Granby, consisted of one Regiment of Horse Guards, two Regiments of Horse, three of Dragoon Guards, six of Dragoons, and sixteen of Foot.

The 15th Light Dragoons, one of the newly-formed Regiments—the first, indeed, of the kind raised for permanent service—had the good fortune to distinguish itself at a very early period of its career. In the course of the campaign of 1760, several actions were fought at Corbach, Emsdorff, Warbourg, and Wetten. It was at Emsdorff that the 15th first unfurled their standard, and fleshed their maiden swords in a charge which drew expressions of admiration from Prince Ferdinand. "All the British Cavalry," said the Prince in his General Order, publicly thanking Lord Granby, "performed prodigies of valour." The 15th were raised by Colonel Elliott (afterwards Lord Heathfield), and a remarkable circumstance favoured the formation of the Corps. A number of journeymen tailors and clothiers, who had gone to London to petition Parliament for relief from certain grievances, under which they considered themselves to labour, becoming ambitious of appearing in the uniform of the Regiment, flocked to its quarters and completed its numbers to six troops of sixty privates each.

Much advantage accrued from the augmentation of the European Force in India at this time. Colonel Coote, at the head of four Battalions, was enabled to stimulate the Sepoys in the Company's Service to emulate the British in the acquisition of all those Military attributes which assure victory to small Battalions when opposed to large and undisciplined Forces. And with his hands thus strengthened, he defeated a powerful body of French and their Native soldiers at Wandewash, defended Madras, and took Arcot. In all these operations, the 79th Cameron Highlanders, then called Draper's Regiment, after its Colonel, Sir William Draper, reaped much honour; and when Sir William returned to England some years later, the Corps having intermediately distinguished itself on other fields, he raised a cenotaph in his garden, at Clifton, to commemorate "the departed warriors." The inscription on the tablet spoke of their valour, discipline, and perseverance; of their having withstood and repulsed the French land Forces in Asia; preserved the commerce of Great Britain; rescued her settlements from impending destruction; and exhibited an illustrious example of true fortitude and moderation worthy of being transmitted to the latest posterity.

King George III. had not been trained to any particular passion for Military displays. He would infinitely have preferred to cultivate the arts of peace. But he was obliged to accept his inheritance as he found it. And this was not merely an absolute state of war with a European power; his possessions abroad afforded, as we shall see, full occupation for a large Army and an efficient Navy.

The Continental war kept the troops, under the Marquis of Granby, continually afoot, and many

small engagements gave them abundant opportunity for the exhibition of that rough courage which had come to be considered by their foes peculiarly British. At Zienenberg, a charge of the Marquis's Dragoons decided a sharp contest. They were again engaged, supported by the Infantry, at Compen, and in 1761 nobly repulsed the French at Kirchdenkem. At Foorwhole, Capelnhagen, Wilhelmstadt,* and Ginkel, further success attended the operations of the Army. In 1762 they surprised the French Camp at Gröeberstein (where, however, the much-esteemed Colonel Townshend was killed), terminating a long and harassing campaign by the capture of Cassell.

Belleisle, a small island in the Bay of Biscay fortified by nature, to which science had added its potent assistance, was a source of considerable annoyance to the British during the war, inasmuch as it formed a Depot for French munitions of war, a harbour of refuge for the enemy's ships, and an obstacle to the free navigation of the bay by English vessels.

The capture of Belleisle was therefore an object of some importance in 1761, and with this view Brigadier-General Lambert was sent with the 3rd Buffs, the 21st North British Fusiliers, and some other Corps, to reduce the island. The duty was successfully performed, and added another trophy to the gathering cluster of the National possessions.

In the same year an important step was taken to cripple the enemy's strength in the West Indies. The Island of Dominica had been declared neutral by the common consent of all parties, to the contest then pending. It was found, however, to be so entirely under the influence of France, and to afford so much protection to the privateers of that nation, that it became a matter of importance to England to obtain possession of the place, and to extend the conquest to other of the Caribbean Islands. To Lord Rollo was assigned the duty of capturing the group. With the 1st Royals, the 17th and 22nd Regiments, then stationed at New York, the General reduced Dominica in two days, and subsequently took Martinique, Grenada, St Lucia, and St Vincent.

Although the doctrine has been often laid down, and is now pretty generally accepted, that soldiers in actual service have little to do with the political objects or general propriety of the wars in which they may be engaged, it must always be interesting to the subjects of a free state to know and to feel that the cause in which they are shedding their blood and exerting their utmost physical powers, is in every sense righteous. That the war with Spain, declared on the 2nd January, 1762, was justifiable, should therefore not only be affirmed, but proved.

Historians speak of a "Family Compact"—an alliance between the various branches of the house of Bourbon—formed a few years anterior to the period of which we treat. The effect of this "Compact" was to establish an entire union between the French and Spanish Monarchies. The "Most Christian" King became, in political interests, identical with the *soi-disant* "Catholic" Sovereign It was this very connection with the "Grand Alliance" in Queen Anne's time that England had made war to prevent. By the 1st and 16th Articles of the Family Compact the Monarchs of France and Spain agreed to look upon every Power as their enemy which became an enemy of the other—that a war declared against either should be regarded as personal by the other—and that when they happened to be both engaged in a war against the same enemy or enemies, they would wage it jointly with their whole Forces. By the 8th Article Spain was exempt from taking the part of France under certain circumstances, unless "*some Maritime Power take part in the war in which she may be engaged.*" As this clause evidently pointed to England, it was indispensable, when the existence of the compact was discovered, that a distinct avowal of pacific intentions should be obtained by the Government of Great Britain from the Court of Madrid. The non-interference of Spain was insisted on. But the negotiations failed. The Ambassador was trifled with, and treated to equivocations and ambiguities which only served to irritate England, and confirm the impression that Spain would sooner or later take an active part, in the assistance of France. Hence the declaration of war was inevitable.

To detach an Army to Spain would at the moment have been equally inconvenient and impolitic. It was of far more consequence to strike at the sources of her wealth—to invade, in fact, her possessions at a distance, for, contrary to the condition of most other nations, her vital parts lay remote from the head. While, therefore, Manilla, the chief of the Philippine Islands, which had belonged to Spain since 1564, was attacked by a Force sent from Madras under Colonel Draper, an expedition was organised in England against Havannah.

Havannah, in the Island of Cuba, was the brightest possession of the Spaniards across the Atlantic. Once captured, all communication between the Spanish Colonies and the mother country would be cut off. A greater blow perhaps could not have been dealt at His Catholic Majesty, *en revanche* of his alliance with the French.

But Havannah was strongly fortified. There was a fort called the Moro, which formed the key

* The exceptional conduct of the 5th Foot in this battle procured it the honour of bearing "Wilhelmstadt" on its Regimental colours.

to the extensive works by which the town was girdled, and the approaches to the Moro were exceedingly difficult, by reason of the character of the soil between the sea shore and the place itself. There was an insufficiency to supply the material for the covering works of an attacking Force. To General the Earl of Albemarle was committed the task of attacking Havannah. The Government did not undervalue either the difficulties of the operation or the importance of the possession. A large and efficient Force was placed at his Lordship's disposal, and he had excellent assistance in the General Officers at the head of his Divisions. Lieutenant-General G. A. Elliott was second in command; Major-Generals Keppell and Lafonsille, Brigadiers Haviland, Grant, Reid, Lord Rollo, and Walsh composed the Staff. There was a good park of artillery, and the Infantry Regiments numbered among them the 9th, 22nd, 34th, 40th, 42nd, 56th, 72nd, and five companies of the 90th. By the middle of June the Force was landed. Incredible hardships were endured in the absence of water, and the labour of dragging the guns over a hard and rocky soil. The fort held out for thirty-one days. No fewer than 5,000 soldiers were prostrated by sickness and wounds. The Spanish garrison, which numbered 13,600 Regulars, and a still larger body of Militia and people of colour, displayed an equal amount of valour and skill, making desperate *sorties*, and serving their guns with deadly precision. The fortress was taken by storm on the 30th of July (1762), and immediately afterwards arrangements were made for attacking the town. This, as it proved, was no easy operation. The batteries were opened on the 11th of August, but not until the heroic Don Louis de Velasco, the Governor, and the Marquis Gonzalez, his second in command, had fallen sword in hand, did the town surrender. For two months and eight days had Lord Albemarle's Force been engaged in this great enterprise, which was correctly described as "a Military achievement of the highest class," and was unquestionably the most considerable and decisive conquest England had made since the beginning of the "Seven Years' War." Numerous instances are on record of gallant behaviour on the part of the British troops during the trying and tedious siege, but few names have been handed down with so much pride by the *raconteurs* of Military glories as that of Colonel Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester. On the 21st of July that excellent Officer particularly distinguished himself in the repulse of a daring *sortie* by the Spanish garrison. He was present everywhere. By his exertions the 1st Royals, the 34th, and the Royal Americans were brought to the defence of the posts, and, charging the enemy down a hill, he received a severe and dangerous wound. The troops were rewarded for their bravery and endurance by the enormous quantity of prize captured at Havannah. The share of the Commander-in-Chief was 122,697*l.*; that of the Second in Command, 24,539*l.*; the Major-Generals received each 6,816*l.*; Brigadier-Generals, 1,947*l.* each; the share of each Field Officer was 564*l.* 14s. 1d.; of each Captain, 124*l.* 4s. 7½d.; Subalterns received 116*l.* 3s 0½d. a-piece; serjeants, 8*l.* 18s. 8d.; corporals, 6*l.* 16s. 6d.; and privates, 4*l.* 1s. 8¼d.

The poet has told us that pillage is "sweet" to soldiers, and "prize-money to seamen." Pillage, with all its risks and violence, may be agreeable to a licentious soldiery when no other means of recompense are available; but "prize-money," the proceeds of the booty captured from an enemy, is much more acceptable and equitable. In plundering a town the sick and wounded and feeble soldier gets nothing, though his physical condition may be the result of his exertions in the field, and he is probably better deserving of reward than the stalwart and healthy Grenadier, who may have been in the Reserve.

The principle on which prize-money is granted may be here stated, as it continues operative to this hour.

All the proceeds of property captured during a war are called "prize-money." No Officers or soldiers have any inherent right of property in the booty so taken. Such right is reserved by the Crown, which, in the exercise of its prerogative, assigns the proceeds of the captured booty to the troops that may have been employed. When the troops of the Crown and the East India Company acted conjointly in warfare, it was usual for the Crown to grant one moiety of the proceeds to the Company, who, acting upon the principle adopted by the Crown, awarded their half to the Army. Thus, in point of fact, the whole of the prize captured, under any circumstances, ultimately becomes the property of the troops, though formalities are requisite to make that property valid. After a capture of booty,—which comprehends the arms, ammunition, stores of war, goods, merchandise, and treasure belonging to the State against which war is waged, or to any public trading company of the enemy, and found in any of the fortresses or possessions, and all ships and vessels in any road, river, haven, or creek belonging to such possession—Prize Agents are appointed, by the order of the Commander-in-Chief in the field, to collect the booty, and dispose of it for money. One of the Prize Agents is selected by the Commander-in-Chief and Field Officers; the other by the rest of the Commissioned Officers entitled to share. The Agents must not be Officers of Chelsea Hospital, and they are to render

an account to the Treasurer of the Hospital. When captures take place in India, and the usual award has been made, the distribution is first made in India, and the rolls are then despatched to Chelsea Hospital. At the end of three months the Treasurer of the Hospital is bound to give notice of distribution to the claimants in England. The scale of distribution has not been uniform in the Royal Service: sometimes the property is divided into sixths, and sometimes into eighths. The latter is the more usual practice. On such occasions one-eighth goes to the Commander-in-Chief;—the head that has devised and directed the campaign, and who bears the responsibility of success or failure, has the lion's share. Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Majors receive two-eighths among them; one-eighth is given to the Captains; one to the Subalterns; and the residue to the non-commissioned staff, rank and file. Officers entitled to prize-money receive certificates of their title from their immediate Commanding Officers and the Prize Agent, which certificate they may assign, bequeath, or otherwise dispose of, even before the proclamation of the Crown conferring the booty on the successful troops. No Officer is entitled to share in the distribution unless he was actually on the field of battle; but as it has sometimes arisen that Officers have been too late to be engaged, from no fault of their own, or have been sent away on some urgent business, Commanders-in Chief have adopted the precaution of stating previously who are and who are not entitled. The Regimental debts of Officers may be stopped from their prize-money by order of the Secretary at War out of their shares, and paid by the Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital to the party making the claims. Shares of prize-money not claimed within six years after the distribution to the Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital are declared forfeited, unless "upon good cause shown and allowed."

Spain, entering heartily into the war, which cost her Havannah, took the resolution of obliging Portugal to renounce all friendship for Great Britain, and violate the neutrality to which she had been pledged. The condition of Portugal was favourable to the designs of Spain. The nation had been almost prostrated by a series of disasters, including a terrible earthquake and internal commotions. The maintenance of a respectable Military Force was impracticable. Yet, faithful to her old Ally, the only one, indeed, which drank her port wine and contributed to her revenue, Portugal adhered obstinately to her declaration of neutrality. Spain, enraged, detached a powerful Army to the Portuguese Frontier, and threatened invasion. The peril of the country was imminent. Great Britain immediately went to her rescue. Supplying arms, men, and money, she sent Marshal Count de Lippe to direct the defence of Portugal, and push back the doughty intruders. Brigadier-General John Burgoyne, an Officer of high repute, who had served in the reign of George II., and was employed to raise and discipline the 16th Light Dragoons after some years of experience in the Foot Guards, was sent by Count de Lippe to confront the Spaniards. With the 3rd Buffs released from service in Belleisle, the 16th Light Dragoons, and some additional Regiments, the Brigadier advanced to Valencia de Alcantara, which the Spaniards occupied. A brief but sanguinary contest ensued, terminating in the expulsion of the Spaniards, the total destruction of the Regiment of Seville, and several stands of colours. The fierceness of the encounter may be estimated from the fact that Count de Lippe, in his general orders, alluded to the "glorious conduct" of Brigadier Burgoyne. Subsequent attacks on the Spanish positions at Villa Velha compelled them to fall back within their own frontier, and the integrity of Portugal was maintained during the remainder of the year.

War has been likened to the game of chess, and never perhaps was the resemblance more perfect than in the great seven years' contest. Every move made by one party was countered by an adroit move on the part of its antagonist. Thus, while the English were engaged in the West Indies, Spain had advanced into Portugal, and, during the siege of Havannah, the French secretly fitted out a Fleet at Brest, and sent it, with 1,500 men, to wrest Newfoundland from us. The rapidity and success with which the expedition was equipped and despatched ensured its success. The garrison of St John's was too feeble to make any resistance, and of course the place was surrendered. But Captain Groves, of the Royal Navy, who was the Governor at the time, contrived to send intelligence of the disaster to Sir Jeffery Amherst, in America, who lost not a moment in despatching his brother, Colonel Amherst, with the 45th and 77th Regiments, and some guns, to recover St John's. At Torbay, nine leagues from the town, where Colonel Amherst landed, he was opposed by French troops. These were, as usual, overcome, and the Colonel moved to St John's, which place he immediately invested. The French Admiral, alarmed, managed to steal away in the night, leaving the Comte d'Haussonville to hold the new acquisition as best he might. Before the batteries had begun to play upon the works of the French, Colonel Amherst summoned the Count to surrender. On the 16th of September, the day on which he received the summons, d'Haussonville replied, *en Gascon*, "I wait for your troops and your cannon, and nothing shall determine me to surrender the

fort, unless you shall have totally destroyed it, and that I shall have no more powder to fire." On the 17th the batteries were opened. The Count then began to see the probability of his being defeated, and he accordingly wrote a more moderate and ambiguous letter:

"Under the uncertainty of the succours which I may receive, either from France or its Allies, and the fort being entire and in a condition for a long defence, I am resolved to defend myself to the last extremity. The capitulations which you may think proper to grant me will determine me to surrender the place to you in order to prevent the effusion of the blood of the men who defend it. Whatever resolution you come to, there is one left for me, which would hurt the interests of the Sovereign you serve."

To this Colonel Amherst briefly replied, refusing any other terms than the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war. "I don't thirst," he said, "after the blood of the garrison; but you must determine quickly or expect the consequences, for this is my final determination."

The next day d'Haussonville surrendered, and Newfoundland was recovered.

The close of the year witnessed the termination of the protracted war. On the 3rd of November, 1762, the treaty of Fontainebleau put an end to hostilities, restoring some of the places which had been conquered, but, on the whole, securing great advantages to England. France renounced all pretensions to Nova Scotia or Acadie, and ceded Canada as well as Cape Breton and all the islands in the St Lawrence. Newfoundland was given up entirely to England, the French having liberty to fish and dry on certain parts of the coast. The British possessions in America were limited to a line drawn along the middle of the Mississippi. Mobile and all other French possessions on the left bank of the river were given up to England, with the exception of New Orleans. Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Desirade, Martinico, and Belleisle were restored to France, together with Gorée. England obtained Grenada, St Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, and Senegal. The possessions of both belligerents in the East Indies were placed on the footing on which they stood before 1749. Minorca was given back to England. Similar exchanges of territory and fortresses were made on the Continent.

As a consequence of this treaty, many changes took place in the position of the troops. The whole of the Force under the Marquis of Granby was recalled from Germany, preceded by his Lordship. Ill health preventing him from taking a formal farewell of the Officers and men on a public parade or final review, the Marquis addressed them in a letter of thanks, in which he said he could not leave the country without bearing public testimony to his entire approbation of the conduct of the Army left under his command. He said his best endeavours had always been directed to their good by every means in his power, and he had the satisfaction to think he had some reason to flatter himself of their being convinced, if not of the efficacy, at least of the sincerity, of his intentions, if he might judge by the noble return their behaviour had made him—a behaviour, he added, "that, while it fills him with gratitude, endeared them to their King and country, and has covered them with glory and honour. Highly sensible of their merit he shall continue, while he lives, to look upon it as much his duty, as it will for ever be his inclination, to give them every possible proof of his affection and esteem, which he should be happy to make as apparent as their valour has been and will be conspicuous and exemplary in after-ages."

Few Commanders in the last century, or indeed in any other, have enjoyed so much popularity as Lord Granby. It was not simply because of his courage and judgment in the field. His liberality and generosity found large scope for exercise during a war which subjected the British soldier to many privations. The troops cantoned in the bishopric of Peterborough suffered great hardships from a scarcity of forage and provisions, and these were eventually alleviated by the noble efforts suggested by the Marquis's kindness of heart. As a consequence of the hold he had obtained upon the hearts of the soldiers, every village alehouse keeper found it to his interest to adorn his sign-post with a portrait of the hero, and the passing veteran or retired pensioner, recognising the noble General, splendidly portrayed in the uniform of his Regiment, could seldom resist the temptation to drain a tankard to his health. It will be remembered that it was at one of the hostelries decorated with "the effigies" of the "Markis," that Dickens's Mr Weller was accustomed to take his potations.

The troops lost no time in embarking for England. The Dragoons—at least, the Royal Horse Guards—were permitted, before their departure, to sell their horses in Germany, and apply the proceeds to their own special benefit.

CHAPTER XII.

Mutiny at Quebec—Irruptions by the Indians—Changes in Costume and Appointments—The "Merit" Badge in the 5th Foot—The Guards at the London Riots—The King—Revolt in the American Colonies—Military Measures—The Battles of Concord, Lexington, and Bunker's Hill—Americans declare "Independence"—Large Armaments sent to New York—Successes of Sir W. Howe—His subsequent Inaction—Capture of General Lee—Affairs at Trenton and Princeton—The Battles of Brandywine and Germantown—George Washington's Generalship—Sir W. Howe's Army at Philadelphia.

A long period of inaction followed upon the peace of Fontainebleau. Europe needed repose after so many years of warfare, and the finances of England required repair. The National Debt had augmented to the alarming sum of one hundred millions sterling; and, if no new sources of revenue could be created, a steady economy was essential to prevent an intolerable load of taxation.

But that state of political and social existence which benefited civil life, was of serious injury to the Army. Indolence led to dissipation, and induced indiscipline. Moreover, the passion for tailoring the Army, peculiar to men in high places, caused alterations in costume and appointments, which were not always improvements, and active-minded Commanding Officers at home worried their charges in garrison with details which only engendered expense and discontent.

One of the effects of inactivity soon became apparent at Quebec. The Commander-in-Chief in North America having directed Major-General Murray to cause a stoppage to be made of fourpence for each ration of provisions issued to the troops, a serious mutiny took place on the part of the 15th, 27th, and 1st and 2nd Battalions of the 60th Regiments. On the 18th September, 1763, the men took up arms, behaved with great violence, and insisted on marching to New York. General Murray was equal to the occasion. With the assistance of the Officers of the garrison, he prevailed upon the men to return to their barracks, assuring them that their grievances should be laid before the Commander-in Chief. The men yielded, repeating their declaration that they would not serve if required to pay for their provisions. The next day, General Murray called together the Officers and non-commissioned officers of the different Regiments, and represented to them the necessity of reducing the men to obedience, or perishing in the attempt. It was feared that if the Quebec garrison succeeded in the revolt, all the other troops in America would follow their example, to the immense detriment of the Service and the country. The Officers and non-commissioned staff did their best, but all persuasion was thrown away. Trusting to their numbers, and having, as is always the case under such circumstances, bad advisers among them, the men stubbornly insisted upon a compliance with their demands for exemption from the required payment. General Murray saw the necessity for prompt and vigorous action. Ordering a parade on the morning of the 21st September, he read the Articles of War aloud to the assembled mutineers, and, after pointing out the enormity of their crime, declared his resolution to compel them to submission at all hazards. No movement or sign of repentance being apparent, he advanced to the head of Colonel Amherst's grenadiers, and declared he would immediately put to death the first man who refused to obey; and, as a test of their compliance, he ordered them to march in single files, between two royal colours, planted on either side of a pathway, for the purpose. Astounded at his determination, and alarmed by his manner, which left no doubt of the sincerity of his intentions, the men at once passed between the modern *Furcæ Caudinæ*, returned cheerfully to their duty, and expressed their sorrow for the past.

The return of the men to loyalty and reason, and the restriction of the munity to the limits of Quebec, was fortunate for the interests of the State, for a new enemy arose in the Southern provinces of America, whom no treaties could restrain; and against whose aggressions force only could prevail. The frontiers of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia were disturbed by large bodies of Indians, who, uniting the temptations of plunder with their natural hatred of the white man, made serious inroads upon the plantations and settlements. No longer required to act with the French against the English, nor with the English against the French, they slaked their thirst for plunder in the habitations of the innocent and unprotected. Fort Pitt, in Pennsylvania, was beleaguered by these relentless savages, who sought to decorate their wigwams with the scalps of the colonists. It fell to the Highland Regiment to relieve the fort, and drive these sanguinary barbarians into their forests and wilds. The Corps made its way through thick woods and defiles, assailed at every step by ambushed Indians, and finally rescued the settlers from the impending danger; and after spending the winter of '63 in Fort Pitt, it marched, early in 1764, 250 miles, penetrating the heart of the country, and finally reducing the Delaware tribe to complete submission.

In 1764, the authorities in England and Ireland diverted themselves with the introduction of some slight changes in military appointments. Those singular decorations, denominated *aiguillettes*,*

* The "aiguilletta" simply consisted of cords, of bullion, silk, or cotton, made fast at the ends by a tag resembling a nail. The word is of Latin origin.

which were then worn by the Dragoon Guards, were exchanged for epaulettes, and the heavy jack or jacked-boots were replaced by a lighter description of boot—unquestionably a change for the better. The horses of the Cavalry were likewise benefited, by an order which directed that long tails should for the future be cultivated. Early in the century, or towards the close of its predecessor, when William III. was in Holland or Ireland—the exact date has not been ascertained—the Cavalry horses had been docked of their flowing caudal appendages, and a short stump, which had the sole recommendation of being a more cleanly affair, and saving the trooper a little trouble, had come into use. Experience proved its economy in one sense, inasmuch as a horse, when teazed by flies, was obliged to move his head away from the manger or the heap of hay, to give vain attention to the torturers on his flanks, and, so engaged, ate less of his rations. On the other hand, the worry and the reduced diet robbed him of flesh and diminished his effectiveness. The long tail acted as a valuable switch, and the horses grew fat under the combined influence of the natural appendix and the absence of all severe marching and exposure.

Lieutenant-General Fowkes commanded in Dublin in '64, and kept a watchful eye upon the pastimes of the officers. Some of his garrison orders, still extant, illustrate his vigilance. He recommended the officers to eschew "play" while on duty at the Castle, and desired those of the Horse Guards who attended the drawing-rooms to avoid mixing with the ladies, on account of the inconvenience the hooped petticoats sustained by coming into contact with Military spurs! Thus, in deference to a preposterous fashion, the Dragoon was either to be bereft of a necessary agent in his utility—for who can say at what moment a soldier may be called upon in Ireland to perform an active duty?—or to deny himself one of the gratifications attaching to his professional position.

The Army and the nation experienced a severe loss in the year 1765. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, the third son of George II., the hero of Dettingen and Culloden, died, and was interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. The wound which he received at Dettingen broke out again in 1764, never having been entirely cured, and produced a fever which terminated the Duke's life. His death was much lamented. The House of Lords passed a resolution on the occasion, declaring that—

"The many eminent public and private virtues, the extent of capacity, and the magnanimity of mind; the affection for His Majesty's person, and the eminent services performed for this country, which distinguished the great and excellent Prince, had made an impression never to be erased from the minds of a grateful people."

Not a single incident tending to diversify the monotony of life in garrison, beyond an occasional review, occurred to render 1766 memorable.

The year 1767 was distinguished by the introduction into the 5th Foot of a system of honorary distinction which produced by its stimulus such a body of non-commissioned officers as few Corps could boast of. The honorary distinction consisted of three classes of medals: the first of gilt metal, was granted for simple "merit;" the second of silver, was the reward of fourteen years of *Military* merit; and the third, of the same material, was insculped with the name of the wearer, and was the guerdon of twenty-one years' good and faithful service as a soldier. This notable "Order of Merit" was distributed every year before the annual review.

In the same year some alterations were made in the prices of Cavalry commissions; but as these have since been augmented until they have reached their present standard, it is unnecessary to cite them in this place.

Some disturbances occurring in the maritime and manufacturing towns, and riots taking place in London in 1768, the services of the Life Guards, Dragoon Guards, and Foot Guards were put in requisition in aid of the Civil Power.

An incident in connection with the London riots is worthy of special mention.

Mr John Wilkes, an Alderman and Member of the House of Commons, had published a libel on the Government, in a journal of rather a liberal tendency, considering the state of politics and the degree of liberty allowed the Press in those days. For this he was tried and sentenced to imprisonment in the King's Bench. On the day of his liberation an immense mob assembled about the Bench for the purpose of escorting the "patriot" to the House of Commons. The tumultuous nature of the proceedings of the mob rendered necessary the interference of the civic authorities, and what is called the Riot Act was read. Brickbats and stones were hurled at the magistracy and the soldiery during this operation, whereupon the active interference of the latter was invited. Some of the 3rd Battalion of Foot Guards fired upon the crowd, and shot a young man of the name of Allen, who was, it appeared, a mere spectator of the scene. A warrant was obtained for the arrest of Captain Alexander Murray, who commanded the party of Guards, and a charge of murder laid at the door of three of the soldiers. But the Government sustained Captain Murray in the conduct he had been obliged to adopt, and Lord Barrington, the Secretary-at-War, wrote a letter to the Field Officer on duty, which became the

subject of much popular animadversion. It ran thus:

"I have much pleasure in informing you that His Majesty highly approves of the conduct of both the Officers and men, and desires that His Majesty's approbation should be communicated to them through you. Employing the troops on so disagreeable a service always gives me pain; but the circumstances of the times make it necessary. I am persuaded they see that necessity, and will continue, as they have done, to perform their duty with alacrity. I beg you will be pleased to assure them that every possible regard shall be shown to them; their zeal and good behaviour upon the occasion deserve it; and in case any disagreeable circumstance should happen in the execution of their duty, they shall have every defence and protection that the law can authorise, and this office can give."

The only other events which occurred in 1768, having reference to the Army, were the resignation of the Colonelcy of the 15th Foot, by Sir Jeffery Amherst, who afterwards took the 3rd Buffs, and the substitution of a dark-blue uniform for light-blue, thitherto worn by the Cavalry. It may likewise be mentioned that helmets, adorned with red horse-hair, were issued to the Dragoons, in place of the cocked hats.

Nothing occurred worthy of note in 1769 and 1770, excepting that Lord Mayor Beckford informed the Secretary-at-War that a relieved detachment of soldiers from Spitalfields had marched on their way back to their quarters, before the Mansion House, and through the heart of the City, with drums beating and fifes playing, "making a very warlike appearance, and raising in the minds of the peaceful citizens the idea of a town garrisoned with regular troops." The current of popular feeling in Mr Beckford's time ran in such direct antagonism to anything wearing an aspect of Military government, that even the innocent parade of a detachment actually employed on the requisition of the magistrates to preserve the public peace, was deemed worthy of remonstrance. Lord Barrington, in deference, we may suppose, to the prejudice of the hour, was "very clear in opinion that no troops should march through the City in the manner described, without previous notice to the Lord Mayor."*

The years 1771, 1772, and 1773 were as barren of events as their immediate predecessors. A necessity had arisen for employing the 6th and 14th Foot to reduce the Caribbee Indians to order and submission, and other Corps were engaged in suppressing the outrageous proceedings of the *Whiteboys, Hearts of Steel, and Hearts of Oak*, as certain combinations of the Irish personally called themselves, but the operations were not of sufficient consequence to merit more than a passing notice.

It has been observed that the King was very peaceably inclined, and avoided all occasions for hostility so long as the national honour and the integrity of the British dominions could be preserved. But his personal courage—a family inheritance—was beyond all question, and he took much pride in his Army. He reviewed the troops himself, understood martial manœuvring a great deal better than many of his Officers, and had the Articles of War at his finger ends. He copied every capital chart, took the models of all the celebrated fortifications in Europe, ascertaining their weak and their strong sides, and learned the soundings of the chief harbours in Europe. The time was rapidly approaching when peaceful pursuits would have to be laid aside, and the Royal energies applied to the defence of the King's most valuable possessions.

The Colonists in America revolted in 1774. Taxation without representation in the Commons House of Parliament was the principle of their revolt, and they followed up their remonstrances and protests by taking up arms, and committing acts of treason and violence.

No part of the Military history of Great Britain affords so few subjects of pleasant retrospection as the war which unexpectedly followed upon the endeavour of the King's Government to coerce the Colonists, and bring them back to their allegiance after they had formally declared their independence of the mother country in 1776. Deterioration in Military efficiency is always more or less the result of prolonged inaction.

"The cankers of a calm world and a long peace,"

the British Army had materially degenerated, and excepting the comparatively few veterans who had survived the campaigns of Germany and the West Indies, thirteen years previously, the ranks were filled with recruits and holiday soldiers. Still, their experience was superior to that of the Colonists, who had never been engaged in actual warfare; and had they been properly commanded, they might easily have triumphed over the people they were sent to subdue, considering that they were five times as numerous, and much better equipped. As it was, the war afforded constant occasion for the display of heroism, and from first to last exhibited traces of good discipline; but the Colonists, who afterwards became the "enemy," were so capitally led, their cause so thoroughly hearted, their knowledge of the country so perfect, and their resources rendered so abundant by the ultimate alliance of the French, that complete

* The 3rd Buffs is the only Regiment of the Line which enjoys the privilege of marching through London with fixed bayonets.

failure of all the Military combinations of the British Generals was the inevitable result.

We will endeavour to summarise the main incidents of the war in the interests of historical truth.

By the spring of 1775, the Colonists, who called themselves Provincials, had organised their disloyalty to the Crown and established a Congress. In the province of Massachusetts Bay, the authority of the British Parliament to impose stamp and tea imposts had first been called in question, and here it was destined the first hostilities should commence between the mother country and her Colonies.

General Gage, who commanded the Royal Forces in the northern provinces, hearing that a considerable quantity of Military stores, purchased by agents for the Provincial Congress, were deposited at the little town of Concord, twenty miles from Boston, sent Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of the 10th Foot, with a body of Grenadiers and Light Infantry to destroy them. This was on the 18th of April. On the following day he despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Percy with additional troops to aid Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. The 10th Foot accomplished their purpose, after an exchange of shots with a handful of armed men, and retreated by way of Lexington. Here they found the Provincials drawn up in greater force. An action ensued. The British troops continued their march back to Boston, annoyed the whole way by musketry discharged from houses and behind walls, hedges, &c. Much blood was spilt—the first blood in this lamentable encounter between brethren of the same race, speaking the same language, and, until then, acknowledging the same supreme political authority.

It was now evident to General Gage that the revolt had assumed formidable proportions, and needed to be put down with a strong hand. He accordingly determined to fortify a lofty hill, overlooking Boston, in the vicinity of Charlestown, on the River Charles. But the Provincials were equally alive to the importance of this measure, and with characteristic alacrity anticipated the General. On the night of the 16th of June, they had contrived to entrench themselves on the hill, and to bid defiance to the British. Major-General Howe and Brigadier-General Pigot were ordered to dislodge them. Two thousand men, with field pieces and howitzers, formed the assailants. The Provincials, with a coolness and soldiership worthy of veterans, reserved their fire until the British approached near enough to feel its effects, and then received them with a close and unremitting *mitraille*. The British line recoiled before the deadly discharge. General Clinton arrived with reinforcements, and rallied the retiring troops. Stung with the reflection that they had been forced to give way by an enemy whom they despised, the British soldiers returned to the attack with irresistible impetuosity, forced the entrenchments at the point of the bayonet, and compelled the Provincials to retire. The loss sustained by the assailants was, however, very severe. Nearly one-half the detachment was either destroyed or placed *hors de combat*. On this occasion, the 43rd and 50th Regiments acted together for the first time. Nineteen Officers, among whom were Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, Majors Pitcairn and Williams, fell in the assault on the entrenchments. "Bunker's Hill," as the action has since been called, was a dearly-bought victory. The Americans to this hour claim it as theirs, but as the British were masters of the field after the Provincials retreated, it was unquestionably a Royal triumph. The troops, young as they were, proved the excellence of their mettle. They had made forced marches to reach the ground, were encumbered with three days' provisions, heavy knapsacks, pouches, belts, and a firelock (weighing altogether about 125 pounds on each man's back), and under a burning sun, and in the face of a galling fire, pushed up a steep hill, and drove back their foes. The Artillery, which accompanied the Infantry, was of little or no use, for the shot sent from Boston was of too large a diameter to fit the calibre of the guns.

Immediately previous to the affair at Bunker's Hill, an exploit at Ticonderoga nearly placed Canada at the mercy of the Provincials. One Ethan Allen, a daring Colonist of the old Puritan stock, by a stratagem induced Captain De la Place, who was in charge of the fortress on Lake George, to lend him twenty men of the small garrison for his own private purposes. As it had been customary to accommodate the loyal subjects of the King in this manner, the confiding De la Place yielded to Allen's application. At night (on the 3rd of May), Allen obtained entrance to the fort with fifty men, and coolly demanded its surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." De la Place had no means of resistance, and Ticonderoga, with an immense number of guns, and a large magazine of stores, passed from the hands of the British.

This "smart" operation was followed by an attack upon Quebec, then garrisoned by a part of the 7th Fusiliers and others, commanded by Sir Guy Carleton. It would have fallen to the Provincials but for the providential arrival of the 9th, 20th, 21st, 34th, and 53rd Regiments, who compelled them to raise the siege.

On the 4th of July, 1776, the Colonists proclaimed their independence, and made vigorous preparations to maintain the dangerous position they had assumed. The Home Government was not indifferent to the crisis, and, in spite of Par-

liamentary opposition to the coercion of the Colonists, had despatched a large number of additional troops to America. The Force on foot did not fall short at this time of 30,000 bayonets, including the 4th, 5th, 10th, 18th, 22nd, and 23rd Regiments, which had been more or less engaged at Bunker's Hill, Concord, and Lexington; the 14th, 15th, 17th, 27th, 35th, 38th, 40th, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 49th, 52nd, 63rd, 64th, a part of the 46th and 71st Regiments, the six Regiments named in the preceding paragraph, the 16th and 17th Light Dragoons, and several Battalions of Hessians. Properly commanded, such a Force might even then have preserved the Colonies to the Crown.

Immediately after their repulse at Bunker's Hill, the Provincials blockaded Boston, and compelled the Royal troops to retire to Halifax, leaving behind them large quantities of stores and ammunition, which became of great use to the rebels, who, happily for them, soon obtained another accession of the *matériel* of war by the arrival in the harbour of a ship laden with supplies for the troops. Aware of the importance of using every effort to consolidate the advantages they acquired, and of being prepared for emergencies, the Provincials rapidly mastered the elements of Military science; and selecting as their Commander the once loyal and always brave and sagacious soldier George Washington,* who had served under Braddock and other Officers some years previously, awaited the Royal troops with confidence.

The British reinforcements began rapidly to arrive. Lord Howe commanded the Naval Force, and General Sir William Howe, his brother, was at the head of the troops. Immediately after their arrival, Long Island was attacked. A fierce resistance was offered to the English; but the Provincials deemed it advisable to retreat in the night, and were shortly afterwards expelled from New York. This greatly disheartened them, and had Sir William Howe followed up his advantage, the issue would not have been doubtful.

Perceiving that the British General was indisposed to move, the energetic Colonists lost no time in entrenching themselves at White Plains, a few miles from New York. When at length Sir Wm. Howe did move, it was with prodigious effect. The Royal troops drove the enemy from their fortified lines, captured Forts Washington and Lee, which opened a passage to the Jersey provinces, took 2,000 Provincial prisoners of war, and reduced Rhode Island to submission. But Sir William, satisfied with the achievement, played the old game of inaction, and allowed the Provincials quietly to retreat, even restraining Lord Cornwallis, who saw the policy of following them up with troops flushed with their recent successes. Nor was this the only error committed by the incapable General. He was further guilty of the mistake of dividing his Army into small detachments, thus denuding himself of the only solid advantage—that of superior ranks—which he possessed over his active and devoted opponents.

After he had crossed the River Delaware in retreat, Washington and his little Army were in great peril. Lee, another Provincial General—a man of great natural powers, and of some professional training and considerable skill—determined upon forming a junction with them, although he had been deserted by a large portion of his Forces, tempted by offers of pardon from Sir William Howe and his brother the Admiral. General Lee managed to get across the North River (the Hudson) with 3,000 men and some guns, and was in Morris county, intending to cross the Delaware, when he quitted the camp (on the 13th December) in order to reconnoitre. Unluckily for him, Colonel Harcourt, of the 16th Light Dragoons, who had been sent with a Squadron to obtain information of the movements of Lee's Army, learnt from a countryman, who had a letter from the General, where Lee was staying; it was at a farm-house. Colonel Harcourt immediately rode up to the house, and, surrounding it with his detachment, surprised the sentinels, seized General Lee and a French Lieutenant-Colonel who was with him, and carried them both off to New York. This was a great blow to the Americans, for Lee was a soldier of European experience, who had served in Portugal, and likewise in the previous war with the French and Indians in America. For this exploit, Harcourt was made Aide-de-Camp to the King, and subsequently obtained the Colonelcy of the Regiment.

Sir William Howe had placed the little town of Trenton in the charge of Colonel Donop, a Hessian, who had seen service, and comforted himself with the reflection that the winter would pass away without the necessity of his moving. George Washington, however, was not the man to suffer the inclemency of the season to interrupt active and vigorous operations. Making a sudden dash upon Trenton, the garrison of which place had given way to a laxity of discipline under a fatal sense of security, Washington took 1,000 prisoners and occupied the town. Lord Cornwallis promptly moved forward to dislodge the American General. An entire day was passed in mutual cannonading. In the night Washington

* Washington's father, Lawrence Washington, was an English Naval Officer, who served under Admiral Vernon, in his operations against the Spanish ports, on the shores of Central American waters. Because of his admiration of the Admiral, he called the eminence upon his estate in Virginia, *Mount Vernon*. On that estate George Washington lies entombed.

retired and proceeded to Prince Town. Here he was opposed by Colonel Mawhood of the 17th Foot. Colonel Mawhood had the 40th and 55th Regiments with him, and immediately gave battle to Washington. An exchange of cannon shots took place, and the 17th Foot followed up the Artillery discharges by a rush with the bayonet, which drove the Provincials back into a ravine. Unfortunately, a combined attack had not been previously concerted. The 40th and 55th Regiments did not come up in time, and the 17th, finding themselves isolated, had to cut their way back, which they did most gallantly. Captain Stedman, in his account of the campaign of 1776, observes that this was one of the most remarkable exploits during the entire war. Captain Scott, who led the Regiment on the occasion, deserved and received the heartiest applause.

By dint of a series of judicious movements, to the success of which General Howe contributed by his inertness, Washington was enabled to take up a good position to save Pennsylvania and recover the greater portion of the Jerseys. He had but 6,000 men in the field to oppose to a Force of 30,000 at Sir William's disposal; but they formed an active little Army, which no longer feared either drunken Hessians or idle Britishers.

It was not until the season had well opened in 1777 that Sir W. Howe, after a variety of unimportant manœuvres, took the field and crossed over from New York to the Jerseys, in the hope of bringing Washington to an action. The movement was of no avail; Washington refused to be tempted. Howe then feigned to retreat. The American Commander, believing the retrogression to be real, immediately removed to Quibble Town. He had scarcely done so ere the English returned. Washington went back to Jersey and resumed his former attitude. Sir William, finding it impossible to bring him to a struggle, finally retired.

By a *coup* similar to that which enabled Colonel Harcourt to capture General Lee, an American Officer managed to take General Prescott prisoner. He could only be released by the surrender of Lee to the Americans.

Being now at liberty to select his own position, General Washington moved to the northern side of Brandywine River, the better to protect Philadelphia. Lord Cornwallis, who was decidedly the most active soldier under the orders of Sir William Howe, made a corresponding move. Washington sent General Sullivan to oppose Lord Cornwallis. The troops of both parties came into collision at Brandywine, and Sullivan was signally defeated. In this action the young Marquis de la Fayette took part, and gave proofs of that valour which afterwards secured for him a prominent position among the best soldiers of the age. Though very recently married, his interest in the American cause induced him to equip a vessel at his own expense, and, accompanied by some friends, to cross the Atlantic and offer his services to Congress. His offer was accepted, and a command immediately assigned to him under the orders of Washington. France had not, as yet, openly espoused the cause of the revolted Colonies, but they had her sympathy, and Officers were freely permitted to proceed to America and show the untaught warriors the road to victory.

After the battle of Brandywine, Major-General Grey, a skilful and energetic Officer, surprised the camp of General Wayne, killing and wounding some 300 of the Provincials, with very little loss on his own side.

On the 23rd of September, Sir W. Howe, having secured the command of the Schuylkill, crossed over with the whole of his Army, and on the 26th established himself at German Town, Pennsylvania. On the following day Lord Cornwallis took peaceable possession of Philadelphia.

Early in October Washington resolved upon surprising the camp at German Town. Reinforced by 1,500 troops from Peekskill and 1,000 Virginians, he quitted his camp at Shippack Creek, and, covered by a thick fog, attacked the troops posted at the head of the village as the 4th of October dawned. The 40th Regiment which held the position was obliged to retreat, and Washington, advancing with his Army in five columns, endeavoured to enter the north end of the village with the design of separating the British Force. Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrove, of the 40th, having contrived, by great address and activity, to keep together five companies of the Regiment, threw them into a large store-house in the village that lay in front of the enemy. This checked the progress of the Americans, and gave time to the rest of the British Line to get under arms. Washington ordered a Brigade to surround the house, and make prisoners of the detachment. But Colonel Musgrove refused to surrender, and the 40th poured a deadly fire on the Americans from the windows of the house. Four pieces of cannon were brought against him. Still he courageously resisted, until Major-General Grey and Brigadier-General Agnew came up with two Brigades, and attacked the enemy with great spirit. The battle lasted for some time. At length the Americans gave way, and retired precipitately, but not until they had left 600 English on the field, killed or wounded. Among the former were Brigadier-General Agnew and Colonel Bird. The Americans had 200 or 300 killed, 600 wounded, and 400 of their number were taken prisoners. There were errors on both sides in this affair. Sir W. Howe might have prevented the American attack by bringing his troops to the front

before their arrival, for it seems he knew of Washington's intentions; and Washington would probably have succeeded in his scheme if, instead of wasting his time in the attack upon the house occupied by Colonel Musgrove, he had at once assailed the whole British line in its unprepared state.

Subsequently to the battle at German Town, Washington took post at White Marsh, fourteen miles from Philadelphia. Disturbed in the occupation of this position he retired to Valley Forge, where he rested for the winter. His Army was in a deplorable condition. Poorly provisioned, in rags, and indifferently supplied with the munitions of war, he must have succumbed to circumstances had his immediate enemy possessed a common degree of sagacity, spirit, and activity. Happily for him, Sir William Howe stirred neither hand nor foot, and the Officers of his Army were too well pleased with the allurements of the Quaker City to desire professional occupation. They drank, gambled, and gave themselves up to other dissolute courses, to the great scandal of the sober inhabitants of the town. The soldiers, taking example from the Officers, indulged in indiscriminate plunder, and became objects of general aversion.

CHAPTER XIII.

General Burgoyne Selected to Command an Expedition to Canada—March upon Ticonderoga, and through the Woods to the Hudson—Troubles and Impediments—The Army reaches Saratoga—Engagements with the Enemy—Dreadful Losses and Straits—Convention proposed to General Gates—Capitulation—The Minister Attacked in the House of Commons—Burgoyne Returns to England—His Defence of Himself—Washington's Letter to Burgoyne—Sir W. Howe Resigns his Command and Returns Home—France and Spain Countenance the Americans—War Declared.

Upon receiving intelligence of the attempt which the Americans had made to capture Quebec, the British Administration had come to the resolution to carry on the war, on the side of Canada and the Lakes, with activity and energy. With this view, a considerable Force was despatched from England, and placed under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, the Officer who had reaped distinction in Portugal.

It was a great mistake on the part of Lord George Germain—the Secretary of State for the Colonies (in whom the reader will scarcely recognise the late Lord George Sackville*)—to send Burgoyne upon a difficult service in a country of which he knew nothing, to the supersession of a man of so much experience and deserving as Sir Guy Carleton. The latter Officer was familiar with the Canadas and the people, and had already shown his competency for command in duties of some magnitude. But it was the policy of the Ministry of the day to cast sops to the Cerberus of opposition. The success of Military operations was a secondary consideration, if a troublesome opponent could be sent out of the way. Now Burgoyne was a Member of Parliament, and in that capacity had severely criticised the incompetency of the Howes, *protégés* of Lord North, the Prime Minister *in esse*. Therefore he was a fit man to command a very important expedition! We shall see with what result.

Burgoyne proceeded to St John's, in what is now called Eastern or Lower Canada, as soon as he received his appointment. The Force at his disposal was thoroughly effective, and he had the advantage of being supported by as fine a set of Officers as could be procured after so long a period of inaction as fifteen years. Major-General Philips was Second in Command, and the Brigades were under Colonels Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, and two or three Hanoverian Officers. The troops amounted to nearly 8 000 men, and the Artillery was strong and effective.

The Lieutenant-General's first measure was to send forward Colonel St Leger with light troops of Indians, to make a diversion in favour of the Army on the shores of Lake Ontario, while he himself advanced to Ticonderoga, then in the occupation of the Americans. Having invested the fortress, he moved to the Falls of Skenesborough, where he gave battle to the enemy, and defeated them. Leaving his artillery and baggage to be embarked at Lake George, under the supervision of Major-General Philips, who was to join him at Fort Edward, on the Hudson, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne set forth with his Army on the road to the river leading to Albany, his ultimate destination. It was a prodigious mistake to select this route, while that by Lake George lay open to him. The entire country was intersected by woods, swamps, and morasses. The dank vegetation, the poisonous malaria, affected the troops. They were worried by myriads of insects, and oppressed by the fierce heat of a Canadian summer. Every now and then long halts had to be made, while the pioneers felled trees to cut a road for the Army. Sickness soon filled the field hospitals. In the meanwhile, General Schuyler, who commanded the Americans, obtained reinforcements under Major-General Arnold, one of the most active, brave, and accomplished Officers in the Army of the Provincials. To add to Burgoyne's troubles, Colonel St Leger failed in his enterprise, after committing numerous cruelties, which in-

* Lord George Sackville, of Minden fame, had succeeded to the name of Germain, and was restored to Royal favour.

creased the unpopularity of the British cause. By the middle of the month of September, however, the British General had managed to reach the heights and plains of Saratoga, where he found his vast train of artillery, and was in a condition to attack the enemy at Stillwater. The battle lasted the entire day (the 19th), and was fiercely contested on both sides. Major-General Gates had assumed the command of the Americans, and, aided by Schuyler and Arnold, was a formidable opponent. Arnold led the American troops into action, and they found "foemen worthy of their steel" in the 20th, 21st, and 62nd Regiments, and the Grenadiers, and Light company of the 24th. On this portion of the Infantry the brunt of the battle fell. The loss was heavy on both sides. The English had 600 killed and wounded, and the Americans suffered to a still greater extent. Ultimately the latter abandoned the field. But Burgoyne was unable to derive any solid advantage from his success. He was too much burthened by his artillery and stores to move onwards. Another long halt became unavoidable. The General entrenched his camp, and sent off advices to Sir W. Howe, seeking assistance. Sir Guy Carleton had resigned his command at Quebec, in disgust at the Minister's neglect of his just pretensions, and would afford no assistance. To add to Burgoyne's trouble, the Indians deserted him. They had been disappointed in their expectations of plunder, and as their hunting season had arrived, they hastened to rejoin their tribes. Nor was this the only desertion which befell the General. For lack of forage and provisions the horses and men of his little Army began to fall off, and his 8,000 bayonets had now diminished to less than 5,000. Aware of his condition, Gates and Arnold planned an expedition to enable them to get into Burgoyne's rear, and cut off his retreat. Colonel Brown, who conducted it, got to the north end of Lake George, and made prisoners of three companies of the 53rd Foot. Burgoyne resolved to retreat to the Lakes. To effect this object it was necessary to dislodge the enemy from their posts on the left. He accordingly attacked them in their lines with 1,500 men. Arnold headed the Americans, as usual, and received a wound which compelled him to retire. This gave victory to the English. Night closed the combat. The advantage, a slight one, had been dearly purchased. Brigadiers Frazer and Bregonen, with other Officers, were killed, and the enemy made prisoners of 200 Officers and men.

Burgoyne now changed the position of his Army and wooed the Americans to try conclusions in another fight. They were too wary to heed the tempter. Their object was to turn the British Commander's right. In this dilemma a retreat to Saratoga was the only alternative left to the General, who managed to effect it by leaving his guns and the sick in hospital behind him. Fortunately for the latter, Gates was as humane as he was brave and accomplished. Burgoyne endeavoured, when he had reached Saratoga, to retreat to Fort George. But the enemy stood like a lion in his path. Then he changed his purpose, and directed his attention to Fort Edward. Here he was equally baffled; the road was blocked up by a body of determined troops, well supplied with artillery. Burgoyne was in imminent peril; in fact, his situation had attained the climax of difficulty and danger. Incessant toil and misfortune had enervated his whole Army, and wounds and disease had so thinned the ranks that scarcely 3,500 fighting men were now available.

On the 13th of October, 1777, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, finding, upon close calculation, that he had only seven or eight days' provisions in store, and no prospect of procuring any more, called a Council of War, comprising every Field Officer and Captain left to him, and resolved, *faute de mieux*, to enter into a convention with General Gates. Sending a flag of truce, he intimated his wish to communicate with the American, and requested that an hour might be named for the reception of his delegate. Gates promptly replied, and Major Kingston waited, by appointment, on the 14th of October, upon the American Commander. The following are the particulars and result of the interview. The Military reader will not fail to remark that it appears to be customary on such occasions for the petitioners for indulgence and mercy to employ a tone inversely proportioned to their actual means of enforcing their desires. The bombast of Burgoyne's replies will remind the student of Lord Byron's poetry of the lady's answer:

"And saying she would ne'er consent—consented."

Happily the instances of surrender by a British Army have been so rare that it is difficult to say if bravado is an essential feature of capitulation.

Major Kingston's message to General Gates was conveyed in these words:

"After having fought you twice, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has waited some days in his present position, determined to try a third conflict against any Force you could bring against him. He is apprised of the superiority of your numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified by established principles and precedents of state and war, to spare the lives of brave men upon honourable terms. Should Major-General Gates be inclined to treat upon that idea, General Burgoyne would propose a cessation of arms during

the time necessary to communicate the preliminary terms, by which, in any extremity, he and his Army mean to abide."

MAJOR-GEN. GATES'S PROPOSALS.	LT.-GEN. BURGOYNE'S ANSWERS.
1.—General Burgoyne's Army being exceedingly reduced by repeated defeats, by desertion, sickness, &c.; their provisions exhausted; their Military horses, tents, and baggage taken or destroyed; their retrent cut off, and their camp invested; they can only be allowed to surrender as prisoners of war.	1.—Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's Army, however reduced, will never admit that their retreat is cut off while they have arms in their hands.
2.—The Officers and soldiers may keep the baggage belonging to them. The Generals of the United States never permit individuals to be pillaged.	2.—This article is answered by General Burgoyne's first proposal annexed.
3. The troops under His Excellency General Burgoyne will be conducted by the most convenient route to New England, marching by easy marches, and sufficiently provided for by the way.	3.—"The troops to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchment, which will be left as hereafter may be regulated."
4.—The Officers will be admitted on parole; may wear their side arms, and will be treated with the liberality customary in Europe, so long as they, by proper behaviour, continue to deserve it; but those who are apprehended having broken their parole, as some British Officers have done, must expect to be closely confined.	4.—There being no Officer in this Army under, or capable of being under, the description of breaking parole, this article needs no answer.
5.—All public stores, artillery, arms, ammunition, carriages, horses, &c., must be delivered to Commissioners appointed to receive them.	5.—All public stores may be delivered, arms excepted.
6.—These terms being agreed to, and signed, the troops under His Excellency General Burgoyne's command may be drawn up in their encampments, where they will be ordered to ground their arms, and may thereupon be marched to the river side, to be passed over in their way towards Bennington.	6.—This article inadmissible in any extremity. Sooner than this Army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter.

The upshot of the negotiation was, that on the following day articles of capitulation were signed. The troops were allowed to march out with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, to a point on the verge of the river, where the arms were piled, and, with the artillery, left by word of command from the British Officers. A free passage to Great Britain was granted to the General and his Army, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the contest then pending. The Army was to march to Massachusetts Bay, being supplied with provisions by General Gates's order, on the same scale with the American Army. All Officers were allowed to retain their side arms, and admitted to their parole while in Massachusetts Bay; and they were likewise permitted to retain their carriages, *bât*-horses, and cattle. No baggage was to be molested or searched, nor were the Officers to be separated from their men.

"Such," says the historian of the American War, "was the melancholy event of a campaign from which the most important benefits were predicted."

The intelligence of the disaster which had befallen General Burgoyne's Army created great consternation in England among those who desired the success of the Royal arms in what was still called the Rebellion in America. By the enemies of the war and of the Ministry it was received with mixed emotions; regret for the disaster was mingled with delight that the arrangements of the Government had failed. When the House of Commons (on the 2nd of December) went into a Committee of Supply to consider the Army Estimates, Colonel Barré inquired what was the number of troops serving in America? Lord Barrington replied that the whole Army upon paper consisted of 55,095 men; 14,000 of whom were under General Carleton, 20,000 under General Howe, and the remaining 21,000, consisting of Regulars, Provincials, &c., were serving at New York, Rhode Island, Nova Scotia, the West Indies, &c.—Mr Byng wished to mention a circumstance which occurred to him on a noble Lord observing, the night before, that General Howe always attacked General Washington with an inferior Force. He wished to know whether the 20,000 men who were said to have landed with General Howe were inferior to the number of 15,000 who had been stated to be under the command of General Washington. The noble Lord had represented the number of our Army to be 13,000 men, and General Washington's 15,000. It appeared extremely inconsistent to him that General Howe should attack an Army of 15,000 men with only 13,000, when the number of his Army was actually 20,000. If the account given by the noble Lord was correct, we had no great reason to pride ourselves on our superior bravery, as we must have had a superiority of four to three. Lord George Germain acknowledged it was true he had stated the Army under General Howe to be 13,000 men, and General Washington's to be 15,000, and did so still; but then, he neither included in that number the Artillery, Officers, nor wounded soldiers. He only spoke of 13,000 men with arms on their shoulders; 13,000 effective men engaged in battle, and who conquered 15,000.

Colonel Barré expressed the greatest surprise at the reply of the noble Lord. He never heard so barefaced, palpable, and mean a quibble in his life. Never did he hear a soldier so express himself: never, he was convinced, did a Minister of War intrude upon the House of Commons such an assertion. "It is deserving of remembrance, and I promise the noble Lord it shall be remembered. What! exclude from the list of the Army the Officers and Artillery because they do

not carry firelocks? Are not the Officers concerned in the battle? Are not the Artillery? Do they nothing towards conquest? The noble Lord may have partial experience on his side, perhaps, to prove such a doctrine; but I promise him it would be very ungracious to a British audience, and would gain little credit even in a domestic circle."—(The Colonel then called upon the noble Lord to declare, upon his honour, what had become of General Burgoyne and his brave troops, and Lord George, in apparently a very flippant, pick-tooth manner, related the surrender and its conditions, and entreated the House to suspend its judgment on the General and the Minister who had planned the expedition.)

Colonel Barré rose again, and in a most animated, indignant tone, reprehended the noble Lord. He declared he was shocked at the cool, easy manner in which he related the fate of the brave Burgoyne. He was more so, at the assurance of insinuating that a portion of the blame might lie at the door of the General. "Was there," he exclaimed, "a man in the House who in his heart could say that Burgoyne had failed through his own misconduct? That he had shown the least sign of cowardice, the least symptom of neglect in the expedition he was thrust into? He was certain there were none would say so, but every man would say, or at least every man would think, that the man who planned the expedition was to blame; the Minister alone who concocted the scheme was obnoxious to reprehension for its failure. It was an inconsistent scheme, an impracticable one, unworthy of a British Minister, and rather too absurd for an Indian chief."

The celebrated Charles James Fox was even more outraged at the easy way in which Lord George Germain had shifted the responsibility from his own shoulders to those of General Burgoyne. He said, "An Army of 10,000 men destroyed through the ignorance, the obstinate wilful ignorance and incapacity of the noble Lord, called loudly for vengeance, and if no one else would take upon himself the task of moving directly for an inquiry into the affair, he himself would do it. A gallant General sent like a victim to be slaughtered, where his own skill and personal bravery would have earned him laurels if he had not been under the direction of a blunderer, which circumstance alone was the cause of his disgrace, was too shocking a sight for humanity to bear unmoved. The General and the House had been deceived. General Burgoyne's orders were to make his way to Albany, there to await the orders of Sir W. Howe, and to co-operate with him; but General Howe knew nothing of the matter, for he was gone to a different county, and left the unhappy Burgoyne and his Army to make the best terms for themselves, in a country that was by nature so defended that strongholds were to be met at almost every mile; and every hour's march presented almost insurmountable obstacles to their progress."

It will be evident to the patient reader that these violent oppositionists were either unaware of the circumstances of Burgoyne's unfortunate and independent selection of a difficult road from Ticonderoga to Albany, or merely seized upon the capitulation as a convenient pretext for annoying an unpopular Minister. A great mistake had unquestionably been made in superseding Sir Guy Carleton, but the antecedents of Burgoyne, apart from his position as an obnoxious M.P., justified his selection by Lord George Germain.

On General Burgoyne's return to England, he found that he was no longer an object of Court favour, or of Ministerial countenance. He was refused admission to the Royal presence, and experienced every mark of being in disgrace. He applied for a Court-Martial, and was informed that a Court of Inquiry, composed of General Officers, to whom the application was referred, had reported that, as a prisoner on parole to the Congress, he could not be tried. Resuming his place in Parliament, he entered warmly upon a defence of his conduct, when a motion was made by Mr Vyner for an inquiry into the Convention of Saratoga, and into the conduct of General Burgoyne. The motion failed, but General Burgoyne had the opportunity of speaking at great length, and left a favourable impression on his hearers. Alluding to the Army, while the capitulation was pending, he said:

"It was a calamitous, it was an awful, but it was an honourable hour: during the suspense of the answer from the General of the enemy to the refusal made by me of complying with the ignominious conditions he had proposed, the countenance of the troops beggars description. A patient fortitude, a sort of stern resignation, that no pencil or language can reach, sat on every brow. I am confident every heart was prepared to devote its last drop of blood rather than suffer a precedent to stand upon the British annals of an ignoble surrender."

When asked by what means, and upon what conditions (seeing that he was a prisoner on his parole), he was again in the House of Commons, he replied: the Congress having suspended the action of the Convention with General Gates, while he (Burgoyne) was in Massachusetts, he wrote to General Washington to support his application for leave to proceed to England for the recovery of his health, giving his word to return to America if the suspension should be continued. General Burgoyne justly observed that Washington's letter, in reply, "though from an enemy,

did justice to the human heart." Congress having assented to Burgoyne's wishes, Washington wrote, dating from Pennsylvania, March 11, 1778:

"Your indulgent opinion of my character, and the polite terms in which you are pleased to express it, are peculiarly flattering; and I take pleasure in the opportunity you have afforded me of assuring you, that, far from suffering the views of national opposition to be embittered and debased by personal animosity, I am ever ready to do justice to the merit of the gentleman and the soldier; and to esteem where esteem is due, however the idea of a public enemy may interpose. You will not think it the language of unmeaning ceremony, if I add, that sentiments of personal respect, in the present instance, are reciprocal.

"Viewing you in the light of an Officer contending against what I conceive to be the rights of my country, the reverse of fortune you experienced in the field cannot be unacceptable to me; but abstracted from considerations of national advantage I can sincerely sympathise with your feelings as a soldier, the unavoidable difficulties of whose situation forbade his success; and as a man whose lot combines the calamity of ill health, the anxieties of captivity, and the painful sensibility for a reputation exposed, where he most values it, to the assaults of malice and detraction."

The opinion of so elevated a character as Washington was necessarily a great comfort to General Burgoyne, and must have carried conviction to many minds that he was responsible for nothing beyond an error—a fatal error—of judgment. He never succeeded in obtaining the formal trial he sought, and therefore resigned the Colonelcy of the Queen's Dragoons: also his appointment on the Staff in America, and the government of Fort William. But he retained his rank as Lieutenant-General, and it is satisfactory to think that time, the avenger of most wrongs, vindicated his fame. He was ultimately restored to favour; became Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, Colonel of the 4th Foot, and a Privy Councillor. And when, a few years later, he was called to his last account, Westminster Abbey received Burgoyne's remains.

Turning from the consideration of the disaster at Saratoga to the state of affairs farther south, we find that, with the exception of a few unimportant skirmishes in aid of the loyalists, Sir W. Howe had not departed from his favourite policy of stagnation between October, 1777, and the spring of 1778. And when the period for active operations did arrive, his first measure was to resign the command he had so incapably exercised, insinuating that his failure was entirely attributable to the Secretary of State. He returned to England, Sir Henry Clinton, in the meanwhile, taking the command; and, finding the popular feeling strongly excited against himself and his brother, he loudly challenged an inquiry into their conduct. The wishes of the Howes were gratified, and an investigation commenced. Not more than two witnesses had, however, been examined, when it became quite clear that the faults of miscarriage in America did not lie at the door of the Minister.

It was to be expected that the hostile feelings always cherished in Spain and France towards England would ere long find development in an active sympathy with the Americans. Those States only seemed to need the excuse of America's success to become active Allies of the rebellious colonists. Hence it was without surprise, but not without disgust and indignation, that the English nation heard that in 1776, the ports of her ancient enemies had been opened to the American privateers, and English prizes sold without any attempt to conceal the fact. Remonstrance was unavailing; nay, the French went further, and actually countenanced French ship-owners and other speculators in fitting out privateers in the West Indies under letters of marque obtained from the Congress. To have declared war at that moment would have been a serious inconvenience to England, employed as her forces were; but the precaution was taken of adding to the naval strength, that the seas and coasts might be kept clear of the piratical cruisers. Early in March, 1778, however, more decided and extensive measures became necessary, for the French Ambassador announced to the Foreign Minister in London that Louis XVI. had entered into a treaty of friendship and commerce with the United States of America, and hoped that the English Monarch would see in the communication made to him "new proofs" of the French King's "constant and sincere disposition of peace," and would equally "avoid everything that might alter their good harmony." This was enough. As soon as the offensive communication had been received, King George III. directed that his Ambassador should withdraw from the French Court. Parliament sustained the King in his indignation and resentment, and gave him the strongest assurance of its most zealous assistance and support. A few months later the King complained, that in addition to the previously announced grievances, France had now committed open hostilities and depredations on the British dominions in America and the West Indies, and that the national honour and security called loudly for the most active exertions. The Militia was called out, the Army was augmented by 14,000 men, and large additions were voted to the strength of the Navy. As there was a difficulty in getting soldiers at the time, pressing

was resorted to, but to encourage volunteering it was decreed that pressed men should serve for five years and volunteers for three only. These proceedings were not taken too soon, for Spain withdrew her Ambassador, and declared war a few months later, June, 1779.

CHAPTER XIV.

Progress of the American War—General Arnold at West Point—Interview with Major André—André Arrested as a Spy—Court of Inquiry—André Condemned and Executed—Riots in London—The Military Called Out—Regulations Regarding Civic Riots—Parliamentary Debates on Military Commands—Summary of Events in America—Successes and Disasters—The French under Rochambeau join Washington—Cornwallis Attacked at York and Gloucester—Surrenders his Army—Clinton Recalled—The War Comes to a Close—The English Evacuate New York.

The events which distinguished the American war during the ensuing four years were so numerous, the operations so vast and complicated, that any attempt to describe them as minutely as the student of Military history might desire, would carry the plan of this work far beyond the original intention. Aided by the French and Spanish land and sea Forces, the Americans grew in strength, and the entire Continent was at some period or other the scene of conflicts, in which the bravery of the British troops and seamen was paralleled by that of the Americans and their Allies; while the Military skill which devised the measures of the enemy was, in a general way, decidedly greater than that of which the British Commanders could boast. Were we to follow the main occurrences in their chronological order, it would be our province to relate how Sir H. Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, and marched to New York, in June, 1778; how he was met by Washington and Lee, whose force had designs upon his baggage, and how he routed them at Freehold, Colonel Monckton falling in the engagement; how the Americans were frustrated in their attempt upon Rhode Island; how General Grey and Lord Cornwallis succeeded in the expeditions against Buzzard's Bay and Little Egg Harbour—celebrated rendezvous for privateers; how Baylor's Dragoons, and Pulaski's Legion were surprised by the British; how Major-General Robert Howe took Savannah; how Dominica, St. Vincent, and Granada, being left defenceless, were taken by the French; how General Prevost was now successful, now unfortunate; how the French and Americans were repulsed in their endeavours to recover Savannah; how expeditions were carried out in Connecticut; how Stoney Point was taken and retaken; how General Maclean, with the 74th and 82nd Regiments, established a settlement in Penobscot, and, successfully resisted the attacks of the Americans; how the French were repelled by the English at New Jersey; how West Florida was reduced by the Spaniards; and how Charlestown, commanded by General Lincoln, was besieged and taken by Sir Henry Clinton, with little loss. The latter operation was carried out with judgment and a noble perseverance. Major Moncrieff, the Engineer who planned and conducted the siege, drew forth the warmest encomiums from Sir Henry, who spake in orders of his "intrepidity and laborious attention," as well as his great skill. He had previously distinguished himself at the defence of Savannah, and the attack on Charlestown demonstrated his capability to assail as well as to protect.

Continuing our summary, we may chronicle the success of Colonel Tarleton, in an affair with the American Colonel Burford, when the latter was retreating to North Carolina; and the subsequent movements of Clinton, the victory obtained (1780) by Lord Rawdon over General Gates at Camden, when the latter advanced at the head of a considerable force into South Carolina; the surprise of the American force under Colonel Sumpter, by the daring and active Colonel Tarleton; the defeat of Major Ferguson by the American mountaineers; the retreat of Lord Cornwallis, after he had moved towards North Carolina; the check given to Tarleton at Blackstock's Hill; and the expulsion of the Americans from Springfield. But here we must pause to narrate an episode in the war which made a deeper impression on the minds of the English people than even the calamity which had befallen General Burgoyne, and the still greater calamities yet in store for the British Army in North America.

Sir Henry Clinton's Force, after his return, was at Staten Island, opposite New York. Washington was still at Jersey, in his immediate neighbourhood, but by a rapid movement, whilst Clinton was arranging to meet the French that had arrived, under Rochambeau, at Rhode Island, he had contrived to get a body of troops a few miles up the Hudson. General Arnold was in command at West Point, an important post in the highlands of the river, the possession of which would have enabled Sir Henry Clinton to cut off all communication between the northern and southern Colonies. Washington had gone to Hartford in Connecticut to concert operations with the French Commander. Arnold had become discontented with the American Service. While quartered at Philadelphia, after the evacuation of the town by the British in 1778, he had given himself up to dissipation and extravagant habits, to meet the cost of which he entered into sundry trading speculations, but his

speculations failed, and certain claims which he alleged he had upon the public were disallowed by the Commissioners appointed to investigate them; he was even tried by Court-Martial for some of the acts of his command, and had to endure a reprimand from Washington. He, therefore, resolved to leave the American Army and go over to the British, and to render himself the more acceptable he opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, hinting at the service he proposed to render, which was nothing less than the surrender of West Point to the British General. To facilitate the correspondence with Arnold, Sir Henry sent the Vulture sloop of war up the river, and on board the sloop went Major André, an Aide-de-Camp of Clinton's, and Adjutant-General of the Army. The Vulture was kept at some distance from West Point, to disarm suspicion, and André went ashore in a boat to meet Arnold. As daylight approached, before the business on which they were consulting could be terminated, André was conducted to a place of safety, where it was arranged he should remain until the following night, when he could again get on board the Vulture. The place of concealment was within the American outposts, of which Major André was not aware. On the following night he prepared to go on board the Vulture, but as a gun had been brought to bear upon her, the boatmen refused to take him off; he was, therefore, under the necessity of making his way to New York by land. Substituting a suit of plain clothes for the uniform he wore, and procuring a pass from Arnold in the name of John Anderson, he mounted a horse which had been provided for him, and proceeded to New York. He had passed through the outposts, when three Militia patrols suddenly came out of the wood near the road along which he was passing, and seizing the bridle of his horse stopped him. In answer to his inquiry as to whence they came, the men said, "From below." Unfortunately André replied, "And so am I." Seeing that he had made a mistake he tried to rectify it, and only got confused. The men insisted on searching him, and in one of his boots they found a packet in Arnold's handwriting. They now determined to take him before their Commanding Officer. In vain did he offer them a purse of gold and his watch as the price of his liberty; they too well knew the importance of the capture they had made. André was taken before the Militia Commanding Officer. He insisted that he was John Anderson, and requested that a messenger might be sent to General Arnold to acquaint him with his detention. This gave Arnold time to escape on board the Vulture, and when André believed him to be safe, he disclosed his own real name and rank. Intelligence was immediately sent to Washington, who at once returned, strengthened the garrison at West Point, and ordered a Board of General Officers to confer on the subject of Major André's conduct. The Board came to the conclusion that he had rendered himself amenable to the penalty with which *spies* are visited, and he was sentenced to be hanged.

As treason is never called "treason" unless it fails of its purpose, so is an Officer engaged on a reconnaissance or an incognito visit to the camp of an enemy never regarded as a spy unless he is caught *flagrante delicto*. By the common consent of civilised nations all *ruses* are allowable in war, but, by a contradiction and inconsistency too frequent when expediency suggests a violation of the acknowledged practice, the *ruse* becomes a Military crime if it be detected. Thus André, who would have been regarded as an enterprising Officer, who had simply done his duty, if success had attended his mission, was treated as a malefactor because he failed.

Sir Henry Clinton and the whole Army were shocked when it was announced that André would be put to death. Great efforts were made to save him. Colonel Beverly Robinson, who commanded a Regiment of Royal Americans, wrote to Washington that he could not detain André without the greatest violation of flags, and contrary to the custom and usage of all nations. "He went up with a flag, at the request of General Arnold—every step he took was by the advice and direction of General Arnold, even that of taking a feigned name." Sir Henry Clinton wrote to nearly the same effect, and said "he could not have a doubt, that under the circumstances of a flag of truce having been sent to receive André, and passports granted for his return, General Washington would give him permission to go to New York." General Arnold himself addressed Washington, and insisted that André was under the protection of a flag of truce, which he (Arnold) had a right to send; but Washington disposed of these appeals by replying that André had confessed with the greatest candour, "that it was impossible for him to suppose he came on shore under the sanction of a flag."

The Board of General Officers, which sat on André's conduct, met on the 29th of September. On that day the Major himself wrote a letter to General Washington, which redounded so much to his honour as a British Officer that we are tempted to extract from it:

"Salem, 29th September, 1780.

"Sir,—What I have as yet said concerning myself was in the justifiable attempt to be extricated. I am too little accustomed to duplicity to have succeeded. I beg your Excellency will be persuaded that no alteration in the temper of my

mind or apprehension of my safety induces me to take the step of addressing you; but that it is to secure myself from an imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self-interest: a conduct incompatible with the principles that actuated me, as well as with my condition in life. It is to vindicate my fame that I speak, and not to solicit security. The person in your possession is Major John André, Adjutant-General to the British Army. The influence of one Commander of an Army over the Army of his adversary is an advantage taken in war. A correspondence for this purpose I held as confidential (in the present instance) with His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton. To favour it, I agreed to meet, upon ground not within the posts of either Army, a person who was to give me intelligence.

[Here he detailed the facts as given above.]

"Thus, as I have had the honour to relate, was I betrayed (being Adjutant-General of the British Army) into the vile condition of an enemy within your posts.

"Having avowed myself a British Officer I have nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true on the honour of an Officer and a gentleman.

"The request I have made to your Excellency, and I am conscious that I address myself well, is that in any rigour policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonourable; as no motive could be mine but the service of my King, and as I was involuntarily an impostor * * I take the liberty to mention the condition of some gentlemen at Charlestown who, being either on parole or under protection, were engaged in a conspiracy against us. Though their situation is not similar, they are objects who may be sent in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive might affect.

"It is no less, Sir, in a confidence in the generosity of your mind than on account of your superior station, that I have chosen to importune you with this letter, &c.

"I have, &c.,

"JOHN ANDRÉ, Adjutant-General."

Bereft of all hope of release, André, on the 29th of September, wrote in the most generous manner to Sir Henry Clinton an open letter, that Washington and others might see how entirely he was above sheltering himself under the supposed order of his General.

"I have obtained General Washington's permission to send you this letter, the object of which is to remove from your heart any suspicion that I could imagine I was bound by your Excellency's orders to expose myself to what has happened. The events of coming within an enemy's posts and of changing my dress, which led me to my present situation, were contrary to my own intentions, as they were to your orders; and the circuitous route which I took to return was imposed (perhaps unavoidably) without alternative upon me. I am perfectly tranquil in mind and prepared for my fate, to which an honest zeal for my King's Service may have devoted me. In addressing myself to your Excellency on this occasion, the force of all my obligations to you, and of the attachment and gratitude I bear you, recurs to me. With all the warmth of my heart I give you thanks for your Excellency's profuse kindness to me, and I send you the most earnest wishes for your welfare which a faithful, affectionate, and respectful attendant can frame. I have a mother and three sisters to whom the value of my commission would be an object, as the loss of Granada has much affected their income. It is needless to be more explicit on this subject; I am persuaded of your Excellency's goodness. I receive the greatest attention from His Excellency General Washington, and from every person under whose charge I happen to be placed.

"I have the honour, &c."

Arnold's letter to Washington, dated New York, 1st of October, the day before that fixed for André's execution, was of a nature to move any one but the inflexible American Commander. He threatened retaliation on every one of the American Army who should fall into his power. He told Washington that if André suffered, Sir Henry Clinton would not be able to spare the lives of forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina, who had forfeited them by their conduct—he spoke of the sentence of the Board of General Officers as unjust, and conjured Washington, for the honour of humanity and his love of justice, not to touch the Major's life. All would not do; Washington was inexorable. Finally, when Major André learnt that he was to be hanged, he made one more appeal to Washington. It ran thus:

"Tappan, October 1st, 1780.

"Sir,—Buoyed above the terror of death by the consciousness of a life devoted to honourable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your Excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected.

"Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your Excellency and a Military tribunal to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour.

"Let me hope, Sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me; if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy and not of resentment, I shall ex-

perience the operation of these feelings in your breast, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet. "I have the honour to be, &c.,

"JOHN ANDRÉ,

"Adjutant-General to the British Army."

The appeal was unheeded—"The practice and usage of war," said the report to Congress, "were against his request, and made the indulgence he solicited, circumstanced as he was, inadmissible." Colonel Hamilton, an Aide-de-Camp of Washington's, says, in a letter dated 25th October, 1780: "It was determined to evade an answer, to spare him the sensations which a certain knowledge of the intended mode would inflict."

On the morning of the 2nd October, André was led forth to execution. He walked, says a 'History of the War,' with firmness, composure, and dignity, his arms locked in those of two Officers of his guard. "A smile of complacency," says Hamilton, "expressed the severe fortitude of his mind." When he saw the hideous character of the preparations that had been made, he exclaimed, "Must I, then, die in this manner?"—he was told it was unavoidable. "I am reconciled to my fate—but not to the mode," said André—and immediately added, "It will be but a momentary pang." Springing upon the cart beneath the gibbet, he performed the last offices to himself with a composure that excited the admiration and melted the hearts of the spectators. Being asked as the closing moment approached if he had anything to say, he replied—"Nothing, but to request you will witness to the world that I die like a brave man."

Not a single Officer in the British Army could have been more deeply lamented than was Major André. To a good understanding, a handsome person, a cultivated mind, and graceful manners, he added a passion for music, poetry,* and the fine arts, which made him an acceptable companion in the best circles of society. He was brave as a lion and gentle as a lamb. Washington was condemned by the common voice in England. "Inhuman" was too mild a word for the General who would not depart from the usages of war to extend to a soldier even the small mercy of substituting one form of death for another. Sang Anna Seward:

"Remorseless Washington! the day shall come
Of deep repentance for this barbarous doom!
* * * *
Less cruel far than thou, on Ilium's plain
Achilles, raging for Patroclus slain!
When hapless Priam bends the aged knee
To deprecate the victor's dire decree,
The nobler Greek in melting pity spares
The lifeless Hector to his father's prayers,
Fierce as he was.—'Tis *cowards* only know
Persisting vengeance o'er a *fallen* foe."

Much may be allowed to woman's indignation, especially if she be an authoress with a vivid fancy; but the epithet "coward," applied by Anna Seward to Washington, was altogether *too* poetical.

The biographer of Arnold (the late estimable Jared Sparks), writes:

"The question, which is merely one of feeling and not of principle, whether André might not have been indulged in his last request to die a Military death, should be answered in reference to the state of things at that crisis, and to the motives operating on Washington's mind. Regarding the matter only in the abstract, there seems no very obvious reason why such an indulgence should have been refused; yet, as no trait in Washington's character was more remarkable through life than his humanity, this noble quality cannot be supposed to have forsaken him on an occasion which most deeply interested his feelings, and enlisted his sympathies on the side of the sufferer. It must be recollected that when André was executed, Washington was entirely ignorant as to the extent of the conspiracy and the persons engaged in it. His fears and his suspicions were alive, and both as an evidence that he deemed André's punishment just, and as a terror to others who might be concerned in the plot, he believed it a duty to his office and his country to let the law take its usual course. As the event turned out, no ill consequences could have resulted from a compliance with the request of André. Could this have been foreseen by Washington, the tenderness of his disposition, so often manifested, warrants us to believe that no effort on his part would have been spared to soothe the dying moments of a brave and unfortunate man."

And the same pen, describing Washington's share in the melancholy transaction in the 'Life of George Washington,' says again:

"There was no stronger trait in the character of Washington than humanity; the misfortunes and sufferings of others touched him keenly; and his feelings were deeply moved at the part he was compelled to take in consenting to the death of André."

Sir Henry Clinton, in orders, declared that he ever considered Major André a gentleman of the highest integrity and honour, and incapable of any base action or unworthy conduct. A monument was erected in Westminster Abbey by the King's order, to the memory of André, and in 1821 his remains were taken up by the British Consul at New York, and removed to England. They lie near the monument.

* A poem called "The Cow Chase," a parody on "Chevy Chase," written by André, and published at New York, described the defeat of Generals Wayne, Irving, and Proctor, by a small body of regulars. The principal subject of the poem is the taking and retaking of some cattle.

Before resuming the narrative of the war with America, it may be as well to glance at Army affairs in other parts of the world.

According to the constitutional rule as to the control of Parliament over the armed Forces of the Crown, no troops can be kept in the employ or pay of the Crown, excepting such as are raised with the express sanction of, or provided for, by Parliament. But one of these conditions was disregarded in 1778, when a strong feeling was entertained by certain classes of His Majesty's subjects that "the constitutional authority of Great Britain should be supported over her rebellious Colonies in America," and, at a meeting held at the London Tavern, money was subscribed "to be applied in raising men for His Majesty's Service, in such manner as His Majesty should think fit." The legality of these proceedings, when questioned, says Mr Clode, was justified principally upon precedents supplied in 1745 and 1759, for money and men were then voluntarily given to the King without the consent of Parliament. Mr Wilkes, apparently with the sanction of Mr Burke, moved to bring in a Bill more effectually to prevent the dangerous and unconstitutional practice of giving or granting money to the Crown as a private aid, loan, benevolence, or subscription for public purposes, without the consent of Parliament, and prefaced his motion with a speech, laying down what most Statesmen of the present day would accept as the constitutional rule in such a case. "The constitution," he said, "has wisely placed in the Crown the right of raising Forces on a very pressing and dangerous emergency. It is a power necessary for the safety of the State, for the defence of the people. The strongest check is, however, at the same time, given to any improper exercise of this power. It is controlled by the necessity of an application to Parliament for the maintenance of such Forces. If troops could be raised, kept up, and paid without the concurrence of this House, the liberties of this country must be at the mercy of the Military and their Commander-in-Chief, perhaps an ambitious Prince. Our statute law is not silent on this occasion. Every year in the Mutiny Act it is expressly declared that "the raising or keeping a standing Army within this kingdom, in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law." But, Sir, if the Crown can, by a prerogative which is not disputed, raise a standing Army, and by private loans, benevolences, or subscriptions, keep this standing Army on foot, no application whatever need be made to Parliament. Our Government would then not be that of law, but of the sword, to which all appeals must be trifling and inefficacious. Parliaments are now convened to vote the necessary supplies, which are regularly asked of the Commons on the first day of the Session. If Government could receive them in any other mode than by the grants of this House, the legislature itself would not only lose its most important function, but become unnecessary and very soon obnoxious. The executive power must be trusted with the raising of forces; but it is likewise the duty of the House to their constituents to take care that the number of those Forces be so proportioned to the defence of the State that the security of the subject may be provided for, and yet no alarm given to a nation very justly jealous of the least danger to its liberties. While the Military receive their pay from the grants of this House, the maintenance of the Army must depend on the approbation of Parliament; but if an artful or enterprising Prince can find other resources, the soldier will then look up to the *Prince*, and *not* to the representatives of the people. The executive and legislative power must now concur in the measure of keeping on foot any number of regular troops, both in its first adoption and continuance, or it cannot be the act of all the constituent parts of the Government."

There was evidently at the time a conflict between the feelings of the people at large, touching the American War and the sentiments of the House of Commons. The former were anxious for its continuance until it should be brought to a triumphant conclusion. The latter, though divided by the interests of party, one vigilantly jealous of the prerogatives of Parliament, and opposed to every attempt that the Crown then made, through the Ministry, to enlarge its influence. The question of Military expenditure was angrily debated on several occasions in 1778, '79 and '80, and in the latter year the famous resolution was carried in the Commons, "That it is necessary to declare that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The right of the Parliament to audit the expenditure of the Government was practically established, and a Committee appointed to examine and report on the outlay since June, 1776; but Lord North, the Premier, contrived to get General Carleton placed on the Audit Committee, in spite of the opposition jesuitically pronounced that it was wrong to employ men in *direct opposition* to their profession; that General Carleton, as the holder of pay and other Military emoluments, was not independent of the Crown; and that he was personally accountable as Commander-in-Chief in Canada for the expenditure of some portion of the money that was to form the subject of inquiry.

It has been mentioned that the Army was increased in 1778. In the following year a further augmentation was rendered necessary by the war with France and the disasters in America. The

estimates for the Service in that year were for 30,346 men in Great Britain; for 47,038 men, and 5,360 for the Irish Establishment and the plantations; for 14,440 men in augmentation; and, lastly, for 24,039 foreigners, and 786 foreign Artillery, serving abroad under treaties in the pay of Great Britain.

The relative powers of the Civil and Military Courts, the right of a soldier to appeal from the decrees of the latter to the judgments of the former, had for many years been a subject of discussion and agitation. Amongst the questions arising out of these differences was a rather knotty one in relation to the legal custody of close arrest. The matter was brought to an issue in 1779. A soldier had been committed by a justice, as a deserter, to the custody of the keeper of the Savoy Prison. The Secretary at War was doubtful if this arrest could be lawfully made, and the question was put to the law officers as to whether the arrest would have been lawful before the committal of the justice, if the soldier had been arrested by and in the custody of men of his own regiment. The law adviser gave it as his opinion that the jailer was not bound to deliver, upon civil process, a person committed to his custody for the crime of desertion. "The nature of the arrest or apprehension of the offender can make no difference to the purpose."

England was greatly disturbed in 1780 by a movement headed by Lord George Gordon, the President of a Scotch Association, for the support of the Protestant religion, to avert certain dangers alleged to arise from the supposed progress of Popery. Thousands of people assembled tumultuously in London to accompany his Lordship with the presentation of a petition to Parliament. The consideration of the petition being postponed, the mob, who crowded about the House of Commons to enforce their appeal, at once went forth and committed unheard-of outrages upon the Roman Catholics, their chapels, and residences. For four days the rabble continued their mad work—parading the streets with flaming torches, and in the name of the Protestant religion (!) setting fire to every obnoxious edifice they could reach. No fewer than seventy-two private houses and four public jails were destroyed. Attempts were made by the mob to cut off the New River water while the flames were raging, and they directed their attention to the Bank of England with a view to plunder. The civic power being insufficient to suppress the disturbances, the aid of the Military was invoked, and under an order of the King in Council, they were authorised to act without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, and to use force for dispersing the illegal and tumultuous assemblages of the people. This is not usual. The regulations in the British Army respecting the suppression of riots by the Military are as follow:—

In order to guard against all misunderstanding, Officers commanding troops or detachments are, on every occasion in which they may be employed in the suppression of riots, or in the enforcement of the law, to take the most effectual means, in conjunction with the magistrates under whose orders they may be placed, for notifying beforehand, and explaining to the people opposed to them, that in the event of the troops being ordered to fire, their fire will be effective.

"No Officer is to go out with troops in the suppression of riot, the maintenance of the public peace, and the execution of the law, except upon the requisition of a magistrate in writing.

"The Officer commanding the troops is to move to the place to which he shall be directed by the magistrate; he is to take care that the troops march in regular Military order, with the usual precautions; and that they are not scattered, detached, or posted in a situation in which they may not be able to act in their own defence.

"The magistrate is to accompany the troops, and the Officer is to remain near him.

"All commands to the troops are to be given by the Officer.

"The troops are not, on any account, to fire excepting by word of command of their Officer; and the Officer is not to give the word of command to fire unless distinctly required to do so by the magistrate.

"The Officer commanding is to exercise a humane discretion respecting the extent of the line of fire.

"If he should be of opinion that a slight effort would be sufficient to attain the object, he is to give the word of command to one or two specified files to fire. If a greater effort should be required, he is to give the word of command to one of the sections told off, as above, ordered to fire; the fire of the other sections being kept in reserve till necessary, and, when required, the fire of each of them being given by the regular word of command of the Commanding Officer.

"If there should be more Officers than one with the detachment, and it should be necessary that more sections than one should fire at a time, the Commanding Officer is to fix upon and clearly indicate to the troops what Officer is to order any number of the sections to fire; such Officer is to receive his directions from the Commanding Officer, after the latter shall have received the requisition of the magistrate to fire.

"No other individual, excepting the one indicated by the Commanding Officer, is to give orders to any file or section to fire.

"The firing is to cease the instant it is no longer necessary, whether the magistrate may order the cessation or not.

"Care is to be taken not to fire upon persons separated from the crowd.

"It is to be observed, that to fire over the heads of a crowd engaged in an illegal pursuit would have the effect of favouring the most daring and the guilty, and might have the effect of sacrificing the less daring, and even the innocent.

"If firing should unfortunately be necessary, and should be ordered by the magistrate, Officers and soldiers must feel that they have a serious duty to perform, and they must perform it with coolness and steadiness, and in such manner as they may be able to discontinue their fire at the instant at which it shall be found that there is no longer occasion for it."

No kind of duty that can devolve upon the true soldier is more irksome than the acting "in aid of the civil power." It places him for the moment in the attitude of a man engaged in civil

retreat or surrender. He would not think of the latter. Moving out in the night with his Force, he resolved on a desperate endeavour to force his way through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, and join the Commander-in-Chief at New York. A portion of the Army had been got across, when a violent storm arose, and the rest could not be sent over. The French and Americans were indefatigable in their attack. In a few hours the British works were ruined. Every gun had been knocked off its carriage; the troops were exhausted; fatigue, sickness, and wounds had done their worst. Surrender was inevitable. Cornwallis, on the 19th of October, capitulated to Washington, and York and Gloucester passed into the hands of the Americans.

"Such was the fate of the Army which," quoth Commissary Stedman, who was its provider for a long time and under very great difficulties, "if success were the uniform result of merit, would have undoubtedly shared a different fate; if bravery in the field, and patient, and even cheerful submission to fatigue, inclement skies, and the want not only of the comforts, but sometimes even of the necessaries of life, have any claims to esteem and admiration."

Sir Henry Clinton was soon afterwards recalled—the result of an angry correspondence between himself and Lord Cornwallis — and Sir Guy Carleton named as his successor. No hostilities between the English and Americans ensued, for a change of Ministry taking place in England, peace was made with France and America, and the British troops evacuated New York.

The feeling of the people of England, when the announcement went forth of the establishment of peace with the United States of America, was a singular mixture of pleasure and regret. Prolonged wars are always distasteful to those who have to bear their burthens, and it was therefore a source of much satisfaction to the community that an end had been put to a contest which many men felt was latterly of doubtful justice, and all knew to be exceedingly expensive. But every one felt a degree of sympathy for the Army which had, from first to last, comported itself in the most praiseworthy manner, enduring terrible hardships with wonderful patience, and fighting very severe battles under disadvantageous circumstances. It is difficult to say, at this distance of time, if better management would have secured to the British Crown a much longer lease of its American possessions had the arms of England been more uniformly successful. One thing, however, is certain—the same amount of disaster would not have happened if the troops had been always commanded by Officers of more judgment and experience. In too many cases the interests of the country and the just claims of old Officers were put aside in favour of the Minister's favourites or the Minister's foes. The soldiers and their leaders were comparative strangers to each other, and that perfect confidence which, if not indispensable to success, is an important element in its attainment, was wanting in the Armies of Hood, Burgoyne, and Clinton. "A Military Chief, in order to assure the success of his enterprise, must be supposed to command the confidence of his followers; and he cannot be expected to command it without the possession of a genius, which cannot be penetrated or measured by common capacities. * * * Where there is no royal magic in the person of the Commander, heroism and unshaken courage are dangers and difficulties—a reserved wisdom which does not expose purposes that ought not to be known, and a firmness of character which does not yield to importunity of whatever kind they may be, are the points which strike the soldier's mind, and assure his attachment beyond all other causes which act on man."*

CHAPTER XV.

State of the Garrison of Gibraltar—The Port Blockaded—Experiments with New Shot—Cost of Provisions—Galleries pierced in the Rock for the Establishment of Batteries—Bravery and Humanity of Soldiers—The wounded Spaniard—Supplies obtained—Disorders—Sortie by the Garrison—New Gun-carriage—The Duc de Crillon arrives and takes Command of the Siege—Appearance of the combined French and Spanish Fleet—Bombardment—English Fleet arrives—Action—Lieutenant-General Boyd uses Red-hot Shot—The Enemy's Vessels Destroyed—Peace Proclaimed—General Eliott Rewarded.

In order to preserve unbroken the chain of events which characterised the war with America, it has been necessary to leave unnoticed some occurrences of an important character which concerned the British Army in other parts of the English possessions.

The tenure of the Rock of Gibraltar by the British had always continued to mortify the pride of the Spaniards. They had been baffled in a scheme for its recovery in 1705, and again in 1720; they were obliged to abandon certain hostile proceedings planned in 1726; but now, taught by the experience of successive failures, they fondly believed that, aided by the French, they would be enabled to wrest the rock from the gripe of the English.

On the 21st of June, 1779, all communication between Spain and Gibraltar was cut off by order of the Court of Madrid. At this time General G. A. Eliott was the Governor of the fortress, and Lieutenant-General R. Boyd the Lieutenant-

* Dr Jackson on the Formation of Armies.

Governor; and Major-General De la Motte commanded a Brigade of about eleven hundred Hanoverians. The Artillery of the Garrison, under Colonel Godwin, numbered 25 Officers, 17 serjeants, 15 drummers and fifers, and 428 rank and file. The Infantry Regiments were the 12th (Lieutenant-Colonel Trigge), 39th (Major Kellett), 56th (Major Fancourt), 58th (Lieutenant-Colonel Cochrane), and 72nd (Lieutenant-Colonel Gladstone), added to which there were 106 Engineers, commanded by Colonel Greene, assisted by eight other Officers and six non-commissioned officers.

The conduct of the Spaniards shortly before the intercourse between the fortress and Spain was interrupted had been sufficiently hostile to induce Governor Eliott to make certain arrangements for resistance. He recalled the Officers who were absent on leave; he made arrangements for getting supplies from the coast of Barbary, and collected such material as appeared likely to be useful in strengthening the fortifications. One hundred and eighty men were drafted from the Line to be instructed in gunnery. Three hundred Jews and Genoese were employed by the Engineers in levelling heaps of sand near the gardens on the neutral ground; the Guards were reinforced, and particular attention was paid to the protection of the Devil's Tower guard.

By the 16th of July, the enemy blockaded the port of Gibraltar. This was the first indication of their intention to attack the fortress. On the 24th an order was consequently issued that the men should mount guard with *their hair unpowdered*—a providential economy of flour. All the horses, excepting those belonging to the Field and Staff Officers, were ordered to be turned out of the Garrison, unless the owners could prove the possession of 1,000 lbs. of feed for each horse. To enforce the latter order, by example, Sir G. Eliott caused one of his own horses to be shot. Soon afterwards the Spaniards made their approaches on the land side. No attempt was made to disturb them until the 12th of September, when General Eliott opened upon them from three batteries. By the beginning of October the Spaniards had 14,000 men in and about their works. The sea blockade was well maintained; but, nevertheless, vessels ran in from the Barbary coast bringing vegetables, fruits, and other provisions to the garrison.

It is curious, in these days of powerful artillery and formidable missiles, to note the experiments made with shot when gunnery was yet, as it were, in its infancy. Lieutenant Whitton, of the Artillery, obtained much credit for inventing a leaden ball, filling it with composition, and with 4 lbs. of powder firing it out of a 32-pounder at an elevation of six degrees. It was effective in disturbing the enemy at their labours in the trenches.

By the beginning of November provisions were becoming scarce and dear. Mutton was at 3s. 6d. per lb.; veal, 4s.; pork, 2s., and 2s. 6d.; ducks, from 14s. to 18s. a couple, and geese a guinea each. Fish and vegetables were equally high, the latter not easily obtained at any price, and bread was a rarity. To try the experiment of living on rice, General Eliott, who was always setting good examples of self-denial, lived for eight days on four ounces of rice per diem. Puddings and water were his chief sources of existence, and he soon found many (unwilling) imitators. But with all their economy and good management, the supply of provisions was getting very small by the beginning of January, 1780, and famine stared the Garrison in the face. Still there was no murmuring—no violence—and only four or five desertions. Happily, by the 17th news was received that Sir George Rodney had gained a victory over the Spanish Fleet, which attempted to intercept the supplies that had been sent from England in transports, and the arrival of several vessels confirmed the intelligence, and somewhat relieved the Garrison and inhabitants.

On the 29th of January the Garrison was reinforced by the arrival of the 73rd Highlanders. The Regiment was on its way to Minorca. General Eliott deemed it advisable to detain it. A few days previously the wives and children of the soldiers who were not possessed of twelve months' provisions were embarked for England.

Four or five months passed without the occurrence of any notable event. Admiral Rodney had departed, and the articles which found their way into the fort under his protection were getting scarce. Leather was wanting. The Officers were content to wear canvas shoes with spunyarn soles. Fuel was not abundant. Some five ships captured from the enemy were broken up and disposed of. The small vessels from the coast which ran the blockade seldom brought anything more substantial than wine, sugar, oil, honey, and onions.

Some incidents in connection with the attack and defence of the fortress deserve special mention here:

Upon one occasion, in May, 1782, General Eliott, attended by the Chief Engineer and Staff, inspected the batteries at the North Fort, which had suffered much from the enemy's fire. While so engaged he perceived the advantage that would result from getting a flank fire upon the works of the besiegers, and in the fervour of his anxiety offered a reward of a thousand dollars to any one who would suggest the *modus operandi*. After a pause, the Serjeant-major of the Company of Sappers ventured to point out that if galleries were pierced in the rock the requisite

command over the guns of the enemy would be obtained. The difficulty of the task—the quality of the ground being considered—did not appear to the General to offer an insuperable obstacle to the enterprise, and he at once directed its performance. A body of miners set to work energetically, and by the 15th of July the first embrasure was opened. Elated with the success of the undertaking, General Eliott ordered the extension of the subterranean gallery, which was six feet in height and six feet wide. By dint of blasting and mining, before the end of August sufficient space had been cleared in the requisite direction, and five twenty-four pounders were brought to bear upon the enemy's batteries. A few months later the whole face of the rock was pierced for guns.

The ingenuity of the besieged was paralleled by the adroit cautiousness of the besiegers. Finding that neither the apprehension of famine nor the continual bombardment by sea and land disheartened the Garrison, they set at defiance the obstacle presented by the rocky mass, and actually began to mine the adamantine ground beneath the north front. One of the deserters from the French made the fact known to General Eliott. He was incredulous—it was difficult to conceive of so gigantic an enterprise, and, of course, impossible to see any miners at work. To solve all doubts, a serjeant of the Artificer Company intrepidly caused himself to be lowered down the face of the lofty rock by means of ropes and a ladder. He had nearly reached the base, when he discovered an opening, and hearing voices and the clink of the pick-axe and the hammer discovered that the miners were at work. To get at them in that position was out of the question. The serjeant returned and reported the result of his enterprise, and from that moment a close watch was kept upon the tower, whence the miners issued to perform their work. Fragments of rock, hand grenades, and other missiles were showered down upon them in such profusion and constancy that the aperture was nearly closed up, and access to it rendered impracticable. It is doubtful whether any mine would have been effective in dislodging the Garrison, for the height from the base to the summit was 1,400 feet.

Baron Von Helmstadt, a Spanish Officer, having been severely wounded by a musket shot in one of his knees, was found lying upon the platform of the St Carlos battery by two British Artillery soldiers, who moved him from his impending fate. They took him up in their arms and carried him out of the battery, where he must soon have perished in the flames. Unwilling to leave him upon the sands in his helpless state, they determined upon carrying him into the garrison. They were executing their noble purpose, when they met with Lieutenant Cuppage, of their own Corps, who, while he bestowed the warmest encomiums upon his men for their humanity, himself assisted in the generous office which it suggested. With every possible tenderness they conveyed the wounded prisoner to the Barriers, where they did not arrive till two hours after the whole detachment had retired. During this time they had been exposed to the fire of the enemy's lines, and had been reported in the garrison as lost. Having presented themselves at the Barrier, and being admitted, they passed through the different guards, amidst the mingled admiration and applause of the whole, till they reached the garrison hospital, where they deposited the Baron. On such an instance of humanity the mind dwells with applauding rapture. While strongly characteristic of the generous disposition of a British soldier towards a vanquished enemy, it dignifies human nature and illuminates the rugged front of war with the radiant emanations of philanthropy. To the feelings of a British Officer any eulogium upon an exercise of his humanity would wear the appearance of an insult. Generosity to a conquered enemy is a distinguishing feature in the Military character of this country; and it seems, indeed, to be an axiom established by the stamp of Omnipotence itself, that the most generous are invariably the most brave.

To the two soldiers the same considerations of delicacy do not so strongly apply as to their Officer, and it becomes the peculiar duty of the historian to snatch from oblivion the names of two men, whose feelings were equally an honour to their profession and their species. They were called Campbell and Paton, two privates in the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.* Had they lived in later times "The Victoria Cross" would have been the guerdon of their valour.

The death of Colonel Mawhood, who had only recently joined his Regiment (the 72nd), made the 29th of August a mournful day. He was respected for his good services. His name occurs in an earlier page of this history in connection with a soldier-like event.

Scurvy had more or less visited the garrison of Gibraltar from an early period of the blockade, owing to the unavoidable use of salt meat and fish. By the middle of October it had made great ravages in the hospitals, and had prostrated many men. The arrival of a small cargo of oranges and lemons was therefore very acceptable and salutary. The judicious distribution of the anti-scorbutics put many a soldier on his legs again. This pleasant cargo was supplemented by another consisting of

* This incident is derived from Heriot's 'Historical Notices of Gibraltar.'

cheese, hams, and potatoes. They were brought in a little polacca, which absolutely fought her way into the harbour through several gun-boats and other armed vessels. The price at which the potatoes sold was almost fabulous. One hundred-weight fetched 7*l.* 10s. 6d. sterling.

Early in February, 1781, the Officers of the garrison addressed a memorial to the Governor, and solicited his support. They represented that their pay had at different times suffered great diminution by the exorbitant rate of exchange; that every article of clothing, and still more those articles essential to life and health, were so advanced in price that the pay was inadequate to meet their expenses; and their condition was aggravated in their being precluded from participating with the Officers at home in the extensive promotions which had lately taken place in the Army. They therefore appealed to the paternal feelings, the justice, and the humanity of the Governor to obtain for them such assistance and protection as their situation and services deserved.

No official reply was sent to the memorial; but it was understood that the Government felt it imperative to forbid any Officers being allowed to quit the garrison during the siege. And it is only just to the Officers to register that they submitted without a murmur to the conditions in which circumstances had placed them.

Provisions had again become very scarce and dear. The rations of a soldier were only $5\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of bread weekly, 13 oz. of salt beef, 18 oz. of pork—both of them nearly putrescent—$2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of rancid butter, 12 oz. of raisins, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of pease, 1 pint of Spanish beans, 1 pint of wheat, 4 oz. of rice, and a quarter of a pint of oil. This was the allowance of the unmarried soldiers. Well might the Spaniards believe that it would be in their power to starve out the garrison. However, on the 12th of April this hope was dissipated by the arrival of Admiral Darby's Fleet in the Straits, which introduced a convoy of transports amply laden with good and wholesome provisions. The Spanish Artillery then was called upon to do for the besiegers what the Fleet denied. A furious cannonading at once commenced, and the town was soon reduced to a confused mass of rubbish. The misery of the inhabitants was extreme; they flew to the Military for shelter. The garrison had little for themselves beyond the canvas of their tents. The provisions were happily all got on shore in nine or ten days, and the physical condition of the soldiery rapidly improved. And it would have been still better if the men had not given way to dreadful intemperance, promoted by the discovery of hidden stores of wine and liquors which the huckstering merchants had thitherto doled out in small quantities and at enormous prices. "The enemy's shells," says Drinkwater, in his minute and rather tedious account of the siege, "soon forced open the secret recesses of the merchants; and the soldiers instantly availed themselves of the opportunity to seize upon the liquors which they conveyed to haunts of their own. Here, in parties, they barricaded their quarters against all opposers, and, insensible of their danger, regaled themselves with the spoils. Several skirmishes occurred amongst them which, if not seasonably put a stop to by the interference of Officers, might have ended in serious consequences."

A spirit of revenge against the merchants appeared to be the leading cause of the irregularities of the men. A great quantity of liquor and other property was wantonly destroyed, and it is stated in evidence of the reckless extravagance which prevailed that on one occasion a pig was roasted by a fire made of cinnamon—a mode of culinary preparation of which even Elia's Chinese perhaps never dreamt.

The bombardment continued with great severity, and had done so much damage that General Eliott determined upon attempting the relief of the garrison by a sortie, to which he was encouraged by information brought by Walloon deserters, that the besiegers were becoming very lax in their trench duty under an idea that the garrison was too enfeebled to attack them. On the 26th of November the General issued a Garrison Order—with the countersign "Steady"—directing the assembly on the Red Sands, at midnight, of a detachment under Brigadier-General Ross, consisting of the 12th and Hardenberg's Regiments; the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of all the other Regiments; a Captain, three Lieutenants, ten non-commissioned officers, and 100 Artillery; three Engineers, seven Officers, and twelve non-commissioned officers; overseers; 160 workmen from the Line (not the 12th or Hardenberg's Corps), and 40 workmen from the artificer company. Each man was to carry 36 rounds of ammunition, a good flint in his piece, and another in his pocket. No drums—no volunteers. The 39th and 58th Regiments were ordered to parade at the same time to sustain the sortie.

Triumphant success attended the sortie. It was made with prudence and caution at first, followed by vigour and daring. In spite of the darkness and the confusion consequent upon it, a large portion of the works was captured and destroyed by fire, numerous mortars and brass guns were spiked, the magazines blown up, and nineteen Spaniards taken prisoners, the British sustaining no greater loss than four men killed and one Officer (Lieutenant Tweedie, of the 12th), and twenty-five men wounded. The only man of the detachment who did not return to the garrison was a Highlander of the 73rd Grenadiers. He

was one of the first to mount the battery, where he encountered a Spanish Captain of Artillery, whom he wounded, and by whom he was wounded in return. He fell on the top of the battery to which fire had been applied, and when the troops were ordered to retire, the flames spread with such rapidity to the spot where he lay that it was impossible to save him.

General Eliott, in his anxiety, accompanied the sortie, and in public orders the next day said that the bravery and conduct of the whole detachment, Officers, sailors, and soldiers, on the glorious occasion, surpassed his utmost acknowledgments.

At the close of the year 1781 it was found that the losses of the garrison amounted to 3 Officers, 10 serjeants, 1 drummer, and 108 rank and file killed; 2 Officers, 7 serjeants, 1 drummer and 36 rank and file disabled; and 13 Officers, 22 serjeants, 6 drummers, and 359 men wounded. The enemy had also suffered very much, especially when repairing their batteries, but they nevertheless persevered with their works, and established new batteries in advantageous directions.

The year 1782 was distinguished by the exercise of the inventive powers of men and Officers in the garrison. Lieutenant Koehler, of the Royal Artillery, acquired much praise for a newly-constructed depressing carriage, which admitted of a gun being laid to any degree of depression, under twenty degrees, by a common quoin resting upon the cheeks of the carriage. This was of great moment, as it enabled the besiegers to bring the guns to bear upon the enemy at a very short distance beneath the lofty batteries.

Down to the middle of 1782 the fire of the besiegers had been by no means proportioned to the magnitude of their undertaking. Their sole object seemed to be to harass and distress the garrison, and give occasion for acts of daring, of which the soldiers were not slow to avail themselves. But the arrival of the Duc de Crillon, who had just been relieved from the business of capturing the poorly-garrisoned town and fortifications of Minorca, gave occasion to believe that the enemy were thoroughly in earnest, an impression that was soon confirmed by the appearance in the bay of an immense combined Fleet of French and Spanish men-of-war. The Duc de Crillon was the pink of courtesy. The elegant chivalry which distinguished the French Officers from the days of Condé had not died out. It was reserved for the French Revolution to substitute a rude bearing for the graceful combination of courage and generosity which characterised the Turennes, Vendomes, Richelieus, and Crillons of the eighteenth century. De Crillon brought letters from Madrid, intended for the Officers of the garrison, but which had been intercepted by the besiegers, and sent on to the capital. These, with a present of fruits, vegetables, and ices, he sent to General Eliott, and, to enhance the courtesy, the Duke communicated agreeable messages from the young Count D'Artois and the Duc de Bourbon, who had accompanied him. General Eliott was too much of a gentleman to refuse a gift tendered in a becoming manner, but he intimated that he never accepted presents of that nature for himself alone. He shared them with the garrison, and requested that no more might be sent.

Hostilities were now to be carried on with the utmost vigour. The French and Spanish fleet consisted of seven three-deckers, thirty-one two-deckers, three frigates, and a great many xebeques, bomb-ketches, &c.* Battering ships had been previously sent, and on the 13th of September the combined Naval and Military Forces commenced the bombardment of the fortress of Gibraltar. No fewer than 400 pieces of artillery were simultaneously employed. On the side of the besieged there was corresponding activity, and an element of destruction entered into their means of defence which was not anticipated by the assailants. Lieutenant-General Boyd, who had earned his Military commission when he was Ordnance Storekeeper during the siege of Minorca by an act of singular hardihood,* devised the manufacture of red-hot shot; and having tested their serviceableness against the land batteries, employed them incessantly against the shipping. The wonderful construction of the vessels seemed to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordnance, but was not proof against the red-hot shot. One battery ship after another caught fire, three blew up; magazines exploded on shore, and ordinary batteries were consumed; three more battery ships were burned to the water's edge. In the midst of the furious cannonade, however, the claims of humanity were not disregarded. The Marine Brigade, under the intrepid Captain Curtis, used great efforts to rescue the wounded men of the enemy's ships, who were struggling in the waves or floating on spars. They were brought on shore and tenderly cared for.

During the hottest period of the fight, the brave Eliott remained on the King's Bastion—a portion of the fortifications the corner-stone of which had been laid by Lieutenant-General Boyd ten years previously, on which occasion he expressed a hope that he might live to see the bastion resist the united efforts of France and Spain.

When the anxiety of the besieged had reached a culminating point, a British fleet appeared in

* He went with four men in an open boat and delivered a letter from General Blakeney to Admirals Byng and West at a distance, fearlessly passing through the watchful French Fleet, which lay off the town.

the offing, and, to General Eliott's great joy, the 25th and 59th Regiments arrived to reinforce the Garrison. The appearance of the British fleet necessarily diverted the enemy's vessels from their attack. They withdrew, and the two fleets were seen *vis-à-vis* for some time afterwards.

The winter had now sped on, and 1783 had fairly opened when news was received by the Duc de Crillon that negotiations for a peace had commenced. This led to a relaxation of hostilities, and on the 2nd of February they totally ceased, for the Preliminaries of Peace had been signed. The siege had lasted three years, seven months and twelve days. There was much nervous apprehension on the part of those who had worked so earnestly for its preservation lest, by the articles of the Treaty, Gibraltar should be ceded to Spain. Intense, therefore, was their delight when they found that the rock was to remain in the hands of the British.

The Duc de Crillon seized the first opportunity, after the formal declaration of peace, of marking his respect for General Eliott by visiting him in his stronghold with the two French Princes. He was politely shown over the works. The immense gallery (which now bears the name of the Windsor Battery) especially attracted his attention. He declared it "worthy of the Romans."

Great were the rejoicings and felicitations in England when the intelligence arrived of the relief of Gibraltar. The King immediately created General Eliott a Knight of the Bath, and directed Lieutenant-General Boyd, as the King's representative, to install him in the Order. By His Majesty's desire an annuity of 1,500*l.* was settled on the General, and he received, with his companions in arms, the thanks of Parliament for the service rendered to the British cause and reputation by the stubborn defence of Gibraltar.

On the 23rd April (St George's Day), the ceremony of the installation was performed. The Governor took the opportunity of addressing the assembled troops. After informing them of the satisfaction of the King and Parliament, he said:

"No Army has ever been rewarded by higher national honours, and it is well known how great, universal, and spontaneous were the rejoicings throughout the Kingdom upon the news of your success. These must not only give you inexpressible pleasure, but afford matter of triumph to your dearest friends and latest posterity. As a further proof how just your title is to such flattering distinctions at home, rest assured, from undoubted authority, that the nations in Europe and other parts are struck with admiration of your gallant behaviour: even our late resolute and determined antagonists do not scruple to bestow the commendations due to such valour and perseverance."

When the vote of thanks was proposed to the House of Commons by General Conway, that statesman said that he had never risen with so little difficulty and so much pleasure as on that occasion. "The gallant General who was the subject of all men's praise and reverence, the intrepid and persevering General Eliott, had deserved everything that a grateful and admiring nation could bestow. His bravery, his enterprise, his prudence, his skill, his constancy, his humanity, his zeal and his unremitting attention to every part of his important and laborious duty, through so long and so close an investment, demanded fame more lofty and praise more lasting than his weak words could possibly confer." Lord Mulgrave and Sir George Howard spoke much to the same effect.

Subsequently Sir George Eliott was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Heathfield, but only lived eight years in the enjoyment of his honours. In testimony of the service he had rendered, a monument was erected to his memory at the public expense in the Cathedral of St Paul's.

CHAPTER XVI.

War in India—Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib—The Highlanders—The 73rd at Mangalore—General Stuart attacks the French at Cuddalore—Peace with Tippoo—Affairs in Europe—Duel between the Duke of York and Colonel Lennox—The French Revolution breaks out—No Commander-in-Chief of the British Army—Mr Pitt claims an Augmentation of the Army—The Duke of York sent to Holland with a Force—The Battle of Famars—The 14th Foot the Forlorn Hope—The Affair at Lincelles—Gallantry of the Guards.

America, the Mediterranean, and the Continent of Europe were not the only theatres of war during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Its flames raged in Southern India, where Coote was building up the Imperial edifice of which Clive had laid the foundation. Every success achieved by the East India Company's troops resulted in a territorial accession, until England had become an object of jealousy among the native princes and a terror to the French, who were industriously engaged in acts of aggression under M. de Lally, a soldier of rare ability. The scene of operations had gradually shifted from the Carnatic to Mysore, a province lying to the west, enclosed on two sides by lofty mountains, and forming a fertile table-land, dotted with clusters of lofty hills, from which nearly all the rivers watering the lower country take their rise. This magnificent Hindoo province was governed by a Rajah, who died in 1777, or thereabouts, and was succeeded by a helpless minor. An ambitious

chieftain, named Hyder Ali, who, from a very low origin, had risen to considerable power by daring encroachments at the head of a band of ferocious warriors, had gradually seized upon certain rich lands contiguous to Mysore. On the death of the Rajah, Hyder Ali assumed the guardianship of the child who was his legitimate heir, and placed him under restraint, that he might be no obstacle to the chieftain's ambitious views; and in furtherance of the attainment of his own objects, Hyder Ali formed a league with the French, and attacked the English on the Malabar coast while they were engaged in driving the Dutch out of their possessions on the coast of Coromandel. The East India Company were thus placed in an attitude of hostility towards three Powers at one and the same time, and it required all the means at their command in men, money, and material to hold their own and punish the enemies of England. Holland, as well as France, was at the time at war with us. Sensible of the importance of assisting the Company in their operations, the Government had added two more Highland Regiments to their Military strength, and the 71st, 72nd, and 73rd upheld, with the European Regiments of the Company, a small Corps of Artillery, and several Regiments of Sepoys, the exertions of Sir Eyre Coote to maintain the integrity of the English possessions. The Sepoys were by this time (1783) animated by a strong attachment to the English Service. The goodness and regularity of the pay, the ultimate pension, rank, and occasional grants of land, were powerful inducements to Hindoos and Mahomedans to take up arms against their own countrymen and fight for the foreigner. Unassisted by Europeans, they were not, perhaps, always reliable; but with the examples of discipline and bravery set before them by the Highlanders they behaved with courage and steady devotion to their salt.

Sir Eyre Coote dying in 1782, the command of the Army temporarily devolved on Brigadier-General Stuart, who had been latterly one of Coote's most active *chefs* in the contests with Hyder. The means at Stuart's disposal for the double operation of defence and conquest were marvellously disproportioned to the magnitude of his task, seeing that Hyder Ali and the French had an Army of 150,000 men in the field. Stuart could only count 7,000 bayonets! But Coote had recently been victorious at Porto Novo and Nagore, and had compelled Tippoo Saib to raise the siege of Wandewash. The *prestige* of these successes in the south of India was a tower of strength to the English: the Natives acquired confidence in their prowess, and their *nusseeb* (fate or fortune), and their foes did not despise them.

Upon the death of Hyder Ali, his son, Tippoo Saib, succeeded to his power and acquisitions. To the ambition of his father this youth added an invincible antipathy to the English, and pursued them with all the energy that a vigorous patriot could impart to the resources at his command. He drew the French closer to him than Hyder had done, and was profuse of the gifts which were calculated to strengthen their attachment to his interests. In May, 1783, this Tippoo had invested Mangalore, a fortified town belonging to the English. With 90,000 men, including two French Corps, commanded, in the absence of Lally, by Colonel Cassigny, and a park of 90 pieces of artillery, he ruthlessly besieged the fortress, garrisoned by only 2,000 men, of whom 1,600 were Sepoys. A part of the 73rd, then the 2nd Battalion of the ever-glorious 42nd, composed the remainder of the garrison. Stuart could not go to the assistance of Mangalore. His hands were full at Cuddalore, which, at one time the seat of the English Government, had been seized by the French, and was now well fortified. He had succeeded in relieving Lieutenant-Colonel Humberstone* of the 72nd (which was then the 78th), who had been in a very perilous position in Malabar, and, after destroying Wandewash and Caragooly as useless fortifications, attacked the outposts at Cuddalore, and ultimately carried the lines by storm against Lally himself, who defended them. In his despatch to the Home Government detailing the event, General Stuart bore warm testimony to the admirable conduct of his Highland Regiments, especially eulogising the "precious remains of the 73rd." The other portion of that brave Regiment was shut up in Mangalore with Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and only surrendered in January, 1784, after enduring all the horrors of a seven months' siege. They had refused, as unnecessary, certain provisions and reinforcements which were carried into the harbour by General Macleod during an armistice following upon the peace with France, and were at last compelled to subsist upon grass, horses, dogs, frogs, rats, crows—in short, upon anything that could be masticated. Tippoo, bereft of his French allies by the peace, was obliged to let the garrison march out (as well as it could) with the honours of war, and soon afterwards he himself entered into a treaty of amity with his English foes, which lasted scarcely five years. "Mangalore" proudly decorates the colours of the 73rd Highlanders.

* This Officer, when a Major of Lord Seaforth's Highlanders, had earned his Lieutenant-Colonelcy by defeating the French in 1779, in an attempt which they made to effect a landing on the island of Jersey. Five companies of the Highlanders compelled the enemy to leave the place.

In 1789, Tippoo's insatiable ambition induced him to make demands upon the Rajah of Travancore, a territory lying to the south of Malabar. These demands being untenable, the restless chief resorted to hostilities. As the Allies of the Rajah, the British were again driven into a contest with Tippoo. The Earl of Cornwallis was at this time Governor-General of India, and had a very respectable force at his command. The European branch of the Army of India had been strengthened by the accession of the 74th, 75th, and 76th Highlanders, and the 77th East Middlesex Regiment. Aided by Major-General Robert Abercromby, an active warfare was comried on by Lord Cornwallis against Tippoo, which resulted in a great victory gained by the English at Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo's possessions, in 1792; Cannanore having been previously taken by the 75th and 77th Regiments. In this grand contest Tippoo Saib was bereft of one-half of the dominions he, or his father, had wrested from the Hindoo Princes in the South, and a considerable portion of these was added to the already extensive territory of the East India Company.

In a previous page allusion has been made to the early services of the Bombay Europeans—the first Regiment of the kind ever raised in India. In nearly all the operations of Coote and Stuart it appears to have taken so active a part that so late as 1846 the late General Sir Charles Napier, when holding a high command in India, thus addressed the Corps on the occasion of presenting it with new colours:

"Soldiers! I have this day the honour to present new colours to the oldest Regiment in the Service of the East India Company; a Regiment which cannot tread upon any part of our Eastern territory whose history has not been illustrated by its glory and by its blood, either in victory or in defeat! Aye, or defeat! For, though defeat has in the long course of ages fallen at times like a direful vapour on the arms of England, and for a moment veiled their brilliancy, still has the indomitable courage of the Europeans remained unbroken, and as the sun shorn of its beams may be traced, though dimly, through a murky mist, so has British valour been ever traced through disaster, till other battles and better leading gave fresh victories to our arms.

"To a young Corps, unknown to history, I could speak largely on the duties of soldiers to their colours; but to you, Fusiliers, whose bayonets gleam with the splendour of Indian triumphs, whose standards are wreathed with the accumulated laurels of ages, I have only to point out past exploits, to recall to your memories the battle-fields under Clive! Lawrence! Coote! Cornwallis! Smith!—from Plassey to Beni-Boo Ali,* aye, and long before Plassey, including innumerable sieges and assaults, unsurpassed in number and in daring by any Regiment in the world. Were I to dwell on all the battles and stormings, it would keep me till midnight; I will, therefore, speak but of two, which appear to me to be among the most celebrated. I mean the capture of Ahmedabad and of Seringapatam. At Ahmedabad, the two intrepid men, Ensign Hierne and Serjeant Hugh Fridge—both of your Regiment—led the stormers to the walls, and, sword in hand, they mounted the breach, and won Hierne his Lieutenancy, and Fridge the honour of carrying the colours for which he had so bravely fought! A few years after, the same courageous soldier, the same Hugh Fridge (now become Captain Fridge, of the Bombay Europeans,) mounted the immortal breach of Seringapatam, close following the more young, more active, and renowned Serjeant Jones Graham, who there fell, not the first bearing that honoured name, distinguished by a glorious death in the service of the British Throne! Soldiers! It must rouse the minds of Military men to think of the exaltation of your Regiment, as, in a dense column, it dashed up the breach, following the gallant Graham, and beheld the hero waving the colours of England on the summit amidst the flashing of Mysorean scimitars, the fire, the smoke, and the loud cheers of the stormers, as they fiercely won their bloody footing aloft!†

"Take your splendid colours, soldiers! refulgent with the glories of a hundred battles! Ye are as good men, as brave men, and as strong men to do battle as the heroes who went before you, and the day will come when in future combats you shall renovate your fame as you have this day renovated your standards!"

We must now retrace our steps and turn to the affairs of Europe. An event, which, as it concerned two Military men of high rank, and involved questions of honour, merits a place in Military history, brought into prominence (in 1789) a Soldier-Prince who was destined at a somewhat later date to occupy a very conspicuous position in the British Army.

Prince Frederick was created Duke of York and Albany in 1789. He had been on the Continent of Europe for seven years studying French and German and the art of war. He was now twenty-six years of age, and the King had conferred upon

* Sir Charles Napier here referred to an expedition to the Persian Gulf against the Beni-Boo Ali pirates in 1821. The expedition was commanded by Sir Lionel Smith, whence the allusion to "Smith."—AUTHOR.

† It is recorded of Graham that when he reached the summit of the breach, he exclaimed, "Hurrah for 'Lieutenant' Graham"—anticipating the rare recompense of a serjeant's gallantry. But a shot struck him mortally as the words escaped his lips.—AUTHOR.

him the Colonelcy of the Coldstream Guards. It reached the Duke of York—how or from what source was never ascertained—that Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, of the Coldstreams, had "heard words spoken of him at a club at Daubigny's to which no gentleman ought to have submitted"—and to this effect the Duke spoke in the hearing of other officers. This coming to the ears of Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, he took the opportunity of a parade of the Regiment to ask the Duke what the words were which had been uttered in his disparagement. The Duke immediately ordered him to his post. Anxious to ferret out the author of the injurious language, Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox adopted the only alternative left to him, which was to address a circular to the members of Daubigny's, asking each if he had been the party who had given expression to the offensive language. No reply having been received from any member, the Lieutenant-Colonel called upon the Duke of York to contradict the report he had circulated among the Officers of the Coldstreams. His Royal Highness refused to do this, adding that he was prepared to give Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox any satisfaction he might desire, and begged that he would look upon him only in the light of an Officer of the Regiment. At first Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox declined the proffer, as he regarded the Duke of York as the son of his King. No other form of satisfaction, however, being obtainable, Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox determined upon the adoption of the *duello*, and accordingly sent a message to the Duke by the Earl of Winchelsea. The challenge was accepted, and the parties met on Wimbledon Common, Lord Rawdon, afterwards Earl of Moira, acting as the Duke's second. At a distance of twelve paces the parties were placed *vis-à-vis*; the Lieutenant-Colonel fired and grazed the Duke's curl. The Duke did not return his adversary's fire, though called upon to do so. He would not consent to declare that Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox was a man of honour, but gave him liberty to fire again. This, of course, could not be complied with. Lord Rawdon now interfered, and the Earl of Winchelsea agreeing with his lordship that enough had been done to satisfy the claims of "honour," the farce terminated—the seconds declaring in a published document that "both parties behaved with the utmost coolness and intrepidity."

The affair, absurd as it appears to us in an age when the practice of duelling has been banished as a miserable, illogical remnant of a barbarous age, mis-called "chivalric," created much noise and discussion at the time, on account of the rank and Military position of the antagonists. It was justly said that the character of a British Officer is one of the most honourable that a subject of the Crown can assume, and at the same time the most difficult to be supported. A Military man is amenable to laws more delicate, more varied, and more undefined than those enacted by civil jurisprudence; his conduct is reviewed through a medium which the prejudices, the caprice, and the passions of men are for ever changing, but by which, nevertheless, his minutest action must be tried. A failure in the observance of any of those laws which arbitrary custom has established, is sufficient to blast the credit of a life the past tenor of which had been regulated by principle, and consonant to the most rigid dictates of honour and propriety. It is, therefore, incumbent upon Military men, in a pre-eminent degree, to be jealous of their character, and peculiarly quick in the perception of those circumstances which may impart the slightest soil to the purity of their reputation. Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, who was not only a soldier, but the prospective heir to the dukedom of Richmond, felt all this—felt that the ermine of the peer must be kept as free from blemish as the epaulette of the Officer, and he therefore used all possible means for arriving at the name of his calumniator. Failing in this, he adopted the only course open to him in the then state of Military society, and his brother Officers declared, in a document which was published in the newspapers, that he had "behaved with courage, but not with judgment." It afterwards transpired that the offensive words had been spoken at a masquerade. One masked individual addressed another under the supposition that the latter was Colonel Lennox.

The British Army was without a Commander-in-Chief in 1789. The Army had been reduced at the close of the American War, from 150,000 to 40,000 men of all arms, and the Military power and patronage were vested in the Minister, a civilian, who made Staff appointments and Colonelcies the reward of subservient Members of Parliament. Under the operation of this pernicious usage, General Conway, Lord Lothian, and Colonel A'Court had severally been deprived of their Corps, and the Colonelcies given to more obedient vassals. General Burgoyne protested vehemently against the practice in his place in Parliament, and urged the appointment of a head of the Military Department of the Government in the person of a Commander-in-Chief, who should "be responsible for the distribution of Regimental commands and Staff offices." It is needless to say that he failed. Between the tenacity of the Tory Cabinet, reluctant to part with any of the machinery of Parliamentary corruption, and the hostility of the Whigs to every extension of the military element—even to the length of opposing the subjection of a new corps

of artificers to the provisions of the Mutiny Act* —it was hopeless to expect that a supreme military authority would be created independent of the Minister, and only responsible to the Crown and the country.

We must go back some five or six years in our History to notice some occurrences omitted at the proper time.

During the latter days of the progress of the siege of Gibraltar (1783), the troops in Great Britain were increased to 54,678 men; but when the Peace was established in 1784, the estimates provided for only 17,483 men in Great Britain, 950 foreign troops, 12,247 men in the Plantations, and (as a new vote) 6,366 men for India.

An important question in connection with the operation of Military law was settled in 1786. From the year 1715, the liability of an Officer on half-pay to be tried by Court-Martial was a matter of doubt. Debates had taken place in 1749 without any decisive result having been arrived at, and the question lay in abeyance until 1785, when General Ross (who was on half-pay) was arraigned before a Court-Martial for reflecting in a letter upon a General Boyd. Before the Court attempted to deal with the offence it claimed the advantage of the opinion of the twelve judges, and those high judicial authorities came to the conclusion that neither General Ross's warrant as a General Officer, nor his annuity of half-pay, rendered him obnoxious to Military trial. He was accordingly discharged from custody and arrest. This led to the omission, in the Mutiny Act of 1786, of all clauses respecting Officers on half-pay. Ultimately the person liable to be tried by Court-Martial was declared to be "any who is or shall be commissioned or *in pay* as an Officer."

With the exception of the affairs in India, to which reference has been already made, England was at peace with all the world between 1783 and 1793; and, as usual, the Government in deference to the champions of the taxpayers kept the Army on the lowest possible footing. In their entire ignorance of the manifold requirements of war, they supposed that soldiers could be manufactured to order at a few hours' notice. Bounties and the press-gangs were the favourite dragons' teeth which were to yield crops of armed men almost as soon as they should be needed. There was no hing apparently to menace the tranquillity of the world in the shape of pretensions to foreign crowns and territory. Commerce and the arts prospered, as far as it was possible for them to do so, under a rigid protective system, and in the absence of inventive genius and a disposition to travel. But, under all this seeming harmony, there flowed a current of opinion at first gentle and silent, then increasing to a murmur, and at length swelling to an angry torrent, which, in its violence and fierce velocity, burst and overthrew the banks, and dams and bulwarks which monarchical and aristocratic institutions had established; and ultimately plunging the whole world into tedious and sanguinary wars, founded new principles and reared up new dynasties. In a word, the French Revolution broke out, and shook the world to its very centre. England was avenged. France "had commended the ingredients of the poisoned chalice to her own lips." One of the greatest despotisms on the face of the earth had sustained the subjects of the King of England in North America in a resistance to the ordinances of their rulers; many thousand Frenchmen had been sent to the United States enduring all the vicissitudes of a common and dangerous war for several years, and subsequently participating in all the ease and plenty of a succeeding and unexpected peace. It was impossible that these men, belonging to a quick and intelligent race, should participate equally with the natives in the extremes of war and peace without becoming in a considerable degree "American." Added to this, the writings of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Rousseau, Paine, and others, and especially the contributors to the 'Dictionnaire Philosophique,' had infused into the French a spirit of liberty which the tyranny of the Catholic Church, and the exactions and pride of the nobility and placeholders, rather tended to foster and render impatient. Ultimately the people asserted their own rights in the most violent form:—failing all moderate attempts at innovation, they shook the foundations of the entire political fabric, destroyed the monarchy, banished the nobles and clergy, and endeavoured to establish a republic on the popular theory of universal liberty and perfect equality. And not content with maintaining these novel doctrines at home, the enthusiasts endeavoured to propagate their opinions in every part of the known world. The Dutch, as their nearest neighbours, were the first to be favoured with their attentions. A Republic, in a modified form, existed in Holland, and a Stadtholder was the nominal sovereign. It was by no means surprising, therefore, that the more exaggerated and advanced views adopted by the French should find acceptance among a considerable party of the stolid Hollanders. But the Stadtholder opposed the dissemination of the new doctrines which menaced the tranquillity of the country and his own position. To enforce their propagandism the French Republic sent an Army to the frontiers of Holland. Alarmed at its hostile approach, the Stadtholder, unable to make head alone against a fanatic soldiery, led by experienced Officers, appealed to England for

* See Debate on the Army Estimates in 1783.

aid. England had guaranteed him in his position in the last treaty with Holland, and was bound to interfere. Nor was Mr. William Pitt, the very able Minister who had inherited the prompt ability of his illustrious father, the Earl of Chatham, averse to a measure which he hoped and believed would enable him to keep the political contagion out of England. He had for some time fancied that he beheld danger to the British Constitution in the rapid growth of Republican doctrines in France; and he conceived that true safety consisted in smiting the evil in its infancy—crushing it, in fact, before it had acquired a capacity for active mischief. But he was at a loss to know how this was to be accomplished. No protective laws, no armed blockades, could keep *opinion* from insidiously creeping into the kingdom of Great Britain, and, as yet, the French had not held out the sword to their ancient rivals. It was only by confronting the Republicans on the Continent, and so diverting the public mind from the consideration and acceptance of these pernicious doctrines, that the spread of the political *virus* could be interrupted. Happily, for Pitt's views, the Stadtholder's appeal supplied him with an excuse for a resort to arms; and while the minds of the British public were yet excited by the terrible regicidal act of August, 1792—the execution of Louis XVI.—he went boldly up to Parliament, and in King George's name called for the means of waging war. The British Sovereign had steadily refused to recognise the new self-elected government of France after the decapitation of Louis, and withdrew the French Ambassador from his court in January, 1793.

Mr Pitt's speech, as forming the groundwork of the mighty war subsequently waged with a very slight interruption for twenty years, was a magnificent piece of oratory. Room must be made for a single extract. On the 1st of February, on the occasion of introducing an application for an augmentation of the forces, he said:

"What has been the conduct of France under the new system? She has both by her words and actions manifested a determination, if not checked by force, to act on principles of aggrandisement. She has completely disclaimed that maxim, 'that whatever was the fate of their arms in war, France rejected all ideas of aggrandisement.' She has made use of the first moment of success to publish a contradiction to that declaration. She has made use of the first instance of success in Savoy, without even attempting the ceremony of disguise, to annex it for ever as an eighty-fourth department to the present Sovereignty of France. The Republicans have, by their decree, announced a determination to carry on a similar operation in every country into which their arms can be carried, with a view, in substance if not in name, to do the same thing in every country where they can with success. . . . When they obtain a temporary success, whatever be the situation of the country into which they may come; whatever may have been its antecedent conduct, whatever may be its political connexions, they have determined not to abandon possession of it till they have effected the utter and absolute subversion of its form of Government, of every ancient, every established usage, however long they may have existed, and however much they may have been revered. The French will not accept, under the name of liberty, any model of Government but that which is conformable to their own opinions and their own ideas, and all men must learn from the mouth of their cannon the propagation of their system in every part of the world."

Parliament, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and others, granted the requisite supplies, and twelve regiments of infantry were immediately added to the establishment. They were numbered respectively the 78th and 79th Highlanders, the 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, and 89th. His Majesty George III. having expressed to several loyal Scottish noblemen a desire to see some Scottish regiments raised, his desire was immediately complied with; and the result was that the 90th Regiment was raised in Perthshire, while the Duke of Argyll formed the 91st from among his own clan in Argyllshire. The latter corps consisted of no fewer than 1,100 officers and men. It was passed into the line in 1794 as the 98th regiment. In 1795 it was inspected by General Lord Adam Gordon, who was greatly pleased with the appearance of the corps. It did not, however, receive the number (91st) which it now bears for three years later, when certain reductions in the military strength were made. The companies of other regiments on home service were increased in strength, and corresponding additions were made to the Royal Artillery.

The first measure of the Ministry after its military means had been enlarged was to promote the Duke of York to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and send him to Holland with the Brigade of Guards and several other Regiments, to defend the frontier against the French Republican General, Dumouriez. A large army composed of Austrians and other German troops was on foot, under the chief command of the Prince of Coburg, to whom the Duke of York and the English contingent were auxiliary. The Duke landed with his troops at Helvoetsluys. In the meanwhile the success of the Austrians had removed the war from the frontier of Holland to the confines of French Flanders. The French were in possession of Valenciennes. The first object of the Allied Army was to lay siege to that rather strongly-fortified town—

one of the old scenes of Vauban's successful experiments—and for this purpose a column under the command of General the Duke of York (for His Royal Highness had reached the superior grade) was moved forward. The column was stopped by the Republicans at Famars. To get close to them a river had to be crossed, and sundry batteries captured. To Major-General Ralph Abercromby this duty was assigned, and it afforded him the earliest opportunity he had had of exhibiting the good generalship and cool courage which acquired for him the affection of the soldiery and the admiration of the King. With the 14th, 37th, and 53rd Regiments, and a battalion of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, he crossed the river and stormed the batteries, taking seven pieces of cannon and 200 prisoners. In this affair, the 14th Foot, consisting principally of young soldiers, rushed with characteristic impetuosity up the heights to attack the enemy. Disordered by their haste, they would infallibly have been destroyed, had not Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle galloped to the front, halted the men, and re-formed the ranks. He then made the band play *ça ira*, and under its inspiriting influence the young Regiment resumed the attack in order and overcame the enemy. The result was the investment of Valenciennes. A brief cannonade breached the horn work in front of the *enceinte*. To storm the work, Lieutenant-Colonel Doyle called for 100 volunteers. The action of "recovering arms" was the signal of the volunteers. Every man in the corps came to "the recover"—the Lieutenant-Colonel was therefore obliged to be content with the first 10 men in each company. Boys as they were, they did not fear to number themselves with the *enfans perdus*.

Retreating from Valenciennes, the Republicans shut themselves up in Dunkirk. The Government attached much importance to the possession of the town, and the Prince of Coburg received instructions to capture it, if possible. Dunkirk had been in the occupation of the Dutch until expelled by the French. Had the entire force of the Allies been concentrated upon this object, in all probability it would have succeeded; but the Prince of Coburg committed the grand military fault of separating his Army, under the impression that a portion of the force would suffice for the siege and its sequel, the occupation of Dunkirk. To the Duke of York was committed the duty of assailing the town. Lincelles, a small but strong fortress, lay on the road to Dunkirk. The French had driven out the Dutch from Lincelles. General Lake, with a weak brigade of the Guards, numbering only 1,200 men, was ordered to assist the Dutch in regaining possession of the place. By one of the accidents common to wars in which Allies do not act in perfect concert, the Dutch had retreated by a different road from that along which the Guards were advancing. Nothing daunted by this *contretemps*, and confident in his soldiery, General Lake came to the resolution to attack a redoubt of unusual size and strength situated on the high ground in front of Lincelles. The woods in the vicinity were strongly defended by the enemy, and their flanks covered by ditches. It was a desperate undertaking grandly executed. The column was led by the First Guards, which deployed with great celerity, the Coldstreams forming on their left. The line then advanced amidst a shower of grape, and, after two volleys, made a furious rush, accompanied by loud huzzas, stormed the works, defeated twelve battalions of the French, and captured ten pieces of cannon which had been taken from the Dutch. Corporal Brown, from whose journal Colonel Mackinnon quotes an account of the affair in his 'History of the Coldstream Guards,' writes:

"The French, who had been accustomed to the cold, lifeless attacks of the Dutch, were amazed at the spirit and intrepidity of the British; and, not much relishing the manner of our salute, immediately gave way, abandoning all that was within the place, and, in their flight, threw away both arms and accoutrements."

This affair redounded so much to the honour of the Guards, that they were permitted to inscribe "Lincelles" upon their colours. These are never unfurled without revealing one at least of the many incidents which adorn the traditions of this admirable corps.

Failure was the result of the attempt of the Duke of York upon Dunkirk. No want of generalship was imputable to the Duke, no deficiency of soldiership was attributable to his army. It was Fontenoy over again. The failure arose, in the first place, from the absence of the Dutch troops, who were to have covered the march of the English and their siege operations, but fell back in presence of General Houchard and a body of determined French Republicans; and, in the second place, from the delay of the Government in forwarding ordnance stores, and its omission to provide proper means of naval co-operation. This remissness excited much indignation in the Army, and no small astonishment among the Allies. In France the defeat of the attack on Dunkirk diffused universal joy, restored confidence, somewhat shaken by previous reverses, and aroused throughout the nation a determined spirit of resistance to the interference and dictation of foreigners. With extraordinary rapidity the means of resistance were largely augmented. Military talent, no matter whence originating, was put prominently forward, and "*la gloire*" became the national oriflamme.

CHAPTER XVII.

The French Republicans largely Augment their Forces—The Siege of Toulon—Napoleon Bonaparte—Progress of the War on the French Frontier—The 15th Light Dragoons—The Allies Beaten on the Marque, and at the Battle of Fleurus—The French Retake Tournay and Oudenarde; Capture Ypres and other places—Lord Moira Arrives with Reinforcements—Successful Progress of the Republican Arms—Retreat of the British and Hanoverians—The Duke of York Returns to England—The Stadtholder leaves Holland—Ill-treatment of the Retreating Forces by the Dutch—The English Troops Embark for England.

Under the administration of the Brissotin party the French Republican Army consisted of more than 500,000 men. The Jacobins, who succeeded them in authority, determined to double its strength by immediate levies. It was a necessary measure, for the Royalists were up in arms against the Republicans in some of the great maritime and commercial cities; and unless their power were put down and the Allies driven beyond the frontier, there was great danger of France being parcelled out among the Bourbonists, the Germans, the Dutch, and the English, or of the resuscitation of the Monarchy in the person of Louis XVIII. The call for more troops met with a very general response, and every act of spoliation of Church and private property that could furnish the *matériel* of war was unceremoniously resorted to. With this increase of force, the Republicans proceeded to act with redoubled vigour. In the course of 1793 they compelled the Prince of Coburg to repass the Sambre; they threatened Ostend, but were checked by the sudden arrival of General Sir Charles Grey at the head of a force originally destined for the West Indies; and, though defeated in several actions by the Duke of Brunswick, notably at Landau, they compelled the Allies to retire from Haguenau and to give up Weissenbourg. They even retook Toulon, which the inhabitants had placed under the protection of Admiral Lord Hood. This event, in itself presenting a field for the prowess of British troops, derives additional interest from the fact of its having afforded an opportunity—almost the first—to a young Artillery Officer named Napoleon Bonaparte of distinguishing himself in that particular arm of the service for which he had a peculiar predilection. Seeing how mighty a part he was destined to play in the relations of England and France for 20 years, and how stupendous a change he wrought in the geography of Europe and the science of war, it will not be out of place to allow the French historian, M. Thiers (as translated by Shoberl), to tell the story of Napoleon's deeds at Toulon:

"The French began by closely hemming in the place and establishing batteries against the forts. General Lapoype, detached from the Army of Italy, was still to the east, and Dugommier, the Commander-in-Chief, to the west, in advance of Olliontes. The latter was charged with the principal attack. The Committee of Public Welfare had caused a regular plan of attack to be drawn up by the Committee of Fortifications. The General summoned a Council of War to discuss the plan sent from Paris. This plan was ably conceived, but there was one better adapted to circumstances, and which could not fail to produce more speedy results.

"In the Council of War there was a young man who commanded the Artillery in the absence of the superior Officer of that arm. His name was Bonaparte, and he was a native of Corsica. Faithful to France, in which he had been educated, he fought in Corsica for the cause of the Convention against Paoli and the English. He had then joined the Army of Italy, and served before Toulon. He displayed extraordinary intelligence and extreme activity, and slept by the side of his guns. This young Officer, on surveying the place, was struck with an idea, which he communicated to the Council of War. Fort Eguillette, called Little Gibraltar, closed the road where the Allied Squadrons were massed. If this fort were taken, the Squadrons could no longer lie in the road without risk of being burned; neither could they evacuate it and leave behind a garrison of 15,000 men without communication, without succour, without any other prospect than that of being obliged, sooner or later, to lay down their arms. There was, therefore, every reason to presume that if Fort Eguillette were once in the possession of the Republicans, the Squadron and the garrison would evacuate Toulon. Thus the key of the place was Fort Eguillette, but it was almost impregnable. Young Bonaparte strongly supported this idea as best adapted to circumstances, and at length caused it to be adopted.

"The French began by hemming in the place more closely than ever. Bonaparte, favoured by a few olive trees, which masked his Artillerymen, placed a battery very near Fort Malbosquet, one of the most important of those surrounding Toulon. One morning this battery suddenly opened and surprised the besieged, who did not conceive it possible to place guns so near to the fort. The English General O'Hara, who commanded the garrison, resolved to make a sortie for the purpose of destroying the battery and spiking the guns. On the 30th of November he sallied forth at the head of 6,000 men, penetrated unawares to the Republican posts, gained possession of the battery, and immediately began to spike the guns. Fortunately young Bonaparte was not far off with a battalion. A trench led to the battery. Bonaparte threw himself into it with his battalion, advanced without noise among the English, then

all at once gave the order to fire, and threw them by his sudden appearance into the greatest surprise. General O'Hara, in astonishment, imagined it was his own soldiers who were firing in mistake upon one another. He then advanced towards the Republicans to ascertain if that was not the case, but was wounded in the hand, and taken in the trench itself by a serjeant. At the same moment, Dugommier, who had ordered the *générale* to be beaten in the camp, brought up his soldiers to the attack, and pushed on between the battery and the city. The English, finding themselves in danger of being cut off, then retired, after losing their General, and failing to rid themselves of the dangerous battery."

This spiritless sketch of a vivid scene of course has gained nothing by translation. A more lively account of the Toulon affair occurs in Le Baron de Caston's 'Biographie des premières Années de Napoléon Bonaparte.'

The English account of the affair ran thus:—"The French having erected and opened a battery against the fort of Malbousquet, from whence shot could reach the town and arsenal, General O'Hara prepared to destroy it and bring off the guns. Accordingly, on the 30th of November, this plan was so far executed as to obtain full possession of the height and battery, but the impetuosity of the successful troops led them to pursue the flying enemy in such an irregular and scattered manner that the latter, having at length collected in great force, obliged them to retreat and relinquish the advantages they had obtained. General O'Hara arrived at the redoubt as it was taken; and, perceiving the disorder of the troops, was hastening to order them back when he received a wound which bled so much as to render him incapable of avoiding the enemy, by whom he was made prisoner."

But our business is with the part taken generally by the British Army in the defence of the town.

A line of defence occupying a circumference of fifteen miles necessarily requires a large body of troops. These being unavoidably separated by water to form a chain of posts naturally became individually weak. The well-directed fire of the French upon the isolated works rendered them successively untenable, and the British troops were withdrawn into the town. Occupying the forts which these troops abandoned, the French, finding them excellent "coigns of vantage," threw shot and shell into the town with fearful rapidity. Lieutenant-General David Dundas, who took the command when General O'Hara,* who had come from Gibraltar to conduct the defence, was made prisoner, finding it impossible to keep possession of Toulon, now held a consultation with Admiral Lord Hood, and the evacuation of the town was the inevitable result. This difficult operation was performed with remarkable skill. Destroying several ships of war and the arsenal, that they might be unserviceable in the hands of the enemy, Lieutenant-General Dundas embarked the garrison and left the port with Admiral Hood. In his despatch to the Secretary of State reporting the issue of the siege the General justly eulogised the behaviour of the troops:—

"It is impossible for me," he said, "to express but in general terms the approbation that is due to the conduct and merits of the several Commanding Officers, and, indeed, of every Officer in every rank and situation. Troops have seldom experienced for so long a time a service more harassing, distressing, and severe; and the Officers and men of the Regiments and Marines have gone through it with that exertion, spirit, and goodwill which peculiarly distinguish the British soldier."

We recur to the operations in French Flanders. The French experienced some further checks after the affair at Linselles, noticed in the last chapter, until the month of November, when the Duke of York returned to England in company with General Mack, of the Austrian Army, to concert plans and measures for the ensuing campaign with the British Government.

In April, 1794, the campaign re-opened. The Duke was again at his post with considerable reinforcements. Moving to Tournay and thence to the plains of Cateau, His Royal Highness formed a junction with part of the Allied Army, under the Emperor of Austria, and on the 17th of April a combined attack was made on several of the enemy's positions at Vaux, Premont, Marets, Catillon, &c., which enabled the Allies to lay siege to Landrécies. The Duke of York commanded the right wing of the covering Army during the siege. On the 24th of April a detachment of his Cavalry, consisting of the 15th Light Dragoons, gained a considerable advantage near Villiers en Couche towards Cambray, and on the 26th of the same month the Duke completely defeated the French near Cateau with great slaughter and the loss of thirty-five pieces of cannon. General Chapuy, with a considerable number of Officers and men, were made prisoners on the occasion. Lieutenant-General Sir Wm. Erskine and Major-General Abercromby received the thanks of the Duke for the affair at Cateau. The 1st (King's) Dragoon Guards performed so distinguished a part in the action that 500*l.* was paid to the Regiment by the Duke's orders, and

* This was the General O'Hara who enjoyed the romantic affection of the celebrated Miss Berry, but to whom she never was married. See her 'Diary and Correspondence.'

all the Regiments received compensation for the guns, colours, trumpets, and horses taken by them. The effect of the extraordinary attack of the 15th Light Dragoons on a large body of the enemy at Villiers en Couche was to cover the right wing of the besieging Army at Landrécies, and to re-establish a communication with the Hessians which had been temporarily interrupted. The Austrian Generals were prodigal of their laudations of the 15th, who had saved the Emperor of Austria from being made prisoner; and the Duke of York, in his General Order praising the corps, said that they "charged the enemy with the greatest success, and finding a line of Infantry to the rear of the Cavalry, they continued the charge without hesitation, and broke it likewise; and had they been properly supported the entire destruction of the enemy must have been the consequence."

The Duke, by forced marches, reached Tournay on the 10th of May, where he was attacked by the French, who were compelled to retire across the Margne with considerable loss.

And now came reverses. Fickle fortune had smiled so far upon the Allies. She deemed it time to bestow her favours upon the French. Assembling an immense Army, Pichegru, the General-in-Chief, took up a good position on the Margne. The Allies resolved to force a passage across the river. Two Divisions managed to accomplish this difficult task, but they could do nothing more from excessive fatigue. A third found the French so well posted that retreat was advisable. The other two, under the Duke of York and General Otto, made good their ground in spite of the entrenchments of the French and the formidable resistance they offered. This success was due to the judicious conduct of General Abercromby, and the valour of the Corps under his orders. On the 18th of May, the Duke of York having detached a portion of his Army to make a diversion in favour of the Divisions most severely pressed by the enemy, was himself attacked by a very superior force. He was surrounded on every side. No relief could be afforded him, for the rest of the Army was engaged by the French Republicans. After the most intrepid resistance, His Royal Highness was compelled to give way in confusion, and had the greatest difficulty in reaching General Otto's Division.* Only by the most strenuous exertions on the part of Generals Abercromby and Fox, could the troops be sufficiently restored to order, to save them from destruction and enable them to make good their retreat. The 14th, 37th, and 53rd fought their way through fields, hedges, and ditches, severely pressed by the Republicans. The 7th, 15th, and 16th Dragoons covered the flanks, protected the rear, and perpetually confronted and drove back the enemy. It was no uncommon thing to see one of the Dragoons attack three of the French, and rescue the prisoners they were carrying off.

The Allies resumed their position at Tournay after the disaster, but were not permitted to hold their ground unmolested. The French Generals followed up their success by another attack in great strength. General Fox drove them back with very heavy loss, and had not the French flanks been so well protected by thick woods and other objects impenetrable to Cavalry, the British Dragoons would have decided the whole fate of the campaign in favour of the Allies. Just at this crisis the Emperor of Austria, accompanied by General Mack, returned to Vienna from the Netherlands. This had a seriously dispiriting effect on the German troops. Nevertheless, the Allies continued to affront the French. General Kaunitz defeated them at Rouveray, General Beaulieu overthrew a considerable force near Charleroi; but nothing could quench the indomitable thirst of the Republicans for glory. Their very political existence, indeed, hung upon their success, and they were in a position to endure small reverses without abandoning their cherished project of driving the Allies across the frontier. General Jourdain, their immediate chief, laid determined siege to Charleroi. Its capture would precipitate the fall of Brussels. The Allies resolved to raise the siege, and accordingly gave battle to the French at Fleurus. It was a severely contested engagement, lasting thirteen hours. Thrice in that time had the French line been broken, thrice were they on the point of relinquishing the contest. From early morning, on the 26th of June, until six o'clock in the evening, had the battle raged, and now came reinforcements to the perseverant Jourdain. Composed in part of Artillery, they turned the scale in his favour. Depressed and exhausted by their fruitless efforts, and seeing their enemy strengthened, the Allies hastily withdrew from the field, after sustaining a loss of nearly 10,000 men. On the eve of the battle, unknown to the Allies, the French had gained possession of Charleroi. This event, and the subsequent reduction of Ypres by General Moreau, obliged the Duke of York to leave Tournay and move towards Oudenarde. That city had been invested by the French, and its relief was of great moment. No sooner was his back turned than Tournay surrendered to the French, and the Duke was thus obliged to quit

* A memoir of the Duke of York, published in Glasgow, states that His Royal Highness on his retreat was overtaken by some of the enemy at Rouboux, and obliged to throw himself off his horse and wade through the river under fire from a 6 pounder. Meeting with a led horse of Captain Murray's, he mounted, and got safely to Tournay.

Oudenarde and betake himself to Antwerp. Here he was joined by a Force of 10,000 men from England, under the command of the Earl of Moira (late Lord Rawdon), who had recently arrived.

It is as unnecessary as it would be impossible within reasonable limits to follow the French in their triumphant career. Every town which they attacked they succeeded in taking. They recovered all the places they had previously lost. The Dutch frontier being threatened by the audacious host, the Duke of York took up a position between Breda and Bois le Duc on the banks of the Domnel, expecting earnest co-operation from the troops of the Seven Provinces. The Stadtholder had become much alarmed for the integrity of the Provinces, and made earnest appeals to the people to uphold him and his allies in their endeavours to stem the tide of French Republican conquest. The old democrats were deaf to his entreaties. He had approximated his own position, by marriage and other alliances, to that of royal houses on the Continent, and it was alleged that he suffered Great Britain and Prussia to exercise a large influence in his councils. His republican countrymen were consequently lukewarm in their zeal for the defence of the frontier, and left the work mainly to the English, whom they detested. They were, in truth, inoculated with the politics of the French, and rather desired their presence and their institutions. English co-operation in the field was an obstacle to this desire.

Assailing the Duke of York in his new position, Pichegru pushed His Royal Highness further back to Grave, whence he subsequently marched to a more advantageous situation on the Waal.* This position being rendered untenable His Royal Highness occupied Nimeguen. Pichegru followed him up with an enormous force of 30,000 men, fresh and well equipped, and laid siege to Nimeguen. Needless to say that an obstinate defence was made. A sally under General Du Bourg greatly disturbed the enemy. The Cavalry dismounted and took part in the sally with so eager a spirit that General Walmoden remarked to the 15th Light Dragoons, "You seem, gentlemen, to go to the work with as much pleasure as if it were an English fox-chase." Finally, the French proved to be too strong for the besieged. The town was evacuated, and the Duke of York again retired. Maestricht fell next. More than once the weakened columns of the Duke came into collision successfully with their formidable opponents, and again His Royal Highness took post on the Waal.

Winter now set in with unusual severity. The condition of the remnant of the British Contingent was pitiable. The hospitals were crowded with wounded and sick men, who received but little attention from the Medical Officers and less from the Commissariat and the people. Few of the sufferers emerged alive from the horrible dens into which they were thrust. Damp straw formed the beds of the poor fellows, and a very scanty covering was all that was vouchsafed their aching limbs. The French merely awaited until the river was sufficiently frozen to bear the weight of cannon, tumbrils, and ammunition waggons, and then they crossed the river—only to recross it with the resolute band of *insulaires* at their heels.

The Duke of York, worn out by his efforts and seeing the inutility of his further presence, relinquished the command of the shattered Army to General Harcourt, and returned to England at the close of the fearful winter of 1794.

No longer disguising their sentiments, or delaying

* The following remarks on the tactics, manners, and person of General Pichegru, are extracted and translated from a work entitled 'Histoire Chronologique des Opérations de l'Armée du Nord, et de celle de Sambre et Meuse, par le Citoyen David, Témoin du plupart de leurs Exploits.' "The tactics of General Pichegru are of a nature altogether new and original. His system consists wholly in pursuing the enemy without intermission; in courting opportunities of engagements; in keeping his whole Force together, without dividing it for the purpose of carrying on sieges; to reduce only such as are necessary, in order to secure proper positions, without seeming to be at all concerned about the reduction of such strong places as he had left behind him. This system of Military tactics was the only one that was suitable to our situation, and, farther, it was the only system that suited the character of the French. It is not to be doubted that our troops were full of courage and bravery; but the greater part of them was newly levied, and not sufficiently trained in sieges for the purpose of undertaking a siege of any difficulty. Further still, the French soldier is too ardent and impatient to go through with a chain of operations that require perseverance. In the field he darts forth as an eagle, and fights like a lion. But a long and arduous siege repels, and ofttimes even discourages him. In order to have a Military body of men perfect and invincible, it would be necessary to carry on sieges with Swiss troops, and to have French Armies of observation. But while a General has only Frenchmen under his command, he ought not to let them grow restive by remaining long in one place, but to keep them always in breath, and always within view of the enemy. If Pichegru had obeyed the orders of the Committee of Public Safety, if he had known the character of the French, and adopted an unusual system of tactics, he would have sacrificed fifty thousand men at least before our towns of Hainault. Perhaps he might have been beaten. And even, in case of success and victory, he most assuredly would not have been able to push his conquests even to the Northern Sea and the confines of Westphalia. The King of Prussia was the only sovereign among the coalesced powers who set the plans of Pichegru at defiance, and the only one that did him justice. About the beginning of the campaign that Monarch wrote a letter (published in a Belgic newspaper) to the following effect:—"It is impossible to save your territories from invasion. The French have Armies always springing up one after another. Be not deceived; their Generals pursue a wise system of tactics which disconcerts ours, and gets the better of them."

the execution of a project to which their inclination, no less than their fears, led them, the Dutch now declared their adhesion to the French Republic. The Stadtholder and his son, the Prince of Orange, left Holland immediately. The position of the English Force became perilous in the extreme. On the 4th of January, 1795, the French renewed their attempt to cross the Waal. General Dundas had resisted them upon the first occasion with 8,000 men. That number was not now available. The hospitals had received larger accessions, provisions ran short, ammunition was nearly exhausted; nothing but an expeditious retreat could possibly save the wretched remnant of the Army, which for nearly two years had stood its ground heroically in spite of the defection of friends, bad management on the part of Prince Coburg, inferior numbers, and the rigorous assaults of an ardent foe. The guns were spiked, superfluous baggage was destroyed, and on the 6th of January commenced a retreat which for the terrible hardships endured by the British, and the unflinching courage they manifested throughout, had never been equalled.* The details are perfectly sickening. Attacked on all sides by 75,000 victorious troops, led by a General who combined political and national enthusiasm with Military talents and experience, cruelly neglected by the people they had served and through whose villages they were forced, encountered by blasts of the keen winds which drove the snow and sand into their cheeks and eyes, with all their wounded and sick comrades in open waggons dying from frost, privation, exposure, and neglect, the hardy little band still pushed on under the guidance and protection of the noble Ralph Abercromby, and managed to reach Deventer with all their artillery, ammunition, and Military stores, whence they made their way as best they could to Bremen. Here the British for the first time experienced kind treatment, and by the 11th of April were in a condition to embark for England. They had been almost decimated by their toils and the severity of the season. As many as two hundred in each Regiment were victimised by exposure, want of attention, and the harassing pursuers. Men and Nature combined to extinguish them. The Highlanders, of hardy northern origin, were alone enabled to bear up under the inclement skies of Holland; they lost but twenty-five men.

If other testimony than that of the chroniclers of the period were desired to establish the claims of our troops in Holland during the winter of 1794-5 to admiration and respect, we shall find it in the records of the French. Men and Officers were stricken with surprise that so miserable a fragment of soldiers should display such invincible courage and such admirable discipline. The judgment, constancy, and ability of Lord Cathcart, who commanded one Division; and of General Abercromby, at the head of the rest, were beyond all praise. Regiments vied with each other in a contest for the honour of endurance. The Guards, the 27th, 28th, 33rd, 42nd, 44th, and 78th were conspicuous for their steadiness. Lord Cathcart said of the 27th and 28th, that whenever danger was to be apprehended and difficulties encountered, these Corps were sure to be called upon. Lord Anglesea, in presenting colours to the 28th some forty years later, did not forget to relate the incidents, honourable to their bravery and perseverance, of which he had been a frequent eye-witness. "Whatever were its difficulties, however it was harassed or distressed, the 28th always turned out stronger than any other Corps. Hospitals were their aversion. Their home was their Battalion, and they were never happy away from it. It was commonly said by Commanding Officers that you might as well kill a man in the field as send him to a general hospital; he was at least lost to the Battalion for the campaign. Not so with the 28th. These poor ragged fellows (for they had lost their clothing), whatever had been their casualties, were always crawling back to their *home*—their Battalions. You saw them in small groups deserting, as it were, from the hospital, helping each other along, half-naked, indeed, but always bringing with them their arms, and in high order. Their locks were clean, their bayonets sharp." The 33rd Regiment was singularly steady. Its Lieutenant-Colonel gave earnest in the discipline he preserved, and the courageous attitude his Corps maintained when covering the Guards as they retired after a night attack on Bextel, of that fitness for command which afterwards made his name immortal.

That name was ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

He was under fire for the first time at Bextel, and set an example of coolness to his Regiment in meeting and repulsing the Cavalry of the enemy.

The *débris* of the Army embarked for England on the 14th of April.

One universal feeling of exultation possessed the French people on the departure of the English from Holland. They had fairly earned those triumphs by the cheerfulness with which they made sacrifices to provide the Army with the appliances of war. And the troops reciprocated their generous devotion. In seventeen months they had gained, under the admirable leadership

* It subsequently found parallels in Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, and the retirement of the British and Native Army from Affghanistan.

of Pichegru and Jourdain, no fewer than twenty-seven battles, and had, moreover, been successful in one hundred and twenty actions of lesser note. They had, by the rapidity of their movements and the energy of their attacks, infused new elements into the difficult science of war, and, by the exercise of an ingenuity of which, among civilised nations, they had almost a monopoly, they were able to employ resources unknown to other Armies which gave them signal advantages. At Fleurus and at Liege they made themselves acquainted with the intended movements of the Allies by sending experienced Engineer Officers aloft in balloons, whence they effected reconnaissances in perfect safety and transmitted messages to earth. This feat was accomplished by attaching notes inscribed with vari-coloured cyphers to rods of the form of arrows, loaded and pointed at one end, to ensure their falling vertically within their own lines, and sticking in the ground. A small piece of coloured silk attached to the other end like a flag made them visible as they fell. To this clever device succeeded a system of telegraphs —then quite new to the European world. Upright posts with transverse beams, each capable of assuming sixteen forms, supplied the first telegraphic alphabet. Such primitive arrangements may excite a smile in an age when the magnet and electricity have placed the whole world in momentary communication; but at the close of the last century they were mighty advantages, because they were new and exclusive.

After Sir Charles Grey's brief stay at Ostend, he made the best of his way to the West Indies, in order to carry out the instructions he had received to reduce the French possessions in that quarter. Previous to his arrival, Major-General Cuyler, assisted by a Naval Force, had taken Tobago. This was in 1793. St Pierre and Miquelon surrendered to Brigadier-General Ogilvie. With the 13th Foot, the flank companies of the 49th, and a detachment of Artillery, Major-General Williams had obtained possession of St Domingo.

Invited by the Royalists in the island of Martinico, Major-General Bruce had landed with a small body of Infantry and Artillery. The Republicans offered a smart opposition, and their resistance was facilitated by a fatal blunder on the part of the Royalists, who fired on each other. This produced a confusion which compelled Major-General Bruce to relinquish further proceedings until the arrival of Sir Charles Grey. In company with Sir John Jervis, who commanded the Fleet, General Grey renewed the attack on Martinico (Martinique). Fort Royal being taken by Colonel Symes, was thenceforward called Fort Edward, in compliment to His Royal Highness Prince Edward, afterwards Duke of Kent, who was present on the occasion. It is needless to tell the reader that this Prince was destined to give England a Queen whose unceasing interest in the welfare of the soldier is worthy of a soldier's daughter. The capture of Fort Royal was followed by that of Fort Bourbon, commanded by Rochambeau, who surrendered with 900 men. "*Fortune de la guerre!*" Rochambeau, twelve years previously in America, had helped Washington to force Cornwallis to a capitulation. In the preliminary terms of the capitulation Rochambeau had stipulated that the 37th Regiment, forming Turenne's Corps, should retain their colours and their arms. This was refused as contrary to all customs of war. Sir Charles Grey, in the report of his conquest, spoke of his obligations to Lieutenant-General Prescott, Colonel Darnford, of the Engineers, Lieutenant-Colonels Paterson and Sowerby, and Major Morley, of the Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonels Clare and Buckeridge, and Lieutenant-Colonel Coote. The 1st and 3rd Regiments were conspicuous in the operations.

Equally with the West Indies the East was the scene of renewed hostilities between the English and the French in 1793-4. Pondicherry and all the possessions on the Malabar coast, on which the latter had prided themselves, passed from their hands. The flag planted by the ambitious Dupleix, and borne bravely by Lally, ceased to flutter on the shores of India.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Duke of York at the Head of the Army—New Regulations for Field Exercises—Rewards and Honours—General Abercromby Knighted—Changes in Costume—Hair-dressing in the Army—The Pay of Privates—Expeditions Abroad—The Capture of the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon—Loss and subsequent Recapture of Islands in the West Indies—Colonel Cawthorne expelled the House of Commons—The French in Bantry Bay—The Light Dragoons.

One of the first acts of the King and the Ministry on the return of the Duke of York to England was to appoint him a Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief the British Forces. Abuses and inefficiency had naturally resulted from a system under which no responsible head could be said to have existed. Exposed to the fluctuations of ministerial and official life, its details managed by an Adjutant-General who was the mere creature of the Secretary of State for the time being, with little professional experience and lacking moral courage to point out defects, the Army was suffered to drift gradually into disorder and decay. Its partial successes abroad were due more to its inherent national qualities of intrepidity and fortitude than to any remarkable

skill on the part of its Commanders. Opposed to superior numbers, it seldom could make head against an enemy, for it was generally badly equipped and encumbered with superfluous and bulky *matériel;* and the Officers by whom it was led knew little or nothing of the advantages of *position,* which often render an inferior Force more than a match for masses of opponents. Down to 1792 every Regiment had its own particular set of movements; its own peculiar cadence in marching. That uniformity of action, without which modern Armies cannot be effectively handled in the field, was unknown, and a foolish competition arose for the honour of introducing plans and movements which, at least, had the merit of oddity, but assuredly were not based upon recognised principles of harmony of operation. To remedy this pitiable state of things, the King commanded the establishment of a "Code of Regulations for the Formation and Field Exercises of the Forces," the necessity for which was expressed in the following préface:

"The great object in view from these regulations is to establish one general and just system of movement which, directing and governing the operations of great as well as of small bodies of troops, is to be rigidly conformed to and practised by every Regiment in His Majesty's Service. The important purposes of this system are to reconcile celerity with order; to prevent hurry, which must always produce confusion, loss of time, unsteadiness, irresolution, inattention to command, &c.; to ensure precision and correctness, by which alone great bodies will be able to arrive at their object in good order, and in the shortest space of time; to inculcate and enforce the indispensable necessity of Military dependence, and of mutual effort and support in action, which are the great ends of discipline; to simplify the execution, and to abridge the variety, of movements as much as possible, by adopting such only as are necessary for combined exertions in Corps, and that can be required or applied in service, regarding all matters of parade and show merely as secondary objects; to apportion to all ranks the part each will have to act in every change of situation that can happen, so that explanation may not retard at a moment when execution should take place; to enable the Commanding Officer of any body of troops, whether great or small, to retain the whole relatively, as it were, in his hand and management at every instant, so as to be capable of restraining at all times the bad effects of such ideas of independent and individual exertion as are visionary and hurtful, and of directing them to their true and proper objects—those of order, of combined effort, and of regulated obedience, by the united force of all which a well-disciplined enemy can only be defeated. To attain these essential ends no extraordinary alterations will be required, nor anything farther enjoined than a strict observance of the rules hereafter laid down, and a dereliction of such practices as would counteract them. These rules will be found few, simple, and adapted to the understanding and comprehension of every individual, but they will require perfect attention in all ranks—in the soldier an equal and cadenced march, acquired and confirmed by habit, independent of music or sound; in the Officer, precision and energy of command, the preservation of just distances, and the accurate leading of Divisions on given points of march and formation. These circumstances, together with the united exertions of all, will soon attain that precision of movement which is so essential, and without which valour alone will not prevail."

The absence of a large proportion of the Guards and the Line from within a few months of the issue of the Regulations, down to the commencement of 1795, prevented their being carried out to any useful extent. Taught by experience, the Duke of York saw the necessity for giving them immediate effect; and with a zeal which afforded satisfactory warranty that a judicious selection had been made in placing His Royal Highness at the head of the Forces, he applied himself to the Herculean task of remedying abuses, and improving every branch and department of the Military Service. He was zealously seconded by General Sir David Dundas.

Returning in the spring of the year, the Infantry were at once recruited and sent to drill. The Cavalry did not return from Holland until the autumn.

Very little time was lost by the King in marking his sense of the services which had been ungrudgingly rendered by the Army on the Continent, during the unequal struggle with the enterprising cohorts of Republican France. General Ralph Abercromby received the Order of the Bath at the hands of the King himself. Majesty never performed the accolade for braver knight. And to this graceful recognition of Sir Ralph's Military genius, displayed under circumstances of very great difficulty, His Majesty added the Colonelcy of the 7th Dragoon Guards, and the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Isle of Wight. Lieutenant-General Harcourt was appointed Governor of Hull. An immense Brevet raised many Colonels to the rank of Major-General, and numerous Lieutenant-Colonels to Colonelcies. Fifteen to twenty Lieutenant-Colonels were appointed Aides-de-Camp to the King. A great number of Captains obtained Field rank by Brevet. Eight Officers of the 15th Light Dragoons were permitted to wear Crosses of the Order of Maria Theresa, especially conferred upon them by the Emperor of Austria for saving

his person at Villiers en Couche. The 12th Dragoons were allowed to accept gold medals from the Pope as a mark of his respect for their steady conduct at Civita Vecchia, after the capture of Corsica, and the 8th King's Royal Irish Light Dragoons were allowed to resume *buff accoutrements* as a particular mark of Royal favour. Reviews were frequently held, at which George the Third himself was present. The Duke of York received numerous Officers at levées, and with a frank *bonhommie* which assured them that they were in the presence of a fellow soldier who could appreciate merit, and had an ear open to just claims to preferment, introduced habits and tones of thought into the commissioned ranks of the Army which essentially tended to the dignity and elevation of the Military profession.

To add to the strength of the Army while the war lasted, eight Regiments of Royalist Frenchmen, each 1,500 strong, were raised, clothed in scarlet, and placed under French Officers.

Sundry slight changes in the costume of the Army were introduced at the same time. The white spatterdashes were substituted by long black cloth gaiters, the ordinary "leggings" of the French Infantry. Common sense had not yet decreed that the trowser, though used in the Navy, and the short boot, though worn by the Officers, were suitable articles of dress for the soldiery. The non-commissioned officers and privates were subjected to the trouble of buttoning up their gaiters when the cold was so intense they could scarcely use their fingers, and time was of some consequence in setting forth upon a march. The old three-cornered cocked hats were put aside altogether. Cylindrical hats, with the side of the rim turned up a little to secure a cockade (*cocquarde*) and a feather, were worn by the Regiments of the Line and the Marines, and the Guards were decorated with bearskin caps. The Officers had beaver hats of the half-moon shape, which acquired the appellation of *cheese-cutters*, from their resemblance to the blade of that useful article of cutlery. The same kind of hat covered the heads of the Naval Officers, whence the irreverent term, applied by the sailors, of "fore-and-afters." In civil life the "cheese-cutter" became the distinguishing mark of the courtier and the fop, and was for a long time subsequently a necessary part of the full or evening dress of a gentleman. Derived from the French, and carried under the arm when not placed on the head, it was called the *chapeau bras*, and sometimes the "opera hat." Its perfectly flat form when closed admitted of its being placed under a man's person when he sat in his box or his chair in the pit. It was, in fact, the parent of the Gibus.

Powder was discontinued in 1796. Wigs quite went out of fashion with the French Revolution, and frizzing, plastering, and powdering the hair, till it was uglier than the wig, had become, until 1796, the mode. Stiff curls were worn on each of the temples, and a long tail behind. A great authority on the dress of the soldier tells us that "the Officers, perhaps, could afford pomatum, but the privates used the end of a tallow candle to keep this wonderful head-dress regulation in order. The Army was tormented with this preposterous and most unwarlike method of dressing the hair, varying from club tails to macaroni tails and pig-tails." Subsequently the tails were reduced to seven inches in length, and in three or four years afterwards the whole of the tails were ordered to be cut off. The day after the order to dock the tails arrived, a counter order came. "It was too late," triumphantly ejaculates General Luard; "the tails were gone!" We may form some idea of the readiness with which the first order was obeyed, from the following exposition of the inconveniences to which the soldiers had been subjected by the barbarous practice of plaiting the hair and constructing the queue. It is from the pen of one who had been in the ranks during the war.

"Of all the measures and alterations which existed on this stirring occasion, nothing as regarded our personal comforts came up to that of relieving our craniums from an accumulation of hair of several years' growth. Here was exploded for ever that abominable system of having to depend upon getting a valet before you could emerge from the barrack-room; and, preceding every parade, 'tie for tie,' and 'plait for plait,' was pealed forth from one end of the barrack to the other. Be it known that our head quarters were held sacred from the polluted touch of either Sheffield or Birmingham ware in the form of scissors. The hair was allowed to grow *ad libitum*; and as it progressed in length from an incipient stubble, that in front was plaited and twisted into contact with the growth behind, and formed tributary streams to a *queue*; and while the corporeal substance was in movement, this said *queue* was either hanging against the spine or waving responsive to the passing breeze. Many a poor devil who happened to be in disfavour with his comrades, and could not procure a 'plait and tie,' underwent the horrors of prospective punishment till some one took compassion upon him. How such a measure (fraught as it was with annoyance and inconvenience to the soldier) could have been thought of, much more perpetuated, as it was, is inconceivable.

"The torment the soldiers were subjected to can scarcely be believed, pending the growth and transition of the scalp from the stubble to a plaiting condition. Moreover, however manly in other respects the appearance of a recruit might be, the

endurance of a ragged and shock head for nearly twelve months confirmed him in the look of a *raw* for at least that period. Right well do I remember the first operation of the screwing and plaiting system exercised upon my devoted pate, as well as the remarks of the operator:—'Keep your eyes shut, you young blackguard, till I have finished, or you will not be able to close them after;' and ridiculous as the admonition may seem, the screwing up of the scalp to a certain pitch may bring such a situation within the range of supposition."

It is curious to observe how serious an influence all the arrangements for giving the soldier a smart and cleanly *appearance*, at the expense of the absolute cleanliness of his person, had upon the men's receipts in the year 1793, and for some few years later. The pay of the non-commissioned officers and privates was then upon the following scale:—the Serjeant-Major and Quartermaster-Serjeant of a Foot Regiment received one shilling and sixpence per diem; the serjeants, one shilling; corporals and drummers, eightpence each; and privates, sixpence per diem. Every one of these ranks had, besides, three halfpence per day for bread, and the privates were further allowed twelve shillings and eightpence farthing per annum for necessaries. The total pay and allowances of each private thus amounted to 12*l.* 13s. 6d. per annum—a little more than half of the pay and allowance of the present day. His clothing, supplied by the Colonel, was one coat, one waistcoat, one pair of breeches, one shirt and stock, one pair of hose, one pair of shoes, and one hat and cockade. His food costing 7*l.* 16s. 5½d. per annum, he had a balance of 4*l.* 17s. 0½d., part of which was thus applied:

	£	s.	d.
Two pairs of black gaiters	0	8	0
A second pair of breeches	0	6	6
Altering clothing to fit	0	2	6
One hair leather	0	0	2½
Two pairs of shoes, at 6s. per pair	0	12	0
One pair of stockings and two of socks	0	1	6
Soleing and heel-piecing	0	4	0
Two shirts at 5s. 6d. each	0	11	0
A foraging cap	0	1	3
A knapsack (at 6s., once in six years)	0	1	0
Pipeclay and whiting	0	4	4
A clothes brush (1s., every two years)	0	0	6
Three shoe brushes	0	1	3
Black ball	0	2	0
Worsted mitts	0	0	9
A powdering bag and puff (once every three years, at 1s. 6d.)	0	0	6
Two combs per year	0	1	0
Grease and powder for the hair	0	3	0
Washing (4d. per week)	0	17	4
	£3	18	7½

Leaving the soldier 28s., or about 6d. per week for everything else he might require.

A few pages will complete the record of 1795-96.

Either from a desire to preserve Holland to the Dutch Republic, or influenced by a sentiment of gratitude for the protection afforded himself and his son, the Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder, had sent out his authority to the colonists of the Cape of Good Hope to place the colony under British protection. The principles of the French Revolution, which had found acceptance in Holland, were not less agreeable to the great majority of the inhabitants of the Cape, and they, therefore, refused, in "the most peremptory terms," the proposals made to them by Major-General Sir James Craig and Admiral Sir G. Keith Elphinstone, to place the settlement under the protection of Great Britain. As the high road to India the Cape of Good Hope was even of more importance to England than to Holland. Once in the hands of an enemy it might be made a basis for the interruption of our commerce with the East Indies. Sir James Craig had only a portion of the 78th Regiment (Highlanders) under his command; but with these, the Marines of the Squadron, and 352 rank and file of the St Helena Regiment, which Governor Brooke sent him, he was enabled to take up and maintain a position at Mayzenberg (Simon's Bay) against the attack of a very superior Force, until the arrival of Major-General Alured Clarke with a considerable armament. On the 14th September, 1795, General Clarke marched from Mayzenberg with his Force, consisting of the 78th, 84th, 95th, and 98th Regiments, and a light company of seamen, while a part of the Fleet went round to Table Bay. They found the Dutch in force at Wynberg, with nine pieces of Artillery. After a very short action the enemy retired, and on the following morning sent in proposals for the surrender of the settlement of Cape Town and its castle. The proposals were accepted, and one thousand men laid down their arms. With the exception of a few men and Officers wounded at Wynberg it was a bloodless and fortunate conquest.

The surrender of the Cape of Good Hope was followed by several captures of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. On the 18th of September Fort Batticaloe surrendered to Major Fraser, of the 72nd; on the 27th Major-General Stuart sailed from Trincomalee, and took possession of Jaffnapatam; the 52nd Regiment captured Molletivoe; Malacca and Chinsurah were given up by the Dutch at about the same time. Colombo fell in February, 1796.

Anxious to assist the Royalist cause in every possible way, the British Government consented to send a small body of troops, under Major-General Needham, to help the Vendeans in their struggles. The Count d'Artois, the brother of Louis XVIII., went on this little and fruitless expedition, and landed with the 12th Regiment of

British Infantry on the Isle de Dieu. The troops took possession of the island, and Major-General Needham put it into a posture of defence, but it was not deemed worth holding, and the troops were soon withdrawn. Some previous attempts to assist the Chouans against the Republicans by sea and land were unsuccessful.

The Forces under Sir C. Grey and his naval colleague had proved inadequate to the heavy task of retaining the West India islands taken from the French. A fierce Republican who had come from Paris with authority to proclaim freedom to the negroes, armed some thousands and recaptured Guadaloupe, St Lucia, and other places. A considerable reinforcement was therefore ordered, and General Sir Ralph Abercomby was appointed to its command, with an effective Staff. Before it could get out to sea a storm of a very severe character scattered many of the ships. Some of them made their way to the West Indies, and arrived in sufficient time to be of service. General the Hon. Sir John Vaughan was Commander-in-Chief, and with the 9th, 61st, and 68th Regiments had met the enemy at St Lucia, but was compelled to cause the island to be evacuated in June, 1795, by Brigadier-General Stewart. He had, however, been successful at Dominique, and put down a rebellion that had broken out under French auspices in Grenada. Later in the year, Major-General Irving with the 40th, 54th, and 59th, succeeded in getting possession of the important post of Vigie, on the island of St Vincent. The enemy drove out the English in January, 1796. The Maroons—a black people who occupied the high lands in Jamaica, having been offended at the alleged violation of a compact with them in the prosecution of one of their number, took up arms and waged a destructive warfare with the British settlers and their slaves. In more than twenty actions they had defied the Regulars and the Militia. They inflicted the most cruel tortures on their prisoners—they descended at night from their fastnesses in the woody eminences and committed dreadful ravages on the wives and families of the settlers—blood-hounds had been employed at the instance of the Jamaica Assembly to track them out, but this form of warfare was properly denounced by the people of England in the name of humanity, and it is satisfactory to know that the Army Officers lent no countenance to so barbarous a proceeding. Through the activity of Major-General Walpole, who had the 16th and 20th Regiments under his command, the Maroons were reduced to submission in May, 1796. In the same month, Brigadier-General Oliver Nicolls achieved a success at Port Royal, Grenada. The Republicans fought desperately, but yielded to the valorous efforts of the 17th Light Dragoons, the 3rd, 8th, 29th, 63rd, and 88th Foot, among the Officers of which Regiments the casualties in killed and wounded were heavy. At length Sir Ralph Abercromby arrived in the West Indies. His first act was to cause Demerara and Essequibo to surrender to the 39th, 93rd, and 99th Regiments under Major-General White—his next to establish a position in St Lucia. The natural difficulties of the country materially assisted the enemy in their defence of the island, but Sir Ralph Abercromby, warmly seconded by a squadron under Admiral Christian, and enjoying the advantage of having such a soldier as Brigadier-General John Moore to give effect to his wishes, completely succeeded in subduing the French, and taking formal possession of St Lucia on the 31st of May. Less than a month afterwards Abercromby took St Vincent's, subdued Grenada, and punished the Charibs for their conduct in aiding the French.

Among the achievements of the British Army should be mentioned the capture of Corsica in 1794. The very slight defence made by the French and the Corsicans in their interest, did not diminish the credit due to the British Regiments under Lieutenant-Colonel John Moore, for the rocky, mountainous country through which they had to march made the service one of some difficulty. Lieutenant-General Dundas described the conduct of all engaged as "firm and judicious."

Early in 1796 an event of a very painful and unusual nature engaged public attention. Colonel J. F. Cawthorne, of the Westminster Middlesex Militia, was tried by Court-Martial on charges of fraud. Divesting them of the ordinary technicalities and repetitions, they amounted to this—that Colonel Cawthorne had received and applied to his own purposes the guineas, commonly called the "marching guineas," issued to the Militia privates; that, in consideration of money corruptly received by him in a scandalous, infamous manner, he had discharged several of the Militiamen of his Regiment; that he had received money for others to procure substitutes for them; pardoned deserters, and placed them in the ranks as substitutes for men who had been chosen by ballot; deducted sundry guineas from the bounty allowed to the substitutes: compelled Militiamen to take articles of clothing and other articles that they did not need, charging them for such articles more than they were worth; withheld winter clothing; wilfully kept the Regiment incomplete, and drew sums of money issued for Regimental purposes, which he applied to his own use; made false returns of the strength of the Corps; reduced a serjeant to the ranks for an offence of which he had been acquitted by a Court-Martial; and obtained commissions for Ensigns who were below the age, that he might appropriate the pay and allowances issued for them.

These charges were brought by Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Kelly, of the same Regiment. Cawthorne was found guilty of several of the charges, and cashiered.

Colonel Cawthorne was at the time a Member of Parliament. After the finding of the Court had been made known, General Smith moved that the Articles of Charge, with the opinions and sentence of the Court, be printed for the use of the House, and, this being done, Mr Cawthorne was called upon for whatever he might offer in his justification. He made a long speech, and urged that the Court-Martial had drawn erroneous inferences from the facts disclosed. He had not been guilty of fraud, misapplication, corruption, and embezzlement. He only admitted that he was culpable of irregularity and error of judgment. Further, that the Court had exceeded its powers, and taken evidence that could not be relied upon. General Smith retorted that he had examined the evidence on the trial with great care, and was convinced of the justice of the sentence. The Colonel had persevered for some time in his misdeeds, and could not plead error of judgment. He moved, therefore, that Colonel Cawthorne be expelled the House of Commons. He (General Smith) in what he was doing was merely following the impulses of his own mind: he did not know there was one man in the House who would second his motion. The great object he had in view was that of keeping up the respectability of the Militia, which was so essential to the safety of the country. "If once the character of that body for honour, integrity, and independence should be gone, farewell to the internal security of Great Britain. The House should not suffer a man to continue a Member who had done that of which the unfortunate gentleman had been proved to be guilty." Mr Wigley was of opinion that the Colonel had acted from an error of judgment. General Macleod and General Tarleton believed the sentence of the Court-Martial was a just one, but they were opposed to the doctrine that the House of Commons should accept verdicts of Military Courts as a sufficient reason for expulsion. Mr Pitt was of the same opinion, if a satisfactory statement were made to the House that the charges were not of a nature to render a Member unworthy of his seat. But this saving condition did not occur in this case. The matter was pressed to a division, and Colonel Cawthorne was expelled the House by a vote of 108 Members, in a House numbering 120 only.

The last incident of any moment in the year 1796 would scarcely deserve mention but that it demonstrated the readiness of the Army at all times to act in defence of the country.

So frequently had the threat of invasion been held out to England by the French, without any real attempt having followed, that the public were not always on the *qui vive** against such measures. Happily, however, the watchfulness of the English cruisers, and the activity of the agents of the Ministry, supplied timely information of the enemy's designs, and put the country upon its guard. Ireland was now the destined object of French visitation. The Republicans had been led to believe that there was a great number of Catholic Irish discontented with British rule, and prepared to support any movement that might be made with the view to their emancipation from the Saxon yoke. Under this impression, and glad of the chance of depriving Great Britain of the rich *matériel* and *personnel* of war Ireland invariably contributed, they equipped an immense armament at Brest, the purposes of which were kept tolerably secret. General Hoche, whose military renown was scarcely inferior to that of Jourdain, Pichegru, or Moreau, was nominated to the command, and a terrible blow impended over Great Britain. Troops were hurried into Ireland, and a Naval Squadron was detached to encounter the enemy. Not for the first time did the elements befriend our sea-girt isle. Delays had kept back the French Fleet and invading Army until the tempestuous month of December, when a storm arose of so heavy a character that many of the ships were wrecked, some prevented reaching the Irish coast, and one or two taken or driven ashore. General Hoche arrived in Bantry Bay with a small part of the Force, and was urged by the Officers under his command to effect a landing. The Admiral, however, contended that, bereft of a large number of his vessels, the position could not be maintained, and he insisted on retiring to France.

Had the French effected a landing in Bantry Bay they would have experienced a warm reception in the offensive sense. A large and efficient Militia, a well trained Yeomanry, supplemented by Infantry Regiments of the Line, and a strong detachment of Dragoon Guards and Light Dragoons, sent specially over from England, were drawn up to dispute the visit of the French, and demonstrate to the plotters of the invasion how little chance they had of the realisation of their dark projects.

The Lord-Lieutenant, in reviewing the conduct of the troops when the French Fleet arrived in Bantry Bay, wrote to the Duke of Portland:

"Upon reviewing what has passed during this expedition of the enemy, I have the satisfaction

* As this phrase, which has purely a Military signification, has crept into civil use, it may not be out of place to mention that it is, or was, the ordinary challenge of the French sentinel, and is tantamount to the "Who goes there?" or "Who comes here?" of the English sentry.

to reflect that the best spirit was manifested by His Majesty's Regular and Militia Forces; and I have every reason to believe that if a landing had taken place, they would have displayed the utmost fidelity. When the flank companies of the Antrim Regiment were formed, the whole Regiment turned out to a man, with expressions of the greatest eagerness to march; and the Downshire Regiment to a man declared they would stand and fall by their Officers. At the time the Army was ordered to march the weather was extremely severe; I therefore ordered them a prop rtion of spirits upon their route, and directed an allowance of fourpence a day to their wives until their return. During their march the utmost attention was paid them by the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they passed, so that in many places the meat provided by the Commissariat was not consumed. The roads, which in parts had been rendered impassable by the snow, were cleared by the peasantry. The poor people often shared their potatoes with them, and dressed their meat without demanding payment, of which there was a very particular instance in the town of Banagher, where no gentleman or principal farmer resides to set them the example. At Carlow a considerable subscription was made for the troops as they passed; and at Limerick and Cork every exertion was used to facilitate the carriage of artillery and baggage, by premiums to the carmen; and in the town of Galway, which for a short time was left with a very inadequate garrison, the zeal and ardour of the inhabitants and Yeomanry was peculiarly manifested, and in a manner to give me the utmost satisfaction. In short, the general good disposition of the people through the south and west was so prevalent, that, had the enemy landed, their hope of assistance from the inhabitants would have been totally disappointed."

The Light Dragoons were particular objects of the Duke of York's attention on their return to England. Their value had been established on several occasions in French Flanders and the West Indies, and it was due to them that they should be rendered still more efficient for future warfare. Certain alterations in their equipment were decreed. Leather pantaloons and short boots were substituted for the heavy jack boot and buff breeches. Waistcoats were discontinued. The sword belt was placed round the waist, and the blade of the sword was lengthened. Veterinary Surgeons were attached to Light and Heavy Dragoons, and—shall we add this to the improvements?—Regimental Chaplains were abolished.

CHAPTER XIX.

Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy—War with Spain—Trinidad Surrenders—Failure at Porto Rico—The Bayonet—The Cape Corps—The French land at Fishguard—Compelled to Surrender—Troops sent to Portugal—Sir Ralph Abercromby in Ireland—The Rebellion of 1798—The French, under General Humbert, land in Killala, and are Defeated—Minorca taken from the Spaniards—Failure at Ostend—St Domingo Evacuated—The Soldier's Pay Increased—The Militia Allowed to Enter the Line—Change in the Arms of the Cavalry.

Unremitting in their ardour, the French Republicans continued their course of victory on the Continent of Europe, in 1797. Sweeping over the Alps, they were resolved on revolutionizing Italy, and in prosecution of this design encountered and overthrew the Austrians and Sardinians. The seeds of soldiership sown by Pichegru and Moreau fructified under Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been drawn from his retirement in Nice, whither he had repaired after the conquest of Toulon, to assist the Directory in restoring Paris to order. Appointed General-in-Chief of the Army of Italy, he hastened to assume the command of some thousands of ragged and despairing Republicans, then in the neighbourhood of Genoa, and, with the fire of his genius, lighted up a new enthusiasm, which carried them triumphantly through a "sea of troubles." Barefooted, tattered, and hungry, they followed the young Corsican Artillerist into fertile plains and rich cities, and clothed and fed themselves with the spoils of success. The Austrian Chief had divided his forces. Pouncing first upon one Division and then another, Napoleon destroyed them in detail, and never paused until he had carried the flag of the Republic to Milan. Wherever there was difficulty or danger, the General was present animating by his example, inspiring by his language. He literally annihilated Time, accomplishing in a few weeks what would have occupied months and years under the Marshals of the old school. The emigrant Royalists not only did not understand, but absolutely ridiculed such marvellous celerity of movement. "*Bah! ce Monsieur la ne comprends pas la guerre! Donnez-moi la guerre de sept ans—la guerre de trente ans!*" Such men would have been in their glory at Troy, or with Cyrus at Babylon. They could not reconcile the modern Alexander to their notions of Generalship. But the soldiers loved the man who showed them the road to conquest and rewarded them with substance as well as honour. "*Ce cher petit caporal!*" was the endearing epithet bestowed upon him after he had rushed across the bridge at Lodi, crying, "Follow me!" *

* The French were not alone in selecting the epithet of "corporal," wherewith to dignify the bravery and skill of their Commander. We have seen that Marlborough had earned a similar title nearly a century earlier. He was "Corporal John."

England's weakness and misfortune had always been Spain's opportunity, and the embarrassments of the year 1797 formed no exception to her rule of hostile action. Partly for this reason, and partly because she feared that sooner or later her Catholic frontiers would be crossed by Irreligion in arms, she entered into friendly relations with the French Republic. War with England was formally declared.

Acting upon the policy adopted in the case of Havannah, the British Government took advantage of Sir Ralph Abercromby's presence in the West Indies to authorise an attack upon the Spanish possessions, especially as they had become places of refuge for democratic agitators. Trinidad—a beautiful and fertile island, conspicuous as the rendezvous of the Republicans—was the first point to which Sir Ralph directed his attention. A formidable expedition bore down upon the island. The Spaniards saw the inutility of resistance, and, immediately setting fire to their Fleet, surrendered at discretion. Sir Ralph Abercromby left Colonel Picton in charge of Trinidad, as soon as it had fallen into his hands, and proceeded to make an attack on Porto Rico. But this place was a harder nut to crack than he anticipated. The Spaniards raised a breastwork on the beach, and received the English with a galling fire. Springing into the water and forming up, the troops assailed the Spanish works, and drove out their occupants at the point of the bayonet. The Spaniards fled across a bridge erected in the rear of their batteries. The English followed. A *tête-de-pont* resisted their progress until the enemy had reached the opposite shore and blew up the bridge. Sir Ralph established batteries for the siege of the town, but in the night the garrison attacked him in the rear in great force, and he was obliged to abandon his project.

The power of the bayonet, so strikingly illustrated in the assault on the breastwork, and in many of the campaigns described in the foregoing pages, would lead to the supposition that desperate hand-to-hand encounters, where the glistening steel is crossed in deadly conflict, were every-day occurrences in war. This would be erroneous. The instances are very rare in which two opposing forces of any considerable strength have stood for a moment at close quarters with that terrible instrument of death. This fact, however well substantiated, does not detract in the least from the value of the bayonet as a weapon, nor from the grandeur of a charge, but only diminishes the worth of those pictorial illustrations of warfare which are intended by artists of lively fancies to convey an idea of the shock of rival Forces. The unmilitary reader may inquire—if the bayonet is so seldom used, in what manner does it so often decide the fate of battles and of nations? In short, where lies its merit? It lies in its *moral effect*,—in that almost instantaneous conviction of success or defeat which the first sight of the glittering steel inspires. The attacking party always has the advantage in this particular, for it is reasonable to suppose that they know something of the number and weak points of the party to be attacked, while the approach of a Force on the charge at double-quick, with the terrific yell which usually attends such a movement, gives the opposite party an exaggerated idea of its numerical strength. Therefore, it is oftener than otherwise that the party attacked breaks and runs after firing a volley at a short range. But should it stand firm, the chances are that the attacking party would halt, and contest the ground with powder and ball. Thus the bayonet, although seldom drawing blood, performs an important part in almost every engagement. In this view we are sustained by one of the most able Military writers of the age, the late General Mitchell, the author of a work on 'Tactics,' the 'Life of Wallenstein,' &c. He says:

"If there is one subject upon which, more than another, writers have perpetuated the crudest notions, and upon which the most erroneous ideas are still widely entertained, it is that of the bayonet charges of lines of Infantry. The relations of modern campaigns abound, it is true, with accounts of 'splendid bayonet charges'; but did the reader ever come to a detail of the conflict—of the actuality and its material results? After the war of the Spanish Succession and the battle of Spires, the Infantry of all European nations lost the taste for close conflict, and the bayonet appears everywhere more threatening than murderous. The wars of the eighteenth century, with their improved fire tactics, exhibit no more the sturdy old practice of former days. Matters began then to terminate at the very moment which had previously been their commencement only. In the war of 1700, Folard says it was not attempted to engage hand to hand, not even on the most favourable ground, although the Turennes and the Condés had never fought otherwise. He assures us, moreover, that the old Officers were quite beside themselves to see the decline of that good old custom. Charles XII. tried in vain to dissuade his Swedes from firing, and to give them a relish for falling to at once with the bayonet. Marshal Saxe, after describing the tactics of his day, and informing us in what manner battles were opened, suddenly inquires—'And what happens then? Why, both sides begin to fire, which is a misery to behold. At length they advance upon each other, and generally, at fifty or sixty paces, more or less, one or other party breaks and runs. Do you call that attacking?'"

What says Berenhorst on the subject:—"Your fabricators of Military relations make it appear that all great actions are performed with the bayonet; every one is threatened with the bayonet; Generals command the charge with the bayonet. But in *petto* it is taken for granted beforehand that the opposite party will not wait for it."

In another place he says, "For him who has the right notion of this evolution, bayonet charges are merely a figure of rhetoric, *une manière de parler*, which means nothing more than that one party runs on smartly, and the other leaves the field to him." Hear further Jomini, in his 'Critical and Military History,' whose opinion is also that bayonet attacks take place mostly in relations. The Archduke Charles, no mean authority, says, in his 'Campaign of 1799,' "Physical strength decides but seldom, even in the greatest battles." So weighty a word may be considered as expressing pretty closely the real shape of the thing; and Hoyer states his conviction that "there are but few or no examples that the bayonet has been really resorted to in good earnest."

Glancing for a moment at the Cape of Good Hope, we find that a number of Hottentots, having presented themselves at the head-quarters of the Light Infantry Brigade under Major King of the 87th Regiment, were embodied into a corps, and placed in the hands of a British Subaltern. The employment of such men, in the unsettled state of a new colony, was a stroke of policy, inasmuch as it spared the European troops the irksomeness of detached duty, and provided them with a description of auxiliary always useful in field service. The corps had an early opportunity of establishing its value, for a rebellion having broken out on the Caffre frontier, a squadron of the 8th Light Dragoons, with other troops and the Hottentot Corps, went forward to its suppression, and performed the duty very satisfactorily. Brigadier Vandeleur, who commanded the detachment, spoke in very favourable terms of the conduct of the Hottentots, who were afterwards formed into a complete Cavalry Regiment, under the denomination of "The Cape Mounted Riflemen."

The failure of the Expedition under Hoche had not led the French to abandon their designs upon England. So far from having any intention of relinquishing the idea of an invasion, the Directory published a Proclamation directly announcing its hostile purposes, and, in effect, on the 20th of February (1797) a Corps of fourteen hundred strong was put on board three frigates and a corvette, and sent to the Devonshire coast. Entering the harbour of Ilfracombe the Expedition scuttled and destroyed several small trading vessels, and might have proceeded to further outrage had not Colonel Orchard, at the head of a body of Volunteers, hastened to dispute the landing of the troops. Alarmed at this manifestation of force, the armament stood over to Pembrokeshire, and by the 23rd of February had landed at Fishguard. They fully expected to find that the country people had imbibed revolutionary tastes, and would forthwith join them. But instead of sympathy they met Lord Cawdor with 700 Militia and Volunteers and other armed men, who compelled them to lay down their arms,—the ships escaping and leaving them to their fate. It is difficult to imagine what could have induced the French to venture upon so mad a project with such slender means. They must have acted upon some erroneous information as to the feeling prevalent in the country, or perhaps believed that a reconnaissance might be effected preparatory to more extensive arrangements. At all events the little Expedition established the facility with which the coast could be insulted uninterrupted by the Channel Fleet.

In the summer of 1797 it was deemed advisable to send the 12th Light Dragoons, the 2nd Battalion of the Royals, the 18th, 15th, and 51st Regiments, to Portugal; and further to depute Officers with a step of Brevet rank to take in hand the discipline of Portuguese levies, for our old Ally had firmly refused to become a party to a treaty which Spain had entered into with France, in view to the destruction of British commerce.

Ireland, at all times more or less a 'difficulty' in the estimation of the British Government, became a subject of considerable distress and some alarm in 1797. Very early in that year the Earl of Moira moved in the House of Lords, that the King should be solicited to interpose his patient and beneficent interference to remedy the discontent which prevailed among the Roman Catholics. The upper classes were dissatisfied because they were excluded from State affairs, and the privilege of sitting in Parliament, and the peasantry groaned under the oppressive enactments which forced them to pay tithes for the support of the Protestant Church, and denied them the advantage of long leases of their bits of land. Lord Fitzwilliam, as Lord Lieutenant, had endeavoured by sundry wise and considerate measures to heal the wounds of the people, but he had been recalled when his conciliatory rule was most needed. Lord Moira pleaded for a "policy of equity and good faith." Lord Granville, on the other hand, contended that the King had done everything during thirty-six years of rule to remove the grounds of discontent in Ireland;—commerce had improved, the people were allowed the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; the Catholics had been admitted to the enjoyment

of their property, and shared the right of voting for the election of Members of Parliament. Lord Granville was also of opinion that it would be injudicious to interfere in the internal affairs of Ireland, and lead the people to believe that their own Legislature was indifferent to their welfare. At that time a Parliament was sitting in Dublin, and the eloquence of Grattan and Curran made audible the wrongs of the Catholics. Mr Fox and Mr Sheridan echoed, in the House of Commons, the sentiments of Lord Moira in the House of Lords; but Toryism was omnipotent in the British Parliament, and the Government was deaf to the appeals of the friends of liberty. To add to the distractions of the country, the Army in Ireland had become very licentious, and its conduct on detached duty was extremely oppressive to the peasantry. Civil magistrates used it as a means to their selfish ends, and following upon this source of disquietude, General Lake issued a proclamation in the North, where he commanded, to the effect that he had received authority to interfere with the King's troops in such a manner as the public safety required. In 1791 a body of men, in no way distinguished by education, ability, or influence, had formed an association of "United Irishmen," and, under the operation of coercive laws, they had gradually made many converts, and gained much strength. One of their most active members, Wolfe Tone, had fled from Ireland to America, whence he went to France, and, by his talents and exertions, induced the Republicans to venture upon the expedition under General Hoche. These United Irishmen were planning an insurrection throughout the country, and their purposes were strengthened by the conduct of the Legislature and the upper classes.

In this unquiet state of things, General Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had relinquished his post in the West Indies because he did not relish the combination of Military and Civil authority, was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland on the resignation of Lord Carhampton. Sir Ralph brought to his troublesome task judgment, firmness, temper, and integrity. He found the Infantry scattered over the country in small detachments, and quite unfit for service; the Cavalry were equally dispersed and irregular; and all were "under Officers very little able to command them." Courts-Martial had become numerous. Sir Ralph immediately applied himself to the rectification of this state of things. He addressed a Circular Order to the General Officers commanding Districts and Brigades, calling upon them to concentrate the troops as much as possible, and exert for themselves, and compel from all Officers under their command, the strictest and most unremitting attention to the discipline, good order, and conduct of the men, such as might "restore the high and distinguished reputation which the British Army had been accustomed to enjoy in every part of the world." In their dispersed condition the troops were, Sir Ralph thought, exposed to be corrupted, disarmed, and made prisoners. The Commander-in-Chief made a tour through the Southern districts of the country. He found the upper classes had "fallen into lethargy, and were only occupied in eating and drinking, or uttering unmanly fears." The humbler orders claimed his sympathy. He knew by experience that the Irish made excellent soldiers when well commanded, and he had often entrusted the execution of critical service to Regiments composed wholly of Irishmen.

Vain were Sir Ralph Abercromby's endeavours to carry out his views. Lord Camden, the Lord Lieutenant, was a weak man, who suffered himself to be swayed entirely by the people about him. At one time he gave Sir Ralph *carte blanche*, and as suddenly withdrew it, insisting that the troops should be authorized to act without the intervention of the civil power. It was useless for the General to contend that that could not be done without great inconvenience and danger;—that it was trusting too much to the discretion of incompetent Officers—was ruinous to discipline, and calculated to lead to excesses oppressive of the people. Lord Camden pursued his course of reliance on the wisdom of his little coterie of officials, and Sir Ralph, in utter disgust and hopelessness, resigned his command in March, 1798. The Duke of York, with the authority of the King, immediately appointed Sir Ralph to command the Army in Scotland as a just and decided tribute to his ability and uprightness. At the Levée at St James's Palace, the King said to Abercromby, "They have used you ill in Ireland, and you are now going to Scotland, where they will know how to respect you and treat you better." And the King took the opportunity of saying this in the hearing of some Irish politicians and one of the Ministry.

Sir Ralph's back had not been turned many weeks upon Ireland when the disaffection in the country reached its culmination. The people had been for some time intent upon war—they had accumulated arms and ammunition—the manufacture of pikes was carried on with great assiduity, and drilling, under French Officers, had become a constant occupation with the peasantry. The conspiracy was discovered in April, in Belfast. The Insurrection Act was immediately enforced, and the troops and the inhabitants at once came into collision. The Orange Associations which had been formed vehemently opposed the "*Defenders*," as the Catholic "United Irishmen" called themselves, and the whole country soon assumed the aspect of a deadly civil war.

The malcontents collected in numerous and large bodies, and committed every species of outrage and devastation. The proclamations of the Government were altogether disregarded. And although the people in the South were reduced to a forlorn condition from the failure of the French Republic to send arms and accoutrements, their enthusiasm knew no abatement. They crowded at the summons of their Chiefs to the appointed rendezvous, and boldly faced the soldiery. The Military were in motion all over the country, and reinforcements were sent from England. The troops consisted of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Dragoon Guards, the 5th Dragoons, the 9th and 23rd Light Dragoons, the 2nd Queen's Royals, the 6th, 13th, and 64th Foot. Numerous Regiments of Militia, Fencibles, and Yeomanry were also afoot. Almost simultaneously rushing into conflict with the Military, the insurgents were generally discomfited in a single action. At Naas, where the first blood was shed, they were forced to retire by Lord Gosford; they were defeated at Kilkullen by General Dundas; Lord Roden dispersed them at Rathfernham and Tallaght Hill; Major Dennis overcame them at Carlow, and Sir James Duff at Kildare. At Wexford, however, the rebels were 15,000 strong, and made a desperate and successful stand. They forced back the 4th Dragoon Guards and overcame the garrison, Colonel Foote and two soldiers only escaping. At New Ross they were overthrown by Major-General Johnson. In this action Lord Mountjoy, of the 4th Dragoon Guards, was killed. At Newtown Barry the "Defenders" twice came into collision with the troops. On the first occasion they were thrown into disorder by Colonel L'Estrange. On the second they were discomfited by General Needham, Colonel Walpole being slain in the encounter. It was not until General Lake met the rebels at Vinegar Hill, near Enniscorthy, that the neck of the insurrection was broken. A just retribution fell on the *soi-disant* "Defenders." Instigated by the priesthood, they had taken and maliciously butchered some hundreds of Protestants. They were now attacked in force in a good position, and were entirely defeated. But it was the end of August before the Rebellion was entirely crushed. On the 22nd of that month nine hundred Frenchmen landed at Killala and proceeded to Castlebar. Finding General Lake with a small detachment, they vigorously attacked him. He was obliged to retire with the loss of six pieces of cannon. Advancing to Tuam, however, they met their match, and this second attempt to "rescue Ireland from the Saxon grip" was as unlucky as the first. Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, coming up with the rear-guard of the French Force, called upon them to surrender; but as they did not attend to his summons he attacked them. Two hundred of their number immediately threw down their arms. Under the idea that the others would do the same thing, Colonel Pakenham and Major-General Craddock rode up to them. The enemy, however, instantly commenced a discharge of cannon and musketry, which wounded Craddock. General Lake, who was in command, immediately ordered up the 3rd Battalion of Light Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Innes, and commenced an attack on the enemy's position. The action was brief; half-an-hour had scarcely elapsed since its commencement, when the residue of the British column made its appearance, and the French Corps at once surrendered at discretion. The rebels fled, and suffered severely.

Thus was extinguished the last organised attempt on the part of the Irish Catholics to obtain redress by force. Considering their state of indiscipline, the conduct of the troops was praiseworthy. They would probably have been more uniformly successful had Sir Ralph Abercromby's plans been carried out. As it was, one serious case of demoralisation illustrated the force of his remonstrances. The 5th Royal Irish Dragoons were alleged to be guilty of sharing in the conspiracy, and it was found necessary to send the Regiment to England, and disband it altogether. The facts connected with this solitary exception to the loyalty of the troops are briefly these

The Regiment had fought at New Ross, Wexford, and Vinegar Hill, where it behaved extremely well. The Regiment, six hundred strong, was subsequently ordered to Drogheda. At Lebaunstown Huts some men from each troop were left behind to take charge of the baggage and sick, receiving orders at the same time to engage recruits. A party of rebels that had assembled in the neighbourhood sent several men to enlist. A conspiracy was entered into, and the small garrison, consisting of about seventy dismounted or sick Dragoons, and a similar number of the King's County Militia, were to be put to the sword; it was, however, discovered an hour before the time appointed for the attempt, and the conspirators were seized and executed. One James M'Nassar was the chief of the plot, and turned King's evidence; two brothers, by name Feney, who had deserted from the Regiment, were taken up by the Yeomanry, in the act of plundering, and were tried and executed; whilst M'Nassar, who, with the exception of the new comers, was the only man of the Regiment implicated, escaped with fourteen years' transportation. Lord Rossmore, the Colonel of the Regiment, was absent at the time; he was freed from all blame; the Officers demanded an inquiry, but it was refused; nevertheless, they were granted their full-pay till the 24th of December following, and the

men were drafted into different Regiments. The Officers and men were told there was no stain upon their characters, yet was the Regiment expunged from the Army List. It was supposed that an intrigue to get the Regiment removed from the Irish establishment, in which persons of influence were concerned, had its weight with the authorities; for in the proceedings of the Court-Martial held at Dublin upon the Feneys and M'Nassar, not an iota of evidence was produced that could cast a slur upon the Corps.

The Rebellion in Ireland so completely engrossed the attention of the British Military authorities in 1798, that very little was attempted in the way of opposition abroad to the progress of the French Republicans and their Spanish allies. The most noteworthy event was the capture of Minorca, which had been held by the Spaniards since the last great peace. Early in November, Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Charles R. Stuart, with a very small Force, conspicuous in which were the 8th Foot and a battalion of the 42nd Highlanders, effected a landing on the island. Sir Charles was opposed by 2,000 Spanish troops. With a division of 800 men he repulsed the attack, and then advanced to the capital. Arriving there, after surmounting many difficulties of roads, Sir Charles encamped his small Force on some heights in the evening, and immediately began to light numerous fires in many places to convey to the garrison an idea that a large Army was in reality assembled in its front. In the morning, before they could ascertain the exact strength of the invaders, the Spanish garrison capitulated; and it then discovered that the prisoners were more numerous than the body of troops to whom they had succumbed.

Less fortunate than this operation was the attempt made by an expedition under Sir Eyre Coote to destroy the basin, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal. The intent of this measure was to interrupt the communication between Ostend and Holland. The works were destroyed and, so far, the expedition was a success; but while the re-embarkation of the troops was in progress, a storm of so violent a character arose that they could not get on board the transports for the wind and the surf. The French took advantage of the circumstance, attacked the troops with a superior force, and compelled them to surrender. The regiments thus made prisoners were the 17th Light Dragoons, the 11th and 23rd Foot. Col. Hely, of the 11th, was killed in the action. The prisoners were all sent to Lille.

Another misfortune incident to the year and the war was the evacuation by the British of the island of St Domingo. Assisted by the French Republicans, the negroes asserted their independence, and one of their own race, a daring fellow named Toussaint L'Ouverture, became their chief. It would have been impossible to hold the island with satisfaction after the revolt, even if the Military strength had sufficed for purposes of coercion.

The years 1797 and '98 were eventful in a Military sense in more respects than one. In the former year the pay of the soldier was fixed at one shilling per diem, with a stoppage on home service of 6½d. per day, and on foreign service of 6d. a day when rationed, and 3½d. a day when not rationed by the public.

In 1797, a Bill was passed introducing the Militia system into Scotland. In its preamble it stated that experience had proved the value of the Militia as a defensive force; but the Act when put in operation was opposed by riotous proceedings in the Highlands, under the erroneous impression that the ballot was used to enable the Crown to remove the people from Scotland.

In 1798 a Bill was passed giving Militia-men the privilege of enlisting into the Line after the expiry of their term. Until then the Militia had always been reclaimed by the local authorities as soon as their home employment had terminated.

No further alterations were made in the equipment of the troops beyond the substitution in the Cavalry of carbines and bayonets and a single pistol, for the firelocks hitherto in use. In the Guards, the service of Lieutenants before they could hold the rank of Captain was reduced from seven to four years.

In the Naval history of 1798 it is recorded that the seamen of the Fleet in England mutinied to obtain an increase of wages and other advantages. A more serious revolt had never occurred, and it required all the firmness and sagacity of the Admirals and the Government to bring the men back to reason and obedience. Many seditious publications were circulated at the time among the soldiery to seduce them from their allegiance, but unavailingly. The 2nd Queen's Royals being at Plymouth at the time subscribed one hundred guineas as a reward for the discovery of the distributors of these publications and the detection of the men who had tried to bribe the soldiery.

CHAPTER XX.

Tippoo Sahib renews Hostilities with England—Concerts Measures with the French—Lord Mornington Equips an Army to chastise Tippoo—Battle of Malavelly and Siege of Seringapatam—Expedition to the Helder—The Duke of York appointed to Command—Battle of Egmont-op-Zee—Other Battles—Suspension of Arms—Holland Evacuated by the English—Expedition to Egypt, under Abercromby—Battle of Alexandria—Death of Sir R. Abercromby—His Character—The French expelled from Egypt—General Baird's March from Cosseir to Rosetta—Rejoicings in England.

Since his discomfiture by Lord Cornwallis, Tippoo Sahib—or Sultaun—had never ceased to watch for an opportunity of avenging himself upon his English neighbours. Their successes in the East were the more galling to him, inasmuch as they invariably consolidated their conquests by an equitable system of government, which attached the natives to their rule, and presented a contrast to his own despotism sufficiently powerful to suggest discontents within the territory over which he still held sway. Irregular as the intercommunication between Europe and India then was, and imperfect as were the means available to the Native Chieftains of obtaining a knowledge of the course of events on the European Continent, Tippoo nevertheless contrived to learn what had been passing in France and Holland, Germany and Italy. It had reached him that the French had become all-powerful by force of arms, and that the English had experienced certain reverses in their endeavours to arrest the torrent of revolutionary principles which had rushed through empires, overturning monarchical institutions, and disturbing geographical arrangements. He knew that the French had a colony in the Indian Seas which the English arms had yet spared to them, and that the inhabitants were hostile to the people upon whom he desired to wreak his vengeance. That colony, now a British possession, termed Mauritius, was then called the Isle of France, prosperous, well governed and protected. To the Government of this island Tippoo sent Ambassadors (1797), with proposals to enter into an offensive alliance against the English. He engaged to subsidize and support any adequate number of French troops that might be sent to him, and with their aid to drive the British out of India. His views found acceptance with the authorities at the Isle of France, and General Bonaparte, who was then in Egypt, believing that the designs of the French Directory upon the British possessions would be promoted by a confederation with the Native Chieftains in India, addressed a letter to Tippoo, of a sufficiently exciting character to encourage in him a renewal of hostilities with the English power. To strengthen his hands still further, Tippoo opened a communication with the Nizam or Viceroy of the Deccan, who cherished an antipathy to the English, and likewise sent proposals to Ahmed Shah, the ruler of Affghanistan, conjuring him, in the name of their common religion (Mahometanism) to send an Army over the frontier, and help to crush their Christian foes.

Before the schemes of Tippoo and his friends could reach maturity, they were happily discovered by the Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley), who was then Governor-General of India. The Earl immediately addressed a letter to Tippoo, warning him of the probable consequences of an alliance with a Power which was, in principle, opposed to all regal Despotisms, and urging the propriety of his abstaining from hostile proceedings. In order to gain time, Tippoo sent a delusive reply, disavowing offensive intentions, at the same time hinting at his dissatisfaction with the English. He added that the hunting season having commenced, he was about to leave Mysore upon a sporting expedition, and would not, for some time, engage in political negotiations.* Lord Mornington was not to be deceived or trifled with. He saw through Tippoo's artifice, and resolved to proceed against him immediately. He accordingly directed General Stuart to take the field with 6,000 efficient troops, and move to the Coromandel Coast. In the meantime two hundred Frenchmen had landed at Mangalore, with the view of joining Tippoo. General Harris, the Governor of Madras, acting under instructions from the Earl of Mornington, instantly assembled an Army to operate upon Tippoo's capital of Seringapatam, and early in 1799 was in a condition to punish the Sultan's perfidy. Tippoo, seeing the importance of immediate action, did not wait for General Harris, but collected his troops and went forth to meet him at some distance from his capital. Among the British Regiments which had been sent to strengthen the Indian Establishment was the 33rd Foot, which, under Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Arthur Wellesley—the brother of the Earl of Mornington—had behaved in so exemplary a manner during the retreat to Bremen in 1794. This Corps, with others, chiefly Sepoys, confronted Tippoo Sahib at Mallavelly, and, aided by the Light Dragoons under General Floyd, overthrew

* Tippoo did not hunt the tiger so much for the pleasure of slaying him as of capturing the mighty monster of the forests. He had a perfect menagerie of these beasts, and occasionally caused a poor prisoner to be torn to pieces in his presence for their and his own peculiar gratification. Among the spoils taken at Seringapatam was a curious wooden figure of a tiger, rudely carved, in the act of devouring an English soldier, who lay beneath his paws. A certain apparatus within the effigy discoursed an indifferent quality of music illustrative of the agonies of the victim. This singularly savage group was in the museum of the East India Company during their occupation of their old "House" in Leadenhall street.

the Mysorean Chief, and compelled him to seek refuge within the walls of his capital. He had previously been beaten by General Stuart at Sedaseer (March, 1799), with a very heavy loss, after a battle of five hours' duration. General Harris followed Tippoo to Seringapatam, a fortified town situated on a small island in the river Cauvery, and immediately commenced his siege operations. These were completed in a few days, a storm of metal hailed upon the walls, a breach was rapidly established, and Seringapatam was stormed—the 33rd, 73rd, 74th, and 75th gallantly leading the way. Tippoo fought with a bravery worthy of a better cause. He fell, sword in hand; his capital was taken, and his territories transferred to the British rule. Colonel Wellesley was appointed Governor of Seringapatam, and, by the mildness and justice of his rule, rapidly reconciled the people to their change of masters.

While these events were passing in the East, Holland had again become the theatre of war. France, which had overrun Italy, Savoy, and Switzerland, after having subdued the Seven United Provinces, Flanders, and all the countries west of the Rhine, had invaded Germany a second time, and now showed mankind that peace and repose would not be granted them on any conditions. The countries that had submitted to the Republican Forces were treated with a rigour and insulting mockery that almost staggers belief, and those which resisted them could neither obtain peace nor security on honourable terms. War, therefore, against the common enemy of the happiness and prosperity of society had become the cause of mankind.

From the representations continually made to the British Government and the fugitive Prince of Orange, it was apparent that the inhabitants of Flanders and Brabant were growing quite impatient of their situation, and that, could a fair footing once be obtained, the whole of that rich and extensive country might be restored to its liberties. Here a motive was presented for a renewal of active hostilities with the French in the Batavian Republic. Another was found in the importance of drawing off the enemy from their designs on Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, the Armies of which countries were but too tardily recruited to make up the losses they had sustained, and were daily enduring. To effect this diversion in favour of the Allies, and endeavour to restore the independence of Holland and re-establish the Prince of Orange as the head of the Government, a treaty was entered into with the Emperor of Russia, who was ready enough to allow his troops to be employed against the French if he were not expected to bear the cost. It was arranged that the combined Army should be placed under the command of the Duke of York, partly because his rank and reputation would impart a *prestige* to the enterprise, and partly because it was due to him that he should have an opportunity of repairing the injury done to his fame by the defection of the Dutch troops at a critical hour in 1794. It was expected that the Prussians would join the expedition, but the King had his own reasons for keeping on good terms with the French Directory, and it was likewise believed that the Dutch would declare against the French as soon as they should find that the success of the English and the Russians would make it safe for them to do so. Preparations for the armament were made with great energy and rapidity. To the guidance of Sir Ralph Abercromby the leading Division was committed, and he sailed from Deal, with Admiral Mitchell, in August (1799), and joined Lord Duncan in the North Seas.

Tempestuous weather obstructed the progress of the Division for some days, and gave the enemy time to make his preparations. Two or three times the transports and their convoy were baffled by storms. On the 27th of August, however, the Fleet came to an anchor near the shores of the Helder, a strong point in the northern extremity of the mainland of Holland. Sir Ralph Abercromby lost no time in effecting a landing. Sir James Pulteney commanded the first detachment, and obtained a footing, covered by the guns of the Fleet. The enemy was not idle. All arms were brought to bear upon the intruders, and as the ground was ill-adapted to good formations, by reason of the numerous sand-hills stretching along the shore, not more than one Battalion at a time could be placed in line. Nevertheless, the enemy was driven to a position six miles distant. In the combat Sir James Pulteney received a wound, which obliged him to leave the field. On the following day the whole of the troops were landed, and a Brigade under Colonel Macdonald took possession of the Helder. More troops arriving, the fortifications of the Helder were rapidly strengthened, and with this base of operations Major-General John Moore and the Marquis of Huntly made preparations for a movement in a southerly direction. On the 30th of August the Dutch Fleet surrendered to Admiral Mitchell, and the flag of the Prince of Orange was hoisted. On the 9th of September, the Duke of York arrived with 7,000 more men, and the island of Texel was taken possession of by the Fleets. The combined armies of the French and Batavian Republics now appeared in full force. They numbered 25,000 men, and occupied a strong position between the Helder and Alkmaar. Sir Ralph Abercromby was the first to experience their attentions. He reciprocated them vigorously—the enemy fell back on Alkmaar. Now came the Russians. With this accession the Force under the Duke of York was 35,000 strong.

Advantageously posted, the enemy gave the Duke battle without delay. The Russians took the initiative, but with a heedless impetuosity which disordered their ranks. This gave the Republicans an advantage by which they were not slow to profit. The ditches and canals which everywhere intersected the battle-field were singularly in their favour. Column after column was obliged to retire before their measured but rapid attacks. The Russians were in full retreat when the Duke of York, to give them time to re-form, attacked a village in possession of the enemy. Unfortunately the Russians did not rally. The Republicans then directed all their energies to the English, and the Duke was under the necessity of falling back.

Early in October reinforcements came from Russia, and the Duke was enabled to renew the contest. A severe battle was fought at Egmont-op-Zee, and the French were entirely defeated. "Under the Divine Providence," wrote the Duke, "the signal victory obtained over the enemy is to be ascribed to the animated and persevering exertions which have been at all times the characteristics of the British soldier; and which on no occasion were ever more eminently displayed." The 1st Royals, the 20th, the 25th Royal Borderers, the 49th, the 63rd, the 79th and 92nd Highlanders immortalized themselves. The Duke was warmly supported by the Generals under his orders, and he gratefully acknowledged their services. Sir Ralph Abercromby, Sir David Dundas, Lord Paget, Sir J. Pulteney, and Colonel Macdonald were conspicuous for their zeal.

The success at Egmont-op-Zee was followed by another battle fought, and victory gained by the English, between Lemmen and the sea. A third encounter, when the Republicans had received large reinforcements, and the approaching winter had aggravated the difficulties and sufferings of the exposed troops, was less fortunate. The Duke of York, seeing no prospect of bringing the war to the desired conclusion, and the people manifesting less disposition than was expected to acknowledge the Prince of Orange, withheld further operations until the result of a reference to the Home Government could be ascertained. The Ministry knew that it would be easy at the last extremity to cut the dykes and flood the country occupied by the enemy; but the Duke of York having represented how much of cruel suffering this would entail upon the poor and innocent inhabitants, it was resolved that Holland should be evacuated. An armistice was therefore agreed upon with General Brune, who commanded the Forces of the enemy, and the troops re-embarked for England. The terms in which the cessation of hostilities was settled were very much like those of certain capitulations already published in these pages. It is clear that, however the language employed by the Duke of York to cloak the humility of his withdrawal might have suggested that he was to a certain extent master of the situation, the tone of the French General sufficiently demonstrated that the advantage was with the Republicans.

It is stated above that General Bonaparte was in Egypt in 1799. He had gone thither from Toulon with a considerable armament, in furtherance of a plan which he had devised, in conjunction with the Russian Emperor Paul, for carving a pathway to India. The resistance of the Turks was of small account, and there was no other Military power to confront him. Admiral Nelson, in the Bay of Aboukir, and Sir Sydney Smith, at St Jean d'Acre, had inflicted terrible blows on the French Naval power; but, at the base of the Pyramids, the Turks were overthrown, and the "Army of Egypt" occupied the great cities of Cairo and Alexandria. Napoleon had cajoled and mollified some of the Mahometan Chieftains hostile to the supreme authority of the Porte, by avowing a respect for the religion of the Prophet, and, believing his mission to have been fairly accomplished, he returned to France to enlarge the power he had already acquired in the councils of the nation. His arrival on the French coast was the grand and leading event in the history of 1800, and that which, more than any other, influenced the state and condition not only of France, Italy, and Germany, but of every other country in Europe. "Who could have believed that a simple Sub-Lieutenant of Artillery, a stranger to France by name and by birth, was destined to govern that great Empire, and to give the law, in a manner, to all the Continent, in defiance of reason, justice, the hereditary rights of the legitimate Princes of the realm, and the combined efforts of so great a number of loyalists in the interior of the kingdom, and all the great Powers of Europe? No one in the world could have imagined the possibility of an event so extraordinary. Almost forgotten by a nation ever in motion, incapable of rest, and always taken up with objects present to their senses and new to their imaginations, the French found him suddenly exalted to an authority at least as ample and absolute as any of their Kings. He was invested with the power of taxation, the power of the sword, the power of war and peace, the unlimited power of commanding the resources and disposing of the lives and fortunes of every man in France. He was furnished with the means of creating an Army by converting every man who was of age to bear arms, into a soldier, whether for the defence of his own country, or to carry war into the country of an enemy. He had no rival to thwart his measures, no colleague to divide his powers, no council to control his opera-

tions, no liberty of speaking or writing for the expression of public opinion, to check or influence his conduct; and, to crown the whole, his power rested apparently on the foundations of popular election and democratic sway. From such a man, invested with such power, much was to be hoped or feared."

These words, penned five years only after the siege of Toulon, adequately describe the foundation and growth of an authority which rapidly attained colossal proportions, and taxed to their uttermost the energies and resources of England for a period of sixteen years.

Napoleon's return to Europe appeared to Mr Dundas, the Foreign Minister of George the Third, to present a favourable opportunity for driving the French Armies out of Egypt. All hope of any useful or efficient co-operation with Austria in Italy had vanished since Napoleon crossed the Alps, and defeated her at Marengo. No prospect existed of a counter-revolution in France through the exertions of the French Royalists, and it would have been worse than folly to fenew any experiments in Holland. Yet it was necessary to do something to rouse the despondent minds of the British people. Mr Dundas sent little expeditions to Ferrol and Cadiz;—they were failures, and he was driven almost to his wit's end for some bold measure that should restore to England her fading prestige. In his extremity the idea of a descent upon the French in Egypt suggested itself. It occurred to him that if we could appear in force on the coast of Syria, or occupy Rhodes, Cyprus, or Crete, we should be in a condition to negotiate with France the evacuation of Egypt,—or enforce it in the event of her refusal. The execution of this project rapidly followed its inception. A Force of fourteen thousand Infantry, one thousand Cavalry, and six hundred and thirty Artillerymen, was rapidly equipped. The great Military qualities and sound judgment of Sir Ralph Abercromby pointed him out as the fittest Officer to be entrusted with the command, and as he had for some time entertained a belief that the expulsion of the French from Egypt would be as feasible as it was wise, he very readily accepted the weighty trust. Associated with him in the command of Divisions and Brigades were Major-Generals Sir J. Hely Hutchinson, Coote, Craddock, Ludlow, Moore, and Lord Cavan, Brigadiers Stuart, Hope, Doyle, Oakes, and Anstruther. The Porte had urgently solicited the English to go to his rescue in Egypt, as he was utterly unable of himself to resist the French invaders of his territory; but when the troops arrived he did not appear disposed to co-operate earnestly with his new Allies. He seemed to dread that Russia, instigated by Napoleon, would cross into the Principalities and make an effort to overthrow the Ottoman empire.

The eyes of all Europe were now anxiously directed towards Egypt. It was a novel and interesting spectacle to contemplate the two most powerful European nations contending in Africa for the possession of Asia. Not only to England and France, but to the whole world, the issue of the contest was of the utmost importance. The French Force amounted to about 30,000, with 15,000 Native Allies, Copts, Greeks, Mamelukes, &c. The British Fleet was kept at sea a long time on the coasts of France, Spain, and Italy to divert the attention of the enemy from its real object. Arrived at length at Marmorice Bay, Sir Ralph Abercromby intended to land, and, in effect, did so to parade and refresh the troops after their long confinement; but, as the promised Turkish contingent did not make its appearance, the General changed his intentions and sailed to Aboukir Bay, which had recently been the scene of that famous "Battle of the Nile," which has contributed to render the name of Nelson immortal. Here the French were strongly posted with fifteen pieces of Artillery and a Force of Infantry—the heroes of "the Pyramids." Undeterred by this formidable array, Abercromby resolved to force a landing. Two thousand of the choicest men in the crack regiments were ordered into the boats, under the guidance of Major-General John Moore.

"It would be difficult," writes one of the biographers of Abercromby, "to conceive a situation of deeper or darker interest than that in which the advance of the British Army was now placed. The men sat erect and motionless; not a sound was heard, except the splash of the oars in the water, while the long line of boats moved rapidly, but in admirable and exact array, towards the shore. Not long, however, was that stern silence permitted to continue unbroken. As if doubting the evidence of their own senses, the enemy gazed for awhile without offering to the frail Armada the slightest molestation; but their astonishment soon gave place to other and more stirring sensations, and they stood to their arms. In a moment the whole of their Artillery opened, and the sea hissed and boiled behind and before the boats with round shot and shells, that fell in showers around them." The seamen pulled on, the fire increased, the casualties became numerous, yet there was no confusion. "And now the four Regiments on the right—the Twenty-third, Twenty-eighth, Fortieth, and Forty-second, having gained a place of shelter under the elevated position of the batteries, were impelled onwards with increased ardour and security." Soon the boats touched the sand, the soldiers leaped out, formed on the beach, and, in the face of a heavy fire,

speedily gained the summit, and, closing with their stern opponents, drove them gallantly from their position up the face of the steep. "The conduct of the Forty-second Highlanders in this operation was peculiarly brilliant. Down came a Regiment of French Cavalry—it was beaten back by the Forty-second, and its Commander fell. To the left of the line the Royals, Fifty-fourth, and Fifty-eighth were doing their work with equal ardour, beating the enemy at all points."

The French retreated to Alexandria. Three days subsequently to the fight the whole of the British Force had landed, and Abercromby hastened after the enemy. Menou, the French General, took post among sand-hills and palm trees, four miles from old Alexandria. Some partial actions and skirmishes occurred among the advance parties of both sides. In these the 90th (Perthshire Volunteers) and 92nd Highlanders bore an active part. The former, under Colonel Hill, though young soldiers, and under fire for the first time, held their ground, in an action on the 13th of March, with the tenacity of experienced veterans when charged impetuously by a superior Force of Cavalry, and compelled the enemy to retreat in confusion. Sir Ralph thanked the Regiments in orders. "They had displayed the strictest discipline, the greatest quickness and precision in their movements, and the most undaunted bravery."

As the Army advanced into the country Sir Ralph Abercromby gave strict orders that "the utmost forbearance" should be practised. He insisted that the most scrupulous and honourable conduct in all their dealings should mark the behaviour of the troops towards the Arabs and Egyptians. "Prompt payment for all supplies purchased, and the greatest deference for the habits and religious usages of the people," were exacted by the General, and he was not disappointed.

It was Abercromby's intention to lay siege to Alexandria as soon as his guns should come up. On the 19th of the month Fort Aboukir capitulated. On the 20th Menou arrived from Cairo, and concentrated all his disposable Forces at Alexandria. They numbered 12,000 Infantry and 1,500 Cavalry. The line of the English was about a mile in length, with a sandy plain in front, the sea on the right, the Lake of Aboukir and the Canal of Alexandria on the left. Their flanks were covered by gun-boats and redoubts hastily thrown up. Menou made up his mind to attack them on the 21st, very early in the morning. Fortunately General Moore had directed that the troops should invariably be under arms an hour before daybreak. They were thus prepared for the onslaught.

"A great, glorious, and decisive battle was that of Alexandria. The imagination glows and the heart is stirred while reading of the terrible attack of the French Invincibles on the right of the British position. It was defended by a redoubt, and cover was found behind some ruins. The Regiments engaged were the Forty-second, the Twenty-eighth, the Fifty-eighth, and the Fortieth. The Highlanders were peculiarly the object of the indescribably furious attack; the French Invincibles, after much obstinate hand-to-hand fighting, were almost annihilated; the survivors laid down their arms. Fresh Battalions, however, came up; the Forty-second were greatly reduced, but they held their ground, animated by the appeal of the General, 'My brave Highlanders, remember your country! remember your fathers!' Down went the Battalions of the enemy, then rushed on Squadrons of Cavalry, more Infantry, till the whole space in front of the redoubt was strewed with the bodies of the slain. 'The Forty-second died almost to a man where it stood!' The Guards, the Royals, and the Fifty-fourth defended the left, and the rest of the position and the reserve was bravely maintained by the Eighth, Eighteenth, Thirteenth, and Ninetieth; the Queen's, Twentieth, Forty-fourth, Eighty-ninth, One hundred and thirtieth, the Twenty-seventh, Fifty-sixth, and Seventy-ninth; the Twenty-second and Twenty-sixth Dragoons, and other Regiments (Irregular and Contingent), which have long since ceased to form part of the British Army."

The Twenty-eighth Foot—the "Slashers," as they were called from some event in the American war in which they were concerned*—signalised themselves at Alexandria by a daring move. Attacked in front and rear by an immense body of the enemy's Cavalry, the rear rank faced about and fired upon their opponents, for the which feat they are permitted to bear the number of the Regiment on the back and front of their Regimental shakoes.

* The circumstance which led to the application of this sobriquet to the Corps was thus related by the lady of Lieutenant-General Sir R. Airey, the Governor of Gibraltar (1869), on the occasion of her presenting new colours to the Regiment. Previous to the acquisition of the appellation, the Corps was called the "Braggs," after Colonel Bragg, who commanded it in 1734. "The Corps in those days (1775) wore small short swords, which they were famous for making good use of. On one occasion there was a certain magistrate in Canada, of the name of Walker, who had given great offence to the Regiment from not having provided sufficient shelter for their wives, several of whom had in consequence perished during the severity of a Canadian winter. This exasperated the Officers, and some of them disguised themselves as Indians, attacked the tent of the magistrate, danced a war dance round his table, and finally caught hold of his head, and with their swords slashed off his ears. After this circumstance the Regiment became known by the name of the 'Slashers.'"

Victory crowned the intrepid Abercromby, and, so to speak, he died in her arms. Our losses were heavy, but the French were beaten. Fourteen hundred and sixty-four good English soldiers were killed, wounded, or missing in the great battle. They baptised with their blood this first and memorable record of the regeneration of the British Army. The Officers did not spare themselves. Generals Oakes, Hope, and Moore, and Colonel Paget were wounded. Where and when Sir Ralph Abercromby received his death-wound was never ascertained. He was much exposed during the fight, and near its close his son and Aide-de-Camp found him in a small earthwork near the centre of the line, where some guns were playing on the enemy. Colonel Abercromby noticed that his clothes were cut and bloody. The General told him he had been wounded by a spent ball, but that it gave him no uneasiness; he only experienced pain from a contusion sustained in a personal rencontre with a French Dragoon. He refused for some time to allow a surgeon to look at his wound, while so many poor fellows who had suffered more needed attention. At last, growing faint, he sat down on the ground resting his back against the parapet of a redoubt. The Medical Officer found that he had been wounded in the thigh by a bullet, and as he could not extract it, a litter was procured, and it was decided to remove him on board the Foudroyant, the flag-ship of Lord Keith. When he had been placed on the litter, Colonel Macdonald placed a folded blanket under his head. As he adjusted it, Abercromby inquired what that was. "Only a soldier's blanket," was the reply. "Only!—a soldier's blanket is of great consequence to him," said the considerate General; "you must send me the name of the man that it may be returned to him." After he had been put on board Lord Keith's ship, the surgeon endeavoured to find the bullet and remove it, but the operation was unavailing. On the 28th of March, a week subsequent to the victory which extinguished the French power in Egypt, Abercromby died, to the immense regret of the whole British Army and the people of Great Britain. No Officer, since Wolfe fell at Quebec, had so endeared himself to the troops and the nation. His political sagacity and personal integrity no less than his courage, patriotism, and remarkable Military accomplishments, were always conspicuous in every employment confided to him by an admiring King and his councillors. The Duke of York, in the General Order issued when the news of the battle of Alexandria and its "mingled yarn" reached England, said: "The illustrious example of their Commander cannot fail to have made an indelible impression on the gallant troops at whose head, covered with victory and glory, Sir Ralph Abercromby terminated his honourable career; and His Majesty trusts that a due contemplation of the talents and virtues which he uniformly displayed in the course of his valuable life will for ever endear the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby to the British Army. His steady observance of discipline, his ever watchful attention to the health and wants of his troops, the persevering and unconquerable spirit which marked his Military career, the splendour of his actions in the field, and the heroism of his death, are worthy the imitation of all who desire, like him, a life of honour and a death of glory."

As a permanent memorial of the glory acquired by the Regiments engaged in the Egyptian expedition they were allowed to bear the "Sphinx" with the word "Egypt" on their colours. The Sultan of Turkey established an order of Knighthood, which he conferred on the General Officers; he, likewise, presented large gold medals to the Field Officers, and smaller medals to the Captains and subalterns. As a further token of his thankfulness that the French had been expelled from his Egyptian province, he built, at Constantinople, a residence for the British Ambassador.

A monument in St Paul's Cathedral was decreed by the nation to the memory of the illustrious Abercromby, and the chisel of the accomplished sculptor, Westmacott, was employed to illustrate the incident of his death. The memorial is on a suitable scale, and is ably executed. The horse appears careering over the prostrate foe, while the rider, fainting from the loss of blood, is caught in the arms of a Highland soldier. Expressive of the victory Abercromby obtained, the dying figure of the enemy is seen vainly grasping at the standard, which has been wrested from his Corps. The locality of the battle is indicated by a sphinx, which is the crest of Egypt, placed on either side of the tomb.

Lieutenant-General Sir J. Hely Hutchinson, as the next senior Officer, took the command of the troops after the battle of Alexandria, blockaded the town, and marched on to Cairo. Sir J. H. Hutchinson paid a just and graceful tribute to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby. In reporting the battle of Alexandria to the Secretary of State, he said, "Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him that as his life was honourable so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."

Cairo having a garrison of only 8,000 men, many of whom were sick and incapable, could not long

hold out. The city capitulated to General Hutchinson. At Alexandria, Menou resolved to maintain his position, and vaunted that he would bury himself beneath the ruins of the town. He improved the fortifications, and looked anxiously for reinforcements, which the British Fleet took good care should not come. By the end of August, however, when General Hutchinson had possessed himself of some outworks and two or three fortresses contiguous to the city, the French General, probably hearing of the arrival of General Baird's Army, sent a flag of truce to treat for the surrender of the town. On the morning of the 30th General Hope went into Alexandria to sign the capitulation, and on the 2nd of September Lord Keith proceeded on shore to ratify the terms, which embraced every desirable object, without unnecessarily degrading the conquered. The garrison had held out to the last. In a few days more, famine would have depleted the Force, and, according to Sir Robert Wilson, the walls of the old town were in so ruinous a condition that they could not have resisted an hour's battering. In proof of the straitened condition of the French, their Commandant, Menou, invited Sir J. Hutchinson to a dinner of horseflesh.

Including the two garrisons, twenty-three thousand Frenchmen were sent back to their own country to tell how victorious they had been over the Mamelukes, under Napoleon and Kleber, and how the capricious fortune of war had subsequently converted victors into captives.

If further operations had been rendered necessary in Egypt, Sir J. Hutchinson would have been enabled to carry them on effectively, for, by the middle of August, he was reinforced by a compact little Army of 5,000 men, which had arrived from India, under the command of General David Baird. This Army, consisting of the 8th Light Dragoons, the 10th, 61st, 80th, 86th, and 88th Foot (numbering 2,838 men), 2,000 Sepoys, and nearly 500 European Artillery, had been despatched by the foreseeing and energetic Marquis Wellesley to co-operate with Abercromby. General Baird had sailed from India in April, intending to land at Suez. Unfortunately, the monsoon had commenced before he entered the Red Sea, and it was impossible to reach his destination. Learning at Jedda the successes of the 21st of March, General Baird determined to land at Cosseir, and brave the difficulties of the desert. The Adjutant-General, Colonel Marlay, who preceded him, had managed by means of the Turkish Vizier's firmans to procure 5,000 camels. Baird had many troubles to encounter before he reached Cosseir. The navigation of the Red Sea was then very arduous, difficult, and dangerous. No survey had been made of its treacherous coasts. Rocks, shoals, and contrary winds opposed the expedition. Two of the transports were lost, and others damaged. However, the General contrived to get to Kenneh by the 30th of June, and arranged the march of the Divisions, but it was not until the end of July that the entire Army had assembled. One hundred and fifty miles had to be traversed through a desert country before the Nile could be reached. The troops suffered somewhat from the want of water until they came to the river, down which they were transported in *jerms*—decked boats with two latteen sails, not drawing much water. The heat was intense, the thermometer not unfrequently rising to 100 degrees and upwards. But the Mamelukes and Arabs afforded the most friendly aid, and the soldiers were animated by the most loyal sentiments. General Baird reached Rosetta on the 30th of August, when he heard from General Hutchinson that Menou had sent a flag of truce to treat for the surrender of Alexandria.

In England the rejoicings over the triumphs in Egypt were enthusiastic, and the King was no niggard of recompense. Sir J. H. Hutchinson was raised to the Peerage. A very heavy Brevet raised numerous Officers to field rank, and very many Colonels were made Major-Generals. Generals Cradock, Coote, Dundas, Alured Clarke, Meadows, Craig, and Hutchinson were decorated with the Order of the Bath, and Knighted by the King or his representative. General Moore received the Colonelcy of the 52nd, and General Baird that of the 54th; and the Marines "in consideration of their very meritorious services" were ordered to be styled "Royal" from the year 1802.

CHAPTER XXI.

Napoleon's Reasons for Invading England—His Preparations—Demonstrations of Resistance in England—Madeira Taken—Peace of Amiens—The 42nd receive New Colours—The Treaty Broken—Fresh Preparations for Invasion and Resistance—Correspondence between the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the King—The Volunteer Review—General Order—Warlike Measures in the West Indies—Major-General Moore made a Knight of the Bath—He Introduces a Light Infantry Drill—Reduction of the Period of a Soldier's Service.

It had long been apparent to Napoleon Bonaparte, Consul of France (1801), that the commerce of Great Britain was at once the cause and consequence of her maritime superiority. To destroy that commerce had therefore become his particular design, and his mighty genius revolved the methods available to France for the object, since her Navy had been crippled by the successes of the English Admirals and Captains in every part of the world. To strike a blow at our Transatlantic colonies was no longer prac-

ticable, and India was too remote to be reached by French Armies. The Mediterranean afforded ports enough for the structure and reception of a new Marine Power, mercantile and warlike; and if Egypt could be colonized and improved, the amelioration and civilization of other parts of the Levant would follow, and gradually compensate France, by the creation of a new commerce, for the loss of her West India possessions and the monopoly of the ocean by Great Britain. But to the accomplishment of these stupendous objects the expulsion of the English from Egypt was a necessary preliminary; and how was this to be effected? Clearly, by sending reinforcements to General Menou on the one hand, and preventing Abercromby and Hutchinson from receiving any on the other.

In furtherance of this notable project nothing more was necessary than to keep the English Navy and Army fully occupied out of the Mediterranean; and no stratagem of less magnitude presented itself to Napoleon's mind with that view than the practical menace of an invasion of England. The feeble demonstrations hitherto made in that direction had had no other result than to entail ridicule and cost upon their originators. Napoleon was resolved that now, at least, there should be no field for the satirist or caricaturist, even if the whole of the preparations amounted only, in the upshot, to a politic feint. If the attention of England could be concentrated on her home defences no Fleets or Armies could be sent to Egypt, and France would then have the game entirely in her hands.

With Napoleon rapid execution followed upon fertile conception. Supported by his consular colleagues, over whom indeed his master-mind rode roughshod, he gave orders for the assembly of strong Corps at different points contiguous to the coast facing Great Britain, and the preparation of vessels for their transport to the shores which Cæsar had insulted. There was a Corps at Amiens, another between Bruges and Ostend, a third was posted between Gravelines and Dunkirk, and a fourth assembled at Boulogne. Their total strength did not fall short of 50,000 men. In every port and cove along the coast, ship and boat building went on with inconceivable activity. Gun-boats for offensive purposes, and broad flat-bottomed boats for the transport of troops and *matériel*, were the chief features of the nautical architecture which received so violent an impulse. In furtherance of the great project, a system of telegraphic communication was established; and that the spirit of the people might not only know no abatement, but receive a fresh impetus, proclamations were published which appealed to the triple sentiment of vengeance, glory, and profit.

In one respect, circumstances were propitious to the gigantic design. There was but a very small proportion of the British Army then in England, and that proportion consisted chiefly of Cavalry. The Infantry were either in Ireland, Egypt, India, or the Colonies. But the spirit which dictated to the English in America, and the sons of Englishmen, a determined resistance to oppression in any form, was rife in Great Britain. The sacred soil had not been polluted by the foot of a foreign invader for seven centuries, and every man cherished in his bosom a stern resolution to die on his own hearth, rather than submit to the yoke of a nation whose principles all good Christians had learnt to abhor. "Frenchman" and "Atheist" had become synonymous terms in England since the *sans-culottes* had taken to the worship of the Goddess of Liberty, and the leader of the French was held in a certain pious horror as a Corsican ogre, of a form as diabolical as the suggestions of his mind were detestable. Should Albion become the easy prey of such a people and such a chieftain? The very idea was revolting. Resistance nerved every arm from Caithness to the Land's End, and in one moment the entire people rose to their feet and, invoking the God of Battles, prepared to confront the intruders. Patriotism never evoked a nobler resolution to die *pro aris et focis* since Greece put on her armour to confront the Persian host, with the exception, perhaps, of the time when "the great Fleet invincible"—the Armada—bore against devoted England "the stoutest hearts in Spain." Then, as Macaulay sings,

> "The bugle's note, the cannon's roar,
> The death-like silence broke;
> And with one start and with one cry,
> The royal city woke.
> At once on all her stately gates
> Arose the answering fires;
> At once the wild alarm clashed
> From all her reeling spires:
> From all the batteries of the Tower
> Pealed loud the voice of fear;
> And all the thousand masts of Thames
> Sent back a louder cheer;
> And from the furthest woods was heard
> The rush of hurrying feet,
> And the broad streams of pikes and flags
> Rushed down each roaring street."

To descend to prosaic details, orders went forth for the assembly upon the coast of all the troops then in England. In addition to the Life and Horse Guards, and two Regiments of the Foot Guards (the Coldstreams were in Egypt), there were eighteen Regiments of Cavalry and five of Infantry, besides a few companies of Artillery. To augment this Force, recruiting was carried on with great vigour, and the serjeants were not required to be too particular in their selection of the quality of the food for powder. Several

Battalions of absent Regiments were created under what was called "the Additional Force Act." The War Office proclaimed the pardon of all deserters who should spontaneously rejoin their colours. The Militia was re-embodied, Volunteer associations sprang up in London, and the example was eagerly followed in every town and county. Retired veterans who had fought at Quebec and Plassey, and faced the French at James Town, shouldered their crutches and showed how fields were won. The whole country became one vast camp, and the drum and fife were heard from morn till night. Equally conspicuous were all the arrangements of the Board of Admiralty for the protection of the coast. Gun boats were hastily constructed and equipped. Frigates were on the alert throughout the Channel, many going to within three miles of the French coast to watch the enemy. Armed sloops commanded by daring Officers dashed into the nooks and creeks, and cut out vessels at anchor. But amidst all this preparation for home defences, Great Britain did not neglect her duties abroad. Portugal having been invaded by Spain was compelled to make peace with her troublesome neighbour, and to close her ports against her ancient ally. France found an excuse for quarrel with the Lusitanians in their "separate" peace with Spain, and sent 30,000 men across the Tagus, under General Lillay. The small body of British troops which had been for some time in Portugal, defending the territory against Spain, was, of course, obliged to leave, and seek employment elsewhere: it could not stand against the Armies of France and Spain and Portugal combined. But our expulsion was not altogether unavenged. The fertile island of Madeira was vulnerable. It belonged to Portugal, and England lost no time in countering the hostility of the Peninsula by taking it into her hands.

Ireland had become united to England by Act of Parliament in January, 1801, and her own independent Legislature was dissolved, but an unquiet spirit was still floating in the island, rendering the presence of a large body of troops continually necessary.

Such was the state of affairs in the first two years of the nineteenth century. The following year witnessed the temporary cessation of hostilities with France. A treaty of peace had been negotiating for some time. It was equally desired on both sides the channel, but it was difficult to agree about the terms. In October, 1801, the preliminaries had been settled; but it was not until March, 1802, that the ratification took place at Amiens. On the 27th of March the treaty was signed by the Plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, the Batavian Republic, and Great Britain. England ceded everything to the enemy excepting Trinidad and Ceylon.

Leaving Egypt, the troops were variously distributed—some were sent to Gibraltar, some to Ireland or the West Indies, and others returned to England, where they were welcomed with acclaim.

Necessary as it was to relieve the English exchequer after it had sustained for so many years the burthens of war, the people were not very clamorous for a reduction of the Forces. A feeling generally prevailed that the truce would not be of long duration. A state of peace was inconsistent with the passion for glory which glowed in the bosoms of the Republican soldiery, and the ambitious schemes of the virtual head of the Government. At any moment an infraction of the terms of the treaty might occur, and compel Great Britain again to take up arms. Opportunity, therefore, was taken of the pause in hostilities to place the Army upon an efficient footing, by careful recruiting, constant drills and parades, and the selection of distinguished Officers for the command of the different Divisions.

The 42nd Highlanders, which had been almost decimated in its various encounters, received new colours soon after its return to Scotland, in December, 1802. The colours were presented in the presence of Lieutenant-General Vyse, who commanded in North Britain. Taking the opportunity of the presentation, the Lieutenant-General addressed the Corps in these words:

"Colonel Dickson and gentlemen of the 42nd,—Having the honour of commanding the Forces in North Britain, it would ill become my situation for me to be a silent spectator of this interesting ceremony. Brother soldiers of the 42nd Regiment, let me earnestly exhort you most sincerely to reflect on the invaluable deposit which is now committed to your protection, and which is rendered doubly sacred by the solemn benediction of the reverend minister of our holy faith. Remember that the standards which you have this day received are not only revered by an admiring world as the honourable monuments and trophies of your former heroism, but are likewise regarded by a grateful country as the sacred pledges of that security which, under the protection of Heaven, it may expect from your future services. May you long, very long, live to enjoy that reputation and those honours which you have so highly and so justly merited; may you long participate and share in all the blessings of that tranquillity and peace which your labours and your arms have restored to your native country; but should the restless ambition of an envious and daring enemy again call you to the field, think then that you behold the spirit of those brave comrades who so nobly, in their country's cause, fell upon the plains of Egypt, hovering round these standards; think that you see the venerable shade of the immortal

Abercromby leading you again to action, and pointing to that presumptuous band whose arrogance has been humbled, and whose vanity has been compelled by your intrepidity and courage to confess that no human Force has been "invincible" against British valour, when directed by wisdom, conducted by discipline, and inspired by virtue."

The ink was scarcely dry with which the Peace of Amiens was signed when Napoleon found a new pretext for quarrel with England, in her refusal to evacuate Malta. A correspondence began a few months after the Treaty, in which the tone assumed by the French Consul was of so offensive a character that the King sent a message to Parliament in March, 1803, intimating the probability of a renewal of hostilities, and calling for fresh powers and pecuniary appliances. In the following May war had been formally declared, Lord Whitworth, the British Ambassador at Paris, received his passports, and Napoleon renewed his preparations for the invasion of England. Bills immediately passed for the formation of an *Army of Reserve* and a levy *en masse*.

And now again was heard the din of preparation for stout resistance. There seemed no kind of doubt that Napoleon was in earnest, and, if the Fleet of men-of-war which were to convoy the invading Armada should not be intercepted and annihilated, one hundred thousand men would be launched upon our shores to ravage and destroy. Fortunately, there was a considerable force of Infantry and Cavalry in England in 1803, and it was so disposed that at any point the enemy would have experienced a certain amount of resistance. But troops could not be moved in those days with the rapidity which characterises the modern railway system of transport; and there was a fear that the spot chosen for the hostile landing might have been insufficiently protected. Napoleon did not care, however, to disembark the whole force on one part of the coast. His object, as he afterwards declared, was not so much to convert England into a French province as to create just as much alarm throughout the country as should interrupt trade, damage finance, and paralyse manufacture.

The landing of a part of the armament would have created a panic as readily as the appearance of the whole; consequently, it was of the highest importance that every foot of the shore where boats could approach should be strictly guarded. The Volunteers, which had been raised in 1801 and previously, now re-assembled in greater force than ever, and presented an excellent appearance. The Yeomanry and Militia were foremost to display their zeal. Gentlemen and noblemen of property raised Corps on their own estates, and the city people unlocked their coffers to encourage Military effort. The King took an active interest in all these loyal demonstrations, and held reviews in Hyde Park of such Corps as were either formed in London, or marched thither from the country to manifest their patriotic devotion in the hour of peril. On the 26th of October the King reviewed twenty-six Regiments, comprising 12,400 men, and on the 28th as many as thirty-five more Regiments, comprehending some 14,700—a grand total of over 27,000 national soldiers. The King was particularly pleased with their appearance, and desired the Duke of York to make known his approbation. The Duke published the following Order:

"His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief has received the King's commands to convey to the several Volunteer and Associated Corps which were reviewed in Hyde Park on the 26th and 28th inst. His Majesty's entire approbation of their appearance, which has equalled His Majesty's highest expectations. His Majesty perceives with heartfelt satisfaction that the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, on which the system of the armed Volunteers throughout the Kingdom was originally founded, has risen with the exigencies of the times, and at this moment forms such a bulwark to the Constitution and liberties of the country as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back with becoming indignation the threats which they have presumed to vent against our independence, and even our existence, as a nation.

"His Majesty has observed with peculiar pleasure that amongst the unprecedented exertions which the present circumstances of the country have called forth, those of the capital of his United Kingdom have been eminently conspicuous; the appearance of its numerous and well-regulated Volunteer Corps which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th inst. indicates a degree of attention and emulation, both in Officers and men, which can only proceed from a deep sense of the important objects for which they have enrolled themselves; a just estimate of the blessings we have so long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and transmit them unimpaired to our posterity.

"The Commander-in-Chief has the highest satisfaction in discharging his duty by communicating these His Majesty's most gracious sentiments, and requests that the Commanding Officers will have recourse to the readiest means of making the same known to their respective Corps.

"FREDERICK, Commander-in-Chief."

It was not to be supposed that while all the rest of the King's subjects were manifesting so

much ardour in defence of the throne and the institutions of the country, the heir apparent, the first subject of the realm, would be indifferent to the calls of duty. To his honour, the Prince of Wales made a strenuous effort to obtain a command suited to his exalted rank. But the King refused to gratify his wishes. The correspondence which took place in reference to that matter possesses so lively an interest for Englishmen, whether considered in its Military, its political, or its personal relations, that we cannot forbear to transfer it to these pages in all its original integrity.

ROYAL CORRESPONDENCE.

"To the Right Hon. Henry Addington,
"Secretary of State, &c.
"Carlton House, July 18, 1803.

"Sir,—The subject on which I address you presses so heavily on my mind, and daily acquires such additional importance, that, notwithstanding my wish to avoid any interference with the disposition made by His Majesty's Ministers, I find it impossible to withhold or delay an explicit statement of my feelings, to which I would direct your most serious consideration.

"When it was officially communicated to Parliament that the avowed object of the enemy was a descent on our kingdoms, the question became so obvious, that the circumstances of the times required the voluntary tender of personal services; when Parliament, in consequence of this representation, agreed to extraordinary measures for the defence of these realms alone, it was evident the danger was not believed dubious or remote.

"Animated by the same spirit which pervaded the nation at large, conscious of the duties which I owed to His Majesty and the country, I seized the earliest opportunity to express my desire of undertaking the responsibility of a Military command. I neither did, nor do, presume on supposed talents as entitling me to such an appointment. I am aware I do not possess the experience of actual warfare; at the same time I cannot regard myself as totally unqualified or deficient in Military science, since I have long made the Service my particular study. My chief pretensions were founded on a sense of those advantages which my example might produce to the State by exciting the loyal energies of the nation, and a knowledge of those expectations which the public had a right to form as to the personal exertions of their Princes at a moment like the present. The more elevated my situation, in so much the efforts of zeal became necessarily greater, and I confess that if duty had not been so paramount, a reflection on the splendid achievements of my predecessors would have excited in me the spirit of emulation; when, however, in addition to such recollections, the nature of the contest in which we are about to engage was impressed on my consideration, I should, indeed, have been devoid of every virtuous sentiment if I felt no reluctance in remaining a passive spectator of armaments which have for their object the very existence of the British empire. Thus was I influenced to make my offer of service, and I did imagine that His Majesty's Ministers would have attached to it more value. But when I find that, from some unknown cause, my appointment seems to remain so long undetermined, when I feel myself exposed to the obloquy of being regarded by the country as passing my time indifferent to the events which menace, and insensible to the call of patriotism, much more of glory, it then behoves me to examine my rights, and to remind His Majesty's Ministers that the claim which I have advanced is strictly constitutional and justified by precedent, and that, in the present situation of Europe, to deny my exercising it is fatal to my own immediate honour and the future interests of the Crown.

"I can never forget that I have certain obligations imposed on me by my birth, and that I should ever show myself foremost in contributing to the preservation of the country. The time is arrived when I may prove myself sensible of the duties of my situation, and of evincing my devotion to that Sovereign who, by nature as well as public worth, commands my most affectionate attachment.

"I repeat that I should be sorry to embarrass the Government at any time, most particularly at such a crisis; but, since no event in my future life can compensate me for the misfortune of not participating in the honours and dangers which await the brave men destined to oppose an invading enemy, I cannot forego the earnest renewal of my application. All I solicit is a more ostensible situation than that in which I am at present placed; for, situated as I am as a mere Colonel of a Regiment, the Major-General commanding the Brigade of which such a Regiment must form a part, would justly expect and receive the full credit of pre-arrangement and successful enterprise.

"I remain, Sir,
"Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) "G., P."

"July 26th, 1803.

"A week has now elapsed since the Prince of Wales transmitted to Mr Addington a letter on a subject of the highest importance; though he cannot anticipate a refusal to so reasonable a demand, he must still express some surprise that a communication of such a nature should have

remained so long unanswered. When the Prince of Wales desired to be placed in a situation which might enable him to show to the people of England the example of zeal, fidelity, and devotion to his Sovereign, he naturally thought that he was only fulfilling his appropriate duty as the first subject of the realm, in which, as it has pleased Providence to cause him to have been born, so he is determined to maintain himself by all those honourable exertions which the exigencies of these critical times peculiarly demand. The motives of his conduct cannot be misconceived or misrepresented. He has, at a moment when everything is at stake that is dear and sacred to him and to the nation, asked to be advanced in Military rank, because he may have his birthright to fight for, the throne of his father to defend, the glory of the people of England to uphold, which is dearer to him than life, which has yet remained unsullied under the Princes of the House of Brunswick, and which he trusts will be transmitted pure and uncontaminated to the latest generations. Animated by such sentiments, he has naturally desired to be placed in a situation where he can act according to the feelings of his heart and the dictates of his conscience. In making the offer, in again repeating it, the Prince of Wales considers that he has only performed his duty to himself, to the State, to the King, to Europe, whose fate may be involved in the issue of this contest. If this tender of his services is rejected, he shall ever lament that all his efforts have been fruitless, and that he has been deprived of making those exertions which the circumstances of the Empire, his own inclinations, and his early and long attention to Military affairs, would have rendered so particularly grateful to himself, and he trusts not entirely useless to the public."

"Downing street, July 27, 1803.

"Upon receiving the letter with which Mr Addington was last week honoured by the Prince of Wales, he assured His Royal Highness that it should be immediately placed before the King. This was accordingly done, and the letter is still in His Majesty's possession. A communication was afterwards made to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in a mode and through a channel which Mr Addington humbly hoped His Royal Highness would approve. Mr Addington, however, now finds it to be incumbent on him, in consequence of the expectation which has been expressed by His Royal Highness, to state that His Majesty, on being informed of the sentiments and wishes of the Prince of Wales, applauded, in the strongest manner, the feelings by which His Royal Highness is actuated, but referred, nevertheless, to the answers which His Majesty had judged it necessary to return to similar representations which, in obedience to the commands of His Royal Highness, had been laid before His Majesty upon former occasions."

"Carlton House, July 28, 1803.

"The Prince of Wales has received Mr Addington's written communication of the last night. The Prince of Wales has only to observe that he requires Mr Addington to submit to His Majesty his last note, dated the 26th of this month."

"Downing street, July 28, 1803. (Half-past eleven p.m.)

"Mr Addington is just honoured with the commands of the Prince of Wales, and will not fail to lay His Royal Highness's letter, dated the 26th of this month, before the King."

"Downing street, August 1.

"Sir,—In obedience to the commands of your Royal Highness, I laid before His Majesty the letter, dated 26th July, with which your Royal Highness had honoured me, and I have it in command from His Majesty to acquaint your Royal Highness that 'the King had referred Mr Addington to the order he had before given him, with the addition—that the King's opinion being fixed, he desired that no further mention should be made to him upon the subject.'

"I have the honour to be, with, Sir, every sentiment of respect and deference,

"Your Royal Highness's

"Most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) "H. ADDINGTON."

LETTER FROM THE PRINCE OF WALES TO THE KING.

"Sir,—A correspondence has taken place between Mr Addington and myself on a subject which deeply involves my honour and character. The answers which I have received from that gentleman, the communication which he has made to the House of Commons, leave me no hope but in an appeal to the justice of your Majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate, and with the sanguine hope that the ears of an affectionate father may still be opened to the supplications of a dutiful son. I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character, to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your Majesty's person, crown, and dignity; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest the lowest and humblest of your

Majesty's subjects have been called on; it would therefore little become me, who am the first, and who stand at the very footstool of the throne, to remain a tame, an idle, and lifeless spectator of the mischiefs which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers which surround us, and indifferent to the consequences which may follow. Hanover is lost, England is menaced with invasion, Ireland is in rebellion, Europe is at the foot of France. At such a moment the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion, to none of your subjects in duty, to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach and again to repeat those offers which he already made through your Majesty's Minister. A feeling of honest ambition, a sense of what I owe to myself and to my family, and, above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant Army which may be the support of your Majesty's crown, and my best hope hereafter, command me to persevere, and to assure your Majesty, with all humility and respect, that, conscious of the justice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquish it.

"Allow me to say, Sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a man and sacred to me as a Prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory of victory when I have everything to lose by defeat? The highest places in your Majesty's Service are filled by the younger branches of the Royal family; to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be the junior Major-General of your Army. If I could submit in silence to such indignities I should, indeed, deserve such treatment, and prove to the satisfaction of your enemies, and my own, that I am entirely incapable of those exertions which my birth and the circumstances of the times peculiarly call for. Standing so near the throne, when I am debased the cause of Royalty is wounded. I cannot sink in public opinion without the participation of your Majesty in my degradation. Therefore, every motive of private feeling and of public duty induce me to implore your Majesty to review your decision, and to place me in that position which my birth, the duties of my station, the example of my predecessors, and the expectations of the people of England, entitle me to claim. Should I be disappointed in the hope which I have formed, should this last appeal to the justice of my Sovereign and the affection of my father fail of success, I shall lament in silent submission his determination; but Europe, the world, and posterity must judge between us.

"I have done my duty; my conscience acquits me; my reason tells me that I was perfectly justified in the request which I have made, because no reasonable arguments have ever been adduced in answer to my pretensions. The precedents in our history are in my favour; but if they were not, the times in which we live, and especially the exigencies of the present moment, require us to become an example to our posterity. No other cause of refusal has (been?) or can be assigned, except that it was the will of your Majesty. To that will and pleasure I bow with every degree of humility and resignation, but I can never cease to complain of the severity which has been exercised against me, and of the injustice which I have suffered, till I cease to exist. I have the honour to subscribe myself with all possible devotion,

"Your Majesty's most dutiful and
"Affectionate son and subject,
(Signed) "G., P.

"Brighton, August 6th."

FROM THE KING.

"Windsor, 7th August, 1803.

"My dear Son,—Though I applaud your zeal and your spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting; yet considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I have flattered myself to have heard no farther on the subject. Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your Regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion; and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of everything that is dear to me and to my people.

"I ever remain, my dear Son,
"Your affectionate Father,
(Signed) "G., R."

FROM THE PRINCE TO THE KING.

"Brighthelmstone, 23rd August, 1803.

"Sir,—I have delayed thus long an answer to the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write from a wish to refer to a former correspondence which took place between us in the year 1798. Those letters were mislaid, and some days elapsed before I could discover them; they have since been found. Allow me, then, Sir, to recall to your recollection the expressions you were graciously pleased to use, and which I once before took the liberty of reminding you of, when I solicited foreign service, upon my first coming into the Army. They were, Sir, that your Majesty did not then see the opportunity for it; but if anything was to arise at home, 'I ought to be "first and foremost."' There cannot be a

stronger expression in the English language, or one more consonant to the feelings which animate my heart. In this I agree most perfectly with your Majesty—'I ought to be "first and foremost."' It is the place which my birth assigns me—which Europe—which the English nation expect me to fill—and which the former assurances of your Majesty might naturally have led me to hope I might occupy. After such a declaration, I could hardly expect to be told that my place was at the head of a Regiment of Dragoons.

"I understand from your Majesty that it is your intention, Sir, in pursuance of that noble example which you have ever shown during the course of your reign, to place yourself at the head of the people of England. My next brother, the Duke of York, commands the Army; the younger branches of my family are either Generals or Lieutenant-Generals; and I, who am the Prince of Wales, am to remain a Colonel of Dragoons. There is something so humiliating in the contrast, that those who are at a distance would either doubt the reality, or suppose that to be my fault which is only my misfortune. Who could imagine that I, who am the oldest Colonel in the Service, had asked for the rank of a General Officer in the Army of the King, my father, and that it had been refused me! I am sorry, much more than sorry, to be obliged to break in upon your leisure, and to trespass thus a second time on the attention of your Majesty; but I have, Sir, an interest in my character more valuable to me than the Throne, and dearer, far dearer, than life. I am called upon by that interest to persevere, and I pledge myself never to desist till I receive that satisfaction which the justice of my claim leads me to expect. In these unhappy times the world, Sir, examines the conduct of Princes with a jealous, a scrutinising, a malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the existence of such a disposition; and no man is, therefore, more determined to place himself above all suspicion.

"In desiring to be placed in a forward position I have performed one duty to the people of England; I must now perform another, and humbly supplicate your Majesty to assign those reasons which have induced you to refuse a request which appears to me and to the world so reasonable and so rational.

"I must again repeat my concern that I am obliged to continue a correspondence which I fear is not so grateful to your Majesty as I could wish. I have examined my own heart—I am convinced of the justice of my cause, of the purity of my motives. Reason and honour forbid me to yield; where no reason is alleged I am justified in the conclusion that none can be given. In this candid exposition of the feelings which have agitated and depressed my wounded mind, I hope no expression has escaped me which can be construed to mean the slightest disrespect to your Majesty. I most solemnly disavow any such intention; but the circumstances of the times—the danger of invasion—the appeal which has been made to all your subjects, oblige me to recollect what I owe to mine own honour and to my own character, and to state to your Majesty with plainness, truth, and candour, but with the submission of a subject and the duty of an affectionate son, the injuries under which I labour, which it is in the power of your Majesty alone at one moment to redress.

"It is with the sentiments of the profoundest veneration and respect that I have the honour to subscribe myself

"Your Majesty's most dutiful and most
"Affectionate son and subject,
(Signed) "G., P."

"Brighton, October 2nd, 1803.

"My dear Brother,—By the last night's 'Gazette,' which I have this moment received, I perceive that an extensive promotion has taken place in the Army, wherein my pretensions are not noticed; a circumstance which, whatever may have happened upon other occasions, it is impossible for me to pass by at this momentous crisis without observation.

"My standing in the Army, according to the most ordinary routine of promotion, had it been followed up, would have placed me either at the bottom of the list of Generals, or at the head of the list of Lieutenant-Generals. When the younger branches of my family are promoted to the highest Military situations, my birth, according to the distinctions usually conferred on it, should have placed me first on that list. I hope you know me too well to imagine that idle inactive rank is in my view, much less in the direction and patronage of the Military departments, an object which neither suits my place in the State, nor my inclinations; but in a moment when the danger of the country is thought by Government so urgent as to call forth the energy of every man in its defence, I cannot but feel myself degraded, both as a Prince and as a soldier, if I am not allowed to take a forward and distinguished part in the defence of the empire and crown, and of the glory, prosperity, and even existence of that people, in all which mine is the greatest stake. To be told I may display this zeal solely and simply at the head of my Regiment is a degrading mockery. If that be the only situation allotted me I shall certainly do my duty as others will; but the considerations to which I have already alluded entitle me to expect, and bind me in every way to require, a situation more

correspondent to the dignity of my own character, and to the public expectations.

"It is for the sake of tendering my services in a way more formal and official than I have before pursued, that I address this to you, my dear brother, as the Commander-in-Chief, by whose counsels the Constitution presumes that the Military Department is administered.

"If those who have the honour to advise His Majesty on this occasion shall deem my pretensions among those of all the Royal family to be the only ones fit to be rejected and disdained, I may at least hope, as a debt of justice and honour, to have it explained that I am laid by in virtue of that judgment, and not in consequence of any omission or want of energy on my part, &c.

(Signed) "G., P. W.

"His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c."

"Horse Guards, Oct. 6, 1803.

"Dearest Brother,—Nothing but an extraordinary press of business would have prevented me from acknowledging sooner your letter of the 2nd instant, which I received while at Oatlands on Monday evening. I trust that you are too well acquainted with my affection for you, which has existed since our most tender years, not to be assured of the satisfaction I have felt, and ever must feel, in forwarding, when in my power, every desire or object of yours; and, therefore, will believe how much I must regret the impossibility there is, upon the present occasion, of my executing your wishes of laying the representation contained in your letter before His Majesty. Suffer me, my dearest brother, as the only answer that I can properly give you, to recall to your memory what passed upon the same subject soon after His Majesty was graciously pleased to place me at the head of the Army; and I have no doubt that, with your usual candour, you will yourself see the absolute necessity of my declining it.

"In the year 1795, upon a general promotion taking place, at your instance I delivered a letter from you to His Majesty, urging your pretensions to promotion in the Army: to which His Majesty was pleased to answer that, before he had appointed you to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to you what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the Army, and the public grounds upon which he could never admit of your considering it as a profession, or of your being promoted in the Service. And His Majesty at the same time added his positive command and injunctions to me never to mention this subject again to him, and to decline being the bearer of any application of the same nature should it be proposed to me, which message I was, of course, under the necessity of delivering to you, and have constantly made it the rule of my conduct ever since; and, indeed, I have ever considered it as one of the greatest proofs of affection and consideration towards me, on the part of His Majesty, that he never allowed me to become a party in this business.

"Having thus stated to you fairly and candidly what has passed, I must trust you will see that there can be no grounds for an apprehension expressed in the latter part of your letter, that any slur can attach to your character as an Officer—particularly as I recollect your mentioning to me yourself, on the day on which you received the notification of your appointment to the 10th Light Dragoons, the explanation and conditions attached to it by His Majesty; and, therefore, surely you must be satisfied that your not being advanced in Military rank proceeds entirely from His Majesty's sentiments respecting the high rank you hold in the State, and not from any impression unfavourable to you.

"Believe me ever, with the greatest truth,

"Dearest brother,

"Your most affectionate brother,

(Signed) "FREDERICK.

"His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales."

"Brighton, October 9, 1803.

"My dear Brother,—I have taken two days to consider the contents of your letter of the 6th inst., in order to be as accurate as possible in my answer, which must account to you for its being longer perhaps than I intended, or I could have wished. I confide entirely in the personal kindness and affection expressed in your letter, and am, for that reason, the more unwilling to trouble you again on a painful subject, in which you are not free to act as your inclination would, I am sure, lead you. But, as it is not at all improbable that every part of this transaction may be publicly canvassed hereafter, it is of the utmost importance to my honour, without which I can have no happiness, that my conduct in it shall be fairly represented and correctly understood. When I made a tender of my services to His Majesty's Ministers, it was with a just and natural expectation that my offer would have been accepted in the way in which alone it could have been most beneficial to my country, or creditable to myself; or, if that failed, that at least (in justice to me) the reasons for a refusal would have been distinctly stated; so that the nation might be satisfied that nothing had been omitted on *my* part, and enabled to judge of the validity of the reasons assigned for such refusal. In the first instance, I was referred to His Majesty's will and pleasure; and now I am

informed by your letter that, before 'he had appointed me to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to me what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the Army.'

"It is impossible, my dear brother, that I should know all that passed between the King and you; but I perfectly recollect the statement you made of the conversation you had had with His Majesty, and which strictly corresponds with that in your letter now before me. But I must, at the same time, recall to your memory my positive denial at that time of any condition or stipulation having been made upon my first coming into the Army; and I am in possession of full and complete documents, which prove that no terms whatever were then proposed, at least to me, whatever might have been the intention; and the communications which I have found it necessary subsequently to make, however disclaiming the existence of such a compromise at any period, as nothing could be more averse to my nature, or more remote from my mind. As to the conversation you quote in 1796 (when the King was pleased to appoint me to succeed Sir William Pitt), I have not the most slight recollection of its having taken place between us. My dear brother, if you date it right, you must be mistaken in your exact terms, or, at least, in the conclusion you draw from it; for, in the intimacy and familiarity of private conversation, it is not at all likely that I should have remembered the communication you made me the year before; but that I should have acquiesced in or referred to a compromise which I never made, is utterly impossible. Neither in His Majesty's letter to me, nor in his correspondence with Mr Addington (of which you may not be fully informed), is there one word, or the most distant allusion to the condition stated in your letter; and even if I had accepted the command of a Regiment on such terms, my acquiescence could only have relation to the ordinary situation of the country, and not to a case so completely out of all contemplation at that time, as the probable or projected invasion of this kingdom by a foreign Force sufficient to bring its safety into question. When the King is pleased to tell me, 'that should the enemy land he shall think it his duty to set an example in defence of the country;' that is, to expose the only life which, for the public welfare, ought not to be hazarded, I respect and admire the principles which dictate that resolution, and, as my heart glows with the same sentiments, I wish to partake in the same danger, that is, with dignity and effect. Wherever His Majesty appears as King he acts and commands; you are Commander-in-Chief, others of my family are high in Military station, and even by the last brevet a considerable number of junior Officers are put over me. In all these arrangements the Prince of Wales alone, whose interest in the event yields to none but that of the King, is disregarded, omitted—his services rejected. So that, in fact, he has no post or station whatsoever in a contest on which the fate of the crown and the kingdom may depend. I do not, my dear brother, wonder that, in the hurry of your present occupations, these considerations should have been overlooked; they are now in your view, and I think cannot fail to make a due impression. As to the rest, with every degree of esteem possible for your judgment of what is due to a soldier's honour, I must be the guardian of mine to the utmost of my power, &c. &c.

(Signed) "G., P.

"His Royal Highness the Duke of York."

"Horse Guards, October 11.

"My dear Brother,—I have this moment, upon my arrival in town, found your letter, and lose no time in answering that part of it which it appears to me highly necessary should be clearly understood. Indeed, my dear brother, you must give me leave to repeat to you that, upon the fullest consideration, I perfectly recollect your having yourself told me, at Carlton House, in the year 1793, on the day on which you were informed of His Majesty's having acquiesced in your request of being appointed to the command of the 10th Regiment of Light Dragoons, of which Sir William Pitt was then Colonel, the message and condition which was delivered to you from His Majesty, and which His Majesty repeated to me in the year 1795, as mentioned in my letter of Thursday last; and I have the fullest reason to know that there are others to whom, at that time, you mentioned the same circumstance; nor have I the least recollection of your having denied it to me when I delivered to you the King's answer, as I should certainly have felt it incumbent upon me to recall to your memory what you had told me yourself in the year 1793. No conversation whatever passed between us, as you justly remark, in the year 1796, when Sir William Pitt was promoted to the King's Dragoon Guards, which was done in consequence of what was arranged in 1793, upon your first appointment to the 10th Light Dragoons; and I conceive that your mentioning in your letter my having stated a conversation to have passed between us in 1793, must have arisen from some misapprehension, as I do not find *that* year ever adverted to in my letter. I have thought it due to us both, my dear brother, thus fully to reply to those parts of your letter in which you appear to have mistaken mine; but, as I am totally unacquainted

with the correspondence which has taken place upon this subject, I must decline entering any further into it.

"I remain ever, my dearest brother,

"With the greatest truth,

"Your most affectionate brother,

(Signed) "FREDERICK.

"To His Royal Highness the
"Prince of Wales."

"Brighton, October 12, 1803.

"My dear Brother,—By my replying to your letter of the 6th instant, which contained no sort of answer to mine of the 2nd, we have fallen into a very frivolous altercation upon a topic which is quite foreign to the present purpose; indeed, the whole importance of it lies in a seeming contradiction in the statement of a fact which is unpleasant, even upon the idlest occasion.

"I meant to assert that no previous condition to forego all pretensions to ulterior rank, under any circumstances, had been imposed upon me, or even submitted to me, in any shape whatsoever, on my first coming into the Service; and, with as much confidence as can be used in maintaining a negative, I repeat that assertion. When I first became acquainted with His Majesty's purpose to withhold from me further advancement, it is impossible to recollect: but that it was so early as the year 1793 I do not remember; and if your expressions were less positive I should hesitate to believe; but I certainly knew it, as you well know, in 1795, and possibly before. We were then engaged in war; therefore I could not think of resigning my Regiment if, under any circumstances, I had been disposed to do it; but, in truth, my rank in the nation made Military rank, in ordinary times, a matter of little consequence, except to my own private feelings. This sentiment I conveyed to you in my letter of the 2nd, saying expressly that mere idle, inactive rank was in no sort my object.

"But, upon the prospect of an emergency, where the King was to take the field, and the spirit of every Briton was roused to exertion, the place which I occupy in the nation made it indispensable to demand a post correspondent to that place, and to the public expectation. This sentiment, I have the happiness to be assured in a letter on this occasion, made a strong impression on the mind, and commanded the respect and admiration, of one very high in Government. The only purpose of this letter, my dear brother, is to explain, since that is necessary, that my former ones meant not to give you the trouble of interceding as my advocate for mere rank in the Army. Urging further my other more important claims upon Government would be vainly addressed to any person who can really think that a formal refusal of mere rank under circumstances so widely different, or the most express waving of such pretensions, if that had been the case, furnishes the slightest colour for the answer which I have received to the tender I have now made of my services.

"Your department, my dear brother, was meant, if I must repeat it, simply as a channel to convey that tender to Government, and to obtain either their attention to it, or an open avowal of their refusal, &c.

(Signed) "G., P.

"To His Royal Highness the
"Duke of York."

"Horse Guards, October 13.

"Dear Brother,—I have received your letter this morning, and am sorry to find that you think that I have misconceived the meaning of your first letter, the whole tenor of which, and the Military promotion which gave rise to it, led me naturally to suppose your desire was that I should apply to His Majesty, in my official capacity, to give you Military rank, to which might be attached the idea of subsequent command. That I found myself under the necessity of declining, in obedience to His Majesty's pointed orders, as I explained to you in my letter of the 6th instant; but, from your letter of to-day, I am to understand that your object is not Military rank, but that a post should be allotted to you, upon the present emergency, suitable to your situation in the State. This I conceive to be purely a political consideration, and, as such, totally out of my department; and as I have most carefully avoided, at all times and under any circumstances, ever interfering in any political points, I must hope that you will not call upon me to deviate from the principles by which I have been invariably governed.

"Believe me, my dear brother,

"Your most affectionate brother,

(Signed) "FREDERICK.

"His Royal Highness the
"Prince of Wales."

"Carlton House, October 14.

"My dear Brother,—It cannot but be painful to me to be reduced to the necessity of further explanation on a subject which it was my earnest wish to have closed, and which was of so clear and distinct a nature as, in my humble judgment, to have precluded the possibility of either doubt or misunderstanding.

"Surely there must be some strange fatality to obscure my language in statement, or leave me somewhat deficient in the powers of explanation, when it can lead your mind, my dear brother, to such a palpable misconstruction (for far be it from me to fancy it wilful) of my meaning, as to suppose for a moment I had unconnected my object with efficient Military rank, and transferred it entirely to the view of a political station, when you venture to tell me 'my object is not Military rank, but that a post should be allotted to me, upon the present emergency, suitable to my situation in the State.' Upon what ground you can hazard such an assertion, or upon what principles you can draw such an inference, I am utterly at a loss to determine. For I defy the most skilful logician, in torturing the English language, to apply with fairness such a construction to any word or phrase of mine contained in any one of the letters I have ever written on this, to me, most interesting subject.

"I call upon you to re-peruse the correspondence. In my letter of the 2nd instant, I told you unequivocally that I hoped you knew me too well to imagine that idle, inactive rank was in my view, and that sentiment, I beg you carefully to observe, I have in no instance whatever, for one single moment, relinquished or departed from. Giving, as I did, all the considerations of my heart to the delicacy and difficulties of your situation, nothing could have been more repugnant to my thoughts or to my disposition than to have imposed upon you, my dear brother, either in your capacity as Commander-in-Chief, or in the near relationship which subsists between us, the chance, much less the expectation, of causing you to risk any displeasure from His Majesty, by disobeying in any degree his commands, although they were even to militate against myself. But, with the impulse of my feelings towards you, and quickly conceiving what friendship and affection may be capable of, I did not, I own, think it entirely impossible that you might, considering the magnitude and importance which the object carries with it, have officially advanced my wishes, as a matter of propriety, to Military rank and subsequent command, through His Majesty's Ministers, for that direct purpose, especially when the honour of my character and my future fame in life were so deeply involved in the consideration. For, I must here emphatically again repeat, 'idle, inactive rank' was never in my view, and that 'Military rank, with its consequent command, was never out of it.' Feeling how useless, as well as ungracious, controversy is upon every occasion, and knowing how fatally it operates on human friendship, I must entreat that our correspondence on this subject shall cease here, for nothing could be more distressing to me than to prolong a topic on which, it is now clear to me, my dear brother, that you and I can never agree, &c.

(Signed) "G., P.

"His Royal Highness the Duke of York."

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Henry Addington, dated Richmond Park, October 23rd, 1803:

"Sir,—In consequence of some intelligence which has reached me, I am impelled, by a sense of duty to your Royal Highness and to the public, to express an earnest and anxious hope that you may be induced to postpone your return to Brighton until I shall have had an opportunity of making further inquiries, and of stating the result of them to your Royal Highness.

"I have the honour to be, with the utmost deference and respect, Sir,

"Your Royal Highness's

"Faithful and most humble servant,

"HENRY ADDINGTON.

"The Prince of Wales."

ANSWER.

"Carlton House, October 24.

"Sir,—By your grounding your letter to me upon intelligence which has just reached you, I apprehend that you allude to information which leads you to expect some immediate attempt from the enemy. My wish to accommodate myself to anything which you represent as material to the public service would, of course, make me desirous to comply with your request; but if there be reason to imagine that invasion will take place directly, I am bound, by the King's precise order, and by that honest zeal which is not allowed any fitter sphere for its action, to hasten instantly to my Regiment. If I learn that my construction of the word 'intelligence' be right, I must deem it necessary to repair to Brighton immediately, &c. &c. (Signed) "G., P.

"Right Hon. Henry Addington."

The obstinacy with which the King refused to gratify the wish of the Prince of Wales was probably founded upon a conviction of His Royal Highness's incompetency to exercise responsible command in a great emergency. The Prince had had no Military experience, and it might have been hazardous to trust to the result of his somewhat superficial studies, and a questionable aptitude for soldierly pursuits when the enemy was on our shores. The Prince's pertinacity may not have been altogether free from some political motive. It was necessary to establish a claim to national admiration on the eve of an application

for large pecuniary accommodation. Happily, no occasion arose for testing His Royal Highness's professional attainments, even at the head of his Regiment.

No sooner had war with France and the Batavian Republic been renewed than attacks were made on the distant possessions of both States. The islands of St Lucia and Tobago were taken from the former power, and Berbice, Demerara, and Surinam from the latter. On the Continent the French occupied Hanover, an appanage of the British Crown, as a guarantee for the evacuation of Malta by the English troops.

Unconnected with the hostilities with France, but doubtless springing from a supposition that the time was opportune for disturbances, an alarming insurrection took place in Dublin. An immense multitude, instigated by Mr Robert Emmett, attacked the carriage of Lord Kilwarden, one of the judges, dragged him forth and butchered him, at the same time wounding his nephew, the Reverend Mr Wolfe, who was with him. The 21st North British Fusiliers, then quartered in Dublin, were engaged to suppress the riots. Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, the Commandant, was assassinated by the insurgents as he was proceeding to join the Corps, who, however, vigorously attacked and overpowered the multitude. The peaceful inhabitants of Dublin thanked the Regiment for the services it had rendered in suppressing the tumult.

The year 1804 witnessed the elevation of Napoleon Bonaparte to the Imperial throne of France, which was followed by his assumption of the sovereignty of Italy. At his coronation, as "King" he placed the iron crown of Charlemagne upon his head, and gave unusual emphasis to the formulæ of the coronation: *Dieu me la donné—gare à qui la touche!*

The minatory attitude of the French knew neither relaxation nor abatement for two years subsequent to the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens. No descent was absolutely made, although Napoleon carried his preparations to such lengths that the troops were constantly practised in embarkation and disembarkation until Marshal Soult, who was to command "the Army of England," reported that one hundred thousand men with all their warlike appliances, could be put on board the flat-bottomed boats and transports in seven or eight minutes. To attempt to move this Force without the convoy and protection of men-of-war was out of the question, and these were not permitted to enter the Channel while Nelson, Collingwood, and Calder rode the seas. Meanwhile the drilling of the British Army went on with great vigour. A camp having been formed at Shorncliffe and placed under the command of Major-General John Moore, that able and energetic Officer introduced a system of Light Infantry drill, founded on his observation of the practice of the Continental and especially the French Armies, which went far to extinguish what he playfully called "the d——d eighteen manœuvres," introduced by Sir David Dundas.* The 4th Foot, the 52nd (the General's own Regiment, which the King had made "Light Infantry"), the 59th and 70th Foot, and the 95th Rifle Regiment, constituted the Brigade specially selected for the new drill, and they profited materially by the General's instructions. In fact his system, recommended by its freedom and simplicity of movement, was afterwards incorporated in the Field Exercise Book for the entire Army. "But," says the historian of the 52nd Light Infantry, the Rev. W. Leeke, "notwithstanding the unremitting attention that was paid to drill, every pains was taken to have the Brigade in the most efficient state to march against the enemy in the event of an invasion.† The heavy baggage was put into store at Gravesend, and the Officers were only permitted to retain in camp a small portmanteau each, and their beds. One bât horse per company was provided for the Officers' baggage, and tents were to be carried with the Brigade in the proportion of one for thirty men. The Regiments were accustomed to parade in light service order, and Major-General Moore detailed very minutely what portion of necessaries each soldier was to carry. From the systematic arrangements which were adopted, the Brigade was expected to be formed in column (with baggage packed and tents struck), and the whole ready to move off in one hour after receiving the preparatory order for march." The 52nd had improved so much under this training that when the Duke of York reviewed the Brigade in August

* Sir David Dundas's manœuvres, which formed part of his 'Principles of Military Movements chiefly Applicable to Infantry,' were borrowed largely from Soldern's 'Elements of Tactics for the Prussian Infantry' and Guibert's 'Essai de Tactique,' both of which treatises found much favour in the eyes of Frederic of Prussia. It was natural that an English Officer who, during his service in Germany, had witnessed the advantages of the simplicity and generality of principle which were the distinguishing features of that successful soldier's system, should have sought to introduce them into the British Army, where, until 1792, no uniformity of practice had been observed.

† Two Volunteer Corps having been raised on the Kentish coast under the auspices of the Right Hon. Mr Pitt, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the distinguished Chancellor of the Exchequer said one day to General Moore, in a half-patronising tone, "General, when the enemy land, where do you propose to place my Regiments?" "Do you see that hill, sir?" replied Moore jocularly. "They can be stationed up there, whence they will obtain a good view of the battle, while my men are fighting on the beach below." Pitt took the retort in excellent part.

of the following year, he was so well pleased with it that he recommended to the King that the promotion should be more extensive in the Corps than had been usually granted. The same favour was extended to the 4th Foot.

Major-General Moore did not wait very long for the reward his eminent services had earned. In the autumn of 1804 he was created a Knight of the Bath, and the Officers of the 52nd took that opportunity to testify their gratitude and respect by presenting him with a diamond star, value 350 guineas. As the Colonel of the First Light Infantry Regiment, he chose a Light Infantry soldier for one of the supporters of his coat of arms. The other was a Highlander. He selected the latter in gratitude to and commemoration of two soldiers of the 92nd, who, in the action at Egmont-op-Zee, raised him from the ground when he was lying on his face wounded and stunned, and helped him out of the field. "I hope," said Sir John, in his letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Napier, of Blackistone, who commanded the Regiment, "the 92nd will not have any objection (as I have commanded them, and as they rendered me such a service,) to my taking one of the Corps as a supporter."

A measure, as wise as it was merited by the soldier, was introduced during the momentous interval of preparation for such future contests as the turn of political events might render necessary. Down to 1805 the soldier, enlisted for unlimited service, could not claim his discharge, excepting by money payment, until he was unfitted for service by age and infirmity. It was now decreed that seventeen years should be the maximum of enforced service, with the gratification of a second bounty at the expiry of twelve years. By such acts as these the Duke of York earned for himself the enviable title of the "Soldiers' Friend." Not long afterwards he strengthened his right to the honourable appellation by founding the Royal Military Asylum for the education of the children of soldiers. Three hundred and fifty boys are annually clothed, fed, housed, and educated, at an expense to the country of eighteen thousand pounds.

In 1805 the *matériel* of offensive warfare was augmented by the introduction of a rocket, invented by General Congreve, for which he obtained a suitable reward. Notwithstanding the manifold improvements which have taken place in gunnery and missiles, the Congreve rocket still remains a powerful weapon of warfare.

The close of the year 1805 saw Great Britain at once mourning and rejoicing. "Britannia," as one of the poetical writers of the time phrased it, "smiled through her tears."

Lord Nelson had failed after a diligent chase to overtake or intercept the French Fleet which Napoleon had designed for the escort and protection of the Army equipped for the invasion of England. The dispersal of that particular Fleet fell to Sir Robert Calder, who was cruising with a Squadron between Ferrol and Corunna. In spite of the disparity of numbers, Calder gave battle to the enemy. Two large Spanish men-of-war fell prizes to the English in the unequal contest. Unfavourable weather ensuing, the action was not renewed, and the enemy took the opportunity of escaping to Vigo. The nation had been so accustomed by Nelson to decisive Naval victories, that it was but half satisfied with Sir Robert's partial success; but Nelson declared that he could not have done better—he even wrote to his brother, "I might not have done half so much with so small a Force." However, Nelson was not without compensation for his disappointment. Having returned temporarily to England, he was appointed to command a Force destined to attack the combined French and Spanish Fleets (nearly forty vessels strong), then blockaded by Admiral Collingwood in Cadiz. Nelson joined Collingwood, and for many anxious days they watched together the movements of the enemy. At length Admiral Villeneuve, who commanded, came out. Nelson confronted the foe off Cape Trafalgar on the 21st October, 1805, and utterly annihilated their faculty of mischief. The decorations which he wore upon the quarter-deck of the Victory, his flag-ship, however, made him a sure mark for the rifle of a French marine, and he fell in the execution of that duty which he had told the Fleet, by signal, England expected every man to fulfil. Never was hero more pathetically mourned by a grateful nation. He had rendered signal service in the various stages of his short but brilliant career, and received every possible mark of his Sovereign's approbation. His remains were brought to England, and a public funeral upon a magnificent scale was decreed by Parliament, which at the same time voted a suitable monument in St Paul's Cathedral.

CHAPTER XXII.

Operations in India—Wellesley attacks Doondia Waugh, the Freebooter—The Mahratta Confederacy—General Lake defeats Perron and takes Allyghur—The Battle of Delhi—The Emperor released—The Battle of Lasswarie—General Wellesley meets Scindiah, and overthrows his Army at Assaye and Argaum—The Siege of Bhurtpore—Lake raised to the Peerage.

The years 1803-5 were scarcely less eventful in India than in England.

Colonel Wellesley, whom we left in charge of Seringapatam after the fall of Tippoo, was diverted for a short time from the business of Civil Govern-

ment in 1800 by the necessity he was under of putting down a predatory chieftain, who was committing ravages in the country. Freebooting was a profitable trade in India early in the present century. The feebleness of the rural population, the imperfect protection afforded to the community by a scanty, ill-organised police and a scattered Army, and the wealth of the upper classes, presented so many temptations to desperate men, who had never been trained to industrial pursuits. Among the prisoners released by Tippoo's fall was one Doondia Waugh, a bandit of irreclaimable fierceness. The first use he made of his freedom was to collect about him a body of followers as unscrupulous as himself, and to commit extensive depredations upon the towns and villages of Mysore. The cessation of the war had left many free lances unemployed, and nothing offered them a finer field of profit than the plunder of unprotected districts. To put an end to these marauders, Colonel Wellesley went after Doondia Waugh, with the 19th and 23rd Light Dragoons, and a body of sepoys. His march lay through a country of a peculiarly difficult character. Jungles and hill forts intersected it in every direction. At length the Colonel overtook the freebooter at Conagull. Doondia had five thousand daring horsemen under his command. Colonel Wellesley, with a far inferior Force, gave him battle, and Doondia, fighting desperately, fell in a charge made by the Light Dragoons. His child, four years of age only, was discovered among the baggage after the fight, and Colonel Wellesley humanely adopted him. The Colonel then returned to his post.

Not long after this event a war began in India, which was destined to render the name of Wellesley immortal, even if no subsequent glories had occurred to dim by comparison the lustre of his achievements in the East.

After the destruction of the power of Tippoo and the Nizam, and the Nawab of the Carnatic, the Rajah of Tanjore, and others had become simple pensioners of the State, there only remained in India the Mahratta Princes—themselves aliens of the soil, who had assumed Royal titles without laying aside the predatory characters under which they had acquired dominion and authority. At the head of these Chieftains was the Peishwa—literally a guide or leader—the title of the last Prime Minister of the Mahratta *régime*. His seat of government was the city of Poonah in the Deccan. Two Chieftains held territories under the Peishwa by the fief of the spear. Their names were Holkar and Dowlat Rao Scindiah. Both had, by the rapid flights of fortune so common to the heroes of the East, run, within a few years, the whole gamut of crime and adventure, from dependence to power. Rivals for the supremacy at Poonah, each sought to wrest from the other the prizes he had acquired from fortune. Both openly defied the Peishwa—both assailed him with armed hosts. At length their mutual jealousy burst forth; they turned upon each other, and Holkar fled before the victorious Cavalry of Scindiah, only to collect hordes of banditti for the renewal of the contest. The Marquis Wellesley saw that the whole country was about to become the scene of conflict, to the utter ruin of all his projects for the advantage of the people and the stability of the Government. He therefore proposed an alliance to Scindiah, with the view of inducing him to subsidise a British Force, break off all connection with the French, and submit his disputes with rival Powers to English arbitrament. Scindiah declined the arrangement. The Marquis then turned his attention to the Peishwa. Holkar had regained his position, and the Peishwa, now threatened by two rival factions, gladly closed with the English offer of protection. On the 31st December a treaty was signed at Bassein, which gave certain advantages to the English, conditionally that they placed the Peishwa in his due position in the Mahratta Confederacy. Scindiah at once formed an alliance with the Rajah of Berar, and the Forces of the two Chiefs, amounting to 250,000 men, officered in some measure by Frenchmen, hung on the English frontier. War was now declared, and a British Army took the field to drive them back and restore the Peishwa. In round numbers our Force amounted to about 50,000 men. Ten thousand were under Major-General (late Colonel) Arthur Wellesley; eight thousand three hundred under Colonel Stevenson; Colonel Murray was in Guzerat with 7,350; Major-General Campbell at Moodgal, near Hydrabad, commanded 4,000. Nearly 5,000 were assembled under Colonel Harcourt for the conquest of Cuttack, belonging to the Rajah of Berar. Colonel Powell had 3,500 men collected near Allahabad for the invasion of Bundelcund; General Lake, then Commander-in-Chief in India, had the "Grand Army" of 10,500 men under his orders, and Divisions of a few hundred men each were stationed in different parts of the threatened country. It is needless to say that by far the greater portion of this large Force was composed of the Native and European troops of the East India Company, but nearly each separate Division had a quota of King's Regiments attached to it, for they were the *appui* of the General, and the example to the sepoys.

General Lake commenced operations at the end of August, 1803. It was important that a blow should be struck at the Mahrattas before the cold season should admit of their crossing the Nerbudda into Hindoostan. The General therefore advanced against the principal strongholds of the

enemy in Upper India. Scindiah had a well-appointed body of troops in that quarter, commanded by a French Officer named Perron, who had brought them into a good state of discipline. Lake met him beneath the walls of the fortress of Allyghur, and defeated him on the 29th of August. This opened the way to the siege of the fort itself. Allyghur was of very great strength, and it was computed by the Engineer and Artillery Officers that it would require at least a month to reduce it after the usual form. As this process would have caused delay, and have afforded Perron the means of recruiting his strength by the accession of a legion of Mahrattas, Gen. Lake resolved to blow open the gate of the fort at once, for he calculated that the loss in that operation could not be heavier than that which would be sustained in the trenches and the escalade. On the 3rd of September he approached the fort, raised two batteries, of four eighteen-pounders each, to cover the storming party, and early on the following morning caused the gate to be blown open. In rushed the chosen column. Four companies of the gallant 76th led the way, followed by two Battalions and a half of sepoys. The French and Mahrattas made a fierce resistance. Captain Ronald Cameron and four Lieutenants fell in the attack; our loss in killed and wounded exceeded two hundred and sixty men and Officers. But the result justified the daring assault. The fort was captured, and the British ensign floated from its walls. General Lake spent three days only in repairing the gate, seeing to his wounded and prisoners, and then moved up to Delhi with 4,500 of his little Army. Here he encountered M. Louis Bourguien with 13,000 Infantry and 6,000 Cavalry. Numbers were of no account in the presence of the intrepid little British band. The enemy, impatient for its annihilation, had left his entrenchments and crossed the river with sixty-eight pieces of cannon, which he placed in position. A bayonet charge drove the gunners from their posts. "Such a fire of cannon had seldom, if ever, been seen," wrote Lake to the Marquis of Wellesley; yet the Infantry marched up to within 100 yards of the belching iron without taking their firelocks from their shoulders, then halted, delivered a volley, and closed with the Artillery. The Mahrattas turned and fled. Opening their ranks, the Infantry let the Cavalry, the 29th Light Dragoons, pass through with their "gallopper guns," and cut up the fugitives. There was many a hand-to-hand encounter, for the Mahrattas plumed themselves on their swordsmanship, but the tulwar was ineffective when crossed with the broadsword. Delhi fell. Its former master, the Great Mogul, Shah Alum, had been a prisoner in the hands of the Mahrattas since 1771. By its capture he was released and nominally restored to his throne, to become the pensioner of the humane and generous East India Company. Finding that many European Officers were in Scindiah's service, General Lake published a proclamation offering pensions and rewards to all who should quit their colours and go over to the British. A good many accepted the tempting offer, and with them came sundry Corps of Meywattees—a people occupying the country between Delhi and Agra. After placing Delhi in a posture of defence, Lake advanced to Agra on the 24th September. At Muttra he found Colonel Vandeleur with a number of prisoners of war who had surrendered to his detachment. They had been sent under French command to reinforce Perron at Allyghur, and were intercepted. Before Agra there was another fight, then a siege of short duration, and Agra capitulated. An enormous amount of treasure was found within the fort; it became prize to the Army, and was at once distributed. Scindiah, hearing of the disaster which had befallen his arms, sent forward numerous Battalions to get into General Lake's rear, and seize the first favourable opportunity for recovering Delhi. By forced night marches of twenty-five miles—severe work for troops in India—Lake came up with the enemy's Battalions, about 14,000 strong, supported by seventy-two pieces of artillery, near the village of Lasswarie. Their guns were placed in double lines in front of the front line, the rear guns in rear of the intervals of the front line. As usual, the attack was begun by the Artillery. The remnant of the 76th bore the cannonade, then rushed at the guns, and, followed by the sepoys, took all but one gun. The Artillerymen stood to the last. The enemy's line was now exposed to the Cavalry, who dashed through, reformed, and charged backwards three or four times. "The Deccan Invincibles," as the flower of Scindiah's Army was called, fought with incredible valour. They numbered seventeen Battalions, and were all well appointed. But they were not competent to withstand the charges of the British Infantry and the brave sepoys, who followed in the wake of the Dragoons and the 76th, although they were as two to one of our troops. It was on the 31st of October that the battle of Lasswarie was fought, crushing the power of Scindiah in the North-West, and conferring immortal fame on General Lake, for whose services the Peerage was not considered too lavish a recompense. The British loss at Lasswarie amounted in killed and wounded to 824 Officers and men of all arms. The brave 76th, attenuated as it was, alone lost 213. General Lake declared that he had never been in so severe a business in his life, and, he added, "I pray to God I never may be in such a situation again. Scindiah's Army is better appointed than ours—

no expense is spared whatever—they have three times the number of men to a gun that we have." "Had we been beaten by these Brigades the consequences must have been dreadful. These fellows fought like devils, or, rather, heroes." In another letter he said, "There ought always to be one European Battalion to four native ones—this is the least that I think necessary. I have seen a great deal of these people lately, and am quite convinced that without King's troops very little is to be expected." The native troops, who did not know Lake's private opinion of them, were very proud of such a leader, and for many a long year after, in the villages to which they were enabled to retire in peace upon their pensions, they loved to talk of their old Commander *Lik*, as they called him. This tendency was happily illustrated in a ballad poem written by a Bengal civilian (Sir G. F. Harvey, we believe), supposed to be the song of a garrulous old Subadar. A dozen verses of the spirit-stirring ballad will not discredit our pages:

"But Agra, Delhi, Allyghur, and Coel's deeds were vain,
Without the crowning battle strife upon Lasswarie's plain;
The flower of Scindiah's chivalry, 'Th' Invincible Brigade,'
To make one furious struggle yet, were for the strife arrayed.

"Upon our rear they hung, and watch'd our gallant chief's success,
In hopes some chance of war might rise, their bold designs to bless;
The royal city we had won they hunger'd to retake:
They little knew the prompt resolve, the active mind of Lake.

"'To horse! to horse!' the trumpet sounds, and forth at dead of night,
The General led our brave Dragoons to hurry on the fight;
Full five-and-twenty miles are sped, and lo! in front appears,
All bright beneath the Day God's smile, the gleam of hostile spears.

"Our Infantry would hardly reach the field till mid-day hour;
The foe were in retreat, and then would be beyond our power.
Upon their hosts our leader threw one brief and searching glance;
'They shall not baulk us, then,' he said. 'Ho! trumpets, sound th' advance.'

"Then poured the leaden tempest's wrath athwart that fearless band,
Till, 'mid their myriad foes, at last, they struggled hand to hand;
Then, levin like, the sabres flash'd, the blows fell fast and sure,
And, foremost fighting, fell in death their leader, Vandeleur.

"Thrice through the might of Scindiah's host their dreadful path they clove,
And thrice on either hand, the foe, confused and scatter'd, drove;
But ever as our Squadrons wheeled, the hostile cannon roar'd,
As 'mid our ranks the blighting storm of shot and grape they poured.

"Thus struggled on the heady fight from morn till blaze of noon,
The Infantry, t' insure success, were now indeed 'a boon';
But soon, uncheck'd by toil and heat, through many a weary mile,
All eager for the fray, before our gladden'd gaze they file.

"The breathing, short, suspenseful hour of pause then quickly sped,
Again the war roll'd onward through the dying and the dead;
Then steady to th' attack we moved, thick round our comrades fell,
'Mid cannon flash and smoke, which seem'd the gloom and glare of hell!

"While through the bloody carnage thus we held our steady course,
Re-rallying from their late defeat, the bold Mahratta Horse
Bore threatening down upon our flank, in pride of spear and targe,
Till scatter'd, scathed, like chaff before the British whirlwind charge.

"Our gallant chief their move to check our Infantry had seen,
And soon the British Horse appeared to change the fight, I ween;
Three hearty cheers we greet them with, as on our flank they form,
The sabre gleam, the mad hoof clang, sweeps on the battle storm.

"Again the trumpet sounds, amid the pauses of the din,
And through the serried mass again their meteor path they win:
And still our eager Foot Brigade press'd fast upon their track,
As inch by inch, contested each, they hurl their foemen back.

"Thus foil'd in every point, and e'en unable to retreat,
Here Scindiah's mighty masses met a last and worst defeat,
And far from dread Lasswarie's plains unscathed and living fled
The bulk of his Brigades; lie there, the captive, dying, dead.

"Yet still, albeit their numbers vast, 'twere honest truth to tell
How in that bloody fight our foe fought soldierly and well;
But yet, outnumbering us so far, and though so staunch and brave,
They lack the bonded brotherhood our British Armies have."

Close to the race-course at Allyghur, on the eastern side, and at no great distance from the lines, is a cenotaph erected to the memory of the Officers of His Majesty's Seventy-sixth Foot who fell in the attack on the fort (from which the cantonment has taken its name) and in the glorious victory of Lasswarie. The edifice consists of an

open dome, exteriorly about eighteen feet in altitude, supported by eight Doric pillars, each of one piece of stone, but apparently more slender than the rules of the order prescribe. Beneath the dome, the front being level with the centre of the building, is a cenotaph of rather curious proportions. The pedestal, instead of being a cube, exhibits a face five feet square, but a body only two and a half feet in thickness, and from the top of this rises an oblong pyramid, the height being equal to that of the base. In the front face of the cenotaph, which is to the south-east, is a large marble slab, four feet and a half high by three feet and a half broad, bearing the following inscription:

TO THE MEMORY OF THE UNDERMENTIONED GALLANT OFFICERS OF

HIS MAJESTY'S SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT OF FOOT,

Captain RONALD CAMERON,
Lieutenant MICHAEL BOYLING FLEMING,
Lieutenant JOHN BROWN,
Lieutenant and Adjutant FREDERICK WILLIAM ST AUBIN,
Lieutenant ARTHUR CUTHBERT CAMPBELL,

Who were killed during the Assault, in which the strong fortress of Allyghur, defended by a numerous and well-appointed Garrison, fell to the superior energy of British valour and British spirit, on the 4th of September, A.D. 1803:

ALSO, OF

Lieutenant and Adjutant WILLIAM MENTH,
Lieutenant JOHN HENRY HURD,

OF HIS MAJESTY'S SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT OF FOOT,

Who lost their lives, nobly fighting in their country's cause, during the memorable victory afterward gained over the Arms of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, near Lasswarie, in Hindoostan, by the British Forces under the command of

GENERAL LAKE,

On the 1st of November, A.D. 1803:

This Monument was Erected by their Brother Officers.

Scarcely less important and decisive than the successes of General Lake in the North-West were the triumphs of General Wellesley in the Deccan—the part of India which lies in the west and centre of Hindoostan, between the rivers Kistna and Nerbudda.

Scindiah was personally in the field in that locality at the head of 10,500 disciplined troops, commanded by European Officers, the Rajah of Berar's Contingent of Infantry, a large number of Mahratta matchlock men, and a well-appointed Artillery, exceeding one hundred guns. The vast bodies of Irregular Horse on the flanks and rear of this compact Force are said to have exceeded 30,000 men. Scindiah was thus supported by at least 70,000 soldiers of all arms. Major-General Wellesley had not more than 10,000 men at his disposal, nearly one-half of whom were Irregular Cavalry who had been in the Mysore or Mahratta service; but Colonel Stevenson's Division numbered 8,300 bayonets, and Wellesley had arranged to unite their Forces and meet Scindiah. The Army of the Mahratta Chieftain was encamped along the left bank of the river Kaitna, in a sort of delta, or peninsula, formed by the junction of that river with the Jooah, which ran in his rear. On the 21st of September, 1803, General Wellesley met Stevenson, and arranged their plan of attack. As the country between them and the enemy was hilly and much intersected with jungle, it was arranged that they should march in separate columns, and meet at a point contiguous to Scindiah's camp. But this project, feasible as it seemed, was frustrated by the nature of the ground. The General's column reached the rendezvous singly, and he beheld the enemy at his feet in an imposing attitude. Nothing daunted by the array of Force, the eagle eye of the General discerned that if he could get his little Army near the bifurcation of the two rivers he would not be flanked by them, and would be enabled to present a front defiant of the hordes opposed to him. With characteristic promptitude, this manœuvre, which writers have called the suggestion of genius, but which he would not allow was anything more than the dictate of common sense, General Wellesley marched his little Army down to the banks of the river, and, having discovered a fordable place, sent it across, and took up the very position he had designed. The moment his presence was discovered, Scindiah wheeled the whole of his Army back, so as exactly to cross the delta, with the hamlet of Bokerdun on his right, and the fortified village of Assaye on his left. The distance between the two rivers at this point was only one mile and a quarter, and here the fate of the confederacy was to be decided. The enemy placed his one hundred pieces of cannon in the front of his line. General Wellesley had not a quarter as many guns. With these terrible odds against him, the General, nevertheless, resolved on giving battle to the Mahratta Chieftain. He feared that if he waited for Colonel Stevenson, Scindiah might move off and slip through his fingers, and if he (Wellesley) retreated, he would be attacked by clouds of Cavalry and destroyed. He, therefore, adopted a method which experience had taught him was the proper course with Native Armies; he attacked at once, beginning with a cannonade, and then charging upon the Artillery of the enemy with the 74th and 78th Regiments and the sepoy Battalions. He thus broke the front line of Scindiah's Army, and carried many of his guns. Advancing, he attacked the second line; but, as in moving forward he came upon a wider expanse than his troops could occupy in line, his right flank was necessarily much exposed. The Mahrattas took advantage of this, and their Cavalry got into Wellesley's rear, and recovered some of the guns. The General instantly faced about with the 78th Highlanders, charged them, retook the guns, and

compelled them to retreat in great disorder. In the meantime, their second line had been overthrown by Colonel Maxwell, of the 19th Light Dragoons, by a spirited charge, in which the gallant Colonel was killed. Dismayed by the sustained fury of the onslaught, the Mahrattas fled, leaving 1,200 men dead on the field of battle. They had four times that number wounded, and lost all their cannon. The English "butcher's bill" was very heavy. Six hundred and twenty-six of the little Force were slain, and fifteen hundred and eighty Officers and men were wounded.

Allowing himself no breathing time, General Wellesley marched southward in a very few days after the battle of Assaye; while Colonel Stevenson, who had joined him, moved upon Asseerghur and Burhampoor. The plan which, in the General's opinion, promised the greatest and most speedy success was to carry on offensive operations against the enemy's territories; but he feared that if the places belonging to the Nizam, and the palaces of the Peishwa at Poonah, were left unprotected they would fall an easy prey to Scindiah. "These people," he wrote, "will do nothing for themselves." When parting with Stevenson, General Wellesley gave him some excellent advice: "Suppose that you determine to have a brush with the enemy, do not attack their positions, because they always take up such as are confoundedly strong and difficult of access, for which the banks of rivers afford them facilities. Do not remain in your own position, however strong it may be, or however well you may have entrenched it; but when you shall hear that they are on the march to attack you, secure your baggage and move out of your camp. You will find them in the common disorder of march; they will not have time to form, which, being but half-disciplined Troops, is necessary for them. At all events, you will have the advantage of making the attack on ground which they have not chosen for the battle; a part of their Troops only will be engaged, and you will gain an easy victory."*

Scindiah sought a truce after his defeat at Assaye, and with the perfidy common to the Native Princes failed to fulfil its conditions. Disregarding, therefore, the remonstrances and protestations of his ambassador, Major-General Wellesley resolved, as soon as he could be joined by Stevenson, to teach him another lesson. Stevenson's division had done good service since they parted in September. He had taken both Burhampoor and Asseerghur, and by the end of November reached Partuly, where he met General Wellesley.

Six miles from Partuly stood the village of Argaum, where the British Force was to have encamped. Here, however, General Wellesley found Scindiah's Army drawn up in the plains in front of the village, apparently resolute to oppose his passage. With his accustomed vigour he at once attacked the enemy. As usual, they had a large number of guns, and the Cavalry came down in swarms *pêle-mêle* upon the British Line. The cannonade disturbed and demoralised the sepoys. Three Battalions—a large proportion of the General's Force—fled before the fire of the Artillery, and Squadrons of Persian Horse dashed at the 74th and 78th Regiments. But with unflinching courage the two Corps, or remnants of Corps, received their assailants at the point of the bayonet, and, charging in their turn, compelled the enemy to retire in disorder, leaving behind all his guns (thirty-eight in number) and his ammunition. Wellesley at once let loose the Dragoons upon the flying host, and they continued the pursuit by moonlight. "If we had had daylight an hour more not a man would have escaped"—so wrote General Wellesley to the Governor-General's Military Secretary. "We should have had that time if my Native Infantry had not been panic-struck and got into confusion when the cannonade commenced. Luckily, I happened to be at no great distance from them (when they turned), and I was able to rally them and re-establish the battle. If I had not been there, I am convinced we should have lost the day. But, as it was, so much time elapsed before I could form them again, that we had not daylight enough for everything that we should certainly have performed. The troops were under arms and I was on horseback from six in the morning until twelve at night." The fall of the fortress of Gawilghur in December brought the Berar Rajah on his knees, and a few days afterwards Scindiah followed his example in suing for peace.

The two following years were passed by Lord Lake in the pursuit of Holkar. His Lordship took the fortress of Deeg and laid siege to Bhurtpore, in both of which important operations he had the assistance of the 8th, 27th, and 29th Light Dragoons, the 22nd, 65th, 75th, 76th, and 86th Regiments of Foot. He failed at Bhurtpore, after four attempts to storm the breaches had been made. His siege equipment was defective, and the enemy having filled the ditch with water, it was extremely difficult to scale the

* It was rare at any time that this distinguished leader of Armies laid down principles of action suited to every emergency. He had no "maxims" of war, for he knew that very slight circumstances would occasion a deviation from the "best laid plans." He adapted himself to circumstances in Europe as they arose, but in the instance of the Campaign in India he was enabled to suggest a certain course of action, because the chiefs adopted a uniform system of attack and defence. His despatches abound in useful practical suggestions, but there are not apophthegms enough in them to make a very small duodecimo.

walls. On the last occasion a bastion was attacked with 3,000 men, including the whole European Force. It was so very steep that the men drove their bayonets into the wall, one over another, and endeavoured by those steps to reach the summit. In vain. They were knocked down by huge logs of wood and other missiles, hurled from the ramparts, and tortured by the fire from the adjoining bastion. Flaming packs of cotton, previously dipped in oil, followed by pots filled with gunpowder, burning roofs of native huts, composed of grass and bamboos, saturated with oil, and a variety of other devices, saluted the stormers. The Rajah of Bhurtpore and his resolute garrison derived confidence from the failure of Lord Lake's experiments, but the arrival of reinforcements of besiegers damped their courage, and the Rajah seized the opportunity of Lake's elevation to the peerage of complimenting him and seeking a truce.

As further details of the campaigns in India at the commencement of the century would carry us into a history of the East India Company's Army, which is from the purpose of these volumes, we must leave Lord Lake, and follow the course of events in Europe, whither General Wellesley bent his steps to receive the congratulations of the country and the Knighthood of the Bath.

Sir Arthur Wellesley was not permitted to be idle very long. Within a few weeks he was placed in command of one of the Brigades on the Kentish coast. On being asked by a friend how he could bring himself to hold so trivial a post, he who had commanded an Army of forty thousand men in India, he characteristically replied, "I have eaten the King's salt; I am what we call in India a *nimmuk wallah* (literally, salt fellow), and hold it my duty to go without hesitation, and with cheerfulness, wherever and whenever my Sovereign thinks proper to employ me."

Lord Lake did not long survive to enjoy the honours he had justly earned. The toils of service told upon him soon after his return to England, and he died generally regretted. The Government, by Lord Castlereagh, proposed that a pension of 2,000*l.* a-year should be granted to his heir with two remainders, to which the House of Commons gave its ready assent. A monument would have been voted to the memory of the distinguished soldier had not Parliament laid it down as a principle that monuments, at the national expense, should only be decreed to the Generals and Admirals, and other superior Officers, who fell in battle. Lord Howe was a remarkable exception to the rule. The "glorious First of June" had given him a special claim to posthumous distinction.

CHAPTER XXIII.

War with Spain—British Alliance with Russia, Austria, and Sweden—Napoleon breaks up his Camp at Boulogne—Troops sent to Hanover under Lord Cathcart and General Don—The Battle of Austerlitz—Its Consequences—Military Commission—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope—Expedition to Buenos Ayres—Massacre of the 69th at Vellore—Troops sent to Naples—They retire to Messina—Sir J. Stuart goes to Calabria—The Battle of Maida—Mr Windham's Speech on the Victory.

It had been arranged at the time when the hollow treaty was made at Amiens that Spain should remain neutral, and, therefore, the engagements she had entered into with France at St Ildefonso in 1796 to supply that State with troops and ships of war in the event of their being required, was in practice respected. Treaties of peace, however, like Acts of Parliament, are often so loosely drawn up, and subjected to so little of the public scrutiny and criticism, until they have become binding sheets of parchment, that advantage is often taken of ambiguous phrases to violate the spirit of the solemn covenant, while the letter is adhered to. Thus, Spain, though her Armies were kept in garrison, and the fleets in her harbours, held it no departure from the conditions of her treaty to supply Napoleon with money. It was his policy to place the smaller nations of Europe in so humble a condition that, by a simple show of strength, he could extract from them, at any time, as much coin as he required for the vast necessities of his conquering Armies, and the internal improvement of France. Portugal, Holland, and the Hanse Towns, were in this form his obedient vassals, and the wealth of the Spanish Indies was similarly made contributory by a demonstration of a warlike character upon her frontier. This appeared to the British minister a violation of the spirit of the treaty, and instructions were therefore given to the Navy to intercept the Spanish ships in the Atlantic, and appropriate their cargoes. Such a step, of course, led to collisions, and collisions to formal declarations of war on both sides. Spain thenceforth openly espoused the cause of France, and England found herself under the necessity of entering into some arrangement with the greatest Powers on the Continent in order to procure the re-establishment of peace with the French Empire.

Russia was very willing to co-operate with England in the adoption of proceedings for compelling Napoleon to halt in his career of spoliation, and restore peace to distracted Europe. Nor were Sweden and Austria the less disposed to enter into concert with Great Britain for the same important object. All these States viewed with alarm the wonderful extension of power wrought by the "Corsican Tyrant," in a space of less than eight years, for France and himself. They therefore

agreed to form a league and adopt the most prompt and efficacious means for restoring the equilibrium in Europe. Five hundred thousand men were to be placed in the field that the enemy might be compelled to evacuate Hanover and the North of Germany; that the independence of the Republics of Holland and Switzerland might be restored; that the King of Sardinia might be re-established in his authority in Piedmont; Naples placed in a position of security; and Italy, including the island of Elba, completely evacuated.

To effect all these objects without the effusion of more blood and treasure was dictated at once by policy as well as humanity, and negotiations were therefore set on foot with the French Minister, Talleyrand, to bring about the desired issue. Scarcely, however, had they commenced when the news reached Russia of the extinction of the Genoese Republic, and the assumption of the crown of Italy by the Emperor of the French. The Emperor Alexander immediately recalled his ambassador, when he had reached Berlin on his way to Paris. Nevertheless, Austria continued to press her demands for the re-establishment of peace, in which she was earnestly sustained by England. Napoleon saw very clearly that if he did not destroy the combination that had been formed to place him in a very undesirable position, he would probably be compelled to yield to the heavy conditions the Powers exacted. He accordingly resolved to take time by the forelock. He pretended that Austria and Russia were the mere instruments of England, and he denounced England as the interested disturber of the repose of the Continent, whom he was about to restrain by conquest and subjugation from all further interference in concerns that could be far more satisfactorily regulated and disposed of without her aid. But he deemed it the wiser thing to try his strength upon Austria in the first instance Compelled by the destruction of one part of his Fleet and the dispersal of another, he broke up the immense camp formed at Boulogne for the invasion of England, and advanced his Armies to the banks of the Rhine, whence he poured them into Austria. With incredible rapidity battle succeeded battle. Ulm capitulated, a garrison of 30,000 men laying down their arms, and filing before the proud conqueror. Napoleon then moved upon Vienna.

Napoleon was, in all likelihood, glad of an excuse for abandoning his intended descent upon England. But while he was too astute a diplomatist to declare his failure in the eyes of the world, he could not conceal the vexation which the policy of England had caused him. In his manifesto declaring war with Austria, he used the most insulting language towards Great Britain.

"Let England," said he, "applaud herself for having at length found Allies; let her rejoice that blood is about to flow over the Continent; let her flatter herself that *her* blood will be spared; let her hope to find safety in the discords of other States; her joy will be of short duration; her hope will be vain, and the day is not far distant when the rights of nations will be at length avenged." The Emperor, obliged to repel an unjust aggression, which he in vain exerted himself to prevent, has been obliged to suspend the execution of his first designs. He has withdrawn, from the borders of the ocean, those veteran bands so often victorious, and he marches at their head. He will not lay down his arms till he has obtained full and entire satisfaction and complete security, as well for his own dominions as those of his Allies."

All this vapour and bravado was treated at the time as the ridiculous outburst of a feeble spite, and steps were taken without delay to give effect to the combination that had been formed. As the French Emperor had been obliged to evacuate Hanover, that the troops might be employed in the South of Germany, only 8,000 men remained in the territory under General Barbon. The opportunity seemed favourable for recovering the dominions of His Britannic Majesty in that direction, as a prelude to further operations. The Allied Powers of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Sweden had received some kind of assurance that Prussia, if she did not join them, would at least remain neutral, and that if a Military Power returned to disturb the tranquillity of Northern Germany she would oppose it by force.

An Army of 25,000 Russians was now shipped at Cronstadt on English transports, and sent to Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania. About the same time 18,000 Swedes arrived at the same place. To co-operate with this Force in any measures that might be adopted in the general interests of the Confederation, England contributed a Force of 13,000 men, consisting of 8,000 of the German Hanoverian Brigade, then quartered in the United Kingdom, the Coldstream Guards, the 4th, 14th, 23rd, 28th, 95th, and other Regiments, the whole of which were placed under the command of Lord Cathcart. The larger portion of this Force embarked at Ramsgate with Lieutenant-General Don at its head, and arrived at Bremen, in safety, on the 20th of November. It was received by the inhabitants with every mark of favour and delight. General Don took advantage of the good feeling to publish a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of the Electorate of Hanover, in which he declared that his object was to effect the evacuation of His Majesty's German States, and to undertake their defence against the common enemy. He added:

"The well-known discipline of the troops under my command is to me the best assurance of their

good conduct towards the subjects of their lawful Sovereign; but, contrary to my expectations, should any well-grounded complaint be brought before me, I shall investigate its merits with impartiality, and remedy the same accordingly without delay."

General Don further invited all persons to enter the Military Service, especially those who had previously belonged to the Hanoverian Army. This proclamation was followed by a friendly declaration from the King himself, in which His Majesty intimated that the Duke of Cambridge would shortly go over to administer the Military affairs of the country.

Such was the posture of affairs when the intelligence burst upon the Allies that the Austrians and Russians had experienced a terrible defeat at Austerlitz. The Austrian Empire was completely at the feet of the all-conquering Napoleon. The Armies assembled in the North at once broke up, and the British Contingent returned home to be prepared for any new emergencies that might arise out of the French Emperor's successes.

Abuses and irregularities will creep into Military establishments in spite of the integrity and good intentions of the heads of departments, and a state of war peculiarly favours those public misfortunes. Hence, there was much in the British Army in 1805 which needed correction and amendment, and justified close investigation. Early in May, therefore, a Commission was formed under the authority of the King and Parliament, to inquire into every branch of the Military administration, and to suggest measures for their rectification. The persons composing the Commission were selected with strict reference to their capacity. Generals Robert Abercromby, Stuart, Oakes, Beckwith, and Drinkwater were charged to go into the Military details; questions of law were to be investigated by Messrs Cox (the Army agent) and Cumming, an eminent lawyer; and to Messrs Peters and Bosanquet, wealthy and experienced merchants, was assigned the task of inquiring into the financial and commissariat arrangements.

The operations of the British Army were not of any great moment in 1805, but, such as they were, it accords with the veracity of the historian to assign them a record. And let it not be forgotten that the 46th Foot made this year a gallant defence at Dominica, where a large French Force landed and burned the town of Roseau. Sir David Baird's proceedings at the Cape of Good Hope were of more moment both in their immediate and ultimate results.

The Cape of Good Hope had been restored to the Dutch under the Amiens treaty, but it was of far too much importance to England to be suffered to remain in their hands when a valid excuse presented itself for taking it from them. Their alliance with France supplied that excuse, and an expedition, Naval and Military, was despatched forthwith to obtain possession of the colony. Sir Home Popham commanded the Squadron, Sir David Baird headed the troops. Early in January, 1805, the expedition arrived. Lospard's Bay was selected as the most favourable place for a landing. The Batavian Light Troops occupied the hills overlooking the bay, and offered some opposition to the Highland Brigade, composed of the 71st, 72nd, and 93rd Regiments, under Brigadier-General Ferguson. But the heavy surf was a more destructive enemy than the Dutchmen. A boat was swamped as it neared the shore, and thirty-five brave fellows of the 93rd found a watery grave. On the following day the remainder of the troops, consisting of the 20th Light Dragoons, the 24th, 38th, 59th, and 83rd Regiments, were landed, and the whole being formed into two Brigades, with two howitzers and six field pieces, marched towards Cape Town. At Blamberg, near the Blue Mountains, the Batavian troops, 5,000 strong, were drawn up to receive the British. The Highland Brigade made the first attack, and with so much spirit and determination, that the enemy, after a feeble opposition with nineteen guns, gave way before the rest of the troops could take part in the action. They were followed, and in a few days surrendered. The Batavian colony then passed into the hands of the English, with whom it has since remained.

Having disposed of the Dutch, Sir David Baird and Sir Home Popham considered it advisable to send a small Force across the Atlantic to attack the Spanish possessions on the Rio de la Plata. Commercially, the possession of Buenos Ayres, the principal city on the river, was a desideratum. Major-General William Carr Beresford was selected to make the capture, and taking with him the 71st Regiment, a few Dragoons, Royal Marines and Artillery, convoyed by Sir Home Popham, he succeeded in the execution of his commission. Buenos Ayres surrendered on the 27th of June, 1805, after very trifling resistance, and was occupied by the 71st and the rest of the troops. But they were not destined to retain undisturbed possession of the town. Early in August a strong Spanish detachment, headed by a French Colonel, formed a junction with one Pueridan, who had 1,500 provincials under his command, and attacked the English garrison from the tops of houses and other advantageous cover. The garrison worthily maintained the character of British troops until, overpowered by superior numbers, they were obliged to yield, and were marched up the country as prisoners of war, after having been detained for some time in jails and other places of confinement.

in the city. Sir Home Popham immediately sent intelligence to the Cape and England of the disaster that had befallen the expedition, which had been chiefly undertaken at his pressing suggestion, with the view of opening up fresh markets in South America for English manufactures, and in the meanwhile he blockaded the Rio de la Plata with his Squadron. Colonel Vassall, of the 38th, joined Popham with a detachment from the Cape, and was encamped on the island of Maldonado until the beginning of 1806. On the 7th of January General Auchmuty, who had earned the distinction of the Order of the Bath by his conduct in Egypt, arrived to take the command of the troops. Perceiving the necessity for immediate measures, he rapidly made up his mind to attack Monte Video, a city which had been so well fortified by the Spaniards, who appreciated its importance, that it was called "The Gibraltar of America." On the 18th of January he landed near the city with 4,800 men. The Spaniards attacked Sir Samuel with 6,000 men. He defeated them with considerable loss to the enemy in an action in which the 40th Foot was prominent for its valour. Monte Video bristled with cannon. No fewer than one hundred and sixty pieces were mounted on the walls. Sir Samuel Auchmuty was but badly provided with artillery. Relying on the daring of his troops, he conceived that if a breach could be effected in any one part of the fortress, storming would do the rest. There was no time to lose. Reinforcements of 4,000 men and 24 guns were hastening to the Spaniards. Auchmuty managed to establish two or three batteries, and with these he contrived to make a gap in the walls large enough to admit his Force, which consisted of the 38th, 40th, 47th, 87th, a body of Royal Marines (who in 1804 had been divided into Infantry and Artillery), and some detachments of Dragoons. No sooner had the breach been rendered practicable than the assault was made. The resistance was of the most stubborn nature. The British Field Officers Vassall, Brownrigg, Dalrymple—names to be remembered—gallantly led the way; Dalrymple, a Major, was killed, Vassall and Brownrigg were severely wounded, and died on the following day. But the fort was carried. The Spaniards sustained a heavy loss. Six hundred brave men were stretched corpses on the ramparts, and upwards of 2,000 were made prisoners.

The death of Colonel Vassall was bitterly deplored. He had won the affections of the 38th by a course of kindness which, so far from spoiling the men, had contributed to raise the Corps to a remarkably high state of discipline. So much was his memory venerated, that on the return of the Regiment to Ireland, a publican realised a little fortune by simply hoisting as his sign the effigies of the Colonel, who had often led his Regiment to victory, and had always consulted its welfare and true interests. The "Vassall Arms" were not less celebrated as a hostelry than the best of the inns which rejoiced in the head of the "Marquis of Granby," of other days.

After the fall of Monte Video, the Spaniards would have sent Major-General Beresford further up the country, had he not managed to escape and join Auchmuty's Army. He was not the only Officer of the unfortunate garrison of Buenos Ayres who contrived to give the enemy the slip. One of them was charged with having broken his parole—a Military offence as great in the eyes of the Army to which he belonged as in that of the enemy. It was satisfactorily proved, however, that no parole had been given.

Sir Samuel Auchmuty received the thanks of Parliament for the capture of Monte Video. It was precious balm to the wounded pride of the nation which had recently been made acquainted with the disaster at Buenos Ayres. Lord Castlereagh moved the vote of thanks. He was followed by Mr Windham, and by Sir John Doyle, a good soldier, who had recently made his *début* in Parliament, and who seized the occasion for complimenting the 87th Regiment. Mr Windham said:

"The circumstances that attended the capture of Monte Video called for particular notice. The fortress was strong beyond what had been calculated. It was impossible men could be placed in a more trying position, attacking an almost undiscoverable breach, on which an immense quantity of fire had been brought to bear. These circumstances were of such a nature as to require all the high qualities of the troops which were the subject of the present panegyric. Thus, whether it was considered with respect to the value of the conquest, or the nature of the action by which it was gained, this glorious performance could not be too highly estimated. It was necessary, besides, to observe that the loss that had been sustained, heavy as it was, had fallen chiefly, not on the whole Army, but on that part which was engaged in the storm. It was a loss on 1,200 men, not on 4,000, and in proportion as the loss was greater so was the glory. It was a consolation, though a mournful one, to those whose relations had fallen, that their lives were not thrown away, but that they had been the means of adding greatly to the national glory, and of promoting the most important interests of their country. The merit of our soldiers was greatly enhanced by the gallant defence made by their opponents, stimulated as they were by the influence of their priests to the most fanatical enthusiasm. At the same time that this powerful resistance enhanced the glory of the conquest, another important effect also would, Mr Windham

trusted, result from it, that the valour displayed by the Spanish troops would inspire their countrymen in Europe with a kindred spirit in resisting the common enemy—an enemy who, although approaching them under the mask of friendship, was more dangerous than one with whom we were in open hostility. If a little of this spirit was displayed in old Spain it would be attended with consequences at which Europe would have reason to rejoice. He would say no more. What had been achieved was beyond the power of him, or anybody, to increase by words."

Sir John Doyle said:—"He hoped he should be forgiven if he showed a little tenacity in pressing his claim to the attention of the House when he mentioned that one of the Regiments particularly engaged on this glorious occasion (the 87th) he had himself the honour of raising. On this account he naturally wished to raise his voice in paying the common tribute of applause to the glorious deeds now under consideration. He was unwilling that his brave companions in arms, who had followed his fortunes in the last war, should have reason to complain of him for having sat silent when their glory was the theme of admiration, and when he, who was acquainted with their spirit and character from their outset, ought to be the first to bear testimony to their merit. In every situation in which His Majesty's Army could be employed he was satisfied it would display the same heroism, and he hoped would obtain similar advantages for the country. He spoke from experience, for he had never known an instance in which British troops had been engaged with equal, or nearly equal, numbers in which their conduct had not been such as to redound to the honour and advantage of their country. What the noble lord and the right honourable gentleman had said, rendered it unnecessary for him to say more. The strength of the place, the difficulty of the breach, the quantity of ordnance brought to bear on it, and the great disparity of numbers, rendered this action as brilliant as any former one, and there was no instance of an exploit exceeding it. He should content himself with giving his support to the motion introduced in a manner so honourable to the parties who had moved and seconded it."

Mr M. Matthew commended the honourable General for the particular notice he had taken of the 87th Regiment. It was true that Regiment, led on by a gallant friend of his, had distinguished itself particularly in the assault. But what the honourable General might have added, and what he was sorry he had omitted, was that that Regiment to a man was composed of Roman Catholics. It was also a fact that three of the four thousand men composing the expedition were Catholics. Who, after this, could say that Catholics were not to be trusted with arms? Whoever would say so was ungrateful, and the worst enemy of the country.

Unfortunately, before the intelligence of the fall of Buenos Ayres and the capture of Monte Video could reach England, the Government had appointed a Lieutenant-General Whitelocke, "a youth to fortune and to fame unknown," to take the command of the Forces in South America. Ministers had large views in respect to that region. They believed in the possibility of establishing a commercial position on the shores of the Pacific as well as the Atlantic, and, impressed with this notion, Messrs Pitt and Dundas had sent out Brigadier-General Craufurd with the 5th, 36th, 45th, and 88th Regiments, five companies of the Rifle Corps, two companies of Artillery, and two Squadrons of the 6th Dragoon Guards, to obtain possession of the province of Chili and the West Coast of South America. When Craufurd reached the Cape of Good Hope he heard of the disaster which had befallen the 71st at Buenos Ayres, and was directed by the Officer in command to proceed immediately to the Rio de la Plata, and place himself under the orders of Sir Samuel Auchmuty. With this addition to his Force, Auchmuty had 9,500 men at his disposal, and at this interesting juncture (May 9, 1806) the incompetent Whitelocke arrived. Whitelocke's plan was to take Buenos Ayres, avenge the disaster which had befallen Beresford, and establish friendly relations with the people. By the 28th of June he had prepared at Monte Video a Force of 7,820 rank and file, 150 mounted Dragoons, 18 pieces of artillery, and entrenching tools for 1,000 men. Everything promised well. The march to Reduction, near Buenos Ayres, was a fatiguing task, intersected as the country was with swamps and jungle, but the troops arrived in good order. We will let the unhappy sequel be told in the words of the Lieutenant-General's despatch to the Secretary of State:—

"On the morning of the 5th of July, the 38th and 87th Regiments approached the strong post of the Retiro and Plaza de Toros, and, after a most vigorous and spirited attack, in which these Regiments suffered much from grape-shot and musketry, their gallant Commander, General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, possessed himself of the post, taking 32 pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and 600 prisoners. The 5th Regiment took possession of the church and convent of St Catalina. The 36th and 88th Regiments, under Brigadier-General Lumley, moving in the appointed order, were soon opposed by a heavy and continued fire of musketry from the tops and windows of the houses, the doors of which were barricaded in so strong a manner as to render them almost impossible to force. The

streets were intersected by deep ditches, in the inside of which were planted cannon, pouring showers of grape on the advancing columns. In defiance, however, of this opposition, the 36th Regiment, headed by the gallant General, reached its final destination; but the 88th, being nearer to the forts and principal defences of the enemy, were so weakened by his fire as to be totally overpowered and taken. The flank of the 36th being thus exposed, this Regiment, together with the 5th, retired upon Sir Samuel Auchmuty's post at the Plaza de Toros; not, however, before Lieutenant-Colonel Bourne and the Grenadier company of the 36th Reg. had had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves by charging about 800 of the enemy, and taking and spiking two guns. The two six-pounders meeting with a very superior fire, the four troops of the Carabineers, led on by Lieutenant-Colonel Kingston, advanced to take the battery opposed to them: but this gallant Officer being unfortunately wounded, as well as Captain Burrell, next in command, and the fire both from the battery and the houses proving very destructive, they retreated to a short distance, but continued to occupy a position in front of the enemy's principal defences, and considerably in advance of that which they had taken in the morning.

"The left Division of General Craufurd's Brigade, under Colonel Pack, approached the great square, with the intention of possessing itself of the Jesuit's college, but from the very destructive nature of the enemy's fire this was found impracticable; and, after sustaining a heavy loss, one part of the Division throwing itself into a house, which was afterwards not found tenable, was shortly obliged to surrender, whilst the remaining part, after enduring a terrible fire with the greatest intrepidity, Colonel Pack being wounded, retired upon the right Division, commanded by Brigadier-General Craufurd himself. General Craufurd, learning the fate of his left Division, thought it advisable to take possession of the convent of St Domingo. But the enemy surrounded the convent on all sides, and, attempting to take a three-pounder which lay in the street, the Lieutenant-Colonel, with his company and a few Light Infantry under Major Trotter, charged them with great spirit. In an instant the greater part of his company and Major Trotter were killed, but the gun was saved. The Brigadier-General was now obliged to confine himself to the defence of the convent; but the quantity of round shot, grape, and musketry to which he was exposed at last obliged him to quit the top of the building, and the enemy, to the number of 6,000, bringing up cannon to force the wooden gates, the General, judging from the cessation of firing that those next him had not been successful, surrendered at four o'clock in the afternoon." "The result of this day's action," General Whitelocke adds, "left me in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy's right, and the Residencia, another strong post on his left, while I occupied an advanced position towards his centre; but these advantages had cost about 2,500 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The nature of the fire to which the troops were exposed was violent in the extreme. Grape-shot at the corners of the streets, musketry, hand-grenades, bricks, and stones from the tops of all the houses; every householder, with his negroes, defended his dwelling, each of which was in itself a fortress; and it is not perhaps too much to say that the whole male population of Buenos Ayres was employed in its defence."

"This was the situation of the Army on the morning of the 6th instant, when General Liniers addressed a letter to me, offering to give up all his prisoners taken in the late affair, together with the 71st Regiment and others taken with Brigadier-General Beresford, if I desisted from any further attack on the town, and withdrew His Majesty's Forces from the river Plata, intimating at the same time, from the exasperated state of the populace, he could not answer for the safety of the prisoners if I persisted in offensive measures. Influenced by this consideration (which I knew to be founded on fact), and reflecting of how little advantage would be the possession of a country the inhabitants of which were so absolutely hostile, I resolved to forego the advantages which the bravery of the troops had obtained, and acceded to a treaty, which I trust will meet the approbation of His Majesty."

There is something inexpressibly ghastly in the ludicrous treatment of his great misfortune, to which the Lieutenant-General descends, when he talks of the "advantages" obtained by the bravery of his troops. Every voice was lifted up in condemnation of Whitelocke's deplorable incapacity, and of the absence of judgment displayed in selecting him for the command. A distinguished Military critic (General Sir Edward Cust) remarks, "if the Lieutenant-General had not been utterly inefficient and inexperienced, he would not have hampered his attack by dividing his Force, and locking them up in the streets of an unknown city, in ignorance of its powers of defence, or of the impossibility of contending in streets without fire-arms. He ought to have known that the city was prepared and barricaded for a desperate struggle, which, from the character of Colonel Liniers and the failure of Beresford, might have been foreseen. He should have availed himself of the powerful train of Artillery which Auchmuty had taken in Monte Video, and which was left idle in the rear, under Colonel

Mahon, at Reduction. A previous bombardment would soon have overcome any attempts on the part of such a population as defended Buenos Ayres of the remotest chance of success."

In explanation of the remark on the "impossibility of contending in streets without fire-arms," it should be stated that from motives of humanity some of the Regiments were deprived of the flints of their firelocks, and even of the locks altogether. It was feared that the men might be tempted to fire wantonly upon the inhabitants. This very circumstance led to the massacre of the soldiery.

The loss to the British resulting from this untoward business was very serious. No fewer than three hundred and sixteen good soldiers, including sixteen Officers, fell in the streets of Buenos Ayres. The list of the wounded was still more frightful. Three Lieutenant-Colonels, three Majors, fifty-three Captains and Subalterns, and 674 rank and file suffered in the inglorious contest. Two hundred and eight men were taken prisoners. These, however, and the soldiers of the 71st who had been sent up the country, were exchanged for the Spaniards taken at Monte Video.

Lieutenant-General Whitelocke was brought to a Court-Martial in the following year. The charges and the finding involve too salutary a warning to be omitted here. The first charge expressed "that Lieutenant-General Whitelocke, having received instructions from His Majesty's principal Secretary of State to proceed to the reduction of the province of Buenos Ayres, pursued measures ill-calculated to facilitate that conquest; that when the Spanish Commander had shown such symptoms of a disposition to treat, as to express a desire to communicate with Major-General Gower, the second in command, upon the subject of terms, the said Lieutenant-General Whitelocke did return a message, in which he demanded, amongst other articles, the surrender of all persons holding civil offices in the Government of Buenos Ayres as prisoners of war; that the said Lieutenant-General Whitelocke, in making such an offensive and unusual demand, tending to exasperate the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, to produce and encourage a spirit of resistance to His Majesty's arms, to exclude the hope of amicable accommodation, and to increase the difficulties of the service with which he was entrusted, acted in a manner unbecoming his duty as an Officer, prejudicial to Military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War." In the second charge it was stated "that Lieutenant-General Whitelocke, after the landing of the troops at Ensenada, and during the march from thence to the town of Buenos Ayres, did not make the Military arrangements best calculated to ensure the success of his operations against the town; and that, having known, previously to his attack upon the town of Buenos Ayres, upon the 5th July, 1807, as appears from his public despatch of the 10th of July, that the enemy meant to occupy the flat roofs of the houses, he did, nevertheless, in that attack, divide his Force into several Brigades and parts, and ordered the whole to be unloaded, and no firing to be permitted on any account, and under this order, to march into the principal streets of the town unprovided with proper and sufficient means for forcing the barricades, whereby the troops were unnecessarily exposed to destruction, without the possibility of making effectual opposition: such conduct betraying great professional incapacity on the part of the said Lieutenant-General Whitelocke, tending to lessen the confidence of the troops in the judgment of their Officers, being derogatory to the honour of His Majesty's arms, contrary to his duty as an Officer, prejudicial to good order and Military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War." The third charge ran thus:—"That the said Lieutenant-General did not make, although it was in his power, any effectual attempt, by his own personal exertion or otherwise, to co-operate with, or support the different Divisions of the Army under his command, when engaged with the enemy in the streets of Buenos Ayres, on the 5th of July, 1807; whereby those troops, after having encountered and surmounted a constant and well-directed fire, and having effected the purpose of their orders, were left without aid and support, or further orders; and considerable detachments, under Lieutenant-Colonel Duff and Brigadier-General Craufurd, were thereby compelled to surrender, such conduct on the part of the said Lieutenant-General Whitelocke tending to the defeat and dishonour of His Majesty's arms, to lessen the confidence of the troops in the skill and courage of their Officers, being unbecoming and disgraceful, &c." Fourth charge:—"That the said Lieutenant-General Whitelocke, subsequent to the attack upon the town of Buenos Ayres, and at a time when the troops under his command were in possession of posts on each flank of the town, and of the principal arsenal, with a communication open to the Fleet, and having an effective Force of upwards of 5,000 men, did enter into, and finally conclude, a treaty with the enemy, whereby he acknowledges in the public despatch of the 10th of July, 1807, 'that he resolved to forego the advantages which the bravery of his troops had obtained, and which advantages had cost him about 2,500 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners;' and by such treaty he unnecessarily and shamefully surrendered all such advantages, totally evacuated the town of Buenos Ayres, and consented to deliver, and did shamefully abandon and deliver up to the enemy, the strong fortress of Monte Video, which

had been committed to his charge; and which, at the period of the treaty and abandonment, was well and sufficiently garrisoned, and provided against attack, and which was not, at such period, in a state of blockade or siege: such conduct on the part of Lieutenant-General Whitelocke tending to the dishonour of His Majesty's arms, and being contrary to his duty as an Officer, prejudicial to good order and Military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War."

The Court-Martial found the Lieutenant-General guilty of the whole of these charges, with the exception of that part of the second charge which related to the order that columns should be unloaded, and that no firing should be permitted on any account. The Court was "anxious that it might be distinctly understood that they attached no censure whatever to the precautions taken to prevent unnecessary firing during the advance of the troops to the proposed points of attack, and did therefore acquit Lieutenant-General Whitelocke of that part of the said charge." The Court adjudged "that Lieutenant-General Whitelocke be cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve His Majesty in any Military capacity whatever." This sentence was confirmed by the King, who gave orders that it should be read at the head of every Regiment in his Service, and inserted in all Regimental orderly-books, with the view of its becoming "a lasting memorial of the fatal consequences to which Officers expose themselves, who, in the discharge of the important duties confided to them, are deficient in that zeal, judgment, and personal exertion which their Sovereign and their country have a right to expect from Officers entrusted with high commands."

In the General Orders of the Duke of York the following agreeable salve was administered to the troops:—"To His Majesty, who has ever taken a most lively interest in the welfare, the honour, and reputation of his troops, the recent failure in South America has proved a subject of the most heartfelt regret; but it has been a great consolation to him, and His Majesty has commanded it to be intimated to the Army, that, after the most minute investigation, His Majesty finds ample cause for gratification in the intrepidity and good conduct displayed by his troops lately employed on that service, and particularly by those Divisions of the Army which were personally engaged with the enemy in the town of Buenos Ayres, on the 5th of July, 1807; and His Majesty entertains no doubt that, had the exertions of his troops in South America been directed by the same skill and energy which have so eminently distinguished his commanders in other quarters of the world, the result of the campaign would have proved equally glorious to themselves and beneficial to their country."*

The calamity at Buenos Ayres was not the only one which befel the British Army in 1806. A portion of one of the finest Regiments was sacrificed to the bigotry of the Indian sepoys. The facts are briefly these: Sir John Cradock, who for his conduct in Egypt and elsewhere had been appointed to the command of the Forces on the Madras establishment, was induced to issue orders for some changes in the head-dress of the sepoys, substituting a light cap for the cumbrous turban. He also introduced a new kind of turn-screw, as part of the appointments of the men. Unfortunately, as later events have proved upon a larger scale, the sepoy was very impressionable on the subject of his caste, which had got mixed up with his notions of religion. The new cap, which may have been partially manufactured of leather—the hide of an unclean animal—he was told by some designing persons in the interest of the Mysorean princes, Tippoo's pensioned sons, was furtively intended to destroy his caste, while the turn-screw with a top resembling a cross was to exhibit to his fellow-men his adoption of Christianity! It is needless to say that Sir John Cradock had not the remotest intention of interfering with the prejudices of the sepoys. In point of fact, he had acted entirely at the suggestion of Officers upon his Staff who were well acquainted with the habits of the natives, and had served among them for many years. But the idea of the subversion of their creed had taken possession of the minds of the sepoys, and nothing less would satisfy their vengeance than the massacre of every European within their reach.

At the station of Vellore, in the south of India, two companies of His Majesty's 69th Foot were stationed, and contiguous to them a Regi-

* For a more minute detail of the disastrous proceedings at Buenos Ayres, the reader may be safely referred to the memoirs of the late Sir Samford Whittingham, written by his son Major-General F. Whittingham. Pages 14 to 24 are not only interesting from the soldier-like view of Whitelocke's conduct which was taken by Sir Samford, who was his Aide-de-Camp, and who entertained for him a grateful affection, which Whitelocke's incapacity could not qualify or diminish, but they serve to show how valuable a discreet Staff Officer must be who has studied his profession. The account of Sir Samford's journey from head-quarters to the Plaza de los Toros, where Sir Samuel Auchmuty's Brigade was posted, is an episode that may be studied with profit. The courage and sagacity of Sir Samford, which were only equalled by his modesty, are demonstrated in the diffident sketch of the perilous task, and its successful results. And the opinion which the gallant Sir Samford entertained of the whole of the operations, as they stand recorded in his journal (see page 21), exhibit the candour of his character, and the deep mortification his fine Military spirit endured. "Would to God," he emphatically exclaims, "the waters of Oblivion were as near at hand as are those of La Plata!"

ment of sepoys was cantoned. Long before day-break on the 10th of July these sepoys, headed by their native subadars and jemadars, marched into the barracks of the 69th, and while the men slept they fired in upon them, and killed no fewer than one hundred and thirteen! The rest, rising from their cots, made what resistance they could, and one of them, magaging to escape, carried the tidings of the massacre to Arcot, where the 19th Light Dragoons were quartered. Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie instantly mounted his horse, and heading the Regiment, to which some troops of native Cavalry were added, hastened to Vellore, a distance of sixteen miles. Only four hours had elapsed from the time of the cruel slaughter before the gallant Gillespie was before Vellore. The sepoys, shutting themselves up in the fort and barricading the gate, bade him defiance. Gillespie sent for some guns, and at a later hour blew open the gate. It was now the turn of the infuriated Dragoons. Pouring into the fort, sword in hand, they overcame the opposition of the savage assassins, and cut them down mercilessly. The sepoys, fighting with ropes round their necks, sold their lives dearly. Three hundred and fifty of the mutineers were killed and five hundred made prisoners.

It was never ascertained whether the disaffection had spread beyond the Regiments at Vellore, but, if it had, this example of the retribution following upon mutiny checked any further demonstrations. Sir John Cradock was recalled from his command, and a like fate was the penalty paid by Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, an able and accomplished Officer, who was destined to act a more conspicuous part in Military and political operations.

If the events in Buenos Ayres were not calculated to cast lustre on the British arms, the year 1806 should nevertheless be marked with a white stone in celebration of the battle of Maida. It merits particular detail.

A combined Russian and English Force had landed at Naples with the intention of supporting the Austrians in Italy. But the Austrian cause was past help, and Russia, finding that the King of Naples had violated a pledge of neutrality given to Napoleon in allowing the Allies to land, withdrew her power, leaving the English to do battle for Naples single-handed. This was out of the question. Sir James Craig, who was in command, did not believe in the possibility of accomplishing any good purpose with so small a Force, and not choosing to sacrifice his troops to the wild and extravagant projects of the Neapolitan Court, he very judiciously withdrew them to Sicily, albeit they murmured at his prudence. While the French were so many miles away there could not be, in the estimation of the soldiery, any good reason for withdrawal. Sir James established himself at Messina in the most convenient spot for the protection of the island, and as a good base for any operations that might arise. The result justified the wisdom of his procedure, for soon afterwards an immense French Force arrived at Naples, under the command of Joseph Bonaparte, the Emperor's brother, who forthwith assumed the appellation of "King of Naples," and occupied the town and territory. The King, *de jure*, and his busy wife fled to Sicily, and placed themselves under British protection.

Ill-health obliging Sir James Craig to resign, Sir John Stuart succeeded to the onerous command. Brief time elapsed ere the King and Queen entreated him to make a diversion in their favour on the coast of Calabria. Reports had reached them, which they were too ready to believe, that the Calabrians were prepared to rise and throw off the new yoke imposed upon them by the modern Cæsar. Sir John Stuart, after mature deliberation, acceded to the wishes of the fugitive monarch, and crossed over to Calabria with 4,795 men and Officers and eight 4-pounder guns. General Regnier, who was with Joseph Bonaparte, immediately made a rapid march to Reggio to meet Stuart, and took up an excellent position on the side of a woody hill, below the village of Maida, sloping to the plain. His Force was as numerous as that of the British, with the additional advantage of possessing three hundred Dragoons. A shallow, fordable river ran across the front of Regnier's position. Stuart would not have dreamt of attacking him posted as he was, and Regnier would have been wise to have remained on the hill. But the complete view which he obtained of Stuart's little Army disclosed the absence of Cavalry. The temptation to attack was not to be resisted. Early in the morning of July 6 (1806), the antagonistic Battalions deployed in front of each other, and by nine a.m. were exactly parallel. Almost immediately afterwards they were warmly engaged, when, to use Sir John Stuart's words, "the prowess of the rival nations seemed now fairly to be on trial before the world, and the superiority was greatly and gloriously decided to be our own." At a distance of one hundred yards the Light Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel James Kempt, and the St Legue French Regiment were face to face, and, after a volley, simultaneously charged. The bayonets just crossed when the French broke and turned. Kempt gave them no time to re-form—they were slaughtered to a man. On the left of the French line, Brigadier-General Acland attacked with the 78th and 81st Regiments, and threw the enemy into confusion. On the right, Regnier made a great effort to achieve victory, but found Brigadier-

General Cole and the 27th too much for him. The Cavalry came down upon the Brigade; when suddenly the 20th Foot, which had only arrived that morning from Messina, attacked them from a neighbouring cover, and emptied so many saddles that they went about instantly.* Astounded and dismayed at the energy of the British assault, the French fled in every direction, leaving 700 dead upon the field and 1,000 prisoners. Well might General Stuart have said, as he did say, that "there seldom has happened an action in which the zeal and personal exertions of individuals were so imperiously called for as in that of Maida; seldom an occasion where a General had a fairer opportunity of observing them." The troops engaged in the battle were the 20th, 27th, 78th, and 81st Regiments, and the Artillery, besides some local and royalist Corps.† The Calabrians did not assist the English at first, but after the engagement at Maida they took heart, and commenced so active a guerilla warfare against the French that the latter were compelled to evacuate the Calabrias, having lost 6,000 men out of 9,000 during the short period of their occupation of the country. Sir John Stuart, not feeling strong enough to undertake other operations on the coast, withdrew with his laurels to Sicily, where he was soon after superseded by General Fox and Sir John Moore. The former, however, left him to continue the war, and Sir John Moore proceeded to make a reconnaissance of the state of popular feeling in the Neapolitan territory, which he did not find was of a character that warranted further interference in Italian affairs.

In moving a vote of thanks to Sir John Stuart for the victory achieved at Maida, Mr Windham, the Secretary at War, made a pertinent speech. After observing that there had been a general, a very lively, and very proper feeling manifested throughout the country on the subject of the fight, he said:

"The character of the exploit itself, and the advantages which flowed from it, must present themselves to the sober reflections of every man, and indeed the House and the country at large had already by their admiration and gratitude pronounced upon the value of the glorious achievement. . . . There was not a single one of the various views in which this exploit could be considered that did not rank it with the proudest achievements of our ancestors—that did not raise it to a level even with the memorable days of Crécy, Poictiers, and Agincourt."

* There is an anecdote extant illustrative of the eagerness of this Regiment for the fray. The men were bathing. The bugle sounded. Without waiting to dress, the soldiers threw on their accoutrements and fell in—they even attacked the enemy 'in puris naturalibus'!

† On this—the first occasion since their introduction—the value of Sir John Moore's instructions was tested.

CHAPTER XXIV.

War with Denmark—Capture of the Danish Fleet—The King's German Legion—Expedition to Egypt—Napoleon interferes in Spanish Affairs—Abdication of the King, and of his Son—French Troops occupy Spain—Joseph Bonaparte made King—The British Government sends an Army to Portugal—Sir A. Wellesley arrives first and defeats the French at Roriça and Vimiero—The Convention of Cintra—Sir John Moore advances into Spain—The Spaniards rise in revolt against the French—Napoleon arrives—Defeats the Spaniards and goes to meet the English—Sir John Moore retreats to Corunna—Ensures the safe embarkation of the Army—Is killed in action—His funeral—The Ode, &c.

Nelson, whose energy, rapidity, and courage had made him the glory of England and the terror of the French, had so completely swept the seas of the enemy's Fleets that Napoleon's hostile operations were, in 1807, entirely confined to the Continent of Europe. The crowning victory of Trafalgar had left but little to be accomplished, and that trifling reserve of glory was bequeathed to Hood and Collingwood, who, with Pellew, Saumarez, and Cochrane, soon left the French Emperor with scarcely a ship of war. In this dilemma Napoleon turned his attention to the Navies of his Allies, or the smaller States, and meditated supplying his own deficiencies by appropriating their ships, or, at least, by making use of them in his future designs.

The Danish Navy was, for the size of the kingdom, large and efficient. Time out of mind the Danes had been good seamen, and the spirit of the ancient Norsemen, who had been the terror of the English coasts, still survived. Denmark had had her share of West and East Indian conquests and geographical discovery. The Danes were on friendly terms with Great Britain in 1807, but there was every reason to believe that they would be coerced into hostility by the French Emperor, or compelled to give up to his service their best ships and sailors. The British Government received information that, in furtherance of his schemes, Napoleon was on the point of sending a Military Force into Holstein, for the purpose of cutting off the communications of England with the Continent of Europe, or compelling the Court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against British commerce and navigation. A very short time previously England had sent her Nelson to the succour of Denmark, and in the "Battle of the Baltic" the nation had been rescued. In the nervous lines of Campbell, she

> "Blessed our Chief
> That gave her wounds repose."

The Government, therefore, believed that the Court of Denmark would not object to place the Fleet under the protection of England until peace had been established with Napoleon. At the close

of the war in 1802, Denmark was engaged in a hostile confederacy against Great Britain, pleading her inability to resist the operations of external influence and the threats of a formidable neighbouring Power. Now, that Power was greater and better able to intimidate her. Diplomatic communications were, therefore, held with Denmark respecting her Fleet, but she refused to entertain the propositions made to her. The King's Government upon this declared war against Denmark, and an expedition was despatched from Yarmouth Roads on the 27th of July, 1807, under Admiral Gambier, to obtain possession of her Navy. The Military Force sent with the Naval Armament amounted to 20,000 men; and Lieut.-General Sir Arthur Wellesley was selected to command them until their arrival in Denmark, when Lord Cathcart, with more troops from Stralsund, was to assume the command in chief. The total of the land force was 27,000 men of all ranks and arms.

On the 17th of August, the Army and the Fleet had reached the island of Zealand, and the troops were landed at Wedbeck, twelve miles from Copenhagen. The Danes were prepared for their reception. As the Army marched towards the capital it was much incommoded by the fire from the Danish gun-boats. On the 18th of August commenced the necessary arrangements for bombarding the town. But, as intelligence was received of the approach of a Danish force with four or five thousand men (Regulars and Militia) to interrupt the operations, Lord Cathcart despatched Sir Arthur Wellesley to intercept them. Sir Arthur found the Danes posted at Kioge, with three or four batteries. They opened upon him instantaneously. He did not delay a moment to attack the batteries. Sending out the 95th Riflemen and his Artillery to cover the advance, he moved upon the enemy with the 92nd Highlanders. The engagement was very brief. The Danish Militia fled immediately, leaving the Regulars to bear the brunt of the action. The Regulars gave ground in their turn, and took up a new position in the village of Hersolge. Wellesley followed them thither, and after a short struggle they were compelled to surrender, with ten guns. Sir Arthur then moved forward into the interior of the country for the purpose of overawing opposition. In the meantime, Lord Rosslyn landed with more troops from England.

Lord Cathcart had progressed with his approaches, and by the 1st of September was within 700 yards of Copenhagen. The molestation he experienced from the gun-boats obliged Admiral Gambier to employ the fire of the ships to keep them down. Lord Cathcart now summoned the Governor to surrender. He refused. Batteries were opened on the 2nd of the month; Congreve rockets were employed with terrible effect. The town was soon in flames; but the resistance continuing, the bombardment necessarily continued. On the 7th of September, after a very gallant defence, the garrison capitulated, and the British conquerors marched into the citadel on the 8th. The Danish Fleet was immediately towed out of the harbour into the roads, and a few days later was convoyed to England with all the stores. The troops followed the Naval Force.

This operation against the Danes alienated the Emperor of Russia, and was vehemently denounced for its injustice by the Opposition in the Houses of Lords and Commons. But full justice was accorded to the Army and Navy: "Whatever might be thought of the morality or policy of the Copenhagen expedition," said Mr Taylor, who spoke the sentiments of his party, "it at least afforded a conspicuous example of judicious management and able execution."

Denmark had a few possessions among the islands in the West Indies. Upon the declaration of war, an expedition was sent against Santa Croix and St Thomas, and they surrendered to the 15th Foot and other Corps without resistance.

The service rendered by the King's German Legion in the Danish and the previous expeditions under Lord Cathcart suggests that the opportunity is favourable for a brief description of the origin of a body of troops who were singularly conspicuous for their valour and loyalty in the prolonged war which ensued.

When the French invaded Hanover in 1803, the Hanoverian Army, a small but compact force, laid down its arms, and was dissolved. The men were sent to their homes in poverty and sorrow, and the officers were required to give their parole that they would not leave the Continent. A Convention involving these conditions was entered into by the British representative and the French authorities on the banks of the Elbe. This, however, did not deter M. Moeller, a German diplomatist attached to the British Government, from exerting himself to induce George III. to sanction the raising a corps of Germans in London. Ministers were apprehensive that this might involve an infraction of the Articles of the Convention, and would be visited upon the conquered territory by a more severe treatment of the inhabitants. But no promise had been made by, nor any exacted of, the disbanded troops or their officers not to serve against France during the war, and as no *official* communication had been made to the Government of the Convention entered into in the King's name, His Majesty practically ignored it, and yielded to M. Moeller's suggestion. A rescript in the King's name was published by

the several British Ministers at the German Courts, which explicitly absolved His Majesty's Hanoverian subjects from the observance of all Conventions which his Ministers or Generals might, without His Majesty's ratification, enter into with the French. Thus no moral objection to the departure of the Hanoverians to serve in the English Army can be said to have existed. The French offered no opposition to their departure, but endeavoured to raise a "French Hanoverian Legion," offering sundry inducements to the disbanded Officers to enter their service. Only three officers (a Lieutenant and two Ensigns, one of whom was a Dane) accepted the proffered invitation. In the meanwhile, a Hanoverian Lieutenant-Colonel (Von der Decken) and an English Officer (Major Colin Halkett), who had been on foreign Service, proceeded to England to establish the "King's German Legion," which was to be limited, in the first instance, to 4,000 men. Lymington was the rendezvous—afterwards changed to Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight. The incipient efforts of Colonel Von der Decken and Major Halkett were not attended with much success. Four months was declared to be the limit of the period within which the Corps was to be raised. The time had nearly expired and few recruits had joined, when the King put forth a proclamation, and placed the intended Corps under the command of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. Now the Hanoverians flocked into England, and in 1805 the Legion consisted of a Cavalry Brigade, a Light Infantry and two Line Brigades, two Batteries of Horse and three of Foot Artillery, and a Corps of Engineers. The previous military training which a considerable number of these brave men had experienced rapidly fitted them for parade duties. Called upon to manœuvre with British troops at Weymouth, the Hanoverians, albeit unaccustomed to English words of command, proved not less efficient than their insular comrades. The Light Cavalry movements were especially admired. To encourage their efforts, the King and the Prince of Wales often attended the Camp at Weymouth, and the King went continually to their parades for Divine Service. The Legion justified in its subsequent conduct all the expectations it raised.

An expedition to Egypt for the purpose of chastising the Sultan, detaching him from French influences, and promoting a good understanding with Russia, gave occupation, in 1807, to some 5,000 British troops, under Lord Hutchinson and General Frazer, who was at Messina; but as that episode in British Military history neither pointed a moral nor cast brilliancy upon our arms, we may pass it by with a simple record that such an affair did actually occur. The 31st Foot, on the occasion in question, proved itself an honourable addition to the Infantry Force.

A brief review of the condition of Europe at the beginning of 1808 is essential to a just comprehension and appreciation of the exploits of the British Army for several of the succeeding years, which raised it to a pinnacle of greatness from which it has never descended.

Prussia, "beaten, humbled, and dismembered," existed only by the sufferance of the French Emperor. Austria had been despoiled of the Netherlands, the Tyrol, and all her Italian territories. Holland was a French kingdom. Denmark had become the ally of France. Italy was a French appendage. Russia, dazzled by Napoleon's glory, and duped by his talents, was entirely subservient to his ambition. Spain and Portugal had been allowed to continue neutral because they fed the French treasury with gold.

It had been well for Napoleon if he had remained satisfied with his lofty position. But this would have been contrary to the law of his nature, and opposed to the circumstances of his situation. His lust for conquest and annexation grew by what it fed on. His advances in wisdom were not coeval with the progress of his arms and the success of his intrigues. Since his assumption of the Imperial diadem, all other potentates had become objects of his jealousy and distrust. "The thief doth fear each bush an officer;" and Napoleon felt that every surviving Power was a *gendarme* intent upon his arrest and conviction. What had been acquired by force and fraud must be maintained by an extension of the same agencies, or at any moment of blind confidence and security the enemy of the peace of Europe might be hurled from his bad eminence, and reduced to a condition of vassalage. Perhaps his indomitable pride and resolution prevented his looking forward on so very gloomy a prospect, but he was not altogether free from serious apprehensions. The sovereignty of a neighbouring great peninsula still remained in the hands of the House of Bourbon. It might at any moment become a source of trouble to France. Napoleon resolved that Spain should be annexed to his empire. The reduction of the country appeared to be necessary to the security of the thrones he had already usurped.

It would involve a wide departure from a strictly Military history to relate all the circumstances, in their painful minuteness, which attended the execution of Napoleon's project. A few lines will suffice to put the leading facts and their upshot before the reader.

Napoleon began by fomenting discords in the Royal Family of Spain. Circumstances favoured his plans. The King was old and infirm—the

Queen had become the mistress of a subject—the heir to the throne was ambitious. The King was soon induced to abdicate the throne in favour of his son. Disturbances, arising out of the intrigues of the French, Napoleon sent Murat, the Grand Duke of Berg, to preserve "the peace of a neighbouring State." As the Bourbon family were leaving Madrid, the sorrowing people, who had a presentiment of the fate which awaited them, waxed frantic. Violence ensued; the French fired upon the Spanish mob. A tumult arose, and the capital was a scene of disorder. There was fighting in the streets. Prince Ferdinand was alleged to be incapable of preserving tranquillity; and, in his turn, was forced to retire. Napoleon sent his brother Joseph, who was reigning in Naples, to assume the Spanish crown. This was early in July, 1808. When all Napoleon's arrangements for the *settlement* of Spain were nearly complete, the people rose in insurrection, and established a separate Government under a Junta—or several Juntas. Their situation was critical. Abandoned to themselves, they had to provide against internal disunion and anarchy, as well as external aggression. To the emphatic protests of a few earnest patriots were now added the active exertions of the priesthood, who abhorred the idea of French domination. All classes enrolled themselves as volunteers, and a noble resolution animated an entire people. To stimulate their efforts the Pope issued a proclamation, and declared that God and the Blessed Virgin were with the patriots. When England was in trouble the Spanish monarchs had invariably seized those moments to quarrel with her and strengthen the hands of her foes. England now avenged Spain's perfidy by generously taking up the cause of the people. Peace, harmony, and friendship were established between the two nations, for whatever Power was at war with the common enemy of Europe was at peace with England. The Portuguese, taking courage and example from the Spaniards, sided with them, and sent despatches to Admiral Cotton, who commanded a British Fleet in the neighbourhood, to come to the rescue. Cotton took his ship to the mouth of the Guadiana, and hoisted the flag of the Prince Regent of Portugal. Napoleon peremptorily ordered the Portuguese to close their ports against Great Britain, to arrest all British subjects within the Lusitanian territory, and confiscate their property. Before the Court of Lisbon had time to reply to the imperious mandate, the Emperor sent Marshal Junot* with a strong Force to seize the capital.

Junot was a fitting instrument of such an act of spoliation. The French overawed the Portuguese, and subjected the poor people to all sorts of insults and exactions.

Great Britain now resolved on a bold and active interference. With the command of the seas; with an Army afoot of nearly 300,000 men—exclusive of the 80,000 in India—with a Militia of 108,380 and a Volunteer Force of 200,000, she was in a condition to adopt a comprehensive policy and afford oppressed Europe substantial aid. It was true that her expeditions had been so far, with rare exceptions, synonymous with failure and disgrace; but this rather arose from infirmity of judgment on the part of her Ministers, erroneous information as to the temper and means of the people among whom her Armies went, and the incompetency of some of her Generals, than from any deficiency in the composition of her Army. All that was necessary now to ensure the success of her enterprises was the selection of a good Staff; and the Government had a wide field before it. Egypt, Holland, India, and Denmark had tried the mettle and tested the judgment of the British Generals, and there could be no difficulty in finding men suited to the present emergency. Moore, Wellesley, Baird, Beresford, Hope, Frazer, were all available. But—*seniores priores*—there were men whose commissions were of an older date than any borne by these, and age was to be respected. True, mighty deeds had established the competency of youth for great commands. Alexander the Great was quite young when he overcame Porus. Condé won the battle of Rocroi when he could not number as many years as Alexander. Wellesley had defeated Scindia when he was barely thirty-four; and Napoleon had overrun Italy and defeated half-a-dozen Austrian Armies before he had completed his twenty-eighth year. Marshal Saxe, Wolfe, and Marlborough were all in the heyday of life. These illustrations of the advantage of placing commands in the hands of young and vigorous men recurred to the minds of the British public, and the Ministry were called upon by the press and the Opposition to be guided by the experience of history. On the other hand, it was contended by the Duke of York and the friends of seniority that the instances cited in favour of young Generals were too few to warrant a departure from the rule of justice—justice to the individuals and to the Service, if not to the nation. The examples of accelerated pace by which Alexander and Napoleon had achieved great works were rare. Nature in the main vindicates her law. Skill to do comes of doing; knowledge comes by eyes always open and working hands; and there is no knowledge that is not power. Such was the basis of the argument, and Blakeney, Elliott, and Aber-

* When Napoleon became Emperor, in 1804, he raised several of his best Generals to the rank of Marshal. As Junot and others had sprung from the ranks of the Revolutionary Army, there was some truth in the figure that a French soldier carried a bâton in his knapsack.

cromby had supplied proofs of its force. Therefore, Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple was selected to command the force destined, as the General Order expressed it, "for a particular service."

Never was so magnificent a force in soldiers, *matériel*, and Generals sent from the shores of England. It numbered nearly 30,000 men and Officers. The Corps which formed this fine Army were the 3rd, 18th, and 20th Light Dragoons, the King's German Legion (an admirable Cavalry), to which were afterwards added the 10th and 15th Light Dragoons, several batteries of Artillery, the 2nd Queen's Royals, the 4th, the 5th, and the 6th Foot, the 1st Battalion of the 9th, the 2nd of the 20th, the 1st of the 28th and 29th, the 32nd, 36th, and 38th, the 40th, 43rd, 45th, the 52nd Light Infantry, the 60th, a Battalion of the 71st, the 79th, 82nd, 91st, 92nd, and 97th, with several Light Battalions, English and German, a Veteran Battalion, and a Garrison company!

To assist Sir Hew Dalrymple in the disposition of this large Force, Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard was nominated second in command; and the General Officers who were appointed to command Corps and Divisions comprised the honoured names of John Moore, Wellesley, Brent Spencer, Hope, Paget, Mackenzie, Hill, Ferguson, Craufurd, Acland, Stewart, and many more. Brigadier-General Clinton (1st Foot Guards) was the Adjutant-General*; Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, of the 3rd Foot Guards, was appointed Quartermaster-General; and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Torrens, of the 89th, filled the post of Military Secretary to Sir Hew Dalrymple, the Commander of the Forces.

Sir Arthur Wellesley's Corps was the first to embark. To determine the course of operations that might be most agreeable to the Supreme Junta, Sir Arthur preceded the Corps in a sloop and went to Corunna. The judgment of the Junta decreed a landing at Lisbon, but to this the authorities at Oporto objected. We need not enter into a review of their reasons. Thus restricted, Sir Arthur proceeded with his Corps, which did not number 10,000 men, to Mondego Bay, where he was to be joined by Major-General Brent Spencer, with 4,800 men.

On the 1st of August, 1808, Sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Mondego Bay, and within a week his Force was strengthened by the accession of Spencer's Division. As soon as Sir Arthur Wellesley landed he issued the following General Orders:

"The troops are to understand that Portugal is a country friendly to His Majesty; that it is essentially necessary to their own success that the most strict obedience should be preserved, that properties and persons should be respected, and that no injury should be done which it is possible to avoid. The Lieutenant-General declares his determination to punish in the most exemplary manner all who may be convicted of acts of outrage and plunder against the persons or property of any of the people of the country.

"It is almost essential to the success of the Army that the religious prejudices and opinions of the people of the country should be respected, and with this view the Lieutenant-General desires the following rules may be observed:

"1. No Officer or soldier belonging to the Army is to go to any place of religious worship during the performance of Divine service in such places, excepting with the permission of the Officer commanding his Regiment, and the General Officer commanding the Brigade to which he belongs.

"2. When an Officer or soldier shall visit a church or any other place of religious worship from motives of curiosity at periods when Divine service is not performed, he is to remain uncovered while in the church.

"3. When the Host passes in the streets, Officers and soldiers not on duty are to halt and front it, the Officers to pull off their hats, and the soldiers to put their hands to their caps. When it shall pass a guard, the guard will turn out and present arms; when a sentry, the sentry must present arms."

The plan of the British General was to march upon Lisbon. Marshal Junot heard of his arrival, and, with the promptitude common to French Officers, sent Generals Laborde and Loison to check the English. The adversaries met first at Obidos—the Riflemen pushed back the French, and, in spite of the obstacles of a hilly country, the British reached Roriça. Foremost in attack went the 1st Batt. of the 29th. Encountering a superior Force and losing its Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Lake, it fell back a little. Presently the 9th came up, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart. The 29th rallied, and the two Corps, gallantly forcing their way through the obstinate French line, gained the table-land. But Stewart fell, mortally wounded. The 5th Foot and the flank companies under Colonel Hill followed up the acclivitous ground. Laborde retreated, covered by his Cavalry. Rallying and deploying at Zambugina, he again showed fight. Spencer dashed at him with the bayonet, and the English were left masters of the field.† The

* To avoid being confounded with the Staff Officers at head quarters these appointments were called "Acting."

† In this battle the Shrapnell shells were first used, and with excellent effect. Sir H. Shrapnell's idea consisted in placing in a spherical covering of gun metal, sufficiently

50th, 52nd, and 97th Regiments behaved admirably. For a moment Wellesley halted his troops and went to Lourinha to secure the landing of the Brigades of Acland and Anstruther. His little Army now amounted to 16,000 men and eighteen pieces of artillery. With this Force he took up a position at Vimiero, and intended to march upon Lisbon at once. But the arrival of Sir Harry Burrard, his superior Officer, caused a suspension of his plan. Burrard thought it would be advisable to wait for Sir Hew Dalrymple. Wellesley had faith in his troops, believed that one success, if speedily followed up, insured another, and imagined that the French would be scared by so rapid an advance. Burrard was obdurate. A happy accident enabled Sir Arthur to gratify the wishes of his heart. Junot, suspecting his intentions, had marched out of Lisbon after the affair at Roriça, and gave Wellesley battle at Vimiero. This was on the 21st of August. The ground was stubbornly contested—for four hours the fight unremittingly continued. The 43rd, 52nd, and 97th did terrible execution with their bayonets. Burrard came upon the field in the heat of the contest, but handsomely allowed Wellesley the honour of completing the work he had begun. The French were entirely routed, and nearly 3,000 of Napoleon's choice troops lay upon the heights. Now would Wellesley have pushed on for Lisbon. Burrard did not think the Artillery horses were in fit condition for the work; the French were very strong in Cavalry and commanded by Kellerman, who had won a great victory at Marengo for Napoleon. While the subject was deliberating, Sir Hew Dalrymple, the Commander-in-Chief, arrived. He agreed with Wellesley that a forward movement was desirable. But at that moment General Kellerman arrived with a flag of truce and a proposal from Marshal Junot to evacuate Portugal with his Army. After some discussion the proposal was agreed to, and a Convention was signed, under which the French Army embarked at Lisbon in Russian ships, and left the field clear to the English.

The rejoicings of the people of England over the victories at Roriça and Vimiero were sorely damped by the "Convention of Cintra," as it was called. They would have preferred the capture of the French Army, and its more complete disgrace. Their sentiments and the scenes which ensued upon the intelligence of the battle, and their sequel, were aptly described in a portion of Byron's "Childe Harold,"—not published at the time—

"——Well I wot when first the news did come
That Vimiero's field by Gaul was lost,
For paragraph ne paper scarce had room:
Such pæans tuned for our triumphal host,
In 'Courier,' 'Chronicle,' and 'Morning Post.'

"But when Convention sent his handy-work,
Pens, tongues, feet, hands, combined in wild uproar;
Mayor, Aldermen, laid down the uplifted fork;
The Bench of Bishops half forgot to snore;
Stern Cobbett, who for one whole week forbore
To question aught, once more with transport leapt,
And bit his devilish quill again, and swore
With foe such treaty never should be kept,—
Then burst the blatant beast, and roared, and raged, and slept."

The "blatant beast" found an adequate representative in the Corporation of the City of London. That erudite and self-sufficient body went up to the throne with an address, in which the Convention was freely criticised. The Lord Mayor and his sapient colleagues expressed great indignation on behalf of the troops: "We have had," said the sages east of Temple Bar, "the sad mortification of seeing the laurels so nobly acquired torn from the brows of our brave soldiers, and terms granted disgraceful to the British name;" and they called upon the King to institute an inquiry into what they termed the "dishonourable and unprecedented transaction." The King and his Ministers were indignant at the dictatorial tone assumed by the Corporation. The King told them that he was fully sensible of their loyalty, attachment, and so forth; but he reminded the meddlers that it was "*inconsistent with the principles of British justice to pronounce judgment without previous investigation.*" He permitted the Lord Mayor and aldermen to kiss his hand *pro formâ*, but when the Common Council advanced to perform the same act of homage, the indignant monarch turned his back upon them.

The "Convention of Cintra" was for many years a standing subject of censure and ridicule in England. Military critics, who were supposed to know something about such matters, were as

thin, all the balls it could be made to contain, and to add the exact quantity of powder necessary to burst the case. The projectile, thus constructed and provided with a fusee, is fired from a gun; the case bursts during the passage; then the balls continue to move with the velocity given to the ball at the moment of explosion; they separate in the air, and form a gerbe, which carries the bullets to distances much beyond those at which firing with shot ceases to be effective. Sir Henry was the first who attended to the initial velocity of projectiles, and took it as the basis for firing shrapnells. This method of treating the firing of hollow projectiles was entirely new, and there was much justice in giving these shells the name of their inventor. The first experiments on these projectiles, which Shrapnell called "spherical case," were made in 1803. They furnished from the commencement very satisfactory results. The shrapnells were employed by Lord Wellington with great success during the whole Peninsular war. The great difficulty in firing shrapnells, as may be easily conceived, consisted in causing the projectile to burst at any given distance. After the peace of 1815, the improvements which the inventor found out by constant study, were directed to this object: and they led in England to results which were proved by experiments in the Indian wars.

prodigal of their animadversions as the civil censors. It was not until Sir William Napier—who, to the indefatigable industry of the historian, united the acute commentator upon Military events—took the subject of the Peninsular war in hand, that a righteous judgment was pronounced. In speaking of the Convention, Sir William Napier says: "Suppose that Sir Arthur Wellesley had pursued his own plan, and that Junot, cut off from Lisbon, and half his Forces had been driven to the Upper Tagus, he was still master of flying to Almeida or Elvas, and could have been joined by some troops from Santarem. Then the advantage of a Convention would have been appreciated. The Army, exclusive of Moore's Division, which had not arrived at Mondego Bay from Sweden, had neither provisions nor the means of transporting provisions for more than ten days; the Fleet was the only solid resource, but a gale from any point between S. and N.W. would have driven the ships away or cast them on a lee-shore. It was, therefore, indispensable to secure the mouth of the Tagus for the safety of the Fleet, and this would have involved the occupation of several places, to do which Artillery would have had to be dragged over mountains by men, for the Artillery horses could not perform the work. And in the meantime, the French in Lisbon and other adjunct places would have united with Junot, and then Elvas would have to be taken, and three months of arduous operations, carried on in a sickly season and a pestilent situation, which would have ruined the Army*—so the *Convention was a great and solid advantage for the Allies, and a blunder on the part of the French.*"

The Convention became the subject of a lengthened inquiry in England before a Board of General Officers, but no adverse decision was pronounced upon the conduct of the Officers by whom it was signed. Sir Arthur Wellesley could not conceal his dissatisfaction, however, with the general management of the Army of Portugal, and, obtaining leave, he returned home.

Napoleon was very much disconcerted by the expulsion of Junot from Portugal. He had sneered at "the Sepoy General," as he termed Sir Arthur when he heard of his landing in Portugal; but if he had had an opportunity of reading the despatches and general orders written by that able Officer during his campaigns in India, his own sagacity would have readily detected the elements of that mighty genius for war which was soon to find its true development in the sierras of Spain and the plains of Belgium.

Previous to Sir Arthur Wellesley's arrival in Portugal the Spaniards had made great efforts, with miserable means, to overcome the French. With a comparatively slight exception the Spanish Army was composed of irregulars—a mere rabble, in fact, but imbued with patriotic ardour and unquestionable courage. Badly commanded—for their Generals had had no experience of war—they endured defeat after defeat, invariably, however, returning to the contest, and ultimately compelling an entire French *corps d'armée* at Baylen in Andalusia to surrender themselves prisoners of war.†

While Sir Arthur Wellesley triumphed in Portugal the Spaniards were doing wonders in Northern Spain. Joseph Bonaparte could not stand against the Armies they had managed to bring into the field, and therefore left Madrid. Napoleon did not succumb to circumstances. On the contrary, in the height of his fury he resolved to crush Spain. His Armies were scattered all over Europe; 500,000 disciplined men everywhere maintained the supremacy of France. Calling together the Imperial Guards and the veterans of Jena, Austerlitz, and Friedland, he directed them against the devoted band, till 200,000 men accustomed to battle had penetrated the gloomy fortresses of the Western Pyrenees, and 40,000 inferior soldiers assembled on the eastern ridges of those gigantic hills. To further his designs, he entered into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Emperor of all the Russias at Erfurth, and the two Emperors addressed a joint letter to the King of Great Britain, entreating him to make peace "in the name of humanity." Mr Canning, who ably managed the foreign affairs of Great Britain in 1808, insisted that Spain, Sweden, Sicily, and Portugal should be parties to any treaty of that nature. This being refused, Canning determined to assist the Spaniards in their struggle for independence. Another Army was equipped, and sent under Sir David Baird to Corunna, whither Sir John Moore was ordered to proceed and meet him with all his Division. It was computed that 30,000 Infantry and 5,000 Cavalry would thus be available in the North of Spain to co-operate with the Spanish levies. But Sir John Moore was at Lisbon with his Division, and as there was every reason to believe that the voyage to Corunna would be tedious and precarious, it was decided by Sir Hew Dalrymple that he should march by land to Elvas, *viâ* Almeida, a

* Only 25,000 Infantry were fit for duty at this time.

† It is worthy of remark that in this battle, distinguished as the first victory of the Spaniards, a single British Officer was present. Captain (afterwards Sir Samford) Whittingham, who had been appointed a Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General in Sicily, obtained permission from Sir Hew Dalrymple, then Governor of Gibraltar, on whose Staff he temporarily acted as Military Secretary, to go to Spain and serve under General Castanos. The arrangement was agreeable to Castanos, as it served to cement the alliance between Spain and England.

distance of 300 miles, and there form a junction with Baird and Sir John Hope. It was very doubtful if the province of Gallicia could supply the Force of Sir David Baird alone, and it would be quite impossible for it to make provision for 35,000 men and horses.

Sir John Moore set forth upon his march of 300 miles under very discouraging circumstances. He was going through a poor and unsettled country, where, nevertheless, he was to procure transport for his stores, ammunition, and the baggage of the Officers. He had but little money, and an inexperienced Staff—few of the subordinate Officers of his Corps had served a campaign, and the Administrative Departments were new to a Service wherein no energy and zeal could prevent the effects of inexperience from being severely felt.

The roads were very bad; the rainy season so baleful to troops was at hand. Gold, "which turneth the wheels of war," might have smoothed away some of the difficulties of the situation, but that commodity was very scarce. Then the Spanish troops were without a Generalissimo with whom Moore could co-operate. Baird was to join Sir John at Elvas, 200 miles from Corunna, and he too was scantily provided with money. And when the junction with the two Corps had been effected, there were still 300 miles to march from Elvas before they could reach the Ebro. However, there was little time for deliberation, and no immediate means of surmounting the obstacles referred to. Moore set forth. Many Regiments were in movement when the officials and country people declared that the roads north of the Tagus were impracticable for Artillery. The truth of this allegation could neither be established nor controverted, so Moore sent his guns by Talavera, while he took the Almeida route, keeping one battery of six guns with him to test the quality of the roads.

The Spaniards were at this moment in considerable force around Madrid. But there was neither harmony among the Juntas nor concert among the Generals. Vanity and jealousy fomented quarrels, and prevented that combination of operations which might have secured the advantages that had been gained. In the midst of this discord Napoleon arrived at Madrid with fresh troops. He attacked, and beat the Spaniards in every direction. Sir John Moore had left Lisbon at the end of October, and got as far as Valladolid by the 15th of November. He had had some trouble with his troops. Too little under the control of their Officers, they plundered and maltreated the peasantry, to an extent which rendered the services of the Provost Marshal necessary. Sir John Moore was determined to check, if possible, the tendency to rapine, and a very serious case having come before him, he issued the following order:

"General Orders.

"November 11, 1808.

"Nothing could be more pleasing to the Commander of the Forces than to show mercy to a soldier of good character under his command, who had been led inadvertently to commit a crime; but he should consider himself neglectful of his duty, if, from ill-judged lenity, he pardoned deliberate villany.

"The crime committed by the prisoner now under sentence is of this nature, and there is nothing in his private character or conduct which could give the least hope of his amendment, were he pardoned; he must, therefore, suffer the awful punishment to which he has been condemned.

"The Commander of the Forces trusts that the troops he commands will seldom oblige him to resort to punishment of this kind; and such is his opinion of British soldiers, that he is convinced they will not, if the Officers do their duty, and pay them proper attention.

"He, however, takes this opportunity to declare to the Army that he is determined to show no mercy to plunderers and marauders, or, in other words, to thieves and villains.

"The Army is sent by England to aid and support the Spanish nation, not to plunder and rob its inhabitants. And soldiers who so far forget what is due to their own honour and that of their country, as to commit such acts, shall be delivered over to justice; the Military law must take its course, and the punishment it awards shall be inflicted."

At Valladolid Sir John endeavoured to move the Junta and the people to afford him their co-operation. His efforts were perfectly futile. The former, stupefied and timid, and the latter detesting the heretic English, though they dealt with them largely, refused to stir. By the 23rd of November the British Corps reached Salamanca. Moore had marched 400 miles with 12,000 Infantry and six guns. But he was too late to be of any use. "The campaign was at an end." Napoleon was in the ascendant. Still the General knew that he had done his duty. He had pushed forward to the assistance of Spain at the instance of the people of England. He had been officially assured that 100,000 Spanish troops covered his march, and that the people were enthusiastic. He found, on the contrary, that he was unsupported either by soldiers or inhabitants. The Spaniards had been defeated at Tudela, and the French were advancing in great force. Sir John Hope had by this time joined Sir J. Moore; and the latter formed the resolution of retreating, but subse-

quently it occurred to him that Napoleon was more desirous of striking a blow against the English than of overaweing any particular province, or of obtaining possession of any particular town. He, therefore, changed his plan, and determined to throw himself upon the communications of the French Army, hoping to inflict a severe loss upon the French troops guarding them before the main body could arrive. To relieve Spain at a critical moment, and give time to the South to organise its defences and recover courage, "he was willing to draw the enemy's whole power upon himself. He saw the peril for his own Army—knew that it must glide along the edge of a precipice, cross a gulf on a rotten plank; *but he also knew the martial qualifications of his soldiers*, felt the pulsations of his own genius, and the object being worth the deed, he dared essay it even against Napoleon."

Sir John Moore's attention was constantly directed to Madrid. The information he had received led him to suppose that the town still held out against the French. In that direction, then, he marched his Army. His Cavalry, admirably commanded by Lord Paget (afterwards Earl of Uxbridge and Marquis of Anglesey), did good service. At Sahagun his Lordship, with the 10th and 15th Light Dragoons, surprised General Debelle. The 10th marched straight to the town; the 15th turned it by the right, and endeavoured to cut off the enemy, and when 400 reached the rear of the village they found a line of 600 French Dragoons. The 10th were not in sight, but Lord Paget headed the 15th in one of those charges which had given it celebrity at Villiers en Couché and Emsdorff, broke the French column, killed 20 Dragoons, and took 13 Officers and 154 men prisoners. It was a vigorous affair, every way worthy the spirit and discipline of British Dragoons. These outpost detached affairs could not be avoided, but Sir John resisted every temptation to fight a general battle. In fact, to draw Napoleon from the South was his design, and it behoved the man to be alert who interfered between the lion and his prey.

On the 20th December Sir David Baird effected a junction with Sir John Moore, and on the following day Napoleon heard of Moore's advance. The Emperor instantly changed his plans, halted all his Corps, and directed his movements upon the English. In spite of storms of hail and drifting snow, he led his soldiers over the mountains. It was now Moore's time to alter his purposes. He had approached Sahagun intending to attack Marshal Soult, but retreat was inevitable, for the French Force was immensely in excess of his own. Masking his retrograde movement by keeping the Cavalry and the Reserve in the rear, he turned about, intending to move upon the nearest seaport in Galicia. The enemy closely followed him. Paget's Cavalry well performed its duty, engaging the enemy's advance, and inflicting upon them serious losses. At Mayorga and Benavente some very brilliant deeds were performed by the Light Dragoons; at the last-named place, the French celebrated Cavalry General, Lefebvre Desnouettes, was made prisoner. The whole of the Reserve of General Moore's Force behaved admirably. But the conduct of great numbers of the men in the retreating columns was atrocious. "The bad example of murmuring given by men of high rank," writes Napier—from whom this account of Sir John Moore's retreat is chiefly abridged—"had descended lower; many Regimental Officers neglected their duty, and what with dislike to a retreat, the severity of the weather and the inexperience of the Army, the previous fine discipline of the troops was broken down; disgraceful excesses had been committed at Valderas, and Sir John Moore found himself under the necessity of reproaching the Army for its evil deeds, and appealing to the honour of the soldiers for amendment." Before leaving Benavente Sir John issued the following General Order:

"Head-quarters, Benavente, December 27.

"The Commander of the Forces has observed with concern the extremely bad conduct of the troops at a moment when they are about to come into contact with the enemy, and when the greatest regularity and the best conduct are the most requisite. He is the more concerned at this, as, until lately, the behaviour of that part of the Army, at least, which was under his own immediate command, was exemplary, and did them much honour.

"The misbehaviour of the troops in the column which marched by Valderas to this place exceeds what he could have believed of British soldiers. It is disgraceful to the Officers, as it strongly marks their negligence and inattention.

"The Commander of the Forces refers to the General Orders of the 15th of October and the 11th of November. He desires that they may be again read at the head of every company of the Army; he can add nothing but his determination to execute them to the fullest extent.

"He can feel no mercy towards Officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties; or towards soldiers who injure the country they are sent to protect. The Spanish Forces have been overpowered; and, until such time as they are re-assembled and ready again to come forward, the situation of the Army must be arduous, and such as to call for the exertion of qualities the most rare and valuable in a Military body. These are not bravery alone, but patience and constancy

under fatigue and hardship, obedience to command, sobriety, firmness, and resolution in every difficult situation in which they may be placed. It is by the display of such qualities alone that the Army can expect to deserve the name of soldiers, that they can be able to withstand the Forces opposed to them, or to fulfil the expectations of their country.

"It is impossible for the General to explain to his Army the motive for the movements he directs. The Commander of the Forces can, however, assure the Army that he has made none since he left Salamanca which he did not foresee and was not prepared for; and, as far as he is a judge, they have answered the purposes for which they were intended.

"When it is proper to fight a battle he will do it, and he will choose the time and place he thinks most fit; in the meantime he begs the Officers and soldiers of the Army to attend diligently to discharge their parts, and to leave to him and to the General Officers the decision of measures which belong to them alone.

"The Army may rest assured that there is nothing he has more at heart than their honour and that of their country."

Unhappily the remonstrance was unheeded. Whenever the opportunity offered, the men straggled into the villages, pillaged the houses, and got drunk.

By the time Napoleon had reached Astorga, he heard that the Austrians were looking up again, and preparing to renew hostilities. Quick as lightning he flew from Spain, leaving Soult to conduct the pursuit of "the English leopards," as he habitually called them. Marshal Soult pressed onwards with fury. Everything was against Sir John Moore. The natural strength of the country was unavailing—the resources were few for an Army in winter quarters. Corunna was the port that could most easily be reached, whence he could go round to Cadiz and assist the Spaniards in the South. His Army was now 21,500 strong, but disease and intemperance were daily thinning the ranks. At Bembribee the men of Sir David Baird's Division got into the wine-vaults, and hundreds were soon intoxicated. When the Reserve entered the town they found the streets and houses full of drunken stragglers from the preceding Divisions. Parties were immediately employed to collect them all together, and the principal church was filled with the drunken fools. At Villafranca also great excesses were committed. Bakers were driven from their ovens—wine-stores were forced.

January, 1809, found Sir John Moore still retreating, and as the men continued to give way to their marauding habits, he determined to make an example of the first offenders. He had not long to wait for victims of his just wrath. Shortly after the Regiments were in their quarters at Calcabellos, three men were found plundering a deserted house in the town; one was a straggler from the Artillery, another from the Guards, and the third was a man of the name of Lewis, of the 1st Battallion of the 52nd Regiment. Considering this a fit opportunity to make an impression on the minds of the soldiers, next morning (the 3rd of January) Major-General the Hon. Edward Paget assembled the Reserve in square, about a mile in front of Calcabellos, and the delinquents were brought out for execution. The ropes were already round their necks, and the unfortunate men were held up in the arms of those who were to perform the execution. The Major-General was pointing out the necessity of enforcing the strictest discipline, when at this instant a Cavalry Officer galloped into the square, and reported the enemy's advance. The General immediately communicated this to the Division, and at the same time declared that if the French Cavalry were absolutely ready to charge the square, he should not be deterred from executing the punishment; but that if the Reserve would now promise faithfully that similar acts should not occur, he would spare the lives of those unhappy men; and (to give the greatest solemnity to this engagement), he ended by saying, "If you mean to fulfil your promise, you will all repeat distinctly three times, 'Yes, yes, yes!'" The words resounded from all parts of the square, and the men were taken down. But little time was left for reflection, for at the same instant a second Cavalry Officer reported that the pickets had been some time engaged, and were then hard pressed, and Commanding Officers were ordered to march their Regiments to the alarm posts which had been previously assigned to them in the town.

When Sir John Moore reached Lugo with his Army, he announced to his Generals his intention of offering battle to Marshal Soult.

It has been well said that "a British Army may be *gleaned* on a retreat, but cannot be *reaped*; whatever may be their misery, the soldiers will always be found clean at review and ready at a fight."

Hardly had the order for the preparation for battle been issued when the Line, so attenuated before, was filled with vigorous men full of confidence and valour. No fewer than fifteen hundred had fallen in action or dropped to the rear. Moore had therefore about 20,000 men only to oppose to the cohorts in his rear. Two days, however, passed and Marshal Soult refused battle. He awaited the arrival of Marshal Ney. Moore could wait no longer—his provisions were running very short. Vast numbers of the men were re-

duced to subsist on salt beef and pork, without bread or vegetables of any kind. The order for a further retrograde movement was given. It was the signal for fresh disorders among the soldiers of Baird's Division. Sir John moved on in the night. Fires were kept burning along the line just quitted, to deter Soult from continuing the pursuit for a few hours. At last, after a most exhausting march, during which the 52nd and 95th Regiments, which formed the Infantry of the Reserve, behaved admirably, Sir John Moore reached Corunna. But no ships had arrived from Vigo! Here, then, the retiring Army was obliged to halt. Sir John found Corunna weakly fortified. He immediately set the Engineers to improve the works, and he occupied the citadel. On the 12th of January (1809) Soult appeared on the heights overlooking the town of Corunna. His Artillery fired upon the Reserve, but it was quickly silenced. The Divisions of Baird and Hope occupied some elevated ground between Soult's legions and Corunna. On the 14th of January the welcome transports arrived from Vigo. Sir John Moore caused the dismounted Cavalry, the sick, the best horses, and fifty guns, to be embarked without delay. By the morning of the 16th every encumbrance had been got on board. In the evening the fighting men would have been embarked. But "a glorious event gave a more graceful though a melancholy termination to the campaign." Marshal Soult delivered battle. At two in the afternoon the enemy's Line got under arms, and shortly after the light troops of both Armies were engaged, and the battle became general. Major-General Paget advanced with the Reserve to support Lieutenant-General Lord W. Bentinck's Brigade, which the enemy was endeavouring to turn. The French attack in front was directed to the village of Elvina. The 4th, 42nd, and 50th Regiments guarded the village. Sir John Moore rode up to them. The 42nd, obeying or mistaking orders, retired for a moment before a galling fire. "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" cried Sir John, adding, "My brave 42nd, rejoin your comrades! Ammunition is coming! Use your bayonets!" He then turned to the 50th, which was bravely maintaining its ground, when he was struck by a cannon shot, which shattered his arm, and lacerated the muscles of the left breast, so materially injuring the parts adjacent as to preclude every hope of the wound not proving mortal. The shot brought the General immediately to the ground; but so far was he from expressing the slightest concern for himself, or evincing symptoms of the excruciating agony he must have sustained, that he surveyed his wound with rather a smiling countenance, and with the greatest coolness and composure observed that he was sensible all aid would be useless; desiring the Officer who proffered his assistance to go immediately and inform General Hope of the circumstance, on whom the command now devolved, Sir David Baird having been previously wounded, and reluctantly compelled to leave the field.* Six soldiers, with tearful eyes and sorrowing hearts, conveyed their beloved Commander from the field of battle in a blanket, to his quarters at Corunna; on the way to which he anxiously inquired if the enemy had been compelled to retire; being answered in the affirmative, he said, "Then I am perfectly happy, and my life or death is of no consequence whatever," or words to the same effect. An eye-witness of the last hours of Sir John Moore gives the following interesting details of the melancholy event:

"I met the General on the evening of the 16th instant, as some soldiers were bringing him to Corunna, supported in a blanket, with sashes. He knew me immediately, though it was almost dark; squeezed me by the hand, and said, 'Do not leave me.' He spoke to the surgeons on their examining his wound, but was in such pain he could say but little. After some time he seemed very anxious to speak to me; and at intervals expressed himself as follows: The first question he asked was, 'Are the French beaten?' which inquiry he repeated to all those he knew, as they entered the room. On being assured by all that the French were beaten, he exclaimed, 'I hope the people of England will be satisfied. I hope my country will do me justice. You will see my friends as soon as you possibly can. Tell them everything—say to my mother—(here his voice failed him)—Hope—Hope—I have much to say, but cannot get it out. Is Colonel Graham, and are all my Aides-de-Camp well? I have made my will, and have remembered my servants. Colborne has my will, and all my papers.' Major Colborne (his principal Aide-de-Camp) then came into the room. He spoke most kindly to him, and then said to me, 'Remember, you go to —— and tell him it is my request, and that I expect he will befriend Major Colborne; he has been long with me, and I know him most worthy of it.' He then again asked Major Colborne if the French were beaten; and, on being told they were repulsed on every point, he said it was a great satisfaction in his last moments to know he

* A trait in the conduct of Lieutenant-General Baird, which reflects great honour on his character as a soldier and on his feelings as a man, is here worth mentioning. Having been wounded (as before stated) in the upper part of his arm, professional assistance was immediately tendered, when, hearing that the Commander-in-Chief was also wounded, he insisted on the Surgeon's leaving him and going to Sir John Moore, and he himself was taken on board the Ville de Paris, where his arm was amputated near the socket by the surgeon of that ship.

had beat the French. 'Is General Paget in the room?' On my telling him he was not, he said, 'Remember me to him. I feel myself so strong, I fear I shall be long dying.' I am in great pain.' He then thanked the doctors for their attention. Captains Percy and Stanhope came into the room; he spoke kindly to both, and asked Percy if all his Aides-de-Camp were well. He pressed my hand close to his body, and in a few minutes died without a struggle. He said to me while the surgeons were examining his wound, 'You know I have always wished to die in this way.'"

Thus fell, in his 47th year, one of the finest soldiers and ablest Generals that ever adorned the British Army.

The superstition of the Chapter of the Catholic Cathedral at Corunna would not permit the remains of Sir John Moore to be interred within the edifice. The body was, therefore, wrapped in a military cloak, and interred by the Officers of the Staff on the ramparts of the citadel. The guns of the enemy paid his funeral honours, and Marshal Soult, with a noble feeling of respect for his valour, raised a monument to his memory.

The French Army having been checked at all points by the determined bravery and perseverance of the British, it fell back to its original position a little before dark, and the wounded of the latter having been collected by torchlight, the Army was embarked at St Lucia. On the morning of the 17th the enemy brought down some pieces of artillery and opened a cannonade upon the shipping, but it was perfectly innocuous. The rest of the force got on board, and the transports sailed for England.

Powerful as had been the grief of the English people when they lost Wolfe, Abercromby, and Nelson, their sorrow probably found louder expression when they received the tidings of the death of Sir John Moore. Since his name first came before the public in connection with the campaign in Egypt, down to the hour when they heard of his earnest assumption of the cause of Spain, he had been a subject of admiration. Everything was hoped for from his skill and judgment.

It is said that the King was greatly affected when the news of the catastrophe at Corunna reached him, and the Duke of York penned a General Order which, while it expressed his sorrow, read a lesson on discipline to the Officers and to the Army at large, which had recently exhibited the effects of good order and their reverse.

"General Orders.

"The benefits derived to our Army from the example of a distinguished Commander do not terminate at his death: his virtues live in the recollection of his associates, and his fame remains the strongest incentive to great and glorious actions.

"In this view, the Commander-in-Chief, amidst the deep and universal regret which the death of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore has occasioned, recalls to the troops the Military career of that illustrious Officer for their instruction and imitation.

"Sir John Moore, from his youth, embraced the profession with the feelings and sentiments of a soldier; he felt that a perfect knowledge and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a Subaltern Officer are the best foundations for subsequent Military fame; and his ardent mind, while it looked forward to those brilliant achievements for which it was formed, applied itself, with energy and exemplary assiduity, to the duties of that station.

"In the school of Regimental duty he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession, so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and he was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others.

"Having risen to command, he signalised his name in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt. The unremitting attention with which he devoted himself to the duties of every branch of his profession, obtained him the confidence of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and he became the companion-in-arms of that illustrious Officer, who fell at the head of his victorious troops, in an action which maintained our national superiority over the arms of France.

"Thus Sir John Moore, at an early period, obtained, with general approbation, that conspicuous station in which he gloriously terminated his useful and honourable life.

"In a Military career, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any one point as a preferable subject for praise; it exhibits, however, one feature so particularly characteristic of the man, and so important to the best interests of the Service, that the Commander-in-Chief is pleased to mark it with his peculiar approbation.

"The life of Sir John Moore was spent among the troops.

"During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the Officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post of honour, and by his undaunted spirit and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory.

"This country, the object of his latest solicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory; and the Commander-in-Chief feels he is paying the best tribute to his fame by thus holding him forth as an example to the Army.

"By order of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief,

"HARRY CALVERT, Adjutant-General.

"Horse Guards, February 1, 1809."*

It is a strong proof of the interest excited by Wolfe's ode on the death of Sir J. Moore, that, forty-three years after the event it celebrated, questions were asked as to the truth of the details of the funeral. The Rev. H. J. Symons (late vicar of Hereford), who performed the funeral service, answered: "It had been generally supposed that the interment of General Sir John Moore, who fell at the battle of Corunna, in 1809, took place during the night; a mistake which doubtless arose from the justly admired lines by Wolfe becoming more widely known and remembered, than the official account of this interesting event in the narrative of the campaign by the brother of Sir John Moore. In Wolfe's monody the hero is represented to have been buried

"By the straggling moonbeam's misty light,
And the lanterns dimly burning:"

an error of description which has, doubtless, been extended by many pictorial illustrations of the sad scene. I was chaplain to the Brigade of Guards attached to the Army under the command of the late Sir John Moore; and it fell to my lot to attend him in his last moments. During the battle he was conveyed from the field by a serjeant of the 42nd, and some soldiers of that Regiment and of the Guards, and I followed them into the quarters of the General on the quay at Corunna, where he was laid on a mattress on the floor; and I remained with him till his death, when I was kneeling by his side. After which it was the subject of deliberation whether his corpse should be conveyed to England, or be buried on the spot, which was not determined before I left the General's quarters. I resolved, therefore, not to embark with the troops, but remained on shore till the *morning*, when, on going to his quarters, I found that his body had been removed during the night to the quarters of Colonel Graham, in the citadel, by the Officers of his Staff, from whence it was borne by them, assisted by myself, to the grave which had been prepared for it on one of the bastions of the citadel. *It being now daylight*, the enemy discovered that the troops had been withdrawing and embarking during the night. A fire was opened by them shortly after upon the ships which were still in the harbour. The funeral service was, therefore, performed without delay, as we were exposed to the fire of the enemy's guns; and, after having shed a tear over the remains of the departed General, whose body we wrapt

'With his martial cloak around him,'

—there having been no means to provide a coffin—the earth closed upon him, and

'We left him alone with his glory!'

The following are the names of the Officers who were present, and who assisted to bear the body of Sir John Moore to his grave: Lord Lynedoch (then Colonel Graham), Lord Seaton (then Major Colborne), General (then Colonel) Anderson, Captains (afterwards Colonels) Percy and Stanhope, and the Rev. H. J. Symons, A.M., Chaplain to the Guards.

The late General Sir C. Napier, who was a Major of the 50th, and made prisoner at Corunna, has contributed the following tribute to the character of the lamented Moore: "Sir John Moore was quite destitute of affected dignity. He entered the society of those under his command as their equal, confident that his vast superiority as a man would at all times raise him above them more than even his great rank could do; he required no external aid. There was, among his Officers, an awe of him; but it was not inspired by any reserve or haughtiness of manner on his part, though I have seen him put down pert and self-sufficient men by a degree of sarcasm which few could withstand,—those who could were not likely to provoke it. His manners were extremely polished and agreeable, and at times even playful. I recollect once standing in the street at Lisbon, looking at a very pretty woman who was at a window, when some one gently laid hold of both my ears, saying, in a joking tone, 'Ah, caitiff! have I caught you? What right have you to look at such an ugly woman as that? I will put you under arrest.' Turning round I saw it was the Commander-in-Chief. 'I will thank you for the punishment, Sir,' said I, 'if you will place the ugly old woman over me as sentry.' Another time, when going from his quarters in the village of Sandgate to the evening parade on the heights of Shorncliffe, the ascent being steep, Moore said to six or eight

* A monument in St Paul's Cathedral and a beautiful statue in the principal square of Glasgow, his native town, perpetuate the memory of Sir John Moore; but probably nothing has tended so much to keep alive a recollection of his achievements, and the circumstances attending his death as the beautiful ode of the Rev. Chas. Wolfe. Appearing anonymously, the authorship was by many persons assigned to Porson; others claimed it for Southey. At length the author avowed himself. This history would be incomplete were the beautiful verses omitted in this volume, and they will, therefore, be found in the Appendix.

Officers who were with him, 'Now a race to the top of the hill!' and away we all started. Neil Campbell (afterwards with Napoleon at Elba) beat us all, and Moore was second." These are trifling matters, but they mark the unaffected and social feelings of a great man, and, as such, the reader will perhaps pardon them. Regard, admiration, and, in very many instances, gratitude for the deep interest he took in their welfare, are the feelings which were entertained for Moore by those who served under his command. There are some characters whom no men liked, and they disliked Moore; but such men had another feeling which kept them in their proper places—fear. Moore's nature was unaffected, kind, gentle, benevolent, nor was he roused to severity until provoked by great want of zeal for the public service, or by great criminality.

It is due to the persevering gallantry of a small British detachment of 200 rank and file, that the historian should not pass altogether from 1808 without noticing the defence of the castle of Scylla, in Sicily, when besieged by the French. The record states that this old feudal fortress was the seat of the Italian patriot, Cardinal Ruffo, and was a venerable tower of the middle ages, surrounded by an outwork, perched on the headland that rises some two hundred feet above the Straits of Messina. The entire British Force consisted of only 200 rank and file, composed of detachments from four Regiments, the 21st, 27th, 35th, and 62nd 'Springers,'* the whole being under Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson. In addition to these he had 500 armed Calabrians, chiefly brigands or outlawed peasantry, in the little town below the castle.

The arrival of French troops and ordnance stores at Seminara, towards the end of the year 1808, manifested Regnier's intention of reducing Scylla, which Colonel Robertson made every preparation to defend to the last extremity. The old walls were repaired, strengthened, and loopholed, and guns were mounted at every available point. Parties of peasantry were sent out to render the passes impracticable, and to destroy those paths which led downward from the heights of Milia; but on the 31st of December they were attacked by a body of Cavalry and three Battalions of Infantry, which immediately took possession of the heights above the town. Two more Battalions arrived, and Regnier on taking possession of the town itself, which then consisted of nine rows of houses terraced one above the other, completed the investment of the place; so our 200 British soldiers found themselves attacked by 6,000 French Infantry, composed of the 23rd Voltigeurs, the 1st, 62nd, and 101st Regiments of the Line, with five 24-pounders, five 18-pounders, four mortars, and many field-pieces.

Colonel Robertson humanely despatched the armed peasantry to Sicily, and prepared to defend himself, until relief or other orders came from General Sherbrooke. On the 14th of January the French batteries opened, and in three days the cannon in Scylla were buried under masses of fallen masonry; the garrison could only defend themselves with musketry, and from the time the breaching train opened, the weather had been so stormy that the gun-boats sent from Sicily to bring the four detachments off could afford them not the slightest assistance.

By the sea staircase the garrison could alone hope to escape, and on the 15th the enemy pushed round the angle of the rock and attempted to destroy it, but were discovered and beaten off with great slaughter.

For three days and nights this ceaseless attack and sleepless defence went on, till Captain Trollope, of the Electra, drew close in with his man-of-war launches, to take off the garrison. "The approach of the boats from Faro," says the despatch of Colonel Robertson, "gave the French full intimation of our design, but the tempestuous state of the weather obliged us to seize the short opportunity of one hour's lull. Every battery poured its utmost fire upon the castle, and subsequently upon the boats, while the Infantry, with their field-pieces, tried the breach on either side. The garrison was drawn off in succession, and the embarkation effected with the greatest order, notwithstanding the tremendous fire of grape and shells. Our loss in the operation was small, and before we were a musket shot distant, the French were in the fort! I feel highly indebted to Captains Crookshanks, of the 62nd, Jordon of the 27th, and Pringle of the 21st, as well as all the Officers and men under them."

The French purchased a pile of ruins at the expense of several hundred lives, while the loss of the British was only eleven killed and thirty-one wounded.

* The MS. Records state that the Regiment gained at Saragota its familiar name of "Springers," "from having acted as a Light Infantry Battalion," but "remained prisoners of war for three years, and then returned to England." In those days, and for long after, "spring up!" was an old word of command, particularly among the Light Infantry, and hence the Regimental sobriquet.

CHAPTER XXV.

Rewards of Service—Recruiting—The Light Dragoons—The Scottish Regiments—Expedition to the Scheldt—Inquiry into Corruption at the Horse Guards—The Duke of York and Mrs Clarke—The Army Accounts—Lord Burghersh—Corporal Punishment—General Beresford sent to Portugal—Sir A. Wellesley goes to Lisbon with an Army — Advances to Oporto — The French Retreat — Sir Arthur moves to Talavera—Great Battle on 27th and 28th of July—Sir Arthur raised to the Peerage—Falls back on Busaco and Repulses Massena—Constructs lines of Fortresses between Torres Vedras and the Tagus.

Before we proceed with a narration of the proceedings of the Army in Portugal and Spain, which terminated in the final expulsion of the French from the Peninsula of Europe, we must glance at the measures adopted by the Home authorities in 1808 and 1809 to reward and improve the British Forces. It will be necessary also to advert to matters of a less agreeable character, in the interests of truth and completeness.

On the return home of Generals Baird, Hope, and Brent Spencer, chapters of the Order of the Bath were held, and these good soldiers were severally decorated with the insignia of the Order, which they had so honourably won. The opportunity was also taken of issuing an extensive Brevet, which gave Army rank to a considerable number of superior Officers. Medals for war services were but little known in those days, and there were no intermediate grades of "the Bath" which afforded the Sovereign the means of recompensing merit in Officers of lesser note than the Commanders of Divisions and entire Armies. The private soldier received no reward of any kind for his services, excepting when prize was captured. All the gratitude and applause of the country were comprehended in Votes of Thanks by both Houses of Parliament, which the troops generally regarded as *vox et præterea nihil*.

Although the Army of Sir John Moore had displayed its native courage in the last act of the campaign, and atoned in some measure for the outrageous conduct which had disgraced the retreat, and called forth the lamented General's indignant remonstrances and his power of inflicting punishment, it could not be said to have worthily maintained the reputation which British troops had previously acquired under Abercromby and Wellesley. One reason may have been found in the system of recruiting necessitated by the heavy drains which continuous expeditions had made upon the population of the islands. Too much heed had been given by recruiting Officers to the injudicious remark of Lord Melville, who, in a debate on a Mutiny Bill, advanced the singular and mistaken idea that the *worst men* made the fittest soldiers. "Keep," said he, "the better sort at home. All I want are men of stout hearts and habits—men of spirit and courage—lovers of bold enterprise." This was the very converse of the doctrine which won battles for Oliver Cromwell, and made England formidable at a later period. However, the Battalions which formed Moore's reserve behaved in the most praiseworthy manner, and conspicuous for their activity and valour were the Light Dragoons. In consideration of their heroic conduct in Holland, the King had converted the 7th, 10th, and 15th into Hussar Regiments in 1806, and allowed the latter to substitute a scarlet *shako* for the busby, or fur cap, which had previously been in use. There was little therefore left to his Majesty wherewith to mark his appreciation of the conduct of his Light Dragoons.

The condition of the Scottish Regiments attracted much attention at head quarters in 1809. There were at that time no fewer than twenty of such Corps in the British Army,—one of them, the Greys, being Cavalry, the rest Infantry wearing the tartan. From 1793 until the period in question, the population of the Highlands had furnished some 70,000 men for the national defence. But the long war had nearly depleted the Highlands of the adults suited to Military Service. In the 42nd there were 800 Scotchmen and only twelve English and Irish. The 78th numbered 1,020 in the 1st Battalion, and 700 in the 2nd Battalion. There were scarcely any other nations in the Corps. The case was the same with the 92nd and the 93rd. The 90th and 91st had about two-fifths of their strength English and Irish—the remainder were a mixture of Highlanders and Lowlanders. There were not so many Scots in the 72nd, 74th, 75th, and 94th Regiments, and it had become very difficult, if not impossible, to get them. Recruiting, therefore, was carried on in England. But the Highland costume was objectionable to the natives of the South. Hence it became necessary to abolish the distinguishing dress in those six Corps, and to substitute the regular line uniform. This arrangement was carried out in April, 1809.

Objections to the Highland kilt, on the score of its exposure of the person to the cold, are not well founded. Experience has shown that those parts of the body left uncovered by that garb are not materially affected by "winter and rough weather." When men wearing the petticoat have had their fingers, toes, and face frostbitten, the knee has rarely been injured. The warmth which the numerous folds of the kilt preserve round the centre of the body is a great security against complaints in the bowels, and those men who are, in a manner, rendered hardy by being habituated, at least from the time they joined Highland Corps, to a loose, cool dress, are less liable to be affected by violent and abrupt changes of temperature.

Disappointed in his expectations of obtaining ships from the Danes and the Spaniards, after the destruction of the French Fleets, Napoleon set the Dutch to work to construct vessels suited to warlike purposes, and by the commencement of 1809 considerable progress had been made in the dockyards of Holland. The British Government was alive to these measures. The same policy which dictated the expedition to Denmark in 1807, now suggested one upon a more extensive scale to the coast of Holland. Besides the destruction of the ships and the dockyards, the important object was to be attained of creating a diversion in favour of the Empire of Austria, then much oppressed by the Armies of France.

At the end of July, 1809, the expedition, which was upon a larger scale than any which ever left the British shores, set sail from the Downs. The preparations for so grand an armament had lasted two months, and the warmest hopes were cherished that the vast expense which had been incurred, the great Military and Naval talent which distinguished the majority of the leaders of the host, and the efficiency of the troops, nearly all of whom had been tried in Egypt, the Peninsula, or India, would result in the most complete realisation of the views of the Government. The land Force numbered 40,000 men; the ships, including men-of-war and transports, were 300 in number. The Earl of Chatham—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—was appointed to command the Army. It was believed that a name so great in statesmanship would be perpetuated in the modern warrior. Sir Richard Strachan commanded the Naval Squadron. And among the General Officers, "familiar to men's lips as household words," were the honoured names of Rosslyn, Hope, Fraser, Graham, Acland, Coote, Paget, Grosvenor, and Picton; with whom were associated Majors-General the Marquis of Huntly, Sir W. Erskine, Baron de Rottenburg, and others.

The primary objects of attack were the Dutch islands at the mouth of the Scheldt. The left wing of the Army under Sir Eyre Coote, particularly destined against Walcheren, landed without opposition. The town of Middleburg capitulated to Coote without firing a shot. In like manner the town of Veer surrendered to Major-General Mackenzie Fraser. On the 1st of August the city of Flushing was invested. The Dutch now showed fight, but the casualties on the side of the English were very few in number. Sir John Hope took possession of the whole of South Beveland—Ramakerry surrendered unconditionally to Fraser. The conquest of Flushing was the main object to be accomplished, as a prelude to an attack on Antwerp; and the works were therefore continued, but not with as much vigour, according to Sir R. Strachan, as might have been expected. The enemy made one sortie on the right of the British line, which was vigorously repulsed by Major-General Graham, and one attack was made by our troops on the entrenchments of the Dutch. These affairs gave scope to the bravery of the 14th, 36th, and 71st Regiments. Flushing fell on the 16th of August. Antwerp was the next point, for the chief portions of the shipbuilding operations were carried on there. In fact, until Antwerp were taken none of the ulterior objects of the expedition could be said to have been accomplished. The Naval force was quite ready to do its part, when the Earl of Chatham heard that the enemy would soon have reinforcements to the extent of 35,000 men. As it is a rule in war that the besiegers shall always be in the proportion of three to two of the besieged, the Earl of Chatham consulted the other General Officers as to the prudence of attacking Antwerp with a Force reduced, by the occupation of other places, to 25,000 men, and their judgment was opposed to any further proceedings. Adopting the advice of his multitude of councillors, the Earl left 14,000 men at Walcheren, and embarked the rest of his Force for England. It was quite a cruel mistake not to have returned with the entire Force. Walcheren was a peculiarly unhealthy island in the autumn—

"Nature sickened and each gale was death."

The sickly season set in, and thousands of good soldiers fell victims to a devastating fever before the residue of the unfortunate expedition could be removed to England.

As with one voice, the whole nation gave expression to its indignation. The promising commencement had had an "answerable sequestration." Incompetency had seldom received a more striking rebuke. Lord Chatham was placed on the same pedestal with Whitelocke, and Sir Richard Strachan was not held in more respect than Byng or any other Admiral who had failed. The Military Commander endeavoured to shelter his shortcomings under the delays of the Admiral, and Sir Richard retorted the tardy proceedings of the Lieutenant-General. The recriminations gave rise to many pasquinades, one of which lives to this hour—

The Earl of Chatham, with his sword drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.

On the 20th January, 1809, Colonel Gwyllim Lloyd Wardle startled the House of Commons by announcing that he intended upon a later occasion to submit to the House a motion relative to the conduct of H.R.H. the Duke of York with respect to the granting of commissions, the making of

exchanges, and the raising of levies for the Army; and, in effect, he fulfilled his pledge a week afterwards. There was a Half-pay Fund in existence, which was under the direction of the Commander-in-Chief. It arose out of the sale of commissions vacant by death, by the promotion of Officers not allowed to sell, or by dismissions from the Service. The power over the fund was given to the Commander-in-Chief that he might reward desert by the appointment of meritorious Officers to the commissions which so became vacant, or sell the commissions and apply the produce to the redemption of half-pay commissions or to the Compassionate Fund. Unfortunately the Duke of York had an establishment in Gloucester place, at the head of which there had been from the year 1803, and for some years subsequently, a lady named Mary Anne Clarke, who was alleged to be the mistress of the Commander-in-Chief. This lady, Colonel Wardle alleged, was in the habit of using her influence over the Commander-in-Chief and obtaining commissions and offices for gentlemen, who paid her various sums, which she applied to the gratification of her own extravagant tastes, to the detriment of the funds in question. The instances brought forward by Colonel Wardle were those of Captain Tonin, of the 48th, who obtained a Majority in the 31st, by paying Mrs Clarke 500*l.* through a Captain Huxley Sandon, of the Waggon Train; of Lieut.-Colonel Brooke, of the 56th, who effected an exchange with Lieut.-Colonel Knight, of the 5th Dragoon Guards, for 200*l.* paid to Mrs Clarke, who urged the Duke to hasten the exchange that she might have the means of going into the country; of Major Shaw, of the Ceylon Regiment, who was to have paid 1,000*l.* for the Deputy Barrack-Mastership of the Cape of Good Hope, but who was placed on the half-pay list and removed because he only fulfilled half his contract with the lady; of Colonel French, who was permitted to levy a Corps, and who paid Mrs Clarke a guinea out of the bounty of each man raised, and gave her the sale and patronage of a certain number of commissions; and of Mr Maling, a clerk in the office of Greenwood and Cox, the Army agents, who in three years was gazetted from Ensign to Captain without leaving his desk. After enumerating these cases, Colonel Wardle moved for a Committee to investigate the conduct of the Duke of York "with regard to promotions, exchanges, and appointments to commissions in the Army, and in raising levies for the Army."

No opposition was offered to the inquiry, because so many calumnious publications had appeared levelled at the character of the Commander-in-Chief, that his friends were rather glad than otherwise that the charges insinuated against him had reached a tangible form. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who sat in the House, was rejoiced that an opportunity of vindicating the Duke's character was now offered, and he seized the occasion for saying a word on behalf of His Royal Highness's management of the Army. "Never," said Sir Arthur, "was there an Army in a better state, as far as depended on the Commander-in-Chief, than the one he (Sir A.) had commanded in the previous summer; and if the Army had not performed the service for which it was destined, the blame would not have rested with the Commander-in-Chief; and whatever enthusiasm they had felt was the result of the example and discipline afforded by the illustrious person at the head of the Army." The resolution was carried *nem. con.*, and an investigation commenced which occupied the House of Commons for twenty-three nearly consecutive nights. A great deal transpired in the course of the examinations of which the public press and innumerable lampoooners, pamphleteers, and caricaturists made the most, materially injuring the reputation of the Duke of York, who appears to have brought the *exposé* upon himself by some irregularity in the payment of the pension of the abominable woman whom he had once honoured with his attentions; but with whom he had closed all connection in 1806. Her audacity, displayed throughout the investigation, was thoroughly disgusting. She seemed to have no other motive than vengeance. Eventually Colonel Wardle moved a Resolution to the effect that the existence of corrupt practices and abuses in the disposal of commissions and promotions in the Land Forces had been established, and that the House of Commons was of opinion "the Duke of York ought to be deprived of the command of the Army." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after a very elaborate review of the whole case, moved an amendment expressive of the conviction of the House of Commons of His Royal Highness's innocence, at the same time lamenting the immoral connection which had led to so much scandal. The debates which followed upon the motion and amendment occupied ten more nights. Ultimately other amendments were brought forward, but on each occasion the majority was in favour of the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Previous to the termination of the examinations and before the debates took place, the Duke of York addressed a letter to the Speaker, distinctly asserting his innocence, on his honour as a Prince, of any participation in the infamous transactions disclosed; denying any connivance at, or even the slightest knowledge of their existence, and claiming to be tried if the House of Commons should deem his innocence questionable. The House of Commons having by a majority of 82 in a House of 474 members affirmed the innocence of the Duke, His Royal Highness, being no longer open

to a suspicion of acting from any apprehension of the result, resigned the command which he had held with great credit to himself and advantage to the Army for fourteen years. General Sir David Dundas was appointed the Duke's successor.

Among the episodes of this remarkable case was the committal of a General Officer to Newgate for prevarication in his evidence. Brigadier-General Clavering, who was a volunteer witness and therefore to be suspected, did offend in this way, and was sent to prison. He had declared that he had held no communication with Mrs Clarke, but there was proof positive to the contrary; and no member of the House offered a word in his defence.

Very great regret was felt in the Army at the necessity which had arisen for a change in the command. The Duke of York combined in his own person so many suitable qualities for the office that the services and experience of his successor, and the rigid integrity of his character, were insufficient to atone to the Army for the loss it had sustained. The Duke himself abstained from all interference in public affairs, and awaited the time when the recollection of his misfortune should have passed away, and the important trust he had held could again be confided to his capable hands.

Flattered and encouraged by the success which attended his *coup d'essai*, Colonel Wardle next called the notice of the House of Commons to the State of the Army accounts. The Military Commission, to which allusion has already been made, had brought up its report, from which it appeared that gross frauds and corruption had been perpetrated in the departments of public accounts conducted by civilians at home and abroad. Some of the Regimental accounts were actually twelve years in arrear. Colonel Wardle moved for the production of as many as twenty-four statements of account, and having gone very minutely over the expense to which the country was subjected by extravagance and mismanagement, he endeavoured to show that a reduction could be effected to the extent of sixteen millions of pounds sterling. His proposals involved a reduction of the Army, by which a saving of about 4,000,000*l.* could be achieved; but the time was so inopportune for any diminution of the Military strength that the gallant Militia Colonel's labours were of no avail, excepting in as far as they drew public attention to the importance of economy and retrenchment in other departments of the State.

During the period of the Duke of York's command a Regulation was passed under which it was settled that no Officer should be advanced to Field rank until he had served six years, nor be appointed a Lieutenant-Colonel until he had been two years a Major. But Lord Burghersh, in the face of this Regulation, was appointed to a Majority on the 4th of May, 1809, and a few days subsequently was raised to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, superseding six hundred Officers. Colonel Shipley, who brought the subject under the notice of the House of Commons, supported by Lord Henry Petty, Lord Temple, and Lord Newark, was opposed by Lord Castlereagh, Secretary at War, who affirmed that Lord Burghersh had served within a few days of the prescribed time, was a very meritorious Officer, had seen service in Sicily and the Dardanelles, and was, moreover, one of Sir Arthur Wellesley's Aides-de-Camp at Roriça and Vimeiro. But the disclosures made in the "Mrs Clarke" affair had excited in the public mind, and especially in the Parliamentary mind, so deep a hostility to Military favouritism in any form, that when the subject was pressed home by Colonel Shipley, the House voted in favour of an inquiry. This was avoided, however, by Lord Burghersh's appointment being cancelled in General Orders.

In the following month (June, 1809) Sir Francis Burdett mooted a subject which became a favourite *cheval de bataille*, at different intervals, for nearly sixty years, with sundry humanitarians, who were unacquainted with the exigencies of Military discipline; namely, Corporal Punishment in the Army. There had been numerous floggings in the 15th Hussars since that Regiment had fallen under the severe control of the Duke of Cumberland. Previous to His Royal Highness's assumption of the command, not more than six punishment parades had been held in eight years; whereas, during the Duke's tenure of the Regiment, there were as many as eighty in four years, without any apparent cause for the wide disparity. Sir Francis Burdett maintained that when "the whole population of the country was becoming Military, and perhaps ought to become Military, it was peculiarly necessary that the Military code should be made as congenial to the feelings of the nation as was consistent with the proper ends of Military discipline." The popular sentiment, however, had not been sufficiently enlisted on the soldier's behalf, and Sir Francis Burdett took nothing by his motion.

The month which witnessed the departure of the expedition to Holland was distinguished in the West Indies by the capture of St Domingo. The French held possession of the island, which belonged to Spain. The Spaniards had vainly endeavoured to recover it. Major-General Carmichael, instructed by the Government, sailed from Jamaica with the Royal Irish, the 54th, 55th, and 2nd West India Regiments, and landing at Polingue, marched to the city of St Domingo. A feeble resistance was made by the garrison, and the island again changed its masters.

During the retreat of Sir John Moore upon Corunna the British Government directed its attention very anxiously to the defence of Portugal, for whose integrity it began to be extremely apprehensive, and the Prime Minister called to his counsel the Officer who had won the battles of Roriça and Vimiero. He could not have sought a more honest and sagacious adviser. Sir Arthur Wellesley's brief campaign in Portugal had sufficed to make him acquainted with the condition of Portugal and the character of the people, and with that comprehensiveness of mind which had proved him in India a useful administrator as well as a successful General, he pointed out the course which he deemed advisable as a preliminary step in the defence of the Peninsula. He recommended that the Portuguese should be aided with money, men, and arms. Unfamiliar as they were with war, they could not create an efficient force excepting with foreign help, and Sir Arthur suggested that a British Officer be sent over with a number of auxiliaries to drill and discipline the Portuguese, and that this step should be followed up by the despatch of at least 20,000 British troops. The advice was taken, and General Beresford was selected, with the consent of the Prince Regent of Portugal, to take in hand the important task of creating an army in the Western Peninsula.

On his arrival at Lisbon, General Beresford was appointed Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese Army. He immediately published a General Order, telling the Portuguese that no nation was better qualified than themselves to form the best troops, and calling upon their own Officers to set the soldiers an example of strict discipline and an observance of duty. They responded cheerfully to the appeal made to them, and rapidly rose to an efficient condition under the auspices of the Field-Marshal and the accomplished British Officers who had been placed under his orders.

Upon the heels of Beresford went a well-chosen British Force, and at the pressing instance of the Government, Sir Arthur Wellesley assumed the command.

The pen of the ablest Military historian since the days of Thucydides and those of Cæsar has portrayed with such marvellous exactitude and fiery eloquence the career of Sir Arthur Wellesley in the Peninsula, that the anxious student of the deeds of the British Army will naturally refer to the luminous pages of William Napier for minute details of the operations which followed upon Sir Arthur's assumption of the direction of the Forces which were to relieve Portugal from the oppressive presence of the French Armies. And if further illustrations of the intelligence, patience, and devotedness of the compact little Army, which afterwards swelled into a magnificent host, were needed, they would be found in the 'Annals,' 'Lives,' 'Memoirs,' 'Histories,' and 'Sketches,' penned by Londonderry, Brialmont, Hamilton, Gleig, Maxwell, Southey, and others, — and, better than all, in the volumes of the 'Wellington Despatches,' which were given to the public in the lifetime of the great "Peninsular hero," to which a voluminous collection of supplemental documents has been added by his son, the heir to his title and estates.

A brief sketch of the course of events in the Peninsula is, however, necessary in this place to satisfy expectation and contribute to completeness.

Sir Arthur Wellesley proceeded with little delay to the Tagus. His arrival at Lisbon was hailed with acclamation. Marshal Soult, after the departure of the English from Corunna, had marched his Army across Gallicia, and was now in the occupation of Oporto. Wellesley hastened thither to dislodge him. As the Army passed Coimbra the populace welcomed it and its leader with enthusiasm. Wellesley's name was already familiar to the poor Lusitanians. They literally pelted him with sweets, and scattered flowers in his path. Arriving on the left bank of the Douro exactly opposite Oporto, he saw the advantage that would be gained by the immediate occupation of a large building, called the Seminary, which overlooked the town. Boats were procured through the activity of Colonel Waters, and the word of command, "Let the men cross," was followed by the departure of the 3rd Buffs. They pulled over silently and speedily, and unobserved by the slumbering French who occupied the Seminary. Only for a few moments, however, were the Buffs left in undisturbed possession of the post. The French, discovering their proximity, attacked them furiously—they courageously held their ground until other troops came to their aid. Landings were now effected elsewhere, and Marshal Soult saw, to his dismay, that if he did not fly immediately his whole Army would be destroyed. Away went the French, in capital order, pursued by Sherbrooke and the Cavalry.

Arranging for the defence of Oporto, Sir Arthur next turned his feet towards Spain, and hastened down to form a junction with the Spaniards at Talavera del Reyna. There he found King Joseph Bonaparte with an immense Army — double at least the strength of his own — under the direction of Marshals Jourdain and Victor, and General Sebastiani. Did he hesitate? Not one moment. Although his Spanish Allies, wretchedly commanded, were indisciplined, and their Generals jealous—although his anticipations of their co-operation were gloomy and doubtful, he gave the French Army battle. The

Spaniards fled.* Almost single-handed, the British line fought the good fight of Talavera. It lasted two days in the height of the summer—two burning days during which the adverse troops met on the banks of a stream to slake their thirst, shook hands, and then went "to it" again with redoubled ardour. Never was battle more obstinately contested. Sir Arthur was delighted with the conduct of his troops. The 14th Light Dragoons, the Buffs, and the 66th repeated the gallantry which had won Oporto for the English—the 45th and 60th earned the applause of the General by their steadiness and discipline. Major-General Hill spoke in warm terms of the 29th and 48th, who had made good use of the bayonet. The 23rd Light Dragoons were distinguished by the vigour of their charges. Major-Generals Mackenzie and Longworth—the latter of whom was killed in the encounter—led on Battalions of the 7th, 31st, 53rd, and 97th, who bravely upheld the renown of the British Infantry. The Artillery, under Brigadier-General Howarth, was, Sir Arthur reported, of the "greatest service" in the action.

Talavera could not fairly be numbered among the victories of the English, but it was a very serviceable battle in preventing the retreat of the French, and established a character for the British Army of which Vimiero had laid the foundation. De Bourrienne relates that Napoleon was "much affected by the news of the battle, and did not conceal his vexation." The Emperor was bent on the conquest of Spain, and the bloody fight at Talavera disconcerted his plans, and assured him of the presence of a hardy foe. The "Sepoy General" was no longer spoken of with a sneer. Ten thousand Frenchmen were slain at Talavera. The English loss was very heavy. Sir Arthur retired upon the frontier, leaving 5,000 wounded men at Talavera under the care of General Mackinnon. Marshal Victor directed that every attention should be paid them by the French surgeons, and these Officers faithfully obeyed his injunctions.

Talavera won for Sir Arthur Wellesley the peerage under the title of Viscount Wellington, and an annuity of 2,000*l.*, albeit the City Corporation denounced his incompetency. "Ingratitude is monstrous, and for the multitude to be ungrateful were to make a monster of the multitude; of the which they being members did bring themselves to be monstrous members." To add to the mortification of the body corporate, the Government decreed gold medals to all Officers (not under Lieutenant-Colonels) who had been engaged at Corunna and Talavera.

Lord Wellington fell back after the battle, closely followed by Marshal Massena, whom Napoleon had named "the spoiled child of victory" (*l'enfant gaté de la victoire*), and took up a strong position on the Sierra of Busaco. Massena rushed up the heights, and was hurled back with force. Lord Wellington had received a welcome augmentation to his Army. The Light Division, consisting of the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th, commanded by Major-General Craufurd, had made a rapid march, under great difficulties,† to join the main Army, and their dashing charge at Busaco rolled over the French with enormous loss.

While he occupied his strong position at Busaco, Lord Wellington caused a double line of fortifications to be established between Torres Vedras and the Tagus for the defence of Lisbon, and within these impregnable lines he retired for the winter.

To this hour the site of many redoubts and other works attests the genius of the British Commander.

* At a critical juncture, three Battalions became so frightened at the noise made by their own firing that they fled, panic-stricken. At that moment Sir Arthur Wellesley rode up to Brigadier-General Whittingham, who had joined his head quarters on the frontiers of Portugal, and exclaimed, "Only look, Whittingham, at the ugly hole those fellows have left! I wish you would go to the second line and try to fill it up." The Brigadier-General lost not a moment in bringing up two Battalions of Spanish Infantry, who behaved so well, in conjunction with the King's Regiment of Cavalry, that an attack upon Brigadier-General Campbell's position in the centre of the combined Armies, and on the right of the British, was successfully repulsed. Sir Arthur Wellesley was so well pleased with the alacrity of Brigadier-General Whittingham, who was severely wounded while bringing up the reinforcements from the second line, that Sir Arthur specially acknowledged his obligations to the Brigadier in his despatch to Lord Castlereagh reporting the battle. It is amazing that an incident of so much significance in itself, and redounding much to the honour of Brigadier-General (afterwards Sir Samford) Whittingham, should have been passed over in silence by Napier; and it is still more surprising that opportunity has not been taken, in bringing out new editions of the History of the Peninsular War, to rectify so palpable an omission.

† It marched fifty miles in twenty-four hours, with no other drink than a draught of water from a stagnant pool. Each man carried 80 lbs. on his back.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Illness of George III.—The Regency—Wellington in the lines of Torres Vedras—Massena retires—Wellington advances—Ciudad Rodrigo, Almeida and Badajoz taken—The Battles of Albuhera, Salamanca, and Vittoria—Repulse at Burgos—The Pyrenees, San Sebastian, Pampeluna, Nive, Nivelle, Orthez, and Toulouse—Barossa—El Bodon—Arroyos de Molinos—The Marquis of Wellington returns to England—Rewards—Changes in Costume—Napoleon goes to Elba—Napoleon's Veterans—The Isle of France and Java taken—War with Nepaul.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century George the Third had evinced symptoms of mental aberration which sorely disquieted the whole nation, for the pure character of the King, the tone he had imparted to society, and the constancy with which he had supported the mutations of the national fortunes in times of great peril, had rendered him an object of affection and veneration. But, happily, he was rapidly restored to lucidity, before it had become necessary to make any special provision for the fulfilment of the duties of the Crown. In 1811, however, the evidences of derangement were so painfully apparent that a Regency was imperative; and the Prince of Wales became at once the *locum tenens* of the Sovereign. His Royal Highness was not thoroughly popular, because his domestic affairs were discoloured by circumstances for which, it was alleged, he was solely responsible; and his personal character, on other grounds, did not stand very high in public estimation. But as his patriotism was unquestionable, and he was known to take a lively interest in the Military operations then pending in the Peninsula, the people gave a decent welcome to the *succedaneum* which the King's illness had rendered necessary.

One of the earliest acts of the Prince Regent was to restore his brother, the Duke of York, to the command of the Army. The Duke had been unemployed for two years, and by that time a reaction had taken place in public sentiment. He was declared to have been "more sinned against than sinning." The re-appointment diffused great pleasure throughout the Service, for, although Sir David Dundas had maintained the dignity of the office, and displayed much wisdom in the advice he had given to Ministers touching their several expeditions, he was too much enamoured of the pipe-clay school of Frederick the Great to be acceptable to Officers who had seen, in the example of the Armies of the French Republic and Empire, that victories were not entirely dependent on pigtails and set manœuvres. To Lord Wellington the change in the chief command was peculiarly agreeable, for he knew he could count on the most generous co-operation.

During the winter of 1810-11, the British Army in the Peninsula had excellent opportunities for repose and recuperation. Secure in his impregnable redoubts, from whence, on their scarped heights, the watchful sentinels looked down on the helpless legions of Massena, Lord Wellington and his Officers indulged in all the vigorous relaxations in which Englishmen delight. Hunting—for the Commander-in-Chief had a pack of fox-hounds,—shooting, fishing, &c., made the season pass pleasantly away. Nevertheless, Lord Wellington had cares; the loyalty of some of the soldiery was doubtful, but the Commander of the Forces by an exact discipline held them in check.* At length, despairing of drawing the eagle from his eyrie, and having laid waste the adjacent country to supply the wants of his famishing Army, Marshal Massena beat a retreat. The opportunity was not lost of dealing him a severe and parting blow. Quitting their formidable lines, the British troops rushed upon the plains, and in the fights of Sabugal,† Redinha, Pombal, &c., inflicted severe injury upon the attenuated cohorts of the Emperor.

Lord Wellington now resolved upon the attempt to fulfil his interesting commission, which was nothing less than to drive the French completely out of Spain. His first step was to reduce the

* During the time that the Army lay within the lines of Torres Vedras several desertions took place, which induced Lord Wellington to issue the following General Order:

"G. O.—1st. The Commander of the Forces is concerned to have received reports from some of the Regiments of the desertion of British soldiers to the enemy—a crime which, in all his experience in the British Service in different parts of the world, was till lately unknown in it; and the existence of which, at the present moment, he can attribute only to some false hopes held out to these unfortunate criminal persons.

"The British soldiers cannot but be aware of the difference between their situation and that of the enemy opposed to them; and the miserable tale told by the half-starved wretches whom they see daily coming into their lines, ought alone, exclusive of their sense of honour and patriotism, to be sufficient to deter them from participating their miserable fate. However, although the Commander of the Forces laments the fate of the unfortunate soldiers who have committed this crime, he is determined that they shall feel the consequence of it during their lives, and that they shall never return to their friends or their homes. He accordingly requests that the Commanding Officers of Regiments from which any soldier has deserted to the enemy will, as soon as possible, send to the Adjutant-General's office a description of his person, together with an account when he was enlisted with the Regiment, where born, and to what parish he belongs, in order that the friends of these soldiers may be made acquainted with the crime which they have committed, may be prepared to consider them as lost for ever, and may deliver them up to justice in case they should ever return to their native country.

† Lord Wellington spoke of the action which took place here as "one of the most glorious the British troops ever were engaged in." The Light Division, and especially Colonel Beckwith's brigade, behaved in so gallant a manner that his Lordship recommended a serjeant of each Corps for promotion to an Ensigncy.

fortresses on the Guadiana and Aguada, then occupied by the enemy. He invested Almeida, but the garrison slipped through his fingers. The investing Force was not sufficiently on the alert. The devices of the "Queen's" and the "Fourth" were employed as vehicles for jeering verse, in which we are told that

> "The 'Lambs' were asleep,
> The 'Lions' were at play,
> The Eagle spread his wings,
> And 'tween them flew away."

Badajoz successfully resisted a siege by Marshal Beresford in 1811, and the year closed without being crowned by any important achievements, with the exception of the battle of Albuhera, and the fight at Fuentes d'Onor. In the meantime Lord Wellington received powerful reinforcements, and the Portuguese cagadores had matured into very useful auxiliaries. The following years were distinguished by marvellous proofs of good Generalship and valorous deeds. Ciudad Rodrigo was taken by storm, affording Colonel Colborne (afterwards Lord Seaton), Lieutenant (afterwards Colonel) Gurwood, and Major (afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir George) Napier opportunities of distinction. All belonged to the 52nd Light Infantry, and each was wounded. Here fell the gallant and astute Craufurd, who had led the Light Division on its long and perilous march. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of Richmond, who were on Lord Wellington's Staff, shared in the assault on Ciudad Rodrigo, and received a gentle rebuke from their Chief for venturing into a position which the customs of the Service did not authorise. Wellington won his Earldom and a Spanish title at Ciudad Rodrigo.

The siege of Badajoz followed that of Ciudad Rodrigo. The skill of the Engineers and the force of Artillery, ably employed, rapidly effected breaches in the bastions. An assault was then ordered, and perhaps the annals of war scarcely furnish a more striking example of daring attack and earnest resistance. Every obstacle that Military ingenuity could devise to supply the gaps made in the walls was employed by the French garrison. *Chevaux de frize*, bristling with sword-blades, did duty for stone walls. No fewer than 5,000 British were killed or wounded in the two or three hours which were consumed in the fierce struggle. But the fortress succumbed to Lord Wellington's arms. How the Regiments engaged fulfilled their arduous task is told on their colours, which bear the proud inscription "Badajoz"; and in the stirring narrative of Napier and the despatches of "the Duke."

In the summer of 1812, the Earl of Wellington fought the battle of Salamanca. On the wide plains, dotted by the Arapiles hills, the Armies of England and France manœuvred for several days in sight of each other. Marshal Marmont—more remarkable for his talent and bravery than his good fortune—had been sent by the Emperor to command the Armies in Spain; and had he been as acute a soldier as his rival, he would not perhaps have made the great mistake of dividing his Force in his impatience to outwit him. Lord Wellington saw at once the advantage this false movement had given him, and quick as lightning he pounced upon the Division left in the field. Major-General Le Marchant's Cavalry fell headlong on the French, and in the incredibly short space of forty-five minutes Lord Wellington was master of the field, and his enemy in full retreat. This victory obtained for the Earl of Wellington a Marquisate and a grant of 100,000*l.* from the nation to be laid out in lands towards the support of the Wellington peerage.

Acting upon the wise principle of keeping his rear free from places which might form bases of operation for the enemy, Lord Wellington laid siege to the castle of Burgos. Instead of deferring to the opinions of his Engineers, who had pronounced the capture of the place impracticable with the small number of siege guns at his disposal, Lord Wellington acted upon his own judgment, and failed—for once. Three assaults upon Burgos were repelled by the French occupants, and Lord Wellington found it necessary to retire for the winter to Ciudad Rodrigo. His troops committed many excesses on the road. The "invisible spirit of drink"—the enemy, more potent than guns, sabres, and bayonets, which steals away the brains of men—disordered the columns as in the retreat to Corunna, and Lord Wellington was obliged to severely punish the acts which reproof and remonstrance failed to prevent.* In the retreat upon Ciudad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington was admirably covered by the Cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, who had previously displayed his ability as a Commander in the battle of Salamanca.

Early in the spring of 1813, fortified by the arrival of fresh troops from England, the British Commander again took the field, and made a rapid march towards the North of Spain. King Joseph Bonaparte occupied the city of Vittoria with an immense Army. Napoleon had sent the most trusty of his Generals, Marshal Soult, to chase the "English leopards" out of Spain; but Sir Rowland Hill, who had been left with a Division on the banks of the Tagus, when Wellington quitted his lines at Torres Vedras, gave Soult so much occupation that the French Marshal could not get face to face with Lord Wellington. His Lordship, therefore, drew up his Army on the

* See Appendix.

plains of Vittoria, and attacked the enemy with the greatest vigour and the most triumphant success. Scared by the precipitancy of the British assault, King Joseph, after a fruitless encounter, fled to Bayonne with all his Army, and as much of his baggage as the victorious pursuers would suffer him to keep. There never was a more complete *déroute*. Carriages and cattle, courtiers, courtezans, domestics, followers with their household goods, were mixed up with the flying troops in inextricable confusion. The Grand Army of Spain was thoroughly demoralised. But Soult managed to take up positions in the Pyrenees, and dared the English host. With but one object steadily kept in view, the Marquis of Wellington followed him into the chain of mountains, beat him at Sauroren and St Jean de Luz, foiled him in all his manœuvres, held on, like grim death, through a winter of storms and bitter frosts, drove the legions of France over the northern ridges, and, before the inclement season had passed away, the firm tread of the conquering British resounded throughout the interior of France! On, on, to Bordeaux to proclaim the House of Bourbon. Still opposing the British General's advance, the French met him on the banks of the Nive and the Nivelle, and again at Orthes. At Aire and Tarbes the antagonists crossed swords, and, as a last resource, Marshal Soult most unnecessarily gave Wellington battle before Toulouse, and was defeated.

This is but a rough, unbroken narrative of the series of achievements by which Lord Wellington wrought his way to a Dukedom, the blue ribbon of the Garter, the Colonelcy of the Royal Horse Guards, numerous foreign titles and decorations, the rank of Field-Marshal, and four hundred thousand pounds, in addition to the one hundred thousand voted after the battle of Salamanca. But there were several isolated battles fought by the Generals under the Duke of Wellington's orders, and away from his immediate control, well worthy of the record they have received. Such were the terrible battle of Albuhera, the short, sharp, and decisive contest at Barrosa, the gallant affair at El Bodon, the dashing surprise at Arroyo de Molinhos, the fight at Vera, and the operations under Sir J. Murray and Lord W. Bentinck in the south of Spain.*

Albuhera demonstrated, in a very striking manner, the majestic bearing of the British Infantry, under very disadvantageous circumstances. It was while Marshal Beresford was laying siege to Badajoz in 1811, with very imperfect means, that Marshal Soult went with a strong Force to the relief of Philippon, who was beleaguered in the fortress. Beresford, apprehending that he would be unable to take the place before Soult's arrival, raised the siege and turned to meet the French Marshal. The rencontre took place near the village of Albuhera, on the river of that name. Beresford had 30,000 men of different nations under his command, but only 7,000 of these were purely British; and upon the co-operation of the Spaniards no dependence could be placed, led, as they were, by an obstinate blunderer named Blake. The French began the fight by an attack on the Spaniards. They fell by hundreds and the rest retired. Upon the English now mainly depended the success of the battle. The 31st Foot held their ground nobly against a heavy attack by French Cavalry. Colonel Colborne, who always had a "stomach for a fight," having got into a position of great peril, was rescued by the 29th, who, "with a stern resolution, smote friends and foes without distinction in its onward progress." General Stewart was twice wounded. General Houghton, "the intrepid Houghton," fell—Colonel Inglis and twenty-two other Officers, and 400 rank and file of the 57th Foot, were slain. As the swarming French columns pressed upon that Regiment, Colonel Inglis called out, "Die hard, my men! die hard!"—and die hard they did. To this hour a sobriquet, founded upon the incident, adheres to the Regiment. There was scarcely a doubt that the English Force would be overpowered. Marshal Beresford meditated a retreat. Colonel Hardinge, seeing the imminence of the peril, rode up to Sir Lowry Cole, and suggested his advancing with the 4th Division. Cole did not hesitate. Sir W. Myers, of the 7th Fusiliers, took that Regiment and the 23rd Royal Welsh—the two Regiments forming the Fusilier Brigade—up the hill. They were greeted with an iron tempest, under which the Brigade "reeled and staggered like sinking ships." But suddenly and strongly recovering themselves, they closed with their terrible enemies, and, after a brief struggle, forced them to give up the contest, leaving Marshal Beresford triumphant, but at an awful sacrifice of human life! Out of 6,000 or 7,000 men who went into the field on the side of the Allies, only 1,800 unwounded remained its masters! Eight thousand Frenchmen had been struck down.

The battle of Barrosa was the next event which caused rejoicings in England, and counterbalanced in a material degree the injury done to the prestige of the British Arms by the doubtful

* The first operations under these Officers were tolerably successful. Murray defeated Marshal Suchet at Castalla, in the mountains on the Southern Coast, and then laid siege to Tarragona, an important stronghold near Barcelona. He had not proceeded far in his preparations, however, when he received intelligence of the advance of Suchet with considerable reinforcements. This determined him to abandon the siege and embark his Regiments—a measure which was not entirely approved at head-quarters.

victory of Talavera, and the retrograde movement of Lord Wellington to Portugal. In this battle, as in the previous fight, the Spaniards were associated with the English; and as Lord Wellington had laid it down as a rule that the senior Officer in the field, whether Spanish or English, should command in any operations that might be forced upon them by the French, Don Manuel de la Peña, General-in-Chief, was upon this occasion at the head of the force. Equally unfitted with Castanos and Cuesta for great emergencies, De la Peña was incapable of wrestling successfully with the French. In an evil hour he commanded a retreat; but Sir Thomas Graham, who had joined him a short time previously, assumed the control of affairs, and by a bold stroke converted what might have been a disastrous defeat into a brilliant victory.

Barrosa was unquestionably a great feather in the cap of Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch), who, it may be remembered, obtained his commission of Colonel in the British Army by raising one or two Regiments at the commencement of the war with Revolutionary France. He has been described as "a daring old man, of a ready temper for battle." He had been sent out as second in command; but Wellington would not recognise any command but his own undivided authority. Graham came upon the heights of Barrosa from Cadiz. Stopping at Tarifa on his way, he was joined by the 28th Foot, and the flank companies of the 9th and 82nd. For one hour and a half did the battle rage. The French were admirably commanded by Marshal Victor, who had led them at Talavera, but the determination and rapidity of the bayonet charges of the British Infantry—and especially of the 87th Regiment, under Major Gough*—shook them off their feet. And the Artillery was likewise very serviceable. Sir Thomas Graham emphatically wrote: "I owe too much to Major Duncan and the Officers and gunners of the Artillery not to mention them in terms of the highest approbation. Never was Artillery better served."

As the battle of Barrosa is to this day a "difficult and complex question to all who take the trouble impartially to study its details in the works of the various historians who have undertaken to describe them," it would be absurd to attempt, in a history which professes to be only a "Familiar" Narrative of all the deeds of the British Army since its formation two centuries ago, to grapple with the vexed question. But we cannot resist the opportunity of questioning the impartiality and accuracy of Sir William Napier, who, whether from oversight, design, misapprehension, or imperfect information, has done gross wrong to one of the most distinguished soldiers of the age. Major-General Whittingham—for to that rank was the Brigadier promoted after Talavera by the Spanish Government—had justly acquired great credit by the skill and indefatigable labour with which he had, when at Cadiz, instructed 400 Spanish Horse, and now commanded the advanced Guard of the Spanish Army. His Force consisted, besides the Horse already named, of some other troops of Cavalry, 1,350 Infantry, and a proportion of Artillery and baggage: he was of course exclusively under the Spanish General's orders, and could not have acted (as Graham did) independently, without a serious infraction of discipline. He, therefore (very reluctantly we can well imagine), prepared to obey the order to retreat, but awaited the opportunity of advancing to Graham's support, which he was only prevented doing (in spite of La Peña's order) by his duties as a General. Yet for this unavoidable obedience, which was creditable to his sense of duty, he has absolutely been censured by Napier, who shows how little attention the historian had bestowed upon the evidences always attainable of Whittingham's prosperous and honourable career by calling him 'Colonel.' Whittingham was, in fact, only a Major in the British Army, but he was at the same time a Major-General in the Spanish service, and by that rank he ought in courtesy, in fairness, and in accuracy, to have been designated. But by whatever denomination the historian may have chosen to distinguish the Major-General, he was bound by a sentiment of common soldiership to have exempted Whittingham from the slightest blame for a course it was utterly out of his power to prevent.

The affair at El Bodon, an incident of 1811, deserved and enjoyed the rare advantage of the special praise of Lord Wellington. He was generally very chary of the expression of admiration. He held to the doctrine that praise, if too lavishly administered, became a matter of indifference to its objects. Profusely as he had been rewarded for his own great deeds, he was slow to recommend others, excepting in remarkable cases of distinction, for recompense or advancement. He never asked of the Prince Regent to reward

* At the battle of Barrosa the 1st Battalion of the 87th Regiment was engaged with the 8th Imperial Battalion, and, after a severe contest, drove it back at the point of the bayonet. During the engagement, a young Ensign of the 87th, perceiving the Imperial Eagle, cried aloud to the serjeant, "Do you see that, Masterman?" He then rushed forward to seize it, but was shot in the attempt; the serjeant instantly revenged his death, ran his antagonist through the body, cut down the standard-bearer, and took the Eagle. The gallant Masterman was afterwards rewarded for this brave achievement by a commission in the 2nd Battalion of his Regiment. The 87th gained great 'kudos' by this capture of the Eagle. The Corps acquired the appellation of the 'Faugh-a-ballagh,' —or "clear the way;" but amongst the Irish soldiers the men were generally called "The Aiglers."

himself, or to bestow especial favour on any of his Officers, excepting Stapleton Cotton and Hill. His expressed approbation, therefore, was the more valuable for its rarity, and hence, when he said that the action at El Bodon offered a memorable example of what could be effected by steady discipline and confidence, he paid the troops engaged the highest compliment they could receive. The facts of the case are simply these: The 5th and 77th Regiments of the Line were employed during the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, prior to the siege in 1812, on the heights near the village of El Bodon. They were associated with the 11th Light Dragoons, a Portuguese Regiment of Cagadores, and some Portuguese Artillery. This small Force was suddenly attacked by a cloud of French Cavalry, and fourteen Battalions of Infantry, with six guns. The Portuguese guns were captured in the fray. The 5th Foot gallantly recovered them. The 77th were assailed by the Cavalry. They charged and overthrew the horsemen! Could any Infantry in the world have accomplished more?

At Arroyos de Molinos, where the French, under General Girard, were surprised by Sir Rowland Hill, the 92nd Highlanders dashed upon them to the tune of "Hey, Johnny Cope, are ye wauking yet?" The 50th—"the half-hundred," which had gained laurels under Sir John Moore—the 71st, which also fought well at Fuentes d'Onor, the 9th and 13th Light Dragoons, and the 2nd Hussars of the German Legion, took a very active part in this brilliant affair.

Fuentes d'Onor brought out the fighting qualities of the renowned 79th Highlanders. Their Colonel, the brave Cameron, fell at their head while defending the village. The 88th Connaught Rangers, than whom there were no greater "dare-devils" in the British Army, atoned for all the irregularities which led General Picton to call them the greatest blackguards in the Service, by their heroism and steadiness. Here, too, the 24th took occasion to show its fine discipline, and the Portuguese Regiments fully vindicated the wisdom which had dictated the conversion of the people into a nation of warriors.

Some comparatively trivial, but positively important, affairs deserve mention in connection with the great Peninsular War. For instance, the defence of Tarifa by Colonel Skerrett, and of Matagorda by Captain (afterwards Sir Archibald) Maclaine. Marshal Victor, defeated at Barrosa in 1811, resumed certain operations he had planned against Tarifa in 1812. He invested the town, and, having effected a breach, assailed it with a strong column; but the gap was so well-defended by the 47th, 87th, and 95th Regiments, and some Spanish troops, that he was compelled to retire with heavy loss. Colonel Skerrett, with a degree of humanity which the French Marshal properly appreciated, immediately after the repulse, hoisted a flag of truce in token of permission to the enemy to carry away their wounded. In the same year, Sir Rowland (afterwards Lord) Hill destroyed the enemy's works at Almaraz, on the Tagus. Lord Wellington termed it a brilliant exploit. The honour was shared by the 28th, 34th, 50th, 71st, and 92nd Regiments, assisted by the 13th Light Dragoons, Artillery, and some Portuguese Regiments.

Confining ourselves as much as possible to the record of British valour and skill during the Peninsular War, we have not said as much of the Spanish and Portuguese troops as their co-operation perhaps deserved. The latter had the great advantage of being drilled and disciplined by able English Officers until they attained a proficiency unsurpassed by our own countrymen. The Spaniards, on the other hand, were commanded, with the single exception of General Whittingham, whose conspicuous ability has been referred to on several occasions in these pages, by General Officers whose Military inexperience and intense jealousy obstructed the improvement of their troops. Under Whittingham the Spaniards, single handed, defeated the French on a remarkable occasion. The episode is worthy of minute detail. Some two or three months after the battle of Barrosa General Whittingham went to Majorca, and there undertook the arduous task of raising and organising a large Division of Spanish troops. The difficulty of the task was very great, for General Cuesta,* who governed the Balearic Islands, allowed his jealousy of the English full play, and afforded no aid to Whittingham in his praiseworthy endeavours. But the English Officer triumphed over an opposition which took the double and capricious form of inertness and activity, and in the course of 1812 his Spanish (Majorca) Division was in so effective a condition that General Whittingham was ordered to proceed to the eastern coast of Spain to operate under the orders of Lord William Bentinck. Such an accession of strength as the six or seven thousand bayonets and some Hussars and Artillery composed, commanded by so skilful a soldier as Whittingham, was of great importance to Lord William. Immediately after the Division on the coast, it was appointed to occupy all the outposts of the combined Army, and soon had several affairs of posts, in all of which it was successful. At Xigona General Whittingham was stationed, but having been directed to occupy the village of Tibi, he despatched Captain Rutli, a young Aide-de-Camp who belonged to the Almanza Hussars, to hold Tibi with 200 Infantry and fifty Cavalry. But a superior French Force attacked and drove

them in. Rutli's retreat was opposed by a Force of four lines of French Dragoons, but the young "Bayard" cut through them in the most gallant manner, sustaining severe and dangerous wounds in the attempt. Soon after this a general advance of the Army was ordered, and a reconnoissance to the front was determined on. Sir John Murray commanded at Alicante—Whittingham with five Infantry Battalions,some Cavalry and Artillery was at Alcoy. Having, by a clever *ruse*, led the French in front to disclose their power, General Whittingham determined to drive them from their position, and beyond Concentayna, or the Pass of Albayda. This operation was performed in so brilliant a manner, entirely by the Spanish Majorca levies (the General being wounded in the encounter), that Sir John Murray, having previously praised the conduct of the troops at Xigona, issued a General Order, dated Alicante, March 17, 1813, in which he drew the attention of the Army to the spirit and gallantry with which the Spanish (Majorca) Division conducted itself on the 15th inst.:—"The attack on that side (as distinct from another attack at Xigona) was much more serious, but by the able dispositions of Major-General Whittingham, and the bravery with which he was supported, the enemy was driven from his position, and pursued with great loss." Sir J. Murray much approved the steadiness and general good-conduct of the Corps. This affair proves what might have been accomplished by the Spanish Allies, had their Generals been gifted with the talents of a Whittingham, and raised above the paltry feelings of envy and jealousy which had taken possession of them. The Marquis de la Romana, the ablest of the Generals, was removed by death at an early period of the war. Generals Cuesta, Castanos, Ballasteros, and De la Pena rather obstructed than aided Lord Wellington, Sir Thomas Graham, and Sir John Murray. The consequence was that the national bravery of the Spaniards, clearly visible whenever deeds were to be done which demanded the highest amount of courage, was frequently neutralised by their miserable discipline. Neither Lord Wellington nor Sir John Murray could trust them when manœuvres had to be executed in the presence of an enemy. Let it, then, be remembered that England acknowledged the high moral attributes of the Spanish soldier, while she regretted that failure was occasionally the result of his wretched professional training. The wonder is that he did so much.

Lord Wellington, having removed at a considerable distance from the frontiers of Portugal, that kingdom had ceased to be a convenient place of arms. He was therefore obliged to select a new base of operations, and he made choice of the fortress of San Sebastian, on the Biscayan coast, and the fortress of Pampeluna, on the north-eastern frontier of Spain, for this purpose. The capture of the former place was assigned to Sir Thomas Graham. Pampeluna was to be besieged by Sir Rowland Hill. But Hill soon found that he was wasting time before a town that was impregnable, considering the small Force he had at command. It required at least 20,000 good soldiers, and a six weeks' attack in force, to reduce Pampeluna. He, therefore, abandoned the task, leaving Spanish and Portuguese troops to blockade the town.

The fall of the powerful fortress of San Sebastian, and the capitulation of Pampeluna, must be numbered among the crowning events of the Peninsular War. In both of these sieges the genius of Wellington was singularly apparent. They were being carried on—that is, the attack upon the one, and the investment of the other—away from head-quarters, and the Commander-in-Chief, impatient of the delays, went first to San Sebastian, and then to Pampeluna; and after giving special directions for the establishment of batteries at the former, and the completion of the *cordon* around the latter, returned to his camp, soon to receive intelligence of the success of his arrangements. The artificers and labourers in the Engineer service evinced, in the siege of San Sebastian, and its precursors, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, so much skill that, in 1813, the Corps was denominated "Sappers and Miners."

And now, the object of the war having been completely attained,—Spain and Portugal cleared of the French invaders, Napoleon exiled to Elba, and Louis XVIII. placed upon the throne of his ancestors—Wellington returned to England to receive the homage of a grateful nation. The Peninsular Army was sorry to part with him, and he regretted leaving soldiers who had won for him so many battles, for, in spite of a certain coldness of manner, he had become an object of regard, because his men and Officers had confidence in his stupendous abilities, and he placed perfect reliance in those he commanded.

Previous to his departure from France, the Marquis of Wellington published the following General Orders to the Army:

"1. The Commander of the Forces has the pleasure to inform the Army that he has agreed upon the following Convention for the suspension of hostilities between the Allied Armies under his command, and the French Armies opposed to them, and hostilities are forthwith to be suspended accordingly.

"2. Upon congratulating the Army upon this prospect of an honourable termination of their labours, the Commander of the Forces avails himself of the opportunity of returning the General Officers, Officers, and Troops, his best thanks for

their uniform discipline and gallantry in the field, and for their conciliatory conduct towards the inhabitants of the country, which, almost in an equal degree with their discipline and gallantry in the field, have produced the fortunate circumstances which now hold forth to the world the prospect of genuine and permanent peace.

"3. The Commander of the Forces trusts that they will continue the same good conduct while it may be necessary to detain them in this country, and that they will leave it with a lasting reputation, not less creditable to their gallantry and spirit in the field, than to their regularity and good conduct in quarters and in camp."

This acceptable Order was followed less than two months afterwards by the following:

"General Orders.

"1st. The Commander of the Forces being on the point of returning to England, again takes this opportunity of congratulating the Army upon the recent events which have restored peace to their country and to the world.

"2nd. The share which the British Army have had in producing those events, and the high character with which the Army will quit this country, must be equally satisfactory to every individual belonging to it, as they are to the Commander of the Forces, and he trusts that the Troops will continue the same good conduct to the last.

"3rd. The Commander of the Forces once more requests the Army to accept his thanks.

"4th. Although circumstances may alter the relations in which he has stood towards them for some years so much to his satisfaction, he assures them he will never cease to feel the warmest interest in their welfare and honour, and that he will be at all times happy to be of any service to those to whose conduct, discipline, and gallantry their country is so much indebted."

No time was lost by the Government in the reduction of the Corps which had become unnecessary by the establishment of peace. The Volunteer, local Militia, and Yeomanry Corps were released from all their Military engagements with a warm acknowledgment from the Prince Regent and the Parliament of the loyalty and patriotism they had evinced in the hour of danger. The reduction of the effective strength of the regular Army did not immediately take place. Indeed, the war had too effectively reduced the strength of many Regiments, and others were required elsewhere.

King Louis XVIII., who had been residing in England since the breaking out of the French revolution, lost no time in repairing to Paris and mounting the throne of his ancestors, under an escort of foreign bayonets. He was not altogether unwelcome, for the people had become somewhat tired of Napoleon. His later misfortunes had dimmed the glory of his earlier achievements.

Great numbers of Frenchmen, who had resided out of France since 1792, went back to the scenes of their early happiness, and Paris was filled with a motley assemblage of returned emigrés, English, Prussians, and Cossacks.

British generosity did not allow itself great scope in recompensing the services of the followers of Wellington. Peerages were conferred on Generals Hope, Cotton, Hill, Beresford, and Graham (the three latter receiving 2,000*l.* a-year), and the Order of the Bath* was extended to enable the Prince Regent to make many extra knights; but excepting that the pay of Serjeant-Majors was increased, and a colour-serjeant attached to each company on 2s. 4d. per diem, nothing was done for the ranks. Sixpence a day for a few months, or Chelsea Hospital, were the guerdons of valour, until thirty-five years later, when a medal with clasps was bestowed on the veteran survivors of all ranks.

But if certain classes of the survivors received less than their full meed of justice, there was no stint of homage to the character of the distinguished dead. Numerous memorials were decreed to the heroes of the principal encounters. "Storied urn and monumental" statue tell in the nave, the transept, and the ambulatory of St Paul's Cathedral that Generals Mackenzie and Longworth fell at Talavera; that Robert Craufurd and Henry Mackinnon were killed at Ciudad Rodrigo; that Major-General Andrew Hay closed a Military life, marked by zeal, prompt decision, and signal intrepidity before the fortress of Bayonne; that Sir W. Myers and General Houghton "gloriously" offered up their lives,

* On the 2nd of January, 1815, a Royal Warrant was issued dividing the Order of the Bath into three classes, and likewise effecting some subdivisions. The first comprised all the existing knights, who were to have what are called "Grand Crosses of the Bath," and these were classified into Civil and Military. The Military Division of the Order was restricted to Officers not below the rank of Major-General or Rear-Admiral, and their number in the whole was limited to sixty. The civil knights Grand Cross were to be only twelve in number, making altogether seventy-two. The second class were called Knights-Commander; their number being 180, exclusive of foreigners holding British Commissions. The ranks of the class of the Army and Navy were not to be under that of Lieutenant-Colonel and Post Captain; and it was further decreed that all Knights Grand Cross must have previously been admitted into the class of Knights Commander. It was ordained that the third class should be called Companions of the Bath, and they were to consist of such Naval and Military Officers as had received medals, or who had received other badges of honour, or who had been mentioned by name in any gazetted despatch as having distinguished themselves in action against the enemy since 1803.

a sacrifice to their country's honour, in the battle of Albuhera; and that Major-General Bowes fell while leading the troops to the assault of a fortress at Salamanca.

One result, however, of the long war was the introduction of sundry alterations in the soldiers' dress and appointments. Trousers and short gaiters superseded long gaiters and breeches. The "Wellington boot" and the "Wellington pantaloon" became popular, even beyond the ranks of the Army. Felt caps were succeeded by chacos, constructed on the erroneous principle of making the crown broader and heavier than the lower portion of the gear. Brass scales and feathers made them an unendurable head-dress; but they looked well—looked as well as some of the best French Regiments—and that was an age in which much was sacrificed to personal appearance. An order went forth that the soldier's hair should thenceforth be cropped, and even the whisker was subjected to regulation in respect of its length and breadth. But in the essential matter of arms no improvement whatever was introduced. So far back as 1807 a *clergyman* (the Rev. Mr Forsyth) had patented percussion caps, and in 1809 a breech-loader was introduced to the notice of the French Emperor; but neither Napoleon nor Wellington countenanced any change in implements of war which had rendered each in his turn so much good service. Nearly half a century had yet to elapse before the theory was recognised, that the more powerful and effective the weapons of war the less chance there was of prolonged contests.

The abdication of the throne of France by Napoleon Bonaparte was due to a combination of causes which his genius vainly endeavoured to control. In 1812 he had madly invaded Russia with 400,000 men; but the patriotism of the Governor of Moscow preferred the destruction of the city by fire to its being preserved as quarters for the French, and the invaders were obliged to retreat to their own frontier in the depth of a very severe winter, followed by hordes of Cossacks, who speared them as they fell benumbed and starved. Three-fourths of the French Army were sacrificed in the Russian expedition. Austria and Prussia, and the lesser German States, took heart of grace from this calamity, and 1813 was spent by Napoleon in resisting the efforts of the Teutonic princes to recover their territory and their independence. He experienced a terrible defeat at Leipzig. These events occurring simultaneously with the defeats of his Marshals in Spain, completely destroyed Napoleon's power on the continent of Europe. Even France, exhausted by the cost of his enterprises and surfeited with Military glory, was only too glad to be rid of his presence. But the soldiers who had followed him in his wonderful career of conquest were much affected by his departure for the isle of Elba, whither he was sent, at his own request, by the Governments of Europe; and the "adieux de Fontainebleau" were alike a source of sorrow to the Emperor and the Guards. If the truth be told, Napoleon always interested himself very much in the comfort and well-being of his soldiers, and imitated the great Roman Imperator in his regard for the veterans who had served campaigns with him.*

A few of Napoleon's old companions were permitted to follow him to Elba, and there, pensioned by foreigners and watched by three Commissioners, the conqueror of half the world endeavoured to be contented with the government of a little island in the Mediterranean, contiguous to Corsica, his birth-place. His chosen Generals accepted service under the restored government of the Bourbons. Soult, Ney, Marmont, Sebastiani, were found among the most devoted servants of Louis XVIII., at all events for a time. England, relieved of expense, anxiety, and commercial restraint by his renunciation of Imperial power, was jubilant over Napoleon's fall; but the soldiers of Wellington, and the men of letters who could appreciate great talents, always rendered justice to his stupendous genius. When Prince Metternich, the celebrated Austrian Minister, asked Lord Dudley and Ward what he thought of Napoleon as a General, that nobleman replied (embodying the sentiments of ten thousand candid critics): "*Mon Prince, je ne suis pas Militaire, mais il me semble qu'il a rendu la gloire passée douteuse, et la renommée future impossible.*"

One of the greatest blessings resulting from the peace of 1814 was the release of the numerous prisoners of war on both sides of the Channel. It was not the least part of the inhumanity for which the long war with France was responsible that thousands of brave men were held in wretched captivity away from their families and friends, and incapable of pursuing useful employments.

"The Red Indians torture their prisoners to death, and the New Zealanders eat them. In the middle-ages, captives of rank were held to ransom, while the tag-rag and bob-tail of a captured Army was either slaughtered, sent about its business, or invited to enrol itself under the banner of the victor—as the tag-rag and bob-tail, caring little which side was uppermost, often did most blithely. For modern civilisation, and for the nations of the West, it was reserved to prepare for prisoners of war a peculiarly cumbrous, irritating, and humiliating code, the enforcement of which never failed to aggravate the feelings of hostility between the contending parties, and to keep inter-

* See Appendix.

national wounds open long after there was a chance of their being healed. It is uncertain to what astute bureaucrat we are indebted for the system of exchanging prisoners during war; but it is a fact beyond dispute, that, in modern contests, there is no instance in which a satisfactory exchange has ever been made, and the usual result of negotiations in that regard has been to provoke between the Commissioners of Cartel a series of squabbles which the respective Governments subsequently took up, to the enhanced embitterment of their mutual sentiments. For example, during the war with France, the French Government expressed itself willing to exchange prisoners on the "man for man" principle, but insisted on receiving a live Frenchman for every Englishman set free. To this we demurred, contending that a reasonable equivalent for a Frenchman would be a Belgian, a Dutchman, an Italian, or any other foreigner who owned Napoleon's sway. In a few years the tables were turned, and England was found refusing to take Hanoverians, Heligolanders, King's German Legionaries, and Negroes, as "British subjects" in exchange for Frenchmen to be surrendered by us. While these ineffably paltry disputes raged every year, prisoners of war were lingering by the thousand in noisome durance. In England they were consigned in huge batches, like so many convicts, to the hulks at Chatham and Portsmouth, and to inland prisons at Dartmoor and in some rural districts of Scotland. The history of the hulks is one simple tissue of horrors. The Government had no active wish to maltreat its prisoners; but the officials placed in authority over them were often rude and oftener drunken, and did not understand the character of their guests. Worse than that, they did not care about such understanding; and, at the time, it was rather patriotic than otherwise to detest a Frenchman. The prisoners were not systematically starved, but they were fed as men-of-war's-men were then victualled—on weevilly biscuit, hard salt junk, and jury rum. They had no means of cooking their food in their own fashion; they were pent up between the decks of old vessels, all but deprived of exercise, and denied the commonest appliances of cleanliness. So they had the scurvy, dysentery, typhus, and a host of other ailments; now and then an epidemic would break out among them, and they would die like sheep afflicted by the rot. The most horrible profligacy was rampant on board those floating pandemoniums. The prisoners had nothing whatever to do, and vast numbers of them belonged to the lowest and most ignorant classes. So they swore and gambled, they quarrelled and fought; scarcely a week passed in which some fatal duel did not take place among them. Such were the hulks—the dreaded *pontons*—descriptions of which, not much overcharged, were drawn up by the order of Napoleon, and distributed among the French peasantry in order to inflame their minds against the English. Inland, the poor prisoners were a little better off. They had ample space and opportunity for exercise. Especially in Scotland they were treated with much thoughtful kindness by the gentry residing in the neighbourhood of the prisons. While this was the condition of the French prisoners in England, there was little to choose between it and the state of the British captives in France. Verdun was the central depot. The citadel of Biche served as a kind of penitentiary; to its gloomy casemates, and often to its subterranean dungeons, were consigned the refractory or mutinous prisoners, or those who had broken their parole. In order that they might be sent to Biche, Englishmen who had made up their minds to escape would often commit some offence against the disciplinary laws laid down for the government of the prisoners. There they were immured in cells to which the "Little Ease" of the Tower of London was a luxurious apartment. There they were often loaded with the heaviest fetters, and they were watched day and night by gendarmes with drawn sabres or loaded carbines. Yet from this seemingly impregnable fortress, British sailors, in a surprising number of instances, contrived to escape—sometimes lowering themselves more than a hundred feet into the fosse of the castle, by ropes which they had twisted with their own hands. Occasionally the rope broke in mid air, and, falling into the ditch, they shattered their limbs. Sometimes they were sabred by the gendarmes, or shot by the sentries. In many cases the prisoners rushed on the sentinels themselves, and strangled them in their boxes. Anything for liberty. Spurred by the offer of high reward, the neighbouring peasantry kept dogs to hunt the English fugitives down; yet our brave fellows would get away somehow from gendarmes, peasants, and bloodhounds. They would manage to evade the pursuers, or bribe them into winking at their flight."

Completeness of historical detail requires that we should here mention that a new regulation was issued in 1814, by which Major-Generals holding Field Officers' commissions were requested to accept an unattached rate of pay (25s. per diem), and allow their Regimental commissions to be filled up by effective Officers, or to retire from the Service by disposing of their commissions at a regulated value.

Excited by the progress of a war so near home, the British nation did not direct its eyes to

India as frequently as the importance of that vast possession deserved. But the region was nevertheless the scene of many important events, in which some of the Royal Regiments and Officers of the Royal Army rendered very conspicuous service. Taking them in the order of their occurrence, the first operation which merits particular notice is the capture of the French islands in the Indian seas. The isles of Bourbon and Rodriguez fell without a struggle; a blockade by a Naval force was attempted, but, as this failed, an Army of 11,300 men, with a 74-gun ship and 13 frigates, was sent in 1810 to take the Isle of France. The 12th, 14th, 22nd, 65th, 84th, and 89th Regiments, and a troop of the 26th Dragoons, constituted the European part of the force, the whole commanded by General Abercrombie. Hot weather and the absence of water on the march from Grande Baye to Port Louis were the only enemies the troops were called upon to encounter, until they were within a mile or two of the lines of Port Louis, where they found the enemy in a good position, with several field-pieces. The guns were charged and taken, and every arrangement made for an attack on the lines on the morrow, when General Decaen, the Governor of the Isle of France, offered to capitulate. The offer was accepted, and the island became British property under the old name of "Mauritius."

Batavia, and the Dutch islands in the Eastern Archipelago, were so many rallying points for French and Dutch privateers, which inflicted serious damage upon English commerce in the Indian seas. The Naval blockade established by Admiral Drury had been found inoperative; and it was, therefore, deemed indispensable that an attempt should be made to reduce the rich island of Java. Amboyna had surrendered in 1810.

A considerable French force, under the Dutch General Jansens, had been despatched to Batavia by Napoleon; and Lord Minto, who was Governor-General of India at the time, was too sagacious to dream of undertaking an important conquest with insufficient means. With Rear-Admiral Stopford in command of a Fleet of four sail of the line, fourteen frigates, seven sloops, eight of the Honourable Company's small war-ships, and several gun-boats, and an Army comprising three Regiments of Light Dragoons, the 14th, 59th, 69th, 78th, and 89th Foot, and a strong body of Company's troops, Artillery and Infantry, commanded by Sir Samuel Auchmuty, Lord Minto had little reason to doubt the success of his enterprise. But Java was not conquered without an effort. General Jansens was a soldier who could not find the word "surrender" in his Military dictionary. If it were there at all, it was preceded by certain injunctions to fight; and a good fight he made.

The town of Batavia was easily occupied by the advance under Colonel Robert Rollo Gillespie,—the intrepid dragoon who had saved the remnant of the 69th at Vellore,—for Jansens knew that it was indefensible. He had established himself, with all the troops he could muster, at Welterneedin, on the road to Cornelis, and here he attempted to check the British with grape and musketry. His flank was turned by Gillespie, the guns of the Royal Artillery replied to Jansen's batteries with much effect, and he retired to take shelter beneath the guns of Cornelis. Here the Dutch General expected to hold his ground until the rainy season should set in, and sickness compel the English to retire. His post was an entrenched camp between two rivers—one of which was unfordable, and the other protected by powerful batteries and redoubts. The space between the rivers was about 600 yards in breadth, and this was defended by redoubts and entrenchments difficult of access by reason of the ruggedness of the ground. In the rear of the works the fortifications, both natural and artificial, were still stronger: the whole circumference of the lines embraced about five miles, and was defended by 280 pieces of cannon. In its way, Cornelis was a Gibraltar. Formidable as it was, however, the position was destined to be carried. While the chief redoubt on the river Slokan was being breached, Lieut.-Colonel Macleod attacked the principal redoubt in the angle of the enemy's front and left; another attack was made upon a bridge leading to the rear, and the main body of the Army threatened the front. A breach in the chief redoubt on the river having been made practicable, Colonel Gillespie, at the head of the dismounted Dragoons, a body of Marines, and the flank companies of all the European Regiments, assaulted the redoubt just before daybreak. Approaching the videttes, the column was challenged. Reserving their fire, the men rushed forward with the bayonet, and promptly carried the redoubt almost as soon as the alarm was given. The 78th carried the bridge over the Slokan. Turning to the left, Gillespie in like manner stormed and carried a second redoubt. These were important captures, for each redoubt mounted twenty 18-pounders, besides several 24 and 32-pounders. Colonel Gibbs, with the Grenadier Companies of three Regiments, carried a redoubt on the opposite side of the Slokan, but not without severe loss to the 14th Foot, resulting from the explosion of a powder magazine—which was fired by one of the enemy's Officers. The remaining redoubts to the right and left were stormed, in which operation Lieut.-Col. Macleod of the 69th was killed. Day had now broken, and the enemy were discovered

drawn up in the plain fronting the barracks and the lesser fort of Cornelis. Infantry, Cavalry, and Horse Artillery, nearly all French, presented a stern array. No matter, the 59th led off the game; Gillespie followed suit with Cavalry and light guns, and, after a very brief combat, the enemy broke and fled. Hotly pursued, 6,000 of them, including a Corps of French Voltigeurs, laid down their arms; the rest followed Jansens to Samarang, where he again showed fight, but was ultimately obliged to succumb. Here, after some hesitation, he signed articles of capitulation. He had made a stubborn defence,—naturally, for when sent out to govern Java, Napoleon, remembering that the Cape of Good Hope had been wrested from him by Sir David Baird, is reported to have said: "*Souvenez-vous, Monsieur, qu'un Général Français ne se laisse pas prendre une seconde fois.*"

The reduction of Java cost the British upwards of a thousand good soldiers, but it left the Eastern seas without an enemy. A medal and much prize money rewarded the efforts of the Army and Navy; and Gillespie, promoted to the rank of a General Officer, received the order of Knighthood for his forward gallantry.

Skirting the north of the British possessions in Bengal is a chain of mountains, a part of which encloses the rich valley of Nepaul. The Goorkha tribes who rose there had extended their conquests far on either side, and had become subjects of uneasiness to all their neighbours. Lord Wellesley and his successor had made treaties with them to ensure the peace of the frontier; but as an infraction of the compact had only been rebuked by a courteous letter, the Nepaulese took advantage of the impunity of their insolence, and committed further aggressions. They encroached upon the territory of the East India Company and the lands of their Allies. They seized upon Bhopal and Sheoray, seized, plundered, and burnt villages in Salem, attacked an English police-station and murdered the Officers, invaded 200 villages in Tirhoot, ventured into Khyrapoor and Moradabad, attacked the possessions of protected Sikh chieftains, in a word penetrated everywhere from the Tista to the Sutlej. Lord Moira, who had come out as Governor-General, remonstrated with the Nepaulese Rajah. But all that he obtained from that chief was an avowal of his acts and an insolent tone of defiance. He refused all reparation. His immediate advisers recommended him not to risk the issue of an armed struggle. They told him that hitherto he had hunted deer: if he went into the field against the British, he must expect to combat with tigers. But he only replied by vaunting his former triumphs, the Military glories of Nepaul, its natural strength, and the certain failure of the English. "They had been driven," he said, "from Bhurtpore, which was the work of man; how, then, should they storm the mountain citadel, which was built by the hands of God?" With such a person no other argument than the sword was of any avail. Lord Moira forthwith ordered an Army of 22,000 men into the field. It was separated into four Divisions, destined to attack the Nepaulese at different points. Major-General Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie took his Division of 3,500 men into the valley of the Dhoon. Colonel Mawley of the 53rd occupied the town of Deyra, in the valley. The Goorkhas (Nepaulese) fell back to Kalunga, a fortified place, whither they were followed by Gillespie. The General made a slight breach in the fort, and assaulted it with a part of the 53rd, and one hundred dismounted troopers of the 8th Light Dragoons. The assault failed, and Gillespie, while leading the stormers, fell, shot to the heart. Nearly seven hundred men and Officers were wounded or killed in the assault. Major-General Martindell was equally unsuccessful in his attack elsewhere. Besides the natural strength of these hills, the Goorkhas derived material protection from their stockades, which they raised at every post they took up. Generals Ochterlony, Martindell, and Marley assailed them at different points with varying success, not unaccompanied with disasters to the British arms. The commencement of 1815 found the Goorkhas still preserving a bold attitude, and it was evident that nothing effectual could be done against such hardy warriors, so well protected, excepting by a large and well-appointed Force, skilfully directed by Officers who could profit by the knowledge and experience acquired in reverses.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Waterloo—Its Causes—Progress—and Results.

It was a great mistake upon the part of the French Government to have kept Napoleon in arrears of his pension, for it furnished him with a legitimate ground of complaint. It was a still greater error to have derived no lessons from the adversity of twenty years. The Bourbons had gathered no crop of wisdom in the field of privation. They had changed in nothing, while France had changed in everything—in manners, in tone of thought, in religious sentiment. The minds of Frenchmen had been set free by the Revolution, and it was not to be expected that when the novelty of change, which was only acceptable to a capricious people because it *was* change, had passed away, they should continue to look complacently on the white flag, the old *fleur-de-lis*,

the withered *emigrés* who had returned with the King, the swarms of priests who crowded about the Court, or even the King himself. The misfortunes of Louis XVIII. had made him respectable, and his own demeanour after his assumption of the sceptre was unexceptionable; but the people were restless, and, during the winter of 1814-15, intrigue was rife to bring back Napoleon and restore the Empire. "*Il reviendra avec le printemps*" was the motto which accompanied pictures of the violet, with such an arrangement of the leaves as disclosed the profile of the ex-Emperor. Fouché's spies were active, and Talleyrand was not asleep; yet the French Government took no measures to check the growing spirit of disaffection, or provide against the disturbance of society arising out of the reactionary feeling. So, with all the force of an electric shock, it came upon the Governments of France and England, in March, 1815, that Napoleon had landed at Cannes with 1,000 men, a few of whom were French, and had been received by the people with open arms. Advancing into the friendly country of Dauphiné—its mountaineers had always been true to the Revolution and the Empire—he proceeded upon his daring enterprise, like one of the tenants of that wild region, gathering strength on his way, and overbearing every obstacle in his irresistible progress. In vain Military chiefs endeavoured to bar his path with an armed force, and challenged the power and discipline of their followers. At the sight of the well-known garb and features, men and Officers, smitten by a sudden spell, rushed to the feet of their old Commander, and fell into the ranks of his band; as was eloquently said, "All who entered the void formed by that gigantic shadow were attracted to its centre by a mysterious fascination." Gap was reached on the 5th, and Grenoble on the 7th, and on the 10th the restored conqueror, accompanied now by half an Army and by amazed and exulting crowds, moved into the plain and beheld the gates of Lyons fall by enchantment before him. On his way he had scattered abroad proclamations which denounced in fierce and indignant eloquence the treason to France of her alien rulers, imposed on her by the swords of the stranger, invoked the memory of the great days of the Empire, explained dexterously away its misfortunes, and appealed to the patriotism and pride of Frenchmen; and at Lyons Napoleon ventured to seize openly the reins of government, dissolving the Chambers of the Restoration, and declaring the authority of the Bourbons void. Thenceforward his march was a continued triumph; in his bold language, "the eagle flew from steeple to steeple with the national colours." Each stage of the journey was a bloodless victory. We need not dwell on the striking scene, the prelude and cause of, a mournful tragedy, when the constancy of the bravest of the brave gave way, and Ney was swept away in the all-powerful torrent. The exile arrived in Paris upon the 20th; he ascended the stairs of the Tuileries amid a mass of enthusiastic adherents, intoxicated for the moment with unfeigned joy, and within a few days the reviving Empire was proclaimed throughout every part of France. Though the movement that gave Napoleon the Throne was sudden and transient, not steady and lasting, it was, for an instant, of astonishing force; and he had a right to say that at no period was his personal influence more magical. As the Royalist orator eloquently exclaimed, "When Napoleon passed the Niemen at the head of half a million of men to invade the wastes of Russia he was less wonderful than when, casting his fetters in the face of Kings, he sped almost alone from Cannes to Paris to take his rest in the abode of the Bourbons."*

All Europe was now astir. Russia, Austria, Prussia, England, Holland, at once called their Armies into the field, and, as Napoleon was bent on the defence of his new position, they formed one grand line from the German Ocean to the Mediterranean, in order to press upon and overwhelm their restless enemy. The Duke of Wellington was chosen by the common voice of nations to lead the Allied Armies. He had beaten all the Marshals of France sent to oppose him in Spain—he was now free to measure swords with the master of the Marshals. Napoleon saw the peril of his situation. He could not oppose Armies all along the line. He would adopt his old *tactique*; and falling first upon one Force and then upon another, destroy them in detail. In less than three months from the day of his landing from Elba he was at the head of 200,000 men. Advancing with half his Army into Belgium, he met and overthrew the Prussians at Ligny. Hastening his troops to the front, Wellington stopped him for a moment at Quatre Bras with a few Highlanders and the Brunswick Cavalry, then fell back upon Waterloo, within twelve miles of Brussels, and there elected to give Napoleon battle.

On the morning of the 18th June, 1815, a French and English Army once more stood facing each other. One hundred and forty thousand human beings in "stern array" prepared to contend for the palm of superiority. In one respect only the advantage *in limine* was with the British Field-Marshal. He had chosen his own ground. Military critics, at a subsequent period, disputed the prudence of his choice; he had retained but one road for a retreat upon Brussels, should such

* 'The Times.'

a step have become necessary. But he had some time previously surveyed the fields of Belgium with a strategic eye, and had decided in his own capacious mind that, if the liberties of Europe were again placed in peril, that was the spot whereon they would have to be defended. Good or bad, right or wrong, this position was the only advantage claimed, for in other respects the balance of prospective benefit was with Napoleon. Some of his troops consisted of the tried Legions who had survived the wars in Spain and Germany. Flushed with a victory over Blucher —proud of being again under the eye of '*le petit caporal*'—admirably equipped with artillery —the Force shared in the confidence expressed by the Emperor that the "poor despised English" were then within his grasp. Every grenadier and cuirassier, every voltigeur and chasseur, echoed in his heart the savage phrase, "*Ah, je les tiens, ces Anglais!*" On the opposite side were only raw troops, with the exception of the Guards, the Highlanders, and the Cavalry. The Duke's fine old Peninsular Infantry was away in America, or scattered throughout the Colonies and India. He would have given all the wealth he possessed to have had them by his side in the awful crisis that had arrived. His guns were few in number compared with those of the enemy. On the Belgian and Nassau troops who had joined his Army, Wellington could place but little reliance. He had more faith in the untried British Militia which had been drafted into the Line. He knew that the national bull-dog courage would maintain them in the position he had selected until every man had fallen before the fire and the desperate charges of the foe. And then he was surrounded by so many of his best Generals—those steady, cool, and intrepid gentlemen whose aspect was so thoroughly English, that the men in looking upon them thought of "home" and all that was expected of them in the way of "duty." "Duty" was the lode-star of the chief, and it inspired all whom he led with the stern resolution which he had formed to "do or die." Lord Uxbridge, the Paget of Sabugal and Benevente—Moore's Paget—led the Cavalry; Hill, Colville, Maitland, Adam, Picton, Halkett, Kempt, Vandeleur, Hussey Vivian, and the ever-daring Colborne headed the Infantry. Sir Alexander Dickson commanded the Artillery.

There was a farm and orchard to the Duke's right—the farm of Goumont or Hougomont—the key of his position. It was occupied by the Guards. Upon their firmness much reliance was necessarily placed. Behind the Field-Marshal was the one road leading to Brussels, and on either side was a thicket, known as the forest of Soignies, of which not a vestige now remains.

The rain had fallen heavily in the night. The ground was soft and muddy all over the vast plain—but the wheat and other cereals still waved in rich luxuriance in front of the line. The soldiers had had a wretched bivouac, but their comforts in other respects had not been disregarded. Their arms, if not bright, were effective, and their powder was dry. At eight in the morning the sun came out, and Wellington awaited the French attack. But the Emperor was in no hurry to move his Artillery to the front, until the ground had become sufficiently hardened to admit of its being dragged into position. He availed himself of the unavoidable pause to ride down the ranks and hear once more the welcome shout of *Vive l'Empereur*, the precursor to victory in the old days of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland. At noon, however, his guns began to play upon the English host, and then ensued the terrible "pounding match," which was to endure for eight long hours, trying the strength of both sides to the uttermost, until 60,000 brave fellows were stretched in death upon the plain, or borne to the rear in mortal agonies. The terrible bolts from the French guns ploughed up the ground, and in their ricochet struck the solid squares of the devoted English Infantry, which thinned at every discharge; * the heavy Cavalry charged boldly upon the French horsemen, striking fiercely at their polished cuirasses and hurling them to earth; the Guards disputed the possession of the farm with their determined assailants, now giving ground, and anon recovering it; volleys of the Infantry, in their impregnable squares, overturned the French Dragoons, who presumed to hope they could break through a line which Artillery could not destroy. Napoleon muttered his fears as the "*terrible chevaux gris*," the Scots Greys, mowed down his Squadrons; and he shouted angrily, "These English do not seem to know when they are beaten." All these facts, and the anxiety of the English leader, as with half-opened lips he uttered a wish for "night or Blucher"—have been told over and over again. No nursery tale—no romance popular with boyhood—is better known than the details of the battle of the giants at Waterloo.

Evening came, and neither Napoleon's wish for Grouchy, whom he had ordered up, nor Wellington's prayer for Blucher, had been fulfilled. There

* Walter Scott, in his 'Marmion,' published some years previous to the battle of Waterloo, seems to have anticipated the action of the squares—

> "The stubborn spearmen still made good
> Their dark, impenetrable wood,
> Each stepping where his comrade stood
> The instant that he fell.
> No thought was there of dastard flight,
> Link'd in the serried phalanx light,
> Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
> As fearlessly and well."

was feverish anxiety on both sides. Night would have covered Wellington's retreat, and Napoleon would have lost his prey. The battle still raged. It was the height of summer, and there were yet two hours of daylight. Suddenly a cloud of troops in blue and green uniforms appear upon Napoleon's right and Wellington's left. It is not Grouchy's Corps, but (to the English) the welcome Prussians. Blucher—old *Forvarts*, as he was called—had kept his word, and come to the Duke "*mit his whole Army.*" Napoleon hesitated for a moment. Everything depended now upon one final crushing blow. Advancing his Guard in dense columns, headed by the intrepid Ney, and accompanying them into the valley, he made direct for the British line. Victory trembled in the balance. Zealous and daring, the soldiers of the Empire, shouting and echoing the strains of the bands, marched up the hill where the Guards lay half concealed by the corn to protect them from the cannonade of the enemy. The 71st, the 52nd Light Infantry, and the 95th were to the right of the Duke's line. With a promptitude which was at once the result of sound judgment and martial enthusiasm, Sir John Colborne went forward with the 52nd, halted them for an instant, and delivered a galling fire into the flank of the advancing column. Shocked by the unexpected attack, the foremost ranks reeled and broke; and shouting, "*Save himself who can!*" infected the rear columns with their fears. Wellington saw that the crisis had arrived. Victory was in his reach: he stretched forth his hand and won it. "Let the Line advance," cried he. "Up Guards and at them," shouted the Aides-de-Camp. Down rushed the Brigades of Adam, and Maitland, and Byng; forward went the Life Guards and Hussars. It was a terrible crisis. The French, dismayed, made one momentary stand, then staggered, turned, and fled in utter derangement. Napoleon, as at Moscow, preceded them in the flight. The Old Guard held on to the last. Called upon to surrender, its Commander, Cambronne, indignantly spurns the proposition, fights a little longer, then breaks and leaves the field. Wellington and Blucher meet and embrace at Genappe. The pursuit is continued by the English for five miles, and then, exhausted with the efforts of the day, they surrender the duty to the Prussians, who, nothing loth, harass the retiring and disordered columns for many miles.

As the Duke of Wellington returned to his quarters for the night, his iron frame scarcely shaken by the extraordinary labours of the day, he was much moved. The field was covered with the dead and the dying. Some thousands of the British had fallen, and among them were many men whom the Duke had seen and known, and led to victory in his previous campaigns. Several of the Generals and his Grace's own Aides-de-Camp were numbered with the killed or wounded. Sir W. Ponsonby had been pierced to death by Polish Lancers; Sir Thomas Picton had fallen, so had Sir R. Macara, of the 42nd. Lord Fitzroy Somerset lost an arm, the Earl of Uxbridge a leg; the Hon. Captain Gordon was killed; General Adam received a severe wound.

Its work done—nobly done—the wounded recovered and cared for, as well as in those days, when "minist'ring angels" were almost unknown to a British Army in the field, suffering soldiers were cared for—the troops fell back to receive a suspicious welcome from the populace of Brussels, many of whom would have been equally glad to have seen a French conquering Army.

Napoleon hastened to Paris, whence, in despair, he betook himself to Rochfort, and failing to effect an escape from the Continent, watched as its coasts were by our men of war, he gave himself up to the Captain of the Bellerophon, and claimed an asylum in England, which a sound policy denied him. Europe needed repose.

No great battle in which the mettle of British troops was severely tried has engaged so many pens as that which decided the fate of Europe on the plains contiguous to the village of Waterloo. It was every way worthy of the poet and the historian. The issue to be decided was of momentous importance—the Armies engaged were of the finest material in the world. The two greatest warriors of the age met face to face for the first time—the one confident, the other only hopeful. Had these mighty gladiators been handicapped before the struggle, Wellington would assuredly have had some weight put upon him. Napoleon, at the head of the French, had in his time beaten Austrians, Russians, Prussians, Italians, and Dutch, but Wellington had invariably beaten the French. He was literally, therefore, *le vainqueur des vainqueurs*. Yet with all the opportunities which the eye-witnesses and surviving actors in the great battle possessed of arriving at the truth; with all the anxiety of the press and the publishing interest to cast a halo over the mighty achievement of the Iron Duke and his devoted followers, "Waterloo" is to this hour a subject of controversy. Captain Siborne laboured hard to accumulate facts for the materials of some interesting volumes, with copious diagrams and orthographical projections of the fight at different stages*; the Reverend Mr Gleig wrote the 'Story of Waterloo'—a story not less picturesque than it is faithful, as far as his means of ascertaining

* The model of the battle at the United Service Museum is a very interesting piece of work, honourable to the labour of Captain Siborne and to the public spirit of Major-General Lindsay, at whose instance it was purchased and placed there.

the truth had gone; the Rev. Thos. Leeke, who carried the colours of the 52nd Light Infantry, came forward, after an interval of more than half a century, to establish one fact connected with the final overthrow of the French*; Colonel Charles Chesney, of the Engineers, assigns to the Prussians a larger measure of honour in the fight than they have received from other writers; the fervid Victor Hugo devoted an entire chapter of a work ('Les Misérables') to a description of the leading features of the contest, and several pages to the settlement of Cambronne's claims to a fanfaronade (*La Garde meurt, mais ne se rends pas*), winding up with the emphatic and preposterous declaration that Napoleon did not lose the battle because of Wellington, nor because of Blucher, but "because of God!"—and Walter Scott, whose instincts were Military, visited the field of battle, and wrote a poem, his very worst, the theme of which was "Waterloo."†

Waterloo was fought, Waterloo was won. We know that the Guards, the Heavy Dragoons, the Riflemen, the noble Line, the grand Artillery, all performed deeds that would have shamed "Turk Gregory," but any attempts at minute descriptions of such encounters, beyond such as are given by the illustrious author of the Despatches, must be more or less works of imagination, or, at best, but vivid sketches of isolated incidents. The answer of the soldier in Macklin's old farce to a lady's application for a description of a battle is as applicable to Waterloo, simple as its general outline was, as to any other fight—"Faith, madam, there is so much doing everywhere, there's no knowing what's doing anywhere."

It was decreed by the council of nations that Napoleon should be sent to the remote island of St Helena, in the Atlantic, and so guarded that he should not again have a chance of violating the peace of Europe. The decree was carried out; and there, for six years "fretting like a gummed velvet," he wore out life, surrounded by a group of attached friends.‡ His discontent found utterance in angry letters, peevish conversations, and feeble remonstrances. Some part of his time was passed in dictating 'Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire,' which involved many contradictory maxims, cleared up a few doubtful points in the history of the time, and cast obloquy upon the authors of the failures of some of his plans. The English never received that justice at his hands which a brave and candid soldier would have extended to a people who had given him the strongest proof of their invincibility and generosity. Had he fallen into other hands, he certainly would not have enjoyed even the comforts, much less the luxuries of an elegant restraint, until God called him to his last account. Russia would in all likelihood have sent him to the mines of Siberia; the enraged Prussians would have shot him like a dog; Austria, whose daughter he had married and who deserted him in his extremity after the battle of Toulouse, might perhaps have accommodated him with a dungeon in the Quadrilateral. He died at St Helena in 1821. British soldiers performed his funeral honours, and a willow waved over his poor remains until, after a lapse of a quarter of a century, they were allowed to be transported to Paris, where they now repose in the grand Hospital of the Invalids, among the people on the banks of the Seine whom he had "loved so well."

Marshal Ney's weakness and treachery received its due reward—he was tried, condemned, and shot to death. He had volunteered to arrest Napoleon on his march from Cannes, and to bring him to Paris dead or alive, but the moment he met his old master he fell into his arms and shared his fortunes. As a guarantee for the preservation of peace, a British Army occupied France for three years. It was to have remained there for five years, and the Duke of Wellington was very properly chosen to command the "Army of Occupation," and see to the payment of the indemnification which France owed to England for the enormous sacrifices she had made to ensure the future tranquillity of the country, and promote its commercial prosperity. But true to the magnanimity of his character, the Prince of Waterloo, as he had very properly been created by the King of Holland, pressed the British Government to relieve the French of the pressure they could ill sustain; and, at the expiration of three years out of the five, the Army was withdrawn.

Rich rewards were bestowed by the Prince Regent of England, the Government, and the people upon all who had fought and bled at Waterloo. Two hundred thousand pounds were voted to the Duke, a silver medal was cast, and distributed to all ranks alike. That memorable year of service was allowed to count as two years in the computation of the pensions of the soldiers. The colours of every corps engaged were emblazoned with the word "Waterloo." Grand Crosses of the

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* Mr Leeke insists that the 52nd shattered the French column by its flank attack, and his assertion, founded on his own personal experience, is sustained by several trustworthy Officers, in opposition to a claim put forth by the Guards to the honour of defeating the French.

† Two of his lines ran—

"The corpse of many a hero slain,
Prest Waterloo's ensanguined plain:"

to which a writer of the then popular 'Morning Chronicle' maliciously added:

"But none by sabre, lance, or shot,
Fell half so *flat* as Walter Scott."

‡ The 66th Foot, subsequently relieved by the 20th, guarded Napoleon at St Helena. General Sir Hudson Lowe was selected as his custodian.

Bath were bestowed on many of the Knight Commanders, and as vacancies had arisen since the new statute had been passed, very many Companions of the Order were advanced to knighthood as "Commanders." Ensigns of the Foot Guards were granted the rank of Lieutenant as a distinguished mark of approbation. The 1st Foot Guards were thenceforth called the "Grenadier Guards." Lord Uxbridge was raised to the Marquisate of Anglesea. The Prince Regent declared himself Colonel-in-Chief of the 1st and 2nd Life Guards. Nothing was left undone, in the glow of enthusiasm, which appeared likely to be acceptable to those who had valorously repelled the last attempt of the great master of war to fetter Europe, and inflict incalculable wrong upon the interests of liberty and humanity. Finally, an immense National Fund was raised in behalf of the wounded and the families of the slain.

Relieved from the claims of war, the General and other Officers who had distinguished themselves in the field were available for lucrative and responsible commands in the Colonies and India, where their experience could be turned to local and national account. As vacancies arose, therefore, the most deserving, and those whose exchequer had not been materially benefited by campaigning, were selected to fill the best Governorships and commands, if the Duke of Wellington could speak to their competency. Thus, Paget, Combermere, Fane, and Gough were appointed in succession to the Command-in-Chief in India; Nightingale, Halkett, Bradford, Charles Colville, George Walker, Beckwith, P. Maitland, Adam, Keane, and O'Callaghan went to Madras or Bombay to command the Armies of the King and the East India Company. Edward Barnes was made Governor of Ceylon; Lowry Cole, Governor of Mauritius; Lord William Bentinck succeeded to the Governor-Generalship of India; Sir John Colborne went to Canada; in fact, every good General Officer who had fought in the Peninsula or at Waterloo obtained, if not a supreme, at least a Divisional Command and others of lesser rank gladly accompanied their old Commanders as Aides-de-Camp and Military Secretaries, to become, in their turn, leaders of Armies or Governors of Settlements. The effect of this method of rewarding good service was felt in the infusion of a fine Military spirit and a better order of discipline into the Armies of India and the Colonial garrisons, whose habits had become somewhat loose and irregular after they had done their arduous work in subduing the Natives and checking an insurrectionary spirit.

Not inappropriately might we close this "Waterloo" chapter with a picture of the field as it is, sketched by the lively hand of the voluminous, graphic, and industrious G. A. Sala; but as it might interfere with the general narrative, it has been placed in the Appendix.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Dispute with the United States of America—The Americans invade Canada—Are Repulsed—Occupy the entire Niagara Frontier—Expedition under General Ross—Battle of Bladensburg—Ross slain—Senate House and President's Palace destroyed at Washington—Attack on Baltimore—Expedition to New Orleans—Repulse of the British—Peace Re-established—The Nepaul War in India—Second Mahratta War—The Deccan Prize Money—Expeditions to the Persian Gulf—Rebellion in Kandy—The 73rd Regiment.

Among different races of men speaking a different language, worshipping after a different fashion, and upholding laws and institutions of diverse intent and operation, there has always been, and probably always will be, a strong or natural antagonism. A river, a chain of hills, a piece of neutral ground not too large for a respectable market garden, serves to establish separate nationalities, and to create jealousies and dislikes. Oceans will not divide peoples more thoroughly than imaginary lines of demarcation, and perhaps the nearest neighbours are generally the most virulent in their mutual animosity. All this seems to result from a law of nature. But where men speak the same tongue, spring from the same common origin, and have the same interests in the advancement and enlightenment of the human race, these bitter oppositions are as unaccountable as they are painful, and when political disputes and complications lead such nations into war, there must always be a feeling of regret pervading one side or the other, if not both.

The people of the United States of America and Great Britain stood in this anomalous relation towards each other. Children of the same family, they nevertheless cherished antipathies which seemed to seek occasion for gratification. England could not forget she had been worsted at Saratoga and James Town, and she beheld with repugnance the daily growth of a young giant Republic, which threatened to outstrip her in the race for commercial prosperity and scientific progress. Young America, holding the "old country" in contempt for its apparent tardiness to enlarge the sphere of political liberty, and adopt inventions which, on the western side of the Atlantic, were the result of necessity among a sparse population,

seemed to seek opportunity for quarrel, and failing the existence of any absolute *casus belli*, to give as much annoyance as she possibly could to one "so near and yet so far." The contiguity of the Canadas made England a close neighbour; and the presence of a colony sustained by red coats, and recognising old world institutions, was a thorn in the side of the Republicans, which they chafed to extract.

The war of the French Revolution had created much interest in America. It was, in a measure, one of her own offspring. The active part played in that drama by Lafayette, and the misfortunes which befel Rochambaud in his West India commands, identified the States, in feeling at least, with the mighty movement which was shaking the thrones of Europe. In Napoleon the "Yankees" did not discern so much of the Imperial despot as of the scourge of effete monarchies, and they viewed the successes of the French and Dutch Republicans at the close of the eighteenth century as so many agreeable rebukes to the impertinent interference of England. A few years later the United States had become active sympathisers with the French, and afforded them material assistance, which compelled Great Britain to resort to arms. We will take the facts as we find them recorded in the official journals of the time.

Soon after his elevation to the Imperial dignity, and the announcement of his resolution to destroy the trade of England, Napoleon issued "decrees," dated at Milan and Berlin, declaring that he would confiscate any vessels which should touch in Great Britain, or be visited by British ships of war. By way of retaliation, the Government of England issued Orders in Council in 1807 declaring that no neutral vessel should proceed to France, or any of the countries from which, in obedience to the dictates of France, British commerce was to be excluded, without first touching at a port in Great Britain or her dependencies. The United States remonstrated, and announced their determination to resist both belligerents. But instead of requiring France to rescind her decrees in the first instance, as they were unquestionably the *fons et origo* of American inconvenience, the States adopted the same measures of commercial retaliation towards both nations, thus applying the same measure of resistance to the aggrieved as to the aggressor. They even accompanied their demand for the revocation of the decrees with the offer of an engagement to take part against Great Britain if she did not withdraw her Orders in Council. The decrees were repealed *quo ad* the States; but as that repeal was only conditional on the exclusion of British ships and merchandise from the ports and harbours of the Americans, the Orders in Council remained intact. Nevertheless, after a protracted negotiation extending over a period of four or five years, the British Government consented to their abrogation if the United States would, after a given time, repeal their restrictive laws against the commerce of Great Britain. But before the Cabinet of Washington could receive any intimation of the intentions of Great Britain in that regard, it had declared war against England and actually issued letters of marque; and when the latter Power remonstrated, the Government of the United States required as a condition of an armistice that England should abandon her right of searching American vessels and taking therefrom all British seamen, the natural-born subjects of His Britannic Majesty, and that she should indemnify the Americans for all vessels detained and condemned under the operation of the blockades. These hostile proceedings and exorbitant demands aroused the ire of the British Government, and the Prince Regent in 1813 sent a message to Parliament calling for the usual aid and sanction in warlike operations. His Royal Highness could not acknowledge a blockade to be illegal (internationally) which had been duly notified and supported by an adequate Force, merely on the ground of its extent, or because the coasts and ports blockaded were not at the same time invested by land; nor could he admit that neutral trade with Great Britain was a crime, the commission of which would expose the ships of any Power to be denationalised; neither would His Royal Highness admit that he was debarred his right of resistance to France, merely through the fear of eventually affecting the interests of a neutral; nor relinquish his right to impress British seamen, and take them out of ships sailing under a neutral flag. All this the Prince Regent stated had been urged in the negotiations, and without effect. The difference of opinion was irreconcilable, and moreover the United States had throughout shown a marked partiality in palliating and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France; had systematically endeavoured to influence the citizens of the Transatlantic Republic against the defensive measures of Great Britain; had acted ungenerously towards Spain, her intimate ally; and in almost every way was associated in policy with France, and had practically commenced a war against Great Britain.

It was exceedingly inconvenient to Great Britain to have two wars upon her hands at the same time. Her Military resources were strained to their uttermost by the necessity for controlling the French in Spain, and the hostile chieftains in India; and her national debt was swelling to apparently dangerous proportions, by the pressure on her finances to maintain the war in the Peninsula: but the justice of the quarrel with the United States was so clear, that Parliament could

not refuse its concurrence in the measures which the Government of the Prince Regent deemed it necessary to adopt. A war with the Western Republic was therefore formally declared.

As the Americans had but a very small standing Army, and there were only a few Royal Regiments in the Canadas, hostilities in the first instance were carried on mainly by the Militia of both parties. The Canadians evinced a very loyal spirit on the occasion, and proved excellent auxiliaries of the King's Corps. The first blow was struck by the United States' General, Winchester, who, with 1,000 men, attacked the settlement of Detroit and obtained possession of Frenchtown, twenty-six miles distant. Colonel Proctor hastily assembling some Regulars and Militia opposed Winchester, and compelled 500 of his men to surrender. Predatory incursions along the border soon widened the arena of operations. Sir George Prevost crossed over and took Ogdensburg, opposite Prescott, after a sharp fight, in which the Americans lost eleven pieces of cannon and all their stores. This was followed by an attack on York (Toronto) by the Americans. They defeated General Sheaffe, who defended the place with the 8th Foot and Newfoundland Fencibles, for the Militia capitulated; they attacked Fort George on the Niagara river with a superior force, and obliged Colonel Vincent to retire, with the loss of 300 men. Vincent spiked his guns, and, being joined by Lieut.-Col. Bishopp, took up a position at the head of Lake Erie with 1,600 men. The American force hourly augmented: what they wanted in drill and discipline was balanced by their activity and determined spirit of hostility, and their skill as riflemen. They had soon 10,000 men in arms. They pushed on to Queenstown, and made themselves masters of the whole of the Niagara frontier in a very short space of time. Sir George Prevost was not inactive. Receiving reinforcements, he fought the Americans at Sackett's harbour and Burlington heights. All through 1813, and part of 1814, the British interests were bravely maintained by the 8th, 41st, 49th, 89th, 100th, and 104th,* the Royal Scots, and the Royal Artillery, aided by the Canadian Voltigeurs, the Glengarry Light Infantry, and other Corps of Colonial Volunteers. But the advantage was substantially with the "Yankees," and they added to their successes ashore some Naval exploits on the lakes.

Hitherto Great Britain had acted purely on the defensive. The close of the war with France releasing her Army in some measure, she was enabled, in 1814, to pursue a more active Military policy, and strike a blow at the most vulnerable part of the United States. The Government, accordingly, ordered a Force, Naval and Military, to proceed against the capital of the States, and read a lesson to the aggressive Republicans. The 4th, 44th, and 85th Regiments, all "Peninsular heroes," were embarked in the Garonne after the battle of Toulouse, under Major-General Ross, a very gallant and experienced Officer, and were joined at Bermuda by the 21st N.B. Fusiliers. The 29th and 62nd Regiments had been ordered to reinforce Sir George Prevost, but it was deemed desirable to unite them with the expedition under General Ross and Admiral Sir George Cockburn. In due time they reached the Chesapeake Bay, sailed up the Patuxent, landed and marched on Washington. Experiencing resistance at Bladensburg, they fought a battle, which lasted four hours, and obliged the Americans to retreat. It was folly on the part of the Americans to risk a general action in an open country, however strong and steep. As the British approached Washington, General Ross sent a flag of truce to the capital. It was fired upon! General Ross accompanied the flag of truce, and his horse was shot under him. There was but one course to pursue after an outrage so repugnant to all the principles of civilised warfare. Washington was attacked—the Senate House and the President's Palace were fired—the dockyards and arsenal destroyed. Much devastation marked the retributory measures of the British. Ross advanced to Baltimore. Coming unexpectedly upon a body of riflemen in ambush, an exchange of courtesies took place, and the good and brave Ross fell pierced to the heart by a Kentucky bullet. It was a great calamity, for he was one of the brightest ornaments of the profession, with a great talent for command. Mr Gleig, in his account of the campaign against Washington, &c., says: "He who, at the head of 4,000 men, penetrated upwards of sixty miles into an enemy's country; overthrew an Army more than double his own in point of numbers; took possession of the capital of a great nation; and having held it as long as it suited his own purposes to hold it, retired again in triumph to his Fleet, will be ranked as he deserves among the number of those who have most successfully contributed to elevate Great Britain to the height of Military glory in which she now stands." A less dull and spiritless memorial of such a soldier than the one which greets the visitor of St Paul's, in the south-east Ambulatory, would have been worthy of the nation and the man.

Colonel Brooke, as senior Officer, took the command after the death of General Ross, and proceeded with Sir George Cockburn to the West Indies, under secret orders as to the ultimate

* The two last-named Corps were disbanded after the war with France. The numbers were not resumed until 1857.

destination of the Force.* At Jamaica they were joined by the 93rd Highlanders, six companies of the 95th Rifle Regiment, two West India Regiments, and two Squadrons of the 14th Light Dragoons. Major-General John Keane, who had gone out as second in command to Major-General Ross, now assumed the chief control, and the Fleet directed its course to the Mississippi—"the father of rivers," as the Indians were wont to call it.

Both the Admiral and the General cherished the belief that the Americans were not aware either of their approach or their design. They were undeceived as soon as they came in sight of the place that had been selected for their attempt to obtain access to New Orleans. Five cutters, each armed with six heavy guns, were seen in the distance. Captain Lockyer, R.N., with a flotilla of fifty row boats, launches and pinnaces belonging to the Fleet, pulled towards the cutters. The Americans showed fight and were beaten. The Fleet went up to Lake Borgne, and the troops landed on a desolate spot, called Pine Island. Some affairs of outposts took place, in which the Americans distinguished themselves by the uncivilised practice of shooting down the piquets, but no battle was fought by General Keane. A very cautious advance was obviously necessary—the country was extremely unfavourable for hostile approaches. General Jackson, who commanded the Militia and Regulars, had brought together 3,000 men, and had exercised much judgment and ingenuity in the establishment of entrenched lines. He could only be approached by an artificial canal. Nothing had been accomplished by the British Force before Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Pakenham arrived to assume the command, with Major-General Gibbs as his second. Pakenham, who was a near connection of the Duke of Wellington, had been selected for the post as soon as the news of General Ross's fall reached England. Sir Edward surveyed the ground, saw all the difficulties which opposed his progress, and proceeded to overcome them.* Colonel Thornton, of the 85th, was sent to cut a canal. Guns and stores were brought from the Fleet, and batteries were established to attack the lines as if they were regular fortresses. Meanwhile Major-General Sir John Lambert arrived with the 7th and 43rd Regiments—the 7th of Albuhera fame—the 43rd of the glorious Light Division of the Peninsular Army. At length Sir Edward Pakenham had six thousand soldiers under his orders,

* The discipline of the Army generally was excellent. An American (Washington) paper has lately borne honourable testimony to its conduct: "The British, in 1814, captured Washington, and destroyed the public buildings, Navy-yard, and Gale's and Seaton's office. Washington was not much of a Sebastopol at that time, but still there were many means for the defence of the place. In fact, with ordinary management, the British Force could have been arrested at almost every point upon their march between their place of landing and this city, and especially at Bladensburg, where the ground was so favourable for defence. It used to be said, that if General Jackson had been in command of our Forces and charged with the defence of Washington, as he was subsequently with that of New Orleans, the disasters would never have happened, because it was believed he would have imprisoned the President and the Cabinet, as he did the Judge and others at New Orleans. The Cabinet, with the exception of the Secretary of State, Mr Monroe, scouted the idea that the British would attempt to advance to Washington, and refused even to credit the story of their actual landing, until Mr Monroe had himself reconnoitred them. It was the hottest day experienced. The British troops performed a forced march through the broiling sun, and without water, and were dropping down dead in their ranks from fatigue, exhaustion, and 'coup de soleil.' Any regular and persistent opposition would have routed them. The enemy calculated too wisely and correctly upon the confusion and inefficiency of our Government counsels. But to give proper credit to General Ross and Admiral Cockburn, it was really a most brilliant demonstration on their part, and was carried through with very little loss. Had that war been carried on in the spirit which marks the conflicts in the East, hopeless would have been the condition of this Federal metropolis. The President and Cabinet, the troops and Officers, both Militia and Regulars, all ran away as fast as panic could carry them, and took refuge in parts unknown, or at least inaccessible, to the enemy, and the inhabitants were left to their mercy. But no private property, unconnected with Military preparations, was destroyed, and neither murder, nor pillage, nor rapine was witnessed in any instance. There was one single moment, while the British Army was entering this city, in which every house and every life within it was perilled, and in which the city had a hairbreadth escape from an awful retribution. It was the moment at which a cowardly wretch, secreted in a house in the street through which the British Force was entering, fired a shot at General Ross, and, missing him, killed his horse. Even the assassination of the horse produced deep sensation among the troops; and it required all the energy and severity of discipline to prevent retaliation. Both Officers and soldiers related here that the fate of Roslin—for that was the name of the General's favourite steed—was mourned by every man of them, and when he was taken away to be buried there was scarcely a dry eye in the ranks. But they said, and Admiral Cockburn declared, that if Ross had been killed, the city would have suffered for it."

* Every temptation was held out by the Americans to induce our soldiers to desert. Printed papers, offering land and money, as the temptation to infidelity, were thrown into the pickets, and individuals frequently approached the posts, and endeavoured to persuade the sentinels to quit their stations. An instance of the latter attempt to seduce the men is given by Mr Gleig. A private of the 95th, when on sentry, was addressed by a United States' Officer. The latter offered him 100 dollars, and a quantity of land, if he would go over; representing, at the same time, the superiority of a democratical government, and railing against the title of a king. The Englishman pretended to be deaf, and begged of the American to come a little nearer, and tell him all about it. Jonathan did so; but had hardly opened his mouth to repeat his offer, when the sentinel levelled his piece and shot him through the arm. He then rushed forward, seized the Yankee, and made him prisoner.

but the enemy's Force had increased to 12,000. Sir Edward resolved to attack the entrenchments. The 44th Foot was ordered to carry the ladders and fascines. Eight Regiments were to make the attack—the two which had recently arrived were kept in reserve. The troops went forward to their work with their accustomed zeal, and when they had got fairly into the thick of the Americans' well-sustained fire, it was discovered that Thornton had failed to cut the canal, for the boats that were essential in the operation had not reached him, and the 44th had omitted to bring on the implements for an escalade. Nevertheless, the attack was made, and boldly. But, bereft of the main elements of success, what could be expected of the troops? They strove valiantly, and were struck down in heaps by the galling and rapid fire of the well-entrenched Americans. The 44th fell back in confusion, communicating their disorder to the rest of the troops. In a moment all was rout and disorder. Pakenham, Gibbs, and Keane earnestly endeavoured to restore the line and renew the attack. A shot laid Pakenham low; Gibbs fell with a mortal wound, and Keane was seriously hurt. The bugles sounded a retreat. New Orleans was safe.

Dismayed and mortified, the beaten Regiments returned to their ground. The air was filled with their execrations of the blunder committed by the 44th. The unhappy Colonel was nowhere to be found. The opprobrious epithet "coward" was on every soldier's lips, yet that same man had borne himself courageously at Bladensburg.

The responsibility of command devolved on Sir John Lambert, whose duty it became to report the disastrous occurrences to the Secretary of State. His despatch was a model of moderation and modesty. He wrote:

"Our loss has been very severe; but I trust it will not be considered, notwithstanding the failures, that this Army has suffered the Military character to be tarnished. I am satisfied that had I thought it right to renew the attack, the troops would have advanced with cheerfulness. The services of both Army and Navy, since their landing on the coast, have been arduous beyond anything I have ever witnessed, and difficulties have been got over with an assiduity and perseverance beyond all example by all ranks, and the most hearty co-operation has existed between the two Services."

Sir John Lambert subsequently attacked Fort Boyer in Mobile, and was successful. Lieutenant-Colonel Burgoyne was his Engineer, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson commanded his Artillery. All further operations were stopped by the news that peace between the United States and England had been signed at Ghent at the close of the year 1814. The troops returned home, with the exception of those which had been sent to Canada, and the Corps intended to garrison Bermuda and other islands.

The Nepaul range in India continued the scene of hostilities through the years 1815 and 1816, in all of which Officers and men of the British Army took a very active part. Lieutenant-Colonel Jasper Nicolls, of the 14th Foot—who had been Wellington's Quartermaster-General in his former service in India—took the fort of Almora and the provinces of Kumaon and Girwhal. The heights of Malounwere carried, after a stout resistance, by Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, and the Nepaulese sued for peace. The terms were agreed upon and ratified by the British; but the year 1815 closed, and the ratification by the Nepaul Rajah had not arrived from Khatmandoo, the capital. The Nepaulese professed a disinclination to surrender the tract of land called the Terai, of which they had taken possession, but the real truth was they desired to protract the final settlement of the quarrel until the season should be too far advanced for the effective resumption of hostilities by the British. Early in February, 1816, therefore, Sir David Ochterlony took the field with 17,000 men, including Her Majesty's 24th, 66th, and 87th Foot—the rest of the troops being composed of Regiments of Sepoys, European Artillery, Pioneers, and Irregular Horse. The valley of Muckwanpoor was the point of primary attack. The troops marched by different routes, all converging towards Muckwanpoor, where they were to join Sir David. When the junction had been effected, the Nepaulese were attacked near the village of Sikhar Kotre and overthrown; but after retiring, they came back in greater force, and endeavoured to regain the position. Several combats ensued, and ultimately the Nepaulese gave way, with the loss of 500 men. Stockades of a powerful character had been raised by the enemy at all their points of defence, and they were particularly well supplied in that respect at Muckwanpoor. Sir David had his guns, which had been borne over the mountains by elephants, so disposed that the stockade and fort of the place could be breached. Before a shot could be fired the Nepaulese sent in a chief with the ratified treaty. Colonel Kelly, with the 24th, had defeated the party against whom he had been sent, and this expedited the signature of the document. Large cessions were made to the British, exacted with the double view of obtaining indemnity and security.

An attack on the fort of Hattras, belonging to a zemindar who had defied the authority of the British, gave some occupation, early in 1817, to the 8th and 24th Light Dragoons, and the 14th and 87th Regiments, and a complement of Native Infantry and Artillery.

The fort was demolished, and the robbers who swarmed in the districts were thus deprived of an important point of refuge and concentration. At the siege of Hattras the rockets of Sir William Congreve were used to a great extent, but did not produce much effect. It was found that their efficiency depended upon the nature of the ground. To ensure a point-blank flight a level plain, where the wind could not act with great force in diverting the direction of the rocket, was a necessary condition of their destructive employment.

The war blast of the trumpet was heard all over India in 1817-18. The Mahratta chieftains and the Pindarees, a tribe of marauders, had thrown the whole country into a ferment. Scindia, restless and active, had intrigued with the ministers of the Holkar State and the Bonsla Rajah to establish the supreme authority of the Peishwa, and consolidate the remaining fragments of the Mahratta empire. Runjeet Singh, the ruler of the Punjab, and the Nepaul Prince, together with the Pindarees, had all entered warmly into the project, and nothing was wanting but a signal, and the season, to carry fire and sword into the East India's Company's possessions. Central India was disorganised; the Princes of Rajpootana were helpless. Well-affected chieftains were either indolent and a prey to military adventurers or idiotic or dissolute; every vestige of regular and orderly government had disappeared from the Native States, and a complete dislocation of the framework of society was threatened. Lord Moira had for a long time fruitlessly urged the importance of a vigorous interruption of the growing discontents, and at length the Home Government was brought to yield to his entreaties and experience: the sword was drawn in right earnest to exterminate the Pindarees and their predatory system as a prelude to the whole scheme of military depredation. Nearly two years were spent in the tranquillisation of the empire, and the complete destruction of the freebooters and the perfidious chieftains. They had amongst them an army of 130,000 horse, 87 300 Infantry, and 589 guns. To crush this formidable host the British called into the field 116,400 men, including Irregular Horse and contingents, and 295 guns. The odds were numerically in favour of the Mahrattas and Pindarees; but against disciplined troops supported by Europeans there was every chance of Lord Moira's accomplishing the objects he had proposed to himself. The East India Company's Generals, Ochterlony, Adams, Doveton, Thomas Munro, and John Malcolm, were good soldiers and men of extensive local experience; the King's Generals, Pritzler, Hislop, W. Grant Keir, and Lionel Smith, were worthy of the commissions they bore. Excellent combinations were effected by the Generals, and the political Officers, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Russell, Metcalfe, Jenkins, and Lloyd, afforded them the most hearty co-operation. Some very hard battles were fought at Poonah, Nagpore, Mahidpore, Seetabuldee, and Corigaon, and in the end the Peishwa was deposed, his territories appropriated, himself reduced to the condition of a pensioner; the Rajah of Nagpore was bereft of all authority; and the Pindarees were effectually routed out and extinguished. In all these proceedings the conduct of the sepoys of the different Presidencies was excellent.

An immense amount of booty fell to the Army by the destruction of so many Native Princes; but there was a quarrel over the spoil which detracted in some measure from the dignity of the exploits; and the litigation which ensued, while it diminished the amount of treasure to feed the gentlemen of the long robe, protracted the distribution of the balance until thousands of the claimants had gone to their long home. Sir Thomas Hislop, who was Commander-in-Chief, raised the question of the division of the capture, which was settled by the following decree of the Treasury Commissioners appointed to determine its merits:

"Treasury Chambers, Wednesday, February 5th, 1821.

"Present—The Earl of Liverpool, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Hon. Berkeley Paget, Viscount Lowther, and Lord Granville H. Somerset.

"Their Lordships having heard counsel in support of the claims of the Marquis of Hastings and the grand Army, and of those of Sir Thomas Hislop and the Army of the Deccan, and having maturely and deliberately weighed and considered all the documentary evidence laid before them in behalf of the several parties, and the arguments of the counsel, are of opinion that the most just and equitable principle of distribution will be to adhere, as nearly as the circumstances of the case may admit, to that of the actual capture; and that, although they are aware that the principle of constructive capture must, under certain circumstances, in a degree be admitted, the disposition should be to limit, rather than to extend, that principle.

"They are therefore of opinion that the mode of distribution originally intended by the Marquis of Hastings would be most equitable and just, with respect to the booty taken at Poonah, Mahidpore, and Nagpore; and that the booty taken on each of those occasions respectively, should belong to the divisions of the Deccan Army engaged in the respective operations in which the same was captured; but that, as the Division of the Bengal Army, under Brigadier-General Hardyman, appears

to have been put in motion for the purpose of co-operating directly in the reduction of Nagpore, and to have been actually engaged with a Corps of the enemy antecedent to the surrender of that place, this Division appears to their lordships to be justly entitled to share in the booty captured at Nagpore: and that such other booty, arising from the operations against the Mahrattas in the years 1817 and 1818, as may now be subject to His Majesty's Royal disposition, should be granted to such Divisions of the grand Army, under the command of the Marquis of Hastings, and of the Deccan Army, under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, as may respectively have captured the same.

"Their Lordships are also of opinion, that conformably to the letter of the Marquis of Hastings to Sir Thomas Hislop, of the 12th of January, 1818, Sir Thomas Hislop, as Commander-in-Chief of the Deccan Army, and all the Officers of the General Staff of that Army, are entitled to participate in the booty which may arise from any capture by any divisions of the Army of the Deccan, until the said Army of the Deccan was broken up on the 31st of March, 1818.

"Their Lordships have felt it to be inconsistent with their duty to recommend to His Majesty to give his sanction to any agreement for the common division of the booty, into which the several Divisions of either Army may have entered, as it is their decided opinion that if the principle of actual capture be not adopted, in this case, as the rule of distribution, no other correct or equitable rule could have been adopted than that of general distribution amongst the Forces of all the Presidencies engaged in the combined operations of the campaign.

"Their Lordships do not consider that, under all the circumstances of this case, it will be expedient to recommend to His Majesty to grant any part of this booty to the East India Company.

"And their Lordships will submit to His Majesty their recommendation, that he will be graciously pleased to direct that His Royal grant of the said booty may be made in conformity with these principles."

In the vast amount of correspondence which arose out of the claims and counter claims to share in the Deccan booty, the disinterestedness of the Marquis of Hastings was very conspicuous. A poor man—poor, because through life he had preferred honour to wealth—he might fairly have been supposed to hail with pleasure the chances of war which placed large sums of money within his reach. But he rose above all personal considerations. The chivalry of the soldier and the gentle courtesy of the true nobleman distinguished him in all the relations of life; but on no one occasion, from his first campaign as Lord Rawdon, in America, down to his resignation of his high office in India, which he held for eleven years, was the grandeur of his character more decidedly manifested than when, as Governor-General, he forgot that he had been Commander of the Grand Army in India, and entitled to a large share of prize-money.

When he returned to England the Marquis carried with him from every quarter the respect of the Europeans, the love of the native population. He was warmly welcomed in England, and his honourable services imparted lustre to his title. The Officers who had served under Lord Hastings complimented him with a public dinner, at which Lord William Bentinck presided, in 1823, and it was said of him afterwards with much truth that, as a Military Governor, "he conquered boldly and secured his conquests by wise administration. He justified his acts before he achieved them, and afterwards he created from them occasions of milder but more glorious triumphs—the triumphs of civilisation."

Released from their active employment in the interior of India, the Royal Regiments were available for service elsewhere. The occasion presented itself late in 1819. Great havoc had been committed by the Arabs of the Persian and Arabian Gulfs upon the trade of the vessels sailing between India and the shores of Ormus. The cruisers of the East India Company had been insufficient to suppress the piratical marauders. Moving about in large vessels called dhows, manned by hardy Arabs and Abyssinians, the freebooters of the seas poured upon the unprotected native craft, plundered them of their contents, and often put the crews to the sword. Trade was completely paralysed by their enormities. They had fortified castles on the shore, and in the nooks and coves which abound in the gulfs they securely built their vessels, and laughed to scorn all attempts to suppress their nefarious occupation. But their hour came at last. Mr Elphinstone, the sagacious Governor of Bombay, knew that it would be folly to send a small force against such daring and warlike tribes. He despatched a combined Naval and Military expedition, under the command of Major-General Sir W. Keir Grant, and in a few months the piracies and cruelties of the Wahabees were severely punished. The 47th Foot, under Lieutenant-Colonel Elrington, and the 65th Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, formed the Royal quota. Several native Regiments and the Bombay Artillery completed the land force.

The Wahabee Arabs assembled in large numbers at Ras-el-khyma, a fortified town flanked by date groves. Sallying forth, they attacked the

Artillery at their works by night as well as by day, and killed and wounded the men at their guns. Driven off by the Infantry of the Line, their fort was breached and stormed, their dhows burnt and sunk. Considerable pillage rewarded the toils and exposure of the troops and the seamen. The Fleet quitted the Persian Gulf after this exploit—an exploit in which Major Molesworth of the 47th was killed—leaving a detachment on the island of Kishm to watch the Arabs and keep them in check. But it was too weak for the intended purpose. The Arabs soon afterwards surprised the detachment, and slew a great many of the sepoys. The European Officers, one of whom was Captain (afterwards General) Peyronnet Thompson, of the 17th Light Dragoons, fled to Bombay, leaving a Medical Officer to conduct the residue of the native detachments to a place of safety. Another expedition was organised in 1821, under the command of Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, an Officer who had reaped distinction during the Mahratta war, with Major Jackson (afterwards Sir James), of the Carabineers, as his Military Secretary. At Zoor, the Arabs of the Beni Boo Ali tribe were encountered in force and destroyed. Not a vestige was left by General Smith of their piratical vessels or their strongholds. Thenceforth the trade with the gulfs was conducted in safety.

The reader looking back a few pages will find that among the conquests retained by the English after the war was the island of Ceylon. Settlements existed at the time on the shores of the island, where the Dutch settlers grew spices, coffee, and the cocoa-nut. In the heart of Ceylon, however, was a small kingdom, inhabited entirely by Cingalese, which was left in all its original integrity. In the year 1800 an attempt was made to establish friendly relations with the King of Kandy, but our overtures were resisted. Some years later there was, as usual in these Oriental States, a quarrel about the succession to the throne, which had been vacated. A new claimant to the monarchical *musnud* arrived, in 1818, from the continent of India, and the effort was renewed by the British Government to obtain some influence at the Court. The endeavour failed, and some of the recusant chiefs made preparations of offence, commencing hostilities by the murder of a native and a British subject. This was sufficient justification of war. The Cingalese took up arms. The English Government sent the 78th Highlanders and some Madras Regiments of sepoys to suppress the rebellion. Some fighting took place; the Highlanders, of course, carrying all before them. One Officer and twenty men only were killed in action with the Cingalese; but the deleterious climate of the interior carried off nearly 400 men and ten of the Officers. The jungle fever was an irresistible foe; and, strange to say, the leech was another. Bites from those reptiles were subtle, but destructive to an extraordinary degree. A poverty of supplies was another cause of mortal disease, and as the native troops could never be relied upon, unaided by the presence of the Europeans, a larger share of toil than otherwise would have been experienced, fell upon the 78th Highlanders.

The peculiar kind of warfare carried on during this campaign afforded many opportunities for the Officers and men to distinguish themselves. The following, among many instances, is deserving of record. A very small party of the 73rd, in charge of Lance-Corporal Richard McLaughlin, was furiously attacked on its march to Badulah, by a numerous force; two men were killed, and the rest, instead of leaving their deceased comrades to the Kandians, who generally mutilated the remains of British soldiers, divided; part remained in charge of the bodies, and the other portion, at an equal risk, proceeded to Badulah, a few miles distant, and returned with a reinforcement that enabled them to carry off their deceased comrades in spite of the exertions of the enemy to the contrary.

For this gallant conduct medals were struck by the Ceylon Government for the following men—Lance-Corporal Richard McLaughlin, Privates John Wilson, Christopher Sheppard, and William Connor. The poor fellows did not live to enjoy their well-earned distinction.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Military Unpopular—Actions at Law—Sir Robert Wilson and Captain Hutchinson rescue Lavalette—Reduction of the Army—Withdrawal of the Army of Occupation from France—Court-Martial on Colonel Quentin, 10th Hussars—Righteous Decision—Shipwreck of the 78th and 59th Regiments—Gift to the 42nd Highlanders—Death of George the Third—Death of the Duke of Kent—His Career and Character.

The olive branch waved all over Europe. "The hatchet was buried and the calumet was smoked." The year 1816, as far as the Army was concerned, was a year of repose and gratulation. Wounds were healed, honours were distributed, and the cost of the war was counted. But the year was not free from public discontents. A reaction had set in. England and France, Spain and Prussia and Belgium were impoverished, and disorders among the agricultural and manufacturing population were rife. In England the civil power was under the necessity of seeking the aid of the Military in the suppression of riots, and it was

given unhesitatingly, although certain discussions in Parliament had recently demonstrated that the jealousy of Military authority, said to be inherent in the British constitution, had increased since the Army had, by its admirable conduct and extraordinary triumphs, assumed a high rank among the European Powers. Lord Milton and Lord Essex complained of the employment of the Guards on Court days, because they had been rudely repelled by a soldier on duty in the neighbourhood of St James's. They had endeavoured to pass a restricted thoroughfare. The noblemen made political capital of their grievance, and affirmed that soldiers were employed on such duties merely to accustom the people to the unconstitutional sight. Mr Tierney asserted that it was a contrivance of the Ministers for the purpose of making it an excuse for the augmentation of the Household troops. Mr Wynne held the same language, and a similar tone was employed in the House of Lords by Lord Granville and the Marquis of Buckingham.

The Courts of Law were as much distinguished as the Parliament, in 1816, by small and inglorious proceedings. The Rev. Mr Free, the rector of Sutton, brought an action against Major-General Sir Montague Burgoyne for his non-attendance at divine service. It was enacted in the 23rd of Elizabeth that any person abstaining from church for one month should forfeit a penalty of 20*l*. It was one of the devices of the day for giving a firmer hold to Protestantism; and, although the statute had not been put in operation for a century and a half, it remained on the books unrepealed. The malice of the reverend rector was, however, defeated. General Burgoyne proved that the church had been closed for four months, that the clergyman had been rebuked by the bishop of the diocese for his neglect of duty, and that he (the General) had been confined to his house from illness, and unable to go to public worship anywhere. He had read the service to his family at home. An American, named Cooke, obtained 1,000*l*. damages against Colonel Maxwell, the Governor of Sierra Leone, for seizing his factory on the Congo on the plea of his being engaged in the slave trade; and Lieutenant the Honourable Augustus Stanhope, of the 12th Light Dragoons, was tried by court-martial and dismissed the Service, for winning 15,000*l*. at cards from the young Lord Beauchamp.

In France an event occurred which redounded to the honour of Major-General Sir Robert Wilson, Captain Hely Hutchinson, and Mr Bruce, if it was not flattering to their discretion. M. Lavalette had been tried, and sentenced to death, for complicity in the Napoleonic movement of the previous year. Much sympathy had been excited in his favour. Moved by the appeals of Madame Lavalette, Sir Robert and his friends agreed to assist in his escape from Paris if she could get him out of prison. Changing attire with her husband, unobserved by the warders, the devoted wife remained in the jail, while Lavalette joined the Englishmen. Passports and a British costume had been provided for him, and he escaped. The conspirators were arrested, tried by the French Court, and sentenced to three months' incarceration—the minimum period allowed by the law. On the trial, Sir Robert Wilson bore himself manfully, and made a short speech, worthy of a British Officer. Said he:

"The appeal made to our humanity, to our personal character, and to our national generosity; the responsibility thrown on us of instantly deciding on the life or death of an unfortunate man, and, above all, of an unfortunate stranger—this appeal was imperative, and did not permit us to calculate the other claims to our goodwill. At its voice we should have done as much for an obscure, unknown individual, or even for an enemy who had fallen into misfortune. Perhaps we were imprudent; but we would rather incur that reproach than the one we should have merited by basely abandoning him who, full of confidence, threw himself into our arms, and those very men who have calumniated us would have been the first to stigmatise us as heartless cowards, if, by our refusal to save M. Lavalette, we had abandoned him to certain death."

Sir Robert Wilson had distinguished himself in the field, and made a valuable contribution to the literature of the war with France in his account of Abercromby's Expedition to Egypt. It was from him that the accusation against Napoleon regarding the murder of numerous prisoners at Jaffa proceeded.

In 1816, the British Army consisted of 175,615 men, exclusive of those employed in India. The number which formed the British portion of the Army of Occupation in France was 25,000,—the rest of that Army was composed of Prussians, Russians, and Belgians—about 5,000 of each. We are guilty of no partiality in affirming that, by contrast with the troops of more northerly nations, the English earned for themselves the respect of the French people. It seemed to be impressed upon their minds that their presence, even as the protectors of society from further interruptions of the peace, could not be otherwise than irksome to the people; and they were too generous to remind them that they were the conquerors of their Army. The same delicacy was not observed by all the other foreign troops. It is notorious that the Prussians, smarting under the recollections of many wrongs, would have wreaked their vengeance on portions of the

architecture and works of art, of which the French were justly proud. The Duke of Wellington, however, restrained the Vandalism of Blucher and his troops, setting an example of moderation which secured the gratitude of the vanquished. *Vilain-ton*, a punning pronunciation which the French wits had given to the Duke, was found, and admitted to be, inapplicable to the just and magnanimous British Field-Marshal.

It has been stated in a preceding chapter that the Army of Occupation was withdrawn from France, after it had remained in the country for three years, at the instance of the Duke of Wellington. The best proof that can be given of the exemplary conduct* of the troops during their stay on the Continent is to be found in the subjoined General Order, issued in November, 1818:

"1st. The Field-Marshal has great satisfaction in publishing to the troops which have lately served under his command the following letter from His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, conveying the Prince Regent's gracious approbation of their conduct while serving in France:

"'Horse Guards, Nov. 27, 1818.

"'My Lord Duke,—The Army of Occupation having now finally returned from France, I have the Prince Regent's commands to convey to your Grace the thanks of His Royal Highness for the discipline and good order which have been so successfully maintained, to the honour of the British arms, during the period it has been stationed in that country.

"'I have frequently had occasion to address your Grace, by command of the Sovereign, in the language of just commendation of the brilliant victories achieved under the guidance of your genius; but though the events of peace do not furnish the grounds for conveying the warmth of expression which a sense of the distinguished actions of warfare so strongly called forth, yet the conduct of the Army, while stationed in the country of their former enemy, where the discipline and good order established by your Grace were calculated to conciliate the inhabitants, and to uphold the character of the British arms in the view of surrounding nations, cannot fail to draw forth the Prince Regent's cordial approbation and thanks, as well as the gratitude of the country to your Grace, and to them.

"'I am commanded to request that your Grace will be pleased to make these sentiments known to the General, and other Officers who have been under your command, in any manner you may think proper.

"'FREDERICK, Commander-in-Chief.'"

In the foregoing letter the Duke of York refers to the frequent instances in which the approbation of the Prince Regent had had occasion for expression during the Peninsular War. It was much to the honour of the Army that His Royal Highness had rarely any motive for the utterance of displeasure. Setting aside the irregularities of the men on the line of march or the retreat, suggested by the cravings of hunger, or the more irresistible claims of thirst, there was really small reason for reprehension. The Officers were well aware that on the maintenence of a perfect discipline, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, depended the safety of the whole Army. They knew that in the eyes of their strict leader no isolated cases of gallantry would atone for the slightest departure from orders, or the most trifling infraction of the laws and principles of subordination. If he was slow to express thankfulness or approbation, it was because he considered that the utmost a soldier could do in a meritorious way

* In the Reverend William Leeke's agreeable history of Lord Seaton's Regiment (the 52nd L.I.) is a letter from a Colonel Hall, descriptive of the people among whom the British Army passed the three years of occupation. And we may fairly predicate of this description, 'ex uno disce omnes.' "You might, I think, make some mention of the excellent people amongst whom we passed nearly three years. The public statistics show that the population of this part is the most moral, the most intelligent, and the best behaved of all France. You must remember the peasants; how sober, steady, and industrious they were—how obliging and respectful, without the least taint of servility—and the women, how gentle, good, and kind. You must remember the quiet and comfortable habits of life in the farm-houses, where, as in England of old, the unmarried labourers dwelt under the same roof with their masters—the prayers morning and evening—the little patches of land, leased in part payment of labour, a strong incentive to industry, and which created in the fields a variety and novelty agreeable to our eyes. I recall, with grateful feelings, the friendly feeling which we strangers experienced from the people who were compelled to endure us. Our men, as you know, became domesticated in their billets, and, as it were, members of the cottage families; they partook of the household fare, and their rations went into the common stock; even the tobacco which the French Government issued to them they shared with their hosts. It was the same in the towns of the neighbourhood, where all were kindly disposed towards us. The banker at St Omer cashed our bills at once without any endorsement, he asked for no reference nor recommendation, and the sole security he had was the uniform we wore. It is gratifying to reflect that his generous confidence was not misplaced; after the Army of Occupation had been withdrawn, he declared he had not lost a franc by the British Officers."

The Duke of Wellington, on entering French territory, had followed the excellent precedents furnished by our Henry V., into whose mouth Shakespeare puts the following language: "We give express charge, that, in our marches through the country, there be nothing compelled from the villages, nothing taken but paid for, none of the French upbraided or abused in disdainful language; for when lenity and cruelty play for a kingdom, the gentlest gamester is the soonest winner."

was simply an act of duty; if he was prompt to anathematise impropriety, it was because he held that the slightest deviation from the path of military rectitude on the part of individuals was calculated to operate as a bad example, and possibly to damage the whole Force.

One of the few instances of a striking aberration from the rules which should govern Officers on service occurred in the case of Colonel Quentin, of the 10th Hussars. Not as regards himself only was that an unparalleled affair, but as respected the Officers of the Regiment upon whose heads fell the consequences of their bearing towards the Colonel. The facts may be summarised here, though they occurred at the end of 1814.

Colonel Quentin was tried by a Court-Martial on four charges. The First Charge stated that on the 10th of January, 1814, the Regiment being on that day on duty, foraging in the valley of Macon, in France, and Colonel Quentin having the command of the Regiment, he did not make proper and timely arrangements to insure the success of the Regiment in its operations of foraging, although directed so to do by the Brigade Order of the 9th of January, but neglected and abandoned his duty as Commanding Officer, leaving some of the Divisions without orders or support when attacked by the enemy, whereby some men and horses of the Regiment were taken prisoners, and the safety of such Divisions hazarded; "such conduct on the part of the said Colonel Quentin evincing great professional incapacity, tending to lessen the confidence of the soldiers of the Regiment in the skill and courage of their Officers, being unbecoming and disgraceful to his character as an Officer, prejudicial to good order and Military discipline, and contrary to the Articles of War."

The Second Charge alleged that Colonel Quentin, having the command of the Regiment, the day after the battle of Orthes, on the 28th of February, on the high road leading to St Sever, in front of the village of Hagleman, Department of Landes, in France, and the Regiment being on that day engaged with the enemy, he (Colonel Quentin) did not previously to, or during, the period the Regiment was so engaged, make such effectual attempts as he ought to have done, by his presence, and by his own personal exertions and example, to co-operate with or support the advanced Divisions of the 10th Hussars, under his command, but neglected and abandoned his duty as Commanding Officer, and thereby hazarded the safety of those Divisions, and the character and reputation of the Regiment, &c.

The Third Charge said that on the 10th of April, 1814, during the battle of Toulouse, in France, Colonel Quentin was guilty of the same neglects as at Orthes, leaving some of the Divisions, when under fire from the enemy, without orders, and thereby unnecessarily hazarding their safety and reputation; and,

The Fourth Charge charged general neglect of duty, by allowing a relaxed discipline to exist in the 10th Hussars when on foreign service, by which the reputation of the Regiment suffered in the opinion of the Commander of the Forces, and of the Lieutenant-General commanding the Cavalry; their displeasure having been expressed, or implied, in a letter from the Adjutant-General of the Forces on the Continent, and in the orders of the Lieutenant-General commanding the Cavalry.

Upon these charges the Court came to the following decision:

"The Court having maturely weighed and considered the evidence on the part of the prosecution, as well as what has been offered in defence, were of opinion that Colonel Quentin was guilty of so much of the first charge as imputes to him the having neglected his duty as Commanding Officer, on the 10th of January, by leaving some of the Divisions without orders when attacked by the enemy, but acquitted him of the remainder of the charge.

"With respect to the second and third charges, the Court were of opinion that Colonel Quentin was not guilty.

"With respect to the fourth charge, the Court were of opinion that a relaxed discipline, as set forth in that charge, did exist in the Regiment under Colonel Quentin's command, whilst on foreign service, during the period alluded to in the charge, and as they could not but consider the Commanding Officer of a Regiment to be responsible for such relaxation of discipline, they deemed themselves bound to find Colonel Quentin guilty to the extent of allowing it to exist; but as they considered the letter from the Adjutant-General, expressing the displeasure of the Commander of the Forces, as a reprimand to Colonel Quentin adequate to the degree of blame which attached to him, the Court did not feel themselves called upon to give any sentence upon that charge in the way of further punishment, and they considered that anything unusual in this determination would be explained by the singularity of the circumstances attending the charge, by which an Officer is put upon his trial for conduct which had before been the subject of animadversion by those under whose command he was then serving, but which at the time was not considered deserving of a more serious proceeding by the Commander of the Forces; nor does it appear to have been made the subject of any remonstrance or request for a more serious investigation on the part of the Officers of the Regiment.

." The Court having found the prisoner guilty of so much of the first and fourth charges as is expressed, and given the reasons which induced them to feel that they were not called upon to affix any punishment to the last charge, they only adjudged that Colonel Quentin be reprimanded by His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief.

"The Court, however, expressed their regret that there appeared to have existed such a want of co-operation among the Officers of the Regiment as to render the duties of the Commanding Officer much more arduous than they otherwise would have been."

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent approved and confirmed the finding and sentence of the Court; and the Duke of York, in communicating the decision to the Adjutant-General, said:

"His Royal Highness has further been pleased to consider, that, when the Officers of a Corps prefer accusations affecting the honour and professional character of their Commander, nothing but the most conclusive proof of their charges before a Court-Martial can justify a proceeding which must otherwise be so pregnant with mischief to the discipline of the Army; and that a regard due to the subordination of the Service must ever attach a severe responsibility to subordinate Officers who become the accusers of their superior. His Royal Highness, therefore, could not but regret that the Officers of the 10th Hussars should have been so unmindful of what they owe to the first principles of their profession, as to assume an opinion of their Commander's personal conduct which neither their general experience of the Service, nor their knowledge of the alleged facts (as appears from their own evidence) could sanction or justify,—and which opinion would appear, from the proceedings, to have been utterly void of foundation, in every instance of implied attack or insinuation upon that Officer's courage and conduct before the enemy, as conveyed by the tenour of the second and third charges.

"In allusion to the letter signed by the chief part of the Officers, and in which the present proceedings originated, the Prince Regent has specially observed that, exclusive of the doubt which may be entertained of their capability to form a judgment so much beyond the scope of their experience in the Service, it was worthy of remark that some who have affixed their names to that paper had never been with the Regiment during the period in question, and others had never joined any Military body beyond the depot of their Corps; and it might thus be deduced, that although the Officers have manifested, according to the appropriate remark of the Court-Martial, a want of co-operation in support of their Commander's authority,—yet those who have assumed a personal observance of Colonel Quentin's conduct, and those who, though absent, appear to have acted under a mischievous influence, by joining in an opinion to his prejudice, have all co-operated in a compact against their Commanding Officer fraught with evils of the most injurious tendency to the discipline of the Service; nor did it escape the notice of His Royal Highness that this accusation has not been the momentary offspring of irritated feelings, but the deliberate issue of a long and extraordinary delay, for which no sufficient reasons or explanations have been assigned.

"In this view of the case (which is not palliated by the very slight censure passed on Colonel Quentin upon the first charge), His Royal Highness has considered that a mark of his displeasure towards those Officers is essential to the vital interests of the Army; and that the nature of the combination against Colonel Quentin would call for the removal from the Service of those who have joined in it; but as His Royal Highness would willingly be guided by a lenient disposition towards a Corps of Officers who have hitherto merited his approbation, and would willingly believe that *inadvertency* in some and *inexperience* in others had left them unaware of the mischievous tendency of their conduct upon this occasion, His Royal Highness is averse to adopt such severe measures as the custom of the Service in support of its discipline usually sanctions upon the failure of charges against a Commanding Officer. Still it is essential that conduct so injurious in its nature should be held forth to the Army as a warning in support of subordination; and His Royal Highness has, therefore, commanded that the Officers who signed the letter of the 9th of August shall no longer act together as a Corps, but that they shall be distributed by exchange throughout the different Regiments of Cavalry in the Service, where it is trusted that they will learn and confine themselves to their subordinate duties until their services and experience shall sanction their being placed in ranks and situations where they may be allowed to judge of the general and higher duties of the profession. The Prince Regent has been further pleased to observe that though Colonel Palmer did not sign the letter of the 9th of August, he is, nevertheless, by his declared sentiments on the prosecution, and his general concurrence in the opinion of the Officers, to be considered in the same light as if he had put his name to that paper, and His Royal Highness has therefore commanded that he shall also be removed to another Corps. "I am, &c.,

(Signed) "FREDERICK,
"Commander-in-Chief."

The Adjutant-General then read the names of the Officers, and desired them to move forward in front of their respective troops, and to return their swords. He then addressed them as follows:

"Gentlemen,—I have the Commander-in-Chief's commands to signify to you His Royal Highness the Prince Regent's pleasure, that you no longer belong to the 10th Regiment of Hussars; and the Commander-in-Chief enjoins you to hold yourselves in readiness to join the different Regiments of Cavalry to which the Prince Regent will immediately appoint you."

The Adjutant-General then directed the Hon. Major Howard to take on himself the command of the 10th Royal Hussars, until it should be resumed by Colonel Quentin.

A more striking illustration of the rigid impartiality with which the Duke of York exercised the duties of his high office could not be cited. The Regiment was the Prince of Wales's Own. Among the Officers were some of his chosen friends and relatives. Two Fitzclarences, the Marquis of Worcester, Lord A. W. Hill, and Sir George Wombwell, appear in the list of those who gave up their swords.

Although 1816 was free from the scourge of war, it was nevertheless fruitful of distress to portions of the Army in other ways. Two shipwrecks took place in the course of the year, one of which severely tried the discipline of the 78th Highlanders, and the other was fatal to nearly 300 Officers and men of the 59th Foot. The disaster which befell the 78th Highlanders is fully described in Colonel David Stewart's interesting account of the Scotch Regiments.*

The story of the misfortune which befell the 59th Foot is best told in the inscription on the obelisk which may still be seen in the churchyard of Drumcannon (Tramore), in the county of Waterford, contiguous to the spot where the catastrophe occurred.†

An incident of 1817 is deserving of mention in this place.

On the sixteenth anniversary of the battle of Alexandria, a meeting of the Highland Society took place (21st March), His Royal Highness the Duke of York, President of the Society, in the chair. His Royal Highness rose and stated that, as the last act of his presidency, he had a delightful duty to discharge, that of presenting, in the name of the Corporation, to the Marquis of Huntly, as Colonel of the Royal Highlanders, the vase voted in acknowledgment of the high sense entertained by the society of the brilliant achievements of that distinguished Corps. The Duke, in a feeling and appropriate manner, alluded to the services of the 42nd Regiment, from the period of its being regimented in 1739, throughout all the different wars in which the country had been engaged, to the memorable battle of Waterloo, and observed that on all occasions, under all circumstances and in every clime, the Royal Highlanders had gloriously supported the fame of their native land; and he was proud to add that; great as their valour had ever been in the field, their behaviour in quarters had been equally correct and exemplary. His Royal Highness then presented to the Marquis of Huntly, for the Regiment, a richly-chased silver tripod, with fluted bowl, weighing nearly eight hundred ounces, ornamented with thistle foliage, and supported on a triangular plinth, on one of the faces of which was the obverse of a medal struck to commemorate the battle of Alexandria, and representing the head of Sir Ralph Abercromby, with the inscription: "*Abercrombius Dux in Egypto recidit victor*, 21 Mar., 1801." On another face was the reverse of the same medal, which represented the taking of the Invincible Standard, with the inscription, "*Na Tir a chaisin Buardh sau Eiphart*, 21 Mar., 1801." The third face bore the inscription, "*O'Chummun Gaidheulach d'an Threicadan Dubh na*, 42nd Regiment." The three subjects were severally encircled with laurel, and supported by an ancient and modern Highlander, with appropriate emblems from designs by Mr West, president of the Royal Academy. The plinth rested on the backs of three recumbent Egyptian sphinxes on a triangular base.

In 1818, when the Army occupying France broke up, a reduction of 26,000 men was effected in the British line. The following year was singularly uneventful; but to make amends for its poverty of incident, the years 1820 and 1821 were rife with occurrences of importance.

In the first month of 1820, George the Third, after much bodily suffering and mental alienation, died in his eighty-second year. Though secluded from public view for ten years, the recollection of his virtues and of the constancy with which he had upheld the grandeur of Great Britain through a period fraught with trials and vicissitudes had been treasured by his subjects, who received the announcement of his death with sincere sorrow. He was succeeded by his eldest son, George, Prince of Wales, who, as Prince Regent, had exercised regal authority since the King's seclusion. It only needed a coronation to place George the Fourth in all respects exactly in the position his Royal father had occupied as the head of the State.

In Holles street, London, on April 16, 1820, in his fifty-eighth year, died Major-General Wm. Mudge, of the Royal Artillery. "He was a native of Plymouth, and combined in himself all

* See Appendix. † Ibid.

the splendid talents that rendered his father, Dr Mudge, eminent." The Trigonometrical Survey of the Kingdom, "with the correct and beautiful maps of the several counties previously published, exhibited some of the useful labours of his life; while the advantages derived by the Cadets of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and by those of the East India Company's establishment at Addiscombe, entitled his memory to the gratitude of his country. General Mudge had the honour conferred on him of LL.D. from Edinburgh. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, Fellow of the Antiquarian Society, Commissioner of the Board of Longitude, Member of the Philosophical and Geological Societies, and Honorary Member of the Plymouth Institution. His scientific abilities were held also in the highest estimation by foreigners, as he was Fellow of the Academy of Sciences of Copenhagen, and had the marked honour conferred on him of being named correspondent of the Royal Institute of Paris. The King of Denmark also had presented him with a magnificent chronometer, and contemplated honouring him with a stronger proof of his Royal favour. General Mudge left two sons in the Engineers, one in the Artillery, and another a Lieutenant in the Navy."

In this same year (1820) a serious conspiracy to murder the Cabinet Ministers, while at one of their Cabinet dinners, was discovered and frustrated. The conspirators were some of the political malcontents with whom the country then abounded. There was much distress throughout England, and the "ignorant impatience" to which it gave rise among the poor and unemployed culminated in personal hostility to the Ministry. The conspiracy had no Military aspect, excepting that it brought into notice Captain Frederick Fitzclarence, of the Coldstream Guards, a son of the Duke of Clarence. At the head of a few men of the Battalion, Captain Fitzclarence dashed into the room where the armed ruffians were assembled, and seized them at a critical moment. "The Cato-street Conspiracy," as it was called, from the locality of the meetings of the conspirators, afforded a glimpse of the energy of character which, when Captain Fitzclarence rose to high command, was productive of very great advantage to the professional education of the Army.

In 1821 died His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, one of the sons of George the Third, leaving a widow, to whom he had not long been married, and an infant daughter. The Duke of Kent had not latterly been enough in the public eye to cause the news of his demise to be received with much emotion; but the charitable societies which largely benefited by his benevolent example had great reason to lament his death. As the father of the gracious Lady who has ruled these realms with so much dignity and wisdom, filling the hearts of millions of her subjects with love and veneration, and the whole civilised world with respect and admiration, a passing tribute to his character will not be unacceptable in a history of an Army in which he held a distinguished rank, and to which he was personally attached.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent received the commission of Colonel of the 7th Fusiliers very early in life, and went to Gibraltar to take command of the Regiment. He entered with zeal upon the discharge of his duties, and fully carried out the ideas of Military discipline which he had imbibed in Germany. His Royal Highness was impressed with the conviction that soldiers could only be formed by the most strict and rigid discipline—a term which, in the German school, implied an attention to trifles—and this notion rendered the Duke very unpopular in the Regiment. He was too good a soldier and too benevolent a man to be severe merely for the sake of showing his authority. His exactitude was perfectly conscientious, but it produced dissatisfaction among a body of men accustomed to a more relaxed Military morale, and representations were made to the Duke of York which led to his removing the Duke of Kent to America. While stationed at Quebec he was promoted to the rank of Major-General, and ordered to join the Staff of Sir Charles Grey in the West Indies. That same determination of character and unflinching discipline which rendered him unpopular with his Regiment obtained for him a high degree of respect in his advanced position. At Martinique and St Lucia he was foremost in attack, leading a Battalion of Grenadiers in the assault on Morne Fortunée, and hoisting the British flag on the ramparts of the fort. Sir Charles Grey made particular mention of the Duke's gallantry, and His Royal Highness received the thanks of Parliament for his *conduct in the field* — an honour which none of his Royal brothers ever enjoyed. In 1799 the Duke of Kent was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in British America, and in that capacity acquired, by the strength and benevolence of his character, the affection of the people of Nova Scotia. They addressed him fervently, affectionately, and regretfully on his departure to assume the government of Gibraltar in 1802, and unanimously voted 500 guineas for the purchase of a diamond star, with which His Royal Highness was presented.

When the Duke of Kent was on the point of quitting England to assume the duties of his new office he was distinctly told by the Duke of York that much exertion would be requisite to re-establish order among the troops. 'Too many of the

men had been employed on fatigue duties—discipline was relaxed and drunkenness promoted. The Duke of Kent found that the accounts he had received had not been exaggerated. The garrison was in a very discreditable state. He immediately applied the strong hand to the suppression of disorder, and especially addressed his attention to the drinking practices of the soldiery. The men resisted the exercise of this control, and broke out into open mutiny. The 1st Royals were the first to manifest a seditious and unruly spirit. They invited the 25th Royal Borderers to join them in an attempt to seize the person of the Governor and put him on board a frigate. At first the 25th refused, but on the following day they assented, and then the 1st Royals had recovered from their intoxication, and were disinclined to fall into the conspiracy. The 25th, full of drink, sought the co-operation of the 54th, but that loyal Corps fired upon the mutineers, and their example was followed by the Artillery. The Duke of Kent exerted himself to the utmost to suppress the mutiny, and faithfully reported its causes and progress to his Royal brother, the Commander-in-Chief, especially complaining of the supine conduct of the second in command, General Barrett. But the only result of his honourable endeavours was his recall from the government of Gibraltar by the Duke of York, accompanied by a humiliating order to hand over the command to the very man of whom he had justly complained!

From what cause it is very difficult to say, but the Duke of Kent, although perhaps personally the most deserving of all the sons of George the Third, experienced the smallest share of the paternal affection, and was, as a consequence of his father's indifference, the most poorly endowed by the nation. The Prince Regent was attached to him, but the Duke of York lacked "the gentle condition of blood" which should have linked the elder to the younger, and therefore took no pains to obtain for the Duke of Kent any command that would have supplied, in its emoluments, the penury of the country. The Duke of Kent, from the insufficiency of his income and sundry disasters, fell into difficulties, and to his honour be it recorded, lived in a very plain and retired manner, and made sacrifices of property to satisfy his creditors.

CHAPTER XXX.

Coronation of George IV.—Sir R. Wilson dismissed the Army for Interference—Mr Battier dismissed for challenging his Superior Officer—Army Honours and Alterations of Costume—Court-Martial on Colonel French, 6th Dragoon Guards—The 10th Hussars—Bayonet Drill—The Barrackpore Mutiny suppressed—The Burmese War—Expeditions to Rangoon, Arracan, &c.—Battles at Kokaing, Donabew, &c.—Capture of Prome—Storming of Malloon—Peace with Ava.

The Coronation of King George the Fourth in 1821 was remarkable for a grandeur exceeding any previous ceremonials of the same kind. The household troops were especially distinguished by the splendour of their costume. The Life Guards and Blues mounted cuirasses of highly polished steel. The latter assumed white belts in substitution of the buff hitherto used as a mark of distinction, and the former exchanged the helmet for a bear-skin cap, similar to that worn by the Grenadier Guards.

Queen Caroline, who had been arraigned before the House of Lords under a bill of pains and penalties, was refused the privilege of sharing in the Coronation. In the following month of August Her Majesty died—the result, it was supposed, of the mental disturbance she had experienced for so many months previously. Her funeral was attended by a body of the household troops, but the public, who had warmly espoused her cause, interfered with the procession, and offered many serious obstacles to its progress in the shape of barricades, &c. The escort was obliged to interfere, and the scenes enacted were altogether most unseemly. Major-General R. T. Wilson, whose share in the escape of Lavalette from prison has been mentioned in a preceding chapter, took a rather conspicuous part in the popular procession, which excited so much of the King's displeasure that he removed him from the Service in the most summary method. A simple announcement of the fact in the 'London Gazette' of the 17th September was the only intimation the public received of the King's will, a letter from the Horse Guards to Sir Robert direct having apprised him curtly "that the King had no further occasion for his services." Sir Robert could not obtain even the satisfaction of a Court-Martial. The *sic volo* of the Sovereign was the Alpha and Omega of the process of his removal. This very rare and extraordinary exercise of the Royal prerogative became, of course, the subject of much public animadversion. Sir Robert Wilson was individually popular. His Majesty was the reverse of popular. Sir Robert had been the hero of a romantic adventure, in which the life and liberty of a foreigner were saved; he was more recently the mourner of an unhappy Queen, who had distinguished his son by appointing him

one of her Equerries. Both circumstances gave him a title to sympathy. But the King was inexorable. In the following year, soon after the meeting of Parliament, Sir Robert brought his own case before the House of Commons, of which he was a member, and expostulated with the Ministry, who had supported George the Fourth in his despotic exercise of authority. Lord Palmerston embodied the defence in a brief speech. The King had a distinct right to remove at pleasure any Officer who bore his commission. It was a Royal prerogative, the possession and retention of which was of constitutional moment. If it did not exist—if it were relinquished—if an Officer could not be divested of his commission but by the decision of members of his own body, a fourth estate would be created in the realm most prejudicial to the Constitution. The prerogative, therefore, was necessary, not only for the maintenance of discipline in the Army, but also for the maintenance of the Constitution. This was the substance of Lord Palmerston's arguments, which he emphatically strengthened by reference to the deposition of Charles the First. Had the Royal prerogative existed in the time of that Monarch, the Army could not have robbed him of the sceptre. Sir Robert Wilson divided the House on the subject, but the vote of the majority confirmed the monarchical privilege.

In the year preceding that in which the discussion took place, the determination of the King to deprive of their commissions any Officers who disobeyed his commands was proclaimed in connection with certain disputes then pending on the Continent of Europe. Officers who were on the Continent, or on the point of making a tour in that direction, were cautioned against engaging in the service of any of the belligerent parties. Disregard of the injunction would have been followed by summary dismissal.

Political reforms of a very comprehensive and constitutional character taking place in Portugal about this time, it was conjectured by the Junta that it might be dangerous to allow the British Officers, who had continued in the Army since the time of Marshal Beresford's appointment, to remain in power. The Government conceived that they could not be well affected to the new order of things, and it was probably this very circumstance that led to the prohibition mentioned above. At all events, a committee of leading men in the State was nominated to consider the propriety of continuing the British Officers in the service of Portugal, and, after expressing the national gratitude and admiration which were entertained towards those Officers, the Committee suggested that they should be dismissed, on the ground of the inability of the country to adequately reward them. The resolution in which the recommendation of the Committee was substantially embodied was honourable to the Officers. It advised

"That English Officers be discharged with honour and the thanks of the nation, solely from the necessity of giving a new organization to the national Royal Army; that their pay be continued to them for as many years as they were, in the war, in the Portuguese Army; that the Brigadiers should receive the honour of Commanders of the Order of the Tower and Sword, and the Colonels and Lieutenants-Colonels the insignia of the same Order."

Three years later the Royal "prerogative," to which allusion is made above, was exercised in the dismissal of Ensign Battier from the Army. He had been a Cornet in the 10th Hussars, of which the Marquis of Londonderry was Colonel. A misunderstanding arose, and, in the course of an angry correspondence, the Marquis charged the Cornet with the utterance of an untruth. Mr Battier exchanged into the Infantry, and challenged the Marquis to fight a duel. Lord Londonderry accepted the challenge, which had no fatal consequences. But the Duke of York took serious notice of the whole affair, and after gazetting the Ensign out of the Army, issued the subjoined General Order:

"General Order.

"Horse Guards, May 13, 1824.

"The Commander-in-Chief having received a report from Lieutenant-General the Marquis of Londonderry that his Lordship had accepted a challenge to fight a duel with Ensign Battier, late a Cornet of the 10th Royal Hussars, upon a point which his Lordship considered to be one of Military duty, his Royal Highness has felt it incumbent upon him to submit to the King a transaction at variance with the principles of subordination, and therefore of a tendency injurious to the discipline of the Army. The King has consequently conveyed to his Royal Highness his Majesty's commands to express his Majesty's concern and displeasure, that an Officer of Lord Londonderry's high rank and Military reputation should have committed himself, in personal collision with an inferior Officer, by accepting a challenge for any supposed aggression proceeding from the exercise of his authority as Colonel of the Regiment. And his Royal Highness has received his further commands to caution Colonels and Commanding Officers from falling into any similar error of conduct, which must tend to subvert all discipline and subordination, and, therefore, to destroy the efficiency of the Army.

"By His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief' command,

"Henry Torrens, Adjutant-General."

Discontents of a grave character, originating in distress in the manufacturing districts, and fomented by the rude eloquence of demagogues who raised the cry of Parliamentary reform, kept the Military on the alert in England in 1821, and led to scenes of a very painful character. A man named Hunt employed his oratorical faculties with mischievous effect, and selecting the busy city of Manchester as the arena of his power, occasioned disturbances which brought the Yeomanry and the populace into collision. Without waiting for the behests of the civil power, or the example of the Regulars, the Lancashire Yeomanry Corps charged the mob and put many persons to death. The circumstance occurring in the district of St Peter's, the event was long remembered as the "Peterloo massacre," and was the subject of much angry commentary and Parliamentary strife. The conduct of the Regular troops was praised, for, by contrast with that of the Yeomanry, it was distinguished as much by forbearance as courage. Sir W. Clark, of the 5th Dragoon Guards, had his skull broken by a blow from a stone, which penetrated his helmet, and one soldier was so dreadfully bruised by the mob that he crawled to a sequestered spot, and would have died had he not been discovered and removed in time.

Reductions in public expenditure being now the order of the day, the shears were again applied to the Army, and the Force was brought down to 92,224 men and Officers, not including the 20,000 whom it was deemed advisable to employ in India.

In 1821, permission was given to the 43rd, 52nd, 58th, and the Rifle Brigade to emblazon their colours with the names of the several great actions in which they had been engaged, or the localities distinguished by their valour. The 52nd Light Infantry had no fewer than thirteen battles and sieges to inscribe, in addition to the significant words, 'Hindostan,' 'Peninsula,' and 'France.' The King had, according to some lines of Lord Byron published a few years previously, forgotten "Nelson, Howe, and Jervis," and acquired a peculiar fondness for "the land service." Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the honours heaped upon the Army for its invaluable services had rendered it extremely popular among the upper classes. The Horse Guards' list was lengthened beyond all precedent with applications for commissions. No preliminary education was then a *sine quâ non* of admission to the Guards and the Line. Influence and the means of paying for a commission were the only needed qualifications. Advantage was taken of the new-fledged zeal of the aristocracy to raise the price of commissions in this year, and to make certain alterations in the difference between full and half pay.

As a further proof of the King's interest in the Army, an order went forth that, with a view of preserving a remembrance of the particular services and achievements of the British Army, a national Military record of all the battles and actions in which Regiments had been or might be engaged, should be prepared by the Inspector of Regimental Colours, and deposited in the office of the Adjutant-General; and that this record should also contain paintings of the colours and trophies captured in the several engagements, the names of the Officers killed or wounded in each action, and the names of those Officers who, in consideration of their gallant services and meritorious conduct in the engagements, either had been or might be distinguished and rewarded with titles, medals, or other marks of His Majesty's favour, together with the names of all such non-commissioned Officers and privates as might have especially signalised themselves. To these were to be added a list of the Corps engaged in each action, together with paintings of such badges and distinctions as his Majesty might have been graciously pleased to authorize to be borne on their standards, colours, and appointments in commemoration of their distinguished conduct and signal intrepidity.

This duty was subsequently transferred to the Adjutant-General's Office, and was very carefully and conscientiously performed by Mr Cannon, the head clerk, who availed himself of the publication of actions in the memorable scenes of war in which certain Regiments had been engaged to enliven the 'Record' with brilliant incident and interesting detail.

It cannot be denied that a state of peace is favourable to the highest interests of humanity, commerce, and civilisation, and under wise and careful management may likewise be rendered subservient to the welfare and discipline of a standing Army. Irrespective of drills, parades, and reviews, there are a hundred ways in which the time of Officers and soldiers may be profitably engaged, each distinctive employment becoming an additional source of strength and effectiveness on the recurrence of a state of war. The fertility of modern invention has supplied an immense field for thought, inquiry, and experiment in all that relates to arms and missiles of offence, fortification and explosive substances, military surveys and logistics. But five-and-forty years ago little encouragement was given to Officers to occupy their leisure with these and other scientific professional details. There was certainly a Senior Department at the Military College, but as no positive promotion was the condition of passing sundry terms in the study of the higher branches of Military art, few Officers cared to bestow time and money upon their cultivation. Pleasure was

almost the only pursuit in garrison, and this too often assumed a very frivolous and demoralizing character. There was much gambling in the barracks and clubs, a good deal of philandering, not a little drinking and horse-racing, considerable dressing and flirtation, plenty of betting, an undue familiarity among the different commissioned ranks, and altogether a serious indifference to the claims of discipline. All this idleness led to quarrels and misunderstandings among the Officers, and these disputes often gave rise to Courts-Martial, resignations, and summary dismissals. The office of Judge-Advocate-General was no sinecure, and the onerous duties of the Commander-in-Chief were greatly multiplied by the representations, complaints, and "charges" continually sent up to the Horse Guards. Volumes might be filled with the reports of the numerous trials held during the long peace following upon "Waterloo." It will be enough to cite one of these, as an exemplification of the looseness of morals and discipline which obtained, and the difference between the weight of accusation and the amount of ultimate rebuke.

At a General Court-Martial, held at the Horse Guards, on the 19th of September, 1820, Lieutenant-Colonel St George French, of the 6th Dragoon Guards, was arraigned upon the undermentioned charges, viz.:

"1st. For conduct highly improper and unbecoming the character of a Commanding Officer, in keeping a woman in barracks, calling her by the name of Mrs French, though not his wife, and continually living and taking his meals with her instead of presiding at the mess with the Officers of his Regiment, and for travelling in all marches with her in an open carriage, in the uniform of the Regiment, and particularly from Manchester to Birmingham, and from Birmingham to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and for direct disobedience in still keeping and maintaining her in the barracks after receiving an order in writing from General the Earl of Carhampton, as Colonel of the said Regiment, while stationed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, directing him to remove her therefrom; such conduct being a gross and scandalous outrage on society in general, and particularly to the married Officers, and showing a bad example as Commanding Officer to the junior Officers of the 6th Regiment in particular.

"2nd. For inflicting a greater punishment on Serjeants McLoughlin, Byrne, and Gilroy than was awarded them by the sentence of a Regimental Court-Martial, held at Birmingham Barracks, by ordering them on a guard every other day during their suspension; and further, that they should be confined to the barracks except when on duty during the said period, as an additional punishment.

"3rd. For conduct highly unbecoming the character of an Officer, in having, while the Regiment was stationed at Manchester Barracks, at Birmingham, and at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, openly and publicly dealt in horses, by keeping divers horses for sale, not only to the Officers of the Regiment, but to other persons; and employed Veterinary-Surgeon Hayward, of the same Regiment, to proceed from Birmingham to Gloucestershire, to purchase and procure such horses for the purpose of sale; and having sold such horses to divers purchasers, to the great scandal and discredit of the Service, and to the prejudice of good order and Military discipline.

"4th. For fraudulent and unbecoming conduct in the sale of a mare to Mr Hall, before he was gazetted to a cornetcy in the Regiment, by fixing the price at 50*l.*, which was agreed to by Mr Hall; but afterwards selling the same mare to another person, which mare Lieutenant-Colonel French afterwards again took back in exchange, and, at a later period, sold the same mare again to Mr Hall for 60*l.*, and charging him about 3*l.* for feeding, without informing Mr Hall it was the same mare he had originally sold him for 50*l.*

"5th. For unjustifiable conduct as Commanding Officer, in having selected from a lot of remount-horses that joined the Regiment at Manchester, one brown horse, and selling the same to Major Hartwell, of the Regiment, for thirty guineas, thereby making an undue profit of five guineas by a troop horse, purchased for the public Service at twenty-five guineas, to the great scandal and discredit of the Service, and unbecoming the character of a Commanding Officer.

"6th. For having cut out and defaced, or caused to be cut out and defaced, the leaves of the troop registers of horses, relative to the years 1811, 1812, 1813, 1814, and part of the year 1815, without the knowledge of the Captains, thereby destroying all evidence regarding the immense number of horses that were recommended to be cast and transferred by Lieutenant-Colonel French during those years; all such conduct being to the prejudice of good order and Military discipline, and contrary to His Majesty's Regulations, and in breach of the Articles of War."

Upon which charges the Court came to the following decision:

"The Court, after hearing and considering all that has been brought forward by the Prosecutor-General, the Earl of Carhampton, in support of the charges, and by the prisoner, Lieutenant-Colonel St George French, in his defence, and having maturely deliberated thereupon, are of opinion—

"As to the first charge, that Lieutenant-Colonel French is so far guilty thereof as it appears to them that he, Lieutenant-Colonel

French, did keep a woman in the barracks of the Regiment, whom he called by the name of Mrs French, but whom he did not acknowledge as his wife; and that he appeared occasionally with her in his uniform on the marches of the Regiment, by which conduct he set a bad example to the junior Officers of the Regiment; but the Court at the same time feel themselves called upon to state their opinion, that the retired and quiet habits of life which Lieutenant-Colonel French pursued with that person, and the care which appears to have been taken to prevent her obtruding herself upon the other inhabitants of the barracks, have in some degree counteracted the tendency which such conduct would have to injure the feelings of the married Officers of the Regiment.

"With respect to the other parts of the charge, the prosecutor having failed to establish that part of it which imputes to Lieutenant-Colonel French the disobedience of an order in writing from his Colonel, the Court do acquit Lieutenant-Colonel French of that and every other part thereof.

"With respect to the second charge, the Court are of opinion that Lieutenant-Colonel French is guilty; but the Court at the same time feel it their duty to state, that Lieutenant-Colonel French appears to them to have been led into this irregularity by his anxious desire to maintain the discipline of the Regiment, which he supposed might suffer by the slight punishment adjudged by the Regimental Court-Martial."

With respect to the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th charges, the Court were of opinion that Lieutenant-Colonel French was not guilty; and they fully and honourably acquitted him of the last three charges.

The Court finally recommended that he should be admonished upon the breach of decorum involved in the first charge, and reprimanded for his conduct as complained of in the second charge. His Majesty approved and confirmed the findings and sentence; but expressed his regret "that the Earl of Carhampton should, in reference to the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th charges, have been induced from misrepresentations conveyed to him, or from a misconception of what had reached his knowledge, to withdraw his confidence from Lieutenant-Colonel French, who appears from the result of this investigation, not only to have never forfeited his claim to the good opinion and confidence of his Colonel, but to *have merited, by the discharge of his duties as Commanding Officer of the 6th Dragoon Guards, during a long series of years, the honourable testimonies which he produced to the Court.*"

More changes in the dress of the soldiery were announced in 1823. His Majesty was "pleased to approve of the discontinuance of breeches, leggings, and shoes, as part of the clothing of the Infantry soldier, and of blue gray cloth trousers and half boots being substituted." In order to indemnify the Colonels for the additional expense they in consequence incurred, the waistcoat thitherto provided with the clothing was to be considered as an article of necessaries to be furnished by the soldier, who, being relieved from the cost of the long and short gaiter, as also from the stoppage made in aid of the extra expense of the trousers, and being, moreover, supplied with articles of a description calculated to last longer than the breeches and shoes, could not fail to be benefited by the arrangement. It was further ordered that the non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates of the Infantry Regiments should at all times be in possession of a pair of white linen trousers, to be worn on all occasions of dress parade, instead of a second pair of cloth trousers, with which they had heretofore been required to furnish themselves. The dark gray trousers were entirely abolished. The 60th and all Rifle Regiments continued to wear green trousers, and Regiments in the West Indies still used blue serge; but with the view of placing the Regiments serving in the West Indies, whose serge trousers were inferior in value to the cloth trousers of the rest of the Infantry, on an equal footing with them, three pairs of cotton socks for the serjeants, and two pairs for the other ranks, were ordered to be furnished by the Colonel, and in future to form part of the soldier's annual equipment. These regulations, of course, did not apply to the Highland Regiments, nor to the Royal Staff Corps.

Sir Henry Torrens, who had succeeded Sir Harry Calvert as Adjutant-General of the Army, originated the foregoing alterations in the costume. He was a highly accomplished and intelligent Officer, of a peculiarly practical turn of mind. He originated a new system of Infantry manœuvres, and endeavoured to introduce a bayonet exercise. Observing how rarely the bayonet had been absolutely employed in the Peninsular war, excepting as a weapon *in terrorem*, and how awkward the men had generally been when left to defend themselves singly with the musket and bayonet, Sir Henry Torrens devised a form of attack resembling the *escrime à la baionnette*, which at present forms part of the French drill, and was taught to the Americans during the civil war of 1861-64. It consisted in rapidly placing the butt of the musket at an angle of 45 degrees against the right groin, and suddenly propelling the weapon forward, with the left hand grasping the barrel and stock, and the right seizing the small of the stock—accompanying the thrust by advancing and bending the left leg in the same manner as the right leg is advanced and bent

in the small sword attack. Experiments to determine the efficiency of the system were made at Chatham Barracks before the Duke of York in 1819, and the 91st and 60th Regiments were engaged to demonstrate practically the relative merits of the Torrens' project and the old form of "charge bayonets." The former was found to exhibit a rare vigour of attack, but the "lunging out" produced consequences of a serious nature in rupturing the men at exercise, and the plan was therefore abandoned; nor, for many years subsequently, was any system of bayonet drill introduced into the British Army.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The Burmese War, 1824, 1825, and 1826.

Nothing seemed to disturb the peaceful tenor of political ways in Europe, but in the East Indies a fatal destiny seemed ever to be hurrying the various Native States to their dissolution. Within the limits of their territory in Hindostan the East India Company had enjoyed an immunity from disturbance since the Mahratta Confederacy had been destroyed; beyond those limits aggressions were committed which could only be avenged, and their further perpetration prevented, by force of arms.

An idea had taken possession of the mind of the King of Ava—the ruler of Burmah—that he was irresistible. Various successes achieved in petty wars with the people of China, Pegu, Siam, and other neighbouring States led the foolish and inflated Monarch to believe that he might safely invade the territories in North-eastern Bengal belonging to the East India Company. He was encouraged in this idea by Maha Bundoola, a chief who had acquired some reputation as a Military leader. In the Grand Council of State where the invasion was decreed, this man spoke with the confidence and authority of a Napoleon, declaring, by anticipation, that henceforth Bengal was a province of the Golden King! It was in October, 1823, that this *ipse dixit* was uttered. It was then that the Government of Bengal might have sent an Army to protect its frontier, and show the Burmese Monarch that he had other foes to deal with in the English than the feeble neighbours whose lands he had usurped. Lord Bacon's apophthegm, "that a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of war," would have justified the initiative. But the Government either preferred to give the Burmese time to retract their project of invasion, or required more leisure for preparation, or was indisposed to incur the charges of a war.

Each succeeding Governor-General from the days of Warren Hastings had been particularly warned to keep the peace and economise the finances of the East India Company. The public debt had reached gigantic proportions, for although the territorial acquisitions were pregnant with revenue, the advantage of their possession was prospective—the cost of their attainment actual and present. Earl Amherst, who succeeded the Marquis of Hastings in 1822, had the reputation of an economist, and the Company fondly hoped that under his careful administration the exchequer would be replenished and the waste of the Mahratta war repaired. Lord Hastings had sown the seed for his successor, and it was expected that a careful hand would be applied to the cultivation of the plant that was to assume the agreeable form of pagodas and rupees. But Governors-General, like smaller men, were very much the slaves of circumstances. Lord Amherst was hardly at his post before the menacing attitude and absolute aggressions of the Burmese carried him into hostilities that he would gladly have avoided.

It was in the month of April, 1824, when a season the most unpropitious for Military operations in the East that can be imagined had set in, that an armada went from the Coast of Coromandel and the Bay of Bengal to chastise Burmese audacity. There was no lack of troops for the duty; the Europeans and the Madras sepoys thirsted for employment. The Bengal sepoys were less inclined to move from the Presidency. A new source of embarrassment checked Lord Amherst's preparations.

General Sir Edward Paget had succeeded to the command of the Indian Army on the retirement of the Marquis of Hastings. In the course of his grand tour of Military inspection early in 1824, Sir Edward was recalled to Calcutta by the Government of Lord Amherst, to add the weight of his counsel and his energies to the preparations then making for the war. His arrival was opportune. Two of the Regiments of Bengal sepoys had refused to embark. The superstition of the Hindoo of the higher caste teaches him that pollution is the result of the absence of pure water and the presence of other castes during the process of cooking his meals and the hour of repast. Consequently the Hindoo soldiers had a strong objection to a voyage at sea in conjunction with other races, or with Hindoos of an inferior grade. The order to embark was a test of their loyalty, and they preferred adhering to the usages of their caste rather than serve the Government in a crisis. They were paraded at Barrackpore, a large cantonment sixteen miles from Calcutta. Every form of remonstrance was employed to induce the men to fulfil their duties. Some of them

were reasoned into their allegiance, but the 47th Bengal Native Infantry obstinately adhered to their resolution not to march. Sir Edward Paget ordered a parade of the Regiment, and placed two European Battalions (the 47th and Royals) and some guns in the immediate vicinity of the recusant troops. They were invited by the Commander-in-Chief to behave like good soldiers and embark. Obstinately adhering to their mutinous determination, they became enemies of the State. If such resistance to command had been overlooked, the consequences might have been of the most direful nature. Sir Edward saw that a crisis had arrived, and an example had become necessary. Upon the distinct and manifest disobedience of the men to the orders given on the parade, the European Battalions and Artillery fired upon them, and hundreds of the sepoys fell; others fled, were pursued, and shot down. Humanitarians denounced the act as "a massacre" of unparalleled barbarity, but it was unquestionably due to the interests of Military discipline, and probably saved the empire. It had been well if the Government had profited by the incident, and abstained from engaging *high caste* Hindoos.

The armament sailed to the Burmese coasts to attack the maritime provinces of Burmah and penetrate the interior of the empire. To achieve the latter object, Brigadier Shuldham advanced with 7,000 men from Cachar. He was stopped by a line of forests and mountains, and had no means of cutting roads through the country. He, therefore, halted; and, unable to offend, acted on the defensive. The provinces in the neighbourhood of Sylhet were, at any rate, by this enforced halt, spared the horrors of invasion by the Burmese. Brigadier-General Morrison, of Her Majesty's 44th Foot, having that Regiment, the 54th, and seven Madras and Bengal Native Corps under his command—9,500 men in all, including artillery, pioneers, and local cavalry—proceeded, partly by land and partly in boats along the coast, to attack the city of Arracan. Afflicted with illness which ultimately compelled him to leave the coast, General Morrison consigned his charge to Brigadier-General Richards, who conquered Arracan without difficulty, but could do no more. He was obliged to remain, under the idea that there were no roads by which an Army could move into the interior. At Arracan the division was decimated by sickness. The chief port of the Burmese, Rangoon, near the mouths of the Irrawaddy river, was to be attacked and captured by Colonel Sir Archibald Campbell, of Her Majesty's 38th Regiment, who, with the local rank of Brigadier-General, was placed in supreme command of the entire expedition. He had served in Spain, Portugal, and France, attaining the rank of Major-General in the Portuguese Army. The Force at his disposal was large and efficiently equipped. In addition to the two Royal Regiments already named Sir Archibald had under him the 13th Light Infantry, the 38th, 41st, and 89th Foot. The sepoy Regiments were chiefly from Madras. A frigate, the Liffey, and some sloops of war, accompanied the land expedition.

Rangoon was nearly destroyed by the guns of the frigate. It was the prison of many Europeans; and Major Sale, of the 13th Light Infantry, enjoyed the happiness of landing and setting them free.

The Burmese war thus commenced was, from a variety of causes, a tissue of disasters at first, and ultimately involved a tremendous expense. What with ordinary forethought and prudence on the part of the Bengal Government, and promptitude on that of the Commanding General, could have been settled in a few months, was not concluded in less than two years. Oppressive heats, pestiferous damps, severe privations, painful inaction, and the weapons of an enemy who was found to be more formidable than the sable enemies of England had proved on the continent and peninsula of India, destroyed the lives and the health of thousands of European and native soldiers. How the Burmese fought — making victory over them an honour worthy of achievement—is told in the graceful narrative of the Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General of the Rangoon expedition under Sir A. Campbell. Describing an action in May, 1824, some days after the capture of Rangoon, he says:

"The barbarians had received reinforcements in the third week of May. It was thought that they had concentrated behind the forests to the northward of the position. Their attacks upon the outposts grew bolder. They were reported to have established a vigilant *cordon* to prevent all communication between the Peguers and the English. The insult offered to their national pride by the seizure of Rangoon was stated to have raised the minds of the Burmans to the highest pitch of exasperation. A narrow road leads from the foot of the eastern staircase of Shivè-daagong through the forest towards the village of Todaghee. A small detachment of the 38th, under a subaltern Officer, was pushed in advance to feel and observe the enemy in this direction, on the morning of the 27th. Close under the position they dislodged Burman sentries. Only forty yards further in advance they found a well-constructed work. Eighteen men attacked and carried it. The Military Secretary witnessed this affair. He felt convinced that the enemy were in force not far from the spot. On the 26th General Campbell reconnoitred in person. General M'Bean and some of the principal Officers of the Staff rode with him. He took with him two Companies of

the 38th Regiment, the four amounting to two hundred men, two hundred and fifty native soldiers, a light gun, and a howitzer.

"The road, or rather path, through the forest was narrow, tortuous, and impeded by the overhanging boughs of trees. Felled timber thrown across it at intervals rendered advance yet more difficult. The plains, which the troops afterwards traversed, were already covered with water knee deep. Detached parties of the enemy presented themselves to dispute the ground. They were dispersed by discharges of artillery. But when the column had penetrated five miles from the town, the cattle, which had dragged the guns over such multiplied obstacles, were utterly overcome with fatigue. The strength of the soldiers of the Artillery was exhausted by their protracted exertions. It became impossible to carry on the guns further. They were sent back to the lines guarded by the native troops.

"General Campbell resolved to advance with his four British companies into a plain which the dispersing mists showed beyond. The heavy rain, which had fallen several hours without interruption, was beginning to clear away; but the atmosphere was yet dense and clouded. At length the enemy was distinctly seen, drawn up in force near a trifling village. The General resolved at all hazards to bring them to action. He caused his little band to advance across the plain in direct echelon of companies. The forest lay on the left. Suddenly a heavy fire was opened upon the British. Looking to the left they perceived on the very edge of the jungle two finished field works, apparently occupied by a considerable body of barbarians.

"The General did not hesitate a moment. He caused one company of the 13th to be extended across the plain to hold in check the main force of the enemy. The other three were led in admirable order straight to the attack of the two stockades. The flank companies of the 38th rushed upon the nearest; the most distant was assailed by a company of the 13th. At this moment began a race of generous emulation between both Officers and men of these two corps, which was kept up with unabated spirit, and no slight advantage to the Service, to the end of the war. The Captains of the 38th set the most animating example to their men. The young Officers attached to them imitated their boldness, rushing into the fire with a chivalrous resolution. The Grenadiers of the 38th forced an entrance by tearing down by main force a portion of the bamboo parapet. Others clambered over the work, assisted by their comrades. The stockade was carried. The barbarians within contended hand to hand, armed with long spears. They presented their bare breasts devotedly to the bayonet. A dreadful carnage was made of them. Few or no prisoners were taken.

"Meanwhile, the 13th, led by an old Peninsular Captain, had reached the foot of the second work amidst a storm of bullets. With singular address and good fortune they hit exactly the narrow gorge of the work. Thus the barbarians found themselves pent up at close quarters with their active and well-armed enemies. Those who were nearest to the scene have ever testified that they did not lose heart in this emergency. They acquitted themselves like men. They fell in heaps under the bayonet. Some towards the conclusion of the affair fled to the huts within the stockade: they were speedily dislodged. None ultimately escaped but by scrambling over the wall of bamboo and taking refuge in the forest. The British set fire to all that was combustible in these works. The main force of the enemy had made a show of advancing whilst the firing lasted. The conflagration of their works checked them. In the onset Lieutenant A. Howard, of the 13th, was killed. Lieutenants O'Halloran and Michel, of the 38th, were severely wounded. Each lost a limb by amputation. The latter, who had been struck in both legs, did not survive the operation many days. General Campbell kept his little Force formed in front of the main body of the Burmans long enough to evince his readiness to accept battle. He then felt them by an advanced movement. Their outposts retired before him. Demonstrations were made, which proved their determination to retreat if attacked. Despairing, therefore, of alluring them to an action with forests in their rear, the General countermarched his troops and returned to the lines. This day of spirited and decisive soldiership produced a grand impression on the minds of the barbarians. They understood at once that it would be no light task to contend against these tall white-faced strangers in scarlet uniforms, who had been seen, without the aid of artillery or ladders, to burst into their bamboo field works, hitherto deemed impregnable, to put to the sword every armed man within them, and leave in a moment nothing in their area but the bodies of the slain, and blood, and smoke, and ashes. This is the most merciful mode of making war on barbarians. These severe lessons need not be often repeated."

Fluctuating fortunes marked the progress of the British arms. Failure at Kemmendine and on a first attack at Donabew was followed by a success at both places when an adequate Force approached them. A Madras Brigade of native troops was repulsed at Kasklo, but Brigadier McCreagh (Lieutenant-Colonel of the 13th Light Infantry), who had led the Portuguese against French Battalions, marched upon the place with the skeleton

of the 13th, and arranged to redeem the disaster. A frightful scene met these gallant men. Twenty-three bodies of British Officers and sepoys were suspended to trees, or crucified and barbarously mutilated by the savage Burmese. The campaign of the year closed with the easy conquest of Tavoy, Mergui and Tenasserim, Martaban, and Yé along the coast. But when the year 1825 opened, it was admitted that the Rangoon Corps had only been a Corps of observation in the strictest sense, for it lacked the faculty of locomotion. It will, nevertheless, always reflect praise on Sir A. Campbell, that "from the only ground which unlucky combinations had left within his reach neither famine, nor sickness, nor the keen hostility of a deluded population, nor the united levies of an empire, could dislodge him."

Confident of ultimate success, Bundoola, with 25,000 men, approached the British frontier at Rangoon, and established his lines at Kokaing. The frontier was extremely formidable. Stockades of great strength, deep and broad ditches flanked the works; a morass 1,500 yards in width, and lines of abattis, defended the centre. An adjacent forest afforded shelter to a reserve of Infantry and Cassay Horse. It was altogether a very strong position. One historian of the war says, "the British Officers were astonished at the height, width, and judicious construction of the works." Sir Archibald Campbell moved on the position and reconnoitred it. Here he was happily joined by Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton, who had just arrived from Bengal. A Brigade was formed for Cotton, of the 13th Light Infantry and 34th Madras Native Infantry, with some guns. Sir Archibald had with him the remnants of the 38th, 41st, and 89th Regiments and Native troops. General Cotton was sent to attack the rear. How he accomplished this duty, and the sequel to his determined attack, will not be the less interesting to the reader because the narrative is from the pen of a *Havelock*, and speaks of the intrepidity of a *Sale*—two names that richly adorn the page of English Military History.

"General Cotton had pursued his march upwards of three miles without interruption from the enemy. Knowing that the success of the main attack must be materially influenced by his prompt co-operation, he had pressed the advance of his troops. The 13th Light Infantry could only furnish two hundred and twenty men for this day's service. Of these scarcely one soldier had escaped without his share of illness during the months of rain. Several of the Officers had roused themselves from a couch of suffering to take part in the enterprise of the day. Troops, who in their lines could barely support themselves under the weight of their arms and accoutrements, were exhausted by passing through wooded valleys at an accelerated pace. The column was already harassed and panting when it became evident that the thickets before it were occupied. Jinjal balls flew among the advance led by Major Thornhill. He drove in the outpost opposed to him. General Cotton felt assured from the manner of its retreat that the Burman intrenchments were not far distant. Advancing with his Staff to reconnoitre, he saw on his right the huts of Kokaing. He posted his Cavalry behind the hamlet. In a moment after he beheld full before him the outworks of the enemy. The barbarians hailed the advance of their foe with a loud shout of defiance. They were evidently inspired with full confidence in their numbers and their formidable defences. They opened a destructive fire upon the British vanguard. The signal guns were fired by the artillery. They were heard and answered on the opposite side of the works. The scene became highly animating. Major Sale formed his weak Battalion, and placed himself at its head. But as he advanced, a ball from the works struck him obliquely on the hinder part of the head. He fell to the ground, stunned and bleeding. General Cotton pointed to the work, 'There is the stockade—at it.' The 13th rushed on; but in an instant they perceived that the defences were prolonged far on either flank of their small column. They became the central object of a heavy converging fire; Officers and men began to fall, or retire wounded to the rear. The limbs of the soldiers, weakened by sickness, tottered under them as they shook off their fatigue to press forward, cheer, fire, and scramble over the intrenchments. Then, when the first work was won, it was only an outwork. A new fire was opened from another parapet; another trench had to be crossed, another abattis to be struggled through. Fresh foes presented themselves in increased numbers, with the same sustained fire and menacing shouts, and the same determination to support themselves in this second hold. The resolution of the 13th was severely tried. Major Dennie had promptly supplied the place of their wounded leader, but the fire of the Burmans appeared to issue from every side and in every direction. For a moment the men felt themselves overtasked, but aid was not far distant. General Campbell had heard with delight the firing to the eastward. He was assured that his troops had at length fairly gained the rear of the Burmans. He was left in ignorance, however, of the obstacles which presented themselves to the column of the reverse movement. Fully persuaded at the same time that those which he beheld before him were of no trifling order, he waited for some decisive demonstrations of the progress of the affair. In the absence of other indications, the practised ear of the soldier seeks for his

proofs in the sound of musketry. The difference of arms and ammunition created in this war a marked distinction between the unseen fire of barbarous levies, and that of the troops of a State which has carried mechanical invention to its highest pitch. The cessation and renewal, the advancing and retiring of the sound of rapid fire, becomes in all combats a criterion of the success of bodies masked from the view by hills, forests, or redoubts.

"It was soon evident that General Cotton had met with a determined enemy. Every moment the firing thickened. The stir, bustle, and uproar in the barbarian camp proved that their attention was attracted towards a point in the reverse of their works. Then at once General Campbell caused his Light Artillery to open, closed up his columns, and despatched his last orders to their Commanders. All stood ready for a general attack. The situation of General Cotton's column was at this moment critical. The troops had not lost heart, but they saw their numbers thinned, and felt their strength exhausted at the juncture at which fresh efforts were demanded from them on every side. The leader of the 13th was bleeding on the ground, some of the boldest soldiers had fallen; the column, which had for some time preserved its compact order, was at length broken into, small bodies obeying only the impulse of individual courage. In the hottest part of the conflict, the Cassay Horse advanced from the forests and menaced the rear of the British. The Body Guard charged and overthrew them; but several of the Hindoostanee troopers, and an Officer who had volunteered his services with the squadron for the day, pursuing their advantage too far, were entangled in the enemy's abattis and killed. The charge, however, saved the column. This danger over, Major Dennie reformed his wearied, sinking men for another attack,—happily the last which was required of them. These assaults are spread through many lines in the narrative; but, in the action, they succeeded each other with a rapidity which left no breathing time to those engaged. The British were again successful. The 13th found themselves at length in the body of the place. All was confusion and dismay within. For, during the last moments of this struggle, the combined assault had been made from the westward. It has been seen that on the reverse face the strife was sanguinary and protracted. But the concerted advance of three steady, well-formed columns, which had found ample time to measure the ground with the eye, and to scan and anticipate difficulties, could not be resisted by an enemy already turned and compromised. The charge of the 89th struck the most experienced Officers as being the most compact advance which had been executed during the war. The 38th enjoyed their usual good fortune. As it had happened to other corps in the first campaign, the tide of fugitives from the works stormed by the 13th was driven full upon their bayonets. The 38th understand the use of that weapon. The Adjutant-General of the Army had ridden with instructions to this column at the moment of its advance. He entered the work with its leading files. It will not be doubted that in a barbarian intrenchment penetrated at once by four columns of Infantry the slaughter was immense. Every gun, every standard, was captured. The note of triumph ought not to have been sounded until this moment. 'The hopes of Ava' had not, indeed, even yet 'vanished,' but the Burman Army of Rangoon was crushed at Kokaing. Henceforth Rangoon was as secure as Calcutta. Bundoola had left the camp before the first shot was fired, after an harangue to his troops, which seems to have produced an effect in spite of the vice of example. They had compelled their foes to purchase their success dearly. The 13th lost sixty killed and wounded, seven of whom were Officers, out of two hundred and twenty that had taken the field."

After this affair Sir Archibald Campbell decided to move upwards. Taking the route to Sarawah, he despatched Brigadier-General Cotton to Donabew, whither Bundoola had retreated.

Brigadier-General Cotton was placed in command of the reinforcements from Madras. Military opinion, without a dissentient voice, pronounced this a most popular and fortunate appointment. The contingent consisted of Engineers, Artillery, the 41st and 89th Foot, the 1st Madras European Regiment, and eleven Battalions of Madras Native Infantry. About the same time arrived from Bengal the 47th Foot, and soon afterwards the Royals. Yet, after all, the Force did not number more than 5,000 bayonets, for the strength of each European Regiment had been reduced to 250 men, and each Native Corps to 350 sepoys. General Cotton, with 750 British Infantry and a proportion of Artillery, determined to attack Donabew. He had the profoundest confidence in his Europeans—the natives he left behind at Panlang. He found Bundoola powerfully entrenched at Donabew with 12,000 men at arms ready to annihilate the English. Capturing a strong outwork, General Cotton next assaulted the central fortification with the 89th Foot. The enterprise was beyond his strength. Donabew was irresistible. The General immediately retreated to his boats, after destroying the guns and arms taken from the enemy, and carried off his own stores and artillery. The failure was unfortunate; for it compelled Sir A. Campbell to fall back on Sarawah, and join General Cotton. Donabew lay between them and the supplies of

the Army. Another effort to take the place was worthy of an energetic leader. Sir Archibald found that Donabew could not be invested with his small Force. But it might be besieged in one quarter, and the capture of that portion would facilitate the destruction of the rest. His guns and mortars were placed in position, and the attack pressed with vigour. The Burmese, flushed with the previous repulse of the English, made vigorous sorties by night, and demonstrations by day. They forced seventeen elephants carrying armed men upon the English. The days of Pyrrhus and antiquity had come back. The Governor-General's Body Guard, which constituted the best part of Sir Archibald Campbell's Cavalry strength, were sent against the elephants. The horses were terrified; but the troopers shot down the mahouts and the soldiers with their pistols. The elephants, bereft of guides, and alarmed by the Body Guard, turned back, and created disorder in the Burmese lines. This momentary disappointment did not check Bundoola. He had now 15,000 men to oppose to the English. He directed the defences in person with unwearied activity. Sir Archibald raised more batteries, plied his Congreve rockets vigorously, and one of these bursting at the feet of Bundoola, put an end to his career and the hopes and confidence of his Army. The Burmese fled, panic-stricken. Donabew, with all the rich trophies which it contained, was occupied by the British; and from that point Sir A. Campbell pushed on to Prome, and here the Army rested for some months. Major Sale, with a small Force, which had been sent to take Bassein, had returned to Rangoon, and the place was assuming its wonted appearance. Sale then went up the Irrawaddy, and joined Campbell. The conduct of the British troops at Prome, and the excellent restraint which their Commanders imposed on the followers, reconciled the people to their presence.

Negotiations and an armistice followed upon the capture of Prome. No permanent advantage followed from it. The demands of the Burmese monarch were too insolent and preposterous. He evidently had only sought to gain time. He appointed a new Commander-in-Chief; he even endeavoured to blockade the British in Prome. Sir Archibald scoffed at the blockade, and took his measures for advancing to Ava. The close of the year 1825 had been reached; the rains had subsided; prompt action was indispensable.

It is unnecessary to describe in detail what followed. The Burmese were found admirably posted in some places, and even vanquished a large body of Madras Sepoys, *unsupported by Europeans*, killing their leader, General McDowell. As they prolonged their blockade of Prome, General Campbell burst through their lines, and followed them to Tsenbike and Napadee. They disputed every inch of ground with him; their hills were furrowed with entrenchments, their artillery well served, their Infantry resolute. But the heroism of the 87th Royal Irish, which had joined Sir A. Campbell; the dashing conduct of the 41st, and the admirable dispositions of General Willoughby Cotton, who everywhere and at all times was personally foremost in attack, carried all the works. The 1st and 2nd December, 1825, deserved a white stone. On the 3rd, General Cotton followed up his successes. Sir A. Campbell moved upon Melloon. Consternation seized upon the Burmese. They had 7,000 men encamped here, and the gilded tomb of Bundoola, which rose in the form of a pagoda, was believed by them to mark the grave of the English, should they ever advance so far. But they had no confidence in themselves. New negotiations were opened: no reasonable terms were offered by the Burmese, or would be accepted. Demonstrations were made by the Army and the Flotilla. The Burmese failed to escape. A second treaty was made by them to save Melloon. The King did not ratify the treaty. Melloon was stormed and taken. The advance continued, all obstacles overthrown, and a peace finally dictated and signed on the 24th February, 1826, after an interview between some British Officers and the King himself had been vouchsafed.

Thus terminated a war which had cost the lives of 3,222 European soldiers and 1,766 Sepoys, and many millions of treasure. Errors, which Napier has truly said are incidental to all wars, were not wanting in the long campaigns of Sir Archibald Campbell, but they were more than compensated by the ultimate triumphs. No single word upon the colours of the 13th, 38th, 41st, 44th, 47th, 87th, and 89th Regiments more distinctly marks the wonderful properties of British Infantry, led by such men as the late Sir Robert Sale and Sir Willoughby Cotton, than "AVA." It tells the tale of two years of patience under suffering, fortitude, and the endurance of fatigue and indomitable valour in combat.*

Victories over the enemy had become common features of British warfare in the first quarter of the present century. We must retrace our steps for two or three years to record a special victory

* The history of the three campaigns in Burmah whence the author has derived the information given in the foregoing pages, was never published in England, and is consequently but little known. Snodgrass's very unsatisfactory and unreliable narrative is the only one which found favour in the sight of the London booksellers. When Havelock, some twenty years later, published a work on the Expedition to Affghanistan, he said, with mingled bitterness and modesty, in the Preface: "My former efforts as an author had not met with the species of reward which is commonly looked for at the present day. No enterprising publisher had taken under his auspices my 'Memoir of the Three Campaigns.' It had to be printed in a distant land. A few Officers of rank, whose

over their self-interest for conscience sake, achieved by two British Officers at Malta, in 1823.

Captain Aitchison and Lieutenant Dawson, of the Artillery, had been ordered to superintend the firing of a salute and the tolling of a bell in connexion with the procession of a Roman Catholic Saint. Faithful Protestants as they were, they felt that the performance of this duty made them participators in a species of idolatrous worship, and they entreated the Commanding Officer to exonerate them from its execution. He complied with their request. Sir Manley Power, who commanded at Malta, reported the case to England, and of his own free will discontinued the orders for the attendance of Officers at high mass, and joining the procession with lighted candles in their hands—a ceremony which previous Lieutenant-Governors and Staff Officers had unscrupulously performed. But the Duke of Wellington, as Master-General of the Ordnance, caused the two Officers to be placed under arrest; and Sir Thomas Maitland, the Commander of the Forces having, three months later, issued a General Order describing the conduct of Captain Aitchison and Lieutenant Dawson as an "unheard-of precedent of insubordination," they were tried by Court-Martial and dismissed the Service—a most unusual proceeding, seeing that they had been performing garrison duty after their alleged contumacy. The defence having been grounded, however, upon the principle that the Garrison Order was contrary to British law, H.R.H. the Duke of York laid down the dogma, that "A lawful order was *any* order given by a lawful superior."

One slight matter of official arrangement affecting the soldier will fitly close the chapter of events in 1824.

To secure the soldier the receipt of his pay without deduction—other than such as may be usual, or from time to time be authorised by Her Majesty's Regulations—the Mutiny Act provides that the Officer charged with the payment of it is liable to be cashiered by Court-Martial if he unlawfully detains the same for one month, or refuses to pay it according to Her Majesty's Regulations. Prior to the Peninsular War, some portion of the soldier's pay was given to him weekly, and the balance at the end of each month; but the Duke of Wellington finding that these monthly settlements introduced disorder and dissipation, ordered the Infantry soldiers to be paid daily. This arrangement was made general among the Infantry by the Duke of York by a General Order, dated December 24, 1824. At a subsequent period the rule was extended to the Cavalry, and at the present date the non-commissioned officers and men (excepting in the Royal Engineers, who are paid weekly) are paid daily in the presence of an Officer.

General Sir Edward Paget resigned the command of the Army of India in 1825, after a very short tenure of office. Ill-health, aggravated by the treatment he experienced from the India House authorities, rendered a continuance in the command extremely irksome to him. His departure was much to be lamented, for his Military talents, his Peninsular services, and his noble character cast lustre upon the Indian Army. He had had a very uphill task in rendering it efficient, for his predecessor, Lord Hastings, had not paid proper attention to its discipline and reorganisation after it had done his work in annihilating the Mahrattas. Then came the expedition to Burmah, the equipment of which laid heavy contributions upon the Commander-in-Chief's time, energies, and resources. Finally, the Barrackpore mutiny called all the vigour of his character into painful action. Happily for him, Sir Edward Paget had a most admirable coadjutor in Sir Samford Whittingham. That distinguished soldier's invaluable services in Spain procured him the appointment of Quartermaster-General of King's troops in India. Sir Edward saw at a glance that in Sir Samford he would find an incomparable Staff Officer, and as Whittingham's generous heart led him to grapple worth and ability with "hooks of steel," the two soldiers soon became excellent friends, and were, indeed, inseparable. The selection made by Sir Edward Paget of an *alter ego* sufficiently attested the merit of Sir Samford as an Officer and a gentleman, and the latter left on record impressions of Sir Edward's character which composed a glorious epitaph. Sir Samford Whittingham called the Commander-in-Chief the "best model of what a man should be." He spoke of him as, among his other excellent qualities, an able, a first-rate negotiator. He described his manner as "reserved, mild, and unassuming—his judgment as clear as it was solid. If his temper was naturally violent, he had learnt to correct it without in the least diminishing that firmness of purpose which never abandoned him for a moment. In his mind there were no *arrières pensées*. His object was always what it appeared to be, and the measures he employed simple, clear, and honest."

discernment and candour I could not doubt even in my own cause, had characterized the performance as honest and faithful; three Commanders-in-Chief had spoken favourably of it to others as well as myself; and I have been deceived if, when war was likely to be renewed in the Burman empire," [Havelock here refers to the subsequent misunderstandings which culminated in an expedition in 1852] "and information regarding it had again become valuable, a fourth General, placed in a situation of responsible control, did not find or profess to find in the pages of the neglected Lieutenant developments of fact and reasoning which he had in vain sought in books on the same topic that had enjoyed the sunshine of a far more brilliant popularity."

CHAPTER XXXII.

The State of Bhurtpore—Lord Combermere succeeds Sir Edward Paget in command—The Siege of Bhurtpore—The Reconnaissance—Augmentation of the Army—Extensive Promotions—Sale of Commissions—The Deccan Prize—Sir Robert Wilson—Torrens's Manœuvres—The Case of Colonel Bradley and Colonel Arthur—Flogging in the Army—Despatch of British Troops to Portugal—Their Reception at Lisbon.

Had Lord Amherst been the veriest *gourmand* for war, the two years which the Army spent in Burmah might have satisfied his voracious appetite. Few men could claim credit for having witnessed the sacrifice of so much blood and treasure in carrying out an inevitable policy. But if his appetite was appeased, Lord A. was not permitted to give himself up to a calm digestion,—he was doomed to a painful satiety.

The state of Bhurtpore in Upper India was a dependency of the British Government. Baldeo Singh, the Rajah, who had only obtained his seat by violence, died in 1825. His son, an infant, was placed under the regency of an uncle. But Doorjan Sal, a cousin of the youth's, put in a claim to the regency, gained over the troops by a combination of fraud and bribery, and usurped the authority, declaring, for the sake of an uninterrupted tenure of his possession, that he merely intended to hold office until the boy was old enough to govern for himself. Sir David Ochterlony, the British resident, asked for some security for the sincerity of this pledge. Doorjan Sal had Falstaff's repugnance to security. He would as lief have had ratsbane put into his mouth. Ochterlony would have coerced him had he had force enough at his disposal. He urged the Government to take the matter up.

Nothing could be done, however, at that moment; Lord Amherst's hands were full. He had one great war to close successfully before he ventured upon another. Doorjan Sal construed the inaction of the Government into helplessness or pusillanimity. He proclaimed himself Rajah of Bhurtpore, collected a large body of troops—no difficult matter, seeing how many thousands of free lances were seeking employment and opportunities of plunder—and invited the neighbouring Mahratta and Rajpoot states to unite with him in opposing the English, should they interfere practically on behalf of the heir. Aware that the attempt of the great Lord Lake to take Bhurtpore early in the century had been a failure, he believed that within the walls of the fortress he might safely defy any enemies that could come against him. The ferment increased. It was obvious that several native states would assert their independence, and join the Bhurtpore usurper before a British Army could smite him. The autumn of 1825 had arrived; the season for marching and campaigning would soon pass away. Lord Amherst saw the necessity for action. He did not any longer await the result of the expedition to Burmah. He directed that an Army of 27,000 men should be assembled without delay, and to this formidable force was added a siege train of 112 guns and 50 field pieces. Bhurtpore was to be besieged, and Doorjan Sal hurled from the throne he had usurped.

Sir E. Paget had been succeeded in the India command by Lord Combermere—an Officer who had flashed his sabre in the faces of the French during the whole of the Peninsular War, and came to India covered with the honours he had so well deserved.

Lord Combermere—the Stapleton Cotton of Salamanca, Vittoria, and a hundred other fields in which the eagles of France had been vanquished — was burning for an opportunity of effacing the recollection of the mortification he had endured in not being permitted to lead the Cavalry at Waterloo.* Bhurtpore was destined to wipe away past sorrows, and add to his renown and his wealth. His Lordship arrived at Calcutta in the beginning of October, 1825. By the 5th of December he had established his head-quarters at Muttra, and found his Army already in a condition to take the field. It was a disappointment to Major-General Thomas Reynell, C.B., who commanded the Muttra Division, that he should thus be superseded in an achievement on which he had set his heart, but he was much too honest a soldier to allow the circumstance to damp his zeal in the public service. It was an honour to serve under such a General as Lord Combermere, and General Reynell led his division with genuine

* In the 'Life of Field-Marshal Lord Combermere,' penned by his widow, it is broadly stated that George the Fourth, when Prince Regent, had opposed the selection of Lord C. from a sentiment of personal pique. His Royal Highness had not forgotten the share which Lord C., when Colonel Cotton, had had twenty years previously in the dissemination of some little scandal regarding a visit paid by Mrs Fitzherbert to Brighton. Be this as it may, it is certain that the endeavours of the Duke of Wellington to obtain the assistance of Lord Combermere in the crisis of 1815 were fruitless. He wrote to Lord C.: "I trust Torrens will be able to make arrangements that will be satisfactory to you." But the Prince Regent preferred sending Lord Uxbridge. The Duke was much displeased. He wrote to Lord Bathurst, "To tell you the truth, I am not very well pleased either with the manner in which the Horse Guards have conducted themselves towards me. It will be admitted that the Army is not a very good one; and being composed as it is, I might have expected that the Generals and Staff formed by me in the last war, would have been allowed to come to me again; but, instead of that, I am overloaded with people I have never seen before; and it appears to be purposely intended to keep those out of my way whom I wished to have." Nevertheless, as we have seen, the Generals and Staff proved perfectly efficient. Lord Uxbridge nobly maintained the character he had won in covering the retreat to Corunna.

cheerfulness against the walls of the Rajah. By the 10th of December the Army had assembled before Bhurtpore.

The European proportion of the Force was not very considerable. There were but five Regiments of white faces and twenty-three of sable hue. But what the former wanted in number they balanced by reputation. The 11th and 16th Light Dragoons, the 14th and 59th Foot, and the Bengal European Artillery and Infantry, were equivalent to double the number of Native Regiments. Lord Combermere surveyed his host with ineffable pleasure, and set heartily about his task. As a Cavalry Officer he was obnoxious to the imputation of an inability to lead Armies composed of the mixed elements of war. The same absurd idea kept good Artillery and Engineer Officers in subordinate places until Sir George Pollock and Sir Robert Napier in after years dissipated the preposterous notion. It was forgotten by British governors that Napoleon was an Artillerist.

If Doorjan Sal remembered Lord Lake's failure, he had not perhaps inquired particularly into its causes. Lake had scarcely any artillery. Lord Combermere had a siege train of a weight unexampled in the previous wars in India. He was also fortunate in his Engineers. The names of Forbes and Anbury will long be remembered in connection with the highest efforts of one important branch of Military science. It would have been well for Doorjan Sal if he had imitated the fabled racoon, who descended from his tree without giving unnecessary employment to the Kentucky rifle. The name of *Combermere* should have sufficed to deter him from resistance, for among a superstitious people that name, as pronounced by the Hindoos, was synonymous with a monster called in Sanscrit the *Coombeer*, by whom, said the soothsayers, Bhurtpore is destined to be swallowed up.*

A large and populous town was encircled by the fortifications of Bhurtpore. The *enceinte* extended to nearly eight miles. It was clearly impossible to invest so extensive a line with the force at his command. Lord Combermere therefore established a chain of works with intervals, directing them upon the most assailable points; and that the enemy might not fill the vast ditch with water he began by detaching a party of Cavalry, Horse Artillery, and Infantry to the Mootee Jheel, a large lake to the north of the fort, to cut the embankments with which Doorjan Sal could have flooded the *fosse*. Thus held in check, the usurper was left to depend entirely upon the personal courage of his followers in defending his walls from the assaults of the British.

Lord Combermere commenced the siege with his battering train, and a huge gap was soon visible in one of the bastions. But it was observed that the effect of the shot was to pulverise the earthen parapets, rendering it perfectly impossible for a storming party to obtain a firm footing at the breach. Recourse was therefore had to mining. This process insured the dislocation of the walls in huge masses. Doorjan Sal was made aware of the underground operations. He did not at all approve of such insidious approaches. They resembled, he said, the burrowing of moles and rabbits, and were unworthy a great Commander. Lord Lake's system would no doubt have pleased him better, for Doorjan Sal had no skill in countermining. Two mines were loaded by the 17th of January, and on the morning of the 18th the assault took place on two breaches. As the sun rose the signal was made—the earth reeled and shook, and up went one mine, perhaps one of the largest that had ever been sprung intentionally. Ten thousand pounds of powder had been employed. This explosion was immediately followed by another. The 59th, under Major-General Jasper Nicolls, attacked the left breach. The Regiment gave three ringing cheers, the whole column echoed them, and amidst the roar of batteries and the triumphant shouts of thousands of gallant men the troops rushed into the storm. Half the Goorkha Rifles (a Corps of little hill-men raised after the Nepaul war) sprang over the trench to cover the assault; and the 59th double-quick wheeled round the breach, sprang into the ditch, and stormed the bastion. The enemy—a martial tribe—met them and fought desperately and nobly. The stormers fell by scores, but after a short and terrific conflict the colours of the 59th waved over the summit amid the cheers of the whole Army. While this was going on, the 14th Foot, under Major-General Reynell, stormed the right breach. The springing of the mine, the pouring out of the troops from the trenches, the crowning of the breach, and the planting a little red flag on the lofty bastion which had frowned upon the Army for forty days, were the work of a moment. A terrible fire met the 14th as they wound up the breach. Sternly and steadily they advanced. To the spectator the scene was one of extreme interest. Major Everard, who was leading the Grenadiers of the Regiment, reached the summit and waved his sword to his comrades below. The feeling was electric. One universal shout burst forth from the thousands in the trenches and batteries all around. All the stormers rushed forward with the bayonet, and

* The soothsayers declared that in consequence of the foundations of Bhurtpore having been laid during a most auspicious conjunction of the planets, it could only be taken by an alligator (*Coombeer*) who should drink up the waters of the ditch surrounding the town. In the eyes of the natives the prediction was literally fulfilled.

the enemy were seen tumbling from the walls as the 14th and the sepoys who followed them swept along the ramparts. Bhurtpore fell.

This great achievement, which gave peace to India for seventeen years, was not unattended by heavy loss. Brigadier-General Edwards, Captain Armstrong of the 14th, and Captain Pitman of the 59th, with one hundred soldiers, were killed in the conflict. Four hundred and sixty-six were wounded. The enemy lost 7,000 men.

Numerous episodes of an interesting character, illustrative of the best attributes of British soldiers, diversified the great operation. One of these, narrated by an actor in the event, was much too interesting to be passed over, even though the description may occupy two or three columns:

"Some few days previous to the assault, a report was current in camp that the left breach had been fortified by the enemy in so formidable a manner as to render it impregnable. This naturally excited some anxiety amongst those destined to try the fortune of war at this breach; and although full credit was not given to this account of the native spies, it was generally believed that the Bhurtporeans had taken advantage of the ample time allowed them to cut trenches inside the breach, or make other defences of sufficient importance to check the headlong onset which should characterise an assault. The nature and extent of these defences remained unknown until the day preceding the storm, at which period Major-General Nicolls, sharing the universal desire to ascertain the exact nature of the obstacles to be overcome, expressed a wish to have the fact determined by actual inspection. This could only be effectually done by daylight, and by a party either of sufficient strength to make good a lodgment, or one so small as to steal up a breach unperceived. The latter would of course be exposed to imminent danger, but might hope, with fortune's favour, to bring back the desired information. The distance to be passed over in the passage to the breach was totally devoid of cover; the height and difficulty of the breach itself rendered it an adventure of extreme peril, only to be undertaken by spirits of daring boldness and intrepidity. The General's challenge did not remain unanswered; his Aide-de-Camp, Captain Churchill, with a noble gallantry which every soldier must appreciate, at once volunteered to gain this important information or perish in the attempt. In pursuance of this intrepid resolution, he proceeded to the advanced trench, where the stalwart Grenadiers of the 59th and a party of Goorkhas of the Simoor Battalion were on duty. A few words explained to the Europeans the nature of the enterprise; a call for volunteers was unnecessary; the men simultaneously sprang forward, eager to share the adventure; and such is the spirit of the British soldier that considerable difficulty was experienced in reducing the party to the requisite number. Selecting five or six of those nearest to him, Captain Churchill proceeded to the zigzag where the little Goorkhas, perched like spiders watching for flies, were laudably dissipating the tedious hour in the amiable recreation of *sniping*, and short was the grace allowed the unfortunate *Jaut* (Rajpoot soldier) whose curiosity placed his caput within range of a Goorkha fusil. These gallant little fellows required no urging; they met the call as cheerfully and fearlessly as their European brethren in arms; four or five only were permitted to share in the perilous errand.

"After a short delay, consumed in fixing flints and other necessary precautions, the party, headed by Captain Churchill, who had been joined by Captain Davidson, of the Bengal Engineers, stole quietly out of the trench. It was mid-day, and not an object afforded concealment to the intrepid party during their progress to the foot of the breach—a distance of fifty yards. The whole of this space was enfiladed by a well-manned bastion on the left, while the bristling bank of spears and bayonets, glittering on the top of the breach, gave ample testimony how well it was tenanted. The progress of the little party was regarded by their comrades in the trench with mixed feelings of admiration and eager and breathless anxiety. It was every moment expected that the slumbering foe would arouse himself and settle the fate of the little band with a shower of grape. Most fortunately the intervening space was cleared; half the ascent of the breach itself was gained ere they were perceived. During the tough struggle over the masses of mud and stone, which increased the difficulty of the almost perpendicular breach, a little Goorkha was observed to spring forward and extend his hand to the Engineer Captain, who did not disdain the mountaineer's assistance. A few seconds brought the whole party to the summit. The Bhurtporeans were suddenly startled, and a tremendous commotion was perceptible among them. Doubtless they believed it was the head of an attacking column. Without allowing them time to recover from their surprise, the whole party, at the distance of a few yards only, delivered their fire. Allowing a few moments for the smoke to clear away, the party then took a deliberate survey of the interior of the fort, and even had the audacity to pelt the enemy with dirt and stones, until the Bhurtporeans, shaking off their astonishment, rushed forward in a body to punish the temerity of the intruders. Their object attained, the party now plunged down the breach with the rapidity of lightning; an immense rush of

Bhurtporeans followed them to the top of the breach, and the destruction of the gallant fellows seemed inevitable. Their friends in the trenches, however, watched their exploit, and covered their retreat. The moment the little band commenced their descent, two hundred muskets rose above the parapet of the trench; the first crowd of the enemy were literally swept from the face of the earth before their levelled matchlocks could send the messengers of death. Their places were immediately supplied, but their successors fell so rapidly before the heavy and well-directed fire of the covering party that the adventurers, to the surprise, yet the heartfelt delight of all, regained the trenches with the loss of only one Grenadier, and he, poor fellow! was so near shelter that he literally dropped into the trench. The whole affair was of the most exciting description. While covering the retreat, the party in the trenches, scorning concealment, stood with half their bodies above the parapet; and when the necessity for the exposure terminated, the order to cease firing and come under cover was obeyed with evident reluctance. It was high time, however; for the Bhurtporeans, exasperated at their own loss, the escape of the party, and the impudence of the attempt, kept up such a tremendous discharge of all arms, matchlock, ginjal, cannon, etc., that for two hours not a man's head dare appear above the trench unless he designed to have it drilled like a cullender. The most mercurial spirits deemed it advisable to quietly ensconce themselves with their backs to the trench, while bullets incessantly rained over their heads. The result of the gallant adventure was that Major-General Nicolls acquired a knowledge of the enemy's defences. They were found to be sufficiently formidable, but by no means impregnable; and British hearts and bayonets on the following morning proved the correctness of the estimate."

In this struggle with the Bhurtporeans hand grenades were used for the last time. They were placed in the hands of ten Grenadiers of the 59th Foot. They were not loaded, for General Jasper Nicolls had a theory that a grenade with a burning fuze had the same moral effect in frightening the enemy as a loaded one would have had, while the soldier who carried it incurred no risk from premature explosion.

Prize money to the extent of nearly half a million sterling rewarded the captors of Bhurtpore. To the State the advantage of the capture was considerable in augmenting the renown of the British name. They had conquered a vast stronghold which had always been supposed, and until then proved, to be impregnable.

Although the close of the siege of Bhurtpore finds us in 1826, some circumstances of interest connected with the British Army transpired in 1825 which justify a retrospect.

Early in the year, in consequence of some insurrections in the West Indies, the Duke of York managed to obtain an augmentation of the Army to the extent of two companies in each Regiment. Lord Bathurst, the Secretary for War, directed that 250 Officers should be taken from the half-pay list. The Duke of York urged the justice of promoting a number of old Officers whose advancement had been slow through the accidents of service and the peculiarities of the purchase system. But Lord Bathurst resisted the remonstrance, and the Duke of York yielded the point. Nevertheless, sixteen Majors of an average service of fifteen years were promoted to Lieutenant-Colonelcies without purchase; twenty-two Captains, whose service averaged twenty-six years, attained Majorities on the same terms; a great many of the *senior* Lieutenants obtained companies without purchase. No interest, no claims to special consideration, were permitted to interfere with this liberal arrangement. The only exception was in favour of a Lieutenant who had commanded his Regiment at the battle of Waterloo after all his seniors had been placed *hors de combat*. A large number of Ensigncies were gazetted, and three-fourths of these commissions were conferred on the sons or other relations of old Officers, or upon deserving non-commissioned officers.

At the same time with the issue of the orders giving effect to the above, a Regulation was passed for the sale of retired full-pay and half-pay commissions. One clause ran thus: "In order to avoid the possibility of communication between the parties, the purchaser will be simply directed to lodge his money for his promotion to the higher commission, the seller being afterwards selected by the Commander-in-Chief from the lists registered in His Royal Highness's office; nor will any other than an *unconditional* resignation, nor any application which adverts to any expected vacancy, be admitted." This utterly prevented the collusion which enables a seller to demand and forces a purchaser to pay a sum beyond the regulated price of a commission. No person was permitted to sell who had passed his sixtieth year; nor unless he had purchased, or had served twenty years on the whole, if a Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, or Captain; fifteen years if a Lieutenant, and twelve years if an Ensign. The general arrangement was limited to Officers actually on the half-pay or the retired lists, and all parties were required to arrive at a decision within one year from the promulgation of the rule. But in the following year the Commander-in-Chief issued an order allowing Officers to sell their half-pay commissions to Officers of an inferior rank on

full-pay—an arrangement which excited the special ire of Mr Joseph Hume, a Member of the House of Commons, who had recently come into notice as an active financial reformer.

The Regulation which enabled the Duke of York to effect so extensive a promotion was passed late in April, 1825. One month later an immense Brevet rewarded upwards of one hundred other Officers, twenty-eight of whom were old Captains; and twenty-two Lieutenant-Colonels were appointed Aides-de-Camp to the King—a mark of distinction which carried with it the Brevet rank of Colonel. Among those men thus deservedly advanced were Robert Dick, who had fought with the 42nd Highlanders at Quatre Bras and Waterloo; Alexander Dickson, whose artillery service was beyond all praise; George Napier, who lost his arm in the breach at Ciudad Rodrigo; Lord Saltoun, who kept Hougomont with his detachment of Guards, in spite of the French; Ulysses Burgh, Scovell, and Hercules Pakenham.

June, 1825, revived the subject of the Deccan prize. The captors complained of the delay which had taken place in its distribution. Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzsimon petitioned the House of Commons to accelerate the action of the Treasury, and was then informed that the delay had arisen from the fact of the booty having been taken out of the general law of prize, thereby causing a particular appeal to the Lords of the Treasury on behalf of the Marquis of Hastings. Doctor Lushington imputed the delay to the Duke of Wellington and Mr Arbuthnot, the trustees. The Duke, according to Dr L., had shown "great contempt and disregard," and sent "impudent letters in answer to Sir Thomas Hislop, one of the rival claimants, contrary to all precedent."

A more agreeable event diversified the discussions in the House of Commons. Mr Abercromby brought the case of General Sir Robert Wilson before the House. Sir Robert was held in so much real respect by the members for his talents, his eloquence, and his high character—the "tenor of his whole life had reflected equal honour upon himself and his country"—and it was hoped that the testimony of the whole House frankly and freely expressed would lead to his restoration to the Army. Mr Littleton, Lord Wm. Bentinck, Mr Brougham, Mr W. Lamb, and several others gave utterance to a similar sentiment. There was not a dissentient.

In January, 1826, a Treasury decree awarded to the Marquis of Hastings, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, prize-money in all those cases in which Sir Thomas Hislop was not entitled to share in the *same capacity*. The inquiry into the claim which led to the decree was caused by discussions arising out of the difference between the *actual circumstances* attending the capture of a large proportion of the booty, and those *assumed* at the hearing in January, 1823.

Sir Henry Torrens's manœuvres have been adverted to incidentally in a previous page. These manœuvres appeared to the Duke of York so great an improvement upon the field exercise thitherto in use that non-commissioned officers from all the Regiments of the Line were ordered up to London to be practised in the evolutions by the drill-serjeants of the Guards. By the middle of March they were reported to have reached the requisite perfection. The Duke of York attended a parade especially ordered to test the results of the practice, and His Royal Highness was so well pleased with the manœuvres that the non-commissioned officers went back to indoctrinate their several Corps.

A right of appeal to the House of Commons from any irregularities, oppressions, illegalities, &c., on the part of the Horse Guards is vested in every Officer in the British Army; but it is one of those privileges which require to be exercised with great delicacy and prudence, for authority always has its friends and supporters in the House of Commons, and failure is final. It is to the credit of successive Commanders-in-Chief of the Army that so few appeals have ever been found to be well grounded. The ignorance and pertinacity of aggrieved parties too often lead them into false conclusions and misrepresentations, which turn the tables completely upon them. A case of this nature occurred in the year under review. Colonel Bradley addressed a petition to the House of Commons pleading that in the year 1819 the Regiment of Colonel Arthur, the senior Officer in command at Honduras (a dependency subordinate to the Government at Barbadoes), had been disbanded, and that consequently that Officer being no longer effective could not continue to hold the office of "Superintendent," which devolved necessarily on the next in seniority, Colonel Bradley himself. Colonel Arthur had, however, refused to resign, upon being called upon to do so by Colonel Bradley, on the ground that he had been appointed to the office so far back as 1814 by General Fuller, who commanded at Barbadoes, and had continued to perform its duties, notwithstanding that his Regiment, then the 7th West India, was reduced in 1816. Colonel Bradley persisting in his claim, Colonel Arthur referred the subject to a Committee of Officers and civilians, and appointed a day for its examination. Colonel Bradley refused to attend the meeting. Hereupon he was placed in arrest, and the subject was reported to the Horse Guards. The Duke of York decreed that Colonel Bradley's conduct had been highly improper and extremely inconsistent, according to his own representations; and by the Duke's advice the King commanded

that the name of Colonel Bradley should be struck out of the 'Army List.' Colonel B., on his return to England, brought an action against Colonel Arthur for detaining him in arrest, and obtained 100*l.* damages. In the course of the trial he imprudently charged Sir Henry Torrens and Sir Herbert Taylor with misrepresentations of which they could not possibly have been guilty, for two more upright soldiers did not exist. Mr. Hume presented Colonel Bradley's petition to the House, but after the whole of the matter had been fairly ventilated, he deemed it advisable to withdraw the petition altogether.

Mr Hume, bidding for popularity—of which he afterwards, and deservedly, obtained a large share—moved the abolition of flogging in the Army in 1826, and again in 1827. There were not wanting, even at that time, many opponents of the practice, but they naturally deferred to the opinions of the Military men who had served for some years, and were well acquainted with the peculiar composition of the Army. General Duff went so far as to say that it were as "easy to chain the north wind as to manage British soldiers without the aid of corporal punishment. It was no degradation. He had known men die at the head of their Regiments who had at one time been subjected to the lash." The best justification, perhaps, that could have been offered for the continuance of flogging rested on the assumption that in no other way could an impression be made upon the heart of the offenders. There were some men of so low a character of mind that all appeals to their *morale*—their sense of honour—their professional pride—were utterly thrown away. Nothing but physical torture could bring them to a sense of their duty. And it would have been well if such persons could have been handed over to the civil powers, and dismissed the Service rather than suffered to wear the jacket they disgraced. But, unfortunately, too many—after costing the country a great deal of money in bounties, necessaries, and the pay they had scarcely earned—would have availed themselves of the opportunity of escaping their obligations by committing the very crimes which must have led to their dismissal. It was necessary, therefore, to hold by the lash until the march of education, and the improvement of morals among the classes whence recruits were drawn, should justify its abrogation and the substitution of a less degrading punishment.

Two sets of Regulations affecting the welfare of the families of deceased Officers were issued in June 1826, under the Royal Sign Manual—the one established rules for governing the grants of annual allowances, as of the Royal bounty to the widows, and in certain special cases to the mothers or sisters, of Officers of the Land Forces who had lost their lives in the Service—the other Regulation directed the government of the grants of allowances on the Compassionate List to the legitimate children of deceased Officers.

Warlike symptoms disturbed for a moment the apprehensions of the British public at the close of 1826.

According to our old treaties with Portugal, the spirit and understanding of which were concentrated and preserved in the Treaty of Vienna, 1815, Portugal had a right to look for assistance from Great Britain, whenever her territory should be invaded by Spain and France, or either of those Powers. In 1826 there was a rebellion in Portugal. Bands of rebels, armed, equipped, and trained in Spain, had crossed the Spanish frontier, carrying terror and devastation into their own country, and proclaiming sometimes Ferdinand of Spain, sometimes the brother of the reigning Sovereign of Portugal, and sometimes a Spanish Princess, as the rightful occupant of the Portuguese throne. That throne had become vacant by the demise of John VI. He was succeeded by Dom Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil; but as the constitution of Brazil had provided that the Imperial crown should never be united on the same head with that of the Monarch of the mother country, Dom Pedro had to choose between the sovereignty of the European and the South American part of the dominions of the House of Braganza. Preferring the latter, he resigned his European crown to his infant daughter, and appointed a liberal Regency during her minority. This arrangement did not include Dom Miguel, the Emperor's brother. Dom Miguel immediately used his influence over the Military to induce them to desert across the frontier, whence they came back in open and armed rebellion against the monarchy. The Regency, which had given a constitution to the Portuguese, applied to England for aid. The application met with immediate acquiescence, and in the rapidity with which the troops were despatched the nation was presented with an exemplification of the readiness with which its Army can march to the field, at a moment's notice, when called upon. On Friday, the 7th of December, the Government received intimation of the necessity for sending troops to the assistance of Portugal. On Saturday the Cabinet met, and came to the determination to send them. On Sunday the King gave his sanction to the measure. On Monday the authority of Parliament was sought and obtained; and on Tuesday, the 11th of December, the troops were on their march to embark. Five thousand men (the Guards, the 10th and 11th Foot, and other Corps) were sent, under the command of General Sir W. Clinton. Mr Canning sketched the causes and progress of the steps taken by the Government in

a luminous speech on the 12th December, and in less than a fortnight the transports entered the harbour of Lisbon. The people received them with the strongest demonstrations of joy. The course of events did not render it necessary that they should take an active part in hostilities; but their presence was of the highest utility, not only in securing the tranquillity of the capital, but in forcing on the rebels the conviction that, whatever might be their partial successes at first, there was a point beyond which they would not be allowed to advance. It was no slight proof of the cordiality with which the visit of the British troops was hailed, that the Regency issued a decree prohibiting all persons with whom they might deal from taking advantage of their ignorance for the purpose of cheating them.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Death and Character of the Duke of York—The Office of Commander-in-Chief in Abeyance—The Duke of Wellington Commander in Chief—Distribution of the Deccan Prize—Mr Hume's Economies—Perkins' Steam Gun—Commutation of Half pay—The Yeomanry remodelled—Wound Pensions—Army Chaplains—Mutilation—Soldiers' Books—Death of George the Fourth.

On the 5th of January, 1827, His Royal Highness the Duke of York, the Commander of the British Land Forces, died, "to the great grief of His Majesty and all the Royal Family," to which might have been added, in all truth, the grief of the whole of the British Army. His Royal Highness had been seized with an attack of dropsy in June, 1826. In the following September he was tapped, and some hopes were entertained that his strong constitution would survive the attack. But neither nature nor the practised skill of the most able Medical Officers availed aught against the inroads of the disorder. He succumbed after an illness of seven months. To the last the illustrious Commander-in-Chief possessed the use of his faculties, and employed them in the discharge of his official duties. His interest in the welfare of the Army was at no time weakened by the pressure of bodily disease or pain. General Sir Herbert Taylor, the Military Secretary, found him suffering acutely when he took the Duke the secret instructions of the Foreign Minister regarding the embarkation of the troops for Portugal towards the middle of December; but he drew up the heads of the Military arrangements with his own hand, and he gave all the directions arising out of them to the Adjutant-General and the Quartermaster-General.* "This at all times," wrote Sir Herbert, "had been the case. His Royal Highness had been at the head of the Army for thirty-two years. All those who had been employed in the office of Military Secretary, as well as the other heads of Departments, enjoyed the Duke's confidence, and exerted themselves to fulfil their duties satisfactorily. But the merit of rescuing the Army from its impaired condition, of improving, establishing, and maintaining its system; of introducing that administration of it in principle and in every detail which has raised the character of the British Service and promoted its efficiency, belonged exclusively to His Royal Highness. The work was progressive, but his attention to it, his able superintendence of it, were constant. He guided and directed the labours of those subordinate to him; their task was executive. He gave the impulse to the whole machinery, and kept the wheels in motion; and to him, I repeat, the credit is due."

This was the testimony of a confidential Military adviser and trustworthy Aide who had enjoyed the friendship of the Duke for many years. But the sentiment of regret was universal. The Duke was warmly and deservedly beloved in private society; he was cheerful affable, open, brave, and generous—a steady and candid friend, grateful for kindnesses, inviolable in his promises, placable in his few resentments, humane and compassionate to all whose distresses he had the means of relieving. "No man of his high rank since the days of Henry IV. of France," said one of his biographers, "had ever conciliated more personal attachments or retained them longer." From every pulpit in the United Kingdom the voice of lamentation and of eulogium was heard, for the Duke had avowed himself in the House of Lords an earnest champion of the union of Church and State. But his personal virtues more than his political opinions were the favourite themes of posthumous praise. "None can justly appreciate," said the Rev. E. T. Gregory, speaking of the Duke's kindness and condescension, "those attributes of the lamented and august personage who have not witnessed their exercise. No haughty, fear-inspiring pomp or silent, sullen state environed him. Accessible to all, he was a model to the great; for the meanest might approach this son and brother of Kings, this heir to a throne—this Chief of our Armies! It required not crosses or titles to recommend a soldier to his favour; and the humble sentinel who paced our lines was equally certain, not merely of justice, but of attention and regard with the General who directed the fierce assault, and shared his glory in the well-contested battle; and to this feeling, buoyant in the mind of each individual in the British ranks of whatever degree, is many a laurel in Britannia's chaplet to be traced."

A public funeral, and a monument contiguous

* Sir Robert Peel said that the last words he heard the Duke utter were, "I wish that the country could compare the state of the Brigade which was to land in Lisbon in 1827, with that which landed at Ostend in 1794."

to the scene of the Duke's useful labours, crowned the demonstrations of national regret at the loss occasioned by his death.

The office of Commander-in-Chief remained in abeyance for some months after the death of the Duke of York. It was the wish of George the Fourth to have resumed the command in person. From this, however, His Majesty was dissuaded, and the duty was performed entirely by the Secretary at War, Lord Palmerston. The Adjutant-General did, indeed, issue a Circular to the Army in His Majesty's name some time in January, 1827; but Lord Palmerston intimated to him that, when there was no Commander-in-Chief, it was the duty of the Secretary at War to promulgate the Orders of the Crown to the Army, and the King ratified this understanding.

On the 22nd of August, 1827, the King, by letters patent, appointed the DUKE OF WELLINGTON Commander of the Forces. By his services, his rank, and his vast Military talents, the conqueror of Napoleon had established the clearest title to the high honour. It temporarily severed his Grace from political life, for it had been found that the just exercise of the important Military trust was incompatible with a dependence upon ministerial arrangements. The Duke of Wellington was not by any means so accessible to the Officers as the Duke of York; but, in the appointment of Lord Fitzroy Somerset to the post of Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, a guarantee was afforded that the most perfect courtesy and consideration would mark the reception of every visitor and appellant. Lord Fitzroy, it was commonly observed, had the art of saying "No" with so good a grace that it was even a pleasure to be refused an application.

The year 1828 was replete with interest to the Officers entitled to share in the Deccan prize. It was decreed that the Commander-in-Chief should receive 44,201*l.*, and the residue was apportioned to the different ranks upon the usual principle, Lieutenant-Generals receiving 1,984*l.* 12s. 10d.; Major-Generals, 1,488*l.* 9s. 8d.; Colonels, 595*l.*; Lieutenant-Colonels, 357*l.*; Majors, 238*l.*; Captains, 119*l.*; Subalterns, 59*l.* 10s.; and so on to the private, whose toils, dangers, and privations were rewarded with *nineteen shillings and tenpence*. The extraordinary disparity between the receipts of the General-in-Chief, who is generally out of harm's way in a siege, and the soldier who exposes life and limb on the deadly breach appears very great; but no attempt has yet been made to show why "the sum of *less* should be given to him who had too little." No amount appears to be too heavy to recompense moral and official responsibility, while personal risk is decreed to be sufficiently compensated by a miserable fraction of spoil. It is anomalous at the best.

Sir Henry Torrens followed his Royal Chief to the tomb in 1828. He left a name of honour to the nation, and a son, who afterwards acquired a Military renown only inferior to his father's because he had less time allowed him by the accidents of war to work his way to preferment.

This was not the only Military incident of importance. The Duke of Wellington having become First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister, he resigned the command of the Army to General Lord Hill. Mr Hume continued his persevering efforts in the cause of reform, whenever financial questions afforded him a chance of denouncing expenditure; but when the Army Estimates came to be discussed in 1828, he committed a flagrant piece of injustice in anathematising all the Military Governors of the Colonies. "He would have been glad to have seen them all displaced." It has been well said that no profit whatever is to be obtained from history unless the historian can make himself a contemporary, and see things not as they appear after the lapse of years, but as they appeared at the moment to the men responsible for action. The individual who traces these lines was contemporaneous with Mr Hume and all the Military Governors of the time; and he is at a loss to point to a single instance of the incapability which aroused the ire of the worthy economist. Later years, with their attendant experience, fortified public opinion in favour of Military Governors. They have invariably been found among the wisest and most peaceful rulers of distant dependencies.

Scientific inventions in connection with the art of war are entitled to respect, even if they are never brought into operation. They are often the forerunners of more practical appliances. A Mr Perkins, at the period under treatment, introduced a piece of ordnance of the calibre of a 4-pounder, to be discharged by high-pressure steam. The length of the barrel was six feet, and the diameter of the bore three inches. Steam apparatus was attached to the gun calculated of sufficient strength to generate steam of 100 atmospheres, or 840 or 900 lbs. to the square inch, which is greater than the force of gunpowder. Wonderful and varied, however, as are the uses of steam, Mr Perkins did not succeed in convincing the authorities that his apparatus was preferable to the old-fashioned form of projection; and, writing at a distance of forty years from the date of the invention, we cannot find that it formed the basis of any other project in which the agency of steam was employed.

Military affairs were not quite stagnant in 1828. A Finance Committee took into consideration the expediency of having local troops in the Colonies. The measure was opposed by the most experienced Generals, on the ground that it was

utterly prejudicial both to the usefulness of the Corps for Colonial defence and to co-operate with the general Army. The Duke of Wellington was strongly against the proposal. He contended that mutinies might arise among the Officers of the garrison which would deprive the Sovereign of a part of his dominions, and that that would be a very terrible and disgraceful mode of losing the possession of territory.

After the war with France, which closed with the operations in 1815, a large number of young Officers, some of whom had never served, and others for one year only, were placed on half-pay on the reduction of the Army. The Secretary at War in 1828, General Sir Henry Hardinge, considering it very prejudicial to the public interests that so many young men with good lives should be drawing public money without affording an equivalent, offered them the option of either serving in the Army on vacancies occurring, or commuting their half-pay by receiving the regulation price of their commissions. Eight hundred and fifty-seven half-pay Officers accepted the proposal to commute.

With the remodelling of the Yeomanry the Military transactions of 1828 appear to have terminated. That force was constituted in 1761, and at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War Mr Pitt brought in a Bill to augment it, as a body of Cavalry, to 20,000 men (the Yeomen of England). The Officers were chiefly noblemen and gentlemen. The Act creating the Force required that upon invasion, or any rebellion or insurrection arising out of or existing on invasion, the Yeomanry of each county, on the summons of the Lord-Lieutenant, are bound to assemble in their own county or other agreed district of service, and to march to any part thereof, and to continue on service until a Royal Proclamation shall declare the enemy defeated or the rebellion suppressed. Volunteering, they might, with the approbation of the Government, improve themselves in Military exercises, march to and act within the county and adjacent counties, and aid in the suppression of riots or tumults. The Yeomanry had fulfilled all these duties when desired, and since they had been found, as Cavalry, of great use in aiding the civil magistracy in the performance of police duties, their further services were secured by the Act passed in 1828. But in those districts where, from the experience of the ten antecedent years, there was little reason to apprehend disturbance, the Yeomanry Corps were disbanded, with an expression of His Majesty's approval of the zeal and patriotism uniformly displayed by them since their establishment under the pressure of war, and with permission to the Officers to retain the rank and honours belonging to their respective Commissions.

At the instance of the same Finance Committee as that referred to above, a Warrant was issued by Sir Henry Hardinge on the 14th of November, 1829, requiring all Officers in receipt of wound pensions to submit themselves to re-examination, in order that it should be determined whether their condition continued such as to justify the receipt of the pension. This was conceived in a very narrow spirit. Long suffering may have disqualified an Officer from seeking and following any business which might have been his resource through life, and although the wound which established his title to the pension may have healed, its effects probably continued to be felt.

As recruiting proceeded rather slowly, a Royal Warrant, dated the 29th March, authorised the Secretary at War to raise men for the Cavalry and Infantry by beat of drum. This process consists in the issue of "Beating Orders" to the Colonels of Regiments, which orders are to them a sufficient order and authority "as well as to all magistrates, justices of the peace and constables, and all other civil officers who may be required to assist in providing quarters, impressing carriages, and otherwise as there shall be occasion."

So far back as 1662, certain provisions had been made by the Government of King Charles the Second for the religious education of the soldiers. A Chaplain was attached to each Regiment, and the Articles of War prescribed that he should read the Common Prayers of the Church of England daily to the soldiers or lose a day's pay. He was also to preach as often "as with convenience should be thought fit." When, four years later, war with France was imminent, the Articles enjoining the "duties to God" were more specific, but ten years later the daily service had dwindled to a weekly operation. Marlborough was strict as to the performance of Divine Service in the field, and especially on the eve of a battle. Still, the religious feeling in the Army became feebler every day, and the Chaplains themselves deteriorated so much under a purchase system which enabled many inefficient men to pay the Colonels for their offices, that in 1748 additional Articles of War were introduced providing for their punishment. Absence without leave subjected them to a Court-Martial, and proved drunkenness was followed by their discharge. In addition to the Regimental Chaplains, Garrison Chaplains were appointed by the Crown, who performed the religious duties to the troops when away from their Regimental Chaplains; and when soldiers were distributed in billets the parochial clergy ministered to their spiritual wants. This distribution of the troops minimized the duties of the Regimental Chaplains, who consequently absented themselves perpetually on leave; and when Regiments were ordered on Service abso-

lutely refused to accompany them, on the plea that when they purchased their commissions* it was stipulated that personal service should not be exacted of them, if they chose to forfeit their pay or provide a deputy. To remedy the state of things which arose out of the latitude thus enjoyed by the Chaplains, an Order went forth in 1796 for the appointment of a Chaplain-General, and the reformation of the system of appointing Chaplains to the Forces; but the new arrangement was so penurious in its character that few self-respecting men could be got to accept the appointments. Thus armaments went forth in which the religious element was only conspicuous by its absence. Abercromby could not get a single Chaplain to accompany the expedition to the West Indies; Sir James Craig on his expedition to the Cape, in 1805, had but one Chaplain to afford religious instruction and comfort to 4,000 men; Lord Cathcart, when he went to the North, had one Chaplain to 14,000 men; and Baird, with 4,000 men, was totally unattended by any clergyman. The Duke of York was shocked at the destitution of religious aid in the Army, and, to his honour, in 1806, he addressed a powerful remonstrance to the Secretary at War. He urged the appointment of an efficient Chaplain to every Brigade, and, with the view of rendering the appointments objects of competition with gentlemen who, by their example and precept, might most effectually promote a due regard for religion and morality, which His Royal Highness truly called "the best foundation of the discipline of the Army and, in the soldier's mind, the most powerful and resolute discharge of his duty," the Duke recommended that the Chaplains should receive the pay of a Major of Infantry. Nothing more came of this, and subsequent applications and remonstrances, than the abolition of Garrison Chaplains and the substitution of Staff Chaplains; and when the war with France terminated, the religious superintendence of the troops fell gradually into the hands of the parochial clergy, rendering the office of Chaplain-General so unnecessary that, in the year which our history has reached (1829), the office of Chaplain-General was abolished.

Bad and discontented soldiers who had not served the period for which they enlisted, and were apprehensive of the consequences of desertion, had frequently resorted to the practice of maiming themselves or counterfeiting incurable disorders. This practice had reached a great height among the Europeans of the local Corps in India, and it was also rife in the British Army. In New South Wales the men would actually commit crimes in order to become convicts. To check the practice among the Royal troops, a clause was introduced into the Articles of War of 1829, which compelled the self-maimed men to remain with their Regiment and perform the duties of scavengers. A Commanding Officer having complained that he had in his Corps six or seven of these maimed men who were a dead weight and a disgrace, the Commander-in-Chief directed him to keep them as long as they lived, as a warning to others, and impose upon them all kinds of irksome fatigue duties. It should be said, however, that in April, 1829, limited enlistments were altogether discontinued. The men, therefore, having no termination to their service to look to until they were disabled by age, sickness, or wounds, resorted to mutilation as the only means of obtaining their discharge.

But the Government of the day was not insensible to the soldiers' interests. Sir Henry Hardinge was peculiarly solicitous that everything in relation to his pay should be scrupulously attended to, and with this object ever present to his mind he procured the insertion, in the Articles of War of 1829, of a rule that the soldier should be provided with a book (which acquired the appellation of "Tommy Atkins") in which his age, the date of his enlistment, and the state of his accounts should be shown.

Excepting that the 5th Regiment of Foot received permission to wear a red and white feather in lieu of the simple white feather it had hitherto worn as a mark of peculiar distinction, and that Generals Sir David Baird and Sir H. Clinton died, the year 1829 was utterly barren of Military occurrences beyond those registered above. The official mind, like the public mind, was engrossed by the settlement of the great question of Catholic Emancipation. The mighty Captain who had so often routed England's external foes achieved a victory of surpassing interest and importance over a bigotry which had for a century and a half been prolific of injustice to some millions of British subjects. His Grace the Duke of Wellington dreaded a rebellion more than an act of grace of a levelling tendency, and boldly advised his Sovereign to cast aside his fears for the stability of Protestantism, and dispense with tests and oaths which fettered the conscience and impeded the exercise of loyalty. The Catholics were "emancipated" in 1829.*

In June, 1830, died King George the Fourth. He was succeeded by his brother William, Duke of Clarence, whose early life had been passed in

* 700*l.* was the price paid to the Colonel of a Regiment for a Chaplaincy.

* One of the results of the heats engendered by the Catholic controversy was a duel between the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Winchelsea. The latter nobleman was one of the pillars of the combination of "Church and State." Indulging in some reflections on the course taken by the illustrious Field-Marshal, a meeting was arranged and shots were exchanged, without damaging either of the parties to the foolish contest.

the Navy. The death of the one Sovereign who had latterly secluded himself from his subjects, and the advent of one comparatively but little known, was productive neither of regret nor enthusiasm, although the Court language adapted to such occasions announced the existence of both emotions. Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, said, on moving an address in answer to a message from the new King, "That principle of the Constitution which forbids the possibility of there being any suspension or interruption of the exercise of the regal power makes it necessary that we should unite the discordant and strongly contrasted topics of condolence on the death of the late Sovereign, His Majesty's brother, and of congratulation on His Majesty's accession."

In the same year with the death of George the Fourth the Duke of Cumberland resigned the Colonelcy of the Blues. Up to that time the sole command of the Household Brigade had been vested in the Gold Stick, an office held by the Colonels of each of the three Regiments in rotation. But that authority was now transferred to the office of the Commander-in Chief, and the Household Brigade was placed on the same footing with the rest of the Army. Upon the promulgation of the order making the transfer, the Duke of Cumberland resigned. "Gold Stick had become a mere Court office, which, as a Prince of the blood Royal, His Royal Highness could not hold—nor was it compatible with his rank as the eldest Field-Marshal but one in the Service to receive the orders of an Officer junior to himself." The Colonelcy was given to General Lord Hill. It was a prize worthy of the ambition of any Officer of position. In the 'Memoirs of the Reign of William the Fourth and Victoria,' by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, there are a good many letters from a distinguished Cavalry Marquis, in which a great deal of irritability is apparent, that the Colonelcy of the Horse Guards was not bestowed upon himself when a vacancy subsequently occurred.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

William the Fourth—His Military Proclivities—Military Literature — Captain Chesney's Explorations — The Euphrates Expedition—Commutation of Out-Pensions —Widows' Pensions—Riots—Court-Martial on Colonel Brereton—Action against Sir George Bingham—Riots in Montreal—Conduct of the 15th Foot—Depredations on the Cape Frontier—The 72nd Highlanders—Civil War in Spain—The British Legion—Cavalry Tactics.

Upon the accession of William the Fourth, His Majesty was pleased to declare himself Colonel-in-Chief of the three household Cavalry Regiments. Although his professional antecedents gave him Naval tastes, he conceived a passion for Military display as soon as he was in a position to gratify it. The costume of the Navy acquired a Military semblance under the operation of this *penchant*. The facings of the Officers' coats had, during previous reigns, been of a white or buff colour. They now became scarlet, assimilating the Navy to the Artillery. But it was on the Guards that the King lavished his peculiar favour. Being desirous that "his Guards" should enjoy all the advantages that could be derived from the command and care of the General Officer commanding the Army-in-Chief, and that their duties should be conducted on the same principles as those of the troops of the Line, the King, by an Order dated July 31, 1830, directed that the Colonels of the Life Guards and Horse Guards should thereafter make all their applications respecting promotions, exchanges, leaves of absence, &c., to the General commanding the Army-in-Chief, in the same manner as the Colonels of the Foot Guards—the Gold Stick, however, continuing to perform the duty of that office, and receiving from His Majesty in person the parole and countersign, and reporting to the King in person.

In the following year, doubtless as the result of a suggestion from the most exalted personage, an Act was passed to enable Military Officers to hold positions in the Royal Household without forfeiting their half-pay. Until then, the privilege had been confined to the Navy.

Legislation on behalf of the soldiery slumbered in 1830. Excepting that the pensions of widows were restored to the liberal footing on which they were originally granted, and that Out-Pensioners were permitted to commute their pensions for a sum not exceeding four years' pension to enable them to settle in the Colonies, no Acts can be traced which need mention here.

The generally peaceful character of the reign of George the Fourth (the bloodless expedition to Portugal having furnished the only occasion for the employment of the troops in Europe) was extremely favourable to the cultivation of Military literature. "Captain Sword" had nobly done his work. It was the province of "Captain Pen" to record his achievements. Innumerable Military publications in the form of histories, narratives, memoirs, biographies, sketches, &c., burst upon the public. Colonel Napier took the lead in weight and importance, if not in chronological order, with his admirable account of the Peninsular War. The Marquis of Londonderry, a distinguished Cavalry soldier, contributed his own experiences of the campaigns in Spain and Portugal, and another work on the same subject came from the pen of Colonel Leith Hay. Robert Southey compiled a similar history. Excellent professional lucubrations proceeded from Colonels Leach,

Mitchell, Beamish, and others. The Rev. G. R. Gleig, who had exchanged the scarlet coat and epaulettes for the gown and bands of a clergyman, filled up his leisure hours with numerous Military essays and memoirs. Mr Grattan published a spirited account of the 88th Connaught Rangers, elegantly written and of a wholesome and elevating character. Captain Simmons produced an able work on Courts-Martial. Periodicals devoted to the Army and Navy likewise started into notoriety. Their success has been very great. They have become a sort of Institution. The origin and success of this description of literature is unquestionably due to Sir John Philippart, K.G.V., and K.P.S. In 1812 that gentleman (at this date—1870—we believe the oldest Knight in England) originated and edited the 'Military Panorama.' The undertaking was fraught with difficulties of some magnitude, for, as the war with France was still raging, Officers had little leisure for those contributions which have since formed the staple of our periodicals. In 1814, Sir John Philippart wrote an account of the campaigns in Northern Europe, commencing with Napoleon's war with Russia in 1812; and this he followed up with an account of the campaign in Germany and France—works which earned him the Swedish titles of Knight of the Order of Gustavus Vasa, and Knight of the Order of the Polar Star. Labouring indefatigably in his self-imposed vocation, Sir John next compiled 'The Royal Military Calendar, or Army Service and Commission Book,' in five volumes. The work ran through five editions. This was succeeded by the 'East India Military Calendar,' (3 vols.), and the 'Waterloo Memoirs,' (2 vols.), and in 1827 he projected and edited the 'Naval and Military Magazine,' a quarterly periodical. This precursor of all the later regular periodicals passed in 1829 into the hands of Mr Colburn, and became a monthly work, under the denomination of the 'United Service Journal.' It was placed under the editorship of Major Shadwell Clerke, and it is due to the memory of that accomplished soldier and perfect gentleman to say that, under his management, it acquired a vitality of which, even under its changed title of the 'United Service Magazine,' and the presence of active competitors, Time has not bereft it. But Sir John Philippart did not allow his zeal in the cause of Military periodical literature to evaporate. In 1833 he projected and produced the 'Naval and Military Gazette,' which he edited uninterruptedly for thirty-five years. In the same year the 'United Service Gazette' made its appearance, and the two periodicals have run a race of friendly rivalry from that hour to the present. The former publication, through the reputation which Sir John Philippart had earned, and the large Military and Naval connection he had formed, enjoyed the favour and support of numerous Officers who had sheathed their swords after the great war.

It was natural that Officers *en retraite* should gladly embrace the opportunity of fighting their battles o'er again, and filling up the skeleton despatches and gazettes with the flesh of personal adventure and stirring incident. Nor was it only within the limits of fact that Military literature became a striking feature of the time. The manifold achievements of the Army and Navy formed the substratum of a multitude of lively and interesting fictions, so well written as to obtain the honour of republication in a variety of "standard" forms. Among these were the stories of the 'Chelsea Pensioners,' the 'Hussar,' 'Rifleman Harris,' and 'The Light Dragoon' the Naval novels of Captain Marryatt, Captain Chamier, and others; and, better than all, the spirit-stirring romances—if that can be called romance which embraced so much of acknowledged truth—of 'Charles O'Malley,' 'Harry Lorrequer,' 'Tom Burke,' and 'Jack Hinton, the Guardsman.' All these, however, were but the forerunners of a work which, while it added, if possible, to the renown of England's greatest Captain, furnished a Military history of unexampled wealth and exactitude. The 'Wellington Despatches' must always be referred to with pride and confidence: for they not only record the heroism of British troops in India, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, France, and Belgium, but they exhibit to the nation the trials and troubles to which its Generals are exposed in the execution of their difficult and onerous tasks, by the feebleness and vacillation of the civil government under which they sometimes act, or the jealousies and incompetency of the foreign Officers and others with whom they may be directed to co-operate.

Much might be said of the extraordinary literary efforts of the correspondents of the English press with the armies in the field, but this belongs to a later period of our history.

The reign of William the Fourth, which lasted seven years, was essentially peaceful. The British Army, as a body, had little occupation, excepting in the protection of the public from internal disorders. These, however, attained so dangerous a height in 1831, owing to discontent in Ireland and the great contest which had arisen between various interests on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, that an increase of 7,000 men was sanctioned very readily. "Agitation" was thus kept within narrower bounds, and the progress of legislation was uninterrupted.

One remarkable exception to the activity which the Military displayed in putting down riots had an unfortunate though scarcely unexpected ter-

mination. There were disturbances in Nottingham and Bristol, arising out of the turbulent method adopted by the lower orders of manifesting their sentiments regarding Parliamentary Reform. To put down the riots at Bristol the civil authorities called upon Colonel Brereton, the Inspecting Field Officer of the district, to afford them the aid of the troops under his command. But so far from yielding the zealous co-operation that was expected of him and necessary, he acted in a feeble and temporising manner, calculated to encourage the rioters in their disorderly conduct. He sent the 14th Light Dragoons five miles away from the town; he prohibited the interference of the troops when the mob attacked the jail; he allowed the Bishop's Palace to be attacked and plundered, giving peremptory orders to the soldiers not to use any violence in suppressing the insurrection; and he altogether behaved in so friendly and familiar a manner towards the rioters that he augmented their confidence in their own power. Such conduct on Colonel Brereton's part could only have proceeded from mental hallucination or strong sympathy with the political sentiment which suggested the violence of the mob. Be that as it might, the unfortunate Officer was tried by Court-Martial, and finding, after four days spent in the investigation, that his guilt was fairly established, he closed a long career of thirty-one years of honourable service by putting a period to his existence.

Of a different character to the unhappy course of Colonel Brereton was that of Major-General Sir George Bingham. Holding a command in Ireland while the people, notwithstanding the passage of the Catholic Relief Bill, were giving way to discontent, under the mischievous guidance of demagogues, Sir George exerted himself to uphold the local government, affording ready assistance whenever called upon by competent functionaries. In the process of suppressing illegal meetings, he caused the Lancers to arrest a Mr Hodnett, whom he met at the head of a disorderly group. Mr Hodnett indicted Sir George Bingham for false imprisonment, and he was tried by a partial jury, mainly composed of the friends to sedition. Sir George was found "Guilty." Judge Moore, who presided, was so incensed at the manner in which the prosecution had been conducted, and at the verdict of the jury, that he only imposed a fine on the General of *sixpence*, remarking that Sir George was "by repute the representative of all the virtues that render character excellent. Benevolent, generous, philanthropic, the age of chivalry might well be said to have passed by when Sir George, because of his efforts in the discharge of his public duty, received such a recompense as the day's trial had shown."

It would seem, indeed, that in proportion as England is spared the cost and sacrifices and glory of Continental and Asiatic wars she is doomed to be worried by her Colonists and their neighbours. Either the discontents of ambitious politicians or the irruptions of savages compel the employment of her Army in inglorious service, more suitable to a police than a body of trained warriors. Thus, in 1832, there were very serious riots in Montreal, Canada, which required the intervention of the Military. It was the lot of the 15th Foot to co-operate with the civil power in putting down the disturbances arising out of a contested election, and in the execution of their duty Lieutenant-Colonel Macintosh and Captain Temple incurred the responsibility of the deaths of three rioters. The subject produced a great deal of commotion, and a Coroner's inquest and other judicial investigations were instituted to ascertain the exact degree of culpability of the Officers under whose orders a platoon had fired upon the disturbers of the public peace. Perfectly exonerated from all blame, the Lieutenant-Colonel who commanded the Regiment, and the active Officer who was directly responsible for the order to fire, were addressed in the following terms by the citizens of Montreal:

"So strong was our conviction of the importance of the services rendered by you and the magistrates on that occasion, that our desire was to have expressed our testimony of them immediately upon their occurrence; but considerations arising from the interposition of judicial authority prompted us to defer it. These considerations having now been removed, in a manner the most satisfactory to you and ourselves, we beg most respectfully to convey to you this expression of the obligations we feel we are under to you for the safety that we then, and have since, enjoyed in our persons and property through your means."

Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, wrote that the Commander-in-Chief felt bound to say "that he knew no instance in which troops had been employed in the suppression of riots, where greater judgment, discretion, or humanity had been displayed; and if the Officers (Lieutenant-Colonel Macintosh and Captain Temple) had since been annoyed by accusations of murder and by any proceedings which could tend to keep alive anxiety, they had at least the consolation of feeling that they had discharged a painful but imperative duty with temper and moderation, and that by so doing they put an end to disorders which would probably have led to consequences most disastrous to the city of Montreal."

Irruptions of the Caffres in 1834 kept the hands of the 72nd Highlanders full for some weeks of 1835. A restless chief heading thou-

sands of ruthless savages rushed into the Colony, and committed frightful outrages upon the inoffensive settlers. Murder, rapine, and devastation by fire marked the inroads of the barbarous tribes. Colonel Peddie at the head of his renowned Regiment advanced to the frontier, and chased the marauders from the confines of the British possessions.

In the West Indies there was a negro mutiny which the 22nd Foot put down, and in 1834 the negroes were bereft of all occasion for servile disturbance by the formal abolition of slavery in the British dominions.

These isolated cases formed the only interruption to the dull inaction and "quiet life" of the British Army during the reign of William the Fourth.

But, if the Army at large was unemployed on any service which added to its renown, individual Officers found occasion for the exercise of their talents in fields of science and geographical research fruitful of national advantage. One of the most remarkable of these occurrences is presented in the instance of Captain (afterwards General) F. R. Chesney of the Royal Artillery.

Captain Chesney was in Egypt in 1830, going towards the provinces recently ceded to the Pachalic, when he was made aware that Lord Aberdeen, then in office, was desirous of making certain inquiries regarding the best line of communication with India. Captain Chesney, who had not been indifferent to the subject generally, immediately offered to examine the route *viâ* Egypt, and then to descend the Euphrates. His offer was accepted as to the first part of his proposition, and he accordingly went down the Red Sea to Cosseir, crossed the Nile at Kennah, sailed down the river, examined the port of Damietta, &c., and sent in his reports. He was then prepared to undertake the examination of the Euphrates line; but hearing that Captain Mignan, of the Bombay Army, had already received instructions to investigate that line, Captain Chesney abandoned the idea of exploring the river, and went to Damascus. He had not been there any considerable time before he heard that three English gentlemen, who were volunteers upon a similar mission, had been murdered near Mosul, and that consequently the project was suspended. With characteristic resolution, Captain Chesney instantly joined a caravan en route to El Kaim, and the moment he saw the Euphrates the idea of descending that noble river seized him powerfully, and circumstances favoured the attempt. He employed the Arabs to make him a raft, and, after some delay, he embarked with his interpreter, a servant, and three Arab boatmen. Following the instructions of Mr Cartwright, the Consul-General in Turkey, he directed his inquiries, investigations, and powerful observation to the depth of the Euphrates, the peculiarities of the river, the trade of the river, the state of the tribes on its banks, the highest point to which a steamer could possibly ascend, the length of time that would be required in making the voyage up and down the whole length of the stream, and other matters of interest in connection with the great purpose of sending troops to India by the Euphrates route.

Under the most favourable circumstances the course of such an investigation could not be unattended with serious fatigues, risks, and inconveniences. In Captain Chesney's case the enterprise was fraught with peril. A stranger to the people and to the country, a disciple of a religious faith held in utter hatred by the Mahommedan Arab, a native of a land supposed to be wealthy enough to ransom liberally any of its citizens held in captivity, ignorant of the language, presumably possessed of personal property worth the plundering, Captain Chesney was an object of continual suspicion, dislike, cupidity, and hostility. The hands of the men which are ever uplifted against their fellows would not be stayed if the opportunity offered of striking at a Christian dog, a Giaour, who had come among the people with inscrutable objects. He was not a trader, nor a pilgrim, nor an Officer in the Sultan's or Pacha's employ. He was at best a doubtful personage with occult intentions. Such was the reasoning of barbarous tribes who could not appreciate, because they did not understand, scientific researches or their philanthropic objects. The Arab could not foresee the immense advantages which would accrue to himself and his posterity by the conversion of the neglected river to the grand purposes of a high road of commerce between Europe and the East, and a channel for the introduction of civilising institutions. He saw only the chances of enriching himself by the plunder of an unprotected traveller, and fulfilling the Prophet's behests by murdering an infidel. Captain Chesney was thus exposed every hour to the risk of assassination and robbery, to which were to be added the ordinary trials of travellers in strange countries—privations and discomforts of every kind. But the unconquerable spirit of the Artillery Officer bore him through all dangers. Disguised as a Turk, seated on his little raft, he silently and unobtrusively pursued his voyage. He ascertained the depths of the river by attaching a ten-foot rod to the raft and immersing it to the fullest extent. His eye was perpetually directed to the stream, and every time the rod appeared above the surface evidence was supplied that the water was momentarily shallower. The rod was then taken out, and the soundings measured. This was in itself a great labour, demanding constant atten-

tion, by night as well as by day. But it was not all the labour imposed by the survey. Captain Chesney had to note the villages on the river's banks,* to count the houses, and take the bearings of a river which in some parts serpentines considerably. At Hitt, he changed his raft for a wicker-boat made of osiers coated with bitumen—a substance found in abundance in springs in the locality. It was with this bitumen that the bricks were cemented which formed the walls of great Babylon. In this Arabian coracle Captain Chesney descended the river until he reached Felaja, parallel with Bagdad. He immediately crossed over to Bagdad, and went from thence to Bassorah and Bushire—all the while preparing his maps and charts and keeping his log—working, enduring, braving all difficulties and hazards. From Bushire he went upwards into Persia, stopping at Tabreez; then on to Trebisond, the Tarobozane of Xenophon, crossed the Taurus range to Aleppo, and got back to Bir after meeting with many obstacles. He had thus accomplished the mighty task of following the course of a river, almost unknown to Europe, for 900 miles, and enabled the British Government to found upon his report an application to Parliament for a grant to defray the cost of a surveying expedition upon a comprehensive scale, the ultimate purposes of which, if fortunately carried out, would have placed at the command of the English a new barrier to Russian aggressions and advances. It was shown, during the Parliamentary inquiry which followed upon Captain Chesney's patient investigations, that the first thing the Russians invariably do when they get possession of, or establish a connection with, any country is to exclude all other nations from navigating its waters. Russia was known to have an eye to Bagdad. Her emissaries were in the city for some time. It was therefore of importance to England to obtain prior possession of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. The establishment of a steam communication upon the former would give Great Britain a virtual interest in its political integrity and a right to interfere if sinister motives prompted Russia to attempt a footing.

The House of Commons was moved by the Report of the Committee; and five years subsequent to Captain Chesney's commencement of his exploratory tour, that able and distinguished Officer, with the rank of Colonel, was placed in charge of an expedition, consisting of two steam vessels, severally named the Tigris and Euphrates, and sent with a chosen band of fifteen Officers, all more or less distinguished by scientific, literary, and professional attainments, to survey the rivers, and acquire a lasting position for England in that quarter of the East. A terrible hurricane destroyed the Tigris on the first voyage down the river in May, 1836, and the Government lacked courage and sagacity to renew its application to Parliament for a further grant. Deeply mortified as Colonel Chesney must have felt at the failure of the first attempt, his indomitable spirit would doubtless have carried the enterprise to a fortunate issue had he received that degree of support at home which it would have been wise in the authorities to have given him. But the foolish old adage of the burnt child which dreads the fire deterred them from a second effort, and to this hour (1870) the great object of the labours of 1830-36, individual and collective, remains unattained.

Affairs in Spain in 1835 furnished a few British Officers with an excuse for seeking honour in the land hallowed by the exploits of Peterborough, Moore, and Wellington. On the 29th September, 1833, King Ferdinand died. His successor, by a law passed to disinherit and exclude His Majesty's eldest brother, Don Carlos, was the Infanta Isabella, then aged three years only. A Regency was established, but the friends and adherents of Don Carlos proclaimed him King, and raised a force to place and maintain him on the throne. The Regency applied to Great Britain for assistance. This could not be afforded in the ordinary way, because Spain was not assailed by a border or external foe; but the operation of the Foreign Enlistment Bill was suspended for two years, that the Spanish Government might raise a force of ten thousand mercenaries if it thought proper. The Regency caught at the opportunity of strengthening its hands with a band of soldiers, who had on former occasions performed "deeds of high emprise" in Spain. Colonel De Lacy Evans, then one of the Members for Westminster, was entrusted with the preparation and command of the Force, and immediate steps were taken for forming a "British Auxiliary Legion." A short time sufficed to recruit the number of troops required, and they were formed into two Regiments of Lancers—one English and one Irish; one Regiment of Rifles; two Scotch, three Irish, and five English Regiments of Infantry; a Corps of Artillery; and a waggon train. Numerically, the Legion was all that the cause of Isabella Secunda could need. But it was badly officered. Colonel Evans himself had seen service in the Peninsula, and was otherwise a soldier of rare attainments and intelligence. We say nothing of his tried courage, but the example and experience of one man, with an untrained rabble Army of ten thousand men drawn from the humblest ranks of life, are not enough. Adjutants and subordinates of corre-

* It was in one of these villages that the author—himself a traveller—had the honour of making the acquaintance of the adventurous soldier, and is thus enabled to speak from personal observation of the character of his enterprise.

sponding character and abilities are indispensable. Colonel Evans could only obtain the assistance of ten Officers of the effective British Army, one of whom was an Engineer, and one an Artillerist. To these were added some Officers of the East India Company's Service temporarily on furlough. The Duke of Wellington had set his face against the expedition, and his frown scared many men from risking their prospects in campaigns which did not hold out much prospect of honour or of profit. To this disadvantage was to be superadded the fact that in the Army of Don Carlos, the pretender to the throne, were many English Officers, so that "the Legion" would absolutely be contending in the field with its own brethren—a sufficient motive for keeping many Officers aloof.

The operations of the British Auxiliary Legion in Spain, however honourable to its Commander and the nations of which it was composed, form no part of the History of the regular British Army. It is sufficient to say that, enduring more than their share of such sufferings as were common to the Armies of Sir John Moore and the Duke of Wellington, and behaving, if possible, with greater irregularity than those well-officered troops had done, the Legion fought courageously and frequently against the terrible and cruel Carlists, and often overthrew them in the conflict. One of the most remarkable of their successes was achieved by the Lancers—and this was in a great degree owing to the charge having been made in *rank entire*. Captain John Kinloch, who had been at one time in the Life Guards and at another in the 68th Foot, was appointed a Brigadier-General in the Spanish Queen's Army. He raised, organised, and commanded the *Rey Isabella* Regiment of Lancers, and charged entirely upon the "rank entire" principle. His original opinions as to the advantage of that form of attack were fortified by the varied experience of the Duke of Wellington, Sir Hussey Vivian, Lord William Russell, and Major (afterwards General) Anthony Bacon. The letters of the three first-named Officers to the last-named give such excellent reasons for the adoption of the peculiar formation that they may be read with profit by all who interest themselves in the art of war. It should be premised that General Bacon commanded the English Lancers in Portugal in the years 1833 and 1834, when Dom Pedro was fighting the battle of succession with his cousin, Dom Miguel.*

The perfect success of "rank entire" formation on the few occasions on which it was tried rendered it worthy of consideration whether the plan should not be acted upon in the British Army. Colonel Kinloch having, naturally, firm faith in the formation, wrote: "I find that in the Regulations for the drill and exercise of the Yeomanry Cavalry, they are recommended to adopt the '*rank* entire' formation. It is particularly applicable to Yeomanry Cavalry, on account of its great simplicity and freedom of action." The Duke of Wellington "conceived that it would render the use of Cavalry in an Army much more general than it is at present;" Sir Hussey Vivian observed, "that the second rank is of but little use but to fall over the first;" and General Bacon said, "As a troop becomes a squadron, and each rank is commanded by Officers, it appears that the effective strength of our Cavalry may be greatly increased, *if not fully doubled*, by adopting the 'rank entire system.'"

But, notwithstanding the opinions strongly expressed by so many Officers of experience, no change whatever was wrought in the system of British Cavalry exercise. The public are still called upon to admire, at the field days of the Life Guards, in the language of the reporters, the terrific attacks of the Household Brigade, one line charging at full gallop, *the other supporting them in the rear*, the roaring of the artillery on the flanks, the clangour of the trumpets, the discharge of the carbines, &c.

The extraordinary improvements that have been effected in the structure of small arms necessitate a very great change in the form of Cavalry attack, for although the value of that branch of the Service must always be considerable, its tactics cannot fail to be modified by the description of projectile brought to bear upon it. When musketry had only an uncertain range of 120 yards, and the smooth-bore deflected the bullets so essentially that, according to a rather whimsical calculation, it took 3,000 during the wars with Napoleon to kill one man,—the Cavalry could get over the ground and break an Infantry line before many saddles had been emptied; but rifles which bring down an object at 1,000 yards, appear to offer a formidable check to front attacks in either single or double rank, be the horses ever so swift or the ground even. The French, who are very careful to keep their Cavalry efficient, have given much attention to this subject. A few years ago a little work appeared, called, "*Instruction Provisoire sur le Travail individuel dans la Cavalerie*," which embraced some valuable suggestions on this head. One of these deserves quoting.

"We shall now endeavour to point out, by a new system of tactics, the means to be employed to avoid the disastrous effects of the improved fire-arms, and the different preparatory dispositions for attacking the enemy—Cavalry charges, and their effect.

* The letters will be found in the Appendix.

"Raking Charges — *Charges Rasantes.*—We believe we must modify the means of attack, and plan them so as to lose as few men as possible; and with this object, instead of direct charges on the faces of a square or a deployed line, we must, at full speed, execute raking charges, presenting the right hand to the enemy—the horsemen breaking individually at intervals of two yards from each other at the top of their speed; for, should they slacken pace or stop, they would be soon decimated by the balls of the enemy. We must rake the enemy's line at very close quarters, and threaten the eyes of the foot soldier with the point of the sword or the lance, so as to make him come to the parry by raising the bayonet. Companies, Squadrons, or whole Regiments executing such charges will inflict immense damage upon the Infantry, without sustaining notable losses; for, armed with his sword, the horseman can deliver point through a raking space of from sixty to eighty yards. From these data we can calculate how many horsemen must be placed in file, in order that the foot soldiers charged by them may be killed or disabled. But these raking charges must be executed only by horsemen completely masters of their horses, and skilful in wielding their swords. We must never forget that men must be required to do only what they can do well: they will always boldly undertake what they are sure they can do."

Colonel De Lacy Evans had seen a great deal of service in the Peninsula, but the Duke of Wellington could not be brought to forgive his entrance upon the Spanish quarrel. Lord Palmerston, however, consoled the gallant Colonel by recommending him for the honour of a Knight Commandership of the Bath.

Returning to the chronological order of events which more or less affected the interests of the soldier in the reign of William the Fourth, we must note a case which excited considerable interest in 1832, and elicited much warmth of discussion. It was that of Private Alexander Somerville, of the Scots Greys. During the feverish period of the struggle to pass a Parliamentary Reform Bill there were many disturbances in the country, notably at Birmingham and similar large towns. It was expected that the 2nd North British Dragoons would have been called upon to aid the civil power in repressing disorder. This led Alexander Somerville to write to the Editor of the 'Weekly Dispatch' (a thoroughly Radical paper), a letter in which the following passage occurred: "We should certainly have considered ourselves, as soldiers, bound to put down such disorderly conduct—this, I say, we would have felt to be our duty; but against the liberties of our country we would never, never, never have raised an arm: the Scots Greys have honourably secured a high character in defence of their country, and they would be the last to degrade themselves below the dignity of British soldiers as only the tools of a tyrant. The Duke of Wellington may, if he sees or hears of this, assure himself that Military Government shall never again be set up in this country." Within a few hours of the publication of the letter, Major Wyndham caused Somerville to be tried by Court-Martial, ostensibly for some alleged misconduct in the riding-school, for which he actually received one hundred lashes, that being a part of the number awarded by the Court. Major Wyndham had discovered that Somerville had written the unmilitary letter in the 'Dispatch,' and it was inferred that the irritation produced by that event accelerated the trial. Suffice to say, that the "Liberal" press took up the subject very warmly, and for a long time Somerville was regarded as a martyr.

The year 1833 was rife with measures of a comprehensive tendency which contributed in some instances to popularise the Service. In compliance with the recommendation of a Select Committee of the House of Commons the Crown was empowered to grant rewards for distinguished services in the Army to the extent of 18,000*l.* a year. Prior to that occurrence the rewards for distinguished service consisted of non-effective garrison appointments abroad and at home, which, as a consequence of the more generous measure, were abolished as they fell vacant. In the same year the pensions to the rank and file were reduced, and the term of service increased to twenty-five and twenty-eight years. This latter measure was opposed by the Secretary-at-War on the ground that it would be prejudicial to the recruiting service. Subsequent experience, however, showed that this was a fallacious expectation. The Select Committee warmly espoused the consolidation of the different departments connected with the civil administration of the Army, and among other changes recommended the transfer of the command of the Ordnance Corps to the Commander-in-Chief. But this was opposed by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Hardinge; and the office of Master-General of the Ordnance, a purely political appointment, continued in existence for many years later. The passage of an "Appropriation Act" gave to Military Officers the privilege of drawing their half-pay when appointed to civil offices with certain exceptions, and with this Act the Military legislation of the year terminated.

Not the least noteworthy event in the early part of the reign of William the Fourth was the establishment of the "United Service Institution, comprehending a library, museum, and lecture-theatre." So warmly was the proposition to form the museum and library espoused in 1829,

that by 1833 it numbered no fewer than three thousand members, and they have since greatly increased. The museum, which comprehends all the modern as well as many of the ancient Naval and Military machines and implements of war and navigation, and numerous excellent models, is singularly rich.

The year 1834 was not otherwise remarkable for events affecting the Army, excepting in as far as a motion of Lord Ebrington's, for adding a sum of money in the estimates for the increase of the pay of the General Officers, elicited from Lord Hardinge an emphatic declaration of the principle that the House of Commons had no power to augment the estimates. The Sovereign alone was the disposer of grace, favour, and reward to the Army. No reductions should be proposed until the pleasure of the Monarch had been taken, for he alone could direct the issue or the abatement of reward and the infliction of punishment. "The Army," said Lord H., "should look up to no authority but that of the King."

A very animated debate took place in 1837 regarding the position of the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. The constitutional usage is to sever and exclude the head of the Army from all political action and from all political party in the State. He ought not to be supposed to have any political influence as a bias on his mind, particularly on the subject of the promotions in the Army. It happened that Lord Hill, who in 1837 filled the office of Commander-in-Chief, disagreed with the Whig Ministers, whereupon Mr Joseph Hume urged his retirement from the command, and moved a reduction in the estimates by the amount of his pay. But the proposal fell to the ground as opposed to the Constitution. Mr Wynn objected that it would be an improper interference with the prerogative of the Crown, and an attempt to dictate to the Crown whom it should or should not employ. "The House would thus arrogate to itself the management of the Army, than which nothing could be more dangerous to the Constitution."

CHAPTER XXXV.

Death of William IV. and Accession of Queen Victoria—Russian Designs upon India—Expedition to Affghanistan—Storming of Ghuzni by the 13th Light Infantry, &c.—Shah Soojah on the Cabul Throne—Khelat taken by the 2nd and 17th—Massacre of the British Troops in 1841—Retributive Measures—Generals Pollock and Nott advance upon the Affghans, rescue the Prisoners, and destroy Cabul—Sir R. Sale at Jellalabad—The 17th Foot at Aden—Rebellion in Canada—Disloyalty in England—Colonel Thomas, of the 20th—War with China—The Conquest of Scinde—Sir C. Napier appointed Governor.

King William the Fourth was happily spared to the nation until the presumptive heir to the throne had reached an age to render a Regency unnecessary. His Majesty died in his seventy-third year on June 20, 1837, and having no legitimate issue, was succeeded by his niece, Alexandrina Victoria, the only child of the Duke of Kent.

Delighted as the whole nation was at being once again ruled by a Queen—for some of its greatest glories had been achieved under a female Sovereign—it was not without poignant regret that it saw William the Fourth descend to the tomb. A very kind-hearted man—upright, clear-headed, and impartial—he won the love of the people and the respect of all to whom he entrusted the reins of government. One of his early acts had been to ennoble his illegitimate children. They were all meritorious, and acquired the regard of the country. Earl Munster, the eldest, who had been a traveller and an author, died early. Lord Frederick Fitzclarence became a most efficient General; Lord Adolphus, a Naval Officer; and Lord Augustus, a Minister of the Gospel. The daughters of the King married brave and honourable men, and were most exemplary in all the relations of life. Thus, though the King left no legitimate issue by his truly excellent Consort, Queen Adelaide, he was not unduly represented by the offspring of an illicit connection with one of the greatest ornaments of the British stage. It has been shown that towards the Army William the Fourth, in spite of his Naval antecedents, was very graciously inclined; but it did not lead him to forget the sister service. Lord William Bentinck, who knew him well, writing to Sir Samford Whittingham—then on the point of proceeding to a command in the West Indies—said, "I am glad you were pleased with His Majesty's reception. There cannot be a better-hearted man than our gracious Sovereign, and *his decided, and above all his equal, patronage of the two professions entitles him to the gratitude and respect of every soldier and sailor.*"

The Army, at the date of Her Majesty's accession, was still under the command of Lord Hill, and it was in as efficient a condition as the repugnance of the Duke of Wellington to changes, however recommended as improvements, and the parsimony of the House of Commons, would allow. Lord Hill deferred to the Duke in all things. There had been no augmentations in the Cavalry strength since the disbandments of the war; the Artillery was weak; but the Infantry had received a permanent addition in 1823 and 1824. Ninety-nine Regiments of the Line and a Rifle Brigade formed, with the Household Regiments, the entire peace establishment. And there was little prospect or apprehension that while the sceptre was wielded by gentle hands the sword would be drawn, excepting for purposes of

defence. At the moment when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, there did not appear to exist the faintest reason to believe that any foreign Power would provoke a war by aggressive acts, or that the complications of European policy would involve the necessity of interference on the part of Great Britain. Every nation sent its representative to honour the coronation of the young Queen. Singularly significant of the future *entente cordiale* between England and France was the appearance of Marshal Soult as the delegate of the French King. The moment he saw Lord Hill he seized him by the hand, and exclaimed jocosely (in reference to the old movements on the Tagus), *Ah, je vous attrappe enfin—moi qui ai couru si long temps après vous!*

But though everything was peaceful on the surface, a volcano slumbered within. Russian designs upon India had been from the days of the Czar Paul a common topic of discussion in Europe, and a frequent subject of apprehension among English politicians. All the wars of Russia with the nations upon her frontier appeared to point to the acquisition of territory to the south and west of her own wild steppes and bleak, inhospitable shores. A petty State under Peter the Great, she had advanced by 1837 to the front rank of nations. Her flag fluttered in the Caspian and the Black Sea, as well as the Baltic. The Caucasus had ceased to be a barrier to her progress. Georgia and Armenia were in her grasp. Persia had felt the weight of her arms on the banks of the Araxes, and the force of her political intrigues was acknowledged at Teheran. She had conquered Poland, threatened Constantinople from the heights of the Balkan; she was feared in Austria, potential in the Danubian Principalities, and not without influence in Greece. Even the great wall of China had been passed by her Officers, and she was now busily engaged in furtively approaching Affghanistan. The city of Herat was the key to that principality. The Shah of Persia laid siege to the city, moved by Russia to claim Affghanistan. Russian gold supplied the means of prosecuting the enterprise, and Russian Officers directed the military operations. Once successful, the Russians would have converted the conquered State into a Perso-Russian province, and become a very dangerous neighbour to the British in India. True, the Punjaub, the rich country of the Five Rivers, governed by a wily Sikh, who knew the value of an English alliance, interposed a barrier to aggression; but Dost Mahomed, the ruler of Cabul, had plunged into a war with Runjeet Singh, and he was aided in his hostile proceedings by the Russian emissaries of Count Nesselrode. If the Affghans prevailed, the Sikh power would be prostrated, and Russia thus virtually acquire a footing in India. To prevent the consummation of this mischief the Governor-General of India, acting in concert with the Ministry in England, took decided and comprehensive measures. A gallant young Artillery Officer of the East India Company's Bombay establishment (Pottinger) proceeded to Herat, repaired the fortifications, directed the defences of the city, and drove back the Persians; another (Alexander Burnes, an Infantry Officer,) went to Cabul, and ascertaining beyond all doubt that Russian diplomatists were establishing a malignant influence there, and that the Khan was unpopular, the British Government felt itself justified in replacing him by an exiled prince who had formerly ruled in Affghanistan. This prince, Shah Soojah by name, had been expelled by his brother Mahmoud, after one of those struggles for supremacy common among Eastern chiefs. Mahmoud was in his turn deposed, and the throne fell to the son of a Vizier. Shah Soojah had taken refuge in the Punjaub, where Runjeet Singh first gave him cordial welcome, and then robbed him of his available and portable treasure, including a famous diamond, the Koh-i-Noor, or Mountain of Light. This led the unfortunate exile to cross the Sutlej into India, where he was received by the British authorities, supported and protected for some years. Strictly speaking, he had no better claim to the musnud of Cabul than the man who was actually in possession; but if the law, as laid down by Vattel, has any validity, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, was warranted in his policy: "When two parties are contending it is just for a third, whose interests are involved, to assist one against the other, providing that no existing compact binds it to neutrality."

Anticipating resistance either in Affghanistan or on the march thither, or after occupying the province, the Governor-General assembled a large Army on the Sutlej, which was to march down the left bank, meet another Army from Bombay at Sukkur, and then enter Affghanistan by way of Upper Scinde. The Royal Regiment of the Bengal Contingent comprised the 16th Lancers and the 13th Light Infantry; Bombay contributed a wing of the 4th Light Dragoons; the 2nd and 17th Foot. Major-General Sir Willoughby Cotton commanded the Bengal Division; Major-General Willshire headed the column from Bombay. The entire force was led by Lieutenant-General Sir John Keane. Major-General Thackwell, of the 3rd Light Dragoons, commanded the Cavalry of the Force. The Native Regiments were very numerous, and to these were added the Bengal European Regiment (now the 101st Fusiliers), ably commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards General Sir Abraham) Roberts, and several troops and companies of Artillery. Assembling the Bengal Force at Ferozepore, Lord

Auckland exchanged complimentary visits with the ruler of the Punjaub, which enabled the latter to display his own Military strength. The Army of the Punjaub had for many years been drilled by French and English Officers, and its equipment was very perfect. At least 20,000 of Runjeet Sing's soldiers could favourably compare with disciplined troops of European nations. Runjeet allowed 10,000 men as an escort of Shah Soojah to pass through his dominions. The rest proceeded to Sukkur.

Excepting that the marauding tribes who occupied the Kojuk and Bolund passes, in Upper Scinde, plundered the baggage and molested the columns by a discharge of jezails and other heavy musketry from the heights, there was no interruption to the progress of the Force until it reached Ghuzni. Here the Affghan showed his teeth. Sir John Keane was unprovided with siege guns. Major Thomson, the engineer, engaged to blow open the gate of the fortress with a bag of gunpowder. This summary method of paving the way for admission was successfully adopted, and the 13th Light Infantry, of Burmah fame, led, as before, by the intrepid Sale, stormed the gateway and seized the place. The Bengal Europeans united with the 13th in overcoming the Affghan stronghold. This feat earned a medal for the victors, and Shah Soojah bestowed the Dooranee Order on some of the principal Officers. From Ghuzni the march to Cabul was uninterrupted. Shah Soojah being established on the throne, some skirmishes took place in the neighbourhood with the followers of Dost Mahomed, who ultimately surrendered himself a prisoner of war, and was sent to Bengal. The Bombay column returned to its Presidency. Incidentally Major-General Willshire, with the 2nd and 17th Foot, visited Khelat, the Khan of which place had, with the predatory mountain tribes, obstructed the march, robbed the caravans of stores and baggage, and imprisoned a British Officer. The General attacked and captured the fortress, not without loss on both sides. The Khan was slain in defending his home, in which there was a fair amount of prize. Two colour-serjeants distinguished themselves so much in the assault that their names, Dunn and Mills, found special mention in the records of the Regiment; and General Willshire received the order of K.C.B. Having destroyed the works, General Willshire pursued his homeward route. Two years later, the 44th Foot marched into Affghanistan, under Colonel Shelton. General Willoughby Cotton (who had been made a K.C.B. in 1838) quitted the command when the country appeared to be perfectly tranquil, and was succeeded by Major-General Elphinstone, an Officer of the Guards, who had seen no service.

Whether incited by Affghan chiefs who desired the expulsion of the English, or dissatisfied with an alleged irregularity in the payment of the sums for which they had stipulated as the condition of keeping the passes clear, the tribes occupying the Khyber chain became extremely troublesome in 1841, and blocked up the road. The communication of the Army at Cabul with Hindostan was thus cut off. To clear the pass, the 13th Light Infantry was detached with a Bengal Sepoy Regiment under Brigadier-General Sale. Sale found it necessary to take possession of the town of Jellalabad, and to fortify himself until additional troops could be brought from India. This was in October, 1841. In the following month an organised revolt took place in Cabul, attended by circumstances of violence. The British Envoy and his assistant were murdered, and the troops blockaded. Indecision at such a moment was fatal. Generals Elphinstone and Shelton unfortunately could not agree. Inaction was the result. The winter advanced,—and a Cabul winter is very trying to men only accustomed to the heated plains of India. When the cold had reached its climax of intensity, the diminished garrison, with a small store of provisions, encumbered by numerous followers (women, children, and cattle), were forced to evacuate the country, and, as they struggled through the dreadful passes, were mercilessly shot down by the ruthless Affghans perched on the summits of the rocks. Thirteen thousand human beings were immolated—sacrifices to the sectarian hatred of the Mahommedans. Only one man escaped to Jellalabad to inform the gallant Sale that his wife and four or five score of ladies, Officers, and children, had been made prisoners by the Khan, whose hand was red with the blood of the murdered Envoy, Sir William Macnaghten. A more terrible tragedy had never been enacted in India. Even Hyder Ali's cruelties were mercies in comparison with this barbarous outrage. Shah Alum had mowed down thousands at Delhi, but there were no Christian soldiers among them.

The rescue of the prisoners, the release of Sale's brigade pent up in Jellalabad, the vindication of British honour, and the restoration of the prestige which could not have been otherwise than affected by the disaster, devolved on the Earl of Ellenborough, who succeeded Lord Auckland in the Government of India. To accomplish these objects an Army was assembled at Peshawur, under General Pollock, of the Bengal Artillery. The 9th and 31st Foot, with the 3rd Light Dragoons, formed the European part of the Force. Another Army, in which the 40th and 41st Royal Regiments were included, was under the command of General Nott, a Company's Officer, at Candahar. After some unaccountable hesitation, Lord Ellenborough directed a co-operative movement of the

two Forces, and their mission was fulfilled in the most praiseworthy manner. The columns moved upon Cabul, overcame all opposition, released the prisoners wherever confined, and destroyed the citadel and bazaar at Cabul. Some resistance was offered to General Pollock in the Tezeen valley, to General McCaskill at Istaliff, and to General Nott at Gonine; but it was of no effect. To facilitate Pollock's advance, General (then Sir Robert) Sale sallied out of Jellalabad with the entire garrison, and attacked and defeated Akbar Khan, by whom he had been blockaded. The whole of the troops then returned to India, bearing with them a pair of sandalwood gates, with which the Governor-General expected to make an immense impression on the minds of the "Chiefs and Princes of India." But those personages manifested a singular and stupid indifference to the return of the holy portals of Somnath. They had been carried thence centuries previously by the Mahommedan invaders, to the great grief of the Hindoos of Guzerat, the sanctity of whose temple had been violated by their removal; but the degenerate successors of the pious Brahmins who witnessed the outrage were not alive to the importance of their re-appearance as trophies of conquest. It would have been wiser to have left the troops (and the trophies) in Affghanistan to secure the advantages already obtained, and profit by the hard lessons of the winter of '41.

Aden, near the mouth of the Red Sea, had been for some time occupied by the British as a coal depot for the steamers which plied between India and Suez. The property accumulated there soon excited the cupidity of the Arabs; and this, added to their intolerance of Christians, led them to acts of hostility. Cutting off the supplies which the small garrison received from the interior of Arabia, they subjected it to material inconvenience, and gave earnest of further insults. To put an end to this annoyance, a portion of the 6th Foot and the Bombay European Regiment, with some Sappers and Artillery, were sent against the enemy, and by a forced march of forty miles in twenty-two hours, came up with a strong body of hostile Arabs, attacked them, destroyed the post of Sheikh Ottman, and returned to Aden. No repetition of offensive conduct gave occasion to the further employment of the troops. One lesson sufficed for the prudent sons of the desert.

Naturally inclined to peace and harmony as the Sovereign lady of the realm of Great Britain unquestionably was, it appeared to be her destiny, as it was that of the great Queens Elizabeth and Anne, to be continually involved in war. The saying of some wise epigrammatist, that when "women reign, men govern," would seem to transfer the responsibility of all quarrels to the shoulders of the Ministers; but it is no more than just to declare that the men to whom Queen Victoria consigned the seals of office were pacifically inclined, and only drew the sword when the provocation was sufficiently great to justify an appeal to the last argument countenanced by humanity. The honour and interests of England alike demanded that grave offences should be resented and outrages chastised.

Her Majesty was hardly seated on the throne when a rebellion broke out in her Canadian provinces. For some four or five years previously the inhabitants of Lower Canada, stirred up by mischievous spirits, at the head of whom was a Mr Papineau, had manifested considerable discontent, on grounds which it is not necessary in this History to state. At length the Legislative Assembly announced by a large majority that they should consider certain fundamental alterations in the Constitution as the condition of any vote of supplies. This brought affairs to a crisis. The *habitans*, or French settlers, in the Lower Province were committed to acts of open rebellion. The revolt spread. The Government proclaimed the rebels, and resolved on the arrest of Papineau. He fled with his confederates to the villages of St Denis and Chambly, on the St Charles. Sir John Colborne, who commanded in Canada, sent Colonel Gore with detachments of the 24th, 32nd, and 66th, with a howitzer, to St Denis; and Lieutenant-Colonel Wetherall with four companies of the 1st Royals, and a detachment of the 66th, with two field-pieces, to Chambly. Papineau's followers resisted the Regulars. Colonel Gore was obliged to retire from before St Denis. Lieutenant-Colonel Wetherall was more successful on the St Charles. In the former attack, Captain Markham, of the 32nd, who had led the advance with as much judgment as courage, was severely wounded. After this Sir John Colborne, finding that the ramifications of the rebellion had extended to the country of the Lake of the Two Mountains, went thither in person with an adequate Force, and restored the people to their senses. The Militia in Upper Canada were equally active and successful in suppressing disorders in the West.

Strange to say, disloyalty to the Queen was not confined to the Canadas. A change of Ministry having thrown the Conservative party out of power, associations were formed for the purpose of opposing the measures of a Liberal Ministry; and the members of these associations, and the press which represented them, were unscrupulous in the utterance of disloyal sentiments. On one occasion of the prandial gathering of the Conservative Association of Ashton-under-Lyne in 1839, Colonel Thomas, of the 20th Foot, and other Officers were present. Speeches offensive to the throne having been made in the hearing of

Colonel Thomas, it would have become him to have expressed his disapprobation of their tendency. Failing to do so, he was reproved by Lord Hill. Colonel Thomas appealed to his long services in evidence of his loyalty, and pleaded the fact of his being a Member of Parliament in extenuation of his participation in a political gathering. Lord Hill did not admit the plea. He yielded, he said, to no one in respect for the privileges of a Member of Parliament, but he would not suffer any Officer of the Army to build his justification upon them, while he thought fit to resort to a measure calculated to compromise the character and discipline of the profession. "The prohibition to attend party meetings in their Military capacity (excepting when aiding the Military authorities) applies to the Officers of the Army at large."

In the year previous to this unfortunate affair the 20th Foot had received new colours at the hands of the Duke of Wellington, the High Constable of the Tower, who said, as he presented them, that of the many distinguished Regiments he had had the honour to command, the 20th was the *best* and most distinguished.

No sooner had the first expedition to Affghanistan performed its task, and established a barrier against the subtle advances towards India of the "Autocrat of all the Russias," than a new cause of disquietude arose in another part of the East.

A large revenue was derived by the East India Company from the cultivation of the poppy. The opium yielded by the plant found much favour among the Chinese, and large quantities were annually exported from Bengal for the consumption of the "Celestials." Taken in moderation, opium, when smoked, is said to produce the same exhilarating effects as tobacco, and is not a whit more noxious. Used to excess, like everything else, it is pernicious. The Chinese Government in 1820 had made the discovery that the inordinate use of the drug destroyed the health and the morals of the people, and a decree went forth prohibiting its importation. But the population—and especially the higher ranks of the Chinese—had become too much accustomed to the soothing opiate to put up with the interdict, and the revenue derived from it by the Bengal Government was of too much importance to encourage a consideration of the wishes of the Celestial authority. The commerce was continued, and as the principal ports in China were closed against opium, the contraband article was smuggled. Vessels were built in Bengal expressly to carry the commodity to the coasts. At length, however, the patience of the Emperor of China was worn out. He ordered the adoption of the most stringent measures to punish the temerity of the barbarian traders in the inhibited article; and in the execution of his Imperial decree 20,280 chests of opium were seized and destroyed in 1839, and the British functionaries and merchants placed in durance vile. The value of the property confiscated exceeded 2,500,000*l.* This was a sufficient *casus belli*. Early in the ensuing year, a Fleet of men-of-war and steamers, conveying the 18th Royal Irish, 26th Cameronians, and 49th Foot, appeared before the island of Chusan, and occupied it as a *point d'appui* for later operations. It was an unfortunate locality for the troops. A thousand good soldiers were rendered *hors de combat* by disease and bad provisions. Agues and fevers were the offspring of the soil and the climate, and the haste with which the salt meat had been cured by the Commissariat caused excoriations of the palate and internal complaints. Each Regiment was reduced to the merest skeleton. The Cameronians shrank from 900 men to less than 300. The appearance of the British in the Chinese waters led the Government to seek a truce. But the terms of accommodation proposed to the enemy were not acceded to. A descent was therefore made on the island of Cheumpee. Several forts protected the island, but they were carried with slight loss to the English Naval and Military armament. At Cheumpee, at Tycoctoo, at Hong Kong, and Canton, the Chinese experienced the force with which European ships and troops can inflict blows upon offenders. Each discomfiture was followed by conventions and treaties, which the Chinese practically regarded as so much waste paper. The war never seemed to come to an end. By the month of October, 1841, Amoy, Cheumpee, and Ningpo had been captured. The Chinese showed but little capacity for warfare *à la mode Européenne*. They almost invariably fled after firing a few shots. Not until May 1842 was any serious loss experienced by the British in action with them. In that month a combined Naval and Military attack was made on Chapoo, and Lieut.-Colonel Tomlinson, of the 18th, was killed, Lieut.-Colonel Mountain (26th), Captain Reignolds (49th), and three subalterns wounded, and Captain Colin Campbell (55th) died of his wounds. This operation was followed by a blockade of the grand canal up the river Yang-tse-Kiang, and an attack on the city of Tchang-Kiang at the mouth of the canal. The Army had been reinforced by the 98th Foot. Lord Saltoun—he who defended Hougomont in '15—had come out to command a division under Sir Hugh Gough—the Gough of Barrosa,—and a body of native troops arrived from Madras and Bengal. Sir Hugh assaulted the city on the 21st of July with his whole Force. The Tartars resisted desperately, disputing every inch of ground. A return, showing that four Officers, two serjeants, and thirty rank and file

and Royal Marines were killed, and eighteen Officers and 109 non-commissioned officers and soldiers wounded, sufficiently attests the severity of the struggle. The city fell, and Sir Hugh Gough threatened Nankin. Great as was the temptation to attack a city of so much wealth and consequence in the very heart of the Chinese empire, the British Commissioners (Sir Henry Pottinger representing the East India Company's Government) preferred the more humane and generous course of giving the Chinese an opportunity of suing for peace. Until then, perhaps, the Emperor had been kept in ignorance of the real state of his danger. To preserve their own heads, the Mandarins who governed the coast towns had probably led him to believe that the outside barbarians had been chased from the Celestial shores; but now the truth could not be concealed. Four thousand five hundred fighting men, with a Fleet of seventy sail, were at his gates, and no amount of valour could possibly maintain Nankin intact. So many miles of enclosure and a million inhabitants could not be defended with less than a hundred thousand good troops, and the Tartar and Chinese Regulars did not exceed 15,000. On the 17th of August the Emperor's Commissioner sued for peace, and a treaty was duly signed, which gave immense advantages to the British. The Chinese agreed to pay four millions and a quarter sterling money towards the expenses of the war, and indemnity for the seized opium. Five of the principal ports were thrown open to the trade of England; the island of Hong Kong was ceded in perpetuity; all prisoners were released, and an amnesty secured for those Chinese subjects who had taken service with the British. The islands of Chusan and Kolongsoo were retained as security for the money payment and the completion of the arrangements for opening the ports. An enormous amount of booty in silks, ivories, lacquered ware, &c., and many months of batta allowance, rewarded the troops for their two years of endurance.

Before the expedition which had attained such important ends could return to its quarters, new causes of war had arisen on the North-west Frontier of the British possessions in India. The Ameers of Scinde had given great reason for dissatisfaction to the Government during and subsequent to the movement in Affghanistan. Atrocious tyrants to the unhappy people under their rule, indifferent to the contracts they had from time to time entered into with the English, insolent under the belief that they could insult and outrage with impunity, they had brought matters to a crisis, and no resource but war was left to the Earl of Ellenborough, the Governor-General of India.

A soldier of rare ability and daring held the command of the British troops in Scinde. The whole Force did not comprise more than three or four Regiments of Bombay Native Infantry, one of Bengal Cavalry, and a small park of artillery. But Sir Charles Napier, likewise, had the 22nd Foot with him, and thus sustained he was prepared to act against the Ameers at any moment that their contumacy should justify interference. The occasion arose on the 15th of February, 1843. Major Outram, the British Resident at Hyderabad, was attacked by 8,000 Beloochees and six guns. He had no means of repelling so formidable an assault, and therefore quitted the Residency, and joined Sir Charles Napier. Fortunately, the General was at no great distance from Hyderabad. He had, with a part of the 22nd and some Cavalry, advanced from his head-quarters to the fortress of Emaum Ghur, which he blew up, and was now joined by the remainder of the 22nd and three Regiments of sepoys. Receiving intelligence that the Ameers were at Meanee with 22,000 men, he made at once for their position, for he feared that any delay until he could receive reinforcements would only render them more audacious, and enable them to accumulate a larger Force. Sir Charles Napier's detachment did not exceed 2,800 men of all arms, and twelve pieces of artillery. With that little but compact body of soldiers he advanced to Meanee, and found the Beloochees well posted along the bank of the river Fulaillee, then perfectly dry, their flanks protected by thick woods. He was saluted with a cannonade from fifteen pieces of artillery. Time only allowed of a brief reconnaissance, but that was enough for the keen-sighted and determined soldier. Moving forwards *en echellon* he gave battle to the Ameers, although their Army outnumbered his by some 19,000 men; and the Beloochees were reputed brave and resolute. Let the story of the conquest be told in Sir Charles's own language:

"The enemy was one thousand yards from our line, which soon traversed the intervening space. Our fire of musketry opened at about 100 yards from the bank in reply to that of the enemy, and in a few minutes the engagement became general along the bank of the river, on which the combatants fought, for about three hours or more with great fury, man to man. Then was seen the superiority of the musket and bayonet over the sword, and shield, and matchlock. The brave Beloochees, first discharging their matchlocks and pistols, dashed over the bank with desperate resolution, but down went these bold and skilful swordsmen under the superior power of the musket and the bayonet. At one time, the courage and numbers of the enemy against the 22nd, and the Bombay 25th, and 12th Regi-

ments of Native Infantry bore heavily in that part of the battle. There was no time to be lost, and I sent orders to the Cavalry to force the right of the enemy's line. This order was very gallantly executed by the 9th Bengal Cavalry and the Scinde Horse, for the struggle on our right and centre was at that moment so fierce that I could not go to the left. In this charge the 9th Light Cavalry took a standard and several pieces of artillery, and the Scinde Horse took the enemy's camp, from which a vast body of their Cavalry slowly retired, fighting. Lieutenant Fitzgerald gallantly pursued them for two miles, and slew three of the enemy in single combat. The brilliant conduct of these two Cavalry Regiments, in my opinion, was the crisis of the action; for, from the moment the Cavalry were seen in the rear of their right flank, the resistance of our opponents slackened; the 22nd Regiment forced the bank, the 25th and 12th did the same, the latter Regiment capturing several guns, and the victory was decided. The Artillery made great havoc among the dense masses of the enemy, and dismounted several of their guns. The whole of the enemy's artillery, ammunition, standards, and camp, with considerable stores and some treasure, were taken."

The pen of William Napier, which so eloquently traced the course of the "Peninsular War," could not have more graphically described the fight at Meanee, which laid Scinde prostrate. *Peccavi!* (I have sinned!) exclaimed the conqueror in a private letter, punning in the exultation of his heart. The Ameers surrendered themselves prisoners of war; Lord Ellenborough annexed Scinde to the British dominions, and appointed Sir Charles Napier to govern the province.* But the chickens were not all hatched. At Dubba, a few miles from Hyderabad, the Shere Mahomet of Meerpore had assembled 26,000 swords and matchlocks and fifteen guns, and expressed himself confident of his power to beat the English. Sir Charles Napier soon put his capacity to the test. On the 24th March, 5,000 fighting men were in front of the Ameers. Adopting the tactics which had proved successful at Meanee, Sir Charles attacked the Shere, utterly routed his Army, and seized the territory of Meerpore.

Another of those fruitful sources of war, which seemed inseparable from the existence of the Native States of India, compelled Lord Ellenborough to the field at the close of 1843, and gave fresh occasion for the valour of the British troops. It was now the turn of the 3rd Buffs, 39th, (*Primus in Indis*), the 40th, and the 50th to win fresh laurels. The State of Gwalior was the scene of their triumphs. Pledged to protect the person and interests of the Maharajah *de jure*, the Government was bound to uphold the Regent who had been appointed to govern during the minority of that Maharajah. The Regent was expelled, and his office conferred upon a man who had the favour of the Maharajah's mother, but did not possess the confidence of the chiefs. This usurping Regent had committed sundry acts insulting and injurious to the British Government, and, confident in his Military resources, refused reparation. He even went the length of assuming sovereign authority. Lord Ellenborough demanded that he should be given up to the British Government, and an Army was sent, under Sir Hugh Gough, who had become Commander-in-Chief in India, to enforce the Governor-General's demand. But the usurper preferred fighting to surrendering. He drew up an Army of 18,000 men, a large number of whom had been drilled and disciplined by European Officers, and with 100 guns placed himself behind entrenchments in front of the village of Maharajpore. Storming the entrenchments and capturing the guns, the 39th and 40th Foot attacked the line with the bayonet. A sanguinary conflict ensued. Seven hundred and ninety-seven killed and wounded is an unusually heavy return for a British Force in action with native troops. Among the slain was Major-General Churchill, the Quartermaster-General of the Queen's troops, and six other Officers. On the same day a fierce battle was fought at Punniar, twelve miles from Gwalior. Major-General Grey commanded the troops. The ever-daring 3rd Buffs, the 50th — the Regiment which earned imperishable renown in the retreat to Coruña — led the way, and were cheerfully followed by four Regiments of Bengal sepoys.

Lord Ellenborough, who was present at the battle of Maharajpore, was well pleased with the result of the two engagements. "They had shed new glory upon the British Army, and restored the authority of the Maharajah." To commemorate the occasion, his Lordship, who had strong Military sympathies, caused a cross to be struck, composed of the metal of the captured guns, and decorated all the survivors of the two campaigns.

We may close the history of 1843—a truly warlike year—with a record of the death of one of the noblest soldiers in the British Army, Lord Lynedoch—ever to be remembered in connection with the stirring events of the Peninsular war as Colonel or General Sir Thomas Graham. Sheridan

* If the reader desires to be satisfied that the Earl of Ellenborough had sufficient cause to direct hostile measures to be taken against the Ameers, he is referred to the Parliamentary Blue Books of 1843, the correspondence and works of Sir H. Pottinger, Mr Thornton, Sir A. Barnes, Captain Eastwick, and the Memoirs of Sir Charles Napier.

said of him that "never was there seated a loftier spirit in a braver heart." In the retreat to Coruña, "in the hour of peril Graham was their best adviser—in the hour of disaster their surest consolation."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Legislative Improvements—Abolition of Duelling in the Army—Sir Robert Wilson Restored—The Queen's Marriage—Sir C. Napier distributes Medals in Scinde—Death of Runjeet Singh—Irruption of Sikhs—The Battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, Sobraon, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat—The Punjaub annexed to British India—Reduction of Corporal Punishment—The "Good-Conduct" Warrant—Gun-cotton—The Long Range—National Defences—Letter of the Duke of Wellington to Sir J. Burgoyne—Improvements in the Army—Medals for Peninsular and other War Services.

Wise legislative measures of comparatively slight individual interest, but establishing in the aggregate the liberal character of the Government towards the Army, distinguished the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria. The fees payable on Military Commissions were abolished, libraries were established in the different Military stations, the Military out-pensioners were enrolled, and Staff-Officers were appointed to pay the pension in the districts in which the soldiers resided; important improvements were effected in the system of disseminating religious instruction in the Army, and punishments in the Military prisons which had a tendency to degrade a soldier in his own esteem were substituted by labour of a professional and useful character.

In 1842, the Army and the Queen lost Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief. He was a thoroughly estimable man; and, as a soldier, one of the greatest ornaments of the State. His services in the Peninsula had been beyond all price. The men were happy under his command, for they had confidence in his ability; and his healthy, robust appearance always reminded them of an English country gentleman. Excepting Sir Stapleton Cotton, he was the only Officer for whom the Duke of Wellington asked a favour of the Crown. On Lord Hill's death, the Duke again became Commander-in-Chief.

Pugnacity is held to be a quality of some value "when the blast of war blows in our ears." Stiffening the sinews and summoning up the blood, the British soldier goes to his work *con amore*, and woe be to the foe who does not present a bold front to his vigorous attacks, or evade the contest altogether by a series of judicious manœuvres. But that which is a virtue in war is a dangerous superfluity in a time of peace; for it stimulates personal quarrel, and converts into enemies the men we should cherish as brethren and friends. Perhaps the absence of occupation is one great incentive to the indulgence of "angry passions." An undue importance is attached to trifles, and we display our valour in minor disputes that we may not be suspected of a deficiency of that attribute when called upon to use it in the field. In no other way can the many duels and Courts-Martial which engaged public attention in England between 1840 and 1843, be accounted for. Some of the former had frivolous commencements and absurd conclusions. Men called one another out on slender pretexts, exchanged shots, missed their aim, bowed, declared their "honour" satisfied, and went home with the agreeable consciousness that they had done something worthy of their reputation. Once in a way a gentleman was hit in the ribs, as in the instance of Lieut. Harvey Tuckett, who received Lord Cardigan's bullet; and once only—once too many—a gallant Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Fawcett, of the 55th, was killed by his brother-in-law, Lieutenant Munro, of the Life Guards, on account of some family differences.

Against these exhibitions, so deliberately wicked, cruel, and ridiculous, the public voice was at length raised, and the Secretary at War felt it incumbent upon him to put an effectual stop to them in the Army as a prelude to their universal discontinuance. On the 25th April, 1844, amended Articles of War were promulgated from the War Office by the Queen's authority—an authority never exercised in a better cause—"for the purpose of more effectually discouraging and prohibiting a practice which was a violation of Her Majesty's orders, and a flagrant breach of the law of the land." The articles, which have not been, and it is to be hoped never will be repealed, until society has forgotten that such a preposterous method as that of the *duello* for the adjustment of misunderstandings ever disgraced a civilised age, declared that it is suitable to the character of honourable men to apologise and offer redress for wrong or insult committed, and equally so for the party aggrieved to accept frankly and cordially explanations and apologies for the same. If such redress be refused to be given or to be accepted, and the friends of the parties have failed to reconcile the difference, a reference should be made to the Commanding Officer on the spot, who is bound to use his best advice and influence to reconcile the parties; and the differences having been honourably settled by the good offices and responsibility of the Commanding Officer, ought never to be revived by either party, or by any other Officer or body of Officers. If, however, the Commanding Officer should fail to reconcile the parties, it becomes his duty to take such measures as he may deem necessary, in order to prevent a duel or to maintain good order in Her

Majesty's Service; and the person refusing to be reconciled is liable to be brought to a Court-Martial; and, if convicted, cashiered or otherwise punished. Officers who are friends or seconds of the parties, are expected to exert their influence to adjust a difference in terms consistent with the honour of each of the parties. The failure in settling a difference being generally attributed to excessive demands for reparation made by one of the parties, the conduct of the seconds is liable to be investigated, as well as that of the principals, in all cases in which a dispute is referred for the consideration of a Court-Martial. Personal differences between gentlemen living together as brother Officers can seldom fail to be honourably and promptly adjusted, in the first instance, by explanations between their mutual friends. The propriety of an early explanation and acknowledgment of error was so forcibly pointed out by the Duke of Wellington in confirming the sentence of a general Court-Martial, in 1810, that Sir Henry Hardinge, the Secretary at War, in promulgating the new Articles, echoed his Grace's sentiments on that point.

"The Officers of the Army should recollect," said the illustrious Field-Marshal, "that it is not only no degradation, but that it is meritorious, in him who is in the wrong to acknowledge and atone for his error, and that the momentary humiliation which every man may feel upon making such an acknowledgment is more than atoned for by the subsequent satisfaction which it affords him, and by avoiding a trial and conviction of conduct unbecoming an Officer."

The happiest effects flowed from the Royal prohibition of the practice of duelling. When civilians found that Military men, who gave the laws in all that related to personal honour, could find other means of satisfying injuries than a resort to "pistols and twelve paces," they discontinued the "cartel" in like manner, and the trade of all such promoters of a "snug lying in the Abbey" as Sheridan's "Sir Lucius O'Trigger" was abandoned for a more rational and pacific interference.

Characteristic of the humane and gentle government of the Queen were many of the Military measures which distinguished the administration of the period. Among others may be noted the restoration to the Army of Sir Robert Wilson, after many years of as much disgrace as could be inflicted by the refusal of Her Majesty's predecessors to recognise the testimony of the House of Commons to his personal worth. He came back to the Army with the rank of General, and was warmly welcomed by his professional brethren.

The marriage of the Queen to Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg could not be noticed in its proper place, without an interruption of the narrative. Every event which could add to the happiness of the Monarch was of interest to her Army; but her union with the virtuous young Prince, her cousin, was peculiarly agreeable to the profession, of which he was by education and inclination a member. The highest Military rank was conferred upon Prince Albert, and the country felt itself honoured in the appearance of his name among the Field-Marshals of the Army.

Lord Ellenborough's introduction of the system of "medalling" good Military service was not confined to the troops who had fought under his own eye. The heroes of Meanee and Hyderabad (Dubba) were equally considered deserving of the distinction, and Sir Charles Napier enjoyed the privilege of distributing the medals to the brave men who had won for him a province, prize money, and additional honour. As eloquent as he was skilful and courageous, he addressed the troops in a nervous and familiar style, peculiarly suited to their character and temperament. "Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "Soldiers! the battle of Meanee is among those of which history will speak as proving the superiority of discipline over numbers; and it is well, soldiers! that we should dwell upon these things, that we may understand how medals are won, and why they are bestowed.

"Had we been without discipline, valour alone would not have won the victories of Meanee and Hyderabad. Valour is like the strength of a man; discipline is like his mind, that directs his strength to effective exertion. If two pugilists have a boxing match, and one strikes at random, while the other boxes with science, planting every blow home, we know how the fight must soon be decided. So it is with two Armies, the one disciplined, the other without discipline. The General of the disciplined Army directs his columns upon that part of the enemy's position which he deems to be the weakest, as the mind of the boxer directs his blow against the opening offered by his unskilful enemy. But this is not all; obedience to orders (which is discipline) enables us to bring up all the necessary provisions of war to the day and to the hour; thus food and ammunition are at hand to support the blow of battle, just as the shoulder and the body are thrown forward to support and give vigour to the blow of the pugilist. But not only is valour useless without discipline, but it is even dangerous; for, without discipline, the rashly brave would run heedlessly against the enemy, the cautious would seek 'vantage ground, and the timid would retreat. Thus the Army would be scattered; but when an Army is disciplined, the ponderous charges of Cavalry, the steady tramp of the advancing Infantry, preparing to charge with a mighty shout, and the rolling thunder of artillery pouring forth its iron shower,

all combine simultaneously to strike and overthrow the enemy.

"Thus, soldiers, are medals won; more by discipline than by any extraordinary efforts of individual courage. To reward this obedience medals are bestowed, so that every man who wears this honoured badge is known to the world as one who, in the midst of the noise, the danger, and confusion of battle, had obeyed orders, and performed the three great duties of a soldier—first, not to fire without orders; next, when he does fire, to level low, so as to make sure of striking down an enemy; thirdly, to keep his rank and dress upon his colours. The medal tells the world that he has bravely done these things, and no man can walk with one of these medals on his breast without feeling the conscious pride of an intrepid soldier! His caste may be high caste, or it may be low caste, but the soldier who bears on his breast a medal won in battle is above all the castes in the world. The pleasure of giving you these medals, soldiers of the 12th Regiment (Native Infantry), is indeed great to me. I saw your valiant conduct, and I rejoice in distributing the reward which you honourably earned, and my satisfaction is increased by the presence of so large a body of Europeans; for it affords me an opportunity of saying to my countrymen that they will find these swarthy warriors of the East staunch and true in action as they were at Meanee and Hyderabad, when they followed the example set them by the glorious 'Twenty-second Regiment.' They will fight to the last drop of their blood, and stand or fall by the side of their European comrades. If the Almighty so wills it that in these eventful times war should again arise, and that I am once more permitted to lead an Army into the field, I should go into action with perfect confidence in the courage of the Native troops. I speak of what I know of their gallantry, not from what I hear, but from what I have seen, and from my own knowledge of their daring courage.

"Here I must address myself in a more direct manner to the Officers now before me, and in justice to them say, that their conduct, and the conduct of all the British Officers in these two battles, was very noble. For several hours the two lines were fighting close to each other, and as I cast my eye along the field I everywhere saw the British Officers display their worthiness as Military leaders, and with unflinching intrepidity animating their soldiers to battle!"

Lord Ellenborough's administration of the affairs of India, however acceptable to the Army, was very distasteful to the East India Directors. He was peremptorily recalled by that Board, and his place supplied by Sir Henry Hardinge, a General Officer, who, as a member of the House of Commons and the Government, had displayed a legislatorial ability of no common order.

With every disposition to give repose to India and recruit the finances of the East India Company, Sir Henry Hardinge was hurried into a war almost as soon as he had taken his seat at Calcutta.

Runjeet Singh, the ruler of the Punjaub, had died in 1839. While he lived, the most amicable relations subsisted between the Government of India and the inhabitants of the country of the Five Rivers. The wily old chief had seen State after State absorbed into the territories of the East India Company through the folly and wickedness of the Princes who disregarded the obligations of treaties; and though at heart he entertained no regard for his powerful neighbours, he was too astute to risk his position by a collision with them. Generals Allard, Ventura, and Avatabile—French and Italian adventurers—had rendered his Army very formidable to the undisciplined States in the North and West; but it was a question whether it could stand against the soldiers who had conquered Hyder and Tippoo, Holkar and Scindiah, the Affghans, and the Scindians. This question Runjeet's successors resolved to try. His immediate heir died in 1840. The next had been killed by the accidental falling of a gateway. The third occupant of the musnud was assassinated in open Court. A child succeeded to the sceptre; and the Maharanee, his mother, held the Regency in 1844. During these years the Sikhs had burned with desire for occupation, and the rich provinces of the English offered a temptation to their cupidity. Held in restraint by successive Governments, their wishes only augmented with denial. The moment had now arrived for the gratification of the long-cherished desire. Troublesome as the Sirdars (chieftains) were to the new Power at Lahore, the Vizier readily gave his consent for their departure beyond the limits of the Punjaub, and they foolishly made choice of the Upper Provinces of India. For some time Sir Henry Hardinge was reluctant to believe that the Sikhs would venture to cross the frontier, and in this reliance upon their prudence and moderation he was content to leave Sir John Littler at Ferozepore with 7,000 men. But in the middle of December, 1845, the Sikhs undeceived the Governor-General as to their intentions. They crossed the Sutlej with 60,000 warriors, and a large number of heavy guns. Devastation was their immediate object. Alarm spread throughout the country. Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, hurried the best troops in the upper stations to meet and drive them back; and Sir Henry Hardinge, putting aside his Military rank, hastened to place himself by Sir Hugh's side, and give him the benefit of his

experience. At Moodkee, on the 18th December, the Sikhs were encountered by a body of exhausted troops, who had made forced marches under the most terrible of privations to meet them. A very severe battle was fought—a battle that cost the English some of their best blood. Sir Robert Sale was mortally wounded; Sir John McCaskill was shot through the chest. Eight hundred and seventy-two Officers and soldiers were killed or wounded in the conflict. The Sikhs had the advantage in numbers. Their ample and extended line far outflanked Sir Hugh Gough's little Army. It was only by repeated charges of our Cavalry upon their flank that the advantage possessed by the enemy could be counteracted. Retiring from Moodkee the Sikhs entrenched themselves at Ferozeshah. One hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, protected by breastworks, defended the position. Sir John Littler coming from Ferozepore with 5,000 men, two Regiments of Cavalry, and twenty-one field guns, Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough agreed to attack the enemy's works. The united Forces amounted to nearly 17,000 men. Another desperate battle—more desperate than the conflict at Moodkee—was fought on the 21st December. It was impossible to silence the heavy guns of the enemy, excepting by the most daring charges upon their line. The 3rd Light Dragoons performed marvels of gallantry; the 50th and 62nd Regiments of Foot, the 29th and 53rd, upheld the renown of the British Infantry. The entrenchments were forced, but the Sikhs did not retire from the field. Night closed upon the combatants. Almost intermingled with the enemy, the British bivouacked on the position of the Sikhs, and renewed the fight with the dawn. Sir Hugh Gough was at the head of the right wing; Sir Henry Hardinge directed the left. Bearing down all opposition, the invincible line drove the enemy out of the village of Ferozeshah, swept his camp, and dislodged him from his entire position. Up came Sirdar Tej Singh with immense reinforcements of Infantry, Artillery, and irregular horse. Sir Hugh Gough directed his almost exhausted Cavalry to threaten both of the Sikh flanks at once. The Sirdar, who had been plying his guns with great vigour, witnessed this demonstration with alarm and drew off his troops. The British took possession of the field. It was won at great cost—2,415 men had fallen, and of that vast number 115 were European Officers. But the Sikhs had been checked, in that direction at least.

Early in January, 1846, the Sirdars menaced the rich and populous town of Loodianah, and at the same time raised a long and powerful line of entrenchments (under the supervision of Spanish and French Officers) near Sobraon, on the Sutlej. Major-General Sir Harry Smith, a brave Peninsular soldier, who had done good service on the Cape frontier, was despatched with a Brigade to intercept the movement upon Loodianah. After losing his baggage at Buddewal by an erroneous manœuvre, which threw him out of communication with a part of his small force, Sir Harry Smith came up with the enemy near the village of Aliwal. The possession of that village was the aim of the General. It was strongly defended by Artillery, supported by Infantry. Sir Harry was fortunate in his Cavalry. The 16th Lancers were with him. The Bengal Horse vied with the European troops. Charge after charge was made in one direction—the British Infantry and Sepoys pushed the enemy in another. The struggle was awful. Three times was the Sikh line ridden through before it could be thoroughly dispersed. At last the Sikhs gave way, and fled across the Sutlej, leaving fifty pieces of artillery in the hands of Sir Harry Smith.

By the beginning of February a heavy siege train had been brought up from Delhi, and Sir Hugh Gough and his colleague deemed it advisable to attack the Sikhs in their powerful and extended entrenchments at Sobraon. Fully prepared for a stubborn resistance, they arranged to breach the works and endeavour to carry them by storm. They accomplished their purpose, after one of the hardest encounters of which the annals of warfare in India afford any trace. Captain Cunningham, of the Bengal Army, has told the story of this fearful campaign in language as picturesque as the narrative is truthful. It is difficult to resist the temptation to transcribe from his pages the vivid description of the charges and repulses, the renewed conflicts and their triumphant results. The Sikhs were everywhere driven from their positions, and the discomfited host fled across the Sutlej, recalling the incidents of Marlborough's great fight at Blenheim. A sudden rise of seven inches had rendered the river hardly fordable by the fugitives. In their efforts to reach the opposite bank through deepened water, the enemy suffered a terrible carnage from the Horse Artillery. Hundreds fell under the cannonade. "Hundreds upon hundreds," wrote Sir Hugh Gough, "were drowned in attempting the perilous passage. Their awful slaughter, confusion, and dismay were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the earlier part of the action, sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier whom, in the vicissitudes of attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy."

Out of thirty-seven thousand men engaged in the battle of Sobraon, the Sikhs lost nearly fourteen thousand. The killed and wounded on

the part of the British exceeded two thousand three hundred. Among the killed was the gallant Sir R. Dick, who had been with the 42nd at Waterloo; among the wounded was Major-General Walter Raleigh Gilbert.

Sobraon was the Waterloo of the Sikhs. The flower of the Army was destroyed. Their expectation of ravaging India had proved a snare and a delusion. Under the walls of Lahore their submission was dictated. Sir Henry Hardinge was extremely moderate in the terms exacted. The Punjaub was permitted to remain in the gubernatorial hands of Dhuleep Singh, but the tract of the country lying between the Beeas and the Sutlej was to continue in the occupation of English Regiments, and the sum of one million and a half sterling be paid to cover the expenses of the war.

Peerages and pensions rewarded the heroic exertions of Generals Gough and Hardinge, and Knighthoods were freely bestowed upon the leading Officers who had fought at Mooltan, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon.

The thanks of Parliament were also unanimously voted to them, and upon the occasion of the Minister's bringing forward the proposition in their honour, the Duke of Wellington took occasion to add the weight of his good opinion to the testimony of the nation.

But the work was unfinished. It was left to Lord Hardinge's successor, the Marquis of Dalhousie, to annihilate the Sikh authority completely, and annex the whole of the Punjaub to the British dominions. The moderation of the conquerors was repaid by fresh aggressions and the foul murder of political Officers. New wars arose, and before the walls of Mooltan and on the fields of Chillianwallah and Goojerat the British taught fresh lessons to the rash Sirdars and their uncontrollable followers. The 3rd, 9th, and 14th Light Dragoons, the 10th, 29th, and 32nd Foot, had several opportunities of distinguishing themselves. But their loss was heavy. Colonels Cureton and W. Havelock, of the Cavalry; Lieutenant-Colonels Brookes and Pennycuick, of the Infantry, sealed the conquest of the Punjaub with their blood. Between the 18th of December, 1845, and the 21st of February, 1849, little more than three years, no fewer than 10,788 men and Officers had fallen in the conflicts with the warlike Sikhs.

Military operations in the years 1845 and 1846 were not confined to India. In the former year it was found necessary to send an expedition against the farmers on Orange River (Cape of Good Hope), who had attacked the villages and kraals of the Grijen tribe of Hottentots, who had sought British protection. In this expedition the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders behaved extremely well, and in the following year the Regiment received new colours. In 1846 a Caffre War broke out, when the Regiment again distinguished itself. Not alone, however, in the battle-field did the 91st reap immortal honour. The conduct of the Reserve Battalion on the occasion of the wreck of the Abercrombie Robinson, freight ship, will for ever hold a place in the records of the Corps, and should adorn a page in every Military history, as a striking example of the moral courage of British troops when under excellent discipline. The details of the shipwreck will be found in the Appendix. It is sufficient to state, in this place, that although the ship was in such a position that it was expected every moment she would founder, the men, nearly 500 in number, then under the immediate command of Captain (afterwards Colonel) Bertie Gordon, assembled on deck as regularly as if they had been on parade on shore, and never moved until the women and children had been rescued, and the boats could receive the men and Officers. All this took place in the midst of a terrible storm; and, as Lord de Ros justly observes in his 'Young Officer's Companion,' nothing could have saved the troops but the calm and undaunted conduct of Captain Bertie Gordon. He was appointed soon afterwards to the Staff, and later in his career received a good service pension.

One more Military incident in this year merits mention.

A dispute having arisen with the Government of the United States of America regarding the Oregon territory contiguous to Hudson's Bay, and war appearing imminent, a wing of the 6th Foot, under Lieutenant-Colonel Crofton, was sent with a detachment of Artillery to Prince Rupert's Land, on the Red River, to protect the settlement. The duty was well performed under serious difficulties, and received the acknowledgments of the Government; but no collision happily took place.

The Duke of Wellington was very averse to any alteration in the laws which governed the Army, and had always set his face against the movements of certain parties in favour of the abolition of corporal punishment. But the strong common sense of the great Captain nicely discriminated between what was necessary as punishment, and what, ceasing to be necessary, became wanton cruelty. He therefore so far yielded to public opinion, and the suggestions of humanity, as to issue an order limiting the maximum of the punishment to fifty lashes. Less than that maximum sufficed for torture, and the disgrace of exposure was not diminished.

Eighteen hundred and forty-six was altogether a profitable year for the British soldier. While his fears of chastisement were abated, his hopes of reward were augmented. A Queen's Warrant was issued by the Secretary at War, now popu-

larly known as the "Good-conduct Warrant," the purpose of which was to improve the condition of the meritorious soldier. The document decidedly marked an era in Military legislation, and had a material influence upon the enlistment of soldiers. It provided that every soldier ranking below serjeant, whose name had not appeared in the Regimental Defaulters' Book for at least two years immediately preceding his claim, should have one penny per day extra. After a service of eight years, if he had uninterruptedly drawn the extra penny, he was to receive 2d. a day; after thirteen years, 3d. per day; every five years augmenting the additional receipt until a service of twenty-eight years should give the soldier a claim to sixpence per diem extra. Very stringent rules to ensure a continuance of "good conduct" accompanied this boon. Forfeiture of the whole of the extra pay followed upon any serious offence, and by steady extra service only could the lost position be recovered.

Distinguishing marks upon the Regimental jacket of the soldier and other good-conduct badges accompanied the additional pay, and elevated the soldier in his own esteem and that of his comrades.

As the above rules only affected privates and corporals, sums not exceeding 20*l.* per annum were granted, by the same Warrant, to serjeants for distinguished or meritorious service either while actually serving or after discharge with or without pension, and were permitted to be held during service and together with the pension. If a non-commissioned officer was promoted to commissioned rank, the Warrant provided that the State should grant him for an outfit 100*l.* if in the Engineers, Infantry, and Foot Artillery; 130*l.* if in the Cape Mounted Rifles; and 150*l.* if in the Horse Artillery or Cavalry.

In 1846 Military savings banks were instituted. Scientific discoveries in connection with war also began about this time to attract attention. Especially was a lively interest taken in the scheme of a Captain Warner for destroying the works of an enemy at a long range. Between the discoverer's fears lest his invention should become too well known and appropriated before he could reap the full benefit of his originality, and the scruples of doubt as to the alleged efficacy of the invention which public and professional jealousy entertained, it was some time before Captain Warner's ideas were subjected to the test of inquiry. Viscount Ingestre, afterwards Lord Shrewsbury, urged the grant of a sum of money for the purchase of the Captain's grand secret; and there were not wanting public writers who denounced the parsimony and want of patriotism which withheld 100,000*l.* from a man who could put into the hands of his country the means of being formidable to its foes. But the Government steadily refused to advance any money until the capability of the invisible shell to destroy objects at the long range of three miles had been tried. At length experiments were facilitated by the Ordnance authorities, and the whole thing proved a failure.

Another invention disclosed in 1846 was of more interest. Professor Schönbein, a German, astonished the public with the discovery of an explosive compound appearing to possess advantages over gunpowder, and to this he gave the name of "Gun Cotton." On the application of a spark the solid mass of cotton was at once converted to a gaseous state, producing scarcely any smoke, and if carefully preserved, leaving no residuum behind. It was not liable to be injured by wet, as proved by experiment, and the success with which it was used in blasting Cornish mines was very striking. The professor took out a patent for his invention, and the following appeared from the specification to be the mode of preparation:

"The matter of vegetable origin preferred as being best suited for the purposes of the invention is cotton as it comes into this country freed from extraneous matters; and it is stated to be desirable to operate on the clean fibres of the cotton in a dry state. The acids are nitric acid of from 1·45 to 1·50 specific gravity, and sulphuric acid of 1·85 specific gravity. The acids are mixed together in the proportion of one measure of nitric acid to three measures of sulphuric acid, in any suitable or convenient vessel not liable to be affected by the acids. A great degree of heat being generated by the mixture, it is left to cool until its temperature falls to 60 or 50 degrees Fahrenheit. The cotton is then immersed in it; and in order that it may become thoroughly impregnated or saturated with the acids, it is stirred with a rod of glass or other material not affected by the acids. The cotton should be introduced in as open a state as practicable. The acids are then poured or drawn off, and the cotton gently pressed by a presser of glazed earthenware, to press out the acids; after which it is covered up in the vessel, and allowed to stand for about an hour. It is subsequently washed in a continuous flow of water, until the presence of the acids is not indicated by the ordinary test of litmus paper. To remove any uncombined portions of the acids which may remain after the cleansing process, the patentee dips the cotton in a weak solution of carbonate of potash to one gallon of water, and partially dries it by pressing as before. The cotton is then highly explosive, and may be used in that state; but to increase its explosive power, it is dipped in a weak solution of nitrate of potash, and lastly, dried in a room heated by hot air or steam to about 150 degrees Fahrenheit."

On the 16th of August, 1846, Sir De Lacy Evans brought forward a motion for an address to the Queen, praying that Her Majesty would order that "some measures of relief be awarded to the War Officers of the Army of various ranks towards remedying the retardment of promotion in late years, and the consequent increasing privation, in advanced age, of professional advantage or provision, and that a favourable consideration be granted to the humble and dutiful representatives of the surviving veterans of Trafalgar and the Peninsular War for a medal commemorative of their faithful service in those great conflicts." The Whig Ministry of the day (Lord J. Russell, Mr Fox Maule, &c.) did not appear in the least disposed to support the motion of Sir De Lacy Evans. Mr Maule declared that the eagerness to enter the Army was even then so great that there were candidates enough to fill up all vacant commissions for twenty years to come without any additional encouragement, and he supposed that all that was requisite in the way of reward had been done soon after the great war. Happily, the indifference of the Government was not reflected in higher places, nor was Sir De Lacy Evans left to fight the battle of justice single-handed. The Duke of Richmond, who, as Earl March, had seen Peninsular service, and was an Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo, echoed the sentiments of General Evans, and in a few months the Fountain of all Honour had announced her gracious desire that a medal should be granted to the survivors of the Peninsular War. It seemed anomalous that while the single battle of Waterloo should have been commemorated by a medal to all ranks, none but Commanding Officers of Regiments and Field Officers should bear on their breasts the proofs of their participation in the numerous battles and sieges in Spain and Portugal; and none of any rank had been decorated for "Maida," "Egypt," and "Assaye." Medals were ordered, and clasps with the names of special victories were attached to them. The Memorial of the Officers praying for the Peninsular medal was drawn up by Sir John Philippart, the Editor of the 'Naval and Military Gazette,' and he warmly co-operated with the Duke of Richmond in bringing it before Her Majesty.

A creditable finale to the proceedings of 1846 was the establishment of the "Royal Hibernian Military School" in Dublin. This educational institution had existed under another title, under the auspices of Parliament, for seventy or eighty years as an exclusively Protestant establishment; but the Royal Charter of December 19th, 1846, which altered its designation, at the same time opened the doors of the asylum to the children of old pensioners, exempting them from the reception of religious instruction by the Protestant Chaplains attendant on the members of the Church as established in Ireland.

During the reign of Louis Philippe, the King of the French, there was much interchange of courtesy between the Crowns of England and France. Queen Victoria accepted the hospitalities of the Chateau d'Eu, and her portals at Windsor were open to receive the result of the barricades of 1830. But beneath the *bienveillance* of the French Sovereign there lurked a spirit of chicanery which found strong development in an intrigue to bring about a matrimonial alliance between a youthful scion of the House of Orleans and a Spanish princess. As no call for the services of the British Army arose out of that political move, it need not be further alluded to in these pages. However, as if participating in the secret hostility to England which never seems to be absent from the French mind, the Prince de Joinville, one of the sons of Louis Philippe, wrote and published a *brochure* in 1847, showing with what facility an invading Fleet could be sent from France to sail up the River Thames! This pamphlet excited much indignation and some alarm in Great Britain, but its publication was so far advantageous, in that it drew attention to the defenceless state of our shores, and led to orders for their protection. The Duke of Wellington, though then in his eightieth year, immediately wrote to General Sir John Burgoyne, of the Engineers, the Inspector of Fortifications, a letter embracing his sentiments on the subject of the defences of the country. It ran thus:

"You are aware that I have for years been sensible of the alteration produced in maritime warfare and operations by the application of steam to the propelling of ships at sea. . . . This discovery immediately exposed all parts of the coasts of these islands, which a vessel could approach at all, to be approached at all times of the tide and in all seasons, by vessels so propelled, from all quarters. We are, in fact, assailable and, at least, liable to insult, and to have contributions levied upon us on all parts of our coast—that is, the coast of those, including the Channel Islands, which to this time, from the period of the Norman Conquest, have never been successfully invaded. I have in vain endeavoured to awaken the attention of different Administrations to this state of things, as well known to our neighbours (rivals in power, at least, former adversaries and enemies) as it is to ourselves. . . . I have above, in few words, represented our danger. We have no defence, or hope of defence, excepting in our Fleet. . . . It is perfectly true that, as we stand at present, with our Naval arsenals and dockyards not half garri-

soned, 5,000 men of all arms could not be put under arms, if required, for any service whatever, without leaving standing, without relief, all employed on any duty, not excepting even the guards over the palaces and the person of the Sovereign. I calculate that a declaration of war would probably find our own garrisons of the strength as follows, particularly considering that one of the most common accusations against this country is that the practice has been to commence reprisals at sea simultaneously with a declaration of war, the order for the first of which must have been issued before the last can have been published. We ought to be with garrisons as follows at the moment war is declared:

	Men.
Channel Islands (besides the Militia of each, well organised, trained, and disciplined)	10,000
Plymouth	10,000
Milford Haven	5,000
Cork	10,000
Portsmouth	10,000
Dover	10,000
Sheerness, Chatham, and the Thames	10,000

"I suppose that one-half of the whole regular force of the country would be stationed in Ireland, which half would give the garrison for Cork. The remainder must be supplied from the half of the whole force at home stationed in Great Britain. The whole force employed at home in Great Britain and Ireland would not afford a sufficient number of men for the mere defence and occupation on the breaking out of war of the works constructed for the defence of the dockyards and Naval arsenals, without leaving a single man disposable. The measure upon which I have earnestly entreated different Administrations to decide, which is constitutional, and has been invariably adopted in time of peace for the last eighty years, is to raise, embody, organise, and discipline the Militia of the same numbers for each of the three kingdoms united as during the late war. This would give a mass of organised force amounting to about 150,000 men, which we might immediately set to work to discipline. This alone would enable us to establish the strength of our Army. This, with an augmentation of the force of the regular Army, which would not cost 400,000*l.*, would put the country on its legs in respect to personal force, and I would engage for its defence, old as I am. But, as we stand now, and if it be true that the exertions of the Fleet alone are not sufficient to provide for our defence, we are not safe for a week after the declaration of war.

"I am accustomed to the consideration of these questions, and have examined and reconnoitred, over and over again, the whole coast from the North Foreland by Dover, Folkestone, Beachy Head, Brighton, Arundel, to Selsey Bill, near Portsmouth, and I say that excepting immediately under the fire of Dover Castle, there is not a spot on the coast on which Infantry might not be thrown on shore, at any time of tide, with any wind and in any weather, and from which such a body of Infantry, so thrown on shore, would not find within the distance of five miles, a road into the interior of the country through the cliffs practicable for the march of a body of troops.

"Thus, in the space of coast (that is, between the North Foreland and Selsey Bill), there are not less than seven small harbours or mouths of rivers, each without defence, of which an enemy having landed his Infantry on the coast, might take possession, and thereon land his Cavalry and Artillery of all calibre, and establish himself and his communication with France. The nearest part of the coast to the metropolis is undoubtedly the coast of Sussex, from the east and west side of Beachy Head and to Selsey Bill. There are not less than twelve great roads leading from Brighton upon London, and the French Army must be much altered indeed since the time at which I was better acquainted with it, if there are not now belonging to it forty *chefs d'état*, Major-Generals capable of sitting down and ordering the march to the coast of 40,000 men, their embarkation, with their horses and artillery, at the several French ports on the coast; their disembarkation at named points on the English coast, that of the Artillery and Cavalry in named ports or mouths of rivers, and the assembly at named points of the several columns; and the march of each of these from stage to stage to London. Let any man examine our maps and road books, consider of the matter, and judge for himself. I know of no mode of resistance, much less of protection from this danger, excepting by an army in the field capable of meeting and contending with its formidable enemy, aided by all the means of fortification which experience in war and science can suggest. I shall be deemed foolhardy in engaging for the defence of the empire with an Army composed of such a force of Militia. I may be so, I confess it; I should infinitely prefer, and should feel more confidence in, an army of regular troops. But I know I shall not have these. I may have the others; and if an addition is made to the existing regular Army allotted for home defence of a force which will cost 400,000*l.* a year, there would be a sufficient disciplined force in the field to enable him who should command to defend the country. This is my view of our danger and our resources."

Possibly in deference to the sentiments contained in the foregoing letter, the Ministry directed an augmentation of the Royal Artillery, to the extent of twenty companies of 9,000 men, and an

addition to the Royal Marines, but there were no other symptoms of a disposition to strengthen the national bulwarks.

The year 1847 was productive of several Military improvements calculated to encourage enlistment, protect the health of the soldiery, and, while promoting their intellectual advancement, give the well-disposed abundance of employment in garrison. By a War Office decree, the term of enlistment was restricted to ten years. Soldiers had the option of continuing to serve for a further period with a fresh bounty. The sale of spirituous liquors in canteens was discontinued; and a school was established for the instruction of normal schoolmasters, who were subsequently spread over the whole of the Service. In the same year further remissions were made in the purchase money of land in the Colonies. For some time retired and half-pay Officers had been encouraged to settle in the Colonies of the Cape, Australia, Ceylon, and New Zealand, and as they had to buy the land, remissions were made in the regulated price in proportion to a settler's length of service. This was a great advantage, and numbers of Officers availed themselves of it. It would have been greater if the savages on the frontiers had not imperilled life and property. In 1847 the 58th, 65th, 98th, and 99th Regiments had abundance of employment in repelling the encroachments of the natives of New Zealand, whose pahs were as formidable as the stockades of the Burmese. The Colony had not been more than three years declared a British possession when the flag-staff was levelled to the ground by the hostile natives. It became necessary to subjugate the Colony by force of arms—a serious operation against a numerous, stalwart, and warlike race like the New Zealanders in the plenitude of their primitive cannibalism and savagery, located in dense forests, having fortified pahs and stockades fully prepared for resistance. The trials and privations of the British troops were, according to the testimony of Governor Sir George Grey, a very distinguished and able Officer, of unequalled severity — yet, said the Governor, "I do not believe that any force in the world could have borne them with the same degree of fortitude."

It has already been mentioned (page 173) that at the close of the war with France, in 1815, an attempt was made definitively to fix the constitution of the Order of the Bath. But the rules then laid down had been deviated from to a considerable extent. The claims of the East India Company's Officers had become so strong that it was only just and equitable to consider them, and in the course of time it was accordingly decreed that fifteen Officers of that Army, above the rank of Major, might be added to the existing number of Knights-Commander; and that other Officers of the same Service might be nominated Companions. Thus were all the statutes respecting limitation of numbers utterly violated; for shortly before 1847 there were upwards of 100 Knights Grand Cross; and the other classes were extended in a similar ratio. At the beginning of that year it might have been predicated of the Order that it was marked by almost every absurdity of which such an institution was susceptible; the rule of Christianity insisted upon and dispensed with—civilians admitted into a Military brotherhood—bathing and vigils especially enjoined and declared compulsory, while warrants of dispensation from the performance of these ceremonies were invariably granted—statutes in operation which were wholly illegal for want of letters patent—and a name which bore no relation to the practical constitution of the Order. The subject had attracted attention for several years. It had begun to be seriously considered by the responsible advisers of the Crown, and more especially by the Secretary for the Colonies, who, in his capacity of Minister for the War Department, was immediately charged with the exercise of the Royal prerogative in the reward of Naval and Military Service; it became, therefore, the duty of the nobleman holding the office to make arrangements for the abrogation of the old statutes and the enactment of a new code. This was an opportunity not to be disregarded. The Ministry could of course have no objection to the exercise of a little patronage; but giving them credit for higher motives—at least for the admixture of a nobler sentiment than the mere desire to reward a hundred or two of their adherents, it may be presumed that they saw in the reform which they then contemplated a fair occasion to enlarge the prerogative of reward by enabling the Sovereign to add as many as 250 to the several classes of which the Order consisted; and, by omitting the term Military, to include civil servants of the State without continuing the absurd inconsistency of the old system. The undertaking was commenced when Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl Derby, held the seals of office. It was then thought that the extended empire of England in the East, and the great amount of Military service which the defence of our possessions in that quarter of the world imperatively demands, would render indispensable an increase of those priceless decorations for which men in all ages have been ready to peril life and limb, to encounter "plague, pestilence, and famine," captivity, fire, and sword. When the fragments of our heroic Armies return to their native shores, withered with toil and seamed with wounds, a grateful country thinks no reward can overpay the chiefs who had led her "poor but honest soldiers"

to the mighty task of upholding her empire and perpetuating her fame. To multiply the modes by which such achievements can be rewarded, is to do the State good service. Letters patent were accordingly issued in April, 1847, which decreed that the "Most Honourable Order of the Bath" should consist of the Sovereign and a Great Master, and of 952 Companions or Members divided into three classes, viz., 75 Knights Grand Crosses, 152 Knights Commanders, and 725 Companions.

As in 1848 the medals decreed for Peninsular service had not been issued, the Duke of Richmond found, on inquiring of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the delay had arisen from the time which was required for engraving the names of the recipient on each medal, and the action in which he had been engaged. The Marquis of Londonderry having gratuitously observed that the introduction of this *ex post facto* system of rewards would be very injurious, that a prostitution of rewards had taken place, and that the medals had been squeezed out of the Government, the Duke rebuked him in terms of great but merited severity: "Prostitution, forsooth! Prostitution of those medals to the soldiers who gained for the noble Marquis the medals for the actions in the Peninsula which he wears, and with which he is decorated? I say that the noble Marquis and the other Officers who commanded Regiments were justly entitled to their well-earned rewards; but I claim for those who have not had the good fortune to be in the highest branch of their profession, but who dedicated their best energies and shed their best blood for their country, I claim for them this decoration. Squeezed out of the Government! It was no such thing. The war Officers petitioned Her Majesty. Her Majesty referred their petitions to her confidential advisers. The noble Marquis now says that the medals should not be given at all because they were not given at the proper time. Because you have been guilty of gross injustice to those veteran soldiers and sailors, is that a reason why you should not now do right? Her Majesty ordered these medals. . . . . I will support the veteran Officers and soldiers of the late war when I think them right, even if a thousand of your Lordships were to get up and say that I was seeking a prostitution."

When the Peninsular (1808-14) medals came to be issued it was found that there were no fewer than 19,000 survivors,—and the Maida medal (1806) had 500 recipients! A testimonial to the Duke of Richmond was subscribed for by the Officers, and presented at a public banquet.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

European Disturbances in 1848—Louis Philippe deposed—Louis Napoleon—The Educational Measures of the Duke of Wellington—Qualifications for a First Commission—Sir C. Napier succeeds Lord Gough in the India Command—The Baggage of the Indian Army—Presentation of Colours to the 22nd Foot—Sir H. Smith at the Cape—War with the Caffres.

To be "warm amidst eternal frosts" was supposed to be only a pretty figure of speech suggested by Captain Macheath's belief in the virtuous effects of the possession of his Polly, but to be peaceful and steadfast while all the continent of Europe was convulsed with war, and thrones were trembling in every quarter, was literally the happy fortune of Great Britain during the year 1848. The abuses and corruptions which had crept into the government of France gradually ate into the very heart of the State, and destroyed the monarchy. Louis Philippe with his family managed to escape to England, while a few literary and Parliamentary celebrities established a ricketty Republic on the old paper foundations of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

The French Revolution of 1848—the third within fifty years—brought to the surface one remarkable man who was destined to exercise an important influence over the welfare of the country. On the 20th of April, 1808, there was born in the Tuileries a child who was the third and youngest son of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, and his restless but richly-endowed wife, Queen Hortense. To this child was given the name of Charles Louis Bonaparte. Six years after his birth, the Restoration of the Bourbons drove the boy and his mother into exile. Travelling under the assumed name of Duchesse de St Leu, Hortense, scantily provided with this world's goods, but rich in the love of her youngest son, retired with him to Bavaria, Switzerland, and Rome; and, as though anxious to imbue him with her own Republican principles, she placed him under the superintendence of M. Lebas, son of a devoted adherent of Robespierre. When, in 1830, Charles X. was expelled from Paris, the exiles were at Rome; and Louis (to whose baptismal appellation was added that of his mighty uncle Napoleon), then in his twenty-third year, prepared himself so conspicuously for an attempt upon the French throne, that the Pope expelled him and his brother, with their mother, from the States of the Church. Incensed against their oppressor, Louis Napoleon and his elder brother joined the Italians, then organising an insurrection to secure the unification of their native land. The two Princes were volunteers without Military rank; and the Provisional Government of Italy, in order to conciliate the French King, shut up

Louis Napoleon and his brother at Forli, where the elder brother died of measles. Accompanied by his mother, and acting with his characteristic intrepidity, Louis Napoleon then made his way to France; but he was quickly thrust across the frontier by Louis Philippe, to take refuge at Arenenberg, in Switzerland—from which harbour of refuge the Swiss Cantons nobly refused to let the exiles be ejected by the Bourgeois King. There he stayed until 1836, when, in his twenty-ninth year, he endeavoured, though accompanied only by two Officers and a few privates, to raise an *émeute* at Strasbourg. He was taken prisoner, and hurriedly shipped off to America; thence he was rapidly recalled to Switzerland by his mother's dangerous illness, but not until he had gained a deep insight into the working of social and political institutions in the United States. The pressure which Louis Philippe now put upon the Swiss Government forced them to extrude the wanderer from Switzerland; and, in 1838, he sought refuge in England. With unshaken tenacity and singleness of purpose, he landed, on August 6, 1840, at Boulogne; and, marching with his forty or fifty companions to the barracks —just as, five-and-twenty years before, the caged eagle, bursting forth from Elba, had swooped upon the barracks of Grénoble—he found, unlike his uncle, that sympathisers he had none. A few shots were exchanged between the invaders and the soldiers—blood was shed on both sides—and Louis Napoleon, an obdurate and inveterate rebel, found himself incarcerated in the very rooms at Ham where Prince Polignac had once been a prisoner. The six years of imprisonment between 1840 and 1846 were turned to profit by close and meditative study. In May, 1846, disguised as a workman, Louis Napoleon emerged from the fortress of Ham with a plank on his shoulder, and, aided by his valet and his medical man, made his way through Belgium to England. Upon December 10, 1848, he received 5,500,000 votes as candidate for the Presidency of the French Republic, while General Cavaignac, his most formidable rival, polled only about 2,000,000.

This new Revolution was the signal for similar attempts upon the thrones of Austria and Prussia and the Papal authority, and for many months all Europe was a scene of civil contest. Echoing the French cry of "equality," a few mad-brained politicians in England devised a Charter which embraced a considerable extension of popular privileges, and having some faith in brute force they fancied that if a formidable demonstration were made in the vicinity of London, and a petition carried to the House of Commons by 20,000 armed men, their demands could not fail of immediate compliance. Making no secret of their intentions, the Chartist leaders assembled a mob on Kennington Common upon a given day, and after a few harangues proceeded to execute their high purpose. Fortunately for the safety of London and the peaceful transaction of business, the Duke of Wellington took timely precautions, and placed troops, unseen, whence they could be called forth at any moment to meet emergencies, and to the Military strength was added a large police force and an improvised body of special constables, who, in every direction, awaited an expected attack of "the roughs" upon person and property. The Chartists quailed before these manifestations of enmity to their purposes, and at the eleventh hour were content to send their ridiculous petition in a common cab, dispersing themselves almost without coercion by the police.

Nothing else occurred to disquiet England in 1848. The Army was consequently inactive.

Early in the year, in a fit of "penny wisdom," the Government reduced the Force by 7,000 men, and two months later found it necessary to restore it to its pristine strength. This proved a "pound foolishness," for the classes whence recruits were drawn had lost confidence in the permanency of their occupation, and demanded higher bounties.

The order for the distribution of the Scinde prize money, which had been delayed through Sir Charles Napier's pertinacious demand for one-eighth of the whole, disclosed that the capture at Hyderabad and Meanee had been considerable. The share of Colonel Pattle, of the Bengal Cavalry, amounted to 6,633*l.*; Colonel Pennefather, of the 22nd, received 3,968*l.*; each Major, who had fought at Meanee received 1,322*l.*; those who were at Dubba had 1,779*l.*, and the Majors present at both actions came in for 2,099*l.* each. When it had been decided that Sir C. Napier should only be allowed one-sixteenth of the prize, he was called upon to refund the difference. Refusing to do so, his pay was stopped by the East India Company's Government. He brought an action to recover it, and failed.

Excepting that the pay of Regimental Quartermasters was improved, and the provisions of the Good-conduct Warrant extended to the Royal Marines, nothing indicated in 1848 that the melioration of the pecuniary condition of the Army was violently progressive. But the cause of Military education was receiving attention. Major-General Lord Frederick Fitzclarence, one of the sons of William the Fourth—*the* Fitzclarence who had seized the "Cato street conspirators"—established district schools in the Portsmouth command (in 1848), and encouraged the Officers of the Fusilier Regiments and the 95th to make surveys of the surrounding country. His efforts were warmly seconded by Col. Torrens and Major Lysons, of the 23rd Royal Welsh.

In 1849 a new light broke in upon the Duke of Wellington. An advocate of the doctrine of "letting well alone," he had neither inaugurated nor sanctioned changes in the composition of the commissioned branches of an Army to whose discipline and bravery he was indebted for so many signal triumphs. He believed that the Officers centred in themselves all the qualities which insured obedience in the men, respect from the public, and apprehensions in the bosoms of the national foes. All that the Duke, like his predecessors, required was that a candidate for a commission should be recommended to him by some person of station and respectability, some old Officer or Parliamentary adherent, and that, when selected for an Ensigncy or Cornetcy by purchase, the candidate should be able to lodge 450*l.* or 850*l.* in the hands of an Army agent. All the rest—moral character, intelligence, fitness—was "leather and prunella." A single orthographical error in a single letter is said to have produced a wonderful change in the illustrious Commander-in-Chief's mind. "A sudden thought," says the man in the play, "let us swear eternal affection." A thought as sudden led the Duke to vow that thenceforth all candidates for Army commissions should be able to read and write, and as it would seem a little ridiculous to issue a mandate to that effect only, even if "arithmetic" were added, a Circular was issued, prescribing to all the gentlemen then on the 'Horse Guards' List':

An acquaintance with ancient and modern history and geography.
A familiarity with the three first books of Euclid.
An acquaintance with algebra and logarithms.
Latin enough to enable the youth to construe Cæsar, Virgil, or Livy.
French to the extent of a translation into English. And—
Some knowledge of field fortification.

To which catalogue of attainments was appended a condition that the applicant should be provided with a baptismal certificate and a voucher of moral conduct.

The announcement fell like a thunderbolt among the candidates for commissions and their parents. The boys had been to school or college, returning "Latin, Greek, and Hebrew fools:" Blocks in arts and knowledge, though deeply versed in hic, hæc, hoc.

History! Geography! Euclid! French! Fortification!! Who had ever supposed they were requisites in a soldier? Lord Fitzroy Somerset's table was loaded with appeals in favour of exceptions. The Levees swarmed with tearful, petitioning parents and guardians. The boys were too old to learn; they could not go to school again, and, if they did take to their books and attempt to master the prescribed sciences, they would probably have exceeded the maximum age for the attainment of a commission in the Line by the time they had qualified. What was to be done? The 'Horse Guards" was inexorable. The long "list" thinned amazingly. Numerous candidates, in despair, threw up their chances, and took to pursuits less *exigeant* than the Army. Others, with more confidence in themselves, sought adequate tutors, and worked hard to pass an examination. As demand for any one article in stirring England is immediately followed by abundant supply, a great number of gentlemen offered their services to the aspiring youth. "Cramming," "coaching"—"preparing," as it was more politely termed,—became the order of the day, and in a very short time the Professors of Sandhurst College had their hands full, examining the pretensions of sundry claimants of cornetcies and ensigncies. The examinations were not very severe. A few questions from Dr Chepmell, whose "Select Course of History" was the ordained text-book of the candidates, the exhibition of the profile of a field-work, or of a front on Vauban's first system, a little construing and parsing of Cæsar, a translation of half a page of Voltaire's 'Charles XII.,' two or three of the simplest propositions in Euclid, comprised the ordeal. It was not much, but the Duke had got in the thin end of the wedge, and from that moment the idea became happily universal that the British Officers would be none the worse for certain scholastic possessions.

But the set form of preparation for the Army was a failure, which occasioned neither surprise nor call for censure. No profession in the world makes demands at once so heavy and so varied upon the abilities of its members. The study of a life would not enable an Officer to combine in his own person the requisites for every emergency that might arise. Say that he acquired the rudiments and first principles of several sciences, had history and geography at his fingers' ends, and knew something of the ancient classics; he would still be at fault in regard to languages and topography. If he had mastered French and German, or Hindostanee, it is doubtful if he would have acquired Italian, Russian, Turkish, Coptic, or Chinese; if he knew "each lane and every alley green, bosky and bushy dell" in some countries, he might still be ignorant of the physical peculiarities of others into which the fortune of war might lead him. There are from twenty to thirty Officers in every British Regiment; it seems no more than a dictate of common sense that an attempt should have been made to crowd into every Corps a variety of accomplishment, rendering

it independent of every contingency. What, for instance, should prevent the acceptance of the services of a young man who, if he knew nothing of French, could plead a familiarity with surveying; who, ignorant of mathematics, could interpret Italian or Dutch; who, unacquainted with ancient history, could establish an entrenchment or bridge an unfordable river? Many a youth may have been intended for the medical profession, or the civil engineer's, or even the lawyer's, and family circumstances or his own tastes may have changed the current of his intentions, and diverted them into the Army. Would it not have been wise and salutary in the Military authorities to avail themselves of the attainments of such persons, and give to the Regiments an extra Assistant-Surgeon, if casualties should render one suddenly necessary, or a subaltern who could throw up a parapet or guard a Court-Martial against a departure from the principles of British law? It seems both dangerous and absurd to stereotype the Service. Special qualities in a Regimental Officer have often been the salvation of a Commander and the foundation of an honourable fame.

Lord Gough's resignation of the command of the Indian Army led to the appointment of Sir Charles Napier to that high and responsible office in 1849. Sir Charles was not popular. The usual consequences of prolonged field service had made themselves manifest in the discipline of the Service, and called forth continual reprehension from the vigorous old chieftain. He had no mercy upon Commanding Officers who were negligent of their duties—he visited mutiny with the severest penalties—he fell with sledge-hammer force upon the gamblers and debtors—he deprecated sumptuary enjoyments, and went to great lengths in urging the adoption of simplicity in all matters relating to expenditure and equipment. But he sometimes overshot the mark, and allowed prejudice to get the better of judgment.

When Sir Charles Napier was commanding in Scinde, he saw the baggage of the small Force under General England that was about to cross the Kujah and Bolan passes, and he was so much struck with its bulk and its unprotected state, that he addressed himself to the subject of the *impedimenta* of Indian Armies generally. He came to the conclusion that an Indian Army required more baggage than any other in the world; that the Europeans of that Army required more than the natives; that the Officers carried more baggage than was necessary; and that all private baggage should be carried by "the *public*;" that is, at the expense and under the management of the State. He admitted that it would be advisable not to over-reduce the baggage and create suffering, and to draw, with much care, the line which divides *necessaries* from *luxuries;* and he suggested, as an efficient protection to baggage on the line of march, the formation of a Corps which should be composed in some measure of armed baggage-camel drivers. Sir Charles himself had an opportunity of setting an example to the Indian Army in the reduction of his own baggage to so low a scale as to furnish a theme for the great caricaturist, 'Punch,' and there is no doubt that so exalted an example produced some good, for young Officers were prone to carry many superfluities with them into the field, which proved a source of embarrassment, expense, and loss. But the Baggage-camel Corps was a failure. Colonel William Burlton, of the Bengal Commissariat, a brave and experienced Officer, who won the cross of the Bath at Maharajpore, showed convincingly in an interesting *brochure* that the baggage could not be reduced very much below the existing quantity; that it would be highly inexpedient to leave the carriage of the private baggage of Officers to the tender mercies of the public carrier, and that the contemplated Baggage Corps would not answer the purposes intended. This opinion, based upon the results of many years' service in different parts of India, in the field too, proved to be well founded; and although an angry and flippant pamphlet, in the shape of a rejoinder, not avowedly from Sir Charles Napier's pen, but no doubt under his inspiration, subsequently appeared, it did not shake the impressions of the old Commissariat Officer, nor improve the case of the conqueror of Scinde.

Sir Charles Napier found much to rebuke in the discipline and habits of Indian Officers, and he was indisposed to attend to recommendations to mercy where the offenders appeared to be wanting in high principle. But he was not slow to award praise when it had been fairly earned. A rich vocabulary and a poignant style characterised his orders, his official letters, and his public addresses. It is to be regretted that in communicating with his own superiors he did not set such an example of courtesy and subordination as would have left the Officers under his command no ground for retort. The manner in which he spoke of some of the East India Directors was ungentlemanly and offensive; and in his controversies regarding the Hyderabad prize-money, and on other occasions connected with the Scinde affairs, he evinced a covetousness unworthy of a soldier, and a lack of appreciation of the noble qualities of an Officer whom the entire British nation delighted to honour. The name of "James Outram,"* of

* The renown which James Outram subsequently acquired on an occasion yet to be related, led the 'Times' to publish the following tribute to his character:—"The great mass of the people who are proud of our vast dominion in the East little know the nature of the tenure

the Bombay Army, was always associated with the most chivalric attributes of the soldier, and his memory is embalmed in the tender recollections of all who had watched his career from the hour when, as a Subaltern, he tamed the Bheels in Candeish, to that in which, as a Major-General, he defied the mutinous savages who beleaguered him and his attenuated Force in the hostile capital of Oude. But Sir Charles was blinded in his temporary hostility to the merit palpable to the rest of the world, and to which he himself had on a previous occasion borne testimony.

Sir Charles Napier did not hold the command in India for more than three years. He was removed for disbanding a mutinous Regiment. Previous to his departure he had the gratification of presenting new colours to Her Majesty's 22nd Foot, at Umballah, on which occasion he made the following speech:

"It is a great pleasure to me, O soldiers, to close my command of the Indian Armies by having the honour to present to the 22nd Regiment their new colours. It is now eight years since this brave Regiment, then only 500 strong, and under that noble soldier Pennefather, and joined by our dusky and brave companions in arms, the glorious 25th and 12th Regiments of Bombay N.I., won the battle of Meanee, won the battle of Hyderabad, won Scinde for England, and won for themselves these proud colours, decorated with the records of your fame! Soldiers! well may I be proud of being your Colonel; well may I be proud of being Colonel of that Regiment which stood by the King of England at Dettingen; stood by the celebrated Lord Peterborough at

by which it is held, and the sacrifices by which it has been won. Men of vast abilities, of great capacity for business, of the highest order of intellect, attain a reputation in the world of India without exercising any influence or gaining any large position in the mother country which they serve. If they sink under the weight of their burdens and their toils abroad, a few obituary lines are all they receive at home, where an election for a member of Parliament at an obscure borough, or the details of a remarkable trial, may be at the time engrossing the popular attention. If they come home, they come as men who have abandoned a career or who are seeking retirement, and their giant proportions are lost in the crowd. The old traditions concerning Indian nabobs pursue them here, and they probably subside into the moderate position which is assigned to the first man in some pleasant watering-place. It is not possible to estimate too highly the qualities by which a man rises to high station in India, where the art of Government is polished and perfected by the friction of the dangers under which it is cultivated, and by the enormous responsibility and risks of failure. James Outram was an illustration of what can be done by a strong-minded, truth-loving, honest, and valiant nature in such an arena as India affords. Because he had neither rank nor fortune, he stood in that press of self-reliant men from which the hand of patron or politician could pluck no favourite. He took his place among his peers in the race when there was a fair field and no favour, and he came to the front and bore himself so well that his distanced rivals echoed the applause which greeted the winner. It was but natural that he should have been proud of the Service in which he won such honours, and that he should be jealous of any measure which did it wrong. And to the last he was the Indian Officer to whom the Indian Army was dear, who loved its reputation, and resisted any effort to destroy its individuality. Four years after Waterloo was fought he arrived in India, and was appointed to a Lieutenancy in the 23rd Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, which was engaged in suppressing the sporadic disturbances which shook our rule at the time, and he speedily attracted notice by his courage and intelligence. In a few years the young man became the pacificator and the conquerer of the wild Bheels of Candeish, their trusted and victorious leader against the Daung tribes, exhibiting the most extraordinary gallantry, self-dependence and kindness of character, as well as great qualities as a leader in the field and as a diplomatist. From 1835 to 1838, he was employed in re-establishing order in the Mahee Kânta, which he did with great energy and rare skill and judgment; and when the Bombay Division was sent, under Sir John Keane in 1838 to form a part of the invading Army of Affghanistan, he was appointed honorary Aide-de-Camp to the General. In the campaign he rendered singular service, nor was he less successful when he volunteered to join Sir Thomas Willshire in the expedition to Khelat. But how much of wild daring, of romantic adventure, of love of risking life, if by it he could do service, must be recorded by the historian of a career remarkable for all the qualities which gained for Outram from the lips of Sir C. Napier the title of the "Bayard of India?" And he was, indeed, without fear and without reproach. He was emphatically the man who justified the British rule in India, who struck hard for it when need there was, but who never forgot that the Natives were God's creatures, fellow-men, communities of an ancient civilisation over whom, for some good and wise purpose, we were permitted to hold sway and governance; and in that spirit he acted as Commissioner in Scinde and in the Mahratta country, as Resident at Sattara and Baroda down to the time when he went to Oude. The superfluous vigour and energy which he could not expend in peaceful times found vent in the jungle, and his name went abroad as a famous tiger-hunter—not as a man who lay in wait for the wild beast at night, and killed him from some secure hiding place, but as the real hunter who stepped into the jungle and stood face to face to measure himself with its tawny king. James Outram did many great things in his time, and he had many great qualities. But he desired nothing so much as to be regarded as a fair specimen of a "Company's Officer." He often said that there were many better men in the Army to which he was proud of belonging, and that they would have done better than himself had they enjoyed equal opportunities. In this his humility exceeded the truth. For, without any one pre-eminent quality, he had a combination of many qualities which precisely fitted him for the work which lay before him; and many abler men would have failed to do what he accomplished by his robust energy and his devotion to the public Service. Truly was he told in the address which was voted to him by his countrymen at home, "By men of your stamp was our Indian Empire won; by men of your stamp must it be preserved,"—by men as honest, as single-minded, as chivalrous, as humane, with as much love for the people of the country, as much pride in an Indian career, and as little thought of self, as James Outram.

Barcelona, and into the arms of whose Grenadiers the immortal Wolfe fell on the heights of Abraham. Well may I exult in the command of such a Regiment! But I will pass over bygone glories and speak of what has happened in our own times. Never can I forget the banks of the Fullailee and the bloody bed of that river! where two thousand of our men fought thirty-five thousand enemies! where for three hours the musket and bayonet encountered the sword and shield in mortal combat! for on that dreadful day no man spared a foe; we were too weak for mercy! Shall I ever forget the strong and lofty entrenchments of Dubba? where the 22nd advanced in line unshaken—a living wall—and under a murderous fire stormed the works! There those honoured old colours, of which we have just taken leave, bravely borne forward by their Ensigns, Bowden and Blake, one of whom, Lieutenant Bowden, I see before me bearing them this day, but in a higher rank, were in a few minutes seen waving triumphantly aloft amidst the combatants on the summit.

"Men of Meanee! you must remember with exultation and with pride what a view burst upon your sight when, under a heavy fire, you reached the bank of the river, a hurl of shields, and Scindian capped and turbaned heads, and flashing scimitars high brandished in the air, spread as a sea before you, and 35,000 valiant warriors of Beloochistan threatened you with destruction! Then the hostile Armies closed and clashed together, and desperate combats thickened along the line! The superb 9th Cavalry of Bengal, and the renowned Scinde Horse—the dark chivalry of India—burst as a thunderstorm cloud charging into the dry bed of the torrent, driving the foe before them! At that moment a terrible cry arose on the right! It was the dreadful British shout of battle! It began with the 22nd, and was re-echoed from right to left, from Regiment to Regiment along the line! Lines of levelled bayonets now gleamed charging through the smoke, and the well-fought field of Meanee was your own!

"Soldiers! these are not deeds that pass away like summer clouds and are forgotten! they remain fixed on the minds of men, they are recorded in the pages of history! Young soldiers of the 22nd, when future battles arise and the strife grows heavy and strong, remember the deeds that were done by these old soldiers of Meanee! It was they who covered these colours with laurels. It was they who won the legends which these standards bear emblazoned in golden letters on the silks! And now, young soldiers, a few words about drill. It is tiresome and often disheartening, and annoys men; but remember that it is drill that makes companies and Regiments, and Brigades and Divisions act together, and to strike, as it were, with great and mighty blows: it is drill which gives you the battle and the glory of victory.

"Ensigns, take these new colours from my hands. I know you will carry them gloriously on the day of battle, and if you fall, still the colours of the 22nd will advance, for brave men will never be wanting in the field to bear them forward to victory with fire and steel! And now, 22nd, take your colours, and let the ancient city of Chester, begirt by its proud old walls, exult in the glories of its own brave Regiment."

Glowing language like this always tells with force when addressed to a hollow square of listening soldiers. Their colours are their idols. Consecrated by the ministers of religion, they possess a sacred value which enhances their importance in the field. The ceremony of presentation, hallowed by public prayer, impresses the soldier with a proper sense of his moral as well as professional responsibility; and when we consider how much in the British Service is implied by the soldier's oath—that he vows obedience to regulations which forbid swearing, drinking, theft, violence, and wrong—where right, reverence for God's name, word, and ministers, and good citizenship, as well as good soldiership, are inculcated—it is not going too far to say that there is no occasion on which public prayer to God is more fitting than that in which the soldier records, in the face of Heaven and before his country, his Military oath.

Standards appear to have been invented as rallying points for the Corps of an Army before bugles and drums were employed as signals for the movements desired by a Commander. Walter Scott sings—

> "Amid the scene of tumult high
> They saw Lord Marmion's falcon fly;
> And stainless Tunstall's banner white,
> And Edmund Howard's lion bright,
> Still bear them bravely in the fight."

The Roman soldiers always swore a solemn oath (*sacramentum militare*) that they would die rather than desert their colours, and accompanied the ceremony of taking the oath with prayer and sacrifice to Mars. History abounds with illustrations of their reverence for "the ensign." Caius Cassius, on the fatal plains of Philippi, slew the standard-bearer, who was "turning back," and tore it from his grasp. He became the enemy of his own soldiers, because his cowardice imperilled the valued banner. In the British Army there are "colour-serjeants," who are appointed especially to protect the Subaltern Officers who bear the colours. The appointment of colour-serjeant is much coveted by the serjeants. It is well paid, and often associated with the pay duties. From the colour-serjeants the serjeant-major is selected. If, amidst the casualties of action, the Officers

bearing the colours should fall, the treasures are usually seized by other Officers, and guarded with anxiety and resolute bravery.*

Nothing occurred worthy of special mention in the year 1850, excepting that Sir Harry Smith received, as the recompense of his conduct in the battles on the Sutlej, the appointment of Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. His previous experience in the colony pointed him out as the suitable recipient of the prize as soon as it had become vacant. But Sir Harry did not repose upon a bed of roses at the Cape. The restless savages upon the frontier called him away in the year following his assumption of authority. Disputes had arisen between the Caffres and the settlers. These were followed by irruptions into Caffraria, the land lying between the Kei and the Great Fish River, which had always been treated as a neutral district. Arrived at the frontier, Sir Harry Smith summoned the Caffre Chiefs before him that he might expostulate with them. The most formidable of those barbarians, one Sandilli, refused to attend. As the Governor was the recognised arbiter among the people, he deposed Sandilli. The Chief would not recognise the act of deposition. He assembled his followers, and set Sir Harry Smith at defiance. Colonel Mackinnon was sent against Sandilli with detachments of the 6th and 73rd Regiments, while Sir Harry remained at Fort Cox. The natives met Colonel Mackinnon in a defile near the Keiskamma River, and being in excellent ambush were able to offer effectual opposition to his advance. The Colonel was obliged to retire with considerable loss. Encouraged by this success the Caffres rose all along the frontier and attacked the settlers. Sir H. Smith's position was full of peril. Colonel Somerset tried to reach him with part of the 91st Foot, but was driven back. Two Officers of the 91st were killed and others wounded. The war became general. The 74th Regiment came to the rescue. Colonel Fordyce was slain in one action with the Caffres; Lieutenants Carey and Gordon in another.

Colonel Fordyce was a serious loss. He was fond of the soldiery, and they of him. Seeing one of his serjeants fall in action with the Caffres, he sprang forward to save him, but was himself struck in the chest by a ball. His last words were, "Take care of my poor men!" A poet of no mean merit writing of the event, and describing all the great men whose dying words disclosed the ruling love of their country or their profession, sang—

"When by dastard traitor hand our gallant Fordyce fell,
His latest thoughts were given to those he long had loved so well;
He thought not of his hearth or race, his bright career so brief,
The tears that would be shed for him, his brother's manly grief;
No thought of kindred, home, or friends possessed his bosom then,
His latest thought, his latest sigh, was given to his 'poor men.'"

In the will of Colonel Fordyce there were legacies to soldiers of the Regiment.

Ultimately the Caffres were subdued, but the management of the campaign reflected on the judgment of Sir Harry Smith, who was recalled in 1852. When the subject came before the House of Peers, the Duke of Wellington, who was always foremost to say a good word for a brother soldier, unless, like Sir Charles Napier, he had manifested insubordination, palliated the conduct of Sir Harry Smith, whose chief error consisted in sending troops into a strange country without clearing the woods in his front, and making roads to facilitate his advances.

The year 1850 witnessed an improvement upon its predecessors in consideration for the weal of the soldiery. More attention was paid to the ventilation and lighting of barracks. Military infant and industrial schools were established, and inducements held out to non-commissioned officers and privates to study, with a view to professional advancement. So well had the Good-conduct Warrant worked that, at the close of the year, no fewer than twenty-five thousand men were in the receipt of extra pay; and the Military Savings' Banks, only established four years previously, had proved so acceptable an institution that as many as 7,859 depositors were enrolled, and the capital accumulated amounted to 94,961*l.*

The education of the Officers did not stop short with the preliminary examinations established in 1849. In the ensuing year the Commander-in-Chief directed that Ensigns should undergo a probation before they were promoted to Lieutenancies, and Lieutenants be subjected to a very severe examination previous to their obtaining a troop or company.

Once propelled by the judgment of the Secretary at War, aided by the liberality of the public, the ball of improvement rolled onwards with rapidity. Every branch of the Army experienced the benefits of the accelerated movement in 1851. First, the grant for the better accommodation of married soldiers was doubled. Instead of compelling a poor woman to submit to sleep in the same room with several bachelors, her bed merely separated from theirs by a common curtain, the State provided either that they should have separate apartments or be permitted to sleep out of the barracks in lodgings, for which the public made an allowance. In the second place, the employment of soldiers who could read and write well,

* For illustrations of the tenacity with which the colours are preserved in action, see Appendix.

as clerks in the military offices, was sanctioned. They were placed on the same scale of pay, rank, clothing, rations, lodging, and fuel with the serjeants, and obtained a release from all other kinds of duty. In the third place, medals were granted for all the great battles fought in India from 1803, when Lord Lake won Allyghur, to 1826, the date of the downfall of Bhurtpore.

In this year (1851) a marked interest began to be apparent in the improvement of the fire-arms of the Infantry and Cavalry. The smooth-bore musket had been replaced in some corps by a rifle invented by a foreign Officer named Minié. It had the advantage of carrying a bullet some hundreds of yards farther than its predecessor, and it reached its aim with almost unerring truth, because it had the least possible windage. The bullet having a chamber at the back which expanded when the powder exploded, it fitted tightly the bore of the barrel as well as the grooves, and this prevented the admission of air. But this was only a step in the way of improvement. There was a "Great Exhibition" in London of the industry of all nations, and fire-arms occupied a conspicuous place in the wonderful accumulations of handicraft. The Americans exhibited a pistol, said to have been invented by a Colonel Colt. It consisted of six different cylindrical chambers, which revolved with a touch of the trigger. Each revolution brought the chamber containing a cartridge exactly upon a level with the barrel, so as to form a continuation of the tube; and each chamber had a separate nipple attached to it for the reception of the percussion cap. A second touch of the trigger discharged the pistol. The idea was not altogether new. A weapon of the same description had been invented in England in the seventeenth century, but there was a wide difference in the method of giving a rotatory motion to the collected chambers. The English invention lacked the simplicity of the American, which embraced also the great advantage of truth and rapidity of fire.

More interesting and important, though not so immediate in its adoption by the public, was an invention, alleged to be Prussian or Belgian, or both (in fact, neither), of a musket which was loaded at the breech, rendering the ramrod entirely superfluous, and producing a very great saving of time. So far back as 1809, Napoleon Bonaparte felt the necessity of a method of loading which should diminish the exposure of a soldier's person in the heat of action; and as he afforded every possible encouragement to the efforts of genius, a locksmith in Paris prepared a breech-loader, and submitted it to the inspection of a Committee of Officers. It was condemned by the Committee as unsuitable to the purposes desired. The locksmith had a journeyman who had been a pupil of Berthollet, a celebrated chemist. This journeyman, John Nicolas Dreyse by name, betook himself to Prussia in 1827, and settled there as an engineer and ironfounder. Soon afterwards he offered the Government a *zundnadelgewehrn*, or needle-gun, which was loaded from the muzzle. The peculiarity of the idea consisted in the absence of gunpowder in the propulsion of the bullet. The needle, propelled by a hammer, struck a bullet to which a fulminate was affixed. In 1828 Dreyse had improved on his invention; his needle was now propelled by a spiral spring. The needle-gun was not immediately adopted, but the subject attracted the attention of the Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards King Frederick William the Fourth, and from 1829 until 1836 a variety of experiments were tried at the public expense. At length a gun was invented which loaded from the breech, and the bullet was propelled through rifled grooves, thus securing the two conditions of rapidity and accuracy of flight. Trials determining the value of the weapon, it was adopted, and in the year 1841 sixty thousand of the breech-loading rifles were served out to the Army The Prussian Government was delighted with the invention; a royal decree was published declaring the *zundnadelgewehrn* the perfection of military arms, "and a special dispensation of Providence for the strengthening of the national resources," and a hope was expressed that "the system might be kept *secret* until the great part which it was destined to play in history might couple it with the glory of Prussian arms and the extensions of empire."* The breech-loaders were used by the Prussian troops in putting down an insurrection in Rhineland in 1849, but it was not until 1851 that the English came to believe in them. And even then the adoption of the weapon was discouraged. It was an "innovation"—"a new-fangled toy"—a "needless expense." Lord Ranelagh, however—a nobleman who had served with the Carlists in Spain, and took a lively interest in Military matters—allowed and encouraged experiments with the new weapon in his grounds at Fulham. Its infinite superiority over the smooth-bore, muzzle-loading musket in general use in the British Army was amply demonstrated. Unfortunately, Lord Ranelagh, though at one time in the Line, was only an amateur in the official sense of the term. Red tape and routine, circumlocution and formality, were in the ascendant at the Horse Guards. The Duke of Wellington was impatient and irascible when new inventions were submitted to him; and the War Office authorities

* Singularly prophetic! If the system had not been and could not be kept "secret," it was at all events, through the dulness of other nations, monopolised by Prussia; and, in 1866, achieved for the nation the very glory to which it aspired.

were reluctant to credit what the Duke discouraged. The soldier suffered from the ligatures which bound the knapsack to his back; but any modification of the method of fastening the pack would not be listened to. "The knapsack question had been exhausted," were the official terms in which a clever substitute was rejected. So did it fare with the "breech-loader" when the "monstrous innovation" was brought under notice.

It is amusing at this time to recall the statements made in the House of Commons, and the arguments employed so recently as 1852 on the subject of the firearms of the British Infantry. In 1838 the arms were changed from flint to percussion locks, and the muskets then deemed "*most* efficient by the *highest* authorities" were still in use. General Anson, who had held office under Lord John Russell, as Clerk of the Ordnance, stated his opinion that the breech-loader had been *rather hastily* adopted by the Prussians—it was a failure—and all the experiments tried in England, under the direction of a specially appointed Committee, had likewise resulted in failure. The Minié rifle had, in France, superseded that of the Chasseurs de Vincennes, and had there been found to succeed; but General Anson believed *we* ought not hastily to adopt any of those improvements. He was satisfied English troops, with the arms they had, would be found superior to any other soldiers in the world, and that "it was *ridiculous to suppose that two Armies could fight at a distance of* 500 *or* 600 *yards.*" In short, the worthy General thought it "better to investigate, *deliberate*, and test, in the first instance, than hastily to place in the hands of our soldiers new weapons, which they might be afterwards obliged to lay aside." Mr Fox Maule, the Secretary at War, afterwards Lord Panmure, said, on the same occasion (March 26, 1852), that the weapons in the use of our soldiery were *better than all the inventions that could be discovered.*" It was after this fashion that progress was poohpoohed sixteen years ago. Other nations continually advanced in the practical application of Military science, but John Bull was always told to "deliberate," even at the risk of being "lost."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Death of the Duke of Cambridge—Lord J. Russell defeated in an attempt to localise the Militia—Colonel Kinloch proposes the establishment of Volunteer Associations—He is supported conditionally by Lord J. Russell—Mr Walpole introduces a Militia Bill—The Duke of Wellington supports the Bill—Outbreak of Hostilities in Burmah—The second Expedition.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, one of the younger sons of George the Third, died in the year 1850, much lamented by the British people. A good soldier and a kind-hearted man, he had made his way to the national heart, although he had been comparatively a stranger to England during the many years of his occupation of the Viceroyalty of Hanover. It was resolved to perpetuate his memory by the establishment of a home for soldiers' widows, and the "Cambridge Asylum" took root in 1851.

The subject of the national defences had not been entirely forgotten or disregarded by the Government, although it had not occupied a great deal of the attention of the public at large. Probably the friendly disposition of the head of the French Government, Louis Napoleon, who had been for a long time a resident in England, was regarded as a guarantee for the preservation of peace. At the meeting of Parliament in 1852, however, it appeared that Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, had pondered the question of home defences, and was prepared with a Bill for the establishment of a local Militia. His Lordship proposed that the Queen should have power to call out the Force not only in the presence of actual invasion, but in case of "apprehended invasion," and that it should continue embodied for six months after the enemy had left the British shores, supposing him to reach them. Lord Palmerston opposed the Bill, and moved certain amendments. "What he conceived to be requisite was this:—Our geographical position exposed us to the possibility of being invaded by a formidable force, and the changes wrought by steam navigation rendered the danger more imminent on the breaking out of a war. How was this to be provided against? By having in time of peace a considerable Force organised, drilled, armed, and equipped, which could be raised at the shortest possible notice. The local Militia was not such a Force. It was better, in time of peace, to have an adequate Force as a reserve for our Regular Army, and, having got it, to keep it. What the country wanted," said Lord Palmerston, "was a *regular Militia.*" Issue being joined on the subject, Lord John Russell took the vote of the House of Commons, and the majority deciding against him he resigned office, and Lord Derby became Prime Minister.

As unanimity upon the subject of the Defences appeared doubtful, it was again shelved by the Government. But it did not cease on that account to receive much discussion at the hands of the press and the public. Many propositions, pamphlets, and "articles" were put forth pressing the adoption of some system of defence, the best of which, because of the comprehensiveness of its character and the Military experience by which it was dictated, proceeded from the pen of Colonel Kinloch, to whom allusion has already been made in connection with the British Legion in Spain.

Nothing at the time resulted from Colonel Kinloch's pamphlet, but that it made a lasting impression is clear from the fact of every single suggestion having since been adopted. His scheme, in outline, embraced the formation in each county of a Brigade of Battalions of Riflemen, one or more squadrons of Yeomanry Cavalry, one or more companies of Artillery, and a small Corps or company of Engineers. It suggested the adoption of a darkish steel-grey uniform, with a slight relief in the matter of facings and shoulder-straps, a slight silk stock or black handkerchief, no epaulettes, wideawake hat, loose grey trousers — in short, a dress like that found most convenient by sportsmen for the hard work of grouse shooting and deer stalking on the hills and moors of Scotland. To encourage young men in the use of the rifle, Colonel Kinloch proposed the establishment of prizes at occasional shooting matches, and in regard to drill he indicated a time and manner which have since received countenance and adoption.

The publication of Colonel Kinloch's pamphlet originated an active private movement in favour of Rifle Corps, which subsequently resolved itself into a public organisation on an extensive scale. At first the Volunteers received only partial countenance. Their formation was permitted by Lord John Russell on the liberal condition that they should be equipped and armed at their own expense, and subject to all the Rules and Regulations of the Volunteer Act. Everything else was postponed to the consideration of the Militia question. Sir De Lacy Evans, however, moved, when the "Supply" votes came before the House of Commons in 1852, that it was inconsistent on the part of Government to propose any augmentation, however small, of the armed and paid Forces of the country, while it discountenanced and discouraged "the laudable, patriotic, and chivalrous offers of gratuitous service from various parts of the country, having for their object the formation of Rifle Companies and Regiments for the national defence." Lord Derby coming into power early in 1852, his Home Secretary, Mr Walpole, added a condition to the Volunteer organisation that the arms used by the Volunteers should be of the same calibre and of a uniform bore with the muskets of the Line Regiments.

On the 29th March, 1852, Mr Walpole introduced *his* Militia Bill. It avoided the rocks and shoals which had shipwrecked the Whigs, and after a ten weeks' debate it passed both Houses. By its provisions the defensive Force of the country was increased by 80,000 men. The venerable Duke of Wellington, in the last speech made by him in the House of Lords on a professional subject, warmly supported the formation of the constitutional peace Force, and recurred to the condition of the Militia before 1810, and the Hanoverian Militia at Waterloo. He believed in the usefulness of such a Force after a few weeks of careful drill. Naturally the Duke would have preferred an increase to the regular Army; but looking at the cost of that establishment, and the needlessness of augmenting our means of operating abroad when all that was desired was additional strength at home, His Grace was satisfied with a well-organised Militia.

Glancing once more to the East we find that, in violation of the treaty of Yandaboo, the Burmese had been insulting and injuring English traders (in 1851) at Rangoon and elsewhere, and otherwise impeding commercial operations on the coast. It seemed impossible to calculate upon the permanence of any arrangements made with Eastern potentates, even after they had felt the weight of our arms. They either forgot the lessons their predecessors had received, or hugged themselves in the persuasion that a powerful nation, like England, would scarcely plunge into a war for the sake of redressing a private wrong. It may be also that the Burmese had heard something of the dissatisfaction which the management and cost of the expeditions of 1824, 1825, and 1826 had created, and from this they argued the unlikelihood of any further proceedings being adopted in vindication of British honour. They reckoned without their host. The Marquis of Dalhousie, who governed India in 1852, was swift to avenge insult; and, impressed with the conviction that conquests once achieved should, with an eye to future peace and security, be consolidated, he had crushed the offending Sikhs, and added the Punjaub to the territories of the East India Company. He lost no time in throwing the Forces at his command upon the Burmese. He sought reparation by fair means in the first instance, as became a wise and humane governor, and, failing to obtain it, he sent a flotilla under Captain Lambert, and several Regiments under General Godwin, to exact in territorial acquisition a full atonement for the wrongs inflicted with the connivance of the Burmese authorities. The 18th Royal Irish, the 51st Light Infantry, and the 80th Foot, were the Line Regiments selected to follow General Godwin. Forts and cities on the coast were attacked and captured, the Army ascended to Pegu, and the people of the province appearing anxious for a change of rulers, possession was taken of it in perpetuity.

Deservedly as the courage of British soldiers has been lauded by their Generals on the termination of sundry exploits, or upon the occasion of the presentation of colours and medals, it has always been insisted upon that strict discipline is

necessary to their success and to their well-being. Discipline operates with extraordinary moral force upon the soldier. It converts the rough artisan and the uncouth peasant, the mere creatures of physical indulgence, into thoughtful and patient human beings equally capable of sustaining mental and bodily suffering with fortitude, and of exercising their strength and intelligence in action with heroism tempered by humanity. It was under the influence of the wonderful power of discipline that "Waterloo" was won; it was through the same admirable and intelligent agency that troops were saved when a melancholy shipwreck took place at the Cape of Good Hope. It was in the spring of 1852 that one of those calamities happened. The transport Birkenhead had on board numerous detachments of the 12th Lancers, the 2nd Queen's, 6th and 12th Foot, 43rd Light Infantry, 45th, 60th, 73rd, 74th, and 91st Regiments, comprising nearly 480 non-commissioned Officers and men, and thirteen Officers, the entire detail commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Seton, of the 74th. Entering Simon's Bay the ship struck upon a rock, and instantly began to fill and sink in deep water. There was little hope for those who should escape by swimming, for the bay was full of sharks. The ship's boats barely sufficed to accommodate the women and children belonging to the detachment. To ensure their safety at least, Lieutenant-Colonel Seton ordered his young soldiers to an instant parade on deck. Every man promptly obeyed. Each moment might be his last, but not a murmur escaped a single man—not one selfish attempt was made to effect an isolated escape. The sea rose rapidly—the pitiless waters rushed into the lower deck. Bearing themselves as sternly as if they were before an enemy in the field, the Officers and troops on their last parade patiently watched the departure of the boats with their weeping, helpless freight of poor wives and little children escorted by a few sailors. The waves reached the upper deck—the Officers bade each other farewell—all hope was gone—the hapless vessel parted, and 436 brave fellows went down with their Commander in their ranks as they stood. Of the entire number of 630 souls on board, only 194 were saved, and even this fraction must have perished but for the steady discipline which enabled the master and his crew to make arrangements for their rescue from peril during the few minutes left to them by the raging element. Never was death encountered with more fortitude by veterans in the field than by the young recruits who stood unmoved on the deck of the Birkenhead.

Captain Wright, of the 91st, and three Subalterns survived the wreck, and as Captain Wright had shown much judgment and prudence in saving the women and children, he was rewarded with a Majority and a Good-service Pension. To a wreck that might have proved as disastrous to a Battalion of the 91st Regiment, in 1842, when the Abercrombie Robinson struck in Table Bay, reference has already been made. The fact of two Captains of the 91st having distinguished themselves in saving lives through the instrumentality of a strict discipline is singularly coincident.

Some time in the month of June, 1852, the Duke of Wellington moved in the House of Lords for reports as to the state of discipline among the troops who were on board the Birkenhead, and as to whether the men of the detachments had been instructed in firing with ball cartridge. What observations his Grace intended to found upon the reports were never known, for the subject was not again referred to in Parliament.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Death of the Duke of Wellington—Lord Hardinge succeeds to the Command—The Camp at Chobham—Changes in Costume—Improvements—New Secretary of State for War—Promotion accelerated—The Crimean War.

There was deep and universal sorrow in the land on the 14th of September, 1852. On that mournful day the flag at Walmer Castle was hoisted half-mast high. The great Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports had passed away—the ruthless destroyer, Death, had laid his icy hand upon England's "WELLINGTON," and the spirit of the mighty soldier was wafted to the abode of immortal souls. His useful life had been prolonged much beyond the period ordinarily vouchsafed to poor humanity, but to the very last hour the *prestige* of his name was of infinite value to his Sovereign and his country. The magic of his rule animated the Military *bureau* long after his capacity for active exertion had subsided; he was still a tower of strength in the settlement of great public questions, and his personal presence among the people was always grateful, because it was associated with a thousand glorious recollections.

In the course of this history the deeds of the Duke of Wellington have been simply sketched;—for more than a sketch there has neither been space, nor necessity. The value of those deeds was illustrated in their results. Their details spread over hundreds of volumes. The sword in his hands became the great instrument of peace and civilisation. Whomsoever he struck—and he struck none but tyrants and evil-doers—fell, never again to rise. Whether he were an Indian freebooter, a Mahratta chieftain,

or an Emperor whose Military genius had laid Europe prostrate; each, in his turn, bowed before the uplifted arm of the "Iron Duke." And nothing that he did was done for glory, or pelf, or personal advancement. "Duty" to the Sovereign and the land was his lode-star. In that simple word was comprehended the sum and substance of the great Wellington's motives, and in the satisfactory performance of his "duty" consisted his highest pride and his chief reward.

When Parliament met in the ensuing November and the answer to the Address from the Throne was debated, the Earl of Derby thus spoke of the great Duke:

"Even now as I address your lordships, my eye instinctively turns to the head of this table, and looking to that empty seat, I miss there one familiar and venerable form — his grey head resting on his hand, upraised to assist the infirmity of his ear, as, conscientiously and laboriously, he seeks to catch the argument of the humblest members who may be addressing your Lordships. Again, my Lords, I see him rising from that seat, amidst the breathless silence of your Lordships' House, and with faltering accents, with no studied eloquence, in homely phrase, but with a power and grasp of mind which seized, as it were intuitively, the very pith and marrow of the matter in hand, slowly and deliberately impressing on your Lordships', rapt attention the pithy and sententious maxims of intuitive sagacity, the results of calm wisdom and of mature experience. Well, indeed, my Lords, do I feel it to be for me that I need not attempt to describe the achievements which have for ever illustrated the name of that great man. You are already all well aware of his unparalleled achievements in the field, his possession of all the qualifications which mark the great Military leader, his sagacity in council, his unswerving loyalty to his Sovereign, his deep and untiring devotion to the interests of his country, his noble self-reliance, his firmness and zeal, and that distinguishing trait of his character, his abnegation of all selfish views, in consideration of the welfare of his country. My Lords, all these great and high qualities are already written on the undying pages of history; they are already engraven on the grateful hearts of an unforgetting people; they have already been honoured by the recognition of the Sovereign; they have been liberally acknowledged and confessed by all the world. But he is gone; he is gone where human honour is no more, and where mortal glory is lost in infinite benignity and justice. He is gone, in the words of the noble tribute paid by the Italian poet to the illustrious Duke's great rival,—

'Ov e' silenzio e tenebre
La gloria che passo.'

This country can never forget all the events of his long and splendid career—his triumphs on the field of battle, at the head of his troops—his services in the congresses of monarchs, in the councils of statesmen, in the cabinets of his colleagues, and in the face of the assembled Parliament of his country, while throughout he remained unseduced by the lustre of his own great name, and undazzled by the blaze of his own transcendent glory. Steadfastly resisting the promptings of a vulgar ambition, flinging away from him, as unworthy of his notice, all motives of personal interest, he rose superior to the paltry struggles of parties, and in every stage of his life preferred the welfare of the nation and of the Crown which he served, to any petty or personal feeling of self-interest."

In the General Order directing the Army to go into mourning for the Duke, it was gracefully said:

"The discipline which he exacted from others, as the main foundation of the Military character, he sternly imposed upon himself, and the Queen desires to impress upon the Army that the greatest Commander whom England ever saw, has left an example for the imitation of every soldier, in taking, as his guiding principle in every relation of life, an energetic and unhesitating obedience to the call of duty."

A public funeral of unparalleled magnificence and interest accompanied the remains of the illustrious chieftain from his stately residence at the entrance of Hyde park to the Cathedral of St Paul's. Every Regiment that could be spared from duty in the English garrisons; detachments from those that could not come in force; a soldier from each Regiment in the Army whose depot was in the United Kingdom; an immense number of General, Staff, and other Officers, many of whom had fought and bled under the Duke in the Peninsula and at Waterloo; His Royal Highness Prince Albert; many members of the nobility; special Military representatives of all the Crowned Heads in Europe; Ambassadors, Ministers, Statesmen, the Queen's carriage, and the Duke's old horse that had borne him on his back for years, formed the superb *cortége*, carefully directed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. The grand "Dead March," the muffled drums, the deep tolling of the ponderous Cathedral bell, and the sobs of the multitudes which thronged the side walks, the windows, and the tops of houses, were the only sounds which broke the silence of the melancholy day. Into the deep vault of the stately Cathedral—down into the crypt, side by side with the cognate dust of the daring Nelson, England's other hero—all that was mortal of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, was lowered, while the organ pealed forth Handel's funeral anthem

in solemn tones, and hundreds of voices sadly chaunted—

"His body is buried in peace,
But his name liveth evermore."

Unnecessary is it to say that a superb monument was voted by Parliament to commemorate the public services of the famous soldier whose name for half a century had filled men's mouths. But that was not all. Every town and city in the United Kingdom raised some memorial—a statue, a column, a bust—of the immortal Duke's public virtue. A college was founded, with a rich endowment, bearing his name, and panegyric was exhausted by the most eloquent men in the country in paying posthumous honour to the saviour of Europe.

In selecting a suitable successor to the Duke of Wellington, Her Majesty experienced some embarrassment. Her genuine affection for the Prince Consort, her just admiration of his talents, her respect for his judgment, and the strong arguments which the late Duke had employed to justify His Royal Highness's appointment to the high office, would have led the Queen to confer upon him the Command-in-Chief of her magnificent Army, had not the Prince himself already waived the distinction in a form which admitted of no recurrence to the subject. It was in 1850 that Prince Albert evinced the grand disinterestedness which added so much lustre to a character already embellished by many rare qualities. Sir John Macdonald, who had for several years filled the office of Adjutant-General, having died, a suggestion was made that the offices of Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General should be amalgamated under a single head, to be called the Chief of the Staff. The French and other Armies already had a functionary bearing the designation. On the proposition being submitted to Her Majesty, the Duke of Wellington was sent for to Windsor Castle that he might be consulted on the subject. In conversation with His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, the Duke of Wellington objected to the proposed appointment, saying that it would be appointing two different persons to do the same duty, which would never answer. The Chief of the Staff would again have to subdivide his office into an Adjutant-General and a Quartermaster-General's Department, and nothing would be gained. Still the Duke thought that there might be an advantage in having a Chief of the Staff if, after his (the Duke's) death, Prince Albert would assume the command. He always stood up for the principle of the Army being commanded by the Sovereign; but he saw no security for the conformity of practice with the theory unless Prince Albert undertook the command, and thus supplied what was deficient in the constitutional working of the theory arising from the Sovereign being a lady. Much discussion ensued on the subject, and at length the Duke of Wellington drew up a memorandum, to which the Prince replied in the following letter. The reader will recognise in this document a very remarkable instance of self-denial. The Prince, whose virtues, from his unobtrusiveness, were scarcely recognised by the British nation because unknown to it, realised in his self-abnegation the description applied by Shakespeare's Iago to perfection in the opposite sex. He

"——— fled from his will,
And yet said, Now I may."

The letter ran thus:

"My dear Duke,—The Queen and myself have thoroughly considered your proposal to join the offices of Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General into one of a Chief of the Staff, with a view to facilitate the future assumption of the command of the Army by myself. The question whether it will be advisable that I should take the command of the Army or not has been most anxiously weighed by me, and I have come to the conclusion that my decision ought entirely and solely to be guided by the consideration whether it would interfere with or assist my position of Consort of the Sovereign, and the performance of the duties which this position imposes upon me.

"This position is a most peculiar and delicate one. Whilst a female Sovereign has a great many disadvantages in comparison with a King, yet, if she is married, and her husband understands and does his duty, her position, on the other hand, has many compensating advantages, and, in the long run, will be found even to be stronger than that of a male Sovereign. But this requires that the husband should entirely sink his *own individual* existence in that of his wife; that he should aim at no power by himself or for himself; should shun all ostentation; assume no separate responsibility before the public; but make his position entirely a part of hers; fill up every gap which, as a woman, she would naturally leave in the exercise of her regal functions; continually and anxiously watch every part of the public business in order to be able to advise and assist her at any moment in any of the multifarious and difficult questions or duties brought before her, sometimes international, sometimes political, or social, or personal. As the natural head of her family, superintendent of her household, manager of her private affairs, sole confidential adviser in politics, and only assistant in her communications with the Officers of Government, he is, besides the husband of the Queen, the tutor of the Royal children, the private Secretary of the Sovereign, and her permanent Minister.

"How far would it be consistent with this position to undertake the management and administration of a most important branch of the public service, and the individual responsibility attending to it—becoming an Executive Officer of the Crown, receiving the Queen's commands through her Secretaries of State, &c.? I feel sure that having undertaken the responsibility, I should not be satisfied to leave the business and real work in the hands of another (the Chief of the Staff), but should feel it my duty to look to them myself. But while I should, in this manner, perform duties which I am sure every able General Officer who has gained experience in the field would be able to perform better than myself, who have not had the advantage of such experience, most important duties connected with the welfare of the Sovereign would be left unperformed, which nobody *could* perform but myself. I am afraid, therefore, I must discard the tempting idea of being placed in command of the British Army."

Prince Albert, then, being out of the question when the death of the Duke of Wellington rendered the choice of a new Commander-in-Chief imperative, Her Majesty looked through the roll of her most distinguished Generals for a suitable successor. Lord Fitzroy Somerset had been trained on the Duke's Staff, and knew the deceased Field-Marshal's inmost thoughts; Lord Combermere stood high in general esteem; Lord Seaton was universally respected; Lord Gough had recently won fresh laurels in India and China; other distinguished Generals were in the first column of the 'Army List,' and the nation had not forgotten either their characters or their achievements. But there was one who had honourably held a place in the Royal councils, and whose name was to be found in the Civil as well as in the Military history of the country. Brave, loyal, and sagacious, Lord Hardinge had long enjoyed an enviable pre-eminence, and his exploits in the vicinity of the Punjaub confirmed the high opinion his previous exertions had earned. In his hands, therefore, the Queen placed the bâton of office, and the country ratified the prudence of the Royal choice.

Lord Hardinge had a difficult task to perform. He found the Army all that it had been forty years previously, in respect to courage and discipline; but there was in the stores and arsenals a lamentable lack of the *matériel* of war, and a deficiency of that peculiar aptitude for field service which practice only could give. There was not a man in the ranks who had had the slightest experience of European warfare; there was scarcely an Officer under the rank of General who had been under fire excepting in India. The long, long peace had rusted the Force, for the Duke of Wellington gave it no opportunities of even practising field manœuvres on peaceful plains by way of a rehearsal of the possible dramas in the future. While the Armies of continental Europe were kept continually engaged in mimic warfare, and availing themselves of all the improvements in the weapons of offence which science could suggest and experiment confirm, England remained *in statu quo*. The British lion flattered himself that it would be enough at any time for him to get upon his legs, shake his mane, and roar, if any foreign curs should presume to bark in his face and disturb his royal slumbers. Lord Hardinge did not acquiesce in this opinion. He beheld with consternation the comparatively feeble and unprepared state of the Army, and would have addressed himself immediately to comprehensive reforms, but that some respect was due to the memory of the great Duke. While that memory was green, any organic changes would have looked like a reflection upon his government of the Forces; especially unbecoming in one of his own Lieutenants. Lord Hardinge, therefore, allowed things to take their own course for several months, and then, when higher views of duty and patriotism fairly superseded considerations of delicacy for the Duke's fame as a Commander-in-Chief in peace time, his Lordship seized the besom and commenced a sweeping course of reform.

One of Lord Hardinge's earliest measures was to bring under the notice of the Secretary at War the extremely weak state of the Artillery. There were not fifty guns in the arsenals available for service! His next step was to introduce a rifled musket (the Enfield), in supercession of the Minié; and his third, to establish a camp of exercise and instruction at Chobham, in Surrey. Nothing of the kind had been attempted upon a large scale since the reign of George the Third, when troops were assembled to be in readiness to repel a threatened invasion. Twelve thousand pounds were voted by the Commons for the object. The camp was formed in the middle of July, 1853, on ground peculiarly favourable for imitative warlike operations. Abounding in rising hills, deep hollows, thick woods, marshes, and streams, the vicinity of Chobham afforded occasion for an infinite variety of field-days. Riflemen had abundance of cover, Engineers wide scope for pontooning; there was ample space for Cavalry charges, and plenty of room for Infantry evolutions. Lord Seaton commanded the camp. Under him, as Brigadiers of the Guards and Infantry, were Colonel Bentinck, Sir De Lacy Evans, and Major-General Fane; the Duke of Cambridge, who had been withdrawn from a command in Dublin to become Inspector-General of the British Cavalry, commanded the Cavalry; Lieutenant-Colonel Bloomfield was at the head of

the Artillery, and Colonel Vickers of the Engineers. Everything was conducted in a very business-like manner. Instead of waiting until the Quartermaster-General had prepared a camp for them, the troops marched to the ground and immediately proceeded to hut and camp themselves. Kitchens and sentry-boxes were improvised from the earth, brushwood, and bushes which abounded on the site selected for the assemblage. Trenches were dug around the tents to carry off the rain, which fell in unusual quantities and with a disagreeable perseverance. The instruction of the men was not confined to the execution of manœuvres; it extended to the arts of cooking, baking, and the multitudinous makeshifts which the vicissitudes of camp life in an enemy's country render necessary to comfort, often to existence. Two months were passed in this way, and on the 20th of August the camp broke up, and the troops returned to their several cantonments and quarters. It was universally admitted that the money charged in the Estimates for the experiment had not been thrown away. A few months only were to elapse before the knowledge acquired by Officers and men at Chobham was to find practical employment on a wide, a novel, and unexpected field. Russia threatened the disturbance of the tranquillity of Europe.

Opportunely enough for the withdrawal from the Service of Officers who had outlived the capability of performing active duties, and the appointment to commands of men in the heyday and vigour of life, a Military Commission, which had been appointed to consider the state of Army Promotions, made its report early in 1854. The Commission recommended that Lieutenant-Colonels after actually serving in that rank in command, or as Second Lieutenant-Colonels of Regiments, or as mounted Officers in the Guards, Artillery, or Engineers, or on the Staff of the Army for three years, should be promoted to Colonelcies; that the Queen should have power to promote Colonels to commands as Major-Generals without regard to their seniority; that periodical Brevets at stated periods should be abolished; that the number of General Officers should be fixed; that one hundred General Officers should receive twenty-five shillings per diem; that every vacancy on the fixed establishment of Generals should be filled up by the promotion of the Senior Colonel; that Colonels should be eligible for promotion as Major-Generals, Lieutenant-Generals, or Generals, either for brilliant service in the field or in consequence of their having held commands with temporary rank; that Field-Marshals should be created without reference to seniority; that a large discretion should be given to the Sovereign in regard to selections for Brevet rank for services rendered, and that Field Officers of all ranks should be allowed to sell out. To these recommendations of the Commission effect was promptly given in a Promotion Warrant bearing the signature of Mr Sydney Herbert, a member of the House of Commons who had thought much and written much on the subject of the condition of the Army, and who had become Secretary at War early in 1853.

Time out of mind the Constitutional War Minister had been at the same time Secretary of State for the Colonies. The combination of offices, if not anomalous, was by no means of advantage to the Army, for it inferentially declared the Military establishment a secondary consideration. This was no longer deemed desirable, if it had ever been so, and a second Secretaryship was therefore created in 1854, and conferred on the Duke of Newcastle.

A general activity now pervaded the Military departments, and the reign of common sense was really inaugurated. A School of Musketry was established at Hythe, in Kent, and soldiers from every Regiment were sent down to qualify themselves as marksmen under the special supervision of an Officer who had devoted much time to the subject of firearms. Changes for the better were effected in the costume of the troops. The tight-fitting jacket, with its skimpy swallowtail, was exchanged for a loose, serviceable tunic; epaulettes were abolished altogether as expensive encumbrances, and embroidered badges on the collars substituted for them; cumbrous and inelegant hats were put aside in favour of a light chaco and a blue frock. It was no longer indispensable that Officers and men should bring their chins and cheeks into daily contact with biting steel; moustaches were tolerated, and whiskers (of regulated dimensions!) allowed. The position of normal schoolmasters was improved, and the heavy tight-fitting stock and cumbrous knapsack were abolished in India by General Sir William Gomm, who had succeeded Sir Charles Napier in the command of the Indian Army. Few Officers had seen more service than Sir William Gomm. He was a man of a different character to Sir Charles Napier, but his bearing was so essentially that of the polished gentleman, and his field experience so great, that he was generally welcomed by the Service.

The wide disparity between the magnitude of an event and the insignificance of its causes never received a more powerful exemplification than in the Crimean war of 1854-56. The disappearance of a silver star from a small chapel at Bethlehem, consecrated alike to the worship of the followers of the Greek and Roman Catholic religions, led to feuds between those rival sects—the feuds to appeals to the Russian consulate; and the futility of the attempts of the latter to move the Sultan to interfere in these Christian quarrels caused

references to the Emperor of Russia and the Emperor of the French. Russia, with her eye perpetually directed to the west and the south, saw that a new opportunity had arisen for making another movement towards the Mediterranean. She had Armies lying comparatively idle, and Fleets at anchor in the Black Sea. Turkey was feeble—"a sick man" whom it would be easy to hurry to dissolution. Remonstrances were addressed to the Porte, *pro formâ*, not merely on the subject of the star, but in reference to certain holy places in the vicinity of Jerusalem which were continual subjects of dispute between the rival sects; and as nothing resulted from the remonstrances of a character to satisfy the demands of the Czar, an Army marched across the Pruth and approached the Danube. The position of the Sultan,—of all Western Europe, indeed,—was critical. No resistance which Turkey was in a condition to offer single-handed could possibly keep the Autocrat from seizing upon Constantinople, and the presence of Russia in the Ottoman capital, whence it was tolerably certain that she would not recede, might disturb the balance of Power. France and England saw that the danger was imminent, and for the first time became allies. To have been on speaking terms for forty years was something rare in the history of two nations which from the days of Edward the Third had been continually cutting each other's throats; but to be associated in the same field, making common cause against a nation which had, at times, been the friend or the enemy of both, was a spectacle—a condition of things—so strange that men could hardly believe in its safety and duration. No one trusted in the sincerity of the alliance; a political necessity appeared to be its only real cause, and with those who had taught themselves to look on France and England as natural foes, the aggression of Russia scarcely furnished a sufficient excuse for the union of the ancient rivals in what promised to be a costly and hazardous war. But the alliance was formed, nevertheless, and the gauntlet was cast at the feet of the Czar.

Among a people so bigoted as the Russians, it is good policy to found appeals to nationality in the name of the Greek religion. The Russian will always fight when and where he is ordered by his superiors, but he only throws his heart into the contest when he believes that he is doing battle in the cause of Christianity. The Czar, aware of the existence of this feeling amidst the slavish conscripts of his vast dominions, addressed them in the language most calculated to stimulate their zeal—"England and France," said the manifesto, "have taken up the cause of Turkey; and thus England and France have ranged themselves by the side of the enemies of Christianity." The logic was convincing. Thousands of disciplined soldiers and Cossacks marched down to the Danube, following the index of the Empress Catherine which pointed to Constantinople. But they were checked at Silistria. Moslem and Christian combined to obstruct the Russian hordes.

Omar Pacha, a German, headed the troops of the Sultan. The Turkish soldiers were not deficient in a wild courage strengthened by religious fanaticism. In the field they were the equals of the troops of the Czar. But they lacked science; and science in modern warfare is an equivalent for personal prowess, if it be not sometimes of much more consequence. Happily for the Osmanlis several English Officers went to their aid. Colonel Cannon, an East India soldier, who had fleshed his maiden sword in Spain under De Lacy Evans, threw himself into Silistria with 4,000 men. He was soon joined by two other Officers of the East India Company's Army. Captains Nasmyth and Butler arrived opportunely to aid in strengthening the works of the beleaguered town. The conduct of all these Officers was most praiseworthy. Lieutenant Butler was killed in his gallant defence of a redoubt.

While the Turks thus manfully held the cohorts of the Czar in check, a formidable armament was preparing in England and France; and amongst the people, of Great Britain especially, there was a great deal of enthusiasm in the cause. Individually, the Emperor of Russia was detested for tyrannies and cruelties supposed to have had his sanction; and it had not been forgotten that, in 1838, Russia was detected in designs upon India. Nevertheless, it was held desirable to enter into a public explanation of the reasons for going to war, and the following "Declaration" was universally held to be satisfactory. Out of the many thousands of soldiers who were engaged in the war with Revolutionary and Imperial France, between 1793 and 1815, probably not one in a hundred knew anything of the real merits of the quarrel: it was sufficient for them that they had to "beat the French"—but education and the Reform Bill had wrought an important metamorphosis in the character of the British soldier in 1854. He had become a thinking member of society, and cared to know "the reason why" when the Government deemed it necessary that he should take the field against a political enemy:

Declaration of War.

It is with deep regret that Her Majesty announces the failure of her anxious and protracted endeavours to preserve for her people and for Europe the blessings of peace.

The unprovoked aggression of the Emperor of Russia against the Sublime Porte has been persisted in with such disregard of consequences,

that after the rejection by the Emperor of Russia of terms which the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Prussia, as well as Her Majesty, considered just and equitable, Her Majesty is compelled, by a sense of what is due to the honour of her Crown, to the interests of her people, and to the independence of the States of Europe, to come forward in defence of an Ally whose territory is invaded, and whose dignity and independence are assailed.

Her Majesty, in justification of the course she is about to pursue, refers to the transactions in which Her Majesty has been engaged.

The Emperor of Russia had some cause of complaint against the Sultan with reference to the settlement which His Highness had sanctioned of the conflicting claims of the Greek and Latin churches to a portion of the holy places of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. To the complaint of the Emperor of Russia on this head justice was done; and Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople had the satisfaction of promoting an arrangement to which no exception was taken by the Russian Government.

But while the Russian Government repeatedly assured the Government of Her Majesty that the mission of Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople was exclusively directed to the settlement of the question of the holy places at Jerusalem, Prince Menschikoff himself pressed upon the Porte other demands of a far more serious and important character, the nature of which he, in the first instance, endeavoured as far as possible to conceal from Her Majesty's Ambassador. And these demands, thus studiously concealed, affected, not the privileges of the Greek Church at Jerusalem, but the position of many millions of Turkish subjects in their relations to their Sovereign, the Sultan.

These demands were rejected by the spontaneous decision of the Sublime Porte.

Two assurances had been given to Her Majesty, one that the mission of Prince Menschikoff regarded the holy places; the other that the mission would be of a conciliatory character.

In both respects Her Majesty's just expectations were disappointed.

Demands were made which, in the opinion of the Sultan, extended to the substitution of the Emperor of Russia's authority for his own over a large portion of his subjects, and those demands were enforced by a threat; and when Her Majesty learnt that, on announcing the termination of his mission, Prince Menschikoff declared that the refusal of his demands would impose upon the Imperial Government the necessity of seeking a guarantee by its own power, Her Majesty thought proper that her Fleet should leave Malta, and, in conjunction with that of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, take up its station in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles.

So long as the negotiations bore an amicable character, Her Majesty refrained from any demonstration of force. But when, in addition to the assemblage of large Military Forces on the frontier of Turkey, the Ambassador of Russia intimated that serious consequences would ensue from the refusal of the Sultan to comply with unwarrantable demands, Her Majesty deemed it right, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, to give an unquestionable proof of her determination to support the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

The Russian Government has maintained that the determination of the Emperor to occupy the Principalities was taken in consequence of the advance of the Fleets of England and France. But the menace of invasion of the Turkish territory was conveyed in Count Nesselrode's note to Rechid Pacha, of the 19th (31st) May, and restated in his despatch to Baron Brunnow of the 20th May (1st June), which announced the determination of the Emperor of Russia to order his troops to occupy the Principalities, if the Porte did not within a week comply with the demands of Russia.

The despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, authorising him, on certain specified contingencies, to send for the British Fleet, was dated the 31st of May, and the order sent direct from England to Her Majesty's Admiral to proceed to the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles was dated the 2nd of June.

The determination to occupy the Principalities was therefore taken before the orders for the advance of the combined Squadrons were given.

The Sultan's Minister was informed that, unless he signed within a week, and without the change of a word, the note proposed to the Porte by Prince Menschikoff, on the eve of his departure from Constantinople, the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia would be occupied by Russian troops. The Sultan could not accede to so insulting a demand, but when the actual occupation of the Principalities took place, the Sultan did not, as he might have done in the exercise of his undoubted right, declare war, but addressed a protest to his Allies.

(The Declaration goes on to mention the endeavours that had been made by the Allies to bring about a peaceful solution of the questions at issue, without favourable results, and the consequent declaration of war by Turkey.)

The time has, however, now arrived (continues the Declaration), when the advice and remonstrances of the Four Powers having proved wholly ineffectual, and the Military preparations of Russia becoming daily more extended, it is but too obvious that the Emperor of Russia has entered upon a

course of policy which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the Ottoman Empire.

In this conjuncture, Her Majesty feels called upon by regard for an Ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognised as essential to the peace of Europe; by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong; by a desire to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences; and to save Europe from the preponderance of a Power which has violated the faith of treaties, and defies the opinions of the civilized world, to take up arms, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, for the defence of the Sultan.

Her Majesty is persuaded that, in so acting, she will have the cordial support of her people; and that the pretext of zeal for the Christian religion will be used in vain to cover an aggression undertaken in disregard of its holy precepts, and of its pure and beneficent spirit.

Her Majesty humbly trusts that her efforts may be successful, and that, by the blessing of Providence, peace may be re-established on safe and solid foundations.

It was impossible that England, with a commercial and manufacturing population, should contribute a national force numerically equal to that of the French, whose military system gave them the command of an enormous Army at any moment. It was necessary, therefore, to augment the bounties held out as an attraction to recruits, and to reduce the standard height of candidates for service. Fortunately the Militia, formed in the previous year, had become the nucleus of a force, but as it could not be employed beyond the limits of the island, the soldiers were encouraged to transfer their services to the Line, and as an inducement to the Officers of the Militia to urge their men to enlist, Ensigncies in the regular Army were given to each subaltern who could raise seventy-five men, and a bonus of 1*l.* was added to the bounty of 6*l.* payable to recruits. As many as three Ensigncies were given to each Regiment that produced 225 men in batches of seventy-five each. The Militia had in many instances reached a fair degree of discipline and utility, for much judgment had been shown by the Lords-Lieutenant of counties in the appointment of the Adjutants, Majors, and Captains of each Corps. The commands had not always fallen into the same capable hands.

But even with all the aid derivable from the Militia and the temptation of high bounties, the British contingent would have fallen short of the requisite strength if the services of foreigners had not been sought, as in the time of Napoleon. The liberality of England was notorious on the Continent, and every State which was not pledged to neutrality or in terror of the power of Russia was ready to contribute soldiers to swell the requisite armament. Thus, bodies of Osmanli Irregular Horse were raised by experienced Cavalry Officers, and Italian, German, and Swiss Legions were formed under the auspices of Colonel Kinloch.

As the British Cavalry was very weak in numbers, one of the most efficient bodies of mounted irregulars would probably have been the Corps of Bazi Bashouks formed by Lieutenant-Colonel Beatson, of the Bengal Army, who had served in Spain with Sir De Lacy Evans. By dint of great perseverance he levied a Corps of 4,000 men of all races, and through the exercise of good management, excellent temper, and firmness, he brought them into a state of order and discipline that promised well for the future. But the supineness of the Ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; the questionable conduct of the Consul-General, Mr Calvert; combined with unaccountable jealousies and indifference at headquarters, left Colonel Beatson (who received the distinction of Lieutenant-General in the Turkish Army) without the requisite resources for the maintenance of his Corps, and before it could be called into active service it was necessarily disbanded.

A more imposing Force, numerically, than that now despatched to the East, was never arrayed at any one time under the British flag. Its chief deficiency lay in the Staff and the Cavalry commands. Few of the principal Officers had had much, if any, experience of their duties in the field. Family and aristocratic influence were unfortunately allowed great sway in the selections. Tradition usurped the place of more material guarantees of utility. Nor was the ignorance of the Staff confined to the routine of professional duty. No one was familiar with the topography, resources, and language of the countries to be visited. It was clear that we were about to take a "leap in the dark."

The arms of the Infantry were a considerable improvement upon the Minié rifle. In 1853, Lord Hardinge had appointed a Committee to inquire into the subject of the possibility of improving the rifles; it was assisted in its deliberations and experiments by some of the most eminent gunmakers, and the result of the inquiries, deliberations, and experiments was the production of a musket commonly called the Enfield. It projected an ounce ball with great accuracy and force. The soldier could, as formerly, carry sixty rounds of ammunition, whilst the new weapon, with the sixty cartridges, was 3 lbs. 5 ozs. lighter than its predecessor of 1851, though the stock and barrel were stronger. This was a material consideration. A corresponding degree of improvement had not, however, taken

place in the Artillery branch of the Service. When war was declared with Russia, nothing could have been more unsatisfactory than the state of the Ordnance Department as regarded the store of some of the most important war *matériel* or the means for their production. In the first Artillery equipment prepared for the East it was found impossible to procure by the ordinary means a due supply of efficient Shrapnel shells. In his extremity the Secretary for War resorted to Captain Boxer, of the Royal Artillery, then holding the appointment of additional Fire Master, for advice and assistance. He showed to that Officer the danger of our position, and told him that some means must be found to improve it. Captain Boxer perceived the emergency of the situation, and at once applied his talents to the extrication of the Government from its difficulty. By dint of "the great ability, great scientific knowledge, and great energy" of Captain Boxer, very important results were achieved, and, in the language of the Secretary of State, he "saved the Ordnance Department from disgrace and the country from imminent danger."

In the spring of 1854 the troops left England. The Peninsular and Oriental Company placed several of their magnificent steamers at the disposal of the Government, and a war Fleet under Admiral Lyons convoyed the noble Armada. The commands were thus distributed. Lord Raglan commanded in chief. Major-General His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge headed the Division of the Guards—physically, the flower of the British Army. The Second Division of Infantry was under Lieutenant-General Sir De Lacy Evans. Lord Hardinge appreciated a Military capacity which the Duke of Wellington had undervalued. The Light Division of Infantry was commanded by Lieutenant-General George Brown, who had held the office of Adjutant-General for some years. He was a rough man, but a thoroughly good soldier. The Third Division was assigned to Major-General Sir Richard England. The Brigadiers of the several Divisions were, for the most part, Officers who had seen service in India and China. Adams, Pennefather, and Colin Campbell were names of note. Bentinck and Codrington were better known in the purlieus of St James's, but they were *Guardsmen*, and the Guards had never failed in great emergencies. Colonels Estcourt and Airey had been selected by Lord Raglan for the offices of Adjutant and Quartermaster General. Official experience and personal intelligence were their recommendation. Lieutenant-General Sir John Burgoyne was appointed the Chief-Engineer, and perhaps no Army in the world possessed a better or more scientific Officer in that important branch of the Service. The Cavalry commands were in the hands of the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan. If a reputation for personal courage and good horsemanship had been a sufficient qualification for the heavy responsibility, the choice could have raised no question.

Gallipoli and Scutari, in the vicinity of the Dardanelles, were the appointed rendezvous of the Allied Army, and thither it proceeded to the western coast of the Black Sea. Reconnaissances and the information received at head-quarters then suggested a descent upon the Crimean peninsula, lying further East. Landing at Eupatoria, the troops marched along the coast until they reached the river Alma. Here they found the Russians prepared to receive them. Crowning a steep height on the opposite bank of the river were batteries of one hundred guns, and a large force of Infantry and Cossacks. The double task was therefore imposed upon the Army of crossing a river in front of an enemy, and of afterwards attacking his strong and advantageously situated intrenchments. In the rear of the Russians lay the fortified town of Sebastopol and the Russian Fleet of men-of-war, neither of which could be touched until the Alma had been crossed. It was the condition precedent of the intended greater operations. So, concerting their arrangements that the honour of the achievement should be equally divided, the Commanders of the Allied Armies happily disposed their Battalions, and battle was offered to the Russians on the 14th of September. The Russian guns belched forth their thunder, and the balls fell with terrible precision upon the ranks of the Allied Infantry. Fearlessly and brilliantly the Line advanced. Renewing the glories of Albuhera, the 7th and 23rd Fusiliers, with the Duke of Wellington's own Regiment, the 33rd, and the highly-disciplined 95th, forded the river, ran up the acclivity, and seized a redoubt. But they could not hold it. The inveterate fire of the Russians compelled them to relinquish their prize. Up went the Guards, under Brigadier Bentinck, and the Highlanders, following the veteran Colin Campbell. The struggle was tremendous. Obstinately resolved to die rather than relinquish their position, the Russians gave blow for blow. With determined courage the Brigades persevered, and for three hours the mortal strife continued. Twenty-six British Officers fell in the contest. At length the devoted troops of the Czar, no longer able to resist the successive attacks of the Allies, sounded a retreat, and the heights remained in the possession of Lord Raglan and Marshal St Arnaud.

The victory of the Alma was followed up by an advance towards Sebastopol. Finding the Northern face of Sebastopol defended by a fortress that could only be taken by a regular siege, which was not at the moment feasible, the Allied Commanders resolved on a flank march

which would bring their Forces on to the plateau south of the city, whence they could more readily communicate with their supplies and the shipping. Not a moment was lost in carrying the project into execution. Harassing the Russians in their retreat, and then diverging to the East, the Armies gained the open country lying between the port of Balaklava and that of Sebastopol, and seizing the former town and harbour as a base of operations soon had the satisfaction of seeing the British flag flying on the heights, while the French occupied the land contiguous to Kamisch Bay.

CHAPTER XL

The Siege of Sebastopol commenced—Cavalry Charge at Balaklava—Supplies from England—Florence Nightingale—The Sortie—The Battle of Inkermann—Furious Storm—The Winter of 1854—Distribution of Medals in England—Assault on the Redan—Capture of the Malakhoff, and termination of the War—The Defence of Kars—Lord Panmure, Minister of War—Abolition of the Board of General Officers—Welcome to the Troops in England—The Victoria Cross—Non-commissioned Officers—The Queen at Aldershot—Rewards and Reforms.

Sebastopol was found to be very strongly fortified. There were redans and bastions, mamelons, towers, and redoubts bristling with heavy artillery all along the southern face. The ample resources of a great Military nation, whose Engineers were men of rare and original talent, had been employed to render the place, if possible, impregnable. To invest the town was simply an impossibility. Its communications were open to the North and East, whence indefinite reinforcements and *matériel* could be drawn. Nothing remained but to attack the works at different points from the plateau where the troops now endeavoured to establish themselves. The left of the line resting upon the sea was occupied by the French. The English held the right, and the intermediate space was occupied by soldiery of all the Allied nations, including the Turks and Sardinians. Balaklava was maintained by the 93rd Highlanders, a body of the Royal Marines, and a detachment of Artillery. Everything was planned after a manner to reflect honour on the judgment of the Generals and the Engineers.

The first idea of the Russian Commander, Prince Gortschakoff, was to recover Balaklava, hem in the Allies, and cut off their communication with the shipping. Pushing forward a well-equipped Force of all arms on the 5th October, he drove the Turks from the redoubts which they occupied on the heights above the town. But beyond that his Cossacks and Artillery could not penetrate. Sir Colin Campbell drew up his daring Highlanders and Marines in one "long, thin, red line," and met them with a volley, before which the hordes recoiled. The heavy Cavalry, under Brigadier Scarlett, was at hand. Greys, Inniskillings, and Dragoon Guards, were hurled upon them as they wavered, and after a severe hand-to-hand contest the Russians, broken and discomfited, retired. Lord Raglan and General Canrobert, who had witnessed the fight, saw their opportunity. The British Light Cavalry were ordered immediately to advance and seize the guns of the retreating enemy. It was one of those tides in the affairs of war which, to lead to fortune, had to be taken at the flood. It was "omitted." The Officer entrusted with the order—or the Officer who received the order—somehow blundered. So ran the allegation. Suffice it, the Brigade of Light Cavalry, numbering only 600 sabres, led by the Earl of Cardigan, who had more intrepidity than judgment—and, unsupported by Infantry or Artillery, *selon les règles*, tore across the plain—too late, too late to be of the least service. The Russians had re-formed, and their guns were in position. The right, the left, and the front of the advancing Squadrons were torn by the cannon of the enemy; and when the survivors reached the line, lance and bayonet, sabre and pistol, resisted their attack. For a few minutes they daringly and impetuously maintained the contest against overwhelming numbers, but conquest was utterly impossible. The trumpets sounded a reluctant retreat; and then the Dragoons, the Hussars, and the Lancers went back to their lines.

"But not—not the six hundred!"

A miserable fragment of the beautiful Brigade returned to the lines covered with honour—all else had been lost. "*C'était magnifique—mais elle n'était pas la guerre,*" was the pithy commentary of the French General, who had been a spectator of the charge, and of the unflinching hardihood with which the British trooper encounters death in the struggle with heavy odds.

Disastrous as the climax had been, the battle of Balaklava served the purpose of enabling the English to maintain their position thenceforth undisturbed, and the siege preparations went briskly on. Happily, the Army was accompanied by a class of gentlemen very scant in numbers, but rich in talent and right feeling, whose business it was to supply the principal English newspapers with information as to the state of affairs in the camp, and the progress of the war generally. Hitherto, men in office, and especially Military men, had held the press in affected contempt; in reality, they dreaded the power which made their professional acts amenable to public opinion; but a better estimate of the value of the "institution"

had sprung up of late years, and it was admitted that the integrity, patriotism, and rare intelligence which, while they combined to expose abuses, were effective in the promotion of great Army reforms and manifold improvements, more than counterbalanced the annoyances which occasionally sprang from inevitable exposures and unintentional misstatements. The correspondents of the public press who were with the troops at the Alma, and witnessed the battle of Balaklava, were participators in much of the suffering which resulted from the conflicts, the climate, and the exposure. Putting aside their own personal annoyances, they diligently and faithfully represented the fearful condition of the Army by every mail which left the Black Sea with its freight of wounded and sick men, and called upon the people of England to aid with their wealth and energies in alleviating misery, and strengthening their soldiers in the mighty enterprise in which they were embarked.* The honour and renown of the nation were imperilled, and nothing could save them but a stupendous effort of patriotism and benevolence. When did England ever turn a deaf ear to appeals addressed to her generosity? When was she ever indifferent to the claims on her humanity? The heart of the great nation was profoundly stirred by the intelligence conveyed to each homestead through the columns of the press, and every scheme that a wise policy and an enlarged benevolence could suggest for mitigating the sufferings of the Army, and ensuring the success of the campaign in the Crimea, was immediately adopted. Public meetings were called in every town and village of the United Kingdom — subsequently repeated in all the colonies where Englishmen were to be found; vast subscriptions were raised, and supplies of every description immediately despatched to the camp. Private effort strengthened public endeavour. There was not a single soul, from the generous Queen upon her throne to the humblest occupant of the poorest cottage—the parent, perhaps, of some absent soldier—who did not contribute to the comfort and succour of the troops. The wounded were sent to hospitals established at Scutari and other places on the coast of Turkey, to enjoy a degree of tender care and nursing unknown to any of their gallant predecessors. Animated by the highest philanthropy, Miss Florence Nightingale, a gentlewoman of independent means and good family, devoted herself and her possessions to the noble task which thitherto had been imperfectly fulfilled in foreign Armies by *sœurs de charité* and warm-hearted *vivandières*. Her admirable example found numerous imitators among her countrywomen, and, in a short time, the hospitals became paradisaical asylums for the victims of disease and furious strife.

It was a happy thing that the British nation had thus become alive, in good season, to the wants of the Army, and the urgent necessity for adapting it, in all respects, to the work it had to perform. The Russians were no common enemies; the Czar himself was urged by a variety of feelings and considerations to push the war to the uttermost. Enraged that he had been baffled in his designs upon Turkey—maddened by the presence of an armed host on his southern territories —humiliated by the loss or blockade of his fleets in the Black Sea and the Baltic—he omitted no expedient that could render his strong places impregnable and his legions formidable. The best Generals in his well-trained Army were sent to earn the highest rewards in his power to bestow, or endure the severest punishment he could inflict in proportion as they succeeded or failed in their serious missions. The treasures of the empire were lavished to build up bulwarks against the invaders. Prayers and sacrifices were offered up in the Greek churches; neighbouring States were coaxed to hold their hands if they could not send auxiliaries. In a word, there was nothing that power and ingenuity could devise to break the chains upon despotic action imposed by combined England and France that the Emperor of Russia did not gallantly attempt.

In the meantime, the garrison of Sebastopol was not idle. The fire from the batteries perpetually disturbed the besiegers at their labour in the trenches, and every little damage inflicted upon the outworks of the city was promptly repaired by the highest engineering skill. On the 26th of October a sortie was made in prodigious strength. Four thousand brave and devoted soldiers assailed the front of the works, covered by Sir De Lacy Evans' Division. They were driven back by the Infantry Regiments which defended the works, leaving 500 men killed and wounded, and losing 100 prisoners. The 30th, 49th, 55th, and 95th admirably maintained the traditions of the Corps. There was a pause after this for thirteen days. But on the 8th of November an attack was made by the Russians upon the right of the line of the combined Armies, facing the village of Inkerman, which put English mettle to the severest proof. It was before the dawn of a misty morning that the Second Division was made aware of the approach of vast bodies of the enemy's Infantry, heralded by the fire of artillery. The Russians were bent upon the possession of a redoubt held by the 55th on a commanding elevation. Forty to one were fearful odds, and the 55th unavoidably fell back. The 41st and

* Let the name of William H. Russell be written in letters of gold. It was chiefly to his eloquence and independence that the Army owed the prompt interference of the country.

49th rushed to the rescue, and recovered the fort, and for awhile held it against masses of the enemy. But, in their turn, they were compelled to yield possession to the accelerated numbers. The Duke of Cambridge now came up with the Guards, who charged the redoubt "as if, besides life, immortality were to be won." They were successful, and a few hundred men set at defiance 7,000 of the enemy, who, three several times, sought to recover what they had won and lost. And here perhaps occurred one of the most splendid episodes "in the bloodiest struggle ever witnessed since war, cursed the earth." "Back to back on that bloody ground, sodden into a hideous quagmire, the gallant Coldstreams fought against an infuriated multitude till their ammunition was expended; and then clubbing their muskets, by dint of blows from stock and stone, they drove the Russians back far enough to obtain room to form in line, and with levelled bayonets charged the retreating masses, and again joined their comrades." Meantime, while 12,000 English soldiers fought hand to hand with a host counting 40,000 trained men, the Russians, as day and the dispersing smoke enabled them to discern their prey, picked off the British Officers, as a sportsman selects his game. Sir George Cathcart was shot dead, Brigadiers-General Strangways and Goldie were likewise killed; Brigadier-General Torrens was severely wounded. Terrible havoc was made with the juniors. The Russians did not spare the wounded. They bayoneted all who fell within their reach or upon the ground they crossed. And while they were engaged in their murderous work and the fortunes of the day were undecided, the dashing French Zouaves and Chasseurs d'Afrique came down pell-mell upon the left of the enemy, and scattered them, like chaff. Inkermann was a British victory; it was emphatically the soldiers' battle,* for everything depended upon individual stamina. The French Allies were to them on that occasion what the Prussians were to Wellington at Waterloo—they came in at the close of the fight to give the enemy the *coup de grace*.†

Another such victory as that of Inkerman would have destroyed the British, so attenuated had the ranks become by the results of three battles and a sortie in six weeks. Fortunately, the Russians had suffered too much themselves to renew their attacks in force. But they were not without a powerful ally. Nature came to their aid in a form of greater potency than the accession of fifty thousand bayonets. One of those awful storms which render the Euxine the most dangerous of seas suddenly swept along the coast, and deluged the plateau. Tents were blown down, and their contents whirled into the air. Without covering of any kind, or any means of procuring it, the troops were exposed to the remorseless pelting of the tempest. The whole land was converted into a mass of thick mud; communication with the shipping—much of which had been disabled, one magnificent steamer becoming a total wreck—was rendered extremely difficult. All the efforts of the Commissariat were insufficient to meet the simplest requirements of the troops. Carriage was scarce; the transport of provisions to the necessary extent next to impossible. Disease assailed the unhappy legions suffering from privation and the inclement weather, and hundreds of fine fellows were hurried to hospitals and premature graves before a shot could be fired.

Such a combination of misfortunes would have crushed any other Army and any other people than the British. Potent voices were uplifted against the mismanagement and incapacity which were said to have characterised leaders and departments alike; and there were not wanting public men who cried out for the withdrawal of the troops and the establishment of an ignominious peace. But the spirit of the nation rose with the occasion, and the Queen's Government continued firm to its purpose. As there was little prospect of seizing Sebastopol before the winter should set in, and the insufficiency of the protection of tents had been painfully made manifest, huts were sent out to Lord Raglan, and a thousand powerful labourers, of the description called navvies, were forwarded to construct a road

* It might with equal reason have been called "the Officers' fight," for many Officers, relinquishing for the moment the details of command, used their weapons with the vigour which characterised their ancestors when all distinctions were lost in the fury of the melée, and individual prowess became an element of success. Conspicuous among the Officers who thus distinguished themselves at Inkermann was Captain (afterwards Colonel) I. N. Sargent, of the 95th. It is on official record that in the thickest of the battle, at a crisis when every rifle was of vital importance, he used one with remarkable effect, especially when the 95th was cut off from the British position by charging the enemy down a hill. It would have been strange if Captain Sargent had not been recommended as "a most zealous, meritorious, and brave Officer," seeing that, not only at Inkermann, but at the battle of the Alma, he had exhibited "determined bravery." Twice was he wounded during the siege of Sebastopol. He had previously served in operations on the Danube, under Lieutenant-General Beatson, who has already been mentioned, and there won the Turkish medal.

† A French Military Magazine will not allow the light of the enterprise to be hidden under a bushel. It says:—"Inkermann was a soldiers' battle, in which the individual valour of each man had a decisive influence on the fortune of the day; but at one moment there was a pressing danger, and our best tactic consisted in flying as quickly as possible to the succour of our "crushed allies." Every one felt this so strongly that soldiers and Officers instinctively rushed off at racing speed, and precipitated themselves without order into the mêlée. Such noble ardour well deserved to be crowned with success."

between Balaklava and the camp. The Russians saw with dismay that the Allies had made up their minds to spend their Christmas in the Crimea. Immense quantities of warm clothing, good bedding, and provisions, went with the huts and the navvies, and the rails, to Balaklava. There was hardly a soldier who did not find in the packages sent out a pair of mittens or a worsted scarf which some gentle hand had worked for the winter wear. Owners of estates and opulent butchers despatched large quantities of game and meat for the Christmas dinner; and with all these donations came words of comfort and encouragement from the Queen. A medal was ordered to be struck to commemorate the "Alma" and "Inkermann;" and the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State for War, acknowledging the despatch describing the last encounter, wrote, by the Queen's command:

"Her Majesty has received, with feelings of no ordinary pleasure, your Lordship's report of the manner in which Lieutenant-General His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge distinguished himself. That one of the illustrious members of her Royal house should be associated with the toils and glories of such an Army is to the Queen a source of great pride and congratulation. The gallant conduct of Lieutenant-General Sir De Lacy Evans has attracted the Queen's especial thanks. Weak from a bed of sickness, he rose at the sound of battle—not to claim his share in prominent command, but to aid with his veteran counsel and assistance the junior Officer upon whom in his absence had devolved the duty of leading his Division. Proud of the victory won by her brave Army, grateful to those who wear the laurels of the great conflict, the Queen is painfully affected by the heavy loss which has been incurred, and deeply sensible of what is owing to the dead. Those illustrious men cannot, indeed, receive the thanks of their Sovereign, which have so often cheered the soldier in his severest trials, but their blood has not been shed in vain. Laid low in their grave of victory, their names will be cherished for ever by a grateful country, and posterity will look upon the list of Officers who have fallen as a proof of the ardent courage and zeal with which they pointed out the path of honour to no less willing followers. The loss of Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir G. Cathcart is to the Queen and to her people a cause of sorrow, which even dims the triumph of this great occasion. His loyalty, his patriotism, and self-devotion were not less conspicuous than his high Military reputation. One of a family of warriors, he was an honour to them, and an ornament to his profession. Arrived in his native land from a colony to which he had succeeded in restoring peace and contentment, he obeyed at a moment's notice the call of duty, and hastened to join that Army in which the Queen and the country fondly hoped he would have lived to win increased renown."

The dreary winter passed—the spring of 1855 arrived, and still the stubborn fortress held out against the persistent attacks of the Allies. Earthworks of unprecedented power and magnitude rose up as fast as the shot and shell of the Allies made breaches and levelled walls. The health of the troops improved essentially under the good treatment their country had provided for them, and continual reinforcements of men and *matériel* encouraged the hope that the day was not remote when proud Sebastopol would crumble beneath their feet.*

In England there was no abatement of enthusiasm and generous recognition of the efforts of the Army. The Queen and the Prince Consort constantly visited the hospitals to see the wounded men, or Her Majesty received at her palace such as were able to go there without much pain; and when the medals were ready, Her Majesty delivered them with her own hand to those Officers and men who could be paraded in London for their reception. The scene on that occasion was one of very great interest. The Queen occupied a slightly raised platform, beneath a dais, in the park, a few feet in front of the western side of the Horse Guards. The Prince Consort and the young Princes, the Commander-in-Chief, and many distinguished Generals and Staff Officers, attended Her Majesty. The Duke of Cambridge, the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan, Sir J. Bur-

* Not the least of the comforts provided for the troops was to be found in the presence of Alexis Soyer, a famous *chef de cuisine*, who had been for years in the employ of the Reform Club, and who understood the science of utilising the rations of the English soldier. It was said of the French troops that with a stone, a pint of water, and a handful of grass, they would make an appetising *potage*, while the carnivorous Briton starved in the midst of plenty. The fact was that our men had no greater culinary skill than sufficed to enable them to boil a piece of beef, and they often wasted more than they used. They wanted *an instructor*, and Soyer was just the man to turn their commissariat to account. He excelled in the necromancy of the kitchen. He could tickle the palates of the poor at a cheap rate, as well as excite the *blasé* appetites of princely voluptuaries with costly banquets. The moment he took possession, under the authority of the War Minister, of the Military *cuisines*, he converted the common supplies into wholesome, palatable food. The Medical Officers had pronounced a prevalent epidemic beyond their skill, but the great cook arrested it, and restored the strength and stamina of the emaciated hosts. Vattel, Ude, and Beauvilliers were wonderful artists, but they exercised their talents solely for the benefit of the privileged orders. They had no recipes for the middle and labouring classes. Soyer could minister to all alike. The soups which he made out of the poorest materials were sapid and nutritious, and his ragouts were masterpieces of skill, which excited the jealousy of messmen and the appetites of the Officers.

goyne, General Scarlett, Sir De Lacy Evans, and others who had returned home from the Crimea, were present. "It is impossible to describe," said the 'Times' of the 16th of May, "the mingled sensations of admiration and pity which passed like an electric thrill through the vast multitude as they saw that line of heroes whose gaunt and pallid forms, scarred features, and maimed and mutilated limbs, told alike the story of their bravery and of their manly endurance of horrible and heartrending suffering and privation. Many of those who hobbled upon crutches, or walked painfully with the assistance of a stick, wore upon their arms the emblems of mourning for some brother or near relative, now reposing on the hill-side at Balaklava, or in the hospital grave-yard of Scutari. To every one of the wounded, whether, soldiers or Officers, Her Majesty said some kind word, or asked some gracious question. Many of the poor fellows were almost overcome by their emotion and by the sweetness of Her Majesty's condescension, and many a moistened eye upon the Royal dais bore witness to the intimate sympathy that exists between the palace and the camp. A few of the private soldiers appeared to lose their self-possession for a moment on finding themselves thus brought into the very presence of their Sovereign; but, for the most part, the brave fellows exhibited a simple gratitude and manly self-respect which did them infinite honour. Three Officers, whose wounds rendered them unable to walk, were wheeled past Her Majesty in Bath chairs. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Troubridge, of the 7th Fusiliers, who lost both his feet in action, was the first of those maimed heroes. The Queen, leaning over the chair, handed Sir Thomas his medal with the most gracious gesture, and conferred upon the delighted Officer the post of Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty. Captain Sayer, of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, was also compelled to receive his medal from his wheeled chair; and Her Majesty's sympathy was here, too, manifested with the liveliest grace. Another gallant sufferer, Captain Currie, of the 19th Foot, was scarcely able to walk the length of the dais, even with the aid of a pair of crutches, and his helpless condition and severe sufferings deeply excited the sympathy, not only of the Queen and the Prince Consort, but of his comrades in arms. When the Highland Regiment passed before the dais the band of the Guards (which had been playing the 'Coronation March') changed the tune to the 'Blue Bells of Scotland' and 'Whar ha' ye bin a' the Day.' Such fine stalwart fellows were some of those Highlanders that one might have thought that the finest men of the Regiment were also the bravest, or that they had been selected as much for their physical prowess as for their valour. Upon many faces the lines of suffering yet remained."

The siege of Sebastopol continued until the summer of 1855 was far advanced. The zigzags approached the greater works which encircled the town, and many good soldiers fell in the trenches or the rifle pits which had been established for the special annoyance of the garrison. But no attempt had been made to carry any place by storm until the 18th of June. The Emperor of the French had expressed a wish that an effort should be made to distinguish that day by some remarkable achievement. There would be something to commemorate in which France and England could share. The Marshal in command did not consider the approaches sufficiently advanced to justify any attack. Nevertheless, it was made and failed. To the British was assigned the capture of a formidable Redan and the possession of a Cemetery on the left of the Russian position. The attempt was attended by the most sanguinary consequences. The 97th Regiment was nearly decimated in front of the Redan. The Fusiliers likewise suffered much. Colonels Shadforth, Sir J. Campbell, and Yea were slain. Colonels Codrington and Windham, of the Guards, distinguished themselves by their intrepidity.

In the assault on the Cemetery—which was captured and held until the relinquishment of the other attacks rendered its tenure unadvisable, if not impossible—the 9th and 77th comported themselves heroically. Conspicuous for his gallantry was Captain Charles Elmhirst, of the 9th, who had previously won honour under Pollock in the Tezeen valley on the advance to Affghanistan.

No other results attended the day's reverse than the assurance that any assault, to be entirely successful, would have to be made in great force upon a vulnerable point by the whole of the combined Armies.

In the following September the opportunity arrived. Directing the fire of 400 pieces of Artillery for forty-eight hours incessantly upon the Malakoff tower and the Redan, the Engineers (Burgoyne, Jones, and Niel, a French General) effected breaches of sufficient magnitude, and in the midst of the *feu d'enfer* ten thousand French soldiers, chiefly Zouaves and Chasseurs, dashed up the Malakoff on the 11th of the month, and after a severe fight planted the tricolor on its summit. Meanwhile, the British again assaulted the Redan, losing 153 Officers and 2,500 men, killed and wounded.

The ground in front of the Redan was of so obstinate a character that approach was made with great difficulty. The British troops were 250 yards from the place when they advanced upon it, exposed on the glacis to the unremitting fire of the garrison. Their hardihood in the attack was

so remarkable as to elicit the following tribute from *Marshal Pélissier*, who commanded the French *corps d'armée*:

"Les Anglais avaient 200 mètres à franchir sous un terrible feu de mitraille. Cet espace fut bientot jonché de morts; néanmoins, ces pertes n'arrêtaient pas la marche de la colonne d'attaque, qui arrivait en se dirigeant sur la capitale de l'ouvrage. Elle descendit dans le fossé, qui a près de cinq mètres de profondeur, et, malgré tous les efforts des Russes, elle escalada l'escarpe et enleva le saillant du Redan. Là, après un premier engagement qui coûta cher aux Russes, les soldats Anglais ne trouvaient devant eux qu'un vaste espace libre criblé par les balles de l'ennemi, qui se tenait abrité derrière des traverses éloignées. Ceux qui arrivaient remplaçaient à peine ceux qui étaient mis hors de combat. Ce n'est qu'après avoir soutenu pendant près de deux heures ce combat inégal que les Anglais se décidèrent à évacuer le Redan; ils le firent en si ferme contenance que l'ennemi n'osa pas s'avancer sur leurs pas."

The possession of the Malakoff by the French, rendering the tenure of the Redan, which it overtopped, impossible, that work was ultimately abandoned by the Russians in like manner.* The garrison now retreated across the harbour to the north side, and the city fell into the hands of the Allies, after a siege of more than a year's duration.† This virtually put an end to the war—a war in which all the best and most soldierlike qualities of the members of the British Army were subjected to the severest ordeal, and with the most triumphant results. And let it be observed in passing that the troops found admirable coadjutors in the Navy. Not only in the capture of Bomarsund, Yenikale, and Kertch, and in other operations of a purely nautical character, was the renown of the British seaman upheld. A Naval Brigade was established on shore, in front of Sebastopol, and from its powerful batteries went forth some of those terrible missiles which crumbled the vast works of the enemy.

While one part of the Russian Army was engaged in the defence of the northern shores of the Black Sea, another portion was employed in endeavouring to obtain possession of the city of Kars—the bulwark of Asia Minor, and one of the most important strongholds of the Turks in that part of the Ottoman Empire. An imposing Force, under General Mouravieff, sat down before the town in June, 1855. Colonel Fenwick Williams, of the British Engineers, had been sent to Kars in 1854 by the Government to ascertain the condition of the city and its means of defence. He found a garrison of 28,000 men much in arrears of their pay. Sensible of the immense importance of the place to the Turkish interests, the Colonel urged Lord Stratford, then at Constantinople, to send material aid to the city. But the Allied Generals before Sebastopol, and Omar Pacha, the Turkish Chieftain, were at first opposed to the diversion of any part of their Forces from the purpose on which they were engaged. At length Omar Pacha sent 15,000 men to Redout Kaleh to threaten the Russians, but it was too late a movement to be of any use. In the middle of June the Russians commenced their attack, and by the middle of July had established so rigid a blockade around the city that it was thought not a single horseman could escape. Colonel Williams had been joined by Colonel Lake, Dr Sandwith, Major Teesdale, and Major

* Origin of the Malakoff.—Some years ago a sailor and ropemaker, named Alexander Ivanovitch Malakoff, lived in Sebastopol, and by his good humour, jovial habits, and entertaining qualities, became the centre of a select circle of admiring companions. Like many great conversationalists and wits, Malakoff contracted most intimate relations with Bacchus; and under the influence of the latter he participated, in 1831, in some riots which broke out in the town, and which had one result—that of the dismissal of Malakoff from the dockyard in which he was employed. Being incapable of turning himself to any more reputable trade, he opened a low wine-shed on a hill outside of the town, and introduced into practice the theoretical notions which he had acquired by a long and zealous study of the nature of beer-houses and wine-shops. His trade prospered; his old admirers crowded round him; and in their enthusiasm christened the wine-shed, which soon expanded into a decent public-house, and the hill on which it was built, by the name of the popular host. In time a village grew around the public house, and was likewise called by the name of Malakoff. But the entertaining and imaginative founder of the place, in his deepest cups, could never have dreamt that one day his name would be in the mouths of all men, and that one of the heroes of a great war would esteem it as an inestimable title of honour.

† Queen Victoria to Her Army.

"War Department, September 12, 1855.

"The Queen has received with deep emotion the welcome intelligence of the fall of Sebastopol.

"Penetrated with profound gratitude to the Almighty, who has vouchsafed this triumph to the Allied Army, Her Majesty has commanded me to express to yourself, and through you, to the Army, the pride with which she regards this fresh instance of their heroism.

"The Queen congratulates her troops on the triumphant issue of this protracted siege, and thanks them for the cheerfulness and fortitude with which they have encountered its toils and the valour which has led to its termination.

"The Queen deeply laments that this success is not without its alloy in the heavy losses which have been sustained; and while she rejoices in the victory, Her Majesty deeply sympathises with the most noble sufferers in their country's cause.

"You will be pleased to congratulate General Pélissier, in Her Majesty's name, upon the brilliant result of the assault on the Malakoff, which proves the irresistible force as well as the indomitable courage of our brave Allies. "Panmure."

Thompson, all brave and scientific Officers, and their united efforts were directed to the defence of Kars. Whenever a redoubt was attacked they were foremost to set examples of gallantry to the Turks. But the want of provisions and the decay of ammunition was daily reducing the resistive capabilities of the garrison. Colonel Williams contrived one night to send away 1,000 horsemen whom he could not feed, and with the rest of the troops he held out until the 29th of September, when General Mouravieff made a grand attack upon the devoted fortress. In this assault no fewer than 5,000 Russians fell. The sword could not subdue the intrepid Williams. But there was no longer any possibility of resisting the influence of starvation. The garrison, after enduring the most horrible privations, succumbed to circumstances, and Kars capitulated with all the honours. The Queen marked her sense of the admirable conduct of the Colonel, who had exhibited a rigid fidelity to his trust, by raising him to the rank of Major-General, and conferring upon him the cross of a Knight Commander of the Bath and the command of the troops in Canada. Major Thompson died; Major Teesdale received a striking mark of Royal approbation in being placed near the person of the Prince of Wales.

Lord Panmure (erst Mr Fox Maule) succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as Secretary of State for the War Department early in 1855, on the occasion of Lord Palmerston's becoming Prime Minister. Fresh vigour was infused into the Military departments by this arrangement. Lord Panmure carried out, with one or two exceptions,* all that had been planned by his predecessor, and originated several measures of great efficacy in the prosecution of the war. Amongst other judicious "reforms" was the establishment of an "Army Works Corps"—a Corps of excavators, 1,000 strong, whose business it was to relieve the fighting men of the heavy trench and other fatigue duty which impaired their efficiency and imposed upon them a double toil. As the campaign in the Crimea had established the importance of subjecting the Army to continual field training in a time of peace, a permanent camp upon a very extensive scale was formed at Aldershot, an immense plain in Surrey, and placed under the command of Major-General Knollys, an accomplished Officer, who had, by his published writings, exhibited a familiarity with the art of war and a liberality of mind which more than atoned for the absence of practical field experience. Under his auspices "Aldershot" became a valuable camp of instruction. The site was healthy, and the space around the hutted city of soldiers sufficiently large for the movements of 20,000 men in the performance of field exercise.

Under Lord Panmure's administration of the War Department an important change was effected in relation to the supply of a soldier's "necessaries." It had been the practice to allow the soldier a bounty on enlistment, and to require that he should pay from that money for the articles which he was bound to carry in his knapsack. Young recruits were apt to regard this as an imposition, and often made free with their necessaries under the impression that they were their own alienable property. To remedy this Lord Panmure granted the bounty in cash, and caused the men to be supplied with a "kit" at the cost of the State.

Another important change of a cognate character was the abolition of the Board of General Officers, and the transfer of the supply of the clothing of the soldiers from the Colonels of Regiments to the State. It had been the practice from time immemorial for the Colonels of Regiments to derive an income from the difference between the actual cost of the clothing of the soldiery, which varied with circumstances, and the sum allowed by the State. A Board of General Officers existed whose duty it was to receive and examine the samples of all the articles required for the soldiery sent in by tailors, accoutrement makers, shoemakers, and saddlers; and, if they accorded with the Royal Warrant and pattern, to forward them to the Regiments, where they were again examined previous to adoption. The plan was fair enough, but it was, nevertheless, liable to abuses, and sometimes led to the supply of articles of so inferior a quality to what a Colonel proud of his Corps would wish his men to wear, that not unfrequently an opulent Officer would, from his own purse, disburse the difference that might be required to give the Regiment the appearance, he desired it to present. By the transfer of the supply of clothing to a special department, and the substitution of a fixed annual stipend as the remuneration of a Colonel of a Regiment, all grounds of cavil and suspicion were removed, the responsibility was entirely taken from the shoulders of "Boards" and individual Officers, and a simplicity introduced into the departments of account which had too long been bothered with the settlement of "off-reckonings," as the emoluments of the Colonels were called.

A cordial welcome awaited the troops upon their return to England in 1856. The Queen was prodigal of reward to those who had served

* It has never been explained why Colonel F. R. Chesney, who had been selected to command the Ottoman Contingent, should have been put aside in favour of Major-General Vivian. The appointment of the Artillery Officer would have been on every ground wise and discriminative. Colonel Chesney had fairly earned any favour that could be shown him.

the Crown with unswerving courage and faithfulness. Cornetcies and Ensigncies were bestowed upon a serjeant in each Battalion of the Guards, and each Cavalry and Infantry Regiment of the Line that had been engaged in the Crimea.* No means existing for adequately rewarding individual gallant service, the three classes of the Order of the Bath being limited to the possessors of field rank in the Army, and medals being reserved (with certain exceptions) to recompense long service and meritorious conduct, the Queen instituted a new decoration called "The Victoria Cross" in honour of those Officers and men who had particularly distinguished themselves in the presence of the enemy by some signal act of valour or devotion to the country.† Furthermore, a pension of 10*l.* per annum was bestowed on the recipients of the Cross among the non-commissioned officers and men, that the distinction might have in their eyes a higher value than a simply honorary decoration could confer. "It is part of the admirable combination of our constitutional Forces," as Mr Disraeli observed on a later memorable occasion, "that the Sovereign and the nation unite together necessarily when there is a complete and perfect recognition of public services." Whether to confer 2,000*l.* a-year to enable a Military Peer to maintain the dignity of his position, or 10*l.* a-year upon a poor private, the principle is the same, and the union of powers for good equally happy.

There was no difficulty in finding men who had fairly won the Victoria Cross by their individual bravery. Not alone were the soldiers who were conspicuous in the charge at Balaklava, like Dunn, of the 11th Hussars, and Parkes, of the 4th Light Dragoons, or Officers like Sir C. Russell and Colonel Percy, of the Grenadier Guards, Colonel Bell, of the 23rd Fusiliers, or Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, of the Scots Fusiliers, who did deeds of daring at the Alma and Inkerman, deemed worthy of the decoration. The men who had, single-handed, rescued their comrades from the hands of the enemy during the siege, or sat down to afford comfort to the wounded while bullets whistled around them, were equally the recipients of the honour. The names of Surgeon James Mowatt (afterwards Inspector-General of Hospitals), Lieutenant Sylvester, and Corporal Shields, of the 23rd Fusiliers, Lieutenant Hope, of the 7th Fusiliers, John Taylor, of the Naval Brigade, and McDermond, of the 47th, will be remembered as long as civilised England delights to associate courage with humanity. Each was conspicuous for daring and successful endeavours to recover friends in the face of imminent danger.*

For the first time in the History of the Wars in which the British Army had been engaged, honourable mention was made in public despatches and reports of the conspicuous valour of non-commissioned officers and privates. Disdaining the aristocratic exclusiveness which could only see and do honour to merit in the commissioned ranks, Sir De Lacy Evans set the example of rendering justice to all by specially naming a gallant serjeant (Sullivan) of the 30th Regiment. Then the public heard of many others who had established particular claims to notice and reward—Flinn and Brophey earned commissions; Sullivan was equally rewarded; and medals and crosses at least recompensed Sims, Burrows, Smeaton, McArdle, Nicoll, Jenkins, Hennessey, Blake, Stapleton, Hindley, McMahon, Ratt, Ridley, Mackenzie, and Kelly.

After an equitable distribution had been made of the British decorations, there was still room on the breasts of some of Queen Victoria's best soldiers for marks of the admiration of foreign Sovereigns. The Emperor of the French, the Sultan, and the King of Sardinia vied with each other in a desire to bestow medals upon their Allies; and their wishes were not only responded to, but their generosity reciprocated. British medals were sent to adorn the persons of the valorous French, Italian, and Turkish troops.

When the whole of the troops had arrived in England the public were eager to manifest their admiration of the qualities which had augmented the prestige of the British Army, and secured important consequences to Europe. Magnificent banquets were given to the Officers, monuments and memorials were raised in honour of the fallen, and columns and grouped statues to perpetuate mighty victories. The non-commissioned officers and privates were invited to splendid *fêtes* in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, Sheffield, and

* "Horse Guards, December 9th, 1855.—The Queen has been pleased to command that, as a mark of Her Majesty's recognition of the meritorious services of non-commissioned officers of the Army under the command of Field-Marshal Lord Raglan, in the recent brilliant operations in the Crimea, the Field-Marshal shall submit, through the General Commanding-in-Chief, the name of one serjeant of each Regiment of Cavalry, of the three Battalions of Foot Guards, and of every Regiment of Infantry of the Line, to be promoted to a Cornetcy or Ensigncy for Her Majesty's approval; and with the view to render immediately available the services of these meritorious men, Her Majesty has directed that the Field-Marshal do appoint provisionally, and pending Her Majesty's pleasure, the serjeants so recommended to Regiments in the Army under his command; and Her Majesty has further been graciously pleased to signify her intention that, on the several recommendations receiving Her Majesty's approval, the commission shall in each case bear date the 5th of November, 1854."

† See Appendix for the Statute.

* An interesting volume, entitled 'Our Soldiers and the Victoria Cross,' published by Mr S. O. Beeton, gives many minute particulars of the circumstances under which the cross was won.

other towns. Public men, who at one time would have denounced a standing Army as a costly nuisance, were foremost to praise the heroes of the Crimea. "They are the protectors of England," said Mr Roebuck, at the Sheffield banquet to the 4th Dragoon Guards; "they are the protectors of our glory, they are the protectors of our freedom. And here, now, is one striking instance that your institution affords of the thorough confidence we have in you, and in the institution to which you belong. We are not afraid of soldiers. We love you as brethren, and we know that you will protect us as such."

But the principal feature of the welcome given to the troops was unquestionably to be found in the reception they experienced from the Queen herself, the Court, and the crowds who assembled in Hyde Park in June, 1856, and at Aldershot in the ensuing month of August. Her Majesty not only reviewed the troops at the latter camp, but personally visited their huts; and at the end of the inspection addressed a select body of the assembled troops in these never-to-be-forgotten words:

"Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers,—I wish personally to convey, through you, to the Regiments assembled here this day, my hearty welcome on your return to England in health and full efficiency. Say to them that I have watched anxiously over the difficulties and hardships which they have so nobly borne; that I have mourned with deep sorrow for the brave men who have fallen for their country; and that I have felt proud of that valour which, with their gallant Allies, they have displayed on every field. I thank God that your dangers are over, whilst the glory of your deeds remains. But I know that, should your services be again required, you will be animated with the same devotion which in the Crimea has rendered you invincible."

A material drawback upon the pleasure created by the appearance of the troops was the absence of the estimable nobleman, the distinguished friend of the Duke of Wellington, who had led them to the Crimea. Lord Raglan died in harness in 1855, overcome by illness and fatigue. His remains were brought to his native country, and interred with suitable dignity at Bristol. A handsome pension was continued to his widow and his heir, as appropriate marks of a nation's regret and gratitude.

It would swell this chapter to an inordinate size were the names of all who had deserved well of the country to be inserted, but it would be ungracious to omit that FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE, who had been foremost among the "ministering angels" when "pain and anguish wrung the brow" of the British soldier, was honoured as she deserved to be by the nation and the Queen. Excellent and valuable as her self-sacrificing example had proved, it was not the limit of her utility and rare humanity. The hospitals of the whole country, as well as those of the British garrisons, borrowed lessons from her; and humane, gentle, and serviceable treatment superseded, in many cases, the slovenly neglect and persistent cruelty which had too long disgraced those institutions.

To the catalogue of good works for which Lord Panmure obtained credit during the years 1855-56 must now be added the establishment of a Land Transport Corps, to facilitate the carriage of the supplies and ammunition of the Army—a Corps afterwards converted into the Royal Military Train; the abolition of the Board of Ordnance, and the substitution of a separate superintendence of the manufacture of every description of Army *matériel*; the creation of a Medical Staff Corps, with all the appendages of *ambulances* and other resources for sick and wounded soldiers; the grant of sixpence per day extra to the men who had served in the Crimea; an increase to the pensions of the widows of Officers who had fallen in the field, or who might die within six months of the receipt of their wounds; the promotion of Officers while prisoners of war, if vacancies occurred in their absence; an improvement in the Retiring half-pay of Regimental Quartermasters, and the conferment of the rank of Captain upon that deserving class; the allotment to widows of the prices paid by deceased Officers for their several Commissions, and the promotion of Subalterns to the rank of Captain after one year's service in the Crimea, if they should have reached the top of the list of Lieutenants in that time.

A more liberal consideration of the deservings of the Army, and a more salutary change in many of the regulations which governed pensions and preferment, were never comprehended in the same space of time. The ways of Lord Panmure were those of pleasantness. Those of Lord Hardinge, the Commander-in-Chief, were not altogether so agreeable. It was his disagreeable office to have to visit with the heavy punishment of dismissal the indulgence of some junior Officers in the prohibited pastime of "practical joking." Several instances had disgraced the idle barrack life of certain Subalterns of a propensity to amuse themselves at the expense of their brother Officers by acts at once violent, indelicate, and offensive. Remonstrance and command were thrown away. Summary discharge from a Service to which it was an honour to belong was necessary as a preventive and an example.

Among the arrangements made by the French and English Governments in 1854, for neutralising Russian power in the East, was the occupation of

the capital of Greece. The kingdom was in a wretched state. The country was divided by factions, and impoverished by an attempt on the part of its feeble Government to maintain a standing Army; and, under the sway of a German Prince who was neither feared nor respected by his Greek subjects, without money, credit, or power, it afforded a melancholy contrast to the days of its ancient greatness. The Court, the priests, and the people were blindly devoted to the Russians; Russian gold, Russian intrigue, Russian agents, were everywhere at work to excite the feelings of the nation against the Allies, and to encourage all classes to give what aid they could to the Russian cause. Hence the determination of the Allies to occupy the capital. The British Regiment first sent from Malta to the Piræus was the 97th. Six months later that Corps was relieved by the 3rd Buffs, who, in their turn, were displaced by the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders. The conduct of the Regiments was most exemplary. The utmost harmony, kind feelings, and even friendship were cultivated between the British and the French Officers and men, and ultimately the Greeks, who had received them on their arrival with dislike and mistrust, came to regard them with respect. "All marvelled at the admirable discipline, honesty, and good humour of the English soldiers, and at the quiet and courteous demeanour of their Officers."

CHAPTER XLI.

Death of Lord Hardinge—The Duke of Cambridge Commanding-in-Chief—War with Persia—The Purchase Question—Quarrel with China—Mutiny of the Native Army of India—How and by whom suppressed—Transfer of India to the Crown—Numerous Improvements in the Constitution and Establishment of the Army—Rifle Practice—The French desire War with England—Volunteer Movement—Breech-Loaders—The Army of Reserve—Progress of Volunteer Organisation.

The death of Lord Hardinge in 1856 once again leaving the bâton of the Commander-in-Chief vacant, the Queen conferred the responsible post upon her Royal cousin, the Duke of Cambridge. Educated in Germany during the Vice-Royalty of his father, the youth of the Duke had been passed much among soldiers, and he had acquired a passion for the Military profession. At an early period when his studies were complete he received a Commission in the British Army, and joined a Dragoon Regiment for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the duties of his rank. Diligent in the discharge of his functions and evincing considerable aptitude for command, His Royal Highness was entrusted with the charge of the Dublin garrison, and in the capacious Phœnix Park had excellent opportunities of handling troops. From that position, as we have seen, he was removed to become Inspector-General of the British Cavalry. Subsequently proceeding to the Crimea, the Duke displayed the cool courage which had always been an attribute of his illustrious family, and in the care which he bestowed on the magnificent Division of the Guards placed under his command he manifested the possession of many qualifications for that higher trust which now devolved upon him. There was not a single voice raised against His Royal Highness's appointment to the Command-in-Chief, for though he was much younger than many of the Generals on the List, he was recommended by that independence of all Ministerial influence and professional ties which might have been wanting in any one under the rank of a Prince of the Blood Royal. And the modesty of his character was a guarantee that in all matters which might cause him embarrassment or anxiety he would consult those old Officers whose experience and integrity could be relied on.

One of the first duties of the Duke of Cambridge was to attend Her Majesty at the camp at Aldershot, and it became his pleasing office to issue the following General Order:

"Horse Guards, 5th August, 1856.

"The Queen, having completed the review of the Regiments which served in the Army in the East, has commanded His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief to welcome their return from that arduous service. Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to express her admiration of their good order and discipline.

"Victorious when opposed to the brave and enterprising enemy with whom it had to contend, the Army has earned the gratitude of the country.

"The patient endurance of evils inseparable from war, and an instinctive determination to overcome them, are characteristic of the British soldier; and the events of the war have proved that those national virtues have not degenerated during a long previous peace.

"The Queen deplores the loss of many of her best Officers and bravest men; but history will consecrate the ground before Sebastopol as the grave of heroes."

An overweening estimate of their own power and consequence, and a profound ignorance of the strength of European nations, are the characteristics of Oriental States generally, and to none does this observation more strictly apply than to Persia. In spite of the humiliation to which Russia has, at different times, subjected the Court of Teheran, the flatterers of the Schah-in-Schah nourish his vanity by poetical narratives of the conquests achieved in an easterly direction

by his renowned ancestors. The deeds which placed the Mogul on the throne of Delhi, after the Ghuznivide had paved the way, are always present to the Persian imagination, and the hope continually revives that at some future period similar exploits will again extend the authority of the ruler of Iran beyond the Indus. On no other hypothesis, unless we add the results of Russian intrigue continually urging the Schah to the perpetration of follies, can the proceedings of 1855-56 be explained. In the terms of a convention entered into between the Persian Government and Colonel Justin Shiel,, the British Minister at Teheran in 1853, the former party to the contract engaged not to send troops to Herat unless the Herat territory should be invaded by a foreign Army. Mr Murray went to Persia in 1854 as the British representative. He was in every respect adapted to the office of Minister, but he could not manage to secure the regard of the principal Wuzeer. Insults were continually put upon him, and obstacles offered in every shape that Oriental ingenuity and religious fanaticism could devise. Mr Murray's self-respect would not allow of his continuing to hold office beyond the close of 1855. About the same time a rebellion broke out in Herat. Dost Mahomed, the ruler of Cabul, immediately advanced to Candahar. The integrity of the dominions to which he had been restored was menaced. It was advisable to be near the frontier. Persia made this very act a pretext for laying siege to Herat, and upon this occasion her operations were more successful than in 1838. The Herautees had no Pottinger to assist them in defending their capital. The Persians pretended that Dost Mahomed had acted at the instance of the British Government, and that, therefore, the treaty of 1853 was at an end. As nothing could be farther from the truth, an English war with Persia was inevitable, and a course of hostilities was at once decided upon. Taught by experience, the Government of Great Britain no longer dreamt of sending an Army through Scinde or the Punjaub. Those territories had become walls of defence. Persia was vulnerable and easy of access by a road nearer to India than Herat, and her shores had been well explored for seventy years. Accordingly it was determined to send a combined expedition to Bushire, and to penetrate the country from that port.

The expedition which left Bombay was placed under the command of Major-General Outram, of the East India Company's Army, who had distinguished himself in the fields of war and diplomacy, and of whom honourable mention has been made in an earlier page of this work. One of the divisions was headed by Colonel Henry Havelock; the other by Colonel Foster Stalker, of the Bombay Infantry. The force at General Outram's disposal was necessarily, for the most part, composed of the Native Indian troops of the Bombay Presidency; but two Royal Regiments, the 64th and 78th Highlanders, formed the back-bone of the expedition, and to these were added a Regiment (the 3rd) of Bombay Native Cavalry. Major-General Outram's first act was to take possession of the island of Karrack as a depot of stores, &c., and his next to land at a point twelve miles south of Bushire. The Persians were fully prepared for the visitation. To the warlike disposition inherent in the Moslem character, the Persian soldiers added some acquaintance with the tactics of European armies. Forty or fifty years previously a considerable number of British Officers had been sent to Persia by invitation from Abbas Mirza, the heir to the throne, for the purpose of instructing the Persian troops in the European system of warfare. Transmitted through succeeding years, the discipline thus introduced had become a feature of the Persian regular Army, and gave the King a certain confidence in his capability of resisting his British enemies.

Advancing to Bushire, Major-General Outram found the Persians entrenched. He attacked them with the bayonet, and the entrenchments were carried, but not without serious loss. Brigadier Stopford of the 64th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Malet of the Light Cavalry, together with two subalterns of the Line, were killed. At Khooshab another encounter took place, which was distinguished by a very rare and hazardous achievement. The 3rd Light Cavalry broke through a square of Persian Infantry. The Adjutant, Lieutenant Moore, sprang upon the bayonets and made a gap which dislocated the hitherto invincible formation. He was in great danger, but Lieutenant Malcolmson leapt into the square and bore him off.* Subsequently, on the retirement of Major-General Outram from Barajzoom, the Persians attacked him with 7,000 men, and were repulsed with great loss. Again at Mohummerah the General routed the enemy, while Captain Rennie, of the Indian Navy, assailed them at Ahwaz. After this punishment the Persians besought peace, and the troops returned to India early in 1857. Major-General Outram and Colonel Havelock received each the Cross of a Knight Commander of the Bath, in recognition of the skill with which they had fulfilled the task entrusted to them.

As one of the experiences of the Crimean War a conviction had taken possession of the minds of many men in and out of Parliament, that the system of purchase under which the British Army was officered was in itself mischievous. The wealthy and incompetent took

* This unparalleled feat was recompensed with the Victoria Cross.

the *pas* of poorer and more efficient soldiers. Other considerations, however, entering into the subject, a Commission was appointed in 1856 to inquire whether any and what changes should be made in the system of purchase for *first* commissions; in the practice of advancement by purchase; and in the sale of commissions for purposes of retirement. It was desirable to ascertain what amount of prospective benefit would be assured by the change—a change that could not be equitably effected excepting at a very heavy charge to the State.

Once again, cause of hostility, which ripened into an expedition of a retributory character, arose in China. The Chinese had seized the crew of a vessel bearing the British flag, the Arrow (previously a *lorcha* or native craft), on the pretence that one of the men was a native pirate. The Consulate demanded restitution of the men, or, at all events, that they should be brought before him and the case examined. The authorities refused compliance with this demand, and war followed as a matter of course.

Affairs in India fixed public attention very seriously, and gave active employment to the Army, in 1857. It had been customary since 1783, when a Board of Commissioners was established as a control over the East India Company, to examine the operation of the charter of the Company every twenty years, and either enlarge its provisions or curtail the power and privileges of that gigantic monopoly. In 1813 the trade had been opened to India. In 1833 still greater inroads were made upon the vested rights of the Company. Previous to these and all other changes the House of Commons received evidence before committees specially appointed for its reception, and upon their report and the discussions which it elicited the terms of the renewable charter were arranged. When the Committee sat in 1832, a great many witnesses were examined upon the state and composition of the Native Army of India. The old East India Generals lauded its loyalty, its discipline, its bravery, and what Sir Charles Napier said twenty years later was in the mouths of the majority of the witnesses:

"The Indian Army when well commanded is indomitable*; it is capable of subjugating all the countries between the Black and Yellow Seas. . . . . The European Officers are all English, Irish, or Scotch gentlemen, whose honour and courage have created in their troops such an intrepid spirit as to render India secure against every evil from which an Army can protect a country."

* Preface to Sir C. Napier's letter to Sir John Cam Hobhouse on the 'Baggage of the Indian Army.'

There were not, however, wanting keen and sagacious Officers who had attentively noticed certain alterations in the general bearing of the sepoy for some years previous to 1832, and these Officers warned the Government that the elements of danger were discernible in the Native Army. The discipline had relaxed. The bonds of personal attachment had been weakened. Down to 1824 there was much identity of feeling between the Regimental Officers and sepoys. They had served and suffered together for so many years that the sepoy often forgot the prescriptions of caste in his readiness to share with the European his privations and provisions; more readily he surrendered his own rations than consent to receive that of the European. Abhorrent as the touch of a Feringee's corpse might be to the orthodox Hindoo, the sepoy had been known to assist at the obsequies of his Officer. In fact, the affection of the sepoy for his commanders partook in some measure of the regard which he entertained for his blood relations. Hence, a Regiment was a kind of family affair; favourable to Military ends when the sepoy was called upon to fight side by side with the European. The immense accession of territory acquired by the East India Company, by the destruction of the Mahratta confederacy, rendered an augmentation of the Army to double its strength in 1824 indispensable. As a matter of justice to the Officers all were promoted, in the order of their seniority, to fill the vacancies in the new Regiments. This necessitated the removal of at least one-half the Captains and Subalterns to other Corps than those in which they had served, and thus the link was broken which united the sepoy to his Officer. The new comers were strangers to the men—had no sympathies with them. From that period, therefore, was to be dated a decline in the zeal of the native soldier. He began to look upon his connection with *Jehan Companee Bahadoor* (the term by which the East India Company was known to the sepoy) as a mere matter of rupees, annas, and pice; and from the mutiny at Barrackpore, at the commencement of the first Burmese war, down to the hour when Sir Charles Napier disbanded the 66th Bengal Native Infantry, discontent, sedition, and mutiny were, in a greater or lesser degree, rife in the Bengal Army. In a well-written and highly-interesting memoir of Lieutenant-General Sir S. Ford Whittingham, written by his son, Major-General F. Whittingham, C.B., there is a letter to Sir Samford's brother-in-law, dated September 20, 1824, before the Barrackpore mutiny, in which the following paragraph, denoting the rare prescience of the writer, occurs:

"The longer I stay in India the more I am convinced of the correct truth of all my former statements to you. 'The country hangs upon a thread.' The

slightest reverse would set the whole in a flame; and 'you have not the smallest hold upon any class of men in all your vast Indian dominions, except that which is immediately derived from the opinion, or rather the conviction, that your bayonets and sabres are superior to theirs.' The Indian Army must become, and that speedily, a King's Army; the number of Officers must be greatly increased, and the broken spirit of both Officers and men re-generated."

Similar sentiments were entertained by other distinguished men in India, though they did not find public expression until eight years subsequent to the mutiny, when a committee of the House of Commons received evidence on the propriety of renewing the East India Charter. Captain Turner Macan, an experienced Staff Officer, who had been Persian interpreter to five successive Commanders-in-Chief in India, said, with emphasis, "The rule of the English in India is much endangered by the Native Army—the *danger is imminent;*" and, he added; "*the disaffection of the Native Army will be the cause, no doubt, of our losing our Eastern Empire,* as its fidelity is the means by which we retain it." Sir Henry Russell, Resident for a long time at Hyderabad in the Deccan, thought "the greatest danger to the Empire was to be apprehended from the Native Army." Mr Holt Mackenzie, a very able fiscal Officer, and Secretary to the Supreme Government, held the same language:—"the Bengal Native soldier," said he, "is attached to his *pay* and has *personal* regard for certain Officers, but his bigotry is intolerable: he is faithful, but not *loyal.*" Mr Mackenzie further expressed his belief that there was "*much prospective danger from the Native Army.*" Sir Theophilus Pritzler, Sir Jasper Nicolls, Sir Thomas Reynell, Sir Robert Scott—all experienced Generals—Colonel Salmond, the Secretary at the East India House, Colonel Greenhill, Colonel Dickson, Colonel Watson, who had been Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army, all held the same opinions. "Wisdom spoke out in the streets," but the East India Government treated all apprehensions as chimeras.

Individual cases of disrespect, disobedience, and insubordination were of every-day occurrence. Lord William Bentinck, partly influenced by a false humanity, and partly by a mistaken notion that the Service would become more popular if the old-fashioned punishments were abolished, discontinued flogging in the Native Army, and substituted the discharge of the offender and the extinction of his claim to a pension. The measure was acceptable to many who only desired an excuse for returning to their native villages, and, as Lord William had no power to prohibit flagellation in the British Army, the sepoy was indirectly taught to despise the *gora-log* (white soldiers) who had hitherto been his examples in all that made him a useful servant to the State.

This was the condition of things in 1857, when nearly the whole Army burst into a rebellion unparalleled for the cruelty, atrocity, and treachery which characterised its progress and details.

The political and social causes of a revolt for which the Native Army was, as we have seen, ripe and impatient, may be related in a few words, though, together with the narrative of the event itself, they have properly engaged the pens of several able writers, none of whom, however, have treated the subject as fully and satisfactorily as Mr J. W. Kaye, Political Secretary of the India Office.

Condensed, the *fons et origo mali* of the rebellion may be traced remotely to feelings excited in 1824, subsequent to the abolition of the rite of suttee, and of the savage cruelties and follies attendant upon idol worship; the encouragement given to missionary effort and the spread of the Gospel; the introduction of the English language in supercession of Persian into the public schools and courts of law; the establishment of a medical college, where the Hindoo was taught to use the dissecting knife; and the extinction of the authority of many lesser Native Chieftains. To these measures, all involving offences to caste, if not to the dictates of the religion of the people, were to be added more immediate causes of provocation. The King of Oude, whose intolerable government had been permitted long after he had habitually violated the conditions of the treaty which left him in possession of authority, was at last dethroned; the King of Delhi, a pensioner of the East India Company, had been apprised by Lord Dalhousie that his grandson could only be recognised as Heir Apparent to the title on condition that he retired from his palace-fort at Delhi, and took up his residence in the neighbourhood; and a regulation which perpetuated in the persons of the adopted heirs of sundry Princes and Chieftains the possession of territory, which was properly intended for their legitimate offspring only, was abolished. All these proceedings, which were as much dictated by suggestions of humanity towards the people living under the rule of degenerate Nawabs as by any desire for the aggrandisement of the revenue of the British Government, had diffused a spirit of discontent among the upper classes of Mahomedans and Hindoos, and a conspiracy was formed with the design of assassinating all the English in India, and restoring the government to the effete Mogul. To this end, a communication by means of cyphers and symbols was established throughout the country. The deposed monarchs were the heads of the diabolical plot, and a day in June—the centenary of the battle of Plassey, which first gave the

English dominion in India—was fixed upon for the universal massacre.*

Unfortunately for the English, and most opportunely for the schemes of the conspirators, a circumstance occurred which capped the climax of sepoy discontent, and proved the proximate cause of the revolt. Some Enfield rifled muskets had been sent out by the Company for the use of the troops in substitution of the old "Brown Bess." The Enfield rifle was grooved; the cartridge had to be forced down to the chamber from the muzzle. To facilitate this operation, the cloth which enveloped the cartridge was kept well greased. When the rifles arrived in India and were to be distributed to the sepoys, a notion was disseminated among the Hindoos that this was a furtive means of causing them to lose their caste. The grease in common use in Europe for the lubrication of the cartridge was fat of mutton and beeves — possibly of pigs. Now the Hindoo worships the cow, and the Mahomedan abhors the hog — two powerful reasons why they should not be called upon to touch the rifle cartridge, much less apply it to their lips for the purpose of being bitten. Aware of the probable objection of the sepoys to a cartridge thus prepared, the Government Officers had taken the precaution to cause the cartridges for their special use to be enveloped in beeswax —a material which answered all the ends of the animal fat, and was free from *religious* or *caste* grounds of objection. But, very unfortunately, the sepoys were prepossessed with the idea of the character of the lubrication, and positively refused to receive the cartridges. Explanation and expostulation were alike thrown away upon them. Their contumacy was decided —a Regiment broke out into open revolt at Barrackpore—a sepoy wounded an Officer. The Regiment was disbanded, and the refractory sepoys imprudently sent away to inoculate others, as it appeared, with their mutinous spirit. This occurred early in the month of March. In the following May one or two Regiments openly mutinied at Oude and Meerut, 500 miles distant. Murdering their Officers, they hastened *en masse* to Delhi, where the same bloody scenes were enacted.

Horror and alarm filled the European community. It was plain to the Government that an organised rebellion had broken out, and all its energies were now demanded for its suppression. Every day demonstrated the hopelessness of any reliance upon the fealty of a single Corps of Natives. All were more or less bent upon the destruction of the Europeans, and the most frightful scenes were enacted at every station and cantonment in the upper country. Arsenals and magazines were rifled, dwellings fired, ladies and humbler women subjected to horrible outrages and then murdered, children savagely cut to pieces, property destroyed, and Officers and gentlemen mercilessly shot down. An awful crisis had arrived. The safety of the Indian Empire was in peril, for it rapidly transpired that influential Chieftains had headed the insurrection. The sole dependence of the Government was on the European Regiments of the Queen's and Company's Services, and these were numerically weak and scattered at great distances over the country, remote from the principal scenes of disorder. But their daring, their discipline and loyalty, and the zeal and intelligence of the Officers, supplied the deficiency of numbers. The 32nd Foot, which had behaved so well in the battles which led to the conquest of the Punjaub, was the only British Regiment in Oude—a country recently annexed and swarming with a fanatic and hostile population. That Corps under Colonel Inglis was the ægis of Sir H. Lawrence, the intrepid Resident, and the well-affected inhabitants. Similarly at Delhi, a strongly-fortified town, containing all the Military stores, there was but one Regiment. The 60th Rifles and 6th Carabiniers were at Meerut; the 61st at Umballah; two or three Corps were in the Punjaub. To occupy Delhi, General Anson, who had succeeded Sir W. Gomm as Commander-in-Chief, marched the 9th Lancers, the Carabiniers, the 60th, the 75th, a Goorkha Regiment, and the Bengal Fusiliers. It was too late; the sepoys held the city and shut the gates. Sir John Lawrence, the wise and energetic Governor of the Punjaub, caused three Sepoy Regiments under his orders to be promptly disarmed by the 81st Foot; and he hurried every disposable man to Delhi to lay regular siege to the city. The heat was frightful. General after General suc-

* The author of this History passed twenty of the best years of his life in India, and is emboldened to say that no one formed a truer estimate of the character of the Natives of that country than the great Duke of Wellington. In one of his letters, published in a supplemental volume of the memorable Despatches, the Duke said:— "The Natives are much misrepresented. They are the most mischievous, deceitful race of people I have ever seen or read of. I have not yet met with a Hindoo who had one good quality even for the state of society in his own country, and the Mussulmans are worse than they are. Their meekness and mildness do not exist. It is true that the feats which have been performed by Europeans have made them objects of fear, but 'whenever the disproportion of numbers is greater than usual they uniformly destroy them if they can;' and in their dealings and conduct among themselves they are the most atrociously cruel people I ever heard of. There are two circumstances in India which must occasion cruelty and deceit and falsehood wherever they exist. First, there is a contempt of death in the Natives, high and low, caused by some of the tenets of the religion of both sects, which make that punishment a joke, and I may say honour; secondly, there is no punishment for perjury, either in the Hindoo or Mussulman law."

cumbed to the climate and the anxiety caused by the suddenness of the tumult and the toil which it occasioned. General Anson was the first victim; Sir Henry Barnard, who succeeded to the command before Delhi, died immediately afterwards. General Reid was prostrated by age and illness. Colonel (afterwards Sir) Archdale Wilson, of the Artillery, became the responsible Chief—all within two or three weeks. In Bengal, Lord Canning, the Governor-General, who was at first indisposed to believe in the existence of a rebellion upon a large scale, opened his eyes, after much mischief had been done, to the real state of affairs, and applied himself with vigour to the vindication of the outraged dignity of the British Government, and the protection of those who had not been butchered by the miscreant sepoys. He sent to Ceylon for the 37th Foot, to Burmah for the 84th, and to Madras for the European Fusiliers. He organised a Naval Brigade under the gallant Captain Peel, who had won honour in the Crimea. Lord Elgin, the schoolfellow of the Governor-General, happened to be on his way to China to seek redress for the outrage perpetrated on the crew of the Arrow. Lord Canning had no difficulty in persuading him to divert the troops by whom he was accompanied from their ultimate object, and they were landed to protect Bengal. But more fortunate than all the other events which contributed to strengthen Lord Canning's hands was the return to India of the Regiments which had served in Persia under Generals Outram and Havelock. Those excellent Officers instantly proceeded to the north-west with the 64th and 78th Regiments, performing the extraordinary feat of marching 126 miles in eight days, in the course of which the indomitable Brigade fought four actions with the rebels, and took from them twenty-four guns. The sepoys now exhibited even more resolution and bravery than they had displayed when commanded by European Officers. Figuratively, they did battle with ropes round their necks, and religious fanaticism intensified their fury. In all the previous wars in which the English had been engaged in India, they wrestled (excepting in the Punjaub) with, for the most part, undisciplined hordes; but here were tens of thousands of soldiers trained to war by themselves, using against them their own "bloody instructions," their own guns, weapons, and ammunition. Nothing but superior pluck and physical strength could place the few hundreds who were hastily collected upon a level with the thousands of infuriated and desperate bigots they were engaged to crush.

When the news of the revolt reached England universal consternation for the moment seized the community. Politicians gave up the empire in utter despair; proprietors of India Stock looked aghast; families innumerable deplored the horrible catastrophe which had bereft them of near and dear relations. Exaggerated pictures of ruin and devastation were present to the public imagination. But there was no time to mourn. The occasion was imminent, and called for prompt and vigorous action. Hastily ascribing the misfortunes that had arisen to the misgovernment of the East India Company, Lord Palmerston moved the House of Commons to strip them of all political power, and transfer the authority to the Crown. It was the work of a moment. The War Minister and the Commander-in-Chief became for the moment the arbiters of the destiny of India. Every available soldier was immediately sent out to save what still remained and recover what was lost. Sir Colin Campbell—the General whose Military service in Europe and China had culminated in the Crimea, the fight at Alma, and his defence and tenure of Balaklava—was appointed to the Indian command, and in a few hours the hardy veteran was on his way to Calcutta. The nation "held its breath for a while." The proud confidence which never entirely deserts Englishmen took the place of the alarm which had pervaded the kingdom, and it was believed that, in the cherished name of Queen Victoria, the sepoy would be humbled and punished, and the people of India return to their loyalty.

In the meanwhile Colonel Inglis with the 32nd Foot had managed to hold the Residency of Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence—the brave, the gifted, and good Sir Henry—was struck by a shell and died of his wound. Lord Canning wrote:—"There does not stand recorded in the annals of war an achievement more truly heroic than the defence of the Residency of Lucknow. That defence not only called forth all the energy and daring which belong to Englishmen in the hour of active conflict, but it exhibited, continuously and in the highest degree, that noble and sustained courage which, against enormous odds and fearful disadvantages, against hope deferred, and through unceasing toil and wear of body and mind, still held on day after day." The ladies and soldiers' wives shut up in the Residency equally claimed a tribute of admiration—"the respectful admiration and gratitude"—of the Governor-General. He deservedly spoke of them as those "noble women" who, "little fitted to take part in such scenes, assumed cheerfully and discharged earnestly their task of charity in ministering to sickness and pain."

Major-General Havelock managed to reach Lucknow, and literally fought his way to the Residency. Major-General Outram, with characteristic generosity, had surrendered the command of the Brigade to one whom he believed more capable than himself, and Havelock fully vindi-

cated the trust reposed in him. But the severity of the march, and the subsequent toil and anxiety, cast Havelock on a sick couch, from which the noble soldier never rose. His death would have been a great loss to the Army at any time, but it was peculiarly calamitous at that juncture. After passing two-thirds of his Military career in a subordinate position, Havelock had been suddenly lifted into command only to demonstrate how much of the most brilliant Military talent is kept in abeyance by the purchase system in force in the British Army, which, if it now and then raises a man of genius to eminence, is equally operative in depriving the State of the services of the able officer whose advancement is suppressed by penury.

After the death of the heroic Havelock who had, immediately upon the receipt by the Government of the intelligence of his wonderful march to Lucknow, been raised to a baronetcy and K.C.B., while the Commander-in-Chief gave him a Good-service Pension, Sir James Outram resumed the command at Lucknow. The Residency still held out against the thousands of sepoys who surrounded it, and poured in shot and shell by day and night. Every one within the walls and the Alum Baugh, an extensive garden, behaved with unflinching courage. "But skilful and courageous as have been the engineering operations, and glorious the behaviour of the troops," wrote General Outram, "their success has been in no small degree promoted by the incessant and self-denying direction of Colonel Robert Napier,* who has never been many hours absent by day or night from any one of the points of operation, whose valuable advice has ever been readily tendered and gratefully accepted by the executive Officers, and whose earnestness and kindly cordiality have stimulated and encouraged all ranks and grades amid their harassing difficulties and dangerous labours." These are facts to be remembered.

Sir Colin Campbell had no sooner arrived in India than, after taking counsel with the Government, he devised a plan for crushing the mutiny, and he carried it out energetically. His project comprehended the formation and disposition of columns to encircle the whole of the insurgent country; while he himself proceeded to Lucknow, and with a reinforcement of the 93rd Highlanders and others, relieved the occupants of the Residency and dispersed the mutineers. Ably seconded in his efforts by Sir Hugh Rose, Sir Hope Grant, and Sir W. Mansfield, Sir Colin in the course of a few months stamped out the insurrection, avenged the blood of the innocent, and vindicated the honour of the British Government. The peerage, with the title of Lord Clyde, a pension, and the approbation of the Houses of Parliament and of the whole country, recompensed the veteran chief, whose name has now been worthily added to the long roll of soldiers who adorn the national annals, and whose effigy forms one of the few distinguishing memorials in the patrician quarter of the British metropolis.

The British Regiments which, by their daring courage, their unflinching toil, their patient endurance, and excellent discipline, contributed to the restoration of Queen Victoria's empire in India, may here be named. All had not an equal share in the fatigues and dangers of the campaigns, but each performed its allotted task with cheerful dignity, affording protection and guaranteeing security in districts which might, but for their stern presence, have become scenes of disorder, pillage, and cruelty.

The 32nd was immortalised by the defence of Lucknow. The 64th and 78th will always be remembered as "Havelock's Brigade"; the 90th Light Infantry won Havelock's praise as the defenders of the baggage of the Lucknow garrison; the Royal Artillery, the 9th Lancers, the 93rd Highlanders, earned the special commendation of Lord Clyde; the 6th Carabiniers, the 60th Rifles, the 52nd Light Infantry, the 61st, and the 75th were among the earliest in the field to recapture Delhi; the glorious 13th, led by Lord Mark Kerr, distinguished itself at Azimghur; the 53rd were invaluable in Bengal; the 81st stood by Sir John Lawrence in the darkest days in the Punjaub; the 12th Lancers and the 95th, under Colonel Raines, followed the footsteps of Sir Hugh Rose; the Royal Engineers, the Military Train, the 14th Light Dragoons, of undying Peninsular fame; the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, the 5th, the 8th, the 10th, the 24th, the dashing 88th (the "Connaught Rangers"), the 20th, 34th, 38th, 82nd, 84th, and 86th, each and all performed their share of allotted duty with unwearied zeal.

But the operations against the mutineers were marked by numerous instances of isolated gallantry, which redounded so much to the honour of the Officers and men concerned that nothing less than the Victoria Cross was deemed the guerdon of those brave fellows who had risked their lives in hazardous enterprises. The very nature of the conflict, which had gradually swollen to the proportions of a mighty war, requiring more than one campaign for its successful completion, called for the frequent exercise of individual intrepidity. The odds were heavy—the sepoys being in the proportion of five to one of the Europeans, with the country in their favour.

Among the Officers whose dash and daring were prominent, and who became recipients of the coveted cross, were Lieutenant Jones, of the 9th Lancers,† Lieutenant W. A. Kerr, of the South

* Afterwards General Lord Napier of Magdala.

† Afterwards Major and Adjutant of the Staff College.

Mahratta Horse, Captain Aikman, of the 3rd Sikh Cavalry, Colonel Tombs and Lieutenant Hills, of the Bengal Artillery, Captain Probyn, of the 2nd Punjaub Cavalry, Lieutenant Bogle, of the 78th Highlanders,* and Lieutenant T. A. Butler, of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers. The reader will be able to form some idea of the courage and spirit displayed by these Officers from the following instances, which are taken at random from a considerable number of similar illustrations of gallantry.

Lieutenant Hills, of the Bengal Artillery, in charge of two guns, saw the sepoys close upon them before there was time to place them in position. Single-handed he charged the head of the column, cut down the first man, wounded a second, and was then ridden down. He rose again. Three men attacked him. He slew one, maimed another, and having fallen in his struggle with the third, would have lost his life, had not Colonel Tombs dashed through the enemy's Cavalry, shot one of the assailants, and cut down another.

On the march to Lucknow Captain Aikman's detachment, 100 strong, came upon a body of the rebellious sepoys, numbering 500 Infantry and 200 Cavalry. He at once charged them, cutting up at least 100 of the number—of whom five fell beneath his own hand—and capturing two guns. Naturally, Captain Aikman did not escape without severe wounds.

During the retreat of a body of sepoys on the 2nd January, 1858, Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, son of a gallant and distinguished General Officer, Sir A. Roberts, Colonel of the 101st Fusiliers, behaved with remarkable valour. Lieutenant Roberts' gallantry was on every occasion most marked. On following up the retreating enemy at Khodagunj, he saw in the distance two sepoys going away with a standard. Lieutenant Roberts put spurs to his horse, and overtook them just as they were about to enter a village. They immediately turned round and presented their muskets at him, and one of the men pulled the trigger, but fortunately the cap snapped, and the standard bearer was cut down by this gallant young Officer, and the standard taken possession of by him. He also on the same day cut down another sepoy, who was standing at bay, with musket and bayonet, keeping off a Sowar. Lieutenant Roberts rode to the assistance of the horseman, and, rushing at the sepoy, with one blow of his sword cut him across the face, killing him on the spot.

The Bombay Army was generally loyal to the British Government during the Indian mutiny. The 27th Native Infantry was one of the few exceptions. A party of thirty-four men of this Regiment occupied the stronghold of Paga, near the town of Kolapore, in the Southern Mahratta country. Captain Kerr, then a Lieutenant, was commissioned to dislodge them. With seventeen dismounted followers he made an attack upon the place, and by the exercise of the most devoted bravery succeeded in killing, wounding, or capturing the whole of the garrison. Captain Kerr was himself severely wounded, lost eight of his men, and the rest were wounded.

But perhaps one of the most dashing events of the mutiny was the charge of the 9th Lancers, in which Lieutenant Jones's courage and alacrity were so conspicuous.

Early in June, 1857, the mutineers held a position about ten miles from Delhi on the Punjaub road. The village of Budle-ke-Serai formed a strong point in the centre of this position, barring the approach to Delhi from the north, and gave its name to the action fought on the 8th June by the Force advancing from Umballa to undertake the siege of Delhi.

The Cavalry and Horse Artillery of the attacking Force made a detour to its right during the night, turning the mutineers' left and appearing in their rear, between Budle-ke-Serai and Delhi, about daybreak on the 8th June, just as the main body, consisting of Infantry and Field Artillery, began to attack in front the field works of Budle-ke-Serai by the main road.

The 4th Squadron of the 9th Lancers, under Captain Hutchinson, was detached in pursuit of a cloud of dust, which a Staff Officer declared was raised by guns which the mutineers were already seeking to withdraw from the position towards Delhi; and although distant dust only could be discerned, the Squadron followed in line at the gallop across the open plain, riding down and cutting at a few stragglers who crossed its path, but otherwise preserving its dressing as if on parade. While looking to his left to keep his dressing with the Squadron and the other Troop leaders, Lieutenant Jones, then leading the right Troop of this Squadron, suddenly and for a moment, but most distinctly, saw a field gun drawn by six horses at a gallop in the direction of Delhi, but so much to the left of the Squadron that no other eye saw it. The impulse of the moment led him to halt dead short; but so intent was every man in the Squadron upon overtaking the cloud of dust in front that the sudden halt and shout of the Troop leader failed to attract attention, the centre files of his Troop opened out, passed by him, and the Squadron pursued its headlong career.

Following the impulse of the moment, the neglected Lieutenant, as soon as he was clear of the rear rank, turned his horse to the left and started after the gun, but as he passed the left

* No fewer than six Victoria Crosses were won by this Regiment—two of the recipients were Assistant-Surgeons who exposed themselves to the fire of the enemy while attending the wounded.

rear of his Squadron the Regimental Serjeant-Major, riding there as a serrefile, heard or saw his course, and, turning his eyes in that direction, became aware of the object in time to stop two or three of the rear rank, and follow the traces of his Officer. The stern chase lasted some minutes, but the Arab charger, with only ten stone on his back, soon overtook the gun-horses, though the six drivers, mounted (Bengal fashion) one on *each* horse, plied their whips for bare life. As the Officer came alongside the off-wheeler its driver leant forward to avoid his blow to the last moment, and when he felt the sword on his shoulder slipped down between the wheel-horses, still sticking to his bridle. This stopped the gun, and at the same moment the Serjeant-Major and his men arrived on the scene in the wildest excitement, for the 9th had not drawn blood since Goojerat and Chillianwallah days.

All the drivers fell and crouched beneath the feet of their horses, where the men shot them with their pistols, and in so doing wounded all except the two wheel horses—*i.e.*, four out of six very good little horses.

When Lieutenant Jones began to realise his position, alone with three or four men on the wide plain, and having but the haziest notion of the points of the compass and positions of friends and foes, he took a gun-spike out of his pouch and was about to ram it into the vent of the captured gun, when, to his great delight, he saw his own Squadron returning, having failed to catch the enemy, whose cloud of dust it had pursued for a considerable distance.

The Squadron recognised and greeted him and his prize with a cheer, but the situation was still critical, for no one knew where to look for friend or foe. Colonel Yule, however, with the remaining three Squadrons of the 9th Lancers, soon hove in sight, and then, all being well, the Regiment thought some use might be made of the gun, which proved to be a brass 9-pounder, one of a field battery which had mutinied a month previously at Delhi. They found some ammunition in the limber, and laid the gun upon a village which appeared to be occupied by the enemy, and some execution was done by the few shots they were able to fire.

Had Lieutenant Jones failed in this exploit, he would have deserved a Court-Martial for leaving his Squadron. But success hallowed the violation of rule. Four months later the same young Officer was engaged at the battle of Agra, and did not come off with so much safety.

A friend of the author's, who was in India at the time, handed him the following account of Lieutenant Jones's share in the battle, which he is glad to be able to publish:

About eight a.m. on the 10th October, 1857, a pursuing column, detached under Colonel Greathed after the fall of Delhi, arrived under the walls of Agra, after a forced march of about sixty miles in thirty-six hours. The inhabitants of Agra had been greatly alarmed some days before by the advance of Tantia Topee with the Gwalior mutineers, and had sent repeated messages to hasten the arrival of the movable column. The civil authorities of Agra had, however, received reassuring (though, as it afterwards proved, false) intelligence on the 9th that the enemy was still some twelve miles distant, and accordingly, on the arrival of the column, it was encamped without pickets or vedettes on the station parade-ground, and the Officers were told they might rest till noon, when an advance would be made to find the enemy. Breakfast was hardly finished, however, before a few round shot began to drop in rear of the camp, fired evidently from a long range in our front. The horses, fortunately, had not been unsaddled, and the 9th Lancers, accustomed to surprises at Delhi, were soon mounted and formed; the Artillery, too, began to come into action against the smoke of the enemy's guns with surprising rapidity—without waiting for horses to be hooked on to the limbers, a Squadron of the 9th Lancers was ordered by the Adjutant to advance with the field battery first harnessed to the left front of the camp, to find out the enemy.

"This party moved off through some high Indian corn crops, and its guns came into action with some of those of the mutineers; but while thus engaged two Squadrons of the enemy's Cavalry threatened to charge, and after a while moved off at a trot round the left of this party, which formed the extreme flank of the whole Force.

"The Artillery Officer at once decided to retire through the Indian corn to meet the anticipated attack of this body of Cavalry upon the Camp, from which he knew that the whole Force had advanced, leaving it totally unprotected from any such onset as was now threatened by the enemy's Cavalry moving round the left flank. When half-way through the belt of Indian corn, the Artillery Officer in command sent back two of his guns and one troop of the Squadron to hold his forward position, and when he emerged from the high crops on the parade-ground just in front of the Camp the two Squadrons of the enemy were seen formed in two lines, one about 200 yards in rear of the other. As the guns unlimbered the enemy's Cavalry began to advance, and it became necessary for the Troop of the 9th Lancers to advance to meet the attack. The Troop numbered only 23, with two Officers (both in front), and as soon as formed it trotted to meet the leading Squadron of the enemy, which, of course, greatly out-

flanked such a weak Troop. The Senior Officer, Captain French, was almost immediately hit by a stray shot. His horse, turning to the left, passed clear of the front of the Troop, and then the remaining Officer (Lieutenant Jones) gave the word 'Gallop.' No sooner had he done so, however, than the enemy's Squadron halted and began firing with carbines, the leader taking a deliberate aim at Jones, who immediately rode at him. He came on two or three horses' lengths in front, at a little to the left of his small Troop, and the enemy's Squadron leader fired when the horses nearly touched each other.

"The carbine bullet passed through Lieutenant Jones's bridle arm, between the elbow and the shoulder, numbing the power of his bridle hand, and leading him instinctively to seize the reins with his sword hand.

"In that defenceless position he passed into the ranks of the enemy, immediately behind the Squadron leader who had shot him. He then received a sword cut through his left eye, and his horse rearing up deposited him on his feet on the ground. One man of his Troop, following close upon his Officer, had put his lance through the Squadron leader who had shot him, and he afterwards endeavoured to assist his Officer, but was overpowered and driven away. For his good conduct on this occasion, this man, Private Freeman, received the Victoria Cross.

"Lieutenant Jones, thus left to himself, was soon surrounded by such of the enemy as had not been ridden down by his Troop. These numbered at first, perhaps, twenty, and they sought to despatch the wounded Officer, while his own men had ridden on in pursuit of their comrades. The very number of his assailants seems to have been the saving of my friend, for in their eagerness to get a cut at the Sahib they got into one another's way, and none seem to have thought of using the point of their swords or firearms. While able to stand up many cuts aimed at his head were guarded, or partially guarded, by his sword, as eight slight scalp wounds amply testified. Sinking at last from loss of blood, the cripple drew his revolver, and, while lying on his side, discharged the first barrel into the breast of a man whose horse stood nearly over him while the rider raised his sword for a last cut. By this time the mutineers still about him were very few, as those who made the first rush on seeing a wounded Sahib had mostly slipped away, to look after their own retreat from what they knew was a lost battle. A few hours later this desperately wounded man was taken in a dhoolie to the hospital in Agra Fort, and tended with such extreme care by certain kind-hearted ladies inspired by Miss Nightingale's Crimean example, that ere two months were over he was on his way to England, with nearly all his twenty-three wounds fast healing."

As a matter of course the Regiments which had taken part in the mutiny—that is to say, nearly all the Bengal and several of the Bombay Native Regiments, were blotted out of the Army List. Ten thousand of the Europeans, who belonged to the Infantry and Artillery of the East India Company, applied for and received their discharge. A new organisation of the entire Force thus became indispensable, and in the transference of the Empire from the hands of the Company to the rule of the Queen, the title of "Royal" was bestowed on the East Indian Army on September 1, 1858, and arrangements were made for permanently stationing throughout the country a much greater number of European Regiments than had ever been employed before.

Henceforth the Indian Army will claim mention in these pages as part of the British Army. It has hitherto received but incidental notice.

The Regiments enumerated above as having distinguished themselves in India against the sepoys did not enjoy a monopoly of honour during 1857. The 54th and 59th Regiments, and the Royal Marine Light Infantry, found occasion for the exhibition of cool discipline and moral courage, as well as active valour. The 54th was on the voyage to Mauritius when, at the distance of some hundreds of miles from the island, the Sarah Sands, transport, in which the Regiment embarked, caught fire, and was nearly destroyed. Through the great exertions and remarkable steadiness of the troops the fire was extinguished, but not until the ship was reduced to the condition of a mere shell, in which forlorn state it was piloted into the harbour. The 59th and the Royal Marines were employed in the bombardment of Canton in China, a preliminary to the more important movement which Lord Elgin was destined to carry into operation at a later moment. Major-General Straubenzie, who commanded the Military Force against Canton, found reason to speak in the highest terms of the conduct of Colonels Holloway and Hocker, who commanded the Royal Marine Light Infantry.

CHAPTER XLII.

Improvement in Rifle Shooting — A Council of Military Education established — The Staff College — Improvements in the Army—The 100th Regiment raised—The Soldiers' Daughters' Home—The French Colonels—The Volunteer Organisation commenced—Expedition to China — Capture of the Forts on the Peiho — Advance to and Occupation of Pekin — Bravery of a Soldier of the 3rd Buffs—Extraordinary Conduct of a Detachment of the Buffs on board a transport—War in New Zealand — New Wound Pension Regulations—Despatch of Troops to America—The Soldiers' Institute—Death of Prince Albert.

The events passing in India in 1857-1858 did not arrest the course of Army improvement in England. The Duke of Cambridge steadily directed his mind and his personal exertions to the amelioration of the soldiers' condition and the promotion of discipline, and he found a cordial *collaborateur* in General Peel, the War Minister. Out of their conjoint efforts arose a system of Depot Battalions, which were to answer the double purpose of a nursery and a reserve for the Regiments of the Line.

Material advances were made in the Schools of Rifle Instruction; an Inspectorship of Infantry was established, the pay of the Assistant-Surgeons of the Army was increased by 25 per cent., and the interests of the other branches of the Medical Service materially advanced. The position of the Commissariat of the Army was likewise improved and raised in importance.

The slipshod, unsatisfactory character of the examinations established in the Duke of Wellington's time for the determination of the fitness of candidates for first commissions had been a fertile subject of stricture and ridicule for some years, but no alteration was volunteered by the authorities. In 1857, Sir De Lacy Evans brought the subject formally before the House of Commons, and it was declared, *nem. con.*, that a higher standard of professional qualification could be secured by competitive examinations for the Staff and for first commissions, and by assuring encouragement for proficiency and general fitness for advancement. An opinion so unanimously expressed, of course, received immediate adoption, and a Council was especially appointed to determine the claims of each candidate.

In 1858 a Staff College was established as a branch of Sandhurst, and a residence at the College made obligatory upon the competitors for the Army prizes. The same year witnessed other very striking proofs of the interest which the Army had awakened in the national mind. A Sanitary Commission—one of *seven* commissions appointed for various Military purposes within the space of twelve months—worked much good in altering and enlarging the barrack accommodation. Shooting prizes were established to promote competition among the marksmen of the Guards and the Line; to encourage enlistment, the first ten years passed by a soldier in the Service were allowed to count in the ultimate computation for a pension, provided that he had re-enlisted within the space of two years of his leaving the Service in the first instance. Married soldiers who had served for twelve years were permitted to enter the Royal Canadian Rifles, and if they engaged, or had engaged, to serve 25 years, an extra penny per day was granted. An addition was made to the fuel and light issued to the soldiery, and the quality of the lights of the Officers was improved. A Regiment, numbered the 100th, was added to the Infantry Line strength. It was raised chiefly, if not entirely, in Canada, and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was appointed its Colonel. Two Regiments of Cavalry were added to the Army, and to give a public testimony of the Queen's sense of the loyalty and attachment of the Irish people, the 5th Dragoons, which the reader will probably remember had been disbanded for their supposed complicity in the rebellion of '98, was restored to the list. The 18th Light Dragoons completed the number of new Regiments.

So large a number of children in the Army had been left orphans by the service of their fathers in India and the Crimea that it was necessary to make some provision for them beyond what already existed. Accordingly, on the 18th of June, 1858—the forty-third anniversary of the battle of Waterloo—the Prince Consort opened an Institution at Hampstead, which had been formed for the reception and education of the daughters of soldiers who had been left utterly destitute, either by the death of their parents, or the inability of either parent (if living) to maintain them. About the same time a Central Association was formed to improve the condition of the wives and families of soldiers. Her Majesty the Queen, on this as on most other occasions, opened her purse to create the requisite fund, and her generous example found a swarm of imitators.

Recent as the temporary Military association of the English and French had been, painful evidence was afforded in this year that the good feeling engendered by the alliance was, on one side at least, of a very evanescent character. A machine had been invented by a vile Italian desperado residing in London, with the object of destroying the life of the Emperor of the French. A supposed associate of the Italian's was apprehended, tried in England, and acquitted; and a certain section of the British public honoured with its special favour the advocate who procured his acquittal—one Edwin James. The tone of that portion of the press which upheld the action of the conspirators, and denounced Lord Palmerston

for bringing in a Bill to restrain villanous transactions of a like nature in the future, excited the special ire of many of the Colonels of the French Regiments. Incapable of understanding the operation of public opinion in free England, they interpreted the sentiments of a section to represent the feeling of the entire body politic, and either in the fervour of their loyalty, the intensity of their hatred of *le perfide Albion*, or the warmth of their sycophancy, addressed earnest appeals to the Emperor to be led against a nation of miscreants that harboured the plotters against his sacred life. But the Emperor knew the British people better than his Officers, and, while he acknowledged their attachment, he denied the necessity for the hostile attitude they wished him to assume.

This demonstration of the uncertainty of the continuance of a cordial understanding with the French gave an extraordinary impetus to the desire which had been augmenting in England since 1853 to form a Volunteer Force. Men of all ranks of society began to take a lively interest in rifle practice, which was not a little stimulated by the appearance of a brief, fiery poem from the pen of Alfred Tennyson, the Laureate, and of a breech-loader invented by a Mr Terry, of Birmingham. The new weapon had been tried with complete success, but the War Office authorities were not "prepared" to adopt it into the British Army. The Volunteers were less fastidious, and in their private essays tested the value of a weapon which might at some future period be formidable against a foreign invader. Still, until the Government manifested a sincere disposition to encourage a Volunteer organisation, no steps of any consequence were taken to form and maintain Rifle Corps. The contempt with which the Guards and the Line looked upon amateur Military efforts discouraged Englishmen from attempting to devote their leisure time and their spare money to the assumption of the Military garb and the practice of the Military sciences. But a little pressure in and out of Parliament at length awakened the War Minister to a sense of the value of a large home Force that could at any time be rendered available for the defence of the kingdom, and a Warrant appeared on the 13th of July, in which the Government specified the extent to which it was inclined to go in the promotion of a Volunteer movement. A Bill was likewise brought into Parliament for the establishment of a Reserve Force of 20,000 men, who had previously served in the Royal Army or in that of the East India Company.

Now was "ruffling of feathers and brushing of plumes." In every town and district throughout the kingdom meetings were called for the purpose of raising funds for the establishment of Rifle Corps. Vanity, supplementing patriotism, suggested an amusing variety of picturesque costumes. To be able to appear at balls and dinners and in the public streets in a pretty uniform, which was at once a personal decoration and a voucher for the readiness of the wearer to protect the homes and hearths of his countrymen; to be called Major, Captain, or Lieutenant, as the case might be, and probably admitted at no remote date to the presence of Royalty; to carry and use an elegant rifle or a broadsword, were so many exhilarating causes of the rapid association of young men of all ranks in the formation of the companies and Battalions. By the middle of 1859 there were some 6,000 Volunteers enrolled, costumed, and armed, and every available spot became a drill-ground for the enthusiastic amateur soldiers—to such good effect that, in October of that year, General Hay, the Superintendent of the School of Musketry at Hythe, reported that the Volunteers had surpassed their predecessors and competitors in the use of the rifle!

Earlier in 1859 than the date of the officially recognised Volunteer movement an alteration was made in the statutes regulating the conferment of the Order of the Bath. Two subdivisions of the several classes were established—the first of which was called *Military*, and the second *Civil*. The Military division of the first class, or Knights' Grand Cross, was limited to fifty Officers above the rank of Major-General; the Knights Commanders were increased to one hundred and twenty-three of or above the rank of Colonel; and the companions, or third class of the Military division, were increased to six hundred and ninety combatant Officers of or above the rank of Major. Commissariat and Medical Officers were excluded, excepting under extraordinary circumstances.

As soon as the Indian Mutiny had been completely stamped out, and troops were available for the renewal of the hostile measures against China which had been interrupted in 1857, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros (the French envoy) proceeded on their mission with a chosen body of troops of both nations and a powerful Naval armament. With characteristic sagacity the Chinese had employed the respite involuntarily conceded to them in preparing a comprehensive defence of the river Peiho, conducting to Pekin, the capital of the Celestial Empire. The nature of the defences was not sufficiently considered by the Allies — perhaps they were unaware of its real strength — and the consequence was that, in 1859, the combined English and French Forces experienced a repulse in attempting to force the river. But in the following year a very different fortune attended the renewed operations of the Allies. An Army, consisting of 7,000 men, of whom 1,500 were

French, and 100 were seamen of the Fleet, again entered the Peiho in the autumn of 1860. The British Army, under Lieutenant-General Sir Hope Grant, who commanded the whole of the land force, consisted of the 1st King's Dragoon Guards, the 2nd Batt. of the 1st Royals, the 2nd Queen's Royals, the 3rd Buffs, the 31st, 44th, 67th, and 99th Regiments, several companies of the Royal Marine Light Infantry, the Punjaub Infantry, and the Sikh Cavalry, co-operating with Artillery and Engineers. The naval force was under the orders of Admiral Hope.

The river Peiho was now defended by forts of considerable strength and magnitude. They were redoubts with a thick rampart, heavily armed with guns and wall pieces, and having a high cavalier facing seawards. Around these were unfordable wet ditches, between which and the parapet sharp bamboo stakes were thickly planted, forming two belts, each about fifteen feet wide, an abattis encircling the whole. To destroy these, the General and the Admiral employed valour, prudence, and energy. Sir Hope Grant was assisted by Major-General Sir Robert Napier, who had fought the last battle with the sepoy mutineers, and Sir John Michel—each of whom commanded a Division. The fort of Taku was captured on the 14th of August, and another on the 23rd of the same month. In these operations the new Armstrong guns were peculiarly serviceable. But the casualties on the side of the Allies were nevertheless very numerous. Four hundred killed and wounded was a heavy "butcher's bill." Unhappily, unless some of the blood of our own people had been shed, the British public, accustomed to associate victory with carnage, would hardly have believed in a triumph achieved without a sacrifice. They had yet to be made sensible that the best General is he who accomplishes the greatest ends with the smallest amount of bloodshed.

After the forts had been taken, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros moved up to Pekin. When within seven miles of the city, Captain Brabazon, Lieutenant Anderson, a Mr Norman, and Mr Bowdler, the correspondent of the 'Times,' adventuring beyond the protection of the Army, were seized by the Tartar troops, carried to Pekin, and inhumanly murdered after being subjected to the most cruel tortures. This frightful outrage added fuel to the fire of indignation which animated the Army. Meeting the Tartars in strong array early in October, Sir Hope Grant attacked and dispersed them, and prepared to storm Pekin. The Emperor now fled in dismay; the city was occupied by the Allied troops, and a Convention entered into which put an end to the expedition. A large sum of money was exacted to compensate the Allies for the cost of the expedition; Tientsin was thrown open as a port of trade; the interdict on the emigration of the Chinese to British colonies was removed; and Kewlong was ceded and annexed to Hong Kong.

Some very gallant exploits on the part of Captain Rogers, 44th, Lieutenant Bursley, Lieutenant Lenon, Private Dougall, and Private Thomas Lane, all of the 67th Regiment, procured them the envied decoration of the Victoria Cross; and the honour was likewise conferred on Hospital-Apprentice Arthur Fitzgibbon, a boy of thirteen years of age, who, while exposed to the fire of the Chinese batteries, bound up the wounds of a poor dhooly bearer.

There was one valiant soldier, however, who was not spared to receive the mark of honour which his rare courage and patriotism merited. Private Moyse, of the 3rd Buffs, a hero whose name will always adorn the records of a Regiment which from first to last has been distinguished by its excellent discipline in peace and soldierly bearing in war, preferred to die by the hands of savage Tartars rather than suffer his country to be disgraced in his person by a degrading act of homage to his captors. He was one of a detachment which was employed to guard certain Commissariat stores. Some Tartars, while the troops were bivouacked near the village of Sinho on their march against the fortified town of Tongkoo, attempted to cut off the baggage, and succeeded in capturing the little detachment, and carrying the men (Natives as well as Europeans) before the Tartar General. They were ordered to *Kow-tow*—a ceremony which consists in prostrating the body and knocking the head several times on the ground before high and mighty Chieftains. The Natives of the detachment obeyed. Private Moyse refused, and was instantly cut to pieces.*

The termination of the war with China rendering the presence of British troops (with the exception of a single Regiment) unnecessary, the 3rd Buffs returned to England. Three companies, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent (the Officer who, as a Captain in the 95th Regiment, had won so much honour in the Crimea, and who likewise took a very active part in the operations against the Chinese), sailed in the Athleta, when a circumstance occurred of a remarkable and unprecedented nature in the history of the British Army. The Athleta touched at the Cape for water and provisions on the 3rd of February, 1861. Among the ship's crew were some lawless fellows, whom the Captain had been obliged to take on board at Hong Kong for want of better men; and they set to work to demoralise their companions as soon as they learnt that other

* This incident suggested some touching and affecting lines from the pen of Sir F. H. Doyle, published in 'Macmillan's Magazine.' They will be found in the Appendix.

vessels anchored in the bay were detained in consequence of their crews having deserted to go to the Australian and New Zealand gold diggings, and that their captains and agents were offering enormous wages, in the hope of securing sufficient hands to enable them to continue the voyage. They tried hard to desert the ship; but owing to the arrangements made by Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent to prevent liquor being smuggled on board, the Captain was able to keep away crimps, and frustrate their designs. Matters continued in an unsatisfactory state until the 10th of February, the day before the Athleta was to resume her voyage; when, as a last resource, the sailors came aft in a body to the Captain, and demanded leave to go on shore, that they might complain to a magistrate of bad treatment and bad provisions. At this stage of the proceedings, Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent, who had been staying on shore, came on board, and the Captain at once reported to him all the facts, informing him that the mutineers had managed, through a crimp, to communicate with a magistrate, who might possibly think it his duty to stop the ship and order the crew ashore, in which case the men would run away, and the ship might be detained for months, as it would be impossible to procure another crew, and he dared not set sail without his proper complement of able seamen, for fear of forfeiting his insurance in the event of loss. Knowing that the complaints of the mutineers were entirely destitute of foundation, Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent, without a moment's hesitation, advised Captain Potter to proceed immediately to sea. The Captain acquiesced and gave the necessary orders, but the crew positively refused to weigh anchor or touch a rope. Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent requested Captain Potter to ask each man separately to go to work, which he did, and every man declined, and some swore that the Captain should not put to sea. Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent then turned to the Captain, and offered that he and his men would do sailors' duty, if the Captain would give the necessary orders, and accept a guard that would confine the sailors to one part of the ship, and see that they had nothing but bread and water while the soldiers were doing their work. Captain Potter was equally prompt in accepting this offer upon the terms mentioned; and Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent then sounded the assembly, and referring to the incidents that all had witnessed, said that he had never seen the good British soldier fail his Officer, and he was certain he would not do so now. He then called for volunteers, cautioning those who were at all doubtful of their climbing abilities, or of their nerve, not to offer themselves, as they would only impede the work, to the gratification of the mutineers, in addition to getting him into trouble in the event of their falling overboard or breaking their necks, contrary to the General Orders prohibiting soldiers from going aloft. He likewise told them that those who were not able to go aloft might render good-service on deck. Notwithstanding this caution, about sixty stepped forward, and from them Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent selected twenty-eight as possessing nerve, muscle, and activity sufficient to take care of themselves, and avoid the trouble that an accident would entail. He then placed the rest of the troops at their posts, and told Captain Potter he was ready. About this time the Harbourmaster came on board, and expressed great admiration of the measures that had been adopted. He added, that if the sailors once got on shore the Captain would never see them again, and that it might be months before a new crew could be obtained. Captain Potter then gave his orders, and soon the anchor was weighed and the sails set, Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent cautioning the men to remember that they were soldiers, and not sailors, and should do their unaccustomed duties aloft steadily and carefully, and to run no risks in foolish attempts to rival the special agility of practised sailors. These instructions were literally obeyed, and the work was done so well that Captain Potter repeatedly said that he had never missed the services of his crew. After the first day of bread and water and idleness, the mutineers continually begged to be permitted to return to their duty, and sent messages to that effect to Colonel Sargent, who told them he had nothing to do with them beyond enforcing their Captain's wishes. Captain Potter decided that they should be kept on bread and water for one week, to which they meekly submitted; and at the close of that time they resumed their work, showing by their sheepish faces that they were fully conscious how foolishly they had behaved. On the 16th of the same month, after the sailors had returned to their duty, another Detachment Order was issued, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent expressed his satisfaction with the conduct of the volunteers. He said that he had had pleasure in going aloft with them himself, because the boldest and most zealous of his men had never been in the rigging before, and some had not even been on board a ship of any kind previous to their voyage out and home. Captain Potter expressed his thanks in the most energetic terms, adding that he "was perfectly astonished to see soldiers able to turn themselves all at once into such good sailors, and to teach so wholesome a lesson to his crew, not one of whom he was convinced would ever again strike work in a vessel on board of which British soldiers were embarked." In a Detachment Order, alluding to the mutineers, Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent observed: "I am equally convinced—

indeed, we can all see—that these foolish and misguided men are deeply impressed with the prompt triumph they witnessed of honest discipline over lawless insubordination. Ever since we peaked anchor and spread the canvas, they were dismal and miserable, while we laughed and worked, had our theatricals and amusements after our parades and drills, fully carrying out the good soldiers' creed — 'Duty first, pleasure after.'" When the twenty-eight men volunteered to do sailors' work, it was without the slightest expectation of receiving any pecuniary reward for their services; but in the Order dated 11th of February, it was made known to them that the Captain intended to stop a portion of the wages of the mutineers, and hand it over to the volunteers. Previous to the arrival of the ship at Southampton, the volunteers requested Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent to refuse this pay for them, "as they wished to enjoy the satisfaction of feeling that they had only done their duty as British soldiers, determined to support their Commanding Officer in any position." This honourable conduct called forth from Lieutenant-Colonel Sargent the expression of the wish "that he might have the good fortune to lead such men against the most formidable enemies his country might have."

The year 1861 gave birth to an event which threatened in its complications to plunge England into a war with the United States. Timely precautions, and the good sense of the rulers on both sides of the Atlantic, averted the calamity, but not the less praise is due to the section of the British Army whose services were put into requisition, for the zeal and order with which it hurried to the eventual scene of action, and the attitude which it maintained while the peace subsisting between the two great nations was menaced.

For thirty years a political struggle had been going on in the United States, founded upon the rivalry of opinion touching the propriety of emancipating the negroes employed in the Southern States. The advantage derived by the planters in the South from the services of the slaves in the growth of cotton was held by the politicians of the North to be more than counterbalanced by the moral damage the peculiar institution inflicted on a vast community, which asserted a monopoly of liberty, and professed the recognition of perfect equality. It was in vain that the Southerners declared that the negro was intellectually unfit for "freedom"; that he was perfectly happy in the condition of a serf, the treatment he received being undoubtedly good—his food, clothing, and lodging better than any he could procure were he manumitted; that his enforced labour was indispensable to the prosperity of the cotton and tobacco districts; and that, having been paid for, his owners had a claim to indemnity if deprived of his services. The Northerners maintained that theoretically and practically the institution was objectionable—in theory, because it was opposed to the principle of equality; in practice, because it gave men the power of tyrannising with impunity over their fellow-men, encouraged debauchery and incontinency, led to the dissolution of the holiest domestic ties, held out a premium to piracy and African warfare, and rendered America the scoff of civilised nations. This opposition of sentiment gradually led to the separation of the whole of the free population of the States into two great parties, who severally called themselves Republicans and Democrats. The battle of opinion was fought in the press, in public halls, bar-rooms, coffee-houses, and hotels. It disturbed the action of Congress; it rendered the Senate and the State Houses scenes of disorder; and at length became a source of division in families and homes. But it was not until 1861 that the strength attained by the Republican or Northern party was made manifest. The period had arrived for the election of a new President. Hitherto, the men who held that office had been more or less inclined to favour slavery: but now the choice fell upon an uncompromising enemy of the institution; and Abraham Lincoln—an earnest Republican, an eloquent and gifted man, raised by his own talents and energies from the humblest position in life to a distinguished station at the Bar—was elected by a large majority. This was the signal for the withdrawal of the Southern party from the Union. A new Government was formed by them, and a resort to arms proclaimed the dissolution of the Republic. Mr Lincoln asserted his authority as the head of the United States' Government; Regiments were raised on either side, and a bitter civil conflict ensued. At an early stage of the quarrel it was expected by the South that England would recognise the seceders, because the cotton which they grew was essential to the prosperity of our manufacturing districts and the carrying trade; by the North the sympathy of England was anticipated, for the simple reason that she was opposed to slavery in any shape. But the Government of Queen Victoria resolved upon preserving a rigid neutrality. Recognising the belligerent attitude of the several parties, Lord Palmerston respected the blockade established by the Northerners, and prohibited the manufacture in British ports and dockyards of vessels avowedly intended for the service of the Southern Confederacy. In adopting this course, England offended both parties, and further outraged the feelings of the North by insisting upon the restoration of two Southern envoys to Europe who had been forcibly removed from an English vessel. No hostile action was

taken by the Government of Mr Lincoln, but the temper displayed by the people of the Northern States led to the apprehension that, sooner or later, some aggression would be attempted in the Canadian provinces. The British Government, therefore, took time by the forelock; and in the depth of the winter of 1861-62 despatched Battalions of the Guards and several Line Regiments, a few batteries of Artillery, and a Corps of the Military Train, to strengthen the defences along the frontier. The admirable alacrity shown by the troops to brave the severities of climate in the fulfilment of their duty was in keeping with all the previous instances of their devotion to their colours. A formidable, but not a menacing, attitude was assumed by Lord Monck, the Governor-General; and the sturdy little Army assembled under the command of Sir Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, between Quebec and London (Canada West), and was maintained until the close of the civil war rendered the retention of the extra troops no longer necessary.

While these operations were taking place abroad, the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, one of the most active and accomplished of the noblemen who had filled the office of Secretary for the War Department, amended the wound pension regulations which had been passed a few years previously. Under the new arrangements it was decreed that for the loss of an eye or a limb in action, or for similar losses from wounds received within five years of the actions, a—

Lieutenant General should receive	-	£400 a-year.
Major-General or Officers holding equivalent rank	-	350 „
Colonel	-	300 „
Major Commanding	-	250 „
Major	-	200 „
Captain	-	100 „
Lieutenant	-	75 „
Cornet	-	50 „

About the same time with the establishment of these new rates of pension the price of a Cornetcy in the Cavalry was reduced from 860*l.* to 450*l.*—the same as the price of an Infantry commission.

The year 1861 was not altogether undistinguished at home. A feeling had arisen that a traffic in Military Commissions was unworthy of the Service, and, although the nation was indisposed to sanction the outlay of several millions sterling to procure the abolition of the purchase system in the Army, there was no reason why a commerce should still be carried on in those Corps which were essentially regarded as the personal attendants upon the Sovereign on state occasions. A decree accordingly went forth that thereafter the purchase of companies in the Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms and Yeomen of the Guard should cease, and that for the future no one should be admitted to either Corps who was not an Officer of the Army of good service, and on either full or half-pay.

The same year will always be memorable in the annals of the British Army for the establishment of the Soldiers' Institute at Chatham. In 1856 the project for the formation of such an institute was first brought forward. Lord Hardinge promised to consider it, but his death prevented the accomplishment of that purpose. Lord Panmure was subsequently addressed on the subject, and he went the length of directing the preparation of an estimate of the expense of erecting a building in connection with the Garrison library, for the purposes of the institute. Funds, however, were wanting to meet the expense, and the project again continued in abeyance until 1860, when Lord Herbert, then Secretary of State for War, sanctioned a donation of 2,000*l.* towards the erection of the portion of the building that might be used as the library establishment of the institute, and the remainder of the requisite funds was obtained by appeals for private subscriptions, which were very generally responded to. The erection of the building commenced in 1861, and by the 2nd of July, 1862, the furniture, games, and fittings being ready, the institute was opened in due form by Major-General Eyre, commanding the Garrison of Chatham. A large concourse of persons assembled in the lecture theatre, which is calculated to hold 450 persons, and the General thus addressed the soldiers:

"Soldiers,—I am asked to come here to-day to welcome you to this your new building. I do so with the greatest pleasure, and I most heartily hope it will prove a real source of enjoyment to all of you. I am sure I need scarcely tell you that in the present day there is no class in this country whose improvement, comfort, and general welfare are so much thought of and cared for, and so anxiously desired, as the soldiers of our Army, and, I may add, the sailors of our Navy. Committees have been appointed by the Government, and are almost daily sitting and watching over your interests, and considering everything that will tend to your improvement; and this very building, in which we are now assembled, is one result of the anxiety of the Government and the public for your comfort. I suppose most, if not all of you, know the origin and object of this institution, but in case any of you should not, I will just say that the original design of its promoters was to provide a respectable place of comfort, in which every kind of recreation and harmless amusement might be provided for that numerous class of non-commissioned officers and men who complained that at Chatham, more than at any other station, they found themselves absolutely lost, whenever they left their own rooms, and that

in searching for some rational amusement they had no place to turn to but the canteen in the barracks, or the public-house out of barracks. Well, in order to remedy this, the Government gave a sum of 2,000*l.* to be entrusted to a Committee towards erecting this club, and that sum has been largely added to by subscriptions. In fact, when this establishment is complete, and has everything in it which it is intended to contain, fully 5,000*l.*, and, indeed, more than that sum, will have been laid out upon it. Such, then, is the origin of this club. Here you will be at home, and each member will have the same right to use his club as I have to use mine. Here you will be free from every kind of restraint, except such restraint as all society in a civilised country is subjected to. The club, of course, like all others, will be governed by certain rules and regulations, but these will be few and reasonable, the number being purposely made few in order to show that confidence is placed in you."

After saying a few words on the propriety of avoiding the sale of beer in the institute, Major-General Eyre concluded thus:

"I am satisfied that the great majority of our soldiers are men of a high order, who long for the opportunity and this place to indulge their better tastes, and to improve those talents which some of you possess in a very high degree; talents which, if properly cultivated, may lead to your advancement, or, at all events, to your improvement. Well, here is just the place such men want, and where all others who like it will find quiet enjoyment and a variety of resources for their leisure. Here are every description of amusing and instructive books, maps, pictures, papers, drawings, games, and almost all in-door and out-door games, plays, concerts, and amusing lectures, with the best refreshments at cost price. Here, also, you can receive your relations who come to see you from a distance. I have only now, by permission of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, to declare this club open to the soldiers of the Army who like to profit by the many advantages it offers to them, and on his behalf I wish it every success, and all of you great enjoyment of 'it.'"

In the few years that have elapsed since the Institute was opened, its funds have greatly increased, and its popularity has extended. It proved the forerunner and example of similar institutions elsewhere, on a smaller scale, all of which have been a blessing to the British soldier.

Eighteen hundred and sixty-one closed with an event which filled all England with mourning. His Royal Highness Prince Albert, the consort of the Queen, died after a sudden and brief illness.

The high rank which the Prince held in the Army would alone have entitled the melancholy event to a record in this History, but, apart from that circumstance, His Royal Highness had established the strongest claims to the love and respect of the nation by the unostentatious exercise of the noblest qualities that can adorn mankind. We have already seen with what modest dignity he declined to take upon himself the Command-in-Chief of the British Army. He believed that as the honoured husband of the Sovereign Lady-Ruler of the realm his duty lay in a constant attendance upon her person, and a devotion to her welfare. He was at once the exemplary husband and the wise counsellor. The education of the numerous children vouchsafed to him, and their cultivation of princely virtues, was likewise an object of his unceasing care.* But he did not confine himself to the exercise of purely domestic duties. Great Britain found in him an earnest patron and active promoter of all the great enterprises which tended to its benefit. Education, agriculture, science, the arts, the comfort of the poor, and the encouragement of the rich in the performance of generous offices towards their less fortunate fellows, were the objects to which he unceasingly applied his time, his talents, and his means. In a word, he acquired the hearty love of Queen Victoria's people; and, when he passed away for ever, the public voice with one accord ratified the posthumous homage of the Poet Laureate, who inscribed his memory with the glorious title of

ALBERT THE GOOD.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE PROGRESS OF IMPROVEMENT IN GUNNERY.

Allusion has already been made to the introduction of rifled musketry into the British Army. The subject is, however, of so much interest and importance as to merit, in connection with the extraordinary advances that have been achieved in ordnance generally, a separate chapter, even at the expense of an interference with the chronological arrangement by which the writer has endeavoured to be guided.

The repose which a nation enjoys after many years of war, if continued for a length of time, generally induces a state of lethargy which nothing but the renewed alarm of war can remove. And thus it was with England; although there were some occasions on which she was called upon to employ her navies, as at Algiers, Navarino, the operations on the coast of Syria, and some other

minor wars, still for upwards of twenty-five years after the treaty of Paris, which was believed to ensure unlimited peace to all the world, England was in a state of lethargy as regards munitions of war. The old Brown Bess, with its heavy flint-lock, was looked upon by military men with religious veneration; it had won for us almost countless victories through long dreary years of strife, and could it not accomplish the same good purposes again? Indeed, the Military magnates of the day would have considered it heresy to doubt the perfect efficiency of the flint-lock musket (or "fire-lock," as it was sometimes called), or the ponderous pistol of the heavy Dragoon The same supineness existed in regard to the heavier arms. Had not the old nine-pounder gone a long way towards winning Waterloo and scores of fights before? It was true that its range was feeble, its trail heavy, and its limber unwieldy, but still it was speaking for itself in the work it had done. Again, the heavier battering ordnance—had it not done its duty well and truly at many a successful siege, and with a peace millennium before us, would it not do for our day at least? And so also with the Navy. The old 32, the smart 24, the ringing 18, had they not fought Trafalgar, St Vincent, Copenhagen, the Nile? It is true there was that ugly carronade which, in an evil hour for the service, Captain Trollope, of the Glatton, had by accident as it were, raised up into notice, and which it is believed was generally viewed with dislike in the Navy as a very defective arm. But with all its faults it was believed it would serve the day in the long peace before the nation. Even well into the years of the Forties we find ships armed with carronades. This state of things, however, could not continue. A spirit of improvement appeared to be suddenly shed over us. The advent of that mighty innovator "steam" to marine propulsion, and its application to war ships, aroused us from our slumbers to enter upon that great campaign of scientific improvement which has so prominently marked the last thirty years. The discovery was soon made that a better method of exploding the charge of a musket could be provided than the old flint and hammer. About the same time that the introduction of percussion locks upon our muskets was determined upon, it was found that our new steam war-ships required a new and more powerful description of guns than had hitherto been used, both as regarded the guns themselves, and the manner of mounting and working them. At about the same time, the late Sir William Snow Harris made those valuable discoveries regarding the conduction of electricity down the masts and through the bottoms of ships, which have since conduced so much to their safety. It may be then viewed that steam, magnetism, and detonating powder were the three elements, if they may be so called, which came nearly together to rouse us from our slumbers, and bid us look to our arms—three mighty elements, too, which have since acted such important parts in the mechanical revolution, civil and Military, upon which we have entered. In the same slow manner in which all great changes occur, the transition from the old flint musket to the percussion gun was not arrived at at once. Firstly, one or two Regiments were armed with the new fire-lock; for, curiously enough, it still was sometimes known by that name; then, as confidence in the percussion lock became established, other Corps were armed with it, until about the year 1840 the change had been completed so far as concerned the soldiers of the regular English Army. The percussion musket was not completely introduced in the Indian Army for some years afterwards; many of the Indian Corps at the first Chinese war were armed with the flint musket. But old Brown Bess was to go through a greater change yet. The increased range and precision of fire of rifled guns had been long known, and two Regiments (the 60th and the Rifle Brigade) of the British Army had been armed with rifled carbines. The known efficiency and power of these two Corps raised the question of the expediency of extending the use of the rifle in the British Army. A gun that could be used with almost unerring aim at 800 yards was certainly immeasurably more valuable than one whose powers of destruction were limited to somewhere about 400 yards; and however considerable the cost of the rifle might be over that of the smooth-bore, the rulers of the day arrived at a wise decision in giving the final death-blow to the old revered Brown Bess, and substituting for it the Enfield rifle. With this improved arm it is possible that the English Army would have been contented, in spite of the superior powers of the Prussian breech-loading needle-gun, which was then creating much attention, if our slumber had not been roused to the astounding effect of the breech-loading gun on the bloody fields of Königgratz.* The question of retaining the muzzle-loading musket in face of the manifest advantages of the breech-loading rifle could not be entertained for one moment, and once more the small arms of the British Infantry had to undergo a change, as fast as Government could make the necessary arrangements for the purpose. The conversion of the Enfield muzzle-loading rifle to what is known as the "Snider" was not effected until about the year 1867, when the muzzle-loader had ceased to exist, except amongst the carbines of the Royal Artillery or Militia. So much for the

* In the Prussian war with Austria in 1866.

small arms of the British Army, and now of the Artillery.

The resistance of Sebastopol to the guns of the Allies (in 1855-56) directed the attention of the French Government to the construction of a description of artillery that should prove more efficacious than any that had been used in the memorable siege. Rifled cannon (*canon rayé*) were found by experiment to be more efficient and capable of a greater range and more decided accuracy than the smooth-bore guns; and nothing was needed but opportunity to prove that the nation possessed of such a description of artillery was more likely to crop fortune in the field than the State which should adhere to the old-fashioned weapon. France found the opportunity, in 1859, when, associated with Sardinia, she made war with Austria, and in the memorable battles on the Ticino and the Po signally defeated her opponents in a few hours, and compelled them to a treaty which gave material advantages to the Emperor of the French and his confederate.

A perfect panic was aroused in England by this manifestation of the new power which her ancient foe had acquired. With a statesmanlike promptitude that did honour to his sagacity and patriotism, Lord Palmerston, then Prime Minister, immediately appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the state of the national defences. The Report of the Commissioners recommended the outlay of nine millions sterling upon the fortifications of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Pembroke, Portland, Chatham, Woolwich, Dover, and Cork. Lord Palmerston secured the assent of the House of Commons, and several contracts were at once entered into in 1860 for the purpose of placing an ægis around the British coasts. In the meanwhile vast improvements were taking place in the structure of cannon on both sides of the Channel and across the Atlantic. A Mr Armstrong—a civil engineer of rare ability, whose talents and services procured for him the honour of Knighthood and official employment under the Government--produced a wrought-iron gun* of tremendous calibre, which embraced the principle of loading *at the breech*, previously applied to the rifle-musket. Mr Whitworth, of Manchester, another engineer of distinguished talent, rivalled Sir W. Armstrong in the manufacture of a *muzzle-loading* rifled-cannon.† In justice to the country and to the manufacturers, numerous trials were made of the relative powers of the new ordnance, but these trials left it doubtful, down to 1863, which of the two systems was the most efficacious, regard being had to all the conditions of utility, safety, rapidity, accuracy, endurance, and facility of transport. The enormous expense of the engines of war thus tested (each gun costing 700*l.*) indisposed the Government to changes after a contract had been given to Sir W. Armstrong, whose breech-loaders found favour with the Services of the country, and at this hour his gun is the recognised implement of the Artillery. But it cannot continue to occupy its present advanced position. Recent experiments have shown that heavier metal is necessary than even 12 in. 23-ton rifled-guns, throwing a 600 lb. elongated projectile with a charge of 76 lbs. of powder. The masonry of fortifications, and the wood of the most renowned floating "walls," splintering into fragments when assailed by Armstrongs and Whitworths, iron shields were designed to cover the works of the principal fortresses and the sides of our magnificent men-of-war. But a fierce competition as to the relative capacities of the projectiles and the iron-armour soon established the feebleness of the latter, and invention has been racked to strengthen the panoply until it should exhibit a perfect capability of resistance.

And now we arrive at an epoch in which the history of the armaments of the Land Service and Navy are curiously blended. So long as Land

* It is the indispensable condition of a good and effective rifled-gun that it should be made of the best material. The strain upon it from the explosive force required to give its projectile a double motion (the longitudinal and the rotatory) is such that it must fulfil every condition of strength, both in the character and quality of its material, and in the mode of its construction. Cast-iron is comparatively worthless for its composition, and should not be tolerated now that the mode of its manufacture out of wrought-iron has been discovered. Before this it was a necessity. Indeed, cast-iron is emphatically a base metal, at least, where strength and reliance are required. It is only a sort of pottery, having no fibrous or tenacious properties. Treacherous, uncertain, granulous, and brittle, its cheapness is the only apology for its use. In all the forms of its manufacture—utensils and implements, fixture, and furniture, fastening and hinge—it is continually breaking and requiring replacement. Especially is it unfit for cannon, in regard to which safety from explosion is a vital consideration. It has neither the requisite degree nor uniformity of strength. And this defect is not remedied by increasing the size of the gun; for, beside that it thus becomes cumbersome and unwieldy, increase of size does not give corresponding increase of strength. In a gun of great thickness the interior is expanded by the heat of the discharge, while the exterior is unaffected by it. Consequently the strain is not equally diffused; and, as the expansive force when reaching a certain point must find vent, explosion ensues; in which case cast-iron flies into fragments, while the wrought-iron gun, if it should burst, is rather torn than broken. There is also no certainty in the cast-iron gun. It may be tested by the requisite number of charges, and at the next firing explosion ensue. The difference between the two guns is the same as between a cut nail and a screw. Bronze, which answers so well for the smooth-bore gun, fails for the rifled; as, from the softness of the metal, the grooves are so worn as not to give the required accuracy of spiral motion to the projectile. Cast-steel is perhaps the best metal for small rifled-cannon.

† See Appendix.

Service garrison guns had only to pierce the sides of wooden ships, the penetrating power of guns was well known, and every confidence was reposed in our 32 and 68 pounders, chiefly forming the armaments of our land defences; but when our wooden walls were no longer held to be tenable, and the sides of our war-ships were for the future to be clad in massive plates of wrought-iron, a mighty revolution was thenceforth initiated in great guns.* With the comparatively thin plates with which our first iron-clad ships were covered (plates 3½ to 4 inches thick), the old 68-pounder for some time was triumphant, and great was the exultation of enthusiastic gunners over the penetrating power of the weapon. But when inch upon inch was added to the iron covering of our ships, the necessity became apparent that a new and far more powerful gun than had ever before existed was absolutely required, and that could only be obtained by greater size and rifled projectiles. Experiments of active force on the one side, and passive strength on the other, were made at Shoeburyness during the summer of 1868. A representative section of the forts in course of erection in the rear of Plymouth breakwater and at Bermuda was raised for experiment, and against this massive wall the most powerful artillery was brought to bear. The Plymouth fort was the first defensive work ever erected which presents to an enemy a wall of iron alone without masonry or earth being visible at any point. It is designed to carry eighteen 10-inch guns, each throwing a 400 lb. shot with 60 lbs. of powder, and the outer wall, which is composed purely of iron, has a thickness of fifteen inches on the seaward side, made up of three layers of iron, each five inches thick. The outer layer is formed of plates placed horizontally—the middle layer of planks, or very narrow plates, placed vertically—the inner of plates laid horizontally. This triple layer of 5-inch iron is supported inside by vertical iron standards 3 feet 9 inches apart, except at the embrasures, where there is an interval of 7 feet 6 inches between those on each side. Palliser bolts (named after Major Palliser, a very skilful Officer, who has successfully advocated the use of chilled round shot) fasten the plates and standards together, being nutted on the inside. The most potent battery of guns ever yet assembled together was brought to bear against the structure. Three days were spent in attempts to destroy it. The first day's firing was from the English 12-inch 23-ton gun, and an American 15-inch gun, constructed by a Mr Rodman. A portion of the target had been strengthened by the super-position of an additional 5-inch plate on the outside, and against this were fired three rounds from the English and two from the American gun. The general result of these five rounds was to show considerable damage to the structure. On the second and third days still further damage was done to the target. A salvo from the two pieces of ordnance would probably have demolished it altogether. But it was very evident that forts thus armed would, with the addition of some backing, offer a formidable resistance to the fire of guns of lesser calibre if an enemy should venture to attack them with inferior artillery. This, however, is an eventuality on which we must not calculate, for it became notorious that other nations of Military renown were preparing guns of 15 and even 30 inches. At the same time our own artificers were industriously engaged in improving and enlarging their own inventions.

The struggle which now commenced between the penetrating power of guns on the one side and the resisting power of iron plates on the other, to which allusion has already been made, involved a curious identity of interest between the guns for ship service and those for land service. What was good for the battery was also good for the ship. Both guns were called upon to pierce and tear the massive iron plates. It was to the Navy that the credit may be given for taking the initiative in this great race. About the year

* Let us here offer a tribute to the memory of Mr James Chalmers, the civil engineer, to whom the idea of the iron-plated ships is due. He brought England under a debt of gratitude to him for his invention of the "target." In 1863 he began to interest himself more particularly in making improvements in armour for ships and forts, and from that date to the day of his premature and untimely death he gave himself unreservedly, and without a day's intermission, to this important subject. Many nights were earnestly given to the working out of plans and calculations. It was to Mr Chalmers a passion, as he saw plainly enough its importance in modern warfare. His trial of the "target" that he had spent so much time, and thought, and money upon, was made at Shoeburyness in 1863, and was a complete success. The "Iron Plate Committee," appointed by the House of Commons to investigate the subject, stated in their official report, that "no other target designed for Naval purposes has resisted a similar weight of shot with so little injury." The improvements were, many of them, at once adopted by the authorities at the Admiralty, both in the building of ships of war, and also for defending forts. Almost every day, for years, did Mr Chalmers visit the Admiralty; and unnumbered were the plans and diagrams, with carefully prepared specifications, which he drew up with his own hands and weary head to illustrate his various plans. He was acknowledged at the Admiralty, and by the various ship builders, as the man who possessed the greatest amount of practical knowledge of armour-plating in England. Mr Chalmers published a work on 'Armour for Ships and Forts,' in 1865, which was not only extensively read and carefully studied in our country, but was also sought after eagerly by the Continental Governments, as well as by our friends on the other side of the Atlantic. It was everywhere conceded that Mr Chalmers had the most thorough knowledge of the subject, and that he was perfectly acquainted with the relative merits and demerits of all the various targets; and also of the terrible projectiles by which their resistance was tested.

1865 a smooth-bore 10-inch gun, weighing 12½ tons, and throwing a spherical shot of 150 lbs. in weight, was put on board the Excellent, gunnery-ship, for trial and experiment. This gun was mounted on what is known in the Land Service Artillery as a traversing platform. The gun ran in and out on its carriage upon slides, supported on rollers or trucks and confined to the ship's side by a radius bar. No mechanical means for working this gun were provided further than the ordinary tackles and handspikes. At this juncture the assistance of a gentleman who had already rendered singular service to the nautical world at large in his invention for reefing the topsails of ships from the deck, appears to have been sought by the Admiralty to help in the transition state at which gunnery had evidently arrived. This gentleman was Mr Henry D. P. Cunningham (now Major of the Hampshire Artillery), a person of remarkable inventive talent, who, besides the maritime contrivance to which we have alluded, and which alone will serve to immortalise his name, had produced many other valuable inventions. Indeed, he had been a worker in gunnery improvement so far back as 1849. We find Mr Cunningham attending the Ordnance Select Committee at Woolwich with a plan of a breech-loading gun which had been originated through a dreadful accident which he had witnessed of a man having been blown to pieces in loading on board of a ship-of-war, the President, in which Mr Cunningham was serving as the Admiral's secretary. This plan of a breech-loading gun was accompanied by another most ingenious scheme for checking the recoil of a gun by the action of air, and economising or collecting the force of recoil and applying it to run the gun out again.

With the means originally provided for traversing the 12½-ton gun put on board the Excellent, twenty men are required; that is, ten men on each side to move the gun round reciprocally, and it further required twenty-six men to run the gun in or back; both operations occupying upwards of three minutes of time. By the means applied by Mr Cunningham, this heavy gun was traversed by one man in twelve seconds, and run back by four men in sixteen seconds. The charge for this gun was 50 lbs.; the initial velocity was of course considerable, and the result of impact of so heavy a projectile at any distance within 600 yards of range was very destructive. But still something more was to be arrived at. This gun had only initiated the race between guns and armour-plates. Heavier projectiles to fly through the air with increased velocity and corresponding deadly powers were called for, and these could only be attained by rifling the guns and elongating the projectiles. It had been already determined upon that to bear the initial strain of large charges, and especially with rifled guns and elongated shot, guns could no longer be made of cast iron. A chief feature in Sir William Armstrong's gunnery improvements was the manufacture of wrought-iron guns on the coil principle. Henceforth, then, the guns were to be of wrought-iron—a costly change to enter upon; but it was unavoidable. The next practical question to be determined was the form of rifling, and the method of imparting the rotatory motion to the projectile from the rifled twist of the gun. Sir William Armstrong coated his projectile with lead, which, in cutting its way through the rifled grooving of the bore, imparted the necessary rotation to the projectile. Messrs Lancaster, Scott, and Whitworth likewise had their respective rifling systems, and differing from each other. While these advances had been made in ship gunnery, guns for land service had been increasing in size. In 1865 rifled guns of 23-tons weight and 13-inch bore, throwing a shot of 600 lbs., were manufactured and tried at Shoeburyness. The difficulties of moving these guns about for the necessary operations of loading and traversing was great, and again Mr Cunningham appears to have come to the rescue, as in 1866. Frequent mention of his doings with a 23-ton gun, mounted at Southsea Castle, is recorded in the journals of the day, and, what appears marvellous, by the "Cunningham gear" this ponderous gun was, and indeed can still be, traversed by one man; in fact, in one of the inspections it is recorded that a boy, ten years old, actually traversed the gun. One of the great advantages obtained by thus being able to lay the gun with so few men (the single man who traversed being completely under cover of the gun) was the protection afforded to the gunners, by so few being exposed to shot entering the embrasures of fortresses and batteries. It is mentioned in these notices of the trials of Mr Cunningham's invention that a steam vessel was sent out to pass backwards and forwards, so as to ascertain the power of following an enemy's ship passing up the harbour channel at 200 yards, when it was found that one man could follow the vessel with perfect ease, and with a large amount of surplus speed in favour of the traversing gear. Shortly after the completion of the Southsea gun, Mr Cunningham appears to have been engaged in fitting other heavy guns (25-ton) with his traversing gear, and mounted upon a central pivot platform.

In a word Mr Cunningham proved so thoroughly the perfect efficiency of his system of traversing guns, affording protection to the gunners, and otherwise simplifying the working of the guns, that the Ordnance Select Committee unhesitatingly recommended it for adoption in the Service; and, accordingly, in December, 1868, the Secre-

tary of State for War caused the recommendation to be carried out. As with the difficulty of moving the new heavy gun about arose the difficulty of manipulating the projectiles, we find Mr Cunningham supplying the Service in this important direction, and equipping a 25-ton gun at Shoeburyness mounted on a turn-table with a system for facilitating the transportation and conveyance of the projectiles to the bore of the gun. The invention appears to have consisted of an over-head shot railway, a peculiar construction upon which the projectile was raised some distance in the rear of the gun, and then conveyed with the greatest possible ease round to the muzzle. A shot sling was also provided of singularly simple and efficient construction, by which the projectile was gripped and lifted up, and in connection with this was a carriage or barrow by which the projectile was raised from the gun, and conveyed to the lifting-point at the railway. The use of Mr Cunningham's plans reduced the labour and time expended in loading this large gun to a very great extent. All those plans were subsequently applied to a new battery established on the south-west coast of England.

It would be gratifying to the historian if he could add that a large gratuity rewarded the efforts of Major Cunningham, of the Hampshire Artillery, to serve his country and economise the toil and the risks incidental to Naval and Military Artillery; but it is not recorded that any pecuniary consideration was awarded to his successful efforts. In any other than the British Service we should find him in the list of rewarded and decorated soldiers.

Coevally with Mr Cunningham's later labours, Captain A. Moncrieff, of the Edinburgh Militia Artillery, invented a plan for raising guns in a few moments above the decks of ships and parapets of fortresses, and as rapidly lowering them, so as to protect the guns and gunners from molestation by the fire of an enemy. This scheme for masking a piece of ordnance and its position until it should be required for actual use, received the approbation and concurrence of many of the most distinguished Naval and Engineer Officers, and the Government recognised the inventive powers of Captain Moncrieff by a handsome award. Other men have similarly received marks of the approbation and thankfulness of the Government, which only excites surprise that Major Cunningham and General Boxer (the ingenious author of many improvements in projectiles and of the cartridge which bears his name, famous for the signal service it rendered in the Crimea) should have experienced neglect—and in the instance of the latter Officer, something worse than neglect.

Contemporaneously with Captain Moncrieff's invention a singularly destructive weapon, to which the French have given the name of the mitrailleur, came upon the tapis. Rumour had assigned to it certain extraordinary properties, and its action in a battle between the French and Prussians at Saarbruck stimulated English curiosity as to the importance of its adoption in the British Service. Believing it to be at least worth a trial, the British Government made choice of one out of three or four kinds of mitrailleur, and caused it to be subjected to experiment at Shoeburyness. It was brought into action at the opening of the practice, at a range of 400 yards with a total of 178 hits in the five rounds. The time was limited to two minutes. The firing was slow, after the manner of file firing, and the gun, by means of the apparatus at the breech, was moved slowly from left to right, so as to cover the 270 feet of targeting. 178 hits out of 185 shots was not bad work, and it was better, no doubt, than could have been accomplished if the three men who are necessary to the working of the piece had been shooting with the Snider. To this succeeded some practice with a breech-loader (12-pounder) and the Indian field-piece (9-lb. muzzle-loader) with case shot. These canisters of bullets did much mischief where they took effect, and the pieces were so well handled that nine rounds were fired with the 12-pounder, and as many as eleven with the other, in the allotted two minutes. The remainder of the day was devoted to a repetition of the previous experiments, but not against time. This deliberate practice was enjoined in order to eliminate failures due to premature or bad fuses, or other unforeseen causes. At 400 yards the mitrailleur fired five rounds in 3 min. 50 sec., the result being 177 hits out of 185 shots. At 500 yards 172 hits were produced by the same number of rounds, the time being 2 min. 55 sec. At 600 yards the hits were 170, and the time 1 min. 55 secs. A volley was then fired at 800 yards, when the hits were 106, and the time 1 min. 45 secs. This was the smartest firing of the series. The field-guns were pitted against the mitrailleur, but with one exception the new-comer produced the greatest number of hits. The exception was the nine-pounder, which with charges of case shot registered 236 hits, but it should not be overlooked that each case contained 63 bullets, and that therefore during the round 315 shots were projected. The weapon itself may be thus described:

The Montigny mitrailleur may be briefly styled a breech-loading compound rifle, the barrel of which is composed of thirty-seven rifled barrels, about the size of ordinary musket barrels. These are made hexagonal upon their exterior surfaces, and are thus fitted together into a polygon mass, which is enclosed in a cylindrical iron case, forming the whole series into one weapon. These barrels are open at their breech ends, and when the breech-block

is drawn back a metal plate, containing thirty-seven central-fire cartridges, is inserted. The breech-block, which contains the firing apparatus, is then pushed forward by a powerful lever, and the cartridges are forced into the chambers of the barrels. The firing apparatus is thus constituted:—There are thirty-seven pistons or strikers, actuated by separate spiral springs, which fire the cartridges; these springs are put in tension by the closing of the breech-block, and are liberated by the descent of a serrated shutter. In this way, if the motion be quick, practically a volley results, but, according as the firing lever is worked slower, so something like rapid file firing and single shots can be made, and with this advantage, that the mitrailleur barrel, having a horizontal motion, can be made to traverse in its direction along the whole front of an advancing column. The present mitrailleur is mounted on an ordinary wood field-carriage, and it is therefore more steady and less subject to recoil than it would be if on a lighter carriage suitable for its more handy transport, in combination with Infantry movements. This, perhaps, matters little at the present stage of the trials, although hereafter, if the divergence between the mitrailleur and its field artillery competitors be not very large, it may be desirable to see it tried with its special and appropriate equipments.

Akin to the improvements in ordnance are the inventions and alterations which have been made in projectiles. Canister, grape, shrapnell, chain shot, and round shot, are giving way to conical balls with detonating and propelling properties attached. The elongated bullet flies with greater certainty than the spherical, and makes a more deadly impression, besides being better adapted to the rifled bores of guns and small arms. But there are limits to human savagery, and the invention of an explosive bullet—a rifle ball containing a charge of fulminating or ordinary powder in an interior cavity, and bursting on striking any object—was rejected by the leading Powers of Europe as altogether too destructive of life. The bullet had been in sporting use in India for some years, and was found to literally annihilate the animals which it struck. The wound that it made was frightful—tearing away muscle and integument, rending artery and vein, splintering bone, jagging and lacerating cartilage and tendon—and filling the tissues involved in the lesion with the chemical products of the explosion. The terrible missile was offered to the Russian Government. The Emperor, horrified at its power, immediately opened a communication with the Prussian Government, and the result has been that the use of the bullet was rejected by all the European Powers as altogether too inhuman. It has been argued in favour of the missile that the more destructive weapons become the greater chance exists of rendering war unpopular and ultimately impossible. But it has been found that the issue of battles may be rapidly determined by temporarily disabling a foe, which, on the score of humanity, is more commendable than the act of utterly destroying him by the infliction of the most certain and excruciating tortures.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Addition to the Army of Twelve Non-Purchase Regiments—Amalgamation of the Office of Secretary at War with that of Secretary of State for the War Department—Evacuation of the Ionian Islands—The 91st becomes a Highland Regiment—Abuses in Military Law—The Cases of Lieutenant-Colonel Mansergh and Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins—An Amendment in the Mutiny Act, abolishing Corporal Punishment in the Army, passes in the House of Commons—The Subject Considered—How the Character of the Army may be improved—The Purchase System discussed—Appointment of a Commission on the Court-Martial Question.

Resuming the thread of the general narrative, interrupted by the sketch of the progress of ordnance, we find ourselves in 1862. The amalgamation of the Indian with the Royal Army had given an addition of twelve Regiments, nine of Infantry and three of Cavalry, to the latter Force. The Infantry had belonged to the three Presidencies, and some of them had had considerable experience of war in India. Each enjoyed an excellent reputation for gallantry and discipline. The Bengal, Bombay, and Madras European Regiments, which had acquired the denomination of Fusiliers, were notably distinguished by their services. In February, 1862, they were transferred to the Line as *non-purchase* Regiments, for none of the Officers who had served the East India Company had obtained their commissions by purchase. But the Officers were prohibited from selling their commissions. On the other hand, they were declared entitled to retain their claim to Indian pension, and all others were suffered to retire on full or half-pay. Officers joining purchase Regiments from the Indian Service were placed on the same footing, in all respects, with the Officers of such Regiments; and all non-purchase Officers were granted the privilege of receiving an allowance on retirement of 100*l.* for each year's service, whether in the British or Indian Army, provided the total amount did not exceed the price of the Commission resigned.

The year 1863 was one of the least eventful years in the History of the Army. Saving the passage of a Volunteer Act, which maintained the Force on a separate establishment, and relieved the Regiments of the cost of arms and ammunition, the passage of the Regimental Debts Act, and the expressed determination of Parliament that all the duties, powers, and authorities of the Secretary at War should thereafter be exercised by the Secretary of State, the year was absolutely barren of events of material Military interest. The following year was scarcely more momentous. Perhaps the most striking incident in 1864 was the cession of the seven Ionian Islands to the Greek Government. In 1860 there were 4,276 British soldiers quartered on the different islands; in 1864 they

were withdrawn. During the war of the French Revolution the islands had, by a clause in the Treaty of Tilsit, been handed over to the French by the Russians. In 1809 they were, with the exception of Corfu, captured by the British. At Santa Maura the enemy made a gallant resistance, but was ultimately overpowered by the British troops. By the Treaty of Paris, in 1815, the islands were formed into a free and independent State, and were placed under the exclusive protection of the King of Great Britain.* The first man chosen for the post of Lord High Commissioner was General Sir Thomas Maitland; his successors were sometimes civilians, sometimes Military men. Among the latter were Sir Frederic Adam, Sir Howard Douglas, Lord Seaton (formerly Sir John Colborne), and Sir Henry K. Storks. Sir Frederic Adam's government was tarnished by what appears to have been great injustice towards Colonel (afterwards General Sir Charles) Napier; but it is admitted in other respects his rule was not discreditable to England. With all his faults he was a man of ability and energy. A statue and a diamond star costing 2,000*l.*, voted by the Senate, proved that he had governed after a manner to satisfy the aristocracy of the islands. A similar compliment had, with the exception of the vote for a star, been paid to the memory of Sir Thomas Maitland. Sir Howard Douglas had great difficulties to contend with. Appointed by a Conservative Ministry, he was expected by the people of the islands to carry out the measures introduced by a Liberal predecessor. He took the medium course, and endeavoured to persuade a somewhat refractory Parliament to prosecute those measures which, he maintained, could alone prepare the Ionian people for the proper discharge of the arduous duties which free institutions impose. Sir Howard's hospitality was great but discriminative, and his public expenditure so much in excess of that of his predecessor (Lord Nugent) that he left a very considerable deficit in the treasury. Lord Seaton succeeded to the office of Lord High Commissioner after it had been temporarily held by a Liberal civilian. As a Conservative, he was ill-disposed to carry out the measures of his predecessor, which rather disappointed the people. Some of his measures, however, were of a decidedly useful tendency; education and schools prospered under his sway, though he restrained the freedom of the press and any other form of expression of public opinion. But when the French Revolution broke out in 1848 and found so many imitators in Germany, Italy, and Greece, Lord Seaton all at once became an extremely Liberal agitator. All these changes unsettled the minds of the people of the Ionian Islands, and Cephalonia especially became the scene of disturbances. An occasion was afforded, arising out of the operations of a conspiracy on the islands, for a piece of gallantry on the part of a British non-commissioned officer. Serjeant Luke Dunne, of the 36th Foot, with twenty-four men, resisted a large body of the hostile peasantry, who directed their fire solely at the soldiers. In the conflict two of the 36th were killed and two wounded. Dunne's gallant and prudent conduct was rewarded with a medal and a pension. Sir Henry Storks was the last Military man who held the post of Lord High Commissioner. During his government the Parliament of the islands decreed the union of the islands to the kingdom of Greece. The decree went forth in 1863, and in the following year, as has been said, the troops were withdrawn, having had no occasion for active employment between that period and 1815, excepting in the trifling instance recorded above.

May 3rd, 1864, was a red-letter day in the annals of the 91st Regiment. From the month of March, 1859, until 1861, Colonel Bertie Gordon had vainly endeavoured to move the Duke of Cambridge to restore the nationality of the Regiment in title and costume. He then addressed His Grace the Duke of Argyll upon the subject, and after an active correspondence which lasted an entire twelvemonth, the Duke succeeded in carrying the point for which Colonel Gordon had been solicitous. The objection of the Duke of Cambridge to the change sought by the 91st was founded upon the character of the recruitment of the Corps, which had in a great measure taken from it a Scottish hue; but Colonel Gordon having satisfied the authorities that the Regiment, by the exertions of the Recruiting Staff in Scotland, was rapidly acquiring a Highland *personnel*,

* For a full and extremely interesting and well-written account of the Ionian Islands from the earliest period to the cession of those islands to the Greek Government, the reader is referred to a work published by Chapman and Hall. It was edited by Viscount Kirkwall, who had been on the Staff of Sir Henry Ward, the seventh Lord High Commissioner, but we have reason to know that the work was written by Major-General Whittingham, C.B., the author of an excellent volume on Bermuda, and of a Memoir of the General's gallant father, Sir Samford, to whom frequent reference has been made. At the time of the publication of the books on Bermuda and the Ionian Islands the General was a Regimental Commanding Officer, and seems to have been governed by motives of etiquette and Military subordination in preserving a temporary incognito. But there is no necessity for our hiding his candle under a bushel. General W. has sketched with a certain picturesque vigour the history of the British government of the Ionian Islands, and has drawn with a facile pen the characters of the several Lord High Commissioners. His descriptions of the islands and the manners of the people are likewise singularly vivid, and scattered throughout the volumes are anecdotes of noted and distinguished persons who have visited the islands at different times, or been more or less mixed up with the government.

Her Majesty, on the 3rd of May, 1864, permitted the Regiment to resume the appellation of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders, and to assume the clothing of a non-kilted Regiment of Highlanders. The change was hailed with great delight by both men and Officers.

The advanced state of education in the Army, the mildness of the discipline enforced by the Duke of Cambridge, and the high gentlemanlike feeling which had grown with the abolition of duelling, rendered Courts-Martial upon the Officers of the British Army very rare incidents during the two decades preceding 1870. Still, events occasionally took place which, involving infractions or supposed infractions of the Articles of War, called for the operation of Military law, and, in their issue, demonstrated the necessity not only for some alterations and modifications in the practice and principles of Courts-Martial, but for some restrictions upon the arbitrary authority vested in the Commander-in-Chief as the delegate of the Sovereign. Two of these cases excited much discussion and disturbance in Military circles. One of them referred to Major Mansergh, of the 6th Foot; the other to Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins, of the Coldstream Guards. Major Mansergh had proceeded with his Regiment to India during the mutiny, and soon after its arrival the Corps was ordered from Calcutta to Jugdespoor. Before the arrival of the Corps in India, Major Mansergh had applied for an exchange or transfer to the 15th Foot, but as no official intelligence had been received of the fulfilment of his wishes, he was still to all intents and purposes an Officer of the gallant and distinguished 6th. Colonel Barnes, however, who commanded the Regiment, had seen some mention in the public papers of the completion of the transfer, and on this ground—cherishing hostile feelings against the Major on account of some disputes at the Cape of Good Hope—he issued an order inhibiting Major Mansergh's departure with the Regiment.

This was naturally very mortifying to a high-spirited soldier anxious to be employed in the great emergency which had arisen. On Major Mansergh expostulating and showing that he had a clear right to go with his men, until his promotion appeared in General Orders, Colonel Barnes said he *was* to go with his men; but, to prevent the arrangement, it is alleged that he went to the Assistant Adjutant-General and obtained, by special request, an extract from the 'London Gazette' announcing the exchange, and then issued a counter order to the effect that Major Mansergh was *not* to go, but to give over his company to another Officer. The head quarters left Fort William next morning for the frontier.

On asking the Assistant Adjutant-General for a passage to England, Major Mansergh discovered the act of Colonel Barnes, which had deprived him of the opportunity of going on service with his old Corps, on which he wrote an offensive letter to Colonel Barnes, who was no longer his Commanding Officer. Colonel Barnes took the letter to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Major Mansergh was placed in arrest; and after some months tried for "grossly insubordinate conduct, highly unbecoming a Commissioned Officer, and subversive of military discipline." He pleaded "Not Guilty," on the ground that being struck off the strength of the Indian Establishment and of the Regiment, Colonel Barnes was not his superior Officer, and it was therefore no breach of discipline or military law to have written as he did. In this view he was borne out by the opinion of Mr (afterwards Mr Justice) Lush; who declared that "Lord Clyde had no power to order a Court-Martial to be assembled to try Major Mansergh, and the Court so assembled was without warrant or authority to try him. The order issued by Major-General Hearsay convening the Court was illegal. There was, in the entire proceedings, a total want of jurisdiction, and the charge did not describe any offence within the Articles of War, because, at the time the letter referred to in the charge was written, Colonel Barnes was not Major Mansergh's 'superior Officer' within the meaning of the Mutiny Act and Articles of War."

The result of the trial was that Major Mansergh was "dismissed Her Majesty's Service;" but when it was communicated to Major Mansergh, he at once protested against every part of the whole proceeding, from the first order of Col. Barnes to the confirming remarks, and appealed to the Judges of England. The Duke of Cambridge, however, decided the case; and his decision was communicated in the following terms: "Horse Guards, 5th November, 1858.—His Royal Highness having carefully perused the statement of your case, and having also had before him the proceedings of the General Court-Martial by which you were tried, has now commanded me to acquaint you that he cannot but fully concur in all the observations made by the Commander-in-Chief in India when confirming the sentence of the Court."

As a matter of course, Major Mansergh was not satisfied by the decision; he came to England, saw His Royal Highness, but failing to obtain a reversal of the sentence which had deprived him of his commission, he made an appeal to Sir George Cornewall Lewis, the Secretary at War, and procured an acknowledgment of the hardship and injustice with which the Major had been treated. In 1863 Major Mansergh was reinstated in his

former rank in the Army, but was sold out in the same Gazette.

The case of Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins, of the Coldstream Guards, which occurred in 1865, involved a hardship and injustice greater than those which had been inflicted on Lieutenant-Colonel Mansergh. The proceedings in the instance of the latter Officer were manifestly illegal; those which afflicted Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins were not only in part illegal, but arbitrary in the extreme, because they triumphed over the law, and involved a denial of simple justice. Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins entered the Army in 1844. He appears to have been an Officer of considerable ability and steady conduct, strengthened by professional attainments, to which there is confessedly no royal road. He lived in harmony with his brother Officers with two or three exceptions, and these were seniors to himself, and gifted with no great redundance of the *suaviter in modo*. Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins happened, in the year 1859, to be absent on leave on the Continent, and was too late to be present at the half-yearly muster of the Regiment which he was summoned to attend. On his return home he was reproved by the Colonel in command of his Battalion in a tone calculated to irritate even a man of a singularly docile temperament. Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins was always sufficiently alive to the duty and importance of subordination, but the tone of reprimand employed by the Colonel of the Battalion wounded his high spirit, and he therefore appealed to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment, by whom the complaint was referred to the Major-General commanding the Brigade of Guards. The letter of complaint or remonstrance, instead of receiving the courteous and friendly attention the Lieutenant-Colonel had a right to expect, was treated as an act, in itself, of great insubordination, involving a flagrant proof of a quarrelsome disposition. He was called upon to appear in the Battalion orderly-room, and when there he was desired to withdraw his letter and apologise for having written it. He was further told that he had quarrelled with every one in the Regiment, and deserved to be put under arrest. Such an imputation, false in fact and conclusion, was not calculated to allay the irritation caused by the previous proceedings, and the Lieutenant-Colonel refused to withdraw his complaint, with a single exception. But this did not satisfy the Commanding Officer of the Regiment, who appears to have addressed him an epistolary rebuke of an unusual character among gentlemen accustomed to observe the amenities of life towards each other. A year subsequent to these pitiful occurrences there was a misunderstanding between Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins and the Adjutant of the Regiment respecting the miscarriage of a letter which, as it prevented Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins from being present at one of Her Majesty's balls, naturally caused him much annoyance. He expressed himself warmly on the subject in a letter to the Adjutant. This led to another summons to appear before the Colonel of the Brigade, and to his being reprehended by him in warm and irritating language for obstinacy and intemperance. Such an exercise of authority was not calculated to promote a sentiment of cordiality towards the Commanding Officer, and accordingly, when the parties again met in a mess tent, the familiar salutation of the Senior Officer ("How are you, Dawkins?) was acknowledged by a formal Military salute. For this peccadillo, Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins was actually placed under arrest, and the matter was laid before His Royal Highness the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief. The Adjutant-General, by the Duke's command, called for an explanation of what he termed "a most unjustifiable act," and this being given in a manner to satisfy His Royal Highness the arrest was removed; but no attempt at reparation was made for the indignity put upon the Lieutenant-Colonel. The arrest had lasted for eleven days, which, be it remarked, was three days in excess of the time prescribed by the Articles of War as the maximum period of detention. Two years more elapse, and we find Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins unwarrantably interfered with at the head of a wing of the Battalion during a field-day. Remonstrance led to fresh accusations of an infirmity of temper on the part of the Lieutenant-Colonel, and the assertion of the Commanding Officer of the Brigade (formerly of the Battalion) that he was unfit to command, and should not be allowed to command in barracks or out of them so long as the Brigadier held his position. And this declaration was acted upon. Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins now demanded a Court of Inquiry. His demand was acceded to, and the Court came to the conclusion that the refusal to let him command was unjustifiable, whereupon he was returned to his duty as Field Officer.

The tissue of annoyances to which Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins had been subjected led him to enter a protest against the conduct of his several senior Officers. In this protest he charged his persecutors with misrepresentations, insults, and illegal proceedings, and the consequence was that another Court of Inquiry was assembled in February, 1865, which, after hearing evidence, much of which exonerated the Lieutenant-Colonel from the imputation of captiousness, and a want of respect for authority, expressed an opinion that he had not substantiated his charges, and that his command of a Battalion of Guards was not beneficial to the Service. The Report of the Court being

laid before the illustrious Prince commanding the Army, His Royal Highness, after explicitly admitting that there was nothing against Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins's character or honour as a gentleman, and that his statements as to false charges having been made against him were partly true, decided that it was not a case for a Court-Martial, but that, after the opinion come to by the Court of Inquiry, he could only give the Colonel the option of selling his commission or going on half-pay.

After some delay, and considerable but vain effort to induce the Secretary of State for War to afford him redress, Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins elected to take the half-pay; thus absolutely sacrificing from three to four thousand pounds, the price he had paid for his commission, and all the ulterior advantages arising from a continuance in the Service.

It is unnecessary to follow Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins through all the stages of his endeavours to obtain from the House of Commons or the Courts of Law redress and compensation for the wrong he endured. Neither one tribunal nor the other seems disposed to question the despotic power of the chief Military authority, and we thus find an Officer of distinguished service ruined by the decree of a Court of Inquiry, one of those extraordinary institutions which to a legal mind present the idea of a Star Chamber. "The proceedings are conducted in private; the Officers forming the Court are selected for the purpose, and there is no provision against their being intimately acquainted with the parties whose conduct is to be inquired into; they are irresponsible, and their opinion or decision is not subject to appeal to any superior tribunal, nor is that decision or opinion given in writing, or any copy allowed to be taken of it. The evidence is not given upon oath, and may be rejected or withheld at the will of the Court. Simmons, in his standard work upon Courts-Martial, describes a Court of Inquiry as being a Council rather than a Court, which any Officer in command may take advantage of to assist him in arriving at a correct conclusion on any subject, its main object being to enable him to arrive at such conclusion as to the necessity of convening a Court-Martial. 'Surely then,' he emphatically remarks, 'justice forbids investigation by a Court of Inquiry, which cannot, in any light, be considered a judicial body, there being no protection, by the solemnity of an oath, for the character of an Officer, however invidious the attack, and malicious accusations may be countenanced and prejudices fomented without the way being paved for trial.'"

The case of Lieutenant-Colonel Dawkins has been justly termed "a dismal burlesque and mockery of all law and justice." Such cases, however, like "the toad, ugly and venomous, bear yet a precious jewel" within them. They often awaken public attention to the defects of our Military system of law, and provoke a discussion and agitation which ultimately lead to reform.

How far the foregoing cases of wrong arising out of the unsettled state of British Military law may have led to the resolution of the Government to cause formal inquiries to be instituted into the operation of the Mutiny Act and Articles of War, it is not easy to declare. There were, however, other questions in connection with the discipline of the Force which called for serious consideration. The greatest optimists in the Army could not affirm that the administration of our Military law was creditable either to the national common sense or our respect for the principles of jurisprudence which govern the civil Courts. The prisoner was placed at a serious disadvantage in a Military Court. All the machinery of the law was brought to bear against him. He was tied hand and foot, and if he was not a clever fellow and had a thoroughly good case, the "finding" was sure to go against him. With this Court-Martial question, too, was bound up the important subject of corporal punishment. In the session of Parliament of 1867, Mr Otway, one of the Members for Chatham, contrived, when the Mutiny Act came under consideration, to obtain a majority of five on an amendment providing that "no Court-Martial shall, for any offence whatever committed under this Act during a time of peace, within the Queen's dominions, have power to sentence any soldier to corporal punishment." One hundred and twenty-seven Members voted with Mr Otway, and one hundred and twenty-two against his amendment. No substitute punishment having been provided, it was hardly possible that practical effect could be given to the amendment in the then existing stage of the question. But after such a declaration by a majority of the House of Commons, supported by the fact that out of 26,000 men who had joined the Army in the current year only seventeen had incurred the penalty of personal chastisement, it was impossible to suppose that the antiquated practice would be continued. It is a striking proof of the triumph of civilisation that, whereas at the present day men shudder at the infliction of fifty lashes — the maximum punishment — half-a-century ago their grandfathers heard unnerved of 1,000 lashes being awarded in the interests of Military discipline. As a matter of history we may quote a paragraph from an exceedingly interesting volume of Reminiscences published by General Sir George Bell, who served in the Peninsular War, and lived to hold a command in the

Crimea. He is speaking of the career of the Army in the Peninsula:

"Corporal punishment went on everywhere the whole year round. Men were flogged for small offences, and for graver crimes flogged to death; a thousand lashes were often awarded by Court-Martial. I have seen men suffer 500 to 700 lashes before taken down, and blood running down into their shoes, and their backs flayed like raw red-chopped sausages. Some of these men bore this awful punishment without flinching for 200 or 300 lashes, chewing a musket-ball or a bit of leather to prevent or stifle the cry of agony; after that they did not seem to feel the same torture. Sometimes the head dropped over to one side and the lashing went on, the surgeon in attendance examining the patient at times to see what more he could bear, and I did see with horror a prisoner receive 700 lashes before he was taken down."

Thank God! such inhuman punishment belongs entirely to the past.

It was not difficult to anticipate the effects of a system more in accordance with the enlightened spirit of the age. It was held to be probable, for example, that the abolition of corporal punishment would induce a better class of men to enter the Service, especially as the pay and rations of the soldier had recently undergone material improvement. During the time that General Peel held the office of Secretary of State in the War Department (1866-67), he had procured an addition of 2d. per diem to the pay of the privates, and an increased allowance of meat. The effect of this in the Army was to induce 26,000 time-expired men to re-enlist—in itself a very important matter, inasmuch as it provided the Force (in the future) with a body of *old soldiers*, who are always invaluable in promoting, by their example, the ends of discipline. Moreover, it assured the outside people of the contentment of an immense number of soldiers with their condition, and thus supplied a stimulus to enlistment. If to these arrangements could be added an assurance that a *certain* number of Commissions without purchase would be allotted every year to deserving soldiers, very many young men of education would be tempted into the ranks of the Army. The educated soldier is invaluable in the ranks. Time was when Officers looked upon the men as mere machines, and resented the notion that a private should presume to think for himself. Now it is discovered that intelligence is not only a guarantee for loyalty and general good conduct, but a very valuable ingredient in field efficiency. The Volunteers have proved that they are far better marksmen than the ordinary run of soldiers of the Line, for the simple reason that they are an educated, thinking class of men. They have a capacity for learning the "reason why." A similar intellectual power would wonderfully improve the firing in the Line. Lieutenant-General Sir John Hay, in a 'Report on the Instruction carried out in the Schools of Musketry at Hythe and Fleetwood, and of the Progress of Musketry Instruction in the Army,' frequently refers to this fact, and dwells upon the danger of neglecting the theoretical instruction of the Army. He says:

"If, hereafter, it shall be found that the rifle does not produce results in action equal to our anticipations, I feel convinced that it will lie at the door of those who ignore theoretical instruction (the appeal to the reason of the soldier), and who, having treated him as an automaton in time of peace, expect to find him intelligent and self-reliant in time of war, when under difficulties which cannot be foreseen, but which may be provided against, or avoided, by developing his intelligence. In all that appertains to the armament and formation of troops in warfare, a reference to history will show clearly *the advance of mind over matter*.

"Improvement in arms has effected marked changes in the formation and movements of troops. We appear now to have reached almost the climax as regards weapons of destruction. It was wisely said many years ago by one of our best Officers, that future campaigns and battles would be won *more by the head* than the hand. If this be so, and if, as I believe, the only weak point to be feared in the breech-loader is a wasteful expenditure of ammunition, *does it not behove us to do all we possibly can to create intelligence in our ranks?* We have, however, at present but little, if any, guarantee that even the marksmen *clearly understand the reasons for the rules* which have to be attended to, in maintaining the efficiency of the rifle under all circumstances and conditions.

"I could wish that we had the power of measuring by a figure, as we do in shooting and judging distance, the intelligence of a Battalion; this, added to the figure of merit, would express its real practical value as a Military body. The physical part, if I may so call it, of the training has decidedly improved, as this Report shows. I have dwelt on this subject, because I feel that theoretical instruction is ignored by many. I would therefore call particular attention to its value; *it forms the fulcrum on which the whole system of training works.* Without it, the system is of little practical value. *Increased intelligence cannot fail to render the men more composed, self-reliant, and ready to act, certainly not less brave in time of danger.*"

These are weighty truths, and should influence our recruiting system. It must be admitted that it is extremely irksome to young men of superior

breeding and attainments to be obliged to consort with and recognise the social equality with themselves of the low and the ignorant, who must always form the majority in the ranks; but even for this there is a remedy. Why could there not be in each Corps a *compagnie d'élite*—a company of select men—admission to which should become an object of ambition with the rest of the Regiment? It would not be necessary to give this company better pay, better fare, or better accommodation than the rest. The sole advantage should be isolation—separation from demoralising influences; and this in itself would be so great, that many a young fellow who now holds aloof from enlistment out of sheer self-respect might be induced to enter the Service. The barracks are not, indeed, so comfortable as they might be made, but improvements in that respect are continually making. The married soldier will be more considered, the decencies of life respected, if separate rooms be assigned to himself and family. Education and an asylum have long been found for the boys at Chelsea and Dublin; the daughters have now become objects of care at Hampstead and Wandsworth, where "Homes" have been formed; and in many other ways the life of the soldier has been rendered not simply endurable but enviable.

The system of officering the Guards and the Cavalry and Infantry of the Line by the partial purchase of commissions continues to be a subject of lively disputation in and out of the Services. Numerous arguments and illustrations are continually employed for and against the practice; and they seem gradually to be resolving themselves into an opinion that the whole question must ultimately be settled by the condition, at any one particular time, of the public finances. When a Minister can venture to propose a vote of five or six millions sterling without imposing an additional income-tax upon the public to indemnify the Officers for the sums they have laid out in their commissions, the purchase system may be abolished—but *not fairly till then.* There is nothing in the actual condition of the Army to move the public to a heavy sacrifice. If the admissions to the Service and the promotion of Officers by the outlay of money were the fruitful cause of the introduction and advancement of a bad and inefficient class of men; if they assisted favouritism and corruption at the Horse Guards; if they placed the nation in an inferior position when collisions arose with other States; if they were the source of glaring injustice to men who are worthy of preferment, but lack the means of purchasing it—the good sense and generosity of the British public would suggest an immediate assent to a new burthen; but none of these arguments can be fairly advanced in favour of the taxation. No Army in the world is better officered than the British—its achievements down to the last expedition place it on a level with the finest soldiers in the universe, if it cannot justly claim a superiority over the best Continental troops. No charges of partiality in the distribution of patronage offend the public sense of official justice. If it happens occasionally that a poor Officer is continually passed over, when vacancies in the rank immediately above that which he holds occur, that the monied man may obtain preferment, very many rise to the top of the tree by the system which requires that all who enter a Regiment for the first time shall go to the bottom of the list, thus pushing upwards those of the same rank who are already in the Corps.

But this is a digression. Returning to the subject of Military law, it may here be recorded that in 1867 the Government resolved upon the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the whole subject, and its results will be found in a later chapter.

CHAPTER XLV.

Progress of the Volunteer Force—Improvements in Ordnance—The Army of Reserve.

Ten years had elapsed at the close of 1869 since the Volunteer organisation had become *un fait accompli*—a sufficiency of time to determine the constancy of the English people in maintaining a Force which is neither paid by the nation nor bound by any laws or principles of cohesion but those which a sense of honour and patriotism dictate. By the returns made up on the 1st of December, 1867,* there were in all *twelve hundred and ninety-seven distinct Corps* in England and Scotland. The maximum establishment was 215,812 men and Officers, of whom 155,216 were efficient, and 32,648 non-efficient, the total number of enrolled members being *one hundred and eighty-seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.* In the year 1803, when a hostile Force was absolutely encamped at Boulogne, and there was every reason to apprehend an invasion from Napoleon Bonaparte, the effective strength of all the Volunteer Corps whose services had been accepted by George the Third numbered within fifty of 380,000 men, the metropolis alone contributing 52,896 Infantry and 3,376 Cavalry. Since that time the population of England has more than trebled. At least 100,000 men have acquired a knowledge of the use of the rifle, and have at different times formed a part of the exist-

* This year has been selected because the Volunteers had then reached their maximum in peace-time.

ing Volunteer strength. A still greater number interest themselves in the maintenance of the Force, but are unable, from the nature of their occupations or the localities of their residence, to take an active share in its operations. All of these and many more would readily enrol themselves, if danger were actually at our doors. Probably half a million of men in the prime of life would be found ready at a few hours' notice to dispute every inch of British ground with an invader.

The summer season of 1860 first witnessed the readiness with which the different Volunteer Corps had entered upon their self-imposed duties to the extent of attending reviews and rifle competitions. There was no abatement of zeal for the following ten years. The presence of the Queen and the Royal Family, including the Commander-in-Chief, had, of course, rendered the assemblages near the metropolis more numerous than elsewhere.* The number and value of the prizes shot for, the honour of appearing before Royalty personally, and earning a smile of approbation from the Sovereign, form very strong inducements to the personal labour and pecuniary sacrifices which are the inevitable accompaniments of drills, practice, parades, and reviews. But railway communication admits of the assemblage of Corps from all parts of the country, and the gatherings of metropolitan Regiments on the Downs at Brighton and on Portsmouth Common were not more remarkable than the presence of Regiments from distant counties at the reviews held in those localities. On such occasions an opportunity was afforded of ascertaining with what degree of zeal the several county Corps remote from the metropolis had pursued their drill away from the graceful influences which operate so powerfully in the precincts of Windsor and St James's. It is due to the Lords-Lieutenant to say that the general results established the existence of as earnest a competition in the rural districts east, west, and south of London as in London itself. Yorkshire, Lancashire, Devonshire, Cheshire, and Dorsetshire were almost as well represented at the Wimbledon meetings as the more contiguous counties of Sussex and Surrey, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, and Suffolk; while the great reviews brought together numerous Corps from Wales and Scotland, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somersetshire, Bedfordshire, Norfolk, and Hereford. On all of these occasions, however, Middlesex was necessarily more numerously represented than the other counties. And it is a curious fact that the great public schools established Corps, which competed for prizes given by noble lords and the National Rifle Association, formed in 1860 to encourage rifle shooting and give permanence to Volunteer Corps.

Of the absolute condition as to field efficiency of the Rifle Volunteer Force, a judgment could only be formed from the reports of the Inspector-General of the Reserve Forces, and the General Officers who superintend the reviews. The latest of these reports describe the Brigades as being well-handled, but, from a strictly Military point of view, there was not much to praise in the movements. For instance, Lieutenant-General Buller, the Reviewing Officer at Portsmouth in April, 1868, when there were 28,000 Volunteers and 50 guns in the field, reported that with some exceptions the instruction drill, the practice of the simple deployments, the oblique and direct echelon movements, the observance of strict silence during movement, and the cessation of fire when ordered, were "wanting, and not sufficiently considered." Without attention to these points no Volunteer Force would be of much avail if required to take its place in the field with Regular troops. General Sir John Garvock subsequently spoke nearly to the same effect. At the review at Windsor before the Queen, in June of the same year, there was much to commend in the appearance and the movements of the 27,000 Volunteers who came on the ground; but, although it was distinctly laid down in the preliminary General Orders of the Inspector-General of the Reserve Forces that the utmost regularity was indispensable while the several Corps were marching to and from the review ground, and that no Volunteer should on any account quit the ranks without permission from his Commanding Officer, three or four Regiments absolutely broke away the moment the review was at an end, and hastened to the railway terminus to secure places in the carriages. This infraction of discipline led to much severe commentary in the newspapers and the Houses of Lords and Commons. The Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary of State for War, the Inspector-General, and the Commanding Officers of Divisions and Regiments, were loud in the expression of their indignation. The Secretary of State caused one company to be removed from the 'Army List.' Unfortunately, a freedom from control, arising from the absence of all means of punishment, excepting dismissal, is an unavoidable feature in volunteer and amateur assemblages. Not until some experience in war of the enormous value of unity has painfully impressed the national mind can the country hope to find the irregular home force setting examples of discipline and propriety on parade. The Officers and men see too little of

* On 23rd June, 1860, the Queen inspected a Volunteer Army assembled in Hyde Park, numbering 18,450 Officers and men; and on August 7 of the same year she passed in review 21,514 Scottish Riflemen. In June, 1868, the muster of all ranks in Windsor Park was 3 men.

each other*—their opportunities of appearing on the review and parade ground are too few to give them the *habit* of order; and the feeling of personal independence which is an offshoot of our free constitution, is too strong to induce men to recognise obedience to virtual superiors as a principle of action. A rebuke will always stir the gall of John Bull, and when this proceeds from individuals to whom he owes no other than a self-imposed obedience, the violation of which involves no pecuniary or other personal penalty, he is apt to resent what may be very necessary to his utility as a national soldier by insolence of reply or the resignation of his rank in the Regiment to which he may belong. All this makes the position of Commanding Officers one of great difficulty and delicacy. Their authority rests entirely upon the willingness of their subordinates to recognise the force of moral command. They can neither reward nor punish to an extent to ensure regularity of discipline and uniform obedience.

If, however, there is, and always must be, something imperfect in the conduct of the Volunteers at reviews, field-days, sham-fights, &c., much reliance may be placed on their skilful use of the rifle in any great emergency, for the practice with that weapon is constant, and some extraordinary proofs have been presented of the perfection attained at the annual shooting matches. Nor is this to be wondered at. Many thousands of pounds are annually subscribed for the purchase of silver shields, cups, goblets, medals, jewellery, rifles, mathemetical instruments, &c., as prizes for the best shots with particular weapons. Her Majesty the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, the National Volunteer Association, the great rifle and gun manufacturers, the several Corps, and numerous noblemen and private gentlemen and ladies, contribute in this way to the encouragement of the friendly competition. Every kind of rifle, musket, carbine, and big gun, is tried at various distances. The Enfield, the Snider, the Walker-Money, and Whitworth rifles, the Carter and Edwards, Henry, Soper, and Kerr breech-loaders, with the Daw, Boxer, and other cartridges, are all permitted to be used under certain conditions. That the Volunteers have marvellously progressed may be determined by a comparison of the number of points gained by competition in 1860 with those scored in 1868. Take, for instance, the winners of Queen's Prizes since the foundation of the National Rifle Association. In 1860, Mr Ross, of the 7th North York, scored 8 points at 800 yards, 7 points at 900, and 9 points at 1,000 yards. In 1862, Mr Pixley, of the Victoria Rifles (the oldest Corps extant), made 18, 11, and 15 points at the same distances. In 1867, Mr Lane, of the Bristol Rifles, scored 21 points at 800 yards, 24 points at 900 yards, and 12 points at 1,000 yards. The rapidity with which the fire was delivered was as remarkable as the accuracy of aim, and this will

* Writing on this subject in the 'Daily Telegraph' a "Volunteer Captain" says:—"I have been a Volunteer since the formation of the Force, and have passed through every grade, from private to the post I now occupy, and, though I am at present in command of a company, I am free to confess that my experience of over nine years leads me to the conclusion that the Officers are the weak part of the service. I am ashamed to have to own this, but it is a fact well known to all who are acquainted with the inner working of the Volunteer system. I have always found men willing to obey when Officers know how to command; and, on the other hand, easy-going Officers are invariably attended by inattentive, unruly rank and file. Never was this more clearly illustrated than at Windsor, where I was present with my company; and although I did not witness the fracas at Datchet Bridge, I can easily understand the causes of the disorder, when I recall the frequent instances of disorganisation which forced themselves most painfully upon my notice towards the close of the review, and during the march to and at the railway station. Many, if not most, of the Officers do not seem to recognise the full responsibilities of their position while in command of their Corps, but appear to imagine that, after the serious business of the day is completed, all necessity for discipline has come to an end. The men feel that all restraint is gone, the natural reaction from the pressure of attention asserts itself, and the result is uncontrolled disorder, which, under certain conditions, culminates in such scenes as were so justly condemned by Lord Elcho in the House of Commons, and which so completely degrade the Volunteers in the eyes of the public, and give good cause to certain gallant Military critics, who have not hesitated to designate the Volunteers at Windsor as only an 'undisciplined mob.' I think it would do all of us good if we were more sternly and strictly criticised by our Generals and our Inspectors. We are so much complimented that we value our services at too extravagant a rate. Let us be constantly reminded of the real purpose for which we are enrolled, the defence of Queen and country, and then let it be plainly, and truthfully, and unreservedly laid before us, that we fail in this purpose if we do not make ourselves really useful soldiers, upon whom a General and the country can depend in time of need, and that the only way to become soldiers is to steadily persevere in that orderly, disciplined course of conduct—the first step of which is the touchstone of the soldier, "obedience at all times and under all circumstances." We do not wish to be humbugged or flattered, we desire to hear the truth about ourselves and our Commanders. But after all, if the Volunteers are to be of real service to the country, and retain their hold upon the respect of the public, they must have better Officers. I thoroughly believe in our rank and file; as I have before remarked, they will obey, if they are efficiently commanded. The system of granting commissions to men simply because of the supposed claims of their position or wealth, and without regard to their fitness for the post, or their knowledge of its duties, must cease. The attention of the authorities seems to be aroused. I trust they will persevere in a searching investigation into the merits of the question. Officers must be found who will appreciate the importance of their position, and determine to make themselves thoroughly efficient. The main body of the men, and all the best men, will respect and cheerfully obey such Officers, and then the "inner line of defence," as we are so boastingly styled, will cease to be the "sham" Lord Ranelagh with so much truth calls us, and will become a real Army of Reserve, upon whom their countrymen can rely.

be a matter of great importance with breech-loaders in future wars. Soldiers, unpractised with the weapons and nervous in contest, are apt to fire away their cartridges much too quickly, having little regard to the "billet" of their "bullets." Practice will impart steadiness, coolness, and therefore certainty of aim, and we may hear of such exploits as the following without apprehending that shots had been thrown away in haste:

Mr Oswald (at Wimbledon) with the Kerr rifle scored 87 points with 37 shots in three minutes at 200 yards. Mr Kerr was the armourer to the National Rifle Association. His rifle was on the central fire system, firing the Boxer cartridge.

Mr McKerrell, of the London Scottish Volunteers,—the same Corps as Mr Oswald's,—fired twice at the same distance, getting off 28 and 29 shots, and making 71 and 72 points.

Mr H. Ross with the Henry breech-loader at the same range got off 25 rounds, scoring 54 points; and Ensign White, of the 37th Middlesex, using the Walker-Money rifle, fired 24 rounds with great deliberation, scoring 65 points.

More extraordinary than these were the performances of Mr Farquharson, of Blair Gowrie, and Serjeant John Bott, of the Royal Marines. The former, using the Henry rifle and lying on his back, fired 42 rounds, scoring 5 bull's-eyes, 17 centres, and 17 outers, or a total of 105 points in three minutes; and the latter with the Carter-Edwards rifle made the extraordinary score of 96 points at a distance of 500 yards.

On the last day of the Wimbledon meeting, Mr Farquharson with the Henry rifle scored 22 marks in competing for the great prize given by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge for Military breech-loaders. The distance was 800 yards, and seven shots were fired. As the wind was high, and the rifle (a small bore) with an open Military sight and a minimum pull of 6 lbs. for the trigger, the Henry rifle obtained the highest place among the breech-loaders of 1868; the Soper next, the Kerr following, and then the Carter-Edwards. These four have been declared superior to any of the rifles manufactured by the French or Prussians.

But it is not alone with the rifle that our Volunteers proved themselves expert soldiers. The National Artillery Association has been equally successful with rifled ordnance and smooth-bore guns. At the meeting of the Association at Shoeburyness two or three years ago, no fewer than 76 gun detachments, representing in number 760 men from all parts of England and Scotland, competed for the prizes which had been given by different exalted individuals. The camp was conducted with strict Military regularity, and the duties were carried on with exact discipline. Trials of skill as gunners, trials of shot, of target, and of gun, constituted the features of the meeting. The guns employed were 40-pounder Armstrongs, 18, 32, and 68 pounders, some rifled and some with smooth bores. The targets were placed at distances varying from 500 to 1,000 yards, and from 1,500 to 2,000. Some of the targets were twelve feet square, but the most trying experiments were against a target five feet square, with wings on either side made of wire three and a-half feet wide. This was mounted on an artillery limber, which was drawn by a mounted artilleryman by means of a rope 150 yards in length. The perpendicular distance of the target was 1,000 yards from the shore, but as the firing lasted for three minutes, and as, during that time, the target was travelling at the rate of seven miles an hour, the space passed over was beyond 600 yards, and therefore, as the distance from the battery at the commencement of the shooting was considerably more than 1,000 yards, the elevation of the gun required variations for nearly every shot, besides the nicest calculation for the necessary allowance on account of the movement. Under these circumstances it was by no means surprising that so small an object as a target twelve feet by seven was not hit, though many of the shots were so close that a ship's launch would have been riddled. The wonder is that the practice was so good, considering that the acquaintance of the great part of the men with the Armstrong gun was only of two days' duration.

On a later occasion (1870) further trials of skill took place in connection with the National Artillery Association.

The *minutiæ* of the competitions were peculiar and interesting. On the sea wall four batteries had been constructed, so that four detachments could fire at once. The first series of prizes, which were numerous and liberal, were assigned to good gun practice and good drill. There must have been some difficulty in awarding recompense for the latter Military virtue, for the drill was pronounced uniformly excellent. On the first day of the trial the detachments fired with smooth-bore guns, and they had the choice of unlimbered guns on field or travelling carriages below 32-pounders, 32-pounders on standing carriages, and 68-pounders on traversing platforms. The time allowed for the five rounds to be fired with the first-named gun was seven minutes; for the second, eight; and for the ponderous 68-pounder, ten minutes. Most of the Corps fired with the 32-pounder, and therefore had eight minutes in which to complete their firing, and if they exceeded that time points were deducted from their score. Out seaward eight targets were placed, two to each battery, one of each two at 1,250 yards, the other at 1,500, and the shots were taken at alternate targets, thus necessitating a change of

position and a change of elevation after every shot. In these smooth-bore competitions bannerols were placed before, behind, and on each side of the target, and if a shot struck before these bannerols, beyond them, to the right, or to the left of them, the shot was "out of bounds." The maximum number given for elevation was 4, for direction 3, but a shot must be well directed and well elevated to obtain points, and though 11 could be scored by a direct hit, extra points being allowed for a "target," a shot scored nothing, even if its direction or elevation gave it points, unless it took for both. This rule insured attention to all essential points in aiming and elevating the gun. There was, as usual, a telegraph apparatus in the roads for the purpose of signalling the shots, and it worked admirably. The subsequent trials consisted of the firing of Repository and 40-pounder Armstrong breech-loaders from three batteries. Colonel Chermside, of the Royal Artillery, engaged the Brigade that was off battery duty in drills and artillery exercises, which were directed by Officers of the Staff of the School of Gunnery, who took a generous interest in the success of their pupils. In the evening of two of the days lectures were delivered by Captain Carey, R.A., on Elementary Gunnery, and by Captain Strange, R.A., on service guns, projectiles, and fuses. The whole of the camp arrangements were excellent. Good plain fare in sufficient abundance was happily provided, for Volunteers can no more practise on empty stomachs than British troops can fight on starvation diet. At the close of the week's operations Lord Northbrook went down to Shoeburyness, and delivered the prizes to the successfully competing detachments. The fortunate Corps were the 4th West York, the 4th Cinque Ports, the 3rd Northumberland, the 4th Suffolk, the 1st and 3rd Sussex, the 1st Hants, the 1st Stafford, the 2nd detachment of the 2nd Middlesex, the 3rd Middlesex (which won the Queen's Prize of 100*l.*), the 5th West York (which carried off the Prince of Wales's Prize of twenty guineas), and the 4th Forfarshire.

Colonels Harcourt and Elwyn were unfortunately prevented by illness from being present at the practice. Lord Hardinge, in their absence, reviewed the condition of the Artillery Force, and on the last day made some pertinent remarks on its progress and future prospects:

Since the last year several changes had occurred in the system adopted at Shoeburyness. As last year, there had been practice with the Armstrong, and Armstrong gun drill had been given to the Volunteers, but, in addition, an Officers' class of instruction had been instituted in which the Officers took the place of gunners, and became familiarised with the details of practical gun working. Since last year, too, the camp had had direct recognition from the Government, every efficient gunner who attended throughout this meeting having received 10*s.*, and by this allowance the travelling expenses of the Volunteers had been reduced, and their messing expenses as well. Formerly the Association lived, it must be said, in a manner best described as a hand-to-mouth style, and he hoped this Government aid would lessen the financial difficulties of the Association in the future. He begged Lord Northbrook to convey the thanks of all ranks in that camp to the Secretary of State for War for that assistance, which he believed was given on the report of Colonel Chermside last year, and endorsed by Colonel Elwyn, to whom the gratitude of the Volunteer Service was due. Then this year there had been the "repository drill," which pointed out to the Volunteers that they were not only required by the Artillery service to work guns and fire them, but to be able to mount them. He trusted that as the Rifle Volunteers were now to be armed with the new breech-loading arms facilities would be given to the Artillery Volunteers for drilling and practising with the new arms of precision, for if such facilities were given additional zest would be given to the service. No one could watch the progress of the great struggle on the Continent without being convinced that wars might be undertaken at the slightest notice, and that therefore it was necessary for us to put our house in order. Measures had been taken to increase the number and efficiency of our Regular Service, and he hoped that the Government would be alive to the necessity of keeping up the efficiency of the Militia and Volunteers, and if those Services could be brought into close connexion with the Regular Service, and, as the Armstrong gun was welded for the greater strength, welded together for the benefit of our country, all classes throughout the Empire would have something upon which to congratulate themselves.

Colonel Chermside having reported that he was entirely satisfied with the steady and soldierlike conduct of the Volunteer Artillery of all ranks, Lord Northbrook delivered the prizes, prefacing the ceremony with a speech of an encouraging character. After referring to the allowance now provided for in the Volunteer Regulations, his Lordship referred to the Schools of Instruction about to be established at different stations for Volunteers:

The first requisite would be that all Officers desiring to join should have a competent preliminary knowledge. The allowance now made to Militia Officers would be made to Officers so entered on training, and accommodation would be provided for them in the quarters where possible. The "course" would be for a month, and those who were competent would receive certificates of competency. To those who could not attend for a month an alternative would be open, for they would be allowed to pass an examination before a board of Officers not of their own Corps, with whom would be two Adjutants, and Officers could also be attached to Regiments of the Line for the purpose of obtaining these certificates. With respect to serjeants, they would receive certificates upon the reports of their Adjutants. Another mode of giving assistance to all ranks in the Volunteer Service was by encouraging such camps as had been held at this station, where the drill could be continued for several days without interruption, and such drills, he believed, would be more satisfactory than a larger number of drills carried out after long intervals. It had been determined to give support to these camps; that was to say, to regular camps of Battalions or Brigades, in which the stay would not be less than three days, exclusive of the day of gathering and that of returning. These explanations which he had given did not, he would have it distinctly understood, give in full, or in any

way, complete, the intentions of the Secretary of State for War, with a view of bringing about the organisation regarded as necessary, but what he had said would be sufficient to indicate that the Government was marching in the track pointed out by Lord Hardinge. The Government did not mean to give money broadcast to everyone who reported himself as an efficient Volunteer, but would make a distinct payment for distinct purposes; and, in fact, the principle of that camp had been completely adopted by the Government.

Finally, Lord Northbrook announced that the Secretary of State for War, acting on the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, had arrived at the conclusion that the Volunteer Artillery should have all facilities for practising with guns of precision in position; in other words, that they should be allowed to work with the 40-pounder Armstrong guns, and he trusted that when these weapons were delivered they would consider the charge of taking care of them a duty of the greatest importance.

Thus terminated the operations of the National Artillery Association, at which no fewer than fifty detachments assisted, some of them coming from Scotland and the Isle of Man, and not a few from the northern counties. Naturally, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex appeared in the greatest strength, but Middlesex bore off the most valued prize.

Altogether the meeting was a success. There were one or two accidents by which two men were injured (one of them seriously), but the medical attendance in the camp was fortunately prompt and efficient, and no serious results from the disaster are anticipated. The shooting was for the most part good. If any fault was to be found it was in the rapidity of the fire, which sometimes induced inaccuracy. A certain time is allowed for each round, but in some cases the competitors had two minutes to spare.

In concluding this sketch of the progress of the Rifle Volunteer Force, it is only right to attribute much of its success and of a continuance of the spirit by which it is animated to Lords Elcho, Ranelagh, Truro, and Bury; Colonels Wilkinson, Du Plat Taylor, Wright, and the late Colonel Thompson. Lord Elcho is the recognised head and spokesman of the Regiments. He has given much time and much money to the promotion of the object. The origin and satisfactory progress of the Artillery Volunteer Brigades is due to Colonel Harcourt, of the Cinque Ports Artillery, and to Colonel Elwyn, of the Royal Artillery, who has superintended the annual competitions.

Satisfactory as the general results of the establishment of the Volunteer Force have been shown to be, it is agreeable to know that England is not entirely dependent on that arm, even with the large addition which enthusiasm in the hour of danger may evoke, for her protection from external assaults, or the recruitment of her strength in the event of foreign war. The Act passed in 1859 for the formation of an Army of Reserve not having proved a success, a much more liberal Act was passed in August, 1867, and under its provisions a very considerable addition to the national Military strength has been secured. This Act provides for the establishment of a Reserve Force for the United Kingdom of 50,000 men, divided into two classes; the first not to exceed 20,000 (liable, when on permanent service, to serve in the United Kingdom or elsewhere), to consist of men who are serving, or have served, in any of Her Majesty's Regular Forces, and whose past service has not exceeded the first term of enlistment. The second class, not to exceed 30,000 men, to be liable to serve only in the United Kingdom, and to consist of persons already enrolled in the United Kingdom under previous Acts—out-pensioners of Chelsea—out-pensioners of Greenwich, having served in the Royal Marines—persons who are serving or have served in any of Her Majesty's Regular Forces, and who have so served for not less than the full period of the first term of enlistment. This Reserve Force may be formed into Corps, and may be attached to such Regiments as may from time to time be directed; they are to be called out for training and exercise not exceeding twelve days in any year, either under their own Staff Officers, or, in the case of class 1, with any Regiment of Militia. They are liable, also, to be called out in aid of the civil power, and in case of invasion, or imminent danger thereof, to serve in aid of the defence of the realm, where their services may be required, according to the terms of enlistment. Each man of the Reserve is carefully inspected by experienced Military surgeons, and by the enrolling Officers of the Staff Officers of Pensioners of the district in which they reside. They are then regularly attested before a magistrate, and receive an allowance of 1*l.* to provide shirts, boots, and socks, and a bounty of 3*l.* annually for class 1, 2*l.* annually for class 2, paid quarterly in advance, liable to stoppages if absent from training or misconduct. The out-pensioners enrolled also in the second class receive only 1*l.* annually, under similar conditions as heretofore. The rates of pay, &c., while out for training, are fully laid down, and the advantages to the men of the Army Reserve, consisting chiefly in allowing the time they serve in the Reserve to count towards pension, reckoning two years for one, added to line service, to complete twenty-one years, are also explained therein. The notification to carry out the provisions of the Act was promulgated on the 15th May, 1868; the attestations, proclamation, and details a month later. The Act itself is complete and intelligible, but the details contained in the regulations were by no means so expletive as

could be desired. The whole duty of enrolment, organisation, payment, drill, and discipline is entrusted to Staff Officers of Pensioners. The numbers of men of all services, pensioners and others, vary in different districts, which are of two classes: 400 to 800 being second-class divisions, 800 to 2,000 constituting first-class divisions.

In addition to this Army of Reserve we have a body of Yeomanry Cavalry, consisting of Regiments raised in different counties, and numbering some fifteen thousand men. They are, for the most part, country gentlemen, well mounted (many of them on the same horses which they ride in the hunting-field), and the horses are in almost every case the property of the troopers or of their near relatives. Where can any better material for Cavalry be found? more especially for Irregular Cavalry, in whom, for outpost, escort, or orderly duty, a knowledge of the country and habits of self-reliance are invaluable. Each troop is thoroughly drilled in its own district every year before it joins the Regiment, and eight days are devoted entirely to Regimental drill. These troop-drills are carried on without the cost of a farthing to the country, and often at considerable inconvenience to the men, who have some distance to ride to and from the place of exercise.

But after all said and done, this numerically and patriotically strong Force has been found deficient in organisation. No scheme had up to 1868 been devised for its mobilisation. The appointment of a single General to command the entire Force was a step in the right direction, and it is probable that long before the national defenders are called upon to display their skill, gallantry, and devotion, the Reserve and the Volunteers will form a combined armament as useful in the complete character of its organisation as it is creditable for its zeal and numbers.

CHAPTER XLVI.

The Expedition to Abyssinia in 1868—The War in New Zealand.

In the course of the narrative which occupies the foregoing pages, the failure of several expeditions projected with little wisdom, and conducted with less skill, has been recorded. The objects of those expeditions may have appeared to the minds of their projectors politically necessary, and their choice of untried leaders was not entirely without precedent; but as disasters of a serious character, rather than the success which had been anticipated, followed upon the enterprises, there is warranty for the assumption that the conception and execution of the projects were alike faulty.

It is now the historian's pleasant office to narrate the leading incidents of an enterprise as thoroughly justifiable in its inception as it was ably and successfully carried out.

For commercial purposes a Consulate had been established in Abyssinia for some years. It was believed that an opening might be made for the introduction of European manufactures into a part of the African continent which had thitherto been entirely dependent upon its home-made goods; and a further hope was entertained that Gospel truth might be propagated in the highways created by peaceable trade. Missionaries consequently resorted to Abyssinia with the usual commendable purpose, and for some time pursued their praiseworthy calling with energy, if not with effect. But neither the Consul nor the missionaries found favour in the sight of Theodorus, the King. A man of dissipated habits and tyrannical disposition, he was impatient of the presence of foreigners who were not subservient to his ends and obedient to his wild decrees. After several disputes with Mr Cameron, the Consul, he cast him into a dungeon, and loaded him with fetters. This act of tyranny he followed up by the incarceration of the missionaries. A representative of the British Government, despatched with a letter to remonstrate with the King, was treated with indignity, and all pacific overtures were utterly disregarded. Reckless of human life in his moments of intoxication, Theodorus constantly ordered the execution of his helpless subjects, and the members of the tribes with whom he was continually at war; and a similar fate was anticipated by the European captives. Earnest appeals on their behalf were addressed to the British Government, and it was suggested that force should be employed to effect their rescue. But two important considerations weighed with the authorities and the public in delaying the adoption of this suggestion. The expense would be heavy, involving three or four millions sterling, and the chances were great that a manifestation of hostility might lead to the immediate massacre of the unhappy prisoners. Much time was consumed in debating the question, and, strange to say, public writers were not wanting who derided the idea of a costly expedition merely to save a few lives. At length the voice of humanity was heard, and England, awakening to a sense of her own dignity, resolved upon the despatch of an Army that should be large enough to penetrate the country—a terra incognita to the major part of the European world—and either snatch the victims of his wrath from the hands of King Theodore, or, should they have been sacrificed, take signal vengeance upon the savage monarch by destroying his strongholds and annihilating his Army.

Ten thousand fighting men drawn from the

Bombay Establishment constituted the expedition, and Sir Robert Napier,* of whom honourable mention has been made in connection with the wars and mutiny in India, was appointed to the chief command. A Force more complete in its equipment and organisation, or better adapted to the object in view, never yet took the field. The European part of the Army consisted of the 3rd Dragoons, the 4th, 26th, 33rd, and 45th Regiments of Foot, several batteries of Artillery, and companies of Engineers. An Engineer Officer himself, acquainted by report with the formidable character of the country he was appointed to invade, Sir Robert Napier appreciated the value of an arm without which no roads could be made nor any siege attempted. The European branch of the Force was supplemented by Punjaubee Pioneers, Bombay sepoys, Madras Sappers, Scinde Horse, and Bombay and Bengal Light Cavalry. The accessories of the expedition were upon a scale of unexampled completeness. There was a Land Transport Train comprehending 4,682 camels, 9,793 mules, 954 ponies, 4,278 pack bullocks, and 534 draught bullocks; materials for the construction of railways and telegraphic lines, apparatus for photographers and signallers, appliances for sinking wells, and all the requisite instruments for conducting a trigonometrical survey of the country. To this efficient Force was added a considerable body of seamen from the convoying men-of-war, who formed a Naval Brigade, to be employed in gun and rocket batteries; and in order that there should be no scant supply of water while the troops remained at the place of debarkation, the Peninsular and Oriental Company, whose vessels were employed in transporting a portion of the troops, erected distilling machines on the shore, where salt water was rapidly made a palatable and wholesome drink.

The means were well adapted to the momentous end. Happily, Sir Robert Napier was not hampered in his arrangements by the interference of other authorities. To himself alone the Government wisely committed the plan and execution of the enterprise. Its magnitude was not realised until the hour of triumph arrived. It required three or four months for the completion of the great work. In that time the invading Army had penetrated 400 miles of the most difficult country in the world. Sometimes it clambered heights 10,000 feet above the level of the sea, and then descended into deep valleys only to scale other lofty acclivities scarped by nature and often nearly perpendicular. "Alps on Alps arose." As the Army advanced the Abyssinian monarch concentrated his power in the fortress of Magdala, which he fondly believed was inaccessible to an enemy, and utterly impregnable. Several powerful tribes held the country between Magdala and the starting point of the Army. Some of these were hostile to Theodorus, and some were favourable to his interests from very fear of his wrath and power. Sir Robert Napier courted the co-operation of the former, and menaced or bought over the latter. The barriers interposed by Nature to the advance of the British troops were so great that a skilful soldier, with a handful of troops and a few guns, might have effectually checked the progress of the expedition until the change of season had added another and still more formidable obstacle to its success. But Theodorus apparently believed that lofty rocky barriers were in themselves sufficient impediments. He was profoundly ignorant of the marvellous resources of science, and unduly estimated the power of European perseverance. Thus, until Sir Robert Napier reached the pass of Arogie, contiguous to Magdala, not a shot was fired on either side. The story of the climax of the long and tedious march, which, as told *de die in diem* in the journals, read like chapters of Herodotus, or pages of the Anabasis, may be given in the words of Sir Robert himself:

"Relying on the admirable spirit of my Force I was prepared to commit myself against Magdala. Besides the view which I had obtained of Magdala and its approaches, I received most valuable information from a chief named 'Beitwuddun Hailo,' who had recently deserted from Magdala. Having engaged in some intrigues with Menelek, King of Shoa, he knew well that his lot would be instant death on his master's arrival. It is difficult to give, by description alone, a sufficient idea of the formidable position which we were about to assail.

"The fortress of Magdala is about twelve miles from the right bank of the Bashilo, but the great altitude and the purity of the atmosphere exhibited the whole outline distinctly. The centre of the position is the rock of Selassie, elevated more than 9,000 feet above the sea, and standing on a plateau called Islamgie, which is divided into several extensive terraces, with perpendicular scarps of basalt; a saddle connects these ter-

* Sir Robert Napier bore a name that had acquired a sort of monopoly of Military glory. Sir Charles, Sir William, and Sir George Napier held conspicuous places on the rolls of fame, and there were others of the name who had reaped distinction. Sir Robert had fought and been wounded at the battle of Ferozeshah, and again at the siege of Mooltan. He was a Chief-Engineer at the battle of Goojerat, carried out all Lord Dalhousie's works in the Punjaub, shared in the battles round Lucknow as chief of Sir James Outram's Staff, was engaged at Gwalior and other places during the mutiny, and fought in the great campaign which ended in the capture of Pekin. He was the son of Captain Napier, an artillerist of the highest character, who attained the rank of Major in 1812, and died soon afterwards.

races with the hill called Fahla. Fahla is a gigantic natural bastion, level on the top, entirely open, and commanded by Islamgie. It domineers completely, at an elevation of 1,200 feet, over all approaches to Islamgie; the sides appeared precipitous, and the summit, surrounded by a natural scarp of rock, accessible only in a few places, and from eighteen to twenty feet in height. Nearly concealed from view by Selassie and Fahla, the top of Magdala was partially visible. The road to Magdala winds up the steep side of Fahla, subject to its fire, and to the descent of rocks and stones. One part of the road is so steep that few horses, except those bred in the country, could carry their riders up or down it. The whole road is flanked by the end of Selassie and the broad side scarp of Islamgie. Altogether, without taking into account Magdala itself, the formidable character of its outworks exceeded anything which we could possibly have anticipated from the faint description of the position which had reached us. The refugee chief, Beitwuddun Hailo, was very anxious that I should try the south side, at the Kaffir Burr (gate), from the opposite range called Janta, saying, 'If you want to take Selassie go from hence; but if you want Magdala you must go from Janta.' This, however, would have been impossible. I had not force enough to divide, and I could not place this vast combination of natural fortresses between me and my direct line of communication. I also perceived that the real point to be taken was not Magdala but Islamgie, where Theodore had taken post with all his guns, and that Fahla was the key to the whole. On the 7th I descended to the bed of the Bashilo, and reconnoitred the crossing. The ordinary approach to Magdala is by the Arogie ravine, which commences under Islamgie, and is bounded on its right by a spur which extends from Islamgie, in a serrated ridge, to the Bashilo. A similar spur from Fahla stretches to the water of the Bashilo, and bounds the ravine on its left. The highest point of this ridge is about 2,000 feet above the bed of the Arogie ravine. The grand features of the ground rendered it impossible for me, with my small Force of Infantry, to hold both sides of the ravine. I considered Fahla the key of the position, and determined to occupy the ridge, bearing in different parts the names of Gimborgi and Affijo, which leads to that imposing outwork. Established on this ridge, I could operate on either side of Fahla, as might seem expedient on closer examination."

When the advanced guard of the British reached the Arogie Pass and contiguous plain Theodorus sent his entire Force to meet them, and an encounter took place, which resulted in the complete defeat of the Abyssinians, with very heavy loss, and the dispersion of the survivors. The despatch of Sir Robert Napier continues:

"The British loss was only twenty wounded, two mortally; this disparity of loss resulted from the determined and persistent attack of the Abyssinians against a better disciplined and better armed Force—not better armed, however, as regarded the 23rd Pioneers, whose smooth-bore is hardly equal to the double-barrelled percussion gun of the Abyssinians. There was no hasty flight. The enemy returned again and again to the attack, wherever the ground favoured them. I issued orders to provide against the pursuit being carried too far up the hill, which could only have ended by our retiring and giving renewed confidence to the enemy. On the morning of the 11th, Lieutenant Prideaux and Mr Flad arrived in my camp, accompanied by Dejach Alema, a son-in-law and confidential chief of Theodore, with a request for peace. I replied that if Theodore would bring all the European captives to my camp, and submit to the Queen of England, I would promise honourable treatment for himself and his family. Lieutenant Prideaux returned to Magdala with the letter containing these terms. In the course of the forenoon he returned again to the British camp with Mr Flad, but without Dejach Alema. He brought a letter without seal or signature from Theodore, refusing my terms. My letter was returned. I sent back Lieutenant Prideaux and Mr Flad to intimate that no other terms would be granted. I considered that a fuller atonement than the surrender of the captives, when they could be retained no longer, was absolutely required, and must be exacted; and painful as was the thought of the possible consequences to the captives if Theodore's rage should become excited, I relied for their safety on the apprehension of a renewal of the conflict, which demoralised Theodore's troops, and from which Theodore himself was not free, as was involuntarily betrayed by Dejach Alema. I relied also on my threat, which I impressed on Dejach Alema, of unrelenting pursuit and punishment of all who might in any way be concerned in the ill-treatment of the European captives. I pointed out how the power of Great Britain had already reached Magdala; that no corner of Abyssinia, however remote, could screen any one whom we wished to punish. Lieutenant Prideaux was met on his return to Magdala by Mr Rassam and the remainder of the British prisoners and several of those of other nations, all of whom arrived in my camp before evening. My further conditions were not complied with. At the request of Dejach Alema, I had promised to abstain from hostilities for twenty-four hours. After the lapse of forty-eight hours Theodore had not surrendered himself. Reliable informa-

tion reached me that his Army was recovering from their defeat, that many soldiers who had been unable to return to Magdala on the night of the 10th had since rejoined their ranks, that fresh defensive arrangements were being made, and that Theodore and his chiefs even contemplated a night attack on the second Brigade, encamped on the lower ground. I therefore prepared to attack the enemy's position. I had originally intended first to assault Fahla from the side which fronted our camp, and was screened from the fire of Islamgie and Selassie. But under the altered condition of the enemy, Theodore having by death, wounds, and desertion lost half of his Army and his bravest chiefs, I determined to attack Islamgie by the King's road. All arrangements for this had been considered, and the positions for the artillery reconnoitred and fixed upon, when information was brought to me that Theodore had left Magdala, and that many of the chiefs, with their followers, wished to surrender. I agreed to accept their submission, and ordered Sir Charles Staveley to advance on Islamgie, relaxing no precautions that I had considered necessary for the attack.

"The scarcity of water rendered it impossible to retain any considerable body of Cavalry before Magdala; my personal escort, under a Native Officer, only remained, and, with a few details of other Corps, was sent under command of Lieutenant Scott, A.D.C., to watch the west side of Magdala, where they took up a good position until the arrival of the Cavalry, under Colonel Graves, who completed the investment up to the Kaffir Burr Gate, which was watched by the Gallas. The Bashilo was held by the Head-quarter Detachment of the Scinde Horse, under Major Briggs, and detachments of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, 3rd and 12th Cavalry, under Major Miller, to secure that point and provide against the escape of the enemy in that direction, by the Minjerra ravine. A detachment of the Beloochees under Lieutenant Beville ascended by the spurs of Fahla, and occupied that important position, where they were reinforced from the 2nd Brigade by the Head-quarters wing of the 10th N.I., under Colonel Field. The artillery was placed in position, and the troops advanced, preceded by Captain Speedy, of the Intelligence Department, with a small escort of the 3rd Light Cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Loch, to communicate with the Chiefs who wished to surrender, and to prevent any misunderstanding. No resistance was offered. Sir Charles Staveley effected an entrance to Islamgie and Selassie through a difficult crevice in the rocky escarps. It would be impossible to arrive at any correct estimate either of the number of armed men who laid down their weapons, or of the masses of people—men, women, and children—whom we found on Islamgie. It was necessary to collect and guard the arms that were surrendered. It was also necessary to send down all the disarmed soldiers, and the miscellaneous multitude that followed them, to the plain below, before I could proceed actively against Magdala. Theodore himself, having abandoned his attempt to escape, was making preparations for defence, and offering us defiance in front of Magdala. By three o'clock, the Abyssinians having nearly all cleared away from Islamgie, I ordered the attack on Magdala to be at once carried out. The entrance of Magdala is 300 feet above the terreplein of Islamgie, and the ascent is by an extremely steep and rugged path. Viewing the very difficult nature of the approach, I made the attack as strong as possible, and massed the whole of my artillery fire to cover it, in order to overpower the enemy's resistance, and prevent the heavy casualties which I should otherwise have incurred. The assaulting force consisted of the 2nd Brigade, led by the 33rd (Duke of Wellington's) Regiment, accompanied by detachments of the Royal Engineers and Madras and Bombay Sappers and Miners, to clear away obstacles—the first Brigade to be a close support. I concentrated the fire of the Artillery on the gateway and the north end of the fort, which were crowded with the houses of the soldiers, avoiding, as much as possible, the higher part of the interior, occupied by the Abyssinian prisoners and non-combatants. The enemy carefully concealed themselves from view, so that the place seemed almost deserted, though, when entered by our troops, it was found to be thronged with soldiers who had thrown away their arms, released prisoners, and the numerous voluntary and involuntary followers of Theodore's fortunes. The artificial defences consisted of stone walls, loophooled and surmounted by strong and thick barricades of thorny stakes with narrow stone gateways; the lower one built upon the interior, the higher one being 70 feet above the lower, and approached by a very steep, narrow path winding amongst the soldiers' huts.

"The attack was ably conducted by Sir Charles Staveley, and gallantly carried out by the troops. Fortunately the defences were very unscientifically constructed, and though the attack was met by a short fire from the enemy, yet they could not direct it on the head of the storming party without exposing themselves to the rapid and fatal fire of the Snider rifle, and our loss was, in consequence, very small. The Royal Engineers and Sappers, and leading sections of the 33rd Regiment, were long before they could force an entrance, and during this time nine Officers and men received wounds or contusions. At length an entrance was found by means of the ladders near the gate, and by the leading men of the 33rd, who

scaled a rock and turned the defences of the gateway. The enemy were driven to the second barricade, and when that was carried all resistance ceased. Amongst the dead near the outer gateway were found several of Theodore's most devoted chiefs—one of them, Dejach Enjeda, had urged Theodore to murder all the captives, a course from which he was dissuaded by others. Close to the second gateway lay the body of Theodore. At the moment when the barricade was forced by the 33rd, Theodore fell, as I have since learned, by his own hands. His troops immediately fled—some by the Kaffir Burr gate, which we found choked with arms that had been cast away in their flight. Of these fugitives, the greater part fell into the hands of the Gallas, and the remainder, seeing the fate of their comrades, and hearing the taunting invitations of the Gallas, returned to Magdala and surrendered."*

Very little booty was captured by the Army It consisted chiefly of spears, swords, carpets, silver ornaments, crosses, and croziers taken from various churches by the common spoliator, Theodorus, bibles (curiously illustrated), guns, pistols, gauntlets, saddles, bridles, &c. All these articles were sold by public auction for a few thousands of pounds, and the proceeds distributed among the troops. The only articles retained were three silver drums, which were presented as trophies to the Regiments who took the foremost part in the actions at Arogie and the storming of Magdala, and a crown or two, a seal, two robes, and some jewels, which were forwarded to Queen Victoria.

Sir Robert Napier having destroyed Magdala, leaving it merely "a blackened rock," marched back his Army in precisely the same order in which it had advanced, and when he reached the plain of Dalsulo he reviewed the force in presence of the rescued captives, and addressed it in the following terms:

"Soldiers of the Army of Abyssinia,—The Queen and the people of England entrusted to you a very arduous and difficult expedition, to release our countrymen from a long and painful captivity, and to vindicate the honour of our country, which had been outraged by Theodore, King of Abyssinia. I congratulate you with all my heart on the noble way in which you have fulfilled the commands of our Sovereign. You have traversed, often under a tropical sun, or amidst storms of rain and sleet, four hundred miles of mountainous and difficult country. You have crossed many steep and precipitous ranges of mountains, more than 10,000 feet in altitude, where your supplies could not keep up with you. When you arrived within reach of your enemy, though with scanty food, and some of you for many hours without either food or water, in four days you passed the formidable chasm of the Bashilo, and defeated the Army of Theodore, which poured down upon you from their lofty fortress in full confidence of victory.

"A host of many thousands have laid down their arms at your feet. You have captured and destroyed upwards of thirty pieces of artillery, many of great weight and efficiency, with ample stores of ammunition. You have stormed the almost inaccessible fortress of Magdala, defended by Theodore, with the desperate remnant of his chiefs and followers. After you forced the entrance, Theodore, who never showed mercy, distrusted the offer of mercy held out to him, and died by his own hand. You have released, not only the British captives, but those of other friendly nations. You have unloosed the chains of more than ninety of the principal chiefs of Abyssinia. Magdala, on which so many victims have been slaughtered, has been committed to the flames, and remains only a scorched rock. Our complete and rapid success is due, first to the mercy of God, whose hand I feel assured has been over us in a just cause; secondly, to the high spirit with which you have been inspired. Indian soldiers have forgotten the prejudices of race and creed to keep pace with their European comrades. Never has an Army entered on a war with more honourable feelings than yours; this has carried you through many fatigues and difficulties; you have only been eager for the moment when you could close with your enemy. The remembrance of your privations will pass away quickly, but your gallant exploit will live in history. The Queen and the people of England will appreciate your services. On my part, as your Commander, I thank you for your devotion to your duty, and the good discipline you have maintained. Not a single complaint has been made against a soldier of fields injured or villages wilfully molested in property or person. We must not forget what is due to our comrades who have been labouring for us in the sultry climate of Zoula and the pass of Koomaylee, or in the monotony of the posts which maintained our communications. Each and all would have given all they possessed to be with us; but they deserve our gratitude.

"I shall watch over your safety to the moment of your re-embarkation, and to the end of my life remember with pride that I have commanded you.

(Signed) "R. NAPIER, Lieutenant-General,
"Commander-in-Chief.

"Camp Dalsulo, April 20, 1868."

* It is singular that in his despatch Sir Robert Napier should have omitted to mention the share which the 1st Battalion 4th Foot had in the action. That Battalion was actually in contact with the enemy, and had the only casualty of the war amongst the Officers. The Colonel who commanded was wounded, and received the C.B. in consequence.

The world is so much accustomed to associate the idea of great heroism with sanguinary battles and victories gained under circumstances of serious difficulty, that it was not prepared to find a British General and his Army accomplishing important results with scarcely any bloodshed on the part of the victors. Yet, for two thousand years, the epithet "Great" has been especially accorded to Alexander, the son of Philip of Macedon, whose chiefest glory lay in his wonderful marches through foreign countries and among a hostile people. For twelve years did the "Macedonian madman," push forward his phalangees and cohorts, fighting but three battles of any consequence with the Persians and Indians, while he covered nearly 20,000 miles of ground. Sir Robert Napier achieved "greatness" by the same means. He cut his way through fastnesses of incredible strength, met his enemy, defeated him, fulfilled the object of his warlike mission, destroyed the stronghold of the King, and returned with his Army by the same route, without appropriating or annexing to the British territories a single inch of Abyssinian land. Such a feat of artistic warfare, with so noble and disinterested a result, was never accomplished in either ancient or modern times.

No General—not even Wellington himself after he had conquered Napoleon and his Marshals—ever received so many warm and earnest tributes of the admiration and gratitude of his country as Sir Robert Napier. Returning to England, after his brilliant enterprise was at an end, he was received at Dover with enthusiasm. Her Majesty the Queen, who had bestowed upon him the much-coveted honour of the Grand Cross of the Bath the moment intelligence arrived of the fall of Magdala, greeted him at Windsor Castle with cordiality, and subsequently raised him to the peerage by the title of Lord Napier of Magdala. Both Houses of Parliament voted him the expression of their thanks in terms of eloquent eulogy, and unanimously voted him a pension of 2,000*l.* a year. All the principal clubs and the directors of the Crystal Palace invited him and his chosen companions in arms to fêtes specially prepared in their honour. He was the guest of the Lord Mayor at a splendid banquet at the Mansion House, and the Corporation of London presented him with the freedom of the City in a superb gold box prepared for the nonce. On this latter occasion the hero of Magdala was addressed by the Chamberlain in the name of the Corporation, and the recapitulation of his deeds was conceived in such felicitous terms that they cast into the shade all the brilliant orations, sensational and post-prandial, which formed the staple of the various receptions he had experienced. The speech was at once an historical summary of the exploits of the expedition, and a graceful compliment to its distinguished leader. The temptation to transfer it to these pages is irresistible.

The Chamberlain, addressing his lordship, said: "The resolution which has just been read, expresses in concise terms the sentiments of this honourable court in reference to the very brilliant services which your lordship has rendered to your country; and it is expected of me, in giving effect to that resolution, that I should somewhat amplify the terms used by the court, and address to your lordship a few words of hearty congratulation. The name of Napier—associated, as it is, with one of the most serviceable of mathematical discoveries—is also greatly distinguished in the Military and Naval annals of our country. That name is, moreover, inscribed already upon our municipal roll, in the person of a connection of your lordship's family—the late Admiral Sir Charles Napier,* who received the honorary freedom of this city in acknowledgment of his gallant exploit, the siege of Acre; and although the name of Robert Napier has not hitherto been enrolled on that record, yet no less than six votes of this honourable court allude to services and successes in India, the Punjaub, and China, in which your lordship bore a distinguished part, under Lords Hardinge, Gough, and Clyde, Sir J. Outram, and others, but which are too numerous to refer to specifically on this occasion. These services, sufficiently important to satisfy the ambition of any man, are, however, cast into the shade by the crowning and signal services which your lordship has recently rendered. The advance upon Magdala, if we could divest our minds and memories of the sanguinary episode at its close, looks more like a grand geographical exploration, a philanthropic expedition—such as that undertaken by Livingstone—on a gigantic scale, rather than the march of a hostile invader, travelling in the greatness of his strength. The method, order, and foresight displayed in its organisation, the almost mathematical precision and certainty of every step taken, the conciliatory treatment of the natives, the absence of undue delay or of excessive haste, the undeviating and unfaltering pursuit of the plan laid down, until, with the celerity, suddenness, and certainty of the lion's spring, the great object of the expedition was obtained,—all these circumstances mark the Abyssinian campaign as altogether exceptional of its kind. Regarded in another aspect, the Abyssinian war was remarkable. In it were brought together, by those who inaugurated and conducted it, unusual and apparently incongruous elements, all of which, however, were found helpful and contributory to the result. The Army—English as well as Indian—the Navy, and Engineers, were alike represented.

* The Chamberlain was mistaken in this allusion. Sir Robert was not in the slightest degree connected with the ancient family of the Napiers.—AUTHOR.

Following the example of old Rome in her days of conquest, tributaries were used as auxiliaries. Three continents furnished their respective contingents; the soldiers of Europe, Mahommedans and Hindoos of Asia, as well as African mule-drivers, made up the motley array, which acted with as much unanimity as gallantry, and which your lordship so successfully handled. A port of debarkation had to be constructed, a base of supply and operation provided, railway and telegraph to be laid down, two chains of Alpine mountains to be surmounted, and water to be sought for and obtained at every post along that 'bridge of 400 miles' (as your lordship has termed it) 'which the soldier constructed as he passed on to victory.' To these ends the science of the present was laid under contribution as well as the ruder methods of the past, and the most scientifically conducted expedition the world has seen was accompanied by many thousands of Eastern beasts of burden —elephants, camels, bullocks, and mules—so that it resembled more the progress of some great patriarchal sheik than that of an Army despatched by a State of Western Europe. The absolute success of the expedition, and the complete attainment of all its ends, justify, however, the exceptional incidents of its inception and conduct. Not one object of the war remained unsatisfied, not a captive was left behind. Sixty Europeans in all were delivered from a despotic and arbitrary tyrant, whose Army you scattered, whose inaccessible 'mountain of prey' you spoiled, and whose oppressive rule you brought to an end. And, as regards the moral aspects of the war, all was alike admirable. Undertaken by the Government on the highest grounds of civilisation and humanity—a war of liberation rather than of retribution or acquisition—it was so conducted as to leave leader and followers covered with renown. There have been wars undertaken from lower motives, in which success brought no honour; there have been struggles against greater odds, but they have been unduly sanguinary, and humanity decided that they were not worth their cost in blood and strength; friendly intervention has sometimes resulted in oppressive occupation; license has been granted to the soldier as the reward of valour, and severity has sometimes degenerated into cruelty; thus the scutcheon of many a successful leader is disfigured by the bar-sinister; but of the Abyssinian expedition it may be said, with perfect truth, that men, Officers, and leader alike are absolutely 'sans peur et sans reproche.' Our motives also were justified and honoured in the eyes of foreign nations, no policy of annexation sullying the Military triumph; for when victory was won, and the captives were liberated, there came also the simultaneous telegram, 'The Army is on its return.' For the forethought, good judgment, discretion, gallantry, and moderation which your lordship signally manifested; for the wonderful combination of skilful organisation of soldierly daring and of diplomatic firmness which under Providence secured the result, this court tenders you, in the name of the citizens of London, the highest compliment at its disposal. I now present to you the copy of the record of your freedom, and offer your lordship the right hand of fellowship as a citizen of London. A sword is in preparation, and will be forwarded to your lordship when complete. It is hoped that, as a work of art, it may be worthy of the occasion and of your acceptance. In the name of his lordship the Mayor, the Aldermen, and every member of this honourable court, I express a very fervent hope and wish that your lordship may be long spared to enjoy the honours showered upon you by your Sovereign, by Parliament, and by your fellow-citizens. Your lordship will be gratified when I add that the officers of this court recognise in Brigadier-General Merewether (who was one of your right hands in organising the expedition) a son of the late respected town clerk of this city, and they accordingly expect that I should offer to your lordship and to General Merewether their respectful good wishes and congratulations, in addition to those offered on behalf of the Corporation."

To crown the satisfaction of Lord Napier, the Secretary of State for India addressed him a highly complimentary letter conveying the expression of Her Majesty's high approval; and with an extract from this interesting and gratifying document the history of the Abyssinian Expedition may fitly close:

"The foresight evinced in your arrangements, the precision with which you have executed them, the combined promptitude and caution which you have displayed throughout the campaign, the skill with which you have conducted your communications with the native chiefs, and the admirable spirit which you have infused into your troops, have enabled your Excellency to carry to a successful issue operations of an almost unparalleled character, overcoming physical difficulties such as few Armies in modern times have encountered, and such as probably no Army has ever surmounted with fewer casualties and a smaller loss of life.

"Her Majesty has observed with especial pleasure the care which has been taken to provide for the wants of the sick and wounded, and, while rejoicing to learn that under the blessing of God the losses sustained in the campaign have been but trifling, desires me to convey to your Excellency her thanks for this foresight, and at the same time to express her gratification at hearing of the satisfactory progress of the wounded towards recovery.

"Throughout the campaign your Excellency has been well and ably supported by the Divisional and other Officers under your command, to whom, as well as to the Officers employed in the political department, I am commanded to express Her Majesty's warmest acknowledgments.

"Her Majesty desires me to convey to the troops, both European and Native, her hearty thanks for the zeal, good humour, patience, and fortitude with which they have supported the severe labours and privations of the campaign; for the admirable discipline which has distinguished the entire Force, and for the gallantry displayed by those who took part in the final struggle.

"It is with peculiar gratification that I find myself charged with the duty of conveying these acknowledgments to the Native portion of the Army. They have taken a worthy place by the side of their English fellow-soldiers, in an operation on which the attention of Europe has been fixed, and have given the world a striking proof of the extent to which India contributes to the power of the British Empire.

"Her Majesty has observed with much satisfaction the cordiality with which the Naval duties of the Expedition have been conducted by Commodore Heath, R.N., and the Officers and men of the Royal Navy. The records of your proceedings show to how very great an extent the success of the Expedition has depended on this co-operation.

"I have submitted to Her Majesty's Government your Excellency's recommendation that a pecuniary grant should be made to the troops in consideration of the gallantry they have displayed, and the hardships and losses which they have endured; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that they have resolved on granting six months' donation batta to the Naval and Military Forces.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE."

Wars with the aborigines of the Colonies have never excited as much interest in England as those which have been waged with European Powers nearer home. This has arisen partly from the distance of the mother country from the scene of action, and partly from the belief that the Natives were inferior in all that constituted strength in war to the white-faced soldiers to whom they were opposed. Their want of scientific knowledge, the absence of Artillery and a well-trained Cavalry, the (supposed) unprotected nature of the country and of the persons of the sable warriors, the questionable justice of the contests, the intervals that have elapsed in the reception of intelligence from the scene of operations, have formed so many grounds of indifference, and of the inappreciation of the valour and endurance displayed by the disciplined troops in their contests with the Natives. Thus it was commonly and truthfully said before the great Sepoy Mutiny that a street fight excited more curiosity in England than the fierce wars carried on in India. Hostilities at the Cape of Good Hope and in China were regarded with the like nonchalance, and a war with the savages in the bush of Australia or of Tasmania was almost derided from its supposed insignificance. This deplorable ignorance on the part of the British community has been a source of injustice to the Army, for probably no campaigns have been fraught with greater toils and dangers, or elicited more remarkable instances of general discipline and individual intrepidity, than those which distinguished the operations in New Zealand between 1860 and 1869.

Into the causes of the protracted war it is not difficult to penetrate. The Maories, or *indigènes* of New Zealand, are about 60,000 in number. The reputation which they had acquired for barbarity by sundry massacres of the crews of ships was not very encouraging to persons who desired to emigrate to Tasmania; but in 1839 the British Government, having four years previously recognised the independence of the Natives and bestowed upon them a national flag, sent out a Governor to New Zealand, and the Natives were induced by some missionaries established on the island to enter into a treaty, at Waitangi, in which the supremacy of the Queen of England was acknowledged. For some time the new order of things worked well. The Natives found their account in commerce with the English, and the latter were unmolested in their dwellings. Over-population in England had directed attention to the Colonies, and the reports received at home of the fertility of New Zealand led to the formation of a company and the settlement of many Europeans, who purchased land from the people. But the Natives did not relish the alienation of their lands, though they received the equivalent for which they had stipulated, nor the growth of a white population. Neither could they reconcile themselves to the supremacy of England, which had only been nominally acknowledged and tacitly endured. Ignoring, therefore, the treaty of Waitangi, the Maories elected one of their chiefs to an absolute sovereignty over themselves, and formed a league to prevent the sale of their lands to any individual member of a tribe. According to their laws the land of the colony belongs to an entire tribe, and no man has a right to dispose of a single acre without the consent of that tribe, among whom the proceeds of the sale are distributed. This rule, however, the English settlers did not recognise, and the sale of lands went on. The Maories patiently endured the

departure from the laws they had laid down for themselves until 1860, when they flew to arms, and attacked the dwellings of the settlers in order to expel them from the country. There were but few troops in the Colonies. The Governor, Sir George Grey, a man of great administrative talent and energy, sent to Australia for reinforcements, and put the Colony in a state of defence. Aggression literally began with the Maories; it was therefore necessary to attack them in turn, and this involved expeditions into the bush or jungle which they occupied, and where they had raised formidable pahs or stockades on scientific principles, protecting the approaches by a belt of rifle pits.

It would be impossible to enter into the details of the numerous campaigns which commenced in 1860, and continued with little interruption for eight or nine years. Conducted with more or less skill by Generals Cameron, Pratt, and Chute, they gave abundance of employment to several of the finest Regiments in the Service. The hardships endured by the different Corps were exceedingly severe. Their marches lay through dense jungles and swamps, across rivers and over hills, down into deep and almost precipitous ravines. Lying in ambush, the Maories fired upon the troops continually, or assailed them with arrows and javelins. The pahs were found to be of the most formidable character, offering an unexpected resistance to the brave men by whom they were stormed or turned. Numerous gallant deeds were performed in the various stages of the contest at different times. The Artillery, the Engineers, the 12th, 14th, 18th, 40th, 43rd, 50th, 57th, 58th, 65th, 68th, 70th, 96th, and 99th were engaged, and each Regiment gloriously maintained the reputation it had gained in other fields and at other times. Credit is due to Colonel (afterwards General Sir Trevor) Chute for the best conceived and most skilfully executed piece of strategy which distinguished the war. But the instances of individual daring were numerous, and won for the survivors the valued Victoria Cross. Among the deserving recipients of the prize were Lieutenant-Colonel M'Neill, of the 107th; Dr Manley, Assistant-Surgeon William Temple, and Lieutenant Pickard, all of the Royal Artillery, who under fire afforded succour to wounded men; Serjeant (afterwards Ensign) M'Kenna, of the 65th; Serjeant-Major Lucas, of the 40th; Ensign Down and Drummer Stagpoole, of the 57th. To these honours fairly won by the Regiments Her Majesty added her permission to inscribe the words "New Zealand" on the colours.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

[Although the title-page and heading of this "Familiar History" announces that it would be closed with the fall of Magdala, which terminated the operations of the Abyssinian Expedition, so many events of importance have occurred during the years 1869 and '70 that, for the sake of bringing down the History to the time of publication, it is deemed advisable to add another chapter.]

The Suez Canal—Reduction of the Strength of the Army—Suicide and Murder in the Army suppressed—Fines Established for Drunkenness—Sham Fights—New Field Exercise—Spade Drill—Military Labour—Military Science—Army Control—The Army Service Corps—Colonel Boxer Removed—Farther Army Reductions—Increase of the Army—Appointment of a Surveyor-General of the Ordnance and Finance Secretary—Fenian Disturbances in Canada—Expedition to the Red River Territory—Casualties on a March—Garrison Instructors—New Enlistment Act—New Volunteer Regulations—Conclusion.

In an age of progress it is exceedingly difficult to bring contemporary history to a definite conclusion. Every hour converts the Future to the Present, and leaves the Present with the Past. The utmost, therefore, that can be expected in a work of this kind is that it shall mention the commencement of organic changes which are actually in course of completion, leaving to future historians or future editors the pleasing office of chronicling the perfection of those alterations and hoped-for improvements which are travelling towards maturity. Royal Commissions, and Committees superintending experiments, are slow in their deliberations and tardy in sending in their Reports, which, again, have to pass through the tedious manipulation of the printing-office before they become public property. To register *faits accomplis* is, however, within the competency of the historian of current events, and to such as have distinguished 1869 and the autumn of 1870 the author of this work will now confine himself.

The year 1869 will be memorable in all time as that in which the most gigantic modern undertaking was brought to a happy conclusion. The junction of the Mediterranean and Red Seas by a canal of nearly 100 miles in length, commencing at Port Said on the former and Suez on the latter sea, was an incident of mighty importance from a commercial and social point of view, and not without significance in its Military conditions. England had, in a great measure, ceased to forward troops to India by the tedious route of the Cape of Good Hope. It was found more easy to transport them to Alexandria and thence to Suez, where vessels could be sent from India for their reception, and the conveyance, in like manner, of troops returning home, than to keep them shut up for four months together in a sailing ship, however well constructed, found, and navigated.

The substitution of a canal which can convey troops and Officers without the trouble, cost, and delay of transfer from steamer to railway, and railway to steamer, was recommended by considerations of political as well as Military expediency. The opening of the Suez Canal, which owes its origin to the enterprise and its completion to the energy of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps (liberally aided by capitalists and the Viceroy of Egypt), must therefore hold a place in any Military history. Looking at the relations of England, France, and Egypt, which might at any moment be interrupted, the great work is destined to play a part in future quarrels as well as to contribute to the Military strength of England—in reference to her Indian possessions—during the continuance of peace.

Most statesmen who are called to the Councils of the Sovereign bid for popularity by immediately reducing the expenditure of the country, and so regulating taxation that the budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer shall exhibit a comparatively flourishing state of the National Revenue. The Army and Navy are habitually regarded as fair objects for the economical experiments of the Ministers who are entrusted with the War Department and the Admiralty. With the statesmen who have been educated in the penurious policy of what is understood as the Manchester School, the application of the shears to those branches of the public service is peculiarly agreeable. Absolute efficiency, justice to the Services, and the necessity for being prepared for political eventualities, are disregarded in the presence of a certainty of saving a million or so of the public money. Hence the Ministers of 1869 were industrious in effecting reductions in the Forces. Battalions were reduced to 560 rank and file because the measure saved the country, for the time, rather more than a million of money. Dissatisfaction was produced by the economy, and it was confidently predicted that the day would soon arrive when the Government would be called upon to retrace its dangerous steps. There was certainly no immediate prospect of England's being under the necessity of sending an Army into the field, but the Home Defence was insisted upon as a matter of vital importance. Practically, the Government admitted the importance of strengthening the Reserve while it reduced the Regular Force. A new Militia Bill was passed, which abolished the property qualification of the Officers, in the hope that the numbers of candidates for Militia commissions would be increased; and, to impart a certain cohesion to the Force and increase its popularity, it was decreed that when the Militia was training it should be under the command of a General Officer. Other measures were adopted with the like tendency to render the Militia attractive.

An extraordinary number of suicides and murders taking place in the ranks of the Army in the United Kingdom, India, and the Colonies, much erroneous conjecture found a place in that portion of the Press which is always on the watch for opportunities of deprecating the action of Officers and the system of discipline in the British Army. It was maintained that the men in the ranks were rendered miserable either by the monotony of barrack life or the tyranny of the centurions. Those public writers, however, who were animated by loyal sentiments, and took a more general view of human infirmity, contended that crime and passionate impulse were not more rife in the British Army than in the civil walks of life, but that soldiers were irresistibly tempted to commit offences against their own lives and those of their comrades by the immediate presence of fire-arms and cartridges. The Horse Guards, after resisting for a time, according to custom, the common sense of the public Press, yielded the point, and orders were issued for the deposit of the service ammunition in the Regimental expense magazines. From that moment murders and suicides in the ranks almost entirely ceased.

There is no doubt—indeed, the circumstances attending many of the fatal acts of violence established the fact—that habitual drunkenness had a large share in producing the condition of mind which led to crime. The ordinary punishments having failed to eradicate that striking blemish of the Service—injurious alike to health and discipline—it was resolved by the Commander-in-Chief and the War Minister to try the effect of pecuniary mulcts. Soldiers have not too much to spare from their pay, after stoppages have been made for their messing, cooking, and other ordinary items; it was concluded, therefore, that if a deduction were made from the little balance accruing to them on each occasion of intoxication, they would abandon a habit at once disgraceful and injurious. The result was in one sense happy, for the heavy fines to which habitual topers subjected themselves created a fund which enabled the Secretary of State to augment the pecuniary rewards ultimately assigned to deserving soldiers on their quitting the Service. It is believed, also, that the effect of the law was to curb the inclinations of even confirmed drunkards, and thereby promote the ends of discipline.

The example of foreign Armies—since their successes in the field have forced Englishmen to a recognition of their merit—led to the adoption of some of the usages which rendered their camps of instruction more thoroughly serviceable than the mere field-day formalities to which British Officers and soldiers had been accustomed. The sham fights of the Prussians, it appeared, were not a

series of manœuvres prescribed to two contending Armies, and followed to the letter of a programme. It was rather left to the discretion of the Commanding Officers of the rival Forces to carry out the mimic encounter in their own way, umpires being selected from the Staff, who should, at a given point and time, determine with whom the victory of position lay. The introduction of this practice on fields of exercise where there was scope for ingenious manœuvre lent an interest to the operations at Aldershot and Portsmouth, and relieved the troops of the fatigue and monotony of a course of prepared movements. Much blundering and incapacity were exposed by the test of fitness for command supplied in the "sham fights," and it is very doubtful if the absence of the deadly effects of the arms of precision now in universal use did not convey very false impressions of the utility of certain field devices; but if the practice gives confidence to Commanding Officers, and sets men thinking upon all the accidents and contingencies incidental to real warfare, its continuance, habitually, cannot possibly do any harm.

Increased offensive power in the field suggests defensive expedients. Notably one of the most important of these latter is the improvisation of temporary cover, if time does not allow of the construction of elaborate entrenchments. Soldiers are industrious enough in the performance of work which multiplies the resources of safety in action, but the best intentions will fail for want of practice and implements. Spade drill, therefore, became a feature of the field exercises of the British Army, and had the double advantage of giving the men wholesome exercise of a less wearisome character than the eternal manual and platoon, and, at the same time, of showing how they might protect themselves in a few minutes from the fire of an enemy.

But spade drill was not the only kind of extra work introduced into the Army. Simultaneously with its adoption, Military labour of a general nature received patronage from the authorities. They discovered, what had long been obvious to many Officers, and strongly urged by them, that the employment of the soldier in his leisure on road-making and building, and in many of the handicrafts common to the artisans and journeymen tradesmen who had enlisted, would be a measure of State profit pecuniarily, an enjoyment to the men themselves, and a temptation to many persons to enter the Service. Military labour thenceforth became a feature of the management of the Army.

Military science received a material impulse in the year under review. The comparative merits of Segment and Shrapnel shells, the utility of torpedoes as floating defences of harbours, the [illegible]e introduction of systems of signalling descriptions of fuses and cart- telegraphy, the study of photography as applicable to purposes of war, gymnastic exercises, all furnished occupation for Officers and men alike, and presented to the country additional guarantees that, in the hour of danger, the Army would be found prepared to do its part.

Among other scientific appliances in connection with war may be included a striking example of the manifold purposes to which electricity may be applied. At one of the sham sieges carried on at Chatham a night attack was arranged, and as soon as the besiegers approached the counterscarp of the ditch, a brilliant electric light was cast upon them, and the besiegers were thus enabled to observe and frustrate their operations. In real attacks such a means of observation would be fatal to the Engineers of the besieging Force, because it would enable the besieged to drive them from their works.

For the sterner duties of the profession there was scarcely any field in 1869, but it would be unjust to pass over in silence the steady and effective conduct of a Battalion of the 4th Foot when called upon by the civil authorities to suppress a formidable riot at Mold, in Flintshire. Two Officers and two men were seriously hurt by the showers of stones hurled by crowds of miscreants who disturbed the peace of society in a violent attempt to obtain their own ends.

The close of the year beheld the complete overthrow of the Commissariat system, the Barrack, Store, and Transport Departments, and the substitution of a form of Supply and Control in some measure corresponding with the *Intendance* of the French Army. It has the advantages without the proved faults of that system. So comprehensive a change, recommended by a Commission composed of some of the most experienced Officers in the Service, must have become urgently necessary. It dated, indeed, from the calamitous experience of the Crimean war. "England," writes an able commentator on the disasters attending her unprepared condition, "drifted into that war without understanding that we were really entering upon a campaign in an enemy's country, and, in the midst of privations and sufferings, we were compelled to improvise services which should have been organised long beforehand. Of course, the organisation, effected piecemeal and precipitately, was seriously defective. It was multiform, expensive, and fragmentary, wanting in unity, completeness, and power. Four men were employed where two, perhaps, might have been sufficient; and, what was worse, these four took their orders from different authorities. The first thing required, therefore, was fusion, from which would follow not only concentration of

authority and responsibility, but efficiency, convenience, and economy too."

It took two years to complete the plan of the new Army Control Department. The difficulties of the task were very great.

In conjunction with the Control Department an "Army Service Corps" was formed. It consisted of 1,760 rank and file and non-commissioned officers and 900 horses, but to insure its efficiency a much higher rate of pay was laid down for the service, and men were encouraged to volunteer for the Corps under conditions which insured the highest class of utility accompanied by the recommendation of undeniably good character. Summing up the necessity for the reforms thus introduced, and their probable utility, the writer from whom we have quoted says: "In the main the object is simply to bring the several branches of the supply service into one body, and place them under the control of one responsible head. The division of labour may continue as before. Stores must still be received, kept, and issued; troops will require food and fuel, and horses forage; barracks will need to be kept in repair, and the difference between men effective and men in hospital will be as palpable as ever. But there is obviously no reason why the men in charge of these various duties should not be brought under one and the same superintendence. One body of Officers and one body of men, all under the control of one and the same authority, could divide these duties between them with equal success and advantage, and that, in a few words, is what will now be done. Never, probably, was an Army nearer its base of supplies than our Army before Sebastopol; never was a base more absolutely secure or accessible. We could and did pour the riches of a kingdom into Balaklava, but between Balaklava and the front a few miles intervened, and this short distance, owing to the want of transport service, reduced our Army to distress. The clothing which should have protected the troops in the terrible cold of winter was sunk off the coast before it could be landed; the ammunition required for the batteries was carried up from the harbour on men's backs. As for other departments, they fairly broke down, if, indeed, it would not be more reasonable to say they were found to have no effective existence. The truth is we never knew what we were about. We did not know that we were going to war, in so far as war meant a winter campaign; and if we had known it, it is doubtful if, at first, we could have done much better. We had nothing to help us but the reminiscences and experience of the last great war, dim and faded from lapse of years, and unsuited anyhow to modern times. We know better now what it costs to keep a fighting man in fighting order, and how very much besides transport soldiers goes to the making of an effective Army. Perhaps when the 'Control Department' and the 'Army Service Corps' are completely organised we shall be able to take the measure of these requirements, and see how many men are wanted to serve a Battalion while the Battalion serves the country."

It would be pleasant to terminate the summary of Military events in 1869 without the record of a single drawback. Truth, however, requires it should be stated that the removal from his post of one of the most valuable members of the Ordnance service cast a shadow over the occurrences of the year, and shook public faith in the character of the management of the affairs of the War Office. It appeared that Colonel Boxer, of the Royal Artillery, whose inestimable services in the Ordnance Department, as an inventor of projectiles, had been recognised by the Secretary of State for War during the Crimean war, who declared that he had saved the department from disgrace and the country from imminent danger, was enjoying the advantages of his inventive skill in a royalty or percentage on certain patented cartridges. The patent had been purchased by a manufacturing firm, and those gentlemen obtained a contract for their supply to the British Government. But a rival manufacturer of cartridges having gained the ear of the War Department, the Secretary of State called upon Colonel Boxer to state the circumstances of his connection with the makers of his invention. He gave as much explanation as he deemed the case to demand, offered to add to it in a private interview, and proved that he had received the sanction of a previous Secretary at War to the arrangement into which he had entered. This, however, did not satisfy Mr Cardwell, the Secretary for War *de facto*. Colonel Boxer was informed that Mr Cardwell considered it to be a matter of public concern that "the Officer who holds the influential appointment of Superintendent of the Royal Laboratory, and who, in that position; is charged with the duty, of advising with regard to the patterns of articles manufactured in the Laboratory, with that of reporting upon contracts, and with the inspection of supplies received from contractors, should be free from any pecuniary interest connected therewith." He therefore called upon Colonel Boxer, if he desired to remain in that position, to give an explicit answer to the question which he felt it his duty to put to him touching his connection with the cartridge manufacturers. In reply to this Colonel Boxer repeated his readiness to communicate privately with Mr Cardwell, but declared that he could not go further without a deliberate sacrifice of principle. Whereupon he was called upon to resign his office.

It was to be regretted that Colonel Boxer could

not without a sacrifice enter into [illegible] neutrality of Belgium being violated lars, but it was still more to be lamented [illegible] party. Paradoxical as it may appear, Secretary did not waive the point, and preserve [illegible]utral nation must be armed, that she may the Service an Officer of exceptional ability. The assert her independence and support her neighprinciple laid down by Mr Cardwell in respect to bour. Thus, on the heels of the Proclamation of the possibly mischievous consequences of allowing the Queen, there followed an application to Parlian Executive Officer to have an interest in the ment for two millions sterling, and 25,000 soldiers purchase of articles required for the Government in addition to the existing strength; thereby service was perhaps correct and sound; but its increasing the burthens of the country, which it operation should have been made prospective on had been said to be the earnest wish of the Ministhe vacation by Colonel Boxer of the office he held. try to reduce.

He had been granted no special reward for his Further to expedite the business attendant upon inventions, and the contract he had made with the the administration of Army affairs, an Act was purchasers of his patent had received the official passed in 1870 assigning to the Secretary of State sanction of Mr Cardwell's predecessors. the assistance of two Officers of experience and

Fruitful of Army reductions as 1869 had proved, capacity—one in the character of Surveyorthe year was altogether surpassed by its successor General of the Ordnance, and the other in that at the end of the first quarter of its existence. of Financial Secretary of the War Office. The The besom of economy applied with an unsparing duties imposed on these Officers are of an onerous hand swept away three Colonial Corps, the depot but very necessary description. On the Surveyorbattalions, and a considerable number of Staff General of the Ordnance devolves the provision, appointments. The Report of the Commissioners holding, and issuing to all branches of the Army of Military Education having pronounced against and Reserve Forces, food, forage, fuel and light, the system of instruction at the Military Colleges clothing, arms, accoutrements, munitions of war, and the Military Academy, numerous professors &c.,—the control of the expenditure of such supand masters received their *congé;* the Cavalry plies—the custody of all buildings in which troops establishment at Canterbury was abolished, the are or may be quartered—the provision of transrecruiting service was diminished, the Council of ports for troops—and the preparation of estimates Military Education extinguished, the rank and for all these Services. In a word, he is the head file of the Army reduced by 11,000 men; a great of the Control Department and the Commander of number of Officers were declared supernumerary, the Army Service Corps. To the Financial Secreand all appointments to military commissions tary is assigned the preparation of the annual Estisuddenly arrested. mates for the pay of the Army and Reserve

The abatement of expenditure consequent upon Forces, the expense of the Army Services geneall these proceedings enabled the Government to rally and the War Office departments, the allowing claim credit with the nation for its economy; but of all cash expenditure, the issue of Warrants for the imaginary advantage thus reaped was of the payment of moneys, the tendering advice to the very temporary duration. France, jealous of the Secretary of State for War on all questions of Military strength of Prussia, and the profound pay, retired pay and pensions, and advising him generalship and superior armaments displayed in generally when required.

the war she had waged with Austria in 1866, The appointment of Major-General Sir H. sought a pretext for a quarrel with her Northern Storks, G.C.B., and Captain the Hon. J. C. T. neighbour, and found one in the nomination of a Vivian to these offices reflected great credit on young Prussian Prince to the kingly dignity in the wisdom of Mr Cardwell. Sir Henry Storks Spain. This, of course, was but the ostensible had acquired the most perfect confidence of suc purpose of hostilities. It was known that France cessive Governments through the exercise of sound desired the acquisition of all those towns and dis- judgment, temper, and firmness in very responsible tricts west of the Rhine which had formerly positions. During the Crimean war he had the belonged to her, while Prussia, on her part, coveted command of a large Reserve Force at Constanti Alsace and Lorraine, which 170 years previously nople; he subsequently held the post of Governor had been German provinces. The French held of Malta, having previously (as the reader will that the Rhine was the natural boundary of the probably remember) been honoured with the office two States; Prussia contended for the Vosges, as of Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. properly defining the limits of the German empire. While at Malta Sir Henry Storks was sent for, The moment that war between the two Powers express, that he might proceed to Jamaica as the had been declared, and their Forces were set in President of a Commission appointed to inquire motion, the Government of Queen Victoria pro- into the painful results of a serious *émeute* among claimed the neutrality of Great Britain, declaring the negroes, which led to the execution of the that England would only take up arms in the ringleaders, and the interference of the Military in

aid of the civil power. During the [illegible] the investigation into the causes and conduct and insurrection, Sir Henry Storkd exercised the functions of Governor of Jamaica, returning home at the close of the inquiry to receive the expression of the perfect approbation of the Minister, by whom he was placed in the War Office. Captain Vivian earned his appointment by the mastery he had acquired of all questions of Military interest, and the talent he had displayed in the course of his Parliamentary career. The Secretary of State for War had previously benefited by his advice as a functionary in the War Office.

The Fenian Hydra seized the opportunity of a reduction of the Regulars in Canada to rear one of its hideous heads. A collection of rapscallions calling themselves a part of the "Army of the Irish Republic" advanced from the United States, under one "General" O'Neill, with the intention of invading Canadian territory. They were met by a determined body of Canadian Volunteers, supported by the 69th Foot, and scattered like chaff. A Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, under Lord A. Russell, rapidly advanced to the "theatre of war," but the work had been done before their arrival—none the less, however, was credit due to them for their alacrity. His Royal Highness Prince Arthur, the third son of Queen Victoria, accompanied Lord A. Russell in the capacity of Aide-de-Camp, eager to receive his baptism of fire. His Royal Highness, destined, like his elder brother the Prince of Wales, to hold rank in the Army, had previously received some Military training at Woolwich, the Artillery having been the Corps of his ultimate adoption. But it was deemed advisable that he should likewise acquire a knowledge of Infantry duties: hence his visit to Canada. His Royal Highness won all hearts by his amiable demeanour, and gratified the 69th by presenting them with new colours on his departure.

Some disturbance having been created in the Red River territory, akin to the Hudson's Bay settlement, a small body of troops, consisting of part of the 60th Rifles and detachments of the scientific Corps, was despatched under Colonel Wolesley, of the Quartermaster-General's Department, to restore order and punish the ringleader. The march through a difficult country was accomplished with remarkable skill and without opposition or disaster. The objects of the expedition being attained, it returned home immediately, thereby escaping the inconveniences of a Canadian winter.

A couple of casualties in the 9th and 94th Regiments arising from the Regiments being compelled to change quarters at considerable distances during an exceedingly hot summer's day, much ink was lavished on the barbarity of the custom of marching men when the thermometer has reached its highest range. The Queen's Regulations [illegible] that troops shall be moved in the cool of the early in the morning. Any departure from the practice is an infraction of the law, and brings its own punishment with it. Lieutenant-Colonel Sprot, commanding the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders, judiciously moved his men early in the morning of the prescribed march from Dover to Aldershot, halting when half the march had been accomplished. The consequence was that his Corps arrived at its destination in a sound and healthy condition. The subject of the two casualties excited much public discussion, and came under notice in Parliament. There were not wanting persons who drew unfavourable comparisons between the pedestrianism of the British soldiers and that of the soldiers of other armies; but the case was decidedly exceptional, for, in India and other tropical climates where our troops are stationed, marches have continually been made under still more disadvantageous circumstances, yet disastrous consequences have been rare. Who can forget Havelock's march to Lucknow?

In connection with the education of Officers it must be noted that in the summer of 1870 Garrison-Instructors were especially appointed to aid Officers in the study of Military law, field fortification, field sketching and reconnaissance, Military history and Military administration. Officers who should not have passed the existing examination for the rank of Captain before July 1, 1871, would be required to pass a special examination in those subjects—all others who might have entered the Service since May 30, 1870, were allowed three years' time to qualify themselves for a troop or company.

The introduction of breech-loading rifles into the British Army necessarily caused some alteration in the manual and platoon exercises of the Infantry. A new code of instruction was accordingly drawn up, and advantage taken of the opportunity of introducing several very important changes into the field and parade movements of Battalions. From 1870 dates the "New Field Exercises," issued under the auspices of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge.

Few subjects in connection with the commissioned ranks in the Guards and the Line had produced more lively discussion than the purchase of promotion. How to put a stop to the system without injury to the pecuniary interests of the Officers was a grave question, the solution of which was rendered the more difficult by the circumstance of each Officer having paid considerably over the Regulation price for his step or steps. The latter fact was quite patent to all the authorities at the War Office and Horse Guards; but the information being, so to speak, extra-judicial, it could not be officially recognised. To clear the way for future decisions a Commission

was appointed to collect evid
result. The Commissioners, after
the subject, could only report—what was
well known—that the practice had exist
time immemorial, and was so infused into
Service that scarcely any Officers had ever hesitated to pay the extra-Regulation sums.

After dwelling on the "habitual violation of the law by Officers of all ranks under that of Major-General," the Commissioners stated that they met with three cases only in which there had been a refusal to pay the usual bonus. In all three the refusal had come, not from the Officer, but from his father or guardian; in one instance, the additional money was advanced by the Regiment, the second Officer procured the money without the knowledge of his father, and the guardian of the third at last gave way.

The Government took no action in the matter after receiving the Report of the Commission.

Unquestionably the most striking Military feature of 1870 was the alteration in the terms of enlistment into the British Army. Recruiting had not relaxed when troops were needed, but the character of the soldiery was not so high as it was believed it might be rendered if the term of service were shortened. After much strenuous opposition from Military and other members in the House of Commons, therefore, the Secretary of State for War procured the passage of an Act which gave recruits the opportunity of entering the Army for twelve years, or for six only, three of which might be passed, if the soldier chose, in the Army of Reserve. Coevally with this experimental measure, the Bounty usually paid to induce men to enlist was abolished. It was found that the consideration was, in most cases, merely a premium upon dissipation. The money was spent in drink as soon as obtained, and, instead of benefiting the recruit, was chiefly absorbed by the comrades who had wormed themselves into his confidence. No attempt was made

... of State to effect a pecuniary abolition of the Bounty. He simply the money into a bonus upon good ser-, payable to men on their discharge. To give additional force to the Act, a special Army Circular of the 12th August decreed that men of good character under thirty-four years of age, who had taken their discharge after the 1st January, 1869, and now felt disposed to re-engage, should be allowed to reckon their former service towards good-conduct pay and pension, and the man so returning to the Service was to receive ten shillings if he presented himself without "a bringer," who otherwise would be paid a fee to that amount.

Much dissatisfaction had for some time been expressed by the Volunteers at the insufficient amount of the capitation allowance which had been assigned to them, and the quality of the arms they used. After much discussion on the subject in and out of Parliament, new Regulations were issued in the autumn of 1870, which met the objections of the Volunteers, and established schools for their instruction in the principal garrisons.

With the record of this last judicious act the "Familiar History" terminates. If the labour bestowed on the compilation and arrangement of facts has been severe, it has at least been a labour of love. Each stage of its History has brought the Army nearer to perfection, and it will always be a proud consideration with Englishmen that its wonderful career since its inception in 1660 has rarely been tarnished by dishonour or checked by disaster. The very few isolated cases of mutiny and defeat have, by their rarity, proved the excellence of the material of which the Army is composed, and the high sense of honour by which it has invariably been governed. May it never retrograde in spirit or abate one atom of its loyalty to the Sovereign and the country!

FINIS.

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