













THE  
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WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 22

COMPRISING

SERVICE WITH THE FRENCH TROOPS IN AFRICA (1840)  
By an Officer in the U. S. Army - - (*Philip Kearny*)  
A DASHING DRAGOON (Kearny) - - *Captain Mayne Reid*  
A LITTLE LOOKING-GLASS FOR THE TIMES (1764) - *Anon*

WILLIAM ABBATT

410 EAST 32D STREET

NEW YORK

1913









*From the bronze bas-relief on the New Jersey Brigade Monument at Gettysburg.*

SERVICE  
WITH THE  
FRENCH TROOPS

IN  
AFRICA

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BY AN OFFICER IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY  
(*GENERAL PHILIP KEARNY*)

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NEW YORK: 1844

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## EDITOR'S PREFACE

In April, 1912, General Kearny's body was taken from Trinity churchyard, New York, where it had lain since 1862, and re-interred in the National Cemetery at Arlington, Virginia.

Philip Kearny was a born soldier, distinguished as such from the time he was appointed a second lieutenant in the First U. S. Dragoons in 1837 until his death at Chantilly, September 1, 1862, as a Major-General of U. S. Volunteers.

General Winfield Scott's opinion of him is historic—"The bravest man and the most perfect soldier I ever knew."

He had the unique experience of having served in two foreign wars—with the French in Algiers in 1840, and again with them at the battle of Solferino in 1859.

As the account of his Algerian experiences in 1840 is unknown to the present generation, the present is an appropriate time to republish it. The original was published in 1844, and is now very scarce. His vivid account of the desperate encounters of the French with the Kabyles of Algeria (which lasted for more than twenty years after their first invasion of the country) gives us an idea of what the Italian forces had before them in Tripoli, and may have for an indefinite period.

We have added Captain Mayne Reid's vivid description of Kearny's charge at the battle of Churubusco (where Reid himself was wounded).

The poem which completes this number of our series is an extremely rare item of American poetry. It was unknown to Sabin, Duyckinck, Wegelin and others, and lacking in Harris's Collection of American Poetry, the Brinley and other "complete" and important libraries.

It is of particular interest also, as being one of the earliest issues from the press of James Adams, the first Delaware printer, and who later issued the rare original edition of Filson's "Kentucky."



# SERVICE WITH THE FRENCH TROOPS IN AFRICA

THE CAMPAIGN OF JUNE, 1840—EXPEDITION AGAINST MILIANAH

IN the province of Algiers, the peace of the Tafra<sup>1</sup> that had been made with the Arabs continued unbroken for the space of two years, when, with the suddenness of our own Indians, the first signal of war was given by the massacre of an entire detachment at Oued-le-leg,<sup>2</sup> in October, 1839. And it was then the French found that the power they had consolidated in the hands of Abd-el-Kader, for the purpose of establishing a united people of the scattered tribes of Arabs, had been intrusted to one who knew how to wield it for his own aggrandizement. Owing to this same short-sighted policy, which furnished French officers as instructors to discipline his wild people, and provided artillery, arms, and all the munitions of war—to this, rather than to the assistance of his powerful coadjutor, the king<sup>3</sup> of Tunis, Abd-el-Kader found himself indebted for being at the head of a disciplined army of some thousands<sup>4</sup> besides the countless Bedouin cavalry of the plains, and indomitable Kabyles of the mountains; all urged on, and united by, religious fanaticism against the French. Their chief, who was, moreover, the head of their religion, by birth the Grand Marabout, had appealed to this never-failing tocsin of Mahomedanism.

About this same time the Duc d'Orleans, at the head of an army, by an unexpected movement, deceived the Arabs as to his real point of attack, and passed the impregnable and immemorially celebrated defile of the Bibans, or Gates-of-Iron. This pass, the late masters of the country, the Turks, had never entered without

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1 Tafna.

2 Oued-el-Aleg. Oued means the river, or its dry bed thus Oued-el-Aleg is the river Aleg or the ravine of its course.

3 Tunis was certainly not governed by a king but by a *quasi*-elected Bey, sometimes styled Dey.

4 Abd-el-Kader's army was rated at about five or six thousand regular troops, being infantry and some two thousand Spahis, or regular cavalry, officered very much by deserters from the French camp.

paying tribute to its unconquerable mountain-defenders, the Kabyles,<sup>5</sup> and through this the Romans, who overran the whole country to the ocean, tradition bespeaks never to have ventured; and here alone, throughout this region, they have left no vestige of their dominion. As for results, this expedition was productive of none, excepting the temporary astonishment excited by its rashness, for it was accomplished without meeting a foe.

From the want of troops and sufficient means, this outbreak of Abd-el-Kader was followed by no immediate grand expedition on the part of the French against the Arabs, and the war was confined to continued skirmishing of single corps. As for the colonists<sup>6</sup> of the Metidjah, they had been at once swept from the plains, flying for refuge to the towns, the troops themselves scarce venturing out of their strong-holds. One affair, however, is too brilliant to be passed over: it was where a corps, headed by Marshal Valée<sup>7</sup> in person, came unexpectedly on a part of Abd-el-Kader's regular army. It was a conflict of short but desperate duration, and was decided by Colonel Bojolly,<sup>8</sup> (Pays de Bojolly,) with his 1st Chasseurs d'Afrique, charging and breaking in upon the enemy's regular infantry. It was a lesson they never got over, for, in the subsequent operations of the spring, they never once ventured within striking distance of the cavalry, however ready to contest desperately the mountain defiles with the infantry. Early in January a grand expedition was talked of, then put off till February, and

5 Kabyles is a general name for the inhabitants of the ranges of the Atlas mountains. They are very poor, but fierce; good marksmen, and skilled in partisan war.

6 The French are too local in their attachments to make good colonists, and the population of the French African possessions are principally Germans and Spaniards. Still, the richness of the fair plain of the Metidjah had tempted many, and had it not been for this unexpected invasion of the Arabs, the French authorities had considered this embryo settlement as having attained a permanency. The plain of the Metidjah in thirty leagues or more in length, averaging some ten to fifteen in width, bounded by the first range of the Atlas and the high hilly region on the sea, stretching out in a semi-circular direction, commencing just beyond the "Maison Carrée," four leagues east of Algiers, and running west till it again meets the sea in the region of Cherchell; it is well watered, its streams skirted with the orange grove, and, withal, unrivalled by any European soil for richness.

7 Count Valée, Governor-General of Algeria, 1840.

8 Le Pays de Bourjolly, according to the French army List of 1840.



still further postponed till April, nor actually taking place till the 26th of that month. These delays were principally owing to the tardiness with which requisite means were forthcoming; a constant if not decided opposition to it having been always made in the Chamber of Deputies, until at length the opposition yielded on coming into power, and the president, Thiers, declared, though not till the month of May, their determination to support with vigor the affairs of Africa.

This expedition, which set out on the 26th of April, (1840) had for its objects the taking of the towns of Medeah and Milianah. The first had formerly been besieged and taken by Maréchal Clause<sup>9</sup> when governor-general, but had subsequently been given up, as being too distant to have a bearing on the colonization of the Metidjah. Still, the way to it was known. Milianah, on the other hand, lay beyond the range of the "Smaller Atlas," in the plain of the Cheliff, a region where no European<sup>10</sup> had ever trod.<sup>11</sup> Previous to the commencing the main operations of the spring Cherchel<sup>12</sup> (the ancient Julia Cesarea), a small place some seventeen leagues from Algiers west, had been seized by a small column of infantry, accompanied by an expedition by sea, and occupied without resistance by the Duc d'Aumale. The principal object was to make it one of the places constituting the basis of operations. The army intended for the spring campaign amounted to about thirteen or fourteen thousand men of all corps, attended by a numerous convoy. This, it may be added is the chief obstacle to all movements in this country; for the French are obliged to carry with them their entire subsistence for themselves, and the cavalry rations for the horse.

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<sup>9</sup> Clausez.

<sup>10</sup> I have omitted two exceptions: the one was that of a French surgeon, who, during the peace, had ingratiated himself with Abd-el-Kader; the other was a French captain of chasseurs, who, having been sent as envoy, was conducted blindfolded, until, being unbandaged, on opening his eyes he found himself in the splendid palace of the Dey of Milianah. The European workmen of his armories were deserters in his own army, or those who, having been allowed him during peace, he afterwards detained.

<sup>11</sup> This remark must refer to very recent times, for there is no spot to which the French had penetrated that they did not find vestiges of Roman and Byzantine civilization.

<sup>12</sup> Cherchel is on the coast, about seventy miles west of Algiers.

As the Arabs were in large force in the plain, (some eight thousand,) the troops were engaged almost the moment they commenced their advance. The days of the 27th, 28th, and 30th, their "tirailleurs" (skirmishers) had constant partial engagements with the enemy, which, at times, became general and severe. On the 27th, a general charge of all the cavalry (about two thousand in all) took place, but was attended with no particular results, as the Arabs fled in all directions, not waiting to receive it. Subsequently, for some days the army remained in the plain of the Metidjah, manoeuvring in vain to bring the Arabs to an engagement, marching to Cherchel to deposit their wounded, receive anew another provisionment, as well as to relieve it from a large force of Arabs, who were laying desperate siege to it;<sup>13</sup> after that, by a movement to the left returning towards Blida to the Col de Teneah, a difficult gorge in the mountains, and which it was necessary for them to force as the only known approach to Medeah.<sup>14</sup> It was accordingly attacked the morning of the 12th of May; the infantry being formed in three columns or divisions, supported by artillery. The cavalry were left at the Houish<sup>15</sup> de Moussaiah (Ferme de Moussaiah) to protect the convoy, and watch the movements of the Arab horse, who were still in great numbers in the plain of the

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13 It was here, at this time, that some of the hardest and most desperate fighting took place during the whole year. It was defended by the celebrated Colonel Cavaignac, then *chef de battalion* of Zouaves—the company, commanded by a Corsican, (I met him afterwards, but forget his name) of sixty men, had but seventeen left alive; and of them, all but three were badly wounded, himself of the number. I believe that it belonged to the "Foreign Legion," (*Légion Etrangère*.) It was at this time that the writer arrived in Africa, and had I had a proper authorization from the French government, I could at once have been permitted to join the army, for officers who came over in the *Acheron* with me did so. But mere private letters from our minister had not sufficient weight, as great secrecy was kept up in relation to the movements of the army in the field; and though the commandant of Algiers, the Colonel de Marengo, was a friend of our consul, and would have befriended me, he did not dare to direct me to go to Cherchel. I have always looked back on this with great regret; for, though the taking of Medeah was a very secondary thing, nor the campaign so desperate as when, a month later, the heats of June scattered sickness through the army, still the presence of the Princes d'Orleans and d'Aumale gave an eclat to this, which the other, with the distant public, did not possess.

14 Medeah lay on the other side of the first range of the Atlas, in a very rugged and almost mountainous region of country, which gradually opened out, and, as it proved to be, at the western extremity of the plain of the Cheliff.

15 Haoueh is the spelling on maps of the period. It signifies farm.

Metidjah.<sup>16</sup> This was a brilliant affair, perhaps the most so of the spring, and in it the Zouaves, and 12th and 17th light infantry, were most particularly distinguished. The action, owing to the length of the passes and height to be attained, continued for seven or eight hours' hard fighting; and the peal of the musketry was augmented to a heavy roar by the resonation of the mountains. The killed and wounded in this action amounted to some sixty killed, and four hundred wounded. The height, however, once occupied, the entire army crossed without annoyance the chain, and proceeded without further opposition to Medeah, which was abandoned by the Arabs on their approach. After a rest here for some few days to recruit the force of the army, a garrison of two thousand men were left, under the command of the veteran and aged General Duvivier, celebrated as an engineer officer. It was here, at this time, from want of sufficient subsistence with the convoy to provision the army for the required period, since much time had been wasted, that Marshal Valée deemed it expedient, most especially as the situation of Milianah was reported very strong, and the approaches to it by the plain of the Cheliff were unknown, to make a retrograde motion on Algiers, and leave this the undertaking of an immediately subsequent expedition. The army, in its march back, had another serious engagement on the 20th of May; the Arabs attacking and attempting to cut off their rear-guard and the cavalry in the intricacies of the mountains. The army re-entered Algiers on the 23d of May.<sup>17</sup>

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16 It was a remarkable fact, proving that another and better pass must exist near, that the entire Bedouin cavalry evacuated one plain and passed over to the other in some very few hours, less than half a day, which a single unmolested horseman could not have accomplished by the pass of the Col de Teneah.

17 I have before stated that I arrived in Africa on the 7th May, that I had been kindly received by Colonel Sacroux, an old imperial officer, and now the commander of the National Guard of Algiers, (which he had organized,) and the protector of American interests, holding the consulship. He presented me to Colonel de Marengo, the then commanding officer of the place, and channel of communication between the marshal and France. But my letters were insufficient, as government authorization would alone have sufficed; and I was obliged to give up all hopes of joining the main army, which, had I been properly provided, I might have done, as before shown, at Cherchel. My time, however, was spent in visiting the forts and fortified camps around Algiers. A week was thus passed, not wholly without excitement, for a party of Arabs made a roving attack within two leagues of Algiers. On the 14th May, General Corbin the commander of the district of Algiers, arrived there. I was presented to him by Colonel de Marengo. He received me remarkably politely, said I had no hopes of joining the army, but advised my visiting the different posts, to give me an idea of garrison service in time of war. He

The taking of Milianah, and the occupation of the plain of the Cheliff had been proposed for this late expedition on its setting out; and, with the natural excitability of their temperament, the French looked to this with hopeful expectation, for it was something new. Medeah had not for them the same interest, as it had on a previous occasion come under their power. This excitement was kept up till the very last; all communication, other than by telegraph, being cut off the moment an army emerges on the plain. The army itself, in this its unexpected return, was the first to bring the news of the contrary; then in a moment expectation gave way to disappointment. Disgust was loudly murmured around, and the marshal's recall was momentarily expected.<sup>18</sup>

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gave me letters, and I visited the celebrated camp at Doueira on the 17th May, where there are barracks and accommodations for five thousand men and two thousand cavalry. I remained here that day and the 18th, minutely examining its works, the disposition of its buildings, the plans of the stables, the duties of the guards, the wakefulness of the pickets, its advanced posts, mode of communicating intelligence from the distant videttes, points of look-out, &c. The camp of Doueira was garrisoned by the 3d light infantry, a regiment newly arrived in Africa, and one which had not as yet seen the fire of a fight. On the 19th, a moveable column under General Rostolan was sent out to convoy provisions to the Houish de Moussaiah, and to bring back the survivors of the four hundred wounded of the late affair of the 12th. I obtained permission to accompany them, and did so. That night we marched to Boufarick (Kearny spelled phonetically in many cases. *Bov Farik* is the correct spelling.—ED.) in the plains, and the next day reached the point of destination. The column consisted in all of about two thousand men; two hundred horse, being the broken detachments of invalided men who had been left behind by the cavalry regiments, in the advance. The 20th of May we set out on our return. We were under arms at four o'clock, or early day-break; three hours were occupied in putting the sick into wagons and other hospital conveyances, but after that, the march was a forced one. The column had been attacked the preceding day by some five hundred Arabs, but the skirmishing was very slight, and every now and then "*obusiers-de-montagne*" (mountain-howitzers) would be wheeled up into position, and scatter their main body right and left, and intimidate for the while their skirmishing. Friday, we were again attacked by a somewhat smaller body of the tribe of the Hadjouts, who followed us up the first part of the morning, until we had crossed the river Chiffa. Before leaving the Houish de Moussaiah, we beheld, on the summit of the Col de Teneah, a heavy cloud of dust, which was supposed to be that of a division of the army of Marshal Valée, presumed to have been sent after the provisions we had convoyed. The surprise of all was very great when, on the day following, it was ascertained to have been the whole army itself, thus unexpectedly returning. This day's march was a handsomely forced one, for by eight o'clock in the evening (just about twilight) we reached Doueira, a distance of thirteen leagues, (thirty-nine miles,) one hour's stopping being made in all, and half an hour the longest time. Thus had I been unexpectedly initiated into service. I marched on foot entirely. However, this forced marching was only for the 3d Lights and the cavalry, the other regiments halting at Boufarick, or moving to the Ferme Modèle, and other nearer posts in the neighborhood.

18 It was vulgarly reported that the marshal, on the day of his departure, a week afterwards for his second expedition, forbade a steamer to land for fear that she might have brought the authority of his withdrawal. The marshal was distrusted as a general. All granted him to be an artillery officer of no common talents, for he had distinguished himself in conducting one of the principal sieges on the Rhine in times of the emperor, and had subsequently modified materi-

The princes<sup>19</sup> left the 24th, the absence of the Duc d'Orleans having been limited by the French authorities before he left Paris, which time was now nearly expired. This, and the heats of the advancing season, no troops having ever been kept so late as June in the field, seemed to embarrass any further movements, but the marshal saw that the little he had accomplished with the immense means that had been placed at his disposition would not justify him to his king and the French people; and that the disgust openly shown at Algiers by citizens and military alike, was but a prototype and precursor of the heavy indignation that would burst forth at home on the news of his inactivity or incapability transpiring there. All this, then, determined to a second expedition, which accordingly opened the 1st of June, 1840.

On Monday, the 1st of June, the troops<sup>20</sup> were put in motion

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ally the French system of artillery. But this is looked on as a speciality, and mere accident alone placed him at the head of the army. It was that at the siege of Constantine, as chief of artillery he was second in rank to General Damremont, and on his death was of course the one to succeed. Constantine was taken, and though the appointment was distrusted he was created marshal, and continued governor-general.

19 The prince had volunteered for Africa, much in the bravery and gallantry of all that family; more however as a means of popularity with the French people, and much to enable Louis Philippe to proudly say: "*J'ai envoyé mon fils aîné.*" Their real service in Africa must not, however, be exaggerated. The Duc d'Orleans commanded a division, and fought it bravely in the affair of the Col de Teneah, of the 12th. The Duc d'Aumale (about twenty) had acted as his aid, (*officier d'ordonnance*), but the Marshal (Valée) was much opposed to their serving with him, and all allowed that their presence was detrimental, they not acting subservient to the plans of the commanding general, but causing all the army to act in relation to them, watching to secure their safety.

20 General Schramm (General Viscount Schramm.—ED.) with much difficulty, from my want of an authorization from the French government, and from the dislike and sourness of the marshal to foreigners in general, (there were two Danish and seventeen Belgian officers, and a Russian traveller and officer, the Count d'Oelsen,) obtained permission for me to join the army. I was accordingly attached, just the day before we set out, to the 1st Chasseurs d'Afrique, under Colonel Pays de Bojulli. At eight o'clock on Monday morning we left their fortified cantonment near Algiers, and by a by-path proceeded directly up the high hill surrounding the city, regaining the main road some seven miles back. We passed by Doueira, leaving it somewhat to the right, descended into the plain of the Metidjah, and entered Boufarick that afternoon. About the same time the celebrated Zouaves arrived from their large post to the west of Doueira. I was attached to the fourth squadron of this regiment of chasseurs, commanded by the veteran Captain Assena an old imperial officer of cavalry. No regiment can be long in Africa, especially those formed particularly for this war, that does not present some striking characters. Of those who were with us, not above a half of the full complement of officers, for many were absent on sick leave in France; many were always retained as requisite at the *depot* of the regiment, and many were *hors du combat* from the late preceding campaign; but take these as they were. Colonel Bojulli had been aid to Marshal Bessières, and was at his side when killed, in 1814. Captain Assena had entered the army at sixteen, and with five brothers made the campaign of Wagram. He had served in the hussars, and had been engaged in an actual shock of cavalry

and debouching from their different cantonments in the vicinity of Algiers, and their posts in the highlands next the sea, concentrated at Bouffarick and Blida,<sup>21</sup> the days of the 2d, 3d and 4th.

June 4th.—The army having been united, the whole was put in movement about mid-day of the morning of the 4th. The light

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“charging,” it being in defence of the emperor’s person. He had a year or so before been with his squadron attacked by a superior number of Arabs and been surrounded, cutting his way out. An interesting circumstance about him was that three of his brothers had been killed in the imperial wars and circumstances prevented the other two meeting until this very year, when he arrived in Africa as captain of a fresh regiment of infantry. A young Captain Desbrow, of this regiment, had nearly been killed and taken, when he was rescued by the then Colonel (now General) Lamoriciere (Colonel of Zouaves. There was only one such regiment in 1840.—ED.) He had headed with his section a small charge of cavalry *en fourrageur*, (skirmishing,) and his platoon was beaten back; an Arab in the *mêlée* shot his horse, the ball passing through both his own thighs, and through and through the horse. The Arabs seeing him down, all made a rush at him, but it being in a thin wood, by a wonderful chance he eluded all their blows; at last an Arab seized him by the neck with one hand, and was just about piercing him with his yatagan, when Colonel Lamoriciere who was commanding the rear guard, seeing his men returning without him and observing all the Arabs rushing to the spot, feared something of the kind, ordered a rescue, and himself spurred foremost, just arriving in time to bring the Arab to the ground ere the fatal blow was given. Colonel Lamoriciere then helped to raise him on his horse, and returned in safety. Desbrow’s wound was a very severe one, but he completely recovered. One of the lieutenants of the regiment was remarkable from, perhaps, the heaviest scar of a sabre-cut that ever seamed a soldier’s face without taking life; it had been a horizontal blow, cutting right down through the nose, which was hollowed nearly even to his face and ridged up with a ghastly seam nearly equally either cheek. It was done many years previously near Doueira whilst with a party of unarmed chasseurs, taking their horses to a watering-place, in very sight of the garrison. In a moment they were surrounded; but two men succeeded in forcing their horses through, one badly wounded; the picket guard galloped out to their rescue. One man unhorsed, the only one armed, being the “lieutenant of the week,” was still, though wounded, keeping them at bay; all the rest had been massacred on the spot. This one, then a sergeant was taken up lifeless, and unrecognizable from blood and dirt. Another, Dumont, had been in the French expedition to the Morea, when Ibrahim Pacha, the same who now figures so largely as son of Mehemet Ali, was ravaging Greece. It was one of the captains of this regiment, and now present with the expedition, who had been conveyed as emissary, blindfolded, to Milianah. One of the *Chefs d’Escadron*, Commandant Maurice (This name also appears in the Army List as Morris.—ED.) was distinguished from having, in a *mêlée* which took place whilst acting with his squadron as skirmishers, personally grappled with three Arabs, two of whom he killed; the third, however, a wiry, powerful man, had succeeded in prostrating the commandant and might have killed him, as Maurice’s sword had been broken, but for the chasseurs, who galloped to the rescue. He had been very intimate with our Mrs. Bryant, and the rest of General Reibell’s family, and spoke English. But of all striking characters, was the Commandant Boscarin (Bouscaren, of the First Regt., Chasseurs d’Afrique.—ED.) chief of the two squadrons of Spahis attached to our regiment. He had been born in the French West India Islands, and spoke English somewhat. He was truly the personification of a gallant looking Arab. The Spahis are troops partly composed of natives, uniformed in the Arab costume, red vests, blue Turkish pants, Bedouin boots, and the Arab “bournous.” The commandant had become a complete Arab; thus, in mounting his horse, instead of throwing the leg over the croup, he stepped over his Turkish saddle. In tent, he always sat cross-legged; was always smoking his hookah, and sipping his sherbet; like the Arabs, his head was shaved bare, and polished, when uncovered of his “fessee” (*fez*.—ED.) (Arab cap,) around which they bind the turban. The commandant’s moustache, too, was truly Turkish, thin, long, and drooping. He was, withal, a very polished man and amusing, and had much interest at court.

21 Blidah the Arabs justly call the Paradise of Africa. (*The French in Algiers*.)

cavalry brigade, composed of two regiments of march, being the six squadrons of 1st Chasseurs d'Afrique<sup>22</sup> as many squadrons of hussars and chasseurs (arrived that year from France), amounting in all to about twelve hundred horse, inclusive of two squadrons of Spahis under the Commandant Boscarin, which generally encamped with us, though rarely joined with us in column of route; the whole were commanded by General Blancfort<sup>23</sup> and on this day's march formed the column of the right. We were flanked by a line of infantry tirailleurs (or skirmishers) at some fifty paces distance, ourselves marching in column of squadrons. The centre column was composed of the convoy itself, being the provisionment, transported in the heavy wagons (prolonges)<sup>24</sup> of the *train d'équipage*, and by the bat-mules—the “ambulances”<sup>25</sup> (or flying hospitals) in the centre, distinguished by the red flag—and the artillery train in the order of their weight, 12-pounders, 6-pounders, and mountain howitzers (*obus de montagne*)<sup>26</sup> with accompanying caissons. The

22 The Chasseurs d'Afrique were mounted on Arab horses about fourteen hands to fourteen and a half high, bony, and generally ewe-necked, being the barb horse, not the Arab breed of the desert, but nearly equally valuable in his great qualities of endurance.

23 Probably Blancfort.

24 The “prolonges” of the *train d'équipages* (wagon-train) were somewhat larger than the common wagon used by our 1st dragoons, with deeper sides, and a rounded wooden lid, bound with iron hoops; when used to transport the sick or wounded, the lid was fastened up. The bat-mules were also under the guidance of the soldiers of the wagon-train. I never saw mules packed in such a perfect manner. I studied this subject on the campaign, it being the one that throws so many obstacles in our way of employing pack-mules, and I do not remember to have seen scarcely a single pack to turn. I have obtained the model, and it is now ready for the War Department.

25 The ambulances are composed of the *charret d'ambulance*, or “hospital cart,” an easy cart on springs, for the worst cases among the officers and men, and the mules with the litters, the same as the models I have presented the department. The hospital attendants are a regular corps by itself, being soldiers who have arms, but attend solely to the hospitals in garrison, and guard, besides assisting at the flying hospitals in campaign. The litters (“cacacoli”) are attached on each side of the mule, and carry two wounded or sick men. As the French are obliged to take great care to prevent their wounded falling into the hands of the Arabs, there are always several of those cacacolis in attendance whenever the rear guard or flanks are engaged, and nothing can exceed the coolness and reckless courage of these men standing fire, in coming right up in the thickest of it, as if desirous of displaying as much courage as those more immediately engaged.

26 The *obusier-de-montagne* is generally drawn by a mule in shafts, and leader, but the leader is fitted with a saddle, on which, in mountainous parts, the piece, when taken off its wheels, can be packed on the mules' back. They proved very useful and efficient, and I should think them useful to be attached to cavalry regiments with us. The reason for heavy pieces of artillery came from the marshal's expecting very possibly to find Milianah regularly defended like Constantine, and only to be attacked by regular approaches.

guards immediately in escort were the soldiers of the wagon and hospital train, the artillerists, and the *corps du Genie*<sup>27</sup> which marched at the head to prepare the routes in relation to this column particularly, as the movements of the rest of the army depended on the progress of this. The gendarmes too, (about one hundred) were charged with the immediate police of this body, they being charged with everything which, in the English and our own service, comes under the provost marshal's department. The convoy, the provisionment part of it, was moreover increased by some five hundred beefs, driven on the hoof. There were battalions at the head, rear, and, by intervals, immediately on the flanks of the column of the convoy.

The rest of the infantry marched by brigades in two columns (of platoons) on the right and on the left of the centre column; and the space covered by the columns, marching as we were in the full plain of the Metidjah, measured about a league and a half from the one on the extreme right to that on the extreme left. There was the rear guard, and an advance guard, with which were the native cavalry. The "Gendarmes Maures"<sup>28</sup> and the Spahis (about a hundred and fifty in all), were the habitual leaders of the advance. The march was not hurried, we made about a league an hour, with the exception of the passing of the Chiffa; for the river, though small and shallow, being in the bottom of deep banks, we were obliged to wait till the convoy slowly filed by. We ourselves were obliged to "break by platoon," and then again "by file," to pass down the single track. On having passed the defile and descended into the bottom, the order was "form squadrons," coming by files in each squadron "front into line;" and effected by thus waiting, till the rearmost squadron had filed through and formed up. The other

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<sup>27</sup> Engineers.

<sup>28</sup> The *gendarmes Maures* were in their complete Bedouin dress, uniform only in their wearing a blue "bournous". They were composed and officered entirely of natives, under the charge of a French staff officer. Their duties in the cities was ordinary police, and they were said to be efficient. In campaign they acted solely as light cavalry. A black sergeant in this corps struck me as the finest modelled large man I had ever seen.



side was not so difficult, and after watering our horses in the Chiffa, and receiving the order to move on, we arrived at the "Houish de Moussaiah" about six o'clock, or an hour or so of dark. It was the first grand encampment that we made, the whole force under arms amounting to twelve thousand men. In Africa, where the enemy is an irregular foe and masters of a partisan warfare, the order of European encamping (where one's rear is always secured), has to be remodelled through the necessity of being equally defended on all sides. From this reason the troops are always drawn up in a square or oblong, facing outward. On this occasion, however, the fort of Moussaiah, an entrenched work, formed the rear. The infantry<sup>29</sup> bivouacked in line on the other three outer sides. Within, and at the distance of a hundred yards from them, the cavalry brigade was picketed and artillery parked on the left; whilst towards the right, and additionally protected, were arranged the provisionment, and "ambulances." Interior of all was a large clear quadrangular space of some six hundred yards, large enough to manoeuvre easily, had there been occasion. After we were encamped, the colonel<sup>30</sup> commanded half the men of each squadron to go and collect forage for the horses from some grain fields in the neighborhood of the camp. The captain "adjutant major" of the day was in charge of the whole, and each squadron under the lieu-

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<sup>29</sup> There was not a single tent with the army excepting those of the hospitals, those of general officers, and one allowed the officers of squadron, and a demi-battalion of infantry. The luxury was not as great as it seemed, it seldom coming up until extremely late. The place for the lead-horses, and servants, and officers' baggage was with the main body of the convoy.

<sup>30</sup> There was an instance today of even the oldest officers being at times bothered. Our first direction was to rest fronting to the left, with two squadrons thrown back "*en potence*," facing to the front, and we were coming up perpendicular to the left flank. We had already formed the potence by the two first squadrons coming on "right into line;" and two more had formed up front into line, when a staff officer galloped up, directing the colonel to take ground considerably to the left immediately. Without thinking, he faced the two squadrons, formed front into line, and ordered by platoons "left wheel trot," and marched them rapidly, halting them, and forming them into line at the extreme end of the ground allotted to him. In the meanwhile the 5th and 6th squadrons came up into line in the space thus left; those "*en potence*," standing fast; these then followed the movement, and those "*en potence*," by a left turn, after wheeling into column of platoons, succeeded to their place, so that we stood in line commencing on the left, as 4th, 3d, 6th, 5th, 2d, 1st. The colonel did not at first perceive it, but when he did, it piqued him exceedingly, and his haste and mistakes afterwards, in trying to remedy the order of things, only produced confusion worse confounded, until the matter righted itself. His pride was on the alert, as this *faux pas* was in the presence of the French squadrons, who were following us in column.

tenant of the day. (In garrison, those tours are for the entire week, and they are styled "*officiers de semaine.*") And it is generally that the foragers are only accompanied by these officers. There was also a small escort. In campaign, there is a *reaping knife* to every four or five men, carried in front outside the "musettes" (bags for the curry-comb, &c.), and strapped tight into place by the same straps. The men, having collected the forage, returned with it bound up into trusses with the forage straps, and fastened behind their saddles.

June 5th—Reveille sounded at half past four o'clock, but we did not commence our march until about seven o'clock, having thus had time to breakfast comfortably. The order of the march was the same as yesterday, only more precaution, if possible, for Moussaiah was the last post in the plain, and all the country west of the Chiffa had generally this spring been the war-ground of the Arabs, particularly the Hadjouts. However, this day there were no Arabs seen, excepting some Bedouins, whose figures stood in bold relief on the distant heights, easily distinguished through our field-glasses.<sup>31</sup> The Moorish gendarmes, who were in the advance and to the extreme left, pursued some of their videttes, who were stationed in the plain. The march of the army continued in the plain of the Metidjah, its direction westerly, and as if its bearing was to Cherchel. The plain is here intersected by many ravines, and the delay of one column produced that of the whole. The cavalry marched by column of platoons; our regiment, the right one of the brigade, was the leading one, having habitually at its head General Blancford and Colonel Bojulli. At every halt occasioned by waiting for other columns, or whilst we ourselves were passing defiles, the brigade was formed into close column of squadrons; ourselves, in passing defiles, first formed close column of squadrons, the leading squadron and the rest successively would then break first "by platoons" ("*par pelotons romper l'escadrons,*") then by fours, and

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<sup>31</sup> Every officer carried a glass, not that they were required to, but its utility, and the interest it afforded, former experience had strongly proved.

as the defile narrowed, by files; the files so broken generally passing rapidly through at a trot. As each squadron, emerged from the defile it was ordered, "by squadron, front into line." The captain adjutant-major being charged with the execution of the order, each captain commanding a squadron giving it by usage, from seeing the squadrons before him so formed. Towards the afternoon by a change of direction in the march we turned towards the left, and entered at once into a region unknown to the French, and soon commenced winding among the gorges of the mountains which were to lead us across to the plains of the Cheliff and its capital city, Milianah, the object of our destination. Towards sunset it commenced raining, and our bivouac at Karrombet-el-ousseri was taken up during perhaps, the most violent rain-storm I ever experienced, such indeed as could alone occur in that far southern latitude. The encampment was in a small opening, surrounded by steep hills, the cavalry, artillery, and convoy being crowded into an almost solid mass in the small valley, with brigades of infantry occupying the sides and summits of the heights, and forming with pickets and outposts one continuous line all around the camp. From the manner in which the campment ground was allotted, not a little confusion took place, from the crossing of different columns as they intersected the march of others, all hurrying to get themselves settled before the intense darkness of the night which was fast thickening upon us. Thus we, improperly taking advantage of somewhat too large an interval in the column of artillery that was passing, continued our march through them, keeping an immense column in their rear halted, until they in their turn found an opportunity of making a dash through us, cutting off a part of our squadrons, which did not get a chance of coming up for full an hour; presenting one of the instances of trouble from the non-observance of a salutary regulation, that general or high field officers or superior staff officers be posted at such points, to make divisions pass rapidly, by alternate platoons, through each other. But it was a terribly stormy night, and generals and all were for taking care of

themselves, and trusting all to themselves. The first Chasseurs encamped in column of *double squadron*, occupying the entire breadth of the valley. When thus encamped, the rear-rank is reined back about twelve paces (rearward from the heads of horses in the front rank) somewhat more than open order; and the space between the stacks of arms and row of saddles which is at the head of the front rank, to the horses of the rear rank of the preceding column, is at the disposition of the men and officers; the officers, however, having the choice of any part of it—poor consolation indeed, to be entitled to twelve<sup>32</sup> feet or so of mud in a rain-storm, and without tents.<sup>33</sup>

June 6th—At an early hour the next morning we were under arms, and the pieces that were continually being discharged betokened the expectation of an engagement, for our guides had informed us of the vicinity of several Arab villages, and it was certain that if our movement through these passes were suspected by the enemy, that the Kabyles would meet us in large force. I could not help being struck by the impropriety of this random firing, so expressly in violation of all regulations, for it must have been a signal to any enemy lying near that we were on the move, and as some several pieces would happen to be fired rapidly at the same time in the direction of the pickets, one could scarcely refrain from grasping his arms and looking towards his horse. We now entered in earnest amongst the mountains, now scaling difficult heights, now following narrow ridges and then again plunging down fearful precipices into some isolated valley. This way, known as the “Pass of the Robbers,” had been but lately betrayed to the

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32 I find a disagreement between my short hand notes in my camp journal, and the original draft of a Report on the “Interior of Cavalry Regiment in campaign.” I should think, however, that my notes must be correct, as the other might have been an error corrected in the copy, but I never placed off either, but set down the distances from my eye. I know, too, it varies much, depending how we were crowded by other regiments; the opening of ranks, however, agrees in both cases.

33 If there is room, the officers are also permitted to bivouac immediately on the flank of their squadron, but withal some very few feet of it. The tents belonging to the officers did not come up till long after it was pitch dark. Our tent was pitched in mud ankle deep, which we made barely tenable by laying grass and bushes over it.

French, and was a route scarce ever travelled by the Arabs themselves, as it was infested by a bandit population hostile to the inhabitants of either plain; but now that a third enemy was in question, and a common religion united them all, we were liable to a fearful resistance in these fastnesses. It was no place for cavalry, and we now became as part of the convoy whilst the flanks of the march were guarded by strong columns of infantry, not marching in mass by brigade, but by regiments, in succession at long intervals, connected by battalions, in light order, as tirailleurs, so as to cover the convoy, which, owing to the narrowness of the ways, had lengthened out their column to near two leagues. For the convoy proper the best paths were reserved, whilst the cavalry brigade, keeping close by its side, were sometimes pushed up here, or down there, along the side hills, on the margin of difficult water courses, now on the right, now on the left, anywhere where we could possibly find footing, to enable the dangerous lengthening of the column to be curtailed. As often as the ridge was of sufficient width, or the slope of the hill side not too abrupt, the men, habitually broken up in files, were made, without loss of time, to form twos, fours, even platoons, and at every halt occasioned by some accident to the convoy or delay in the strong working parties hewing out the road, we were jammed and crowded up into close column of squadrons. On the Arabs the moral effect of cavalry (they, like other wild or Oriental people, attaching greater importance and bravery to the individual who is mounted), is perhaps even greater than it deserves; moreover this feeling of respect for this arm had been greatly increased by the fortunate charges of the Chasseurs and French squadrons in preceding wars, and during the past winter and early spring. All this better reconciled us to the idea of the inaction to which, in case of an attack, we would be condemned, entangled as the army was in the mountains; besides, we consoled ourselves with the expectation of having *our* affair after debouching into the plain of the Cheliff.

The events of the morning proved true to our foreboding, for

after proceeding a short distance a solitary discharge from an out-flanker, and then a more general discharge from the line of "tirailleurs," which warmed at times into a spirited engagement, took place, first on our right, and then commenced soon afterwards, though less briskly, on our left. The columns were generally at a quarter of a league from the convoy, but the course of the combats was easily marked by the line of smoke and fire, especially when the inequalities of the ground we might then be passing gave us a command of the prospect. We were, in especial, witnesses of one affair, an episode in the fighting of the day. We had just formed up on a narrow ridge which terminated a chain of heights; a valley of moderate width lay on either side of us, joining just in front of where we were halted, and then running way off to the eastward, gradually narrowing until it lost itself in between two mountains, on the side of one of which, in the extreme distance, was observable, by its glittering white, an Arab marabout or sacred temple of worship. We had just dismounted to await the convoy as it drew its slow length along, and with our glasses were watching the progress of the columns, which we had in complete view on either side, with their skirmishers actively engaged. But the object of our interest was a body of "Tirailleurs de Vincennes" on the hill side to the right, as they emerged from a wood and prepared, in face of a determined fire from the Arabs, to pass over a bare space and possess themselves of a group of farm-houses on their route. They "advanced firing" in a close line of skirmishers; they passed over most of the distance, and had nearly attained the object of their attack, when, seemingly staggered by the desperate fire, they ceased to move on, though their fire rolled more rapidly than ever. At this moment the rest of the battalion issued from the woods, and a mounted officer, distinguishable from wearing a straw hat,<sup>34</sup> a Spanish custom introduced by the "Legion Étrangère" dashed forward into the smoke of the combatants. A general charge was

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<sup>34</sup> It had seemed to me exceedingly strange, when I had noticed on the previous day's marches that many of the officers wore straw hats; but the fate of this young officer proved that if a luxury, it was also a reckless and dangerous bravado in a fight.

perceived, they advanced at a run; the farm-houses were seized. But when the smoke had somewhat cleared away, we perceived a group returning slowly to the main body, and by our glasses distinguished that it carried as its burden the young officer, who but an instant before, had so gallantly led on, known to us by that mark which had proved so fatal for him, the straw hat carried by a soldier of the party. I have never known a moment of such intense excitement, and I believe every one of us was affected the same, as this real panorama was acting in the presence of us inactive spectators. This was one of the two officers and many men killed during the day. That evening we encamped at "Oued Guerr," or the "Six Arabs," so called from six Bedouin chiefs, who, approaching as nearly as they dared, seemed reconnoitering our forces. In the fore part of the day the country had been difficult in the extreme, but towards evening the mountains opened out into longer and broader valleys, and our encampment was on a rivulet's side, whose course we had been following down for some miles. I had been surprised, too, to find that, in such a rugged region, Arab villages (generally composed of wretched hovels) were of such frequent occurrence, and every single acre that could be cultivated, either on the mountain tops or in the narrow valley, was planted, and then teeming with a rich crop, as indicative of a numerous native population. The marabout too, or sacred house of Arab worship, with its solemn mystic air and its accompanying palm, as seen peering in the distance, strikes one, as does the sculptured Sphinx of Egypt, wherever you may meet it, a symbol untranslatable of the solemn mystery and genius of Africa. We were encamped in two lines of three squadrons, as were also the French squadrons in our rear. We had been kept in column full three-quarters of an hour after arriving on the ground of encampment, where the advance guard had been ordered to halt, from there not being a staff officer sent to inform us in what quarter of the camp we would bivouac. We arrived a little after the sun had set, which it did most serenely.

June 7th.—The march of the 7th of June was much the same as that of the preceding day, excepting that the mountains changed into less difficult ascents, and opened into more extensive valleys; we, the cavalry, took up a position for the offensive, as in case of an attack on the convoy, though we again were covered by a small force of infantry to our right. The skirmishing commenced occasionally during the march, but by no means with the determined pertinacity of the preceding day. The Spahis who, toward the middle of the day, were once again placed in the advance, pursued some Arabs, killed several, and took a horse or two. Towards noon we entered a tolerably easy country; the stretches of the valley running in the direction of our march, and what mountains we passed over were gradual slopes and easy of ascent; but the heat was terrific, reflected as the sun was from the burning soil; and not a hundred yards could be passed over without seeing some unhappy wretch rolling in convulsions on the ground, or crying like a child in the demoralization of a violent brain fever. There they were, alone and unbefriended; for the march being a forced one this day, they were left as they grew sick, first to loiter behind, and then, as they became more helpless, their regiments would be out of reach. The others that might be passing, pressed as they were themselves, whispered down any pity that might arise for them, as that it was not their duty, and that their rear guard (some hours behind) would certainly have them conveyed to the surgeons, or that the ambulances (already painfully crowded by even these few days' fatigue, and more especially the rainstorm of the night of the 8th,) might pass in that direction and take them too. The superior officers, I presume, were, from long service, steeled to such scenes; and as for the other officers they might utter an oath of anger at the oversight of those who had controlled, but, like others before them, had to pass by unheedingly the dying and the dead. From the numbers whom we passed exhausted and at death's door towards the noon of that day, the hospitals must have been increased some two or three hundred, together with the dead. War is a theatre



of contrast, and one, a foreigner like myself, could not but be struck with it; exhibiting in the same moment with the preceding scene of misery, the gay *vivandière* of each regiment, who, flauntingly dressed in the manly uniform coat of some regiment, with the skirts of her own sex, protected by a broad sombrero, would jauntily march by her loaded mule, the pride and solicitude of her whole corps. The engagements were not many today, but groups of Arabs were seen every here and there, as if watching with dismay the swell of war rolling in the direction of their proud city. On the other hand, our excitement became more aroused, for one lofty peak, which towered alone in the distant range that verged the horizon, was now pointed out to us as being the mountain from which jutted out the so estimated impregnable site of Milianah. The sun was fast sinking in the west, and we were now mounting the slope of the last mountain. Our regiment was on the right, and rather in advance, the Spahis having been despatched to watch the movement of some Arab horse, to the left. A detachment of the far-famed Zouaves, whom, however, I had not seen in action as yet, were now acting as our advance tirailleurs. Apparently no foe was near us, when suddenly the wild figures of some hundred Arabs, who had been concealed by the break of the ground and behind some rocks, suddenly rose up before us, and at only half pistol shot poured in a rattling volley in the faces of the Zouaves and in the direction of our column. They were staggered, covered themselves behind obstacles, and continued thus firing for a moment, without pretending to advance, when suddenly one of their number, waving his musket over his head, and with a shout of defiance, made a dash out of his cover, and thus rushed forward, making a sole individual charge, apparently leaping right down in the midst of them. A general shout of applause burst forth from all the troops in sight, whilst his comrades infected by the example, enthusiastically followed. The Arabs, the next moment, were seen winding around the hill, running off in great confusion, and closely pursued by the Spahis, who at the first

alarm, had come up in full gallop, turning their position to intercept their retreat. It was this, perhaps, which saved the bold Zouave; who, otherwise, must have been massacred before his comrades had followed to his assistance. We were now on the summit of Mount Al-Cantara,<sup>35</sup> from which we viewed, stretching out below us, the whole plain of the Cheliff, bounded in the distance by the "higher" or "second range of the Atlas," arising as a wall in a marked line precipitately and abrupt. A cry of unbounded enthusiasm burst from the troops, as for the first time they beheld that unknown region, the long-talked of object of French wishes, the end and destination of our campaign—the seat of Milianah. But as it there lay before us, though yellow from the ripe crops of grain, and in reputation richer than the plains of the Metidjah, its appearance was solemn and forbidding, from the absence of all verdure and of water, save where the river, that gives it its name, rolled sullenly in the center embedded and nearly hidden in its deep muddy banks. Instead of the wild-fig, and the olive, and the deep green groves of the orange-tree, which are continually found in the plain of the Metidjah, skirting the many little streams, or thriving, in spite of the heats of the climate, in the vicinity of springs—here, not a single shrub or stunted tree occurred to break the vast monotony. The sun at this moment was just retreating over the hills towards Oran. A little later it had ceased to be reflected in the skies, and it was late twilight ere we took up our position in bivouac as an outpost at the foot of the mountain. The morrow we were to reach Milianah.

June 8th.—The gray of dawn had no sooner cleared away before we were in full march, but, to our disappointment, as we entered the plain, turning to the westward, the clouds of dense smoke that arose high above the hills to the right, where we knew Milianah to be situated, told too plainly that the town had been fired. Our march was now doubly quickened, the Spahis of the

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<sup>35</sup> Usually written El Kantara.

advance pushing on at a trot, and the infantry nearly at a *pas de cours*, we reached the entrance of the gorge that formed the sole and a difficult approach to the city. The marshal, General Schramm and the general staff of the army, at once galloped up, with a strong escort, to the summit of the height at the right of the entrance to the gorge, to get a *coup d'oeil* of the ground, and determine on measures for the attack. There the city was before us, perched on a plateau that jutted from the side of a mountain, that arose perpendicularly behind it. The smoke now curled high up in wreaths, while the lurid glare of the fire shone at every crevice, or burst forth forking from the roofs. Whilst in the midst of this scene of confusion, by the aid of our glasses, from the height on which the marshal and his staff were assembled, the dark uniforms of the regular infantry of Abd-el-Kader might be distinguished, as they were seen driving out before them the reluctant inhabitants of the place. The city, like all Moorish towns, was beautiful in the extreme, for nothing can be more picturesque than the irregular outline of their houses, as of masses grouped together in the very soul of variety, with their low tiled roofs reminding one of scenes in Italy; minarets, seen shooting up from the mass or peering from the midst of the cypress and the myrtle, told of times when the Saracen, proud as his own crescent, had made his history the interest of all nations. The city was enveloped in flames, their own act; but an Arab was never known to yield a mountain retreat without bloodshed, and a fight to avenge. Measures were therefore instantly taken. The principal part of the infantry, formed into two heavy columns of attack, were marched over heights to the right and left of the gorge, whilst another portion was left at its mouth to repel the Arabs who had molested our rear-guard, whilst breaking up from camp, but who more particularly now were appearing in great numbers from the direction of Oran. They already showed themselves to be the principal force of the Bedouin cavalry coming up, and might now, taking all in sight, amount to some six or seven thousand. The cavalry, artillery, and convoy in the meanwhile filed through, and all con-

centrated again in closely packed columns, and by crowded divisions on a plateau just beneath that of the town, awaiting and holding themselves ready for the signal of the onset. At the same time some batteries of artillery were placed in position on a height that arose somewhat to the left to bear upon some pieces of the enemy which commenced firing<sup>36</sup> on us from two different points, and to cover the advance of two heavy columns of attack, which commenced scaling the heights.<sup>37</sup> Nothing could have been more beautiful than the advance of the infantry; the right column directed its course about half a mile or more to the right, attacking the town directly in front, but it was more hidden from our view by the gardens and groves and vineyards; that of the left was the whole time immediately in sight. They advanced with arms *sur l'épaule-droit*, ("right shoulder shift arms," or, "arms at will,") a company or two were thrown out in skirmishing order just before them. But for the scattering fire from them and some Arabs under cover of the occasional underwood, and from behind rocks, and the bursting of shells, which, directed with wonderful precision, seemed always thrown just immediately before the head of the column, one might well have supposed, from the quiet demeanor of the soldiery, that they were on an ordinary march. Such is the character of the French soldiers; and this perfect nonchalance, more perhaps than even their excitability when aroused, makes them the best service troops in Europe. Taken as a whole, the scene was spirit-stirring in the extreme, for though bloodshed had not commenced,

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36 The fire of these pieces was without particular effect. Two of their balls fell sufficiently near to us; one being between the cavalry, who were in close column of squadrons, and the ambulances with the sick and wounded, the space between us being but some fifteen yards; falling in the mud of a spring there, it did not ricochet. The other ball fell in the very centre of the marshal's staff, but bounded again over their heads without killing or wounding one. They were on a small rise close behind us.

37 The distance from the foot of the height to its summit, the plateau on which the town was situated, was from half a mile to three quarters. We were, as we now stood, scarcely higher than at the entrance of the gorge, but the columns of infantry had mounted and descended considerable heights before they all united on this lower plateau. The length of the gorge through which the convoy had defiled, must have been near a mile; and the distance from the height on which the staff first stood, to the town, the height being nearly equally high, must also have been just about a mile; the ordinary Arab dress, with the white bournous, is so different from the dark uniform of their regular infantry, that they are easily distinguished.

there was all the preparation for war and battle, as if rivers of blood were soon to follow. Here were parked, under charge of some regiments of reserve, the defenceless portion of the army, the convoy of subsistence, the hospital of sick and wounded, the pieces of heavy ordnance, all breathless with expectation. Near them and on the road-side, in column of squadrons, stood the cavalry brigade, holding themselves in reserve to, at the proper juncture, rush forth and by ascending the height by the road, take part in the fighting on the upper plateau. Some half a mile to the left and more advanced, were placed, actively manoeuvring their pieces<sup>38</sup> and firing incessantly, the batteries of cover for the attack, not the least animating part of the scene, as, by the ricochet of their shots, or the bursting of the shells, one traced the execution they were doing. Forming part of this great living panorama were the divisions that were now actively ascending to storm the heights, and it was on this that all of our attention became concentrated. When they had nearly reached the crest, the drums beat; arms flashed in the sunbeams as they were shifted for the attack, and the men, in a solid body, rushed forward to the charge. It was truly a sight worth years of peace. They disappeared over the hill, a momentary silence ensued, the artillery no longer firing. In some few moments a desultory firing that arose, though both parties were out of sight, proved to us that the opposition had been but weak, and that the enemy were now firing, fighting in retreat. The column of the right, which though more hidden from view had not been less active, had also gained the town, and their firing, heard off to the right, proved that the Arabs were retiring in that quarter from the town. At this moment a staff officer came at full speed across the plain, and riding up to general Blanford, at the head of the column, delivered orders which set us, too, in full motion; and at a gallop we overcame the short distance to where the path wound up the hill. Squadrons were at once broken into

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<sup>38</sup> There were some eight pieces in battery; one of them, by some mismanagement or other recoiling, whilst firing, rolled off the edge of the height, and came rumbling to the bottom.

fours, and at a full trot which soon became a gallop, increasing in briskness with the excitement of the general and our colonel, who were leading us, we forced our horses over the rocky and broken road. As we reached the summit and rapidly formed line to the left, the rearmost horsemen of the column were bringing up at a full run. The colonel's<sup>39</sup> orders in the plan of the battle, had been to advance, and forming upon the plateau charge to the right or left, as might suit the occasion, to cut off the retreat of the Arabs. But to our great chagrin, when we arrived and formed up, though firing was going on within less than a quarter of a mile from us, the ground was such as to preclude the utter possibility of cavalry movements.<sup>40</sup> This was the last move of the day, the retreating Arabs were soon driven out of reach, and though the convoy did not all get up till late, the army was encamped as fast as the different corps came into position. As for ourselves, we were made to bivouac in an Arab graveyard, bristling with tombstones, (not only head and foot stones, but long side ones to boot;) still any place was a rest, and the excitement of the day needed it.

June 9th, 10th and 11th—These three days were spent at Milianah, and afforded us the opportunity of examining an Arab town in its true original state, for though in most parts everything destructible, and all woodwork, was burnt, still the thick stone walls and roofs of many of the houses were left standing, and some edifices, particularly the Dey's were also as perfect as if fire had been set to it but in mockery. And so it was suspected, for, whilst the Dey's and some other principal houses were thus entire, in the quarter of the Jews' bazaar not a stone seemed to be left upon another, and the streets in this quarter were piled with ashes, with now and then just sufficient left of some particular article to give a clue to the business of the vender. As the graveyard in which the

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<sup>39</sup> I belonged to the 4th squadron, but at the moment of advance, and by somewhat bolder riding, and knowing my powerful gray, I had placed myself close to the colonel at the head.

<sup>40</sup> As an incident not worth mentioning, but that it now occurs to me, the colonel, seeing some three or four Arabs, retiring rather leisurely sent a corporal and four or five men to quicken their movements. Young Duegme, though not ordered, went with them, more as a frolic.

1st Chasseurs were encamped was just outside the town, several of us, after seeing our horses tended to, stole into the city; the sentinels at the gate (it was like Medeah, a walled town, and with some defences) being authorised to admit officers, and them only. But our curiosity was hazardous for ourselves, for as we passed in some quarters we were continually exposed to the falling of burning rafters or heated walls; and once or twice escaped imminent danger as if by a miracle, for the streets, to make it worse, were very narrow. An important and interesting fact was now discovered, hitherto unknown, that Milianah had been formerly the site of a Roman town, and its proof was continually finding on the large stones with which the houses were built, Roman inscriptions, much defaced, expressed much in their usual difficult abbreviations, but withal a word here and there sufficiently plain to be easily defined by the casual observer acquainted with the Latin. As I had visited all the different quarters in Algiers, the palaces of some former rich Turks, the bazaar where yet lingered the avaricious Jew the casbar<sup>41</sup> of the Dey, and their old-timed forts in the harbor, and had moreover accurately studied Blida, though there, too, it was a mass of ruins, (the work of the French,) I was more quick to catch at and fill out such parts of the city as were incomplete. As I mentioned above, some few edifices were still perfect, as if fired merely to comply with the order of general destruction in form, that against the return of the owners, should they, as in the case of Cherchell and Medeah, be invited back, they might be found available. Perhaps it was hurry, or the accidental sufferance of the flames, no doubt the intention of the regular soldiers of Abdel-Kader might have been first turned to the Jews, the object of suspicion, possessing small articles of value that might be seized with impunity to their own use, though accounted for as consumed.

To him who has perused the poetic pages of the Alhambra,—what subject is there that its beautiful author does not convert by

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<sup>41</sup> Usually spelled Kasbah.

the beauty of his imagery and his glowing description, from the everyday monotony of prose to the enthusiasm of poetry, though he equally adheres rigidly to facts. Whoever, then, has read of that proud monument of Moorish splendor, and has followed out those delineations as pictured by the English pencil, in that splendid work, "Sketches from the Alhambra," may trace for themselves an idea of what Milianah, a city renowned for its riches and splendors in these parts, must have presented ere consumed by the suicidal act of its inhabitants, and still exhibited in these few edifices which yet remained entire. Take we the "Palace of the Dey." After winding amidst smoking ruins, and crash of falling walls, and conducted by our guide, one of the exploring party which had first entered on the place being carried, we came to an avenue, small, as all the Arab streets are, but still notable from its superior size and straight course, instead of the winding and zigzag of the usual thoroughfares, seeming as if but one object were its purpose, the access to the abode of its chief dignitary. There it stood, at the head of this avenue, superior in the elevation of its broad towers to the rest, though elsewhere it would not have struck you for its size. Like all Moorish buildings, even, the rich casbar<sup>42</sup> of the late Dey of Algiers, in its exterior, displayed no particular embellishments of architecture. The heats of the climate induce them to limit all exterior openings beside the porch to narrow loop-holes. The effect of the edifices here, and of those thousand Moorish country-seats which stud the heights in the bay and around the city of Algiers, is not produced so much by the richness of Gothic execution, with its heavy buttresses terminating in worked pinnacles and other external ornaments peculiar to that style, as by the picturesqueness derived from the irregularly massing together the various parts; some differing in height, all thrown up as if in defiance of precision's dull rules, giving thus that same appearance of tower and keep:

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<sup>42</sup> Casbar is the general name for "palace". That of the Dey of Algiers contained immense treasures, valued at some twenty millions of dollars, though he stipulated for but five millions. Much of this, as did all the riches of the city, fell a booty to the French soldiers in 1830.



the grandeur of the whole augmented by the massive stones of which the structure is composed. What most especially gives character to this style is the dead white color with which each building of any note is painted, and thus Algiers stands forth a whole city glittering in glory; though perhaps many may complain that this uniform color, and the want of all apertures other than the casual loop-holes, must produce a sensation of monotony when viewed at a distance as a whole. Certainly this as a part of their architecture, is the striking feature of Afric's soil in this part of the Mediterranean. As adding to the lustre of the isolated structure, it does so with a most enchanting effect; it then becomes softened and relieved, as taken in one "ensemble" with a deep verdure of the hills of the coast, the groups of this tropic's rich foliage, the myrtle, the cypress, or the lone palm rising in startling and mystic grandeur. But to return to the Dey's house in the once fair city of Milianah: its sole particular embellishment, besides the irregularity of its towered outlines, was an arabesque fretwork in stone running parallel with and just below the battlements. The entrance was a large portal, with broad pilasters supporting the half circle arch, the feature strictly and solely of the Roman, and occurring here and at Algiers, but only in employ for the small arch of an entrance; in other respects the arch is ever the Moorish or Saracen. Before entering here we must remark the long range of stabling immediately joining the main building on either side, like wings. The effect of the exterior critically examined, was far from rich; but how different the scene which bursts on one as he enters that threshold; flights of marble stairs, mosaic pavements, arabesques, glowing in color and beautiful in design, covering the walls, whilst bars of gilded brass and iron, carved cedar and rich wood, occupied windows, doors and recesses. A quadrangle in the centre, of some fifty feet or more, gave room for the flowing fountain and marble basin, the orange-trees surrounding it, the grass parterre, and faced by the two successive ranges of galleries, with their arcades formed by the double horse-shoe arch of the Alhambra; out on this opened

the large folding doors and wide windows of the Dey's most retired apartments. All and one presented a whole that realized to us Eastern luxury and animal enjoyment; the Moor, the preserver to present European generations of the light and civilization of the ancients, near extinguished in the dark ages, has once more retired to his primitive barbarism, and has but his Mohamedanism as food for mental reflection. This interior was a scene of true magnificence and though the despoiler had been here he had done his work but lightly, and fire seemed to have forgotten its all devouring element. When we had passed beyond this court and through the farther portion of the building, issuing through another stone portal, we found ourselves on a terrace formed by the projecting rock, ornamented with shrubbery and arches formed by the vine. Bending over the terrace wall you either look down the precipice some hundreds of feet below, where dashed wildly along a foaming torrent, edged, where the mountain side would permit, with gardens rich and inviting to the eye; or directing the eye towards the west, you beheld the valley<sup>43</sup> beyond, and through the long vista of the gorge, walled in by high peaks, saw in the distance the wide stretching plain of the Cheliff. Is this description too glowing for a mere narrative of facts? It may seem to one who saw it not as we did, but not to an individual of us who was at Milianah on that occasion. All felt as I did, at a scene thus new to us and thus calmly rich, forming a respite amidst the horrors of war, of sickness, and the severe hardships of that burning clime. How well do I remember our bivouac in the grave-yard; our tent was pitched on a low ledge of rocks some ten feet high, forming a sort of upper plateau which ran along the flank of our encampment, and here, beneath the shade of a wild almond we passed the hours, making a luxurious feast of our camp fare by an additional bottle of *eau de vie*, or claret, or the refreshing absinthe. Here we were so situated as not only to embrace at the same view the walls of the town, the roofs of the houses, the crescent

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43 The plateau whence we had attacked the place, and whence indeed the Dey's house had attracted our attention.

left with a Frenchman's indifference to religion, still pointing forth from the top of some tall minaret. How different Moslem with Christian cross. But to, in a word, embrace the most notable objects of the town, after those rich private dwellings, which all partook much of the character of the Dey's house with less splendor, I must single out the description of the main fort, the stronghold of the place and now turned over to the French artillery to repair and strengthen still farther; then to a visit to some principal Mosque, of which one or two in a great measure were entire, and to a description of the many fountains, public baths, cleared and purified by running water; not omitting, though now a heap of ashes, to revive the bazaar, the large conduit of trade, where inhabited that merchant of all nations, yet an alien to them all, the Jew. As to these first mentioned conveniences, truly may that be called the city of luxury, where they were so numerous as to be at the reach of the poor Jew and mendicant as well as the rich despots of the land. As an institution showing the individuality of character in the people, these baths certainly would have struck a philosophic mind as the first and chiefest, and recalled the days of the Roman.

The mosques of the place by no means compared with the one re-constructed by the French in Algiers. As re-constructed, for in their toleration of, or rather indifference to religion, both real, and in policy assumed, they had out of the many mosques in the place, taking the handsomest portion of each, erected one most beautiful edifice. Here the Mahomedan religion was kept up in its strictest forms, the princes themselves being obliged to enter it barefooted; and thus in Algiers was presented the anomalous spectacle of the Catholic, Protestant, and Mahomedan religions all in the same place. The mosque consists of one general apartment for the worshippers, a more holy place, (called the marabout) for the priests of the religion, a sort of pulpit whence they perform part of their ceremony, and the tower constituting the lofty minaret, which renders an Arab town so picturesque. The half-moon, too,

as overtopping all, and above alluded to, must not be forgotten. One of these mosques seemed to be a Jewish sanctuary, the building being different from the others, but also so much in ruin that it could not be ascertained positively.

The bazaar, or thoroughfare of merchants, is a sight peculiar to the thickly peopled cities of Africa and the East, and is a narrow street containing small apartments or shops closely crowded together on either side, elevated from three or four feet generally above the street, scarcely high enough for the occupants to stand, erect in, whilst with outstretched arms they could touch either side its length being scarcely more, though it opens into a longer one behind, the residence of the family. These stores are crowded to overflowing with all articles of Arab dress, the rich gold tissue turban contrasting with the coarse linen garment of a Kabyle, and the rich brilliant white of some most richly fine "bournous" in juxtaposition with the shaggy "cabane." Some shops again are specially those of the tobacco merchants, where pipes of all forms and materials, with stems from the rich velvet covered wood with amber mouthpieces, or the flexible silken hookah to the plain cherry with its bark left on. These again differ in variety and size from those of six inches to six feet. The bowls are generally stone, or a peculiar red clay, or of a hard wood, gilt, and lined with some metal, the generality of the common pipes resembling much our Indian ones. Other shops are shoe stores, common shoes are perfectly like European coarse ones, differing most widely from that characteristic of the Moorish chief, the fine red morocco boots coming to the knee, richly worked in gold, and often bound around the leg with some silk and gold or silver wire, with the silk of as brilliant a hue; this boot again being protected by an over-shoe, when the precincts of his dwelling are left. Here also is the vegetable market, with fruit of every variety strewn about. But in this quarter, the chief object that would strike the stranger would be the peculiar manner of the venders. Unless when engaged in showing off their goods to their customer, they seem like so many

automatons. Apparently lost to the world in the fumes of their pipes, or in the calculation of their accounts, in which they seem all absorbed, their forms move not, their eyes are fixed intent for hours in one direction, and they are rather as so many signs of their trade than actual living bodies. Such are the bazaars in the old part of Algiers, and such were they at Blidah, where one street of this kind had been left entire, and such my fancy easily made out these of Milianah.

Whilst on the characteristics of a Moorish town, I must not omit a monument of Abd-el-Kader's genius, an introduction from the European. It was the small, but perfectly finished foundry and iron works, for the manufacturing of his arms. It was erected by European workmen, hired during the preceding peace at high rewards, and since then carried on by the numerous European deserters, under the guidance of one who had been a sergeant-major in the *Corps du Génie*. This foundry was supplied with water by that rushing torrent mentioned in the description of the Dey's residence; but its description does not strictly belong here, as it stood outside the town. Like the Dey's house, perched on a rock jutting out from, and forming an angle in the wall of the rock on the left side of the town; so the Citadel, or casbar, was at another extreme point of the city, and formed an acute angle, whence branched off the precipice to the right and left, giving a rather triangular form to the city. It was a strong place, pierced with port-holes and with bastions, but not of much utility; for though it swept some peaks in the vicinity, it was on the opposite side from the plateau on which the town is placed, could not bring a gun to bear in case of an attack on that quarter, and was infinitely too high above the lower plateau to fire down on it with any effect. It contained an inner work, whose walls commanded the outer ones, as they did the town. It was now in possession of the French artillery, and had guns already mounted. The very first day of our arrival here, the one or two mosques in best preservation had been cleared out for hospitals for the sick and wounded; and by a heavy detail from the

infantry battalions the defences of the place were increased on the side towards the plateau by a deep ditch outside the walls, and by throwing up a heavy redoubt, or rather redan, to the main work.

Such are the hardships of the infantry—fatiguing marches, and no rest, even at a halt; whilst we, the cavalry, idled away the time in the various little nothings that kill time and care at an encampment. From our tent, perched on a broad flat rock which served as banqueting room and parlor we surveyed, the whole camp, and looked but on one spot with envy; it was a beautifully shaded garden, green with grass and vines, in which we had at first been on the point of taking up our bivouac, when displaced by the marshal,<sup>44</sup> who thought that we had reason in the selection of it, as being the most inviting and therefore took it for himself and staff, leaving us to go to the devil or the next place—the graveyard. Still never were there happier days than passed during our halt at Milianah. Though we had but our one kindly shading tree we beheld around and near us the cypress and myrtle, and felt its romance. The long twilight of summer was enhanced by the continued music of the splendid band of the “*Légion Étrangère*” which played till a late hour of night; and certainly some of the richest strains of music I ever listened to were here in the far interior of Africa.

June 12th.—We parted from Milianah, leaving a garrison of some thirteen hundred men of the 3d light infantry, and a battalion of the “Legion” and our sick and wounded, who were numerous. There had been a move the afternoon of the 11th, preparatory to getting the army under way again, the cavalry and some infantry having been moved forward and encamped, after descending the mountain, on arriving at the plateau below. Our route was now to ascend the plain of the Cheliff, cut off the resources of the country by destroying the crops and villages far and near, and after

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<sup>44</sup> Valée was notorious for his selfishness about such things. He once similarly ousted the physicians and field hospital after a battle for his own pleasure.—*The French in Algiers*. See Kearny's note, June 13th.

returning to Mousaiah by the noted path of the Col de Teneah for supplies, to re-provision Medeah and then re-establish a communication between these two lately taken cities.

On leaving the defile of Milianah and returning once more into the plain, we found the army of Abd-el-Kader, its numbers making some seven thousand. A skirmishing soon took place, but was confined to the rear guard. As we emerged into the plain, marching in several strong columns, the artillery and convoy in order of some three or four wagons abreast kept on the road, though as far as a dead level could make it, one part of the plain was as another. The day was deadly hot, no water was on the line of march, and the suffering of the army was extreme;<sup>45</sup> whilst the whole plain, from the troops firing the grain, farm-houses, and villages, where they passed, had the appearance of a burning prairie of the far west. There were several small charges of cavalry, but only of single squadrons, there being two supporting the rear-guard, and the Spahis and "gend'armes Maures" leading, as usual, the advance. The rest of the cavalry brigade was in column on the right. An instance of the beautiful combination of the rapid manoeuvring required in this country, occurred about the middle of the day. The left column of the French nearly touched on the base of the mountains, and was somewhat felt by the Arab skirmishers, whilst every now and then, some party of them would engage the Spahis on the advance and to the left. The rear-guard was steadily though not warmly engaged. The main body of the Arabs, at some half cannon shot or more distant, kept hanging on our right, and rather off to the rear, their regular cavalry marching as was our brigade in column of platoons, whilst the Bedouins, like clouds,

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45 It is strange as true, that there was in the course of the campaign one-third of the officers left behind, sick; one-third constantly sick on march, and myself the only one of the squadron officers not affected, though this day I was near fainting at times from want of water, and but for some few drops of brandy which I took into my mouth at times, the only liquid that could be procured, I certainly would have lost all strength. I can only account for this circumstance of my not being sick in one way. Dr. R—had told me that it was a great hazard, and yet that possibly my previous course of medicine might prepare me for the climate. In sickness, we sometimes escape by weakness itself.

clustered sometimes here and there as they kept up the march. I presume the distance from the advance guard of the left column to the place where we were, was about a mile and a half. Of a sudden the leading platoons of the brigade, from the listless walk at which we had been going, dashed off at full gallop, without command, but squadron following on squadron and platoon on platoon. This is always done, the presumption being that commands had been given to the head of the column; so on we followed, the whole brigade on a full stretch. It was not for some few moments that the cause was known, though it was presumed that there was to be a general charge. Our attention was directed to the Arabs. To a man they were moving like a swift cloud over the plain, and at once the mystery was understood, and it was presumed that their object was to cut off some portion of the army that had exposed itself to Abd-el-Kader's quick eye. On we kept, and for more than a mile presented the singular and interesting appearance of two large masses of horse, moving in nearly parallel directions at full speed. We then saw them draw up, and the brigade was similarly brought to a halt, when a staff officer of General Blancford, riding up, said, "Well, we saved the Spahis." It appeared that they, over-excited in pursuit, supposing the main body of Arab horse out of reach, had followed too far, and had been detected by the Arabs nearly to their cost, and would have certainly been cut off but for this prompt movement on the part of troops more than a mile off, and who, but for the *coup d'œil* of the general, would have been of no service, as out of supporting distance. This was one of the many instances of the peculiar service in Africa, and approves the great necessity and value of the most perfect *coup d'œil* on the part of leaders, particularly in the cavalry. All were disappointed in its not resulting in a grand charge; but the French cavalry, from its successes during the past fall and winter in some one or two brilliant skirmishes, were too much dreaded to be opposed by a regular hand-to-hand attack; nor did they ever during the whole



spring's campaign, come in actual contact<sup>46</sup> further than to sabre the wounded and badly mounted. But then again, the fear of being enveloped by immense odds prevented the French cavalry from ever leaving their infantry far out of distance of support. Towards late in the afternoon we crossed the Chelif, or rather one of its main branches which here comes in with a bold bend from the northward. Our encampment this night, whilst it afforded what we could rarely count upon, the luxury of plentiful water, left us deprived of the means of cooking, from the absence of wood or brush. During all this day we had espied at times a heavy column of the enemy's infantry moving along the mountains on our left, by a prompt march in a similar direction with ourselves.

June 13th.—This day, as bending our course toward the north and east, we left the plain, which stretched more off to the south, and entered a broken country, consisting of undulating sweeps of hills, interrupted by ravines, ridges, and rocky grounds.

There were as usual, constant skirmishes between our rear-guard and the Arabs, and at times a firing on the flanks. The cavalry brigade continued marching in column on the right, excepting two squadrons which remained in support of the rear guard. It was about the middle of the day, when their services were particularly called upon, for from the nature of the ground, it several times became necessary for the rear-guard to maintain a position until so far left behind as to be exposed to being cut off by the whole force of the Arabs, whose courage is of a nature to dare anything when accident seems to throw the slightest favor into their hands. Thus the rear-guard was always obliged to hold a ridge or other height, from whence the Arabs might obtain a downward fire on the columns of march, particularly the convoy with the sick, wounded and provisionment. And in turn part of these troops of the rear-guard would be more particularly subject to risk. Indeed, the

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<sup>46</sup> Indeed, an actual *shock* of line to line, without either wavering, is nearly as rare in cavalry as in infantry; the Imperial officers with whom I have conversed, and English officers who served in the Peninsular War, agreeing that an instance scarcely ever occurs during a whole campaign. (See Fitchett's *How England Saved Europe*, vol. III, pp. 48-49, for an instance.—ED.)

handsomest manoeuvring of the whole campaign took place on this day. Nothing could exceed the great excitement felt by everyone not immediately engaged, as we thus often beheld company after company, enveloped by Arab horsemen, successively disengaging itself, and (if the Arabs abated but an instant their fierce attack,) their skirmishers as if by magic as instantly running out, taking ground, loading, firing, and marching on until beaten in again, at a full run, by some other onset of the charging Arabs. It was on one of these occasions that the 4th<sup>47</sup> squadron of the Chasseurs

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47 I well remember this affair, as it was the most decided and decisive charge which the squadron to which I was attached made during the campaign. There was a succession of heights, which the rear guard was obliged to maintain as usual. The several columns of the army, with the convoy in the centre, moving in parallel order, were hurrying down a long sweeping descent of a high hill, which would have exposed them to a plunging fire but for the manful resistance of the rear guard on the crest of the height. The main part of the rear guard were now put in retreat. There was the infantry in column of demi-battalion on full march, and the two squadrons in column of platoons a little in advance, and also a very little on their right; whilst a company of the legion was itself again waiting with demeanor of determined resolution to give us something of a start ere the horde of Arabs should crown the ground that we had evacuated, and thus take us at a disadvantage. It was a dangerous post for them, but the late repetition of the same manoeuvre once or twice, and the hazardous escape of a demi-battalion a moment before, who were left to defend one ridge whilst the main body of the rear guard established themselves on another nearly as high across a narrow valley of some two hundred and fifty yards or so, emboldened them. This last demi-battalion had held its position longer than was intended. The Arabs advanced upon them, but were beaten back by their fire, but still seemed intent on succeeding in the charge. The demi-battalion now became fearful of rejoining us, and seemed as if dreading an overwhelming charge the moment they should be deprived of their commanding situation. Signs were made to them by the colonel commanding the rear-guard; the assembled trumpeters sounded the recall, and still they did not move; whilst on the other hand the commanding officer of the rear-guard scarcely dared to advance to their assistance, as the army had already got so far on their march as to even then render us rather out of distance of support. And though, no doubt, a charge both with the bayonet and with the horse would have been ordered, at all hazards, to their rescue, still it was a thing to hesitate about. Our infantry stood drawn up, and the cavalry squadron all ready for a charge; a most rapid firing kept up all this while, by the party exposed. At last they checked for an instant the Arabs, and rejoined us in order, (that is in a solid body,) but at a "*pas de cours.*" After that we held our position a little longer, and were then put in march, as I stated before, the infantry by demi-battalion, and the two squadrons in column of platoon. It was one of the companies of this same lately exposed demi-battalion, that was again acting a little in rear, covering the main rear-guard. Before we renewed our retrograde movement, the Arabs had somewhat drawn off from the fight; and we were all as little expecting to be called on to act, as we had been disappointed before at not being sent to the assistance of the late exposed demi-battalion, when, of a sudden, the officer of the rear-guard dashed up breathless to the Commandant Meurice, (This officer, afterwards "the General commanding the Cavalry Division of the Imperial Guard" at Solferino, was named Morris, and the name in the text was doubtlessly written phonetically, as pronounced, not written), (the *chef d'escadron*, in command of the squadrons) and hallooed out, in the no very tactical terms of, "Save the infantry, or they are lost; save them, save them at once." In an instant the commandant gave the commands, "*Escadrons, par peloton, demi tour, au trot—marche en avant au gallop—au charge.*" The 3d squadron had been at the head; but, as in a moment, all were on the *qui r e*, and we came wheeling about by platoons at full trot, it left the 4th squadron leading. I galloped up to the

d'Afrique extricated by a prompt and bold charge, a company, (the part of a demi-battalion of the Legion Étrangère), which, in such a situation, as they had expended all their cartridges, would have been inevitably cut to pieces by a large force of the Arabs, who, in a sudden rush, had already ridden down their skirmishers.

We encamped this night at the "Zouave's grave," so called from its being the last resting place of a fine young sergeant of that corps, mortally wounded during the day. When in the heat of action, the fated ball finds its mark, it adds but to the excitement of

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side of Captain Assena, as he led on the charge; and sure enough, there was little time to be lost. The company of infantry acting as skirmishers had been beaten in, and already had the advanced Arabs pierced their line, cutting many down, whilst the residue, rallying in its support were trying to show a good face. The consumption of all their cartridges left them entirely at the mercy of the foe, at this most untimely moment. As we came up on the flank, in a slanting direction, I cast a rapid glance, so as to embrace them all. They were what the French term "*demoralisé*," that is, not afraid exactly, but *ticklish*. There stood the men, their pieces now mute from want of powder, standing up a little stiffer than ever on a parade, with their sergeant-major hallooing out, "*dress on me*," "*dress up*," "*tête à droite*," &c., &c., with a very peculiar voice; all which contrasted with the *négligé* manner exhibited by the French soldiers in *tirailleur* fighting, where each man fires, marches on, loads, turns round and fires, and then on again, for all the world as if they were the most unconcerned actors in the whole army, notwithstanding the many ugly looking-fellows riding close up and popping away at them, and ready to make a dash in at any spot where carelessness, or the dead or wounded, make a gap. If this peculiar, stiff, martinet manner was the mode of showing that they were "*demoralisé*," the picture of their only officer commanding the company seemed more in accordance with a man who expected to have a headless company in some few minutes, for whether as an outcry to the colonel to bring up help, or to encourage us, who were coming up to hurry along there he stood, throwing up his two arms, and making violent gestures, exclaiming, "We are lost, we are lost, we are without cartridges, we are lost, we are lost, &c." Poor fellow, he was not to blame; for he and his whole company had exhibited great courage, and a dashing bearing, during all the skirmishing of the day. On we dashed, at the command "Charge" we were nearly upon them; but the moment that we had been desisted coming to the attack they had gathered their horses, and turning about, got out of our reach. We were halted after we had dashed on some two hundred yards or so and driven the Arabs pell mell. At a command a platoon trotted out as skirmishers, and on slinging their muskets (always carried over the shoulder by all the light cavalry in Africa) as they took space, commenced an active fire, the platoon being commanded by Lieutenant Thomas. The Arabs the moment we drew rein, turned about, and were already forming in large bodies on either flank. So these squadrons commenced their return at a slow trot, the skirmishers firing and doing the same. On our return, we found order re-established among the infantry, and as cartridges had been distributed, and they were somewhat strengthened, they looked as calm as if nothing had ever been the matter—that is, they resumed their matter-of-fact skirmishing deportment. And now, one word as to charging in order or disorder. I gave a glance back just as the troops were about commencing the full gallop of the charge. We were charging in platoon as time did not admit other formation; the order seemed better than a bad charge on a drill ground, and not as even as a good one; there was none of that uneven scattering and loosening out on the flanks; on the contrary, they all seemed to crowd up toward the centre and the rear platoons I believe crowded into the leading one. But, for rapidity of execution, from the moment of the breathless command of the half-frightened commander of the rear-guard, to the moment of our return, nothing could have been more brilliant in the way of rapid cavalry manoeuvring.

the scene, for the whistling of the balls tells you that there are more, and self prompts you to be proud and thankful to your own preserving star; and one's feelings are aroused with the spirit of immediate revenge. All are then occupied; the surrounding plain is re-echoing with the Arab war-cry of "Aerouka—Aerouka—Aerouka," intermingled with and interrupted by the loud call of "Cacolet, Cacolet," as often as a comrade sees his friend fall dead or wounded by his side. The dead bodies are equally with the wounded carried off the field to prevent the Arabs decapitating them, and carrying them off in triumph. The report of the musketry, the smoke wreathing up around you, the uniforms of the French, the wild costume of the Arabs all conjure up such a scene of excitement as none in this life realize, but the gambler and engaged soldier. How different when the heat of combat is over, and accident throws the line of your march along side of the hospital train, or as you casually ride by them, and behold the long line of sick and wounded; and every now and then witness a litter halted from the line, whilst the surgeon is administering, with a look of soldiery solicitude, to the wants of some poor man, whose wan and ghastly cheeks mark him so shortly to be death's own. You then reflect that this very day he was in the prime of his strength and courage, performing a soldier's duty with a soldier's gallantry. You see how altered he looks now and find it impossible to regard it with altogether a stoic's eye. The frequency of the scene, and one's own continual risk, prevents a thing of this kind long weighing on one's mind; but few can pass such a sight without an involuntary sigh. And often have I in curiosity watched the countenances of the occupants of the litter on the (mule's) other side. Seldom is it one of firm determination, still one far from womanly weakness, but a something of anxiety, I know not what; a something I fancy, unknown to the reckless being who enlists for money, or the one who enters his country's ranks from youthful enthusiasm and ardor of patriotism, but one peculiar alone to the young conscript of France, who, plucked from home, recurs to his friends when, as

demoralized by the effect of the burning climate on his wound, he fears never to return. These reflections may appear to have been out of place, and indeed it is probable in a war of my own country, or under any other circumstances, they would never have occurred; but here I was a traveller militant on the soil of Africa. Our encampment was on some hills overlooking a narrow valley, with heights which commanded it in the neighborhood, and as through some unaccountable neglect, these were not occupied by any sort of guard, it came to pass, what we predicted. It sure enough did not escape the vigilance of some prowling Arabs, and as our regiment was encamped on the side hill nearest, it had some few men and horses wounded as the consequence.<sup>48</sup>

June 14th.—This day we were less molested, but the hills at times presented great difficulties; and, as usual, we were always obliged to await the preparing of a route for the artillery. I was here more particularly than on any other day struck with the want of management of the French with their horses. They never dismounted from their horses whilst ascending the steep hills, which they might easily have done, as there were strong infantry supports to the skirmishers on the flanks, and these were scarcely engaged. So, too, we would move on, perhaps only some hundred yards, and halt, remaining mounted perhaps ten or fifteen minutes, before ordered to dismount; the signal for the advance or halt being sounded by the trumpets attached to the general staff. In our cavalry regiments the horses would have been saved to the utmost; but the French are deficient in this purely national innate love of the horse, God's noblest work after man. This night we encamped at the "*bois d'oliviers*," (wood of olives,) a beautiful grove, nearly a mile long and half as wide, at the foot of the Col de Teneah. On the farther edge of the grove coursed a noble clear spring, and then beyond extended a strip of meadow to where the ragged sides of the mountains arose precipitately studded with rock and covered with

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<sup>48</sup> It was here that the hospital train was obliged to give place to the marshal's suite although previously installed.

underbrush. When within half a league we found signs of what we were to expect on the morrow, by seeing drawn out below us on a plateau to the left at the foot of the mountain, the whole body of Abd-el-Kader's infantry. And so steady had been their appearance when seen drawn up in line, that they were at first taken by the officers of the advance guard of cavalry for the division of General Rostolan, as we presumed that he had been ordered to seize on the pass, and await us. It was not until one of the marshal's staff came up, that we were undeceived for the aforesaid division was not expected. Our glasses deceived us, inasmuch as the grey surtout (capote) of the French soldier might look thus dark to us from the peculiar haze. At least so we thought; and I really believe that their regular appearance had such an effect on us, that color of dress alone would, had they been near, have been sooner overlooked than we credit that an Arab force could make such an appearance. The fact was, that they, notwithstanding their more circuitous route, had outmarched us, and showed themselves thus in bravado, and fortunate for us that they did, for it thus put it in the marshal's power to take measures accordingly

The regiment encamped as usual, but from the proximity of the foe, in a country where he could act and where he had shown himself thus in force, guards were doubled and on the alert with increased vigilance. At dusk, private orders had been borne to all the officers to be in readiness with the rest of the army by twelve o'clock. At mid-night, (June 15th,) accordingly the whole camp was noiselessly got under arms. Regiments of infantry stole up the heights, and occupied the passes and commanding points. At two o'clock the cavalry was in the saddle, and commenced ascending the height by the narrow and difficult path; and as our movement had by this time become known to the Arabs, orders from the rear were forwarded by mouth from man to man, for the head of the column to quicken the pace. Rugged as was the pathway, sometimes obliging the men to file by singly, we were hurried from a walk to a trot, and to a gallop; the object being to get the way clear for the

convoy, which harnessed up and parked in a solid mass, still waited in the "*bois d'oliviers*." On arriving at the point designated, the "*plateau de la croix*," one half of the cavalry were dismounted. But from the press and haste, there seemed to have been more confusion than as a military man I could have well preconceived. The position assigned us was one of the several "*plateaux*," or spurs of table land projecting out from the steep sides of the mountain, much covered with rock. Instead of forming up by half squadron, as we could have done, and then dismounting the designated men and causing the others with the led horses to file off again, and so with each squadron successively, the platoons as we came up at a gallop, were each one halted at the point aforesaid, and as they stood in columns of "twos" the number "twos" (having before starting been advertised of it) threw themselves from their horses, which were as instantly led off at a full pace. The men who dismounted then formed line and were disposed in this their place in the general line of battle. The "*plateau de la croix*"<sup>49</sup> where we found ourselves placed, was the extreme right of this day's fight. During the preceding month, on the return of the army from Medeah on its way back to Algiers, the cavalry, as the army was crossing at mid-day, narrowly escaped being cut off at this point, from its having been neglected. This time the Marshal's experience dictated our being placed here to prevent the Arabs seizing so important a key, even should they make the attempt. It was a place naturally strong; so that the dismounted cavalry were fully competent to its defence. By this time the skirmish in the woods, which had commenced by a light firing, had now thickened into a serious affair; it gradually ex-

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49 So named from a cross cut on the rocks above a bubbling spring on the right of the road. Tradition gives no account of its origin, though it testifies to its having been there time immemorially. The "*Tombeau de la Chrétienne*" on the heights between the sea and plain of the Metidja, is another vestige of the Christian in this land of the Moslem. (It is in all probability the mausoleum of Juba II, King of Mauritania [died A. D. 18] and Selene his wife, the founders of Caesarea. It is on the summit of a hill 756 feet above the sea, a circular building a hundred and thirty feet high. Selene was the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, and their daughter was Drusilla, wife of the Roman governor Felix, known to history as he who trembled at St. Paul's preaching. It is a great pity that the French destroyed the remains of the city of Caesarea.—ED.)

tended on the right and left of it, and by 5 o'clock, A. M., the line of fight extended in a semi-circle for near half a league, and the while the dismounted cavalry on the plateau were felt (but not warmly) by the Kabyles with the Arab infantry. Indeed the fight itself, though fought by the Bedouins dismounted, by the Arab infantry, and the mountaineers or Kabyles, owed its pertinacity to the unflinching courage and native skill of these latter. On all points where practicable, and it could be brought to bear, pieces of our artillery had been put in position, and with their deep roar added to the general resonation of the infantry fire. This aided by the echoes of the mountain, sounded as one mighty host, executing unceasing "fire by battalions."

The point where the Arabs had encamped was the great plateau lying immediately below, and extending for some distance to our right, the ground where we had first seen their infantry the preceding evening. It was from here that by a flank movement they had moved around in great force and attacked the "*bois d'oliviers*" on all points, which up to this time was the seat of the severest fighting. The contest was in defence of the helpless convoy parked there; though at each moment, as the battle lulled, they were pushed up the road. The main mass of it as yet remained there. It was, though not in our view, sufficiently evident to us, from seeing the artillery in battery on several points somewhat lower down, throwing their shells heavily and constantly into the ravines skirting the sides at the bottom of our part of the mountain, that a large body of the enemy must be there in waiting; but it was not until after six, and near seven o'clock, that we were fully aware of the real numbers that were there. At this moment, a large column of about one thousand of Abd-el-Kader's regulars, at quick step and aligned in the most perfect order, left their place of cover, and advanced desperately up the sides of the "*plateau de la mine de cuivre*." On this, a bare piece of ground, they unmasked; and in face of a raging fire of artillery and battalions of infantry, (that from the nature of the ground, took them in front and flank,) they dauntless-



ly drove from their position the "Tirailleurs de Vincennes," who occupied a narrow ledge crowning the plateau, and threw them back on their reserve. This was in full view of us, it being only some three hundred and fifty yards or so to the right, and lower down. By the aid of our glasses, it was easy to distinguish individual combats, as the "Tirailleurs," having been rallied and reinforced, charged in turn to regain their lost ground. They were a second time forced back; until by a last desperate charge,<sup>50</sup> precipitating themselves on the Arabs, they finally possessed themselves of the point in contest, the veritable key of the whole battle ground. The loss of the Arabs was tremendous, and they retired in confusion, throwing themselves into the underwood of the adjoining ravines. This had been the crisis of the fight. Similar attacks, but less daring and obstinate, having met with repulse by the other regiments on the centre and left, the enemy commenced drawing off, and at about mid-day not a gun was heard, and the subsequent stillness and silence of the place was most striking. All the regiments obtained the Marshal's applause on that day; but the Tirailleurs, Zouaves, and "Troisieme Leger," (3d light infantry) suffered the most heavily. The killed and wounded in this day's affair, amounted to some three hundred. General Schramm, chief of the staff and second in command, was struck by a spent ball, in the same spot and manner that happened to him at Wagram, but not seriously. The wounded having been taken up the pass, and then the convoy having likewise been sent through, the troops which had been engaged commenced evacuating their position, and took up their line of march successively. The whole army was concentrated on the summit<sup>51</sup> of the mountain, late in the

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50 In this last charge, a private of tirailleurs distinguished himself by killing three Arabs continuously; he bayoneted one, shot the other, and as in the act of killing the third, with his bayonet just entering his side, received from the Arab a pistol-shot (the muzzle touching his face,) which blew off a part of his jaw, and left him senseless on the field, but not dead.

51 The table land on the peak of the Teneah could not have been more than a couple of acres. It was soon literally choked up with wounded. Our chasseurs stood dismounted in column beside their horses. Some three or four hospital-marquees were the only tents pitched. Regiments of infantry were resting on the declivities adjoining. In one place stood the grey-headed marshal issuing his directions in person. In another, and nearer to us, the bodies of the slain officers were laid out in a row. Continued screams arose from the hospital-tents

afternoon. In relation to this affair of the Col de Teneah, the Marshal was by some very much blamed for not having followed up the repulse of the enemy after their attack on the plateau "*de la mine de cuivre*," by a charge on them with the troops of the right wing. The enemy were then in a highly critical situation and would have suffered a terrible loss. This was particularly evident to us from our particular position, for we had observed for the last two hours or so, the wounded of the enemy being carried to their *dépôt* for the wounded off to the right (in respect to us) extremity of the plateau, (where they had encamped) in such great numbers, in men's arms, in litters, on camels and on horses, that as they came off the field of battle in two directions, it showed like two very heavy columns; and were subject occasionally to much confusion from the fall of some lucky long-ranging shell. The loss of the Arabs must have been tremendous, from the report of all the officers engaged and from this proof before our eyes of their numerous wounded. And yet, in the policy of their chief, they exhibited after all firing had ceased the bravado of their regiments of regular Spahis, resplendent in their red bournous, parading in line just outside of the "wood of olives" and going through with all the evolutions of a drill as if in defiance of us, and to mark their unconquered spirit. Still, the subsequent events of the campaign showed that this affair had thrown a disrelish into the Arabs to come to close quarters again, or skirmish with their usual alacrity. The killed and wound-

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where they were performing the amputations. (This was before the days of anaesthetics.—Ed.) Ghastly countenances of the badly wounded, propped up on the bare ground, exposed to the searching wind of the summit, already thickened into immediate contact with ourselves and horses. The scene was an unusual one, even amidst war. However, at such times it often happens that association endows some incidents with a preponderating influence. For me it was connected with the "*Tirailleurs de Vincennes*." Since arriving in France, I had seen them in far varied situations. Firstly, at the camp of Fontainebleau, as one of the three American officers invited to Louis Philippe's suite, we had regarded with admiration this chosen and newly-raised corps. All eyes were then upon them. They were sent to Africa shortly after. I arrived in spring. It was at Bouffarick, where the army corps was being concentrated, that their bugles and dark green dress, once more interested me. We were acquaintances. This evening closed the drama. During the day they were particularly exposed. And now, at this moment, a detail, in those dark uniforms, came silently to that heap of slain. They sought there their leader; the third that had fallen since we met at Fontainebleau. I well remember the stalwart corse; as the bugles sounded a few notes, it was borne off in solemn silence to its mountain grave. The army said that in him, they had lost a "beau sabreur."

ed in this affair amounted to three hundred; twenty only were reported killed. This would seem incredible but it is a generally known fact that where cannon are not employed, few hits kill dead. Besides, those mortally wounded were reported merely as wounded, to satisfy the marshal's conscience;<sup>52</sup> which loss was surpassed only by the battle of the 12th of May; but, as the French officers say, there were full fifty killed and missing. Such of the wounded as could be transported, the cavalry and some few regiments of infantry as an escort, were late in the afternoon, sent down to the foot of the mountain, to the "Ferme de Moussaiah". It was about half past seven that we took up our line of march from the summit, (the afternoon and night were felt chilly as we were on the elevated summit) and it was about two o'clock A. M., when we reached our encamping ground. As an instance of the trying fatigues of war, our horses had remained saddled and bridled, without food and without water, all this time, being twenty-six hours. Nor was this the only occasion ere this campaign was finished; it occurred several times. It happened twice within this very week.

June 16th.—This day we remained at Moussaiah. The army was occupied in transporting below more convoys of the wounded, and occupying the most important points of the mountain, as well as in mending and where possible, widening the road.

June 17th.—General Blancford with the cavalry brigade and some two thousand infantry was sent to Blidah with a large convoy of such wounded as could be moved, for the entire interior of the fortified camp of Moussaiah was taken up with tents and brush cabins of the wounded; for huts constructed of brush, from the insufficiency of tents, had to be the best and only covering for

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<sup>52</sup> The marshal reported only twenty killed to three hundred wounded. This statement was true of such as were *shot down dead*. But a man though mortally wounded, even though he survived not to reach the hospital, was returned merely *wounded*. This impolitic policy of the marshal, who wished to be thought as gaining bloodless victories, so unjust to the troops, who suffered, created universal disgust; and when I reached Toulon there was an express (an officer) sent to inquire into this and other accounts. There were twelve officers alone killed.

scores of dying and maimed heroes of the preceding day, in a climate too, where a wound is almost certain death. The other all-important object of General Blancford's column was to bring up to the main army the supplies that might have been collected at this place (Blidah) for it was now fully known that the Marshal's plan was to re-provision Medeah, which had received but a few months' supply. The tribe of the Hadjotes, whose acquaintance I had formed whilst with the detached brigade of General Rostolan the past month, followed us, skirmishing<sup>53</sup> slightly till we had passed Chiffa, beyond which they seldom or never ventured.

June 18th.—The next day towards the afternoon, we returned to Moussaiah, leaving the French regiment of horse behind to recruit at Blidah and Bouffarick. At midnight we were noiselessly got to horse, as the whole camp were under arms; at such times not a signal of course is heard, but staff officers in an undertone pass rapidly from officer to officer along the ranks issuing the directions as required. The fault of the Marshal was his ill combination of the essential time for each part of the army to move; and thus as we were to be concentrated a mile or so from camp, our regiment awaited full more than an hour the coming up of the entire corps.

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53 Though half fearing to seem an egotist, I must here mention a little anecdote. Just this side the Chiffa, the army was halted whilst the centre bat-train and wagons were crossing and ascending the narrow pathway up the opposite side. There being some inviting grain-fields a little to the left, the colonel of the French regiment (chasseurs and hussars) ventured thoughtlessly beyond the infantry line of skirmishers and the regiment commenced collecting forage. I left my regiment to pay a visit to the Danish officer attached to their regiment. They had omitted to post videttes: presently from the bushes that were within one hundred yards, some leading Arabs commenced deliberately firing on us; and as the Dane and myself were behind the regiment, three balls in succession whistled past us, making my horse dodge his ears and snort. In an instant, "to saddle" was ordered, forage was abandoned, and the regiment rode off pell mell, getting through by different *debouches* the brush skirting the river bank. One officer, a lieutenant of hussars, and some twelve men, had been hurriedly ordered "*en tirailleur*" to cover the movement, but strange to say, after making show of galloping out, and hollering to his men, who seemed as little to relish it as himself, to take ground, he also disappeared through the bushes. My friend and myself were doing the same, when the balls thickening, the hussars came galloping along; but I was struck to see how, even amidst their fear (for their hurried manner betrayed that,) they could not overcome their discipline as to respect for rank, for they seemed to recover themselves, and looked as if necessary to be resigned. My feelings at that moment made me feel that Africa should be no exception to my determination as a cavalry officer, to ever cover the retreat of my comrades. So I ordered them to precede, and myself was last in sight of my friends, the Hadjouts. This tribe is *sworn* to defend its own territory but never advances beyond, nor had ever fully joined in allegiance to Abd-el-Kader.

It was with some impatience that we awaited; at length the muffled but timed tread of the infantry, as battalion after battalion, in the dead darkness of the night, came up, was heard approaching us, and then, as they formed up in close column at our side, the darker form of their schakos was just discernible against the horizon; and occasionally commingling with their measured tramp, was heard the rumbling of some piece of artillery or wagon of the baggage train, as it stole cautiously along; still, so quiet was the whole movement, that an army watching our actions could not have become aware that our camp had been deserted. With us this precaution was most necessary, to avoid awaking the Arab guerillas of the mountain. We were also safer in darkness, from their deadly aim. We soon commenced the ascent. The gray light of coming day gradually gained on the retreating darkness of the night. The sun came forth in all his glory, and each peak seemed gilded with a blaze of glory, as with the rising of the sun we attained the summit of the Col de Teneah. This we found in a more organized condition than the scene of the numerous wounded, huddled together as they could find room, presented at the time that we quitted it.

June 19th.—The fore part of the day was spent on the height, awaiting the concentrating of the convoy, and re-organizing the troops after their severe losses by sickness and battle. For a march to Medeah was known to be our immediate object, and a rumor was spreading in the camp that a march was proposed to Milianah. The army, however, was moving down the defile from morning till about mid-day. By the afternoon our turn came to take our place in the line of march. The giving way of a part of the narrow route, and the rolling of a piece of artillery, with its horses, into the deep ravine below, created some confusion and delay. The night set in dark and heavy, but towards eleven o'clock the clouds broke away and nothing could be lovelier than the "wood of olives," as seen lying immediately before us—its dark masses of shade in strong contrast with the bright moonlight that pierced it, where the trees were more open. As we reached it, and entered by them, all pleas-

urable sensation was repelled by the stench of the putrefying corpses of the late fight; still, so much is there in a good appetite after a day of fatigue, that we found the corps that had preceded us heartily engaged at supper, where the smell was most intolerable, absolutely reeking in our nostrils; an example, however, we hastened to follow, on arriving at our designated place of bivouac at half past eleven. This made the second time that our horses had remained the full twenty-four hours saddled, bridled, unwatered, unfed.

June 20th.—By an easy march this day we arrived at Medeah. The Arabs showed themselves in some force to our right, but at a great distance, sending some very few horsemen to skirmish with us. They were evidently disheartened. Some few miles from the pass of Teneah, and in the nearest direction to Medeah, rises abruptly a detached spur of the mountain. On this had been established an Arab redoubt, supplied with a piece of artillery. It would have been an affair of many lives to have attacked and forced it; but its height rendered its fire so ineffectual that the columns were passing for a full hour within its range, its balls falling everywhere in amongst us, but not a soldier killed. We were, that is our particular regiment, far more annoyed by the audacity of some Kabyles on our left, who covered by some broken ground, approached quite near to us, whilst halted, and unprotected by the infantry “*Tirailleurs*” who had continued their march unobservant of us, and thus left us exposed. A few balls whistled among the platoons, and Captain Assena’s horse was hit. I thanked my stars that it was neither himself nor me, for I was at his side.<sup>54</sup>

Medeah, without being as picturesquely situated as Milianah, has beautiful environs. Its site is on a moderate rise, which slopes

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<sup>54</sup> As for our soldiers *dodging*, I remember this as one of two instances, where men who were habitually indifferent under an actual fire, displayed this physical nervousness when unexpected of a shot. The other was with a company of *voltigeurs*. They had been hard fighting five minutes before, with some loss, and had just gained a little respite under a hillside where I was standing with the *chasseurs*, when, by their skirmishers coming in unexpectedly, the Arabs crowned the height and fired, whilst our attention was drawn to watching the effect of some charges on another party.

off gently in every direction excepting towards the east. Numerous Moorish country seats are studded around, universally accompanied by that chief charm of Moorish civilization, a sweet garden spot. How far the Easterns excel us in that respect. With them none so poor, none so rich but what his first care is to turn the immediate spot around him into a paradise of a garden. There is here one of the finest of Moorish aqueducts, of some miles' length, nearly grand as the Roman must have been, but more pleasing to the eye from its lighter and more picturesque Saracen arch. Medeah, though unprovided with the same vast necropolis, proving its former crowded generations, is now about the size of Milianah. It was rich, but by no means of the vast importance of the latter city, whose king (Bey) is conspicuously marked as the reckless and avaricious servant and abettor of the Marabout chief Abd-el-Kader. And it was in Milianah, more particularly, that they had celebrated their orgies, where heads of massacred French caused a *fête* of the direst kind. Both, however, were rich, both had been Roman sites, and the savans of the French army, who had examined, said that they detected the usual monumental inscriptions of the Romans. This place had once before been taken and held by the French under Marshal Clauzel, but had been given up as too salient, and cut off from their proposed line of colonization frontier. The place was found garrisoned by some two hundred men, and already showing a scientific design engrafted on its Arab curtain of fortifications.

June 21st.—This was Sunday, and it seemed indeed a day of heavenly rest as, bivouacked amidst the gardens of the town, under the shade of the myrtle and on the banks of a rippling stream we gave way to our longings after luxury and repose and forgot that war was near and around us.

June 22d.—It was now determined by the marshal to victual Milianah with a sufficiently heavy convoy to furnish supplies for the use of an army in the fall, operating in the plain of the Cheliff. Ac-

cordingly the distinguished Colonel Changarnier,<sup>55</sup> some four or five old generals having been passed over for that purpose (as General Schramm, General D—, (of the staff,) General Blanford,) was entrusted with a select corps of five thousand men. All the artillery, excepting some few pieces of mountain howitzers, were left behind, and as few hindrances to mobility, independent of the heavy convoy of provisions itself, as were possible. The squadrons of hussars and chasseurs who had composed the second regiment of march, had remained the other side of the mountains; so that ours the first Chasseurs d’Afrique, to be beforehand with our friends the Arabs, we marched at 3 o’clock in the morning, and for Africa and with a convoy, at a slapping pace. We halted about 11 o’clock, for an hour, to prepare breakfast, and for the men and cattle to breathe; and by a rapid push we reached the plain of the Cheliff, crossing that river where we had first come to it, on our march from Milianah at half past 7 o’clock. We had scarcely been fired on by a single Arab all this day, but towards evening we discovered the Arabs at some leagues distance to our right, and in truly formidable numbers, seeming far more numerous than we had ever encountered them when our army was embodied and together. Their cavalry extended over the plains, and the woods swarming with their infantry; their regular battalions being distinguishable as usual by their compactness and dark uniforms (all other Arabs wearing the flowing white bournous.)

June 23d.—As our object was to avoid an engagement we were got together at two o’clock, and on full march for Milianah. We arrived at the marabout, (or Moslem d’Ormitage,<sup>56</sup> a Chapel) at about mid-day. There had been the usual light skirmishing all the way. The heights on either side were occupied. The garrison came out to meet us. But, when most at our ease, one of those

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<sup>55</sup> Colonel Changarnier proved his complete generalship by his thoughtfulness of all corps. We never were halted, even for ten minutes, but that beforehand an orderly dragoon would be despatched to inform our commander what he might do, whether dismount, or when to commence operations, or forage and fueling for the night’s bivouac.

<sup>56</sup> Should be *Hermitage*.



dashes for which the Arabs are noted had nearly resulted to our cost. The convoy had passed, and the cavalry were already entered in the defile, when the whole mass of Arabs made a general attack, charging the rear guard and advancing by a pass (that had been overlooked) to the right, to cut it (the rear-guard) off from the main body, whilst thus entangled in the mountains. This bold manoeuvre was near succeeding, and would have done so most probably, but that the direct attack on the rear guard, at the mouth of the gorge was commenced too soon, and the regiments hurrying back to the support of the rear guard, by good fortune and the merest chance found themselves in position, just as the Arabs were advancing up this neglected pass (that intercepted at midway the main one.) As it was, they, (the Arabs,) were driven back on all points. This was perhaps the most brilliant affair for the handful of men engaged, that occurred during the campaign. On this occasion, as had happened several times before, the men were addressed in French by the deserters in the ranks of the enemy, in terms too opprobrious for decency to repeat. The army, excepting a small escort to the provision convoy, did not ascend to the city of Milianah, but remained encamped in the beautiful plateau at its base until evening, when it returned and encamped in a square on the plain near the marabout, so often mentioned.

June 24th.—By an easy march the next day, we returned on our steps, and encamped on the Cheliff, at the usual place of crossing on the farther side, interposing the stream between us and the Bedouins, The skirmishing continued as usual, and the “obusiers de montagne” did their full share of mischief. The enemy had about 10,000 horsemen in the plain of which only some 1,000 engaged. A heavy column of the enemy’s infantry were observed progressing through the mountain and wood, making a parallel move with us; they very properly feared to trust to their discipline to withstand a charge of our self-same Chasseurs, who had treated them so unceremoniously once before near Blidah. This body of infantry had a force with them, which they occasion-

ally directed at us. It is impossible in this country, unless present, to understand the immense moral effect that the French cavalry has, though so seldom actually engaged, and how truly helpless the infantry would be without its aid. Still the merit of the war lies decidedly with the foot.

June 25th.—The next day we continued the same route (the one we had passed in coming), with occasional sharp encounters, and encamped at the Fountains. Once or twice during the day the Arabs charged and entered the line of skirmishers, cutting them down with their yatagans, and receiving bayonet wounds in exchange. This always occurs when, owing to the nature of the ground, the rear-guard is obliged to remain in position too long—as sometimes necessitated to prevent a plunging fire from the height on the convoy and masses of the column; or in the heat of combatting, when individual soldiers exposed themselves by not preserving their intervals or advancing beyond the line; or when it so happens, from a gap in the line being made by many of the killed and wounded falling together. In such cases you will see the whole body of Arabs, from all quarters, in the most excited manner precipitate themselves on that one point, pouring in their fire, and brandishing their yatagans, unless as immediately met and repulsed by the infantry or cavalry reserves.

In this march, as usual, the column destroyed villages and crops wherever they passed.

June 26th.—We were on march again at 2 o'clock in the morning, but were not annoyed nor followed by the Arabs. Towards 9 o'clock our regiment of Chasseurs were sent to Medeah to communicate with the marshal. At noon the division that had remained at Medeah, the artillery, wagons, and animals of the train were put in motion to form their junction with the corps under Colonel Changarnier. This being effected about midway to the mountains, we marched to and encamped amidst our old bowers in the Bois d'Oliviers at 6 o'clock. There was some firing towards the close of the march, and the Arabs were discovered to the left, but not in

very large numbers. They certainly had had enough of fighting in this region before. An hour after camping we were quietly warned "to horse," and artillery, convoy, and cavalry commenced ascending the pass in the obscurity of the twilight; some few guns were heard, (seemingly chance discharges in the enemy's camp) and this proved the last molestation the French army was destined to suffer in the spring campaign of 1840. Our regiment got into position on the summit of the mountain in some few hours. We had had our supper before starting; our tents it is true were elsewhere, but the officers like the men, were happy to seize a tranquil slumber on the ground beside their picketed horses. During the night the army continued concentrating on the summit of the heights of Teneah.

June 27th.—At mid-day we commenced defiling on Moussaiah, where we arrived toward sun-down.

June 28th.—The day following, the 28th General Blidah was sent with the cavalry to Blidah with the intention of bringing up the provisions that had been left in dépôt there by the movable column from the interior; for the provisions convoyed to Milianah from the stores of the Medeah had to be replaced at this latter place, so that both towns might be provisioned beyond all hazard until the coming October. No sooner had we arrived at Blidah and formed up on the ground destined for our bivouac, and were on the point of dismounting, than an order was then for the first time received by our colonel to march us on to Bouffarick, and to order up to the main army the hussar and chasseur squadrons of France, (the late 2d regiment of march) which had now re-crossed the mountains a second time, to replace us. A timely order for our horses were literally worn out.

The French army, afterward, on receiving a new approvisionnement, returned to Medeah, and entered Algiers, on the 5th of July, after destroying by a "razia<sup>57</sup>" the villages of several tribes within

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57 Usually spelled razzia—a destructive raid.

striking distance of Blidah, which had, however, hitherto been overlooked—a punishment brought on themselves for past offences.

Arrived at Bouffarick that day. The next day, the colonel, myself, several officers, and escorts, proceeded to and arrived in Algiers.

FINIS















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