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THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
the late
DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

COMPRISING THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLE FIELDS
OF WELLINGTON AND HIS COMRADES,



Waterloo.

AND A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF
ENGLAND'S BATTLES BY SEA AND LAND,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

INTERSPERSED WITH

ANECDOTES PERSONAL INCIDENTS, ADVENTURES &c.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
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FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

VOL. IV.

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THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
WELLINGTON.

INTRODUCTION—STATE OF FRANCE; THE FRENCH REVOLUTION; AUSTRIA; RUSSIA;
AND PRUSSIA.

IT now becomes the business of the historian of the LIFE AND TIMES OF WELLINGTON to lay before the reader an account of those Battles, both Naval and Military, which occurred during the lifetime of the Great Duke; but, in the achievement of which he had no personal share. In this volume will be given a detailed account of the victories of the British army contemporaneous with the events already narrated in this work; thus forming, with the "Campaigns of Wellington," a complete history of the military operations of Great Britain in all parts of the world, from the commencement of the great European War in 1792, till the period when, in 1852, the earthly career of the Great Captain closed, and the cypress and the laurel, bedewed by a nation's tears, were laid on the coffin of the duke of Wellington.

In its pages will be recounted those great naval victories which have raised the fame of this branch of the service to such a height as to stand unrivalled in the history of any other age or country. Here will be found a record of the deeds of the gallant Nelson,—at the victory of the Nile, the bombardment of Copenhagen, the battle of the Baltic, and the crowning victory of Trafalgar; of Howe on the "glorious 1st of June;" of Jervis, at Cape St. Vincent; of Duncan, at Camperdown; of Hood, of Warren, of Sidney Smith, of Cochrane, Faulkner, Collingwood, and Hardy; of Napier, Hall, and many others of that long list of heroes who have so nobly supported the honour of the

"meteor flag of England," and have so frequently proved that—

"Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along her steep;
Her march is on the mountain wave,
Her home is on the deep."

In detailing events in this volume, it will not be necessary to enter into political disquisitions; but, in order that the reader may properly comprehend the state of the belligerent parties at the breaking out of the French revolutionary war, we shall take a rapid glance at the condition of Europe at that period.

The French revolution was produced by a system of misgovernment which had existed for ages. In the fifteenth century, the successes of Charles VII., surnamed "the Victorious," so dazzled the French people, that he was enabled to become absolute; and, without the aid of the states-general, he levied subsidies whenever he thought proper. His successor (Louis XI.) continued the practice of raising money without convoking the representatives of the people, and reduced to a system what in the previous reign had been looked upon as a novelty and an innovation. In the succeeding reigns the tyranny of the crown became more and more formidable, and supple courtiers instilled into the minds of the kings of France that the "will of the king was the will of the law." In 1622, under the reign of Louis XIII., cardinal Richelieu became chief minister, and continued to be so for the remainder of his life. Richelieu

was a man of great ability, but of a restless and insatiable ambition; and he formed to himself vast designs, which, however, he failed to carry out. The three principal objects of his policy were:—to render the power of the crown absolute, and make it as independent of the nobility as it had been for some time of the other classes in the state;—to annihilate the Calvinists as a political party;—and to reduce the power of the house of Austria, and extend that of France. In the first part of his plan he succeeded: to destroy the power of the nobility, he resorted to the most unscrupulous means, and sent many of them to the scaffold on various pretences. Richelieu having established the principle that the crown of France was independent both of the people and the nobility, his successor, Mazarine, imposed enormous taxes, the money raised by which was expended in useless pageantry, while the happiness of the people was totally neglected; the reign of Louis XIV. being as much distinguished by the misery and oppression of the people, as by the extravagance of the crown. During the minority of Louis XV., the court of the regent was the most profligate which had ever been seen in Europe, and the public money was squandered in the pursuit of the most infamous licentiousness. When the monarch came of age, and assumed the functions of government, his example tended more and more to degenerate and corrupt the character of the nobility of France. During this reign, personal liberty was still further abridged, and the greatest insecurity was felt; as every one was, without previous notice or trial, liable to sudden arrest at the mere will of the crown, under the authority of *lettres de cachet*. The bastille was the prison in which prisoners under this form of procedure were generally immured. Well has it been remarked, that the reign of Louis XV. is the most deplorable in French history. If we seek for the characters who governed the age, we must search the ante-chambers of the duc de Choiseul, or the *boudoirs* of Madame Pompadour or Du Barri. The whole frame of society seemed to be decomposed. Statesmen were ambitious to figure as men of letters; men of letters as statesmen; the great *seigneurs* as bankers; the farmers-general as great *seigneurs*. The fashions were as ridiculous as the arts were misplaced. Shepherdesses were represented in hoops in saloons where colonels were engaged in

feminine pursuits; everything was deranged in the public feeling and manners—the sure sign of an approaching convulsion. Society had reached that puerile stage which appeared at the time the Roman empire was broken up; and a writer of the period, in describing the manners of that time, observes, that it excited astonishment in the minds of all thinking persons, that such a state of things did not occasion the immediate fall of the empire, or provoke the avenging wrath of heaven.* The king at length passed into his grave: he was interred without form or ceremony, excessive debauchery having brought its victim to an untimely end.

During the infamous reign of Louis XV. religious persecution had been added to political oppression, to aid in creating an antagonistic feeling not only to the reigning monarch, but to monarchy itself. Various attempts at opposition to the power of the crown had been made, but had proved abortive. The parliament, which had shown some signs of independence, and opposed the arbitrary measures of the king, had been dissolved; its members arrested and committed to prison; and a new tribunal was called into existence, which was composed of the creatures of the court. The taxes were not only excessive, and raised without the sanction of the representatives of the people, but they weighed most heavily upon the more industrious classes of the community, by the inequality of the manner in which they were imposed. The two privileged parties in the state—the nobility and the clergy—were exempted from taxes altogether; and when it is borne in mind that the church possessed nearly one-half of the *land* in France, and the nobles about a fourth, it will be easily perceived how severely taxation must have pressed upon the occupiers of the remainder. It was calculated that, at the period immediately preceding the French revolution, the cultivator of the land paid, in taxes to the crown, not less than seven-and-a-half twelfths of the amount of its produce; three-and-a-half went to the proprietor, and *one-twelfth to the occupier*—that is, supposing the value of the produce of an acre to be £3: 2s.: 7d., all that came to the actual cultivator was 5s. In England, at the same time, if the produce were £8, the share left to the cultivator, after paying all rents and taxes, was £6. The advantages possessed

* *Vide* Chateaubriand, Roland, and Alison.

by the privileged classes were not the only circumstances which rendered them odious to the people. The pride of birth, and exclusiveness of the nobility, had as much to do with the enmity which existed between the nobles and the mass of the population, as their immunity from taxation and other privileges. The monied interest, the men of letters, who were prevented from rising to any high office in the state, were jealous of the nobility, and they incited against them the lower classes in the towns, and the peasantry in the country. To overcome the difficulty, some of the wealthiest men in France purchased patents of nobility, for which they paid large sums. This, however, tended to engender dissensions among the nobles themselves, as the aristocrats looked with contempt upon the newly ennobled families as *parvenus*. To add to the unpopularity of the nobles, it was decreed that patrician birth was essential to holding a commission in the army, and it was necessary that the nobility of the family to which the officer belonged should be of one hundred years' standing. Thus the people of France were divided into two sections—one the privileged class, consisting of about 150,000 individuals, who occupied all situations of trust, of importance, or of power; the other comprising the entire remainder of the population.

Such was the state of France when Louis XVI. ascended the throne of his grandfather. He was only twenty years of age; and, from the manner in which he had conducted himself while dauphin, great hopes were entertained by the people of an amelioration of their condition. The first act of Louis, on ascending the throne, was to appoint count de Maurepas (who had been thirty years in exile) to the office of prime minister. He dismissed those courtiers from about him who were obnoxious to the people, and restored to them their ancient parliaments. These acts of the young king were received with acclamations of joy; but some disappointment was experienced from the nature of the royal speech, on the first calling together of the parliament. Maurepas, on his appointment as prime minister, directed his attention to the extension of French commerce, and the re-establishment of the French marine. Turgot, a man of great ability and strict probity, was appointed minister of finance. This department of the state was in a very embarrassed condition—the expenses of the crown,

under the predecessors of Louis, having far exceeded the income; and the country was now burdened with an amount of debt which it had no means of liquidating. The measures of previous ministers had only put off the evil day by the contracting of loans. Turgot applied himself to the reduction of the expenditure; and he recommended to the king the abolition of the immunities enjoyed by the privileged classes, and a general toleration. To this, however, Louis refused to accede; and it is said, by the advice of the queen, Maria Antoinette, Turgot was dismissed. M. Clugny succeeded Turgot as minister of finance, and proved himself, during the short time he was in office, the opposite of his predecessor, both in talent and probity. On his death he was succeeded by M. Taboureaux, who, in a short time, was superseded by Neckar.* This able statesman attempted the same system of reform which had been advised by Turgot. He objected to the contracting of further loans, but advised the most rigid system of economy, in order to bring about an equalisation between the revenue and expenditure of the country. The exigencies of the state, on ordinary occasions, he contended, should be met by taxation; and that loans should only be resorted to when extraordinary contingencies occurred. In order that the provincial parliaments might be brought to levy the amount required, and the people be reconciled to the payment of the taxes, he proposed that a statement of the revenue should be made up and regularly published. Neckar's economical projects again alarmed the nobility; and the influence of the cabals who swayed the weak mind of Louis, was brought to bear against him, and he was dismissed. Maurepas himself shortly after died; and the attempts at reform made by him, in conjunction with Malesherbes, Turgot, and Neckar, were abandoned by his successors.

France, at this time, had been guilty of the folly of augmenting the financial difficulties under which she laboured, by engaging in a war against Great Britain, in which she acted in conjunction with America for nearly six years.

After the death of Maurepas, Vergennes was made prime minister, and Calonne

* Neckar was a Genevan protestant, possessing considerable ability as a minister of finance. He was a banker, and was called to the ministry, from his high credit and great skill in monetary transactions.

became minister of finance. Calonne was a man of talent; but, immersed in dissipation and intrigue, he had neither the will nor the capability to effect any reform in the department of which he was minister. He resorted to the dangerous practice of loans; and, for a time, succeeded in procuring money by this expedient. But it was impossible that this could be kept up, as every year added to the enormous debt due by France. Between 1781 and 1786, the government had borrowed £64,000,000. The deficit in the revenue, for the year 1785, was £3,330,000: a loan for this amount was negotiated by Calonne. The parliament of Paris remonstrated, and refused to register the act of the minister until they were positively commanded by the king. In doing this, however, they accompanied it by the following resolution: "That the public economy was the only source of revenue, and the best means of providing for the necessities of the state, and of restoring that credit which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin." Finding the opposition that he received in parliament becoming formidable, Vergennes advised the assemblage of the *notables*, or chief nobility, by whose influence he calculated on being able to carry out his measures. The convention of *notables* took place on the 22nd of February, 1787, and was opened in great pomp by the king in person. The minister of finance made a long and elaborate statement, and attributed the difficulties of the state to the administration of Neckar. Calonne, notwithstanding the ability which his speech exhibited, failed to impress the assembly with the correctness of his views. From the statement of the finances laid before the *notables*, it appeared that, from the dismissal of Neckar, in 1781, the government had borrowed £72,000,000, and the annual deficit was £6,260,000. This startling fact was the signal for the fall of Calonne; the popular clamour against him ran so high, that the king was obliged to exile him to his estate at Lorraine. He afterwards found it expedient to leave the country. On the fall of Calonne, Brienne, bishop of Toulouse, was appointed to his office; but he was soon found to be incompetent to cope with the difficulties of his position. The *notables*, having proved refractory, were dissolved on the 25th of May of the same year.

The crisis of the revolution was now approaching nearer and nearer. The assembling

of the *notables* had the opposite effect expected both by the king and the ministers. Before they dissolved, they passed certain resolutions, approbatory of some of the propositions of Neckar. The state of bankruptcy to which they perceived the country was reduced, startled them; and they carried into all parts of the kingdom an account of the desperate condition of its affairs, along with the information that this state of things had been brought about by the prodigality of the court, and the maladministration of the statesmen. This produced a great ferment throughout the country: a statement of the receipts and expenditure of the public money was demanded; and threats of insurrection were openly made. At a meeting of the parliament of Paris, the abbé Sabatier, counsellor of parliament, made use of the following expression: "You ask," said he, "an account of the receipts and expenditure of government: you are mistaken in your object; it is the states-general you require." Brienne, having failed to gain any advantage by the assembly of the nobility, came again before the parliament with a proposal to levy new taxes. The parliament refused to register them. On this they were banished to Troyès; but were recalled, on consenting to their registration. The strife was now commenced. On an application by the minister to the parliament to sanction a further loan of between nineteen and twenty millions, they boldly refused. In this position of affairs a royal message was delivered to the parliament, informing them that the king would himself enregister the edicts by the interposition of his authority in what was called a "bed of justice." The parliament immediately passed a formal protest against the proceedings, declaring the edicts null and void; and that whoever should attempt to carry them into execution, was a traitor to his country. This intrepid conduct of the parliament of Paris gained it great popularity: the government became alarmed, and large bodies of military were assembled at Paris; while the members of the courts of justice were accompanied to their sittings by a strong military guard, with bayonets fixed. *Lettres de cachet* were issued against the refractory members of the parliament, and some of them, including the duke of Orleans, were exiled. The parliament, however, was not to be thus put down: the members met, and passed a resolution, in which they solemnly proclaimed that they had no right to register taxes—protested against arbitrary

imprisonments, and demanded a convocation of the states-general.

It was now evident to every one that a great crisis was approaching; the popular mind was in the most intense state of excitement, and revolution seemed inevitable. Still, the ministers of Louis made a bold attempt to stifle the calls for reform which were heard on every side, and to establish the power of the crown. Calonne determined to strip the parliament of all but its judicial functions, and its powers were transferred to a *cour plénière*, the members of which were composed of the court party. This act of arbitrary authority on the part of the ministers caused the most violent opposition. The various parliaments throughout the country supported the parliament of Paris, and declared the edicts of the king to be null and void. *Lettres de cachet* were issued against the members, and they were committed to prison. This powerful opposition to the will of the court party had its effect; and driven to his last extremity, the minister agreed to a convocation of the states-general, and the suspension of the *cour plénière*. On the 8th of August, 1788, an order of council was published, fixing the convocation of the states for the 1st of May, 1789; the exiled members of the Paris and provincial parliaments were recalled, and those who had been imprisoned were liberated; Brienne was obliged to resign, and Neckar was again installed as minister. Thus the first act of the revolution may be said to have ended in a victory over the king and his ministers.

The states-general met on the 5th of May, 1789; and from this period may be dated the era of the French revolution. The assembly of the states-general was opened with great pomp at Versailles; but it was observed that when the members rose to receive the king, they all covered themselves. The third estate consisted of 565 deputies; the nobles numbered 270; and the clergy, 293: 210 of the latter were curates, and their sympathies were of course with the *tiers état*, or third estate. On the second day of the assembly a discussion arose as to the mode in which the three orders should hold their sittings, and vote. Neckar's intention was, that the clergy and nobles should form one chamber, and the commons, or *tiers état*, the other. The nobility and clergy, however, insisted on sitting separately, as two chambers; while the third estate determined that the

three orders should sit as one body. After six weeks of inaction, the *tiers état* passed a resolution declaring themselves the representatives of the nation, and that the other two orders should be considered in no other light than as deputies of corporations, who could only have a deliberative voice when they assembled in a national character with the national representatives. This motion was carried by a large majority; and by another resolution, they adopted the title of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, and declared all taxes illegal except those voted by themselves. The nobles and clergy were totally unprepared for this step; and on June 20th the hall of the *tiers état* was closed and guarded by soldiers, to prevent their meeting. The members, excluded from their place of assembly, adjourned to a tennis-court in the neighbourhood, and there bound themselves by oath not to dissolve until they had accomplished the objects for which they had been elected. In a few days they were joined by the clergy. On the 23rd, the king addressed the states-general; but his declarations were not satisfactory to the commons, as they annulled the proceedings of the 17th as illegal; and the orders were commanded to meet in different chambers. The *tiers état* refused to obey this mandate, and in a few days they carried their point, being joined by the nobility, as they had formerly been by the clergy.

While these events were passing at Versailles, the excitement in Paris had arrived at an ungovernable height. On the night of the 1st of July, the *Gardes Française* openly exhibited symptoms of disaffection, while the capital was almost in a state of insurrection. Business was totally suspended; men thronged the streets, or stood in knots at the corners of the great thoroughfares, discussing the proceedings of the states-general, and eagerly inquiring for news from Versailles. The court became alarmed for its safety, and troops were collected around the palace. At this period Neckar, the popular minister, was dismissed, which still further exasperated the people: riots ensued; and on the 14th of July, 1789, the mob proceeded to the attack of the bastille. The garrison, after resisting for some time, surrendered on promise of safety; but after obtaining possession of this celebrated prison, the mob brutally murdered the governor and three of the officers, and mounted the bloody heads of their victims on pikes. Louis was

made aware of the storming of the bastille by one of his nobility. The king received the intelligence in silence. After some time he observed: "This is a revolt." "No, sire," said the duke de Liancourt, "*It is a revolution!*"

Now commenced the active work of the revolutionists. A national guard was formed; the disaffection of the troops became almost universal; and the king, finding that he had no force on which he could rely, resolved to yield. He accordingly announced to the assembly sitting at Versailles, that he intended to proceed to Paris; and, on the 17th of August, he set out for that city, accompanied by a large number of the members of the assembly, and a motley crowd of half-armed men. Neckar was recalled; but the greatest concessions which could now be made would have failed to satisfy the revolutionists. The most horrible excesses were committed by the mob. Two of the late ministers were seized and hanged; and even the leaders of the movement found it impossible to restrain the mad excitement of the people. To add to the difficulties of the period, Paris was threatened with famine, the farmers declining to send their produce to the capital. The assembly still continued its sitting, and various important measures were passed. They then turned their attention to the forming of a new constitution, and commenced their deliberations for this purpose under the name of the "constituent assembly." After deciding on the new constitution, the assembly turned its attention to the financial state of the country. As already stated, this was in a deplorable condition.* To supply the deficit the church property was confiscated and sold. Purchasers, however, could not be found with money enough to pay for what they bought; and to meet the difficulty, *assignats* or promissory notes were given, which, by a decree of the assembly, were sanctioned as a legal currency.

The bankrupt state of the finances was, however, but little relieved by this expedient, and further issues of *assignats* were so rapidly poured into the money-market, as to depreciate materially the value of that species of security. On the 14th of July, 1790, a grand *fête* was celebrated in the Champ de Mars, on the occasion of the in-

auguration of the new constitution. Shortly after this, Neckar, whose popularity had been for some time on the wane with the fierce leaders of democracy who had risen into power, resigned and quitted France.

A new element in the revolution, and one which was to exercise great influence in the coming struggle, now took its rise in Paris—the *clubs*. These coteries afterwards rose into such importance, as completely to overawe the legislative and executive power, and were the authors and abettors of the most dreadful enormities of the revolution. It was through the clubs of Paris that Danton, Marat, and Robespierre acquired the power which they used so potently for evil; and made those men who had rejoiced at the prospect of political liberty in France, shrink with horror at the abettors of the French revolution.

Early in the year 1791, the more moderate of those who had taken a part in reforming the institutions of their country, became disgusted with the conduct of those who had become the leaders of the fickle multitude, and plans were arranged for the escape of the king from Paris; to assemble a royal army under De Bouillé; and dissolve the assembly. Unfortunately, the want of decision which characterised the king, rendered this plan abortive. The intention of escaping from Paris was not, however, given up by the royal family; and on the 20th of June, the king and queen, with the dauphin and princess Elizabeth, succeeded in leaving the capital. They proceeded in safety as far as Varennes; but they were there discovered and arrested. They were brought back to Paris as captives, and every kind of barbarity was used towards the unhappy fugitives on their journey. On entering the capital, they were received with the most frantic outcries and hooting from the mob on their way to the Tuileries. A gentleman who approached Louis, and respectfully kissed his hand, was torn to pieces, and the infuriated populace loudly demanded the head of the monarch.

The flight of the king was made use of by the democratic party as a pretext for the abolition of monarchy, and Robespierre went so far, in the assembly, as to propose the deposition and death of Louis. There were still, however, some generous spirits in the legislative body, who opposed the infamous project of the blood-thirsty tyrant who was afterwards to prove himself such a scourge to France. The subject was referred to a

* The revenue for the year 1789 amounted to £20,680,000; the debt to £244,000,000; annual charge for interest, £11,370,000: deficit on that year, £8,370,000.

committee, who reported that the royal family had been guilty of no crime. The Jacobins, under their leader Robespierre, were not however to be thus foiled in their object; and a revolt, organised by the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs, burst out on the 17th of July. Lafayette, in this instance, acted with energy, and put down the attempt at insurrection; but the Assembly pusillanimously allowed the leaders of the movement to escape without punishment. The king having had the new constitution submitted to him for approval, declared his acceptance of it on the 13th of September.* The Constituent Assembly, having accomplished their task of organising a new constitution, was now dissolved—their last act being to declare the ineligibility of its members to sit in the next legislature.

The selection of representatives in the second National Assembly increased the excitement throughout France. They were elected by universal suffrage; and the members of the Legislative Assembly (as the new body was styled) possessed but little of the talent which characterised the States-General. The resolution which the Constituent Assembly had passed, rendering its members incapable of being re-elected, was of the most pernicious tendency, as it prevented the

public from reaping the advantages of the legislative experience which the members of the first Assembly had acquired. The consequence was, that the elections being held when the public mind was in a state of the greatest ferment, the men returned as representatives were, for the most part, noisy demagogues, who had risen into eminence by flattering the passions and prejudices of the people; and they were almost all characterised by a strong anti-monarchical spirit, and neither represented the property nor the intellect of France.†

The Assembly having met, its proceedings were opened by a speech from the king, which was received with apparent approbation; the president, in his reply, assuring Louis that the united wish of the Assembly was to comply with all the patriotic and benevolent views of his majesty. The harmony between the crown and the legislature was, however, soon broken. The titles by which the king had heretofore been addressed were dropped; and severe decrees were passed against the clergy who declined to take the oath to the new constitution, the emigrants, and especially against the king's brother. Contrary to his inclination, the king was got to sanction the decree against his brother; but he could not be persuaded to approve of the others. Offence

* The history of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly, and the alterations they introduced into the French constitution, are thus summed up by Alison:—"The great evils which afflicted France were removed by its exertions. Liberty of religious worship, but imperfectly provided for in 1787, was secured in its fullest extent; torture, and the punishment of the wheel, abolished; trial by jury, publicity of criminal proceedings, the examination of witnesses before the accused, counsel for his defence, fixed by law; the ancient parliaments, the fastnesses of prejudice and partiality, suppressed, and one uniform system of criminal jurisprudence established; *lettres de cachet* annihilated; exemption from taxation on the part of the nobles and the clergy extinguished; an equal system of taxation established through the whole kingdom; the most oppressive imposts, those on salt and tobacco, the *taille*, and the tithes, suppressed; the privileges of the nobility, the feudal burdens, abolished. France owes to the Constituent Assembly the doubtful experiment of national guards; the opening of the army to courage and ability from every class of society; and the division of landed property among the poor,—the greatest benefit, when not brought about by injustice or the spoliation of others, which can be conferred upon a nation. The beneficial effect of these changes was speedily demonstrated by the consequences of the errors into which her government subsequently fell. They enabled the nation to bear and to prosper under accumulated evils, any one of which would have extinguished the national strength under the monarchy,

—national bankruptcy, depreciated assignats, civil divisions, the reign of terror, foreign invasion, the conscription of Napoleon, subjugation by Europe. The errors of the Constituent Assembly have produced consequences equally important, some still more lasting. By destroying, in a few months, the constitution of a thousand years, they set afloat all the ideas of men, and spread the fever of innovation universally throughout the empire; by confiscating the property of the church, they gave a fatal precedent of injustice, too closely followed in future years, exasperated a large and influential class, and dissolved public manners by leaving the seeds of war between the clergy and the people; by establishing the right of universal suffrage, and conferring the nomination of all offices of trust upon the nation, they habituated the people to the exercise of powers inconsistent with the monarchical form of government which they themselves had established, and which the new possessors were incapable of exercising with advantage. They diminished the influence of the crown to such a degree as to render it incapable of controlling the people, and left the kingdom a prey to factions, arising out of the hasty changes which they had introduced. Finally, by excluding themselves from the next Assembly, they deprived France of all the benefit of their experience, and permitted their successors to commence the same circle of error and innovation, to the danger of which they had been too late awakened."

† It is said there were not fifty of the members of the Legislative Assembly who possessed £100 a-year.

was taken at the conduct of the elector of Treves at this time, for allowing the emigrants to assemble in his territory and make preparations for war. Louis remonstrated with the elector, who promised compliance with what was demanded; but the movements of troops, both in Germany and France, showed that both parties were preparing for war. The people now began to entertain suspicions that the king was playing false with them; and addresses were presented to the Assembly intimating confidence in that body, but hinting their dissatisfaction with the court.

After the death of Leopold, the Austrian government presented an ultimatum to France, demanding the re-establishment of the monarchy as established in 1789; the restitution of ecclesiastical property to the clergy; and the restoration of Avignon to the pope. As was to be expected, the revolutionary leaders were indignant at the interference of Austria, and war was declared. In the commencement of the war, the arms of France met with reverses, which were attributed to the treachery of the royalists. On June the 6th, a decree was passed by the Assembly for forming a camp of 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris; while the king's guard was disbanded. At this time the republican ministry of Roland was dismissed, and one more favourable to the monarchy was formed, under the leadership of Lafayette. On the 20th of this month, a savage mob attacked the palace of the Tuileries, and burst into the very presence of the king and his family, who were for some hours in danger of their lives. Lafayette demanded from the Assembly the punishment of the rioters; but they contented themselves by replying, through their president, "that they had sworn to maintain the laws, and knew how to preserve them."

The republicans now threw off the mask; and the dethronement of the king was boldly demanded. At a *fête* given in July, Brissot declared that the danger of the country lay in the palace; and the air was rent with shouts of "down with the king! down with royalty!" The clubs in the meantime declared that all the misfortunes of the war were caused by the intrigues of the king, and succeeded in working the public mind into a state of frenzy. Of this excited condition of the populace, they in a short time took advantage. In the beginning of August the duke of Brunswick published a foolish address, which greatly aided the revolutionary cause. Petion,

the mayor of Paris, attended the Assembly; and, at the head of a band of desperadoes, he presented a petition demanding the deposition of the king. After an angry discussion, the determination of the question was adjourned to the 10th of the month. On the night of the 18th, the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs, with Danton, St. Just, and Robespierre at their head, had planned an attack on the palace, with the intention of seizing the king. At midnight the inhabitants of Paris were alarmed by the sound of the tocsin; the tread of armed men was heard in the streets, and the screams and oaths of a licentious mob broke upon the ear. The revolutionists directed their steps towards the Tuileries: a deadly contest occurred at the Place du Carrousel; but the national guard soon joined with the rioters, and the defence of the palace devolved upon the Swiss guards, who behaved with great bravery; but being unsupported, they were overpowered, and unsparingly slaughtered by the mob. The mangled corpses of the faithful Swiss were cut in pieces, and portions of them, stuck on the end of pikes, were carried in front of the triumphal procession of the rioters. On the night that the fate of the monarchy was thus sealed in blood, upwards of 3,000 persons lost their lives. During the attack on the palace, the king left the Tuileries with his family, and took refuge in the hall of the Assembly. While Louis remained in a small apartment adjoining the hall of the Legislative Assembly, a decree was passed by that body, taking from him the executive power, and ordering his imprisonment in the Temple.

The destruction of monarchy being now consummated by the sacking of the Tuileries and the imprisonment of the king, a National Convention was appointed to assemble on the 20th of September, to constitute a republic. The principal power of the state was now in the hands of the Jacobins. On the 21st, the Girondist ministers were restored to power; and Danton held the office of minister of public justice. On the 17th, the revolutionary tribunal was instituted; and, before the end of the month, thousands had been seized under its decrees, and transferred to the various prisons. This was the prelude to one of the most atrocious events connected with the revolution. The revolutionary tribunal, having crowded the prisons with the parties whom they considered obnoxious to their interests (especially the nobility and clergy), on the

morning of the 2nd of September these places were attacked—the prisoners turned out and murdered in cold blood; and the frantic wretches who were collected around the various scenes of slaughter, danced and shouted while they tore in pieces the mangled bodies of their victims. In this dreadful massacre upwards of 5,000 perished. The Legislative Assembly having closed its sittings, the National Convention met on the 20th of September, and the first measure was to proclaim a republic; at the same time the calendar was changed, 1792 being styled “the first year of the French republic.” The Convention, shortly after the commencement of its sittings, determined to impeach Louis XVI. We need not here enter into any detail of the circumstances of the trial and execution of the French king. On the 11th of December he was summoned to appear at the bar of the Convention; on the 26th of the same month he was found guilty; at midnight, on the 19th of January, 1793, he was condemned to death; and on the morning of the 21st he perished on the guillotine. The inhuman wretches who had pursued him to death were not satisfied with one sacrifice; for, in a few months, his queen, the beautiful Maria Antoinette, was also sent to the scaffold. It will be unnecessary to carry our sketch of the history of the French revolution any further. From this period until the genius of Napoleon enabled him to seize the reins of power, the records of France are written in blood; and the enormities committed during the Reign of Terror are such as almost to surpass human belief.

The severe shock given to monarchical principles by the French revolution, naturally alarmed all the crowned heads of Europe. The Austrian empire, from its intimate connexion with France, was among the first to feel anxiety at the contest which was going on between the French king and his subjects. Austria was then, as it has always been, a great military power. Its population amounted to 25,000,000; while its army consisted of 240,000 infantry and 35,000 cavalry. Prussia had recently grown into the condition of a considerable power by the genius of Frederick the Great; and England had concluded an alliance with this country, in order to counteract the influence of Russia and Austria in their designs on the East. The Prussian army was, at this time, considered the first in Europe, and consisted of 160,000 men; but, as the

whole nation was trained to military exercises, the regular troops were capable of augmentation to a large extent. At the period of the French revolution the Russian sceptre was wielded by the empress Catherine—a princess celebrated as much for her great ability, as notorious for her great crimes. The fame of her arms had lately been extended by the ability displayed by Suwaroff, in his campaign against the Turks. In 1792 the standing army of Russia consisted of upwards of 200,000 men, besides a large body of irregular horse. In the last years of the monarchy, the French military force amounted to nearly 170,000 infantry and 35,000 cavalry; but the events of the revolution had so disorganised the military affairs of the country, that a large deduction must be made from this number, to show a correct state of the French army at the commencement of the war.

So early as August, 1791, the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia had held a conference at Pilnitz, and issued a manifesto, in which they declared that the critical situation of the king of France was a matter of common interest to all European sovereigns, and that their object was to enable the king to establish a monarchical government, conformable alike to the rights of sovereigns and the welfare of the French nation. No steps, however, were taken in consequence of this declaration until after the assassination of the king of Sweden. Immediately after this occurrence, Austria and Prussia entered into a coalition to resist the republican tendency, and aid the king of France in the defence of his throne. In consequence of these movements in Austria and Prussia, war was declared by France. To resist the league which had been formed against the revolutionists, the National Assembly ordered the formation of four armies. On the northern confines of France, 40,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry were cantoned, under marshal Rochambeau, from Dunkirk to Philippeville. In the centre, 45,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry were stationed, under the marquis Lafayette, from Philippeville to Lauter. Thirty-five thousand infantry and 8,000 cavalry, under marshal Luckner, observed the course of the Rhine from Bâle to Lauterburg. A fourth army, consisting of 50,000 men, under general Montesquieu, was assembled on the side of Savoy, charged with the defence of the line of the Pyrenees and the course of the Rhone. One hundred and fifty thousand

men were put into requisition by the National Assembly, and 20,000,000 francs voted for carrying on the war. The direction of the campaign was under the guidance of general Dumourier, the minister for foreign affairs.

To resist the French force, the emperor of Germany, Francis II., and the king of Prussia agreed to furnish three armies. Sixty thousand Prussians, under the duke of Brunswick, marched by Luxembourg upon Longwy. Twenty thousand Austrians, commanded by general Clairfait, supported them on the right by occupying Stenay. Sixteen thousand Austrians, commanded by the prince Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, and 10,000 Hessians flanked the left of the Prussians. The duke of Saxe-Teschén occupied the Netherlands, and threatened the barrier fortresses. The prince de Condé and 12,000 French emigrant princes, *noblesse*, and military officers, assembled at Coblenz, Treves, Éttenheim, and Baden, where they were organized and supplied with horses and arms by the empress Catherine.

Encouraged by the slender force in the Austrian Netherlands, and the defenceless state of the country (its frontier fortresses having been dismantled by Joseph II.), towards the end of April, 1792, lieutenant-general Biron, with 10,000 men, advanced from Valenciennes, and falling in, on May 1st, with some of the Austrian light troops at Mons, two dragoon regiments took to flight, exclaiming they were surrounded and betrayed, and, throwing the infantry into confusion, the whole army fled in the greatest consternation, leaving their camp equipage, baggage, military stores and chest in the possession of the imperialists. On the very same day and hour, major-general Dillon's division of 4,000 men, destined for the siege of Tournay, on their march were encountered by a detachment from the garrison of Tournay, of about 800 men; the cavalry regiments, becoming panic-struck, rushed through the infantry and fled back to Lisle, abandoning baggage, artillery, &c., to the enemy. The scared fugitives, on reaching Lisle, massacred their leader, and, having kindled a fire in the market-place, threw his mutilated body into it, dancing round the fire with the most hideous howling.

To suppress the revolutionary proceedings, and provide for the safety of Louis XVI., as well as to resist the progress of the republican forces, the allies determined to invade France by the plains of Champagne, as the only

line of fortresses which could interrupt their march between Paris and those plains were Longwy, Verdun, and Sedan, and the forest of Argonne, which occupied a space of fifteen leagues between Verdun and Sedan. For this purpose the duke of Brunswick, on the 25th of July, broke up from Coblenz with 50,000 Prussians, 45,000 Austrians, and 12,000 emigrant French *noblesse*; and entering France on the 30th, issued the fatal proclamation, which had so powerful an effect in exciting the patriotism of the French people. On the 26th of August Longwy surrendered, and on the 2nd of September, Verdun. The last barrier and only defensible position now remaining between the capital and the enemy was the forest of Argonne, which is a belt of wood, covering a space of from thirteen to fifteen leagues from Sedan to about a league beyond St. Ménehould, and penetrable by an army through five roads or passes, named Grandpré, Chêne-Populeux, Croix-au-Bois, Chalade, and Islettes. Here Dumourier, who had succeeded to the command of the armies of Lafayette and Luckner, determined to resist the advance of the enemy. Taking his station at Grandpré, and fortifying the other passes, he awaited the arrival of reinforcements from the interior, the army of Beurnonville from the frontier of the Netherlands, and that of the north under Kellermann. But the Austrian general, Clairfait, forcing the pass of Croix-au-Bois, Dumourier, to prevent his being attacked in the rear, retreated to the fortified camp at St. Ménehould. In this retreat, the usual panic which occurs to young troops took place. Dumourier, in his report to the National Assembly, said that though a panic had seized the army, all was safe. In his *Mémoires*, his words are: "More than 10,000 men, belonging to different corps, bolted with incredible speed to the distance of thirty leagues, through Rheims, Châlons, and Vitry. But for the good conduct of Duval, Stengel, and Miranda, this retreat must have ended in an irremediable flight, and 1,500 Prussian hussars would have annihilated the whole French army." Having taken up his position at St. Ménehould, he was joined, on the 19th of September, by Kellermann and Beurnonville, when the French force amounted to 76,000 men. On the 20th, the allies arrived on the heights of La Lune. A furious cannonade was immediately commenced by the French, from the opposite heights of Valmy. This battle, if

not one of the bloodiest, was one of the noisiest on record, 40,000 cannon-shot having been fired, while the loss on each side, in killed and wounded, was less than 400 men. At nightfall, the Prussians remained under arms in their position; but the French withdrew to their intrenched camp of St. Ménehould. In this battle, the duke of Chartres, who then styled himself Philippe Egalité, but afterwards Louis Philippe, king of the French, served as a general officer with much distinction.

Troops now advancing from all the great towns of France to take the Prussians in the rear, and his army being greatly reduced in numbers by disease, want of provisions, and forage, the duke of Brunswick, on the 30th of September, struck his camp on the heights of La Lune, and withdrawing the garrisons from Verdun and Longwy, evacuated France; and, about the end of October, recrossed the Rhine. The commissioners of the Convention, as soon as they were in possession of the abandoned fortresses, took a bloody revenge on the royalist party. Among other acts of cruelty, they sent several young women, who had presented garlands of flowers to the king of Prussia on his entering their towns, to be tried and condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, as traitors to their country. While these decisive events were taking place in the central provinces, operations were in activity on the two flanks in Alsace. Lisle, which had been bombarded for six successive days by the duke of Saxe-Teschen, was relieved by generals Labourdonnaye and Beurnonville; and general Custine had captured Spire, Worms, Frankenthal, and Mayence. The danger being over, and the campaign finished, Dumourier determined to put his favourite project of an invasion of Flanders into execution. For that purpose the French army, consisting of 100,000 men, on the 4th of November entered the Austrian Netherlands (now styled Belgium), and on the 5th came up with the imperialists under Saxe-Teschen, who, with 40,000 men, occupied an extended line from Tournay to Mons; but they were too dispersed to have the means of ready concentration on their centre, consisting of 19,000 men, and which held, near

the village of Jemappes, a strongly-fortified position on the wooded heights surrounding Mons, and stretching in a circle round the town. On the 5th of November the French army, commanded by Dumourier, advanced against that position, and formed itself in a semicircle, parallel to the enemy.

At daybreak on the morning of the 6th of November the battle began, and, after various alternations, terminated in favour of the French by two o'clock, P.M. The loss of the Austrians, in killed and wounded, was about 5,000 men; that of the French, 6,000. In this encounter, Philippe Egalité headed several charges of bayonets, and eventually carried the village of Jemappes, from which the engagement takes its name. By this battle the fate of the whole of the Austrian Netherlands was decided. Tournay, Coutrai, Menai, Bruges, Ghent, Mons, Mecklin, Ostend, Brussels, &c., fell under the power of the French without a single musket-shot having been fired. Contributions and forced requisitions of men, horses, and provisions were mercilessly levied on the inhabitants; all property was seized and sold; and all contracts for provisioning the French were paid for in French assignats, at their nominal value. By the end of November, Namur and the citadel of Antwerp were the only possessions retained by the imperialists in the Austrian Netherlands. On the 22nd of December, Saxe-Teschen, who was posted at Tirlemont, being defeated, those fortresses, together with Liege, fell into the hands of the French.

While the French armies and generals were making these aggressions and spoliations in Flanders, general Custine, at the head of 20,000 men, invaded Germany, and obtained possession of Spire, Worms, Mayence, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and other towns in the small circles of the empire; and, in imitation of his compatriots in Flanders, levied heavy contributions on the people. On the southern and eastern frontier, the countries of Savoy and Nice were seized by the French armies under Montesquiou and Anselme, and the inhabitants subjected to plunder, massacre, the violation of their women, and outrages of every description, by those who pretended to be their friends and deliverers: so delusive were French professions of fraternisation.

COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

HAVING laid before the reader a brief sketch of the origin and progress of the French revolution, and the campaign of 1792, we shall now turn our attention to the circumstances which led to the declaration of war between France and England. The ministers of Britain had not been unobservant of the great changes which were in progress in France; but being determined to act on the principle that foreigners had no right to interfere in the national affairs of France, they had observed a strict neutrality, even after the dethronement and execution of the French king had taken place, and the National Assembly, by its decrees of October 27th, November 19th, and December 18th, had declared all governments their enemies, and proclaimed the doctrine of fraternisation with all those disposed to revolutionary principles in foreign states. With the intention of persevering in that system, and its confidence of the continuation of peace, the British government had reduced the number of sailors and marines to 16,000 men; had made a reduction in its very inconsiderable army; and had abolished taxes to the annual amount of £200,000. But the government of France was otherwise disposed. Among numerous hostile provocations and insults which the French had offered to Great Britain, was the violation of the treaty of commerce of 1786 by a French frigate on the coast of Malabar. The circumstances of that case were:—Sir Richard Strachan, in the *Phoenix*, meeting on the Indian coast several French merchantmen, under convoy of a French frigate, and suspecting them to be carrying ammunition and warlike stores to Tippoo Suldaun (then in a state of hostility against England), sent an officer in a boat to the captain of the French frigate, to request him to make a signal to the merchantmen to lay-to, in order that their certificates might be inspected. Instead of complying with this request, the French captain made a signal to the merchantmen to crowd all sail and escape, and at the same moment he fired on the *Phoenix*. After a brief contest, the frigate struck her flag. When complaint was made of this breach of the treaty and act of open hostility, the National Convention, instead of apologising, or issuing any order to prevent similar aggression, insolently attempted to justify the conduct of their countryman. In several

other cases which occurred, neither the executive council nor the Convention condescended any excuse or explanation.

Still the British government preserved a peaceful attitude. In the official despatch addressed (29th of December, 1792) to the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, on the subject of the proposed confederation against the French revolutionists, it was stated that the basis of the alliance should be, that the French people should be left entirely to themselves in the arrangement of their government and internal affairs; and that the efforts of the allies should be limited to the prevention of their interference with other states, or extending their conquests or propagandism beyond their own frontier; and to this effect, in the manifesto issued (29th October, 1793) to the commanders of the British forces by sea and land, a declaration of the readiness of the government for the suspension of hostilities, and the renewal of friendship between the nations, was repeated. A spirit of aggression and conquest had been displayed by the revolutionary government in a very early stage of their proceedings. In the commencement of 1791, Avignon and the Venaissin, the fiefs and seigneurial rights of the German princes, and the dominions of the bishop of Bâle, in Alsace and Lorraine, had been taken possession of and annexed to France, though the rights of the German vassals of the French crown, in those provinces, had been guaranteed by the treaty of Westphalia. On the 20th of April war was declared against the king of Bohemia and Hungary, and its intelligence diffused universal joy throughout France. In September, 1792, a like declaration was made against Sardinia, and in the ensuing October that province was united with the French republic, under the name of the department of Mont Blanc. Nice, with its territory, and Monaco, were shortly after seized, and formed into the department of the Maritime Alps. In December, the French troops took possession of Geneva, and in the course of the same month, considerable portions of the territories of the small German princes were annexed to the neighbouring departments of France. The opening of the Scheldt, in violation of the treaty of Munster, was a preparatory measure to the invasion of Holland by the republican troops.



Painted by G. B. S. P.

Engraved by J. B. P.



SEE AN AID THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION THE VOLUNTEERS

THE ATTACK UPON THE FRENCH CAMP ON THE HILLS OF FAMARS NEAR VALENCIENNES.

The endeavours of the revolutionary agents of France to propagate their principles and doctrines through the medium of the London Corresponding and other societies of the like description, created much apprehension and alarm on the part of the British government. In a correspondence which ensued between the British cabinet and the French ambassador—"England," said lord Grenville, in a note to M. Chauvelin, the French envoy, "never will consent that France shall arrogate to herself the power of annulling at pleasure, and under cover of a pretended national right (of which she makes herself the sole judge), the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers. This government will also never see with indifference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is

really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, let her renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, disturbing their tranquillity, or violating their rights." The French envoy's reply was:—"The design of the Convention has never been to engage itself to make the cause of some foreign individuals the cause of the whole French nation. But when a people, enslaved by a despot, shall have had the courage to break its chains; when this people, restored to liberty, shall be constituted in a manner to make clearly heard the expression of the general will; when that general will shall call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation;—it is then that the decree of the 19th of November will find its natural application: and this cannot appear strange to any one."

OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN HOLLAND—SIEGE OF VALENCIENNES.

THE Convention having, on February the 1st, 1793, declared war against England, Holland, and Spain, 20,000 English troops, under the command of the duke of York, were sent to Holland, and, when united to 10,000 Hanoverians and Hessians in British pay, were to co-operate with the allies in resisting the progress of the French. On the 25th of March, a treaty of alliance was entered into between Great Britain and Russia; and, in the ensuing months of April, May, July, August, and September, similar treaties were concluded with Sardinia, Spain, Naples, Russia, and Austria. The prince of Coburg was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied armies from the Rhine to the German Ocean.

The French general Dumourier, who had long been dissatisfied with the proceedings of the republicans in Paris, commenced the operations of this year by the invasion of the Dutch territory. He reduced Breda and Gertruydenberg. Siege was also laid to Williamstadt; but owing to Miranda, who had been left to besiege Maestricht, having been driven from his lines by the Austrians, Dumourier was obliged to fall back upon Flanders. Dumourier, having reorganised the army, another battle was fought on March 18th. The French, being defeated with a severe loss, they were com-

pelled to abandon all their conquests in Belgium; and Dumourier, apprehensive of the resentment of the club of Jacobins, where his head had been loudly called for as a sacrifice to national justice, entered, under pretence of treaty about the wounded and prisoners, into a conference with the prince of Saxe-Coburg and the allied generals, for the suspension of arms and the restoration of the constitutional government of 1791. But, being discovered in his designs, he was compelled to seek refuge within the Austrian lines, with 1,500 of his adherents. The remainder of the French army, being collected in the entrenched camp at Famars, under the walls of Valenciennes, were placed under the command of general Dampierre.

The prince of Saxe-Coburg, who was now at the head of 52,000 men, having been joined by the troops which had arrived under the duke of York, determined to undertake the siege of Condé and Valenciennes. To defeat that object, on the 1st of May the French general Dampierre attacked the allied position, but was repulsed with the loss of 2,000 men. Renewing the battle on the 8th, he again met the same fate; except in the wood of Vicogne, where the English guards, advancing to the assistance of the Prussians,

who had been driven back, the French fled to their fortified position in great confusion. This was the first occasion in which English and French soldiers were brought into collision during the French revolutionary wars. On the 23rd, the allies advanced to the attack of the entrenched camp at Famars, which covered Valenciennes; but Lamarthe, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Dampierre, unwilling to await the issue, evacuated his position during the night, and fell back to Cæsar's Camp, near the Scheldt. The investment of Valenciennes immediately took place, and the conduct of the siege was entrusted to the duke of York. On the 14th of June the trenches were opened, and a vigorous and incessant fire was kept up on the place from 250 pieces of heavy artillery and ninety mortars. The garrison, consisting of 9,000 men, under the command of general Fer-rand, made a gallant defence. On the night of the 25th, three globes of compression being fired under the glacis and hornwork of the fortress, the assembled columns immediately rushed forward and carried the outworks. Next day the place surrendered, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war. During the siege, 84,000 cannon-balls, 20,000 shells, and 48,000 bombs had been thrown into Valenciennes. More than half the town had been reduced to ashes or battered to pieces. On the 8th of August, the French were driven from the strong position of Cæsar's Camp. The Prussians, after a siege of three months, captured Mayence on July 25th. On the 14th of September, Moreau had been beaten by the Prussians, with the loss of 4,000 men and twenty-two cannon; and on the 13th of October he was driven from the lines of Weissembourg in the greatest confusion.

To retrieve the desperate fortune which beset the republic at this time, the Convention, at the suggestion of the Committee of

Public Safety, decreed a levy of 1,200,000 men, ordered a tax of a milliard of francs (forty millions sterling) to be levied upon the rich, and converted all the old claims on the state into a great revolutionary debt.

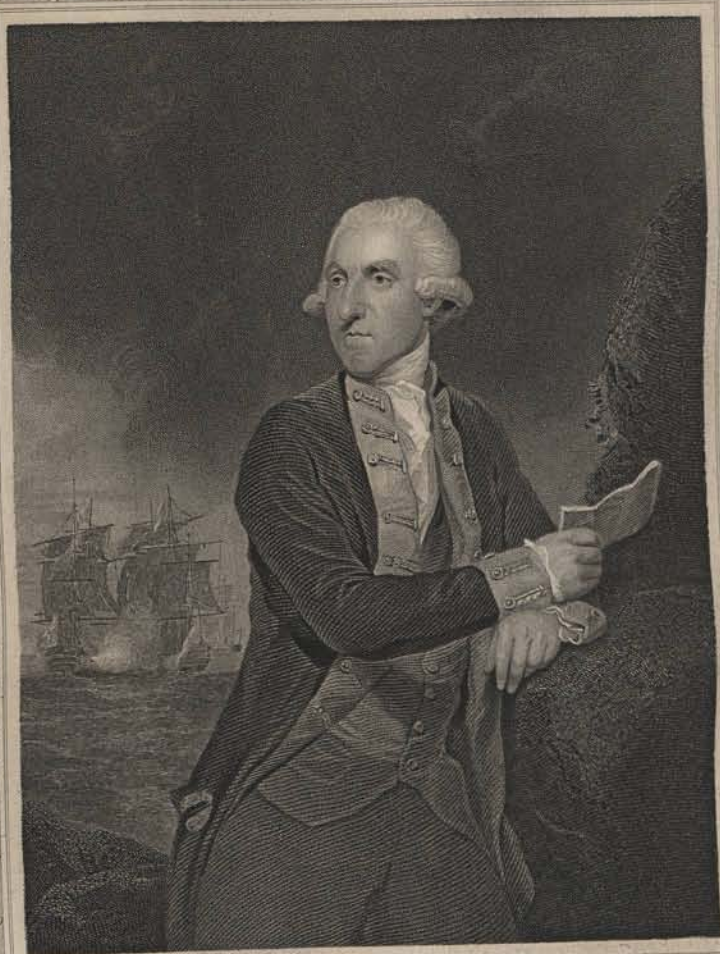
After the French had been driven from Cæsar's Camp, in a council of war held by the allies, it was determined that the British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Hessians should form a distinct army, under the command of the duke of York. On the 18th of August the duke advanced to the relief of the hereditary prince of Orange, who was enveloped by the French. The prince was liberated by a gallant charge of the English guards under general Lake, and the French were driven from the strong post of Lincelles. The enemy, abandoning their camp at Ghivelde, the duke advanced to Dunkirk, and laying siege to that place, opened the breaches on the 24th; but finding his army harassed by Houchard, who had, in a series of engagements between the 5th and 7th of September, defeated the Austrian covering army, under marshal Freytag, the duke of York on the 8th raised the siege, leaving fifty-two pieces of heavy artillery and a large quantity of baggage and ammunition in the hands of the enemy.

Various other operations were undertaken by the allies in this campaign; and the arrival at Ostend of a considerable armament, under sir Charles Grey, aided in retarding the advance of the French, and the Netherlands remained in the possession of the allies for the remainder of the year. In the following campaign (1794), a series of disasters, which were brought about by disagreements among the allies themselves, prevented the army under the duke of York from performing any brilliant exploit; and after the united provinces, in the winter of 1794-'5, had been seized by France, the English government dismissed the Hanoverian contingent, and the British troops embarked for the East Indies.

OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH NAVY—SIEGE OF TOULON.

At the opening of the war with France, the British navy consisted of 129 ships-of-the-line and more than 100 frigates; and the number of able-bodied seamen in her fleets was raised to 85,000. Few of our ships, however, were fit for immediate service. The Channel fleet, under lord Howe, put

to sea on the 14th of July: it consisted of fifteen sail-of-the-line. Having learned that a French squadron, consisting of seventeen men-of-war, was to the west of Belleisle, and being reinforced with two more ships, he sailed in quest of the enemy. On the 31st the French fleet was seen in the latitude of



Engraved by H. Robinson.

SAMUEL, FIRST VISCOUNT HOOD.

OB. 1816.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SER. J. REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE VISCOUNTESS BRIDPORT.

Belleisle. Howe made all sail to come up with the enemy; but the French ships being fast sailers, they got away; and Howe, having protected some West Indian ships, returned to Torbay. He again sailed in October, and kept cruising in the Channel until the 10th of December, but gained no more important advantage than securing the safety of one or two convoys of merchant ships. During the year several frigate actions took place, in which the British had on every occasion the advantage. In North America, the French small fishing islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the coast of Newfoundland, were, on the 14th of May, taken possession of by brigadier-general Ogilvie. In the West Indies, the island of Tobago was, on the 15th of April, captured by major-general Cuyler. In September, the British took possession, in consequence of an arrangement with the inhabitants, of Cape Nicholas Mole, in the island of St. Domingo. In the East Indies, Pondicherry and all the French settlements on the coast of Malabar, as well as those which were in the vicinity of Bengal, surrendered to the British arms: an event which was the prelude of the total extinction of French power in the East.

In the month of July, lord Hood, with a squadron of seven ships-of-the-line and four frigates, was cruising in the Mediterranean. The excesses of the republicans, and the destruction of the Girondist party by the Jacobins, had caused the outbreak of a civil war of an important character in the south of France. At Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon the inhabitants rose against the Jacobin party, and put the leaders to death. In Toulon, Louis XVII. was proclaimed king.

A communication from the royalists was received by lord Hood, requesting assistance to resist the oppression and tyranny of the extreme revolutionary party: and it was intimated to him that the Toulonese were prepared to give up their fleet to the English admiral, and put him in possession of the forts. On the 29th of August a treaty was concluded with Hood, by which the inhabitants agreed that the harbour should be thrown open to the British fleet, and the dauphin proclaimed king. Lord Hood, on the other part, engaged that the town was to be held by the English in trust for Louis XVII., and should be restored with the ships and the forts at the close of the war. The British then entered Toulon, and took possession of the forts which commanded the outer roads and the

entrance into the harbour; Hood also occupied Fort La Mague, and other ports and batteries, which gave him the command of the town and the French shipping. The French admiral Trogoff hoisted the royal colours; but his second in command, St. Julian, hoisted the tricolour, and called on the sailors to stand by him and save the fleet of their country. The English ships having entered the outer harbour, and the forts which commanded his ships being in possession of the English, who threatened to fire on him, the Jacobin commander hauled down the tricolour and abandoned the ships. An arrangement was then made with the republican seamen, by which they were to get four ships-of-the-line, after they had been disarmed, to carry them to ports in the Atlantic. Thus the English admiral obtained possession of Toulon, with all its arsenals, stores, and a large fleet.

In the meantime the republicans had been taking a bloody revenge on the revolted towns. At Marseilles the revolt had been suppressed by general Carteaux, and all who had been engaged in the insurrection, or were supposed to have been favourable to it, were mercilessly sent to the guillotine. Kellermann's army had been directed to Lyons to reduce that town to obedience; but the Lyonnaise had nobly defended their city, and defied the utmost efforts of Kellermann to force them to surrender. Their town was a heap of smoking ruins; but still the brave inhabitants fought with the greatest daring; and it was not till attacked with the gaunt enemy, famine, that they capitulated. The siege had continued from the 29th of July till the 10th of October. Here the cruelty and massacres committed by the Jacobins exceeded even what had been perpetrated at Marseilles. The operations of the guillotine were too slow to quench the thirst for blood, and the unfortunate inhabitants were taken out in bodies of two or three hundred at a time, and being bound together in fifties or sixties, were fired upon by the gendarmie, and thus destroyed by musketry and grape shot.

These horrible enormities warned the Toulonese of their coming fate. Carteaux marched from Marseilles to invest Toulon. He acted very cautiously. His nearest post was on the top of a steep hill, not less than four miles distant from the works of Toulon. Captain Elphinstone having learned that a detachment of Carteaux's army, consisting of a considerable body of infantry, some cav-

ally, and ten guns, had been moved to within five miles from Fort La Mague, with instructions to take possession of the heights that commanded the powder magazine of Milaud, determined on attacking the French in their position. On the 31st of August, 300 British, and the same number of Spaniards, advanced under captain Elphinstone. On coming up with the enemy, he was found very advantageously posted, with a bridge in his front, and two pieces of cannon placed on it. Notwithstanding these advantages, the French were soon compelled to retreat, leaving in the hands of the British their cannon, horses, and ammunition. The French force consisted of 800 men. The loss sustained by the Spaniards and British in this affair, was four killed and fourteen wounded. General Lapoype was sent to the assistance of Carteaux with 4,000 men of the Italian army; and this force was speedily increased by volunteers. While the number of the besiegers was thus increased, lord Hood made every preparation possible to meet the force which he knew was accumulating around him. He was joined by the Spanish admiral, Langara, and a Spanish force of 3,000 men, under Roussillon; the Neapolitan fleet also, with some land troops on board, co-operated with him. About the same time military aid was sent by the king of Sardinia.

By the end of September, the French had advanced close to the English posts, and frequent encounters of little importance took place, the besiegers generally being repulsed with loss. On the 28th of that month, they opened a battery which mounted twenty-four 24-pounders, and which commanded the British gun-boats and the ships that covered them. Admiral Gell and his division replied to the cannonade from this battery; but although the fire from the British ships frequently dismounted the guns, the French as promptly repaired the damage done, and replaced their cannon in position. Lord Mulgrave, who had been travelling on the continent, and had arrived at Toulon early in the month, had been prevailed on by Hood to take the command of the troops. On the night of the 30th, the French, taking advantage of a fog, advanced unperceived against the heights of Pharaon, adjoining Toulon, and compelled the Spaniards, who held this commanding

position, to withdraw. On the following morning, lord Mulgrave determined to retake the heights, and advancing with a force of Spanish, Sardinian, Neapolitan, and British troops, he attacked the French, and, after an obstinate resistance, drove them from their newly-acquired position in gallant style. The republican force amounted to 1,800 or 2,000 men, and they lost nearly three-fourths of their numbers; while the loss of the British and their allies was only eight killed, seventy-two wounded, and forty-eight prisoners.

The next important operation in the defence of Toulon occurred on the 8th of October. The French had erected three batteries, which gave them a command over the shipping in the roads: it was therefore determined that these batteries should be demolished; and on the evening of the day above-mentioned, a detachment of the combined forces, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Nugent, marched to the attack. The approach to the batteries lay up a steep and difficult ascent, but the troops performed the arduous duty in excellent style; the redoubts being stormed and carried with a very trifling loss. The guns and works were all effectually destroyed, and the detachment returned to its quarters.

At this time a want of unanimity among the various commanders tended to increase the difficulties with which lord Hood had to contend. The Spanish government had appointed an officer as commander-in-chief of the combined forces of Toulon, which appointment lord Hood very properly refused to recognise. Other circumstances had given rise to petty jealousies, and a want of confidence existed among the allies. General O'Hara soon after arrived from Gibraltar with two regiments of infantry and some artillerymen, and assumed the command of Toulon and of the allied forces. The number of the allies at this time amounted to 11,000 men, and some reinforcements shortly after arriving, increased them to 14,000. At the time of the arrival of general O'Hara, the besieging force around Toulon more than doubled the number of the besieged. Carteaux had been superseded in the command of the republican troops by general Dugommier, who arrived before the place early in October. Napoleon Buonaparte* had been with

* As this was the first time that Napoleon was opposed to the English, we shall here give a brief sketch of his early career. Napoleon Buonaparte was born

on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica. His father was, by profession, an advocate of sessions in that town; but, in the struggle

general Dugommier at Nice, and he stood high in that officer's opinion, from his ac-

for Corsican liberty, under general Paoli, he manifested his patriotism in the ranks of his countrymen, as adjutant to Paoli against the French. When about ten years old, he accompanied his father in the deputation from the Corsican *noblesse* to the French king, and was placed (April 23rd, 1779) in the Royal Military School at Brienne, into which the count of Marbœuf had procured him admission. While in that establishment, he was distinguished for his assiduous attention to his studies. To adopt his own words, he "wanted to learn, to know everything, and to distinguish" himself.

When sixteen years of age he was examined by the celebrated La Place, and obtained the brevet of a second lieutenancy in the artillery regiment La Fère. He joined his regiment at Valence, in Dauphiné, and while in garrison in that place, competed for the prize medal offered for the best answer to Raynal's question. In 1792 he became captain of artillery; and in 1793, having obtained leave of absence, he visited Corsica. While in that island he was importuned by Paoli (who had been appointed by the Constituent Assembly to the command in chief in Corsica) to join the intended effort to reassert the independence of Corsica. To attach him to his interest, he appointed him colonel of one of the two battalions of national militia which had been raised at Ajaccio; and, among other flatteries to induce him to co-operate, the wily Corsican used to pat him on the back, and tell him he was "one of Plutarch's men—cast in the mould of the antique." Napoleon, however, was not to be won: he rejected the proposal, seeing, as it has been graphically said, "that Corsica was no longer the scene on which the love of freedom or military prowess could take their loftiest stand; and that the great drama which Paoli had rehearsed in his younger days, in an obscure corner (to which he still wished to confine it), had got a kingdom for a stage, and nations to behold the swelling act." He turned a deaf ear to the entreaties and persuasions of the veteran chief, and joined the French party, under the command of Salicetti. His first service was the capture of the small fortress called the Torre di Capitello, near Ajaccio. On account of his departure from the national cause, he and his family were banished from Corsica, and their property confiscated. They retired to Marseilles, and Napoleon Buonaparte returning to Paris, soon joined his regiment at Auxonne, in Burgundy. Having been about this time recommended by his countryman, Salicetti, to the notice of Barras, he rapidly passed through the various grades of promotion, obtained a colonelcy, and was employed in the south of France in preventing the convoys of ammunition by the insurgents to Marseilles, which was defended by the partisans of the Bourbons, who had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the republican form of government. For the services he had rendered, he was appointed by the government to the command of the artillery of the army besieging Toulon, under the direction of general Carteaux.

An amusing anecdote is recorded in the *Memoir* of Las Cases, of a transaction that took place during this siege. A number of the Parisians arriving at the camp in fifteen splendid carriages, demanded an audience of the commander-in-chief, and reproaching him with inactivity and delay in its

tivity and military skill. Napoleon had arrived at Toulon some time before Du-

operations, and the breach of his orders issued by the Conventional sages, "to capture the fortress in three days," said, "We are volunteer gunners from Paris: we burn with ardour to fulfil our country's expectations: furnish us with arms; to-morrow we will march upon the enemy." The commander-in-chief stood confounded; but, at Napoleon Buonaparte's suggestion, directed them to man on the morrow a park of artillery on the beach. When the Parisian military critics entered on their duties, an English frigate, observing a great bustle among the guns, saluted them with an interrogative broadside; and as there were no batteries or epaulments to shelter the embryo heroes, they were very quickly sent to the right-about; and not feeling an inclination to return "to fulfil their country's expectations," they furnished the camp with a fit of laughter at the rapid and dexterous use they made of their heels. Two other anecdotes of the military mania which had taken hold of the minds of the Parisians are not uninteresting. Above 600 plans, concocted by the good people of Paris for the conduct of the siege, were transmitted to the camp during the brief space of time that Napoleon Buonaparte commanded the artillery. In this siege, Napoleon received three slight wounds—one in the head, one in the thigh, and one in the side; which last he received from the bayonet of an English serjeant of marines, at the time of the capture of general O'Hara. This last wound, when it healed, left a hollow mark behind which never filled up, and was visible when he was a corpse, after the lapse of twenty-eight years from the time of its infliction.

The surrender of Toulon established the reputation of Napoleon Buonaparte as a man of commanding abilities and a consummate officer. He was accordingly made a brigadier-general, and appointed to survey, and put into a proper state of defence, the whole line of fortifications skirting the Mediterranean coast of France. Having executed the undertaking to the satisfaction of the war minister, Carnot, he was appointed to the chief command of the artillery of the army of the Maritime Alps, serving under general Dumerbion.

His services at Oneille, Del Cairo, Saorgio, and particularly in the dislodgment of the Sardinians from the narrow ravine between the mountains which separate France from Italy (known as the Col-di-Tendi), and which gave the French the command of the range of the higher Maritime Alps, thus removing the difficulties of their advance into Italy, were rewarded by the commander-in-chief's declaration to the Committee of War:—"I am indebted," said he, "to the comprehensive talents of general Buonaparte for the plans which have ensured our victory." Shortly after this event, he was sent by the war minister on a secret mission to Genoa, on matters of diplomatic importance. On his return, he was arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the ambitious designs and schemes of tyranny of Robespierre, suspended from his military rank, and arraigned before the Committee of Public Safety. But after having been imprisoned a fortnight, his innocence appearing on inquiry, an order was issued for his release.

Not meeting with any military employment on his release, he joined his family, who then were struggling in very distressed circumstances at Mar-

gommier, and found that the operations adopted for the reduction of the fortress

seilles. Here he fell in love with a Mademoiselle Clery (whose sister was afterwards married to his brother Joseph, and she herself became the wife of Bernadotte, and subsequently the queen of Sweden), whom he would have married; but his circumstances were such as not to enable him to support a wife and supply the exigences of a family. On his return to Paris (1793), he solicited the war-office for employment, but his application being disregarded, he was so deficient of the means of support, as to be glad to employ himself in the office of the Topographical Committee, and for Norvins, the mapseller and publisher, in drawing maps and topographical plans. At this period of his life, his circumstances were so straitened, that, according to Bourrienne, such was his difficulty in finding daily funds to pay for his dinner, that he was under the necessity of pawning his watch. To obtain supplies for his necessities, his fancy was fruitful in devices. "Every day," says Bourrienne, "we conceived some new project or other." Such is generally the conduct of professional, talented men, while pining in obscurity and neglect.

Indignant and disgusted at the treatment he received, he meditated entering the Turkish service, and with that view transmitted a proposal to the war-office to train the Turkish army, and instruct it in European tactics, so as to enable that power to resist the aggressions of Russia; at the same time soliciting permission to organise the Turkish artillery. "With the European tactics," said he, to a friend, "I will teach the Turks to pass over three centuries at once. I will impale ten regiments, if necessary, to reduce one to obedience." And he closed his remarks with the following memorable observation:—"Would it not be strange, should a Corsican soldier become king of Jerusalem?" While awaiting the result of his application respecting his Turkish scheme, he was appointed to the command of a brigade of artillery in Holland; but the appointment was superseded by a course of events which gave a new direction to his hopes and his prospects, and enrolled him in the order of marked and distinguished men, who have given a tone and direction to the thoughts of men calculated to improve and revolutionise the world.

The tyranny and usurpation of the Convention having become too odious and insupportable to retain public confidence, and ensure domestic peace and security, a remodelment of the government was contemplated. It was proposed, that in the choice of representatives, two-thirds of the present members of the Convention should be chosen, and if that number was not elected, the deficiency should be made up out of their own body. This proposal was rejected as a restriction on the freedom of election. The Convention persisting in their pretensions, the citizens assembled in the several sections of Paris, and declaring their hostility to their measures, proceeded to nominate electors for choosing the new members. The national guards joined in the opposition. To oppose the insurgent sections (which were forty-eight out of the fifty-three into which Paris was subdivided), general Menou was ordered to march at the head of a column of troops, dissolve the assemblies, and disarm the national guard. When he arrived in the section Lepelletier, he found the national guards under the command of Danican, an old general of no great

were not only erroneous, but absolutely impracticable. The batteries had been con-

skill and reputation, drawn up at the end of the Rue Vivienne, in readiness to resist the dissolution of their Assembly; and not being able to persuade that body to obey the commands of the Convention, he retraced his steps to report the proceedings to his employers.

To remedy Menou's indecision, the Committee of Public Safety appointed Barras commander-in-chief; and, on his recommendation, supported by that of the representatives who had been with the army at Toulon and Nice, and by others who had become acquainted with the great resources of his genius as a member of the Topographical Committee, Napoleon was appointed second in command, but in reality with the entire command. Immediately on being invested with his authority, he proceeded to make preparations for carrying into execution the designs of his employers. He seized the artillery at Sablons, put himself at the head of the troops in Paris, and sent 800 muskets to the Convention, that they might arm themselves during their sittings.

Matters remained in suspense between the two adverse parties till the following day, when 40,000 of the national guards advanced, by different streets, to the attack of the Tuileries, in which the Convention held its sittings. The Conventional troops were in readiness to resist them, drawn up in the Place Louis Quinze and the Place du Carrousel. The artillery was planted on the bridges and other places, in position, at the crossings of the streets through which the national guard must advance to the attack; and as soon as it reached the church of St. Roche, Rue St. Honoré, the fire of the artillery commenced, and at the same moment all the batteries opened their fire, spreading death and destruction in every direction. The insurgent troops, after less than an hour's contest, taking to flight, the Conventional forces marched into the various disaffected sections, and disarmed the inhabitants. The killed and wounded amounted to about 200 on each side.

For this important service, which secured the triumph of the members of the Convention, Buonaparte was appointed governor of Paris and commander-in-chief of the army of the interior. In the execution of the duties of this office, he formed an acquaintance destined to be of no small importance to him in his future career. This acquaintanceship originated in a singular circumstance.

One morning, at his military levee, a boy about twelve or thirteen years' old presented himself, and entreated Napoleon Buonaparte that his father's sword should be returned to him. His father, the late viscount Beauharnais, had been a general in the service of the republic, and had fallen under the axe of the guillotine a few days before the death of Robespierre. "I was so touched," says Napoleon, "by this affectionate request, that I ordered the sword to be given to him. This boy was Eugene Beauharnais. On seeing the sword, he burst into tears. I felt so much affected by his conduct, that I noticed and praised him much. A few days afterwards, his mother came to return me a visit of thanks. I was much struck with her appearance, and still more with her fascinating address." The lady was Josephine, his future wife, to whom he was married on the 9th of March, 1796.

Three days after the solemnisation of the marriage rites, Napoleon Buonaparte left Paris to take the

structed two gunshots' distance from the walls, and three from the English shipping. The balls, also, were heated at so great a distance, that they became cold before they reached the guns. He pointed out these errors (in addition to that of attacking the body of the place, instead of the forts situated on the Hauteur de Grasse and the mountain of Pharaon) to Carteaux; but that officer told him that his assistance was not wanted, but that he was welcome to stay and partake in *his glory*, without sharing the fatigue. As Carteaux was obstinate, and would not listen to advice, Napoleon Buonaparte requested him to give his instructions in writing, that they might be taken as a guide in arranging the measures necessary to support the attack. When he had obtained the document, he made marginal comments on it, pointing out its unscientific character, and transmitted it to the Committee of the Convention. The consequence was Carteaux's recall, and the appointment of Doppet. Dugommier, on his arrival, treated Buonaparte with more respect than the other generals who had been in command, and he was speedily promoted to the rank of a *chef de battalion*. He immediately occupied himself with reorganising the artillery, and advanced the batteries nearer the city. He erected batteries to command the shipping in the harbour and the roadstead, remarking, that it was the object of the assailants to compel the British to evacuate Toulon; and that if the ships were compelled to retire, the troops would not remain. The promontory of La Grasse overlooks the town, and commands both harbours. Forts L'Aiguillette and Ballaguiet, erected on this height, were occupied by the English, and being manned by the troops who had arrived from Gibraltar, the position was named "Little Gibraltar." Batteries having been erected by Napoleon against these forts, on the evening of the 15th of November a vigorous attack was made on them by the republican forces. On the right of the position a body of Spaniards was placed, and these being first attacked, they got into disorder, and firing their muskets in the air, retreated. Major-general O'Hara, however, advanced at the head of a company of the royals, and leaping the works, charged with the

bayonet and drove the enemy back. The loss sustained by the republicans on this occasion amounted to 600 men. The British loss, in killed and wounded, was only sixty-one.

The troops of Dugommier had obtained possession of a height opposite Fort Malbosquet, on which they erected a battery of twenty guns, very severely annoying the garrison in the fort, and endangering the arsenal in its neighbourhood. General O'Hara determined to attack this height and destroy the guns. To effect this object, major-general Dundas marched, on the morning of the 30th, with a detachment of 2,200 men to the attack. The men advanced in the most gallant manner, scaled the heights in the teeth of a tremendous fire, drove the enemy from their guns, and had begun to spike them. The troops, however, led away by their success, impetuously rushed on after the retreating foe, with the intention of carrying the neighbouring forts, instead of forming on the heights they had so nobly won. Napoleon Buonaparte observing the injudicious advance of the British troops, threw himself, with a battalion, into a hollow which was screened by some willow trees, and thus escaped the notice of the British until they were close upon the ambuscade. General O'Hara was at the head of his men, and mistaking the republicans, when he first observed them, for a portion of the allies, he still pushed on, and was only undeceived when a volley was poured on him, by which he was wounded in the arm. He now made every effort to rally his troops, but being overpowered by numbers, and getting faint from loss of blood, he directed the soldiers who supported him to look after their own safety, and leave him to his fate. Dispirited by the loss of their leader, and hemmed in on all sides by the superior force of the enemy, the British still made a brave attempt to cut their way through the French troops, and regain their own lines. In this desperate struggle, Napoleon Buonaparte received a bayonet wound, and was carried off the field by a young artillery officer. General Dugommier was wounded in the knee. The loss of the allies on this occasion was very severe, that of the British being more than two-thirds of the number which

command of the army of Italy. The following extract from Josephine's *Memoirs* throws some light on this appointment:—"Barras assures me, that if I marry the general [meaning Napoleon Buonaparte],

he shall have the chief command of the army of Italy." It was always supposed that there was a very *intimate friendship* subsisting between Barras and Josephine.

had been engaged. The loss of the commander-in-chief, who was taken prisoner, was severely felt by the allies. Dissensions again broke out amongst them; the Spaniards and Sardinians wishing to withdraw from the place: and a report was circulated that general O'Hara had been tampered with, and had wilfully allowed himself to be taken. The French in the meantime actively advanced the siege works, and by the morning of the 16th they had erected several batteries in front of the allied forts of La Grasse. On the morning of the 17th, while it was yet dark, and in the midst of a storm of wind and rain, the republicans commenced the attack. The English troops behaved with their usual gallantry, and repelled the attack upon them for some time; but being deserted by the Spaniards, who had been entrusted with the defence of one of the redoubts, and from which the French had driven them (their own guns being now turned against them), they were compelled to retire to Fort L'Aiguillette. The besiegers had now obtained a position from which they could cannonade the ships in the harbour, and the town itself. In consequence of this success of the republicans, a council of war was held by the allies. At this council it was decided that Toulon should be evacuated; that such of the French ships as were fit for sea should be carried off, and the others destroyed. Intimation was to be given to the royalists, in order that as many as possible of them should embark with the allies. To carry out the resolutions agreed to by the council of war, the combined forces were to unite their efforts, and retain possession of the forts and positions which they held until everything was ready for the meditated retreat. At the time when this resolution was come to, the investing force amounted to not less than 50,000 men, while the British and their allies could not muster more than 11,000.

Preparations for the evacuation of Toulon were commenced on the morning of the 18th. The sick and wounded and the field-artillery were first got on board. The troops were concentrated in the town, ready to embark at night, under the guns of Fort La Mague. This became known to the enemy, as the troops were observed moving towards the fort. The republicans in the town, who had been but imperfectly disarmed, immediately began to barricade their houses, and opened a harassing fire on

the allies and their royalist countrymen. The troops, however, arrived in good order at fort La Mague, and the embarkation commenced. Upwards of 15,000 of the royalists embarked along with the allies. Sir Sidney Smith, who had arrived at Toulon a fortnight before its evacuation, offered his services to conduct the blowing-up of the powder magazines and the French ships of war which could not be brought off. The Spanish admiral (Langara) had engaged to destroy the ships in one of the basins, and also to send three gun-boats to co-operate with the English.

Sir Sidney Smith, taking with him on this service a tender and six gun-boats, proceeded to the arsenal to prepare the combustible matter necessary for the explosion of the ships. When he arrived at the arsenal, he found that the workmen employed there had mounted the tricolour cockade, and that 600 galley-slaves who had been confined in the dockyard were throwing off their irons, and viewed the operations of the allies with no friendly eyes. To overawe these, sir Sidney placed the *Swallow* tender so as that her guns enfiladed the quay, and set about distributing the combustibles. The shot and shells from the besiegers were now falling thick and fast in the town, and in the midst of sir Sidney's little party. This, however, was rather advantageous to them than otherwise, as it served to keep the Jacobin portion of the population in their houses. As the evening advanced, a party of the enemy attacked the dockyard, and poured in an irregular fire of musketry upon the British; they were, however, driven back by discharges of grapeshot from one of the gun-boats, which was speedily brought to bear upon them.

All being ready, the signal was given, the matches applied to the trains, and instantly a terrific glare burst from the arsenal. The besiegers, by the light thus supplied, could distinctly see the English, and they redoubled their discharges of artillery, being enabled to take aim with greater precision than before. The *Vulcan* fire-ship now increased the din. Her guns were double-shotted, and as the flames made way to them, exploded in startling succession. The republicans shouted on the hills; they were answered by the 'huzzas' of the English sailors; but, presently, a great powder-ship in the harbour outside of the basin, and between the English flotilla and the allied fleet, blew up. This ship the

Spaniards were to have scuttled and sunk; but instead of doing so, they had set it on fire, and a companion ship. The flaming timbers of both were thrown up to a great height, and, in their descent, one of the gun-boats and one of the ships' boats were struck and dashed to pieces. An officer and three men lost their lives; the rest of their crews were saved. Having fired several other trains, sir Sidney and his followers left the quay of the arsenal and went to the inner harbour, where the Spanish officer, who was to have destroyed the ships in the other basin, reported that he had not been able to enter it, as a boom had been thrown across the narrow mouth, and the firing of the enemy was incessant. Sir Sidney immediately sent back his English boats and the Spanish mortar-boat to see what they could effect, but the favourable opportunity was lost; and after a vain attempt to cut through the boom, the boats were obliged to withdraw. The flotilla still remained to assist the helpless fugitives who were frantically petitioning for relief. Those who were known to be royalists had been removed; but the republicans who were then pouring into the town, massacred all they met without distinction. Assailed on every side, momentarily in danger of being sunk by the cross fires from the various forts, sir Sidney Smith had still the intrepid humanity not to retire. By a well-directed fire he drove back the blood-thirsty Jacobins, and received on board his flotilla many who, but for this generous effort, must have fallen victims to their fury. In the inner harbour there were two 74-gun ships. One of them had been converted into a prison, and those on board had threatened the most violent hostility; but the fearful conflagration which spread around them completely subdued their desperate resolution; and when offers were made to remove them to land, they thankfully accepted them. When that had been done, both ships were set on fire; and sir Sidney was then leaving, when another powder-ship blew up with a more terrific explosion than the former, and its fragments threatened destruction to the flotilla, which was near; but, happily, no serious damage was sustained from it. Nine ships-of-the-line, besides various erections on shore, and magazines, had been destroyed; and the flotilla, its task completed, returned past the batteries of Ballaguier and L'Aiguillette to lord Hood in the outer road. One of the ships given to the flames

was of 84 guns, one of 76, seven of 74, and two of 24. There were brought off one of 120, two of 74, one of 40, four frigates, and seven corvettes and smaller craft, which now sailed for the isles of Hières, whither lord Hood withdrew.

On the evacuation of Toulon by the allied forces, it was immediately entered by the republicans, who soon proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the unfortunate inhabitants. Hundreds of them were drawn out in lines and fired upon with grapeshot. On this occasion general Dugommier endeavoured to save the Toulonese from the savage cruelty to which they were doomed by the blood-thirsty Jacobins. His address to the deputies sent to the Convention, exhibits his humanity in as strong a light as his conduct of the siege had proved his bravery and ability. Addressing these savages, he said: "Deputies,—Doubtless there were in this town traitors who delivered it over to the English; but the most criminal among them have fled. If there be any guilty men who have been so bold as to await the national vengeance, time will point them out; they will serve to establish your justice, as well as to appease the animosities which civil wars produce. If you punish to-day, every passion will select its victims. Look at this town, deserted and laid waste! Whom would you immolate?—old people, women, and children, who never bore arms against us." The manly speech of Dugommier had no effect on the deputies of the republic. Freron, in writing to the French government, exultingly stated that, besides the massacres which had taken place when the town was taken possession of by the republican troops, 800 of the inhabitants had been shot in cold blood. The town was almost razed to its foundations, and its name was to have been changed to Port de la Montaigne.

During the time that lord Hood was in possession of Toulon, small detachments were occasionally sent in quest of portions of the Toulon squadron; and in the course of the latter part of the year, admiral Gell was ordered to visit Genoa and Tuscany, and complain to the grand duke and the republic, of the hostile feeling which had been exhibited towards Great Britain while they professed the strictest neutrality; the Genoese having furnished supplies to the French army, while they were denied to the English fleet. Corn had been purchased in

Tuscany for the use of the English at Toulon; but the two merchants who had been sent to treat concerning it, were thrown into prison. The English had remonstrated against these outrages, but with little effect, as the grand duke was intimidated by the violence of the republicans, and was anxious to gain favour with the French. Lord Hervey was then the English minister at the court of Tuscany; and when admiral Gell arrived off the coast, he demanded the liberation of the two merchants who had been imprisoned; that the exportation of the corn should be allowed; and that La Flotte, a diplomatist from the republicans, should be compelled to withdraw from the Tuscan territory. The Tuscan government promised compliance with these demands, but evaded their performance on various pretexts. Lord Hervey, whose patience was exhausted, determined that he would no longer be trifled with; and almost forcing his way into the presence of the grand duke, he warned him of the danger to which he was exposing himself by failing to satisfy his just demands; and that unless La Flotte, Chauvelin, and other Frenchmen who were with them were expelled from Tuscany, the British admiral would, within twelve hours, blockade Leghorn. Lord Hervey obtained no decided answer from the grand duke; but the threat which he had held out proved effectual, and within the time named by his lordship, the French agent and his companions received their passports, with orders to depart forthwith. At a subsequent period, the grand duke of Tuscany was induced to join the European coalition against France.

At Genoa, Jacobinical influence had been for some time in the ascendant, and it was known that many of the Genoese nobles had been bribed to forward the principles of the republicans. In consequence of this the neutrality which they professed had been openly violated, as Tilly, the French *charge d'affaires* at Genoa, had sent contraband stores, in Genoese vessels, to Kellermann's army. In July an English frigate, on a diplomatic mission from lord Hood, had been pursued by two French frigates which had been lying in the port of Genoa. Other differences had occurred, and strong remonstrances had been made, but without effect. In consequence of these outrages on the British flag, two 74-gun ships stood into the harbour of Genoa, and seized the French 32-gun frigate *Modeste*, and claimed satisfaction from the Genoese for the in-

juries and insults which had been offered to England; and that a stop should be put to the contraband trade carried on by the republicans. The younger Robespierre was at this time at Nice, acting for the Convention, and he issued a strong protest against the conduct of the British, representing the seizure of the *Modeste* as a most detestable outrage, and calling upon the Genoese to visit the offenders with terrible vengeance. He warned them that, unless measures were instantly taken to punish the offenders, the French republic would consider Genoa in a state of declared hostility, and would not fail to adopt proceedings to requite so infamous a breach of the law of nations. The Genoese, anxious to accommodate both powers, offered explanations both at Paris and London; but no satisfactory arrangement could be come to, and admiral Gell, with several ships, blockaded the port for some time; which were, however, withdrawn on a formal promise being given by the senate to observe the strictest neutrality for the future; and more especially they were to refrain from supplying contraband stores. This determination on the part of Britain was considered politic, as it was thought that, if pushed to extremities, this little republic would be compelled to throw itself into the arms of France.

In the course of the first year after the declaration of war between France and Britain, great exertions had been made to place the naval power of the latter in a proper condition. The increase in commissioned cruisers, at the end of the year, was fifty-nine, and the total of that force now amounted to 279. From the period that war was declared till January of the next year, 140 armed French vessels had been captured or destroyed; and out of these, fifty-two belonged to the national marine. During the same period, the loss sustained by the British was comparatively trifling, comprising only four vessels, and none of them larger than a 32-gun frigate. Great activity had been displayed in the dockyards; several ships had been launched in the course of the year, and a large number were now in a state of forwardness. The number of seamen and marines for whom supplies were voted, for 1794, was 85,000. The total supplies for the naval service for the year amounted to £5,525,331.

The greatest activity, also, prevailed in the naval depôts of France, and every exertion was made to rouse the valour of the

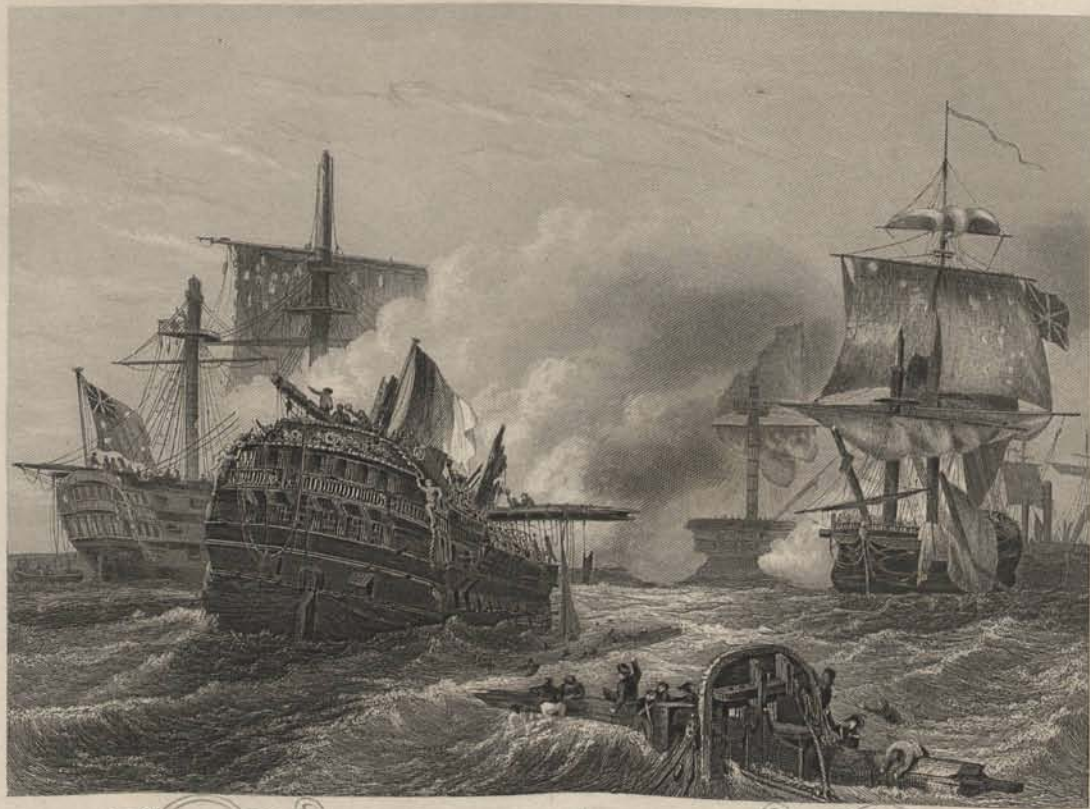


Engraved by H. Robinson

RICHARD, FIRST EARL HOWE.

OB. 1799.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF GAINSBOROUGH IN
THE TRINITY HOUSE, LONDON.



NELSON
RODNEY.

Drawn by A. Mayer.

CAPTURE OF LA PIGUE.

HOWE
JERVIS.

Engraved by J. Rogers.

LORD HOWE'S VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH.

(JUNE 1 1794)

French sailors. Among other expedients to raise the character of the republican navy, was the following rather questionable one, which was proposed to the Convention by Jean-Bon-Saint-Andre, and adopted; viz., the passing of a decree, declaring that the captain and officers of any ship-of-the-line belonging to the republic, "who should

haul down the national colours, to the vessels, however numerous, of an enemy—unless the French ship was in so shattered a condition as to be in danger of sinking before the crew could be saved—should be pronounced traitors to the country, and suffer death." This decree was published in the *Moniteur* of February 5th, 1794.

NAVAL OPERATIONS—LORD HOWE'S VICTORY, JUNE 1st, 1794.

As the spring of the year advanced, the channel-fleet, under the command of Lord Howe, which had rendezvoused during the winter at Torbay, Plymouth, or Portsmouth, was ordered to put to sea, for the purpose of seeing the East and West India and Newfoundland convoys clear of the channel, and to intercept the large French convoy, amounting to 200 vessels, laden with the produce of the French West India settlements, and flour and provisions taken in American ports, valued at five millions sterling. Besides intercepting this rich convoy, which was anxiously expected by the famished population of France during the Reign of Terror, the admiral was directed to proceed for Ushant, to look after the French fleet, which had set sail from Brest.

On the 2nd of May, the fleet and convoy, amounting to 148 sail, including forty-nine ships of war, set sail from St. Helens. Having arrived off the Lizard on the 4th, Rear-admiral Montague was detached with six seventy-fours and two frigates, to protect the convoy to the latitude of Cape Finisterre, where Captain Peter Rainer, who had been previously detached with the *Suffolk* (seventy-four), a sixty-four, and five frigates, undertook the escort of the convoy for the remainder of the passage. Thus the channel-fleet was reduced to twenty-six sail of the line, seven frigates, one hospital-ship, one brig-sloop, and two cutters.

The English fleet cruised in the Bay of Biscay for several days, in blowy, foggy weather, a hundred leagues to the westward of Ushant, in expectation of falling in with the French fleet. On the 25th of May, after a fruitless search for the enemy, two French corvettes were observed steering after the fleet, on the supposition, as afterwards appeared, that it was the French fleet. They were both captured; the *Républicain*, eighteen guns and 120 men, and the *Inconnu*, twelve guns and 136 men,

both from Brest, and in search of their own fleet. These, as well as several other prizes and recaptures, were destroyed, as no arrangement could be made for sending them into port, without diminishing the efficiency of the fleet in regard to frigates. The English fleet then stood under easy sail to the northward, conformably with the inference deduced from the latest intelligence of the enemy's fleet, the principal station of which was supposed to be between the parallels of 45° and 47° 30'. On the morning of the 28th, several French ships were discovered by the advanced frigates, four or five leagues to windward, the wind then blowing fresh from the south by west, with a rough sea. Chase was immediately given; and on the evening of that day, an action took place between the enemy's rear-guard and the British vanguard, in the course of which the *Revolutionnaire*, a three-decker, and the sternmost ship, was so damaged, that she struck to the *Audacious*; but night coming on, she was not taken possession of, but was towed, on the following morning, into Rochefort. On the 29th, at daylight, the two fleets were within six miles' distance of each other. Each fleet manœuvred to gain the weather-gauge of the other. Howe, at the head of several ships, passed through the French fleet, and then put them about again, in preparation to renew the attack; but the rest of the fleet passing at the time to leeward, and beyond the sternmost ships of the French line, the action was discontinued. A dense fog concealed the hostile fleets from each other during the 30th, and the morning of the following day. On the evening of the 31st, the fog clearing off, the enemy was seen to the leeward; but before the British fleet could get up abreast, the day was too far advanced to bring on the action. During the fog, the French admiral had been rejoined by the four sail of the line and two frigates, which he had

detached to co-operate with the squadron escorting the West Indian convoy.

The dawn of the 1st of June (Sunday), disclosed the hostile fleet, about three miles to leeward, in order of battle. The British fleet, having the weather-gauge, immediately bore down, in an oblique direction, on its opponents, and was abreast of them about seven o'clock, A.M. The enemy resolutely awaited the advance, and opened a heavy fire on the British vessels, as soon as they came within range. At about half-past eight, the British admiral made the signal for the fleet to close, to pass through the French line, and engage to leeward, so that, if worsted, the enemy could not escape. At a little before half-past nine, the *Queen Charlotte* (Howe's flag-ship), followed by the *Defence*, the *Marlborough*,* the *Royal George*, the *Queen*, and the *Brunswick*, reached the centre of the French line. The English flag-ship, steering a direct course for the *Montagne*, the flag-ship of the French commander-in-chief, Rear-admiral Villaret Joyeuse, and disregarding the fire opened on her as she approached the object of her attack, poured her whole broadsides into the stern of the *Montagne*, as she passed slowly through the line, from the effect of which 300 men were killed or wounded in the hostile vessel. At nearly the same moment, the action became general in the centre. In about an hour from the commencement of the battle, the *Montagne* sheered off, followed by all the ships in her van which could carry sail, and leaving twelve engaged in close action. The battle having been maintained by both sides with desperate resolution, seven ships of the line remained in the hands of the conquerors; but one of them (the *Vengeur*) having received too many shots between wind and water, filled and foundered, with 280 prisoners on board, as soon as the English flag

* A curious incident is said to have occurred on board this ship. When she was entirely dismasted, a whisper of surrender is said to have been uttered, which Lieutenant Monkton (then in command, the captain having been removed on account of the severe wound he had received) overhearing, exclaimed, "he would be damned if she should ever surrender; and that he would nail her colours to the stump of the mast." At that moment, a cock, having escaped from the coop which had been broken during the contest, suddenly perched himself on the stump of the main-mast, and crowed aloud; in an instant, three hearty cheers rang through the ship's company, and they immediately renewed the fight with redoubled vigour. On the arrival of the ship at Plymouth, the cock was made a present of to Lord

was hoisted on her. The loss in killed and wounded had been great. That on board of the English fleet, was 290 killed and 858 wounded. The French represented theirs to have been 3,000; but it is well known that it much exceeded that number. On board of the six ships taken, the killed amounted to 190; the wounded to 380. The number of prisoners on board of the captured ships, was 2,300.

The battle of the 1st of June may be thus summarily described:—About half-past nine A.M., the French van opened its fire on the British van. In about a quarter of an hour, the fire of the French became general, and Lord Howe and his divisional flag-officers, bearing the signal for close action at their mast-heads, commenced a heavy fire in return. A few of the British ships cut through the French line, and engaged their opponents to leeward; the remainder hauled up to windward, and opened their fire, some at a long, others at a shorter or more effectual distance. At ten minutes past ten, A.M., when the action was at its height, the French admiral, on the *Montagne*, made sail ahead, followed by the second astern, and afterwards by such other of his ships as, like the *Montagne*, had suffered little in their rigging and sails. At about half-past eleven, A.M., the heat of the action was over, and the British were left with eleven, the French with twelve, more or less dismasted ships. None of the French ships had, at this time, struck their colours; or, if they had struck, had since rehoisted them: they, for the most part, were striving to escape, under a sprit-sail, or some small sail, set on the tallest stump left to them; and continued to fire on every British ship that passed within gun-shot.

After failing in his attempt to cut off the *Queen*, in her disabled state, Villaret stood

George Lennox, the governor, in whose possession he lived to a good old age. The whole of the colours, except the white ensign, of the *Marlborough* having been shot away, she was fired into by several English ships, on the supposition that she was French; and at last, that colour being carried away, Appleford, one of the crew, loudly exclaiming, in the true spirit of a British sailor, "the English colours shall never be dishonoured where I am," stripped off the red coat of a marine who had been killed, stuck it on a boarding-pike and exalted it into the air, at the same time saying, that when all the red coats were gone, he would hoist the blue jackets. This conduct infused fresh spirit into his comrades, and they fought with great bravery until the ship surrendered.



HOWE KNIGHTED ON BOARD HIS VESSEL BY GEORGE III.

SCENE ON THE DECK OF THE QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

(1759. 1794)

on, and succeeded, contrary to all expectation, in recovering and cutting off four of his dismasted ships, the *Républicain*, *Mutius*, *Scipion*, and *Jemappes*; a fifth, the *Terrible*, having previously joined him by fighting her way through the British fleet. At about fifteen minutes past one, P.M., the general firing ceased; but it was not till thirty minutes past two, P.M., that the six dismasted ships nearest at hand, the *Sanspareil*, *Juste*, *Amérique*, *Impétueux*, *Northumberland*, and *Achille*, were secured by the British; and none of these opened their fire on the ships which advanced to take possession of them. At a little after six P.M., a seventh French ship, the *Vengeur*, was taken possession of, but in so shattered a state, that in ten minutes afterwards, she went down, with upwards of 200 of her crew on board, composed chiefly of the wounded.

Among the ships engaged on this eventful day, the *Brunswick** and the *Vengeur* deserve to be recorded in the roll of fame. The conduct of the captain and crew of the former was above all praise.

The oblique mode of closing on the enemy's fleet, and the advanced position which the *Brunswick* took, firing close abreast of the *Queen Charlotte*, occasioned her to receive much of the fire directed at the admiral's ship. From this cause the *Brunswick's* cock-pit was half-filled with killed and wounded before she returned a shot, and her masts, sails, and rigging were much damaged. Captain Harvey intended, in obedience to Lord Howe's orders, to pass under the stern of the *Jacobin*, but the latter being ranged ahead, and the *Achille*, the *Jacobin's* next astern, having taken her place, he found this to be impracticable, and that he must pass through the opening between the *Achille* and the *Vengeur*. The latter ship, however, in order to frustrate this design, made sail ahead, and the *Brunswick* was left with no alternative but to run the *Vengeur* on board, unless, indeed, Captain Harvey disregarded his orders, and rounded to windward. Putting her helm down, therefore, to avoid the tremendous effects which must otherwise have ensued from the collision, the *Brunswick* fell alongside her opponent, and her

* The *Brunswick* had a figure-head representing the head of the Duke of Brunswick, with a laced hat on. During the battle, the hat being struck off by a cannon-shot, the crew of the ship, thinking it derogating from the duke's character that his emblem should continue uncovered in the face of the enemy,

best bower, sheet, and stream anchors hooked the *Vengeur's* weather, fore, main, and mizen chains. The two ships then paid round off before the wind and left the scene of action.

It is reported, that the master of the *Brunswick* asked Captain Harvey, if they should cut adrift from the French ship, and that the reply was—"No; we have got her, and we will keep her." One of the most determined actions on record then took place, each individual of the crews of both ships fighting as if the fate of their respective countries depended on their exertions; and fast and furious became the contest. Eight of the *Brunswick's* lower-deck ports, being found to be jammed by the *Vengeur's* side, were quickly blown off, and the muzzles of the guns touching each other, vomited forth their deadly fire.

The *Vengeur's* musketry played in the meanwhile sad havoc on the *Brunswick's* poop and quarter-deck, and having thirty-six-pounder carronades on the poop, from which langridge (old rusty nails and pieces of iron) was fired, the officers and men fell rapidly before it. A party of the 29th regiment, doing duty as marines, commanded by Captain Alexander Saunders, made a most effectual return by the steadiness of their fire; but at length their gallant captain fell dead upon the deck. Captain Harvey was wounded by a musket-ball, which tore away three fingers of his right hand, but binding his handkerchief round his hand, he continued at his post as before. Several other officers were killed and wounded about the same time.

At about eleven, A.M., a large ship was observed on the larboard quarter of the *Brunswick*, bearing down upon her, having her fore-castle, gangways, and lower rigging, crowded with men, with the apparent intention of boarding the *Brunswick*, and releasing the *Vengeur*. As many of the larboard guns as would bear, were therefore pointed at the stranger, which was the *Achille*, and a double-headed shot, in addition to the round shot already in the guns was put into each. The *Achille* having advanced to within musket-shot, these guns were fired with deliberate aim; and this being repeated four or five times, the fore-mast, being the only remaining mast of the sent a deputation to the quarter-deck, to request Captain Harvey would be pleased to order his servant to give them his laced cocked-hat to supply the loss. The request being granted, the carpenter nailed the captain's hat on the duke's head, where it remained till the battle ended.

Achille, fell over the bows. Some of the *Brunswick's* people contended, that the *Achille* lost her three masts by this fire. The dismasted *Achille*, being unable to clear away the wreck of her masts which had fallen over the starboard side, could not make any adequate return to the firing of the *Brunswick*, and, therefore, hauled down her colours. Having, however, an opponent already attached to her, whose vigorous fire was as yet unsubdued, the *Brunswick* could not spare the men to take possession of the prize, which, after a time, rehoisted her colours and bore up under her sprit-sail.

The firing, which had lasted between the *Brunswick* and the *Vengeur* for an hour and a-half, without a moment's cessation, continued as vigorous as before. By this time, the quarter-deck of the British ship was nearly deserted, but the main and lower-deck guns were fired with great effect. Watching the roll of their adversary, the *Brunswick's* men depressed and elevated their guns, so as to pass the shot upwards and downwards through her decks.

In the heat of the action, Captain Harvey was knocked down by a splinter, which struck him on his loins; but he regained his legs, although seriously hurt, and continued to animate his men. Shortly afterwards, the crown of a double-headed shot, which had split, struck his right-arm and shattered it to pieces. Finding himself growing faint from loss of blood, he was now obliged to leave the deck; and on assistance being proffered him, he refused it, saying—"I will not have a single man leave his quarters on my account. My legs still remain to bear me down into the cock-pit." In this wounded and shattered state he essayed to go, when, casting a languid, yet affectionate look towards his brave crew, he said—"Persevere, my brave lads, in your duty! continue the action with spirit, for the honour of our king and country; and remember my last words—the colours of the *Brunswick* shall never be struck!" The command now devolved on Lieutenant W. E. Cra-craft, who fought the ship with great bravery until about half-an-hour after noon. At forty-five minutes past twelve, the two ships having been in contest three hours, separated, after tearing away the *Brunswick's* anchors from their fastenings. The *Ramillies* (Captain Henry Harvey, brother to the *Brunswick's* captain), now opportunely advanced to the *Brunswick's* assistance, and also in time to save the rem-

nant of the *Vengeur's* devoted crew; but perceiving the *Achille* making off under sprit-sail, he quitted the two exhausted combatants, and made sail in pursuit.

At one, P.M., all firing between the *Brunswick* and *Vengeur* had ceased, the *Vengeur* having displayed a union-jack over the quarter, in token of surrender, and as a means of procuring assistance. But the *Brunswick* had no boat to send, and could not afford the assistance required. At half-past one the *Brunswick's* mizen-mast fell; and at this time the *Vengeur* had removed the union-jack to the larboard cross-jack yard-arm. Finding, from the *Brunswick's* disabled state, that it would be impossible to haul up for the fleet, Lieutenant Cra-craft determined on bearing up to the northward; and accordingly, her crew were soon busily engaged in fishing the wounded masts, in securing the lower-deck ports, and stopping the shot-holes, through which the sea was now rushing at every roll of the ship, in order to enable them to reach Plymouth.

"Just as the *Brunswick* quitted the *Vengeur*, her fore and main-masts fell, and the ship rolled a complete and sinking wreck. In this state, the crew became almost frenzied; and finding no ship—English or French—approaching to their capture or rescue, rushed to the spirit-room. The English flag was also torn down, and the frantic wretches, rehoisting the republican flag, endeavoured to get the ship before the wind, in the hope of reaching a friendly port. Fortunately, the *Alfred* and *Culloden*, accompanied by the cutter *Rattler*, at about six, P.M., approached to their rescue, and the most strenuous efforts were used to save the remaining crew of the sinking ship. The boats of the *Alfred* took off 213; and those of the *Culloden* and *Rattler* as many more; so that, when the ship went down, scarcely any but the badly wounded could have perished in her. The waving of the tri-coloured flag to and fro, and the cries of *Vive la Nation!* and *Vive la République!* which some of the drowning wretches are described as uttering, might possibly have been used by those who, having imbibed most freely of the contents of the spirit-room, were under its maddening influence."

The British fleet consisted of three 100-gun ships—the *Queen Charlotte*, the *Royal George*, and the *Royal Sovereign*; five ninety-eight-gun ships—the *Barfleur*, *Impregnable*, *Queen*, and *Glory*; two eighty-gun ships—the *Gibraltar* and *Cæsar*; seven-

teen seventy-four-gun ships; seven frigates, two cutters; and two fire-ships. The French fleet consisted of one 120-gun ship, the *Montagne*; two 110-gun ships—the *Terrible* and *Révolutionnaire*; four eighty-gun ships—the *Indomptable*, *Jacobin*, *Juste*, and *Scipion*; seventeen seventy-four-gun ships, and eight frigates. Most of the ships composing the French fleet were of the finest class, possessing, in a superior degree, the qualities of sailing and carrying their lower-deck ports. Their weight of metal was superior to that of the English, in the proportion of thirteen to twelve; whereas the British ships were all smaller than those of a comparative class in the French service, and consequently of a more diminished scantling, or smaller dimensions of timber—an object of immense importance when ships are closely engaged. The ships taken were—*Le Sans Pareil*, *Le Juste*, *Le Jacobin*, *L'Achille*, *L'Empéteur*, and *Le Northumberland*. The sunken ships were—*L'Amérique* and *Le Vengeur*: of the first, all the crew were drowned; of the second, about 200.

The French deputy or commissioner, Jean Bon Saint André, and Barrère, president of the Committee of Public Safety, claimed the victory. The former, in his report, said that the English fleet consisted of thirty-six ships of the line, and that the battle lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, when several of the English ships having been sunk, the remainder sheered off with all the sail they could carry. Barrère's account was "ten times more fabulous." He, however, admitted, that he feared that the seven dismantled ships, which his countrymen had been compelled to leave behind them, "were lost." His description of the catastrophe of the *Vengeur* was highly coloured. The crew, he said, seeing that she was filling, refused to a man to surrender, and fought their lower-deck guns till the water reached them; then gathered on the quarter-deck; and having hoisted every flag, pennant, and streamer they had on board, went down with her, shouting—*Vive la République! Vive la France!* the last thing disappearing beneath the waves being the tri-colour flag. This story is repeated by M. Thiers, and numerous other French authors, and was also received as authentic, even in England, till the appearance of the following letter from Rear-admiral Griffiths, in the *Sun* newspaper, in November, 1838:—

"Since the period of Lord Howe's victory, on the 1st of June, 1794, the story of the

Vengeur, French seventy-four-gun ship, going down with colours flying, and her crew crying *Vive la République! Vive la Liberté!* &c., and the further absurdity of their continuing firing the main-deck guns after her lower-deck was immersed, has been repeatedly declared, and has been very recently asserted by a French author (M. Thiers.) It originated, no doubt, on the part of the French, in political and exciting motives, precisely as Buonaparte caused his victory at Trafalgar to be promulgated through France. While these reports and confident assertions were confined to our neighbours, it seemed little worth the while to contradict them. But now, when two English authors of celebrity (Mr. Allison, in his *History of Europe during the French Revolution*; and Mr. Carlisle, in his similar work) give it the confirmation of English authority, I consider it right, then, to declare that the whole story is a ridiculous piece of nonsense. At the time the *Vengeur* sunk, the action had ceased some time. The French fleet were making off before the wind, and Captain Renaudin and his son had been nearly half-an-hour prisoners on board his majesty's ship *Culloden*, of which ship I was fourth lieutenant; and about 127 of the crew were also prisoners, either on board the *Culloden* or in her boats; besides, I believe, 100 in the *Alfred*, and some forty in the hired cutter, commanded by Lieutenant (the late rear-admiral) Winne. The *Vengeur* was taken possession of by the boats of the *Culloden*, Lieutenant Rotherham; and the *Alfred*, Lieutenant Deschamps; and Captain Renaudin and myself, who were, by Captain Schomberg's desire, at lunch in his cabin, hearing the cries of distress, ran to the starboard quarter-gallery, and thence witnessed the melancholy scene. Never were men in distress more ready to save themselves."

Mr. Rose, who knew, personally, many of the officers engaged on the 1st of June, also treats the story as a fiction. His words are:—"Far from challenging certain death, and glorying in their fate, those poor wretches (the crew of the *Vengeur*), whose gallant defence deserved a better fate, substituted our union-jack for the republican ensign, and spread themselves over the sides and rigging of the ship, stretching out their hands to their enemies, and supplicating their assistance. Part of the crew were saved by the exertions of their enemies; but the crowds which attempted to spring into each boat, made all further efforts desperate,

and checked the compassionate zeal of their conquerors. Two of the French officers, indeed, betrayed no anxiety to avail themselves of any means of safety, and continued walking up and down the stern-gallery, apparently engaged in conversation; while the ship filling, and gradually sinking deeper and deeper, at length admitted the water into her ports; then righted for a moment, and was immediately engulfed. * * * * So entirely destitute of foundation is this account of Barrère, that there is not an officer who was present but bears witness to the fact of the French crew having actually hoisted the British ensign; there is not one who does not testify to the eagerness with which they implored succour, and the generous anxiety with which the English attempted to save them."*

The battle of the 1st of June was fought at a greater distance from land than any sea-fight between fleets recorded in history.

On the 30th of November, 1794, all the officers mentioned in Lord Howe's letter, received a gold medal for their conduct in the battle of the 1st of June, 1794. The other naval transactions of this year, were:—

On the 5th of June, Lord Hood having gained intelligence that the Toulon fleet, consisting of thirteen sail of the line and four frigates, had put to sea, immediately proceeded in pursuit of it.

On the 10th, the two fleets gained sight of each other, and on the 11th were between three and four leagues apart. The French fleet pushed for the anchorage in Gourjean bay, which it safely entered. Though the British fleet made all sail in chase, the only ship which could get near was the twenty-eight-gun frigate, *Dido*, which received and returned the fire of some of the hostile rear ships, as well as that of two forts which guarded the anchorage. Had not the unfavourable state of the weather frustrated the intention, Lord Hood would have followed the French fleet into the bay.

The French frigates, *Cybèle* and *Prudente*, with two or three corvettes, and some formidable privateers, having been very troublesome in the Indian and Chinese seas, a squadron, consisting of the Indiamen *William Pitt*, *Britannia*, *Nonsuch*, and the com-

pany's brig-tender, *Nautilus*, were, on February the 2nd, dispatched to the eastern entrance of the Straits of Singapore. On the 21st, the squadron was joined by the *Houghton* East Indiaman, and on the 22nd, they descried two French privateers, the *Vengeur*, mounting thirty-four guns, and the *Résolute*, twenty-six guns. These two vessels, after a short encounter, surrendered. On the 25th, the French squadron, consisting of the *Prudente*, *Cybèle*, *Duguay-Troin*, and the fourteen-gun brig, *Vulcain*, were observed working up in chase. The British squadron cut its cables, and prepared to engage. After a smart fire, the French squadron stood away, and was soon out of sight. French frigates and privateers, chiefly in squadrons of three or four, having been very destructive to British commerce in their cruises in the English Channel, the *Arethusa*, *Flora*, *Melampus*, *Concorde*, and *Nymphe*, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, were ordered to sea. On the 23rd of April, they fell in with the French squadron, composed of the *Engageante*, *Pomone*, *Résolute*, and the twenty-gun corvette, *Babet*. After a contest of one hour, the French set every yard of canvas they could spread; but the *Arethusa*, *Melampus*, and *Concorde*, rapidly pursued, and, in coming up with the *Babet*, *Pomone*, and *Engageante*, resuming the action, those vessels surrendered.

On the 18th of June, the British squadron, composed of the thirty-six-gun frigate, *Crescent*, a twelve-pounder thirty-two-gun frigate, and twenty-four-gun ship *Eurydice*, under the command of Captain Sir James Saumarez, while cruising off the island of Jersey, fell in with a French squadron, consisting of two seventy-fours, two thirty-six-gun frigates, and a fourteen-gun brig. On account of the great superiority of the French squadron, the *Eurydice*, which was a dull sailer, was ordered to make the best of her way to Guernsey, while the *Crescent* and *Druid* engaged and kept at bay the French ships. At length the two English vessels, under a press of sail, made for the Guernsey road, and, though closely pursued by the French ships, entered the harbour; the garrison and inhabitants witnessing the gallant exploit. The other frigate-actions of this year were of little interest, the com-

* To the professional reader, the narrative of the two partial and indecisive actions of the 28th and 29th of May, and of the glorious battle on June 1st, as detailed in Lord Howe's journal, and to be found

at pages 226 to 235 of his Life by Burrows; as also that from the log of an officer of the *Culloden*, detailed in the *United Service Journal* for 1843, vol. i., p. 518, &c., are recommended for perusal.

batants separating without any conclusive results.

In the West Indies, the French island of Martinique surrendered in March; that of

Sainte Lucie in April; and that of Guadeloupe, with its dependencies, the islands Marie-Galante, Désirade, and the Saintes, in the course of the same month.

THE MEDITERRANEAN FLEET—CORSIKA SURRENDERS TO THE BRITISH.

In the early part of the year 1794, the island of Corsika had been wrested from France, and received under the protection of Great Britain. This was effected by the bravery of lord Hood. He, after the evacuation of Toulon, had remained with the Mediterranean fleet in the bay of St. Hièrés, an anchorage formed by a small group of islands of that name. On the 24th of January, the British fleet, with 1,400 troops on board, under the command of major-general Dundas, got under weigh from the bay of St. Hièrés, and set sail for the bay of San Fiorenzo, in Corsika. On February 5th, the troops took possession of the tower of Mortella. Lord Hood, not being able to obtain the co-operation of general Dundas, who deemed the reduction of Bastia, the capital of the island, impracticable with the force under his command, took on board a part of his fleet that portion of the land forces which had originally been ordered to serve on board the ships as marines, and on the 2nd of April set sail for Bastia, where he arrived at anchorage on the 4th. On the same evening the troops commanded by lieutenant-colonel Villette, with the guns, mortars, and ordnance stores, and also a detachment of seamen, commanded by captain Horatio Nelson, of the *Agamemnon*, landed a little to the northward of the town. Nelson had been landed, and was serving on shore, with a few sailors and marines, when the decision of general Dundas was made known. It greatly annoyed the future hero of the Nile; and to lord Hood he remarked, that a thousand men would certainly take Bastia, but he, for his part, with five hundred men from the *Agamemnon*, would be ready to attempt it. His seamen, he said, were then what English sailors ought to be, almost invincible, and really cared no more for bullets than for peas. Of the force thus got together, Nelson gaily remarked: "We are few, but we are of the right sort;" and he took upon himself to superintend the landing, which was effected, as before stated, on the 4th of April, and the sailors immediately applied themselves to drag the guns up the steep rocks. The soldiers acting

under "brigadier Nelson," as he was called, manifested the same alacrity as the sailors, and the astonished French and Corsicans presently saw artillery mounted on the precipices which commanded the town and citadel. Paoli, the royalist Corsican general, who was acting in concert with the British, dispatched a small force to operate upon the opposite side of the town, which did not effect anything of importance. On the 10th, all was ready for the attack, and on the 11th the place was summoned by Hood, when La Combe St. Michael, a military officer, and a commissioner from the National Convention, haughtily replied: "I have red-hot shot for your ships, and bayonets for your troops. When two-thirds of our men are killed, I will trust to the generosity of the English." Nelson, being then in the batteries, immediately opened on the place with five 24-pounders, two 13-inch mortars, two 10-inch mortars, and two heavy carronades. The fleet kept up the blockade, but could do little beside. New works had been thrown up since Dundas declined to act; so that the place was much stronger now than it had been; but Nelson and colonel Villette's fire soon greatly damaged the outworks, and by the 11th of May, M. La Combe St. Michael had ceased to speak of his "red-hot shots and bayonets," and was content to capitulate. A treaty was negotiated and completed on the 19th, and that night troops from San Fiorenzo appeared on the neighbouring heights. The next morning general D'Aubant, who had succeeded Dundas in the command of the land forces, brought his whole force to take possession of the place, though he had not contributed to reduce it. Articles of capitulation were signed on board Hood's ship, the *Victory*, on the 21st, when 1,000 French regulars, 1,500 national guards, and nearly as many Corsicans, in the interest of the French, surrendered their arms, on condition that they should be sent to Toulon by sea. The force which gained this important advantage comprehended but 1,183 soldiers, artillerymen, and marines, and 250 seamen. The loss sustained during the siege was

small; seven sailors and as many soldiers lost their lives; and thirteen of the former and twenty-one of the latter were wounded.

The coast, town, and fortress of Calvi, one of the strongest places in the whole island, were yet to be reduced. The natural strength of Calvi is great, as it is situate among rocks and precipices, and it is a place of no small importance, being within eight hours' sail of a French port. It was determined to invest Calvi; and the command of the troops was at this moment given to general sir Charles Stuart, a man of great bravery, and one with whom Nelson rejoiced to act. By the middle of June it was invested by sea and land. Captains Nelson, Hallowell, and Serecold served in the batteries on shore, where the last-named was killed by a grapeshot while fixing a gun in one of the batteries. Nelson, writing on this subject to Hood, "trusted it might not be forgotten that twenty-five pieces of heavy ordnance had been dragged to the different batteries, mounted, and all but three fought by seamen, except one artilleryman to point the

guns." The hero of Trafalgar only did justice to his brave followers when he laboured to fix attention on this herculean labour; for those heavy guns had been carried up precipices as steep and more lofty than those of Bastia, and that in the hottest season of a hot climate. To these difficulties may be added, that stagnating water under the encampment, threw up pestilential malaria most fatal to health; so that of 2,000 men who were landed, half the number were on the sick-list. Having sustained a siege of fifty-one days, the place was surrendered by the republican general, Casabianca. The loss in killed and wounded was not great, amounting to only thirty-one of the former, and sixty of the latter; but Nelson, in the course of the operations, had the misfortune to lose an eye, through sand and small gravel being violently forced into it by a shot which fell near him. Corsica was now in the power of the English, and the provisory council of the island proceeded to London, to offer its crown for the acceptance of the king of Great Britain.

ENCOUNTER BETWEEN ADMIRAL HOTHAM'S SQUADRON AND THE FRENCH FLEET.

SINCE Howe's victory, and the disasters in the Mediterranean and at P'Orient, the French marine had become so disorganised, that the government relinquished all hopes of success from large squadrons; they therefore determined to confine their naval operations to depredations on the British trade and navigation—a system to which the politics of France had constantly resorted under the monarchy, after experiencing so great disasters at sea as to disable her marine from successfully encountering that of Britain in open fight. The vast extent of British commerce afforded them an ample field for this species of warfare, and they were proportionately successful. The list of their captures, during the year 1795, they said, exceeded two-thirds of their own losses: they had taken 3,000 vessels, and had lost only 800.

The predatory warfare of the republic on British commerce was chiefly successful on that branch of trade carried on with Turkey, which, from the necessity of traversing the whole length of the Mediterranean, lay more exposed than any other. In order to intercept this trade, together with that from the ports of Italy, a squadron of nine

ships-of-the-line was put under the command of admiral Richery. The English trade of the Mediterranean, amounting to sixty sail, was escorted by three ships-of-the-line and four frigates: it had proceeded on its way homeward, as far as the latitude of Cape St. Vincent, where it was attacked by Richery's squadron, and one-half of it was taken, together with a ship-of-the-line.

Besides Richery's squadron, one was fitted out at Toulon, and two at Rochefort, in order to intercept the homeward-bound fleets from Jamaica; but they made capture of only twelve vessels.

On the 18th of February, a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, by virtue of which the latter was to furnish the former with 10,000 infantry and 2,000 horse, and the former to supply the latter with twelve ships-of-the-line; and on the 29th of May, a like treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Austria, in which each power engaged to succour its ally, in case of attack, with 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse. In February war was declared against Holland, and all Dutch ships in British ports were seized. Early in March, the Toulon fleet,

consisting of thirteen ships-of-the-line, six frigates, and two corvettes, under rear-admiral Pierre Martin, put to sea with the design of landing an expedition in Corsica, for the expulsion of the English from that island. The Mediterranean fleet, consisting of thirteen sail-of-the-line and four frigates, under vice-admiral Hotham, fell in with the enemy on the 12th, between Corsica and Genoa. As the enemy showed no anxiety to engage, admiral Hotham made signal for a general chase, in the course of which one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships was perceived to have lost her topmasts. The *Inconstant* frigate being the first to come up with this vessel (which proved to be the *Ca Ira*), the frigate ranged up within musket-shot on the larboard quarter of the 80-gun ship, and pouring a broadside into her, passed on. The French frigate *Vestale* then bore down, and firing several broadsides at the *Inconstant* (which, however, from the great distance, did her but little harm), she took the *Ca Ira* in tow. The *Inconstant* having tacked again, bore down under the lee of her huge antagonist, and gave her another broadside. The French ship having cleared away the wreck of her topmasts, now opened a heavy fire on the frigate. The *Agamemnon*, captain Nelson, now bore up to the assistance of the frigate. Nelson got his ship abreast of the *Ca Ira* and *Vestale*, and for three hours he gallantly kept up the contest, rendering the 80-gun ship almost a complete wreck. Several French ships bearing down to the assistance of the *Ca Ira*, the *Agamemnon* resumed her place in the British line.

During the encounter between the *Agamemnon* and the *Ca Ira*, a partial fire had been kept up between the nearest of the French ships and the British squadron; but on the *Agamemnon* resuming her station, the action may be said to have terminated for that day. On the following morning it was observed that the *Censeur* (74) had taken the *Ca Ira* in tow, which had been completely disabled by the *Agamemnon* the previous day. The crippled ship, with her consort, being unable to keep up with the other vessels, were a good distance astern of the French line. Accordingly, the *Captain* and *Bedford*, of 74 guns each, were signalled to attack the two French ships. The *Captain*, being far ahead of the *Bedford*, was the first to come up with the two French ships; and as soon as she came within range, they both opened upon her with a tre-

mendous fire, which she had to sustain for about fifteen minutes before she could reply to this cannonade with any effect. The consequence was, that this ship suffered severely; and after an hour and twenty minutes' engagement, she had to be towed out of gunshot of her opponents. The *Bedford* also suffered severely; and several of the British ships having come up, a partial action ensued with the other vessels of the French squadron: after seven hours' firing, the *Ca Ira* and the *Censeur* fell into the hands of the English. Nelson, who was in command of the *Agamemnon*, recommended his superior to pursue the enemy. But Hotham's reply was: "We must be contented; we have done well." But Nelson rejoined: "Had we taken ten sail, and allowed the eleventh to escape when it had been possible to have got at her, I could never have called it well done." The total loss of the British fleet was seventy-four killed and 274 wounded; that on board the French ships, which were crowded with troops, was much greater. The French fleet fell back to Hières Bay, near Toulon; and the British to San Fiorenzo Bay, near Corsica.

Pierre Martin having been joined by six sail-of-the-line, two frigates, and two cutters from Brest, again put to sea with seventeen sail-of-the-line, six frigates, and corvettes. Hotham, who had been reinforced with eleven sail-of-the-line and frigates from Gibraltar and England, obtained sight of him near Cape Roux, off Hières. The French fleet immediately fled for the coast, and only a few of the English van-ships being able to get up with its rear, the French fleet, after a smart action, got safely into Frejus Bay, leaving the *Alcide* (74), which had been disabled, in the hands of the English. But before that ship could be taken possession of, a box of combustibles in her foretop taking fire, the whole ship was enveloped in a blaze, and above 400 of its crew were blown into the air. About 300 of the crew were saved by the English boats nearest to the *Alcide*. The total loss of the British fleet was eleven killed and twenty-seven wounded. The French fleet returned to Toulon, and the British proceeded to Leghorn.

On the 30th of May a squadron, consisting of five ships-of-the-line and two frigates, under vice-admiral Cornwallis, sailed from Spithead on a cruise off Ushant. On the 8th of June it fell in with rear-admiral Vence's squadron, with a numerous

convoy in charge, on his return to Brest. Chase was immediately given, and eight vessels, laden with wine and brandy, were captured. On the 16th, while proceeding towards Belleisle, to reconnoitre the road in which Vence and his squadron had taken refuge, the English admiral fell in with the Brest fleet, consisting of twelve ships-of-the-line and as many frigates, under vice-admiral Villaret Joyeuse, and which had been joined by Vence's squadron. On the 17th the French fleet advanced to the attack, formed in three divisions. Having sustained the fire of the whole French fleet during seven hours, the English admiral formed his squadron in a wedge-like form, and fought his way through the hostile fleet, without the loss of a single man killed, and only twelve men wounded.

On the 12th of June, the Channel fleet, consisting of fourteen ships-of-the-line and six frigates, sailed from St. Helen's, under the command of lord Bridport, for the purpose of protecting the expedition under commodore sir John Borlase Warren, bound to Quiberon Bay, to assist the Vendean royalists. Lord Bridport continued in company with his charge till the 19th; when, being near the Ouessant islands, and the wind blowing fair for Quiberon, the British fleet stood out from the coast, in order to keep an offing, and be ready to receive the Brest fleet should it attempt to molest the expedition. On the 22nd the look-out frigates of the English fleet made the signal that the enemy's fleet was in sight. As it was evidently the intention of the French admiral to sheer off, the fastest-sailing ships of the British fleet were ordered to give chase and bring the enemy to action, until the remainder of the fleet could come up. There being but little wind, the van of the British did not come up with the enemy till the morning of the 23rd. The action began a little before six o'clock, off Isle-Groix, and continued till nine, when the *Alexandre*, *Tigre*, and *Formidable* struck their colours. The French fleet escaped under the protection of the batteries of Fort L'Orient; where, according to the testimony of one of the officers of the fleet, the whole of it might have been taken or destroyed, had it not been for "the unaccountable forbearance of lord Bridport." The loss of the English was thirty-one killed and 113 wounded. On board of the French ships taken, the killed and wounded were 670.

The Quiberon expedition, of which men-

tion has just been made, consisted of the three line-of-battle ships, *Robust*, *Thunderer*, and *Standard*, also the frigates *Pomone*, *Anson*, *Artois*, *Arethuse*, *Concorde*, and *Galatea*, and fifty sail of transports, having on board about 2,500 French emigrants, commanded by comte de Puissaye, assisted by the comtes d'Hervilly and de Sombreuil, and a vast quantity of arms, ammunition, and clothing, for the purpose of distribution among the Vendean and Chouan royalists. While the expedition had been making all sail, sir Sidney Smith and admiral Cornwallis made demonstrations on various parts of the coast, for the purpose of misleading the enemy as to the real point of attack. On the 27th, at daybreak, the emigrant troops, with 300 British marines, were disembarked, and were joined by 16,000 royalists. Fort Penhièvre, situated on a commanding eminence, on the northern extremity of the peninsula of Quiberon, after a short resistance, surrendered with 600 men. On the night of the 16th of July, the comte d'Hervilly, at the head of 5,000 men, including 200 British marines, made an unsuccessful attack on the right flank of general Hoche's army, strongly posted on the heights of St. Barbe; and the whole force would probably have been compelled to surrender, had not some British ships anchored near the shore, compelled by a vigorous fire the republicans to desist from the pursuit.

Desertion now daily thinned the royalist ranks: those privates who had enlisted from the French prisons in England, from a desire of recovering their liberty, deserted and carried intelligence to the enemy of the situation of the royalist army. In consequence of that information, Hoche formed a plan for the attack of the fort and camp occupied by the royalists. Accordingly, on the night of the 20th, amidst a howling storm and a pelting rain, a party of the emigrant soldiers deserted, and quickly conducted back to the fort a large body of republican troops. In an instant all was confusion. While the faithful were staining the ground with their blood, the timorous laid down their arms, and joined the assailants in the cry of *Vive la république!* and the traitorous massacred their officers, and those of their comrades who did not join in the republican war-whoop. About 1,100 men, led by Puissaye, hastened to the beach, to escape to the shipping. Others, headed by Sombreuil, resisted until Hoche consented to receive their submission

as prisoners of war, provided the Convention assented to that condition. But, instead of conforming to the capitulation, the inhuman general Lemoine marched the gallant Sombreuil, with several other emigrants of distinction, to Quimper, where they were shot next day, by virtue of the decision of a military tribunal. The booty which fell into the hands of the republicans was immense; clothing, accoutrements, and warlike stores, sufficient for an army of 40,000 men, having been landed at the time of the disembarkation of the troops. Six ships, also, which had arrived only on the evening previous to the surprise, laden with rum, brandy, and provisions, became a prize to the French.

After this calamity, sir John Warren took possession of the islands of Hoedic and Houat. He next made an attempt on the island of Noirmoutier, at the mouth of the Loire, but the republicans being too strong there to warrant success, he proceeded to the Isle Dieu, about five miles to the southward of Noirmoutier, of which he took possession. In the beginning of October, sir John was joined at Isle Dieu by the 38-gun frigate *Jason*, escorting a fleet of transports, with 4,000 British troops on board, under the command of major-general Doyle. But as no use could be made of this force, on account of the unpromising condition of the royalist cause, they were, at the close of this year, re-embarked on board the transports, and, evacuating the Isle Dieu, returned to England.

Of the three French West India islands—Martinique, St. Lucia, and Tobago—which had been captured by sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis, in 1794, the last-mentioned had been retaken by the French before the conclusion of the year. Early in the present year, St. Eustatius, the great magazine of the Dutch islands, had surrendered to the French republican forces; and having put it in a strong position of defence, they made it the basis of their operations for the recovery of the islands they had lost, and the revolutionising of the British colonies. For this purpose, a large force was put under the command of the notorious Victor Hugues, a man of a ferocious disposition, but uncommon activity and courage, with orders to put into execution the decree of the Convention by which the negroes were to be declared free. He and other emissaries went from island to island, preaching up equality and the "rights of man" to the negroes and people of colour,

and a crusade against the English and the French royalists. Arms and uniforms were furnished to all the blacks and mulattoes disposed to enter into the French service. It was at the head of this desperate multitude, aided by about 4,000 regular troops, that he had retaken Guadeloupe. The recovery of the other French islands was now projected; and, in the spring of this year, a concerted revolt took place at the same time in the other captured islands. In St. Lucia, the English troops were taken by surprise, and after a gallant resistance, compelled to retire into the fort. After a three months' blockade, the fort was compelled to surrender; and such of the British as were not butchered were shipped off the island. The flame spread to Dominica, Granada, and St. Vincent; but after a severe struggle, it was extinguished in those islands, except in the interior and mountainous parts of St. Vincent, where the Caribs were not subdued until after several desperate encounters with the British troops. Under the auspices of Victor Hugues and the French Convention, the Maroons of Jamaica (who were the descendants of negroes who had revolted and fled to the mountains in the time of the Spaniards) carried on a long and sanguinary contest with the British troops stationed in that island.

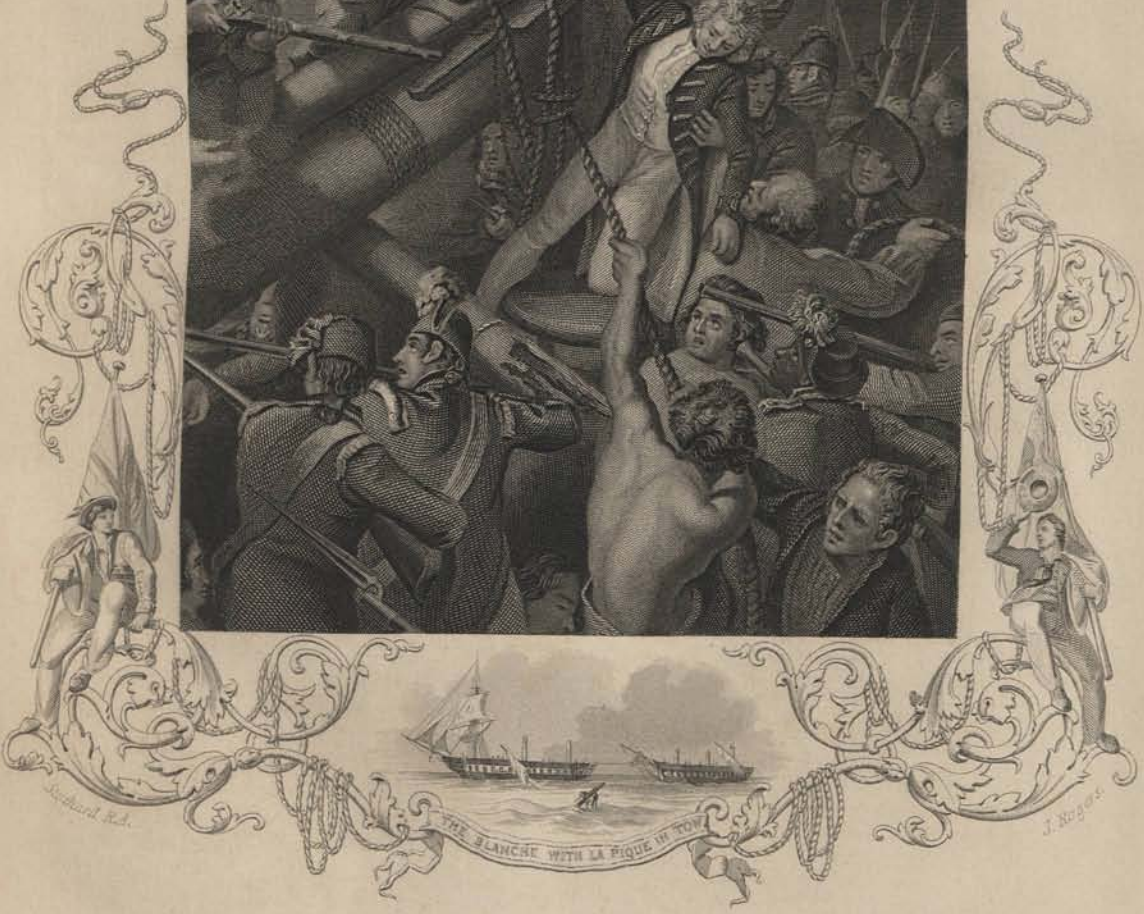
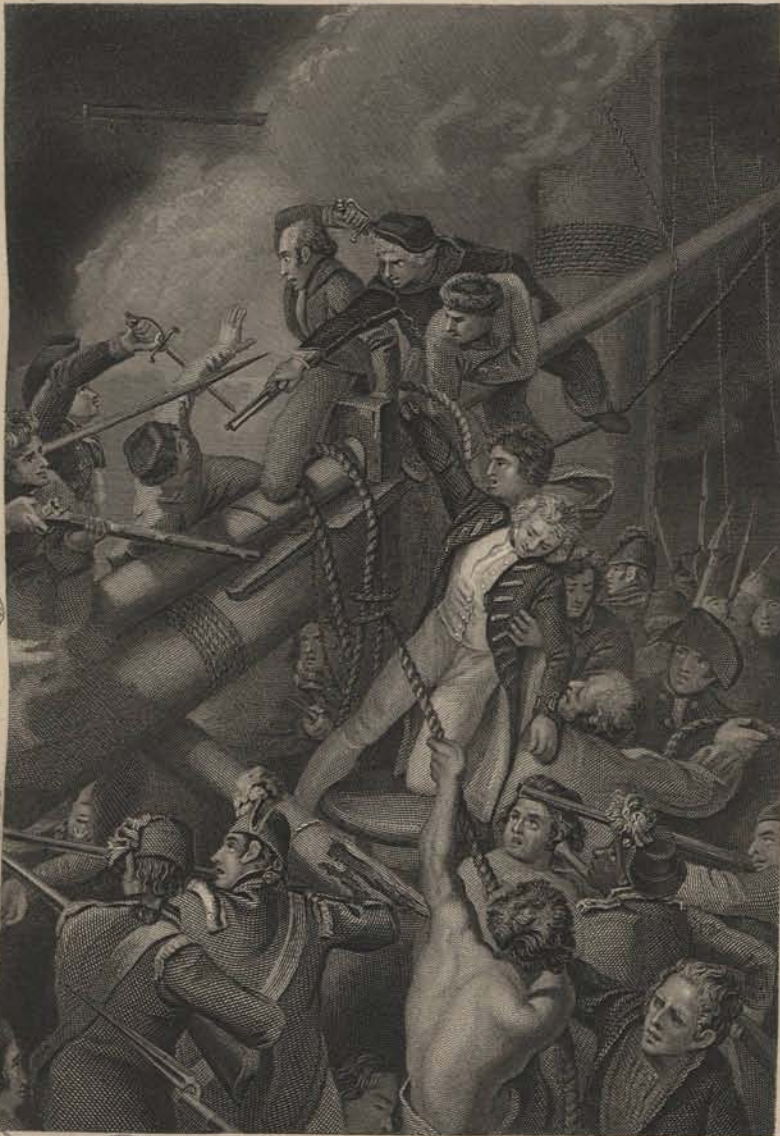
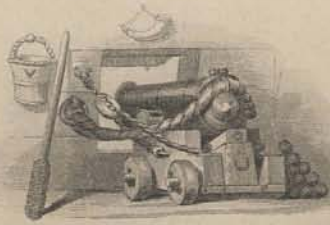
Another cause added fuel to the flame of insurrection. When Jamaica was conquered from the Spaniards during the government of Oliver Cromwell, the Maroon descendants of the African slaves, whom the Spaniards had left behind them, refused submission to the conquerors, and retired to the lofty ridge of mountains which intersect the island, insisting that the lands which they inhabited should be their own, themselves remain free, and retain their former customs and privileges. This having been agreed to, and solemnly ratified, they had lived ever since independent of the British government in Jamaica. Among their privileges, was the stipulation that they were not to be punished by the courts of judicature of the island, but to be tried and punished according to their own laws. It happened, unfortunately, that two of them, being detected in theft, instead of being put into the hands of their countrymen to receive their merited punishment, were, by the authority of a magistrate, sentenced to be whipped. They appealed to their clansmen to procure them redress for this breach of their privilege. The Maroons complained

to the government that their privileges had been violated, and demanded satisfaction. Not obtaining the desired redress, they had recourse to arms. Whether it proceeded from a contemptuous feeling towards them, or a determination to punish their temerity, no endeavours were adopted to bring about a reconciliation; but they were proceeded against with unrelenting severity. They made a desperate defence, but were at length subdued, and almost exterminated. The recesses to which they fled for shelter were so intricately situated, and so difficult of access and discovery, that bloodhounds were procured from the Spanish island of Cuba, in order to pursue and trace them by their scent. But, fortunately, before the arrival of those dogs, the insurgents had submitted to the government.

On the declaration of war with Holland, measures had been taken to gain possession of its colonial settlements. In February, a small squadron, under vice-admiral Duncan, had been dispatched to the North Sea, to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet lying in the Texel. Early in August, a Russian fleet, consisting of twelve crazy ships-of-the-line and seven frigates, had associated itself with the British squadron; but the combined fleets had no other enemy to encounter during the year than the storms and shoals of the North Sea. On the 16th of September of this year, the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope surrendered to admiral Elphinstone and general Clarke, after an ineffectual defence. In the East Indies, Trincomalee and other forts in Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, and all the remaining Dutch settlements on the continent of India, had previously surrendered.

Many encounters between single English and French ships took place during this year. Though in each case the enemy had a decided superiority in the amount of the crews, the number of guns, and the weight of metal, victory was the invariable attendant on the British flag. The first and most memorable was that between the *Blanche* and the *Pique*. It has been already stated in the English Battles of 1794, that the *Blanche*, commanded by captain Faulkner, while cruising off the island of Désirade, one of the dependencies of Guadeloupe, had captured a large French schooner under the guns of the fort of that island. Having dispatched his prize to the harbour of the Saintes (two small islands close to Guadeloupe, and then in possession of the British),

he proceeded on a cruise off Point-à-Pitre—a harbour in Grande Terre, Guadeloupe, and in which lay, ready for sea, the French 36-gun frigate *Pique*, with 400 men on board. In order to entice his antagonist to battle, captain Faulkner, though his vessel carried but thirty-two guns of inferior metal, and the crew scarcely exceeded 200 men, stood as near the enemy's fort as he prudently could. The *Pique* answered the challenge; but when approaching the *Blanche*, indicating a wavering inclination for the fight, captain Faulkner made towards an American schooner from Bordeaux to Point-à-Pitre, with wine and brandy, and finding his enemy not disposed to prevent him from making the capture, and despairing of the *Pique* leaving the protection of the fort while the *Blanche* continued in sight, he stood off towards the islands of Marie-Galante and Dominica; and when between those islands, he, observing the *Pique* about two leagues astern, immediately made sail towards her. The *Blanche* being on the starboard tack, and the *Pique* on the larboard, as they passed each other they exchanged broadsides. The *Blanche* immediately put about, and came up with her enemy again; the *Pique* then wore, and endeavoured to get into a position so as to rake the English vessel. Captain Faulkner, by again tacking, avoided this, and laid his ship nearly aboard the Frenchman, and poured in a heavy fire; then putting his helm a-starboard, he ran across the *Pique*, and lashed her bowsprit to the capstan of the *Blanche*. A desperate encounter now ensued, the shot of the English ship causing dreadful havoc among the crew of *La Pique*. While in the act of securing the enemy with a hawser, the brave captain Faulkner was shot dead by a musket-ball which pierced his heart. Nothing daunted by the loss of their commander, the officers and crew of the *Blanche* continued the action in the most gallant manner. After a short time the main and mizen masts of the French frigate were shot away, when the British ship paid off before the wind, towing her adversary behind her; and finding that the stern-ports were not sufficiently large to admit the guns to be run out, the transom beam was blown away, and the guns fired into the enemy's bows; the marines in the meantime keeping up a steady fire on her fore-castle. The severe cannonade which the French frigate had received, and the heavy loss in killed and



THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN FAULKNER.

wounded she had sustained, at length compelled her to strike her colours; after an engagement of five hours. The loss on board *La Pique* amounted to seventy-six men killed and 110 wounded. That on board the *Blanche* was only eight killed and twenty-one wounded. A monument was erected, at the public expense, to commemorate the gallant daring of captain Faulkner.

In this, as well as in the two preceding years, many of the British naval officers had rendered themselves and their ships highly celebrated in the naval transactions of this war. The British officers sought the enemy with the greatest zeal and ardour. Both in foreign parts, and on their own coast, the French dreaded them. Few of the war-ships which ventured out of their ports, whether single or in squadrons, could escape the vigilance of the English, who either took or destroyed them, by compelling them to run ashore, and burning them. Many of their exploits were of the most daring kind. Those officers who chiefly distinguished themselves by actions of the kind, were sir Richard Strachan, sir Edward Pellew, sir John Warren, and sir Sidney Smith, and many others, who, by their exertions and successes, became the terror of the French marine. The following instance of sailing into an enemy's port may be given.

In the beginning of January of this year, it being rumoured that the Brest fleet had left that port, sir John Borlase Warren, with a small squadron, put to sea to ascertain the truth of the report. On the 2nd they sailed from Falmouth, and on the 3rd the squadron was off Brest. Sir Sidney Smith, in the

Diamond, was dispatched to look into the harbour. Sir Sidney beat up towards Brest, and in doing so he observed three French ships of war also making for the entrance to the harbour. In the course of the afternoon the *Diamond* cast anchor, sir Sidney being anxious to take advantage of the flood-tide to work into the harbour's mouth. While lying here he discovered a large ship, anchored about two miles distant. At eleven at night the *Diamond* weighed, and stood towards the shore. In her route she passed a large ship; and, between two and three in the morning, ran close to windward of a frigate lying at anchor. Proceeding in her dangerous tour of inspection in an enemy's harbour, the *Diamond* tacked between the roads of Bertheaume and Camara. As daylight broke, about seven in the morning, she discovered two ships coming through the Goulet de Brest, a ship dismantled, lying high aground on Petit-Menou Point, and fifteen small vessels at anchor in Camara road. The *Diamond*, not seeing any ships in Brest road, bore towards St. Mathias. Several signals having been made from the castle de Bertheaume, sir Sidney hoisted French colours. Shortly after a French corvette showed some symptoms of suspicion. Sir Sidney, however, passed on, so close to the line-of-battle ship, that he was within hail; and observing that she seemed very leaky, he asked the French commander if he wanted any assistance, to which he answered in the negative. The enemy being quite deceived by the false colours of the *Diamond*, she got clear off, and joined the squadron.

OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN 1796.

THE operations of the naval and military forces of Great Britain, during this year, in the East and West Indies, were attended with the most decisive success. General Nichols, who, during the whole course of the year 1795, had met with the most obstinate resistance in Granada, in March of the present year obtained a complete victory over the insurgents, who submissively acknowledged allegiance to the British government. In May following, the loss incurred, on the reduction of this island, was nine privates killed, and sixty officers and privates wounded. In that month St. Lucia was reduced by lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercromby,

when the garrison, consisting of 2,000 men, marched out of the fort and laid down their arms; the total loss sustained by the British, in the reduction of this island, was—fifty-six officers and privates killed, 378 wounded, and 122 missing. In June, St. Vincent, after an obstinate resistance by the enemy, who were composed chiefly of people of colour and Caribs, capitulated to general Abercromby. The loss of the British had been, thirty-eight officers and privates killed, and 145 wounded. In May, Essequibo and Demerara (two Dutch colonial islands in the West Indies) had been taken possession of by general White. On the 5th of February,

an expedition, composed of the *Heroine* frigate and three sixteen-gun sloops, with five armed ships belonging to the East India Company, and a body of troops under Colonel Stuart, sailed from the Cape of Good Hope to Ceylon; and, on the 15th, after slight opposition, Colombo surrendered. On the 16th of the same month, Amboyna, the capital of the Molucca colonies, and the principal settlement of the Dutch in that quarter, surrendered to the squadron under Admiral Rainer; and, on the 8th of March, Banda, or Banda Neira (the chief of the Banda or Nutmeg Islands) surrendered to the same expedition. In those places, immense quantities of pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, mace, military and naval stores, and specie, fell into the hands of the captors. So valuable had been the amount of property taken, that five captains of the navy, present at the surrender of Amboyna and Banda, received £15,000 sterling each as their share of prize.

The cruel Victor Hugues sent an expedition, consisting of the *Decius*, of twenty-eight guns, and the brig *Le Vaillant*, of four guns, with 300 troops on board, with orders to destroy the little defenceless colony of Anguilla. Captain Barton, of the *Lapwing*, of twenty-eight guns, receiving intimation of his infamous design, taking on himself the responsibility of disobedience to the order of service he had received, sailed to the relief of the poor Anguillians, who were now suffering all the miseries of plunder, conflagration, and massacre. He immediately attacked both of the French vessels; and, after a severe action, compelled the *Decius* to surrender, and he burnt the brig, which had run on shore. The contest had been so severe, that out of 300 people on board the *Decius*, 120 were killed and wounded.

The colony of St. Domingo, the most valuable of any to France, and the source of its former commercial prosperity, was in a state of confusion which baffled all efforts made to restore it to order. The blacks and the mulattoes had now, in consequence of French instigation throughout the West Indian colonies to the participation of equal rights, become its rulers. The estates of the ancient proprietors were in the hands of their former slaves. They were armed, and soon took forcible possession of a large portion of the southern districts, where they declared themselves a free and independent people. The French commissioners being unable to reduce them, the planters and

original proprietors called on the English to protect them, they having previously transferred their allegiance from France to Great Britain. In consequence of this arrangement, many of the principal places of the island were put into the hands of the English.

On the 18th of March of this year, a detachment of British and colonial troops, under the command of Major-general Forbes, from the garrison of Port-au-Prince, proceeded on board a squadron of three line-of-battle ships and two frigates, and the same number of sloops, against the town and fort of Léogane. On the 21st they were landed; but the town and fort being much stronger, and the enemy more numerous than had been expected, they re-embarked in the course of the following day and night, and proceeded against the fort of Bombarde, about fifteen miles distant. After a slight attack, the garrison, consisting of 300 whites, capitulated. The loss of the assailants was eight officers and privates killed, eighteen wounded, and four missing. But the strength of the English was never sufficiently great to effect any important progress in the reduction of that valuable island. Continual diseases, of the most deadly kind, had swept away the reinforcements sent from England almost as soon as they arrived. From this circumstance, and the arrival in May of a French squadron, having on board 1,200 troops, under the command of General Rochambeau, with 20,000 muskets, 400,000 lbs. weight of gunpowder, and twelve pieces of artillery, British influence speedily declined in the island.

The rapid and extraordinary successes of Napoleon Buonaparte in Italy had tended much to reduce British influence along the northern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The kings of Sardinia and of the Two Sicilies had been compelled to make peace with the French republic, and the territories ceded by the first-mentioned had been named by the conquerors the department of the Maritime Alps, and annexed to France. The French now thought, that their long cherished wish of the sole dominion of the Mediterranean was about being realised, with the assistance of Spain as their ally. They therefore determined to recover the possession of Corsica. The disaffection of the Corsicans to the British government also encouraged them to the undertaking. Leghorn, after its possession by the French, became the chief seat of preparation for the attempt.

The British government being acquainted with this state of matters, and in daily expectation of a rupture with Spain, had sent out orders for the evacuation of the island, and the removal of the troops and stores to Porto-Ferraio, in the island of Elba, of which island Nelson had taken possession at the time Leghorn was seized by the French. In the meantime, a committee of thirty of the partisans of France had assumed the government of Bastia, had sequestered all British property, and were in expectation of the arrival of the French expedition to their assistance, to resist the embarkation of the British troops and property. In the port lay the two line-of-battle ships, *Captain* and *Egmont*, and some other vessels for the embarkation of the British troops, under the direction of Commodore Nelson. The commander, on ascertaining the design of the committee, took immediate measures for frustrating their project. He sent word, by Captain Sutton, to the committee, that if the slightest opposition was made, he would batter the town down. A privateer, moored across the mole, pointing her guns at the bearer of the message, and muskets being levelled at him from the shore, he pulled out his watch, and gave them a quarter of an hour to consider their answer, at the expiration of which the ships would open their fire. The embarkation of the troops and stores was allowed to go on uninterrupted. Just as the embarkation was being completed, the Spanish fleet, consisting of nineteen sail of the line and ten frigates and corvettes, under Admiral Langara, appeared in sight, having under its protection the French and Corsicans who had been embarked at Leghorn for the reduction of Corsica. The French landed at Cape Corso, and marched into the citadel of Bastia, only an hour after the English had spiked the last gun and evacuated it.

The Dutch or Batavian republic, desirous of recovering repossession of the Cape of Good Hope, fitted out, in the Texel, three ships of the line, three frigates, and other vessels, under Rear-admiral Lucas, with a force of 2,000 soldiers on board; and taking advantage of the temporary absence of the British blockading squadron, put to sea, in expectation of being joined by a French squadron, for which the Dutch had paid over the expenses to the French government. On the 3rd of August, the Dutch fleet appeared off Saldanha Bay, when intelligence being conveyed of its arrival to

Admiral Elphinston, who, lying with the British squadron—two seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, a fifty-gun ship, two frigates, and four sloops—put to sea. A storm occurring, compelled the English fleet to re-enter Simon's Bay, where it remained weather-bound till the 15th, on which day it again put to sea, and steering towards Saldanha Bay, discovered the Dutch squadron lying there at anchor. The British ships forming in line, anchored within gun-shot of the Dutch, to whose commanding officer the British admiral sent a requisition of surrender. On the 17th, a capitulation was agreed to, and Admiral Lucas surrendered his squadron of nine ships to the British admiral.

The French government had, for the last two years, been contemplating the dispatch of an expedition to the Indian seas, for the purpose of harassing our commerce there. In March of this year, Rear-admiral Sercey put to sea with four frigates and two corvettes, having 800 troops on board, and two companies of artillery, under General Magalon. On the 18th of June, the squadron cast anchor in the waters of the Isle of France, when the commissioners, Baco and Bumel, who were sent out in the expedition to give freedom to the slaves in compliance with the decree of September, 1795, went on shore; but as soon as their mission was known, it was so unfavourably received by the colonists, that the governor-general, Malartic, was obliged to send them back to France. On the 22nd, he steered towards the coast of Coromandel. On the 14th of August, he made the south-east point of Ceylon, where he made a few prizes; then, standing along the Coromandel coast, between Pondicherry and Madras, he obtained a few more prizes. On the 7th, while cruising off the north coast of Sumatra, he descried two large ships to the leeward, which were the two British seventy-four-gun ships, the *Arrogant* and *Victorious*, Captains Lucas and Clark. Sercey having reconnoitred his enemy, tacked and stood away, as if desirous of seeking a less troublesome opponent. On the 9th, the hostile ships were again in sight of each other, when Sercey, seeing no chance of escape, signalled his six frigates and the *Triton* Indiaman to put about and form line of battle. After a severe contest during four hours, the French squadron hauled off, under a crowd of sail. The British ships were too disabled to pursue. The loss on board the *Arrogant* and *Vic-*

torious was—twenty-four killed and eighty-four wounded; that on board the French squadron was—forty-two killed and 104 wounded.

In this year occurred the formidable Irish rebellion. The discontented part of the Irish population, desirous of forming an Hibernian republic, in imitation of that of France, had entered into a conspiracy for shaking off their allegiance. Above 200,000 men in different parts of the country were enrolled for the purpose. A secret correspondence was kept up between the heads of the malcontents and the French government, and plans laid for a general insurrection. The French engaged to furnish an armament to assist the insurgents, which they chiefly equipped with the money advanced by the Dutch for the fleet which was to accompany their squadron to the Cape of Good Hope for the recovery of that settlement.

The armament designed for this expedition had been in preparation at Brest during the whole summer. It consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, fifteen frigates, besides ships and transports, and 25,000 men on board. The fleet was under the command of Vice-admiral Morard de Galles; the land forces under General Hoche, who had much signalled himself in the war with the Vendean royalists. The fleet left Brest harbour on the 17th of December, and rounding the Saintes, stood away to the southward. Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Indefatigable* frigate, who had been watching the enemy's motions, frequently within half gun-shot of their leading ships, went in quest of Admiral Colpoys. But stress of weather had driven the English admiral off his station.* The day after the departure of the fleet, it was dispersed by a violent storm, and many of the ships damaged. On the 24th, Rear-admiral Bouvet, the second in command, anchored in Bantry Bay, on the coast of Ireland, with seven ships of the line and ten other vessels, having about 6,000 men on board. Bouvet endeavoured to land the troops, but the tremendous swell of the sea prevented this, and the crew of a boat, who were sent to reconnoitre, were made prisoners. The coast was also lined with bodies of militia and other forces ready to oppose a landing. After remaining seven days in

this bay, and the weather continuing very tempestuous, Bouvet determined to return to Brest; and on the military officers objecting to his return, he pointed out the impolicy of staying longer, as General Hoche, who alone was in possession of instructions for conducting the expedition, had probably been taken, or returned to France. He therefore put his determination into execution, and arrived at Brest on the last day of December. Rear-admirals Nielly and Richery's squadrons kept beating about the Irish coast, in hopes of being joined by the other portions of the fleet, until they were scattered by another terrible gale. Among the ships which last arrived in the French harbour was the *Fraternité* frigate, with Morard de Galles and Hoche on board. Only one seventy-four, the *Droits de l'Homme*, Captain la Grasse, remained at sea.

The fate of the *Droits de l'Homme*, a French seventy-four, may be here related. She was encountered by Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Indefatigable*, of forty-four guns, and Captain Robert Carthew Reynolds, in the *Amazon*, of thirty-six. The strife between them was most desperate. The French two-decker had no poop, and through her defective construction, and the tempestuous sea passing over her, she was forced to close her lower ports, and could make little use of her first-deck guns. It was on the evening of the 13th of January, that the *Indefatigable*, which first came up with the enemy, brought the *Droits de l'Homme* to close action. She sustained the unequal contest alone for at least an hour, when, having unavoidably shot a little ahead, Captain Reynolds, in the *Amazon*, came up and opened a well-directed fire, but she, too, shot ahead, as her consort had done. The *Droits de l'Homme* kept up a murderous cannonade, and was sometimes enabled to use her guns on both sides at the same time. She carried 1,050 land troops, and these, from her lofty decks, and from her tops, poured a shower of musket-balls upon the frigates. Eventually the *Indefatigable* placed herself on one quarter, the *Amazon* on the other, and both, while an awful tempest was raging, kept up a destructive fire during five hours. It was dusk when the *Indefatigable* commenced her attack: the contest was continued in the darkness of night, and no one knew

other, under Rear-admiral Sir Roger Curtis, to cruise well to the westward; and the third to remain at Spithead, under Lord Bridport, ready to be dispatched wherever intelligence might render expedient.

* On information of the French design, the channel fleet had been divided into three squadrons: one under Colpoys, to cruise off Brest, with a fixed rendezvous eight leagues to the west of Ushant; the

with certainty what part of the coast they were near; though all were aware that a lee-shore and perilous rocks were not far distant. The *Indefatigable* and *Amazon* at length found it necessary to sheer off, to secure their masts and loose rigging. They were, in fact, in a very dangerous condition, as the sea was running so high that the sailors on the main-decks of the frigates were standing up to their waists in water. The *Indefatigable* had four, the *Amazon* three feet of water in the hold. Their masts were so damaged that hardly one of them could be said to have remained standing, and the crew, diminished in numbers, were completely exhausted.* If such the distressed state of the English frigates, still more deplorable was that of the French man-of-war. On their renewing the action her fore-mast was shot away, her main and mizen-masts were shaken, her rigging and sails destroyed, and her decks strewn with the dying and the dead. At half-past four in the morning the moon came through the clouds, and Lieutenant G. Bell, who was looking out of the *Indefatigable's* fore-castle, perceived land. This had scarcely been reported to Pellew, when breakers were seen ahead. The crew then hauled the tacks on board, and the ship immediately sailed to the southward, but still uncertain where they were, and supposing the land they had seen to be the Isle of Ushant. Had the supposition been right, they would have sailed in comparative safety; but they had not long shaped their course in this belief, when breakers were seen upon their other bow. Then the ship wore to the northward, and when daylight came land was found close ahead, and they discovered that they had been all night in Audierne Bay, half a degree to the south of Ushant. The people of the *Indefatigable*, looking in-shore, saw the *Droits de l'Homme* lying broadside uppermost, with a tremendous surf breaking over her, and their own consort, the *Amazon*, distant about two miles from the Frenchman, in the same condition. Pellew passed within a mile of the French ship, but could render her crew no assistance, as attempting

it he must weather the Penmarcks or drive on shore, and the state of the *Indefatigable* was then such that it seemed almost impossible to save her from the breakers. Favoured by the gale, he passed half-a-mile to windward of the dreaded rocks, and escaped the danger. The *Amazon* had sailed to the northward on the first alarm being given of "breakers ahead!" and had struck the ground almost at the same moment as the *Droits de l'Homme*, but preserving better order than was maintained on board the French ship, the officers and crew, with the exception of six men who stole away the cutter, all, by means of a raft, got safely on shore by nine o'clock in the morning. They were immediately made prisoners of war, and treated with great kindness by the people of Brittany. The *Droits de l'Homme* had got aground much further on the beach, and the shrieks of the despairing crowd on board are described to have been most heart-rending. There were nearly 1,800 men in the ship when the battle commenced; of those that still survived, many were suffering from severe wounds, and frantic from pain. The country people assembled on the shore and marked their distress, but could afford no relief. Rafts were prepared, and boats got in readiness; it was found impracticable to use them, and the day closed without affording the sufferers any consoling hope. On the following day, at low water, an English captain and eight English sailors, prisoners on board the *Droits de l'Homme*, ventured into a small boat, and succeeded in reaching the shore. Some of the Frenchmen attempted to follow the example which had thus been set, but all were lost. Another dreadful night succeeded, in which all the horrors of cold, hunger, and maddening thirst, were to be endured. Larger rafts were constructed on the third day, and the largest ship-boat was prepared for the reception of the women and the wounded. Anguish, and the view of instant death, could not listen to the suggestions of gallantry or pity, and regardless of the claims of the softer sex, and the hopeless condition of their maimed com-

* James, in his *Naval History* says, "So terrible was the motion of the two frigates, that some of the *Indefatigable's* guns broke their breechings four times; some drew their ring-bolts from her sides; and many of the guns, owing to the water beating into them, were obliged to be drawn immediately after loading. All the *Indefatigable's* masts were wounded; her main topmast was completely unrigged, and was saved only by the astonishing cool-

ness and alacrity of the men. The *Amazon* had her mizen topmast, gaff, spanker-boom, and main top-sail-yard completely shot away, her fore and main-mast cut through by shots, and all her sails and rigging more or less injured; and she had expended, during the action, every inch of her spare canvas. The crews of both frigates, whose exertions, between the chase and the battle, had lasted nearly ten hours, were almost worn out with fatigue."

rades, the active and stronger soldiers and sailors sprang into the boat. One hundred and twenty crowded into the small bark, which was almost immediately swamped. The fourth dismal night drew near. Nine hundred men had already perished, and the dreadful condition of the survivors was such, that they regarded the fate of those who had perished as enviable. Burning thirst drove them to swallow salt water, which increased their sufferings, and the billows beating against the ship caused her timbers to fail. When the next day opened on the sufferers, the pangs of hunger were so great, that they proposed to cast lots which should die, that his companions might feed on the corpse. Before they had time to carry this design into execution, the weather cleared up, and a French ship of the line, with a brig and a cutter entered the bay, and anchored near the wreck. They sent boats and rafts to the assistance of those who survived. From weakness, or some other cause, only 150 successfully availed themselves of the proffered relief. More than 200 perished in seeking to gain the rafts. Three hundred and eighty helpless creatures were left on board, to suffer through another night, during which more than half of them died. In a word, only between three and four hundred were saved out of eighteen hundred, which had been embarked in the *Droits de l'Homme*. Among those who were saved were Jean Raimond Lacrosse, formerly a baron, and General Humbert. It ought to be mentioned that the English prisoners, in consideration of the hardships they had endured, and of the manner in which they had exerted themselves to save the unfortunates on board the lost man-of-war, were sent home in a cartel, without any stipulation for an exchange.*

In the course of the year 1796 there had been numerous encounters between single ships and small squadrons. Among the former, those fought by Captain Trollope, in the *Glatton*, and by Captain Bowen, in the *Terpsichore*, were the most distinguished. The gallantry displayed by the officers and

men of these ships entitle them to more than a passing notice.

The *Glatton* was one of the East-Indiamen purchased into the service a few years previous, and on Captain Trollope's appointment, he had her fitted wholly with carronades, a kind of ordnance which had recently been introduced into the service.† The *Glatton* mounted on her first deck twenty-eight sixty-eight pounders; and on her second deck, twenty-eight thirty-two pounders: her complement of men and boys was 324; her broadside-weight of metal, 1,500 lbs. Captain Trollope left Yarmouth-roads on the 14th of June, with orders to join Captain Savage's squadron cruising off the Dutch coast. Previous to this he had been cruising in the North Sea for various months, but had met with no enemy on whom he could try the effect of his powerful broadside. On the 15th, the *Glatton* having made the land, descried a squadron of five men-of-war and a cutter. From the direction in which the ships lay, Captain Trollope at first thought that they belonged to the fleet he had instructions to join; but the distance he was from them prevented his signalling. A breeze having sprang up in the course of the afternoon, the *Glatton* neared the strange ships, when they were discovered to belong to the enemy. Nothing daunted by the fearful odds opposed to him, Captain Trollope kept on his course, determined to join action with the squadron as speedily as possible. As the *Glatton* bore towards the strangers, they weighed and dropped out in a line. The *Glatton* selected the largest of the French ships as her principal opponent, supposing, from her size, that she carried the flag of the commodore, and also, being the third ship from the van, she was rather distant from her second ahead, and thus afforded an opportunity to Captain Trollope to lay his ship alongside. About ten o'clock at night, the *Glatton* was close upon her antagonist's larboard-quarter, and creeping up abreast of her, when another of the frigates tacked, and came close upon the larboard side of the English ship. The

* *Vide* Gaspey's *England, passim*.

† The *carronade* is a piece of carriage ordnance which came into use about the year 1780. It was shorter than the navy four-pounder, and lighter than the navy twelve-pounder, yet it equalled in its cylinder the eight-inch howitzer. From its great destructive power it was termed the *smasher*. It was invented by General Melville, a man of considerable scientific attainments, and obtained its name from being cast at the iron-works of the Car-

ron Company, which are situated on the banks of the river Carron in Scotland, a few miles from where it joins the Firth of Forth. Carronades were first used by privateers, fitted out during the American war, and they were shortly after introduced by the Board of Admiralty in the navy. M. Lescallier, in his *Vocabulaire des Termes de Marine*, describes it thus:—"The carronade is a species of gun, stout and short, carrying, in proportion to its weight and length, balls of an enormous size."

three ships were within twenty yards of each other, and they opened their fire almost simultaneously. The *Glatton* poured her heavy broadsides into both ships with such tremendous effect, that, in about twenty minutes' time, the damaged state of the hulls of the two ships, and the frightful carnage which had taken place among the men, caused them to sheer off out of range of shot. During the time the *Glatton* was discharging her heavy broadsides into the commodore's ship and his second ahead, the two frigates which were lying astern kept up a raking fire, which considerably damaged the rigging and masts of the *Glatton*; but, from the range being too high, did but little injury to the hull or the crew. Immediately on the two disabled ships dropping astern, the two rear-most of the French frigates bore down upon the right side of their antagonist, while the leading frigate on an opposite tack came down on the other side. The *Glatton* was now exposed to the fire of the three frigates; but she replied so effectually, and with such tremendous effect did the shot from her long carronades plough up the decks of the three French vessels, that in less than half-an-hour they also dropped out of range of her shot, having been considerably damaged in their hulls, and sustained a heavy loss in killed and wounded.

On her antagonist dropping out of gunshot, the *Glatton* attempted to wear, in order to pursue the enemy; but it was found that her masts and rigging were so crippled, that this was impossible. The crew were therefore set to repair the damage they had sustained, and all exertion was made that they might be able to renew the action in the morning. The principal part of the enemy's shot had passed between the tops and gun-wale, very few of her shots having struck the hull. None of the men were killed, and but two wounded. During the night, the French ship and brig, which had been lying to leeward, fired into the *Glatton*, and did some slight damage to her newly-spliced ropes and spars. Captain Trollope was in hopes all the night, that when morning dawned he should be able to see some of the ships of Captain Savage's squadron, which would have enabled him to have made a prize of one or more of the French ships. In this, however, he was disappointed, as although he was on the very spot where his orders directed him to join the squadron, not one of Savage's ships was

visible. In his present state, Captain Trollope did not deem it prudent a second time to become the assailant: he did not, however, make any attempt to escape from his antagonists of the day before. The *Glatton* bore up under easy sail just beyond the range of shot, and then hove-to; the French ships doing the same, but showing no desire to renew the contest. After remaining in this position, looking at each other for about an hour, the French ships weighed and sailed away, the *Glatton* bearing off towards the northward. Captain Trollope felt disinclined to quit the coast, still thinking that, some friendly sail coming up, he might be able to strike another blow. In this expectation he was disappointed; and next day he saw the French squadron nearing the port of Flushing, and a breeze setting in on shore, he returned to Yarmouth-roads, where he anchored on the 21st of June.

The prompt decision and gallant conduct of Captain Trollope, and the able manner in which he was seconded by his officers and crew, are deserving of the greatest praise. Opposed to a force of seven ships, two of which were each larger than his own by 300 or 400 tons, it would by most commanders have been considered but prudent to keep at as respectable a distance as possible; but the captain of the *Glatton* was one of the Nelson school of seamen; and feeling that in a good ship British sailors are invincible, he boldly became the assailant. For his brave conduct Captain Trollope received from his majesty the order of knighthood, and the merchants of London presented him with an elegant piece of plate.

The *Terpsichore*, a thirty-two gun frigate, Captain Richard Bowen, had been cruising for some time in the Mediterranean; and having had great sickness on board, left thirty of her men in hospital at Gibraltar, while she had still more than that number on board. On the 13th June she was off the port of Carthage. There was but little wind at the time, when about day-break she observed a strange frigate to windward, and apparently bearing towards her. From the absence of her men in hospital, and so many on the sick-list, the *Terpsichore* was not anxious for an encounter with an enemy apparently much superior to herself. Besides, the Spanish fleet was known to be in this quarter, and a small Spanish vessel was at the moment seen making for Carthage, the port to which the fleet belonged.

However, the idea of getting away as fast as he could, never presented itself to Captain Bowen; so he steadily pursued his course, without taking any notice of the stranger. At about half-past nine the enemy's vessel had got within hail of the *Terpsichore*, when she was discovered to be the Spanish frigate *Mahonesa*. The Spaniard having made a movement, which Captain Bowen considered was done to place herself to advantage, he fired into her. This was immediately returned by a broadside from the *Mahonesa*, and the action then proceeded with spirit on both sides. In about an hour the firing on board the Spanish frigate began to slacken, and in about an hour and-a-half, she showed symptoms of a wish to make off. The guns of the Spaniard had been well worked, and the consequence was that the *Terpsichore* had had her masts and bowsprit wounded, as well as her rigging and sails cut up. Notwithstanding her crippled condition, however, she prevented her antagonist from getting away; and in about another twenty minutes the *Mahonesa*, whose booms had fallen over, and was altogether in a defenceless state, hauled down her colours. The *Terpsichore*, deducting those who were sick, had but 152 men, while the *Mahonesa* had 275: the English ship carried thirty-two guns, the Spanish, thirty-four: the English vessel's broadside, in weight of metal, was 174 lbs.; while her opponent's was 182: the tonnage was—*Terpsichore*, 682; *Mahonesa*, 921.

Notwithstanding the crippled state of the *Terpsichore*, she managed to take her prize to Lisbon; she had, however, received such rough usage at the hands of her captors, that she was not considered worthy the expense of a thorough repair.

The *Terpsichore* put into Gibraltar to refit, where she lay until the beginning of December. On the 12th of that month she was again at sea, on the look-out for an opponent. Early in the morning of that day she was lying-to, several leagues to the westward of Cadiz; while there, Captain Bowen descried an enemy's frigate at about four miles distant: the preceding night having been stormy, the frigate was also lying-to. Chase was immediately given. At nine, P.M. of the 13th, the *Vestale* hauled up her courses and hove-to. At ten, P.M., ranged alongside of her opponent within ten yards, and opened her fire. A furious action ensued, which lasted till forty minutes past eleven, P.M., when the *Vestale* struck her

colours. Out of her complement of 166 men and boys, the *Terpsichore's* loss was four killed and seventeen wounded, among the last of whom was her second and only lieutenant on board. The *Vestale*, out of a complement of 270, lost in killed, her captain, two officers, and twenty-seven seamen; and in wounded, thirty-seven officers and seamen.

The *Terpsichore*, however, was not fated ultimately to retain her well-earned prize. In the crippled state of his ship, Captain Bowen was only able to spare his master, a midshipman, and seven seamen, to go on board and take possession of the *Vestale*. After the battle, the *Vestale's* crew having got drunk and incapable of assisting in the management of the ship, she was drifting ashore, there being no anchor on board clear to let go. She was, however, brought up for that night in three fathoms' water. On the next day the *Terpsichore* stood in to secure her prize, and after much labour, owing to the roughness of the sea, a cable was got on board the *Vestale*; but while making sail together, the stream-cable got foul of a rock, and the *Terpsichore* was obliged to detach herself from her prize. An anchor having been let go, the *Terpsichore* stood off for the night. The next morning a Swedish vessel having hove in sight, Captain Bowen gave chase, and on returning to where he had left his prize, he had the mortification to see her being towed within the shoals straight to Cadiz. The French crew having recovered from their state of intoxication, took the charge from the master, and some Spanish boats coming alongside, she was towed beyond the reach of her captors. Captain Bowen did not on this occasion receive the honour of knighthood, but the merchants of London presented him with a piece of plate.

A gallant affair was performed on the 18th of March of this year by Sir Sydney Smith. He having, in the *Diamond* frigate, attacked a French corvette, *Etourche*, four brigs, two sloops, and two armed luggers, they took refuge in the port of Herqui, near Cape Fréhel, on the coast of France. Having sounded the entrance to the port, and found water enough for his frigate, he determined to enter for the purpose of carrying off or destroying the ships. The harbour was defended by two batteries, erected on a promontory which commanded the entrance. A piece of ordnance, mounted on another eminence, was brought to bear

on the *Diamond*, as she boldly steered into the port. The frigate soon silenced this with her guns. As she rounded the point at the entrance, and steered into the port, the *Diamond* suffered considerably from the galling fire of the batteries. Sir Sydney immediately determined to storm them, and Lieutenants Pine and Carter were sent with a detachment to effect this object. The troops on shore formed on the beach to prevent a landing, and checked by their fire the approach of the boats. Lieutenant Pine, however, ran his boat to a point immediately below the guns of the battery, landed his men, and scaled the rocky height on which the guns were placed before the military could regain their position at the fort. They soon spiked the guns, and returned to their boats. There was only one man injured in this assault, Lieutenant Carter, who afterwards died of his wounds. Having now effectually silenced the batteries, the *Diamond*, with her consorts, a fourteen-gun brig, named the *Liberty*, and the *Autocrat* (a hired lugger), proceeded at once to attack the French ships. The *Liberty* attacked the corvette, and in spite of a well-sustained fire from the French ships and the troops on shore, in a very short time the corvette, the four brigs, and one of the two luggers, were set fire to and effectually destroyed. The loss in the performance of this service was two killed and five wounded. But in another enterprise, Sir Sydney Smith was less fortunate. On the 17th of April, being at anchor in the outer road of Havre, he discovered a large lugger privateer at anchor in the inner road ready for sea. He resolved to cut her out. Accordingly, manning the boats of his squadron, he proceeded with them on the night of the 18th. He succeeded in taking possession of her; but the flood-tide setting in, and the wind being unfavourable, the prize and boats were obliged to come to anchor. Sir Sydney returned to the *Diamond*; but on the approach of daylight, observing his prize drifting up the Seine, and nearly abreast of Harfleur, and several vessels coming out of Havre to attempt her recapture, he returned to the lugger, determined to defend her till the north-east tide made, or a propitious breeze sprang up. By the time he reached his prize, she was attacked by a large armed lugger and a variety of small craft filled with troops. After a gallant resistance, Sir Sydney was compelled to surrender, with a loss of four of his party killed, and seven

wounded. On the 22nd, Sir Sydney Smith and John Westley Wright, a midshipman, were sent to Paris, and confined as prisoners of state, in separate cells of the Temple, from which they effected their escape two years after, and arrived in London in the month of September, 1798.

Sir John Jervis deputed Nelson to superintend the evacuation of Elba; the English here sailed on the 14th of December from Gibraltar, in the *Minerve*, a frigate of thirty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Cockburn. The *Blanche* sailed in company with the *Minerve*. On the night of the 19th, they fell in with two Spanish frigates, the largest of which, the *Santa Sabina*, an eighteen-pounder frigate of forty guns, was brought to action by the *Minerve*: after a resistance of two hours the Spanish ship struck her colours. The *Blanche* during this time kept up a running fight with the other, the *Ceres*; but the *Sabina* had scarcely been taken in tow before the *Minerve* was attacked by the *La Perla*, of thirty-four guns, which was the advanced frigate of the Spanish fleet, by which, as the day dawned, the *Minerve* perceived she was surrounded. With masts badly wounded, and rigging cut to pieces, every stitch of canvas was crowded in the *Minerve*. Two sail of the line and two frigates immediately chased her, but after having been four hours nearly within gunshot, she was, by the freshening of the breeze, and the strenuous union of coolness and seamanship, clear of danger before sunset, having in one night captured one frigate, beat another in the presence of the Spanish fleet, and out-sailed every ship which pursued her. The loss of the *Minerve* was seven killed and forty-four wounded. The *Ceres* escaped from the *Blanche*. Captain Cockburn being obliged to cast off his prize, in which he lost twenty-two men, among whom was Lieutenant Hardy, subsequently Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy.

Before closing the record of the events of this year, it becomes necessary to mention that the British government, in the month of October, sent an envoy to France for the purpose of effecting a general peace. The English minister was the more disposed to this course from the attitude which affairs had assumed on the continent. *The disastrous condition in which the allies of England had been placed by the successes of Napoleon and the other republican generals, and the declaration of war against Britain

by Spain, had rendered her situation anything but cheering. There was also a powerful and influential party in England who had always been opposed to the war, and the minister, Pitt, was anxious to disarm his adversaries of one of their principal weapons, by proving that he was prepared to make peace, if it could be concluded on terms in accordance with the national honour. About the middle of October, Lord Malmesbury was dispatched to Paris to open negotiations, and he arrived there on the 22nd. He was received with rejoicings by the Parisians, who seemed desirous of repose. The terms which he offered to the Directory were—the recognition by England of the

republic, and the willingness of Britain to hand over to France and Holland all the colonies which she had conquered since the commencement of the war. The French were to restore the Low Countries to the emperor, Holland to the Stadtholder, and give up all their conquests in Italy, but to retain Namur, Nice, and Savoy. As was to be expected, the Directory refused to make peace on these terms; and after negotiations had gone on for about two months, they were suddenly broken off, and Lord Malmesbury was ordered to quit Paris within four-and-twenty hours. Thus ended every prospect of a peaceable settlement of the questions in dispute between England and France.

THE FRENCH LAND ON THE ENGLISH COAST.

IN the course of the preceding year, the arms of the republic had been gloriously triumphant in Italy; and though the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, under Jourdan, had been defeated in several engagements by the Austrians, and that of the Rhine and Moselle, under Moreau, to prevent the hazard of being cut off or captured, had been compelled to retrograde, the honour of the republican arms was unimpaired; and both armies were in safety within the French frontier.

The policy of France was not less successful than its arms. After detaching Prussia and Spain from the European confederacy, it had formed a close alliance with those powers. Availing themselves of these advantages, the republican rulers determined to make use of the maritime force of Spain and the Batavian republic, to enable them to crush the maritime power and accomplish the downfall of England, and as the initiative to that measure, to make an attempt on Ireland. On the return of their shattered fleet to Brest, a proclamation was published, wherein the troops who had been embarked for the discomfited expedition to Ireland, were told that another expedition was in preparation. As a preparatory step, a corps of about 1,500 felons and old troops, with arms and ammunition, but no artillery, were embarked in three frigates, which sailing from Brest about the 20th of February, anchored in the harbour of Ilfracombe, in the north of Devonshire, where they scuttled several merchantmen; but hearing that the North Devon

regiment of volunteers were on the march against them, they stood over to the headland off St. David's, in Pembrokeshire, and came to an anchorage in a bay near Fishguard. On the 23rd, they had effected the landing of their whole force, and immediately marched forward. The whole country was in instant alarm. In the course of the day more than 3,000 men, of whom 700 were militia, were collected under Lord Cawdor, who marched directly against the enemy, in front of whom they were before the setting in of night. To present as formidable an appearance as possible to the enemy, 2,000 Welsh women had been drawn up on the summit of the boundary of the adjoining hills, accoutred in their red whittle cloaks and round beaver hats, armed with clubs, spades, toasting-forks, and the like species of unwarlike implements, for the purpose of inducing the enemy to consider them troops; and those Amazonian dames were with difficulty restrained from attacking the invaders. The French commander, alarmed at the formidable array presented to his vision, sent a letter intimating his desire to enter into a negotiation for a surrender. Lord Cawdor required their immediate unconditional submission. With that requisition they complied, and laid down their arms on the following day. The vessels from which they had disembarked, set sail immediately after the disembarkation had been effected.*

* It was by many supposed that this force was sent with the intention that it should be captured, as it consisted of the offscourings of Paris—pests to society, of whom it was advantageous to France to get rid.



Engraved by J. Johnson.

ALEXANDER HOOD, VISCOUNT BRIDPORT.

OB. 1814.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ARBORN IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RT HON^{BLE} THE VISCOUNTESS BRIDPORT.

THE LONDON ENGRAVERS AND PUBLISHERS COLNAGH

THE MUTINY OF THE BRITISH FLEETS.

IN the early part of the year 1797, while the finances were seriously embarrassed by the money-panic, occasioned by the suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England, a spirit of insubordination broke out among the sailors in the navy into so mutinous a state, as seemed at the time to have brought the country to the verge of destruction.

The seamen of the British navy having for some time been discontented with the smallness of their pay and pensions, the unequal distribution of prize-money, and the reduced weight and measure at which their provisions were served out by the pursers, several letters enclosing petitions from the battle-ships of the line at Portsmouth, were sent in the course of February and March of this year, to Lord Howe. But as they were anonymous and appeared to have been written by only one person, Lord Howe merely directed the commanding-officer at that port, Lord Hugh Seymour, to ascertain whether discontent did really exist in the fleet. The reply was so favourable that no further notice was taken of the affair.

On the return of the channel fleet to port, on March 31st, of this year, the neglect of the petitions occasioned a correspondence by letter to be kept up, and passed from ship to ship, through the whole fleet, till it became unanimously agreed, that no ship should lift anchor till the demands stated were complied with. In this state matters remained till the 16th of April—being the day before the seamen had determined to take the command of the ships from their officers—when orders were sent to Portsmouth for Lord Bridport to sail with the channel fleet; but when, on the following day, the signal to prepare was made, not a ship obeyed. Instead of weighing anchor, the sailors mounted the rigging of his flagship, the *Queen Charlotte*, and gave three cheers, which were returned by every ship in the fleet; and the red flag of mutiny was immediately hoisted by all the ships at Spithead. On the following day, the respective ships appointed two of their number to act as delegates; and on the 17th, every man in the fleet was sworn to support the cause in which he had embarked, and yard-ropes were reeved at the main and fore-yard-arms of each ship to punish the refractory. Two petitions were forwarded, one to the Ad-

miralty, and one to the House of Commons, declaring their grievances, and praying relief. A deputation of the Admiralty board went to Portsmouth to accommodate the matter; and on their return to London, the Admiralty committee, on the 20th of April, acceded to the increase of the wages and the pension, to the demand of the full weight and measure of provisions, and the promise of pardon. But the seamen refused to accept these concessions, unless ratified by royal proclamation and act of parliament, with the assurance that the government would faithfully keep its promise, and grant an unlimited amnesty. On those documents being forwarded to Portsmouth the fleet returned to its duty; and on the 23rd, Lord Bridport rehoisted his flag on board the *Royal George*. The fleet then dropped down to St. Helen's, for the purpose of resuming the blockade of Brest harbour; but a foul wind delaying its departure till the morning of the 7th of May, the crews of all the ships, in consequence of a deliberation arising from the silence of the proclamation as to their demands, refused obedience to the signal to weigh anchor unless the enemy's fleet should put to sea, in which case they declared themselves ready to go and fight them, and return into port and renew their complaints. The mutineers immediately summoned a convention of delegates on board the *London*, Vice-admiral Colpoys' flagship. They accordingly put out their boats, collected the deputies from the different ships, and rowed in return to that ship. On Colpoys' refusing to admit them, and his crew insisting that they should come on board, a seaman began to unlash one of the foremost of the guns, and to point it aft towards the quarter-deck, where the officers and men of the ship were collected armed, when one of the lieutenants, by order of the vice-admiral, fired and shot him dead. The men rushed to arms, and the boats' crews forcing their way on board, the officers and marines fired on them, when five men were mortally, and three others badly wounded. The marines throwing down their arms, the crew of the *London* rushed up the hatchways, and furiously attacked the officers. They were proceeding to hang the first-lieutenant at the yard-arm, but were diverted from their pur-

pose by the intercession of the chaplain and the surgeon of the ship. The vice-admiral, the captain, and all the officers, were then ordered to their respective cabins. The rest of the fleet adopted the same course. In this state of mutinous ferment the channel fleet continued till the 14th of May, when Lord Howe arrived at Portsmouth, bringing with him an act of parliament which had been passed on the 9th, in compliance with the wishes of the seamen, and a proclamation with an unlimited amnesty. In a few days the fleet put to sea to resume the blockade of Brest harbour. While at St. Helen's, it is said, one of the ships' companies talked openly of carrying her to France, but that when the circumstance came to the knowledge of the delegates, they threatened immediate destruction to that ship if such language continued to be held; and in order to prevent the crew from holding any communication from the shore (whence the suggestion was supposed to have been derived), guard-boats were stationed to row round the disaffected ship night and day. During the whole of their proceedings, the conduct of the mutineers had been orderly, systematic, and determined; they took possession of all the magazines, loaded the guns, confined every officer to his respective ship, and kept watch as regularly as if they had been at sea. Intoxication or misconduct was severely punished, and no spirituous liquors were allowed to be brought on board any of the mutinous ships. The severest discipline was maintained; the most respectful attention was paid to their officers; and the admiral was allowed to retain the command of the fleet, the only restriction put on him was that of not putting to sea.

No sooner had the mutiny at Portsmouth been suppressed, than one broke out on the 22nd of May, on board the ships lying at the Nore; and towards the end of the month, the whole of the north fleet from the blockading station off the Texel, except Lord Duncan's flag-ship and the *Adamant*, joined the mutineers. In imitation of the channel fleet, two delegates were chosen from each ship, and Peter Parker, a native of Scotland, a seaman on board the *Sandwich*, was elected their president, under the title of "The President of the Floating Republic." The mutineers moored the fleet in order of battle across the Thames, and detained every merchant-vessel bound up and down the river. Besides the increase of pay and

provisions which had been demanded by the channel fleet, the Nore mutineers insisted on a more equal division of prize-money, more regular and frequent payment of wages, and certain privileges of permission to go on shore when in port. The conduct of the government, on this occasion, was worthy of all praise. The revolt of the fleet was formally communicated to the houses of parliament on the 1st of June, and was immediately taken into consideration. The opposition seemed at first disposed to back the mutineers; but a bill was speedily passed, by a large majority, through both houses, for the suppression of the mutiny. This bill declared the punishment of death for any person to hold communication with the mutineers after the revolt had been declared by proclamation; and all persons who might endeavour to seduce soldiers or sailors from their allegiance were liable to the same punishment. It was urged by some that these enactments were too severe; but Mr. Pitt replied, "that the tender feelings of those brave but misguided men were the sole avenues which remained open for recalling them to their duty, and that a separation from their wives, their children, and their country, would probably induce the return to duty which could alone obtain a revival of those affections." The officers of the admiralty repaired to Sheerness, and received deputations from the mutineers; their demands, however, were so unreasonable, that no accommodation could be come to. Meanwhile a number of the men returned to a sense of their duty, and were anxious to desert from the mutineers. This feeling became stronger when it was known that their conduct was reprobated by the whole of the sailors on board the channel fleet. On the 9th of June two ships slipped their cables and abandoned the insurgents at the Nore, amidst a heavy fire from the whole line; and on the 13th and the next day, several others followed their example. By the 15th, the red, or bloody flag, had disappeared from every mast-head, and on that morning, the crew of the *Sandwich* carried the ship under the guns of the fort of Sheerness, and delivered up Parker to a guard of soldiers. On the 30th, after a solemn trial, he was hanged at the yard-arm of the *Sandwich*—a fate which several other leaders of the revolt shortly after met.

Though deserted, Lord Duncan continued the blockade of the Texel with the admiral's flag-ship and six frigates. Though left

with so trifling a force, he undismayed kept his station, and prevented the Dutch admiral from availing himself of his enfeebled condition by stationing one of his frigates in the offing, and frequently making signals as if to the remainder of the fleet, thus leading the Dutch to believe that he was still surrounded by his ships. To encourage his crew, he called them on deck, and addressed them in so touching a manner, that they one and all declared their resolution to abide by him in life or death.* He kept his station till rejoined by the mutinous ships. But the spirit of mutiny and insubordination was not confined to the home ports. Early in July, a mutiny broke out on board the *St. George*, one of the ships of the fleet off Cadiz. It was quelled, however, by the spirited conduct of Captain Peard, her commander, his lieutenant, Hartley, and Captain Hinde, who commanded a party of the 25th foot, then on board. Three men, who had been tried and sentenced to suffer death for mutinous conduct in other ships of the fleet, had been sent on board the *St. George* to be executed. The crew, headed by two of the men, came aft on the quarter-deck to present a letter to the captain, desiring him to intercede with the Earl of St. Vincent in behalf of the condemned. The captain promised that the letter should be sent, but expressed his disapprobation of the men coming aft in a body. Being

secretly informed by one of the crew that the men had come to a resolution that the prisoners should not be executed on board the *St. George*, and would assemble the next morning to put their resolution into force, Captain Peard immediately informed the crew that a warrant for the execution to be carried into force next morning had been sent to him. Information being now given to the captain that the crew intended to deprive him of the command of the ship, he immediately seized the ringleaders, and sent them in irons on board the flag-ship, the *Ville de Paris*, where a court-martial was at once assembled, when they were tried, and sentence of death passed on them. Orders were at the same time issued, that every ship of the fleet should by half-past seven o'clock next morning, send two boats, with an officer in each, alongside the *St. George*, to attend the punishment of the mutineers. The sentence was carried into execution, and no more mutinous conduct appeared in the fleet.

The mutiny which broke out on board the fleet at the Cape of Good Hope, was suppressed by the declaration of the governor, Lord Macartney, that if the red flag was not struck before the expiration of two hours, he would sink, with red-hot shot, every ship of the fleet which were at anchor under the guns of the Amsterdam battery.

* The following is the touching and manly address of Admiral Duncan:—"My lads,—I once more call you together, with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen of the disaffection of the fleets; I call it disaffection, for they have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of the enemy, is a disgrace which, I believe, never before happened to a British admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is, that I have been supported by the officers, seamen, and marines of this ship, for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself, much good may result from your example, by bringing those deluded people to a sense of their duty, which they owe not only to their king and country, but to themselves. The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us from our ancestors, and which, I trust, we shall maintain to the latest posterity; and that can only be done by unanimity and obedience. This ship's company, and others, who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful nation. They

will also have from their inward feelings a comfort which will be lasting, and not like the floating and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty. It has been often my pride with you to look into the Texel, and see a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed!—my feelings cannot easily be expressed. Our cup has overflowed, and made us wanton. The allwise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On Him, then, let us trust, where our only security is to be found. I find there are many good men among us: for my own part, I have had full confidence in all in this ship, and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct. May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world. But this can only be effected by a strict adherence to our duty and obedience; and let us pray that the Almighty God may keep us all in the right way of thinking.—God bless you all!"—*Ann. Reg.* 1797, 214.

BATTLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH FLEETS OFF CAPE ST. VINCENT,
FEBRUARY 14TH.

THE British minister having informed the parliament in both houses that a termination had been put to any hopes which might have been entertained of effecting a peace, he was supported by large majorities to make every exertion to carry on the war with vigour; and the supplies, although unprecedentedly large, were readily voted. The sums required for the expenses of the war, in this year, amounted to £42,800,000. The land forces for the year were 195,000 men; 61,000 being in Great Britain, and the remainder stationed in the colonies. The naval force in commission was 124 ships of the line, eighteen of fifty guns, 180 frigates, and 184 sloops.

The naval force which France was now enabled, by her alliance with Spain and Holland, to bring to bear against Britain, was very considerable. She had arranged with Spain and the Batavian republic a union of the fleets of the three powers, for a simultaneous and combined effort to enable them effectually to destroy the British channel fleet, and make a successful impression on that part of the empire which was most vulnerable, and, if possible, carry out the grand object of Truguet—the invasion of England. Brest was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the allied fleets.

The Spanish fleet was to proceed from Cadiz, and having raised the blockade of Brest and the other French harbours, the combined fleets of both powers were then to unite with the Dutch fleet from the Texel, in the English channel. The Spanish fleet consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line—six of 112 guns, one of 136, two of 84, and seventeen of 74, besides twelve frigates and a brig.

The Mediterranean fleet, under Sir John Jervis, had been actively employed during the winter, and had met with various casualties. The instructions to the admiral were, “to guard against the junction of the French and Spanish fleets; to protect the territories of our Portuguese ally; to provide against any attack on Gibraltar; and to counteract any design of invading England or Ireland.” As has been already related, the island of Corsica had been evacuated by the English, the performance of this delicate service having been intrusted to Nelson. Having left some of the most active frigates

to watch Leghorn and Genoa, and to keep open a communication with the Austrian army of Wurmser, Jervis appointed a rich convoy from Smyrna to rendezvous at St. Fiorenzo, and, directing each of his line-of-battle ships to take one of them in tow, he thus proceeded with his slender force, and reached Gibraltar with his convoy in safety. Losses at sea had reduced the number of the Mediterranean fleet, and a detachment of six ships of the line, under Admiral Mann, having been sent in pursuit of the French squadron, under Richery, had further weakened it; so that when Jervis put into Lisbon to repair, he could collect no more than nine sail-of-the-line. Having learned the designs of the hostile fleets, the English admiral resolved to proceed off Cape St. Vincent, where he arrived on the 6th of February, and was there joined by Admiral Parker with five fresh ships from England. On the 11th he was further reinforced by the arrival of Nelson in the *Minerve* frigate; he having been chased two days before by a portion of the Spanish fleet off Carthagena, brought certain news of their advance. Nelson removed his broad pendant to his own ship the *Captain*, and Sir Gilbert Elliott, the late governor of Corsica, who had accompanied Nelson from thence, on his way to England, requested that the frigate which conveyed him and his suite should be detained, that he might be gratified with a sight of the expected engagement.

On the evening of the 13th, the advance ships of the enemy were clearly descried by the frigates on the look-out, and early in the morning of the 14th of February, the British fleet being on the starboard-tack, discovered the Spanish fleet, extending from south-west to south of the Cape. The morning was foggy, and a clear view of the enemy could not be obtained until near eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when the Spanish fleet was seen to consist of twenty-five ships of the line; Admiral Jervis, perceiving that the Spanish ships were much scattered, determined to pass between them, and immediately signals were made to break through the opening in the enemy's line, and cut off a portion of the Spanish fleet. For this purpose, Captain Troubridge, in the *Culloden*, followed by the *Blenheim*, *Prince*



Engraved by H. Robinson

JOHN JERVIS, EARL OF ST VINCENT.

OB. 1823.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOPNER, IN

HIS MAJESTY'S COLLECTION.

George, *Orion*, and *Irresistible*, as they passed, shot through the eighteenth and nineteenth ships of the enemy's line, where there was a gap, poured double-shotted broadsides into the hostile ships, and having thus separated the sternmost and leewardmost from the main body, tacked, and prevented their again forming in line.

The Spanish admiral now endeavoured to regain the neutralized part of his fleet; but Nelson, who was then a commodore, and commanded the sternmost ship (the *Captain*) in the British line, observing the van of the enemy keeping off the wind, with the evident design of forming a junction with the separated ships, ran the *Captain* into the very middle of the hostile squadron, to assist the *Culloden*, at that time closely engaged. His example was followed by Collingwood, in the *Excellent*. These, with Troubridge's companion ships, turned the Spaniards, who again hauled before the wind, on the larboard-tack.

In effecting this movement, the British squadron exhibited the most gallant conduct. Nelson having wore his ship, bore down on the enemy, and ran her between a Spanish four-decker, the *Santissima Trinidad* (reported to be the largest ship in the world, and carrying 136 guns) on the one side, and the *San Josef*, a three-decker of 112 guns, on the other. The *Santissima Trinidad* bore the flag of Admiral Cordova. Nelson having got alongside his powerful antagonists, poured his heavy broadsides into them with great rapidity and tremendous effect, and maintained this unequal contest with the utmost spirit for a considerable time. Collingwood, in the *Excellent*, seeing his friend Nelson so severely pressed, hastened on to his assistance. Previous to this, the *Excellent* had engaged the *Salvador del Mundo*, of 112 guns. The *Salvador* was a very fine three-decker; and Collingwood's ship carried only seventy-four guns; but, after experiencing a quarter of an hour of the *Excellent's* cannonading, the Spaniard struck her colours. When the fight commenced, the two vessels were not more than fifty yards apart. Collingwood, having seen the colours of the Spanish ship hauled down, passed on, not feeling disposed to lose time in taking

possession of his prize. The *Salvador* again hoisted her colours, and commenced firing, but she was ultimately taken possession of by another ship of the British fleet. The *Excellent* pressing onwards to relieve Nelson, came alongside the *San Ysidro*, a seventy-four: in a short time this vessel, also feeling the effect of her double-shotted guns, struck her colours, and was taken possession of by the *Lively* frigate. Collingwood, not yet contented with his share of the gallant exploits of this memorable day, still kept pressing onwards to where Nelson was engaged with his colossal opponents. He had now got the *San Nicolas* and *San Josef* on the one side, and the *Trinidad* on the other. Collingwood laid his ship alongside the *San Nicolas*—which was the outside ship of the Spaniards—and plied her so effectively, that the shot from the *Excellent* passed right through the two Spanish ships, and struck the *Captain* on the other side. Having silenced the fire of the *San Nicolas*, and thus relieved Nelson of one adversary, the *Excellent* passed on and engaged the *Santissima Trinidad*.*

The *San Josef* and *San Nicolas* now ran foul of each other, and Nelson, passing under their lee, with his fore-topmast leaning over the side of the *Captain*, put his helm down, and his ship having no head-sail, quickly flew up in the wind, and fell, as her gallant commander intended, on board the *San Nicolas*. Nelson rushed in, sword in hand, followed by his officers and boarders; and having carried her, proceeded to the *San Josef*, which he took in the same gallant manner. This heroic action is best portrayed in his own graphic language:—"The soldiers of the 69th (doing duty as marines), with an alacrity which will ever do them credit, and Lieutenant Pearson, of the same regiment, were almost the foremost on this service. The first man who jumped into the enemy's mizen-chains was Captain Berry, my late first lieutenant; he was supported from our sprit-yard, which was hooked on the mizen-rigging. A soldier of the 69th regiment having broken the upper-quarter gallery window, I jumped in myself, and was followed by others as fast as possible. I found the cabin-doors fastened, and loss. We shall meet at Lagos; but I could not come near you without assuring you how sensible I am of your assistance, in nearly a critical situation." The answer of Collingwood was characteristic. He replied—"It added very much to the satisfaction which I felt in thumping the Spaniards, that I released you a little."

* The great assistance rendered by Collingwood to Nelson in this battle, the latter promptly and warmly acknowledged in a letter the following day. Writing to Collingwood, he says, "A friend in need is a friend in deed" was never more truly verified than by your most noble and gallant conduct yesterday, in sparing the *Captain* from further

some Spanish officers fired their pistols; but having broken open the doors, the soldiers fired, and the Spanish brigadier (commodore, with a distinguishing pendant) fell as he was retreating to the quarter-deck. I pushed onwards immediately for the quarter-deck, where I found Captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish ensign hauling down. I passed with my people and Lieutenant Pearson along the larboard gangway to the fore-castle, where I met two or three Spanish officers, prisoners to my seamen: they delivered me their swords. A fire of pistols or muskets opening from the admiral's stern-galley of the *San Josef*, I instructed the soldiers to fire into her stern; and calling to Captain Miller, ordered him to send more men into the *San Nicolas*, and directed my people to board the first-rate, which was done in an instant, Captain Berry assisting me into the main-chains. At this moment a Spanish officer looked over the quarter-deck rail, and said they surrendered. From this most welcome intelligence it was not long before I was on the quarter-deck, when the Spanish captain, with a bow, presented me his sword, and said the admiral was dying of his wounds. I asked him, on his honour, if the ship was surrendered. He declared she was; on which I gave him my hand, and desired him to call on his officers and ship's company, and tell them of it, which he did; and on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive the swords of the vanquished Spaniards, which, as I received, I gave to William Fearnley, one of my bargemen, who put them with the greatest sang froid under his arm. I was surrounded by Captain Berry, Lieutenant Pearson (of the 69th), John Sykes, John Thompson, Francis Cook (all old *Agamemmons*), and several other brave men—sailors and soldiers." Thus fell these two ships, their captor, the *Captain*, lying alongside them a complete wreck.

Lieutenant-colonel Drinkwater, who accompanied Sir Gilbert Elliott in the *Lively* frigate, was also a spectator of this battle, and published a very lively and interesting account of it, from which we extract the following:—

"When Sir John Jervis, on the 14th of February, had accomplished his bold intention of breaking the enemy's line, the Spanish admiral, who had been separated to windward with his main body, consisting

of eighteen ships of the line, from nine ships that were cut off to leeward, appeared to make a movement as if with a view to join the latter. This design was completely frustrated by the timely opposition of Commodore Nelson, whose station in the rear of the British line afforded him an opportunity of observing this manœuvre. His ship, the *Captain*, had no sooner passed the rear of the enemy's ships that were to windward, than he ordered her to wear, and stood on the other tack towards the enemy. In executing this bold and decisive manœuvre, the commodore reached the sixth ship from the enemy's rear, which bore the Spanish admiral's flag, the *Santissima Trinidad*, of 136 guns, a ship of four decks, reported to be the largest in the world. Notwithstanding the inequality of the force, the commodore instantly engaged this colossal opponent, and for a considerable time had to contend not only with her, but with her seconds, ahead and astern, each of three decks. While he maintained this unequal combat, which was viewed with admiration, mixed with anxiety, his friends were flying to his support. The enemy's attention was soon directed to the *Culloden*, Captain Troubridge; and in a short time after to the *Blenheim*, of ninety guns, Captain Frederick, who fortunately came to his assistance. The intrepid conduct of the commodore staggered the Spanish admiral, who already appeared to waver in pursuing his intention of joining the ships cut off by the British fleet; when the *Culloden's* timely arrival, and Captain Troubridge's spirited support of the commodore, together with the approach of the *Blenheim*, followed by Rear-admiral Parker, with the *Prince George*, *Orion*, *Irresistible*, and *Diadem*, not far distant, determined the Spanish admiral to change his design altogether, and to throw out the signal for the ships' main body to haul their wind, and to make sail on the larboard tack. Not a moment was lost in improving the advantage now apparent in favour of the British squadron. As the ships of Rear-admiral Parker's division approached the enemy's ships, in support of the *Captain*, Commodore Nelson's ship, and her gallant seconds, the *Blenheim* and *Culloden*, the cannonade became more animated and impressive. In this manner did Commodore Nelson engage a Spanish three-decker until he had nearly expended all the ammunition in his ship, which had suffered the loss of her fore-topmast, and



ADMIRAL NELSON RECEIVING THE SPANISH ADMIRAL'S SWORD ON BOARD THE SAN JOSEF.
SEP. 14 1797.

received such considerable damage in her sails and rigging, that she was almost rendered *hors du combat*. At this critical period, the Spanish three-decker having lost her mizen-mast, fell on board a Spanish two-decker of eighty-four guns, that was her second: this latter ship consequently now became the commodore's opponent, and a most vigorous fire was kept up for some time by both ships within pistol-shot. It was now that the commodore's ship lost many men, and that the damages already sustained through the long and arduous conflict which she had kept up, appeared to render a continuance of the contest, in the usual way, precarious or perhaps impossible. At this critical moment, the commodore, from a sudden impulse, instantly resolved on a bold and decisive measure; and determined, whatever might be the event, to attempt his opponent sword in hand. The boarders were summoned, and orders given to lay his ship on board the enemy. 'Fortune favours the brave!' nor on this occasion was she unmindful of her favourite. Ralph Willet Miller, the commodore's captain, so judiciously directed the course of the ship, that he laid her aboard the starboard-quarter of the Spanish eighty-four, her spritsail-yard passing over the enemy's poop, and hooking in her mizen shrouds; when the word to board being given, the officers and seamen destined for this perilous duty, headed by Lieutenant Berry, together with the detachment of the 69th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Pearson, then doing duty as marines on board the *Captain*, passed with rapidity on board the enemy's ship; and in a short time the *San Nicolas* was in possession of her intrepid assailants. The commodore's ardour would not permit him to remain an inactive spectator of this scene. He was aware the attempt was hazardous, and he thought his presence might animate his brave companions, and contribute to the success of this bold enterprise; he, therefore, as if by magic impulse, accompanied the party in this attack; passing from the fore-chains of his own ship into the enemy's quarter-gallery, and thence through the cabin to the quarter-deck, where he arrived in time to receive the sword of the dying commander, who had been mortally wounded by the boarders. He had not long been employed in taking the necessary measures to secure this hard-earned conquest, when he found himself engaged in a more arduous

task. The stern of the three-decker, his former opponent, was placed directly amidships of the weather beam of the prize, *San Nicolas*; and from her poop and galleries the enemy sorely annoyed with musketry the British, who had boarded the *San Nicolas*. The commodore was not long in resolving on the conduct to be adopted on this momentous occasion. The two alternatives that presented themselves to his unshaken mind, were, to quit the prize, or instantly board the three-decker: confident of the bravery of his seamen, he determined on the latter. Directing, therefore, an additional number of men to be sent from the *Captain* on board the *San Nicolas*, the undaunted commodore, whom no danger ever appalled, headed himself the assailants in this new attack, exclaiming—'WESTMINSTER ABBEY! or GLORIOUS VICTORY!' Success, in a few minutes, and with little loss, crowned the enterprise. Such indeed was the panic occasioned by his preceding conduct, that the British no sooner appeared on the quarter-deck of their new opponent, than the commander advanced, and asking for the British commanding officer, dropped on one knee, and presented his sword, apologising at the same time for the Spanish admiral's not appearing, as he was dangerously wounded. For a moment, Commodore Nelson could scarcely persuade himself of this second instance of good fortune: he therefore ordered the Spanish commandant, who had the rank of a brigadier, to assemble the officers on the quarter-deck, and direct means to be taken instantly for communicating to the crew the surrender of the ship. All the officers immediately appeared, and the commodore had the surrender of the *San Josef* duly confirmed by each of them delivering his sword."

While Nelson had been thus engaged making what he called a "glorious St. Valentine's-day," other ships of Jervis's squadron had been nobly doing "their duty." The *Salvador del Mundo*, not having been taken possession of, had again hoisted her colours, when the *Victory* bore down upon her lee-quarter, and threw a most destructive fire into her. The *Barfleur* also came up, and brought her guns to bear on the Spaniard. Having lost her fore and main-mast, and being seriously damaged in her hull, she again hauled down her flag, and was taken possession of by the *Diadem*.

The battle had now lasted for a considerable time, when Collingwood got his ship

under the lee of the *Santissima Trinidad*, with whom he was engaged for upwards of an hour; at the same time, the *Blenheim*, *Orion*, and *Irresistible*, were also engaged with this leviathan ship, until, having lost her fore and mizen masts, and having had her sails cut to pieces, and her rigging and hull severely damaged, she at last struck her colours. At this time, thirteen vessels of the enemy's fleet bore down to save their admiral's ship from being made a prize. Darkness setting in, and the day being won, Jervis made signal to his fleet to bring-to on the starboard tack, leaving the Spanish admiral's ship surrounded by his own fleet.

At the close of the battle, the *San Josef* and *Salvador*, each of 112 guns, and the *San Nicolas* and *San Ysidro* remained in the hands of the victors.

The loss, on the part of the British, was seventy-four men killed and twenty-two wounded; of the killed and wounded one-fourth had formed part of the crew of Nelson's ship, the *Captain*. The loss on the part of the enemy must have been great; that on board of the captured ships amounting to 599 men. The prisoners were 3,000.

The English fleet consisted of fifteen ships of the line—namely, the *Victory*, 100 guns; *Britannia*, 100; *Barfleur* and *Prince George*, each 98; *Blenheim* and *Namur*, each 90; *Captain*, *Goliath*, *Excellent*, *Orion*, *Colossus*, *Egmont*, *Culloden*, and *Irresistible*, each 74; *Diadem*, 64.

The Spanish fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line—namely, *Santissima Trinidad*, 130 guns; *Mexicana*, *Principe de Asturias*, *Conception*, *Conde de Regla*, *Salvador del Mundo*, and *San Josef*, each 112; *San Nicolas*, 84; *Oriente*, *Glorioso*, *Atlante*, *Conquistador*, *Soberano*, *Firme*, *Pelayo*, *San Genaro*, *San Juan*, *Nepomuceno*, *San Francisco de Paula*, *San Ysidro*, *San Antonio*, *San Pablo*, *San Firmin*, *Neptuna*, *Bahama*, *San Domingo*, *Terrible*, and *Il Defenso*, each 74 guns.

During the night both fleets lay-to repairing their damages, and day-break on the 15th showed them on opposite tacks, each formed

in line of battle ahead. On the 16th the British fleet proceeded with the prizes to Lagos Bay. On their way thither, the Spanish admiral formed his line, as if with the intention of renewing the action; but on the British admiral's making the signal, and preparing for battle, the Spanish fleet stood away and soon disappeared.

In commemoration of the battle of St. Vincent, and as an acknowledgment of the services of the officers of the fleet, Sir John Jervis was raised to the peerage, under the title of Earl of St. Vincent, with a pension of £3,000 a-year; Vice-admirals Thompson, Parker, and Captain Calder, were created baronets; and Nelson was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral, and made knight of the Bath, with a pension of £1,000 a-year. Each one of the six admirals and captains received an emblematical gold medal. The freedom of the city of London was presented to Sir Horatio Nelson in a gold box; also that of Norwich, Bath, and Bristol.

As will be seen above, due honour was done to the victors in this battle; but considerable dissatisfaction was exhibited among the officers of the fleet when it was known that but one of them was named in the admiral's account of the battle, viz., Captain Calder, of the *Victory*, who was sent home with the despatch. It is but just to add, that when Sir John Jervis received Nelson in the *Victory* after the action, he clasped him in his arms, all dirty and begrimed with smoke as he was, and with part of his hat shot away. When Nelson handed him the sword of the Spanish admiral, which he had obtained when he boarded the *San Josef*, Sir John Jervis returned it to him, saying that he was best entitled to wear it after he had so nobly won it, and that he could not sufficiently thank him for his gallant efforts during the battle.*

* As everything connected with Lord Nelson is fraught with interest to his countrymen, we may mention, that he presented this sword to the city of Norwich, he being a native of that county. The corporation were highly gratified with the gift, and have preserved it in the council-chamber of the hall in the market-place.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF CADIZ—ATTACK ON SANTA CRUZ.

THE vanquished fleet withdrew to Cadiz, whither it was, on the 31st of March, followed by the victors, who blockaded it in so closely, that not a single ship dared to venture out beyond the reach of its numerous powerful batteries. While this vigorous blockade continued, fresh preparations were made by the Spanish government to fulfil their engagement of effecting a junction with the French fleet. By the end of June, twenty-eight vessels were ready manned for sea. To provoke the Spanish admiral to attempt putting to sea, Sir John Jervis (now Earl of St. Vincent) determined to bombard the town of Cadiz. On the night of the 3rd of July, everything being in readiness, the *Thunder* bomb-vessel, covered by launches and barges of the fleet, under the orders of Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, who commanded the advanced or in-shore squadron, took her station within 2,500 yards of the walls of the town, and threw some shells into it, but the condition of its chief mortar-piece being found injured by former services, an attempt was made to capture her by a number of Spanish gun-boats and launches. Nelson, with his similar description of force, immediately closed with them. The conflict was obstinate, and both sides behaved with great valour. Don Miguel Tyrason, in his barge, with a crew of twenty-six men, attempted to capture Nelson's comparatively smaller boat, with only fifteen hands besides himself. A hand-to-hand contest ensued, in which the respective commanders took a conspicuous personal part. Eighteen of Tyrason's crew having been killed, and himself and all the remainder wounded, he surrendered. At length the Spaniards were driven to the walls of Cadiz, leaving two mortar-boats and the commandant's launch, with several prisoners, in the hands of the victors. Nelson always regarded this service as the greatest trial of his personal courage that he had ever encountered. In one of his letters at this time, he says:—"In an attack of the Spanish gun-boats I was boarded in my barge, with its common crew of ten men, coxswain, Captain Fremantle, and myself, by the commander of the gun-boats. The Spanish barge rowed twenty-six oars, besides officers—thirty in the whole; this was a service hand-to-hand, with swords, in which my coxswain, John Sykes, twice saved my life. Eighteen of

the Spaniards being killed, and several wounded, we succeeded in taking their commander." Nelson's despatch to the Earl of St. Vincent, describing this engagement, will be read with interest:—

"The Spaniards having sent out a great number of mortar gun-boats and armed launches, I directed a vigorous attack to be made on them, which was done with such gallantry, that they were drove and pursued close to the walls of Cadiz, and must have suffered considerable loss; and I have the pleasure to inform you that two mortar boats and an armed launch remained in our possession. I feel myself particularly indebted for the successful termination of this contest, to the gallantry of Captains Fremantle and Miller, the former of whom accompanied me in my barge; and to my coxswain, John Sykes, who, in defending my person, is most severely wounded; as was Captain Fremantle slightly in the attack. And my praises are generally due to every officer and man, some of whom I saw behave in the most noble manner, and I regret it is not in my power to particularize them. I must also beg to be permitted to express my admiration of Don Miguel Tyrason, the commander of the gun-boats. In his barge, he laid my boat alongside, and his resistance was such as did honour to a brave officer; eighteen of the twenty-six men being killed, and himself and all the rest wounded."

On the night of the 5th, a second bombardment took place with the bomb-vessels, the *Thunder*, *Terror*, and *Stromboli*, covered by the *Theseus* seventy-four, and the frigates *Terpsichore* and *Emerald*. Advancing with the bomb-vessels as near to the shore as was practicable, Nelson threw into the town, and among the shipping in the harbour, so large a number of shells, as to compel ten sail of the line to warp, with much precipitation, out of shell-range. The British and Spanish gun-boats again encountered each other. The British loss was one seaman killed and one captain of marines; two lieutenants, two midshipmen, and eleven seamen and marines wounded. We cannot refrain from giving the following characteristic passage from Nelson's despatch to Lord St. Vincent on this occasion:—"News from Cadiz, by a market-boat, that our ships did much damage; the town was on fire in three places; a shell that fell in a convent destroyed several priests (that no harm, they will never be missed); that plunder and robbery was going on—a glorious scene of confusion."

Nelson meditated a third bombardment on the 8th; but the rumoured arrival in Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, of a richly-freighted Manilla ship, and the town being represented vulnerable, Earl St. Vincent dispatched a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, three frigates, and a cutter, under the command of Nelson, to attempt their capture. The squadron parted company with the fleet off Cadiz, and reached Teneriffe on the 19th. On the night of the 20th, Nelson made an attempt to land the men, but tempestuous weather prevented their disembarkation. Early on the 22nd, the squadron bore up to Santa Cruz, but having been observed by the inhabitants, they stood off, and did not attempt to land. On a consultation of the principal officers, it was determined that the attack should be made that night. About nine in the evening the men were landed at the east end of the town; but finding it impossible to advance, they again re-embarked without the loss of a single man. Nelson being unwilling to give up the enterprise without striking a blow, determined to make another attempt on the evening of the 24th. As it was intended to attempt a surprise, at eleven o'clock, about 1,000 seamen and marines, and a detachment of artillery, embarked on board the boats of the squadron and the *Fox* cutter: they proceeded without being discovered till they were within less than gun-shot of the mole. Their approach being perceived, a tremendous fire was opened on them from all the batteries on the platform in front of the town. On account of the darkness of the night, only five boats could find the mole. The *Fox* cutter being struck by a shot between wind and water, immediately sank, with about 100 of the assailants on board. A grape-shot striking Nelson on the elbow just as he was stepping out of his boat, he was so disabled, that he was carried back to his ship. In spite, however, of all opposition, the assailants landed, and stormed and carried the mole-head. Having spiked the guns, they were about to advance, when they were mowed down in scores by a heavy fire from the citadel and houses near the mole. In the meantime, Captain Trou-

bridge and his party, having missed the mole, landed under a battery close to the southward of the citadel, making their way through a raging surf, which stove all their boats, and wetted the ammunition in the men's pouches. Having effected a landing, they pushed on to the great square, the appointed rendezvous for all the storming parties, but not meeting with their comrades, they determined to proceed to the attack of the citadel. At daylight they had collected the surviving seamen and marines, to the number of about 340; when Troubridge, being informed by the prisoners taken, that 8,000 Spaniards, aided by 100 French, were advancing upon him, and seeing all the streets commanded by field-pieces, he sent a flag of truce to the governor, Don Juan Antonio Gutierrez, proposing to be allowed to re-embark without molestation. On the governor's reply, that he required the assailants to surrender prisoners of war, Captain Head, the bearer of the proposal, told him that if the terms were not complied with, the town would be immediately fired. The truce was forthwith concluded, and Troubridge and his men marched to the mole, where they embarked on board boats furnished by the Spaniards.

"In this attack Nelson received the wound which deprived him of his right arm, and it is remarkable that in his official despatch he does not make mention of the loss he had personally sustained. It was a grape-shot through the elbow, as he was drawing out his sword, and stepping out of the boat. His step-son, Josiah Nisbet,* was with him, and nobly and affectionately tended him, laid him in the bottom of the boat, bound up the shattered limb, in which he was assisted by Lovel, one of the admiral's barge-men, who tore his shirt into shreds, and made of it a sling for the wounded arm. The boat was then got afloat (for it had grounded from the falling of the tide), and Josiah Nisbet took one of the oars. The voice of his step-son giving orders roused Nelson, whose faintness was subsiding, and he desired to be lifted up, to look a little about him. The scene of destruction and the tempestuous sea (it is said) were sublimely dreadful, a painful uncertainty prepared, Nisbet appeared before him ready equipped. Nelson strongly urged him to remain on board, saying—"Should we both fall, Josiah, what will become of your poor mother? the care of the *Theseus* falls to you." Nisbet replied—"Sir, the ship must take care of herself. I will go with you to-night, if I never go again."

* A strong trait in Nelson's character was his kindly consideration of others. At the time of this attack, Mr. Nisbet, son of his lady by a former husband, was serving on board the *Theseus*. Knowing the desperate nature of the service in which he was about to be engaged, he resolved that this young man should not accompany him. When all was pre-

ailed respecting the fate of his brave companions; when, on a sudden, a general shriek from the crew of the *Fox*, which had sunk from a shot she had received under water, made the admiral forget his own weak and painful state. Many were rescued from a watery grave by Nelson himself, whose humane exertions on this occasion added considerably to the agony and danger of his wound. Ninety-seven men, including Lieutenant Gibson, were lost, and eighty-three were saved. The first ship which the boat could reach happened to be the *Sea-horse*; but nothing could induce the admiral to go on board, though he was assured that it might be at the risk of his life, if they attempted to row to another ship: 'Then I will die,' he exclaimed, 'for I would rather suffer death than alarm Mrs. Fremantle by her seeing me in this state, and when I can give her no tidings whatever of her husband.' They accordingly proceeded without further delay for the *Theseus*; when, notwithstanding the increased pain and weakness which he experienced, he peremptorily refused all assistance in getting on board: 'Let me alone, I have yet my legs left, and one arm. Tell the surgeon to make haste and get his instruments. I know I must lose my right arm, so the sooner it's off the better.'** In this disastrous affair, the loss of the English, in killed and wounded, amounted to 270 men.

It has been truly remarked that the loss sustained in this attack did not fall far short, in number, "and much exceeded, in officers of rank and value, the loss by which the victory off Cape St. Vincent had been obtained." There was one captain, four sea-lieutenants, and two lieutenants of marines killed; Rear-admiral Nelson lost his arm; Captains Fremantle and Thompson, and one midshipman were wounded. Captain Richard Bowen, who fell fighting, after having carried the mole, was much regretted in

* Pettigrew's *Life of Nelson*.

† Captain Richard Bowen was a native of Devonshire, and was born in 1761. He joined the merchant service at the early age of thirteen years. At Jamaica, in 1778, he volunteered into the navy, and made a friend of Admiral Caldwell, who then commanded at that station. Bowen afterwards joined Captain Jervis (Earl St. Vincent.) He also served in the West Indies, under Sir Richard Hughes, and obtained the approbation of all who knew him. In 1790, Sir John Jervis appointed him as his flag-lieutenant on board the *Prince*. In 1791, he sailed for New South Wales, and was absent for two years, performing such services as procured him the thanks of the navy board and the secretary of state for the

the service; and the rear-admiral, in his despatch, but expressed the universal opinion of the fleet, when he stated—"than whom a more enterprising, able, and gallant officer does not grace his majesty's service." Both Earl St. Vincent and Nelson importuned Earl Spencer to erect a monument to this noble young man.†

At an earlier period of this year, rear-admiral Nelson had submitted to Earl St. Vincent a plan which he then had in his mind for the taking of Teneriffe; but nothing definite was at that time determined on. When, however, the intelligence reached the admiral, in July, that the Spanish ship, *Principe D'Asturias*, richly laden from Manilla, was at Santa Cruz, the suggestion of Nelson was then determined to be acted on, and he received instructions to carry the plan into effect. In justice to Nelson, it is only right that the original document which was handed to Lord St Vincent should be laid before the reader, as the departure from the plan, as laid down by him, has been held by many to account for its unsuccessful issue. The want of assistance from a land-force certainly altered the circumstances very materially. The document is as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—Troubridge talked to me last night about the viceroy at Teneriffe. Since I first believed it possible that his excellency might have gone there, I have endeavoured to make myself master of the situation, and means of approach by sea and land. I shall begin by sea. The Spanish ships generally moor with two cables to the sea, and four cables from their stern to the shore; therefore, although we might get to be masters of them, should the wind not come off the shore, it does not appear certain we should succeed so completely as we might wish. As to any opposition, except from natural impediments, I should not think it would avail. I do not reckon

colonies. He again joined Sir John Jervis, and took share in the attack on Martinique, he commanding the gun-boats on this occasion. In 1794, he was made a commander, and was appointed to the *Zebra*, afterwards to the *Veteran*, and then to the *Terpsichore*. His exploits in the latter frigate we have already had occasion to record. He was with Sir Horatio Nelson in the bombardment of Cadiz; and from thence accompanied him to the unfortunate attack on Santa Cruz. He effected a landing at the mole, stormed the battery, spiked the guns, and in his progress to the town received several wounds which proved mortal. The body of the gallant commander was committed to the deep on the 27th of July.

myself equal to Blake; but if I recollect right, he was more obliged to the wind coming off the land, than to any exertions of his own: fortune favoured the gallant attempt, and may do so again. But it becomes my duty to state all the difficulties, as you have done me the honour to desire me to enter on the subject. The approach by sea to the anchoring place is under very high land, passing three valleys; therefore the wind is either in from the sea, or equally, with calms from the mountains. Sometimes in night a ship may get in with the land-wind and moderate weather. So much for the sea attack, which if you approve, I am ready and willing to risk it, or to carry into execution. But now comes my plan, which would not fail of success, would immortalise the undertakers, ruin Spain, and has every prospect of raising our country to a higher pitch of wealth than she ever yet attained: but here soldiers must be consulted; and I know from experience, excepting General O'Hara, they have not the same boldness in undertaking a political measure that we have: we look to the benefit of our country, and risk our own fame every day to serve her: a soldier obeys his orders, and no more. By saying soldiers should be consulted, you will guess I mean the army of 3,700 men from Elba, with cannon, mortars, and every implement now embarked; they would do the business in three days, probably much less. I will undertake, with a very small squadron, to do the naval part. The shore, although not very easy of access, yet is so steep that the transports may run in and land the army in one day. The water is conveyed to the town in wooden troughs: this supply cut off, would probably induce a very speedy surrender: good terms for the town, private property secured to the islanders, and only the delivery of public stores and foreign merchandise demanded, with threats of utter destruction if one gun is fired. In short, the business could not miscarry. Now it comes for me to discover what might induce General De Burgh to act in this business. All the risk and responsibility must rest with you. A fair representation should also be made by you of the great national advantages that would arise to our country, and of the ruin that our success would occasion

to Spain. Your opinion besides should be stated, of the superior advantages a fortnight thus employed would be of to the army, to what they could do in Portugal; and that of the six or seven millions sterling, the army should have one-half. If this sum were thrown into circulation in England, what might not be done? It would ensure an honourable peace, with innumerable other blessings. It has long occupied my thoughts. Should General De Burgh not choose to act, after having all these blessings for our country stated to him, which are almost put into our hands, we must look to General O'Hara. The royals, about 600, are in the fleet, with artillery sufficient for the purpose. You have the power of stopping the store-ships; 1,000 men would still insure the business, for Teneriffe never was besieged, therefore the hills that cover the town are not fortified to resist any attempt of taking them by storm; the rest must follow—a fleet of ships, and money to reward the victors. But I know with you, and I can lay my hand on my heart, and say the same,—It is the honour and prosperity of our country that we wish to extend.

“I am, &c.,

“HORATIO NELSON.”

In consequence of the loss of his arm, Nelson was obliged to return to England, where honours were heaped upon him.

In October of this year it was proposed to give a pension of £1,000 per annum to Nelson; and as it is usual on such occasions to present a memorial, detailing the grounds on which the pension is granted, he drew up one in which he set forth the services he had performed during the war. It stated that he had been engaged in four battles with the fleets of the enemy, and in three actions in boats employed in cutting out of harbour, in destroying vessels, and in taking three towns; he had served on shore with the army four months, and commanded the batteries at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi; he had assisted at the capture of seven sail of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and eleven privateers; had taken or destroyed fifty sail of merchant vessels; and been engaged against the enemy upwards of 120 times; in which service he had lost his right eye and right arm, and been severely wounded and bruised on his body.



Painted by W. Orme.



CAMPERDOWN



Engraved by H. Lemon.

LORD VISCOUNT DUNCAN'S VICTORY.

(ADMIRAL DE WINTER RESIGNING HIS SWORD ON BOARD THE VENERABLE, OCTOBER 11TH 1797.)



Painted by J. B. Leitch, Esq. R.S.A.



Painted by J. B. Leitch, Esq. R.S.A.



ADMIRAL DUNCAN'S VICTORY OVER THE DUTCH FLEET.
(IN THE NORTH SEA, OCTOBER 1ST 1797.)

BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN.

THOUGH the plan of operations for the descent on Ireland, formed by France, Spain, and Holland, had been disconcerted by the naval victory off Cape St. Vincent, the fleet of the Batavian republic still remained to second the designs of the French. The naval preparations in Holland had been extraordinary: they surpassed anything of the kind that had been attempted by the united provinces for above a century. Though not so numerous as the Spanish fleet lately defeated, the Dutch ships were incomparably better manned; and no doubt was entertained that the contest between the Dutch and English fleets would be extremely obstinate. The remembrance of the many hard-fought battles between those states in former days, revived the ancient spirit of the sea-faring natives of the united provinces. During the course of the summer of this year, the Dutch armament, consisting of four ships of seventy-four guns, five of sixty-eight guns, seven of sixty-four guns, and four of fifty; and three frigates of forty, forty-four, and thirty-two guns—all completely manned and provided with every requisite—was ready for sea.

As soon as the equipment of this fleet had been effected, the Batavian government, urged by importunities of the French Directory, gave orders for its immediately putting to sea. The intention was, that it should proceed directly to Brest, and join the French fleet assembled there for a second invasion of Ireland. In watching the motions of this fleet, Admiral Duncan had closely guarded the mouth of the Texel; but the blockading fleet, having much suffered from tempestuous weather, had been obliged, on the 3rd of October, to return to Yarmouth Roads to refit and revictual; a small squadron of frigates in observation being left off the Dutch coast, under the orders of Captain Trollope.

On the 6th, the Dutch fleet quitted the Texel. Immediately that Captain Trollope received information, he communicated the fact to the commander-in-chief. On the 9th, Admiral Duncan was informed of the movements of the Dutch fleet: he immediately set sail, and on the 11th he arrived on his old cruising-ground, with sixteen sail of the line and frigates—namely, seven seventy-four's, seven sixty-four's, two fifty's, two frigates of forty and twenty-eight guns,

one sloop, four cutters, and one lugger. The *Russel* frigate, Captain Trollope's ship, was observed to leeward, with the signal flying for an enemy's fleet. Duncan instantly bore up, and saw the object which he had been anxiously watching for two years. When the captains of the fleet came on board the admiral's ship for their final instructions—"There, gentlemen," said Duncan, as he pointed towards the Dutch fleet, "you see a very severe winter before you, and I hope you will keep up a good fire!" which humorous laconism occasioned much merriment among the officers, who assured him they would punctually follow his advice. The British admiral formed his fleet so as to prevent the enemy from regaining the Texel. The hostile fleet no sooner observed their opponents, than they kept constantly edging away for their own shore, until their progress was arrested, in nine fathoms' water, off the heights or sandhills between Camperdown and Egmont, about three leagues from the land. At about half-past eleven, the British admiral made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and get between the Dutch fleet and the shore. The movement was immediately executed in two lines of attack; the *Monarch*, which carried the flag of Vice-admiral Onslow, bearing down on the enemy's rear, followed by the whole division. In less than an hour the hostile line was broken, and the *Monarch*, passing under the Dutch vice-admiral's stern, immediately lay alongside of him, and engaged him at three yards' distance. In the mean time Duncan, at the head of the second line, had attacked the van of the Dutch fleet, and having pierced its centre, laid himself beside De Winter's flag-ship. At the same time the battle became general, each ship engaging its enemy yard-arm to yard-arm, and between the Dutch ships and the lee-shore. For two hours and-a-half the battle lasted between the two British flag-ships; nor did it terminate till the Dutch ship had lost all her masts, and half her crew were either killed or wounded. The contest between the two vice-admirals had been equally obstinate, and every ship in the British fleet had been engaged in a furious combat with an antagonist, often yard-arm to yard-arm. While the battle thus raged in the centre and rear of the Dutch fleet, three ships, which were in the van, made off under a

crowd of sail, and escaped into the Texel, their captains having held a cautious distance during the action. The contest between the two admirals had been unusually severe. The *Vryheid* did not strike until she had lost upwards of 250 of her men, and De Winter was the only one on the quarter-deck of his ship who was not either killed or wounded.*

About four, P.M., the victory was decided in favour of the British, and eight ships of the line, two of 56-guns, and two frigates were the reward of the victors. At this time the British fleet was in nine-fathom water, and only five miles from the enemy's coast. The carnage on board each fleet had been great. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 825; on board of the ships of the admiral and vice-admiral, the loss had been very severe. The Dutch loss, according to their returns, had been 1,160. The prisoners on board the captured vessels were 6,000. When the battle was over, the ships of the English fleet were found to have suffered considerably from the shot of their opponents. Unlike the French and Spaniards, the Dutch had aimed at the hulls of the vessels, and while the spars, rigging, and sails were comparatively uninjured, the hulls of some of the ships were completely riddled, so that it was necessary to keep the pumps constantly going. One ship, the *Ardent*, had received no less than ninety-eight round shot in her hull.

Admiral Story having collected the scattered remains of the Dutch fleet, sought refuge in the Texel; and Duncan returned with his prizes to the Yarmouth Roads. Tempestuous weather having succeeded the battle, two of the prizes taking advantage of the circumstance, escaped into the Texel, the English who had been put on board being too few to preserve their command against the Dutch officers and crews. The *Delft*, a 56-gun ship, went down astern of the vessel which had her in tow. Eight line-of-battle ships, and two of 56-guns, were brought into Yarmouth Roads amid the cheers of the delighted spectators; but the prizes were in so shattered a state that they were utterly useless, except to be exhibited as trophies.

The news of this great and important

battle caused great joy and exultation in Britain. Bonfires blazed, and the bells rung out a merry peal, from the metropolis of the empire to the most remote village. The public spirit and patriotic pride of the nation were revived, and confidence was fully restored in that popular arm of the service—the navy—seeing that this great victory was effected by the very men who, in the beginning of the year, had exhibited such a stubborn spirit of mutiny. When Admiral Duncan returned home he was created Baron Duncan of Lundie, in the county of Perth, and Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, from the place on the coast of Holland off which he gained his victory; Vice-admiral Onslow was created a baronet; and Captains Trollope and Fairfax were knighted. A general illumination took place throughout the kingdom: the king went in state to St. Paul's, on occasion of a general thanksgiving for the many signal and important victories obtained by his majesty's navy during the war. The procession was attended by three wagons bearing flags that had been taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, and these were severally borne to the altar by a flag-officer who had been present when they were taken. The royal family were present at this service, and seats were reserved for the flag-officers who had commanded, or who had been present in a general action in which any ships of the enemy had been captured. Amongst those present was Sir Horatio Nelson, who had been detained from joining his ship in consequence of the suffering caused by the amputation of his arm. Nelson was attended by Captains Berry and Noble.

In February of this year, the expedition under Admiral Harvey and General Abercromby took possession of the Spanish island of Trinidad, where the Spanish squadron, consisting of four ships of the line and a gun-frigate, taking fire, were consumed.

Before closing the record of this year's events, we may here mention, that Sir Sidney Smith contrived, in the month of September, to effect his escape from the Temple in France, where he had been confined. Sir Sidney was received with acclamations by his countrymen, who looked upon his escape as a miracle. George III. con-

* Alison relates, that De Winter and Admiral Duncan dined together in the afternoon of the day the battle was fought. In the course of the evening they played a rubber of whist together, when Dun-

can having won the game, De Winter, with the greatest good-humour, remarked, that it was very hard to be twice beaten in one day by the same opponent.



Engraved by T. F. Mead

ADAM, FIRST VISCOUNT DUNCAN.

OB. 1804.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF J. PORTER. IN

THE GUILDHALL, LONDON.

ferred the most marked attention on him when he presented himself at court, and

* The circumstances of Sir Sidney Smith's detention and escape from prison, are so interesting and remarkable, that no apology is necessary for laying them before the reader. When Sir Sidney was taken prisoner off Havre de Grace, there was then with him, and taken prisoner at the same time, a French emigrant, M. de Tr——, and who, it had been agreed, was to pass as Sir Sidney's servant, in the hope that he might save his life in that disguise. His secretary was also made prisoner at the same time. The Frenchman took the name of "John." The three prisoners were removed to Paris and confined in the Abbaye, and were treated with great severity. To effect their escape was the subject on which they employed all their thoughts. The window of their prison was towards the street, and they observed that a lady from an upper window on the opposite side frequently looked over to that part of the prison where they were confined. It occurred to Sir Sidney, that in some way or other, his fair neighbour might be made instrumental in bringing about what he so much desired—his escape from prison. In order to attract her attention, whenever he observed her at the window, he played plaintive airs upon his flute; and one morning, seeing that she was looking attentively at him with a glass, he tore a leaf out of an old book which was lying in his room, and with some soot from the chimney, he marked upon it the letter A. This he held up to the window, when the lady nodded in token that she understood what it meant. Sir Sidney then touched the top of the first bar of the grating of the window of his cell, and again held up the letter A; he then touched the second, and held up the letter B; when the lady by her manner showed that she quite comprehended his intention, in this novel manner, to construct an alphabet by touching the bars, the first representing the letter A, the second B, and so on. Sir Sidney spent several days in informing his unknown friend his name and quality, and implored her to get some royalist of sufficient address to assist in procuring his escape. He also by this means enabled her to draw confidential and accredited bills for considerable sums of money, to aid the promotion of the scheme. Sir Sidney was removed to the Temple, and here his lady friend contrived to correspond with him. Several plans were proposed for his escape, but none were determined on, as they could not be arranged to embrace the liberation of his two friends, whom he determined not to leave behind him. "John's" wife, Madame de Tr——, at length came to Paris, and arranged with a royalist in France to assist in delivering them from prison. The following was the plan determined on:—A house was taken adjoining the prison, and a hole was to be excavated twelve feet long from the cellar, and thus a communication would be made with the Temple, through which they could pass. The friends of Sir Sidney had proceeded in their process of excavation for several days, and the communication was almost complete, when, on the very day on which they expected to make their escape, a stone fell from the wall and rolled to the foot of the sentinel who was on duty. This having attracted his attention, an alarm was given, and the whole was discovered. The parties concerned in the attempt, however, all got safely off; the members of the Central Bureau, when they arrived,

honoured him with an immediate private interview at Buckingham-palace.*

finding only a few pieces of furniture, trunks filled with logs of wood, hay, &c., and the hats adorned with tri-coloured cockades, which the prisoners intended to wear. This first attempt, although so well planned, having failed, Sir Sidney Smith turned his mind to new schemes for their deliverance. He was, however, now very closely watched. The keeper and Sir Sidney were on terms of intimacy, but he never relaxed in carefully watching his prisoner. An exchange of prisoners between the two countries having taken place, Sir Sidney contrived to get M. de Tr——, who still passed for his servant, included in the cartel. He shortly after arrived safely in London. On the 4th of September, the keeper who had charge of Sir Sidney was displaced, and a man of the name of Lasnes, of great strictness and rigour, was placed over him. A new plan of escape was at this time suggested, and approved of. The mode pursued, was to have forged orders drawn up for his removal to another prison. An order was then drawn, an exact *fac-simile* of those in use, and by means of a bribe the real stamp of the minister was obtained. Two friends of Sir Sidney's boldly presented themselves at the prison with this forged order, and demanded the prisoners to be handed over to them. One of the parties was dressed as an adjutant, the other as an officer. The keeper carefully examined the order, and having satisfied himself of the genuineness of the minister's signature, he sent for the prisoners, and informed them of the order of the Directory. Sir Sidney Smith pretended to be very much concerned at the change; but the pretended adjutant addressed him, and in the most serious manner assured him, that "the government were very far from intending to aggravate his misfortunes, and that he should be very comfortable at the place to which they were about to conduct him." Sir Sidney then proceeded to pack up his clothes. On his return, and stating that he was ready to go, the registrar of the prison observed, that at least six men from the guard must accompany him. This was an honour he had not reckoned on; but his friends with great *sang froid* acquiesced in the propriety of the registrar's precaution. After a few minutes, however, the *adjutant* remarked, that on reflection he would dispense with the guard if Sir Sidney gave his word of honour that he would not attempt to escape. Addressing Sir Sidney Smith, he said, "Commodore, you are an officer; I am an officer also. Your parole will be enough; give me that, and I have no need of an escort." "Sir," replied Sir Sidney, "if that is sufficient, I swear upon the faith of an officer, to accompany you wherever you choose to conduct me." The keeper of the prison now asked for a discharge, and one of Sir Sidney's friends signed the book, "*L'Oger, Adju-tant-general.*" They then passed out of the prison and entered a hackney-coach, and drove towards the faubourg St. Germain. Before they had proceeded far, however, the carriage broke down, and they were obliged, with their portmanteaus in their hands, to make the best of their way to the rendezvous, where they all safely arrived. They then started off immediately for Rouen, which in a few days they quitted in an open boat, and were soon afterwards discovered by an English cruising frigate which picked them up; and they shortly after arrived in London.

In July the English government made another attempt at pacification, and Lord Malmesbury was sent to Lisle for the purpose of opening negotiations; but the French Directory refusing to listen to any proposal, unless the British government surrendered all the conquests which it had made during the war, Lord Malmesbury returned home.

THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1798.

THE year 1798 opened inauspiciously for England. Ireland was a scene of danger. The excitement produced by French revolutionary principles gave rise to the insurrection of the United Irishmen in the year 1793, the professed objects of which were parliamentary reform and Roman Catholic emancipation; but the real one, the erection of an Hibernian republic, affiliated with the republic of France.

This institution was projected and organised by Wolfe Tone. The plan of union and action was simple and judicious. It formed a concatenation of agents, and a unity of design, which combined order, expedition, and secrecy. For the purpose of effectual concealment, no meeting consisted of more than twelve persons: five of these meetings were represented by five members in a committee vested with the management of all their affairs: from each of these committees, which were styled baronial, a deputy attended in a superior committee, which presided over all those of the barony or district: one or two deputies from each of these superior committees composed one for the whole county, and two or three from every county-committee composed a provincial one. The provincial committees chose, in their turn, five persons to superintend the whole business of the union: they were elected by ballot, and only known to the secretaries of the provincial committees, who were officially the scrutineers. Thus, though their power was great, their agency was invisible, and they were obeyed without being seen or known. Their military confederacy was equally effective. All the Irish malcontents, to the number of 200,000, were enrolled in this confederacy.

To this association the French government had, by secret propagandism, held out hopes of co-operation for the dismemberment of Ireland from England—a plan which France, a century before, had attempted to put into execution, and erect Ireland into a separate state, under the expelled Stuarts. The dreams of liberty and equality with which the French agents filled the ardent

and enthusiastic minds of the Irish, favoured their designs. All the Romish population of Ireland soon became, by the strongest oaths of fidelity and secrecy, leagued together for the establishment of their Hibernian republic. To support the Protestant cause, the members of that creed assumed the name of Orangemen, in remembrance of William III., to whom the protestants of Ireland consider themselves indebted for their deliverance from the oppression of the Romanists.

For the purpose of carrying their designs into execution, the French government had, in the beginning of 1793, dispatched a secret agent to Ireland, to offer to the leaders of the society of United Irishmen the aid of French arms for the revolutionising of Ireland. Again, in 1794, another emissary, of the name of Jackson, an Irishman by birth, and a protestant clergyman by profession, came over from France on the same mission. He communicated his objects to Hamilton Rowan, Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, Arthur O'Connor, and others of the Irish revolutionists, and repeated the promises of the French to assist "in breaking their chains." Jackson, who had entrusted the secrets of his errand to a person in the confidence of the English ministry, was arrested, and having been tried for high treason, was condemned and executed. Wolfe Tone and Hamilton Rowan escaped to America. In 1796, Tone went to France, where, being introduced to General Clarke (afterwards the notorious Duke de Feltre), to induce him to expedite the promised assistance to the Irish malcontents, he promised him £1,000 a-year for life, and hinted that liberal provision would be made for the French generals who assisted in liberating Ireland; but at the same time, acknowledging his own necessitous condition, the French authorities appointed him a brigadier-general, with a month's pay in advance. The French government, professing a desire of entering into a correspondence with the members of the United Irishmen of the most exalted station, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster, and Arthur O'Connor,

nephew to Lord Longueville, were appointed to settle the treaty, and for that purpose they went over to France, and arranged the business with General Hoche. This transaction took place about the middle of 1796, and in 1797 the French expedition sailed for Bantry Bay, with the liberating army and Wolfe Tone on board. The fate of this expedition has been already detailed at p. 38 of this work. In the month of February of the present year (1798), a pressing letter was addressed by the Irish executive of the malcontents to the French Directory, stating that already 300,000 United Irishmen were regimented and armed, and urgently soliciting the co-operation of their French friends. Talleyrand assured their agent at Paris that the French expedition would sail in the month of April: but Arthur O'Connor, Quigley (an Irish priest), and Binns, an active member of the London Corresponding Society, were arrested at Margate as they were on the point of embarking for France. A paper being found on Quigley, inviting the French Directory to invade England, he was put on his trial, and being found guilty of high treason, was executed. In consequence of other discoveries, obtained by the information of one Thomas Reynolds, who had originally been a woollen manufacturer, but had joined the society of United Irishmen, and been promoted to the rank of colonel in the insurgent levies, fourteen of the chief delegates were arrested in Dublin; and the retreat of Lord Edward Fitzgerald being discovered, in the attempt to arrest him he was mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards.* M'Cann, Byrne, and the two brothers of the name of Sheares, were tried and executed. Arthur O'Connor, Emmet, M'Nevin, and others, were banished. Immediately an insurrection broke out in the counties of Wexford, Tipperary, and Limerick. The insurgents commenced their operations on the 23rd of May—the day appointed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald for the general rising, when he was to have assumed the duties of commander-in-chief—by attacking Naas, a town distant fifteen miles from Dublin, but they were forced to retire, with the loss of about two hundred killed and wounded. At the heights of Kilcullen, the farm-house of Rath, Tallaghtill, Carlow, and Kildare, they also sustained a loss of some hundreds at each place. On the 25th, about 15,000, headed by Father John Mur-

phy, marched against Wexford. Part of the garrison marched out to give them battle, but they were surrounded and entirely defeated, Colonel Foote and two soldiers alone escaping. Three days afterwards they marched to Enniscorthy, which they took, but with the loss of 500 men. The town of Wexford, being now no longer tenable, surrendered on the 30th. Having fortified a position at Vinegar Hill, they advanced against New Ross, on the confines of Kilkenny, but they were here defeated by Major-general Johnson, with the loss of above 2,000 men. In revenge, they massacred about 100 protestant prisoners, whom they had taken at Wexford. At Newtownbarry, after having taken and retaken the town, they were put to flight with the loss of 500 men.

Lord Lake, having by this time collected 10,000 men, advanced against the entrenched camp of the insurgents at Vinegar Hill. On the 21st of June he assailed their position, and, though they made a vigorous resistance, it was carried with a severe loss to both sides, and all their cannon and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. The surrender of Wexford and Enniscorthy immediately followed. Thus the rebellion in the south of Ireland was entirely suppressed, and a general amnesty was proclaimed for all who submitted before a certain day. In this lamentable contest not less than 30,000 persons must have perished on the part of the rebels, and more than half that number on the side of the royalists. The French Directory, by means of their emissaries and spies, made several attempts to rekindle the expiring flame of rebellion. To further their designs, General Humbert was dispatched from Rochfort with 1,150 men, and uniforms and equipments for 3,000 rebel Irishmen. On the 22d of August three French frigates, having eluded the British marine, landed Humbert and his forces at Killala. Having, with the aid of Napper Tandy, who had accompanied him from France, organised a provisional government, and enrolled such of the peasantry of Connaught as could be seduced from their allegiance, he advanced to Castlebar, having previously published the following proclamation:—

“United Irish! The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your shores, amply provided with arms, artillery, and munitions of all kinds, to aid you in breaking your fetters and recovering your liberties. Napper Tandy is at their head: he has sworn to break your fetters, or perish in the at-

* For a full account of this formidable attempt at rebellion, see Wright's *History of Ireland*, published by the London Printing and Publishing Company.

tempt. To arms! freemen, to arms! the trumpet calls you. Do not let your brethren perish unrevenged: if it be their destiny to fall, may their blood cement the glorious fabric of freedom."

On reaching Castlebar, Humbert attacked Lord Lake, who had under his command a force of 4,000, consisting chiefly of yeomanry and militia, with the loss of six pieces of cannon and 600 prisoners. Advancing to Tuam, Humbert was, on the 8th of September, encountered by the advanced guard of Lord Cornwallis, and being surrounded, was compelled, after a gallant resistance, to lay down his arms. No sooner was Napper Tandy apprised of the fate of Humbert, than, instead of "perishing in his attempt," as the proclamation phrased it, he fled on board the French brig *Anacreon*, and escaped to France.

Within one month after the surrender of Humbert and his "*Armée d'Irlande*," the French Directory, for the purpose of keeping up the ferment in Ireland, dispatched from Brest a strong squadron, consisting of a ship of the line, eight frigates, and a schooner, having on board 3,000 men, under the command of Generals Hardi and Ménage, with a train of artillery, some battering cannon, and a great quantity of military stores; and, on the 11th of October, arrived off Lough Swilly, where they were discovered by Sir John Borlase Warren, who was cruising near that port with a squadron consisting of two ships of the line and three frigates. Immediately the signal was made for a general chase, and for the ships to "form in succession as they came up with the enemy." On the 12th, at about half-past five in the morning, the enemy was seen at a little distance to windward, and the French, perceiving that they could not avoid fighting, formed in order of battle. At twenty minutes past seven the fight began. After a defence of nearly four hours the enemy's line-of-battle ship struck. The frigates made all sail away; but, being pursued, in five hours three were taken. Another was soon after captured; and, on the morning of the 15th, two others were taken. The total loss, on board the British squadron, of killed was thirteen, of wounded seventy-five; that on board the French line-of-battle ship was 270 in killed and wounded, and that on board of two of the captured, thirty-three killed, and fifty-seven wounded. The loss on board the remaining six frigates could not be accurately ascertained. The troops and seamen captured on board the French ships amounted to nearly 4,000 men,

with the commodore of the fleet, and the two generals of the land forces. Among the prisoners taken was Wolfe Tone, who, being tried and condemned, prevented execution by suicide in Dublin gaol. In his autobiography, he styled himself "adjutant-general and chief of brigade in the French and Batavian republics."

Though the French Directory had been foiled in their designs against Ireland, they still cherished the hope of being successful in their contemplated invasion of England; and, for this purpose, an army amounting to 27,000 men, under the name of "the army of England," was dispersed along the shores of France and Holland, from Brest to the Texel, within twenty-four hours' march of their respective ports of embarkation, and it was their intention that Napoleon Buonaparte should take the command of that immense force. The fleets of Cadiz and Toulon were in readiness to unite with that of Brest, and flat-bottomed boats, for the conveyance of the troops, were in daily construction. But England, with an elevated courage, beheld without dismay this formidable host. From Caithness, to Kent and Cornwall, the British people were in arms. In an early part of the year the volunteer system, or general arming of the people, had taken place. In the course of a few weeks 150,000 volunteers were embodied; and, in case of emergency, the government was authorised to call out the levy *en masse* of the population.

The British government, having received intelligence that a large number of the flat-bottomed boats, or transport-schuyts, were being fitted at Flushing preparatory to their being conveyed by the Bruges canal to Dunkirk and Ostend, for the purpose of the threatened invasion, a squadron, consisting of a 44-gun ship, seven frigates, and seventeen sloops, bombs, and gun-vessels, with a body of troops on board, under Major-general Eyre Coote, were dispatched under the orders of Captain Home Popham, to destroy the sluices, gates, and basin of the Bruges canal at Ostend. On the 14th of May the squadron set sail from Margate, and, on the 19th, reached their intended anchorage in front of the town of Ostend. The troops, about 1,140 officers and men, effected their landing, with the necessary tools and gunpowder, in the course of the afternoon of the day of their sailing from Margate. The batteries opened immediately upon the nearest British vessels, and, for upwards of four hours, a mutual cannonade was kept up. The troops

had, in the meantime, blown up the locks and sluice-gates of the canal, and destroyed several boats lying in the basin; but, on returning to the beach to re-embark, being prevented by the violence of the wind and surf, they took up their position on some sand-hills near the beach, and there remained under arms, unmolested during the remainder of the day and the ensuing night; but, by day-break of the 20th, the French, having collected a considerable force, advanced to attack them. After a smart action, in which the British sustained a loss of sixty-five, in killed and wounded, Coote found himself under the necessity of surrendering.

Having abandoned the idea of an invasion of Britain, the French Directory determined to employ the flat-bottomed boats, which they had constructed to aid them in effecting a landing in England, for the purpose of recovering possession of the two small islands of St. Marcouf—each not above 200 yards long, by 120 broad—situated about eight miles off Cape La Hogue, and

which had been taken possession of, in 1795, by Sir Sidney Smith, while cruising on that coast, and were garrisoned with 250 seamen and marines, chiefly invalids, under the command of Lieutenant Price, R.N. On the 6th of May, about sixty boats and gun-brigs, manned with a large body of seamen and soldiers, came out of Havre, and, in the course of the following night, both brigs and gun-boats opened a heavy fire on the little garrison, and continued their attack for about five hours; but the British plied them with their battery guns, loaded with round, grape, and canister shot, so effectually, that they were glad to sheer off, with the loss of seven boats sunk, and one taken by the victors. The loss of the garrison was one killed and four wounded; that of the invaders, according to one French account, was 900 killed and drowned, and 300 wounded; according to another account, the loss had been trifling. Lieutenant Price was promoted to the rank of post-captain for his gallant defence.

THE BATTLE OF THE NILE.

NAPOLÉON had reported to the Directory the impracticability of an invasion of England, but he impressed upon them the importance of crippling the resources of that important power in another quarter. To the East his mind had for some time been directed, as the place where the heaviest and most decided blow might be struck against the power and prosperity of Britain. The objects of Napoleon Buonaparte, in the expedition to Egypt, as stated by himself, were—To establish, on the banks of the Nile, a French colony which could exist without slaves, and supply the place of St. Domingo; to open a vent for French manufactures in Africa, Arabia, and Syria, and obtain for French commerce the productions of these countries; and, most important of all, to set out from Egypt as a vast *place d'armes*, to push forward an army of 60,000 men to the Indus, rouse the Mahrattas to a revolt, and excite against the English the population of those vast countries. Sixty thousand men,—half Europeans, half natives,—transported on 50,000 camels and 10,000 horses, carrying with them provisions for fifty days, water for six, with 150 pieces of caannon, and double ammunition, would,

he said, arrive in India in four months. Thoroughly imbued with the practicability of his project, Napoleon Buonaparte declared, in the inflated language to which he was now becoming accustomed—"The ocean ceased to be an obstacle when vessels were constructed; the desert becomes passable the moment you have camels and dromedaries in abundance." The Directory for some time opposed Napoleon Buonaparte's views, on the grounds that the expedition would withdraw, at the least, 40,000 of the *dite* of the French troops; and that, in the absence of so many of the soldiers of the republic, and one of her best generals, but little reliance was to be placed on the faith of Austria. The objections of the Directory were, however, overcome by Napoleon Buonaparte; and being secretly anxious to get rid of such an able and popular general as he had proved himself, the expedition to Egypt was agreed to, and Napoleon at once proceeded to carry his plans into execution. With the usual energy of his character, he commenced the preparations for this great armament; and Toulon, Genoa, and other ports in the Mediterranean, were fixed upon for the assembly and

embarkation of the troops. Let us now turn our attention to the measures which Great Britain was taking to counteract the effects of the storm which seemed about to burst over her head.

The Mediterranean fleet, under the command of Earl St. Vincent, still continued its blockade of Cadiz. Nothing of importance had occurred at this station during the winter; the Spaniards keeping themselves safe inside the harbour. On the 29th of April, Sir Horatio Nelson joined the fleet. Having recovered from the wounds he received at Santa Cruz, he had hoisted his flag in the *Vanguard*, and on the 1st of May he sailed for Lisbon with a convoy, his instructions being to join the Mediterranean fleet off Cadiz with as little delay as possible. The British ministry were aware that a vast armament was being collected at Toulon, Marseilles, Genoa, and Civita Vecchia, but had no idea where the blow which these preparations portended, was to be struck. In accordance with his instructions, Earl St. Vincent determined, on Rear-admiral Nelson's arrival off Cadiz, to employ him with a squadron to observe the preparations of the French. Nelson left the fleet on the 2nd of May, and proceeded to Gibraltar, where he was joined by three sail-of-the-line and a few frigates. He left that port on the 9th. On the 17th, having captured a privateer, he obtained information as to the strength of the force collecting at Toulon. There were lying in that port, including the Venetian ships, nineteen sail-of-the-line: fifteen ships were ready for sea; and in these Napoleon Buonaparte, with an army of 40,000 men, was prepared to embark; but for what destina-

* On this occasion, the perilous nature of Nelson's ship was such, that when the *Alexander* took her in tow, Nelson, conceiving that it was impossible to save the *Vanguard*, and that in his exertions to preserve that ship, Captain Ball might lose his own, he seized the speaking-trumpet, and ordered Ball to throw off the cable, and let him loose. To this Ball replied, that he felt confident he should bring him safe into port; and added, "I therefore must not, and with the help of Almighty God, I will not leave you." When they arrived in the harbour, Nelson embraced Ball, and thanked him as his deliverer; and till the day of his death, Nelson ranked him as one of his best and bravest friends.

† In describing the particulars of this storm, in a letter to Lady Nelson, the hero of the Nile thus writes:—"I ought not," he says, "to call what has happened to the *Vanguard* by the cold name of accident: I believe firmly it was the Almighty's goodness, to cneck my consummate vanity. I hope it has made me a better officer, as I feel confident it has made me a better man. I kiss with all humility the

tion Nelson was unable to learn. On the morning of the 21st, the little squadron was overtaken by a terrific storm in the gulf of Lyons. The *Vanguard* suffered so severely in this gale, that she had to be taken in tow by the *Alexander*, Captain Ball,* and proceeded to the island of St. Pietro, where they got into harbour at noon of the 22nd. The *Vanguard* had lost her main and mizen-masts; also her foremast; and her bowsprit was sprung in three places. By great exertions the *Vanguard* was ready for sea on the 27th, and the three ships again steered for Toulon.† The French fleet had now sailed from that port; and Earl St. Vincent had, in compliance with orders from home, on the evening of the 24th, dispatched Captain Troubridge, in the *Culoden*, with the in-shore squadron of the Mediterranean fleet, consisting of nine sail-of-the-line, to strengthen Rear-admiral Nelson's force. On the 5th of June, the *Mutine* brig brought Nelson this welcome intelligence. The *Mutine* also brought him instructions from Earl St. Vincent, that on being joined by the ships named in his orders, he was to take them and their captains under his command, in addition to those already with him, and proceed with them in quest of the armament which had been preparing at Toulon and Genoa. "On falling in with the said armament," his instructions went on to state, "or any part thereof, you are to use your utmost endeavours to take, sink, burn, and destroy it."

Nothing could have been more to Nelson's mind than this service, and he was consequently in the best of spirits, and eager to come up with the French. About sunset of the 8th of June, Troubridge effected a rod. Figure to yourself a vain man, on Sunday evening, at sunset, walking in his cabin, with a squadron about him who looked up to their chief to lead them to glory, and in whom this chief placed the firmest reliance, that the proudest ships, in equal numbers, belonging to France, would have bowed their flags, and with a very rich prize lying by him. Figure to yourself this proud, conceited man, when the sun rose on Monday morning, his ship dismasted, his fleet dispersed, and himself in such distress, that the meanest frigate out of France would have been a very unwelcome guest. But it has pleased Almighty God to bring us into a safe port, where, although we are refused the rights of humanity, yet the *Vanguard* will get to sea again as an English man-of-war."

Writing to Earl St. Vincent, about the same event, on the 31st of May, he says—"My pride was too great for man; but I trust my friends will think that I bore my chastisement like a man. It has pleased God to assist us with his favours, and here I am again off Toulon."

junction with Nelson, who, having previously learned that the French fleet and armament had sailed from Toulon on the 22nd of May, with the wind at north-west, concluded that their course was up the Mediterranean, and accordingly thither, as soon as a provoking calm would allow him to make sail, he directed his pursuit. He first steered to Corsica, and on the 12th arrived off Cape Corse, and in the evening lay-to off the isle of Elba. On June the 15th, he wrote to Earl Spencer from off the island of Ponza:—"The last account I had of the French fleet, was from a Tunisian cruiser, who saw them on the 4th off Trapani, in Sicily, steering to the eastward. If they pass Sicily, I shall believe they are going on their scheme of possessing Alexandria, and getting troops to India—a plan concerted by Tippoo Saib, by no means so difficult as might at first view be imagined; but be they bound to the Antipodes, your lordship may rely on it that I will not lose a moment in bringing them to action, and endeavour to destroy their transports." On the morning of the 17th, the British fleet stood in to the bay of Naples, when the admiral learned that the enemy had been seen steering towards Malta. On reaching the Straits of Messina, he was informed that the French had taken possession of Malta and its dependencies, the two small islands of Goza and Canino. Thither he pressed all sail; but, when about twelve leagues south-east of Cape Passero, in Sicily, he ascertained from the master of a Ragusian brig that the enemy had quitted Malta on the 18th of June, and had directed his course to the north-east. As their point of destination now appeared to be Egypt, he pressed on thither under all the sail which his ships could carry. On the 28th he came within sight of Alexandria, but saw no appearance of the enemy, nor could any intelligence be gained respecting them. His future course depended on conjecture. Imagining that the expedition was bound for the Dardanelles, he first proceeded to Rhodes, then by Candia to Sicily, and, on the 18th of July, entered the bay of Syracuse, where he was obliged to take in a supply of wood and water, and a stock of live cattle; but so eager was he and the whole of the fleet to meet the enemy, that in five days they were ready for sea. Nelson, still impressed with the idea that Egypt was the destination of the enemy, again steered towards that coast. On the 20th of July he wrote to Lady

Nelson:—"I have not been able to find the French fleet, to my great mortification, or the event I can scarcely doubt. We have been off Malta, to Alexandria in Egypt, Syria, into Asia, and are returned here without success: however, no person will say that it is for want of activity. I yet live in hopes of meeting these fellows; but it would have been my delight to have tried Napoleon Buonaparte on a wind; for he commands the fleet as well as the army. Glory is my object, and that alone."

On the 25th, when in the Gulf of Coron, off the coast of the Morea, he heard that the French fleet had been seen steering in a south-east direction from the island of Candia. In that direction he pressed forward under a crowd of sail, and, about ten o'clock, A.M., of the 1st of August, came in sight of the pharos of Alexandria; and soon after, the two ports displayed to the anxious view of the British admiral a forest of masts. On the night of the 22nd of June the hostile fleets had unperceived, and within a few leagues' distance, crossed each other's track off the coast of Candia, the French steering east from Candia, while Nelson stood south-east along the African coast, with the intention of proceeding to Alexandria.

The armament, under Napoleon, had landed at Alexandria on the night of the 30th of June, without encountering any opposition; but the knowledge that Nelson was in their neighbourhood, caused the French general to disembark his troops as rapidly as possible. Admiral Brueys having received orders from Napoleon to remain at the mouth of the Nile, and finding it impossible to get his ships into the harbour of Alexandria, had drawn up his fleet in a strong position, in the bay of Aboukir. When the English squadron bore up, the French fleet was seen lying at anchor in this bay, about twenty miles east-north-east of Alexandria, in the form of a curve, having its convex side towards the sea, and its flanks protected by a gun and mortar battery on Aboukir—or, as it has been subsequently named, Nelson Island—as also by bomb-vessels and gun-boats. The French line-of-battle extended about one mile and-a-half, the ships being placed about 150 yards apart. From their curved or projecting position, the French ships were prepared to pour in a concentric fire, should the British fleet attempt to break their line. To neutralise the enemy's intention, the British admiral determined, by placing his fleet half

on the outer and half on the inner side of the French line, to penetrate between them and the shore, and thus, having placed the enemy between two fires, attack his van with the whole British fleet. "Where there is room," he said, "for them to swing, there must be room for us to anchor."

Now was about to take place the most memorable battle recorded in naval history. Nelson had forewarned his captains of the nature of the plan they were to adopt, and for the first time in British naval history, gave orders to anchor and form in line-of-battle ahead and astern of the flag-ship. The object of this plan was to deprive the enemy of the power of raking the British ships, as they would have swung round and exposed their bows or sterns, had they been anchored in the usual way. When the commanders of the various ships had got their instructions, Captain Berry remarked to Nelson, "If we succeed, what will the world say?" "If!" said Nelson: "There is no *if* in the case; that we *shall* succeed is certain: who may live to tell the tale is a very different question." Nelson then hailed Captain Hood if he thought there was sufficient room for the British vessels between the enemy and the shore. Hood, in the *Zealous*, bore away and ascertained the precise distance to which the shore could be approached. The hostile fleets consisted of the following vessels:—

British.—Thirteen 74-gun ships, one 50, and one brig: viz., *Culloden*, Captain Troubridge; *Theseus*, Captain Miller; *Alexander*, Captain Ball; *Vanguard*, Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, Captain Berry; *Minotaur*, Captain Lewis; *Swiftsure*, Captain Hallowell; *Audacious*, Captain Gould; *Defence*, Captain Peyton; *Zealous*, Captain Hood; *Orion*, Captain Sir J. Saumarez; *Goliath*, Captain Foley; *Majestic*, Captain Westcott; *Bellerophon*, Captain Darby; the *Leander*, 50 guns, Captain Thompson; and the brig *La Mutine*, Captain Hardy. The frigates had parted company from the fleet in the course of the pursuit for the discovery of the French fleet and expedition.

French.—Three 80-gun ships—*Le Tonnant*, *Le Franklin*, *Le Guillaume Tell*: nine 74's—*Le Guerrier*, *Le Conquérant*, *Le Spartiate*, *L'Aquilon*, *Le Souverain Peuple*, *L'Heureux*, *Le Timoléon*, *Le Mercure*, *Le Généreux*: one of 120 guns, *L'Orient*: four frigates—*La Diane*, 48 guns; *La Justice*, 44 guns; *L'Artémise*, 36 guns; *La Serieuse*, 36 guns: two brigs, three bombs, and several gun-boats.

The feelings of the men and officers in Nelson's squadron, on descriing the French fleet, are well described in a narrative of the battle published by Sir Edward Berry, who was then captain on board Nelson's flag-ship:—"The utmost joy," says Captain Berry, "seemed to animate every breast on board the squadron at sight of the enemy; and the pleasure which the admiral himself felt, was perhaps more heightened than that of any other man, as he had now a certainty by which he could regulate his future operations. The admiral had, and it appeared most justly, the highest opinion of, and placed the firmest reliance on, the valour and conduct of every captain in his squadron. It had been his practice, during the whole of the cruise, whenever the weather and circumstances would permit, to have his captains on board the *Vanguard*, when he would fully develop to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, and such plans as he proposed to execute upon falling in with the enemy, whatever their position or situation might be, by day or by night. There was no possible position in which they could be found, that he did not take into his calculation, and for the most advantageous attack of which he had not digested, and arranged the best possible disposition of the force which he commanded. With the masterly ideas of their admiral, therefore, on the subject of naval tactics, every one of the captains of his squadron was most thoroughly acquainted; and upon surveying the situation of the enemy, they could ascertain with precision what were the ideas and intentions of their commander, without the aid of any further instructions; by which means signals became almost unnecessary, much time was saved, and the attention of every captain could almost undistractedly be paid to the conduct of his own particular ship, a circumstance from which, upon this occasion, the advantages to the general service were almost incalculable."

At half-past five o'clock, P.M., the fleet being nearly abreast of the extremity of the shore, the signal was made to form in line of battle ahead and astern of the flag-ship; and about six, P.M., the signal to fill and stand in was made. The ships, obeying the signal, were arranged in the following order: *Goliath*, *Zealous*, *Orion*, *Audacious*, *Theseus*, *Vanguard*, *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Bellerophon*, *Majestic*, *Leander*, and away at some distance to the westward, the *Culloden*; and at

a still greater distance to the westward, the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, using, under a crowd of sail, every exertion to get up. In the attempt, the *Culloden* grounded on a ledge of rocks off Aboukir. Having formed the line, the British ships hoisted their colours, and displayed union-jacks in various parts of their rigging. For the purpose of lessening the confusion of a night attack, and to prevent the ships jostling one another, each vessel bore four horizontal lights at her mizen-peak, and the fleet went into action with the white or St. George's ensign, the red cross in its centre rendering it easy to be distinguished from the tri-coloured flag of the enemy. The French ships hoisted their colours about twenty minutes past six, P.M.

The French line of battle, beginning at the van, was as follows:—*Guerrier*, *Conquérant*, *Spartiate*, *Aquilon*, *Peuple Souverain*, *Franklin*, *Orient*, *Tonnant*, *Heureux*, *Mercure*, *Guillaume Tell*, *Généreux*, and *Timoléon*.

The *Goliath*, commanded by Captain Foley, led the fleet, and, when within a mile of the enemy's van, was assailed by their starboard guns, as also a cannonade from the batteries. Undeterred, Foley rounded the bow of the enemy's van ship; thus, having doubled their line, or got on the inner side of it, he dropped his anchor alongside of the *Conquérant*, second ship in their van, and in the course of ten minutes, shot away her topmasts. Hood, in the *Zealous*, followed, and having anchored on the bow of the *Guerrier*, the van ship, in twelve minutes dismasted her. Next came the *Orion*, commanded by Sir James de Saumarez: the frigate *La Sérieuse*, lying within the line, gave him a broadside, which Sir James returned with his starboard guns, and she instantly went down. He then proceeded to take his station on the bow of the *Franklin* and the quarter of *Le Souverain Peuple*, engaging both. The *Audacious* came next, and let go her anchor on the bow of the *Conquérant*, having passed between that ship and the *Guerrier*. Captain Gould instantly began a destructive fire. The *Theseus*, commanded by Captain Miller, was the fifth and last ship which came inside of the enemy's line. Passing between the *Zealous* and her opponent the *Guerrier*, he poured in a broadside as he brushed their sides. Immediately a hot and close action commenced on the inner side of the enemy's line.

While the advanced ships doubled the French line, the *Vanguard*, Nelson's flagship, had anchored on the outer side of the enemy's line, within half pistol-shot of the

Spartiate, and by her fire covered the advance of her comrades, the *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Bellerophon*, and *Majestic*, which came up in the succession named; Lewis, in the *Minotaur*, brought the *Aquilon* to action; Peyton, in the *Defence*, engaged the *Franklin*; Westcott, in the *Majestic*, received the fire of the *Heureux* and the *Tonnant*; but Darby, in the *Bellerophon*, having sustained a loss of 200 of his crew and three of his lieutenants from the heavy fire of the *Orient*, the flag-ship of Admiral Brueys, against which he had brought up his ship exactly abreast, cut his cable, and drifted out of the bay. The *Swiftsure* and *Alexander*, commanded by Hallowell and Ball, having been sent to look into the port of Alexandria, did not come into action till eight o'clock at night. At three minutes past eight, the *Swiftsure*, dropping anchor nearly on the spot which had been occupied by the *Bellerophon*, took her station alongside of the *Orient*, and opened fire on the bows of that ship and the quarter of the *Franklin*. Soon after, the *Alexander*, passing under the stern of *L'Orient*, raked her, and anchored withinside on his larboard quarter. These two ships, the *Swiftsure* and *Alexander*, entered the bay, and took up their position with as much precision as if they had been performing certain evolutions in a review at Spithead. The *Leander*, Captain Thompson, which had gone to the assistance of the *Culloden*, finding that no effort could move that ship till she could be lightened, hastened to the scene of action, and anchoring athwart the *Franklin*, raked her with great effect. The battle now raged with indescribable fury, though both sea and land were enveloped in darkness, illuminated only at intervals by the fire of the hostile fleets. Nelson's ship suffered severely. The men working the fore-castle guns had been three times swept off in the course of the action, and the admiral himself was badly wounded, and had to be taken down to the cockpit. But Captain Berry so well supplied his place, that as Nelson remarked, in his despatch, "the service suffered no loss by that event." Nothing could be more grand than the sight this battle presented to the spectators who witnessed it on shore. The volumes of flame which at intervals burst through the clouds of smoke, and cast a lurid glare upon the combatants, half-naked and begrimed with smoke and gunpowder, gave to the scene a most startling effect; whilst the roar of upwards of 2,000 cannon sounded

more like the artillery of heaven in some grand convulsion of nature, than the contest of mortals in those

“— Leviathans whose huge ribs make
Their clay creators the vain title take
Of lords of these [the sea], and arbiters of war.”

The *Guerrier*, the foremost ship in the French van, received a raking broadside from each of the English ships as they passed her, and having also suffered severely from the broadsides of the *Zealous*, without being able to do any serious damage to her adversary, was the first to strike her colours. Before doing this, however, she had made a gallant defence, and ere her flag was hauled down, she had lost her three masts and her bowsprit. The whole of her head was shot away; and the two anchors on her bows were each cut in two. Two of her foremost ports were knocked into one; the masts had fallen in-board, and with the rigging, still lay over the dead and living of the crew. The *Conquerant*, also, from the position she occupied in the enemy's line, received a portion of the fire of the various ships that passed her; and the *Goliath* and *Audacious* poured such a destructive fire into her, that in a short time her fore and mizen-masts were shot away, and before she was half-an-hour in action she struck her colours. Her opponents in the encounter had not, however, come off scatheless, both vessels having suffered severely. The *Spartiate* was the next vessel that hauled down her flag, but not till she had felt the weight of the *Vanguard's* heavy broadside, as well as having stood for some time the direct fire of the *Theseus*. The French ship, *L'Aquilon*, occupied a position which enabled her to pour a raking and destructive fire on board the English admiral's ship, and the numbers who fell on board the *Vanguard* proved the fatal accuracy with which her shot told. The *Minotaur* and the *Theseus*, however, in a short time silenced the guns of the *Aquilon*, and compelled her to surrender. The *Souverain Peuple* also struck her flag

* Part of *L'Orient's* mainmast was picked up by the *Swiftsure*. Captain Hallowell directed his carpenter to make a coffin of it; with which Hallowell sent the following letter to the rear-admiral:—“Sir, I have taken the liberty of presenting you a coffin made from the mainmast of *L'Orient*, that when you have finished your military career in this world, you may be buried in one of your trophies. But that that period may be far distant, is the earnest wish of your sincere friend, Benjamin Hallowell.” An offering, so suited to the occasion,

and quitted the line. Thus by half-past nine, five ships of the hostile fleet had surrendered; and about ten o'clock, *L'Orient*, the French admiral's flag-ship, with £600,000 sterling on board—the plunder of Malta—blew up with so tremendous an explosion, that every ship in both fleets shook to its centre; and so great was the consternation, that the battle was suspended for nearly a quarter-of-an-hour.*

James, in his *Naval History*, gives the following account of this catastrophe:—“At about ten, the *Orient* blew up with a tremendous explosion. Any description of the awful scene would fall far short: we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the effect it produced upon the adjacent ships. The *Alexander*, *Swiftsure*, and *Orion*, as the three nearest, had made every preparation for the event; such as, closing their ports and hatchways, removing from the decks all combustible materials, and having ready with their buckets a numerous body of firemen. The shock shook the ships to their kelsons; opened their seams; and, in other respects, did them considerable injury. The flaming mass flew over the *Swiftsure*, as was wisely conjectured by her commander, when urged to attempt moving further off; but a part of it fell on board the *Alexander*, who lay at a somewhat greater distance from the *Orient*, on her lee-quarter. A port-fire set the *Alexander's* main-royal in flames; and some pieces of the burning wreck set fire to the jib. In both quarters the crew extinguished the flames; but not without cutting away the jib-boom and spritsail-yard. The *Alexander*, with the little air of wind that the cannonade, and the more mighty concussion that interrupted it, had left, then dropped to a safer distance. Among the French ships, the *Franklin* received the greatest share of the *Orient's* wreck: her decks were covered with red-hot seams, pieces of timber, and burning ropes; and she caught fire, but succeeded in extinguishing it. The *Tonnant* had, just before the explosion, cut or slipped her cable, and

was received by Nelson in the spirit in which it was sent. As if he felt it proper to have death present to his thoughts and eyes, he ordered the coffin to be placed upright in his cabin. But the odd piece of furniture not being quite agreeable to the feelings of his guests, he was persuaded by the entreaties of an old favourite servant, to have it carried below, but with strict injunctions for its preservation until the purpose for which its donor had designed it, occurred. In that singular present he was buried.

dropped clear of the burning wreck. The *Heureux* and *Mercure*, although too far off to be injured, had done the same. Either amazement at what had happened, or a strong feeling towards self-preservation, or both causes united, made it full ten minutes ere a gun was again fired on either side. By this time, too, the wind, as if just recovering from the trance into which all nature had been hushed by the catastrophe, freshened up; and, as it ruffled the surface of the water, and clattered among the rigging of the ships, reanimated the half-numbed faculties of the combatants."

After the suspension of arms, caused by the dreadful explosion of the *Orient*, the French ship *Franklin* recommenced hostilities, opening a fire upon the *Defence* and *Swiftsure*. These two vessels, lying on the starboard-bow and quarter of the French ship, returned the cannonading of the *Franklin* with such deadly effect, that her main and mizen-masts shortly after fell, and having lost more than one-half of her crew in killed and wounded, she struck her colours.

By midnight, the only vessel which kept up an active fire was the *Tonnant*; but the firing did not cease between the hostile fleets until after three o'clock. When the day broke on the morning of Thursday, August 2nd, the sight presented itself of the French van being either dismasted, or having struck. At the same moment, the battle was renewed between five ships of the line and two frigates of the enemy's rear, and the *Alexander* and *Majestic* of the British fleet; but it was soon terminated by the surrender of the *Mercure* and *Heureux*. The *Tonnant*, which had been dismasted and

lay a complete wreck, did not surrender until the morning of the 3rd. Only the *Guillaume Tell* and the *Généreux*, and the frigates *Diane* and *Justin*, were in a condition to make their escape. The *Timoléon* endeavoured to follow their example; but being badly manœuvred, she ran on shore, and was set on fire by her crew. The battle had been fought close to the Egyptian shores, which, though shaken for many leagues around by the discharges of the artillery and the explosion of *L'Orient*,* were crowded with astonished and trembling spectators. The wing of the French army at Rosetta, though at the distance of thirty miles from Aboukir, were eagerly employed with their glasses, in order to gain a sight of the scene.

Of the French fleet, nine surrendered, two were destroyed, and four escaped. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and taken amounted to between eight and nine thousand men. The killed and wounded on board the British fleet were 895. The prisoners were sent on shore *en cartel*, on the usual conditions; namely, not to serve until they had been exchanged; but Napoleon Buonaparte, soon after they had been landed, formed them into a battalion, which he named the scouter legion, and gave its command to the captain of the *Franklin*. Thus ended the battle of the Nile; but which the French, in their detracting nomenclature, termed "*le Combat d'Aboukir*." On the 8th the British took possession of the island of Aboukir, and its name was changed to that of Nelson's Island. On the 19th, Nelson, in the *Vanguard*, accompanied by the *Culloden* and *Alexander*, sailed for Naples, leaving Captain Hood with the

* Brueys, shortly before the *Orient* blew up, was almost cut in twain by a cannon-ball; but he refused to be removed, saying, that it was the duty of a French admiral to die on his quarter-deck, which he did, exhorting his men with his latest breath to continue the combat to the last extremity. His captain, Casa Bianca, and his son, a boy only ten years of age, exhibited equally heroic bearing. The father, being mortally wounded, his son contrived, just before the *Orient* blew up, to bind his dying parent to the mast which had fallen into the sea; and pushing forward, he continued to float with his precious charge, until they were swallowed up by the agitation of the waves, occasioned by the explosion of that ship.

The following letter was sent by Napoleon to the widow of Admiral Brueys:—"Your husband has been killed by a cannon-ball while combating on his quarter-deck. He died without suffering; the death the most easy and the most envied by the brave. I feel warmly for your grief. The moment which

separates us from the object which we love is terrible; we feel isolated on the earth; we almost experience the convulsions of the last agony; the faculties of the soul are annihilated; its connexion with the earth is preserved only across a veil which distorts everything. We feel in such a situation, that there is nothing which yet binds us to life; that it were far better to die; but when, after such first and unavoidable throes, we press our children to our hearts, tears, and more tender sentiments arise; life becomes bearable for their sakes. Yes, madame, they will open the fountains of your heart; you will watch their childhood; educate their youth; you will speak to them of their father, of your present grief, and of the loss which they and the republic have sustained in his death. After having resumed the interest in life by the chord of maternal love, you will perhaps feel some consolation from the friendship and warm interest which I shall ever take in the widow of my friend."—*Napoleon's Confidential Correspondence.*

Zealous, Goliath, Swiftsure, Seahorse, Emerald, Alcène, and Bonne Citoyenne, to cruise off the port of Alexandria. On the 14th, Sir James Saumarez was dispatched with the *Orion, Bellerophon, Minotaur, Defence, Audacious, Theseus, and Majestic*, accompanied by the prizes taken at Aboukir, to refit at Gibraltar.

On Tuesday, the 2nd of August, the day succeeding that on which the battle was fought, Nelson's fleet offered up thanksgiving to the Almighty, for the victory they had obtained. Service was performed on board the *Vanguard* and other ships, and all were impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. This public acknowledgment of the Deity, is said to have had a peculiar effect upon the French prisoners on board the British ships.

The following is the despatch relating to the battle of the Nile, addressed to "Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c., off Cadiz":—

"*Vanguard*—Off the mouth of the Nile.
" August 3rd.

"MY LORD,—Almighty God has blessed his majesty's arms, in the late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, whom I attacked at sunset, on the 1st of August, off the mouth of the Nile. The enemy was moored in a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay of Shoals, flanked by numerous gun-boats, four

* Captain Westcott was a rising officer, and was much respected in the service. He was the son of a baker, who lived at Honiton, in Devonshire; and the following sketch of his career is given in vol. xii. of the *Naval Chronicle*:—"Being led by his profession to a connexion with the millers, young Westcott used frequently to be sent to the mill. It happened in one of his visits, that by the accidental breaking of a rope, the machine was disordered; and neither the owner nor his men being equal to the task of repairing it, Westcott offered to use his skill in splicing it, although attended with danger and difficulty. The miller complied, and the job was executed with such nicety, that he told him 'he was fit for a sailor, since he could splice so well; and if ever he should have an inclination to go to sea, he would get him a berth.' Accordingly an opportunity presented itself, of which the lad accepted; and he began his naval career in the humble capacity of a cabin-boy; a situation the most common in the ship, and not much calculated to afford vent to the expansion of genius. But he continued to exercise his abilities to such good purpose, and discovered such an acuteness of understanding, that he was, in a very short time, introduced among the midshipmen; in which rank his behaviour was so conciliatory and prudent, that farther advancement followed. From that time he became so signally conspicuous both for his skill and bravery, that he gradually, or rather hastily, continued to be promoted, until he

frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on the island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron [which] your lordship did me the honour to place under my command. Their high state of discipline is well known to you; and with the judgment of the captains, together with their valour, and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible. Could anything from my pen add to the character of the captains, I would write with pleasure; but that is impossible.

"I have to regret the loss of Captain Westcott,* of the *Majestic*, who was killed early in the action; but the ship continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her, till your lordship's pleasure is known.

"The ships of the enemy, all but their two rear ships, are nearly dismayed; and these two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say, made their escape; nor was it, I assure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it; but I had no ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, and I was obliged to call her in.

"The support and assistance I have received from Captain Berry cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head,† and obliged to be carried off the deck; but the service suffered no loss by

reached that honourable station in which he lost his life. Had he survived the battle, his seniority of appointment would have obtained him an admiral's flag; but alas! human expectations end in the grave!" By a vote of parliament a monument was ordered to be erected to the memory of this gallant young officer.

† He had received a severe wound in the head from a piece of langridge shot. The effusion of blood, occasioning an apprehension that the wound was mortal, he was carried down into the cock-pit. The surgeon, with a natural and pardonable eagerness, quitted the poor fellows then under his hands, that he might instantly attend the admiral. "No," said Nelson, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." Nor would he suffer his own wound to be examined, till every man—and the cock-pit was crowded at the time—who had been previously wounded, had been properly attended to. When the surgeon came to examine his wound, it was with inexpressible joy that the wounded men and the whole crew heard, that the wound was merely superficial. Having dressed the wound, the surgeon requested his patient to remain quiet; but no sooner did Nelson hear the cry, that the *Orient* was on fire, than he hurried on deck, and gave orders that boats should be sent to the relief of the endangered crew. Nelson had already lost his right eye at the siege of Bastia, and his right arm at Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe.

that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg to refer you for every information relative to this victory. He will present you with the flag of second in command; that of the commander-in-chief being burnt in the *Orient*. Herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and the lines of battle of ourselves and the French.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"HORATIO NELSON."

Captain Berry quitted Nelson on the 6th of August, and proceeded in the *Leander*, Captain Thompson, with the above despatch, to join Earl St. Vincent, who was still with the Mediterranean fleet off Cadiz. On the 18th, the *Leander* fell in, near Candia, with the *Généreux*, 74-guns, one of the French vessels that had escaped from Aboukir. This ship had behaved very disgracefully in the battle of the 1st of August; having made off from the fleet before she had received the slightest damage either in her hull or her rigging. Seeing the disabled state of the *Leander*, the *Généreux* bore down upon her; but although Captain Thompson was eighty men short of his complement, and several of his crew had been wounded at the battle of the Nile, still he determined to fight his ship as long as he could. The *Généreux* having fired a shot ahead, the *Leander* answered by bringing her broadside to bear, and keeping up a vigorous cannonade. A severe action ensued, which lasted from nine in the morning till half-past three in the afternoon, when the *Leander* became totally unmanageable, not a stick standing but the shattered remains of her fore and mainmasts, and the bowsprit; her hull sent to pieces; her deck covered with the dead and wounded; and herself scarcely able to float. In this forlorn state the *Leander* struck her colours, having lost, out of her crew of 343 men, thirty-five killed and fifty-seven wounded; and inflicted a loss on her opponent in killed, 100, and wounded, 188.

When the relative size and strength of the two ships are considered, it will be

* To the observations of a member of the House of Commons, that the title of baron was not commensurate to Nelson's merits. Pitt nobly replied, "Admiral Nelson's fame will be coequal with the British; and when the victory of the Nile, the greatest on naval record, is mentioned, no man will think of asking whether he had been created a baron, a viscount, or an earl." This noble sentiment drew the line of distinction between the performance of

seen Captain Thompson sustained no loss in honour, when he surrendered to so powerful an antagonist. The force of the British ship was:—guns, 60; broadside weight of metal, 516 lbs.; men, 258; tonnage, 1,052. The force of the *Généreux* was:—guns, 78; weight of metal, 985 lbs.; crew, 700; tonnage, 1,926. Captain Berry, before the ship struck, threw his despatches into the sea, so that the British ministry had no intelligence of the decisive battle of the 1st of August, until the 2nd of October, on which day Captain Capel, who had been sent overland, by way of Naples, arrived in London with duplicates of the despatches.

The greatest rejoicings took place throughout the country when the news of the great victory of the Nile was made known. On the 6th of October the *Gazette* announced that Nelson was created Baron* Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk. A pension of £2,000 per annum was settled on him and his two next heirs male. The Irish parliament voted him an additional £1,000 a-year; and the East India Company presented him with £10,000. To the corporation of London, of which city he had previously received the freedom, he presented the sword of the French admiral, Blanquet: for this the corporation voted their thanks to Nelson and to the officers and men under his command. They also presented him with a sword, valued at 200 guineas. The Ottoman Porte instituted the order of the Crescent, and made the English rear-admiral its first knight-companion. He moreover received many presents from foreign princes. The grand seignor made him a present of a pelisse of sables, valued at 5,000 dollars, and an *aigrette*, taken from one of the imperial turbans, valued at £6,000. The czar Paul sent him his portrait, set with diamonds, in a gold snuff-box; and the King of Sardinia made a like present. Gold medals were presented, with the thanks of parliament, to the captains of the fleet; and the first lieutenants† of all the ships were promoted to the rank of comman-

illustrious deeds and the trappings of idle baubles and paltry appellations.

† On this occasion Nelson exhibited a noble trait in his character. Observing that the order for the promotion of the first lieutenants was limited to those engaged in the action, he was fearful that this would affect the officers of Troubridge's ship, and wrote to the Earl of St. Vincent as follows:—"I sincerely hope this is not intended to exclude the

ders. Nelson, in remembrance of an old friendship, had appointed Alexander Davison sole prize-agent of the captured ships. As an acknowledgment of the kindness, Davison expended £2,000 of his agency in gold medals for the captains, silver ones for the lieutenants and warrant-officers, gilt-metal ones for the petty officers, and copper medals for the seamen and marines; which last cheap badges were so highly prized by their owners, that when any one of them died on a foreign station, his last request was, his Nile medal should be sent home to his friends.

The houses of parliament passed votes of thanks to Nelson; and, on this occasion, Lord Minto, with great eloquence, spoke of the services he had rendered to his country. Referring to the victory of the Nile, he said,—"That as it had done more to exalt the reputation of our country, and added more to the ancient and already accumulated stock of British naval glory, so it had contributed more essentially to the solid interests and security of this empire, as well as to the salvation of the rest of the world, than perhaps any other single event recorded in history." Prayer and thanksgiving were offered up in all churches, and "Nelson and the Nile," became as household words throughout the land.

One present which Nelson received on the occasion of this victory he valued very highly. The captains of his squadron met on the 3rd of August, and voted a sword to their admiral, as a testimony of their sense of his skill and intrepidity. They also established the Egyptian club, to commemorate the battle, and solicited Nelson to sit for his portrait, that it might be hung up in the room of the club.

On his way to Gibraltar with the prizes, Sir James Saumarez fell in with the Portuguese squadron, consisting of three ships of the line, a fire-ship, and a brig, under the command of the Marquis de Niza; these ships had been detached, in the early part of July, by Earl St. Vincent from off Cadiz, as a reinforcement to Rear-admiral Nelson. While detained off the island of Malta by calms, a deputation of the principal inhabitants of the island waited on Sir James, soliciting a supply of arms and ammunition, and his co-operation in their attempts against the French garrison of Valetta. Before he proceeded on his destination, 1,200 muskets, and a quantity of gunpowder taken out of the captured ships, were given to the Maltese: the Portuguese squadron was left to blockade the harbour of Malta. In the middle of October, Nelson detached Captain Ball with the three line-of-battle ships, *Alexander*, *Culloden*, and *Colossus*, to co-operate in the blockade; and on the 24th of the same month, he, with the *Vanguard* and *Minotaur*, effected a junction with Ball and the Marquis de Niza. Already 10,000 Maltese were in arms, and had several skirmishes with the French garrison. On the 28th, Goza surrendered to Captain Ball, and was taken possession of for the King of Sicily.

In November of this year, a squadron of ships, under Commodore Duckworth, with a division of troops under the command of Lieutenant-general Stewart, was dispatched by Earl St. Vincent for the capture of the island of Minorca. After a show of resistance the Spaniards entered into a capitulation, and the English became masters of the island.

OPERATIONS IN THE WEST INDIES, Etc.

IN February, Rear-admiral Harvey and Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercromby first lieutenant of the *Culloden*; for heaven's sake—for my sake—if it be so, get it altered." To Nelson's satisfaction he was informed that the limitation was not intended to apply to Troubridge's ship, and instructions from the Admiralty were sent to Lord St. Vincent to promote the lieutenant of the *Culloden* to the first vacancy that occurred. Captain Troubridge was also awarded a medal, although, strictly speaking, he was *not engaged*. The king expressly ordered that the medal should be presented to him "for his services both before and since, and for the great and wonderful services he made at the time of the action, in saving and getting off his ship." Lord

attacked the Spanish island of Trinidad, which, with the mainland of South America, Nelson, on this occasion, thus gave his testimony in favour of this gallant officer:—"The eminent services of our friend deserve the very highest reward. I have experienced the activity of his mind and body. It was Troubridge who equipped the squadron so soon at Syracuse: it was Troubridge who exerted himself for me after the action: it was Troubridge that saved the *Culloden*, when none that I know in the service would have attempted it: it is Troubridge whom I have left as myself at Naples;—he is, as a friend and an officer, a *nonpareil*."—Clarke and M'Arthur's *Life of Nelson*.

forms the inlet called the Gulf of Paria; in the bocca or mouth of which lay four Spanish ships-of-the-line and a frigate. So intimidated were the Spaniards, that they set fire to their ships, of which three and the frigate were burnt to the water's edge, before the assailants could devise any means to save them. The *San Domingo*, a 74-gun ship, possession of the island, with 1,500 prisoners, and a large quantity of naval and military stores, were the reward of the victors. In the attempt, in April, on Porto Rico, the British were not so successful, the position being too strong for their means.

Insurrection still raged in the island of St. Domingo, where the negroes contended against the mulattoes and the French; but during their contests the English kept possession of Port-au-Prince, St. Mark, and Arcahaye in that island. The continual drain, however, on our land and sea forces, by the prevalence of the yellow fever, induced the British ministry to direct General Maitland to evacuate the island. In conformity with his instructions, the general sent, on the 22nd of April, a flag of truce to the republican general, Toussaint-L'Ouverture, with a proposal for a suspension of arms, and for a guarantee of the lives and property of the inhabitants who might choose to remain on the island. The proposal being assented to, and a treaty to that effect concluded, the British troops and French royalists, on the 9th of May, embarked on board of a British squadron, and evacuating the island, proceeded to Cape Nicolas Mole, in the island of Jamaica, where they were disembarked. Soon afterwards, the negroes having triumphed over their masters, St. Domingo became a negro republic.

In the month of August, the Spaniards attacked the British settlement at the Bay of Honduras, with a flotilla consisting of twenty schooners and sloops, and having on board 2,000 troops, under the command of the redoubtable field-marshal, Arthur O'Neil; but they met with so warm a reception from the small detachments of the 63rd and 6th West India regiments, stationed there under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Barrow, and the *Merlin* sloop, Captain Moss, that they were glad to sheer off.

Among the single ship-fights of this year, that of the *Mars* and *Hercule*, both 74's, is the most remarkable. While Lord Bridport, with the fleet, was standing across the Du Raz passage, the *Mars* discovered, January 21st, the *Hercule* working up along

shore towards Brest. After attempting to escape through the passage Du Raz, the *Hercule* put herself in a position to meet her antagonist. The two ships were now about fifteen leagues distance from Brest. At fifteen minutes past nine, P.M., the *Hercule* opened her starboard broadside upon the *Mars*, which was as promptly returned. Captain Hood, finding that from the strength of the current he could not, while under weigh, get his ship into a good fighting position, cast anchor. The ships now became so entangled with each other, that the guns on the lower deck of each could not be run out, but were obliged to be fired within board: in this condition they continued fighting till thirty minutes past ten, P.M., rubbing their sides together, when, after two ineffectual attempts to board, the *Hercule* struck her colours.

In this closely-contested engagement the two ships were very fairly matched. The French ship carried 78 guns; the English one, 82; broadside weight of metal, French, 985 lbs.; British, 984. Crew of the *Mars*, 634; tonnage, 1,853. Crew of the *Hercule*, 680; tonnage, 1,876. The loss on board the *Mars*, as might be expected, was very severe. Captain Hood, her commander, was mortally wounded. The total killed was thirty, and wounded, sixty. The loss on board the French ship was said to number 400; but the French officers estimated it at 290. Lieutenant Butterfield, who so ably fought the *Mars* after Captain Hood received his death wound, was promoted to the rank of commander.

In 1797, when Napoleon Buonaparte dissolved the Venetian republic, he possessed himself, on behalf of the French republic, of the Ionian Islands, belonging to Venice, in the Adriatic. In the course of this year, a powerful army of Turks and Albanians, under Ali Pasha, having swept away the French from the Ionian dependencies in Albania, on the 6th of October, a Turco-Russian fleet—between which powers a treaty of alliance and co-operation had been concluded—appeared off the island of Cerigo, with a division of 8,000 troops on board. By the 10th, the coalitionists had, with little difficulty, possessed themselves of all the islands, except Corfu, with a loss of 1,500 men to the French. On the 20th, they commenced their operations against that island; but the French general, Chabot, conducted its defence so skilfully, that it remained unsubdued at the close of the year.

CONFEDERACY AGAINST FRANCE—OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH AND THEIR ALLIES.

LIKE all great battles, the victory of the Nile had a powerful effect upon the position of the various parties engaged in the vital struggle which was now going on in Europe and in the East. Whilst the steady opponents of France were confirmed in their opposition to the encroachments of the republic, the wavering and doubtful were rendered stable and trustworthy; and even the weak took courage when they found that the spell of French invincibility was broken. In Europe, it served again to band together that coalition which had almost fallen asunder; and in the East it at once brought on the Egyptian army the whole weight of the Ottoman empire. Napoleon had endeavoured, even while his army was laying waste one of the fairest provinces of the Turkish dominions, to hoodwink the Porte, and to make it appear that he had no intention of injuring that power, but had entered Egypt merely to punish the beys for insults they had committed on French commerce. This the Turkish government was slow to believe; and no sooner had the power of Nelson's arms rid the Levant of the French fleet, than the Divan formally declared war against France. Shortly before this the Porte had arranged its differences with Russia, and entered into a treaty of alliance with that power. So promptly was this brought about, that on the 1st of September, one month after the battle of the Nile, the extraordinary spectacle was beheld of a Turko-Russian fleet sailing under the walls of the Seraglio, and passing along the Hellespont. Although at this time there was no formal treaty existing between them, yet the three powers of England, Russia, and Turkey acted in concert.

At the commencement of the French revolutionary war, the then reigning empress of Russia, Catherine II., jealous of a union between Austria and Prussia, and not displeased to see those preponderating powers exhaust their strength in a conflict with France, acceded at first to the confederacy of kings against the French republic, only in name. But, on the secession of Prussia from that coalition, she evinced her intention of listening to the solicitations of her general, Suwarroff, to send him against the "French atheists," as he denominated them, and had entertained a project for the formation of a powerful confederacy to pro-

tect Europe against the encroachments of the French republic. To carry out this design, she had given orders to embody an army of 150,000 men. But her death, in 1796, prevented the carrying out of her designs. Catherine's son, the czar Paul Petrovitz, inherited his mother's disposition to oppose the French republic; and being influenced by Nelson's victory of the Nile, he entered into a permanent treaty with Great Britain. By virtue of that treaty, executed at St. Petersburg December 18th, 1798, Russia engaged to furnish an auxiliary force of 45,000 men, to act in conjunction with the British forces in the north of Germany; and, as an equivalent, England engaged to pay a monthly subsidy of £75,000, in addition to the immediate advance of £225,000 for the first and most urgent expenses. Paul also manifested his zeal in the common cause of crowned heads, by declaring war against Spain, for "the dread and pusillanimous submission she is making to the French republicans;" and in the same temper he laid an embargo on the Hamburg ships in the Russian ports; and also, in a menacing manner, endeavoured to draw off that republic, as also Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, from their system of neutrality to the side of the coalition.

By virtue of the treaty entered into with England, a Russian squadron of twelve sail-of-the-line was sent to co-operate with the British fleets in the German Ocean, off the coast of Britain. The combined Turko-Russian fleet which sailed through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean, consisted of twelve ships-of-the-line and sixteen frigates, gun-boats, &c., with 12,000 troops on board. This fleet, as already mentioned, blockaded and besieged Corfu; but on account of the strength of its fortifications, possession of it was not obtained till the 1st of March of the year 1799.

Nelson, after the battle of the Nile, continued in the command of the detached squadron in the Mediterranean, and in the course of the winter, visited Malta and various ports in the Mediterranean; he also assisted in protecting the royal family of Naples after the reverses of General Mack in Italy. Sir Sidney Smith joined the Mediterranean squadron in the end of the year 1798. Sir Sidney, shortly after making his escape from prison, had been appointed

to the *Tigre* of 84 guns, and was sent out as plenipotentiary to the Ottoman court at Constantinople; and on the 3rd of March he superseded Captain Troubridge in his command, who had been cruising off Alexandria. This appointment gave much offence to Nelson, and caused a good deal of misunderstanding between Sir Sidney Smith, Earl St. Vincent, and the hero of the Nile. On December 30th, 1798, we find Nelson writing as follows to Earl St. Vincent:—

“My Lord,—The great anxiety I have undergone during the whole time I have been honoured with this important command, has much impaired a weak constitution. And now, finding that much abler officers are arrived within the district, which I had thought under my command, having arranged a plan of operations with the embassy, with which I have been honoured by the grand signior, having opened an unreserved correspondence with the Turkish and Russian admirals, and, I flatter myself, having made the British nation and our gracious sovereign more beloved and respected than heretofore; under these circumstances, I entreat, that if my health and uneasiness of mind should not be mended, that I may have your lordship's permission to leave this command to my gallant and most excellent second in command, Captain Troubridge, or some other of my brave friends who so gloriously fought at the battle of the Nile. Captain Ball has the important command of the blockade of Malta, and is as eminently conspicuous for his conciliating manner, as he is for his judgment and gallantry. I shall not, if I can help it, quit this command till I receive your approbation; for I am, with every respect,

“Yours, &c., NELSON.”

He again writes to Earl St. Vincent on the 31st December:—“*I do feel, for I am a man*, that it is impossible for me to serve in these seas, with the squadron under a junior officer:—could I have thought it!—and from Earl Spencer!—never, never was I so astonished as your letter made me. As soon as I can get hold of Troubridge, I shall send him to Egypt, to endeavour to destroy the ships in Alexandria. If it can be done, Troubridge will do it. The Swedish knight (Sir Sidney Smith) writes Sir William Hamilton, that he shall go to Egypt, and take Captain Hood and his squadron under his command. The knight forgets the respect due to his superior officer: he has no orders from you to take my ships away from my

command; but it is all of a piece. Is it to be borne? Pray grant me your permission to retire, and I hope the *Vanguard* will be allowed to convey me and my friends, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, to England.”

To this communication Earl St. Vincent replied as follows:—“I am not surprised at your feelings being outraged at the bold attempt Sir Sidney Smith is making to wrest a part of your squadron from you. I have received much the same letter from him, as the one you describe to have been addressed to Sir William Hamilton; a copy of which, with my answer, you have inclosed, and orders for you to take him immediately under your command. I have informed Lord Spencer of all these proceedings, and sent him copies of the letters. The ascendance this gentleman has over all his majesty's ministers is to me astonishing, and that they should have sent him out after the strong objection I have made to him, in a private letter to Mr. Nepean, passes my understanding. For the sake of your country, and the existence of its power in the Levant, moderate your feelings, and continue in your command. . . . The sensations you must have gone through before and since your departure from Naples, must have been very trying; nevertheless, I trust the greatness of your mind will keep up the body, and that you will not think of abandoning the royal family you have by your firmness and address preserved from the fate of their late royal relations in France. Employ Sir Sidney Smith in any manner you think proper: knowing your magnanimity, I am sure you will mortify him as little as possible, consistently with what is due to the great characters senior to him on the list, and his superiors in every sense of the word. God bless you, my dear Lord, be assured no man loves and esteems you more truly than your very affectionate,

“ST. VINCENT.”

A better understanding, however, shortly after took place between Sir Sidney and his commanding officer; and when Nelson received the account of the gallant defence of Acre, and Sir Sidney's exploits on the coast of Egypt, he was the first to acknowledge his merit, and wrote to him as follows:—“Yesterday brought us letters from your worthy brother; and we had the great pleasure of hearing that your truly meritorious and wonderful exertions were in a fair train for the extirpation of that horde of thieves

who went to Egypt with that arch-thief Buonaparte."

On August the 20th, 1799, he again wrote to Sir Sidney from Palermo:—"I have received with the truest satisfaction all your very interesting letters to July 16th. The immense fatigue you have had in defending Acre against such a chosen army of French villains, headed by that arch-villain Buonaparte, has never been exceeded, and the bravery shown by you and your brave companions is such as to merit every encomium which all the civilized world can bestow. As an individual, and as an admiral, will you accept of my feeble tribute of praise and admiration, and make them acceptable to all those under your command."

"Yours, &c., NELSON."

We shall now proceed to lay before the reader a brief account of the gallant assistance Sir Sidney Smith rendered at the siege of Acre. Sir Sidney, having been for some time at Constantinople, arranging a plan of offensive war, to be carried on by the Turks against the French army in Egypt, proceeded on the 3rd of March, 1799, to take command of the squadron, which, under Commodore Troubridge, had been cruising in the Archipelago. The squadron, of which he thus assumed the command, consisted of his own ship, the *Tigre*, of 84 guns; the *Theseus* (Captain Miller), 74; the bomb-vessels, *Bull-dog* and *Perseus*, Captains Drummond and Oswald; and the *Alliance* frigate-flute, Captain Wilmott. The plan of operation for a general attack on Buonaparte, by land and sea, had been arranged at Constantinople, and was as follows:—

* St. Jean d'Acre, or the city of Acre, is a place of great antiquity; it was called *Accho* by the Hebrews and Phœnicians, and afterwards *Ptolemais* by the Greeks. It was named *St. Jean d'Acre* by the French, on account of its being the residence of the knights of Jerusalem, which they defended against the Saracens. It is the most southern city on the coast of Phœnicia. So early as the period of the Judges of Israel, it was a considerable place; as we find it related, that the tribe of Asher could not drive out its inhabitants. After being in the possession of the Emperor Claudius, it fell into the hands of the Moslem, who kept it till the war of the Crusades, when it was retaken by the Christians in 1104. Possession of it was again obtained by the Turks, under Saladin. It was wrested from them a second time, in 1191, by Guy, King of Jerusalem, Richard I., King of England, and Philip, King of France. It was then given to the knights of St. John, who held it with great bravery for about 100 years. A dispute, however, about the possession of the city taking place in the year 1291, among the Christians themselves, afforded an opportunity to the Sultan Melech Seraf, with an

A descent was to be made by the bashaw Djezzar on the frontiers of Egypt, on the side of the desert of Syria. Djezzar was to be supported by an army which was to march across Asia-Minor from Damascus; and the combined operation of these armies from Syria was to be favoured by a diversion towards the mouth of the Nile by Mourad Bey, who, although he had been forced to retreat before Buonaparte, was yet in considerable strength, and would be joined by numerous bodies of Arabs. Commodore Hood continued to block up the port of Alexandria and the mouths of the Nile, but had been unable to destroy the fleet of transports and French frigates, without a sufficient number of troops to enable him to disembark and attack Alexandria. In order to deceive Buonaparte, Sir Sidney bombarded Alexandria, but with no further injury to the French than sinking two transports.

Receiving information from the pasha of Syria that Acre* was about to be attacked, on the 7th of March he hastened to the scene of action, and on the 15th arrived at Acre, just two days before the appearance of the French. On the 16th, after a chase of three hours, he captured, off the Cape of Carmel, the whole French flotilla, laden with heavy cannon, platforms, &c., necessary for the siege. This artillery, consisting of forty-four pieces, was immediately mounted on the ramparts of Acre, against the lines and batteries of the enemy. At the same time a large body of seamen and marines, headed by Sir Sidney, were landed to co-operate in the defence of the works.

army of 150,000 men, again to reduce it under the power of the Ottoman Porte, and the Crescent was once more raised above the Cross on the blood-stained walls of Acre. In this city, Edward I. of England, then a prince, received a wound with a poisoned arrow. Acre is beautifully situated, enjoying all the advantages to be derived from sea and land; it is encompassed on the north and east side by a spacious and fertile plain; on the west, by the Mediterranean; and on the south, by a large bay extending from the city to Mount Carmel. Faccardino, a chief of the Druses, in the 15th century, threw off the Turkish yoke, and endeavoured to turn Acre into an *entrepôt* for commerce. He carried on a trade with India, and kept up a correspondence with the foremost men of Italy. He paid a visit to the court of Cosmo di Medici, where he was received with the greatest hospitality, and returned to St. Jean d'Acre accompanied by the first artists of his day. Bridges and various other public buildings were commenced by Faccardino, but, unfortunately, were not finished; and shortly after his death, Acre again fell under the dominion of the Turks.

In the month of May, the French batteries were approached to within ten yards of the Turkish ravelins, which they attacked for many successive nights, but were invariably repulsed with loss. A constant fire was kept up to produce a practicable breach. Nine times were the French led on to the storm, and as often beat back with great slaughter. The siege had been one continued battle for fifty-one days, when, on the 7th of May, a fleet of corvettes and transports, with 7,000 men on board, under the command of Hassan Bey, entered the bay from Rhodes. Napoleon Buonaparte, in hopes of gaining possession of the place before the troops could land for its relief, ordered a fresh assault during the night. The assailants advanced to the attack, and mounting the breach, made a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part of which had been beaten down, and its ruins falling into the ditch, formed the acclivity by which they mounted. At daylight the tri-colour flag was seen flying on the outer angle of the tower; and the points of the enemy's bayonets appeared above the bloody parapet which they had formed of the bodies of their slain.

At this moment the troops of Hassan Bey had effected a landing. These and the crews of the ships, armed with pikes, Sir Sidney led to the breach. In the furious combat which ensued, the muzzles of the hostile muskets touched each other, and the spear-heads of the standards were locked together. A succession of troops ascended to the assault, who were valiantly resisted, the heaps of slain forming a breastwork for both sides. At length the French were driven from the town, and fled with great loss to their trenches. But while success was gained in this quarter, ruin was impending elsewhere. The enemy had succeeded in reaching the ramparts, and leaping down into the town, were in possession of the garden of the Seraglio, which now became an important post. Immediately Sir Sidney, at the head of the Chiffleek regiment of Janizaries, rushed to the spot, and, after a desperate conflict, compelled the assailants to take refuge in a mosque, where they were indebted for their lives to his humane intercession.

The enemy, nowise discouraged, began a new breach to the southward of the old one. Being declared practicable, on the 10th of May, Kleber's division, which had just come up from Mount Thabor, advanced to

the assault. The pasha had determined to admit them, to a certain number, within the wall, and to close with them according to the manner of the Turks. The column mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the garden of the Seraglio; but in an instant they were assailed by a body of Janizaries, with a scimitar in one hand and a dagger in another. In a few moments the whole body of the assailants were headless trunks; and though succeeding columns advanced to the attack, they were necessarily obliged to retreat to their trenches with great loss and precipitation. This event closed the siege of Acre on the 17th of May, it having lasted sixty days. In the retreat of the French army, Sir Sidney harassed it incessantly in its movements with the largest vessels of his squadron. On the 10th of July he landed at Aboukir, under the protection of his squadron, the troops which had been landed at Acre from Rhodes.

Towards the end of October, while the grand Turkish army was advancing by the desert, a considerable reinforcement of troops having arrived from Constantinople, determined Sir Sidney Smith to endeavour to create a diversion in their favour. He accordingly proceeded to the Damietta branch of the Nile, sounded the coast, and marked the passage with Turkish gun-boats and buoys. The boats of the *Tigre* then proceeded to take possession of a ruined castle on the eastern side of the entrance of the channel, which was insulated from the mainland by the overflowing of the Nile, but was accessible by a fordable passage. When the Turkish flag was seen to wave on the turrets of the castle, the Turkish gun-boats advanced towards it, and at the same time a heavy fire was opened by the French upon the little garrison, from a redoubt on the mainland, which mounted two 36-pounders and an 8-pounder field-piece. The fire was briskly returned from the launch's carronade, which had been mounted on a breach in the castle, and four field-pieces which were placed in the boats. A body of cavalry was seen advancing along a neck of land, and Lieutenant Stokes, with the boats, was sent to check the advance of this force. This service he gallantly performed, with but the loss of one man killed and one wounded. A cannonade was kept up from the castle, by the Turks and their allies, for three days, which was well replied to from the redoubt garrisoned by the French, and

which was within point-blank distance. But at length, from the bursting of a shell, the magazine at the French redoubt blew up, and silenced one of the guns. Orders were then given to disembark, and on the morning of the 1st of November, a landing was effected. The French had drawn up a large body of infantry on the shore, to receive the troops when they landed, and the Turks had scarcely time to form before they were attacked by the French, who advanced to the charge with the bayonet. As the combatants joined in the *melee*, the guns from the castle and from the boats were obliged to suspend their fire—friend and foe were so mixed together. The Turks rushed on with great impetuosity, and overthrew the first line of French infantry; but their ardour carried them too far, having no reserve to support them, and the boats not being able to return in time with the remainder of the troops to assist their comrades who were on shore. The fortune

of the day being now completely changed, the troops were withdrawn into the boats; but nearly 1,100 were taken prisoners by the French.

Shortly after this defeat of the Turks at Damietta, Sir Sidney Smith conveyed to General Kleber, the commander-in-chief of the French army in Egypt, the reply of the Sublime Porte to the overtures which had been made by Napoleon Buonaparte. Kleber, availing himself of the opportunity of communication, made proposals to Sir Sidney to conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Egypt. Sir Sidney acceding to these proposals, General Dessaix and the administrator of the finances, Poussielgue, repaired on board the English commodore's ship, the *Tigre*, to enter into a conference on the subject; but a heavy gale of wind driving the ship and the negotiators out to sea on the 29th of December, no further proceedings took place during this year on the subject.

EXPEDITION TO HOLLAND.

THE recovery of the united provinces from the influence and dominion of France was an object of importance to the confederacy, as by the re-establishment of the stadtholder, an opening would again be presented for a campaign in the Low Countries; and even if the attempt should not be successful, a diversion would be effected in favour of the allies, as the French would thereby be compelled to send to Holland a considerable portion of their forces destined for the army of the Rhine. To put into execution this purpose, a treaty was concluded, on June 22nd of this year, between Great Britain and Russia, by which it was stipulated that England should furnish 25,000 men, and Russia 17,000, and employ her whole naval force in the support of the operations of a descent on that country, Russia receiving a monthly indemnity of £44,000 for the expenses of the troops so furnished.

In pursuance of this treaty, preparations were made by England and Russia. In the middle of July, Sir Home Popham sailed for the Baltic to receive on board the Russian contingents. In the meantime 12,000 troops were assembled on the coast of Kent, and 12,000 more were preparing to reach the same rendezvous. On the 13th

of August, the first division, consisting of 12,000 men, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, set sail from Deal, and joined the fleet of Lord Duncan, then cruising in the North Sea. On the 20th, they were within sight of the Dutch coast; but from the tempestuous weather and a high surf, were prevented coming to anchor until the 25th, which they did near the shore of the Helder, a strong point on the northern extremity of the mainland of Holland, and which commands the Mars Diep, where the Dutch fleet was moored. At daylight of the 27th, the disembarkation began. As soon as the first detachment, consisting of 2,500 men, under Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, had reached the shore, it was attacked by a superior force of Dutch troops, under General Daëndells; but after an obstinate conflict, the enemy was driven back to the sand-hills, about six miles distant, with the loss of 1,500 men; the British loss being about one-third of that number. In the night the enemy evacuated the Helder, and the Dutch fleet in the Mars Diep got under weigh, and retired into the Vlieter canal.

Having fortified the Helder, Admiral Mitchell, whose fleet consisted of fifteen ships-of-the-line and forty frigates and brigs,

having entered the Texel, summoned the Dutch fleet, under Admiral Storey, consisting of eight ships-of-the-line, three of 54-guns, eight of 44, two of 32, four of 24, one of 16, and four Indiamen, to surrender, and hoist the flag of the Prince of Orange; which he did without having fired a gun. At the same time the island of the Texel was taken possession of.

In the meantime, General Brune, having taken the command of the French and Dutch forces, amounting to 25,000 men, on the 10th of September attacked the British army, which had remained on the defensive, expecting the reinforcement of the Russian contingent. An obstinate engagement ensued, but the enemy being repulsed at all points, withdrew to his position at Alkmaar, with the loss of 1,500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

On the 13th of September, the Duke of York arrived and took the command. In the course of the following three days, 7,000 Russians from Revel, and the third embarkation from the Kentish coast, consisting of 7,000 British troops and 10,000 Russians, joined the army. As the army now consisted of nearly 35,000 men, the Duke of York resolved on a general attack. Accordingly, at daybreak of the 19th, the army advanced in four columns. The column to the extremity of the right, under the command of the Russian Lieutenant-general D'Herman, consisted of twelve battalions of Russians, the 7th light dragoons, and General Manver's brigade, and extended to the sand-hills on the coast near Camperdown. The second, commanded by Lieutenant-general Dundas, consisted of two brigades of foot-guards, Major-general Prince William of Gloucester's brigade, and two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons. Its object was to force the enemy's positions at Walmenhuysen and Schoveldam, and to co-operate with the column under D'Herman. The third column, commanded by Sir James Pulteney, consisted of the brigades of Major-general Daw and Major-general Coote, and two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons. This column was intended to take possession of Oud-Scarpel, at the head of the Lang-Dyke, the great road leading to Alkmaar. The fourth and left column, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, consisted of the brigade of Major-general Moore, Major-general the Earl of Chatham, and Major-general the Earl of Cavan, the first battalion of the British grenadiers of the

line, the first battalion of light infantry of the line, two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons, and the 23rd and 25th regiments; and their object was to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder-Zee.

The Russians, furiously attacking Bergen, were soon in possession of it; but falling into disorder in consequence of the rapidity of their advance, they were, after a murderous conflict, put to total rout. The column under Dundas, after carrying the posts it was destined to attack, extended to the right for the purpose of supplying the place of D'Herman's fleeing column, and renewed the battle with considerable success; but being too much weakened by its disproportionate extension, was at length obliged to retire. The third column effected its object by carrying by storm the post of Oud-Scarpel, made 1,000 prisoners, and forced the whole of the enemy's line under the fire of the English artillery. The fourth column had taken possession of Hoor, and captured its garrison. Successful, however, as the centre and left had been, the flight of D'Herman's column neutralised that success, and compelled the allied army to retire to its former position. The loss of the enemy had been 3,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the English, 120 killed, 400 wounded, and 500 prisoners; and that of the Russians, 3,500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; among the last of whom was D'Herman, twenty-six cannon, and seven standards. The advantage in the affair of the 19th having been, on the side of the allies, in the centre and left of the line, on the junction of a third Russian division, consisting of 4,000 men, a company of the 60th, and three troops of the 15th light dragoons, which had been disembarked on the 25th at the Helder, the Duke of York resumed the offensive on the 2nd of October. The hostile armies were each about 30,000 strong. The attack commenced about six o'clock in the morning. In the centre, the right, and the left, the enemy being, after a stubborn contest, entirely defeated, retreated in the course of the night, abandoning Alkmaar and all his former line. The loss of the enemy was 3,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with seven cannon and many tumbrils; that of the allies, 1,500. The sickly state of the troops, and the increasing number of the enemy, now pointed out the policy of obtaining possession of some fortified town, to enable the allies to retain their footing in Holland. Haarlem

being the place selected, the allied army was put in motion to dislodge Brune from the strong position he had taken in the narrow isthmus between Berwerick and the Zuyder-Zee, and which it was necessary to pass to reach Haarlem. For this purpose the allied army made a forward movement on the 6th of October. After a spirited resistance along the whole line, from the Lemmer to the sea, and which lasted the whole day, the enemy retired, leaving the field of battle in possession of the allies. The loss on each side was about 2,000 men. That of the English amounted to 1,200.

Intelligence being now obtained from the prisoners taken in this action, and who amounted to 500, that the enemy had been reinforced with 6,000 men, and that a large force was stationed at Purmerend, in an almost inaccessible position (which force, as the allied army advanced, would be in its rear), the Duke of York convened a council of war, in which it was unanimously agreed to fall back to the entrenchments at Schagenbrug, which they had occupied before the battle of Bergen, and there wait for reinforcements or further instructions from the British cabinet.

Brune immediately pursued the retreating army; and resuming his position in front of Alkmaar, several skirmishes took place between the allied rear-guard and the advanced posts of their pursuers. On the 10th of October, General Daëndels attacked, with 6,000 men and six cannon, the right wing of the British in an advanced post near

Wincle, under the command of Prince William of Gloucester; and though the prince had only 1,200 men and two cannon, he forced the Dutch general to retreat, with the loss of 200 men and one French general. But Daëndels being almost instantly reinforced by 4,000 Dutch troops, the prince was obliged to fall back to Cohorn.

The situation of the allied army was now daily becoming desperate; it was reduced by sickness and the sword to 20,000 men, and the magazines contained only eleven days' rations. In these circumstances the Duke of York, on the 17th of October, proposed to General Brune a suspension of arms, preparatory to the evacuation of Holland by the allied troops. By the terms of the convention, all prisoners on both sides were given up; and that, for permission to embark without molestation, 8,000 seamen (whether Dutch or French prisoners in the hands of the British, taken before the present campaign, and now in England) should be restored to the French government. Before the end of November the conditions were executed by each side. The British troops were landed in England, and the Russians in Jersey and Guernsey. In this unfortunate expedition the British army sustained a loss of 536 men killed, 2,791 wounded, and 1,455 missing. Three ships were also lost, having been wrecked on the coast—the *Nassau*, a reduced sixty-four, and the *Blanche* and *Luton* frigates; on board the last mentioned of which were £140,000 in specie for the payment of the troops.

DETACHED OPERATIONS IN 1799.

Among the numerous frigate actions of this year, may be mentioned that of the 18-pounder 36-gun frigate *San Fiorenzo*, Captain Sir Harry Neale Heale, and the 38-gun frigate *Amelia*, Captain the Hon. Charles Herbert, with three French frigates. The British ships having, on the 9th of April, observed two French frigates in the port of Lorient, stood towards Belle-Isle. As the British ships neared the port, they discovered three French frigates and a large gun-vessel. While reconnoitring, the *Amelia* was struck by a sudden squall, which brought down her main-topmast and fore and mizen top-gallant masts. Promptly taking advantage of the accident which had befallen the *Amelia*, the French frigates weighed anchor,

and made sail towards the British ships. The *Amelia*, having set her fore and mizen top-sails, bore up in company with her companion, the *San Fiorenzo*. When the French and British vessels met, the latter opened fire, and a cannonade was kept up between them, a battery on the rocks assisting the Frenchmen, who, notwithstanding, showed a great aversion to come to close quarters with their opponents. After an engagement of one hour and fifty minutes, the French frigates made off under all sail, and the *San Fiorenzo* and the *Amelia* were prevented, by their disabled state, from following up their three opponents in their escape to the river Loire. The joint complement of the two English frigates was 552 men and boys;

that of their three opponents not much less than 1,000. The joint loss of the *San Fiorenzo* and the *Amelia* was two killed and thirty-five wounded. According to a paragraph in the *Moniteur*, the loss on board the commodore's ship, the *Cornélie*, was upwards of 100 men killed and wounded.

Another frigate action, deserving of commemoration, is that of the *Cerberus*, 32 guns, Captain Macnamara, and a squadron of five Spanish frigates, namely the 18-pounder 40-gun frigate *Ceres*, and the 34-gun frigates *Diana*, *Esmeralda*, *Mercedes*, and another, as also two brig corvettes, in charge of a convoy of eighty Spanish merchantmen off Cape Ortugal, October 20th. The British ship having, early in the morning, discovered the merchant-vessels and their convoy, she, undismayed by the formidable appearance of the foe, stood towards the hostile squadron, and at eight, P.M. commenced the action with the nearest frigate, and at such close quarters, that the two ships almost touched each other. In less than half-an-hour, the *Cerberus* had silenced the fire of her opponent; but was prevented from taking possession of her by the approach of the four other frigates. The leading fresh frigate taking the place of the disabled ship, opened her fire on the *Cerberus*, at which moment a third frigate took part in the action, in which unequal contest the *Cerberus* had to fire both her broadsides at the same time. At thirty minutes past ten, P.M., while maintaining this unequal action, she being nearly surrounded, hauled to the wind and effected her escape. At eleven, P.M., she captured a brig, one of the convoy; but as the French frigates were distant only one mile, the *Cerberus* set fire to her prize.

On the 28th of February an action was fought by Captain Edward Cooke, in the *Sybille*, of 44 guns, off the sand-heads of Bengal river, against the French frigate *La Forte*. At about eleven o'clock on the night of the 28th, through the darkness, Captain Cooke discovered three vessels lying in a cluster. The *Sybille* had extinguished all her lights, and was close upon the French ships before they discovered her. The two other vessels, in addition to the frigate, were the *Endeavour* and the *Lord Mornington*, country ships from China, which had been captured by *La Forte*. The *Sybille*, having made every preparation for boarding, stood on under top-gallant sails. The *Forte* bore down on the *Sybille's* larboard-bow, and fired a broadside. The

latter then bore up close to her opponent, and commenced a brisk cannonade, which she continued for nearly two hours. The French ship made but a feeble defence, and having lost all her masts, she struck her colours, and was taken possession of. In the course of the action the *Forte* made an attempt to board, but finding every preparation made for her, she stood off and resumed her fire. When the republican ship struck the tricolor flag, she was found to be a complete wreck; and a number of English prisoners who were on board hailed the *Sybille* that the ship was sinking. The principal loss sustained by the English ship was in her sails and rigging. Early in the engagement the *Sybille* was deprived of her commander, who was struck by a grapeshot, and survived the action only a few days. The loss of the *Sybille*, in addition to her commander, was five killed and sixteen wounded; while the French ship's loss was 100 killed and eighty wounded. The comparative force of the combatants was—*La Forte*, 52 guns; broadside weight of metal, 606 lbs; number of crew, 360; tonnage, 1,401. *Sybille*, 48 guns; weight of metal, 503 lbs; crew, 300; tonnage, 1,091.

In closing the account of this year's events, we may state that the British navy continued to assert its superiority. The wooden walls of England had swept the seas, and the allied fleets of France and Spain had been obliged to submit to the indignity of a blockade, rather than commit themselves to a trial of strength with so formidable an adversary.

In the course of the year, five sail-of-the-line, one ship of 52 guns, one of 42, and another of 40, were taken from the French; and two of 36 from the Spaniards. Besides a number of vessels of inferior force, no less than twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers belonging to France, and ten to Spain, were either taken or run on shore; but not so much as a single frigate or sloop of war was lost to Great Britain.

The Dutch navy was almost entirely destroyed this year. Admiral Storey surrendered twelve ships to the British admiral without firing a gun; and twelve others surrendered within the Texel. In addition to this, the Batavian republic lost a 50-gun ship, the *Hertog van Brunswick*, in the straits of Sunda; and as it was supposed that the seamen were disaffected towards the republican government, all further operations by sea were interdicted.

EXPEDITION TO QUIBERON BAY—FOUDROYANT AND GUILLAUME TELL, Etc.

IN June, Sir Edward Pellew, with a flying squadron of seven men-of-war and five frigates, on board which were embarked 5,000 troops under General Maitland, sailed from the English shores for the purpose of again rendering assistance to the royalist insurgents in the Morbihan. On the 4th, the squadron anchored in Quiberon Bay, and a small body of troops being landed, the forts on the south point of the peninsula having been previously silenced by the shipping, were destroyed. On the 6th, 300 troops, covered and sustained by a division of small craft and gun-launches, landed on the Morbihan, and attacking the little port of that place, burnt the French brig *Tricolante*, and several smaller vessels, and brought off two brigs, two sloops, and some merchantmen, on board of which were above 100 men. An attack was meditated on the island of Belle-Isle; but it being ascertained that above 7,000 troops were on the island, the attempt was deemed impracticable. The troops were then landed and encamped on the Houat, a small island about two leagues south-east of Quiberon point, until Sir Edward Pellew's squadron was directed to effect a junction with that of Sir John Borlase Warren, which had on board a strong body of troops commanded by Sir James Pulteney.

This armament was in the first instance sent to Quiberon Bay and Belle-Isle, for the purpose of co-operating with the Chouans and other royalists in behalf of the Bourbons; but it being ascertained that there was no probability of success, the joint force steered for Ferrol, for the purpose of possessing themselves of the Spanish squadron, consisting of five ships of war, lying ready in that port for sea. Reaching Ferrol on the 25th of August, the troops were immediately disembarked; and, on the following morning, were in possession of the heights which command the town and arsenal. But though the garrison was not equal to one moiety of the besieging force, Sir James requested the rear-admiral to embark the troops and cannon in the course of the evening.

From Ferrol, the squadron and fleet of transports sailed to Vigo, where, after having made a demonstration, and the boats of the *Renown* and *Courageux*, under the command of Lieutenant Burke, having cut out the French brig-of-war, *La Guépe*, of sixteen

guns, proceeded to Gibraltar, and there formed a junction with the fleet and forces under Lord Keith and Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercromby. For the purpose of obtaining possession of the Spanish fleet, then ready for sea, this powerful armament, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, thirty-seven frigates and sloops, and eighty transports, having on board 18,000 men, proceeded to the Bay of Cadiz, where coming to anchor on the 4th of October, the town was summoned to surrender. At this time the yellow fever was raging in the precincts of the unfortunate city, with a malignancy greater than ever had been known to prevail in the West Indies. The governor, De Morla, adjuring the British commanders not to add the calamities of war to those of disease now prevalent, the British armament withdrew from the infected isle to the Straits of Gibraltar, lest the ulterior objects of the expedition should be frustrated by the effects of the contagion.

Malta had now been besieged for the space of two years by a powerful force (Maltese, Neapolitans, and British), and blockaded at the mouth of the harbour by a squadron of British and Portuguese ships. The garrison, consisting of 3,000 men, under General Vaubois, having been reduced to the direst necessity by want and the ravages of typhus fever, on the 20th of September surrendered the fortress of Valletta and the island of Malta to General Pigot and Captain Ball. By the terms of the capitulation, the garrison was conveyed to Toulon. During this siege, the contest between the *Guillaume Tell*, Rear-admiral Decrès, and the British line-of-battle ships, the *Lion* and *Foudroyant*, and the 32-gun frigate the *Penelope*, on the 30th of March, was one of the most heroic defences among the records of naval actions. The history of this gallant action was as follows:—

Provisions having become very scarce in Malta, the *Guillaume Tell*, the last line-of-battle ship of the Nile fleet which had fought so bravely under the gallant Vice-admiral Brueys, remained uncaptured, attempted to escape with part of the garrison on board, but was pursued by the *Penelope* frigate, Captain Blackwood dispatching the *Minorca* brig with the intelligence to the commodore, Captain Troubridge, who was cruising with the squadron off the

island, that the chase was on the starboard-tack. The *Penelope* having, about half-an-hour after midnight, arrived close up with the *Guillaume Tell*, luffed under her stern, and gave her in succession the larboard and starboard broadsides. The *Guillaume Tell*, observing on the verge of the horizon, the hostile ships advancing to the assistance of the *Penelope*, continued her retreat, being still pursued by the frigate, who poured in her raking broadsides with so decisive an effect, that just before the break of day she had carried away the main and mizen-top-masts of her enemy, while the gallant little vessel had sustained only a slight damage in her rigging and sails, with the loss of one killed and three wounded of her crew. About five, A.M., the *Lion* came up with the chase, and placing herself athwart the bows of the *Guillaume Tell*, maintained the contest until the *Foudroyant* came up under a crowd of sail. The *Lion* was so near to her adversary, that their guns were almost touching, and the jib-boom of the *Guillaume Tell* passed through her main and mizen shrouds. In a short time, however, from the rolling of the vessels the jib-boom of the *Guillaume Tell* broke across, and thus the *Lion* was freed from the risk she had run of being boarded. About half-past five, this vessel, having kept up a steady cannonade for half-an-hour, and considerably damaged her antagonist, became unmanageable, and was obliged to drop astern. The *Foudroyant* arrived at six o'clock, and laid herself so close alongside of her opponent, that her spare anchor was but just clear of the French ship's mizen chains. Having called upon the French ship to strike, the *Foudroyant* followed the demand by pouring into her a treble-shotted broadside. Immediately the action began, and both ships were soon in such a state, that they separated as unmanageable; but as soon as they had repaired their damages they recommenced hostilities. The French admiral nailed his colours to the mast; nor did he strike until all his masts and rigging were shot away, and his ship lay like a log on the water, with upwards of 200 of her crew killed and wounded, the *Guillaume Tell* inflicting a loss on her opponents of seventeen killed and 101 wounded. The *Lion* and the *Penelope* took no share in the action after the arrival of the *Foudroyant*, having been disabled by the shot of the French ship.

As all the ports on the coast of Europe, from Holland to its extremity in the Mediterranean, were blockaded by the British navy,

the naval events of this year were few, either in that or other parts of the globe. The most memorable were:—In the middle of the night of the 1st of March, the British 12-pounder 36-gun frigate *Néréide*, Captain Watkins, discovered to westward a squadron consisting of five privateers and a schooner. On arriving within gun-shot, the foe appeared determined for battle; but suddenly (though the total of his guns were ninety-four, and his crews amounted to 681 men), his heart failed him, and immediately the squadron made all sail on different cruises. The *Néréide* went in immediate pursuit; and on the 2nd, after a chase of twelve hours, and a run of 123 miles, captured the *Vengeance*, of eighteen long 6-pounders and 174 men. While the *Amity*, a pilot-boat belonging to Bembridge, was in February of this year looking out for ships, a hostile lugger-privateer approached so close to them (not having been observed on account of the haziness of the weather), that no chance of escape appearing to the master of the boat, he and a seaman getting into a small boat which was lying alongside the pilot-boat, began to make their escape, desiring the boy (James Wallis, the only other person forming the pilot-boat's crew) to accompany them, a proposal he declined to accede to, declaring he would remain by the vessel, whatever might be his fate; at the same time handing over to them his watch, which he desired might be delivered to his father. Having promised to perform his request, they left him to his fate. In the course of a few minutes the lugger ran up under the lee of the pilot-boat; but just as her crew were in the act of throwing their grappling-line, Wallis put the helm of the boat down and tacked, and thus was enabled to make headway before the lugger had time to resume her course. Small arms and swivels were now fired by the crew of the lugger at their determined adversary, who, as soon as they again approached him, tacked again. For the space of two hours the boy repeated this manœuvre as soon as the lugger approached him: at length a fresh breeze springing up, the boy succeeded in baffling the attack of his foe, and at last brought his boat safe into port. During the whole time a regular and constant fire of small arms and swivels had been kept up by the crew of the lugger. The following exploit possesses the character of heroism in a high degree.

On the 26th of July, the *Viper* cutter,

commanded by Lieutenant Coghlan, and attached to Sir Edward Pellew's squadron, was stationed to watch Port Louis, where a strong squadron of the enemy was lying. In a ten-oared boat, manned with twenty picked men, he set out to capture the *Cerbère* gun-brig, the advance of the enemy, mounting three long 24-pounders, and four 6-pounders, moored within pistol-shot of three batteries, surrounded by armed vessels, and within a mile of a 74 ship-of-the-line and two frigates. As soon as he reached the brig, in the act of jumping on board, he became entangled in a trawl-net, hung up to dry, and at this same moment, was pierced through the thigh, and he and several of his men knocked back into their boat. No way discouraged, he hauled the boat further ahead, and at length effected boarding his opponent. A desperate conflict ensued, in which every officer on board the French vessel was either killed or wounded; and at length the vessel was carried, with eighty-seven people on board. The loss of the enemy was six killed and twenty wounded; that of the British, one killed and eight wounded.

While Sir John Borlase Warren was at anchor in Bournouf Bay, being informed that a ship of war and a large convoy, destined for the fleet at Brest, were lying within the sands at the bottom of the bay and the island of Noirmoutier, moored in a strong position, under the protection of six batteries, on the 1st of July, he detached the boats of three of his ships, under the command of Lieutenant Burke, to attempt their destruction. The assailants, reaching their destination by midnight, immediately commenced boarding, and after a desperate resistance, succeeded in obtaining possession of the ship of war, four armed vessels, and fifteen merchantmen, which, as it was impracticable to remain there, they burned. Having performed the object designed, the party

prepared to return, but the tide having fallen, the boats were found to be aground. In this situation the assailants were exposed to a continued fire from the forts, as well as from a body of 400 soldiers drawn up in their rear. Placed in this dilemma, they immediately came to the determination of deserting their own boats, and effecting their escape in a vessel belonging to the enemy. They accordingly possessed themselves of a vessel which lay on the sands on the opposite side of the bay; but before they could get it afloat, they had to drag it above two miles. In this they effected their escape, having in their retreat lost four officers and eighty-eight men, out of their original complement of 192 officers, seamen, and marines.

Early in the summer of this year, the island of Goree, on the western coast of Africa, with the dependent French factory of Joul on the mainland, surrendered to a British squadron under Sir Charles Hamilton; and in the course of the year, the Dutch settlements on the mainland and in the islands of the West Indies, of Surinam, Berbice, Curaçoa, St. Eustache, and Demerara, became subject to British dominion.

During the month of April, a body of about 500 English troops, under Colonel Murray, had been landed from an English man-of-war at Suez, and were soon joined by about the same number of Arab auxiliaries; but it being ascertained that a powerful French force was advancing to recapture the place, the English were re-embarked, and Suez left in the possession of the Arabs.

In December of this year, the confederacy or coalition of the northern powers of Europe against the maritime preponderance of Great Britain, was entered into, in imitation of the armed neutrality adopted in 1780, during the American war, by the same powers against that state.

COALITION OF THE NORTHERN POWERS—BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN.

Nor long after his elevation to the consulate, Napoleon Buonaparte earnestly represented to the maritime nations of the north the policy of a revival of the armed neutrality of 1780;* and for that purpose he had exerted every art and engine of diplomacy,

through the medium of the French party in each of the courts of Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, to awaken the spirit of dissatisfaction of their courts, by England's claim of naval right of search of neutral vessels, and to fan their animosity

* A difference had arisen between England and Denmark, in reference to the right of search claimed by the former power, and under which a Danish frigate, the *Freyja*, had been seized. Lord Whitworth

was dispatched to Denmark, to arrange the dispute, and arrived there on the 19th of August. On the 29th, a convention was signed by Lord Whitworth and the Danish minister, by which the matter was

into open rage and hostility. Paul, the czar of Russia, chagrined that Malta had not been delivered over to him (he having by artifice prevailed on the refugee knights to appoint him grand-master), readily entered into the proposal, and addressed the following letter to Napoleon Buonaparte:—"Citizen First Consul,—I do not write to you to open any discussion on the rights of men or citizens; every country chooses what form of government it thinks fit. Whenever I see at the head of affairs a man who knows how to conquer and rule mankind, my heart warms towards him. I write to you to let you know the displeasure which I feel towards England, which violates the law of nations, and is never governed except by selfish considerations. I wish to unite with you to put restraints on the injustice of that government." At the same time he published a declaration of his adherence to the armed neutrality, or northern confederacy proposed by the first consul; and a few days after, he announced by ukase or edict, that all the effects of English subjects, on land or afloat, were confiscated, and appropriated to the liquidation of the claims of the Russians on British subjects. In pursuance of this edict, upwards of 200 British merchantmen were seized in the Russian ports, and their crews, amounting to about 2,000 men,* were marched away in the dead of winter to the confines of Siberia, with a daily allowance of about three-halfpence English money for their subsistence. Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia were acceding parties to the confederacy, which was signed by all the contracting powers on the 16th of December, 1800. At this time the queen of the Two Sicilies determined, in the dead of winter, to visit the court of the czar, and implore his intercession with the first consul in behalf of her husband and his territories. In consequence, Paul resolved to open a communication with France, and dispatched on this errand Lavinshoff, grand huntsman of Russia. He was received with great honours at Paris; Buonaparte gave immediately a favourable

amicably adjusted; the English government agreeing to repair the damages which the *Freya* and her convoy had sustained, at the expense of England. The discussion respecting the right asserted by the English of visiting convoys, was to be adjourned to a further negotiation in London; and until that point should be decided, the Danish ships were to be liable to be seized as heretofore, and were to sail under convoy only in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of protection from the Barbary corsairs. A dispute had occurred before, in the month of December, 1794, when the *Hausfenen* Danish frigate, with

answer to the request of the emperor; engaged to suspend his military operations, and to leave the royal family in possession of their sovereignty, but reserving to himself the right of dictating the terms which were to accompany these concessions. Peace was concluded with the King of Naples, on his undertaking to close all his ports against the English, and against their ally, the grand seignior. The first consul required the king to pardon all political offences, and to restore the confiscated property of the Neapolitan revolutionists. In consequence of the Neapolitan court concluding a peace with France, great inconvenience was caused to the English navy, as the supplies had been drawn from Sicily, as well for the Mediterranean fleet, as for the forces then blockading the French in Malta.

The year 1801 opened very inauspiciously for Great Britain: she found herself not only deserted by all the states of Europe, who had commenced with her as allies in the war against republican France, but the majority of those states were now leagued against her as enemies. Britain, however, proved herself equal to the emergency. In consequence of the hostile measures of her former allies, the government, on the 14th of January, 1801, ordered a seizure of all vessels of the confederated powers at that time in any of the ports of Great Britain; and at the same time, letters of marque were granted for the purpose of capturing the merchant-vessels belonging to those states which were known to be making their way to the Baltic. On the day following the issue of this embargo, a note was addressed by Lord Grenville to the Danish and Swedish ambassadors at the court of London, expressing an anxious desire that the circumstances which had rendered these measures necessary might cease, and that a return might be made to those relations between the courts of London, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, which had existed before their occurrence. A warm controversy ensued, but fruitless in its results.

convoy, refused to be searched by the English frigate, the *Emerald*; but on complaint made to the Danish ministry by the British envoy at Copenhagen, the affair was satisfactorily adjusted.

* When the embargo took place at Narva, on the 5th of November, the crews of two of the vessels, indignant at the arbitrary proceedings, resisted with pistols and cutlasses the military sent to put them under arrest, and weighing anchor, made off. Paul, exasperated at this act of courage, ordered the remainder of the English ships in that harbour to be burned.

On the 30th of March, the King of Prussia invaded Hanover, laid an embargo on British shipping, and closed the Elbe and the Weser against the British flag; and on the 3rd of April, 15,000 Danish troops, under the Landgrave of Hesse, with the hypocritical plea of defending this neutral town, took possession of Hamburg. The British consul in the last-mentioned place had repeatedly advised the British vessels in the Elbe to accelerate their departure: those which had neglected the caution were seized. In circumstances so pressing, and to prevent the combination of the fleets of the confederated powers, the British government, with a degree of energy and promptitude which has few parallels in history, determined to send to Copenhagen negotiations for peace; and to give effect to their negotiations, to have a fleet in readiness on the spot to influence the parties, and should circumstances render it necessary, anticipate the operations of the confederacy by capturing their fleets before they could effect a junction with those of France, Holland, and Spain. Accordingly, on the 9th of March, a large squadron was assembled in Yarmouth Roads, consisting of fifty-three sail; and about a fortnight previous to the departure of the fleet, Mr. Vansittart was dispatched in the *Blanche* frigate as plenipotentiary extraordinary. On the 20th of March he arrived at Elsinore with a flag of truce, and despatches for the British minister at Copenhagen, Mr. Drummond. The terms offered by the court of London (namely, that Denmark should secede from the confederacy; that a free passage through the Sound should be granted to the English fleet; and that Danish vessels should no longer sail with convoy) being rejected, the *Blanche* returned to the fleet, having Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Drummond on board.

The English fleet, which consisted of seventeen sail-of-the-line, several frigates, gun-brigs, and fire-vessels, under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker,* with a train of heavy artillery, two rifle corps, and the 49th regiment on board, under Colonel Stewart, had sailed from the Yarmouth Roads on the 12th of March, on the 18th reached the Naze of Norway, and anchored

* When Nelson, who was second in command, joined the fleet at Yarmouth, finding Sir Hyde Parker "a little nervous about dark nights and fields of ice" in the Baltic, Nelson cheered him with this consolatory remark, "We must brace up; these are not times for nervous systems. I hope we shall give our northern enemies that hail-storm of bullets which

at the entrance of the Sound on the 21st. Sir Hyde addressed a letter to the governor of Cronenburg Castle,—which stands upon the point of the island of Zealand, approaching nearly to the Swedish coast, but from which it is distant about three miles,—requesting to be informed whether the English fleet would be molested in passing the Sound. The governor replying that he should use his utmost endeavours to prevent the passage, the British admiral returned answer that he considered the reply a declaration of war.

The following letter, written by Lord Nelson, March 30th, at half-past five in the morning, is characteristic. It is dated from the "*Elephant*, at anchor six miles from Cronenburg":—

"The aide-de-camp of the Prince Royal of Denmark has been on board Sir Hyde Parker, a young coxcomb, about twenty-three. In writing a note in the admiral's cabin, the pen was bad. He called out, 'Admiral, if your guns are no better than your pens, you may as well return to England.' On asking who commanded the different ships, among others he was told Lord Nelson, he exclaimed, 'What, is he here, I would give a hundred guineas to see him: then I suppose it is no joke if he is come.' He said, 'Aye, you will pass Cronenburg, that we expect, but we are well prepared at Copenhagen, there you will find a hard nut to crack.' I must have done, for breakfast is waiting, and I never give up a meal for a little fighting."

On the 30th, the British fleet weighed, and entering the Sound, bore up towards Copenhagen. The batteries of Cronenburg Castle opened their fire from 100 guns, but not a shot struck the ships; and observing no preparations for attack on the Swedish shore, they inclined in their progress to it. About noon, it anchored above the island of Huën, which is about fifteen miles distant from Copenhagen. The enemy's defences being reconnoitred, Nelson offered to conduct the attack; for which purpose twelve ships-of-the-line, all the frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, and all the gun-brigs, cutters, &c., were assigned him.† In the council of war, it had been agreed on that the remaining

gives our dear country the dominion of the sea. We have it, and all the devils in the north cannot take it from us, if our wooden-walls have fair play."—*Southey's Life of Nelson*.

† It is reported that, prior to Lord Nelson's departure for Copenhagen, while at the house of Mr. Alexander Davison, in St. James's-square, transact-

eight ships-of-the-line with Sir Hyde, should weigh at the same moment as Nelson's squadron did, and menace the Crown batteries and the five Danish ships-of-the-line which lay at the entrance of the arsenal, as also to cover the British disabled ships as they came out of the action.*

In order to lay the fullest particulars of this important affair before the reader, we here subjoin the despatch from the admiralty addressed to Sir Hyde Parker, and Lord Nelson's remarks thereon, which he laid before Sir Hyde the day following that on which he had been consulted as to the plan to be pursued; and which bears upon it the impress of his genius, by the masterly manner in which he points out the best mode of attack, and the various difficulties in the way:—

“The right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, having, in his letter of yesterday's date, signified to us his majesty's pleasure, that whether the discussion, supposed to be now pending with the court of Denmark, should be terminated by an amicable arrangement, or by actual hostilities, the officer commanding the fleet in the Baltic should, in either case (as soon as the fleet can be withdrawn from before Copenhagen consistently with the attainment of one or the other of the objects for which he is now instructed to take that station), proceed to Revel; and if he should find the division of the Russian navy, usually stationed at that port, still there, to make an immediate and vigorous attack upon it, provided the measure should appear to him practicable, and such as, in his judgment, would afford a

ing his own private affairs, he alluded to what he knew he would do, had he the chief command on this occasion, and observing that his knowledge of the Cattegat was rather imperfect, he desired a chart to be sent for from Faden's at Charing-cross. This done, he observed that government could spare only twelve ships for the purpose, and after examining the chart a very few minutes, he marked upon it the situation for those twelve ships, exactly as they were afterwards placed on that memorable occasion. This anecdote is given, upon the authority of Mr. Davison, as a proof of Nelson's wonderful promptness and decision, as well as of his ardent zeal for the service of his country.”—*Life of Nelson*, by T. J. Pettigrew, vol. i.

* Colonel Stewart, in his *Narrative*, thus describes the proceedings of the council of war:—“Lord Nelson offered his services, requiring ten line-of-battle ships, and the whole of the smaller craft. The commander-in-chief, with sound discretion, and in a handsome manner, not only left everything to Lord Nelson for this detached service, but gave two more

reasonable prospect of success, in destroying the arsenals, or in capturing or destroying the ships, without exposing to too great a risk the fleet under his command.

“And Mr. Dundas having further signified to us his majesty's pleasure, that, consistently with this precaution, the said officer should be authorised and directed to proceed successively, and as the season and other operations will permit, against Cronstadt, and in general, by every means in his power to attack, and endeavour to capture or destroy any ships of war, or others belonging to Russia, wherever he can meet with them, and to annoy that power as far as his means will admit in every manner not incompatible with the fair and acknowledged usages of war. And that, with respect to Sweden, should the court of Stockholm persist in her hostile engagements with that of St. Petersburg against this country, the same general line of conduct, as hath been stated with respect to the ships and ports of the latter should govern the said officer commanding the fleet in his proceedings against those of Sweden; but that, in the contrary supposition (conceived not to be impossible) of this power relinquishing her present hostile plans against the rights and interests of this country, and of her renewing, either singly or in concert with Denmark, her ancient engagements with his majesty, it will, in such case, be the duty of the said officer to afford to Sweden every protection in his power against the resentment and attacks of Russia; and Mr. Dundas having also signified that his majesty, being no less desirous of bringing the existing dispute with Sweden to this latter issue, than he has shown him-

line-of-battle ships than he demanded. During this council of war, the energy of Lord Nelson's character was remarked: certain difficulties had been started by some of the members, relative to each of the three powers, we shall either have to engage, in succession, or united in those seas. The number of the Russians was, in particular, represented as formidable. Lord Nelson kept pacing the cabin, mortified at everything which savoured either of alarm or irresolution. When the above remark was applied to the Swedes, he sharply observed, ‘The more numerous the better;’ and when to the Russians, he repeatedly said, ‘So much the better, I wish they were twice as many; the easier the victory, depend upon it.’ He alluded, as he afterwards explained in private, to the total want of *tactique* among the northern fleets; and to his intention, whenever he should bring either the Swedes or Russians to action, of attacking the head of their line, and confusing their movements as much as possible. He used to say, ‘Close with a Frenchman, but out-manœuvre a Russian.’”

self so disposed with respect to Denmark, and upon the same principles, it will therefore be requisite that the said officer commanding in the Baltic should make such a disposition of his force as may appear best adapted to facilitate and give weight to the arrangement in question, provided it should be concluded with the court of Denmark within the forty-eight hours allowed for this purpose, and the proposal of acceding to it, which will be made to that of Sweden, should be entertained by the latter. You are, in pursuance of his majesty's pleasure, signified as above mentioned, hereby required and directed to proceed, without a moment's loss of time, into the Baltic, and to govern yourself under the different circumstances before stated to the best of your judgment and discretion in the manner therein pointed out, transmitting from time to time to our secretary, for our information, an account of your proceedings, and such information as you may conceive to be proper for our knowledge. Given under our hands and seals, the 15th of March, 1801.

" ST. VINCENT.

" T. TROUBRIDGE.

" J. MARKHAM."

" My dear Sir Hyde,—The conversation we had yesterday, has naturally, from its importance, been the subject of my thoughts; and the more I have reflected, the more confirmed I am in opinion, that not a moment should be lost in attacking the enemy. They will every day and hour be stronger; we never shall be so good a match for them as at this moment—the only consideration in my mind is, how to get at them with the least risk to our ships.

" By Mr. Vansittart's account, the Danes have taken every means in their power to prevent our getting to attack Copenhagen by the passage of the Sound. Cronenburg has been strengthened, the Crown islands fortified (on the outermost twenty guns pointing mostly downwards), only 800 yards from very formidable batteries placed under the citadel, supported by five sail-of-the-line, seven floating batteries of fifty guns each, besides small craft, gun-boats, &c., &c.; also that the Revel squadron of twelve or fourteen sail-of-the-line are soon expected, as also five sail of Swedes. It would appear by what you have told me of your instructions, that government took for granted that you would find no difficulty in getting off Copenhagen, and that in the

event of a failure of a negotiation, that you might instantly attack, and that there would be scarcely a doubt but that the Danish fleet would be destroyed, and the capital made so hot, that Denmark would listen to reason and its true interest. By Mr. Vansittart's account, their state of preparation far exceeds what he conceives our government thought possible, and that the Danish government is hostile to us in the greatest possible degree; therefore, here you are, with almost the safety, certainly the honour of England, more entrusted to you than ever yet fell to the lot of any British officer. On your decision depends, whether our country shall be degraded in the eyes of Europe, or whether she shall rear her head higher than ever. Again do I repeat, never did our country depend so much on the success or defeat of any fleet as on this. How best to honour our country and abate the pride of our enemies by defeating their schemes, must be the subject of your deepest consideration, as commander-in-chief, and if what I have to offer can be the least useful in forming your decision, you are most heartily welcome.

" I shall begin with supposing that you are determined to enter by the passage of the Sound, as there are those that think if you leave that passage open, that the Danish fleet may leave Copenhagen and join the Dutch or French. I own I have no fears on that subject, for it is not likely that whilst the capital is menaced with an attack, that 9,000 of her best men would be sent out of the kingdom. I will suppose that some damage may arise amongst our masts and yards, but perhaps not one but can be made serviceable again. You are now about Cronenburg, if the wind is fair, and you determine to attack the ships and Crown islands, you must expect the natural issue of such a battle—ships crippled—perhaps one or two lost, for the wind which carries you in will most probably not bring out a crippled ship. This mode I call taking the bull by the horns. This will not prevent the Revel ships or Swedes from coming down and forming a junction with the Danes. To prevent this from taking effect, in my humble opinion, a measure absolutely necessary, and still to attack Copenhagen, two modes are in my view—one to pass Cronenburg, taking the risk of damage, and to pass up the Channel, the deepest and the straitest up the middle grounds, and to come down the Gaspar, or King's Channel, to

attack their floating batteries, &c., &c., as we find it convenient. It must have the effect of preventing a junction between the Russians, Swedes, and Danes, and may give us an opportunity of bombarding Copenhagen. A passage also, I am pretty certain, could be found for all our ships to the north of Southolm; perhaps it might be necessary to warp a small distance in the very narrow part. Supposing this mode of attack ineligible, the passage of the Belt, I have no doubt, would be accomplished in four or five days, then the attack by Draco could be carried into effect, the junction of the Russians prevented, and every probability of success on the Danish floating batteries. What effect a bombardment might have I am not called upon to give an opinion, but I think the way would be cleared for the trial. Supposing us through the Belt, with the wind fresh westerly, would it not be feasible either to go with the fleet (or detach ten ships of two or three decks, with one bomb—two fire-ships, if they could be spared), to Revel, to destroy the Russian squadron of that place? I do not see the great risk of such a detachment, with the remainder to attempt the business of Copenhagen. The measure may be thought bold, but I am of opinion the boldest measures are the safest, and our country demands a most vigorous exertion of her forces directed with judgment. In supporting you through the arduous and important task you have undertaken, no exertion of head and heart shall be wanting, my dear Sir Hyde, from your most obedient and faithful servant,

“NELSON AND BRONTE.”

In another letter, dated March 30th, nine o'clock at night, Lord Nelson thus describes the gallant manner the fleet passed the fortress of Cronenburg—which, like Sebastopol and Cronstadt at the present time, were then looked on as impregnable:—

“My dearest Friend,—We this morning passed the fancied tremendous fortress of Cronenburg, mounted with 270 pieces of cannon. More powder and shot, I believe never were thrown away, for not one shot struck a single ship of the British fleet. Some of our ships fired; but the *Elephant* did not return a single shot. I hope to reserve them for a better occasion. I have just been reconnoitring the Danish line of defence. It looks formidable to those who are children at war, but to my judgment, with ten sail-of-the-line I think I can annihilate them; at all events, I hope to be allowed to try.”

On the 1st of April, Nelson's division removed to an anchorage about two leagues distant from Copenhagen, and off the north-west end of the shoal called the Middle Ground, which is about three-quarters of a mile distant from the city, and extends along its whole sea-front; between this shoal and the town there is a channel of deep water, denominated the “King's Channel;” and here the Danes had anchored their block-ships and other vessels forming their line of defence. Nelson spent the greater part of this day in company with Captain Riou, reconnoitring the enemy. When the vice-admiral returned to his squadron, the order was given to weigh anchor. The ships joyfully obeyed the signal from the *Elephant*, and about eight, P.M., of that day, just as it grew dark, the north-westernmost ship of Nelson's force anchored off Draco Point, two miles distant from the southernmost ship of the Danish line; which consisted of a formidable array of forts, ramparts, ships-of-the-line, gun-boats, and floating batteries. Six sail-of-the-line, eleven floating batteries, besides a number of bomb-ships and schooner gun-vessels, were moored in an external line, from a mile to a mile-and-a-half in length, to protect the entrance of the harbour, flanked by the two pile-formed Crown islands, on which 124 heavy cannon, nearly flush with the water, were mounted; and within the harbour, two sail-of-the-line, a 40-gun frigate, two 18-gun brigs, and several armed xebecs, with furnaces for heating shot, were moored across its mouth, which was also protected by a chain thrown across the entrance. In addition to the fire of these formidable defences, that of several gun and mortar batteries, along the shore of Amak Island, which lay a little to the southward of the floating line of defence, as also of the citadel, was concentric; thus presenting, in front of Copenhagen, a line of defence between three and four miles, supported by above 1,000 pieces of artillery. Neither was this the only obstacle the British fleet had to contend with: the approaches to the city were shoals, intricate and but little known; and to increase the difficulties, all the buoys had been removed. The garrison consisted of 10,000 men, and one spirit of defence and defiance animated the whole of Denmark. All ranks offered themselves for the defence of their country, and were formed into battalions; the university furnishing a corps of 1,200 youths. To buoy off the channel,

and ascertain the soundings, the boats of the fleet had been, under the special superintendence of Nelson, sedulously engaged during the preceding night and day.

The night of the 1st of April was an anxious and important one to Nelson. The Honourable Colonel Stewart relates, that "as soon as the fleet was at anchor, the gallant Nelson sat down to table with a large party of his comrades in arms. He was in the highest spirits, and drank to a leading wind, and to the success of the ensuing day. Captains Foley, Hardy, Fremantle, Riou, Inman; his lordship's second in command, Admiral Graves, and a few others to whom he was particularly attached, were of this interesting party; from which every man separated with feelings of admiration for their great leader, and with anxious impatience to follow him to the approaching battle. The signal to prepare for action had been made early in the evening. All the captains retired to their respective ships, Riou excepted, who with Lord Nelson and Foley arranged the order of battle, and those instructions that were to be issued to each ship on the succeeding day. These three officers retired between nine and ten to the after-cabin, and drew up those orders that have been generally published, and which ought to be referred to as the best proof of the arduous nature of the enterprise in which the fleet was about to be engaged. From the previous fatigue of this day, and of the two preceding, Lord Nelson was so much exhausted while dictating his instructions, that it was recommended to him by us all, and, indeed, insisted upon by his old servant Allen, who assumed much command on these occasions, that he should go to his cot. It was placed on the floor, but from it he still continued to dictate. Captain Hardy returned about eleven, and reported the practicability of the channel, and the depth of water up to the ships of the enemy's line. Had we abided by this report in lieu of confiding in our masters and pilots, we should have acted better. The orders were completed about one o'clock, when half-a-dozen clerks in the foremost cabin proceeded to transcribe them. Lord Nelson's impatience again showed itself; for instead of sleeping undisturbedly, as he might have done, he was every half-hour calling from his cot to these clerks to hasten their work, for that the wind was becoming fair. He was constantly receiving a report of this during the night. Their work being

finished about six in the morning, his lordship, who was previously up and dressed, breakfasted, and about seven, made the signal for all captains to come on board the flag-ship. The instructions were delivered to each by eight o'clock; and a special command was given to Captain Riou to act as circumstances might require. The land forces and a body of 500 seamen were to have been united under the command of Captain Fremantle and the Honourable Colonel Stewart; and as soon as the fire of the Crown battery should be silenced, they were to storm the work, and destroy it. The division under the commander-in-chief was to menace the ships at the entrance of the harbour; the intricacy of the channel would, however, have prevented their entering; Captain Murray in the *Edgar* was to lead."

The morning of the 2nd of April broke cheerfully on the British fleet. The wind was favourable for the attacking squadron, being from the south-east. As the clouds cleared away, the city of Copenhagen presented itself to the eye of the spectator in all its grandeur. The gothic towers on its buildings were seen rising majestically above the town, sparkling in the early sunlight, and rendered attractive by their beauty of ornament as well as by their great height. Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is situated on the east shore of the isle of Zealand, in a bay of the Baltic Sea, about 24 miles from the Sound, 160 miles N.E. of Hamburg, and 240 S.W. of Stockholm. It is one of the best built cities of the north; the palaces of the nobility are, in general, splendid, and ornamented after the Italian style. The new parts of the town, raised by Frederick V., in particular, are very handsome; they consist of an octagon, containing four uniform palaces, with two pavilions to each, occupied by the royal family; and of four broad streets leading to it in opposite directions; in the middle of this area is a noble equestrian statue of Frederick, in bronze. Among the numerous edifices and public establishments are distinguished the arsenal, the royal library, the university (founded in 1475), the royal college of surgeons, and the royal academy of sciences and fine arts. Its port, called Christianhaven, which can contain 500 vessels, is usually crowded, and the streets are intersected by canals, which bring the merchandise close to the warehouses that line the quays. Contiguous to the harbour, which is formed by an arm of the sea running between Zealand and the

island of Amak, are several islands called Holms, upon which are dock-yards, containing everything necessary for the building and equipment of ships of war. Its citadel is a strong fortification, has five bastions, a double ditch full of water, and several advanced works. At this time Copenhagen contained upwards of 80,000 inhabitants. By the time the light was sufficient for objects to be distinguished, the signal was hoisted on board the *Elephant* for all captains to repair on board the flag-ship, who, as soon as assembled, received their instructions for the attack. Each ship and vessel had a special duty assigned it. The *Amazon*, *Blanche*, *Alcmene*, *Arrow*, and *Dart*, with the two fire-ships under Captain Riou, were to co-operate in the attack on the ships stationed at the harbour's mouth. The bomb-vessels were to station themselves outside the British lines, so as to throw their shells over it into the town; and the *Jamaica*, with the brigs and gun-vessels, was to take a position for raking the southern extremity of the Danish line. A flat-bottomed boat, well-manned and armed, was stationed on the off-side of each ship, to act as occasion might require; another detachment of boats, from the ships not in action, was ordered to keep as near the *Elephant* as possible, but not within the line of fire. Four of the ships' launches, with anchors and cables in them, were in readiness to act and render assistance to ships grounding or getting on shore. The 49th regiment, under Colonel Stewart, and 500 seamen under Captain Fremantle, were to storm the batteries on the Crown islands the instant the cannonade from the ships had silenced them.

At half-past nine, A.M., the signal was made to weigh in succession. In consequence of the obstacles thrown in the way by the pilots, and their indecision about the shoals and the exact line of deep water, Mr. Briery took upon himself the important task of pilot, and went on board the *Edgar* for that purpose. Captain Riou had two frigates, two sloops, and two fire-ships placed under his command, to be used as circumstances might require. The *Edgar* led the van, the *Agamemnon* (Nelson's old ship) followed, but unfortunately could not weather the shoal, and was obliged to anchor. The *Polyphemus* and the *Isis* came next, and took their berths. The *Bellona* and *Russell*, in their way into action, took the ground, and lay exposed to the fire of the Crown batteries. Nelson's flag-ship next followed;

and the admiral, perceiving the condition of the two grounded ships which had just preceded him, ordered the *Elephant's* helm to starboard, and passed to the westward, or along the larboard beam; thus guiding the course of the consecutive ships, or those astern of the *Elephant*. Each ship, as she arrived nearly opposite to her appointed station, let her anchor go by the stern, and presented her broadside to the enemy. The distance of each ship from the others was about half a cable, and their line of battle was nearly a cable's length from the enemy. Admiral Parker's eight ships took up a position nearer to the mouth of the harbour, but too distant to do more than menace the northern defences.

At five minutes after ten, the cannonade began. In nearly the first half-hour, the principal British ships engaged were the *Polyphemus*, *Isis*, *Edgar*, *Ardent*, and *Monarch*. At about half-past eleven, the *Glatton*, *Elephant*, *Ganges*, and *Defiance* reached their stations, when the battle became general. On account of the strength of the current, the *Jamaica* and squadron of gun-brigs could not get near enough to be of any service; and, from this cause, only two of the bomb-vessels could reach their station. Riou, with his frigates, took his appointed post direct against the Crown batteries—a service in which three ships-of-the-line had been directed to co-operate; but the three vessels having grounded, he was deprived of their assistance.

Though Nelson was deeply agitated by the loss of the assistance of the grounded ships, the action no sooner commenced than his countenance brightened, and he appeared animated and joyous. The cannonade soon became tremendous.

The action was kept up, on both sides, with unabated vigour. At the end of three hours, the battle had not taken a decisive turn on either side. Sir Hyde Parker, now fearful of the result, from the loss of the grounded ships, and that the enemy's fire remained unslackened, made a signal for retreat. When this occurred, Nelson, in all the excitement of action, was pacing the quarter-deck. At that moment, the signal-lieutenant called out, that No. 39 (the signal for discontinuing the action) had been made by the commander-in-chief. Nelson, continuing to walk the deck, appeared not to notice the announcement. The signal-officer met him at the next turn, and asked if he should repeat it. "No," replied

Nelson; "acknowledge it." He now paced the deck, moving the stump of his lost arm in a manner which always indicated great emotion; when, addressing Captain Foley, "What think you, Foley?" said he: "the admiral has hung out No. 39." Then, shrugging his shoulders, he said, "Leave off action?" "damn me if I do! You know, Foley, as I have only one eye, I have a right to be blind sometimes." And then, putting the glass to his blind eye, in that mood of mind which sports with bitterness, he added: "I really don't see the signal. Keep mine for closer battle flying!—that's the way I answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast." Admiral Graves and the other ships—whether by fortunate mistake, or by a brave intention—looking only to Nelson's signal, continued the action.

About this time Lord Nelson was walking the starboard side of the quarter-deck, conversing with the Honourable Colonel Stewart: a shot passing through the main-mast, sent a number of splinters about, when, turning to his companion, Nelson remarked with a smile—"It is warm work, and this day may be the last to any of us in a moment; but mark me," he added, "I would not be elsewhere for thousands."

Riou's little squadron had bravely undertaken the service which the disabled line-of-battle ships were to have performed. When the signal to discontinue the action was made by Sir Hyde Parker, Riou reluctantly obeyed, exclaiming, as he withdrew, "What will Nelson think of us?" Captain Riou had received a wound in the head, and was seated on a gun encouraging his men, when just as the *Amazon* presented her stern to the battery, his clerk was shot by his side; another shot carried off several marines, and a third cut the brave Riou in two.*

About half-past one the fire of the Danes slackened; and a little before two, it ceased along nearly the whole of their line. At this time the six sail-of-the-line, and the eleven floating batteries struck; but it was

* The "gallant, good Riou" was one of the most chivalrous of Nelson's favourite captains. He obtained his lieutenantcy in 1780. In 1791 he was promoted to the rank of commander, and made post-captain. In 1793 he commanded the *Rose*, and afterwards was engaged in some distinguished service in the West Indies. From there he was sent home, in consequence of a severe illness, in 1795. Having recovered his health, he was appointed to the *Amazon* in 1799. He was killed by a shot from the Trekroner battery, off Copenhagen, and a monument is erected to his memory in St. Paul's cathedral. Captain Riou, having been wounded by a splinter,

difficult to take possession of them, because the Crown batteries, and those on Amak Island protected them, and an irregular fire was kept up from the ships and batteries themselves as the boats approached for the purpose. This unexpected renewal of hostilities compelled the English ships to renew their fire. To relieve the unhappy Danes from their forlorn condition, and prevent unnecessary slaughter, Nelson, who was as humane as he was brave, withdrew to his cabin, and wrote thus to the Crown Prince:—

"Vice-admiral Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark, when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but if firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies of the English."

Having finished his letter, an aide-de-camp presented him with a wafer. "No," said the hero, "this is no time to appear hurried and informal; they will think us afraid; let us have a candle, and seal it with wax."† Having affixed a larger seal than that ordinarily used, he dispatched his aide-de-camp with the letter and a flag of truce to the Crown Prince.

In the meantime, the destructive cannonade still kept up by the *Defiance*, *Monarch*, and *Ganges*, and the approach of the *Ramilles* and *Defence*, from Sir Hyde's division, which had been worked up near enough to alarm the enemy, silenced the remainder of the Danish line to the eastward of the Crown batteries. Those batteries, remaining comparatively uninjured, still continued their fire; but on the approach of the Danish adjutant-general, Lindholm, with a flag of truce, to Lord Nelson, the firing ceased. The message from the Crown Prince was—to inquire the object of the British admiral's note. The reply was:—"Lord Nelson's object in

was sitting on a gun encouraging the sailors. He was grieved at being obliged to retreat; and while he was sitting on the gun, a number of his men being shot by his side, he exclaimed—"Come, then, my boys, let us die altogether." The words had scarcely passed his lips, when a raking shot passing over his ship, nearly cut him in two. Nelson, writing of Riou's death, said—"A better officer or man never existed."

† He afterwards assigned as his reason,—"The wafer would have been still wet when presented to the Crown Prince, and he would have inferred we had reason for being in a hurry; the wax tells no tales."

sending the flag of truce was humanity: he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. And Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes, as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his royal highness the prince, will consider this the greatest victory he has ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious sovereign and his majesty the King of Denmark." On receipt of this reply, the Danish adjutant-general was again dispatched to the British admiral for a conference on this overture. In the meantime, as the British vessels were much crippled, and their course lay immediately under the guns of the Crown batteries, he issued orders to weigh and slip in succession, in order to remove

the fleet out of the shoal and intricate channel while the wind continued fair. The *Monarch*, which had received twenty-six shots between wind and water, and had not a shroud standing, led the way, and touched on a shoal; but the *Ganges*, taking her midships, pushed her over it; the *Glatton* went clear, but the *Defence* and the *Elephant* grounded about a mile from the Crown batteries. The *Désirée* frigate, also, at the other end of the line, became fast. With these exceptions the whole of the fleet effected a junction with Sir Hyde Parker in the middle of the Straits. When the *Elephant* grounded, Nelson proceeded in the *London* to meet Lindholm. As he quitted the *Elephant*, "Well," said he, "I have fought contrary to orders, and I shall perhaps be hanged. Never mind—let them."* It was speedily agreed that there should be a suspension of

* There can be no doubt that if Nelson had not possessed the boldness to disobey the signal of his admiral, the battle fought off Copenhagen would not have occupied the proud position it does in the naval annals of Great Britain. When Nelson returned home, in a conversation he had with Mr. Addington relative to this great victory, the prime minister remarked that he was a bold man to disregard the orders of his superior: to this Nelson replied, that any one might be depended on under ordinary circumstances; but that the man of real value was he that would persevere at all risks, and under the heaviest responsibility; but he added, "In the midst of it all I depended upon you; for I knew that, happen what might, if I did my duty, you would stand by me." Mr. Addington is said to have been highly pleased with this reply of Nelson, and to have remarked, "that he felt the confidence thus reposed in him, by such a man on such an occasion, as one of the highest compliments he had ever received." Nothing put Lord Nelson in such good spirits as hard fighting. In the heat of battle, an attempt to board, or in a chase, his countenance became animated, his eyes sparkled, he spoke in hurried short sentences; and whilst he strode up and down the quarter-deck, his manner bespoke the intense excitement and impatience of his mind. Lieutenant Parsons—who was one of Lord Nelson's officers, and was with him in several engagements—in a work of considerable spirit, entitled *Nelsonian Reminiscences*, gives the following lively account of Nelson's quick impatient manner when in chase of the *Généreux*, a 74-gun ship. In the course of the month of February, 1800, a squadron, consisting of the *Généreux*, a frigate, and several transports, having 4,000 troops on board, had sailed from Toulon, and approached Malta with the view of relieving the garrison, but being discovered by the *Foudroyant* and *Northumberland*, chase was immediately given.

"Deck there! the stranger is evidently a man-of-war—she is a line-of-battle-ship, my lord, and going large on the starboard tack."

"Ah! an enemy, Mr. Staines. I pray God it may be *Le Généreux*. The signal for a general chase, Sir Ed'ard (the Nelsonian pronunciation of

Edward, addressed to Sir Edward Berry), make the *Foudroyant* fly!"

"Thus spoke the heroic Nelson; and every exertion that emulation could inspire was used to crowd the canvas, the *Northumberland* taking the lead, with the flag-ship close on her quarter.

"This will not do, Sir Ed'ard; it is certainly *Le Généreux*, and to my flag-ship she can alone surrender. Sir Ed'ard, we must and shall beat the *Northumberland*."

"I will do the utmost, my lord; get the engine to work on the sails—hang butts of water to the stays—pipe the hammocks down, and each man place shot in them—slack the stays, knock up the wedges, and give the masts play—start off the water, Mr. James, and pump the ship. The *Foudroyant* is drawing ahead, and at last takes the lead in the chase. The admiral is working his fin (the stump of his right arm); do not cross his hawse, I advise you.

"The advice was good, for at that moment Nelson opened furiously on the quarter-master at the conn. 'I'll knock you off your perch, you rascal, if you are so inattentive. Sir Ed'ard, send your best quarter-master to the weather-wheel.'

"A strange sail ahead of the chase,' called the look-out man.

"Youngster, to the mast-head. What! going without your glass, and be d—d to you? Let me know what she is immediately.'

"A sloop-of-war, or frigate, my lord,' shouted the young signal midshipman.

"Demand her number.'

"The *Success*, my lord.'

"Captain Peard; signal to cut off the flying enemy—great odds, though—thirty-two small guns to eighty large ones.'

"The *Success* has hove to, athwart hawse of the *Généreux*, and is firing her larboard broadside. The Frenchman has hoisted his tri-colour with a rear-admiral's flag.'

"Bravo! *Success* at her again!"

"She has wore round, my lord, and firing her starboard broadside. It has winged her, my lord—her flying kites are flying away altogether. The enemy is close on the *Success*, who must receive her

hostilities for twenty-four hours; that all prizes should be surrendered; and that the wounded Danes should be carried ashore. The boats of Sir Hyde's division, during the night following the battle, were employed in bringing out the prizes, and in floating the grounded British ships. By the morning of the 3rd, the whole of the latter were got off, except the *Désirée*.

The terms of the negotiation having been arranged, it was agreed that Nelson should have an interview with the Crown Prince on the following day. At this interview, the preliminaries of the negotiation having been adjusted, Nelson was invited to dine with the prince. At the repast, he told the prince, that he had been in 105 engagements, but that that with the Danes was the most tremendous. He spoke in raptures of the bravery of the Danes, and in particular of that of a stripling, whom he described to have performed wonders during

tremendous broadside.' The *Généreux* opens her fire on her little enemy, and every person stands aghast, afraid of the consequences. The smoke clears away, and there is the *Success* crippled, it is true, but bull-dog like, bearing up after the enemy.

"The signal for the *Success* to discontinue the action, and come under my stern,' said Lord Nelson; 'she has done well for her size. Try a shot from the lower deck at her, Sir Ed'ard.'

"It goes over her.'

"Beat to quarters, and fire coolly and deliberately at her masts and yards.'

"*Le Généreux* at this moment opened her fire on the *Foudroyant*, and a shot passed through the mizen-stay-sail, when Lord Nelson, patting one of the youngsters on the head, asked him jocularly how he relished the music; and observing something like alarm depicted on his countenance, consoled him with the information, that Charles XII. ran away from the first shot he heard, though afterwards he was called 'The Great,' and deservedly, from his bravery. 'I, therefore,' said Nelson, 'hope much from you in future.' The *Northumberland* now opened her fire, and the tri-coloured ensign came down amid the thunder of the English cannon. A signal, to discontinue firing was accordingly made, and Sir Edward Berry ordered to board the prize. Very shortly after, Captain Berry returned with Rear-admiral Perrée's sword, who, he stated, was then dying on his quarter-deck, with the loss of both legs, shot off by the raking broadsides of the little *Success*. This unfortunate Frenchman was under the imputation of having broken his parole, and was considered lucky in having redeemed his honour by dying in battle."

The same officer also gives the following graphic account of a dinner, in Lord Nelson's cabin, on the 14th of February of the same year (1800), to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of St. Vincent. Tom Allen, Lord Nelson's servant, was sent with the invitation. Between him and Lieutenant Parsons, the following colloquy ensued:—

the battle, by attacking his own ship immediately under her lower guns. He requested to be introduced to the gallant youth (who proved to be Villemoes) who, on a raft carrying six small cannon, and manned with twenty-four men, had, in the fury of the battle, placed themselves under the stern of Nelson's ship, and gallantly maintained the contest until twenty of them were killed, and their commander was surrounded by the dead and dying. On his introduction, the British admiral recognised him with the strongest emotions, and intimated to the prince he deserved to be made an admiral. To which proposal the prince happily replied:—"If, my lord, I were to make all my brave officers admirals, I should have no captains or lieutenants in my service."

The Danes fought on this occasion with the utmost valour and determination. The prince royal stationed himself at one of the batteries, from which he could behold the

"You (or as he in his Norfolk dialect pronounced it, *you*) are to dine with my lord to-day.'

"I cannot, Tom, for I have no clean shirt; and we have been so long cruising off Malta, that my messmates are in the same plight.'

"But you must, for my lord insists on meeting all those that were at the battle of St. Vincent at dinner this day.'

"Make the best excuse you can for me, Tom, for I really cannot go.'

"Away waddled Tom, very much like a heavy laden ship before the wind, and the best excuse the simplicity of his mind suggested was the truth.

"Muster so-and-so has no clean shirt, and he coon't dine with you to-day.'

"What ship was he in, Tom?'

"The *Barfleur*.'

"Then tell him to appear in my cabin in the one he now has on, and he may send the first clean one that comes into his possession for me to look at.'

Nelson then discussed with his captain the position of affairs, and afterwards proceeded to adorn himself with the hard-won honours which were to decorate his person on this gala day. The tune of the 'Roast Beef of Old England' now struck on the young midshipman's ear, and he, being the youngest, was singled out by Nelson to sit on his right, and he took wine with him during the dinner. He afterwards observed to him: 'You entered the service at a very early age, to have been in the action off Cape St. Vincent?'

"Eleven years, my lord.'

"Much too young,' muttered his lordship.

"At this moment, honest Tom Allen pushed in his bullet head with an eager gaze at his master, and after a little consideration, approached the admiral, saying, 'You will be ill if you takes any more wine.'

"You are perfectly right, Tom, and I thank you for the hint. Hardy, do the honours. And, gentlemen, excuse me for retiring, for my battered old hulk is very crazy,—indeed, not sea-worthy.' Thus was Lord Nelson led from the table by his faithful servant, after drinking five glasses of wine."

action, and issue his orders. Captain Thura, of the Danish man-of-war *Infødsretten*, fell early in the action, and all his officers, with the exception of one lieutenant and one marine officer, were killed or wounded. The colours were struck or shot away, but she was moored athwart one of the batteries, in such a situation, that the British made no attempt to board her. A boat was sent to make the prince royal acquainted with her situation. He turned to those near him, and said,—“Gentlemen, Thura is killed—which of you will take the command?” Captain Schroedersee, who had lately resigned on account of ill-health, answered in a feeble voice,—“I will,” and immediately hastened on board. The crew, when they saw a new commander coming, hoisted their colours again, and fired a broadside. Schroedersee, on reaching the deck, found himself surrounded by the dead and wounded, and called to those in the boat to come quickly on board, when he was struck by a ball.

The negotiation continued for five days; but a difficulty arising respecting the duration of the armistice, on account of the fears expressed by the Danish commissioners of provoking the enmity of Russia, Nelson frankly told them that his reason for demanding a long term was, that he might have time to act against the Russian fleet, and then return to Copenhagen. Neither party being willing to yield on this point, and one of the Danish commissioners hinting at the renewal of hostilities, Nelson spiritedly exclaimed,—“Tell him we are ready at a moment—ready to bombard this very night.” As an agreement on this point could not be effected between the British admiral and the Danish commissioners, Nelson was referred to the Crown Prince, with whom he concluded an armistice for fourteen weeks, by which it was stipulated that the Danes engaged to suspend all proceedings under the treaty of the armed neutrality; that their prisoners sent on shore should be accounted for in case of a renewal of hostilities; that the British fleet should have permission to provide itself at Copenhagen or along the coast; and that fourteen days’ notice should precede any recommencement of hostilities.

The battle had been murderous; and, as Nelson expressed himself, the most dreadful which he had ever witnessed. In killed and mortally wounded, the British loss was 350; slightly wounded, 850: whilst that of the Danes was 1,800 in killed and

wounded, and 4,000 prisoners. Part of the British loss might have been spared. “The commanding officer,” says Mr. Southey, “of the troops on board one of our ships asked where his men should be stationed. He was told that they could be of no use; that they were not near enough for musketry, and were not wanted at the guns; they had, therefore, better go below. This, he said, was impossible—it would be a disgrace which never could be wiped away. They were, therefore, drawn up upon the gangway, to satisfy this cruel point of honour; and there, without the possibility of annoying the enemy, they were mowed down!” On the other hand, the vessels in the Danish line of defence were without masts; consequently, as their hulls could not be seen through the smoke, they fought to much greater advantage than their opponents did, and thus their loss was proportionately less than it would otherwise have been. Besides Captain Riou, Captain Mosse was killed, and Captain Thompson was wounded. Whilst undergoing amputation of the shattered limb, he amused himself with humming snatches from Dibdin’s sea ballads. Captain Thompson was the son of the author of the sea-ballad, “Cease, rude Boreas, blustering railer,” &c. For this great victory, Nelson was raised to the rank of a viscount; an inadequate reward—if there be any merit in empty baubles of the kind—for services so splendid, and of so permanent importance.

Of the six line-of-battle ships and the eight prizes taken, the *Holstein*, a 64-gun ship, was the only one sent to England. Sir Hyde Parker directed the others to be burned, and their brass cannon to be sunk with the hulls in shoal water.* Nelson, though he forbore from any public expression of displeasure at seeing the proofs and trophies of his victory destroyed, did not forget to represent to the admiralty the case of those who were deprived by Sir Hyde’s improvident and injudicious orders of their prize-money. “Whether,” said he to Lord St. Vincent, “Sir Hyde Parker may mention the subject to you, I know not; for he is rich and does not want it: nor is it, you will believe me, any desire to get a few hundred pounds that actuates me to address this letter to you; but justice to the brave officers and men who fought on that day.

* When the fleet returned from Revel, they found the Danes, with craft over the wrecks, employed in getting up the guns.

It is true our opponents were in hulks and floats, only adapted for the position they were in; but that made our battle so much the harder, and victory so much the more difficult to obtain. Believe me, I have weighed all the circumstances; and, in my conscience, I think that the king should send a gracious message to the House of Commons for a gift to this fleet: for what must be the natural feelings of the officers and men belonging to it, to see their rich commander-in-chief burn all the fruits of their victory, which, if fitted up and sent to England (as many of them might have been by dismantling part of our fleet) would have sold for a good round sum."

The following anecdotes respecting the capture of two of the ships, the *Holstein* and the *Zealand*, are not uninteresting:—

"The *Holstein* had ceased firing long before the action was discontinued in other parts of the line: her colours were down; and she was, at the conclusion of the day, claimed as prize, but refused by the Danish officers to be given up, because her pendant was still at the mast-head. Nelson requested Sir Hyde Parker to send Captain Otway on this service. As the captain went alongside the *Holstein*, he ordered the coxswain of his boat—a bold, brazen-faced fellow—to go up into the main-top of the ship, and bring away the pendant with him, while he himself was in conversation with her commanding officer. The man punctually obeyed his order. He came down from the mast-head with the pendant in his bosom: he placed himself in his boat with the greatest composure. Neither Captain Otway nor the Danish officer being able to agree as to the point that the ship was a prize, the matter was referred to the Danish commodore, then in the arsenal, and close to the *Holstein*. The commodore, in reply to Captain Otway's demand, maintained that the ship had not struck her colours, and therefore was not a prize; for, though her ensign had been shot away, her pendant was still flying; and begged Captain Otway to look at it. Captain Otway, soon convincing the mortified and astonished commodore that the pendant was not flying, he was compelled to acknowledge that the ship was British property. At the same time, with the assistance of the *Ealing* schooner, he cut the *Holstein's* cables, and turned her out from under the Crown batteries."

"The *Zealand*, 74, the last ship which struck, had drifted in the shoal under the

Crown batteries; and relying on the protection thus afforded, refused to acknowledge herself captured; saying, that though her flag was not to be seen, her pendant was still flying. Nelson ordered one of the British brigs and three long-boats to approach her, and rowed up himself to one of the enemy's ships, to communicate with the commodore on the subject. That officer proved to be an old acquaintance, whom he had known in the West Indies. He invited himself on board; and, with that urbanity as well as decision which always characterised him, urged his claim to the *Zealand* so well, that it was admitted. The men from the boats lashed a cable round her bowsprit, and the gun-vessel towed her away."

An official account of the battle was published by Olfert Fischer,—the Danish commander-in-chief, whose ship, the *Dannebrog*, 64, after having sustained for two hours the terrible fire of Nelson's ship, and having had two successive captains and three-fourths of her crew swept away, took fire and drifted, while burning fiercely, through the enemy's line, spreading universal consternation. In describing the battle, Fischer asserted that the British force was greatly superior to the Danish; that two of the British ships-of-the-line had struck; that the others were so crippled—especially Nelson's own ship—as to fire only single shots for one hour before the action ceased; and that Nelson, in the middle and very heat of the conflict, had sent a flag of truce on shore, to propose a cessation of hostilities. Nelson, indignant at the statement, addressed a letter, in confutation of it, to the adjutant-general, Lindholm; thinking it incumbent on him to do so, for the information of the Crown Prince, who had been appealed to by Fischer as having been a witness of the battle, and consequently must be cognizant of the truth of his statement: "otherwise," said the indignant hero, "had Commodore Fischer confined himself to his own veracity, I should have treated his official letter with the contempt it deserved, and allowed the world to appreciate the merit of the two contending officers." After pointing out and detecting some of the misstatements in the account, he adds:—"As to his nonsense about victory, his royal highness will not much credit him. I sunk, burned, captured, or drove into the harbour the whole line of defence to the southward of the Crown islands. He says, that he is told that two British ships struck.

Why did he not take possession of them? I took possession of his as fast as they struck. The reason is clear, that he did not believe it: he must have known the falsity of the report. He states, that the ship in which I had the honour to hoist my flag, fired latterly only single guns. It is true; for steady and cool were my brave fellows, and did not wish to throw away a single shot. He seems to exult that I sent on shore a flag of truce. You know, and his royal highness knows, that the guns fired from the shore could only fire through the Danish ships which had surrendered; and that, if I fired at the shore, it could be only in the same manner. God forbid that I should destroy an unresisting Dane! When they became my prisoners, I became their protector."

To this letter, Lindholm replied in an honourable manner, disclaiming all idea of claiming as a victory, "what to every intent and purpose was a defeat," but not an inglorious one. "As to your lordship's motive," he added, "for sending a flag of truce, it never can be misconstrued; and your subsequent conduct has sufficiently shown that humanity is always the companion of true valour. You have done more: you have shown yourself a friend to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between Denmark and Great Britain. It is, therefore, with the sincerest esteem I shall always feel myself attached to your lordship." In his reply to this conciliatory apology, Nelson included a statement of the comparative force of the two fleets.

The official account of this memorable battle, as given in its heroic actor's own words, in a letter addressed to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, is as follows:—

"*Elephant*—Off Copenhagen.

"April 3, 1801.

"Sir,—In obedience to your directions to report the proceedings of the squadron which you did me the honour to place under my command, I beg leave to inform you, that having, with the assistance of that able officer, Captain Riou, and the unremitting exertions of Captain Brisbane and the masters of the *Amazon* and *Cruiser*, in particular, buoyed the channel of the Outer Deep and the position of the Middle Ground, the squadron passed in safety, and anchored off Draco on the evening of the 1st; and that yesterday morning I made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line—eleven floating batteries, mounting from

twenty-six 24-pounders to eighteen 18-pounders, and one bomb-ship, beside schooner gun-vessels.

"These were supported by the Crown islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail-of-the-line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries on the island of Amak.

"The bomb-ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape; the other seventeen sail are sunk, burnt, or taken, being the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown islands, after a battle of four hours.

"From the very intricate navigation, the *Bellona* and *Russell* unfortunately grounded; but although not in the situation assigned them, yet so placed as to be of great service. The *Agamemnon* could not weather the shoal of the Middle Ground, and was obliged to anchor; but not the smallest blame can be attached to Captain Fancourt: it was an event to which all ships are liable. These accidents prevented the extension of our line by the three snips before mentioned, who would, I am confident, have silenced the Crown islands, the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth, and have prevented the heavy loss in the *Defiance* and *Monarch*; and which unhappily threw the gallant and good Captain Riou (to whom I had given the command of the frigates and sloops—namely, *Amazon*, *Désirée*, *Blanche*, *Alemène*, *Dart*, *Arrow*, *Cruiser*, and *Harpy*, to assist in the attack of the ships in the harbour's mouth) under a very heavy fire; the consequence has been the death of Captain Riou, and many brave officers and men in the frigates and sloops. The bombs were directed and took their stations abreast the *Elephant*, and threw some shells into the arsenal.

"Captain Rose, who volunteered his services to direct the gun-brigs, did everything that was possible to get them forward, but the current was too strong for them to be of service during the action; but not the less merit is due to Captain Rose, and I believe, all the officers and crews of the gun-brigs, for their exertions. The boats of those ships of the fleet who were not ordered on the attack, afforded us every assistance; and the officers and men who were in them merit my warmest approbation. The *Désirée* took her station in raking the southernmost Danish ship-of-the-line, and performed the greatest service.

"The action began at five minutes past ten. The van was led by Captain George

Murray, of the *Edgar*, who set a noble example of intrepidity, which was well followed up by every captain, officer, and man in the squadron. It is my duty to state to you the high and distinguished merit and gallantry of Rear-admiral Graves. To Captain Foley, who permitted me the honour of hoisting my flag in the *Elephant*, I feel under the greatest obligation: his advice was necessary on many and important occasions during the battle.

"I beg leave to express how much I feel indebted to every captain, officer, and man, for their zeal and distinguished bravery on this occasion. The Honourable Colonel Stewart did me the favour to be on board the *Elephant*; and himself, with every officer and soldier under his orders, shared with pleasure the toils and dangers of the day.

"The loss in battle has naturally been very heavy. Amongst many brave officers and men who were killed, I have, with sorrow, to place the name of Captain Mosse, of the *Monarch*, who has left a wife and six children to lament his loss; and among the wounded, that of Captain Sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the *Bellona*.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"NELSON AND BRONTE."

Three days after the signing of the armistice, Sir Hyde Parker sailed from Copenhagen Roads with the main body of the fleet for Revel, leaving Nelson in the *St. George*, with a few frigates, to follow as soon as the spars and rigging should be repaired. The *Holstein*, *Monarch*, and *Isis* were dispatched home with the wounded. The fleet directed its course along the channel called "the Grounds," between the islands of Amak and Saltholm. To enable them to pass this difficult and dangerous navigation, most of the men-of-war had to tranship their guns into merchant-vessels; and even then most of them touched the ground, and some of them stuck fast for a while: at length, by the skill and perseverance of the sailors, the ships effected their passage and entered the Baltic by this route, to the astonishment of the Danish, Swedish, Russian, and Prussian navigators acquainted with the nature of the locality. The object of proceeding to Revel was to attack the Russian fleet which was lying frozen-up there, waiting for a thaw, in order to put to sea to effect a junction with the Swedes; but Sir Hyde ascertaining, on his passage, that

the Swedish ships had put to sea to effect a junction with the Russian fleet, he altered his course, in hopes of intercepting the Swedish squadron.

The instant that Nelson received intelligence of the probability of an action between the British and Swedish fleets, though Sir Hyde was ten leagues distant, and both wind and current contrary, he embarked in a six-oared cutter; and though night was setting in—one of the cold spring nights of the north—and that in his haste he had left his boat-cloak behind, he ordered the crew to pull with all their might towards the expected scene of conflict. "His anxiety," says one of the boat's crew, "for nearly six hours, lest he should not reach the fleet, is beyond all conception. As it was extremely cold, I wished him to put on a great coat of mine which was in the boat. His reply was—'No, I am not cold; my anxiety for my country will keep me warm.' Presently he said, 'Do you think the fleet has sailed from Bornholm? If it has, we must follow to Carlsrona.'" About midnight he reached the fleet. On the following morning the Swedish squadron was discovered; but as soon as they perceived the British fleet, they took shelter behind the batteries of Carlsrona. Sir Hyde sent in a flag of truce, stating that Denmark had concluded an armistice, and requiring an explicit declaration from the court of Sweden whether she would adhere to or abandon the confederacy against the rights and interests of Great Britain. On the 22nd of April, a reply being received, that the king of Sweden "could not refuse to listen to equitable proposals made by deputies furnished with proper authority by the King of Great Britain to the united northern powers," Sir Hyde sailed for the gulf of Finland; but he had not proceeded far, before a despatch boat, from the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen, brought intelligence of the death of the Emperor Paul, and that his successor Alexander, had accepted the offer made by England to his father, of terminating the dispute by a convention. In consequence of this information, Sir Hyde returned to Kioge Bay, on the coast of Zealand; where, on the 5th of May, despatches arrived from London, recalling him, and appointing Lord Nelson commander-in-chief. Nelson, now left the unfettered master of his actions, determined to sail for the Gulf of Finland. Having, by a flag of truce, informed the admiral at Cronstadt, that although Sir Hyde Parker

had consented not to interrupt the Swedish navigation, he should act against the Swedish fleet if he found it at sea. He, for the purpose, as he expressed himself, of "having all the English shipping and property restored," set sail with eleven sail-of-the-line, one frigate, and two brig-sloops, leaving Captain Murray with seven sail-of-the-line and a frigate to cruise off Carlscrona. The wind was fair, and carried him in four days to the Revel Roads. But when he arrived there, he found that the Russian squadron had, on the 3rd of May, sailed for Cronstadt, and were now safe under its cannon. Thither they were followed by Nelson, who, opening friendly communications with the governor, wrote to the emperor Alexander, proposing to wait on him personally, and urged the immediate release of British subjects, and the restoration of British property. The answer arrived on the 16th, in which the Russian ministry, while professing on the part of Russia the most friendly disposition towards Great Britain, expressed their surprise at the arrival of a British fleet in a Russian port, and their wish that it should return. To the distrust and suspicion implied in this communication, Nelson's reply was, that "the word of a British admiral, when given in explanation of any part of his conduct, was as sacred as that of any sovereign's in Europe." Having dispatched this rebuke, he immediately stood out to sea, and proceeded down the Baltic. In a letter to the British ambassador at Berlin, stating this transaction, "I hope all is right," he said, "but seamen are but bad negotiators; for we put to issue in five minutes what diplomatic forms would be five months doing." While at anchor off Rostock, he received a despatch from the Russian court, containing the intelligence that the British vessels and crews were ordered to be liberated. Thus were the amicable relations between Great Britain and Russia once more restored, a convention having been signed on the 17th at St. Petersburg, by Lord St. Helens and the Russian ministry, in which all disputes were adjusted. On the 6th of June, he returned to Kioge Bay; and on the 13th received the sanction of the admiralty to an application he had made, on account of bad health, to return to England. On the 18th, Vice-admiral Sir Charles Maurice Pole arrived to take the command, and on the 19th Lord Nelson quitted the Baltic in the *Kite* frigate. Admiral Pole remained

on the station until the end of July, when there being no longer any occasion for a powerful fleet in the Baltic, the confederated powers having abandoned the principles of the armed neutrality, and acceded to the same terms as Russia had, he was ordered home. His command, though short, was memorable, he having on his return worked the fleet through the intricate channel of the Great Belt against adverse winds—a performance hitherto deemed impracticable for line-of-battle ships. In consequence of the dissolution of the northern confederacy, or armed neutrality, the Danish troops evacuated the city of Hamburg; the navigation of the Elbe and the other German rivers was re-opened to the British flag; and Prussia agreed to deliver up Bremen and the electorate of Hanover on the return of peace. On her part, Great Britain took off the embargo on all the ships of the Baltic powers, and, as far as Danish vessels were concerned, defrayed the expense of putting it on and taking it off out of her own treasury. During the rupture between England and Denmark and Sweden, the Swedish islands of St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, and the Dutch islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz, and their dependencies, surrendered to a British naval force under Admiral Duckworth and Lieutenant-general Trigg; but by virtue of the treaty of St. Petersburg, they were restored to their owners on the return of peaceful relations between the belligerents.

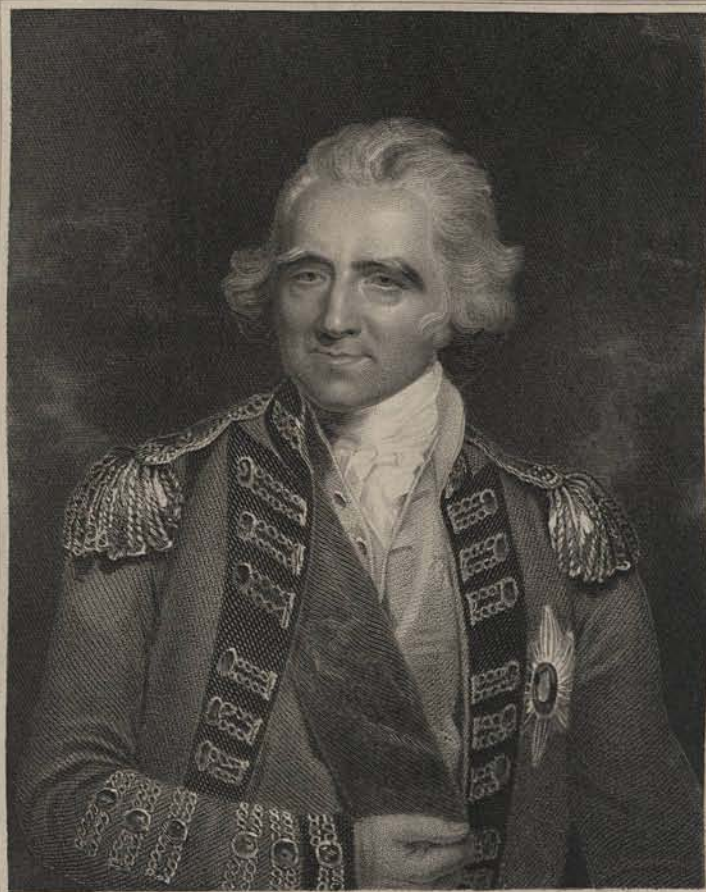
Though Napoleon Buonaparte had been baffled in his schemes in respect of the northern confederacy, as the treaty of Luneville, entered into on the 9th of February with Austria relieved him from apprehensions of any serious struggle on the continent, he now devoted his whole attention to preparations for the invasion of England. "Tous les moyens propres à entretenir la haine de la nation contre la Grande-Bretagne," says the author of *Victoires et Conquêtes*, "fut employés avec activité et avec succès. Les autorités, les orateurs du gouvernement, les écrivains publicistes rivalisèrent de zèle pour prêcher cette espèce de croisade contre l'éternelle ennemie de la France." For this purpose, the first consul ordered camps to be formed between Bruges and Ostend, at Brest, St. Maloes, and other parts of the coast; but principally at Dunkirk and Boulogne, which last-mentioned port was to be the central rendezvous of the grand flotilla of gun-boats and flat-bottomed

prames, which had been prepared in various French and Dutch ports. Among many absurd fictions fabricated to terrify the people of England, it was pompously announced, that among other fearful preparations for the approaching invasion, a raft was to be used of an immense size, worked by a mechanical process; defended by a wooden parapet, behind which the troops could fight as in a castle or entrenchment; and supplied with furnaces, with which to pour red-hot balls on the British ships.

To meet these hostile demonstrations, corresponding preparations were made by the British government. Measures were immediately taken for calling out the military force of every description. The supplemental militias were embodied; parks of artillery were formed: measures were taken for protecting the mouths of the navigable rivers; for the removal of all guides to navigation, where descent was feasible: signals (both for day and night) were established; and every precaution was made for impeding the progress of the enemy, should he effect a landing. Among the other measures taken, Lord Nelson was invested with the command of the fleet destined to protect the coast from Orford Ness to Beachy Head. To forestal the enemy in his designs, he was appointed to the command of a powerful armament of bombs and light vessels, which had been collected in the Downs, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's flotilla at Boulogne. The force under his command, besides the bombs and light vessels, consisted of the ships of the line the *Leyden* and *De Ruyter*, the *Isis*, of 50 guns, and the *Harold* and *Brilliant* frigates—in all about forty sail. He afterwards hoisted his flag on board the *Medusa*. The enemy's flotilla in the harbour of Boulogne, consisted of four schooners and twenty-six gun-boats and luggers. On both sides of the town extensive encampments were formed. Nelson, on arriving off Boulogne, employed the following day in reconnoitring the fortifications, and concerting the plan of attack. The flotilla was ranged in a line along the beach on each side of the harbour's mouth, and about half-a-mile from the shore. Each vessel was defended by long poles, headed with iron spikes projecting from their sides: strong nettings were braced up to their lower-yards; these were chained by the bottom to the shore: the ships were strongly manned with soldiers, provided each with three loaded

muskets; and immediately under the protection of the batteries on the shore. On the 3rd of August, Lord Nelson stood close into Boulogne with some of the bomb-vessels, and threw several bombs to ascertain the best method of their reaching the enemy. Finding the proper range, they were recalled, and the whole armament anchored about four miles from the land. Orders were then issued to begin the attack at break of day next morning. At four o'clock, he stationed five bombs in an oblique line, stretching from the west end of the line of the enemy. The bombs came to anchor about five o'clock, and began firing. The other ships of war were stationed, under weigh, in another line behind the bombs, ready to render assistance. For the purpose of inducing the enemy to disclose his strong points, the ships of war were sent close to the shore in face of the batteries, where they fired one broadside, and tacking round, fired the other; then sailing away, they loaded for another similar attack. By this manœuvre, it was discovered that the batteries could not bear upon the bomb-vessels. Another object the British admiral had in view by this manœuvre, was to induce the enemy to draw all his vessels towards the mouth of the harbour, that being in a cluster, their destruction might be more readily effected in the night; but the wind shifting, the attack became impracticable, and the whole fleet was obliged to haul off without making the attempt. On the 6th, a sufficient force being left off Boulogne, Lord Nelson returned with part of his squadron to Margate, from which he returned on the 8th to Boulogne, with an additional force.

On the evening of the 15th, the armed boats of the squadron were formed into four divisions, under the respective commands of Captains Somerville, Parker, Cotgrave, and Jones, accompanied by a division of mortar-boats, under the command of Captain Conn. At about half-past eleven, P.M., the boats in their respective divisions put off from the *Medusa*, in perfect order; but the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the tide, separated the divisions. Each division had its appropriate number of enemy's vessels to attack; the first beginning to the eastward, and so on in the order westward. The second division, under Captain Parker, closed with the enemy at half-past twelve, Sunday morning. Captain Parker ordered Captain Williams, with



Engraved by W. Pashen.

SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY.

OB. 1801

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF BREPNER, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE HON^{BLE} JAMES ABERCROMBY.

the subdivision under his orders, to push on to attack the vessels to the northward of him, while he himself, with the others, ran alongside a larger brig off the mole-head, carrying the French commander's pendant. The boats were no sooner alongside of this ship, than they attempted to board. But the strong netting baffled all their endeavours; and an instantaneous discharge from about 200 soldiers on her gunwale, either killed or desperately wounded Captain Parker and two-thirds of his crew. Had not the *Medusa's* cutter carried off Captain Parker's boat, she must have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Captain Williams led his subdivision against the enemy with the utmost gallantry. He took one lugger, and had commenced an attack on a brig, when he was obliged to withdraw, together with Captain Parker's boat. Nearly the whole of his boat's crew had been killed or wounded. Captain Cotgrave's division was the next which came up. His own boat received so many shots from the enemy's batteries in her bottom, that she was soon in a sinking state; and the rest of his division were soon in a like condition. Captain Somerville's division being carried away by the rapidity of the tide, did not come up with the enemy's flotilla till a little before dawn. On reaching his destination, he soon carried a brig; but seeing no likelihood of getting her off, in consequence of the heavy fire of musketry and grapeshot from the shore and the enemy's vessels, he abandoned her and pushed out of the bay.

The fourth division, notwithstanding all their exertions, could not, on account of the rapidity of the returning tide, get to the westward of any part of the enemy's line until near daylight. On approaching the eastern part of the line, in order to assist

the first division then engaged, it met them returning. Under these circumstances, and the day breaking apace, the boats returned to their respective ships.

Captain Conn, with the mortars, advanced in support of Captain Parker's division, towards the pier, until he was aground in the headmost boat. He then opened his fire, and threw about eight shells into the harbour. From the strength of the ebb, he was not able to keep his station off the pier-head. He continued, however, his attack on the French camp, till the enemy's fire had slackened and almost totally failed, and Captain Parker's division had returned without him.

After four hours of gallant conduct, only one French lugger was brought off. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was 172; that of the enemy must have been considerable, not only from the havoc made by the British seamen and marines, but from the volleys of musketry poured upon them by their own countrymen, after their brigs and boats had been boarded, had fallen, or were likely to fall into the hands of their enemies. The conduct of the commander of one of the divisions of the enemy's flotilla, had been that of a generous enemy. As the British boats approached him, he called out in English, "Let me advise you, my brave Englishmen, to keep your distance: you can do nothing here; and it is only uselessly shedding the blood of brave men to make the attempt." On Sunday afternoon, Lord Nelson, with part of the fleet, returned to the Downs. The remainder of the ships continued for some time to cruise on the French coast. During the action of the 3rd of August, the hills near Boulogne and the heights of Dover were crowded with thousands of spectators.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE ENGLISH ARMY IN EGYPT.

MENOU—who, on the assassination of General Kleber, succeeded to the command of the French army in Egypt—having refused to ratify the convention of El-Arisch for the evacuation of Egypt, the British government prepared for the expulsion of the French from that important settlement by force of arms. The troops intended for this service were those under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in the bay of Gibraltar; and an expeditionary force of 10,000 men, under General Baird.

The various divisions of the forces having reached their rendezvous in Malta, on the 20th of December, 1800, the fleet, with the first division on board, got under weigh, and set sail from Valetta for Marmorice Bay, which had been fixed on as the place of meeting of the English and Turkish contingent which was to co-operate with them. On the 29th it entered that bay, where, for the purpose of recruiting the health of the troops and revictualling the ships, they stayed till the

22nd of February. On March the 2nd, the fleet anchored in the bay of Aboukir; but the sea ran so high, and the surf was so heavy, that there was no possibility of effecting a landing till the 7th; when the swell beginning to abate considerably, it was determined to attempt the landing on the following morning. Accordingly, orders were issued for the purpose, and at two o'clock a rocket was fired from the flag-ship as a signal for disembarking. Immediately the first division, consisting of the reserve under Major-general Moore; the brigade of guards, under Major-general Ludlow; part of the foot brigade, comprising the royals, the 1st battalion of the 54th, and 200 men of the 2nd battalion—in all 5,500 men, under the command of Major-general Coote, descended from their transports, and assembled in the boats; the remainder of the 1st and 2nd brigades of that division were placed in ships close to the shore, that a support might be promptly given as soon as the landing had been effected. The launches, containing the field-artillery, as well as a detachment of marines to co-operate with the army, moved under the direction of Sir Sidney Smith. At three o'clock, the signal was made for their proceeding to rendezvous round one of the brigs and two armed vessels, stationed in a line opposite the shore, and out of gun-shot, round which they were to form, and wait the order for pushing to the land. By eight o'clock, the line of boats being formed, the signal to advance was given, under cover of the fire of the *Tartarus* and *Fury* bomb-vessels, two gun-boats, and three armed launches. Suddenly the enemy's artillery, disposed in a concave semicircle on the sand-hills which lined the beach, and the guns of Aboukir Castle vomited a terrible shower of grape-shot, shells, and langridge, so ploughing up the water, that it foamed like surf rolling over breakers. But nowise daunted, though surrounded by death in its most appalling shapes, the boats continued steadily to advance, the troops cheering and huzzaing, and without returning a single shot.

As soon as the boats took ground the troops leaped out, and immediately forming, advanced against the enemy, who had come down to the water's edge to receive them. On the right, the four flank companies of the 40th and the 23rd, with fixed bayonets, immediately charging up a hill, the sand of which yielded under their feet as they climbed, drove the 61st French demi-brigade, which

was drawn up on the top, so precipitately before them, as to compel them to leave their guns behind them. On the right, the guards and the royals, as they came out of the water, were charged by a body of the enemy's cavalry; but they speedily repulsed them with considerable loss. After the contest had lasted about twenty minutes, the enemy retreated into the plain, leaving the possession of the sand-hills in the hands of their opponents, with 400 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides six pieces of cannon. In this affair, the diminution of the British troops was 124 killed, 585 wounded, and thirty-eight missing; seamen and marines—twenty-two killed; seventy wounded, and seven missing. The loss of the enemy on this occasion could not be accurately ascertained, as they removed, according to their usual custom, many of the dead. When the British reached the position which the enemy had taken up in the plain, they drew up opposite to them; and in this situation both armies remained cannonading each other till about eleven o'clock, when the French were observed in retreat. At this juncture the second division came up, and took their ground in front of Aboukir Castle, which had refused to surrender on being summoned. An adequate force being left for the reduction of that fort, the united divisions, on the 9th, advanced towards Alexandria; and on the 12th reached a small village where the troops encamped. In the meantime, the enemy had, with 6,000 men, under Generals Friant and Lanusse, taken up a firmly entrenched position on the heights of Nicopolis, which are in front of Alexandria, and extend from the sea-coast to the canal of Alexandria. The hostile armies were now in sight of each other. Early on the morning of the following day, the British troops advanced against the enemy, already in march to meet their opponents. As soon as they came in collision, a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry made an impetuous charge on the 90th, who receiving them on the points of their bayonets, compelled them to make a precipitate retreat, with considerable loss from a well-timed volley. Their attack on every other part of the line was equally unsuccessful. The 92nd advanced to the very mouths of two field-pieces, which, though destructive discharges of grape were poured from them, they compelled the enemy to abandon. As the British artillery, from want of horses, moved but slowly, being dragged by men

with great difficulty through the heavy sands, the enemy, in his retreat, repeatedly halted, and taking up a new position with their flying artillery, bitterly galled their pursuers until they came within musket-range of them, when wheeling about, they again resumed their retreat until they reached their strongly-entrenched position on the heights of Nicopolis. The British commander, desirous of following up his success, and by a *coup-de-main* carrying the enemy's position, advanced across the plain; and it was determined that General Hutchinson, with some brigades which had been but little engaged in the action, should attack the French on the right; and that the left should be attacked near the sea by the corps of reserve, supported by the guards. On reconnoitring, however, it was found that the French occupied so favourable a position on the heights, that it would be impossible to dislodge them without a very heavy loss. The attack not being considered practicable, it was abandoned, and the army took possession of the camp which the French had occupied in the morning. In this battle, the seamen under Sir Sidney Smith, and the marines under Lieutenant-colonel Smith, emulated the conduct of the army. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was 1,100* men; that of the French above half that number, with five cannon and one howitzer. The inequality of the loss was occasioned by the enemy's superiority in artillery and cavalry; he having had nearly 700 well-mounted cavalry, and forty pieces of artillery (generally consisting of curricule guns) in the field; whereas, the British had scarcely 250 wretchedly mounted horsemen, and but few guns, which were dragged up the heights by sailors and soldiers.

Sir Ralph Abercromby was highly pleased with the conduct of the men under his command, both on the occasion of their landing, and in the battle fought on the 13th. The day after the first engagement, the following general order was issued:—"The gallant behaviour of the troops yesterday claims from the commander-in-chief the warmest praise that he can bestow; and it is with particular satisfaction that he observed their conduct, marked equally for ardent bravery, as by coolness, regularity, and order. Major-generals Coote, Ludlow, and Moore, and Brigadier-general Oakes, who led the troops

that effected the landing, and were engaged, will be pleased to accept Sir Ralph Abercromby's thanks for the able manner in which they conducted the whole operation. The commander-in-chief has much pleasure in acknowledging the effectual assistance received from the navy on this occasion, in consequence of the judicious arrangements directed by Admiral Lord Keith; and it is his intention to request his lordship to communicate the same to Captain Cochrane, of the *Ajax*, who superintended the disembarkation; as well as the officers employed under him on that service, and officers and men in the gun-boats and armed launches that covered the landing. Sir Sidney Smith, the captains, officers, and men from the ships of war who acted with the army on shore, will be pleased to accept Sir Ralph Abercromby's thanks, for the activity with which they brought forward the field-artillery, and for the intrepidity and zeal with which they acquitted themselves of the service entrusted to them."

On the 14th, Sir Ralph again issued a general order, expressing his approbation of the conduct of the troops under his command. The order ran as follows:—"The commander-in-chief has the greatest satisfaction in thanking the troops for their soldierlike and intrepid conduct in the action of yesterday. He feels it particularly incumbent on him to express his most perfect satisfaction at the steady and gallant behaviour of Major-general Craddock's brigade; and he desires that Major-general Craddock will assure them, that their meritorious conduct commands his approbation. To the 90th and 92nd regiments, and Dillon's, an equal share of praise is due; and when it has been well-earned, the commander-in-chief has the greatest pleasure in bestowing it."

On the 17th, the castle of Aboukir being reduced to nearly a heap of ruins, surrendered. In the course of the evening of the 19th, 500 Turks, the advanced guard of the forces which had landed in Marep, in the bay of Aboukir, under the Capoutan Pasha, joined the army. In the meantime Menou had concentrated the French forces in a very strong position on the ridge of hills which extend from the sea to the canals of Alexandria, and almost under the walls of that famous city. The French army consisted of 11,000 men (1,400 of whom were cavalry, well-mounted), and forty-six pieces of cannon. The British army occu-

* The precise loss was 156 killed and 946 wounded. Of the seamen, 27 were killed and 54 wounded. The marines had been detached to Aboukir.

pied a line about a mile in extent, nearly four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in the front, the sea on their right, and the lake Maadieh and the canal of Alexandria (at that time dry) on their left. Their extreme right rested on the ruins of Cæsar's Camp, and a small redoubt was thrown up in front. Their flanks were covered by gun-boats and redoubts. In this position Menou resolved to attack them; and proclaimed a *louis-d'or* as a re-

ward for each man who would volunteer to commence the action, by turning the right of his enemy. The 21st demi-brigade, amounting to 900 men (termed *the invincibles*, for their success in the recent Italian campaigns), undertook the task. Sir Sidney Smith, on the 20th, apprised Sir Ralph Abercromby, that he had obtained intelligence that the enemy intended to attack the British army on the following morning.

BATTLE OF ALEXANDRIA, MARCH 21st.

As mentioned above, the right wing of the British was the farthest advanced: Menou observing this, resolved to attack it and the centre; and, in order to cover this design, at the same time to make a false attack on the left wing. After defeating the right, his orders were to drive the British into the lake Maadieh, on which their left rested. On the 20th, General Moore was the general of the day, and continued with the troops until four o'clock in the morning of the 21st. Everything had been apparently quiet in the enemy's camp during the night. About half-past three the British troops were getting under arms, preparing for the attack which the movements of the enemy the previous evening, and the information they had received, led them to expect. The plain which stretched between the two camps, and the heights occupied by the French, were enveloped in mist, which every eye was endeavouring to pierce, when the sharp report of a musket-shot was heard, and then the boom of two cannon-shots on the left. This was immediately followed by a smart fire of musketry being opened on the farthest *flèche*, on the left of the British position, and Brigadier-general Stuart marched his forage-brigade to the support of the point attacked. At the same moment a heavy fire, both of artillery and musketry, was commenced on the right of the British army. In their false attack on the left, the enemy rapidly advanced, and entered a small *flèche* which had been in possession of the British; the camp-sentinels turned the 12-pounder which was mounted in it on our men, and had actually fired one shot from it, when a redoubt in the rear of the *flèche* opening their fire on them, they quickly retreated, carrying off with them three officers, one serjeant, and

ten rank and file of the 5th brigade. The enemy thinking he had drawn all the attention of the British to the left, and having easily driven in their pickets, hastily advanced with his whole force.

His object now was, by a sudden and spirited attack, to turn and overwhelm the reserve, which, by its advanced position, was separated from the rest of the army. Having accomplished this, his next aim was to force the British centre with his united troops; and while the attention of the left was occupied by the false attack, the whole force of his cavalry was to avail itself of a favourable opportunity, and by an impetuous charge, to drive the British army into Lake Aboukir; thus, at a blow, deciding the contest.

For this purpose Lanusse's division, forming the left wing, advanced boldly against the British right; at the same time Syllly's brigade marched direct on the redoubt which had been thrown up in the Roman ruins; while Valentine's brigade proceeded along the sea-side to penetrate between it and the eminence of the Castle of the Cæsars. Syllly's brigade took possession of a small redan; but staggered by the heavy fire from the redoubt, it was obliged to fall back. Valentine's brigade, while moving along the sea-shore, was stopped in its progress by the fire from the ruins, which were defended by the 23rd and 58th regiments, and the flank companies of the 40th. Still attempting to force its way between them and the redoubt, the 69th demi-brigade was taken in flank by a discharge of grapeshot, and suffered considerable loss. On this, the remainder of the corps refusing to advance, Lanusse, in his endeavour to rally them, had his thigh carried off by a cannon-

shot. Confusion ensuing, the corps took to flight.

Syly's troops, not being able to clear the ditch of the redoubt, attempted to turn it, but were repulsed, with great loss, by the 28th regiment, who were there posted. Being assailed both in front and rear at the same moment, the rear rank faced about, and thus, both ranks standing back to back, repelled their assailants. While this was passing on the right of the British line, Rampon's division made an attack on the centre. In an attempt to turn the brigade of guards, which was a little in advance, they were received with so warm and well-sustained a fire from the third regiment of this corps, whose left was thrown back, and from the royals, that they were obliged, after a sharp contest, to retreat with considerable loss.

Destin's division leaving the redoubt on the left, endeavoured to reach the ruins, but they were so warmly received by the 42nd, that in their attempt to retreat, a battalion of the 21st brigade, surnamed the "Invincibles," was surrounded by the 42nd and 58th regiments, and compelled to lay down its arms, having lost two-thirds of its numbers. Its standard,* on which were blazoned its exploits—namely, *Le Passage de Scrivia*, *Le Passage du Tagliamento*, *Le Passage de l'Isonzo*, *La Prise de Gratz*, *Le Pont de Lodi*—being taken by the British.

At this juncture, Menou having been foiled in all his attempts to penetrate the British line, determined to make a last

* The circumstances attending the capture of this standard were:—The left wing of the 42nd, under the command of Major Stirling, was ordered to advance to the support of the left of the 28th. On taking up their position, hearing in their rear some persons speaking French in a low tone of voice, and supposing that the parties were some of General Stuart's foreign brigade advancing to their assistance, no further notice was taken. On closer approach, however, the parties being discovered to be a French battalion, marching in open column in the rear of the left wing of the 42nd, an instant charge was made, by which the enemy being thrown into confusion, and having sustained great loss, took shelter in an old ruin, having been prevented from getting further into the rear by the right wing of the 42nd coming up to the assistance of the left. To Major Stirling, who at this time entered the ruins close on the heels of the fleeing enemy, two French officers presented themselves, and begged the lives of their corps. This having been granted, the corps was ordered to lay down their arms, and Major Stirling having immediately advanced to the officer who carried the standard, seized it from him. Major Stirling committed the charge of the standard to Serjeant Sinclair, who was standing by him, ordering him to carry it into the rear, under a guard of twelve men. The right

effort to carry their position. For this purpose, he ordered the main body of the cavalry, under Roize, to charge; and Regnier, at the head of the divisions of Lanusse, Rampon, Friant, and the 85th demi-brigade, to support it.

Accordingly, the 3rd and 14th dragoons, under Broussart, impetuously rushed forward, and charged through the 42nd regiment. The regiment having been broken by the fierce attack, the men, forming themselves into little knots, stood back to back, to resist the endeavours of the cavalry to cut them down. The hostile cavalry continued its impetuous course as far as the tents; but getting entangled there, many of the horses and men were destroyed. At this juncture, the Minorca regiment came up to the support of the 42nd, and drew up in the vacant space between the redoubt and the guards. The second line of French cavalry, composed of the 15th, 18th, and 20th dragoons, under the command of Roize, made another desperate charge on these regiments. As it was impossible to withstand the shock, they opened line and let them pass; then facing about, they poured on them so destructive volleys, that numbers of men and horses were brought to the ground. The cavalry then endeavoured to force its way back, but this they were unable to effect, and the greater part of them was either killed or wounded in the attempt. Roize himself had fallen on the spot. When the broken remains of the cavalry reformed on the rear of their infantry, not a wing of the 42nd having by this time been formed, both that and the left regained the ground which they had previously occupied. There, being attacked by two strong columns of the enemy, an immediate charge was made, by which the enemy was driven back 200 yards. At this moment, when all their ammunition had been nearly expended, they were furiously assaulted by a powerful body of French cavalry, and having been broken by that charge, they retired through the files of the Minorca regiment, which opportunely arrived to their support. In this *mêlée*, Serjeant Sinclair, having been wounded by a sabre-cut in the head, fell stunned upon the field; he still, however, retained possession of the standard. In the course of a few minutes, a private of the Minorca regiment coming up, picked up the standard, and, on delivering it to the proper officer, received twenty dollars as a reward. As a grateful acknowledgment and an appropriate commemoration of the valour of their countrymen, the Highland Society presented the 42nd regiment with a piece of plate, value one hundred guineas, inscribed with an appropriate motto and design. A silver medal, bearing the same motto and design, was also presented to each officer and private of the regiment who had been present in the action, or, if killed or dead, to their nearest surviving relatives.

fourth of those who had charged could be collected.

After the last effort of the cavalry, the French contented themselves in keeping up a heavy cannonade, which was as warmly returned by the British. The riflemen

* The following account of the battle of Alexandria, from the notes of an officer who was engaged in it, will be interesting to the reader. After describing the plan of the false attack on the left, the narrative proceeds to state that "loud acclamations were heard on the right, to which a roar of musketry instantly succeeded, and the enemy's attack in that quarter was now no longer doubtful. The enemy advanced upon, and continued to push in, all the videttes and pickets upon the main body, but Colonel Houston of the 58th, faintly perceiving a French column advancing upon him, and dreading lest the English pickets should be between them and his men, suffered it to come so near him, that he could plainly see the enemy's glazed hats before he ordered his grenadiers to fire. Their discharge was followed by that of the whole regiment, and being rapidly repeated, made the French retire to a hollow some distance in their rear. Soon after they wheeled to the right, and attempted to pass a redoubt opposite to its left, in conjunction with another column; but the 28th regiment seeing them approach the battery, with a heavy fire checked those who attempted to storm the redoubt where they were stationed. But now the main body of the two columns joined a third, and forced in behind the redoubt, while others were to attack it in front; when Colonel Crowdjye commanding the left of the 58th, wheeled back two companies, and, after firing two or three rounds, ordered a charge with the bayonet, and being at this instant joined by the 23rd, while the 42nd were also advancing, the French troops that had entered the rear of the redoubt, after sustaining a very severe loss, were obliged to surrender. Here both the 58th and 28th had been attacked in front, flank, and rear. It is allowed, that the 28th experienced a momentary relief from the advance of the 42nd; but, during the time they were engaged, the first line of the enemy's cavalry, passing the left of the redoubt, attacked, and, charging in a mass, for a while overwhelmed that gallant corps, but which, though broken, was not defeated. In fact, such was the dilemma in which they were placed during this contest, that Colonel Spencer, with a part of the 40th, having taken a station in the avenues of the ruins, was, for some moments, afraid to fire lest they should destroy the 42nd, then intermingled with the enemy. But even when he began to fire, which in some measure checked the progress of the French cavalry, he must certainly have been overpowered, if General Stuart had not advanced with the foreign brigade, pouring in such a heavy and well-directed fire; which, as nothing could withstand, the enemy, from destruction and flight, was no longer visible. In this furious charge of cavalry, General Abercromby received his mortal wound. He was alone, near the redoubts just spoken of, when some French dragoons penetrating to the spot, he was thrown from his horse. From the tassel of his sword, the man that rode at him, and endeavoured to cut him down, must have been an officer. This sword, however, the veteran general seized, and wrested from him before he could effect his destruction; and, at the same instant, this daring assailant was bayoneted by a private of the 42nd.

quartered along the fronts of both armies also kept up an incessant fire. Each side sustained considerable loss from the artillery. About half-past nine the enemy began their retreat; and about ten o'clock the firing ceased on both sides.*

Sir Ralph only complained of a contusion in his breast, supposed to have been given in the scuffle by the hilt of the sword, but was entirely ignorant of the moment he received the wound in the thigh, which occasioned his death. After this wound Sir Sidney Smith was the first officer that came to the general, and from him received that sword which the latter had so gloriously acquired from the French officer. The cause of this present was the general's observation, that Sir Sidney's sword had been broken. As soon as the French cavalry were driven out of the camp, Sir Ralph walked to a redoubt, where he could take a view of the whole field of battle. Then to the right it appeared, the reserve of the French cavalry had attempted another charge against the foreign brigade, without success. After this their infantry, one battalion excepted, no longer acting in a body, fired only in scattered parties. As the ammunition of the British was exhausted, several of the regiments of the reserve not only remained some time without firing a shot, but even the guns in the battery had but one cartridge left. But while this was the state of affairs on the right, it was found the centre had been attacked. At daybreak, a body of French grenadiers had advanced upon it, supported by a heavy line of infantry. The guards were posted there, and at first threw out their flankers to oppose the enemy; but these being driven in, and, as the enemy's columns had approached very close, General Ludlow ordering the brigade to fire, they did so with the utmost precision; and, after some little local manœuvring, the advance of General Coote with his brigade determined the enemy to retire, and separate themselves as sharpshooters; and thus, while the French cannon played without intermission, the former kept up a very destructive fire: consequently the left of the British was never engaged any farther than being exposed to a distant cannonade, and a partial discharge of musketry. During the interval the British were without ammunition, the French on the right, advancing close to the redoubt, were pelted with stones by the 28th; and returning the same measures of offence, they killed a serjeant of that regiment, by beating in his forehead. But as these troops, as well as the British, were without ammunition, they were very easily driven away by the grenadiers, who moved out after them; and, soon after, the whole of the enemy's force moved off the ground. Thus, unable to make the impression expected upon the British lines, General Menou made a retreat in very good order, but this was principally owing to the want of ammunition among the British; otherwise the batteries, as well as the cannon on the left, and the king's cutters on the right, must have done great execution. About ten in the forenoon the action had everywhere terminated, while Sir Ralph Abercromby never quitted the battery he retired to; and, as he continued walking about, many officers had no suspicion of his being wounded, but from the blood trickling down his clothes. At length, getting faint, he was put on a hammock and conveyed to a boat, which carried him on board Lord Keith's ship, being accompanied by his friend, Sir Thomas Dwyer."

In the accounts of the casualties of the contending armies by Wilson and Regnier, a great variance exists. According to the official return, the loss of the British was 1,472* in killed, wounded, and missing: that of the enemy must have exceeded 4,000; for no less than 1,160 were counted by the provost-marshal dead upon the field of battle, exclusive of those within the line of the French videttes, which of course he was not able to ascertain. Three French generals were killed, and as many wounded. On the side of the English, the commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had been wounded in the charge of the French cavalry, died a few days after the battle. Major-general Moore, and Brigadier-generals Hope, Oakes, and Lawson were wounded. The effective British force in the field was less than 12,000 men, inclusive of artillery; that of the French was between twelve and thirteen thousand men, exclusive of artillery. The 500 Turks who had joined previous to the battle, remained in the rear during the whole action. Of the British force there was but little more than one-half who actually engaged in the contest with the whole force of the French. There being some reason to apprehend that the enemy intended to renew the attack during the night, the troops remained under arms and at their alarm-posts till the morning. The command of the army now devolved on Major-general Hutchinson, who transmitted the following despatch, detailing the operations of the battle of Alexandria, to Lord Hawkesbury, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs:—

“Camp before Alexandria, April 5, 1801.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that after the affair of the 13th of March, the army took a position about four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in their front, the sea on their right, and the Canal of Alexandria (at present dry) and the Lake of Aboukir on their left. In this position we remained without any material occurrence taking place till the 21st of March, when the enemy attacked us with nearly the whole of their collected force, amounting probably to eleven or twelve thousand men. Of fourteen demi-brigades of infantry, which the French have in this country, twelve appear to have been engaged, and all their cavalry, with the exception of one regiment.

* The precise loss was 234 killed and 1,193 wounded. The casualties of the seamen were—four killed, fifty wounded, and thirty-four missing.

“The enemy made the following disposition of their army:—General Lanusse was on their left, with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry, commanded by General Roize; Generals Friant and Rampon were in the centre, with five demi-brigades; General Regnier on the right, with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry; General d’Estaing commanded the advanced guard, consisting of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry.

“The action commenced about an hour before daylight, by a false attack on our left, which was under Major-general Craddock’s command, where they were soon repulsed. The most vigorous efforts of the enemy were however directed against our right, which they used every possible exertion to turn. The attack on that point was begun with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in column. They were received by our troops with equal ardour, and the utmost steadiness and discipline. The contest was unusually obstinate; the enemy were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with our infantry. They at length retired, leaving a prodigious number of dead and wounded on the field.

“While this was passing on the right, they attempted to penetrate our centre with a column of infantry, who were also repulsed, and obliged to retreat with loss. The French, during the whole action, refused their right. They pushed forward, however, a corps of light troops, supported by a body of infantry and cavalry, to keep our left in check, which certainly was, at that time, the weakest part of our line.

“We have taken about 200 prisoners (not wounded), but it was impossible to pursue our victory, on account of our inferiority in cavalry, and because the French had lined the opposite hills with cannon, under which they retired. We also have suffered considerably; few more severe actions have ever been fought, considering the numbers engaged on both sides.

“We have sustained an irreparable loss in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was mortally wounded in the action, and died on the 28th of March. I believe he was wounded early; but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field, giving his orders

with that coolness and perspicuity which have ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier—and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.

“It is impossible for me to do justice to the zeal of the officers, and to the gallantry of the soldiers of the army. The reserve, against whom the principal attack of the enemy was directed, conducted themselves with unexampled spirit. They resisted the impetuosity of the French infantry, and repulsed several charges of cavalry. Major-general Moore was wounded at their head, though not dangerously. I regret, however, the temporary absence from the army of this highly valuable and meritorious officer, whose counsel and co-operation would be so highly necessary to me at this moment. Brigadier-general Oakes was wounded nearly at the same time, and the army has been deprived of the service of an excellent officer. The 28th and 42nd regiments acted in the most distinguished and brilliant manner. Colonel Paget, an officer of great promise, was wounded at the head of the former regiment; he has since, though not quite recovered, returned to his duty.

“Brigadier-general Stuart and the foreign brigade supported the reserve with much promptness and spirit; indeed, it is but justice to this corps to say, that they have, on all occasions, endeavoured to emulate the zeal and spirit exhibited by the British troops, and have perfectly succeeded. Major-general Ludlow deserves much approbation for his conduct when the centre of the army was attacked: under his guidance, the guards conducted themselves in the most cool, intrepid, and soldierlike manner; they received very effectual support by a movement of the right of General Coote's brigade. Brigadier-general Hope was wounded in the hand; the army has been deprived of the services of a most active, zealous, and judicious officer.

“The loss of the enemy has been great; it is calculated at upwards of 3,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. General Roize,

who commanded the cavalry, which suffered considerably, was killed in the field. Generals Lanusse and Rodet are since dead of their wounds. I have been informed that several other general officers, whose names I do not know, have been either killed or wounded.

“I cannot conclude this letter without solemnly assuring you, that in the arduous contest in which we are at present engaged, his majesty's troops in Egypt have faithfully discharged their duty to their country, and nobly upheld the fame of the British name and nation.

(Signed) “J. H. HUTCHINSON.”

A gloom was thrown over the joyous intelligence of this important victory by the loss which the country sustained by the death of the brave General Abercromby. He was in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was much endeared to his soldiers by his undaunted bravery as well as his humanity, and the solicitude he always evinced in providing for the comfort of his troops. During the early part of the engagement he was attacked by a dragoon, whom he disarmed; and, in the tremendous charge of the French cavalry, he was wounded in the hip. This proved fatal; and, on the 28th, Sir Ralph breathed his last. Writing in his diary, Sir John (then General Moore) declares him to have been a truly upright, honourable, and judicious man: his great sagacity, which had been directed all his life to military matters, made him an excellent officer. The disadvantage he laboured under was being extremely short-sighted. He therefore stood in need of good executive generals under him. In his military character he was strictly uniform and regular, preserving order and discipline among all under his command. In action he invariably exhibited the greatest coolness, intrepidity, and presence of mind. In his private character he was a pattern to those about him, being modest and unassuming, disinterested and upright; in his morals he was circumspect, and free from licentious vices. Sir Ralph had the honour of being the first military commander, from the commencement of the war, who had made the French feel that they were not invincible, and destroyed the *prestige* which had hitherto been attached to the eagles of the republic.

On the 23rd of March, General Hutchinson sent a flag of truce to Alexandria, with an offer to the French, that if they at once



Painted by T. Stothard, Esq. R.A.



LUTE CAPTURING THE STANDARD OF THE LEGION



Engraved by J. Rogers.

THE DEATH OF GENERAL SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY, K.G.

surrendered, they should be sent to France, with their small arms, private property, and colours, leaving their artillery and ships. To this proposal the French general replied, that the French army could not listen to such ignoble terms; and that any future propositions of a similar nature would not even be received.

General Hutchinson, aware of the advantages which would result from the possession of Rosetta, as the Nile would be thereby opened, and supplies insured for the army, dispatched Colonel Spencer, with 1,000 British troops, and 4,000 of the 5,000 Turkish troops which had joined the British army on the 25th, to possess himself of Rosetta, which the French garrison having abandoned and retreated across the Nile, was taken possession of on the 14th of April. Fort Julian, situated near Rosetta, after a gallant defence, surrendered five days afterwards.

Having left Major-general Coote in command of the troops in the entrenched position before Alexandria, General Hutchinson, on the 24th of April, left the camp to carry the war into the central parts of Egypt, and commence operations with that part of the army which was posted near El-Hamed, against the French under the command of Lagrange, and who occupied a strong entrenched position in front of the village of El-Ast. On the 5th of May he advanced against the enemy, who, having abandoned his position on the 6th, El-Ast was taken possession of by the British on the following day. Pursuing the French under Lagrange to Rahmanieh, that fort surrendered on the 9th. By the fall of this place, all connexion between Cairo and Alexandria was cut off. The grand vizier, about this time, effected a junction with the British army, with about 25,000 disorderly, ill-disciplined troops. On the same day, a detachment of French cavalry, consisting of three officers and forty men, escorting one of General Belliard's aides-de-camp, charged with despatches from Menou, was captured on their route from Alexandria to Cairo; and on the 17th a corps of the enemy, consisting of 200 of the dromedary corps, 69 artillerymen, and 330 infantry, with one cannon, a stand of colours, and a train of 460 camels, sent from Alexandria to collect provisions and forage in the province of Bahiveh, surrendered to Brigadier-general Doyle, who had been dispatched in pursuit of them. Since General Hutchinson's departure from El-Hamed,

nearly 1,000 of the enemy had fallen into the hands of their pursuers. The French now began to concentrate their forces. Lagrange's division reached Cairo, to which place the garrisons of Salabieh, Belbeis, and Birket-el-Hadge directed their march. These troops, with the garrison of Cairo under Belliard and Dongelot's divisions from Upper Egypt, formed a body of 9,000 men, exclusive of Greeks and Copts.

General Hutchinson having determined to lay siege to Cairo, on the 21st of June invested it and one of its dependencies, Gizeh (a town on the opposite bank of the Nile), while the necessary materials for the siege were sent up the Nile. The Capoutan Pasha was posted at Gizeh, and the grand vizier took a position within cannon-shot of Cairo, on the same side of the Nile as the Capoutan Pasha. On the 22nd, General Belliard, the governor of Cairo, finding himself surrounded on all sides, and his communication with the interior part of the country cut off, sent a flag of truce to General Hutchinson's advanced posts, requesting a conference between a French and an English officer, for the purpose of treating for the evacuation of Cairo and its dependencies. To this request General Hutchinson assented, and Brigadier-general Hope was appointed to meet a French general of brigade, by whom a *coup des conférences* was arranged for the settlement of the conditions of the convention to be agreed on. On the 28th the convention by which Cairo and its dependencies (Boulah and Gizeh) were to be surrendered was ratified. By the terms of the capitulation, the French garrison was to be conveyed to some French port, at latest within fifty days from the ratification. Shortly after (viz., August 10th) the capitulation of Cairo was signed, the Indian contingent, consisting of 6,400 men, of whom 2,800 were sepoys, under Major-general Baird, arrived on the banks of the Nile. They had sailed from Ceylon in February, and after a passage of twenty weeks, arrived (July 8th) at Cosseir, on the Red Sea. After a toilsome march of 400 miles across the desert of Thebes, during which not a particle of herbage and scarcely any kind of vegetation was seen, they reached Kinneh, on the banks of the Nile, whence they were conveyed down the river in boats to Cairo. After halting there four weeks, they were marched to Rosetta, and encamped before that town.

On the capitulation of Cairo, General

Hutchinson summoned Menou to surrender Alexandria, with which demand the French general, having received information of the approach to the coast of Egypt of Admiral Gantheaume,* with seven sail-of-the-line and 4,000 men, peremptorily refused to accede. General Hutchinson, therefore, after the embarkation of the garrison of Cairo, according to the stipulations of the convention, commenced active operations against Alexandria. A flotilla, protected by fifty gun-boats, was rapidly collected on the lake Maræotis: the fort of Marabout, situated on a long area of land which unites Alexandria to the opposite side of the lake, and protects the entrance of the western or great harbour of that city, was, on the 17th, invested, and being soon reduced to ruins, it capitulated on the 21st. On the 22nd the allies entered the harbour of the old port, and opening their trenches, soon breached Fort le Turc. Menou now received intelligence that Gantheaume, after remaining two days within thirty leagues of Alexandria, had, on being discovered by the English fleet under Lord Keith, been obliged to bear away. In consequence of this he now forgot his declaration of conquering or burying himself under the ruins of Alexandria, and requested a capitulation. The conditions granted to Belliard were not refused to Menou. An attempt was made to include the collection of antiquities and the drawings which had been made by the scavans and artists who had accompanied the French expedition among the articles of confiscation, and had even been agreed to by the military commanders on both sides; but on the scavans threatening to destroy them rather than resign them to the victors, the claim was relinquished. A cargo of Egyptian antiquities (among which was the sarcophagus of Alexander, which they could neither conceal nor consume by fire) was retained by the victors, and when brought to England was deposited in the British Museum.

* The endeavours of Gantheaume to effect a landing were energetic. He had sailed from Brest in the beginning of January, and having eluded the two squadrons of Sir John Borlase Warren and Sir Richard Bickerton, who had been sent in pursuit of him, he was almost within sight of the Pharos of Alexandria, when, discouraged by the presence of the English fleet under Lord Keith, he returned to Toulon. On the 20th of March he again sailed from Toulon, and passing Sir John Warren's squadron of four ships off Sardinia, he arrived off Alexandria on the 23rd of April; but again discouraged by the presence of Lord Keith's fleet, he resailed to Toulon. On the 20th of May he set sail a third time for

In consequence of these events, the British army was in entire possession of Egypt; and by its prowess (although it was chiefly composed of recruits who had never before been engaged in actual warfare), dissipated the infatuated notion which had become prevalent throughout Europe, of French invincibility and unequalled military talent.

The trophies of the victors, besides imperishable renown, were 320 pieces of artillery captured in Cairo, and 312 in Alexandria, together with six ships in the port of Alexandria—namely, one 64, three frigates, and two ex-Venetian frigates. From the first-mentioned city they had conveyed to the shores of France as prisoners, 13,672 soldiers, besides the civil servants attached to that force, and 10,011 soldiers, 517 sailors, and 615 civilians attached to them. On the complete pacification of the country, the greater part of the army, together with General Hutchinson, returned to England; but 12,000 men, including those from India, were left under the command of the Earl of Cavan, to secure the country till a general peace occurred. The total loss of the British army during the campaign had been 550 killed, 3,068 wounded, and 84 missing. Considering the nature of the service, and the very inefficient and hitherto inexperienced state of the army, perhaps never had a more brilliant exploit been performed with so small a loss. Marshal Marmont, in his work entitled *Voyage du Duc de Raguse*, says:—"Never was a force worse provided. The English army was wanting in means of draught, of carriage, and of cavalry."

The British regiments at the battle of Alexandria were:—Coldstream guards and 3rd regiment of guards, brigaded under Major-general Ludlow; royals, 1st and 2nd battalions, 54th and 92nd, brigaded under Major-general Coote; 90th, 8th, 13th, and 18th, brigaded under Major-general Cradock; 50th and 79th, brigaded under Major-

the relief of the French army in Egypt, with three additional frigates, and was within sight of Alexandria on the 8th of June; but while making preparations for landing, the British fleet appearing, he again made sail for the coast of France; and in his route thither, fell in with the *Swiftsure*, Captain Hallowell, who, after a gallant defence which lasted an hour and-a-half, was compelled to surrender—an event which afforded unbounded exultation to the editors of the French press. In his last attempt the brig *Heliopolis* succeeded in evading the English shipping and entered Alexandria; as did also the frigate *Régénére*, in his second attempt.

general the Earl of Cavan; queen's, 30th, 44th, and 89th, brigaded under Brigadier-general Doyle; Stuart's or Minorca regiment, De Roll's, and Dillon's, brigaded under Brigadier-general Stuart; 23rd, 28th, 42nd, and 58th, brigaded under Major-general Moore; and Corsican rangers, flank companies 40th regiment, and staff corps, brigaded under Brigadier-general Oakes. The total amounted to 14,950 men.

The grand seignor, to perpetuate the remembrance of the services of the Anglo-Egyptian army which had served in Egypt, established an order of knighthood, which he named the order of the Crescent. In the first class were General Hutchinson, Sir Eyre Coote, Admirals Keith and Sir Richard Bickerton, and the British ambassador to the Ottoman court, the Earl of Elgin. In the second class were the general officers and naval officers of equal rank. Gold medals, of different sizes, bearing a crescent and a star in the centre, with a suitable inscription, were also given to all the officers of the army who had served in Egypt, according to their respective ranks. A magnificent palace was erected at Pera, and dedicated to be the residence of the English ambassador at the Ottoman Porte.

No sooner were the French expelled from Egypt, than the Turks endeavoured to avail themselves of the presence of the British army to seize the country.

From the commencement of the war, the Porte had formed a secret resolution to seize the country, and to change its form of government; though all the while the grand vizier and the capitan-pasha were holding out to the beys and Mamelukes the most unequivocal assurances that their authority would be supported on the destruction of the infidels. To commence with the design, no sooner were the French expelled, than seven of the beys were invited to Alexandria, to hold a conference with the capitan-pasha on the subject of certain arrangements necessary to be made for their re-establishment. On their arrival there, it was proposed that they should pay a visit of ceremony to the English commander, who was then on board a ship of war; but the real intention was to put them on board of a Turkish vessel, and convey them to Constantinople. But they had no sooner entered the boats which were to take them to the ship, than, calling to mind the repeated warnings and advice of General Hutchinson, not to trust themselves on board Turkish vessels, and

now being satisfied that such was their destination, they required of the officers to be reconducted to the shore. A compliance with their request being refused, a struggle ensued, in which three of the beys were killed, and four wounded. The grand vizier too, at the same time, attempted to secure by force or fraud as many of the beys as he could. Some fell into his hands; others made their escape into Upper Egypt. General Hutchinson, apprised of this violation of public faith, immediately put his troops under arms; and, remonstrating severely with both the grand vizier and the capitan-pasha, compelled them to surrender the four wounded beys and the bodies of the slain ones, who were buried with military honours at Alexandria. The Porte being thus disappointed in its forcible endeavours to possess Egypt, had now recourse to more conciliatory measures. By promise of protection, favour, and preferment, the beys were induced to relinquish their pretensions to any authority in Egypt in favour of the Porte, by whom the system of government by pashas was introduced.

The expulsion of the French from Egypt caused great joy in Britain. While the capitulation of Cairo was being prepared, the commander-in-chief received his majesty's orders to communicate to the troops under his command his royal thanks for their conduct and services in Egypt. On the termination of the war, General Hutchinson was created a peer, and a pension of £2,000 per annum settled on him. Admiral Keith was also raised to the peerage, and General Coote was invested with the order of the Bath. The regiments who had been engaged in this expedition, and who had so nobly sustained the lustre of the British arms, were allowed to carry a sphinx on their colours, and the word "Egypt" inscribed. The remains of the gallant Sir Ralph Abercromby were carried to Malta, and buried with military honours in one of the bastions of La Valette. His widow was raised to the peerage, and a pension granted to her of £2,000 a-year.

In the expedition to Egypt, the English lost twenty-four officers and 800 privates, including sailors and marines, as well as military. From thirty to forty thousand of the best troops of France were sent to the East, and out of these there returned about 23,000. This was in addition to their navy and transports destroyed at sea.

The loss of Egypt was the cause of much

regret to Napoleon. Junot states, that on being informed of the event, he experienced the most cruel agony, and exclaimed—"Junot, we have lost Egypt!" It was from this point that he expected to be able to strike the blow at our possessions in the East, which he thought would completely cripple the British power. The Duchess d'Abrantes relates:—"The first consul never let those around know to what a degree he was afflicted by the stroke which he received from England on that occasion. Junot alone was fully acquainted with it; it was only to the eyes of those who had enjoyed his early intimacy that he raised the veil which concealed the anguish of his heart. Junot wept like a child when he recounted what the first consul had said during the two hours he was with him after he received intelligence of the disastrous event. 'My projects,' he remarked, 'alike with my dreams, have been destroyed by England.'"

Thus terminated the French invasion of Egypt; and though Napoleon failed in accomplishing the object for which it was undertaken, still much knowledge was acquired of that ancient and celebrated country,

by the learned and scientific men who accompanied the French army. In reviewing the circumstances of the Egyptian expedition, Napoleon remarked, "that the army of the East had left in Egypt an immortal memory, which would, perhaps, one day revive there the arts and institutions of society; and that history, at least, would not pass over in silence all that the French had done to introduce into that country the arts and improvements of Europe."

Before closing the history of the attempt to establish French power in the East, we may mention that on the surrender of Alexandria, the French frigate, *La Justice*, fell into the hands of the English. This was the last of the four ships of the fleet of Admiral Brueys which had escaped; so that the capture of this frigate completed the total annihilation of that squadron, which had so proudly entered the port of Alexandria. Of the four sail-of-the-line, under Admiral Gantheaume, which escaped on that memorable 2nd of October, the *Genereux*, *Guillaume Tell*, and *Diane* frigate had already been captured, and now *La Justice* completed the number.

NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS.

WITH the design of detaching Portugal from its alliance with England, Napoleon Buonaparte induced the court of Madrid to declare war against Portugal. To aid Spain a French army crossed the Bidassoa; and a French fleet, uniting with that lying in the port of Cadiz, was to enter the Tagus and sack Lisbon; by which enterprise, as the French admiral Kerguelin expressed himself, "France would be enriched with British merchandise, and England would receive a terrible shock, which would produce bankruptcies and a general consternation." In pursuance of this arrangement, under the command of the Prince of Peace, a Spanish army invaded the Alentejo, and the French army of observation, at the same moment, entered Portugal. To conciliate the cabinets of France and Spain, Portugal agreed to close her ports against the English, to cede one half of Portuguese Guiana to France, and to pay 20,000,000 francs for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The British government, in retaliation, took possession of the island of Madeira.

In the month of June of this year, the

Dutch settlement of Ternate, the principal of the Molucca islands, had surrendered, after an obstinate resistance of fifty-two days, to a military and naval force under the command of Colonel Burr and Captain Hayes of the East India Company's service.

We shall here give a short account of the capture of the *Swiftsure*, Captain Hallowell, already alluded to. Admiral Gantheaume, having sailed from Toulon with reinforcements to the French army in the East, and having found it impossible to land the troops and stores which were on board the ships of his squadron, owing to the determined opposition of the Turks, he again sailed from Alexandria for Toulon. Gantheaume's squadron consisted of four ships-of-the-line and a large frigate named the *Créole*. The *Swiftsure*, having parted from her convoy, was returning to Malta to join the squadron under Sir John Borlase Warren, when, on the morning of the 24th of June, she descried the French squadron. The superior sailing powers of the French ships rendered all attempts at escape, on the part of the *Swiftsure*, unavailable. By two o'clock in



ACTION BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH PRIVATEERS.

THE CUTTING OUT OF THE CORVETTE LA CHEVRETTE.

FROM THE DRAWING BY MESSRS. H. & F. WOOD, IN JULY 1810.

Engraved by J. E. H. & F. WOOD, 25, Abchurch Lane, London.

Engraved by J. E. H. & F. WOOD, 25, Abchurch Lane, London.

the afternoon two of the fastest-sailing of the ships, and the frigate, had approached almost within gunshot. Captain Hallowell determined to bear down and engage the three ships, hoping, by disabling one before the others could be brought into action, he might then be able to make his escape. The *Swiftsure*, accordingly, under all sail, bore down, and endeavoured to pass astern of the rearmost of her three antagonists. In a short time the two line-of-battle ships, being within half gunshot, opened their fire. A spirited engagement then ensued, which lasted upwards of two hours. The superiority of the French ships, however, prevented Hallowell from getting to leeward, as he had expected, and the other two line-of-battle ships having taken up their position within gunshot, on the larboard bow and quarter, the *Swiftsure* was obliged to strike her colours. Of the two ships which the *Swiftsure* engaged, one carried eighty, and the other seventy-four guns; the larger ship carrying the flag of the commander. The masts, sails, and rigging of the British ship were a complete wreck; but her loss in killed and wounded was very small; the object of the French being to prevent her escape. M. Gantheaume's loss, in the two ships, was eight men killed and twenty-five wounded, and considerable damage done to the ships from the severe cannonading of the *Swiftsure*. The French admiral, much rejoicing at his good luck, manned his prize, and conveyed her to the harbour of Toulon.

The blockading squadrons on the Spanish coast, under Sir John Borlase Warren and Sir Richard Bickerton, having left their stations off the harbours of Ferrol and Cadiz in search of Gantheaume, Sir James Saumarez was dispatched in June from England with six sail-of-the-line and two frigates to maintain the blockade of Cadiz. On the 5th of July, receiving intelligence that three sail-of-the-line and one frigate, with some smaller vessels, under Admiral Linois, had anchored at Algesiras, a port immediately opposite Gibraltar, and within four miles of that place, the British admiral immediately went in pursuit, hoping to be able to capture them and resume

his station off Cadiz before the Spanish squadron in that port could be ready for sea. He arrived on the 6th in presence of the enemy, and having laid his ships close to his opponents, the action soon became general; but on account of the difficult navigation of the harbour, which was surrounded by reefs of sunken rocks, and the cross-fire of the heavy land-batteries and that of a number of gun-boats, and that the wind as soon as two of the British vessels got into action fell so as to prevent the remainder of the squadron from joining, the *Hannibal* grounded on the rocks, where she was exposed to the shot of the enemy's squadron on one side, and the land-batteries on the other, while fourteen gun-boats, securely posted under her stern, plied her with a destructive, raking fire. After several gallant attempts of the rest of the squadron to throw themselves between the batteries and the grounded vessel, they hauled off to the wall of Gibraltar, leaving the *Hannibal*, now completely dismantled and almost destroyed, to strike her colours, having sustained a loss of 360 men in killed and wounded: that of the enemy was, according to the Spanish account, 800.* The French vessels had been completely disabled. On the following morning the squadron was employed in removing the wounded to the hospitals, and repairing their damages. In the course of a few days Cadiz was blockaded: the Spanish squadron, consisting of five ships-of-the-line, with a French ship-of-the-line and three frigates, together formed a junction with Linois. On Sunday, the 12th, their united force, consisting of ten ships-of-the-line, three frigates, and an immense number of gun-boats, loosened sails, and at one o'clock were nearly all under weigh. While working round Cabareta Point to get into the Straits, the British squadron, consisting of five ships-of-the-line, one frigate, a polacca, and a hired armed brig, which had just worked out of the harbour of Gibraltar, in their pursuit, descried them. As the British ships cleared out of the harbour (eight o'clock, P.M.), anxious multitudes took their place on the cliff to witness the ap-

was circulated by the telegraph throughout the whole of France; but not a word was said about the batteries on shore, though the *Madrid Gazette* had claimed the repulse of the English squadron, and particularly the surrender of the *Hannibal* to the batteries on shore. The 6th of July was termed by the French journal the *Naval Marengo*. The same prophets predicted the destruction of the modern *Carthage*, because it had lost its *Hannibal*.

* The capture of the *Swiftsure*—though that capture had been effected by a whole squadron—had afforded an opportunity of great triumph to the French. The repulse at Algesiras was considered as the summit of naval glory. It was announced by an official note from the government to all the theatres of Paris, that six English ships-of-the-line had been either taken or beaten back into the harbour of Gibraltar by three French ships. The same news

The two British vessels immediately cast anchor within half gunshot of the enemy, when a brisk cannonade ensued; and though a polacca of twelve guns, and two additional gun-boats, came to their assistance, in the course of an hour and-a-half, the zebeck and three of the gun-boats having been sunk, the boats of the two English brigs entered the harbour, and succeeded in bringing out three brigs laden with wine, rice, and bread. The boats again returning under the personal command of Lord Cochrane, with the intention of bringing away more prizes, found the whole either sunk or driven on the beach.

The career of the *Speedy* was closed by her capture a few days after these gallant exploits. Falling in with the French squadron under Linois, she was taken possession of, and carried into Algeiras bay, though she had had recourse to every possible device and manœuvre to evade the pursuit.

In the month of February had occurred a contest between the *Phæbe*, of 36 guns, Captain Barlow, and the *Africaine*, 44 guns, commanded by Commodore Majendie, and bound to Egypt, in which the slaughter that took place on board the French ship, in proportion, greatly exceeded that which occurred on board the *Ca-ira* and the *Censeur*, which has been before stated in this work. On the 19th, the *Phæbe*, while off Gibraltar, discovered the *Africaine* on the Barbary shore, under Ceuta. After a close contest during two hours, in which the *Africaine* was reduced to a complete wreck, with five feet of water in her hold, and her decks covered with 200 dead and 143 wounded, out of a crew of 315 seamen and 400 soldiers, besides officers, she struck her colours. The loss of the *Phæbe* was only two killed and twelve wounded.

On the 21st of July, the boats of the *Doris*, *Beaulieu*, and *Urania*, which composed part of the in-shore squadron off Brest, entirely manned by volunteers under the direction of Lieutenant Lusach, boarded and carried a French corvette, *La Chevette*, mounting 20 guns, and manned with 360 men, while lying under the powerful batteries in the Bay of Camarat, and that, too, in the presence of the combined fleets of France and Spain. The attack was made in the night; but as soon as the approach of the English boats was observed, a heavy fire was opened from the *Chevette*, and the batteries. The contest lasted two hours and a-half, during which a dreadful carnage took

place on each side. The French ship's deck, when she struck, was covered with the mingled bodies of the combatants.

In the night of the 20th of August, the boats of the *Fishguard*, *Diamond*, and *Boadicea*, under the direction of Lieutenant Pipon, cut out of the harbour of Corunna a ship pierced for twenty-two guns, a gun-boat mounting a long 32-pounder, and a merchantman, though they were all moored under the range of the strong batteries which protect that port; and that the prizes were towed out of the port under a heavy fire.

Among the naval transactions of this year, the following exploit is not undeserving of notice. A pilot on board the *Immortalité* (one of the ships of the squadron stationed off Brest harbour to watch that port), and who spoke French with a native accent, requested his captain to allow him to go on shore, to endeavour to obtain some information respecting the Brest fleet. His captain consented; it having been previously arranged that a boat should, in the course of the night, be detached to the shore to bring him back. For five successive nights the boat went to the French shore, but without seeing anything of the pilot. At length, on the eighth day of his absence, he came alongside the *Immortalité* in a boat rowed by two Frenchmen; and on getting on board the vessel, gave the following account of himself:—"Being apprehensive I should be detected, I gave up all idea of getting on board in the manner and at the time agreed on, and therefore came to the resolution of hiring a boat to go into Camarat Bay. I accordingly hired a boat, and when we came near Camarat Bay I told the men I did not mean that bay, but Bertheaume Bay, which was much nearer the ship; the men rowed me towards that place, and when we came near it, I again told them I wished to go to Point St. Matthew, only within two gunshots of the frigate: on hearing this, the men flew into a violent passion, telling me they would take me back to Brest. I immediately took a brace of pistols from my pocket, and pointing one at each of them, exclaimed,—'I am an Englishman; if you do not put me on board my ship, I will blow your brains out.' The Frenchmen judged it best to comply with my request." The narrator of this story had been on board several of the French ships in the harbour, and obtained an account of their force and condition.

DEFENCE OF PORTO-FERRAJO, AND PEACE OF AMIENS.

AN event took place about this time, which, though trifling in importance, is memorable for its occurrence. While the whole of Italy had crouched before the power of the French republic, a small garrison in the town and fortress of Porto-Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany, defied their utmost efforts for its reduction, and bravely held out till the war was concluded by a peace between France and England.

When the French troops entered Tuscany, in October, 1800, a party of Englishmen who were at Leghorn, took refuge at Porto-Ferrajo, under the conduct of Mr. Grant, who was English vice-consul at Leghorn at the time of the French forces taking possession of that port. At the instigation of that gentleman and the English who accompanied him, the inhabitants of Porto-Ferrajo formed the resolution of defending themselves against the French. The whole of the inhabitants of the place took up arms, and they were joined by 300 soldiers from the English squadron, under Sir John Borslase Warren, 400 Corsicans, and a number of Neapolitan deserters in the pay of England. The place was quickly invested by a French force amounting to 5,000 men. Batteries were raised, and the town and fortress were bombarded. Attempts were twice made to storm it; but the assailants were repulsed with great loss. A sally was made by the besieged under Mr. Grant, and the principal battery of the French was destroyed. The besieging army was reinforced, and new batteries being constructed, the bombardment was recommenced with great fury and considerable damage to the besieged. At this moment (September 14th) Warren returned and effected a junction with the division of his squadron which he had left to cover Porto-Ferrajo while he had proceeded to watch the enemy's motions at Toulon, having on board 3,000 troops for the relief of Porto-Ferrajo. The ships of war being prevented by the enemy's batteries from entering the harbour, the troops were landed at different points as near Porto-Ferrajo as possible. At the same instant, the garrison making a sally, obtained possession of the battery which had contributed principally to prevent the English squadron from entering the harbour. The English had advanced about a mile and-a-half from

the beach, when the French general, seizing a favourable opportunity, attacked them with the bayonet. After an obstinate engagement, the English were forced to retire to their vessels. The English frigates, which on the capture of the French battery, had entered the harbour, were now under the necessity of quitting it for the purpose of receiving their countrymen who were on the beach on board. The attack which had also been made on Marciana, in the meantime, proved equally unsuccessful. In these untoward affairs, the loss of the English in endeavouring to gain their boats, through rocks and precipices, was 800 in killed, wounded, and drowned, together with 200 prisoners. In November, just a few days previous to the confirmation of peace between England and France, the garrison of Porto-Ferrajo, in a sally, headed by Mr. Grant, captured the outer entrenchments of the French camp.

M. Dumas, speaking of the successful resistance of a handful of men in this fort to the troops who had vanquished the greatest armies of Europe, says:—"It was an extraordinary spectacle, in the midst of triumphal songs and in the bosom of a continental peace [France, at the time, in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, &c., being in amity with all the European continental nations], to see an island of easy access, and almost touching the continent, the scene of a long and doubtful strife; and Europe beheld with amazement, in that island, a single fortress arrest the arms which the forces of the coalition had been unable to subdue."

In the midst of all the hostile transactions of this year, negotiations had been carried on between the two belligerent governments of France and Great Britain. Flags of truce were continually passing amidst the vessels of war, between Calais and Dover, and couriers between London and Paris. The negotiation was managed in London by M. Otto, who remained in that city to superintend the arrangements for the exchange of prisoners, on the part of the French government; and Lord Hawkesbury, on behalf of that of Great Britain. On the 1st of October, the preliminary articles of peace were signed in London; on the 10th, the ratification; and on the 12th a proclamation was issued,

ordering a cessation of arms by sea and land. According to the preliminary articles, five months from the date of ratification was the longest period during which hostilities could legally exist in the most distant part of the globe. The definitive treaty between all the belligerents was not finally concluded until the 25th of March, 1802, at Amiens. Thus was concluded a peace which, as Mr. Sheridan said, "all men were glad of, and of which no man could be proud."

By that treaty, England surrendered up all her conquests, with the exception of the

islands of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to be restored to the Dutch as a free port; and the island of Malta and its dependencies to its order; and their independence was placed under the guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia; its port being rendered free to all nations. The republic of the Seven Islands was acknowledged. The French troops were to evacuate Naples and the Roman territory; and the British all the islands and ports which they occupied in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic.

RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS, AND RENEWAL OF THE WAR.

MANY causes conduced to the rupture of the peace of Amiens. Napoleon Buonaparte, irritated at the asperity with which his government and acts had been canvassed, and his encroachments in continental Europe stigmatised, instructed his minister (M. Otto) at the court of London to make the following demands:—1. That the English government should adopt measures for the suppression of certain libellous publications. 2. That French emigrants resident in Jersey should be sent out of that island. 3. That the Vendéan chief, Georges, and his adherents, should be transported to Canada. 4. That the Bourbon princes, then resident in Great Britain, should repair to Warsaw; and 5. That the French emigrants who continued to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, should be required to quit the territory of the British empire. To these requisitions the reply of our government was, that while the English nation was sincerely disposed for the preservation of peace, no representative of a foreign power would ever induce them to consent to a violation of those rights on which the liberties of the people of England were founded. Napoleon Buonaparte's grand reason of discontent was his ambition and his desire of conquest, which he gave forcible expression to in his assertion, that "a government like that of France, in order to maintain itself, required to dazzle and astonish; that it must either be the first of all, or be overpowered." To accomplish this object,

the conquest of England was necessary; and, for this purpose, he devoted all the energies of his mind. "The destruction of England," said Mr. Sheridan, in the course of the parliamentary debate on the necessity of resisting the restless and insatiable ambition of the ruler of France, "is the first vision which breaks on the French consul through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night, to whatever deity he may address it, whether to Jupiter or to Mahomet, to the goddess of battles, or to the goddess of reason. Look at the map of Europe, from which France was said to be expunged, and now see nothing but France. If the ambition of Napoleon Buonaparte be immeasurable, there are abundant reasons why it should be progressive."

The causes of dissatisfaction on the part of England were, in addition to the attempts to embarrass and injure British commerce, that a privileged spy, under the denomination of "a commercial agent," was stationed in every port, with secret instructions to obtain "plans of the ports of his district, with a specification of the soundings, for mooring vessels;" and, if no such plan could be procured, "to point out the winds necessary for vessels to enter and depart; and what the greatest draught of water with which they could enter therein deeply laden." On missions of this kind, military men, engineers, and members of the secret police † were dispatched to London; and two of the most active, Chepy and Fauvelet, actually commenced their functions at Guernsey and

Dublin; but a providential accident revealing the design, the British government prohibited the others proceeding to their places of destination, on pain of being ordered to quit the kingdom.

Influenced by these causes, as also by the demonstration of the ambitious designs of the first consul on continental Europe, the English government sent orders to delay the evacuation of Malta, Alexandria, and the Cape of Good Hope,* until some satisfactory information could be obtained of the French designs.

In this unsettled and threatening state of affairs, a message from the king to parliament announced, that as very considerable naval and military preparations were being made in the ports of France and Holland, additional aid was required for the defence of the British dominions, in case of an encroachment on the part of France. The militia were called out, and preparations made for the re-equipment of the fleets.

These measures, together with the resolution of the British ministry not to evacuate Malta, Alexandria, and the Cape of Good Hope, so excited the anger of Napoleon Buonaparte and disarranged his plans, that no sooner had Lord Whitworth made his appearance at a *levée*, held in the Tuileries for giving audience to the foreign ambassadors, than the first consul, fixing his eye on him, exclaimed loudly and fiercely: "You are, then, determined on war!" On Lord Whitworth denying the charge, Napoleon Buonaparte rejoined: "We have been at war for fifteen years: you are resolved to have fifteen years more of it—you force me to it. If you arm, I will arm too. You may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her." "We desire neither to injure nor intimidate her, but to live on terms of good intelligence," replied Lord Whitworth. "Respect treaties, then," said Napoleon Buonaparte. "Woe to those by whom they are not respected!—they shall be responsible for the result." He immediately quitted the *levée*, leaving the assembled ministers astonished at his unseemly conduct. Lord Whitworth quitted Paris on the night of the 12th of May; and passports were soon after granted to the French ambassador in London. Letters of

marque were issued by the British government on the 16th; and on the 18th, war was declared against France and Holland. Previous to the announcement in the *London Gazette* of the renewal of hostilities, orders had been issued for the seizure of all shipping of France, and of the states subject to her power, in British ports; and in retaliation, Napoleon Buonaparte ordered all English subjects, between the ages of eighteen and sixty, residing or travelling in the dominions of France, to be arrested and detained. A close blockade of the harbours of France and Holland was immediately enforced. Lord Nelson was appointed to the command of the Mediterranean fleet; and on reaching his destination took his station off Toulon, to watch the fleet and expedition preparing there for Corsica. The army, both regular, militia, and volunteer, was increased to an unexampled extent. Three hundred and fifty thousand volunteers and yeomanry enrolled themselves. Entrenched camps were formed along the English coast opposite France, at Chatham, and on the banks of the Thames. By night, beacons blazed on every hill-top throughout the island. Block-ships, consisting of old hulks, colliers, or other almost unserviceable vessels, were fitted up to bear guns, and placed on the river Thames, as high as Gravesend; others down the channel of the Severn, off Harwich; and some were stationed off Margate. "On a sudden," says Sir Walter Scott, "the whole island seemed converted into a vast camp—the whole nation into soldiers."

The war was opened vigorously on both sides. Napoleon Buonaparte ordered Mortier to advance with the French army which had been collected on the frontiers of Holland, and seize the electorate of Hanover. When the French general had reached the heart of the electorate, the governor (the Duke of Cambridge) considering resistance hopeless, agreed to evacuate the country, provided his army was permitted to retire behind the Elbe; but the treaty was no sooner completed than Mortier compelled General Walmoden, the commander-in-chief, to surrender his arms and horses, and disband and dismiss the men. At the same time, Napoleon Buonaparte issued a decree, that all neutral vessels which had touched at a harbour of Great Britain should be liable to seizure; and that all colonial produce and merchandise brought in neutral vessels direct from England, should be confiscated.

* The following conquests had already been surrendered: Pondicherry, in the East Indies; Martinique, St. Lucia, and Tobago, in the West Indies; Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, and Surinam, in South America; and Cochín.

Napoleon at this time recurred to his favourite scheme of invading England. Camps were formed along the French and Dutch coasts, and vast flotillas, for the purpose of conveying the troops across the Channel, were prepared, and constantly manœuvred in all the harbours from Brest to the Texel; the harbour of Boulogne being appointed the central point for the assemblage. The fleets of Spain and Holland were to co-operate with those of France in the undertaking. In the month of July, Buonaparte left Paris to inspect the coasts and harbours of the Channel, and review "*l'armée d'Angleterre.*" From Boulogne,* he proceeded to Brussels.

For the destruction of the invading flotilla, an absurd project was set on foot, termed the "Catamaran project," consisting of fire-ships and catamarans; which last-mentioned machines were suggested to the ministry by one Fulton, an American engineer, and were copper vessels, or coffers, about twenty-one feet long, and three feet and a-half broad, stuffed full of gun-powder (about forty barrels being required for each), and in the midst of the loose powder a piece of clockwork machinery, the mainspring of which, on the withdrawing of a peg placed transversely on the lid of the coffer, would, in the course of a few minutes, draw or strike the trigger of a lock, and explode the coffer. Those vessels were to be towed and fastened under the bottom of the enemy's gun-boats, by a raft, consisting of two planks united together in the manner of the Indian catamaran, and rowed by one man, who, being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly escape observation in the dark. Fire-ships were also to be employed in the projected attack. The whole force was to be covered by Lord Keith's blockading squadron. The appearance of about 150 French gun-boats, moored in a double line outside the pier of Boulogne,

* While Napoleon Buonaparte was at Boulogne, the following interesting circumstance is said to have occurred:—Two English sailors who had escaped from Verdun and reached the neighbourhood of Boulogne, had concealed themselves in the woods, waiting for an opportunity to get on board some English vessel which might approach the land. Finding that the watch on the coast was too strict to afford a chance of their procuring a boat by stealth, they diligently set to work with their knives, cutting branches from the trees, and interlacing them with osiers. When the hull was completed, they covered the sides and bottom with sail-cloth. Descrying one day an English cruiser in the Channel, the hardy men launched their frail boat, and put to sea. They had not advanced far, before a custom-

presenting an opportunity of experiment, on the 2nd of October, Keith anchored his fleet about a league and a-half from the port of Boulogne. In the course of the day a sufficient force was detached from the fleet to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, and giving protection to wounded men or to boats which might be crippled; or, should the wind freshen, and blow in-shore, to tow off the boats. At a quarter-past nine, under a heavy fire from the advanced force, and which was returned by a tremendous one from the shore, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched. As they approached the French line, the vessels of the flotilla opened to let them through, and so effectually were they avoided, that they passed to the rear of the line without doing the least injury. At half-past ten, the first explosive ship blew up, but without any damage to the gun-boats or the shore batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth succeeded no better. Four or five catamarans were then launched, and their explosion would have been equally ineffectual, had it not been for an unexpected accident. An English boat, after having towed a catamaran, was abandoned by her crew, but left with a sail up. A heavily-armed launch made a rush at the abandoned boat, and twenty-seven French soldiers and sailors immediately leaped into it. But scarcely had they cleared off with their prize, ere their launch ran foul of the catamaran, and was instantly blown into the air, with the loss of her remaining crew. In the whole affair, which lasted from nine in the evening of the 2nd of October, till four o'clock next morning, the loss of the French was only fourteen killed and seven wounded. The English had not a single man hurt. The historical appellation given to this absurd affair was, *The Catamaran Expedition.*

house galley overtook them, and brought them to shore. They were imprisoned as spies, and were to be tried as such. The incident spreading through the camp, reached the ears of Napoleon Buonaparte. He desired the men and their vessel to be brought before him. On their appearance, "Is it really true," said he, "that you intended to cross the sea in such a thing as this?" "Ay, sir," replied one of them, "give us permission to do so, and we will set out instantly." "You shall have permission," replied Napoleon Buonaparte; "but you shall not expose your lives. You are free, and shall be conducted on board of an English ship;" at the same time dismissing them with a sum of money to procure clothes and necessaries until they could be forwarded to an English vessel.

On the 8th of May, Captain Wright, who mysteriously met his death in the Temple at Paris, being becalmed in the 18-gun brig *Vincejo*, close to the mouth of the river Morbihan, on the coast of France, and carried by the ebb-tide close upon the rocks, after a gallant defence of two hours against seventeen vessels, carrying 35 guns (of which 30 were long 18 and 24-pounders), and whose crews amounted to 800 men, was under the necessity of striking his colours, his fire having been reduced to one gun in every five minutes, and his vessel a mere wreck. Lieutenant Tourneur, the commodore of the flotilla, on receiving Captain Wright's sword, said: "Sir, you have nobly maintained the honour of your nation, and the high reputation of your country's navy. The French love and esteem the brave, and will treat you and your men with all possible kindness."

During the occurrence of the transactions just narrated, Nelson was blockading Toulon, where Latouche Trévillé commanded the French fleet. "He was sent on purpose," said Nelson; "as he *beat* me at Boulogne, to beat me again; but he seems very loth to try." One day, while the main body of Nelson's fleet was out of sight of land, Rear-admiral Campbell, reconnoitring with the *Canopus*, *Donegal*, and *Amazon*, stood in close to the port; Latouche, taking advantage of a breeze which sprang up, pushed out of port, with four ships-of-the-line and three heavy frigates, and chased him about four leagues. The French admiral published a boastful account, affirming that he had given chase to the whole British fleet, and that Nelson had fled before him. Nelson, in his letter to the Admiralty on this subject, said: "I never heard of Latouche acting otherwise than as a poltroon and a liar:" and to his brother he said—"You have seen Latouche's letter; how he chased me, and how I ran. I keep it; and if I take him, by God he shall eat it!"

The last naval transaction of this year was the capture of the Spanish homeward-bound treasure-ships. In expectation of a rupture with Spain, and an armament being in a state of preparation in Ferrol, instructions were sent to Lord Nelson to intercept all Spanish vessels laden with naval or military stores, as also the homeward-bound treasure-frigates of Spain, till the pleasure of the British government was known. On the 5th of October, a squadron of four British frigates,

under the command of Captain Moore, fell in with the four expected Spanish frigates near Cape Santa Maria. After ineffectually hailing the Spaniards to shorten sail, Moore fired a shot across the fore-foot of the foremost frigate, which then taking in sail, a lieutenant was sent to inform the Spaniard that he had orders to detain his vessels, and earnestly entreated compliance. The Spaniard refusing to submit, Moore made the signal for close battle, and immediately an engagement ensued, each of the English frigates taking an antagonist. In less than ten minutes, one of the Spanish ships blew up with a tremendous explosion. In the course of the following half-hour two of the Spaniards surrendered; and the fourth, after an attempt to escape, was captured before sunset. The loss, on the part of the English, was two killed and seven wounded; that of the Spaniards was near 100 in killed and wounded, besides the 240 lives lost by the explosion. The value of the cargoes captured was £2,000,000 sterling. A deep domestic tragedy cast a cloud over this exploit. A Captain Alava, of the Spanish navy, with his wife, four daughters, and five sons, grown up to man and womanhood, had embarked in the Spanish frigate which blew up, carrying with him a fortune estimated at £30,000 sterling, the gradual savings of thirty years' industry in South America. Not many minutes before the engagement began, he, with his eldest son, went on board the commodore's frigate, where he had been but a short time when he witnessed the explosion of the ship containing his family and hard-earned savings. The British government returned, out of the proceeds of the cargoes, the £30,000 which M. Alava had lost by the catastrophe. This affair, in conjunction with provocations given by the Spanish government, led to a declaration of war in the following year against Spain.

In the beginning of the year 1805, Napoleon perceiving that a third coalition was on the eve of being formed against him, addressed a letter to George III., urging upon him the many advantages which would result to the two countries by the conclusion of peace. After referring to the length of time the war had continued, and that there could be no more favourable opportunity for terminating it than the present, the letter concluded thus:—"What, then, has your majesty to hope for from war? To form a coalition with some of the con-

tinental powers? Be assured the continent will remain at peace. A coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew our intestine troubles? The times are no longer as formerly. To destroy our finances? Finances, founded on a flourishing agriculture, are never to be destroyed. To wrest from France her colonies? They are, to her, only secondary objects; and does not your majesty already possess more than your power can protect? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable results to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect to cause two nations to fight merely for the sake of fighting. I have now discharged a sacred duty, and one dear to my heart. Your majesty may rely on the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of that sincerity." In answer to this communication, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs replied, that the king of England, "though earnestly desiring the restoration of peace, could not entertain the overture made to him without consulting the continental powers, particularly the Emperor of Russia."

The cabinets of London, St. Petersburg, and Stockholm were now parties in a league for the following objects:—1, to restore the independence of Holland and Switzerland; 2, to free the north of Germany from the presence of the French troops; 3, to procure the restoration of Piedmont to the King of Sardinia; and, 4th, the evacuation of Italy;—aggressions and encroachments which Napoleon Buonaparte had made during the continuance of the peace of Amiens. And it was further agreed between the contracting parties, that until the attainment of these objects, and the sway of France should be reduced to limits compatible with the independence of the other European states, no peace was to be signed by any one of the contracting powers. Austria and Prussia were not yet prepared to join the confederation. The continual abuse which the *Moniteur* daily uttered against the King of Sweden, for his co-operation with the other allied powers, induced the Swedish cabinet to hand to the French minister at Stockholm a note complaining of the indecent and ridiculous insolence which *Monsieur Buonaparte* had permitted to be inserted against the Swedish king in that official journal. For the purpose of inducing the King of Prussia to

join the coalition, the Emperor Alexander repaired in person to Berlin. The two sovereigns met in the vault in which Frederick the Great lay buried, and there solemnly swore, over his remains, to effect the liberation of Germany. But though thus pledged to the czar, the Prussian potentate did not (on account of the divided state of opinion among his subjects, and a strong French party being in his cabinet) immediately commence hostilities. But the forbearance of the Emperor of Austria was at length exhausted by the news of Napoleon Buonaparte's coronation at Milan as King of Italy, and the annexation of Genoa to the French empire. War was declared against France; and the Elector of Bavaria refusing to take the field in conjunction with the Austrian army, the Austrian troops were ordered to invade the electorate.

Napoleon Buonaparte now prepared for a descent on the coast of England with a vigour and an appearance of earnestness he had not hitherto assumed. Camps were formed on the coast, from Utrecht to the mouth of the Somme; and 150,000 men under Marmont, Ney, Lannes, Victor, Soult, Davoust, and Junot, besides 10,000 on board of the combined French and Spanish fleet (daily expected to make its appearance from the West Indies), with nearly 15,000 horses and 430 pieces of cannon, were ready for the enterprise. To convey this immense force, the flotilla consisted of 2,290 vessels, of which 1,350 were armed; and 3,500 pieces of cannon were ready to put to sea on the appointed signal. Anxious to have ocular proof of the degree of celerity with which this immense force could be embarked, Napoleon Buonaparte ordered the operation to be executed twice in his presence. So pleased was he with the result that, in a letter to Admiral Decrès, he wrote: "The English do not know what awaits them. If we are masters of the Channel for two hours, England has lived its time!" In another letter to Cambacérès, he says: "I am not able to divine by what precaution England can save herself from the terrible fate which awaits her." In order to deceive the British as to the ultimate destination of the French squadron, and to have the Channel clear of English ships of war, Villeneuve had been sent to the West Indies, that it might be supposed it was intended to attack our colonies. The stratagem was successful. Nelson, with the Mediterranean fleet, went in search of the French

admiral. Villeneuve, having assembled at Martinique the various fleets dispatched from different French and Dutch ports, returned to the Bay of Biscay with sixty ships-of-the-line, while Nelson was three weeks' sail in the rear. But the invasion of Bavaria by the Austrian troops, and the declaration of hostilities by the emperor against France, diverted Napoleon from his design of the invasion of England, and induced him to employ the army which had been collected on the coast of France in his ensuing German campaigns.* The accidental encounter of Sir Robert Calder with Villeneuve, off Cape Finisterre,† tended also to the frustration of the results intended from the combination of the French and allied fleets. The events which led to Calder's action were as follows:—

As has been already stated, Lord Nelson had taken the command of the Mediterranean fleet in 1803. When at sea, he kept the fleet generally off Cape Polaca, or Cape St. Sebastian. These capes, being to the westward of Toulon, gave him the advantage, in strong westerly gales, of running into the Bay of Rosas, or under the Hières Islands, for shelter; or, when the weather was moderate, of keeping a watch on the Spanish fleet, and preventing it from forming a junction with the French fleet at Toulon.

The English fleet having been driven off its station at Cape St. Sebastian on the 3rd of January, 1805, and compelled to sail to its old anchorage in Agincourt Sound off the

* While these operations were in prosecution, the English cruisers had, in many instances, attacked portions of the flotilla in the different ports of assembly, and in some cases destroyed a few of them. In the latter part of the year, two attempts were made to destroy the line of gun-vessels at anchor in Boulogne Road, but they were both rendered abortive by the stormy state of the weather.

† When intelligence of the naval battle at Cape Finisterre, between the English and French fleets, and the putting of his fleet into the harbour of Ferrol, by Villeneuve (instead of advancing, according to his instructions, to the English Channel), reached Napoleon Buonaparte at Boulogne, his rage was violent. According to the author of *Précis des Evénemens*, the intendant-general of the army of England found Napoleon Buonaparte striding up and down his apartment, uttering the abrupt exclamations—"What a navy!—what an admiral!—what sacrifices lost! My hopes are frustrated! This Villeneuve, instead of being in the Channel, has put into Ferrol! Daru, sit down, listen and write." Then, without hesitating or stopping (says the narrator), he dictated the whole plan of the campaign of Austerlitz;—the departure of the different corps of the army (as well from Hanover and Holland as

coast of Sardinia, on the 17th, the French fleet under Villeneuve, with a large body of troops on board, sailed from Toulon, and making directly for Cadiz, formed a junction there with the Spanish fleet under Admiral Gravina. The *Active* and *Seahorse* frigates, which Nelson had left to watch the port of Toulon, brought (on the 19th) the long hoped-for intelligence to Nelson. From the position of the enemy when they were last seen by the frigates on the preceding evening, Nelson inferred that they were bound round the southern end of Sardinia. The British fleet immediately unmoored and weighed in pursuit. After beating about the Sicilian seas for ten days in search of the enemy, Nelson ran for Egypt, under the impression that they were bound for that country.‡ Baffled in his pursuit, he bore up for Malta. Being, on February 14th, about 100 leagues to the eastward, he wrote his celebrated letter to the first lord of the admiralty, explaining the reasons he considered Egypt to have been the destination of the French fleet:—"Feeling as I do," said he, in anxiety and disappointment, "that I am entirely responsible to my king and country for the whole of my conduct, I find no difficulty at this moment, when I am so unhappy at not finding the French fleet, nor having obtained the smallest information where they are, to lay before you the whole of the reasons which induced me to pursue the line of conduct I have. I have consulted no man; therefore the whole blame of ignorance in forming my judgment must rest with me.

from the western and northern boundaries of France), the order of the routes, their duration, the points of conveyance and reunion of the columns, the attacks by surprise and open force, and the various movements of the enemy. Such was the accuracy of this plan, and the immense foresight it displayed, that on a march of 200 leagues, lines of operation 300 leagues in length, were conducted according to the original design, day by day and league by league, all the way to Munich. Beyond that capital, the time alone underwent some alteration; but the points were reached, and the *ensemble* of the plan crowned with success.

‡ Villeneuve's instructions were:—after having effected his junction with the Spanish fleet, to sail to the West Indies; and having thrown succours into Martinique and Guadeloupe, taking possession of St. Lucia and Dominica, regaining Surinam and the Dutch colonies, and putting St. Jago and St. Domingo (in the island of Hispaniola) in a state of defence, to effect a junction in that quarter with the various squadrons which would be dispatched from the French ports; and then returning to Europe, and effecting a junction with the Brest fleet, appear in the English Channel, to cover the descent of "the army of England" on the shores of that country.

I would allow no man to take from me an atom of my glory, had I fallen in with the French fleet; nor do I desire any man to partake of any of the responsibility. All is mine, right or wrong: therefore, I shall now state the reasons, after seeing that Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily were safe, for believing that Egypt was the destination of the French fleet; and, at this moment of sorrow, I still feel that I have acted right. Firstly: the wind had blown from north-east to south-east for fourteen days before they sailed; therefore they might, without difficulty, have gone to the westward. Secondly: they came out with gentle breezes at north-west and north-north-west. Had they been bound to Naples, the most natural thing for them to have done, would have been to run along their own shore to the eastward, where they would have ports every twenty leagues of coast to take shelter in. Thirdly: they bore away in the evening of the 18th, with a strong gale at north-west or north-north-west, steering south or south-by-west. It blew so hard, that the *Seahorse* went more than thirteen knots an hour to get out of their way. Desirable as Sardinia is for them, they could get it without risking their fleet, although not so quickly as by attacking Cagliari. Having afterwards gone to Sicily, both to Palermo and Messina, and thereby given encouragement for a defence, and knowing that all was safe at Naples, I had only the Morea and Egypt to look to: for, although I knew that one of the French ships was crippled, yet I considered the character of Napoleon Buonaparte, and that the orders given by him on the banks of the Seine would not take into consideration wind or weather. Nor, indeed, could the accident of even three or four ships alter, in my opinion, a destination of importance; therefore such an accident did not weigh on my mind, and I went to the Morea, and then to Egypt. The result of my inquiries at Coron and Alexandria confirms me in my former opinion; and therefore, my lord, if my obstinacy or ignorance is so gross, I should be the first to recommend your superseding me. But, on the contrary, if (as I flatter myself) it should be found that my ideas of the probable destination of the French fleet were well founded, in the opinion of his majesty's ministers, then, I shall hope for the consolation of having my conduct approved by his majesty, who will, I am sure, weigh my whole proceedings in the scale of justice."

Receiving intelligence that the French fleet had put back to Toulon, he proceeded to the Gulf of Lyons, and after baffling much severe weather, on the 15th of March gained his old winter station, a few miles to the eastward of Cape St. Sebastian, the southernmost horn of the Bay of Rosas, in Catalonia. To tempt Villeneuve out to sea, he bore away for the coast of Spain, and ran down as far as Barcelona, but suddenly again worked back to his old station. Terrible gales now compelled him to run to Sardinia, and anchor in Pulla Bay, in the Gulf of Cagliari. As soon as the weather moderated, he put to sea again, but on the 29th of March was obliged to anchor in the Gulf of Palmas. Thence he hastened to proceed to Toulon, but was detained a considerable time by stress of weather. On the 4th of April he resumed his old station off Toulon; but being informed by the *Phæbe* brig that Villeneuve, taking advantage of his absence, had put to sea on the last day of March, and when last seen (April 7th) was off the Cape de Gatt, steering for the coast of Africa, cruisers were instantly dispatched to Gibraltar, Lisbon, and to Admiral Cornwallis off Brest, while the fleet covered the Channel between Sardinia and Barbary in all directions. Additional intelligence was, that on the 8th, Villeneuve had passed the Straits of Gibraltar. Instantly the British admiral beat up against strong westerly winds in that direction, but was not able to reach the rock of Gibraltar till the 30th; and the fleet requiring water and provisions, he, on the 4th of May, anchored in Mazari Bay, on the coast of Africa. In the meantime, Villeneuve hastened on to Cadiz, where Sir John Orde necessarily retiring with the blockading squadrons, Admiral Gravina, with six Spanish and two French ships-of-the-line, effected a junction with the French admiral. The united squadrons, consisting of eighteen ships-of-the-line, six 44-gun frigates, and four smaller vessels and transports, with about 5,000 soldiers on board, set sail for the West Indies on the 5th of May; and on the 12th, arrived in sight of the island of Martinique. Nelson, on receiving information of the departure of the Franco-Spanish fleet for the West Indies (though his fleet consisted of but ten sail-of-the-line and three frigates, his ships having been at sea nearly two years, and his crews worn out with fatigue and watching), immediately made

signal to hoist every rag of canvas for the West Indies. "Do you," said he to his officers, "take each a Frenchman, and leave the Spaniards to me. When I haul down my colours, I expect you to do the same; but not till then." The combined fleet had five-and-thirty days the start of Nelson; but he calculated on gaining eight or ten days on them during the passage. They reached Martinique on the 14th of June: he arrived at Barbadoes on the 4th of June. There he was informed that Villeneuve's fleet had been seen from St. Lucia standing for the southward, and that Tobago and Trinidad were their destination. His opinion was different; he yielded to that of his officers, but said—"If your intelligence proves false, you lose me the French fleet." He sailed for Tobago; but finding he had been misled by false intelligence, proceeded to Trinidad. No enemy being found there, he bore up for Grenada, where he arrived on the 9th of June, and learned that the combined fleet had passed to the leeward of Antigua the preceding day, and had captured a homeward-bound convoy of fifteen sail of merchantmen.* Some of the prisoners telling the French admiral that Nelson had arrived in the West Indies in search of him, he set sail for Europe, and on the 23rd of June reached the latitude of the Azores.† Villeneuve (as Thiers candidly acknowledges), with twenty ships-of-the-line, trembled at the approach of Nelson with eleven. As soon as intelligence reached Nelson of the destination of the combined fleet, he steered for Europe in their pursuit, remarking—"If I fall in with them, we will not part without a battle; but I think they will be glad to let me alone, if I will let them alone." On the 17th of July he came in sight of Cape St. Vincent, and on the 19th anchored at Gibraltar to take in provisions. Having victualled the fleet, he proceeded towards Cape St. Vincent, and cruised for intelligence to the northward, but without success. Still persevering, and still disappointed, he returned to his old

* The French frigates in possession of the merchantmen being met by two British ships, who hoisted signals and fired guns as if to a fleet ahead, set fire to their prizes.

† At this time Villeneuve received later instructions from Napoleon, directing him to raise the blockade of Ferrol, join the five French ships-of-the-line, and ten Spanish which awaited them in that harbour; make sail from thence to Rochefort, join the five ships under Missiessy at that place, and then to steer to Brest, where he was to join Gantheaume, who there awaited his arrival with twenty-one ships-

station off Cadiz; but ascertaining that the enemy was not there, he traversed the Bay of Biscay, and steered for the north-west coast of Ireland. Frustrated in all his hopes, after a pursuit which for extent, rapidity, and perseverance is without a parallel in naval history, he on the 15th of August reinforced the Channel fleet under Admiral Cornwallis, off Ushant, apprehending that the enemy, having liberated the Ferrol squadron blockaded by Sir Robert Calder, would call for the Rochefort ships and then appear off that island, there to be joined by the Brest fleet, when the whole would sail for the Channel, to cover "the army of England" during its embarkation and descent on the English coast. Nelson here received information of Sir Robert Calder's engagement with Villeneuve on the 22nd of July, off Cape Finisterre, while he was within the Straits of Gibraltar victualing and refitting his fleet. He did not rest long at Gibraltar, for on the 22nd he sailed for Tetuan; on the 24th for Ceuta; and on the 26th he was again off Cape St. Vincent. A brig sloop, homeward bound from the West Indies, reported to him that the combined fleet had been seen on the 19th of June in lat. 33° 12' N., long. 58° W. On the 3rd of August, Nelson was in lat. 39° N., long. 16° W. At this time the following circumstance took place, in which Nelson's acuteness and ingenuity were remarkably displayed:—"Cruising off St. Vincent, a case occurred," says Mr. Southey, "that more than any other event in real history, resembles those whimsical proofs of sagacity which Voltaire in his *Zadig* has borrowed from the orientals." He proceeds to state that a log-book and a few seamen's jackets were brought to Nelson, which had been found in the cabin of a dismasted privateer that had been deserted by her crew and set fire to. The narrative is thus continued:—"The log-book closed with these words: 'Two large vessels in the W.N.W.;' and this led him to conclude that the vessel had of-the-line: the united fleet would then consist of sixty-one ships-of-the-line. With this great force the French admiral was to proceed to Boulogne, and cover the passage of the flotilla which was to convey the "army of England" to the shores of Britain. In concluding his instructions to Villeneuve, Napoleon remarked:—"The grand object of the whole operation is to procure for us a superiority for a few days before Boulogne—masters of the Channel for a few days—150,000 men will embark in the 2,000 vessels which are there assembled, and the expedition is concluded."

been an English privateer cruising off the western islands. But there was in this book a scrap of dirty paper filled with figures. Nelson, immediately upon seeing it, observed that the figures were written by a Frenchman; and after studying this for awhile, said: 'I can explain the whole. The jackets are of French manufacture, and prove that the privateer was in possession of the enemy. She had been chased and taken by the two ships that were seen in the W.N.W. The prize-master going on board in a hurry forgot to take with him his reckoning; there is none in the log-book, and the dirty paper contains her work for the number of days since the privateer last left Corvo; with an unaccounted for run, which I take to have been the chase in his endeavour to find out her situation by back reckonings. By some mismanagement, I conclude, she was run on board of by one of the enemy's ships and dismantled. Not liking delay—for I am satisfied that those two ships were the advanced ones of the French squadron—and fancying we were

close at their heels, they set fire to the vessel and abandoned her in a hurry. If this explanation be correct, I infer from it they are gone more to the northward; and more to the northward I will look for them.'" His sagacity was not rewarded with instant success. The enemy still eluded pursuit.

On the evening following his junction with the Channel fleet, he received orders to proceed with the *Victory* and *Superb* to Spithead, where he shortly after struck his flag, and retired to private life to recruit his health. At the time when Nelson ascertained that the destination of the combined fleet was Europe, he dispatched fast-sailing brigs to London, &c., to apprise the government. One (the *Curieux*) arrived at London on the 9th of July, having outstripped the combined fleet. Instantly orders were dispatched to Rear-admiral Stirling, who commanded the squadron before Rochefort, to raise the blockade of that harbour, and proceed with all expedition to join Vice-admiral Calder off Ferrol.

NAVAL ACTION OFF CAPE FINISTERRE, JULY 22ND, 1805.

SIR ROBERT CALDER, who was blockading the port of Ferrol, was ordered, when reinforced by the six sail-of-the-line from Rochefort (by which junction his fleet consisted of fifteen sail-of-the-line, two frigates, a lugger, and a cutter), to look out for the combined Franco-Spanish fleet, under Ville-neuve and Gravina, within forty leagues to the westward of Cape Finisterre. On the sudden clearing up of a fog on the morning of the 22nd of July, the enemy was discovered with twenty sail-of-the-line, a 50-gun ship, seven frigates, and two brigs, about forty leagues from Ferrol. Instantly the signal for action was made, and the British fleet bore down on the enemy in two columns, with signal to attack their centre. Villeneuve, to prevent his headmost vessels being cut off and enveloped by a superior force, tacked and luffed, thus opposing the head of the British attacking column with the head of his own fleet. The *Hero* fetched up close under the lee of the hostile fleet; so that by the time the headmost British ships reached the enemy's centre, their ships were tacking in succession; and thus a general action was brought on in a disorderly manner:

and when both fleets were in close action, several vessels in each were exposed to the attack of two or three opponents. The action, which began about half-past four, P.M., lasted till half-past nine. The thick fog, which had prevailed to that degree during the whole action that it was almost impossible to see further than a cable's length, had occasioned the battle to become a series of separate contests between individual vessels; and the British admiral not being able to manœuvre with effect, and avail himself of his superiority of naval tactics, made the night private signal to cease fighting and lay-to for the night. He had captured an 84 and a 74-gun ship. His loss, in men and officers, was 39 killed and 159 wounded; that of the enemy, between 400 and 500 men in killed and wounded. At daybreak of the 23rd the hostile fleets were about seventeen miles apart. About noon the combined fleet approached to within a league-and-a-half of the British; but finding the English fleet ready to receive him, he made signal to haul to the wind. On the 24th each fleet pursued its route in parallel lines. On the following day, Sir Robert Calder

stood away with his prizes, with the intention of falling back on the support of the Channel fleet, or that of Lord Nelson. Villeneuve returned to Ferrol, where he claimed the victory; and all France believed him: though he had constantly hauled away whenever the British fleet stood towards him. The capture of two ships from so superior a

force, would have been considered as no inconsiderable victory a few years earlier: but Nelson had introduced a new era in our naval history; and the nation felt, respecting this action, as they had felt on a somewhat similar occasion;—they regretted that Nelson, with his eleven ships, had not been in Sir Robert Calder's place.

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

WHEN Villeneuve was met by the British fleet under Sir Robert Calder, he was on his way to Brest, where Gantheaume was ready to effect a junction with him, with twenty-one ships-of-the-line. Gantheaume, in expectation of Villeneuve's appearance, on the 21st of August stood out to sea, and drew up in order of battle in Bertheaume Roads; but, on Admiral Cornwallis, who was watching that port with fourteen ships-of-the-line, moving up to attack him, Gantheaume, after a distant cannonade, retired to the protection of the land batteries, and at nightfall entered Brest harbour. After the battle of Cape Finisterre (July 22nd), Villeneuve entered Ferrol; and he hurried thither under so great a press of sail as to leave three of his ships-of-the-line, which were too much crippled to keep up with him, to the chance of capture. Subsequently he took refuge in Cadiz, which port Admiral Collingwood had been blockading, but was obliged to withdraw to the southward on Villeneuve's approach. Being followed by sixteen large ships, he kept just out of gunshot, on the edge of the current, determined that his pursuers should not drive him through the Straits, unless they themselves followed him. As soon as they perceived his object, they tacked; and the British ships tacked after them: and this occurred a second time. At length the enemy made all sail for Cadiz, followed by the small British squadron, which arrived off the harbour before half of the enemy's ships had entered it, keeping strict watch, and consisting of only four ships-of-the-line and some frigates, though five-and-thirty sail of the line were collected there. In order to conceal the slenderness of his force, Collingwood stationed one of his ships in the offing, which from time to time made signals, as if to an English fleet in the distance—an artifice which, with Villeneuve's reminiscence of Cape Finisterre, kept the combined fleet asleep on their anchors.

Meanwhile the greatest exertions had been making in England to strengthen the squadron blockading Cadiz. Besides the twenty ships with which Calder had reinforced the Channel fleet, three more were dispatched from Portsmouth.

At this time Nelson was resident at Merton, where captain Blackwood, who was on his way to London with despatches, called on him. The moment Nelson perceived his visitant, he exclaimed: "I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish fleets! I think I shall have to beat them! Depend upon it, Blackwood, I shall yet give M. Villeneuve a drubbing."

Nelson, however, appears to have entertained a presentiment that this was to be the last battle in which he would be engaged. When captain Blackwood left him, he thoughtfully paced a certain walk in his garden at Merton, which he was in the habit of calling the quarter-deck. Lady Hamilton approached him, and told him that she could see that he was disturbed. He smilingly replied, "he was as happy as possible, surrounded as he was by his family; that his health had improved since he had been on shore, and that he would not give sixpence to call the king his uncle." She playfully answered, that "she did not believe he was happy; she knew he was anxious to get at the combined fleets, which he regarded as his own property. He would be miserable if any one else effected their destruction. The prize ought to be his, after two years' watching and a hard chase." She finished with words to this effect: "Nelson! much as your friends will lament your absence, offer your services. They will doubtless be accepted, and that will give you a quiet heart. You will gain a glorious victory, and then you may return here and be happy." Nelson listened to her with profound admiration. Tears came to his eyes, while he answered,—"Brave Emma! Good Emma! Were there more Emmas

in the world, there would be more Nelsons!"

Nelson offered his services to the admiral, and they were promptly accepted. Lord Barron presented to him the navy-list, that he might choose the officers who were to act under him. Nelson replied, "Do you choose, my lord; the same spirit animates the whole profession, and you cannot choose wrong." No time was lost in equipping the additional ships which Nelson demanded, and to refit the *Victory*. His personal arrangements were soon completed; and before he left London, he called upon the upholsterer with whom the coffin which captain Hallowell had given him was deposited, and desired that its history might be engraven upon the lid, saying, that it was highly probable he might want it on his return. He still seemed impressed with an apprehension that he should fall in the expected battle. In a letter to his brother, written immediately after his return, he had said: "We must not talk of sir Robert Calder's battle—I might not have done so much with my small force. If I had fallen in with them, you would probably have been a lord before I wished; for I know they meant to make a dead set at the *Victory*." The state of his feelings at this time were expressed in his private journal in these words:—"Friday night (September 13th), at half-past ten I drove from dear, dear Merton; where I left all which I hold dear in this world, to go to serve my king and country. May the great God, whom I adore, enable me to fulfil the expectations of my country; and if it is his good pleasure that I should return, my thanks will never cease being offered up to the throne of his mercy. If it is his good providence to cut short my days upon earth, I bow with the greatest submission; relying that he will protect those so dear to me, whom

* "Nelson's reception in the fleet off Cadiz was as gratifying as his departure from England: the yards were all crowded with hardy veterans, anxious to get a sight of their favourite hero, and peals of acclamation shook the ships when he was seen on the quarter-deck of the *Victory* shaking hands with his old captains, who in transports of joy hastened on board to congratulate him on his arrival. No one from that moment entertained a doubt that the fate of the combined fleet was sealed, if they should venture from their harbour. So great was the terror of his name, that, notwithstanding the positive orders to sail for Toulon which he had received, Villeneuve hesitated to obey when he heard of his arrival: and in a council of war it was resolved not to venture out unless they were at least one-third superior to the enemy. Informed of this circumstance, Nelson carefully con-

I may leave behind! His will be done. Amen! Amen! Amen!"

He left Merton on the 13th of September, and reached Portsmouth on the following morning. Having dispatched such business as he had to transact on shore, he endeavoured to avoid the public gaze, by taking a by-way to the beach. He was however recognised, and a crowd collected, anxious to view the features of the renowned warrior, then going forth to battle. Some of the crowd were so moved by his presence that they knelt before him, and blessed him as he passed. They pressed upon the parapet, and strained their eyes to gaze upon him when his barge pushed off, and he acknowledged their hearty cheering by waving his hat.

On the 13th of September he set out from Merton, and was at Portsmouth early on the next morning. On the 15th he sailed in the *Victory*; and on the 29th, arrived off Cadiz, having dispatched the *Euryalus* frigate ahead, to apprise Admiral Collingwood of his approach, and direct that, on his assuming the command, no salute should be fired or colours hoisted, in order that the enemy might not be apprised of the arrival of a reinforcement. On his arrival, he was enthusiastically cheered by the whole fleet;* and though he well knew the decided superiority of the enemy, he obliged Sir Robert Calder, who was going home to stand his trial, to take his passage in his own 90-gun ship.

The force now under Nelson consisted of twenty-seven sail-of-the-line, twenty-two of which cruised about fifteen miles off Cadiz; while the remaining five, under rear-admiral Louis, were stationed close off the harbour, to watch the motions of the combined fleet. Thinking to tempt the French admiral out to sea, he retired with the main body of the fleet near Cape St. Mary, about cealed his real strength from his opponents; stationed his fleet out of sight, about sixty miles to the westward of Cape St. Mary, with a chain of repeating frigates to inform him of the motions of the enemy; while, at the same time, the blockade of the port was vigorously enforced, so as to render it probable that ere long they would be compelled to sail, from the impossibility of finding supplies in the vicinity of Cadiz for so great a multitude. Forty sail-of-the-line were now assembled in that harbour, of which thirty-three were ready for sea; and as Napoleon, never contemplating the return of the combined fleet to Cadiz, had made no magazines of provisions in that quarter, though ample stores had been collected at Rochefort, Brest, and the harbours of the Channel, the want of provisions was soon severely felt."—*Alison*.

sixteen or seventeen leagues west of Cadiz. The force close off the harbour was now reduced to two frigates, the *Euryalus* and *Hydra*. Beyond the frigates was a squadron, consisting of four or five sail-of-the-line, under Collingwood, to prevent the egress of any single ships, and the ingress of vessels for the supply of the hostile fleet. Then a line of frigates, at convenient distances, to telegraph the easternmost ship of the main body. By taking up this station, he guarded against the danger of being caught by a westerly wind near Cadiz, and driven within the Straits.

He thus described his position at this time, in a letter written to the abbé Campbell, of Naples:—"Here I am, watching for the French and Spaniards, like a cat after the mice. If they come out I know I shall catch them; I am sure I shall beat them; but I am also almost sure that I shall be killed in doing it." On the 6th of October he wrote in these terms to Collingwood:—"My dear Coll., we shall have these fellows out at last. I unhesitatingly believe that they have discovered they cannot be maintained in Cadiz; their supplies from France are completely intercepted."

On the morning of the 19th, the in-shore frigates made signal that the enemy were coming out of the harbour; and at two, P. M., that they were steering for the south-east. Nelson, concluding their destination was the Mediterranean, immediately made sail for the mouth of the Straits; but being telegraphed on the following day by Captain Blackwood, of the *Euryalus* (who vigilantly watched their motions, keeping about three miles to the windward), that they seemed inclined to direct their course to the westward—"That," said Nelson, in his diary (from the belief that they intended to keep the port of Cadiz open to favour their escape), "they shall not do, if it is in the power of Nelson and Bronté to prevent them." The combined fleet, on the morning of the 20th, had cleared the harbour of Cadiz, the wind being from S. S. W.; the morning was gloomy, and the thick fog obscured the view of the hostile fleets.* Towards the afternoon the weather cleared, when Ville-

* Fearful that the enemy might escape during the night, Nelson anxiously telegraphed Blackwood, "I rely on you that I do not miss the enemy!"

† In the French work, *Victoires et Conquêtes*, Admiral Villeneuve's instructions are given at full length. In case of being to windward the line was to bear down together, and each ship to take her opponent in the enemy's line, whom she was to en-

neuve formed his fleet in five columns, in accordance with a plan which he had arranged with the various commanders of his ships.†

At daybreak of the 21st[†] of October, Cape Trafalgar bearing east by south about seven leagues, the hostile fleet was seen, from the deck of the *Victory*, drawn up in order of battle in two lines, in the form of a curve or crescent, each alternate ship being about a cable's length to the windward of her second, ahead and astern—a formation seemingly intended to prevent any attempt to break the line; the fleet appeared to be wearing to form in close order on the larboard tack, thereby to bring Cadiz under its lee, and thus facilitate its escape, if necessary, into that port. The front line, commanded by Villeneuve and Dumanoir, consisted of twenty-one line-of-battle ships; the second of twelve, under admirals Gravina and Magon, extending over near five miles—a cable's length, or two hundred yards, intervening between each ship. The order in which the ships ranged themselves, beginning at the van or south-eastern extremity of their line, was—*Principe de Asturias*, *Achille*, *San Ildefonso*, *San Juan Nepomuceno*, *Berwick*, *Argonauta*, *Montanez*, *Argonaute*, *Swiftsure*, *Aigle*, *Bahama*, *Algesiras*, *Pluton*, *Monarca*, *Fougueux*, *Santa Ana*, *Indomptable*, *San Justo*, *Redoubtable*, *San Leandro*, *Neptune*, *Bucentaure*, *Santissima Trinidad*, *Héros*, *San Augustin*, *San Francisco de Asis*, *Mont Blanc*, *Duguay Trouin*, *Formidable*, *Rayo*, *Intrépide*, *Scipion*, *Neptuno*. The centre of the combined fleet bore about east-by-south of the centre of the British fleet, and the wind was a light westerly breeze, accompanied with a long heavy swell. Villeneuve's flag-ship was directly in front of the *Victory*; and Alava's flag-ship in the same direction in relation to the *Royal Sovereign*. The enemy's frigates were ranged in an inner line considerably to leeward of the fighting line. Immediately the enemy was seen, the British fleet prepared for action. At fifteen minutes past six, signal was made to form the order of sailing in two columns; and at thirty minutes past, to bear up in succession: Nelson, in the *Victory*, engaged closely, even to boarding; but if the enemy's fleet lay to windward, the French fleet was to await the attack in close line of battle.

† That day was a festival and an anniversary in Nelson's family; because on it, his uncle, Captain Suckling, in the *Dreadnought*, with two other line-of-battle ships, had beaten off a French squadron of four sail-of-the-line and three frigates.

mediately followed by the *Téméraire* and the *Neptune*, leading the weather division; and Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, followed by the *Belleisle* and the *Mars*, that of the lee. The weather division consisted of fourteen ships-of-the-line; the lee of thirteen. As Villeneuve had signalled his ships to wear together and form the line on the larboard tack—thus bringing the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro under the lee of the British, and keeping the port of Cadiz open for himself—Nelson telegraphed Collingwood: “I intend to pass through the van of the enemy two points more to the northward, to prevent him from getting into Cadiz.” There being but a light breeze at the time, the British fleet made but slow progress. While nearing the enemy’s line, Nelson retired to his cabin, and having put on his threadbare uniform frock coat, and sewed amidst the folds of the left breast its four weather-tarnished orders, he wrote the following prayer:—“May God grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself individually I commit my life to Him who made me; and may His blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully! To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is intrusted me to defend.” After writing the prayer, he in the same diary made an appeal to the king and the nation on behalf of Lady Hamilton (the widow of Sir William Hamilton) and Horatio Nelson Thompson (as he called her in the document), his adopted daughter. He then visited the different decks of the *Victory*; and, addressing the men at their quarters, cautioned them not to fire a single shot without being sure of their object. Appearing on the quarter-deck, he asked Captain Blackwood what he would deem a victory; and on that officer answering it would be a glorious result if fourteen of the enemy’s ships were taken, he replied he should not be satisfied with less than twenty.

While bearing down, he made signal that the ships, when they entered into action, were to cut away their canvass, in order that no hands might be lost in furling the sails; and when that signal was given, turning to Captain Blackwood, he asked him if he was not of opinion that another was necessary. On Blackwood’s saying

the whole fleet seemed to understand what they were about, Nelson replied he must give them something by way of fillip. Musing awhile, he said—“Suppose we telegraph, ‘Nelson expects every man to do his duty;’” but on Blackwood’s suggesting the substitution of *England* for *Nelson*, he rapturously exclaimed—“Certainly, certainly;” and, at about forty minutes past eleven, up went to the *Victory*’s mizen topgallant head the telegraphic signal, which will be remembered as long as the British name shall endure, and was greeted with three rapturous cheers throughout the fleet—“ENGLAND EXPECTS THAT EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY.”* And then, to avoid any danger which might arise from the propinquity of the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro, at about forty-six minutes past eleven, signal was made to anchor as most convenient on the close of the day. Every ship now crowded her utmost sail, and the spirit of Nelson pervaded the whole fleet.

A long swell was now setting into the bay of Cadiz: the British fleet moved slowly and majestically before it; the numerous three-deckers and well-formed line of the enemy presented an imposing appearance, and would have been thought formidable by any other assailants than British sailors, who, while they admired the beauty and splendour of the spectacle, animated each other with the naïve remark: “What a fine sight these ships will make at Spithead!” The combined fleet waited the attack of their enemy with coolness and decision. As Nelson’s column had steered two points more to the north than the ships of Collingwood’s, the lee line was first engaged. Ahead of the line (the nearest vessel being a mile in the rear, and the farthest six miles, notwithstanding their utmost efforts), the *Royal Sovereign* steered right for the centre of Alava’s line. When the enemy opened fire on her, “See,” said Nelson, “how that noble fellow, Collingwood, takes his ship into action!” and almost at the same moment, Collingwood exclaimed, on board his ship, “What would Nelson give to be here!”

At about ten minutes past twelve, the *Royal Sovereign*, being close astern of Alava’s flag-ship the *Santa Ana*, poured

* “Now,” said Nelson, “I can do no more; we must trust to the Great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty.”



The Battle of Trafalgar

a larboard broadside, from double-shotted guns, with great precision, and so close, that the guns were nearly muzzle to muzzle. But the *Royal Sovereign* soon found that she had more than one opponent to contend with. The *Fougueux*, a French 74, bore up and raked her astern, and at the distance of about 400 yards, the *San Leandro* raked her ahead; while within 300 yards' distance, the *San Justo* (a Spanish 74) and the *Indomptable* (a French 80) ranged on her starboard bow and quarter. Thus the *Royal Sovereign* was surrounded; and so incessant and thick was the fire poured upon her, that her crew saw the shots frequently strike each other above the deck of the English vessel. Observing the *Belleisle* and other British ships fast approaching to the support of the *Royal Sovereign*, the other hostile vessels drew off, leaving her to combat solely with the *Santa Ana*. The *Royal Sovereign* had now been for above a quarter-of-an-hour the only ship in close action with the enemy; but, during that time, she had poured her broadsides into her antagonist with so rapid and decisive effect, that she was at last reduced to fire single guns at long intervals from one another, having lost above 400 of her crew, and fourteen of her guns having been disabled.* The *Belleisle*, *Polyphemus*, *Neptune*, *Mars*, and *Tonnant* at length bore up and entered the contest. The French line had become irregular in its order of battle, the *Royal Sovereign* having made a mighty crash in its centre. It was now about half-past twelve o'clock, P.M.; at about a quarter after two, the *Santa Ana* struck to the *Royal Sovereign*. The ships had fought so close, that the lower yards of the two vessels were often, as they wheeled round to discharge their broadsides, locked together.

The weather column, led by Nelson, was entering, under a press of sail, into action. When within a mile-and-a-half of the enemy's line, single shots were fired by the *Bucentaure*, which fell short; at length, one going through the *Victory's* main-top-gallant-sail, indicated that the hostile ship was within range. After a silence of a minute or two, the enemy's van opened a raking fire on the *Victory*, hoping to disable her before she could close with them. During the tremendous cannonade, Nelson continued anxiously viewing the

hostile line, and would not, for his protection, suffer the hammocks to be placed an inch higher than they were accustomed to be stowed. The enemy had not yet hoisted his colours; for which reason, Nelson not being able to distinguish their flag-ship, ordered the *Victory* to be steered, for the interval, between the *Bucentaure* and the *Santissima Trinidad*—his old opponent, as he used to call her. The ships of the combined fleet ahead of the *Victory* immediately closed like a forest, to prevent Nelson breaking their line and turning their rear, at the same time continuing their heavy and unremitting cannonade on the *Victory*. When within 500 yards of the *Bucentaure's* larboard beam, a ball knocked away the *Victory's* wheel. Nelson's secretary was the first person killed. Presently, many of the marines on the poop being either killed or wounded, Nelson ordered the survivors to be dispersed throughout the ship. Spars and rigging were now falling on all sides; and already twenty officers and men were killed and thirty wounded, the *Victory* not having yet returned a single shot. "This is too warm work, Hardy," said Nelson, as he continued his accustomed slow walk, "to last long."

On reaching the enemy, they were found so closely wedged together, that it appeared impossible to break their line without running on board one of their ships; and on Captain Hardy informing Nelson of this and asking which he would prefer—"Take your choice, Hardy," said Nelson, "it does not much signify." Accordingly, the *Victory* ran on board the *Redoubtable*, which receiving her with a broadside, instantly let down her lower deck ports to prevent being boarded through them, and never afterwards fired a broadside-gun during the battle; but it was from this ship, whose rigging was filled with Tyrolese riflemen, that Nelson received his death-wound in the course of the action.

It being now discovered, or suspected, that the *Bucentaure*, which lay next to the *Santissima Trinidad*, was Villeneuve's flag-ship, the *Victory*, moving slowly and deliberately, out went from her fore-castle her larboard 68-pounder carronade, discharging a round shot and a keg filled with 500 bullets right into the *Bucentaure's* cabin-windows. Then, moving ahead, she poured into her larboard a treble-shotted broadside, which killed and wounded 400 of the crew, and dismounted twenty of her guns. So close were

* So perfect was the gunnery of Collingwood's crew, that they could fire three broadsides in three minutes and a-half.

the hostile ships, that the ensign of the one trailed over the peak of the other; and when they rolled, their spars touched. At the same moment the *Neptune* (French 80-gun ship) poured a destructive fire into the *Victory's* bows, and the *Redoubtable* raked her with her foremost guns: but without returning a shot on these new opponents, the *Victory* continued to grapple with the *Bucentaure* and *Santissima Trinidad*, with which ships the contest was furious: while she engaged the *Redoubtable* on her starboard, she maintained an incessant fire from her larboard guns on the *Bucentaure* and the *Santissima Trinidad*. Just as the *Bucentaure's* fire was almost silenced, the *Victory* ran foul of the *Redoubtable*, and the hooks and boom-irons getting intermixed, or catching in the leech of the sails, the two ships became locked alongside each other. The *Redoubtable*, reassuming a bold countenance, fired langridge shot and rifle-balls from her tops. The *Victory's* starboard 68-pounder, with its usual charge, soon cleared the *Redoubtable's* gangways; and while her starboard guns battered her sides, her larboard broadsides hammered the *Santissima Trinidad*. In the conflict the *Redoubtable* took fire, but the English sailors extinguished it by dashing buckets of water through their port-holes into those of the enemy, which they were enabled to do, as the muzzles of their guns touched her sides. During the confusion of this fierce encounter, a ball, fired from the mizen-top of the *Redoubtable*, struck the epaulette on Nelson's right shoulder, about a quarter past one. He fell on his knees, with his left hand touching the deck, but the arm giving way, he fell on his left side, upon the exact spot where the blood of his secretary was yet moist. A sergeant of marines and three sailors raising him up, and Captain Hardy expressing a hope that he was not severely wounded, "They have done for me, at last, Hardy," he replied. "I hope not," said Hardy. "Yes," said he, "my back-bone is shot through." Being carried down into the cockpit, the wound was ascertained to be mortal, the ball, after entering the left shoulder, having lodged in the spine. Being satisfied that his case was hopeless, he insisted that the surgeon should leave him, and attend to those to whom he might be useful. His sufferings from pain and thirst were great; but in the midst of them he expressed much anxiety for the event of the action, which, about this time, began to declare itself. As the

crew of the *Victory* hurraed as often as a ship struck, a visible expression of joy gleamed in his eyes, and marked the countenance of the dying hero. But he became impatient to see Captain Hardy, and sent for him repeatedly; an hour and ten minutes, however, elapsed before he could come to him. As soon as he appeared, Nelson affectionately shook him by the hand, impatiently saying, "Well, Hardy, how goes the day with us?" "Very well, my lord," replied Hardy; "twelve or fourteen of the enemy's ships have struck; but five of their van have tacked, and show an intention of bearing down upon the *Victory*. I have called two or three of our fresh ships round us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing." "I hope," said Nelson, "none of our ships have struck." Hardy answered, "There is no fear of that." He then returned to the deck, but in about fifty minutes afterwards came back to the cockpit, and congratulated Nelson on the glorious victory he had obtained, adding that fourteen or fifteen sail of the enemy were taken. "That's well," said Nelson; "but I bargained for twenty:" and then, in a stronger voice, he added: "Anchor, Hardy, anchor!" but on Hardy hinting that Collingwood would now take upon himself the direction of affairs, "Not while I live, Hardy!" said the dying hero; adding (while ineffectually endeavouring to raise himself from the bed), "No!—do you anchor, Hardy!" Captain Hardy then said, "Shall we make the signal?" "Yes," replied Nelson; "for if I live, I will anchor;" adding—"Now I am satisfied! Thank God, I have done my duty!"—repeatedly uttering, in an inarticulate manner, the same ejaculation. Having continued three hours and a-half in great pain, he expired at half-past four, soon after he had obtained the greatest and most decisive naval victory on record;—the combined fleets having been annihilated in little more than three hours, on their own shores, at the entrance of their port, and amongst their own rocks.

A few minutes after Nelson had expired, Captain Blackwood came from Collingwood (to whom Nelson had sent a communication of his having been wounded) in the *Euryalus's* boat, to inquire after the safety of Lord Nelson. Captain Hardy, availing himself of the conveyance, accompanied Captain Blackwood, to apprise Admiral Collingwood of Nelson's dying order—that for their preservation, in reference to the shore and the



Painted by A. W. Davis



TRAFALGAR OCTOBER 21 1805



Engraved by J. Rogers

DEATH OF LORD NELSON.

prospect of the gale, the fleet and prizes, as soon as was practicable, might be brought to an anchor. On the order being communicated to Collingwood, "Anchor the fleet!" said he, "Why it is the last thing I should have thought of."*

While Nelson was lying in the agonies of death, the battle continued with unabated fury in all directions. All his captains had nobly followed his example—breaking through the enemy's line, often engaging two or three ships at the same time, and maintaining the contest at the muzzles of their guns. Within a few minutes after Nelson's fall, several officers, and nearly forty men, upon the third or upper deck of the *Victory*, were either killed or wounded; and most of the effective men being employed in carrying their wounded comrades to the cockpit, Captain Hardy, Captain Adair of the marines, and one or two other officers, being nearly all who remained upon the quarter-deck and poop, a considerable portion of the crew of the *Redoubtable* assembled in the chains and along the gangway of the ship, in order to board the *Victory*; but the officers and men, quickly ascending from the middle and lower decks, gallantly drove them back. At a quarter-past two the *Santa Ana* struck; and before three, ten more of the enemy's ships, and ere long, eight others adopted her example. In this extremity Gravina, with nine French and Spanish ships-of-the-line—many of which had scarcely a hole in their sails—and all the frigates and brigs, ran for Cadiz, and anchored about a mile-and-a-half from Rato, until the wind allowed him to enter the harbour of Cadiz. But the five headmost ships of the enemy's van, under the command of Rear-admiral Dumanoir, were not able to avail themselves of this advantage, their retreat being cut off by the British ships; they therefore hauled off to windward, pouring their broadsides as they passed, not only on the *Victory*, the *Conqueror*, and the *Royal Sovereign*, which lay like logs upon the water, but also on the Spanish prizes which had struck their colours—a cruelty which so excited the indignation of the Spaniards, that when the ships which had escaped into Cadiz, came out of that port on the 23rd, in hopes of taking some of the disabled prizes, the prisoners in the *Argonauta*, in a body, offered their services to the British prize-master, to man the guns

against any of the French ships, in resentment for the murderous usage which they had met from their heartless allies. The offer was accepted, and they were actually stationed at the lower-deck guns.

The Franco-Spanish fleet now presented a fearful spectacle—being merely floating wrecks or dismantled hulls: of the prizes, eight wholly, and the remainder partially dismasted; some nearly in a sinking state. Several of the British ships were, more or less, dismasted; and very few in a condition to carry sail. To add to their perilous condition, both fleets were in thirteen fathoms' water, with the shoals of Trafalgar but a few miles to leeward, and the wind blowing dead on the shore. In the evening, the whole British fleet and its nineteen prizes were all huddled together round the *Royal Sovereign*—the conquerors and the conquered laying alongside one another in mingled confusion. But the heavy gales which immediately followed the battle, rendered the service more dangerous, and more fatal in its consequences than the battle itself. Towards midnight the wind veered to south-south-west, and freshened considerably. Early on the morning of the 22nd the weather was squally, and a heavy swell set in from the Atlantic into the Bay of Cadiz. On the following day the gale increased, and the sea ran so high that many of the prizes broke from the tow-rope and drifted in-shore. Towards the afternoon of that day, encouraged by this circumstance, and hoping to recapture some of the drifting prizes, five sail-of-the line and the frigates which had taken refuge in Cadiz after the battle, pushing out of that port, put to sea. Collingwood, collecting ten of his ships which were the least injured, formed in line of battle, covering the prizes. The enemy feeling themselves inadequate to the contest, did not approach within gunshot; but the *Santa Ana* and *Neptuno* drifting towards the frigates, they carried them into Cadiz. The *Rayo*, however, one of the enemy's ships, fell into the hands of the British. On the 24th and 25th, the gale continued so violent, that orders were issued for the destruction of the most damaged of the prizes. Accordingly, five were sunk and burned. Nine were wrecked on different parts of the adjacent coast, many with their whole crews on

* The *Defence*, *San Ildefonso*, *Swiftsure*, and *Bahama* anchored off Cape Trafalgar, and rode out the gale in safety: a fact which seems to infer that

had Nelson's orders been attended to, the whole of the prizes might have been saved. Collingwood's signal to prepare to anchor was four hours too late.

board. *L'Achille*, a French 74, blew up during the action;* and four—of which three were Spanish and one French 74—were, by the almost incredible efforts of the British officers and seamen, carried safe into Gibraltar. The *Santa Ana* and nine others escaped into Cadiz, some of which had struck; but were abandoned on account of the violence of the weather, and in a very injured state.

The names of the ships captured were: French—*Bucentaure*, *Achille*, *Aigle*, *Algésiras*, *Berwick*, *Fougueux*, *Intrépide*, *Indomptable*, *Redoubtable*, and *Swiftsure*.

Spanish—*Santissima Trinidad*, *Santa Ana*, *Neptuno*, *Monarca*, *Argonauta*, *Bahama*, *San Augustin*, *San Ildefonso*, *San Francisco de Asis*, and *San Juan Nepomuceno*. *Rayo* was captured October 23rd. Their fate was—*Bucentaure*: wrecked in the gale, having on board at the time a prize crew from the *Conqueror*. *Achille*: burnt; the crew, except 200, perished. *Aigle* drifted into Cadiz bay on the night of the 25th, and stranded on the bar off Puerto Santa Maria. *Indomptable* wrecked, and above 1,000 persons perished. *Algésiras* recaptured from the prize crew on board (consisting of fifty men), by 600 French prisoners, during the tempest, who succeeded in carrying her into Cadiz. The *Berwick*, after anchoring in apparent safety, was wrecked off San Lucar, in consequence of some of the prisoners cutting the cables. The *Don-egal*, being at anchor near, cut her cables, and standing towards the drifting ship, sent her boats to save the people on board; but the *Berwick* struck upon the shoals, and in her perished more than 200 persons. The *Fougueux* having on board, besides a great portion of her late crew, thirty British sailors from the *Temeraire*, drifted on the rocks between Torre Bermeja and the river Santi Petri, and was totally wrecked, with the loss of all hands. The *Redoubtable* foundered on the 23rd, with fifty Frenchmen on board, and part of the prize crew belonging to the *Temeraire*. The *Swiftsure* and the

Bahama rode out the gale in safety, and were taken into Gibraltar. The Spanish prizes scarcely fared better: the *Santissima Trinidad* was scuttled and sunk by the *Neptune* and *Prince*, as unserviceable. The *Santa Ana* and *Neptuno* were recaptured by the frigates of the Franco-Spanish squadron which sailed from Cadiz on the 23rd, for the purpose of picking up any stray prize which might fall in its way. The *Monarca* parted her cable and went on shore during the gale. The *Argonauta* was sunk by the *Ajax*, as unserviceable. The *San Ildefonso* and the *San Juan Nepomuceno* escaped the disasters of the storm. The *San Augustin* was burned by the *Orion* and the *Leviathan*. The *San Francisco de Asis* parted her cables and went on shore in Cadiz Bay, near Fort Santa Catalina; but nearly the whole of her crew were saved.

The loss of the British fleet, in this unparalleled naval battle, had been 449 killed and 1,241 wounded; of which above six-sevenths, or 1,452, fell to the share of the fourteen ships (out of the twenty-seven) which were engaged, and which formed the van of the respective columns. The *Victory* and *Temeraire* were closely engaged with the whole of the enemy in that part of the line, before the three or four ships astern of them could get to their support, for a much longer time than the *Royal Sovereign* had been before any ship came to her assistance. The loss of the enemy was enormous; the prisoners, including the troops on board the captured ships, amounted to 20,000.

Villeneuve was sent to England, and after remaining a short time there, was permitted to return to France on his parole. While on his way to Paris to be tried by a court-martial, he was found dead in his bed at Rennes—whether by his own hand, in the agony of despair (as the *Moniteur* asserted), or assassinated, as is generally believed, by some of Fouché's police, is a mystery. Gravina, Alava, and the French admiral, Magon, died of their wounds.

M. Thiers, in his *History of the Consu-*
in two. The burning wreck fell on the boats in the waist. The *Prince* then discharged two or three broadsides at her antagonist, but on perceiving the accident which had befallen the French ship, she, along with the *Swiftsure*, sent her boats to save as many as possible of the crew of *L'Achille*. Several of the men employed on this service were killed and wounded by shots from the *Achille's* guns, which, when heated, discharged their contents on those who were humanely engaged in rescuing the survivors on board the French ship.

* This ship was very severely handled, having sustained encounters with the *Belleisle*, *Swiftsure*, the English ship *Achille*, and the *Polyphemus*. Having lost her mizen-mast, maintop-mast, and fore yards, she afterwards caught fire in the tops; and her fire-engine having been destroyed by the enemy's shots, she had no means of extinguishing the flames, which were now rapidly spreading, but by cutting away the mast. About half-past four o'clock, while preparations were being made to do this, a shot from the *Prince* struck the mast in the centre and cut it

late and the Empire, says that "the greater part of the Spanish fleet fled from the field of battle." An article was published in a Spanish journal, under the patronage of the minister of marine in the late Narvaez cabinet, indignantly repelling the insinuation, and affixing the stigma on the division of Rear-admiral Dumanoir, consisting of the *Formidable*, *Scorpion*, *Duguay-Trouin*, and *Mont Blanc*. The government organ (*Moniteur*), and the other French periodicals refrained from saying a word respecting the battle. Buonaparte himself stated "that only a few French ships had been lost in a storm:" but he is reported to have been so enraged on the receipt of the news, that he said, in allusion to Byng's fate, "he would teach French admirals how to conquer."

The British fleet consisted of the *Victory*, *Royal Sovereign*, and *Britannia*, 100 guns each; the *Temeraire*, *Prince*, *Neptune*, and *Dreadnought*, 98 guns each; the *Tonnant*, 80 guns; the *Belleisle*, *Revenge*, *Mars*, *Spartiate*, *Defiance*, *Conqueror*, *Defence*, *Colossus*, *Leviathan*, *Achilles*, *Bellerophon*, *Minotaur*, *Orion*, *Swiftsure*, *Ajax*, *Thunderer*, 74 guns each; *Polyphemus*, *Africa*, and *Agamemnon*, 64 guns each; the *Euryalus*, *Sirius*, *Phæbe*, and *Naiad* frigates, 36 guns each; and the brigs, *Pickle* and *Entrepreneante*, 12 guns each. The van or weather-column consisted of the *Victory*, *Temeraire*, *Neptune*, *Conqueror*, *Leviathan*, *Ajax*, *Orion*, *Agamemnon*, *Minotaur*, *Spartiate*, *Britannia*, and *Africa*; and the rear or lee-column, of the *Royal Sovereign*, *Mars*, *Belleisle*, *Tonnant*, *Bellerophon*, *Colossus*, *Achille*, *Polyphemus*, *Revenge*, *Swiftsure*, *Defence*, *Thunderer*, *Defiance*, *Prince*, and *Dreadnought*.

On the 28th, Collingwood brought his fleet and prizes to anchor on the coast between Cadiz and San Lucar; and even there, he says, "our infirm ships could scarce keep off the shore." To alleviate the miseries of the wounded, he sent a flag of truce to the Marquis Solano, to offer him the wounded Spaniards, merely taking their parole that they would not serve again during the war; the governor of Cadiz, in return, offered his hospitals for the use of the British wounded, pledging the honour of the Spanish name that they should be returned when recovered. On the 30th, two French frigates and a brig came out of Cadiz, as cartels, to receive the wounded prisoners; and on the same day, Rear-admiral Louis, who had been

detached to the eastward previous to the battle, joined the commander-in-chief with the *Canopus*, *Spencer*, *Tigre*, and *Queen*. Admiral Collingwood, now the commander-in-chief, continued throughout the greater part of the year at his station off Cadiz, in blockade of that port.

It now remains to speak of the hero of this great victory. On the 28th of October, the *Victory*, with Nelson's body on board, preserved in brandy and spirits of wine, arrived at Gibraltar. On the 3rd of November she sailed for England, and on the 4th of the following month anchored at St. Helen's. On the 10th of December she again sailed for the Nore, the body in the interim having been taken out of the spirits, rolled in bandages from head to foot, and then laid in a leaden coffin containing a strong solution of brandy and myrrh; when, while crossing the flats from Margate, she was boarded by Commissioner Grey's yacht, which had been dispatched by the Board of Admiralty to receive the body and convey it to Greenwich. On the coffin being transferred to the yacht, Lord Nelson's flag was struck on board the *Victory*, and hoisted half-mast high in the yacht. On her passage up the river military honours were paid to the remains of this bravest of Britain's defenders, and on the 24th of December the yacht anchored at Greenwich. There, having been appareled in a uniform dress belonging to the admiral, and laid in the coffin made from part of the wreck of *L'Orient*, it lay in state in the Painted Hall for three days, after which it was taken to the Admiralty; and on the 9th of January, 1806, interred at St. Paul's at the charge of the nation. The body was conveyed in a triumphal car to its last resting-place. A monument was erected to the memory of the great warrior in St. Paul's cathedral; and the same was done in Dublin, Portsmouth, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many other towns in Great Britain. The title of Earl Nelson was conferred on his brother, a country clergyman, with a grant of £6,000 a-year, and £100,000 for the purchase of an estate. To his sister was voted the sum of £10,000. Vice-admiral Collingwood was created Baron Collingwood, with a grant of £2,000 a-year. Rear-admiral the Earl of Northesk, was made a knight of the Bath, and Captain Hardy a baronet. Medals were granted in the customary manner, and on the 28th of January, 1806, were conveyed to the

officers, seamen, and marines, for their conduct in the battle of Trafalgar.*

The following eulogium on the character of Lord Nelson, is from Brenton's *Naval History*:—"Never had any man the happy intuitive faculty of seizing the moment of propitious fortune, equal to Nelson. His whole career, from his earliest entrance into the service, offers to the youth of the British navy the most illustrious examples of every manly virtue, whether we view him as a midshipman, a lieutenant, as the captain of a frigate, or a commander-in-chief. We have seen him as captain of the *Agamemnon*, in Larma Bay, writing his despatches while his ship lay aground in an enemy's port; we have seen him as captain of a 74-gun ship, on the 14th of February, lay a Spanish first-rate and an 84-gun ship on board, and with his little band of heroes take to them both. Equally great in the hour of defeat as of victory, we see him at Teneriffe, with his shattered arm, going to the rescue of his companions and saving their lives, while every moment of delay increased the peril of his own by hemorrhage and exhaustion: see him walk up the ship's side—hear him command the surgeon to proceed to amputation; and see the fortitude with which he bore the agonising pain. Follow him to the Nile, and contemplate the destruction of the fleet of France, and the consequent loss of her vast army, led by Napoleon Buonaparte. How great was his professional knowledge and decision at Copenhagen, when, despising death, he refused to obey the signal of recall: because he knew that by such obe-

dience, his country would have been disgraced, and the great object of the expedition frustrated; and Britain, overpowered by the increased energy of the northern confederacy, might have sunk under the multiplied force of her enemies. See him, on the same occasion, sit down in the midst of carnage, and address a letter to the Crown Prince of Denmark, which, while it gave a victory to his country, added to her glory by stopping the useless effusion of human blood. We have seen him the patient, watchful, and anxious guardian of our honour in the Mediterranean, where, for two years, he sought an opportunity to engage an enemy of superior force. Three times we have seen him pursue the foes of his country to Egypt, and once to the West Indies. And these great steps he took entirely on his own responsibility, disregarding any personal consideration, any calculation of force, or any allurements of gain. Coming at last to the termination of his glorious career, the end of his life was worthy of all his other deeds. The battle of Trafalgar will stand, without the aid of sculpture or painting, the greatest memorial of British naval valour ever exhibited. No pen can do justice, no description can convey an adequate idea of that day, and the event which deprived us of our favourite chief, consummated his earthly fame, and rendered his name ever dear to his country. Had not his transcendent virtues been shaded by a fault, we might have been accused of flattery. No human being was ever perfect; and however we may regret the affair of Caraccioli, we must ever acknowledge that the character

manly piety. In later years, when his achievements had marked him out as the great defender of Christianity, he considered himself an instrument in the hand of Providence to combat the infidel spirit of the revolution, and commenced his despatch on the battle of the Nile by ascribing the whole to Almighty God. Too great to be fettered by rules, too original to condescend to imitation, he consulted his own inspiration only in all his mighty deeds, and in every instance left the stamp of native genius in the duties, whether elevated or humble, which he performed. His whole career, from his first entrance into the navy to the battle of Trafalgar, exhibited a pattern of every manly virtue. Bold in conception, cautious in combination, firm in execution, cool in danger, he was the most successful, because the most profound and intrepid, of leaders. If a veil could be drawn over the deeds of Naples, his public character might be deemed without a fault: but no human being was ever yet perfect; and that alloy of frailty which has descended to all from our first parents, long concealed in him by the intensity of patriotic devotion, was at length revealed by the fascination of female wickedness."

* The eloquent author of the *History of Europe*, thus sums up the character of Nelson:—"Lord Nelson was the greatest naval officer of this or any other nation whose achievements have been recorded in history. The energies of an ardent and impetuous mind were in him wholly absorbed in patriotic feeling. Duty to his God, his king, and country, constituted the simple object to which unrivalled powers and consummate genius were directed. Like all other great commanders, he took the utmost pains to make his officers thoroughly acquainted beforehand with his general plan of operations, but intrusted them with full discretionary powers in carrying them into execution. He possessed the eagle eye which at once discerns the fitting movement, and the skilful combination which brings every power at his disposal simultaneously and decisively into action. Simple in his desires, enthusiastic in his character, he was alike superior to the love of wealth, the bane of inferior, and envy of others, the frailty of ambitious minds. Devotion to his country was in him always blended with a constant sense of religious duty; and amidst all the license of arms he was distinguished from the first by an early and a

of Nelson, as a public servant, is not exceeded in the history of the world.*

As everything connected with such a victory as Trafalgar is of the utmost interest, we shall now lay before the reader Nelson's general orders to his captains; and Vice-admiral Collingwood's despatch to the Admiralty, containing the account of the battle.

"*Victory*—off Cadiz, Oct. 18th, 1805.

"Thinking it almost impossible to bring a fleet of forty sail-of-the-line into a battle in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would be lost of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive, I have, therefore, made up my mind to keep the fleet in that position of sailing (with the exception of the first and second in command), that the order of sailing is to be the order of battle, placing the fleet in two lines, sixteen ships each, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two-decked ships, which will always make, when wanted, a line of twenty-four sail on whichever line the commander-in-chief may direct; the second in command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his line to make the attack upon the enemy, and follow up the blow till they are captured or destroyed. If the enemy's fleet are seen to windward in line of battle, and that the two lines and the advanced squadron could fetch them, they would probably be so extended that their van could not succour their rear; I should therefore probably make the second in command a signal to lead through about the twelfth ship from their rear (or wherever he could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced.) My line would lead through about their centre; and the advanced squadron two, three, or four ships ahead of their centre, so as to ensure getting at their commander-in-chief, whom every effort must be made to capture.

"The whole impression of the British fleet must be to overpower two or three ships ahead of their commander-in-chief (supposed to be in the centre.) To the rear of their fleet, I will suppose twenty sail of

* Southey has well said:—"Nelson has left us, not indeed his mantle of inspiration, but a name and an example which are at this hour inspiring thousands of the youth of England: a name which is our guide, and an example which will continue to be our shield and our strength."

† The reason that Lord Nelson estimated the

their line to remain untouched: it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British fleet, or succour their own ships, which, indeed, would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged. The enemy's fleet is supposed to consist of forty-six sail-of-the-line; British, forty:† if either is less, only a proportion of the enemy to be cut off. British to be one-fourth superior to the enemy cut off: something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a sea-fight, beyond all others. Shots will carry away masts and yards of friends as well as of foes; but I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour the rear, and then that the British fleet would be ready to receive the twenty sail-of-the-line, or to pursue them, should they endeavour to make off. If the van of the enemy tacks, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet. If the enemy wear, the British fleet must place themselves between the enemy and the captured and disabled ships; and should the enemy close, I have no fear of the result. The second in command will, in all possible things, direct the movement of his line by keeping them as compact as the nature of the circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular line as a rallying point; but in case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, *no captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside of an enemy.* If the enemy's fleet are discovered in line of battle to leeward, the divisions of the British fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre; the signal will most probably be then made for the lee line to bring up together; to set all their sails—even their studding sails, in order to get as quickly as possible to the enemy's line, and to cut through, beginning at the twelfth ship from the rear. Some ships may not get through their expected place, but they will always be at hand to assist their friends: if any are thrown in the rear of the enemy, they will complete the business of twelve sail of the enemy; should the enemy wear together, or bear and sail large, still the twelve ships enemy's fleet at forty-six sail-of-the-line, was the probability that Villeneuve would be reinforced by the Carthagenia and Rochefort squadrons; and he calculated the British fleet at forty sail-of-the-line, in expectation of its being augmented to that extent by reinforcements of other ships which he expected from home.

composing the first position of the enemy's rear are to be the object of attack of the lee line, unless otherwise directed by the commander-in-chief, which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire division of the lee line (after the intentions of the commander-in-chief are signified) is intended to be left to the admiral commanding that line.

"The remainder of the enemy's fleet (thirty-four sail-of-the-line) are to be left to the management of the commander-in-chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the second in command are as little interrupted as possible.

"NELSON AND BRONTE."

Referring to this plan of attack, which is a master-piece of nautical skill, Nelson, in a letter dated *Victory*, October 19th, 1805, says to Admiral Collingwood: "I send you my plan of attack,* as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in. But, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll., have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view—that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you; and no man will render your success more justice than your very old friend."

The following is Vice-admiral Collingwood's despatch relative to the battle of Trafalgar, addressed to the secretary of the Admiralty:—

"*Euryalus*—off Cape Trafalgar,

"October 22nd, 1805.

"Sir,—The ever-to-be-lamented death of Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my lords commissioners of the Admiralty that, on the 19th instant, it was communicated to the commander-in-chief, from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz, that the combined fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Straits' entrance with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships (three of them 64's), when his lordship was informed by Captain Blackwood (whose vigilance in watching and giving notice of the enemy's movements

* In his *Diary*, he called it *The Nelson Touch*.

has been highly meritorious) that they had not yet passed the Straits.

"On Monday, the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore east by south about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west and very light. The commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they were formed in order of sailing—a mode of attack his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line, consisting of thirty-three ships (of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish, commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve; the Spaniards under the direction of Gravina), were with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness. But as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new: it formed a crescent, convexing to leeward; so that, in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam before the fire opened. Every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very slight interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the *Bucentaure*, in the centre; and the *Prince Asturias* bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed, without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

"As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag-officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the line bore down. The commander-in-chief, in the *Victory*, led the weather column, and the *Royal Sovereign*, which bore my flag, the lee. The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; the commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van; the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. The conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible: and it pleased the Almighty

Disposer of all events to grant his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three, P.M., many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way. Admiral Gravina, with ten ships, joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked; and, standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his majesty's squadron nineteen ships-of-the-line, of which two are first-rates—the *Santissima Trinidad* and the *Santa Ana*, with three flag-officers, viz., Admiral Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief; Don Ignacio Maria d'Alava, vice-admiral; and the Spanish rear-admiral, Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

"After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express: the spirit which animated all was the same. When all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high events should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

"The *Achille*, a French 74, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire and blew up. A circumstance occurred during the action which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to your lordships. The *Temeraire* was boarded, by accident or design, by a French ship* on one side, and a Spaniard on the other: the contest was vigorous; but, in the end, the combined ensigns were torn from the poop, and the British hoisted in their places.

"Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy and the British nation, in the fall of the commander-in-chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, from many years of intimacy and a perfect know-

ledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought. His lordship received a musket-ball in his left breast about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me directly with his last farewell, and soon after expired. I have also to lament the loss of those excellent officers, Captain Duff of the *Mars*, and Cooke of the *Belterophon*. I have as yet heard of none other.

"I fear that the numbers which have fallen will be found very great when the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the action, I have not had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships. The *Royal Sovereign* having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the *Euryalus* to me while the action continued, which ship, lying within hail, made my signals—a service Captain Blackwood performed with very great attention. After the action I shifted my flag to her, that I might the more easily communicate my orders to and collect the ships, and towed the *Royal Sovereign* out to seaward. The whole fleet was now in a very perilous situation;—many dismasted—all shattered—in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence which aided us through such a day, preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points and drifting the ships off the land, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar; and I hope will ride safe until these gales are over.

"Having thus described the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I congratulate their lordships on the victory which, I hope, will add a ray of glory to his majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country.—I am, &c.,

"C. COLLINGWOOD."

Further description of the battle, by Lord Collingwood, in a letter to Sir Peter Parker.

"Queen—off Cadiz, Nov. 1st, 1805.

"It was a severe action—no dodging or

* Subsequent information proved that this statement was incorrect. The error was occasioned by the *Neptuno*—one of the squadron of five French and Spanish ships under Rear-admiral Dumanoir, which had, near the end of the action, hauled to the wind

and escaped—which was considerably astern of its companions, being cut off by the *Minotaur* and *Spartiate*, and was drifted upon and fell on board the *Temeraire* and her two prizes, the *Redoubtable* and *Fougueux*, on her lee or starboard side.

manœuvring. They formed their line with nicety, and waited our attack with great composure. They did not fire a gun until we were close to them; and we began first. Our ships were fought with a degree of gallantry which would have warmed your heart; everybody exerted themselves, and a glorious day they made of it. People who cannot comprehend how complicated an affair a battle at sea is, and judge of an officer's conduct by the number of sufferers in his ship, often do him wrong. Though there will appear great difference in the loss of men, all did admirably, and the conclusion was grand beyond description—eighteen hulks of the enemy lying among the British fleet without a stick standing, and the French *Achille* burning: but we were close to the rocks of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal for anchoring, many ships had their cables shot and not an anchor ready. Providence did for us what no human effort could have done—the wind shifted a few points and we drifted off the land. The next day bad weather began, and with great difficulty we got our captured ships towed off the land. The second day Gravina, who is wounded, made an effort to cut off nine of the ships with the squadron of nine ships which he retired with. In the night the gale increased, and two of his ships (the *Rayo* of 100 guns, and the *Indomptable* of 80), were dismasted. The *Rayo* anchored amongst our hulks and surrendered; the *Indomptable* was lost on the shore, and I am told every soul perished. Amongst such numbers it is difficult to ascertain what we have done; but I believe the truth is, twenty-three sail-of-the-line fell into our hands, of which three got in

again in the gale of wind—namely, *Santa Ana*, *Neptune*, and *Algeiras*. The *Nep-tuno* is on shore in Cadiz, and likely to be lost there. Three we bring safe off—namely, the *Ildefonso*, *San Juan Nepomuceno*, and English *Swiftsure*, and seventeen burned, sunk, and destroyed. Four flag-officers and plenty of commodores were our prisoners. Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, I send home. Vice-admiral d'Alava, who being dangerously wounded, I left in his ship *Santa Ana*; and she drove into Cadiz. Cisneros, Spanish rear-admiral, is now at Gibraltar; but I intend he shall go to England. Magon, the French rear-admiral, killed.

“The storm being violent, and many of our ships in most perilous situations, I found it necessary to order the captures (all without masts, some without rudders, and many half-full of water) to be destroyed, except such as were in better plight; for my object was their ruin, and not what might be made of them, as this filled our ships with prisoners, and the wounded in miserable condition. I sent a flag in to the Marquis Solano to offer him his wounded men, which was received with every demonstration of joy and gratitude, and two frigates and a brig were sent out for them. In return he offered me his hospitals, and the security of Spanish honour that our wounded should have every care and every comfort that Spain could afford: so that though we fight them, we are on good terms. But what has most astonished them is, our keeping the sea after such an action, with our jury-masts and crippled ships; which I did the longer, to let them see that no effort of theirs can drive a British squadron from its station.”

CAPTURE OF DUMANOIR'S SQUADRON BY SIR RICHARD STRACHAN.

WE shall now proceed to trace the movements of the four ships which escaped from the battle of Trafalgar, under the command of Rear-admiral Dumanoir. Having by dark on the evening of the same day gained a safe offing, he commenced repairing the slight damage his squadron had received. This was easily effected, as the rear-admiral's ships had scarcely received a shot, their sails and spars being so perfect, that in making their escape they carried royals upon a wind. Dumanoir intended to have steered for Toulon, but receiving

information that Rear-admiral Louis, with a British squadron of four or five sail-of-the-line, was cruising in the neighbourhood of the straits, he determined to run into one of the ports to the northward. With this intention he bore to the westward, in hopes of reaching Rochefort or Brest.

At this time Allemand's squadron, which had escaped from Rochefort in the preceding July, was at sea, and had captured and destroyed a great number of British merchant ships. Two or three squadrons were in search of Allemand, and several



SIR THOMAS M. HARDY



EARL DUNDONALD



SIR CHARLES NAPIER



SIR E^d CODRINGTON



SIR W^m SIDNEY SMITH

cruisers and frigates were on the look-out to gain intelligence of his locality. The *Phoenix* frigate, Captain Thomas Baker, having learned from a neutral vessel that the Rochefort squadron had been seen in the Bay of Biscay, she immediately made sail in that direction, and having crossed the bay, gained the latitude of Cape Finisterre on the 2nd of November. On this day, while standing on the larboard tack, with the wind at N.N.W., four large ships were discovered bearing W.N.W. Captain Baker supposing the four ships which he saw to be a portion of Allemand's division, gave chase. About noon the four ships bore up in pursuit of the *Phoenix*, the frigate retreating before them, she being anxious to decoy the enemy in the direction of Ferrol, off which a British squadron was cruising, under Sir Richard Strachan. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the *Phoenix* descried four additional ships bearing south. Shortly after this, the French ships having also discovered the four vessels in the southward, hauled the wind on the starboard tack. The *Phoenix*, which had been steering S.S.E., now hauled up to south. Dumanoir's squadron then stood to the east, while the *Phoenix* made all sail towards the strange ships in the S.S.E., rightly conjecturing them to belong to the British squadron. By eleven at night the *Phoenix* found herself close under the stern of the 80-gun ship *Cesar*, then on the larboard tack. Captain Baker, still labouring under the impression that the ships he had seen belonged to Allemand's squadron, informed Sir Richard Strachan of what he had seen. The British admiral at once gave chase, directing Captain Baker to make all sail to the south-east, and hasten up the ships belonging to his squadron, which were much scattered, and a considerable distance astern. The moon now shining out clearly, discovered to the British ships the enemy, under a press of sail, bearing away, closely formed, "in a bow and quarter line." The *Cesar*, followed by the *Hero*, *Courageux*, and *Aeolus*, continued the pursuit, and every eye was strained to watch as the distance narrowed between the hostile ships. The moon going down, and hazy weather supervening, the chase was hidden from the view of their earnest and anxious pursuers.

By the first streak of daylight on the 3rd, the ships of the British squadron found themselves off Cape Ortegal. The wind had changed, during the night, to W.S.W.,

and the French ships were for some time out of view. At length the eagerly-looked-for sight presented itself; about nine in the morning, the four large vessels being visible in the north-east, the English ships immediately hoisted every inch of canvass, and started off in the chase. At noon the sternmost of Sir Richard Strachan's squadron were approaching nearer to the flag-ship, and at this time the enemy was about fourteen miles distant, in the same direction as when first seen. The British squadron stood steadily on; the *Santa Margarita*, by her superior sailing, becoming the leading ship in the chase. Towards evening the *Phoenix* joined her, and assisted in harassing the rear of the enemy.

Darkness again shrouded the pursuers and the pursued; but daylight of the 4th showed that the distance between the *Cesar*, the foremost British line-of-battle ship and the sternmost ship of the enemy, was now reduced to six miles. The *Santa Margarita*, however, was far ahead, and by six in the morning had got near enough the French ship *Scipion* to fire her starboard guns into her. The *Scipion* replied with her stern chasers, and sent a round shot along the decks of the *Margarita*, which killed the boatswain and wounded several. She also received one or two shots in the hull. About half-past nine the *Phoenix* got up to the assistance of the *Santa Margarita*, and opened a brisk fire on the *Scipion*. While these frigates were thus harassing the French rear, the British line-of-battle ships were gradually drawing nearer. Vice-admiral Dumanoir, now finding that an action was unavoidable, ordered his ships to take in sail and haul up. He then formed his ships in line ahead, in the following order: *Duguay-Trouin*, *Formidable*, *Mont Blanc*, and *Scipion*. The British admiral's ship was at this time one mile distant from the *Scipion*. The *Namur*, 74, and the gun-frigate *Revolutionnaire*, were now running before the wind, but were still ten miles distant from the foremost ships. The *Aeolus* frigate was just out of gunshot of the enemy, and the *Santa Margarita* and *Phoenix* still kept hanging on his rear, and pouring in a broadside when they could get their guns to bear without running the risk of encountering the formidable broadsides of the enemy's line-of-battle ship. The *Cesar*, *Hero*, and *Courageux* now bore down on the enemy, and the admiral's ship being the foremost in the British line, opened fire from her

larboard guns on the *Scipion* and *Mont Blanc*. The French and English ships now crossed on opposite tacks, and the action became close and general. The battle was continued with the greatest vigour for upwards of an hour, when the British ships disentangled themselves from the enemy and tacked in succession; this manœuvre, however, was performed but slowly, owing to the damage the ships had sustained in their rigging. The *Hero* now led the line on the larboard tack; and about this time Sir Richard was joined by the *Namur* and *Revolutionnaire*, the latter joining the frigates, and the former bearing up to the support of the *Hero*. The action was now renewed with redoubled vigour. The *Scipion* having lost her maintop-mast, was obliged to bear up out of the line, when she was attacked by the British frigates *Phoenix* and *Revolutionnaire*, to whom, after she was subjected to a raking and destructive fire, she soon afterwards struck. In the meantime the *Hero* and *Namur* attacked the *Formidable*, who, after a brave resistance, and having had her mizentop-mast shot away, and her main and foretop-masts left in a shattered state, hauled down her colours. The other two French ships now endeavoured to get away, but they were prevented by the *Cesar* and *Hero* attacking them so closely, that after a severe cannonade from the broadsides of the British ships, they hauled down their colours, but not until the ships had become quite unmanageable. The contest was carried on with courage and resolution for nearly three hours and a-half. The loss, on the part of the British, was twenty-four killed and 111 wounded; that of the enemy, in killed and wounded, 700. The British squadron consisted of the *Cesar*, 80 guns; the *Hero*, *Namur*, and *Courageux*, 74 guns each; and the frigates *Santa Margarita* and *Æolus*, 32 guns each; *Phoenix*, 36 guns; and *Revolutionnaire*, 38 guns. The ships of the French squadron were the *Formidable*, 80 guns; *Duguay-Trouin*, *Scipion*, and *Mont Blanc*, 74 guns each. Sir Richard Strachan was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and created knight of the Bath. Gold medals were distributed in the usual manner; and the officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron received the thanks of parliament.

Among the single ship battles of this year, were those of the *Arrow* sloop and the *Acheron* bomb-vessel, in the Mediterranean; the *Cleopatra* and the *Ville-de-Milan*, near the

Bermudas; the *San Fiorenzo* and the *Psyche*, in the Indian seas; and that of the *Phoenix* and *Didon* frigates.

On the 4th of February, the *Arrow* sloop, Captain Vincent, and the bomb-ship *Acheron*, Captain Farquhar, having a convoy of thirty-five merchant vessels from Malta, bound for England, fell in with two French frigates, the *Hortense* and the *Incorruptible*, belonging to the Toulon fleet under Ganteaume. On ascertaining the hostile character of the frigates, the *Duchess of Rutland*, a warlike transport, was directed to lead the convoy on its course, while the sloop and the bomb-vessel awaited the attack of the enemy. As soon as the *Hortense* was sufficiently near, she directed the captain of the *Arrow* to hoist his boat out and come on board; an invitation which was declined by the *Arrow's* captain, who immediately made signal for action at six, A.M. In about an hour afterwards, the *Incorruptible* being within half-musket shot distance, opened her broadside on the *Arrow*, and received that of the *Arrow* in return. The *Acheron* coming up, a lively action commenced between the two French frigates and the two British vessels. The *Hortense* closed with the *Arrow*, and the *Incorruptible* with the *Acheron*. The sloops continued the unequal fight until the *Acheron*, by light and variable winds, was separated from her consort, which being a complete wreck (having received many shots between wind and water, and thirteen of her crew killed and twenty-seven wounded) struck her colours, having maintained the contest with her powerful enemies during one hour and a-half. The defence of the *Acheron* was equally obstinate, had been long sustained, and the injury she had received was so considerable, that as soon as the prisoners could be removed she was set on fire. Her loss was three killed and eight wounded. The *Arrow* had been so damaged, that she sunk shortly after the action. The crews of each of the French frigates were about 340 men, exclusive of 300 troops on board each ship. The *Hortense* mounted 48 guns; the *Incorruptible*, 42. Only three of the convoy fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the 16th of February, the *Cleopatra*, 32 guns, Captain Sir Robert Laurie, while cruising near the Bermudas, discovered a ship in the south-east, and immediately went in chase of her, the enemy at the same time making every sail to escape. At daylight of the 17th, the stranger was about four

miles ahead; and as soon as the *Cleopatra* was within half-gunshot distance, she fired her bow chasers, receiving from the enemy, at about 100 yards' distance, two broadsides; the *Cleopatra*, at the same time, returning the compliment. A close and severe action ensued for above five hours, during which the enemy's first attempt to board had been gallantly repulsed; but in a second attempt he obtained possession of his shattered and defenceless antagonist. The *Cleopatra's* loss in killed was twenty-two (among whom were the three lieutenants and the lieutenant of marines), and thirty-six wounded; that of the *Ville-de-Milan*, which mounted 46 guns, and whose crew numbered nearly 400 men, was not ascertained. The *Cleopatra's* crew amounted to 200 men. The English vessel was nearly 700 tons burden; that of the French, 1,100. The captain of the *Cleopatra* did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, as both the prize and her conqueror afterwards fell an easy prey to Captain Talbot, of the British ship *Leander*. The circumstances were as follows:—

The captain of the *Ville-de-Milan* having partially repaired the two vessels, and transferred a portion of his prize's crew into his own ship, set sail for a French port. On the 23rd of the same month, the British 50-gun ship *Leander* fell in with the *Cleopatra* under jury-masts, and soon after saw the *Ville-de-Milan* in the same condition; the two frigates closing to support each other. One hour's chase brought the *Leander* alongside of the French frigate and her prize, when they instantly surrendered, without firing or receiving a shot.

On the 13th of February, the *San Fiorenzo*, 32 guns, Captain Lambert, in cruise for the 32-gun frigate *Psyche*, reported to be off Vizagapatam, discovering her with two prizes, immediately pursued under a press of sail. The chase continued until half-past eight in the evening of the 14th, when the *San Fiorenzo* being within gunshot, fired a bow chaser at the *Psyche* and her consort, the *Equivoque* privateer, of 10 guns and forty men. In the course of ten minutes a furious battle ensued between the *San Fiorenzo* and her opponents. The conflict continued till midnight, when the captain of the *Psyche* sent a message that he had struck, out of humanity to the survivors of his crew. The loss of the *San Fiorenzo* was twenty-four killed and thirty-six wounded; that of the *Psyche* was fifty-four killed and seventy wounded.

In the early part of the year, Admiral Missiessy, with the Rochefort squadron, having on board 4,000 troops, with instructions to capture the islands of Dominica and St. Lucia, arrived in the West Indies. He arrived at Martinique on the 5th of February, and having landed the ammunition destined for that island, made sail for Dominica, and under cover of a tremendous fire from the line-of-battle ships, gun-boats, and schooners, endeavoured to effect a landing of 4,000 troops in the bay of Rousseau; but being repulsed by the 46th and first West India regiments, under the command of Major-general Prevost, the governor of the island, he was compelled to seek a more favourable place of disembarkment. Here, under the fire of the whole squadron, which was poured upon them without intermission, the town of Rousseau was reduced to ashes. In this extremity, Prevost retreated to the fort of Prince Rupert's Head, at the other end of the island. He was summoned to surrender; but the French general and admiral, fearful of Lord Nelson's presence in the neighbourhood, re-embarked their forces, and steered for Guadeloupe, having sustained a loss of 300 men in their fruitless attempt; while that of the islanders did not amount to forty. Having landed supplies at Guadeloupe, St. Kitt's, and Montserrat, he proceeded to the city of Domingo, where he arrived on the 28th of March. The reinforcements being landed, the French and Spaniards, under General Ferrand, were relieved from the siege and blockade under which they were suffering from the negroes on land, and the British cruisers by sea. Leaving a reinforcement of 1,000 men in St. Domingo, Missiessy proceeded on his return to Europe.

When Villeneuve, with the combined Franco-Spanish fleet reached Martinique, on his entering the harbour of Fort Royal, in that island, he received a smart cannonade from the Diamond Rock—a perpendicular rock lying off Fort Royal Bay, and which had been taken possession of by a party from the *Centaur*, 74, under Commodore Samuel Hood. It was then determined to make it a sort of depôt or "stationary cruiser," as it was called, from which boats could be sent to harass the enemy's trade. Five large guns from the *Centaur* had, with indescribable difficulty, been dragged up the face of the rock, and were mounted at different heights; one 24-pounder being

mounted on a circular carriage, commanded the landing-place, and nearly across the bay; another was placed on the north-east side, and a third about midway up the rock; and two 18-pounders were placed on the top, which was upwards of 600 feet in height. Lieutenant Maurice, of the *Centaur*, with 120 officers, seamen, and marines, were left in possession of the place, in 1803. Villeneuve, angry at the reception he received from the *Diamond*, sent two ships-of-the-line, a frigate, a corvette, a schooner, and eleven gun-boats, to retake the rock. Captain Maurice, seeing it impossible to defend the lower works against so formidable a force, abandoned them, spiking his guns and retiring to Hood's battery—the single gun, about midway up the rock, being honoured with this appellation—and to the summit of the rock, or Fort Diamond, as the two 18-pounders there stationed were denominated. Here he bravely replied to the fire of the French squadron, with his single 24-pounder and two eighteens. Captain Maurice sustained a tremendous bombardment for three days: his ammunition being all consumed, he was then obliged to surrender. Captain Maurice himself stated that when he hung out a flag of truce he had but little powder left, and not a sufficient quantity of ball-cartridges to last until dark. Terms honourable to the little garrison were agreed to the same evening. The British sustained a loss of only two men killed and one wounded; the French *chef-d'escadron* estimated the loss of the attacking party at about fifty in killed and wounded. Captain Maurice was afterwards tried by court-martial for the loss of the Diamond Rock, when he was not only honourably acquitted, but highly complimented for the courage and firmness he had displayed in the defence of the place.

Being in latitude $43^{\circ} 16' N.$, and longitude $12^{\circ} 14' W.$, at daylight on the 10th of August, the British 36-gun frigate *Phœnix** discovered a strange sail in the south-west, and immediately gave chase. By seven in the morning Captain Baker was able to make out the stranger to be the French 40-gun frigate, Captain Milius, in search of the Rochefort squadron, and carrying orders to M. Allemand from Admiral Villeneuve. About eight o'clock the French ship hoisted

her colours, and fired a gun to windward. The *Phœnix*, to prevent any attempt of her opponent to get away, resolved to engage to leeward, and cautiously avoiding the enemy's fire, she steered a "bow and quarter course," reserving her shot until it could be poured into her antagonist with good effect. The French frigate manœuvred with great skill; and having filled and wore, she came to again on the opposite tack, pouring in a tremendous broadside into the bows of the *Phœnix*. This manœuvre was repeated three times successively, and the heavy cannonade had told seriously on the rigging and spars of the English ship. Captain Baker, annoyed at being thus out-manœuvred, and being prevented by the inferior sailing qualities of his ship from passing ahead or astern of his opponent, determined to run at the *Didon* to windward. In this he succeeded, and both frigates being on the larboard tack, brought their broadsides to bear within a hundred yards' distance. In getting into the position in which she now lay, the *Phœnix* ranged considerably ahead of the *Didon*; the latter taking advantage of this, the *Didon* bore up and passed athwart the stern of the *Phœnix*, and poured into her a heavy raking fire. Captain Baker, however, having taken the precaution of causing his men to lie flat on the deck when he found himself thus exposed, the shots passed over without doing much damage. The contest now raged furiously, and officers and men in the respective ships behaved as if success depended on the individual exertions of each. The *Phœnix* having worked into such a position as to prevent a recurrence of the raking fire to which she had been exposed, the *Didon* laid herself with her larboard bow pressing against the starboard quarter of the British frigate. Both ships were now lying in a line, and so close together and entangled did they become, that their guns were rendered useless, the *Didon* having only one brass gun and the *Phœnix* none, which, as they were mounted, could be brought to bear. Aided by this large brass cannonade, the crew of the *Didon* made an attempt to board the *Phœnix*. The battle now became a hand-to-hand encounter, and the immense superiority in numbers gave the French great advantage in the contest. Nothing daunted, however, the British gallantly repulsed the assailants, and even prepared to board the *Didon*. Captain Baker now attempted a novel mode of bringing one of

* This was the same frigate which afterwards led Dumanoir's squadron into the hands of Sir Richard Sirachan, and performed such good service in the action off Cape Ortegal, as related in p. 141, *ante*.

his guns to bear on his antagonist. He immediately determined on transporting the aftermost main-deck gun to his cabin; and having had the sill of the cabin window cut down on each side next the quarter, in case of an emergency of this kind, he proceeded to bring down the gun and run it out of the window, instead of the stern-port next the rudder-head. Unfortunately there was not tackle sufficiently long to perform the operation of moving the gun at once, and while getting it into the port, the crew were exposed to an incessant fire from the marines of the *Didon* through the stern windows of the *Phœnix*, killing and wounding a great number. Nothing, however, could daunt the courage of the gallant fellows on board the English frigate, and many instances of individual heroism occurred; among others we may mention that of the acting purser of the *Phœnix*. The station of this officer, in action, is the cockpit; but this brave fellow scorned to remain there in safety while the lives of others were placed in such jeopardy on deck. Leaving the cockpit, he took his station on the quarter-deck, with a brace of pistols in his belt and a broadsword in his hand, and there, exposed to a perfect storm of shot, he animated the crew by voice and gesture to do their duty. "Give it her, my lads!" he exclaimed, as the fire of the *Phœnix* tore along the decks of the *Didon*. Several other officers distinguished themselves by the most daring acts of bravery. A young midshipman, named Phillips, twice saved the life of his commander. When the two ships were foul of each other, Phillips observed a Frenchman taking deliberate aim at Captain Baker, and having in his hand a loaded musket, he pushed the captain aside and fired. The fate of the Frenchman was told by a heavy splash in the water; but Captain Baker had a very narrow escape; the ball from the French sailor's musket having passed through the rim of his hat. The main-deck gun of the *Phœnix* was at length run out of the cabin window, and the first discharge swept the French frigate from stem to stern, killing and wounding, it is said, twenty-four of the *Didon's* crew. Notwithstanding the murderous execution performed by this gun, the French commander still fought his ship with the greatest bravery, working his one carronade and pouring in continuous volleys of musketry on the crew of the *Phœnix*, who replied with equal spirit; the men in both ships stooping to load,

and again rising to discharge their muskets. The two ships had thus been on board of each other for upwards of half-an-hour, when, by a slight change in position, the *Phœnix* was able to bring her second aftermost gun to bear, with which she immediately carried away the head-rails of the *Didon* and gammoned her bowsprit. The *Didon*, as she gradually freed herself, brought her guns to bear on the *Phœnix*, and as the two ships got clear of each other they recommenced a mutual cannonade. The superiority of the British ship now showed itself; for every broadside fired by the *Didon* the *Phœnix* was able to reply with two; while the damaged state of the hull, with one mast gone, and the other in a shattered condition, showed that with rapidity of firing the crew of the English frigate had not neglected to send their shot in the right direction. The *Didon* now passed ahead out of gunshot, and, as if by mutual consent, a cessation of hostilities took place; both vessels employing the time in repairing their rigging. The two ships, as they lay at little more than a quarter-of-a-mile from each other, presented a very different appearance from what they exhibited before going into battle three hours earlier. Their sails were cut to ribbons and fluttering in the breeze, while their rigging was reduced to a number of loose ropes'-ends hanging about the masts. Immediately on ceasing firing the crew of the *Phœnix* set to repairing the damage which had been done to her rigging, which was very soon knotted and spliced, fresh braces rove, and new sails trimmed. During the time the British frigate was thus engaged in making repairs, the *Didon* had been employed in a similar manner. She had, however, suffered much more severely than her opponent: she had lost her maintop-mast, and during this cessation of the strife, and while every exertion was being made by the crew to enable her to recommence the contest, the foremast fell over the side. This happened about twelve o'clock, and shortly after the *Phœnix*, having completed such repairs as could be made upon her rigging and sails, set all the canvas she could, and catching a wind which had just sprung up, bore down on the *Didon*, which was lying in a completely defenceless state. As the British ship prepared to open fire, the *Didon* hauled down her colours without attempting any further resistance. Our naval annals do not present the record of a better contested battle between

single ships than this, as the captains and crews of both frigates fought their vessels with the utmost bravery and skill. The odds, however, were fearfully against the British in number of men, weight of metal, and tonnage of vessels. The crew of the *Phoenix*, when she went into action, was but 245, and out of these ten or twelve were sick and confined to their cots; the crew of the *Didon* consisted of 330. The broadside guns of the *Phoenix* were twenty-one, and the weight of metal 440 lbs.; the number of the *Didon's* was twenty-three, and the weight of metal 563 lbs.; tonnage of *Phoenix*, 884; *Didon*, 1,091. The *Phoenix* had twelve killed and twenty-eight wounded. The loss on board the French frigate was twenty-seven killed and forty-four badly wounded.* Captain Baker brought his prize safely into Plymouth Sound on the 3rd of September.

Before closing our account of the single ship actions of this year, we shall narrate the gallant conduct of the captain and crew of the British 38-gun frigate *Loire*, on the coast of Spain. On the 1st of June, while cruising to the eastward of Cape Finisterre, Captain Maitland discovered, and immediately gave chase to, a small felucca which stood for the bay of Camarinas, and escaped. Determined that the vessel should not thus elude his grasp, the commander of the British frigate, soon after it was dark, dispatched the launch and two cutters, containing thirty-five officers and men, under the command of Lieutenant Yeo, to endeavour to bring out the craft which had been chased into the bay in the afternoon. It was daybreak of the 2nd before the boats reached the point of attack, where they found two privateers, moored under the guns of a battery. Lieutenant Yeo, although he had expected to have to contend with only one ship, immediately ordered the launch, commanded by Mr. Charles Clinch, the master's mate, to board the smaller of the two privateers; whilst he himself at once attacked, and in a short time carried, the larger, notwithstanding the force opposed to him was more than double that of his crew. In this gallant affair, the only weapons used were the pike and sabre, in order that the battery might not be alarmed. The prize proved to be the Spanish felucca, *Esperanza*, armed with three long 18-pounders, four

4-pounder brass swivels, and a crew of fifty men. In the meantime the launch had been equally successful in the capture of her opponent, which proved to be a lugger of two 6-pounders and thirty-two men. In the attack and capture of these two vessels the British had not lost a single man. Lieutenant Yeo now prepared to carry off his prizes; but the guns of the battery were brought to bear upon him as he passed; and although the fire was ill directed, and did but little damage, he judged it better to secure the large vessel and abandon the other. This he successfully effected, with the loss of only three men slightly wounded. Three small vessels, laden with wine, were also taken possession of, and brought out of the harbour by this small party of daring seamen.

The next day, while Captain Maitland was still standing off the coast of Spain, he learned that a French privateer of 26 guns was fitting out, and nearly ready for sea, at Muros, a fishing town in the province of Corunna, and about thirty miles W.S.W. of Santiago. He immediately resolved to attempt the capture or destruction of this vessel. On the morning of the 4th, having manned the boats with fifty officers and men, and again placed the whole under the command of Lieutenant Yeo, the *Loire* stood into the bay of Muros, having the boats in tow. As she passed on, a small battery of two guns, which was erected in a commanding position, commenced a vigorous cannonade, to which the frigate had no means of replying; orders were therefore immediately issued to Lieutenant Yeo to proceed on shore, attack the battery, and spike the guns. The boats having departed on this service, the *Loire* continued her course towards the harbour. As she stood on, the British frigate discovered lying in the bay a large corvette, having her broadside pierced with thirteen port-holes, and a brig pierced with ten. Neither of these vessels, however, had their guns on board. A fort of twelve long 18-pounders, which occupied a position less than a quarter-of-a-mile distance from the *Loire*, now opened fire upon her, every shot being well directed, and a number piercing the hull. The helm was then put down, and Captain Maitland having run a little closer in, came to anchor, with a spring on the cable, and through the other, without injuring even a tooth. When the wound on each cheek healed, a pair of not unseemly dimples were all that remained."—James's *Naval History*.

* "Among those wounded on board the *Phoenix*, was a midshipman named Edward Curling. While, with jaws extended, he was sucking an orange, a musket-ball, which had passed through the head of a seaman, entered one of his cheeks and escaped

immediately saluted the battery with a heavy broadside. The fire from the *Loire*, however, did but little damage to the fort, and the frigate would have suffered severely had not unexpected aid been received from another quarter. When the boats parted from the *Loire*, they immediately proceeded, under Lieutenant Yeo, to attack the battery at the entrance to the harbour. As they approached, the Spaniards deserted their guns and fled. The boats' crews immediately proceeded to spike the guns; and then, observing another battery about a quarter-of-a-mile in advance, they at once proceeded to attack it. This was the fort which had opened fire on the *Loire*, and the sudden cessation of whose cannonading so much astonished Captain Maitland. This was caused by the sudden assault of the boats' crews, who finding the garrison wholly occupied in firing on the frigate, obtained an entrance by the outer gate of the fort, which had been left open; but as they approached the inner, they found the garrison drawn up ready to receive them, with the governor at their head. Nothing daunted at this, Lieutenant Yeo immediately sprang forward, and with one stroke of his sabre laid the commandant dead at his feet, breaking his own weapon by the force of the blow. Emulating the valour of their leader, this little band of British heroes vigorously attacked the force opposed to them, and after a severe hand-to-hand encounter, they obtained possession of the battery, and the "meteor flag" was soon seen fluttering over the walls of the fort. The garrison consisted of 130 men at the time it surrendered to this small detachment of British seamen. The loss sustained by Lieutenant Yeo's party amounted to only six slightly wounded. The defenders of the garrison suffered severely, having eleven killed and thirty wounded. When the storming party obtained possession of the battery, they

spiked the twelve 18-pounders which were found there, and threw them over the parapet; they then blew up part of the fort, and having stowed into their boats forty barrels of gunpowder, two small brass cannon, and fifty stand of arms, they pulled back to their ship. While the portion of his force, under Lieutenant Yeo, was thus engaged, Captain Maitland had, by another boat's crew, captured the two unarmed French privateers; he also seized a Spanish merchant brig which was lying in ballast. Having thus obtained possession of the three vessels, a flag of truce was now sent on shore, informing the inhabitants that if the stores of the ships, which were on shore, were delivered up, the town should not be subjected to any further injury. This was at once agreed to, and all the stores, with the exception of the guns, were handed over to the British. Captain Maitland took home his prizes in safety, and was rewarded for his gallant conduct by being appointed to the command of the *Confiance*, the ship which he had captured, and which was 490 tons burthen. On the 16th of September the *Confiance* was established with twenty-two carronades (18-pounders), two long sixes, and a crew of 121 men.

In the course of this year a league was formed by England, Russia, Sweden, and Austria, for the purpose of securing the independence of Europe and resisting the encroachments of France. Sweden and Russia entered into a separate treaty on the 10th of January; England and Russia did the same on the 11th of April; and Austria became a member of the confederacy with England, Russia, and Sweden, on the 9th of August, by a treaty signed at St. Petersburg. Prussia, influenced by the lure of Hanover, was willing to conclude a treaty—offensive and defensive—with France, but subsequent events prevented her from the consummation of her intention.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

At the peace of Amiens the Cape of Good Hope had been delivered over by Great Britain to the Dutch, in accordance with the treaty then entered into with France. In the autumn of 1805, it being ascertained that there were only about 2,000 regular troops then in the colony, and that the militia and inhabitants were generally well-

affected towards the English, it was determined to dispatch a force to retake this important place. The expedition consisted of a squadron composed of three 64-gun ships, one 50, and four frigates and sloops, under the orders of Commodore Sir Home Popham, and 5,000 troops, commanded by Major-general Sir David Baird.

The troops comprised the 24th, 38th, 59th, 71st, 72nd, 83rd, and 98th, and part of the 20th light dragoons, with artillery and artificers; making a total force of nearly 7,000 rank and file. The expedition was to be a secret one, and sealed instructions were given to the commanders, which were to be opened in a certain latitude; and in these Madeira was named as the rendezvous. Having touched at St. Salvador for refreshments, the squadron set sail on the 26th of November, and on the 4th of January, 1806, anchored to the westward of Robben Island, which lies at the entrance of False Bay.

Table Bay (on the shore, and almost in the centre of which Cape Town stands) receives its name from that extraordinary eminence called Table Mountain, which rises about 3,687 feet above the level of the sea, and which terminates in a perfectly flat surface at that height, where the face of the rock on the side of Cape Town descends almost perpendicularly. To the eastward of the mountain, separated by a chasm, is Charles's Mount, known by the name of the Devil's Tower; on the westward, a round hill rises on the right-hand side of the bay, called the Lion's Head, from which a ridge of high land; terminating in another smaller hill called the Lion's Rump, stretches towards the sea. Cape Town is handsome and airy; is defended by a castle and several forts. It is regularly laid out in the Dutch style, with canals in the principal streets; the latter are broad, and cross each other at right angles, but are unpaved; the houses are generally built of stone, flat-roofed, and painted or whitewashed, with terraces in front. From its situation the town is exposed to excessive heat, and is often intolerable from dust: it is also liable to violent gales from the south-east. The coast is everywhere dangerous; and landing, except in the bays, almost impracticable.

General Janssens was at the time commanding at the Cape: the troops in garrison consisted of a detachment of Batavian artillery, the 22nd regiment of the line, a German regiment of Waldecks, and a native corps of light infantry. To these may be added an auxiliary battalion, formed of marines and seamen, and a number of irregulars.

The force which the governor had under his command for the defence of the Cape was greater than that of the British. Notwithstanding this, General Janssens deter-

mined to leave a garrison in Cape Town, and fall back on the interior with the remainder of his troops, and with them carry on an irregular war, until assistance could be received from Europe to enable him to expel the invaders.

The expedition having approached the coast on the 4th, preparations were made for landing, but it was too late to effect it on that night; but every effort was made to be ready for disembarkation on the morning of the 5th, at a small inlet named Leopard's Bay. When morning dawned the surf was found to run so high, that a landing at the place fixed on the previous evening was found to be impracticable. A portion of the troops, consisting of the 38th regiment and the 20th light dragoons, therefore proceeded, under the command of General Beresford, to effect a landing at Saldanha Bay. It was intended that the remainder of the expedition should sail for the same place on the following morning; but by daylight on the 6th it was deemed practicable to disembark, and the troops proceeded to land, although the surf still ran with considerable violence, and the sharpshooters of the enemy kept up an annoying fire. One boat was swamped, by which five-and-thirty of the highland brigade were drowned; this, however, was the only casualty which occurred during the disembarkation. On the 7th, the 24th, 59th, and 83rd regiments, having completed their landing, with two howitzer and six field-pieces, in Leopard's Bay, the two columns moved on towards Cape Town. Ascending the Blue Mountains, they found the enemy, to the amount of about 5,000 men, with twenty-five pieces of cannon, under the command of Lieutenant-general Janssens, drawn up ready to receive them. After a few rounds of cannon and musketry, the Scotch brigade, under Ferguson, impetuously advancing to the assault, the enemy took to flight, having sustained a loss in killed and wounded of 700 men, while that of the assailants was 204. Had General Baird possessed a cavalry force to follow up the advantage thus gained, the enemy's army would have been totally destroyed; but being deficient in this arm, the British contented themselves with carrying off the whole of the artillery. On the 9th, Baird reached the Salt river, where he encamped, the battering train not having yet come up; but a flag of truce arriving from the commanding officer of Cape Town, with offers to capitulate, on the following



Storer.

L.H. Payne sc.

Villa Royal, Naples.



J. Muller pinx

A. H. Knappe sc

Palermo

morning articles of capitulation were signed; and on the 12th the English took possession of Cape Town and its dependencies, on the several batteries of which were 113 pieces of brass cannon, and 343 pieces of iron ordnance. Janssens, after the battle of the 8th, retired to the Hottentot territory

of Hollands Kloof, in the interior, where he showed a disposition to defend himself; but General Beresford having been detached against him, he surrendered, and was included in the general conditions—as a prisoner, to be conveyed to Holland, with the Dutch troops and garrison.

INVASION OF NAPLES—BATTLE OF MAIDA, Etc.

ON the 21st of September, 1805, the King of Naples concluded a treaty of neutrality with Napoleon, after which the French troops, under Marshal St. Cyr, which had occupied Naples, were withdrawn in order to reinforce Massena's army in Upper Italy. Notwithstanding this treaty, however, the Neapolitan government permitted an Anglo-Russian squadron, on the 20th of November, to anchor in the Bay of Naples and land 10,000 English troops, under Sir James Craig, from Sicily, and 14,000 Russians, under General Lasey, from the Ionian Isles. The English were cantoned at Castel-à-Mare, Torre del Greco, and the vicinity; and the Russians were quartered at Naples and its environs. No sooner were the troops on shore than the King of Naples began, at the instigation of his queen, Caroline, the sister of Marie Antoinette, to make preparations for active hostilities. A knowledge of this breach of treaty reached Napoleon the day after the signing of the treaty at Presburg, when he issued from his head-quarters at Vienna, a proclamation declaring that the Neapolitan branch of the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign.* Intelligence of Buonaparte's threat was received at Naples at the same time that it was made known that the peace of Presburg had been completed; and in accordance with that treaty, a courier had arrived with orders from the Emperor Alexander for the Russian troops to re-embark and return to Corfu. The withdrawal of the Russians led necessarily to that of the English, who returned to Sicily, whither they were quickly followed by the Neapolitan king and queen. Immediately after the portentous proclamation was issued by Napoleon, a French army under Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by Massena,

Regnier, and other generals, were on their march for Naples. On the 9th of February, 1806, the French were at Ferentino, on the frontiers of the kingdom, and marched forward in three divisions. The right, commanded by Regnier, advanced on Gaeta. The centre division, under Massena, met with no resistance in its march to Naples, which Joseph Buonaparte entered on the 15th, and where he was installed as king, in the palace which the Bourbons had evacuated. Capua had surrendered on the 12th. The third division of the French army had marched for Taranto, which important city they took possession of without opposition.

The whole kingdom of Naples had now submitted to the French, except Gaeta and Civitella del Tranto, in the farther Abruzzo. Gaeta, which is situate on a rocky promontory, three sides of which are washed by the sea, and on the fourth joined to the continent by a narrow and well-fortified isthmus, was summoned to surrender; but its governor, the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, refusing to comply, its siege was commenced.

On the application of the King of Naples, Admiral Lord Collingwood dispatched a small squadron, under Sir Sidney Smith, to protect Sicily, and give such aid and assistance to Gaeta as should be practicable. About the middle of April, Sir Sidney arrived with five ships-of-the-line, besides frigates, transports, and gun-boats, on the coast of Italy, and began his operations by introducing into Gaeta supplies of stores and ammunition, of which its garrison were in want. Having performed this service, and left at Gaeta a flotilla of gun-boats under the protection of a frigate, he proceeded to the Bay of Naples, spreading so great alarm

* After announcing that St. Cyr would advance by rapid strides to take possession of Naples, the terms of the proclamation ran thus:—"We shall then proceed to punish the treason of a criminal queen and precipitate her from the throne. We have pardoned that infatuated king, who thrice has done everything to ruin himself. Shall we pardon him a fourth time? Shall we a fourth time trust a court without faith, without honour, without reason?—No! *The dynasty of Naples has ceased to reign*—its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe and the honour of my crown."

along the coast, that the French conveyed in haste to Naples part of their battering train from the trenches before Gaeta, in order to protect it from attack. It happened that at the moment Sir Sidney came within sight of Naples, that city was illuminated on account of Joseph Buonaparte having been proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies. It was in the power of the English admiral to have disturbed the festivities of the intrusive king; but as the sufferers from his interference must have been the inhabitants, he humanely forbore, and made for the Isle of Capri, which commands the Gulf of Naples, and lies immediately opposite that city, at the distance of twenty-five miles; and immediately summoned the French commander to surrender. The demand not being complied with, Sir Sidney cannonaded the place from both decks of his ship, the *Eagle*, and then threw on shore a party of sailors and marines, who ascended the rocks and drove the French from their strongest posts. Captain Stannus, who led on the marines, having killed the governor with his own hand, the garrison then capitulated. Sir Sidney took possession of the place, and left in it an English garrison. The Prince of Canoso, with a body of Sicilians, occupied Ponza and several neighbouring islands. Sir Sidney then proceeded southward along the coast, giving all the annoyance in his power to the enemy; obstructing by land, and intercepting entirely by sea their communications along the shore, so as to retard their operations against Gaeta.

There was some hard fighting in Calabria. Regnier, after being desperately resisted for three days, carried the walled town of Maratea, to which a great number of Bourbon partisans had resorted, and on the following day the castle capitulated. It was then pretended that the Bourbon partisans, who were found there, were not regular troops but insurgents. In consequence of this decision, they were basely murdered in cold blood; the town was sacked, women were outraged, and all was desolation and horror. From Maratea in flames, Regnier advanced to Amantea, but the enormities the French had perpetrated, now waked the fierce spirit of insurrection and resistance. The inhabitants of the towns and villages fled to the mountains or the forests, and the indignant peasantry, thirsting for vengeance, collected in the rear of the French army, and murdered, often with cruel tortures, all stragglers; all they could surprise. To sustain the

revolt, money was sent from the fugitive Bourbon court at Palermo, as well as some officers and irregular troops. Amantea was successfully defended; Reggio, which had fallen, was retaken; the castle of Sylla which had surrendered was invested, and Regnier found it necessary to retreat towards Montelone.

On the return of Sir Sidney Smith to Palermo, the king and queen appointed him their viceroy in Calabria, for the purpose of organising an insurrection in that province; but the British admiral soon found that unless an English army made its appearance in the district, all efforts would be ineffectual: it was therefore proposed to invade the province with part of the English forces then in Sicily.

When Sir James Craig retired to Sicily from Naples, he established his headquarters at Messina, where he continued till the month of April, when, in consequence of ill-health, he resigned his command to Sir John Stuart, and returned home. Shortly after this his Sicilian majesty entrusted Stuart with the defence of the eastern coast of Sicily, and also gave him the command of the Sicilian troops in that district. Sir John hesitated for a considerable time before he consented to assist in the schemes of the Neapolitan court in aiding the insurgents in Calabria. But being encouraged by the flattering accounts given of the anxiety of the Calabrians to free themselves of their French invaders, he at length consented to embark a portion of his forces, and test the sincerity of the inhabitants.

Accordingly, on the 1st of July the British general landed in a bay in the Gulf of St. Euphemia with an army of 4,800 men—all infantry—and twelve light field-pieces. Above a third of this small army consisted of Corsicans, Sicilians, and other foreigners in British pay. A proclamation was at the same time issued inviting the Calabrians to join the standard of their lawful sovereign; but few or none obeyed the summons.

General Regnier, having been informed of Stuart's landing, he united several detached corps, and advanced to attack the English without loss of time. He expected Stuart would be found encamped on the shore; in a position defended by batteries and the English men-of-war and gun-boats. Stuart had, however, marched some distance along the beach, and then turned to meet Regnier. The ground over which the English army

passed was rugged, intersected by water-courses, dotted by thickets, and sometimes rendered almost impassable by marshes. Stuart had but few horses with him, and could only move some light field-pieces. He had brought with him from Sicily no more than ten 4-pounders, four 6-pounders, and two howitzers. Though French and Italian writers have described the great loss sustained by the French from the encounter with Sir John Stuart, to have arisen from the murderous effects of artillery, it is beyond all doubt, that of the few pieces of cannon which had accompanied the English army in its advance, scarcely any use was made in the battle of Maida. The stories of the great aid afforded to the army by the English men-of-war in the neighbourhood, are mere fictions. Sir Sidney Smith arrived in the bay of Santa Euphemia on the evening before the action, but all he could do was to station his ships and gun-boats so as, in case of necessity, they might favour Sir John's retreat.

The English commander learned, in the afternoon of the 3rd of July, that Regnier was encamped near Maida, distant about ten miles from Santa Euphemia. His force was stated to consist at that moment of 4,000 infantry and 300 cavalry, having with them four pieces of artillery, and expecting to be joined by 3,000 more French troops in a day or two. Stuart was anxious to give battle before this junction took place, and Sir John on the 4th, leaving four companies of Watteville's regiment to protect stores, commenced his march. His object being known, he was cheered by the men of Sir Sidney's squadron, and some of their officers followed the army on foot, or on Calabrian donkeys, to be witnesses of the fight. The day was insufferably hot, and passing over the Calabrian plain drenched his men with perspiration. He found Regnier encamped below the village of Maida, on the side of a woody hill, sloping into the plain of Santa Euphemia, a thick underwood strengthening his flanks, his front covered by the Amato, a river which was inclosed by a broad extent of marshy ground on either side. Regnier unwisely suffered himself to be drawn from this strong position. Sir John remarked that but for his doing so, the difficulties of access to him were such, that he could not possibly have made any impression on him; "but," he added, "quitting this advantage, and crossing the river with his entire force, he came down to meet us on the open plain, a measure to which he was, no doubt, en-

couraged by a consideration of his cavalry, an arm with which, unfortunately, I was altogether unprovided." Regnier is believed to have had other motives for taking the course he did. In Egypt he had been opposed to Stuart, had been defeated, and he now hoped the day was come when he might revenge that disgrace. Lebrun, one of Buonaparte's aides-de-camp, had been sent to him, and might have reported unfavourably of him, had he not manifested impatience to fall on the English the moment he saw them. Sir John Stuart was anxious to meet Regnier from personal feeling on his side. Sebastiani had accused him of having recourse to assassins, and Regnier had written a book about the campaigns in Egypt, denying that the British had either manifested skill or courage; and describing both officers and men to be unworthy the name of soldiers. The angry feelings of Sir John were largely shared by his officers and men; and when the French had reached the plain, battle was immediately joined, and all fought as if eager to requite their own personal wrongs. Regnier came down in double columns, and the amount of his force greatly exceeded that which Stuart had expected to meet, as, in fact, that junction had been formed which the English commander had wished to anticipate. Some short close firing of the flankers covered the deployments of the two armies, and by nine o'clock in the morning the opposing fronts were engaged. The battle became very hot on Stuart's side, which was composed of British light infantry and a few foreigners, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Kempt and Major Robinson. In front of it was the renowned French regiment of light infantry, the "Première Légère." When distant from each other a hundred yards they fired, as if by agreement, several rounds, and then in compact order advanced till their bayonets began to cross. The English commander, before this close approximation, saw that his men suffered from the heat, and were embarrassed by the blanket which they carried at their backs. He caused the line to halt for a few seconds. The French thought the pause an indication of irresolution, and expected in the next moment to see the English retreat. They advanced upon this more rapidly, and with their usual shouts. The French regiment spoken of above, was composed of well-trained veterans, wearing formidable

moustachios. The English line opposed to them was, for the most part, formed of young recruits; but no sooner were they freed from their encumbering blankets than, with a loud "hurrah!" they rushed forward to the charge. The French line gave way generally; the few daring men that remained to oppose the British advance were instantly overpowered. Their comrades fell back, while their officers ran along the line, labouring, ineffectually, to bring them to face the English bayonets again. The English forward movement caused the "Première Légère" to fall into hopeless disorder. They attempted to save themselves by flight, but the moment was past when this could be done, and a dreadful carnage ensued. Brigadier-general Auckland commanded on the left of that portion of the English army which had overthrown the French first light infantry. He seized the instant of their triumph to urge his men to press forward with the bayonet. Again the French were forced to give way. They left the plain covered with their dead and wounded.

Regnier was to the last degree distressed and exasperated by what he was compelled to witness. He saw his left wing totally overthrown, and pranced about the field assailing his vanquished followers with curses and bitter reproaches. With his right wing he hoped to recover what he had lost, and horse and foot were impelled against Stuart's left. Brigadier-general Cole's brigade met them, aided by some British grenadiers and infantry of the line, and Regnier had then the mortification to see his horse and foot repulsed by the British. An attempt was hazarded by the French to turn the flank of the English, but Lieutenant-colonel Ross, who had only arrived that morning from Messina with the 20th regiment, coming up at that moment, took possession of a small cover on the flank, and by opening a well-directed fire, frustrated the enemy's design. Retreat, rout, and confusion succeeded. Paul Louis Courier, a Frenchman, who was attached to the French general, wrote in plain terms "that bulletins and *Moniteur* might say what they pleased, but the simple truth was, that Regnier had been well thrashed." He further remarked, that "with good troops and equal numbers, to be defeated in a few moments, was a misfortune which had not occurred since the French revolution." When this honest reporter spoke of the numbers engaged being equal, he had

been deceived by Regnier, or those about him, whom he had joined on their retreat, and who represented that Stuart had under him 6,000 men, though the number already mentioned (4,795) was all he could muster, and in that total the 20th regiment, which so opportunely arrived, was included.

The loss sustained by the French in this affair was stated by a French officer who was in Calabria some time after the battle, to have reached 1,500 in killed and wounded. Stuart, writing from the plain of Maida, on the 6th of July, two days after the battle, stated, that above 700 dead bodies had been buried on the ground, while the wounded and prisoners (in the latter category General Compère and a long list of officers were included), exceeded 1,000, and fugitives were being hourly brought in by the peasants. The loss of the English was remarkably small, as from the official return it only amounted to one officer, three sergeants, forty-one rank and file killed; eleven officers, eight sergeants, two drummers, 261 rank and file wounded. Sir John stated that he had not heard Regnier's army estimated at less than 7,000 men; and the French and Italian accounts of this battle do not materially reduce the amount of his force; but to extenuate the result, they swell the numbers of the British to eight or nine thousand. It is, however, to be remembered that an English general, if disposed to be boastful, cannot materially distort reports which are necessarily made public, and Stuart was obliged to give a correct return of the men under him, and which only reached the total just named. On the other hand, the French generals merely reported to their emperor and his secret war-office clique. The defeat sustained in this case it was impossible to conceal from all Europe, and extraordinary pains were taken to magnify the numbers of the English before whom Regnier had fled in disconsolate agony till the Apennines were between him and his conquerors. On the night which succeeded the battle he bivouacked on the heights of Marcellinara, but rested only two or three hours to pick up stragglers. He passed up the mountains with breathless speed, being menaced by the hostile peasantry, and encamped near the wall of Catanzaro, on the shores of the Ionian sea. The fugitives were followed by the British infantry, till, dispersing in every direction, the pursuers, to preserve their order, were obliged to abandon the

chase. The desperate flight of the mass left some divisions exposed to destruction, and several of them, to save themselves and to escape a cruel death, which they had to expect from the exasperated peasants, were glad to surrender to the English.

Cozenza was at this time occupied by General Verdier. He was driven from that town, which is a place of considerable importance, lying a few miles to the north of Maida, by the insurgents, and could not rest in safety till he reached Matera, near the Gulf of Taranto. The consequences which followed Stuart's victory were not trifling, as all the forts on the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea, with the French depôts of stores, ammunition, and artillery prepared for the reduction of Calabria and the attack on Sicily, fell into the hands of the victors; and Coltroni, a place lying between Catanzaro and Matera, was obliged to surrender to the 78th regiment, part of Stuart's force, which was carried round by sea, and a small squadron under Captain Hoste, assisted by some Sicilian gun-boats and armed Calabrians. While the castle was being cannonaded, a French division from Catanzaro advanced to succour the place, but the enemy was compelled to retire with loss. On the next day the French army was in full march to the eastward, on the road from Catanzaro to Coltrone. The *Amphion* was anchored close in shore, and Captain Hoste opened a fire upon them which broke their line of march, and forced them to move towards the mountains. Six hundred French prisoners, 300 of them having survived the wounds they had received at Maida, and forty pieces of heavy ordnance were carried to Sicily, together with stores and magazines of this last depôt in the lower province of Calabria. Regnier now pursued his way by the shores of the Ionian sea and the Gulf of Taranto towards Casano, where Joseph Buonaparte had ordered Massena to carry a fresh army of six or seven thousand men. These marches, in different directions, were signalised by memorable atrocities. Regnier was especially careful to mark the line of his retreat by burning towns and villages. Stromboli, Corigliano, and Rossano were sacked and made the scenes of frightful outrage, and eventually reduced to ashes. The perpetrators of these crimes were visited, in the rocks, woods, and groves in those neighbourhoods, by the retaliation of an exasperated people, on the alert to surprise, torture, and destroy those who

had so dreadfully assailed their peace; and the column lost 700 men before it had left that vicinity. Regnier reached Casano on the 4th, and there he was joined by Verdier on the 7th of August. On the 11th they effected a junction with Massena, who became then commander-in-chief in the Calabrias. He ventured to promise Joseph that in one month he would reduce those provinces to perfect submission; but in this he failed, and his successors continued the murderous work for years, and only at last succeeded in gaining for Joseph that repose which results from solitude and death.

It was matter of deep regret, at the time, that the means of following up the brilliant success of Sir John Stuart were wanting. His triumph at Maida caused a great sensation, and the Bourbon flag was raised in almost every part of the kingdom. Nearly the whole population of the Abruzzo rose at the call of Picciola; the desperado Fra Diavolo advanced with his banditti almost to the gates of Naples; and Joseph, alarmed at the threatening peril, was disposed to fly to the frontiers, there to wait for new succours from France. But for Salicetti, it is confidently said he would have abandoned his capital. Unfortunately, Stuart was not able to continue his operations; his little army was reduced by malaria, and after establishing garrisons in several places he had captured, he returned with the remainder of his force to Sicily. The expedition he commanded had shown that the British bayonet was more than able to meet that of France; it had raised the character of the English army, and in its consequences greatly damaged the resources of the enemy.

Sir Sidney Smith exerted himself to furnish supplies and succour to the besieged garrison of Gaeta. A Neapolitan frigate, ten gun-boats, and other vessels he stationed so as to cover, by a flanking fire, the sorties occasionally hazarded by the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal. Sir Sidney enabled his serene highness to land a detachment in the rear of some of the enemy's batteries, and he swept along the coast from the Tiber to the Bay of Naples, distracting the attention of the French, and intercepting the supplies. But his presence was required at Palermo, and the brave Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal received a mortal wound. He was succeeded in the command by Colonel Storz, a gallant officer, but who had not the influence of the prince, and a council having been called, it was resolved to capitulate,

and the garrison was permitted to retire to Sicily with the honours of war, but under an engagement not to fight against France and her allies for a year and a day. Eight or nine hundred of their number had been lost during the siege. Three thousand men left Gaeta for Sicily, a thousand deserted to the French, and about that number were left sick and wounded in the hospital. The French had suffered enormously, not merely from the daring sorties of the prince, but through the malaria rising from the neighbouring marshes. General Vallongue, a very scientific officer, was hit by a bomb-shell, and died three days afterwards; and General Grigny had his head taken off by a cannon-ball. Many other officers were killed, and for months after the fall of Gaeta, the hospitals at Capua and Aversa, as well as at Naples, were filled with patients who had suffered during the siege, which had occupied thirteen or fourteen thousand

men for a quarter of a year, and on which 120,000 balls had been expended. The standard of Joseph Buonaparte was elevated on the ancient tower of Orlando, on the 20th of July, and the capture of that single fortress was said by Massena to be equivalent to a successful campaign. The British government was deemed remiss in not keeping a sufficient force in those parts to enable the garrison to prolong its defence, which was thought exceedingly practicable, and which, if effected, must have been most destructive to the French army. In Paris it had been confidently expected that southern Italy would be easily pacified; but the climate, the vengeance of the outraged peasants, and other circumstances which have been detailed, inflicted severe loss on the French; and of an army exceeding 60,000 men, which attended Joseph when he entered Naples, by the close of the year one-half had perished or was dying in the hospitals.*

EXPEDITION TO THE RIVER PLATE, SOUTH AMERICA.

FOR the purpose of opening a new source of commerce to the merchants of Britain, who, by the measures of Buonaparte, were debarred from direct intercourse with the other countries of Europe, as also with the

Spanish transatlantic possessions, Sir Home Popham had been appointed, during the Pitt administration, to confer with the insurgent general, Miranda, and concert measures with him for the purpose of enabling the British

* The Calabrese who continued in arms against the French were treated with the utmost severity and cruelty. The principal possessors of property in the district received orders to arm and march against the brigands, as they were called, and were made answerable, number for number, and head for head, not to return to their homes without bringing with them, dead or alive, the brigands of their respective communes. Pursued by famine and the bayonets of their enemies, the greater number of the fugitives sold their lives dearly. The remainder of these unfortunate creatures, reduced to the last extremity, preferred a certain but immediate death, to the sharp and protracted sufferings of fear and famine. A prodigious number of them were shot. The heads and limbs of the condemned were, after their execution, fixed on pikes, and the road from Reggio to Naples was garnished with these disgusting trophies. The river Crati, upon the banks of which a crowd of these victims was executed, and which is very shallow at Cozenza, presented for a long time the disgusting spectacle of their mutilated bodies. The following anecdotes show the determined spirit that animated the leaders of these bands. Parafanti could not be secured till dead with a hundred wounds. Perched on the ledge of a rock, which afforded him a certain degree of protection, his thighs fractured but his arms free, he sacrificed many to his vengeance. Not one of his discharges failed of effect. His head was exposed at Rogliano, his birth place. Another, who had taken refuge in a mill, set it on fire himself, with

his last cartridge, to prevent his being taken alive. Nierello was assassinated on the road of Nicastro by one of the civic guard, who pretended to surrender himself to him. Paonese, the terror of the environs of Gasparena and of Montanio, fell a sacrifice to the columns of Manhes—and Masotta, Mescio, Giacinto, and Antonio, with many others, shared the same fate. Murat was not, like his predecessor, lavish of amnesties; nevertheless, he authorised some; and it was observed that the brigand chiefs who took advantage of them became the most formidable and bitter persecutors of those in whose dangers and whose crimes they had participated. Benincasa, chief of the band of St. Braggio, fleeing with four companions from a French detachment, was stopped by the swelling of the river Angitola; they tried to effect their passage on a bullock-car, which, however, was stopped in the middle of the current. To a summons to surrender, they only returned discharges of their muskets. At last, after a long and desperate resistance, being all wounded, and having expended their ammunition, they mutually assisted each other in falling into the river, where their mangled bodies were afterwards found. A brigand chief, of the band of Foggia, was condemned to have his wrist severed. The executioner having failed in the first blow, the sufferer begged to be permitted to do it himself. He coolly cut off his hand at one blow, and turning to the executioner, said, "Endeavour to learn your trade better."—*Stuart's Campaign in Calabria.*

to attain a position on the continent of South America favourable for the promotion of the trade of England. But in deference to Russia, the project was abandoned for the time. However, after the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, Sir Home Popham, being in command of the naval force there, determined, on his own responsibility, to undertake an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the River Plate. Having induced General Baird to allow General Beresford to accompany him with a portion of the land force which had captured the Cape, he set sail from Table Bay in the beginning of April, 1806, and proceeded to St. Helena, where he was joined by two companies of infantry. His land force now, including marines, amounted to 1,600 men; and with these he sailed, on the 2nd of May, for his destination. The fleet made Cape St. Mayo, on the coast of South America, on the 8th of June, and on the following day, passing Monte Video, stood over to the south side of the river on which Buenos Ayres is situated. On the 24th the troops were disembarked about twelve miles from the city, and advanced against the enemy, who were posted behind a morass at the village of Reduction, about two miles from the beach. The British guns having been checked in their progress in the bay, the Spaniards opened fire on the assailants; but as soon as the British got near to them, they took to flight, though they had 2,000 cavalry in their ranks. When the British approached the hill to which the enemy had fled, the little English army intrepidly mounted the eminence, under a heavy fire of ordnance and musketry, dislodged their opponents, and drove them across the river Chuelo. The city, unable to withstand the attack, capitulated on the 27th, the viceroy having previously retreated to Cordova with the garrison.

The Plate River being remarkably shoal (the flats extending so far from its banks as to render the approach impracticable for large ships, and dangerous for small ones), the squadron, while the land forces were thus employed, made demonstrations before Monte Video and Maldonado, in order to alarm and occupy the garrisons of those places. On the 28th the British flag was displayed on the walls of Buenos Ayres. Booty of public money, stores, artillery, and shipping in the river, to a considerable extent, fell into the hands of the victors; above one million and a-quarter of

dollars were forwarded to the English exchequer, and a quantity of quicksilver, valued at more than double this amount, was seized for the benefit of the captors. Sir Home Popham drew a magnificent picture of the mercantile value of the conquest, and British traders were mightily entranced with dreams of a new El Dorado. But before the rejoicing for so splendid a victory had run its course, the captors were captives; and previous to the event being announced in England, Buenos Ayres had reverted to Spain.

The Spaniards having recovered from their surprise and panic, felt ashamed at their humiliation by a mere handful of men. Emissaries from Buenos Ayres incited the country-people to arms, and an insurrection was organised in the city. When the plot had arrived at maturity, Linières, a Frenchman in the Spanish service, favoured by a thick fog, crossed the river on the 4th of August, and landed at Conchas, above Buenos Ayres, with 1,000 men from Monte Video and Sacramento. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the armed levies from the country, which had been defeated by Beresford in a sally, advanced again to the city, and summoned the castle to surrender. The white inhabitants of the town were now in arms. The small English garrison, assailed by several thousand men from without, and the whole population within the city, after a desperate conflict which lasted several hours (during which they were exposed to a destructive fire from the windows, roofs, and through holes in the street-doors), was obliged to capitulate. The loss of the little band, in street-fighting, was 165 in killed and wounded. Thirteen hundred surrendered, who, contrary to the articles of capitulation, were detained prisoners, and marched up the country.

At the time of this calamitous affair, Sir Home Popham was on board the squadron blockading the Plate River, and from the quarter-deck of the *Diadem* was a witness to this reverse of fortune resulting from his improvident measures. He continued to blockade the river till the arrival of troops from the Cape of Good Hope, in October, enabled him to recommence offensive operations. He prepared for the attack of Monte Video, but from the shallowness of the river, he was forced to desist from the enterprise. On the 29th a body of troops was landed at Maldonado, under Colonel Vassall, and the Spaniards having been driven from that place, and from the Isle of Gorriti, a suffi-

cient space was gained for the encampment of the troops, and a safe anchorage procured for the shipping. In that situation the British forces remained during the year, receiving successive reinforcements from England and the Cape, and preparing for the ensuing campaign.

Although not in chronological order, as it occurred in the ensuing year, we shall here give the result of this unfortunate expedition:—In the early part of October of 1806, an expedition, consisting of about 5,000 men, under the command of General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, convoyed by Rear-admiral Stirling, who was to supersede Sir Home Popham, was dispatched to the new conquest. Auchmuty and Stirling, on their arrival on the 5th of January, 1807, determined to evacuate Maldonado, and retain only a small garrison in Gorriti.

So elated with the prospect of the new conquest was the British cabinet, that towards the end of the same month of October, an additional expedition, consisting of 4,200 men, under Brigadier-general Craufurd, was sent on the wild purpose of the reduction of the province of Chili; but the government learning, soon after this expedition had set sail, that the English had been expelled from Buenos Ayres, orders were dispatched to Craufurd, who had reached the Cape of Good Hope, to sail for the Plate River, and effect a junction with the British troops there, for the recovery of that city. In the beginning of June, Craufurd united his forces with those of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, at Monte Video, a city of considerable strength, and mounting on its different batteries 160 cannon. The united force (including about 800 seamen and marines) amounting to above 9,000 men, it was determined to invest that city. On the 19th, a landing was effected about nine miles from the town: they immediately moved forward, and, in the evening, the ships of war and transports dropped off Chico bay; near to which, and about two miles from the town, the troops encamped, having had during the march a slight skirmish with the enemy. Such was the shallowness of the water in front of Monte Video, that the ships could lend no effectual co-operation in the siege beyond landing a part of their men, guns, and stores, and cutting off all communication between Colonia and Buenos Ayres. On the 20th, 6,000 men, cavalry and infantry, sallied out of the town, but, after an obstinate resistance, they were repulsed with

the loss of about a fourth of their number in killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the 25th the breaching batteries were opened, and the lighter vessels of the squadron joined in a distant cannonade. The siege continued till the 2nd of February, when a breach was reported practicable. In the evening a summons was sent to the governor, but no answer being returned, the breach was stormed an hour before daylight on the morning of the following day, and the town and citadel carried. The loss sustained by the army, from its first landing to the termination of the siege, amounted to 192 killed, 421 wounded, and eight missing; that of the navy on shore, to ten killed, twenty-four wounded, and four missing. None of the few Spanish ships of war were of value. The loss of the enemy was about 800 killed, 500 wounded, and above 2,000 prisoners. About 13,000 tons of merchant shipping were captured. On the 16th of March, the little town of Colonia surrendered. Late in the month of April, a strong body of the enemy advanced in the night to take the place by surprise, but were quickly repulsed.

Early in May, Lieutenant-general Whitelocke and Rear-admiral Murray arrived in the river. General Whitelocke, assuming the chief command, landed with the reinforcements at Granada de Barragon, about eight miles to the eastward of Buenos Ayres: on the south side of the river he advanced to the village of Reduction, on the banks of the river Chiuulo, where the enemy had constructed batteries and thrown up a formidable line of defence. The army soon bore down all impediments, and formed a line of circumvallation round Buenos Ayres. General Craufurd's brigade occupied the central and principal avenues of the town. Auchmuty's brigade was placed on the left of the line. Thus the town was nearly invested. Strange enough, the commander-in-chief determined to attack the place without waiting for his heavy artillery, and carry the town by the bayonet, without allowing the soldiers to load. Auchmuty's onset was successful. He possessed himself of the Plaza de Toros, took thirty-two pieces of cannon, and 600 prisoners. The other divisions moved with different success. They were assailed by a heavy and continued shower of musketry, hand-grenades, bricks and stones, from the windows and tops of the houses; and at the corners of all the streets were saluted with volleys of grape-

shot. The further they advanced into the city, the more obstinate was the resistance they encountered. Prodigies of valour were performed; charges were made and guns taken: but no effectual impression was made on the barricaded and fortified houses. At length, Craufurd's brigade, being cut off from all communication with the other columns, was forced to surrender, as was also Lieutenant-colonel Duff, with a detachment under his command. Still, however, the assailants were in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy's right, and the Recondencia, another strong post on his left; while Whitelocke himself occupied an advanced post on his centre. But already 2,500 of his men were either killed, wounded, or prisoners.

This was the situation of the British army on the morning of the 6th of July, when General Linières addressed a letter to the British commander offering to deliver up all prisoners if the attack was discontinued, and the British would consent to withdraw from the shores of the river Plate in two months. These terms were agreed to by General Whitelocke and Admiral Murray. On Whitelocke's return to England, to appease popular indignation, he was tried by a general court-martial, held at Chelsea Hospital, on January 28th, 1808, and continued, by adjournments, until the 18th of March, when sentence of dismissal from the British service was passed on him, as totally unworthy to serve in any military capacity whatever.

NAVAL AFFAIRS—BATTLE OFF ST. DOMINGO, ETC.

THE efforts of the British navy during this year were confined to the service of protecting the British colonies and commerce from the numerous squadrons of the enemy which, during the winter months, had eluded the vigilance of the English blockading squadrons, and escaped to sea; but as soon as the course of the marauding expeditions was traced, they were so hotly pursued and closely watched, that they were compelled to renounce their projects, and consult their safety in flight. Few of the ships employed in these designs returned to France. The greater part of them were either taken or destroyed; and others perished in storms while running in search of some friendly port to shelter them from pursuit.

The only squadron which returned to France during the present year was the Rochefort squadron, under Admiral Allemand, which had sailed from that port about the middle of the last year. After having waited in vain at the appointed latitude of rendezvous for the other squadrons of the combined fleets destined for the invasion of England, he proceeded to cruise; and falling in with the *Calcutta** of 56 guns, and many other vessels, neutral

and English, he returned in the beginning of this year, bringing with him 1,200 English prisoners belonging to the captured vessels, and property to the value of one million sterling.

The fleet which escaped from Brest † harbour in December of the last year, and which consisted of eleven ships-of-the-line, four frigates, and three brig-corvettes, after having been ten days at sea, separated into two squadrons; one of which, consisting of five ships-of-the-line, two frigates, and a corvette, under Admiral Leissegues, and having 1,000 troops and ammunition on board, for the reinforcement of General Ferrand at St. Domingo, proceeded to that port and disembarked the troops and ammunition for the use of the colony. He then refitted, took in water in the bay of Ocoa, and remained there for nearly a fortnight.

Sir John Duckworth, who had been cruising off Cadiz till the beginning of December, 1805, having been informed by the *Lark* sloop that the Rochefort squadron had taken a small convoy off the Salvages—a cluster of rocks between Madeira and Teneriffe—raised the blockade, and ran with five ships-of-the-line and two frigates for Madeira; but not

being much disabled, and seeing no prospect of escape, he surrendered.

† As soon as intelligence reached the Admiralty of the escape of the Brest fleet, two squadrons— one of seven sail-of-the-line, under Sir John Borlase Warren, and the other of six sail-of-the-line, under Sir Richard Strachan—were immediately detached in pursuit.

* The *Calcutta* was on her voyage from China, in convoy of Indiamen and other vessels. The captain (Woodriff), on view of the enemy, threw his ship between the chasing ships and the convoy, engaging the *Armede*, a 44-gun frigate, and afterwards the *Magnanime*, of 74 guns, for nearly an hour. Having thus occupied the attention of the enemy until all his convoy (except a West Indian brig) were in safety,

falling in with the enemy, he steered with all the sail he could carry for Barbadoes, where he arrived on the 12th of January, 1806, and was informed that a French fleet had been at St. Domingo. Thither Duckworth steered, and at daybreak of the 6th of February, discovered the enemy at anchor in the road of St. Domingo.

As soon as the French admiral saw the enemy, recollecting the results of the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar, he slipped his cables and got out to sea; but notwithstanding all his efforts to escape, he was overtaken and brought to action. The battle commenced about ten o'clock, A.M.; and after a desperate conflict of two hours, the whole of the enemy's line-of-battle ships were either taken or destroyed; three having struck their colours, and two having been driven ashore and burned. The two frigates and the corvette, which had stood out to sea during the engagement, escaped; but one of the frigates, injured by the storm, and running under jury-masts, was captured by a sloop-of-war. The loss of the British squadron was seventy-four killed and 264 wounded; that on board the three captured French ships exceeded 700 in killed and wounded. The British squadron consisted of one 80-gun ship, five 74's, and one 64; the French, one 120-gun ship, two of 84 guns, and two 74's.

The second squadron of the Brest fleet, under Admiral Villaumez, was originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope; but Villaumez touching at the Isle of Noronha, and ascertaining that that settlement was in possession of the English, he set sail for the West Indies, in hopes of falling in with the homeward-bound Jamaica fleet. He arrived at Martinique about the end of June. Thither he was tracked by Sir Alexander Cochrane, whose look-out frigates watched all his movements, but who declined the risk of an engagement until reinforced by Sir John Warren's squadron, which had been dispatched from Spithead on the 4th of June. Villaumez having refitted his squadron, and being deserted by the *Veteran* (on board which was Jerome Buonaparte, whom his brother wished to make an invincible sailor), he set sail for the coast of Newfoundland, with the hope of capturing the English fishing-vessels and destroying the establishments there. But scarcely had he turned his ships towards the north, before he was assailed by a furious tempest. On the 14th of September, his

flag-ship, the *Foudroyant*, was attacked by the English frigate *Anson*, under the very guns of the Moro Castle; but the French ship being too powerful, the frigate bore off, and the *Foudroyant* reached Havannah. Strachan's ships had been dispersed by the same hurricane which had scattered the French squadron; but on the 15th, when the *Impetueux* was standing in for the Chesapeake river, she was descried by two English 74's, was driven ashore, and burned. Two other 74's, which had entered the same bay, were also destroyed by Strachan's ships. The *Cassant*, which was the only ship that escaped, reached Rochefort in the middle of October in a deplorable condition. Prince Jerome, who, as previously stated, had left Villaumez, while carrying all sail in the *Veteran* for Europe, falling in with the homeward-bound Quebec convoy, captured and burned six of the trading vessels; but being chased, when near the French coast, by a ship-of-the-line and two frigates, to effect his escape he ran into the rock-bound port of Concarneau, having previously cast off his prizes. The *Veteran* was afterwards stranded and abandoned, the commander thinking himself fortunate to save the crew and guns.

Admiral Linois had for above two years cruised in the Chinese and Indian seas almost unmolested, and during that time inflicted considerable damage on the British eastern commerce. However, after his repulse by the China mercantile fleet, and the 50-gun ship *Centurion*, in the autumn of the preceding year, he found his situation had become desperate, having only under his command the *Marengo*, 74, and the 44-gun frigate *La Belle Poule*, the rest of his squadron having been lost or sent homeward with the prizes he had taken; he therefore determined to make a bold push through the British vessels in search of him in the Indian Ocean, and endeavour to reach Brest, from which port he had sailed nearly three years before. On reaching the European latitudes, he was descried by Sir John Borlase Warren's squadron; and after a short action with the English flag-ship (the *London*, 98) and the *Amazon* frigate, he surrendered. The loss on board the *London* and *Amazon* was fourteen killed and twenty-seven wounded; the loss on board the *Marengo* and *La Belle Poule*, was sixty-nine killed and 106 wounded. About the same time, Sir Edward Pellew, who had been long looking for Linois in

the Indian sea, found a Dutch 36-gun frigate, six other armed vessels, and about twenty merchantmen, and brought off as prizes two armed vessels and two merchantmen in the Straits of Sunda. In September, Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, while cruising off Rochefort, after a running fight of several hours, captured four or five large frigates, which had escaped out of that harbour, and were destined for the West Indies, with stores, arms, ammunition, &c., on board, for the reinforcement of Trinidad and St. Domingo.

The instances of courage, skill, and enterprise displayed by the navy of England, during this year, were numerous. The capture of the *Pomona* frigate, on the coast of Cuba (August 23rd), though defended by a strong castle and a formidable line of gun-boats, all of which were destroyed by the two English frigates, the *Arethusa* and *Anson*; the action between the French frigate, the *Salamander*, of 44 guns, supported by batteries and troops on shore, and the English sloop, the *Constance* of 24 guns, assisted by a sloop-of-war and a gun-brig, in which both vessels were stranded and lost, but not until the enemy had been compelled to strike his colours, and had been taken possession of; and the boldness and intrepidity displayed in numerous actions, in which vessels were cut out from under the protection of batteries, or in other circumstances unfavourable for attack, reflect honour on those engaged in the hazardous enterprises, and add additional glory to the British marine.

In this species of warfare, the 12-pounder 32-gun frigate, commanded by Lord Cochrane, stood pre-eminent. In April of this year, that intrepid seaman was stationed in the Bay of Biscay. Receiving information that two brig-corvettes were lying in the river Gironde, a little after dark he manned the boats of his frigate, the *Pallas*, and sent them up the river. The two vessels were above the shoals, and protected by two heavy land batteries. After dark on the evening of the 5th of April, Cochrane being prevented by the shoals from getting into the river, anchored his frigate close to the Cordovan lighthouse, and sending his boats in, the sailors boarded the vessel (though she mounted fourteen long-pounders, with a crew of ninety-five men) and brought her out. But daylight and the flood-tide found the gallant captors still within risk of being retaken. The French corvette weighed and brought them to action; but, after an hour's

contest, was compelled to sheer off, and was saved from capture merely by the rapidity of the tide. While his boats were thus gallantly employed, Cochrane perceiving three vessels—two ship-corvettes, numbering 20 guns each, and the third a brig-corvette, mounting 16 guns—approaching his frigate, he chased and drove them on shore. A few days afterwards, while reconnoitring a strong French squadron, which lay at anchor in the roads of the Isle of Aix, the *Pallas* stood in; and, while counting the enemy, a 44-gun frigate and three brig-corvettes came out to drive the daring Englishman away, but in vain; as the enemy approached, the *Pallas* fired at them several broadsides, and at the same moment the *Iris* frigate and the *Hazard* sloop, which were cruising off Chasseron, hove in view; the French ships immediately stretched in under cover of the land batteries. Taking another peep into Aix road, the little *Pallas* tempted out the before-mentioned frigate and three corvettes. Cochrane waited for the enemy till within point-blank shot, when he threw in a destructive broadside. After the contest had lasted two hours, the *Pallas* was run right on board the French frigate. As the two vessels struck, the guns of the *Pallas* were knocked back into their ports; but as their breachings were uninjured, they were speedily discharged with terrible effect into the French frigate's side. Although the *Pallas* was much injured by the collision, her gallant captain was still sanguine of making her enemy his prize, when two other French frigates bearing up in the offing to the assistance of their countrymen, the *Pallas* sheered off as quick as her damaged condition would allow. Among the other gallant exploits of that daring seaman, the following is deserving of mention. Finding himself much annoyed by the signal-post on the French coast, which conveyed intelligence of his movements, he landed and destroyed them in different localities (though defended by batteries and garrisons), spiking the guns, and throwing the shot and shell into the sea.

We shall now notice the encounter between the *Warren Hastings* (East Indiaman) and the French 44-gun frigate the *Piedmontaise*. The *Warren Hastings*, which was on her voyage to China, fell in with the *Piedmontaise* on the 21st of June. A spirited cannonade was immediately commenced; and after maintaining the contest for nearly five hours, and sustaining six assaults of the

enemy, the merchantman was compelled to haul down her colours. The *Warren Hastings* mounted 36 guns, and her crew numbered 138 men and boys. Exclusive of 46 carriage-guns, the *Piedmontaise* carried swivels and musketoons in her tops and along her gunwales. In other respects, she was armed in an extraordinary manner. On each fore and mainyard was fixed a tripod, calculated to contain a shell weighing five hundredweight. In the event of the vessel and her antagonist getting close alongside of each other, the shell was to have its fusee lighted by a man lying out on the yardarm: it was then to be ejected from the tripod, and if it fell upon the deck of the hostile vessel, it would, from its weight, pass right through, and as soon as its progress was arrested, project in all directions its destructive materials; and in the midst of the confusion, a boarding was to be attempted. The crew were also (in addition to the usual weapons) armed with a poniard stuck through the button-holes of their jackets.

In the course of the summer the attention of the British government had been anxiously directed towards the critical situation of Portugal. It had been manifest, for a considerable time, that as soon as France should terminate her differences with the Germanic powers, and establish such a peace in the north as her eminent successes entitled her to dictate, she would turn her arms against the only remaining ally of England upon the continent, and that she would easily succeed in dissolving that connection, if not in subjugating the Portuguese nation. This apprehension was founded on the want of energy which had, of late years, been conspicuous in the courts both of Lisbon and Madrid, and the feeble state to which the resources of both states had been reduced by a long course of imbecile government, both civil and ecclesiastical. In the last war, it had also been evident that the Spanish cabinet, so far from offering any obstacle to the destruction of its weak neighbour, had actively assisted France in the easy passage afforded the French troops for the invasion of Portugal, and had appropriated to herself the province of Olivenza, as her recompense, at the peace which followed. The probability of the rupture of the negotiations then pending between England and France, tended also to induce the British ministry to provide means for the assistance of Portugal, it being certain that the rupture would be the signal for imme-

diately marching an army from Bayonne to the Tagus. Orders were therefore immediately dispatched to the Earl of St. Vincent, who was then cruising off Brest with the Channel fleet, to proceed to the Tagus with six sail-of-the-line—the number restricted by treaty to be kept at one time in that river. The rest of the Channel fleet, and the squadron off Ferrol, were in readiness to reinforce that detachment, should occasion require. In the meantime, a large and well-appointed army was assembled at Plymouth, under Lieutenant-general Simcoe and the Earl of Rosslyn, and kept embarked ready to proceed on their destination as soon as the state of Portuguese affairs required. Lord Rosslyn was, on the 25th of August, dispatched to the court of Lisbon, to offer the whole naval, military, and pecuniary resources of England, as far as the same were disposable, to assist the Portuguese in defending themselves from the threatened invasion; but if, from the influence of French councils, or the terror of the army of France, the court of Lisbon should be indisposed to accept the proffered assistance, then the British negotiators (the earls of St. Vincent and Rosslyn) were instructed to offer the fleet and the army already embarked at Portsmouth, and all necessary supplies of money, for the purpose of securing the Portuguese government a safe retreat in the Brazils, and establishing them there as an independent state; and should the court be too timid or too slothful, for the crisis in which it was placed, to feel disposed to defend its dominions in Europe, or to retreat to those in South America, the negotiators were instructed to declare, that should the enemy invade Portugal, it would then become necessary to prevent the Portuguese fleet from falling into the hands of the enemy.

But as, during the interval between the sailing of Lord St. Vincent's squadron and the opening of the communications at Lisbon, a considerable change had taken place in the aspect of affairs in the north of Europe—the Emperor of Russia having refused to ratify d'Oubril's treaty with France, the King of Prussia having begun his preparations of war with France, and it being apprehended that Austria would not remain neutral in a contest of so vital magnitude,—the designs of France on Portugal were for the present abandoned, and British protection of that state not being immediately necessary, the British fleet was withdrawn

from the Tagus, and the troops assembled at Portsmouth were disembarked. The troops collected at Bayonne for the invasion of Portugal were countermanded for the armies in Germany, and a large body of Spanish troops was marched to the assistance of France in that country.

In the early part of this year, negotiations for peace between France and England were entered into. The transaction took its rise from a particular circumstance. A few days after the formation of Mr. Fox's cabinet, a French emigrant, calling himself Guillet de la Gevillière, but who was supposed to have been an emissary of the French government, called on the British minister, and offered, for a reward, to assassinate Napoleon Buonaparte, in pursuance of a plan which had been entered into at Paris—a proposal which was immediately communicated, on the part of the British government, to Talleyrand, with information that the British laws did not authorise the detention of foreigners beyond a limited time, unless guilty of some offence for which they were amenable; but that the party had been taken into custody, and would not be liberated till the lapse of a sufficient time to

allow the French government to take the necessary precautions against the meditated design. Napoleon Buonaparte, in reply, directed Talleyrand to express his thanks for the information, and taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, sent for Lord Yarmouth, who was one of the *détenus* at the rupture of the peace of Amiens, and dispatched him to London with certain proposals for a treaty of peace, in which he voluntarily offered to recognise, in favour of England, the possessions of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope. Lord Lauderdale was sent to Paris, on the part of the British government, and Champagny and General Clarke were, on the part of France, dispatched to London, to enter into terms of pacification. The basis of the negotiation was the principle of *uti possidetis*—that is, the allowing each party to retain the advantages obtained by arms during the war; but the insincerity of the French government in its proceedings occasioned the negotiations to be broken off, after being under consideration for six months; and towards the end of September, Lord Lauderdale demanded and obtained his passports.

EXPEDITION TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

AMONG the military and naval expeditions of the year 1807, was that to Constantinople, for the purpose of obliging the Turks to renounce their alliance with the French. By the treaty of Jassy, and its supplemental one of September 24th, 1802, which terminated the long and disastrous war which had raged between the Russians and the Turks, it had been covenanted that the hospodars, or governors of Wallachia and Moldavia, should not be displaced without the consent of Russia. No sooner, however, was it evident that a war was impending between Turkey and Russia, than Napoleon dispatched his artful emissary, Sebastiani, to induce the Porte to recall the reigning hospodars, Ipsilanti and Morusi, who were in the interest of Russia, and place in their stead Suzzo and Callimachi, who were inclined to an alliance with France; and thus effect a powerful diversion of the Muscovite forces assembled on the banks of the Danube, to assist the war then pending in the north of Germany. Sebastiani, in the prosecution of his master's designs, demanded that the

passage of the Dardanelles and the canal of Constantinople should be shut against Russian ships; requiring, moreover, that the Bosphorus should not only be closed against Russia, but also all English ships carrying arms, clothes, ammunition, or provisions for the use of the enemies of France; threatening war in case of refusal, and pointing to the powerful French army then in Dalmatia, under Marshal Marmont, supported by those of Italy and Naples. This threat proved successful; for a few days afterwards a Russian brig, presenting itself at the mouth of the Bosphorus, was denied admission. The Russian ambassador protested against the infraction of the treaty which protected the shipping of his nation. He was supported in his protest by Mr. Arbuthnot, the British minister to the Porte; and the two ambassadors threatened an attack on the Turkish capital by the fleets of their respective nations. The counsellors of the grand seignior, intimidated, recommended a temporary seeming concession to the demands of the allies; but, in secret, renewed their agree-

ment with the French ambassador. Before the end of the year 1806, the Porte formally declared war against Russia.

As soon as intelligence of this declaration reached the cabinet of St. Petersburg, communication was made to the British government, accompanied with a recommendation to send a fleet, with a large military force, capable of defeating French influence at the Porte, and cause a diversion of the military forces of France in favour of Russia. Besides repelling the designs of France, the cabinet of St. Petersburg, by this movement, hoped to be able to put into execution the long-cherished design of Peter I., who had comprehended in his plan of conquest, not only settlements in the Baltic and Black seas, but in the Mediterranean, by the subjugation of the European provinces of Turkey, and finally of Constantinople and the entire Turkish empire. His successors on the Russian throne kept in view his designs, which had been carefully preserved in writing in the archives of the palace; and Catherine II., by the conquest of the Crimea, had advanced some steps towards their accomplishment. With these views, Russia, though professing peaceable dispositions, had invaded Turkey in Europe, and, at the close of 1806, was master of Bessarabia and Moldavia, and threatened to cross the Danube and join the revolted Servians under Czerni, who had risen against the Porte, and were at this moment besieging Belgrade. To cover their designs, the cabinet of St. Petersburg now professed itself to be actuated by the desire to save the Ottoman empire from the grasp of the French.

To the solicitation of the cabinet of St. Petersburg the British government joyfully responded. Instructions were sent to Lord Collingwood (the admiral on the station) to reinforce Sir Thomas Louis, whom he had already, on the recommendation of Mr. Arbuthnot, and in anticipation of a rupture between the British and Turkish governments, dispatched with three ships-of-the-line and a frigate. Accordingly, a fleet, consisting of seven ships-of-the-line—three

* The Channel of the Dardanelles, or, in classic phraseology, the Hellespont, is twelve leagues long, and between the capes Greco and Janizary, at its entrance, about three miles wide. About a mile up the strait are two forts, called the outer castles of Europe and Asia, where the channel is about two miles wide; but about three miles higher, a promontory contracts the channel to about three-quarters of a mile, and on each side of this narrow strait stands a castle, mounted with heavy cannon. These are called the inner castles of Europe

three-deckers, two 84's, and two 74's—besides frigates and bomb-ships, under the command of Sir Thomas Duckworth, was dispatched to force the passage of the Hellespont or Dardanelles, and, if certain terms—namely, “the surrender of the fleet and the arsenal”—were not acceded to by the Turkish government, to bombard Constantinople. This naval force cast anchor at the isle of Tenedos about the middle of February, 1807, where it was joined by the *Endymion* frigate, on board of which Mr. Arbuthnot had made his escape from Constantinople. The fleet, consisting of the *Royal George*, 100 guns, the *Windsor Castle*, 98 guns, the *Canopus*, 80 guns, the *Pompee*, *Ajax*, *Repulse*, and *Thunderer*, 74 guns each, the *Standard*, 64 guns, and the frigates *Endymion*, *Active*, and *Juno*, passed the Dardanelles* on the morning of the 19th. A Turkish squadron, consisting of a 64-gun ship, four frigates, and several corvettes and gun-boats, had been for some time at anchor within the inner castles. Orders were given to Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, the second in command, to bear up with three ships-of-the-line, and destroy the enemy's vessels. This division was closely followed by the other ships. At a quarter before nine o'clock the squadron had passed the outer castles, without deigning to return a shot to the Turkish fire, which did but little injury. But in passing the narrow strait between Sestos and Abydos, the squadron sustained a very heavy fire from both castles. In reply, so tremendous a cannonade was opened by all the British ships, as to compel the Turks to slacken their firing, so that the sternmost vessels passed with little injury. The Turkish squadron within the inner castles being now attacked by Sir Sidney Smith, was driven on shore and burned; and the guns of a formidable battery, to the number of more than thirty, on a point of land which the squadron had yet to pass, called Point Pesquiez, were spiked by a detachment of marines under the command of Captain Nicholls, of that corps.

In the course of the evening of the 20th, and Asia, and are also known by the ancient classic names of Sestos and Abydos. Above these castles the passage widens and then narrows, forming another constriction, which is scarcely more than half a mile in breadth, and is also defended by forts. The passage again widens, and after slightly approximating at Gallipoli, opens into the sea of Marmora. At nearly the opposite extremity of the small sea, and at about one hundred miles from the entrance to it, stands the chief city of the Turkish empire, Constantinople.

the British squadron came to anchor near the Isle of Princes, which lies on the edge of the sea of Marmora, and about the distance of eight miles from Constantinople. Attempts at negotiation now took place between the Sublime Porte and the British representatives. Flags of truce, with letters from Mr. Arbuthnot and Sir John Duckworth, were sent to the Turkish government and Reis Effendi, the minister for foreign affairs, professing terms of amity, and reminding the Turks of the old friendship which had subsisted between them and the British, "who had fought together like brethren against the enemies of the Porte and of England." Sir John Duckworth, in his communications, reminded the Sublime Porte, that "having it in his power to destroy the capital and all the Turkish vessels, the plan of operations which his duty prescribed to him, was, in consequence, very clearly marked out;" and as a stimulant to the concession of his demand, he gave the Turkish government but half-an-hour after the translation of his note, to determine on his demand of the possession of the Turkish fleet, and of stores sufficient for its equipment, and the dismissal of Sebastiani, the French ambassador. Early on the morning of the 24th, the English admiral received a letter from the Reis Effendi, signifying the disposition of the Porte to enter into a pacific negotiation, and requesting that a plenipotentiary might be sent to meet the party chosen by the Sublime Porte for the purpose. Threats being still intermixed with professions and tokens of amity, the English admiral moved the squadron four miles nearer the city.

In the meantime, the erection and strengthening of the fortifications of which the English complained, proceeded with uninterrupted vigour and activity at many points on both the European and Asiatic sides of the canal of Constantinople. Men, women, and children; Turks, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, ulehahs, sheiks, and dervises, lent their aid. The Greek patriarch and a number of his clergy put their hands to the pickaxe and the wheelbarrow. At the end of four days, batteries, with breast-works, were mounted with 1,100 pieces of cannon and 100 mortars.

While the whole line of coast presented a chain of batteries, twelve line-of-battle ships and nine frigates, filled with troops, lay in the canal, with their sails bent, and apparently ready for action; seven of them

being moored across the mouth of the harbour and the entrance of the Bosphorus, supported by a double line of gun-boats. Two hundred thousand men were in the city and suburbs, ready to advance at a moment's notice; and an innumerable quantity of gun-boats and sloops, converted into fire-ships, were in readiness for action.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 1st of March, the British squadron got under weigh and stood in line of battle, on and off Constantinople, during the day. On the approach of night it bore up for the Dardanelles. On the evening of the 2nd it reached the inner mouth of the straits, and came to anchor. At half-past seven, A.M., of the 3rd, the squadron again weighed, and proceeded down the channel in the same order as it had observed in going up. As it approached the old castles of Sestos and Abydos, it was saluted by a cross-fire of shot and shell, of the hottest kind, from the last-mentioned fort, and as it rushed rapidly down (not only the wind but also the current being in its favour), it ran the gauntlet between the castles and batteries on the European and Asiatic shores, to which it replied with occasional broadsides. During the two hours which the squadron was passing the closest and most dangerous part of the straits, the *Canopus*, *Repulse*, *Royal George*, the *Windsor Castle*, and the *Standard*, were the vessels which received the principal damage. The total loss of the British in repassing the Dardanelles, was twenty men killed and 138 wounded; and the total loss incurred in passing and repassing, amounted to forty-six killed and 235 wounded.

At length the fleet cleared the straits, and cast anchor off Tenedos, in such a situation as to blockade the Dardanelles. Here it was joined by eight sail-of-the-line, under the Russian Vice-admiral Siniavin, who having been bred in the British navy, and inspired with its inherent spirit of daring, requested Duckworth to return with the combined fleet, and renew the attack or the negotiations; but the British admiral declined to comply, observing, that where a British squadron had failed, no other was likely to succeed. Duckworth, on his departure for the Nile, left Siniavin to blockade the Dardanelles.

From the time the British squadron took up its position near the Isle of Princes on the 20th of February, till that of its weighing anchor to repass the Dardanelles (which was

on the morning of the 1st of March), such had unfortunately been the state of the weather, that it was not at any time possible for the squadron to occupy a station which would have enabled it to commence offensive operations against the city. Had even the weather been propitious, it would have been a dangerous experiment for Sir Thomas Duckworth to have encountered a force which the resources of the Turkish empire had been employed for many weeks in preparing, as, should the attack have proved unsuccessful, the fleet would have run great risks in repassing the Dardanelles. Indeed, had the Turks been allowed another week to complete their defences throughout the channel, it is even doubtful whether a passage would have then been open for the return of the British fleet. The fire of the two inner castles on the squadron, in its inward passage, had been severe; but the effect which they had on them in their return, proved them to have become doubly formidable. Blocks of granite, weighing each from seven to eight hundred pounds, were fired from huge mortars on the squadron as it passed. One of these tremendous bullets, weighing 800 lbs., cut the mainmasts of the *Windsor Castle* in two, and it was with difficulty that the ship was saved: another penetrated the poop of the *Standard*, and killed and wounded sixty men.

After the departure of the English fleet from the Dardanelles, the fortresses on both sides of the strait were put into so effective a state of defence, that there was no hope of success to the most daring attack: the Russian admiral, Siniavin, therefore took possession of the islands of Lemnos and Tenedos, placing a garrison in the latter, and blockading Constantinople with ten sail-of-the-line and several frigates. Another Russian squadron cruised off the mouth of the Bosphorus, and effectually cut off all communication between Constantinople and the Black Sea. The capital of Turkey being thus prevented from availing itself of some of its usual and most productive sources of supply, the Capitan Pasha, Seid Ali, was ordered, with what force he could muster, to restore the communication with the maritime provinces, and particularly with the great granary of the capital, Egypt. By the middle of May, he with great exertion equipped a fleet of eleven sail-of-the-line, six frigates, some corvettes, and about fifty gun-vessels; and on the 19th, with this fleet, passed the Dardanelles, and finding that

the Russian admiral had gone to the isle of Imbros, he steered for Tenedos. On the 22nd, the two fleets were in sight of each other; but the Russian fleet, consisting of twenty-two ships of war, of which ten were of the line, the Turkish fleet immediately crowded sail to escape through the Dardanelles. After a running fight of two hours, the Turkish admiral succeeded in sheltering himself under the guns of the castles which guard the straits, but with the loss of three of his ships, which stranded on Cape Janizary.

In consequence of this disaster, the Turkish fleet was not able to make its appearance outside the Dardanelles till the 22nd of June. On that day, ten sail-of-the-line, with three frigates and five smaller vessels, anchored off the isle of Imbros. Shortly afterwards it steered for Tenedos, which it retook. On the 1st of July, the Russian squadron descried the Turkish fleet, and, crowding all sail, soon came in contact with it. A battle ensued, which continued for seven hours, with great obstinacy on both sides. Several of the Turkish ships being carried by the wind out of the line of battle, the contest became unequal, and four Turkish ships-of-the-line were taken, three burned, and above 1,000 Turks perished in the contest. Seid Ali, though at one period of the action surrounded by five Russian vessels, fought his ship with admirable bravery and skill: of his complement of 774 men, 230 were killed and 130 wounded. The total loss of the Russian fleet was 135 killed and 400 wounded—a circumstance which showed their superior seamanship to that of the Turks.

After the defeat of the Turkish fleet, Siniavin appeared off Tenedos, and on the 9th of July, summoned the governor to surrender; the Turkish garrison, amounting to 4,600 men, capitulated on the 10th. The treaty of Tilsit, which had by this time been concluded, having effected a total change in the politics of the Russian cabinet, Siniavin was instructed to conclude an armistice between his government and the Porte, which was signed on the 24th of August; and by virtue of that armistice, hostilities were not to recommence before March 21st, 1808. Siniavin having fulfilled his instructions, detached Admiral Greig, with two sail-of-the-line, to take possession of the island of Corfu, ceded to Russia by France under the treaty just mentioned; and he himself, with the re-

mainder of the Russian fleet, hastened to proceed to the Baltic, before the expected rupture between Russia and England, consequent on the treaty of Tilsit, might render his entrance into that sea a difficult undertaking.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT—CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA.

THE Grenville administration, apprehensive that a treaty subsisted between the Turkish and French governments, by virtue of which Egypt was to be given up to France, as the price of Buonaparte's contemplated assistance against the Russians in the Crimea, resolved to send an expedition to the shores of the Nile at the same time that Sir John Duckworth threatened the bombardment of Constantinople.

For this purpose, on the 6th of March, the 74-gun ship *Tiger*, Captain Hallowell, the *Apollo* frigate, and thirty-three sail of transports, having on board about 5,000 troops, under the command of General M'Kenzie, sailed from Messina, in Sicily. During the night of the 7th, the *Apollo* and nineteen sail of the transports parted company on account of the boisterous weather. On the 15th, the *Tiger*, and the remaining fourteen transports reached the Arabs' Tower, when Captain Hallowell stood in towards Alexandria, to ascertain from Major Misset (the British resident) the strength and disposition of the garrison and inhabitants, before the transports appeared in sight of the coast. A favourable report being made, the transports were called in from the offing; and, in the course of the evening, the squadron anchored off the entrance of the western harbour. A summons was immediately sent to the governor, demanding the surrender of the city and fortresses, which being rejected, between six and seven hundred troops, and fifty-six seamen, with five field-pieces, were disembarked, without opposition, near the ravine which runs from Lake Mareotis to the sea. On the evening of the 18th, the troops moved forward and carried the enemy's advanced works with little loss. On the 19th, the *Apollo* and missing transports appeared in the offing, and effecting a junction with the *Tiger*, proceeded with all the transports to Aboukir Bay, where, on the following day, the remainder of the troops were landed without opposition, the castle of Aboukir having been previously taken possession of. On the morning of the 20th, General Fraser addressed a manifesto to the inhabitants of Alexandria,

urging them to force the governor to capitulate, and save the city from an assault. The governor immediately sent out a flag of truce, offering capitulation; and on the 21st of March, Alexandria, with its fortresses and harbour, were in possession of the English. In the course of the following day, Sir John Duckworth arriving with his squadron from his injudicious attempt on Constantinople, it was determined to reduce Rosetta and Rhamanieh, the possession of which (commanding two of the mouths of the Nile) was necessary for the supply of Alexandria with provisions. Accordingly, 1,200 men, under Major-general Wauchope, were, on March 27th, detached to possess themselves of Rosetta. Wauchope, on reaching the place, finding the gates of the town open, blindly rushed with his whole force into the streets. The Albanian commandant allowed them to enter and cram themselves in close columns in the crooked, narrow lanes, where he assailed them with musket, rifle, and carbine ball from every doorway, window, and house-top. In a moment, 300 of the assailants lay dead, together with Wauchope himself; and before the survivors could extricate themselves, another hundred had fallen under the murderous fire of the Albanians.

Undismayed by the failure just mentioned, M'Kenzie determined on another attack on Rosetta; and for its execution detached 2,500 men under Brigadier-general Stewart. On the 9th of April, Stewart took post on the heights, when, summoning the town to surrender, and receiving an answer of defiance, he began to form his batteries. Instead of trusting to his own resources, and driving on the siege with vigour, he waited for the junction of the Mameluke cavalry from Upper Egypt, which the beys had promised him; and for the purpose of facilitating a junction with the expected succour, he detached Colonel Macleod, with 700 men, to seize an important post at the village of El Hamet. In the meantime, Mehemet Ali, the Turkish sultan's representative, had collected a large force at Cairo for the relief of Rosetta, and immediately

put it into motion. Orders were forthwith sent to Macleod to retreat from his position to the main body; but these orders were intercepted, and the detachment at El Hamet completely cut off. On the 23rd, the besiegers of Rosetta were assailed by a very superior force, and being driven from all their positions, retreated to Alexandria, with the loss of above 1,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. During this calamitous affair, Mehemet having collected an immense force of horse and foot between

Cairo and Alexandria, and the inhabitants of the last-mentioned city having entered into a conspiracy with him for the expulsion of the English, on the 22nd of August, General Fraser sent a flag of truce to the pasha, offering to evacuate Egypt if the English prisoners taken at Rosetta, El Hamet, and elsewhere, were delivered up. These conditions being assented to, the surviving remnant of the British army set sail from the scene of its inauspicious operations, on the 23rd, for Sicily.

BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN—SEIZURE OF THE DANISH FLEET.

To enable the reader to form a correct judgment of the events which we are now about to relate, it will be necessary to take a brief retrospective glance at some of the circumstances of the war. On the loss of the French fleet at Trafalgar, Napoleon, although he was compelled to abandon the idea of invading Britain at that time, did not relax in his efforts to effect the ruin of this country. He therefore determined to adopt another method of carrying out his object. His plan was of a twofold character; first, to endeavour, by force or fraud, to combine the powers of Europe in a great confederacy against Britain, and compel them to expel from their ports and their shores British ships and British merchandise. In fact, he adopted the system that had been previously tried by the Directory in 1798, which by one of their decrees declared, "That all ships having for their cargoes, in whole or in part, any English merchandise, shall be held good prize whoever is the proprietor of such merchandise;

* We give this celebrated decree *in extenso*;—
 "1. The British islands are placed in a state of blockade. 2. Every species of commerce and communication with them is prohibited; all letters or packets addressed in English, or in the English characters, shall be seized at the post-office, and interdicted all circulation. 3. Every British subject, of what rank or condition whatever, who shall be found in the countries occupied by our troops, or those of our allies, shall be made prisoners of war. 4. Every warehouse, merchandise, or property of any sort, belonging to a subject of Great Britain, or coming from its manufactories or colonies, is declared good prize. 5. Commerce of every kind in English goods is prohibited; and every species of merchandise belonging to England, or emanating from its workshops or colonies, is declared good prize. 6. The half of the confiscated value shall be devoted to indemnifying those merchants whose vessels have been seized by the English cruisers for the losses which they have sustained. 7. No vessel coming

which should be held contraband from the single circumstance of its coming from England, or any of its foreign settlements; that the harbours of France should be shut against all ships having touched at England, except in cases of distress; and that neutral sailors found on board English vessels should be put to death." Napoleon, during the consulate, had revoked the above edict; but on the subjugation of Prussia, he fulminated his celebrated Berlin decree, which almost equalled that of the Directory.*

Having used all his efforts to obtain acquiescence in the Berlin decrees with every power with whom he was on terms of peace, Napoleon now turned his attention to the accomplishment of the second part of his plan of humbling Britain. Having, as he supposed, crippled her resources by shutting her goods out of almost every European port, his next endeavour was to effect a combination of all the maritime forces of Europe to be employed against her; and, aided by his own immense flotilla, he calculated directly from England, or any of its colonies, or having touched there since the publication of the present decree, shall be received into any harbour. 8. Every vessel which, by means of a false declaration, shall have effected such entry, shall be liable to seizure, and the ship and cargo shall be confiscated as if they had also belonged to England. 9. The prize court of Paris is intrusted with the determination of all questions arising out of this decree in France, or the countries occupied by our armies; that of Milan, with the decision of all similar questions in the kingdom of Italy. 10. This decree shall be communicated to the kings of Spain, Naples, Holland, and Etruria, and to our other allies, whose subjects have been the victims, like our own, of the injustice and barbarity of English legislation. 11. The ministers of foreign affairs, of war, of marine, of finance, and of justice, of police, and all postmasters are charged, each in his own department, with the execution of the present decree." Such were the means adopted by Napoleon to ruin the commerce of Britain.

lated he would thus be able to effect a successful invasion of Britain.* His victory over the joint armies of Russia and Prussia, at the battle of Friedland, seemed to have brought about the very circumstances which he desired; and Napoleon, perceiving the advantage to be derived from having such a powerful ally as Alexander, immediately after that event agreed to an armistice, and in a few days it was arranged that a personal interview should take place between the two emperors, to settle the conditions on which a definitive peace might be effected. The river Niemen, at this time, divided the two armies; Napoleon's head-quarters being at Tilsit, on the right bank, and Alexander's at Piktupohen, on the left. The 25th of June was fixed for the meeting of the two great potentates; and a raft of large dimensions being anchored in the middle of the stream, a handsome pavilion was erected on it, surmounted by the eagles of the two nations. On this raft, at one o'clock of the day appointed, Napoleon and Alexander met alone, their respective suites occupying an adjoining raft. The banks of the river presented a grand and imposing spectacle; Napoleon's guard being drawn up in triple lines on the left bank, while the Russian imperial guard, drawn up in a similar manner, stood on the opposite side. The meeting of the two monarchs was friendly: almost the first words of Alexander were—"I hate the English as much as you do, and am ready to second you in all your enterprises against them." The interview lasted for upwards of two hours; and before it concluded, the two "royal robbers" had agreed upon the outlines of the famous treaty of Tilsit. This treaty consisted of two parts; one being a treaty between France and Russia, and the other between France and Prussia: by the conditions of these, Prussia was virtually annihilated, and Napoleon became absolute disposer of the north and north-east of Germany. To the treaty of Til-

sit were appended certain secret articles, of much greater importance than those which were openly avowed. The secret articles agreed to between the two emperors were to the following effect:—The principal portion of the Turkish dominions, with the exception of Constantinople, were to be given up to Russia; or, as it was stated in the words of the treaty itself, "France will unite with Russia against Turkey, and, by their combined efforts, wrest from the vexations and oppressions of the Turks all the provinces of that power in Europe, Roumelia and Constantinople excepted." As afterwards explained by Napoleon, a line was to be drawn from Bourgas, on the Black Sea, to the Gulf of Enos, in the Archipelago; and all to the eastward of that line, including Adrianople, was to remain to Turkey; Russia was to obtain Moldavia, Wallachia, and all Bulgaria, as far as the left bank of the Hebrus; Servia was to be allotted to Austria; and Bosnia, Albania, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Attica, and Thessalia, to France. Numerous other important acts of spoliation were included in the secret articles of this treaty; among which were the dethronement of the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal: Sicily was to be given up to Joseph Buonaparte; and that which was the immediate cause of the British expedition to Copenhagen—the Danish and Portuguese navies were to be seized by force, should these two courts demur to their being used in the grand expedition which was to be fitted out for the subjugation of the British empire.

The 1st of September was the period fixed on by the "high contracting powers" when the demand was to be made for the courts of Lisbon and Denmark to place their fleets at the disposal of the two emperors; and such was the secrecy with which the whole proceeding had been conducted, that it was supposed that the blow would descend on Britain before she was aware that such a powerful combination was formed against her.

* As clearly showing the feeling which actuated Napoleon at the peace of Tilsit, French writers declare, that it was enmity to England that influenced his conduct at that time. Bignon says, that it was his desire not so much to obtain peace with that gigantic power, as that she should enlist herself on his side, and enter into the strife with England as his ally. His own words to Jomini were, when discussing the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit:—"After Russia had joined my alliance, Prussia, as a matter of course, followed her example; Portugal, Sweden, and the Papal States alone remained to be gained over, for we were well aware that Denmark would at once join us. If England refused the

proffered mediation of Russia, the whole maritime forces of the continent were to be employed against her, and they could muster 180 sail-of-the-line. In a short time, with the aid of such a fleet, and the immense flotilla which I could form, it was by no means impossible to lead an European army to London. One hundred ships-of-the-line employed against her colonies would have drawn off a large portion of her navy, while eighty more stationed in the Channel, would have secured the passage of the flotilla. Such were the great leading points of my plan; and they only failed of success from the faults committed in the Spanish war." This admission of Napoleon is the best justification for the seizure of the Danish navy.

Guarded, however, as the spoliators of nations had been in their counsels, the ink was scarcely dry on the deeds which bound them to their nefarious contract, when the ministers of England were in possession of a copy of the whole treaty, including the *secret articles*. The cabinet of Britain adopted at once prompt and decisive measures; and resolved, by a vigorous effort, to anticipate the stroke which the enemy intended to inflict on the country, by seizing the prize which he had fondly conceived was within his grasp, and converting its resources to their own defence. The English ministers agreed with Grotius in the principle—that one man may be justified in taking possession of what belonged to another, if he had reason to fear mischief would result to him from the owner continuing to hold it. Thus seizing it, he could not become its lawful proprietor; but he might hold the thing seized till his own safety was guaranteed. Acting on this principle, the British ministry fitted out a powerful expedition, consisting of twenty-four sail-of-the-line, upwards of forty frigates, sloops, bomb-vessels, and brigs, together with nearly 400 transports, having 27,000 troops on board, destined for Copenhagen; to enforce the surrender of the Danish fleet and marine stores, to be kept in trust by the British government until the conclusion of a general peace, when it was to be restored to Denmark. Admiral Gambier was appointed to the fleet, and Lord Cathcart, who had been previously dispatched to the shores of the Baltic with some troops, to act as auxiliaries to the King of Sweden, and who was then stationed at Stralsund and the isle of Rügen, was appointed to the command in chief of the army. Lord Cathcart had under him, as second in command, Major-general Sir Arthur Wellesley.

On the 26th of July, Gambier set sail from Yarmouth Roads with the principal division of the fleet; and, on the 1st of August, when off the entrance of Gottenburg, he detached Commodore Keats with four ships-of-the-line, three frigates, and ten brigs, to the passage of the Great Belt, to cut off any supplies of Danish troops which might attempt to cross from Holstein to Zealand and the capital. That officer led his line-of-battle ships through a navigation little known and intricate, without the smallest accident, and stationed his squadron so effectually, as to intercept all communications between Zealand, the Isle of Fühnen, and the main-

land of Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland; and thus Zealand was placed in a complete state of blockade. Admiral Gambier himself proceeded to the Sound, passed the castle there without molestation or danger, and cast anchor in Elsinore Roads. By the evening of the 9th of August, all the transports were safely collected round the admiral; and Lord Cathcart, arriving with the troops from Stralsund and the Isle of Fühnen, assumed the command of the whole. At this time the Crown Prince was with the main body of the Danish army, between 20,000 and 30,000 strong, at Kiel in Holstein.

Though warlike preparations were the prominent feature in this expedition, conciliatory measures were to be resorted to to prevent hostilities; and with that intent, though the precautionary measure of obstructing the passage of any troops across the Belt had been taken, the whole army was to remain inactive till the result of a negotiation should be known. For this purpose, Mr. Jackson, who had for several years resided at the court of Berlin as envoy for Great Britain, was instructed by the British ministry to accomplish that purpose. The answer of the Crown Prince was an angry and indignant refusal; and immediate orders were issued to put Copenhagen in a state of defence.

Contrary winds had kept the British fleet stationary in Elsinore Roads until the morning of the 15th, when, at an early hour, the men-of-war and transports weighed, and worked up to the Bay of Wedbeck, about midway between Elsinore and Copenhagen. There the bulk of the fleet under Gambier anchored, while a small squadron proceeded up the Sound to make a diversion. On the morning of the 16th a part of the land troops were disembarked at the village of Wedbeck, without opposition; and after some ineffectual attempts of the enemy to annoy its left wing by the fire of their gun-boats, and to impede its progress by sallies, which were always repulsed with loss, it closely invested the city of Copenhagen on the land side. The fleet then weighed and made all sail for Copenhagen, where, taking an advanced anchorage, it formed an impenetrable blockade by sea. Before quitting Wedbeck the British admiral and general issued a proclamation, notifying to the inhabitants of Denmark the motives of their undertaking, the conduct which would be observed towards them, with an assurance that as soon as the demand of the British government

should be acceded to, hostilities would cease.* The Danish reply was a counter-proclamation or edict, ordering the seizure of all British vessels and property.

On the 17th the Danish gun-boats, taking advantage of a calm, set fire to an English merchant vessel, fired at some of the transports coming from Stralsund, and also attacked, with round and grape shot, the pickets of the British army; and on the evening of the same day, Gambier, with sixteen sail-of-the-line, came to anchor in Copenhagen Road, about four miles to the north-east of the Trekroner, or crown battery, which had fired with so terrible an effect into Nelson's ship during the attack of the British here in the year 1801.

By the 21st the island of Zealand was completely surrounded by the British ships, which prevented all ingress and egress. On the 22nd, General M'Farlane's division having been landed the preceding evening, joined the army, and encamped in rear of head-quarters; and on the 23rd, Lord Rosslyn, who had landed with another division of troops in Kiøge Bay, joined the main army, and covered its centre. While the British army was engaged in securing its positions, the Danish praams and gun-boats, manœuvring in shallow water, made several furious attacks on the British batteries, and cannonaded the right of the British line, composed of the guards, who had taken up their position in the suburbs of Copenhagen; but a battery being brought

* The proclamation issued by the British commanders states the question so fairly, that we lay it before the reader:—"Whereas the present treaties of peace, and the changes of government and of territory acceded to, and by so many powers, have so far increased the influence of France on the continent of Europe, as to render it impossible for Denmark, even though it desires to be neutral, to preserve its neutrality, and absolutely necessary for those who continue to resist the French aggression, to take measures to prevent the arms of a neutral power from being turned against them; in this view his majesty cannot regard the present position of Denmark with indifference, and he has therefore sent negotiators with ample powers to his Danish majesty, to request, in the most amicable manner, such explanations as the circumstances require, and a concurrence in such measures as can alone give security against the further mischief which the French meditate through the acquisition of the Danish navy. The king, therefore, has judged it expedient to demand the temporary deposit of the Danish ships-of-the-line, in one of his majesty's ports. The deposit seems to be just, and so indispensably necessary, under the relative situation of the neutral and belligerent powers, that his majesty has farther deemed it a duty to himself and to his people to support his demand by a powerful fleet, and by an

to bear on the gun-boats, they were driven away with considerable loss. On the 29th, Sir Arthur Wellesley marched to Kiøge, where a large body of the Danish troops and militia had taken up a strong entrenched position, with the view of molesting the besiegers in their rear. Sir Arthur, attacking the enemy, soon completely defeated and dispersed them, taking prisoners upwards of sixty officers and 1,100 men, with fourteen cannon, and stores; the Danes, in their flight, throwing away their arms and clothing. On the 1st of September, Commodore Keats was detached to blockade Stralsund, to prevent the French sending reinforcements to the island of Zealand. On the 1st of September, the gun and mortar batteries being nearly finished, the British commander-in-chief summoned the Danish major-general to surrender the fleet; and, on that officer's requesting time to consult the Crown Prince on the subject, and the British general and admiral refusing to allow delay, on the evening of the 2nd the land batteries and the bomb and mortar-vessels opened a tremendous fire upon the town, and with so great effect, that, in the course of a short time, the town seemed to be in a general conflagration. The Danes manfully replied with shot and shell. The bombardment continued during the whole night, and presented so terrible a spectacle, that the city and space immediately around it had all the appearance of a volcano in a state of eruption. The bombardment was re-
army amply supplied with every necessary for the most active and determined enterprise. We come, therefore, to your shores, inhabitants of Zealand, not as enemies, but in self-defence, to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe from compelling the force of your navy to be employed against us. *We ask deposit—we have not looked to capture*: so far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your government, and it is hereby renewed, in the name and by the express commands of the king our master, that if our demand is acceded to, *every ship belonging to the Danish navy, shall, at the conclusion of a general peace, be restored to her, in the same condition and state of equipment, as when received under the protection of the British flag.* It is in the power of your government, by a word, to sheath our swords, most reluctantly drawn against you; you will be treated on the footing of the most friendly powers; property of all sorts will be respected and preserved; the most severe discipline enforced; every article required paid for at a fair price; but if these offers are rejected, and the machinations of France render you deaf to the voice of reason and the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be shed, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads, and those of your cruel advisers." Unfortunately, this appeal had no effect on the Danes.

sumed on the evening of the 3rd, and lasted all night; and on the morning of the 4th, as no symptoms of surrender were indicated, it was resumed with redoubled fury, shot and shell raining, without a moment's intermission, on the devoted city, from above fifty mortars and howitzers, twenty 24-pounders, and all the bomb-vessels afloat. On the evening of the 5th, the Danish governor sent out a flag of truce, requesting an armistice for time to treat for a capitulation; but on the British commanders replying that no capitulation would be granted but on condition of the surrender of the whole of the Danish fleet, on the morning of the 7th the articles were signed and ratified, and the British put in possession of the citadel and of all the ships of war and naval stores. Within the space of six weeks, seventeen ships-of-the-line, with frigates and sloops,* were towed out of the inner harbour to the road, and the arsenal and storehouses completely cleared. Some of the ships were old, and not worth repairing.

On the 20th of October the last division of the army was re-embarked, and posses-

sion of the citadel delivered over to the Danes. The total loss of the expedition, on shore and afloat, amounted to fifty-three killed, 179 wounded, and twenty-five missing. On the 21st the British fleet, with its prizes and its transports, sailed from Copenhagen Roads in three divisions; and at the close of the 7th it reached in safety Yarmouth Roads and the Downs. As soon as the British fleet had passed the Sound, the Crown Prince declared war against England; and on the 4th of November, the British government ordered reprisals for the Danish depredations against English merchantmen in the Baltic, and against the ships, goods, and subjects of Denmark. On the 4th of September, three days before the completion of the capitulation, the English had taken possession of the Danish island of Heligoland, situate off the mouths of the Weser and the Eider, in the German Ocean, for the purpose of obtaining a safe asylum for English men-of-war and cruisers in those dangerous waters, and also as a depôt for British manufactures and colonial produce, to assist in evading Napoleon Buonaparte's continental system.

ATTACK ON THE FRENCH FLEET IN THE BASQUE ROADS—NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE CHANNEL, THE BALTIC, ETC.

THE expedition to the Scheldt and to the south of Italy, which took place in this year, have been noticed in another part of this work; we shall therefore pass over these two events, and proceed to lay before the reader an account of the attack on the French fleet in the Basque Roads.

Early in the year 1809, the French government, desirous of preventing the contemplated attack on the French West India islands by the English, ordered the fleet from Brest to rendezvous in the Basque Roads, and having liberated the ships blockaded in L'Orient by the British squadron, to make for the West Indies for the relief of Martinique, then blockaded by the English.

On the 21st of February the French squadron, favoured by the strong westerly winds which then prevailed, contrived to escape from Brest, and reached the point of rendezvous, where, in a few days, they were

joined by four sail-of-the-line and four frigates. The French admiral, now finding himself at the head of a squadron of eleven ships-of-the-line and seven frigates, took up a position so as to be protected by the batteries of the isles of Aix and Oleron. Lord Gambier, having joined his squadron to the blockading force off L'Orient, proceeded in search of Admiral Allemande. The British squadron consisted of eleven ships-of-the-line, and on the 17th of March they came to an anchor in the entrance of the roads.

Alarmed at the approach of the English, the French fleet weighed anchor, and stood for the inner protected road of Isle d'Aix. There, in a strong position, covered on the one side by the Isle d'Aix, and on the other by the Isle of Oleron, whose guns reached the range of those of the citadel d'Aix, it was drawn up in two parallel lines, each about seven-eighths of a statute mile in length, and each vessel about 250 yards

* The precise number of ships taken was—seventeen ships-of-the-line, one 60, two 50, six 46, two 32-gun frigates, fourteen corvettes, sloops, brigs, and schooners, and twenty-four gun-boats. The most

valuable part of the seizure consisted of naval stores, which occupied above 20,000 tons of shipping. The ordnance brought away consisted of 2,041 long guns, 202 carronades, and 222 mortars.

apart. At about half a mile in front of the outer line lay the three frigates *Indienne*, *Pallas*, and *Hortense*; the *Elbe* being moored the headmost ship in the second or inner line: their exact position was—

<i>Indienne.</i>	<i>Hortense.</i>	<i>Pallas.</i>
<i>Foudroyant.</i>	<i>Varsovie.</i>	<i>Ocean.</i>
<i>Tonnerre.</i>	<i>Jemappe.</i>	<i>Aquilon.</i>
		<i>Regulus.</i>
		<i>Cassard.</i>
		<i>Calcutta.</i>
		<i>Tourville.</i>
		<i>Elbe.</i>

At the distance of about 110 yards in front of the line of frigates, a formidable boom of about half a mile in length, composed of cables of great diameter, and chains twisted together, and secured by anchors at each end, of the enormous weight of five-and-a-half tons each, was thrown across the channel leading from Basque Road to Aix Road; and the boats of the fleet—seventy-three in number—were stationed near the boom in five divisions, for the purpose of boarding and towing away the fireships as they approached. The anchorage was also protected by batteries on the isles d'Aix and d'Oleron, mounted with numerous guns and mortars of the largest description.

The English squadron consisted of the following vessels:—*Caledonia*, 120 guns; *Cesar* and *Gibraltar*, 80 guns each; the *Hero*, *Donegal*, *Resolution*, *Theseus*, *Valiant*, *Illustrious*, *Bellona*, and *Revenge*, 74 guns each; the gun-frigates *Indefatigable*, 48; *Emerald*, 36; *Union*, *Pallas*, and *Mediator*,

* Lord Gambier's instructions for the attack of the French fleet were contained in the following order, which he received from the admiralty on the 19th of March, and was marked "Most Secret":—

"Admiralty Office, March 16th 1809.

"My Lord,—I am commanded by my lords commissioners of the admiralty to acquaint your lordship, that they have ordered twelve transports to be fitted as fireships, and to proceed and join you off Rochefort; and that Mr. Congreve is also under orders to proceed to your lordship in a coppered transport (the *Cleveland*), containing a large assortment of rockets, and supplied with a detachment of marine artillery instructed in the use of them, and placed under Mr. Congreve's orders. That the bomb-vessels named in the margin (*Ætna*, *Thunder*, *Vesuvius*, *Hound*, and *Fury*) are likewise under orders to fit for sea with all possible expedition, and to join you as soon as they may be ready. That all these preparations are making with a view to enable your lordship to make an attack on the French fleet at their anchorage off Isle d'Aix, if practicable. And I am farther commanded to signify their lordships' directions to you, to take into consideration the possibility of making an attack on the enemy, either conjointly with your line-of-battle ships, frigates, and small craft, fireships, bombs, and rockets, or separately by any of the above-named means. You are to man the fireships with volunteers from the fleet, intrusting the said ships in charge of officers of the rank of commanders who may happen to be present, and shall volunteer their services on this occa-

32 guns each; the gun-brig sloops *Beagle*, *Doterel*, and *Foxhound*, 18 guns each; the *Lyra* and the *Redpole*, 10 each; the bomb-ships *Thunder* and *Ætna*; the gun-brigs *Insolent*, 14 guns; the *Encounter*, *Conflict*, *Contest*, *Fervent*, and *Growler*, 12 guns each; and the schooner *Whiting*.

The French fleet consisted of ten sail-of-the-line—namely; the *Ocean* (Admiral Allemande's ship), 120 guns; the *Foudroyant*, 80 guns; the *Cassard*, *Tourville*, *Regulus*, *Jean Bart*, *Jemappe*, *Tonnerre*, *Aquilon*, and *Ville de Varsovie*, 74 guns each; the *Calcutta*, 56 guns; and the four frigates *Indienne*, *Elbe*, *Pallas*, and *Hortense*.

The position of the French fleet being too strong to be attacked in the regular manner without running considerable risk, an attack by fireships was determined on, and Lord Cochrane (afterwards created Lord Dundonald) was entrusted with the command of this hazardous and important service.* Unfortunately this appointment gave offence to some of the officers in Lord Gambier's fleet, and a jealous feeling was created, which doubtless seriously affected the success of the expedition; and Rear-admiral Harvey (Lord Gambier's second in command) expressed himself so intemperately in the matter, that he was afterwards tried before a court-martial at Portsmouth, and

signion; but, as it is not likely there will be officers sufficient of that rank to command all the fireships, you are to make up the deficiency by such lieutenants of the line-of-battle ships as shall volunteer their services, giving the preference to the first lieutenants; and when the said fireships are manned by volunteers from the fleet, you are to cause their original crews to be received on board the ships of your fleet; and, in the event of the said fireships being destroyed, you are to send home the said men, in order to their being discharged, furnishing them with such certificates or protections as shall secure them from being impressed into his majesty's service. You are also to hold out to the volunteers and the officers to whom the command of the fireships may be intrusted, every expectation of reward in the event of success. It is their lordships' farther direction, that you state to me, for their information, whether any farther augmentation of force of any description is in your opinion necessary, to enable you to perform this service with full effect, that it may be prepared and forwarded to you without a moment's delay; their lordships having come to a determination to leave no means untried to destroy the enemy's squadron. In order to give your lordship every information on this important subject, my lords have directed me to enclose to you a paper drawn up by Sir Richard Keats, in 1807, proposing a mode of attacking the enemy's squadron under Isle d'Aix.—I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,—W. W. POLE."

dismissed the service. On April 3rd, Lord Cochrane, in the *Imperieuse*, joined the British fleet: soon afterwards, twelve fire and three explosive vessels arrived. The first were designed to burn without immediate explosion; the others were filled with live shells, barrels of gunpowder, stones, and every kind of destructive missiles. The explosive vessels contained 1,500 barrels of gunpowder, started into puncheons placed end upwards, fastened by cables wound round them, and, to increase the resistance, having moistened sand rammed down between them: upon the top of the mass of combustibles lay between three and four hundred shells, charged with fuses, and nearly as many thousand hand-grenades.

The arrangements for the attack having been completed, on the 11th Rear-admiral Stopford was ordered to take station with the *Cæsar*, *Theseus*, three fireships, and all the boats of the fleet, about three miles nearer to the hostile fleet than the position of the main body of the British fleet, in order to throw rockets into such ships as might be exposed to the attack. At the same time the frigates and smaller vessels moved to the respective stations assigned them. The *Imperieuse*, *Aigle*, *Unicorn*, and *Pallas* anchored about a gunshot and a-half from the boom, in order to support the boats of the fleet which were to accompany the fireships, and to receive the crews of each on their return, after having ignited the fire-vessels. The *Redpole* and *Lyra* were stationed with hoisted lights, but screened from the view of the enemy, to guide the fireships in their course to the attack.

At about half-past eight, P.M., of a dark and tempestuous night, the *Mediator* (which had been fitted up as a fireship) and the other fire-vessels, which were stationed about a mile in advance of the British fleet, cut their cables, and made sail for their destination. Lord Cochrane, with a lieutenant and a gig's crew of the *Imperieuse*, went on board one of the fireships, taking under his direction one of the explosive vessels. At a quarter to nine, P.M., Captain Wooldridge ran the *Mediator* at right angles against the boom, which, yielding to the shock, and a passage being thus opened, the other fire-vessels followed. Instantly a tremendous fire was opened by the French ships, but the crews of the British vessels and boats, nowise appalled, made direct for the enemy's fleet, amidst a heavy fire of

bombs, shot, shell, grape, and musketry from the batteries on both sides, and the fleet in their front; steering their vessels, charged to the brim with the most combustible materials, right into the middle of a concentric fire of a shower of bombs and projectiles. To escape destruction, the French ships instantly cut or slipped their cables. The burning convoy having been launched into the enemy's anchorage, its brave pilots had great difficulty in reaching the ships appointed to receive them. Besides the danger arising from the enemy's fire, they were exposed not only to the shower of cast metal which was thrown by the explosion in every direction, but also to many of the rockets which had been placed in the rigging of the fireships, taking a direction contrary to that intended. Captain Wooldridge, lieutenants Brent and Peach, and one seaman of the *Mediator*, and Captain Joyce, and a midshipman of the *Zephyr*, not quitting their vessels till they were on fire fore and aft, the first-mentioned band of heroes were blown out of their ship, and the last were obliged to jump into the sea to save their lives; the fuses, which had been calculated to allow fifteen minutes for the assailants to get out of the effect of the explosion, having burnt too quickly—an occurrence occasioned by a sudden rise of the wind. Dark as was the night, the sky soon became illuminated with the glare of the many vast fires; and what with the flashes of the guns from the forts and the retreating ships, the flight of shells and rockets from the fire-vessels, and the reflection of light from the sides of the hostile ships in the back-ground, a scene truly awful and sublime presented itself to the vision of the assailants. At nine, P.M., the first of the explosive vessels blew up with a tremendous violence at about 110 yards from the *Indienne*, and in about ten minutes after, the second, almost under her bowsprit, but without doing her the least damage.

The light of the morning displayed the discomfiture of the enemy. Seven sail-of-the-line were lying aground. Lord Cochrane immediately telegraphed the *Caledonia*, Lord Gambier's flag-ship, to advance, and afterwards signalled—"Half the fleet can destroy the enemy; eleven on shore; only two afloat." The first signal was made at a quarter to six, A.M.; the last, at half-past nine, A.M.

Lord Gambier, in consequence of the

signal from Cochrane, telegraphed the fleet to weigh. His lordship, however, had hesitated three hours before he gave it; and afterwards, in consequence of the state of the wind, contemplating the danger of getting on a lee shore exposed to formidable land batteries, he signalled all the captains to attend on board his flag-ship, and the fleet was ordered to anchor before it had reached Aix Roads.

In the meantime, as the tide rose, the enemy had succeeded in removing the whole of his ships, except three sail-of-the-line, into deep water towards the entrance of the river Charente. These three sail were aground on Pallais Shoal, near the isle of Madame. The *Ætna* bomb, covered by the gun-brigs *Insolent*, *Conflict*, and *Growler*, was now ordered to proceed towards Aix Road, for the purpose of bombarding the vessels on the Pallais Shoal; and Captain Bligh was directed to take under his orders the *Valiant*, *Bellona*, and *Revenge*, with the frigates and sloops, and to anchor them as close as possible to the Boyart Shoal, to be ready to support the bomb-vessel and the brigs.

During these operations, Lord Cochrane observing the *Calcutta*, *Aquilon*, and *Regulus* preparing to escape, at twenty minutes past two, P.M., advanced with the *Imperieuse* to attack the grounded ships. Immediately a heavy fire was poured in upon him from the batteries on the isles of Aix and Oleron, and from the enemy's vessels afloat and aground. In nowise daunted, he cannonaded the *Calcutta*, which soon surrendered to him; but the enemy's fire increasing in effect and rapidity, he made signals that his ship was in distress, and required immediate assistance. It was not, however, till near four o'clock that he was joined by Captain Bligh's squadron, which uniting in the attack, before five o'clock the *Aquilon* and *Varsovie* surrendered. The prisoners being removed, the three captured ships were set on fire. At the same time, the enemy set fire to the *Tonnerre*; and they subsequently fired the *Indienne*. Their loss was also increased by the *Jean Bart* grounding in their retreat, which was fired. Their loss in men must have been considerable; that of the British was two officers and eight men killed, and nine officers and twenty-six men wounded.

The partial failure of the attack was attributable to the following causes:—1, the inadequate support of Lord Cochrane by

Lord Gambier; 2, the deficiency, in number, of the explosive and fire-vessels; 3, the inefficient force of vessels of a light draught of water; and 4, the firing of the fireships before their passing the boom, or even before they were abreast of the two vessels stationed as their guides. The lull of the wind, occasioned by the effect of the first explosion, also contributed to prevent the fire-vessels reaching the enemy's line before they exploded. That in which Lord Cochrane was aboard blew up outside the boom. The attack being also commenced in the dark, many of the fire-vessels mistook their course, and consequently failed in the purpose intended. Rear-admiral Stopford was prevented from joining in the attack when the boom was forced, as the state of the weather was too boisterous to admit of the co-operation of the boats of the fleet under his command.

The conduct of Lord Cochrane on this occasion was of the most daring character. His coolness in danger was equal to that of Nelson himself: a seaman sitting by his side in the boat, was killed by a cannon-shot from one of the French vessels, when in the act of looking through a telescope at the enemy's fleet. Without saying a word, or averting his eye, Cochrane took the instrument out of the dead man's hand and completed the observation.* As is the case with all truly brave men, Lord Cochrane's humanity was as conspicuous as his courage; and from the exercise of this trait in his character, he had nearly lost his life in this enterprise. The captain of a French 74, while delivering his sword to his lordship, lamented that the burning of his ship would destroy all the property he possessed. His lordship immediately went in a boat with the officer, to attempt saving part of that which he feared to lose. They were passing the French ship, which was on fire, when one of her loaded guns went off and killed the French captain by the side of Lord Cochrane.†

On this exploit, and its imperfect execution, Napoleon Buonaparte thus expressed himself while in St. Helena:—"Cochrane not only could have destroyed the whole of the French fleet, but he might and would have taken them out, had the English admiral supported him as he ought to have done; for, in consequence of the signal made by the French admiral for every one to shift for himself, they became panic-

* Alison.

† Gaspey's *History of England*.

struck, and cut their cables. Their dread of the fireships was so great, that they actually threw their powder overboard, so that they could have offered very little resistance. Fear deprived the French captains of their senses. Had Cochrane been supported, he would have taken every one of the ships." It must be admitted that this is just criticism.

In England great rejoicings took place in consequence of the victory which had been obtained in the Basque Roads, and Lord Cochrane was created a Knight of the Bath. Discontent, however, was very generally exhibited at the conduct of Lord Gambier in not supporting Cochrane as it was supposed he might; and the latter informed Lord Mulgrave, that if a vote of thanks were proposed to the admiral, he would oppose it in his place in the house. In consequence of this, Lord Gambier demanded a court-martial on the whole of his conduct during the attack in the Basque Roads. One was accordingly convened at Portsmouth, when, after evidence had been received, the court decided that his lordship's conduct during the whole of the operations had been marked with zeal, judgment, ability, and an anxious attention to the welfare of his majesty's service; they therefore pronounced him to be most honourably acquitted.

In justice to Lord Gambier, we quote from Brenton's *Naval History* the following temperate remarks on his conduct in this affair:—"It should not be forgotten that the situations of Lord Gambier and Lord Cochrane, on the 11th and 12th of April, were essentially different; the first having responsibility, the second none. Had Lord Cochrane lost the *Imperieuse* on the Boyart Shoal, his character would, if possible, have received a higher lustre. Had Lord Gambier so committed the fleet under his command, as either to have run the ships on shore, or exposed them to conflagration in a narrow anchorage, the nation might have felt the effects of his imprudence, and his character would have suffered in the eyes of the world. The object in view, the total destruction of the enemy's fleet, was not to be obtained by the risk of loss of the Channel fleet, the main support of the empire. Such are the opinions of many officers of talent and enterprise, and these opinions received their highest confirmation by the sentence of a court-martial, as well as by a majority in both houses of parliament."

In 1808, Sir James Saumarez was appointed to the command of the Baltic fleet, and during that year many important frigate and single ship engagements took place with the vessels of the enemy. A very gallant affair with the Russian fleet, which occurred in that year, deserves to be commemorated. While Rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood, in the *Centaur*, and Captain Byam Martin, in the *Implacable*, were cruising in company with a portion of the Swedish fleet, under the command of Admiral Nauckhoff, they, on the 25th of August, fell in with the Russian fleet under Vice-admiral Honickoffe. The combined squadron at once gave chase to the enemy, and, on the morning of the following day, the *Implacable*, taking the lead of the allied squadron, opened fire on the leewardmost ship of the Russian fleet. Captain Martin poured in his broadsides so rapidly into the *Russia*, that in less than half-an-hour he had silenced her fire. The Russian admiral, seeing the rough usage to which his ship had been subjected, bore down with the whole of the fleet to her assistance; and though she had struck her colours to the *Implacable*, Captain Martin was obliged to relinquish his prize. A Russian frigate took the disabled ship in tow, and again made sail to get away. The *Implacable*, anxious to recover her prize, again started in chase, and soon came up with the Russian frigate and her convoy. On being neared by the British ship, the frigate cast off her disabled consort, and made all sail towards the fleet. The Russian admiral again bore down to prevent the capture of the 74, and Sir Samuel Hood was in hopes that he might be able to draw him into a general engagement; but the enemy, too cautious to risk a battle, took advantage of a slant of wind, and ran into the port of Rogeswick, leaving the disabled 74 to get off as she best could. The Russian ship grounded on a shoal near the entrance to the port, but afterwards got afloat, and was repairing her damage, when the *Centaur* ran her right aboard the bows, the enemy's ship coming in contact with the muzzles of the *Centaur's* guns. While in this position, Captain Martin raked his antagonist tremendously. The Russian, however, kept up a heavy fire of musketry, and the contest was vigorously sustained on both sides; the stern chasers of the *Centaur*, and the rolling fire of the marines on board the British ship, making deadly havoc on

the decks of the Russian. The bowsprit of the latter now getting entangled with the mizen rigging of the *Centaur*, it was quickly lashed there. The two ships then grounded, there not being six fathoms water. After continuing the struggle for some time longer, the Russian ship surrendered. The *Implacable* was obliged to render assistance to the *Centaur*, in heaving her off the shoal, which was happily effected, when the prize being found to be in such a damaged condition that she could not be got off, the wounded were removed, and she was given to the flames. In this action the loss of the British was—in the *Centaur*, three killed and twenty-seven wounded; the *Implacable*, six killed and twenty-seven wounded. The loss of the Russians was very great.

Many other encounters of single ships took place in the Baltic and northern seas, and which, if not of great importance in their results, yet exhibited the same daring and boldness which has always characterised the British navy.

Early in July, 1809, a Russian flotilla, with a convoy of vessels laden with ammunition and provisions for their army in Finland, alarmed at the sight of an English squadron under Sir James Saumarez, took up a strong position under Percola Point. Their flanks were protected by two rocks, on which guns were mounted, and the Russians thought themselves in perfect security. Captain Martin, of the *Implacable*, took upon himself to undeceive them, and having manned the boats of four ships, put them under the command and guidance of Lieutenant Hawkey. The Russians poured a destructive fire on the advancing boats, but the seamen went steadily forward, and did not fire a gun till their boats had closely approached the enemy, when they instantly boarded, sword in hand, and soon overpowered all resistance. Of eight gun-boats, each mounting a 32 and 24-pounder, and carrying forty-six men, six were brought out, one was sunk, and the whole of the convoy was captured. In the strife, Lieutenant Hawkey, after capturing one gun-brig, was killed in the act of boarding a second. His last words were—"Huzza!—push on!—England for ever!" The total loss sustained by the English, reached thirty-seven killed and thirty-seven wounded.

The Russians lost sixty-three killed; and 124 prisoners were taken, of whom fifty-four were wounded, and several were drowned while attempting to escape.

In the month of October, 1809, while the squadron under Lord Collingwood was blockading Toulon, his lordship received information that the French intended to make the attempt to escape from the port; and to afford them the opportunity, leaving the frigates *Pomone* and *Alceste* in observation, he retired with the fleet from its station off Cape St. Sicie, and proceeded off Cape San Sebastian, between which and Barcelona he established his cruising-ground, in full expectation of intercepting the French squadron. On the night of the 22nd, the captain of the *Pomone* bringing intelligence of the sailing of the enemy, Rear-admiral Martin, with six of the best sailing ships, was dispatched in pursuit. The French squadron, consisted of five sail-of-the-line, two frigates, one corvette, and sixteen brigs, under Rear-admiral Baudin, with troops and provisions for the relief of the French in Barcelona. On the next day the French fleet was discovered by the British frigates, who signalled the squadron that they had discovered the enemy to the eastward, coming down before the wind. On the evening of the same day, one of the British frigates came up with five of the enemy's vessels, consisting of two brigs, two bombards, and a ketch, which having surrendered, were burned. On the 24th the French squadron was lost sight of; but on the evening of the 25th, the enemy was again discovered between Cette and Frontignan. All sail was immediately set in chase, and the British nearing the land as well as the enemy, the ships of war were forced to separate from the convoy and run on shore, where they were burned by their crews to prevent their falling into the hands of the pursuers. In the meanwhile, the transports, under convoy of one of the frigates, had taken refuge in the bay of Rosas, under the protection of the castle and batteries. There they were, on the 31st of October, assailed by the boats of the squadron (namely, one 74, two frigates, and three brig-sloops) under the command of Captain Hallowell, whom Lord Collingwood* had dispatched on that service. The boats rapidly advancing, un-

* This was the last remarkable operation in which Lord Collingwood was engaged. His long and glorious career drew near its close. He had gained the fame of a great commander, and that of

a good man; but health now failed, and latterly he found the labour connected with his high situation too much for him. He had wished to retire, but had retained his command in consequence of the

der the leadership of the respective lieutenants of the squadron, proceeded after dark against the enemy, who were protected by strong batteries, guarded by boarding netting, and every way prepared. The first object of their attack was the frigate, which, in spite of the fire of the castle, the gun-boats, and the musketry on the beach, the

nettings of the ship, and the pikes of the enemy, was carried in the course of a few minutes. The other armed vessels were taken in the same way; and by the morning every vessel had either surrendered or was burned. In this daring enterprise, the loss of the English was fifteen killed and forty-five wounded.

THE REDUCTION OF THE IONIAN ISLES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN—OF THE ISLE OF BOURBON, IN THE INDIAN OCEAN—AND OF THE ISLAND OF MARTINIQUE AND THE CITY OF DOMINGO IN THE WEST INDIES.

ON the 23rd of September, an expedition, consisting of a combined naval and military force, under the respective commands of Captain Spranger and Brigadier-general Oswald, sailed from Messina, and arrived in the bay of Zante on the 1st of October. The troops immediately effected a landing, covered by the guns of two ships-of-the-line and a number of gun-boats. The defences of the enemy were in a short time abandoned, and the island surrendered. Having taken possession of Zante, the squadron immediately proceeded to Cephalonia, which also surrendered without resistance. The *Spartan*, Captain Brenton, urgent solicitations of the government; and during the last three years, he had scarcely been on shore. In February, 1810, he wrote to Lord Mulgrave, requesting permission to return to England, and describing himself to be then totally incapable of discharging the duties of his office. His indisposition had been increasing during the last three months, till he found himself hardly able to walk across his cabin; and as this was attributed to his long service in his ship, he could have little hope of amendment while he remained at sea. His malady now increased. On the 25th of February he reached Port Mahon, suffering much from indisposition. Though pressed by his friends to resign his command, and return to his relatives in England, he was unwilling to do so till he should be relieved from his duty by orders from the admiralty, as he considered his life to belong to his country. On the 3rd of March he at length resigned his command to Rear-admiral Martin, and the *Ville de Paris*, his old ship, was ordered to be got ready to carry him home. His life was fast drawing to a close. It was not till the 6th that the *Ville de Paris* was able to leave Port Mahon, when at sun-set she made sail for England. Lord Collingwood rallied for a moment when at sea, and remarked with some animation that it might yet be his fortune to meet the French once more. The next morning there was a heavy swell, and Captain Thomas expressed apprehension that the motion of the ship might disturb him. He calmly replied, 'No, Thomas; I am now in such a state that nothing in the world can disturb me—I am dying.' That evening he passed away without a struggle. At the time of his decease he had reached his six-

then proceeded to attack Cerigo. This island had long been the stronghold of a number of pirates who infested the Mediterranean, and who, on the arrival of the *Spartan*, prepared for a desperate defence. Captain Brenton having landed in the bay of St. Nicholas a detachment of troops and a body of marines, under Major Clarke, on the 10th of October immediately proceeded to attack the castle, three field-pieces being dragged forward by the sailors. The troops having obtained a position about 400 yards' distance from the castle, opened a fire of guns and muskets, which was continued till darkness set in. In the evening a number

tieth year.—See Gaspey's *History of England*.—The remains of the gallant admiral were brought home, and landed at Greenwich Hospital on the 26th of April, where the body lay in state for several days, and was afterwards interred in St. Paul's cathedral, by the side of Nelson.

"It is a remarkable part of the history of Lord Collingwood, that he five times succeeded his friend Lord Nelson: first, as a lieutenant in the *Lowestoffe*; then as lieutenant of the *Bristol*; next as a commander in the *Badger*; after that as captain in the *Hinchinbrooke*; and, lastly, as commander-in-chief, after the death of the hero in the battle of Trafalgar. The history of Lord Collingwood offers to our youth one of the best examples in the service of successful perseverance. He was not made a lieutenant till he had attained the age of thirty; yet he lived to be a vice-admiral and a commander-in-chief; he ennobled his family by a peerage, and left his widow and two daughters in affluence. He was remarkable for bravery, coolness, forbearance, public spirit, love of his country, and the most inflexible honesty and integrity of heart. No man ever paid more attention to, or was a better judge of merit, which he always rewarded. Modest, abstemious, and humble, he was at once a hero and a Christian. Beloved in his domestic circle, respected at the head of his fleet, and feared by the enemies of his country, his rise in the service was entirely the effect of his own intrinsic value. He had no friends to support him, nor powerful connexions to lead him on, save what he acquired by the strictest attention to his duty, and constant readiness at the call of his country."—Brenton's *Naval History*.

of rockets were thrown in, and in the morning a flag of truce was sent out, when, after some attempts at capitulation, the place surrendered. The island of Ithaca at the same time fell into the hands of the English; Zante, Corfu, and the other islands were afterwards taken possession of, and remained permanent dependencies of Great Britain.

The harbour or bay of St. Paul's, Isle of Bourbon, having long been the rendezvous of French cruisers on the Indian station, Commodore Rowley, the commanding officer of the British force cruising off the isles of France and Bourbon, concerted measures with Lieutenant-colonel Keating, commanding the troops in the adjacent island of Rodriguez, which had recently been taken possession of by the British, for the capture of the bay of St. Paul's, and the shipping in the road. Accordingly, on the 16th of September, they embarked with about 600 troops and seamen at Fort Duncan, island of Rodriguez. On the 20th, they arrived off the east end of the island. On the 22nd, the troops were landed about seven miles from the town of St. Paul's. In the course of a few hours, the town, batteries, magazines, public stores, and above 120 guns of different calibre, were in possession of the assailants. But the appearance of a strong French force collecting on the hills, induced the British to re-embark on the evening of the 22nd, until they received the co-operation of the naval part of the expedition. This being effected, on the morning of the 23rd, the troops, marines, and seamen were again disembarked, when the enemy sent in proposals to capitulate. By the terms of capitulation, the conquerors were repossessed of their acquisitions of the 22nd, together with a French frigate of 44 guns, and four richly laden Indiamen, which that vessel had recently captured.

In the middle of January, a naval and military expedition sailed from Jamaica, against the island of Martinique; the fleet being under the command of Rear-admiral the Hon. Sir A. Cochrane, the army under General Beckwith. The landing was effected without resistance; and possession was shortly after taken of Point Solomon, a battery on the south side of the bay of Fort Royal. A safe anchorage being thus secured, Isle aux Ramiers, or Pigeon Island, was invested, as, by obtaining possession of it, the British would have full command of the anchorage. Batteries were erected, and a 13-inch mortar being landed from one of

the ships, fire was opened on the morning of the 1st of February. A steady cannonade was kept up by the defenders of the island, but did comparatively little damage. In the course of the day several large guns were landed, in the teeth of the enemy's guns on Pigeon Island, which fired upon the boats as they passed the point of land laying between the fleet and the fort. Nothing, however, can daunt the energy of British sailors; and several boats' crews having landed, they cut their way through a thick wood and ascended a steep height which commanded Pigeon Island. Here they lashed a ship's halser to the stumps of trees, and to this attached tackle, by which they dragged up the heavy ship's guns. So vigorously did these noble fellows work, that by the evening of the 3rd they had constructed batteries, mounted the cannon, and were ready to open fire. The bombardment of Pigeon Island from the height of Morne Vanier was commenced at six o'clock that evening, and continued without intermission till the next morning, when the fort surrendered.

Pigeon Island being now reduced, the anchorage at Negro Point was taken possession of. The next strong position which it was necessary to reduce was the fortress of Bourbon, and guns and mortars necessary for its investment were landed. While these operations were going on, Sir George Prevost led his troops against the enemy on a height named Morne Bruno, and after a well-contested engagement, the enemy were compelled to retire. The guns intended for the attack on Fort Bourbon being now placed in position, the troops were led forward to the attack on the place. They were received by a well-sustained and destructive volley of cannon and musketry from the fort, which compelled them to fall back. The governor of the island having thus repulsed the attack on Fort Bourbon, flattered himself that it was impregnable, and abandoning some inconsiderable strongholds, he retired into that fortress, having with him 3,000 men and an abundant supply of ammunition. Fort Republique, or Edward, was one of the positions from which Admiral Villaret had withdrawn his men, merely spiking the guns, it being considered impossible for the British to occupy it, as it was commanded by the guns of Fort Bourbon. The governor was, however, speedily undeceived, as on the night of the 7th it was taken possession of by

Major Henderson, with a strong party, who found within four 13-inch mortars and 38 heavy guns. When Villaret, from the Fort Bourbon, saw the British flag flying on the walls of the deserted fort, he commenced a vigorous bombardment on the place, but with little damage beyond demolishing the town and barracks. In the course of two days the guns had been rendered serviceable by the British, and on the 10th they were in a condition to return the enemy's fire. Meanwhile another party of seamen, under Commodore Cockburn, had invested Fort Bourbon on the side of the river Monsieur. A number of ship's guns were also landed at Paradise Bay, and mounted on two strong forts which had also been abandoned by the French. Several heavy guns (four 13-inch mortars and four 8-inch howitzers) had also been dragged up to the top of a hill called Tartansen, and placed in battery in a commanding position. On the 18th of the month Fort Bourbon was completely invested, six powerful batteries being ready to vomit forth destruction on the place, and several others were in a forward state of preparation. In reply to a demand for the surrender of the fortress, the governor declared that he was determined to bury himself beneath the ruins. In consequence of this it was arranged to commence the attack at half-past three o'clock on the afternoon of the 19th. At the same moment the whole of the English batteries opened fire. The fort replied with great spirit, and the cannonade continued during the night. On the following day the enemy slackened fire; but on the 21st he again renewed the contest with more vigour during the day, but gradually declined towards the evening. On the 22nd, a shell falling in the magazine, it blew up with a tremendous explosion. On the 23rd the governor sent a flag of truce with an offer of capitulation, but the terms were rejected; and on the 24th he surrendered unconditionally, and Martinique again came under the dominion of Britain.

The ships engaged on this service were—The *Neptune*, 98 guns, being the flag-ship of Rear-admiral Cochrane; *Pompée*, 80; *Belleisle*, 74; *York*, 74; *Captain*, 74; *Intrepid*, 64: also the following frigates—*Acasta*, *Penelope*, *Ethalion*, *Æolus*, *Circe*, *Ulysses*, *Eurydice*; and the *Goree*, *Wolverine*, *Cherub*, *Stork*, *Amaranthe*, *Forrester*, *Recruit*, *Star*, *Frolic*; *Swinger* and *Haughty* gun-brigs, and the *Express* brig of war.

The houses of parliament passed a vote of thanks to the admiral, captains, officers, seamen, and marines employed in this expedition; but much dissatisfaction was felt from a medal being awarded to the army for their services, while none was given to the navy.

The reduction of this last possession of the French in the West Indies, was followed by the surrender of the fortress of St. Domingo and its garrison, consisting of 2,000 men.

Connected with the expedition against Martinique, we shall here narrate a gallant affair which deserves to be commemorated. On the 22nd of February, 1809, some of the French squadron who had anchored in the port of L'Orient, and amongst them the three 74-gun ships *Courageux*, *Polonais*, and *Hautpolt*, attempted to escape from it unseen, and sailed for the island of Martinique. But on their way thither, the French commodore having learnt that the island had surrendered to the English, entered the Saintes, determining to watch for an opportunity of crossing over to Basse-terre Guadeloupe. He had scarcely cast anchor before he was blockaded there by a superior British force, both of ships-of-the-line and of land troops; for the harbour of Saintes having three entrances, and being therefore difficult to blockade, it was thought fit to land a body of troops on the islands, in order to drive the French ships out to sea, as well as to reduce the islands, which had always offered them a safe refuge. The land troops having soon succeeded in placing two 8-inch howitzers on the top of a mountain completely overlooking the harbour, and having brought them to bear with great effect, the three French line-of-battle ships began to get under weigh and sail out of the windward passage; but although favoured by a very dark night, they were immediately perceived by the British in-shore squadron, which gave the preconcerted signal to the admiral outside, and a chase immediately ensued. The first vessel that got up with the enemy was the 18-gun brig-sloop *Recruit*, Captain Charles Napier,* who in the most spirited manner opened fire on the sternmost ship of the French, and was soon joined by the *Neptune*, who was fired into by the same ship, the shot killing one and wounding four of her men.

* Afterwards Sir Charles Napier, commander of the Baltic fleet in 1854.



INTERPID BEHAVIOUR OF CAPT. CHARLES NAPLIER,

in H.M. 18 gun Brig "RECRUIT"

FOR WHICH HE WAS APPOINTED TO THE "HAMBOUT."

The "74" now pouring a broadside into her.

APRIL 16, 1809.

On the next day, at four, A.M., the *Recruit*, by her superior sailing, again got near enough to discharge a broadside at the *Hautpolt*, now the rearmost French ship, and the *Pompée* was very soon in a situation to open a distant fire from her bow chasers, all three French ships, as they steered in line abreast, returning the fire with their stern chasers. At half-past ten Captain Napier had his sergeant of marines wounded by a shot from one of the French ships; but the *Recruit* still persisted to harass them with her attacks; and so annoying were they, that in a few minutes the *Hautpolt* broached to and discharged her main and quarter-deck guns, cutting away two of the brig's fore shrouds on the larboard side, and doing other damage to her rigging, but fortunately wounding no one. Even this did not intimidate Captain Napier; for no sooner had the *Hautpolt* resumed her course before the wind, than the *Recruit* boldly ran across her stern, pcuring in one or two broadsides, and receiving in return a fire from the *Hautpolt's* stern chaser. The *Pompée* occasionally joined in the running fight; and thus the day passed. In the evening the French ships separated; the *Hautpolt* altering her course to the W.N.W. The *Pompée* immediately hauled up after her, and was at this time about three miles to the eastward of the latter, full five miles to the E.N.E. of the *Courageux* and *Polonais*, and about the same distance ahead of the *Neptune*. At midnight the *Pompée* could no longer see

the *Courageux* and *Polonais*, but still kept sight of the *Hautpolt*.

The chase continued all next day, several other ships joining in it; but the *Pompée* sailed so nearly alike the *Hautpolt*, that no apparent alteration took place in the distance between them; till the night coming on very dark, about nine leagues off the high land of Porto Rico, the chasing ships were baffled by light and variable winds; and at midnight only the *Castor* (12-pounder 32-gun frigate) had got so far ahead as to be on the starboard bow of the *Pompée*. In the morning, before dawn, she shortened sail, and an hour afterwards, when within little more than half a mile of the *Hautpolt's* starboard quarter, began a fire with her larboard guns. In this way the action was maintained till the *Pompée* got up, and engaging the *Hautpolt*, soon compelled her (now a complete wreck) to strike; and, indeed, only in time—for the opening daylight discovered the whole fleet advancing towards her. Thus terminated a running fight, begun to the southward of Viena Fort Guadeloupe, at ten in the evening of the 14th of April, and ended within eight leagues off Cape Toso, Porto Rico, at a quarter-past five in the morning of the 17th. Sir Alexander Cochrane appointed Captain Napier to the command of the *Hautpolt* on the spot. She was a tolerably fine ship, of 1,871 tons, and, under the name of the *Abercromby*, cruised for three or four years in the British service.

EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTH OF ITALY.

IN conformity with the arrangements between the courts of Vienna and St. James's, that a diversion should be made by an English armament on the southern coast of Italy, an expedition was prepared in the Sicilian harbours in the early part of the summer of this year. On the 11th of June, Sir John Stuart, who commanded the British forces in Sicily, embarked with 15,000 troops, half British and half Sicilian, for the coast of Naples and the capture of the capital. At the same time two flotillas, consisting of English and Sicilian gunboats and other armed vessels, sailed to scour the coasts of Calabria. A brigade, consisting of Sicilian soldiers and Calabrian refugees, had been previously dispatched to reduce Lower Calabria, and

afterwards to join the British general overland.

On the 25th of June, the advanced division of the expedition anchored off Cape Misene, close to Baiæ and Pozzuoli, and by water but a few miles from Naples. Immediately Murat dispatched orders to the troops whom he had sent to reinforce Eugene Beauharnais, the viceroy of Italy, and in the meantime mustered all the available force that he could. On the same day, 2,000 men were landed on the island of Ischia, distant about four miles from Cape Misene. The batteries by which the shores of that island were fortified, wherever accessible, were turned by the assailants, and necessarily deserted by the enemy, who retired into the castle. On the 30th, a

breaching-battery having been erected, the governor surrendered on terms of capitulation. Procida, which lies between Capri and Ischia, next surrendered. In both islands, 100 pieces of ordnance and 1,500 prisoners were taken, and a large flotilla of about forty gun-boats was destroyed, as it attempted during the night to run from Gaëta to Naples. A detachment landing in the straits of Messina, had previously taken the castle of Scylla and the chain of fortified ports opposite Sicily. As the affairs of Austria were now in a hopeless condition, the diversion in its favour in the south of Italy seemed no longer useful; Sir John Stuart therefore dismantled the castles of Ischia and Procida, re-embarked his troops, and returned to Sicily. The siege of the old fortress of Scylla, which had been undertaken by a portion of the Sicilian expedition, was raised by the French general Partouneaux advancing in force to its relief; but the French garrison abandoning the place in a sudden panic, leaving behind them not only the artillery and other materials, but all their own guns and stores, a detachment of English and Sicilian troops seized them and carried them over to Sicily.

During these operations on land, Captain Staines, with the *Cyane* frigate (22 guns), the *Espoir* corvette, and twenty-three Sicilian gun-boats, discovering a frigate (the *Cerere*, 42 guns), a corvette (the *Fama*, 28 guns), and twenty gun-boats, coming out of Pozzuoli Bay, drove them under the shelter of their land batteries, and stood into the bay in hopes of bringing them to action.

On the 27th, the *Neapolitan* came out of the bay in hopes of running round the point of Pausilippo to Naples uninterrupted, as the *Espoir* was becalmed astern; and Staines's Sicilian gun-boats were at a considerable distance in the bight of the bay. Staines immediately making the *Cyane* man her sweeps, and thus pulling along his frigate, entered the inner bay of Naples in pursuit. Having succeeded in getting alongside of the *Cerere*, he commenced an attack on her, within half-pistol shot distance; the *Fama* and gun-boats tacking, and taking part in the fight. The hostile flotilla, finding they were likely to be roughly treated, edged away to the shore, and as the *Cyane* closely pursued, the land batteries opened their fire on her. The *Cerere* now perceiving the gun-boats and her consort, the *Fama*, using their sweeps to escape into the harbour, hauled down her colours, but being reinforced by men sent off from the shore, she rehoisted her flag. It was not long before her overcrowded decks were strewed with killed and wounded; but the *Cyane* was so crippled in her masts and rigging by the fire of the land and floating batteries, and all her sails so completely riddled by grape and langrage, that she was not in a condition to take possession of her opponent, who had struck her flag a second time, or even to haul off from the land batteries, which kept up an incessant fire on her. But, fortunately, the *Espoir* and some of the Sicilian gun-boats coming to her assistance, she was towed out of the bay; the *Cerere* availing herself of the opportunity, slid round the mole-head into the harbour.

MURAT'S DESCENT ON SICILY—REDUCTION OF THE ISLANDS OF BOURBON; THE MAURITIUS, OR ISLE OF FRANCE; AMBOYNA; THE BANDAS, AND GUADELOUPE.

In the month of September, King Joachim Murat embarked, in a long range of boats, the principal part of his army, consisting of Neapolitans and Corsicans, and whom he had long paraded at Scylla, Reggio, and the hills which overlook the narrow straits of Messina, threatening Sicily with invasion. In order to distract the attention of Sir John Stuart, who commanded the English forces in that island, and which lay encamped along the straits from Messina to Taro Point (a distance of ten miles), the invading force menaced his left wing, which was stationed at the latter place. General

Cavaignac, with 3,500 men, fell upon his right, and landing seven miles to the south of Messina, boldly pushed forward his troops, and obtained possession of the heights behind the shore. He next endeavoured to induce the Corsicans in the British service to desert; and, for this purpose, he displayed a finely-embroidered flag, inviting the natives of that country to return to their allegiance to France; but before the *rusé* had the opportunity of meeting with any success, the invaders were attacked by Colonel Campbell, who took or destroyed the greater part of the invading force.

In July of this year, an expedition under Colonel Keating and Commodore Rowley, sailed from Rodriguez, a small uninhabited island, situate about 100 leagues to the north-east of the Isle of France, for the reduction of the Isle of Bourbon, which, together with the former place, afforded the enemy great facility in the annoyance of the British East India trade. For the reduction of Bourbon, the land force consisted of 1,700 Europeans and 2,600 sepoy; the naval force, of the two frigates *Raisonnaable* and *Boudicea*. A landing was no sooner effected on the island, than the governor capitulated. But the Isle of France being in a high state of defence, a larger armament was required for its reduction. Accordingly, one line-of-battle ship and eleven frigates, under Vice-admiral Rowley, having on board 6,000 troops, under Major-general Abercrombie (the second son of the late Sir Ralph Abercrombie), were fitted out for this purpose. The expedition arrived off the island in November, and on the 29th of that month effected a landing. On the 2nd of December an action ensued, in which the enemy, being overpowered, the garrison, consisting of 1,300 men—among whom were 500 Irishmen, who had been compelled to enlist in the French service from among the crews of the captured East Indiamen—surrendered prisoners of war, to be conveyed to France. Besides a quantity of stores and produce, four large frigates, some smaller ships of war, and twenty-four merchant ships and brigs, were the reward of the captors.

In the beginning of the year, the Dutch East India settlement of Amboyna, with its dependent isles, surrendered to a naval and military expedition under captains Tucker and Court; and in March, Banda Neira and its dependent spice islands, surrendered to Captain Cole, of the *Carolina* frigate. In the preceding February, Guadeloupe surrendered to the joint expedition under Admiral Cochrane and General Beckwith, after two engagements, in which the loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 300 men, and that of the enemy between five and six hundred. On the 27th of the same month, the Dutch islands of St. Martin, St. Eustatius, and Saba, peaceably surrendered to the same commanders. After the reduction of the Isle of France, some frigates were dispatched against Tamatave, on the coast of Madagascar; as also to the Isle of Almarante and some other small places, where the French victualled and repaired their ships when they were not able to reach the Isle of France. Thus was consummated the extinction of the power of France and Holland in the Indian and Caribbean seas, and not a strip of land left to the former in either of the Indies.

In the course of this year the British government had caused the Danish island of Anholt, situated in the Cattegat, to be fortified, and a commercial depôt to be established there, for the purpose of introducing British produce and manufactures into Denmark and Germany, in the same manner as had been done in 1809, at Heligoland.

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ISLAND OF ST. MAURA, IN THE ADRIATIC—FRIGATE ACTIONS, Etc.

THE island of St. Maura, with the neighbouring island of Corfu, being still in the possession of the French, on the 21st of March, 1810, a naval and military expedition, under Captain Eyre and Brigadier-general Oswald, sailed from Zante, and on the same evening arrived off St. Maura. On the 22nd the troops were disembarked, and after batteries had been opened against the fortress and island for nine days, they capitulated, together with the garrison, consisting of 800 men. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 168 men.

The naval transactions of this year were merely frigate actions. The principal were:—While Murat was parading the army he had collected between Naples and Reggio, and making his demonstrations against the opposite coast of Sicily, the following frigate action took place in the bay of Naples, between the *Cerere* frigate and the *Fama* corvette, and the *Spartan* frigate, commanded by Captain Brenton.

While the *Spartan*, in company with the *Success* frigate, was about five miles from Naples, she observed (May 1st), coming out of the mole, a frigate of 42 guns, a corvette

of 28 guns, a cutter of 10 guns (Murat's yacht), and eight gun-boats. The Neapolitan squadron, at sight of the British frigates, made all sail, and succeeded in getting safe into harbour, behind the mole of Naples and the land batteries. To entice them out, Captain Brenton desired the captain of the *Success* to sail away to the back of the island of Capri. On the morning of the 3rd, the Neapolitan squadron, seeing the *Spartan* all alone, came forth from behind the mole-head. In order to entice the enemy out to sea, Captain Brenton retired. The hostile squadron thinking that the *Spartan* was running away, set up a shout and crowded all sail. As soon as they were within pistol-shot, the *Spartan* poured in a treble-shotted broadside on the *Cerere*, which strewed her decks with killed and wounded; and then, running along the line of the hostile squadron, cut off the cutter and gun-boats. The *Cerere* wore and endeavoured to renew her position with the rest of the squadron, but was prevented by the *Spartan*, who took her station on her weather-beam. A close and hot contest ensued, the *Cerere* being aided by the corvette and the cutter. The enemy, finding they were "getting the worst of it," made sail for the castle and sea batteries of Baia. The corvette having lost her foretop-mast, was on the point of surrendering, when the gun-boats towed her from under the guns of the *Spartan*; but the cutter having had her maintop-mast shot away, was obliged to surrender, and was paraded by the *Spartan* in tow before the mole, into which her defeated consorts were running for shelter. During the action, Murat was on the mole exulting in the certainty of success of his squadron. The loss of the *Spartan* was ten killed and twenty-two wounded; that of the enemy, 150 killed and 300 wounded—a loss arising from the 400 Swiss troops, who were drawn up in ranks, from the cathead to the tafferel of the vessels, in readiness for boarding; Murat and his officers being confident of victory. The guns of the *Spartan* were forty-six, and the crew 258. The enemy's guns were ninety-six, and the crews, including the Swiss soldiers, amounted to 1,400 men.

In the month of June, Captain Hoste, in command of the *Amphion*, *Active*, and *Cer-*

berus frigates, in the gulf of Trieste, chased a convoy of vessels laden with naval stores for Venice, into the harbour of Genoa. In a boat attack he captured the whole convoy.

In the month of July, Commodore du Perrée, who had cruised with great success in the preceding year in the bay of Bengal, fell in with three outward-bound East Indiamen (the *Ceylon*, *Windham*, and *Astell*), on the north coast of Madagascar. The French squadron consisted of the *Bellona* of 44 guns, the *Victor* corvette, and the *Minerve* frigate. After a severe contest, during three hours, the *Ceylon* and *Windham* struck their colours; but the *Astell*, putting out her lights, made sail and escaped in the dark. The colours of the *Astell* had been shot away three times. As a reward for their distinguished bravery, the East India Company settled an annual pension of £460 on the captain of the *Astell*, and presented the officers and crew with £2,000; and the lords commissioners of the admiralty granted the ship's company a protection from impressment for three years.

In the month of August, four English frigates (part of the squadron stationed at the Cape of Good Hope), making an inconsiderate dash into Grand Port, the principal harbour of the Isle of France, were lost to the service. The loss was thus occasioned:—In that port lay four French frigates, a corvette, a brig, and two captured East Indiamen, and protected by heavy land batteries. As access to the port was difficult, two of the English frigates—namely, the *Sirius* and *Magicienne*—running aground on shoals, were burned by the crews. The third frigate, the *Nereide*, Captain Willoughby, singly fought the enemy for above five hours, and drove all their ships on shore in a heap. In the contest, however, the *Nereide* suffered so severely, that she was obliged to strike to the enemy; several of her quarter and main-deck guns having been dismantled, and the hull of the ship much shattered. Nearly every man of her crew was killed or wounded; and her captain and first lieutenant had both been severely hurt. The fourth ship, the *Iphigenia*, being closely blockaded in the Isle of Passe, whither the boats' crews of the *Sirius* and *Magicienne* had conducted her, struck soon after the *Nereide* had submitted.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK—REDUCTION OF JAVA—NAVAL OPERATIONS.

IN the month of March, 1811, the King of Sweden having issued a proclamation abdicating the Swedish crown, and the French marshal, Bernadotte, having been elected Crown Prince by the Swedish diet, which was *ipso facto* his appointment to the sovereign authority, that politic Frenchman relaxed in Sweden the severity of Napoleon Buonaparte's Continental System—a measure which induced Sir James Saumarez, who was in command of the English fleet in the Baltic, to enter into a negotiation with the Swedish government concerning the detained English ships with colonial produce; and to which negotiation Bernadotte had signified his willingness to accede, by the indirect overtures of friendly relationship which he had made to the court of London on his election as Crown Prince. The consequence of this arrangement was, that the Swedish coasting vessels were permitted to pass unmolested, and renew their trade in the Baltic.

On the contrary, the King of Denmark, in subserviency to the will of the French emperor, enforced the Continental System more rigidly than he had hitherto done; and to further the designs of his ally in his projected designs against England, he sent a large proportion of the Danish seamen into the service of France; while he employed the remainder of them in manning privateers and gun-boats in enforcing the Continental System, and the capture of British merchant vessels. In March he sent a Danish flotilla, with about 3,000 troops, to recover the Island of Anholt, of which the English had taken possession in May of 1809, as a depôt and point of communication with the continent; but the garrison, consisting of but 350 men, repelled the attempt with considerable loss to the assailants.

The government of Calcutta having determined on the capture of Java, the only colonial settlement in the East Indies remaining to the Batavian republic, an expedition sailed, in April, from the Madras Roads, consisting of four sail-of-the-line, fourteen frigates and other vessels of war, with fifty-seven transports (in all, 100 sail), and carrying nearly 12,000 troops, of whom one-half were Europeans. The military and naval commanders-in-chief were Lieutenant-general

Sir Samuel Auchmuty and Commodore Broughton, the latter of whom was superseded by Rear-admiral Stopford on the expedition reaching its destination.

The names of the ships were as follows:—*Scipion*, *Illustrious*, and *Minden*, of 74 guns each; *Aclar*, 38; *Doris*, 36; *Nisus*, 38; *President*, 38; *Bucephalus*, 32; *Phæbe*, 36; *Modeste*, 36; *Hussar*, 38; *Drake*, 38; *Phæton*, 38; *Leda*, 36; *Caroline*, 36; *Cornelia*, 36; *Psyche*, 36. In addition to these there were seven sloops of war, and eight of the honourable East India Company's cruisers.

The squadron came to anchor on the 4th of August in the bay of Batavia, and on the same day a landing was effected at Chillinching, about ten miles from the city of Batavia, which was immediately abandoned by the French and Dutch troops, who took refuge in the intrenched camp at Meester-Cornelis, about nine miles from the city. Preparations were now made to attack the enemy in his stronghold.

The command in the island of Java had been entrusted to the French general Jansens, and on the 10th he was attacked in the important post of Weltervreden, about a league from the intrenched camp at Cornelis, and the works were carried by Colonel Gillespie; the enemy sustaining a loss of not less than 500 men. Jansens now fell back on his intrenched position on the heights of Cornelis. His army consisted of about 20,000 men, the place was strongly fortified both by nature and art, and here he determined to take his stand. The British immediately prepared to attack him; and the seamen being landed from the fleet, assisted in bringing up the guns. In the course of a few days twenty 18-pounders and eight mortars had been got forward, and being placed in position, a furious cannonade was opened and kept up with so great effect, that on the morning of the 26th the assault was made, led by Colonel Gillespie, ably supported by colonels Gibbs and Macleod. The reserve remained in the batteries under General Wetherell. The attacking party had a very arduous task to perform, having an intricate country to traverse. Encouraged by their officers, however, the troops boldly advanced, and coming suddenly upon the van of the enemy, charged them successfully, compelled

them to retire, and obtained possession of a strong redoubt. A heavy fire of grape and musketry now opened on them; but with the characteristic bravery of British troops, they disregarded every obstacle, steadily pressing onward and carrying redoubt No. 4 at the point of the bayonet. The French and Dutch troops made a stout resistance; but, flushed with victory, nothing could withstand the ardour of the British. A party, turning to the left, attacked redoubt No. 1, and drove out the defenders. Another party attacked the redoubt No. 2, which was obstinately defended, a park of artillery and a strong body of cavalry being drawn up in front of it. Gallantly advancing in the teeth of a heavy cannonade, Colonel Macleod led on his men, dispersed the cavalry, and captured the artillery. In this brilliant affair Colonel Macleod lost his life, being struck down in the moment of victory. The battle was now won; the assailants rushed in, and a dreadful carnage ensued. The enemy was completely defeated, and fled from the field, pursued by the cavalry and horse-artillery. The trophies of the victory were about 750 pieces of brass and iron cannon and mortars, with an enormous quantity of shot, shells, and ammunition. The loss of the enemy was very severe, and 1,700 prisoners were taken. The loss of the British in the two actions was—154 killed; wounded, 786.

Lord Minto, the governor-general of India, who accompanied this expedition, took up his residence at Batavia, and immediately after the action of the 26th, a message was sent to Jansens, who had made his escape during the contest, demanding the surrender of the island, which he refused, having determined to hold his position as long as he could; operations were therefore immediately commenced against the other portions of the island. A force, under the direction of Commodore Broughton, was sent against Surabaya, and a detachment of troops proceeded to Cheribon along with the frigates *Nisus*, *President*, and *Phoebe*. The latter place surrendered without resistance; Captain Warren hauling down the French flag, and planting the British standard on the walls of the fort. On the 9th of September, Samarang was summoned to surrender, but the demand not being complied with, an attack was immediately made on the gun-boats, and on the 12th the town was entered, the enemy having retired from it; Greisse was taken possession of on the

28th, and in a few days all the strong places in the island had capitulated. Jansens perceiving that it was useless to hold out any longer, surrendered with his whole army to the British arms.

While these operations were directed against Java, the frigates *Sir Francis Drake* and *Phaëton*, were directed to proceed to Madura, and compel the surrender of that island. Madura is situated in the Malay archipelago, immediately north-east of the island of Java, and has an area of 1,330 square miles; one of its principal seaports is Jumanap. On the 29th of August, Captain Harris determined to effect a landing as near the fort of Jumanap as possible. When darkness set in, the boats were manned and formed in two divisions. Led by captains Pellew and Harris, they quietly proceeded towards the fort, and landed about midnight within three miles of it. As yet everything had been so well managed, that the enemy was quite unconscious of their approach. About three in the morning the small force, numbering only eighty men, and having with them six pieces of cannon, found themselves at the outer gate of the fortress, which they entered without being challenged. The inner gate, however, was defended by guns and a formidable body of pikemen. Rushing upon the enemy, the British had possession of the fort before its garrison had recovered from their surprise. Having obtained command of the guns, the town was summoned to surrender. The governor immediately made active preparations for defence. Being reinforced from the ships, Captain Pellew pushed forward against the town with one hundred men, having with him only one field-piece. The enemy opposed to this trifling force consisted of two thousand men. Yet, against this tremendous odds, Captain Pellew gallantly kept his ground. Captain Harris, learning the state of affairs, sent word to his colleague to stand firm, while he moved out of port and threatened the left wing of the enemy. A simultaneous attack being then made, the enemy gave way, and were completely routed by this mere handful of brave fellows, led on by an officer who was then a mere youth. The force of the enemy consisted of 300 European infantry, 60 artillerymen, and 2,000 native pikemen. The fort which was captured was a regular fortification, and mounted sixteen 6-pounder guns.

Another dashing affair, which took place

on the coast of Java, while it was invaded by this expedition, deserves to be recorded here. While lying off the island, Lieutenant Edmund Lyons, of the *Minden*, determined to attack the fort, being convinced the enemy did not expect an attack, and that they had no suspicion of a British army being in Java, while the surprise of Marrack might draw their forces towards that quarter, and operate as a favourable diversion for the British troops then engaged in the reduction of the island. Accordingly, towards the evening he placed his boats, containing thirty-four seamen and marines, in such a position that they could not be observed by the sentinels stationed in the fort, and calculating on being able to surprise the garrison at midnight, he silently advanced to the attack. Contrary to his expectation, however, the boats were discovered, and a volley of musketry was discharged at them as they came within range. Seeing that all advantage to be derived from a surprise was now lost, Lieutenant Lyons boldly ran his boats on to the beach, and although a heavy surf was running at the time, landed his men, placed his scaling-ladders, and reached the embrasures of the lower tier of guns, which he entered, cut down the artillerymen as they stood by their guns, and obtained possession of the lower battery. Forming his men, he again ascended the scaling-ladders, and in a few minutes had gained the summit of the fort, where he found the garrison ready to oppose his small force. Nothing daunted, the heroic sailor demanded the surrender of the fort, calling out that he had 400 men at his back, and unless they laid down their arms, he would grant them no quarter. After a volley being fired by the English, the defenders fled to another part of the fort, and opened fire on the British. Turning some of the guns upon them which had just been taken, the men proceeded to spike the others. Having destroyed as many of the guns as possible, the party prepared to re-embark, when it was found that the launch had received so much damage in the surf as to render it impossible to get her off; they had, therefore, all to get into a six-oared cutter, and by daylight they were again on board their ship. This attack was characterised by great daring, and as it had been undertaken contrary to the orders of Captain Hoare, Lieutenant Lyons was called on to account for his conduct.

By the capture of Java the British obtained possession of an island of great importance, its estimated area being about 50,000 square miles, its present population being not less than 10,000,000. The property captured in Java amounted to upwards of £1,000,000 sterling, and was paid to the captors within five years. The island continued under the dominion of England until the conclusion of peace, and was restored to the Dutch in 1816.

This year was distinguished for several brilliant frigate-fights and in-shore operations. The most memorable were as follows:—The *Cerberus*, 32, Captain Whitby, and *Active*, of 38 guns, having completed taking in water at Lissa, on the 9th of February proceeded to reconnoitre the coast of Italy, in hopes of intercepting several vessels which had sailed from Ancona for Corfu, and had taken shelter in various harbours along the coast during the southerly winds. On the morning of the 12th, a number of vessels were observed lying under the town of Otranto, on the coast of Italy. The wind being light, the boats of both ships were ordered out, and dispatched under the command of Lieutenant Dickenson, of the *Cerberus*, to bring out the ships. As the boats advanced, they were received by a heavy fire of large guns and musketry from an armed trabaccolo, and from soldiers posted on the beach and on the mountains commanding the bay. Notwithstanding this opposition, the boats' crews, giving three hearty cheers, moved gallantly on, and in a short time had taken possession of the vessels, driving before them the crews, and also compelling the soldiers on the beach to retreat. To cover the seamen while engaged in bringing out the captured ships, a party of marines, led on by Lieutenant Dickenson, obtained a commanding position on a range of hills leading to the town. In getting up to this height the marines were exposed to the most imminent danger, as the slightest deviation from the path would have dashed them over a precipice. The soldiers and inhabitants, who had collected in great force, were completely kept in check. The sailors being thus protected, brought out from under the guns of the fort ten sail of merchant vessels, loaded with provisions, and an armed vessel carrying six guns, intended for their protection. They also destroyed two large magazines, filled with naval and military stores, which were destined for the garrison of Corfu.

While cruising off the coast of Spain, Lieutenant Williams, in H.M. cutter *Entreprenante*, about eight o'clock in the morning, observed four vessels at anchor under the castle of Paro, between Malaga and Almeria Bay. The wind being a dead calm, the four vessels, manning their sweeps and hoisting French colours, advanced towards the cutter, which was lying becalmed. About eleven, A.M., they came within cannon-shot, when they immediately opened fire, one vessel being on the starboard bow, the other on the starboard quarter, and two right astern, so that the British vessel was completely surrounded. The enemy kept up a tremendous fire of round and grape shot, which the cutter returned with round, grape, and musketry. After an hour's severe cannonading, during which the *Entreprenante* suffered severely, her maintop-mast peak, halyards, block, and jib-tie being shot away, and two of her starboard guns being disabled, the enemy attempted to board, but encountered so furious a resistance, that they were obliged to fall back. A second attempt was made with no better success, the cutter keeping up a well-directed fire with her two foremost guns and musketry. It being still calm, the starboard sweeps were manned, and the cutter's head brought round, which enabled the larboard guns to be brought to bear, and a few broadsides well delivered caused three of her opponents to sheer off, one of the largest vessels having her foremast and bowsprit shot away. A third attempt was made to board, but the enemy, after a hard contest, was again repulsed with considerable loss. Two of the larboard guns of the cutter were now dismounted, but the crew giving three hearty cheers, poured a raking fire into the Frenchmen, which tore along their decks, and compelled them to slacken their fire. At half-past two the enemy's ships were so far disabled, that they were taken in tow by the row-boats, and towed in-shore, the *Entreprenante* saluting them from two of her guns until they were out of cannon-shot. The cutter then began to clear away the wreck, and by five o'clock the mainsail, jib, and foresail were set. The captain and crew of the *Entreprenante* had fought their ship in the most gallant manner, having sustained a most unequal contest for four hours, with a force more than quadruple that of their own, and, notwithstanding, coming off the victors. The total loss in this affair, on board the

British vessel, was one killed and ten wounded. The total number of men on board the four vessels of the enemy was 170; that on board the British vessel, thirty-three.

The *Belle Poule*, Captain Brisbane, in company with the *Alceste*, of 38 guns, being off the coast of Istria, at ten in the morning descried a large French brig of war of 18 guns, and immediately gave chase. The brig escaped into the harbour of Palenza. Determining to capture or destroy her, Captain Brisbane having reconnoitred the position, found it impracticable for the frigates to enter the harbour, the water being shoal, and the brig being also protected by a battery. The frigates then stood in as near the shore as the depth of water would allow, and opened a cannonade on the brig and the battery under which she lay, which compelled her to haul ashore out of reach of the shot. During the attack on the brig, several shots from the battery had hulled the frigates, but doing little damage. As it was impossible to inflict much injury on the fort or the brig from the frigates, a landing was determined on, and the ships being anchored about two miles from the shoal, about eleven o'clock at night the boats were manned, and 200 seamen and all the marines were conveyed to a small island in the mouth of the harbour, which they took possession of. The party in the boats was under the command of Lieutenant John M'Curdy, first of the *Belle Poule*. Immediately on landing, a defence was thrown up, and by five o'clock in the morning a battery of four guns (two howitzers and two 9-pounders), was constructed on a commanding position. A field-piece was also placed at some distance to the left. The enemy had been busy during the night getting guns into position at various parts of the harbour. Early in the morning a cross-fire from four different points was opened by the French upon the newly erected battery of the English; but so well had the sailors employed their time during the night, that the British guns were able not only to reply with great spirit to the fire of the battery, but to devote such attention to the brig, that by ten in the forenoon she was cut to pieces and sunk. Having thus obtained the object of their landing, the party retreated to their ships, taking with them their guns, ammunition, &c., in the greatest order and regularity. This

daring enterprise was effected with the loss of two men killed and six wounded.

An attempt, equal in valour to the preceding, but not so fortunate in its results, was made to destroy a convoy at Palamos in the month of December, by Captain Rogers, in the *Kent*, 74. For this purpose a body of 350 seamen, 250 marines, and two field-pieces, were landed. The enemy's vessels lay in the mole, and consisted of a very fine new national ketch, mounting fourteen guns, with sixty men, two xebecs of three guns each, and thirty men, and there were eight merchant vessels under their convoy, all laden with provisions for Barcelona; they were protected by two 24-pounders, one in a battery which stood high over the mole, and the other with a 13-inch mortar in a battery, on a very commanding height; there were also about 250 soldiers in the town. From light winds it was near one o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th, before the ships could get far enough into the bay to put the men ashore, and they were soon after landed on the beach, in the finest order, under cover of the *Sparrow-hawk* and *Minstrel* sloops, without harm, the enemy having posted themselves in the town, supposing the British would be injudicious enough to go into the mole without dislodging them. Soon after, the men moved forward to take the town and batteries in the rear; the enemy withdrew to a windmill on the hill, where they remained almost quiet spectators of the British taking possession of the batteries and the vessels in the mole; the mortar was spiked, and the cannon thrown down the heights into the sea; the magazine blown up; the whole of the vessels burnt and totally destroyed, save two, which were brought out: in short, the object had succeeded to admiration, and at this time with the loss of no more than four or five men from occasional skirmishing; but, unfortunately, in withdrawing the troops from a hill, which had been occupied to keep the enemy in check until the batteries and vessels were destroyed, the men retired with some disorder, which encouraged the enemy, who had received a reinforcement from St. Felice, to advance upon them, and, by some unhappy fatality, instead of directing their retreat to the beach where the *Cambrian*, *Sparrow-hawk*, and *Minstrel* lay, to cover their embarkation, the brave but thoughtless and unfortunate men came through the town down to the mole; the enemy immediately occupied the walls and

houses, from which they kept up a severe fire upon the boats crowded with men, and fired upon and killed several who had been left on the mole, and were endeavouring to swim to the boats. Nothing could exceed the good conduct of Captain Pringle, of the *Sparrow-hawk*, Captain Campbell, of the *Minstrel*, and Lieutenant Conolly, both in the landing and withdrawing the men, and the officers in the launches with carronades, and the two mortar-boats of the *Cambrian*: in performing this arduous service they suffered much; but the fire of their carronades and mortars upon the enemy was very destructive. Unfortunately, Captain Fane was at the mole, giving directions to destroy the vessels, when the men were withdrawn from the post on the hill; he remained there with firmness to the last, and was taken prisoner, with eighty-six of the party; besides a loss of thirty-three killed, and eighty-nine wounded.

On the 15th of March, Captain Hoste, in the *Amphion*, of 32 guns, having under his command the two frigates *Cerberus* and *Active* (38 and 32 guns), and the 22-gun ship *Volage*, while off the island of Lissa, on the Dalmatian coast, fell in with the combined French and Italian squadron, under the command of Commodore Dubourdieu, consisting of six French and Venetian frigates (two of which were of 44 guns, three of 40, and one of 32), a 16-gun corvette, a 10-gun schooner, a 6-gun xebec, and two gun-boats, with 500 troops on board, for the defence of Lissa and the islands in the Adriatic. The little British squadron, undismayed by the superiority of the enemy, immediately formed in line ahead. Just before the two squadrons were within gunshot, Hoste, calculating on its talismanic effect, telegraphed, "Remember Nelson." The responsive hurrahs of the crews of the four frigates showed their confidence in the result of the impending action. The Franco-Venetian squadron bore down in two lines for the purpose of breaking that of the British, but was defeated in its effort by the compact order and well-directed fire of the English ships. The action was then commenced with great fury, and continued for six hours, when the French commander's ship blew up, and three of the frigates struck their colours. Two of the frigates crowded sail for the port of Lesina, and the small craft dispersed in various directions. The enemy's force mounted 314 guns, and was manned with 2,976 men; while the British mounted

only 124 guns, and was manned with 982 men. The British loss was fifty killed and 150 wounded; that of the enemy was not ascertained, but must have thrice exceeded that of the British.

Captain Hoste, in his despatch, gives a very spirited account of the contest. "After an action of six hours," he goes on to relate, "we have completely defeated the combined French and Italian squadron. The enemy, formed in two divisions, bore down to attack us under all possible sail. The British line, led by the *Amphion*, was formed by signal in the closest order, on the starboard tack. At nine, A.M., the action commenced by our firing on the headmost ships. The intention of the enemy appeared to be to break our line in two places; the starboard division, led by the commodore, bearing on the *Amphion* and *Active*; the larboard division on the *Cerberus* and *Volage*. In this attempt he failed (though almost on board of us), by the well-directed fire and compact order of our line. He then endeavoured to round the van ship to engage to leeward, and thereby place us between two fires; but was so warmly received, and rendered so totally unmanageable, that he went on shore on the rocks of Lissa in the greatest possible confusion. The British line was then wore to renew the action, the *Amphion* not half a cable's length from the shore, the remainder of the enemy's starboard division passing under our stern, and engaging us to leeward, while the larboard division tacked, and remained to windward, engaging the *Cerberus*, *Volage*, and *Active*. The action now recommenced with great fury; his majesty's ships frequently in a position which exposed them to a raking fire. At twenty minutes past eleven the *Flora* struck her colours; at twelve the *Bellona* followed her example: the rest of the ships endeavoured to make off, pursued by the *Active* and *Cerberus*, who, at three, P.M., compelled the sternmost frigate to surrender, when the action ceased, leaving us in possession of the *Corona*, of 44 guns, and the *Bellona*, of 32 guns. The French commodore, the *Favorite*, of 44 guns, on shore, blew up soon after."

A no less brilliant and desperate action was, on the 20th of May, fought near Foul Point, Madagascar, between three frigates and a sloop, under the command of Captain Scomberg, and a squadron of three French frigates, under the command of M. Roquebert, having on board 200 troops and a

supply of munitions of war for the Isle of France. The hostile squadrons, owing to light and baffling winds, did not get into action till four, P.M.; but after an animated contest of above four hours, the French commodore's ship, the *Renommée*, of 44 guns, was captured, and the *Nereide*, also a 44-gun frigate, struck, but escaped to the French port of Tamatave, on the eastern coast of Madagascar, which Roquebert had surprised and taken possession of on the 19th. The British loss had been twenty-four killed and eighty-six wounded. On the 24th, the settlement of Tamatave, which had, as just stated, been retaken by Roquebert, surrendered with all the vessels in the port; and at the same time the captured British garrison, consisting of 100 of the 22nd regiment, was recovered.

While Captain Bouchier, of the *Hawke* sloop, was cruising off St. Marçon, on the coast of Normandy, for the purpose of intercepting the enemy's trade, he descried a convoy of French vessels steering for Barfleur. Giving chase, he found them protected by three national brigs, carrying from twelve to sixteen guns each, and two large luggers. Nowise discouraged, he met the attack. In a short time two of the brigs and the luggers, with fifteen of their convoys, were driven on shore; and of the remainder many had struck, when the *Hawke* unfortunately grounded; but being soon again at anchor, her boats were sent to bring away or destroy as many as possible of the enemy's vessels on shore. They succeeded in bringing off, under a heavy fire of musketry from the beach, one of the brigs and three large transports; the rest were on their broadsides, and completely bilged. This dashing exploit was performed with but small loss of the crew of the *Hawke*.

On the evening of the 31st of July, two English vessels, viz., the *Algerine*, a cutter, carrying ten guns and sixty men, Lieutenant Blow, and the *Brevedageren*, of twelve guns and forty-seven men, Lieutenant Devon, observed three suspicious vessels standing towards them from the coast of Norway, which were soon discerned to be enemies; the wind being very light, the *Algerine* and *Brevedageren* continued going from them during the night, as fast as they were able, and at daylight found themselves about four miles from the advanced brig of the enemy, which appeared considerably distant from the two others.

Lieutenant Blow, commanding the *Algerine*, being the senior officer, sent a boat to the *Brevedageren*, to inform Lieutenant Devon that it was his intention to attempt cutting this vessel off; and accordingly both the *Algerine* and *Brevedageren* tacked for that purpose, and commenced sweeping towards her, it being calm. The enemy observed this manœuvre, and prevented its being executed by closing his squadron. The *Algerine* and *Brevedageren* again sought safety by retreating. At four o'clock, A. M., 1st of August, the Danish commodore in the *Langeland*, being nearly within shot, the *Algerine* and *Brevedageren* again bore down to the attack, by desire of Lieutenant Blow. It must be observed, that the Danish commodore was at this time about two miles from his own squadron. The action commenced about half-past eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and by twelve the hostile ships were closely engaged. Soon after, the enemy's second brig bore up and commenced firing on the British ships, when the *Algerine*, having suffered severely, was obliged to take to her sweeps and haul out of action. The *Brevedageren* was unable to follow the example of her consort, being in the midst of three brigs of the enemy, each of them more than double her force. Notwithstanding the fearful odds thus accumulated around him, Lieutenant Devon determined to fight his ship while she could fire a gun, and the handful of brave fellows he commanded nobly supported the heroic resolution of their gallant commander, cheering him while they obeyed every order that was issued. In the midst of the action, and while the *Brevedageren* was surrounded by her three opponents, Lieutenant Devon, fearful that his colours might be shot away, and the enemy be led to suppose he had struck, hoisted and nailed, in various parts of his brig, several British union-jacks; and to remind his brave crew of the memorable 1st of August, he took from his cabin a portrait of the immortal Nelson, and made it fast to the mast. At half-past one, P. M., when scarcely the slightest hope existed of saving the *Brevedageren*, a favourable breeze sprung up, of which Lieutenant Devon immediately availed himself to get off; and fortunately the enemy, being intent on pouring his fire into the disabled ship, did not for a short time perceive his intention. Lieutenant Devon then gave directions to cease firing, and took to his sweeps, and being aided by a boat's crew of ten men, sent by

the *Algerine* about the close of the action, and helped by the breeze, gained nearly a mile on the enemy by two o'clock. The Danes now perceiving the advantage the English ship had gained by getting nearly out of cannon-shot, ceased firing, and made every effort to prevent the escape of the *Brevedageren*. Lieutenant Devon, however, despite the exertions of his antagonists, preserved his distance; the *Langeland*, one of the Danish brigs, firing into the British vessel with her chase guns. By five o'clock another of the enemy's brigs, the *Logan*, had worked up, and was preparing to attack the already sorely damaged *Brevedageren*, ranging upon her starboard-quarter. The *Algerine* cutter now hove-to and attracted the attention of the enemy, and thus gave her disabled consort a chance of escape. The chase continued until darkness set in, when the Danes, perceiving they gained not the least upon the British ships, gave it up. Lieutenant Devon, however, not considering himself safe, plied his sweeps until midnight, when his men fell from their oars completely exhausted, the brave fellows having been engaged tugging at the sweeps from six o'clock on Wednesday evening till midnight on Thursday, besides being in action for upwards of an hour with such a superior force. By daylight the next morning the enemy was seen distant about six miles, but made no attempt to renew the chase. It is impossible to praise too highly the exertion and perseverance exhibited by Lieutenant Devon in this affair, by which the *Brevedageren* was rescued from capture; the Danes being, doubtless, more anxious to make her a prize, from the fact that she had formerly been taken from them. The English brig had only one man killed and three wounded; but she was severely damaged in her hull, masts, sails, and rigging.

On the 20th of September of this year, Napoleon Buonaparte, during his visit to Boulogne, had a mortifying proof of the insufficiency of his boasted armament collected in that port to contend with the British navy. The British frigate *Naiad* was at the time anchored off that port. The French emperor ordered his flotilla to proceed to its capture. For this purpose seven praams, each carrying twelve long 24-pounders, stood out with the flood-tide towards the *Naiad*, which waited the attack at anchor, with springs on her cables. The praams, which had the option of choosing their distance, came up successively within

gunshot, discharged their broadsides, and tacked, when, being joined by ten brigs, they continued this mode of action for two hours. The *Naiad*, having returned their fire, weighed and stood off to repair some slight damage she had received, but principally to get to windward, that she might be enabled to close with the enemy. She soon tacked, and made all sail towards her opponents; but, it falling calm, the flotilla anchored under the batteries of Boulogne, when the *Naiad* resumed her former anchorage.

On the following morning, seven praams and fifteen smaller vessels weighed and stood out, apparently to renew the preceding day's cannonade. The *Naiad* weighed, and getting well to windward, joined the

brigs *Rinaldo*, *Redpole*, and *Castilian*, with the *Viper* cutter, which had arrived in the night to her support. They all lay-to on the larboard tack, gradually drawing off shore, in order to entice the enemy further from the protection of his batteries. At the moment when the French admiral, having reached his utmost distance, tacked on shore, the English squadron bore up with the greatest rapidity in the midst of a shower of shot and shell, without returning fire till within pistol-shot, when their firing threw the enemy into inextricable confusion, and they captured one praam carrying 112 men. The remainder of the flotilla hastily regained the protection of their formidable land batteries.

WAR WITH AMERICA.

For a number of years, angry feelings had existed between England and the United States. These had been, to a great extent, called into existence by the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon and the British orders in council, which were passed in order to counteract the effect of these despotic and unjust measures. Another element of discord between the two countries also arose from the right of search, claimed by Britain, for deserters on board American ships. In 1805, it was proposed in the American congress, at once to suspend all importations from any part of the British dominions; but the death of Mr. Pitt, and the accession of Mr. Fox as prime minister, determined the American minister to open a negotiation with England, which led to no important result. On the 31st of December, 1806, however, a convention was signed between England and America. Shortly after, the Berlin decree was received in London, and Jefferson refused to ratify the convention which had been concluded in London by Messrs. Pinckney and Monro. These discussions were going on when news arrived that, on the 23rd of June, 1807, an English 50-gun ship, the *Leopard*, had met an American frigate, the *Chesapeake*, commanded by Commodore Barron, which had refused to be searched for English deserters. A shot was then fired to bring her to, and no notice being taken of that, a second was fired, but to no purpose. It appeared to the people in the *Leopard* that the *Chesapeake* was preparing to return

the fire, upon which a broadside was poured into her. A few shots were discharged from the *Chesapeake*, and a second and a third broadside were fired by the *Leopard*, and then the colours of the *Chesapeake* were hauled down.

The American captain sent his fifth lieutenant on board the *Leopard*, to say he considered the *Chesapeake* had been made the *Leopard's* prize. Some of the *Leopard's* officers and men went on board the *Chesapeake*, and found in her coal-hole one of five deserters for whom they were seeking, a man named Jenkin Ratford. This man being brought on the quarter-deck, swore that he was a native American, and had never belonged to any English man-of-war; but it chanced that he was recognised by the *Leopard's* purser as having been one of the crew of the *Halifax*. Fifteen other British subjects were found in the *Chesapeake*; but the deserter from the *Halifax*, and three others who were identified as British seamen, were the only parties taken out of the American ship. In this affair three American seamen were killed; the commodore, a midshipman, and sixteen sailors and marines were wounded. The captain of the *Leopard* deplored having been compelled to act as he had done, and offered the *Chesapeake* every assistance in his power, but her captain refused to accept of any courtesy, and they parted. When the particulars of this affair reached Washington, a proclamation was issued by President Jefferson, excluding British ships of war from the ports of the

United States, though French ships were allowed to withdraw there from an English enemy. In his proclamation, the president spoke with great asperity of the attack made on the *Chesapeake*, stating its object to be to snatch by force from an American ship part of her crew, which it had been previously ascertained were natives of the United States.

A correspondence immediately took place between the British and American governments in reference to this affair, in which Mr. Canning disavowed the right to search ships in the national service of any country for deserters; at the same time offering a suitable reparation for the unauthorised proceedings of the captain of the *Leopard*. Subsequently, the English minister-plenipotentiary to the United States pledged his court to repeal its anti-neutral decrees. The president, in consequence, proclaimed that intercourse with England would be renewed so soon as the decrees were repealed. Subsequently, the engagements entered into by Mr. Erskine were declared by the English government to be at variance with his instructions, and the arrangement was disavowed; but it was ordered that no advantage should be taken of American merchants who had sailed for England, under an impression that all matters in dispute had been amicably adjusted. In opposition to the English ministers, the American government laboured to prove that Mr. Erskine was authorised to act as he had done. To vindicate the good faith of England, the instructions to her minister were published.

A strong feeling against Britain continued to exist in the minds of the Americans, and the clamour for war with this country was particularly loud in the southern states; and there can be no doubt that it was in obedience to instructions which he had received, and to avenge the death of the seamen who had been killed in the affair of the *Leopard* and *Chesapeake*, that Commodore Rodgers attacked the *Little Belt* in this year, and out of which arose the declaration of war between the two countries.

The *President*, which mounted thirty-six 24-pounders on her main-deck, twenty 42-pound carronades, and four long 24-pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, manned with 470 seamen, and commanded by Commodore Rodgers, came in sight of the *Little Belt*, mounting sixteen 32-pound carronades and two long nines, manned

with 121 men and boys, and commanded by Captain Bingham, off Cape Henry, on the 16th of May. Captain Bingham discovering the stranger to be a ship of war, made the private signal, which not being answered, and as the stranger was coming fast on the *Little Belt*, Bingham hoisted his colours, and, to prevent surprise, double-shotted his guns and prepared for action. By his manner of steering, it appeared to be the wish of the stranger, whom Captain Bingham now discovered to be an American, to rake the *Little Belt*, which Bingham forestalled by wearing three times. At a quarter-past eight, P.M., when the two ships were about ninety yards apart, Bingham hailed the stranger in the customary manner, the stranger at the same time hailing the *Little Belt*. Immediately each ship commenced firing, and a furious engagement ensued, which lasted about three-quarters-of-an-hour, when the *Little Belt*, having been reduced to a wreck, ceased firing. The stranger then hailed to know what ship it was, and being answered that it was the British sloop of war *Little Belt*, he inquired "if she had struck her colours." To which inquiry an indignant negative was given by Captain Bingham, who, at the same time, demanded the name of his opponent, and was informed—"A United States' frigate." The stranger then wore, and running a short distance to leeward of the *Little Belt*, came to on the starboard tack to repair the slight damage which she had received. The *Little Belt* brought to on the larboard tack, and commenced repairing her damages and stopping her leaks. At daylight on the 17th the enemy bore up, to all appearance ready to renew the action, and passing within hail, asked permission to send a boat on board the *Little Belt*, which permission being granted, an officer came to say, that Commodore Rodgers, of the United States' frigate *President*, lamented much the unfortunate affair, and had he known that the force of the British vessel was so inferior, he would not have fired at her. On Captain Bingham's asking his motive for firing, the reply was that the *Little Belt* had fired first; an assertion positively denied by the British captain. The United States' frigate then sailed for an American port, and the *Little Belt* for Halifax. That the *rencontre* was not a misapprehension on the part of the American commodore, but a designed aggression, appears from the circumstance, that on the *President's* appearing in

sight of the *Little Belt*, the surgeon began preparing his plasters and splinters, and rubbing up his instruments for amputation. The bulk of the petty officers and seamen of the *President's* crew were of the first order of British seamen; which was also the case in all the frigate engagements which took place between Great Britain and the United States in the ensuing war.

It may naturally be supposed, that the irritation and angry feeling which had existed in the minds of the Americans and British people, were by no means allayed by this unfortunate occurrence, and a message was sent to congress on the 1st of June, in which all the points of difference between the two countries were angrily dwelt upon. The following is an extract from the message of the president:—

“British cruisers have been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it; not in the exercise of a belligerent right, founded on the law of nations, against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects. British jurisdiction is thus extended to neutral vessels, in a situation where no laws can operate but the law of nations, and the laws of the country to which the vessels belong; and a self-redress is assumed which, if British subjects were wrongfully detained and alone concerned, is that substitution of force for a resort to the responsible sovereign, which falls within the definition of war. Could the seizure of British subjects, in such cases, be regarded as within the exercise of a belligerent right, the acknowledged laws of war, which forbid an article of captured property to be adjudged, without a regular investigation before a competent tribunal, would imperiously demand the fairest trial, where the sacred rights of persons were at issue. In place of such trial, these rights are subjected to the will of every petty commander.

“The practice, hence, is so far from affecting British subjects alone, that under the pretext of searching for these, thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public laws, and of their national flag, have been torn from their country, and from everything dear to them; have been dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation, and exposed under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and

to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren.”

After alluding to a number of other grievances, the president's message concluded thus:—“We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States; and on the side of the United States, a state of peace towards Great Britain. Whether the United States shall continue passive under these progressive usurpations, and these accumulating wrongs; or, opposing force to force, in defence of their natural rights, shall commit a just cause into the hands of the Almighty Disposer of events; avoiding all connections which might entangle it in the contests or views of other powers, and preserving a constant readiness to concur in an honourable re-establishment of peace and friendship, is a solemn question, which the constitution wisely confides to the legislative department of the government. In recommending it to their early deliberations, I am happy in the assurance that the decision will be worthy the enlightened and patriotic councils of a virtuous, a free, and a powerful nation.”

The message of the American president was discussed with closed doors, and in seventeen days from the date which that document bore, the two houses of congress formally declared war against Great Britain, and empowered the president to issue letters of marque and general reprisal. On the same day on which this declaration was made public in New York, a notice appeared in the *London Gazette* revoking the orders in council so far as they related to American vessels.

In reply to the message of the American president, a very able state document was published by the British government, in which it was stated that—

“Under circumstances of unparalleled provocation, his majesty had abstained from any measure which the ordinary rules of the law of nations did not fully warrant. Never was the maritime superiority of a belligerent over his enemy more complete and decided. Never was the opposite belligerent so formidably dangerous in his power, and in his policy, to the liberties of all other nations. France had already trampled so openly and systematically on the most sacred rights of neutral powers, as might well have justified the placing her out of the pale of civilised nations. Yet in this extreme case, Great Britain had so used her naval ascendancy, that her enemy could find no just cause of

complaint: and, in order to give to these lawless decrees the appearance of retaliation, the ruler of France was obliged to advance principles of maritime law unsanctioned by any other authority than his own arbitrary will.

"The pretext for these decrees were, first, that Great Britain had exercised the rights of war against private persons, their ships and goods; as if the only object of legitimate hostility on the ocean were the public property of a state, or as if the edicts and the court of France itself had not at all times enforced this right with peculiar rigour; secondly; that the British orders of blockade, instead of being confined to fortified towns, had, as France asserted, been unlawfully extended to commercial towns and ports, and to the mouths of rivers; and, thirdly, that they had been applied to places, and to coasts which neither were, nor could be actually blockaded. The last of these charges is not founded on fact; whilst the others, even by the admission of the American government, are utterly groundless in point of law.

"Against these decrees, his majesty protested and appealed—he called upon the United States to assert their own rights, and to vindicate their independence, thus menaced and attacked; and as France had declared, that she would confiscate every vessel which should touch in Great Britain, or be visited by British ships of war, his majesty, having previously issued the order of January, 1807, as an act of mitigated retaliation, was at length compelled by the persevering violence of the enemy, and the continued acquiescence of neutral powers, to revisit upon France in a more effectual manner, the measure of her own injustice, by declaring, in an order in council, bearing date the 11th of November, 1807, that no neutral vessel should proceed to France or to any of the countries from which, in obedience to the dictates of France, British commerce was excluded, without first touching at a port in Great Britain, or her dependencies. At the same time, his majesty intimated his readiness to repeal the orders in council, whenever France should rescind her decrees, and return to the accustomed principles of maritime warfare; and at a subsequent period, as a proof of his majesty's sincere desire to accommodate, as far as possible, his defensive measures to the convenience of neutral powers, the operation of the orders in council was, by an order issued

in April, 1809, limited to a blockade of France, and of the countries subjected to her immediate dominion.

"Systems of violence, oppression, and tyranny, can never be suppressed, or even checked, if the power against which such injustice is exercised be debarred from the right of full and adequate retaliation; or, if the measures of the retaliating power are to be considered as matters of just offence to neutral nations, whilst the measure of original aggression and violence are to be tolerated with indifference, submission, or complacency.

"The government of the United States did not fail to remonstrate against the orders in council of Great Britain. Although they knew that these orders would be revoked, if the decrees of France, which had occasioned them, were repealed; they resolved at the same moment to resist the conduct of both belligerents, instead of requiring France, in the first instance, to rescind her decrees. Applying most unjustly the same measure of resentment to the aggressor and to the party aggrieved, they adopted measures of commercial resistance against both—a system of resistance which, however varied in the successive acts of embargo, non-intercourse, or non-importation, was evidently unequal in its operation, and principally levelled against the superior commerce and maritime power of Great Britain.

"The same partiality towards France was observable in their negotiations as in their measures of alleged resistance."

The length of this document prevents its entire insertion in our pages; but we will quote another passage in reference to one of the most important points of dispute—the right claimed by the British government to search American vessels for English sailors who had deserted from the service of their native country. "If to the practice of the United States to harbour British seamen be added their assumed right to transfer the allegiance of British subjects, and thus to cancel the jurisdiction of their legitimate sovereign, by acts of naturalization and certificates of citizenship, which they pretend to be as valid out of their own territory as within it, it is obvious, that to abandon this ancient right of Great Britain, and to admit these novel pretensions of the United States, would be to expose to danger the very foundation of our maritime strength."

The Americans had for some time cast

furtive glances on our Canadian frontier. We had but few regular troops there, our forces amounting only to 4,450 men: our frontier forts and ports were in a poor condition; our dependence rested almost entirely on the militia of the country; added to which, Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief, was a man of no ability. For several years the Americans had been augmenting their military power; and General Hull, the governor of the Michigan territory, was dispatched, with an army of 2,500 men, to the north-west, and invested with discretionary powers to invade Canada from Detroit. Hull and his forces arrived at Detroit on the 5th of July, and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada, in the hope of inducing them to proclaim their independence of England, and to side with America. "The army under my command," said General Hull in this document, "has invaded your country; the standard of the United States now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitants, it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them. I come to protect, not to injure you. Separated by an immense ocean, and an extensive wilderness, from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct. You have felt her tyranny; you have seen her injustice; but I do not ask you to avenge the one, or redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford every security, consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessing of civil, political, and religious liberty, and their necessary result—individual and general prosperity." The proclamation concluded with an injudicious threat, that if, in the approaching contest, the people of Canada took part against the Americans, they would not only be treated as enemies, but that a war of extermination would be waged against them. If any white man was found fighting side by side with an Indian, instant death was to be his lot.

This statement produced no effect, and was moreover ably replied to by a counter-proclamation by Major-general Brock, the president of Upper Canada. It inquired whether any Canadian subject had been injured by the British government, either in person, property, or liberty? Referred to the rapid growth of the prosperity of the colony; and assured the Canadians that, if

they were once separated from the powerful protection of England; they would, in virtue of a treaty between America and France, be reassigned to the dominion of the latter power. To the threat of refusing quarter, it replied, that if acted upon, it must be with the certain assurance of retaliation.

Major-general Brock, though at Yorktown when the news of the war reached him, sent discretionary orders to Lieutenant-colonel St. George, a British officer in charge of Fort St. Joseph, to act offensively or otherwise against the enemy at Machilimackinac (a small fortress on Lake Huron), as he should find advisable. That officer, accordingly, dispatched Captain Roberts with a small force against the fort, which, on being summoned, surrendered by capitulation, with seven pieces of ordnance and sixty-one American officers and privates, without the spilling of one drop of blood. The native Indians, encouraged by this event, joined the British in great numbers.

General Hull and his army landed on the Canadian side of the river Detroit, and, after a short cannonade, took possession of the defenceless village of Sandwich, in the neighbourhood of which they remained, carrying on an excursive war by detached parties, but making no attempt on the British garrison of Amherstburg. General Hull, who seems to have been equally destitute of genius and courage, after having a convoy of provisions cut off by a force of Indians and British, resolved on retracing his steps. Recrossing the river, he retired to Fort Detroit. The Americans were followed by Colonel Procter and General Brock, who had arrived with reinforcements, and demanded the immediate surrender of the garrison; but received for answer, that the town and fort would be defended to the last extremity. The resolute Brock immediately opened fire from some small batteries upon the fort, which returned it from seven 24-pounders, but without effect.

Finding himself in a perilous position, in which almost every shot of the British told (his retreat and supplies alike cut off), General Hull came to the resolution of at once surrendering the fort he had talked of holding to the last. The fort of Detroit, its ordnance and military stores, and a fine vessel in the harbour, were given up to the British. The whole of the Michigan territory, which separated the Indian country from Canada, was also surrendered. The American volunteers were permitted to

return to their homes; but General Hull, and the principal part of the American regulars, were sent as prisoners, first to Montreal, and then to Quebec. The baffled American commander was afterwards exchanged for thirty British prisoners, and his enraged countrymen, who had previously considered him a first-rate general, caused him to be placed upon his trial on the triple charge of "treason against the United States; cowardice and neglect of duty; and unofficer-like conduct." He pleaded not guilty, but was condemned to be shot; though, in consideration of his services in the revolutionary war, and his advanced age, the sentence was remitted, and his judges were satisfied with ordering his name to be erased from the list of the American army. The bitter disappointment of the Americans at this reverse, may be judged of from the following remark, made in congress by Dr. Eustis, secretary at war to the United States:—"We can take the Canadas without soldiers; we have only to send officers into the provinces, and the people, disaffected towards their own government, will rally round our standard." Henry Clay, in seconding his friend, observed:—"We have the Canadas as much under our command as Great Britain has the ocean; and the way to conquer her on the ocean is to drive her from the land. I am not for stopping at Quebec, or anywhere else; but I would take the whole continent from them, and ask no favours. Her fleets cannot then rendezvous at Halifax, as now; and having no place of resort in the north, cannot invest our coast as they have lately done. It is as easy to conquer them on the land, as their whole navy would conquer ours on the ocean. We must take the continent from them. *I wish never to see a peace till we do.*"

Leaving Colonel Procter on the Detroit frontier, General Brock advanced rapidly against the American forts on that of Niagara, from which he would probably have succeeded in sweeping the American forces. Indeed, he felt certain of success in this direction, when information was brought to him that Sir George Prevost had signed an armistice with General Dearborn, an American commander, which provided that neither party should act offensively until it was known whether the government of the United States approved a truce which had been proposed. This inconsiderate conduct on the part of Sir George Prevost paralysed

the efforts of the valiant General Brock, and enabled the Americans to recover from the check they had received, and to accumulate the means of annoyance along the whole of the British frontier. When a sufficient quantity of stores, transports, and provisions had been collected at the Niagara frontier, and an American army of 6,300 men assembled upon it, then President Madison refused to ratify the truce, and hostilities were resumed.

General Van Rensselaer, the commander of this American force, resolved on a second invasion of Canada, that he might wipe from the national character the stain which it was supposed to have received from the spiritless submission of General Hull. He was encouraged in this resolve by the small power which General Brock had to oppose to him; for, through the incompetency of Sir George Prevost, that brave officer had but a force of 1,200 men, consisting partly of militia, with which to repel the threatened invasion.

The American army, 3,000 strong, crossed the Niagara at Queenstown on the 18th of October. They were resolutely met by a British detachment, consisting of not more than 300 men. This little band contested the progress of the invaders with great courage. During the struggle, General Brock arrived unattended from Fort St. George. Perceiving that the Americans were preparing to charge, he placed himself at the head of the mere handful of English, and, while advancing, received a mortal wound in his breast, and fell dead. The dispirited English then retreated, and General Wadsworth established himself on the heights of Queenstown with 1,600 Americans. General Van Rensselaer, considering the victory complete, also crossed the river to give directions about fortifying the camp he intended to occupy on the British territory. His triumph was a very brief one; for, in the course of the day, General Wadsworth was attacked by a force from Fort George, of British and Indians, amounting to about 1,000 men, and commanded by Major-general Sheaffe. The Americans, after a short conflict, fled with precipitation, and recrossed the river in such confusion, that many were drowned in doing so. Four hundred were left dead upon the field, while General Wadsworth and 900 others surrendered as prisoners. The loss of the British in this dashing affair was singularly slight. It amounted but to

eleven killed and sixty wounded of the regulars and militia, and to five killed and nine wounded of the Indians. Such was the result of President Madison's first campaign in Canada—such was the first-fruit of his project to make, in his own language, "territorial reprisal for oceanic outrages."

General Sir Isaac Brock was in his forty-third year when he so heroically yielded up his life on the altar of his country's honour. To the memory of such a man some tribute of respect is due from those who assume to guide the pens of history. His character is thus sketched by one who had opportunities of observing it:—"He was gallant and undaunted, yet prudent and calculating; devoted to his sovereign, and romantically fond of his country; but gentle and persuasive to those whose feelings were less ardent than his own. Elevated to the government of Upper Canada, he reclaimed the disaffected by mildness, and fixed the wavering by argument: all hearts were conciliated; and, in the trying moment of invasion, the whole colony displayed an enthusiastic loyalty. Over the minds of the Indians, General Brock had acquired an ascendancy which he judiciously exercised for purposes no less conducive to the cause of humanity than to the interests of his country. He engaged them to throw aside the scalping-knife; endeavoured to plant in their breasts the virtues of clemency and forbearance; and taught them to feel pleasure and pride in the compassion extended to a vanquished enemy. Circumscribed in his means of repelling invasion, he studied to fix the attachment of that rude and wavering people; and by reducing their military operations to the known rules of war and discipline, to improve the value of their alliance."

The Americans renewed their attempts on Canada in the years 1813 and 1814: those events we will relate in due course; but here we must describe the hostilities that took place during 1812, between the English and Americans at sea. On that element it might have been supposed that the former would have carried all before them, but this was by no means the case. For some years before the breaking out of hostilities, the Americans had offered great inducements to British sailors to enter their service. In this they were so far successful, that their ships contained great numbers of sailors who had been trained

in the British navy. Engaged in gigantic warlike operations elsewhere, the English government had not given the requisite attention to the war in this quarter: their vessels were inferior in size, weight of metal, and number of men, to those fitted out by the Americans; and the latter gained great advantages on that element where England had so long been without a rival.

Commodore Rodgers sailed from New York, in the *President*, on the 21st of June, in company with the *United States*, a 36-gun frigate, a sloop of war, and a brig-sloop. His object was to attack and get possession of a fleet of about a hundred sail of our homeward-bound West-Indiamen, which, not being aware of the existence of the war, were but feebly protected by one English frigate and a brig-sloop. In this he was fortunately unsuccessful; but the *President*, which was a match for a British 74, came up with the English 36-gun frigate *Belvidera*, commanded by Captain Richard Byron. The *Belvidera* engaged its gigantic opponent for two hours in a running-fight, and after firing upwards of 300 round shot from her two cabin 18-pounders alone, and causing more mischief than she received, contrived to escape. Commander Rodgers was himself severely wounded in the leg, and was led so far northwards as to destroy all chance of intercepting our West-Indiamen. Having captured six or seven small merchantmen, and recovered one American vessel, Rodgers returned home; but he had better fortune in his next cruise.

On the 19th of August, the British frigate *Guerriere*, commanded by Captain Dacres, having escorted another fleet of our merchantmen on their way home, was returning to Halifax to refit, when she encountered the American frigate *Constitution*, of 44 guns, commanded by Captain Hull. The mainmast of the British vessel had been struck by lightning, and her hull, from age and long service, was scarcely seaworthy. On the other hand, the *Constitution* had left port only seventeen days, was in the most perfect condition, and had on board a crew of 476 picked men, of whom, it is stated, that 200 were British sailors. The crew of the *Guerriere* consisted but of 244 men and nineteen boys.

About ten minutes past four in the afternoon the action began, the *Guerriere* being the first to open fire. The American frigate shortly after hoisted her colours

and commenced the action, which was contested with great obstinacy on both sides. The *Constitution* endeavoured to cross the bows of the English ship, so as to get into a raking position, which Captain Dacre, by skilful management of his ship, for some time prevented. When the ships had been in action upwards of three-quarters of an hour, a 24-pound shot struck the mizen-mast of the *Guerriere*, and it fell over the larboard quarter. The *Constitution* now poured in a destructive raking fire into the disabled ship, and the two vessels shortly after coming in contact with each other, a mutual attempt was made to board; but the roll of the sea again separating them, the attempts were rendered ineffectual. A heavy fire of small-arm men was kept up by the two opposing ships whenever they came within range of musket-shot, which caused great havoc among the officers and crew. For upwards of three hours the contest was maintained, and during the greater part of the time the combatants were yardarm to yardarm of each other; when the English vessel being a perfect wreck, wholly dismasted, rolling about in the trough of a tempestuous sea, struck her colours, but was so complete a wreck that the captors set fire to her. The loss of the *Guerriere* was fifteen killed and seventy-three wounded; that of the *Constitution*, seven killed and as many wounded. The *Guerriere* mounted twenty-four broadside guns, and her crew consisted of 244 men and nineteen boys. The *Constitution* mounted twenty-eight broadside guns, and her crew consisted of 460 men. The weight of the *Constitution's* broadside was one-half heavier than that of the *Guerriere*; and besides being in a crippled state from age and long service, her powder had lost its strength from damp.

The balance of success in the naval war continued to preponderate in favour of America. On the 18th of October, the *Frolic*, British sloop of 18 guns, Captain Whin-yates, conveying the homeward-bound trade from the bay of Honduras, while in the act of repairing damages to her masts and sails (received in a violent gale on the preceding night), descried the American brig *Wasp*, of 18 guns, giving chase to the convoy. The *Frolic* soon brought the *Wasp* to action; but her rigging was in so shattered a condition from the previous storm, that in ten minutes she lay as a log in the water, when the *Wasp* taking a raking position, and the

Frolic not being able to get a gun to bear, and not more than twenty of her crew remaining unhurt, she was compelled to strike. But in the course of a few hours, the *Poictiers* line-of-battle ship heaving in sight, recaptured the *Frolic* and her captor the *Wasp*. The crew of the *Frolic* amounted to ninety-two men; that of the *Wasp* to 135.

A more serious discomfiture occurred to the British navy in the contest between the English frigate *Macedonian*, Captain Carden, and the American vessel *United States*, Captain Decatur. On the 25th of October, the *Macedonian* descried the *United States*, in lat. 29° N., long. 29° 30' W., and at the distance of about twelve miles, made all sail, and closed with the enemy about nine, A.M. After an hour's furious contest, having received nearly one hundred shots in her hull, and her lower tier of guns, owing to the rolling of the vessel in a tempestuous sea, being almost useless, while more than one-third of her crew were either killed or wounded, she was compelled to strike her colours. The *Macedonian* mounted forty-five guns, and her crew consisted of 254 men; of whom thirty-six were killed and sixty-four wounded. The *United States* mounted fifty-six guns, and her crew consisted of 474 men; of whom five were killed and seven wounded. A large proportion of the crew of the *United States* were British seamen.

Neither was this the last of the discomfitures which befel the British navy, this year, from American enterprise. For the purpose of annoying British commerce in the South Seas, the United States' government ordered Commodore Bainbridge to proceed thither with the *Constitution*, the *Hornet*, and the *Essex*. On the 29th of December, the British frigate *Java*, Captain Lambert, having in tow the American merchant ship *William*, which she had captured on the 12th of the same month, descried in the offing off St. Salvadore the *Constitution*, bore up in chase of the American, and immediately a close action ensued within pistol-shot. After the battle had lasted two hours, Captain Lambert falling mortally wounded, the command devolved on Lieutenant Chads. When scarcely a stick was left standing—when the ship was encumbered with wrecks of spars and rigging, and when almost every discharge set her on fire, the crew of the *Java*, seeing the *Constitution* running from her to take her long-range discharges, cheered her to come back,

as they could not give chase. At length, after a desperate contest of three hours and a-half, the *Java* lowered her colours; when the enemy, discovering her disabled state, removed the crew and blew her up. The *Java* mounted forty-four guns, and her crew consisted of 344 men; of whom twenty-two were killed and 102 wounded. The *Constitution* mounted fifty-six guns, and her crew consisted of 460 men, of whom ten were killed and forty wounded.

This succession of naval disasters (occasioned to a power which held the sceptre of the ocean, and was believed to be invincible on that element), by the American diminu-

tive marine of four frigates and eight sloops, was the cause of unbounded exultation, not only to the people of the United States, but also to all the continental nations of Europe who were jealous of English maritime power. No one was willing to see that it was to the peculiar build of their vessels—(their frigates being absolutely ships-of-the-line in their build and weight of metal, and consequently, though nominally of the same class, were not a fair match for them)*—not to mention the circumstance of their being manned with a considerable number of British seamen of the first class, that this success was owing.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR WITH AMERICA—CAPTURE OF THE TOWN OF YORK—
SEA DUEL BETWEEN THE CHESAPEAKE AND THE SHANNON.

THE successes of the Americans by sea consoled them for their failures on land, and they resolved on continuing their attempts to wrest Canada from the dominion of the British. Several hostile proceedings of a trivial character took place towards the close of 1812, amongst which was the surprise and capture, on the 21st of October, of a body of forty-four Canadian *voyageurs*, after a brief encounter, by a party of Americans. It is related that the Americans, with more cleverness than truth, described a large pocket-handkerchief, which they found among the spoils, as "a stand of colours."

The American government, well aware of the importance of gaining the command of the lakes, did its utmost to provide on these inland seas a force superior to that of the English. For this purpose, Commodore Chauncey, one of the oldest captains in the American service, was appointed to the command, and invested with full powers to buy, build, and equip, until his force should attain the superiority desired. Thus authorised, he soon equipped a fleet, consisting of the brig *Oneida* and six fine schooners; and, with these vessels, carrying between them forty-eight guns, and upwards of 500 experienced seamen, he sailed on the 10th

of November, from Sacketts Harbour on Lake Ontario, for the purpose of surprising the port of Kingston, and of destroying the *Royal George*, an English vessel of 300 tons. The British vessel fled, and led her pursuers into the harbour of Kingston, where, after the Americans had kept up an ineffectual cannonade for some hours, they abandoned their object and returned to Sacketts Harbour.

General Van Rensselaer had resigned the command of the Niagara frontier to Brigadier-general Smyth, who felt quite certain that he should shortly obtain possession of Canada, and overthrow the authority of England in that locality. Between one and two on the morning of the 28th of November, a detachment of General Smyth's army embarked at Buffalo in ten boats, to carry the British batteries on the opposite shore, and thus clear the way for the passage of the main body, consisting of 4,000 men. A smart fire from the English scared away five of the ten boats; so that those who effected a landing amounted only to about 190 regular troops and sixty seamen. A sharp skirmish immediately took place, in which the advantage remained to the Americans, though they were compelled to retire to their boats. In this affair the English

* Captain Carden, of the *Macedonian*, in his despatch to the admiralty, thus explains the cause of the success of the Americans in the naval engagements which have just been recounted. He says—"When I was taken on board I ceased to wonder at the result of the battle. The *United States* is built with the scantling of a 74-gun ship, mounting thirty

long 24-pounders, English ship guns on her main-deck, and twenty-two 42-pounder carronades, with two long 24-pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, howitzers on her top, and a travelling carronade on her upper deck, with a complement of 478 picked men (many of them English seamen) on board."

lost seventeen killed, forty-seven wounded, and thirty-five missing. The following day General Smyth sent a flag of truce, with a demand for the surrender of Fort Erie. To this the English officer sent a reply, the sense of which was—"Come and take it." After a great deal of vapouring, and when the men had been actually embarked, General Smyth gave orders that they should disembark immediately, for that the invasion of Canada was to be abandoned for the season. The reason assigned for this singular conduct was, that he had called together a council of his officers, who considered caution to be his chief duty, and that he ought not by any means to risk defeat by precipitation. The American militia, disappointed and disgusted, bestowed upon Smyth the contemptuous epithet of General Van Bladder. Previously to this petty attempt at invasion, General Dearborn, who had advanced to within six miles of the province line, with the intention of penetrating to Montreal, deterred by the steady attitude of the English, commenced a retreat with his whole army, which he conducted upon Plattsburg, Burlington, and Albany, where he took up his winter quarters. Thus ended the campaign of 1812, the English government having, on the 26th of December, declared the ports and harbours of the Chesapeake and Delaware to be in a state of blockade.

It has been truly said that the war was carried on in a petty, vexatious manner, which, while it inflicted great loss and suffering on individuals, produced no very serious impression on either nation. The campaign of 1813 opened with some predatory expeditions on the part of the Americans, the relation of which are beneath the dignity of history.

On the 21st of February, in retaliation for some predatory excursions of the Americans on the St. Lawrence, Major Macdonnell, with two companies of the 8th regiment, and two of the Glengarry fencibles, crossed the river St. Lawrence on the ice, and attacked Fort Ogdenburg. After a gallant encounter, the fort was carried within an hour, and surrendered, together with four officers and seventy privates, eleven pieces of ordnance, and a quantity of stores. The English also burnt two barracks, two large gun-boats, and two armed schooners, which were immovably fixed in the ice. In this exploit, an instance occurred of that resolute valour and perseverance for which British

soldiers are so distinguished. During the hottest of the fire, a young officer, named Captain Jenkins, ordered his men to fix bayonets and charge the American troops, who were firing upon them from the bank. While pushing forward through the deep snow to get at the enemy, he received a grapeshot in the left arm, which shivered the bones from the wrist nearly up to the shoulder. Notwithstanding the acute pain caused by this casualty, he still pushed on, though the splintered bones rubbed at every step against his sword-belt. A few minutes afterwards a case-shot tore most of the flesh from his right arm, and it dropped useless by his side. In this frightful state he still ran forward and cheered on his men to the assault, till, maddened with agony and fainting from loss of blood, he staggered and fell senseless into the blood-stained snow.

On the 27th of April, York, the capital of Upper Canada, was taken by 2,000 Americans under General Dearborn, though under circumstances which did not reflect discredit on the English, whose force (consisting of regulars, militia, and Indians) did not exceed 700 men. The American squadron arrived suddenly at seven in the morning, and shortly after commenced landing the troops, under a heavy fire from the British force, which was stationed in woods near the landing-place. The contest, during which the grenadier company of the 8th was cut almost to pieces, lasted until two in the afternoon. During this period a magazine blew up, and killed or wounded a number of the Americans, differently estimated from one hundred to 260, together with General Pike, their commander, whose death was much regretted by his followers, among whom he bore the reputation of being a brave and skilful officer. General Sheaffe, who defended York, seeing that he could no longer stand against the superior force arrayed against him, especially as Commodore Chauncey had opened a fire from his flotilla upon the British batteries, marched out of the town with the regular troops, leaving directions with the militia to treat with the Americans for terms. The former, to the number of 293, were made prisoners of war. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was estimated at 250; forty of whom perished by the explosion of the magazine to which we have already referred. The loss of the Americans in the engagement was very slight;

but, including those who were killed or wounded by the explosion, it is estimated at 334 men. A considerable quantity of naval stores and provisions fell into the hands of the Americans; besides which, other stores, and a ship on the stocks, were burnt before the surrender of the town. The prisoners, being too numerous to be easily removed, were left behind on parole. The Americans, however, were themselves forced to abandon York the following month.

After the capture of York Town, the victors sailed for Niagara, where they established themselves with 6,000 infantry and 200 cavalry, and a good train of artillery. For a time the lakes were the most active scenes of American warfare, and various spirited conflicts occurred on their shores and waters. A part of the American army having taken up its position near the foot of the rapids of the Miami (a river flowing into Lake Erie), Colonel Procter, on the 23rd of April, embarked with a force of 900 regulars and militia, and 1,200 Indians, and sailed to attack them. Heavy rains prevented Colonel Procter from opening his batteries until the 1st of May, when he found that the Americans had so well secured themselves by blockhouses and batteries, that but little impression could be made upon them. The position of the British force was rendered still more doubtful by the arrival of a reinforcement of American troops, consisting of 1,300 men, under the command of General Clay. The indiscretion of the Americans turned the scale in our favour. Issuing from the garrison, they joined the reinforcements, made a sudden attack on the British, and, after a short but savage contest, were defeated with a loss of 500 killed and wounded, and as many more taken prisoners. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, did not exceed one hundred men. Unhappily, this stern struggle, in which so much blood was shed, produced no effect; for Colonel Procter was not able to preserve his position at the Miami, in consequence of his being deserted by half the militia, and nearly the whole of the Indians.

The Americans having collected a powerful force (supposed to consist of 6,000 men) both by land and water, at the head of Lake Ontario, under the command of General Dearborn and Commodore Chauncey, proceeded to attack Fort George, on the Niagara, garrisoned only by 900 men, under General Vincent. The attack commenced

at daybreak on the 27th of May. The American fleet kept up a tremendous and destructive fire, under cover of which they contrived to land a body of troops, which advanced to the attack of the fort. The English opposed their landing with the utmost bravery, and thrice drove back the invaders, but were compelled to retire in consequence of the furious fire that mowed them down. When the whole of the American force was landed, General Vincent saw that it was useless longer to continue the unequal struggle. Already 300 of his men were killed or wounded; he therefore blew up the fort, destroyed the stores, and retired with his troops, in perfect order, to Queenstown. The Americans stated their loss in this affair to have been thirty-nine killed and 111 wounded.

General Vincent and his troops soon felt the want of those necessaries which they had been compelled to destroy or leave behind them. General Dearborn, resolved to follow up his success, sent generals Chandler and Winder, from the ruins of Fort George, with 3,500 men and nine pieces of artillery. Their intention was to put the English to flight, or to ensure their capture. On the morning of the 5th of June, the Americans pitched their tents in the vicinity of Stoney Creek, about seven miles from the British encampment, and prepared for the attack. The enormous disproportion of force seemed to promise, in the event of an engagement, almost certain victory to the Americans. Lieutenant-colonel Harvey, after reconnoitring the American camp, suggested to General Vincent to attack it unexpectedly by night. The attempt was desperate, but so also was the position of the British; and Vincent consented. The night (though in June) was a very dark one, and at half-past eleven, Colonel Harvey, with a little band amounting to 704 men, stealthily approached the American camp. At two in the morning, the British, with fixed bayonets, rushed into the centre of the unprepared camp, which was thrown into instant confusion. One artilleryman was bayoneted while in the very act of firing a gun. A body of American infantry, after firing a destructive volley, were seized with panic, and fled precipitately. Generals Winder and Chandler were both taken prisoners; the latter being discovered, much bruised, under one of the guns. The British loss was considerable; for, in the darkness, friends could with diffi-

culty be distinguished from foes, and some of the English perished by the hands of their own countrymen; but the Americans fled in every direction, leaving behind them, beside the two brigadier-generals, seven officers and 116 men prisoners, together with two of their pieces of artillery, and nine horses to draw them. As the day dawned, the English considered it expedient to retire, lest the Americans should perceive the smallness of their numbers, and rallying, return and overwhelm them. When the bright sun lighted up the deserted American camp, the fugitives did return, but it was only to destroy their blankets, carriages, provisions, spare arms, and ammunition, to prevent their falling into the hands of the victors. This done, they retreated eleven miles, to a place called Forty-mile Creek, where they were joined by reinforcements. Thus the spirit of Colonel Hardy and the bravery of the British troops, delivered themselves and their general from impending disgrace or destruction.

Sir James Lucas Yeo, and a party of officers and seamen, who had just arrived from England, manned and equipped* our vessels in such a manner, that the English flag was again able to make its appearance on Lake Ontario. An expedition to the important post of Sacketts Harbour (weakened by the absence of Commodore Chauncey) was resolved upon. On the night of the 28th of May, the expedition, consisting of 700 land troops and the squadron under Sir James, sailed from Kingston, with a hope that they might be able to land and line the woods on the coast with troops before their intention was discovered. Unfortunately, they took Sir George Prevost with them, and with such a commander, success was impossible: the attempt at surprise failed, and Sir George would have abandoned the attack, had he not been shamed into it by the ardour of his troops. A landing being effected, the troops pushed forward with undaunted gallantry, though exposed to a heavy and galling fire from a numerous but almost invincible foe. The American soldiers, aiming securely from behind the trees, were only to be dislodged by the bayonet. With this weapon the wood was scoured by the troops under the command of Major Drummond, who, in conjunction with Colonel Young, compelled the Americans to abandon one of their guns, and to retreat into the log-barrack and stockaded fort. There, however,

they were still enabled to cause severe loss to the British, who were destitute of artillery. Still the Americans considered their case so hopeless, that they had previously set fire to their navy barracks, stores, and shipping. The incompetent Sir George Prevost, however, even under these circumstances, with victory almost in his grasp, hesitated and thought of retreating, because a small party of the enemy seemed to be rallying in his rear. Major Drummond, no doubt blushing for his timorous chief, stepped up to him and said, "Allow me a few minutes, sir, and I will put you in possession of the place." "Obey your orders, sir, and learn the first duty of a soldier," was the answer of the military poltroon, who forthwith gave the order to retreat, in spite of the expostulations of Sir James Yeo, and the disgust of the whole force. Thus, with a probable, indeed an almost certain victory before them, the expedition was abandoned, to the mortification of the troops, who were thus compelled to quit a beaten enemy. With muttered curses on the abject spirit of their chief, they re-embarked, after a loss of about 200 in killed and wounded, and returned to the British shore of the lake. The joy of the Americans knew no bounds; and they actually attributed to the wisdom of their commander (in sending a small party to the rear of the English), a result which proceeded only from the imbecility of ours. They even rushed back to the harbour, and saved from destruction an unfinished vessel of their own then on the stocks, which in their first panic they had committed to the flames, but which being made of green timber, would not burn freely. It was well understood by the English, and admitted by the Americans, that if the destruction of Sacketts Harbour had been completed, the latter would have been deprived of every prospect of obtaining ascendancy on the lake. It is not recent events alone which have demonstrated the loss and danger of placing incompetent men in responsible situations. One commander like this English Bobadil, was sufficient to neutralise the bravery, and overthrow the labours, of our British soldiers.

Sir James Yeo, after taking Sir George Prevost back to Kingston, sailed to the head of the lake with reinforcements for General Vincent. That brave soldier had surprised the army of General Dearborn on the 6th of July, driven it from its camp, and

taken upwards of one hundred prisoners. On the approach of Sir James Yeo, the Americans retreated along the shore of the lake until they reached Fort George, where General Dearborn, abandoning all the Canadian bank of the Niagara, shut himself up in a strong intrenched camp with about 5,000 men, and, for some time, nothing further was attempted in that direction.

We must now turn our attention to another quarter. The humiliation which England had sustained in the defeat of its frigates and sloops of war by those of the United States, was now to be removed, and the British flag to recover its accustomed honours from the foe by whom they had suffered a temporary eclipse. This eclipse was removed by the gallant action fought on the 1st of June, 1813, between the *Shannon* of 38 guns (18-pounders), Captain Broke, and the American frigate *Chesapeake*, of the same force in guns, but superior in the number of her crew, commanded by Lawrence, late captain of the *Hornet*. Broke was one of those captains of English 38-gun frigates who had long and ardently sought for a meeting with one of the American 44's.

The *Shannon* had in August, 1811, sailed for the coast of North America, and on the 21st of March, 1813, accompanied by the *Tenedos*, of the same force, sailed from Halifax on a cruise in Boston Bay. On the 2nd of April the two frigates reconnoitred the harbour of Boston, and observing the *President* and *Congress*, took a station to intercept them. In this interval the *Chesapeake* re-entered Boston harbour by the eastern channel, and on the 1st of May, the weather being foggy, the *President* and *Congress* eluded the vigilance of the British frigates and put to sea. The *Constitution* and *Chesapeake* were now in Boston harbour.

That the enemy might not be discouraged from coming out by the apprehension of having more than one antagonist to deal with, Captain Broke detached the *Tenedos* to cruise off Cape Sable, with instructions not to return for three weeks, while he continued lying near Boston. On the 1st of June he sent in a challenge to Captain Lawrence to come out and fight him, promising that no other ship should interfere, whatever might be the event of

the battle, and requiring the same pledge from the American captain.

The letter of challenge ran thus:—"As the *Chesapeake* now appears ready for sea, I request you will do me the favour to meet the *Shannon* with her, ship to ship, to try the fortune of our respective flags. The *Shannon* mounts twenty-four guns on her broadside, and one light boat-gun, 18-pounders on her main deck, and 32-pounder carronades on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, and is manned with a complement of 300 men and boys* (a large portion of the latter), besides thirty seamen, boys, and passengers, who were lately taken out of recaptured vessels." After fixing the place of *rencontre*, and providing against all interruption, the gallant Englishman thus concludes:—"I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity to the wish of meeting the *Chesapeake*, or that I depend only on your personal ambition for your acceding to this invitation. We have both nobler motives. You will feel it as a compliment if I say, that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service I can render to my country; and I doubt not, that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs, in *even combats*, that your little navy can now hope to console your country for the loss of that trade you can no longer protect. Favour me with a speedy reply. We are short of provisions and water, and cannot stay here long."

Shortly after dispatching this challenge, the *Shannon*, with flying colours, stood in close to Boston lighthouse, and lay-to. The *Chesapeake* was now seen at anchor in President-roads, and at half-past twelve o'clock was under weigh, accompanied by a number of pleasure-boats, and a privateer schooner with several American naval officers on board, who had come out to witness how soon an American could "whip" a British frigate. At one o'clock the *Shannon* stood out to gain a little more offing. At forty minutes past three the *Chesapeake* fired a gun and hauled up, intimating that she was not to be led farther from the land, on which the *Shannon's* foretop-sail was laid aback, that the *Chesapeake* might overtake her; when the latter again steered

five sail), in order to keep the *Shannon* in a state fit to meet either of the American frigates for which he was waiting. Had other captains acted similarly, the Americans would have been less successful.

† Captain Broke, aware of the state of incapacity to which some of the British frigates had reduced themselves by manning and sending in their prizes, destroyed all his captures (amounting to twenty-

for her, having at the fore a large white flag, inscribed with the words, "Sailors' rights and free trade." At ten minutes past five the *Shannon* beat to quarters. At forty-five minutes past five, the *Chesapeake* hauled up within 200 yards of the *Shannon's* weather-beam, and gave three cheers. Captain Broke now addressed his ship's crew; told them that that day would decide the superiority of British seamen, when well trained, over other nations; and that the *Shannon* would show, in that day's action, how short a time the Americans had to boast when opposed to equal force. Loud cheers from the crew followed this gallant appeal.

The two ships being now not more than a stone's-throw asunder, at fifty minutes past five the action commenced by the *Shannon* giving her broadside, beginning with the aftermost guns on the starboard side. The enemy passing too fast ahead to receive more than a second discharge from the aftermost guns, the boarders were ordered to prepare, when the *Chesapeake*, attempting to haul her foresail up, fell on board the *Shannon*, whose starboard bow-anchor hooked the larboard mizen-chains of her opponent. Captain Broke now ordered the two ships to be lashed together, and the boarders to be in readiness. Mr. Stevens, the *Shannon's* boatswain, a veteran sailor, set about making the ships fast. While doing so, he clung to the enemy's rigging with his left arm until that limb was hacked off by the sabres of their marines, and himself mortally wounded by musketry. In spite of these injuries, he had fastened the ships together with his right-hand, when his grasp relaxed in death. Alison, with a feeling of generous admiration, terms this, "a deed of heroism worthy of ancient Rome." After a sharp fire of musketry for a few minutes between the marines of both ships, Captain Broke, at the head of the boarders, mounted the fore-castle carronade and leaped on the quarter-deck of the *Chesapeake*, followed by his first lieutenant Watt and the marines; the main deck boarders, under the third lieutenant, Falconer, following. With three cheers the boarders rushed forward, and uniting on the fore-castle, drove the enemy

* These were, no doubt, British deserters. One of them (John Waters) was recognised as having deserted from the *Shannon* when at anchor in Halifax, on the 3rd of the preceding October. Among the 325 prisoners of the *Chesapeake*, thirty-two, including the gunner, were recognised as British seamen.

below, several of them plunging into the sea.* In fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action, the British flag supplanted that of America, and the *Chesapeake* was a prize to the *Shannon*. At seven in the evening, the pleasure-boats and privateer returned disconsolate to their afflicted townsmen in Boston, where balls and suppers had been prepared to welcome the return of the anticipated victors with their prisoners to the harbour. In this desperate and well-fought action, the loss of the *Shannon*, in killed, was three officers and twenty-three privates; in wounded, Captain Broke, two officers, and fifty-eight privates. The killed of the *Chesapeake* were five officers and ninety privates; the wounded, 110 privates, several midshipmen, and Captain Lawrence, and his first lieutenant mortally. Captain Broke's wound was given by an American seaman to whom he had shown quarter. The *Shannon* and her prize arrived at Halifax on the 6th of June, where Captain Lawrence, who had died on the 4th, was buried with the honours of war; but about a month after, the body was, at the request of the American government, exhumed and conveyed to Boston, where it was interred with great solemnity.

Among the *Chesapeake's* extraordinary means of defence, were a cask of unslacked lime, placed on its fore-castle, and a bag of the same material in the fore-top, for the purpose of throwing by handful into the eyes of their assailants; but, as if in retribution, one of the *Shannon's* early shots struck the cask, and scattered its contents into the eyes of such of the projectors of the unmanly design who surrounded it.

The capture of the *Argus*, an American sloop of war, in St. George's Channel, off St. David's Head, on the 14th of August, by the *Pelican*, gave another timely proof of the superiority of British seamanship. The English brig carried eighteen guns, and was manned with 126 men; the American carried twenty guns, and her crew amounted to 127 men. After a warm contest of forty-three minutes, the American struck her colours, having sustained a loss of forty in killed and wounded; while that of the British was only seven.

When the *President*, Commodore Rodgers, while off North Cape in the following July, was pursued by the *Alexandria*, among other British seamen on board the American ship, were the master and mate of the *Daphne* of Whitby.

DEFEAT OF A BRITISH SQUADRON ON LAKE ERIE—DEFEAT OF GENERAL PROCTER—FURTHER INVASION OF CANADA—THE AMERICANS DRIVEN BACK, AND THEIR OWN TERRITORY INVADED.

THE record of this contest between Britain and America is perplexing, because it consists not of one or two great events, but of many small engagements in various places. We must recall the attention of the reader to the commencement of the year, and to the neighbourhood of Lake Erie and the Detroit frontier. By the end of January, the Americans had overrun the Michigan territory, and had taken possession of Frenchtown, a village about twenty-six miles from Detroit. The American force in Frenchtown amounted to 1,000 men, and was commanded by General Winchester, an old officer, who had gained distinction in the war of independence. Colonel Procter, in defiance of the injunctions of that timid commander, Sir George Prevost, to the contrary, advanced to the rescue of Frenchtown with a mixed force of regular troops, militia, sailors, and Indians, amounting, in all, to not more than 1,000 men. With this motley power he surprised the Americans, during the night, in their encampment. After a short encounter, in which the latter suffered severely, they surrendered, on condition of being protected from the Indians; who, stationed in the rear of the encampment, had slaughtered numbers while retreating. General Winchester was found by Colonel Procter in the custody of an Indian chief, called Roundhead, who had decked himself in the old general's coat, waistcoat, and hat, with which new costume he was so delighted, that it was with much difficulty he was induced to restore them to their shivering owner. The number of Americans taken prisoners amounted to 538, while 297 were missing. Some accounts say, that not above thirty effected their escape.

After this engagement, Colonel Procter marched back to Detroit, and thence crossed to Sandwich, to await the operations of General Harrison, who commanded the rest of this army of invasion. The misfortune which had befallen General Winchester, induced Harrison to abandon his intention of advancing into Canada and retire to the rapids of the Miami river, where he commenced building a fort. Colonel Procter, who had been reinforced by many warlike tribes of Indians, resolving

to act on the offensive, embarked his entire force on board the flotilla on Lake Erie, ascended the Miami, and landed, on the 28th of April, within two miles of Fort Meigs, the new fort built by General Harrison, and the key of his fortified camp. For several days the opposing forces cannonaded each other from different sides of the river, but with very little effect. On the 5th of May, the Americans were reinforced by 1,300 men, under the command of General Clay, who descended the river in boats. As they drew near, Harrison made a sortie to assist the disembarkation, and, at the same time, ordered General Clay, then in sight of the fort, to land 800 men on the opposite side of the river, and to storm the British batteries. A very small number of artillerymen stationed there were driven back, and the Americans spiked the guns. Elated by this success, Colonel Dudley, with about 400 of the Americans, marched by a neighbouring woodside to attack the British camp, leaving the rest of his party in charge of the captured batteries. Scarcely had they got out of sight before Captain Muir, at the head of 180 men, gallantly dashed forward, attacked the Americans, recaptured the batteries at the point of the bayonet, and, after a short contest, took 430 prisoners, besides leaving fifty-seven dead on the ground. This brilliant and almost incredible incident is partly accounted for by the fact, that most of the American force consisted of newly-raised militia. In the meantime, Colonel Dudley and his detachment were drawn into an ambuscade by a body of Indians stationed in the woods, and the greater part of them, together with their leader, put to death. Most of the Indians, according to their custom, returned to their homes to enjoy the plunder they had obtained; the Canadian militiamen went to attend to their farms; and Colonel Procter, thus unsupported, was obliged to raise the siege of Fort Meigs and return to Detroit, there to await reinforcements.

The Americans deemed it unadvisable to make any further attempts upon Canada until they could obtain the command of Lake Erie. There the English government had but six small vessels, carrying

only forty-five guns between them, manned by 108 Canadians and 160 soldiers. This force was commanded by Captain Barclay, a brave seaman, who had lost one of his arms while serving under Nelson, and who had repeatedly, though vainly, urged upon Sir George Prevost the necessity of supplying his little squadron with the necessary men, stores, and guns. Sir George replied, that they must take from the enemy the ordnance and naval stores they required. Captain Barclay then urgently requested that a hundred seamen might be sent him, and this request was backed by the solicitations of General Procter. The men were wanted to man a new fir-built vessel named the *Detroit*, with which it was hoped that the English power on Lake Erie might have been sufficiently supported. These requests Sir George Prevost not only declined to comply with, but returned an answer to General Procter, which could not be received by that officer, and by Captain Barclay, otherwise than as an insulting spur to exertion. "Although," said he, "your situation may be one of difficulty, you cannot fail of honourably surmounting it, notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the enemy's force, which I cannot but consider as overbalanced by the excellent description of your troops and seamen, valorous and well-disciplined. The experience obtained by Sir James Yeo's conduct towards a fleet infinitely superior to the one under his command, will satisfy Captain Barclay that he is only to *dare*, and the enemy is discomfited."

At length a niggardly allowance of forty sailors was sent to Captain Barclay; the new ship had been launched, and the forts stripped of their guns and fitted to its portholes. The other vessels were also deprived of a part of their already scanty crews, to enable the *Detroit* to move from her anchorage, or, when she met the enemy, to make use of her lumbering guns. On the 9th of September, Captain Barclay sailed forth upon the lake to endeavour to clear it from his vigilant, well-provided, and almost doubly superior foe. By this time, there was no alternative between his clearing the lake communication and the starvation of our troops. The American squadron, under Commodore Perry, consisted of two large brigs and eight schooners, heavily armed. It mounted altogether but fifty-four guns, but they were properly supplied with implements of gunnery; and in con-

sequence of the large proportion of their shifting and pivot pieces, their aggregate weight of broadside was fully double that of their opponents. On the 10th, the adverse squadrons met, and a desperate engagement took place. Captain Barclay, in the *Detroit*, attacked Commodore Perry's ship, the *Lawrence*, and inflicted on it such injuries that it lowered its flag and surrendered; but the *Detroit* was so injured, that Captain Barclay was unable to take possession of his prize. The American brig, taking advantage of this circumstance, dropped out of gun-shot, and then rehoisted her colours. The combat was renewed with increased fury. There had been but ten experienced British seamen on board the *Detroit* at the commencement of the action, and of these, eight were killed or wounded; Captain Barclay's remaining arm was mutilated; and at length, the strife becoming hopeless, the colours of the unfortunate *Detroit* were struck to the enemy, over whom she had at first obtained a partial triumph. The remainder of the English flotilla shared the same fate, or were overtaken and captured in their retreat. The English lost 135 in killed and wounded; the Americans, 123; of whom twenty-two were killed, and sixty-one wounded, on board the *Lawrence* alone. The Americans were so delighted at their victory, that they gave way to the most extravagant demonstrations of joy: the event was recorded by them as a glorious triumph, and Commodore Perry declared to be, as a naval hero, superior even to the illustrious Nelson.

Notwithstanding the exaggeration of the Americans, the results of this engagement were very serious to the English. General Procter, and the Indian chiefs that were acting with him, were compelled to retreat to avoid the horrors of starvation, and of an exposure to the severity of a Canadian winter. They therefore began to dismantle the forts, and to abandon all the positions on the *Detroit*, thus leaving the Michigan territory in the possession of the Americans. The latter collected an army of between five and six thousand men, whom they landed at a point three miles below Amherstburg, in the confident hope of cutting off the retreat of General Procter and his troops, which, with Indians and regulars, did not exceed 1,000 men. For several days the Americans pushed on in pursuit of the foe whom they so immensely outnumbered, and

on the 5th of October, General Procter drew up his troops to resist, if possible, the further advance of his pursuers. The place selected was on the left bank of a river called the Thames. The regular troops were formed at open files, in a beech forest, without any clearing. The left of the line rested on the river; its right on the thicker part of the wood. There the troops were joined by the Indian warriors, who, forming an obtuse angle to the front, were the better able to get into the enemy's rear, according to the Indian's favourite system of warfare. At the back of the Indians, and about 600 yards from the river, was a miry swamp. A 6-pounder enfiladed the only road by which the Americans could advance in any order, and the provincial dragoons were stationed a little in the rear of the infantry. This position was considered an admirable one, because the enemy, notwithstanding his numbers, could not turn the flanks of the English, or present a more extended front than theirs.

The conflict took place, and the Americans gained a decided victory. The engagement was decided by a charge of a thousand hardy, mounted backwoodsmen, who, dashing onward with irresistible force, trampled under foot, or cut down all opposed to them. Having killed or wounded upwards of fifty at one charge, they formed in the rear of the British and repeated the attack. "Such was the panic," says an American writer, "which pervaded the whole line of the enemy, that an order which had been issued—to fix bayonets—was not attempted to be executed. The Indians, led by a famous chief named Tecumseh, rushed upon the enemy's front line of infantry, and fought with great bravery. Tecumseh, though he had received a musket-ball in the left arm,

* From Alison's *History of Europe*, we extract the following interesting and concentrated account of the character, disposition, and destiny of the race of Red Men:—"The immense regions of North America were not wholly uninhabited when Columbus first approached their shores. Sprung originally from the neighbouring tribes of Asiatics who inhabited the most eastern portion of the old world, and whom accident or adventure had wafted across Behring Straits, its inhabitants have gradually spread over the whole extent of the American continent in both hemispheres, from Icy Cape to Cape Horn. Tradition, universal and unvarying, assigns the first origin of the American race to a migration of their fathers from beyond the western ocean: a connected chain of words, which floats unchanged through the otherwise forgotten floods of time, may be traced from the tribes of the Caucasian range to the Cordilleras of Mexico and Peru. But climate and cir-

was still fighting desperately in the hottest of the fire, when a bullet perforated his brain, and he fell dead. Thirty-three, also, of his followers had perished before the Indians retired from the contest. The loss of the British or Americans was not considerable on either side, but a great part of the former surrendered as prisoners. General Procter, together with some officers of his staff, and a part of his provincial cavalry, retreated towards the river Grande, not far from Burlington heights, the head-quarters of General Vincent, after having his baggage and private papers taken by a party of dragoons who were in pursuit of him. The body of the dreaded Tecumseh was recognised amongst the slain, and not only scalped, but actually skinned by the rude Kentuckians who followed General Harrison. The skin was afterwards cut into narrow strips and made into razor-straps!" Enlightened Americans are ashamed of this barbarous act of their degraded countrymen, and have denied the circumstance; but it is well authenticated. An American writer thus gently alludes to the atrocity:—"Some of the Kentuckians disgraced themselves by committing indignities on his dead body. He was scalped, and otherwise disfigured." Tecumseh was a man who deserved a better fate; he was brave and generous, possessed a powerful intellect, and, though usually austere and silent, could command at times a brilliant flow of oratory. His principal feelings were a love of glory and a hatred of the Americans, whom he regarded as having robbed his forefathers of their territory. In early life he had been addicted to intemperance, the curse that has long been working the degradation and gradual extirpation of his race;* but having come to the conclusion that the habit was injurious,

circumstances, those great moulders of the human character, have exercised their unwonted influence upon the descendants of Shem, and presented in the North American savage a different specimen of the race of man from what the world has elsewhere exhibited. He is neither the child of Japhet, daring, industrious, indefatigable, exploring the world by his enterprise, and subduing it by his exertions nor the offspring of Ismael, sober, ardent, enduring, traversing the desert on his steeds, and issuing forth at appointed intervals from his solitudes, to punish and regenerate mankind. He is the hunter of the forest; skilled to perfection in the craft necessary for that primitive occupation, but incapable of advancing beyond it. Civilisation in vain endeavours to throw its silken fetters over his limbs; he avoids the smiling plantation, and flies in horror before the advancing hatchet of the woodsman. He does well to shun the approach of the European race; he can

he abandoned it, and never afterwards indulged beyond one or two glasses of wine.

The elated Americans considered Upper Canada as almost in their power. They resolved on greater efforts than they had hitherto made; and, by the month of October, they had collected three armies for the purpose of invading Canada at different points. General Harrison was at Sandusky, on the frontier of the Michigan territory, with about 8,000 men, ready to avail himself of the command lately obtained by the American navy on Lake Erie, and advance upon Detroit and Amherstburg. General Wilkinson was at Sacketts Harbour with nearly 10,000 men, while General Hampden commanded a force of about 7,000 men, who were stationed at Chateaugay Four Corners, a small settlement, about five miles from the national boundary line.

On the 21st of October, General Hampden led his army across the borders into Lower Canada. The British advanced corps, stationed near the frontiers, was commanded by Lieutenant-colonel De Saluberry, of the Canadian fencibles. The force under his command did not exceed 800 regulars and militia, and 172 Indians. This little band was so favourably placed, that it was enabled to check the advance of the enemy's principal column, led by General Hampden in person. On the 26th an action took place, in which the Americans suffered severely; and during the night, from want of proper arrangement, they fired repeatedly on each other. The next day, General Hampden's army broke up its encampment and returned to its previous position at Four Corners. Even then, this brave soldier did not deem himself altogether safe from the attacks of an immeasurably inferior force; and on the 11th of November, he retreated still further to Plattsburg.

neither endure its fatigues, nor withstand its temptations; and faster than before the sword and the bayonet, his race is melting away under the fire-water, the first gift and last curse of civilisation. Like the Germans in the days of Tacitus, the life of the North American is divided between total inactivity and strenuous exertion: after sleeping away months in his wigwam, he will plunge into the forest, and walk from eighty to ninety miles a day, on a stretch, for weeks; he will lie for days together in ambush, waiting for an opportunity to spring upon his foe; and in following, sometimes for hundreds of miles, the trail of his enemies through the forest, he exhibits a degree of sagacity which almost appears miraculous. Enduring of privation, patient in suffering, heroic in death, he is wavering in temptation, and without honour in the field; his principle is ever to shun danger, if possible, and never attack ex-

cept at an advantage; and the man who can bear, without flinching, the most exquisite tortures, will often perish beside a barrel of spirits which he wanted the temptation to resist. The language of these tribes is poetry; their ideas are elevated: the imagery of nature, amidst which they live, has imprinted a majestic character on their thoughts; but like their companions, the beaver and the elk, they cannot be converted to the habits of laborious life: they adopt of civilisation only its vices; their remains are fast disappearing under the combined influence of European encroachment and savage indulgence: already they are as rarely to be seen in New York as in London; and before many ages have elapsed, their race, like that of the Mammoth, will be extinct; and their memory, enshrined by the genius of Cooper, will live only in the entrancing pages of American romance."

General Wilkinson, who was to have co-operated with this invasion, proceeded with his army, in small craft and *bateaux*, down the St. Lawrence, with the intention of taking up his winter quarters at Montreal. On the 9th of November, the Americans landed at Williamsburg, on the Canadian shore, and on the 11th an action took place between a portion of their force, under Major-general Boyd, amounting to about 3,000 men, and a British corps of observation, under Lieutenant-colonel Morrison, consisting of 800 rank and file, and about thirty Indians. The engagement lasted from two o'clock until about half-past four, when the American troops, who had been gradually losing ground, gave way at all points. Chiefly in consequence of the disparity in numbers, no pursuit was undertaken, though the fact that Lieutenant Morrison was without cavalry, contributed to that conclusion. In justice to the American troops it should be stated, that they had been under arms all the previous night during an incessant rain, and had to march to the attack over ploughed ground, almost knee-deep in mud. The loss of the British, on this occasion, amounted to 182 in killed, wounded, and missing; that of the Americans, to 339, besides about 100 prisoners. The same night the Americans embarked in their boats, proceeded about four miles down the river, and then landed on the American shore.

Sir George Prevost, on hearing of General Procter's defeat at the battle of the Thames, and his flight to Burlington heights, there to join General Vincent, dispatched orders to the latter general, directing him to commence a retreat without delay, and evacuate the *whole* of Upper Canada as low down as Kingstown! If this cowardly order had been obeyed, not only would Upper Canada have been lost to the British government,

but, in consequence of the state of the roads, the ordnance, stores, baggage, and provisions must have been left behind, and allowed to fall into the hands of the enemy, and a considerable number of sick left to their protection. Under these circumstances, General Vincent and his officers held a council of war, and resolved on disregarding the insane command of their chief. The fortunate result of this disobedience, was the recovery of the Niagara frontier. Early in November, General Harrison arrived at Fort George with a strong body of his troops, whom he quartered upon the inhabitants of the town of Newark. From thence he and Colonel Scott, with their respective corps, embarked on board Commodore Chauncey's fleet for Sacketts Harbour; leaving General M'Clure, with 2,700 militia and a few regular troops, in occupation of Fort George. M'Clure, failing in his attempt to win over the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, sent many of them as prisoners to the American side, and then gave up their farmhouses and barns to pillage and destruction.

To avenge these atrocities, General Vincent sent a small force, consisting of about 400 British and seventy Indians, under Colonel Murray, against M'Clure. The latter, who had advanced beyond Fort George to a place called Twenty-mile Creek, retreated in haste to his former position; and then, to heal his wounded pride, commenced a series of wanton and most shameful devastations. The winters of Canada are always extremely severe, but that of 1813 was more than usually rigorous. On the evening of the 10th of November, General M'Clure gave about half-an-hour's notice to the inhabitants of Newark, of his intention to burn down their village. A deep snow then lay on the ground; while the long icicles, pendent from cottage roofs and the leafless branches of white-crested trees, together with the alternate whistling and moaning of the piercing wind, proclaimed that winter reigned triumphantly in all the majesty of its bitterness. The poor people could scarcely believe that their military persecutor was in earnest: to burn their dwellings at such a season, and drive them, their wives and little ones, out shelterless into the freezing and whitened wilderness around, was a refinement in cruelty that seemed incredible. The appearance of the soldiers with torches, soon convinced these unfortunates of the reality of the intentions

of this brutal military robber. House after house was given to the roaring flames, until Newark remained a heap of blackened ruins and smoking rafters. Out of 150 houses, of which it had consisted, only one was spared! Such articles of furniture as the poor ruined people could not instantly remove, perished in the conflagration. Among the sufferers were upwards of 400 helpless and unoffending women and children, who, after witnessing, in spite of their unavailing tears and passionate entreaties, the destruction of their once peaceful homes, were compelled, without provisions, and in some instances with scarcely clothes upon their backs, to seek, during that bitter and dreary night, for shelter at a distance.

Nor was it in Newark alone that atrocities like these were committed. As Colonel Murray and his little force approached Fort George, numerous were the outcries which reached him of the banditti-like behaviour of the American invaders. Animated by a noble ardour to punish such proceedings, he dashed forward to Fort George, which the cowardly M'Clure abandoned at once without opposition, and fled across the river. Such was his haste, that he did not even wait to destroy his magazines or remove his tents, of which sufficient for the accommodation of 1,500 men were left standing. Thus, by the middle of December, both Upper and Lower Canada were freed from the presence of the invaders. Colonel Murray even executed a retaliatory attack on the American frontier. On the evening of the 18th of December, he crossed the river Niagara with his little force, landed at a place called the Five-mile Meadows, pushed on to Fort Niagara, stormed it, bore down the resistance of the guard with the bayonet, and soon planted the British flag on the stone tower of the fort. The English had but six men killed and five wounded in the affair; the Americans had sixty-five killed, fourteen wounded, and 334 (including fourteen officers) taken prisoners. "The ordnance and commissariat stores," said Colonel Murray, in his report of the action, "are so immense, that it is totally out of my power to forward you a correct statement for some days; but twenty-seven pieces of cannon, of different calibre, are on the works, and upwards of 3,000 stand of arms and many rifles in the arsenal. The storehouses are full of clothing and camp equipage of every description." In the fort were found eight respectable Canadians, who, in violation of

the rules of war, had been taken from their houses and shut up there as in a prison. One of these unfortunate men, thus punished for their loyalty to their own government, was eighty years of age!

The work of British retaliation did not end with the capture of Fort Niagara. The same morning, Major-general Rial, with a force of about 500 English, crossed over to Lewistown, where he had been preceded by a body of as many friendly Indians. The latter attacked and routed a detachment of American militia, and then entering Lewistown, gave it to the flames. The small villages of Youngstown, Manchester, and the Indian Tuscarora, shared the same fate, but were previously deserted by their inhabitants. General M'Clure complained, in his report, that the Indians had committed great cruelties on such of the inhabitants as could not escape—a statement which is undoubtedly very probable, though it is denied by General Rial. That officer took possession of a 12 and 6-pounder gun, with travelling carriages, a quantity of small arms, nine barrels of powder, and about 200 barrels of flour. General Rial then pushed on to Fort Schloper, which he destroyed, and afterwards returned to Queens-town. On the night of the 30th, Rial again crossed the Niagara, and destroyed the batteries and village of Black Rock, and the village of Buffalo. Three American vessels, the *Chippeway*, *Little Belt*, and *Trippe*, found aground near Buffalo Creek, were burnt. After this work of retribution,

General Rial and his troops abandoned the territory of the United States, with the exception of Fort Niagara, at which they left a small garrison; and the British army of Upper Canada retired into winter quarters.

An American writer (Mr. Thompson) thus, with tolerable partiality, sums up the events of the campaign of 1813 against the British provinces:—"No one advantage was obtained to atone for the blood and treasure which had already been exhausted. The capital of Upper Canada had been taken. It was scarcely captured before it was abandoned. The bulwark of the province, Fort George, had been gallantly carried; but an inferior force was suffered to escape, after being beaten; and the conquerors were soon after confined to the works of the garrison, and closely invested upwards of six months. The long-contemplated attack upon Montreal was frustrated; Kingston still remained a safe and advantageous harbour in the hands of the enemy; and a fortress (Fort Niagara) which might have been long, and obstinately, and effectually defended, was yielded with scarcely a struggle, and under circumstances mysterious in the extreme, to the retaliating invaders of the American Niagara frontier. In the course of the summer of 1813, the American army possessed every position between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, on both sides of the Niagara. In the winter of the same year, after having gradually lost their possessions on the British side of that stream, they were deprived of their possessions on their own."

BRITISH VESSELS BLOCKADE THE AMERICAN COASTS—DESTRUCTION OF AMERICAN VILLAGES, STORES, AND SHIPPING.

THE campaign on the great lakes and the borders of Canada, was not the only course of hostilities which took place between the English and the Americans during the year 1813. The English government considered that a threatening attitude on the coast of the Americans, would be likely to awe them into an abandonment of their aggressive attempts upon Canada. Our blockading squadrons from the North Atlantic Ocean, sent light vessels up the rivers to seize or destroy the foundries, public works, and depositories of military and other stores on their banks. We must speak briefly of these proceedings.

Admiral Cockburn, in the *Marlborough*

(74), accompanied by some frigates and smaller vessels, entered Chesapeake Bay on the 4th of March. About the end of the same month, Admiral Warren arrived in the bay from Bermuda, bringing with him the *San Domingo* (74) and some other ships. No sooner had he made his appearance in the American waters, than he captured four armed schooners lying at the mouth of the Rappahannock river. On the 28th of April, Admiral Cockburn sailed a considerable distance up the river Elk, to a place called Frenchtown, where he had been informed that a considerable quantity of military stores had been collected. On arriving at Frenchtown, a 6-gun battery

opened fire on the boats in which the English marines approached the shore; but the latter were no sooner landed than the American militia abandoned the battery, and fled to the neighbouring woods. The stores, consisting of flour, of army clothing, saddles, bridles, and other equipments for cavalry, together with the buildings in which they were contained, and five vessels lying near the place, were utterly consumed. The guns of the battery were then spiked, and the boats departed. The system pursued by Admiral Cockburn, in this and similar expeditions, was to land without molesting those who did not oppose him, and to capture or destroy all articles of merchandise and munitions of war, at the same time paying the full market price for all such cattle or supplies as his squadron might require. If, however, resistance was offered or menaces held out, he considered the town as a fortified place, and the male inhabitants as soldiers; the one to be destroyed, and the other, with their cattle and stock, to be captured. He took every care to make the Americans acquainted with this arrangement.

In proceeding to a place called Specucie Island, for the sake of purchasing cattle and provisions, the British squadron was fired at from a 6-gun battery at the village of Havre-de-Grace, on the west side of the Susquehanna. The inhabitants also unfurled a large American ensign, as a signal of defiance. Admiral Cockburn therefore resolved, when he had obtained the supplies he required, to make a call in passing at Havre-de-Grace. To this he was further incited by the *badinage* of the Americans at Specucie Island, who, when his men drove away the cattle they had purchased, said—“Why do you come here? Why don't you go to Havre-de-Grace? There you'll have something to do.” In consequence of the shallowness of the water, boats only could ascend the river. In these, 150 marines and five artillerymen embarked at midnight on the 2nd of May, and succeeded by daylight in getting opposite to the battery, which immediately opened fire upon them. The marines having landed, the Americans withdrew from their battery and fled. The inhabitants, however, still kept up a fire from behind the houses, walls, and trees. On Lieutenant Westphall holding out a flag of truce and calling on them to desist, he was fired at and shot through the hand. On this the scamen and marines com-

menced the work of destruction, and set fire to every house which the people had deserted. The English, after destroying about 130 stand of small arms, embarked the six guns from the battery, and departed, taking with them a few prisoners. They then proceeded northwards in search of a cannon-foundry, of which they had been informed, and destroyed it, together with forty-five guns; some of which were stationed in a battery for the protection of the foundry, and the rest just ready to send away for service in other directions. Another division of boats proceeded up the Susquehanna, where they destroyed five vessels and a large store of flour.

During the night of the 5th of May, the same party of British marines and artillerymen pushed up the river Sassafra, towards two villages named Georgetown and Fredericktown, situated on opposite sides of the river, nearly facing each other. Admiral Cockburn sent word by two of the inhabitants, who were intercepted in a boat, that if their fellow-townsmen did not resist, no injury should be done, except to vessels and public property only. The Americans, however, chose the path of danger, and opened a fire upon the boats from a field-piece, and from a body of from three to four hundred militia, situated on opposite sides of the river. The fire was instantly returned, and the admiral landed with the marines. The command to fix bayonets was then given, and no sooner did the Americans perceive that order executed, than they took to their heels and fled to the woods. All the houses, except those of the inhabitants who remained peaceably in them, were burnt, together with four vessels lying in the river, and some stores of sugar, lumber, leather, and other merchandise. Other places submitted without opposition; and it being found they did not contain public property or warlike stores, they were unmolested; and the admiral and his light squadron retired from that quarter.

On the 12th of June, the boats of the *Narcissus*, manned with about forty men, were dispatched up York River in the *Chesapeake*, to cut out the United States' schooner *Surveyor*, mounting six 12-pounder carronades. Her crew only numbered sixteen men; but these, under Captain Travers, her commander, defended their vessel so bravely, that when she was taken by boarding, Lieutenant Critie, who led the attack, returned Captain Travers his sword, accompanied by

a complimentary letter. On this occasion, the English had three men killed and six wounded.

During the same month (June) preparations were made by the English for an attack on Craney Island. On the morning of the 22nd, a division of seventeen or eighteen boats, with about 800 men, landed at a place called Pig Point; but on meeting with some unexpected obstacles, they re-embarked and returned to the squadron. A second division of boats, containing about 700 men, under the command of Captain Pechell, of the *St. Domingo*, having arrived off the north-west of the island, it was resolved to make the attack, and Captain Hanchett volunteered to lead on the boats. The Americans had been preparing for some days, and the boats were exposed to a heavy fire from the batteries directly in front of them. Suddenly, Captain Hanchett's boat, which was some distance in advance of the rest, grounded at a hundred yards from the muzzles of the enemy's guns. Captain Hanchett and his men were about to wade on shore and storm the American battery, when one of the sailors plunging his boat-hook over the side, found three or four feet of slimy mud at the bottom. To wade through this was impossible, and Captain Hanchett signalled to the boats astern to keep afloat; the warning was disregarded, and one or two more of them grounded. Two others, perforated with shot from the battery, sank. The Americans felt their security, and poured in grape and canister with destructive effect. Captain Hanchett was twice wounded, and then fainted from loss of blood. While the men from the sunken boats were struggling for their lives in the mud and water, the American militia, wading into the stream, deliberately fired at these drowning creatures. This was not only ungenerous but murderous, for, by the common consent of nations, men have agreed to spare a helpless enemy. After sustaining an incessant fire for two hours, the boats were got off, and returned with a loss of eighty-one men. The Americans were enabled, on account of the shoals of mud and the low tide, to inflict this punishment upon their assailants without losing a single man themselves. As may be supposed, the affair was hailed throughout the States as a glorious triumph.

Hampton, in Virginia, was attacked on the 26th of June by a body of about 2,000 men, commanded by Sir S. Beckwith.

Landing two miles to the westward of Hampton, they pushed forward, and after several skirmishes with a body of militia inferior in numbers to themselves, they took the town and its seven pieces of cannon. The loss on either side was but trifling. It is to be regretted that the town, after being taken, was given up to plunder, and that some of the troops, especially the Canadian chasseurs, perpetrated many acts of rapine and violence upon the defenceless inhabitants. These circumstances were much exaggerated by the American press, and the language of invective was exhausted against the English, who were accused of having forced the women of Hampton to endure the extremest insult to which the sex can be subjected. There is but little doubt but that some women fell victims to the brutal appetites of the soldiers; but English officers present at the taking of the town, declare that the violators were in no case English, but that they were the Canadian chasseurs or independent foreigners. On Captain Smith, the commander of these men, remonstrating with them for their behaviour, they all declared that they would show no quarter to any American whatever, in consequence of their comrades having been so basely fired at, when struggling unarmed in the water, before the batteries at Craney Island. Captain Smith having reported this resolution to Sir John Warren, accompanied by an expression of his own conviction that they would act up to their threat, they were ordered away from the American coast, and never employed again in the British service.

In the month of July, the coast of North Carolina was subjected to a visitation by the British cruisers. On the 11th, Admiral Cockburn, in the *Sceptre* (74), accompanied by the *Romulus*, *Fox*, and *Nemesis*, the *Conflict* gun-brig, and *Highflyer* and *Cockchafer* tenders, sailed to Ocracoke harbour. On board the vessels were the 103rd regiment, of about 500 rank and file, and a small detachment of artillery. They were to assist in putting an end to the commerce carried on at that port, and in destroying any vessels that might be found there. On the 13th, the troops were landed in boats, having first captured two small armed schooners that fired upon them, and took possession of Ocracoke and the town of Portsmouth without opposition. In consequence of this submission, the property of the inhabitants was not molested. After remain-

ing on shore for two days, Admiral Cockburn, with his troops and seamen, re-embarked and departed. As the streaming pennants of the squadron receded from sight, the American militia, who had not hitherto been seen, flocked into the town in great numbers to protect the people whom they had deserted in the hour of danger. The sufferings produced by these expeditions, to which every part of the coast was exposed, caused the American people to be heartily sick of the war. At the close of

the year 1813, some of the states declared that President Madison was ruining the country, by persevering in a war which he had commenced without any necessity; and that, if the struggle was continued, they would sacrifice their advantages as members of the federal republic, and make a separate peace with England on their own account. Commerce, indeed, had suffered to such an extent, that in the following year, it was computed that at least two-thirds of the whole traders in the States became insolvent.

ANOTHER INVASION OF CANADA—THE AMERICANS TAKE FORT ERIE, AND DEFEAT THE BRITISH AT CHIPPEWA—DESPERATE BATTLE, AND VICTORY OF THE BRITISH—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO RECOVER FORT ERIE.

The continuance of the war had produced very serious effects in the American states. The blockade of their harbours had caused the destruction of their trade, and consequently ruined the American customs—the only source of revenue, except the sale of waste lands, on which the government had hitherto relied. The congress was therefore obliged to devise a variety of new taxes, which were to continue during the war, and for a year after its termination. A considerable national debt was also incurred, to enable the state to carry on the war. These circumstances tended to make the contest unpopular, and to generate discontent even among the very democratic party who had hitherto been loudest in their defiance of England.

Notwithstanding these unpropitious circumstances, great preparations were made during the winter, and at the commencement of the year 1814, for yet another invasion of Canada. On the other hand, the Canadians strained every nerve to meet the coming storm. The militia was augmented, and considerable sums were voted by the chief towns, to expedite the transmission of troops. The Indians, also, from their hatred of the Americans, adopted the cause of the colonists and the British. In March, an embassy from these wild people waited on the governor of Quebec, to beg the protection of the British government against the aggressions of the restless citizens of the United States. "The Americans," they said, "are taking lands from us every day: they have no hearts, father; they have no pity for us; they want to drive us beyond the setting sun; but we hope, although we

are few, and are here, as it were, upon a little island, our great and mighty father, who lives beyond the great lake, will not forsake us in our distress, but continue to remember his faithful red children."

With the exception of a few petty incursions, the snows of Canada remained untrodden by hostile steps until the end of March. On the 30th of that month, General Wilkinson, with a force of 4,000 men, attacked the Canadian outposts at La Cole Mill, a place about eight miles distant from Lake Champlain. Thus began the fourth invasion of the British possessions in America. After a desperate fight for two hours and a-half, the republicans retired, with a loss amounting in killed, wounded, and missing, to 154 men.

The fort and town of Oswego, about sixty miles from Sacketts Harbour, contained a large quantity of American military and naval stores. On the 5th of May it was attacked by Sir James Yeo and General Drummond. It is supposed that the Americans had received some information of the intentions of the English, as 300 heavy and light artillery, with several engineer and artillery officers, had recently arrived at the fort, where also the batteries had been repaired and fresh picketed, and new platforms laid for the guns. In consequence of a heavy gale, the British could not disembark that day, but on the following one, 300 seamen and marines were landed, and after a brief struggle, the American militia fled into the woods. In ten minutes afterwards, the fort was in the possession of the British. The barracks and military stores were then destroyed, and the provisions and

guns carried away. On the morning of the 7th, the British re-embarked, and abandoned Oswego. On the 15th of May, a body of 500 Americans, under Colonel Campbell, landed at Long Point, in the neighbourhood of Dover, from which a few dragoons and militia, who had been stationed there, immediately retired. The people being thus left unprotected, the Americans set fire to the whole village, comprising forty-six houses. An attempt made by Captain Popham to destroy the American flotilla in Sandy Creek, also terminated disastrously; for the British were repulsed with a loss of seventy men.

The American forces intended for the invasion of Upper Canada, were concentrated, under the command of Major-general Brown, in the neighbourhood of Buffalo, Black Rock, and other places on the Niagara frontier. His force amounted to about 5,000 men, exclusive of the militia of the district, who could assemble to the amount of two or three thousand. On the morning of the 3rd of July, General Brown crossed the strait, and summoned Fort Erie to surrender. The garrison, which consisted of but 170 men, thinking resistance utterly useless, surrendered after the discharge of a few shots, by which one Englishman was killed, and four Americans wounded. The English prisoners were sent across the river, and marched into the interior of New York, and an American garrison placed in possession of the captured fort. General Ripley, an American officer, with about 5,000 men, then advanced confidently to the neighbourhood of Chippewa. The British force there was under the command of General Rial, and consisted of about 1,500 regular troops and a thousand militia and Indians. Notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy in respect to numbers, Rial adopted the bold resolution of hazarding an immediate attack. On the afternoon of the 4th, the British crossed the Chippewa, and marched to the attack. A fierce encounter ensued, in which the Kentucky rifles poured out death from behind the trees. After they were driven in, the main body of the British advanced to the attack in column, and were received by the Americans in line. The head of the British column was crushed by the fire of the Americans; and at length General Rial was obliged to retreat, with a loss amounting to 150 killed, 320 wounded, and forty-six missing. That of the Americans, was sixty killed and 235

wounded. The discomfited British retired to their intrenched camp. An eloquent writer has observed, that this well-fought action "demonstrated that increased experience and protracted hostilities were beginning to produce their ordinary effects in teaching a people, naturally brave, the art of war."

General Rial, threatened by the advancing Americans, and compelled to fall back to Twenty-mile Creek, was shortly afterwards reinforced by General Drummond and a body of veterans who had served under Wellington in the Peninsula. With this force, General Rial turned on his victor, and on the 25th of July, a considerable battle took place. The British guns, nine in number, were placed upon an eminence which swept the field. The Americans advanced to the attack with confidence, and the struggle began at about six in the evening. The storm of battle fell upon the British centre and left. The latter was forced back; General Rial was wounded, and captured by the enemy. The British centre, however, stood its ground, and the guns upon the hill caused terrible destruction. General Brown, therefore, resolved upon taking them; and his troops advanced with such vigour, that they captured five of the British cannon, which they were, however, unable to remove. At this point the conflict raged with terrible fury; British artillerymen were bayoneted while in the act of loading, the combatants fought hand-to-hand, and the artillery was frequently taken and retaken. The battle had raged for three hours, and then fatigue and darkness suspended the strife. During this pause in the work of death, the roar of the falls of Niagara was heard, mingled with the moans of dying men. The British first renewed the contest, and the American general soon gave orders for a retreat. About midnight the Americans retired, leaving 930 killed and wounded upon the field. Besides this, they lost 300 prisoners. The British guns which had been captured were retaken, together with one of the enemy's. The British loss was very considerable, amounting, in killed, wounded, and missing, to nearly 900 men. The Indians on the side of the English, ran away early in the battle. On the following day the Americans continued their retreat to Fort Erie, and in consequence of their deficiency of means of transport, they burnt or threw into the river a quantity of provi-

sions, stores, and camp equipage. The result of this battle, bravely fought on both sides, put an end to the projected invasion of Canada, and threw a damp upon the American cause.

General Drummond, having constructed a temporary bridge across the Chippewa, for the carriage of his troops and cannon, pushed forward with the daring resolution of attacking the Americans in Fort Erie. It was scarcely probable that such an attempt could succeed, for Fort Erie was garrisoned by 3,500 Americans, and the English assailants numbered but 2,000. Our readers are probably aware, that it is highly imprudent in an army to storm a fort, unless it is superior in numbers to the garrison within that fort. General Drummond divided his army into three columns, and at two in the morning of the 15th of August, the first, under Colonel Fischer, attacked the enemy's intrenchments at Snake Hill. A heavy fire was opened upon the head of the column by the Americans, who succeeded in throwing it into confusion. Feeling his inability to get possession of the battery, and anxious to avoid the deadly showers of grape which were thrown upon his troops, Colonel Fischer attempted to pass the point of the abattis, by wading breast-deep into the lake, to which the works were open. In this attempt also he failed, nearly 200 of his men being killed or drowned, and the rest compelled to retire precipitately. The centre

and left columns of the British, the former led by General Drummond, got entangled near the lake, between the rocks and the water, and did not arrive in time. Thrice were the British led on to the assault, and thrice were they repulsed by the tremendous fire of the foe. Colonel Drummond then moved his troops silently round the ditch, and, in the darkness of the morning, repeated his charge, when his troops, ascending the scaling-ladders with great rapidity, gained a footing on the parapet. They then charged furiously with the bayonet, and drove the Americans before them. The latter several times charged their assailants, but were unable to prevent them from turning the guns of the fort upon the garrison within it. While this struggle was proceeding, a powder-magazine blew up with an explosion so tremendous, that the British, thinking a mine had been sprung, were seized with a panic, and rushed in disorder out of the fort. The attack was not renewed, and the British returned to their camp, having, in this unfortunate affair, 175 men killed, 308 wounded, and 186 prisoners. The loss of the Americans was comparatively small. The following day, General Drummond was reinforced by two new regiments from Canada, but he prudently abstained from another assault. Still he was able to coop up the American army in a corner of the British dominions, and thus render them useless during the rest of the campaign.

THE BATTLE OF BLADENSBURG—WASHINGTON TAKEN, AND ITS PUBLIC BUILDINGS BURNT—ALEXANDRIA IS TAKEN—BATTLE OF THE MEETING-HOUSE—THE BRITISH MARCH AGAINST BALTIMORE, BUT ABANDON THE ATTEMPT.

THE great European war in which England had been engaged having terminated, the government resolved to carry on hostilities in America on a scale more consistent with the power and dignity of the British empire. In the middle of August, a force of 3,500 men, a large portion of which were veterans who had served under Wellington, arrived in Chesapeake Bay, in the *Royal Oak*, of 74 guns, and the *Dictator* and *Diadem*, of 64 guns each. They were under the direction of two officers of vigour, courage, and judgment; General Ross commanding the land forces, and Admiral Cockburn the fleet. Their object was to intimidate the Americans by striking a blow at Washington, the nominal capital of the United

States. A hint that the British government contemplated such an enterprise, had been incautiously dropped by an English diplomatist at Ghent, where envoys had met from the two countries to negotiate for peace. This intelligence was forwarded to President Madison, who, on the 1st of July, submitted to his council a plan for instantly calling two or three thousand men into the field, and holding ten or twelve thousand militia and volunteers, of the neighbouring states, in readiness to reinforce them. The next day he created into a military district the whole state of Maryland, the district of Columbia, and that part of Virginia north of the Rappahannock river, embracing an exposed coast of nearly one thousand miles;

vulnerable at every point, and intersected by many large rivers. On the 4th of July, the president made further preparations, by addressing a requisition to the several states of the union for 93,500 militia; 15,000 of which were to be drawn from the district surrounding the metropolis, for whose defence they were intended. The appeal was cheerfully answered, but when the day of trial came, this militia force of 93,500 men, had listened rather to the counsels of prudence than to those of courage, and they were nowhere to be found. In reference to this event, it has been truly observed, that no reliance is to be placed on the nominal paper-musters of such militia arrays when real danger is to be faced.

The newly-arrived force from England first took possession of Tangiers island, from whence they sent invitations to the negro slaves of the adjoining provinces to join them, and offered them emancipation as a reward for their services. Seventeen hundred obeyed the call, were disciplined, and proved of considerable service in subsequent operations. "This circumstance," says Alison, "marked, in an unequivocal manner, the perilous foundation on which society in the southern provinces of the United States is rested, and the heedlessness of the people who, placed on the edge of such a volcano, urged on the war which might at once lead to its explosion."

Washington is approached from the bay of Chesapeake by the rivers Potomac and Patuxent. Admiral Cockburn and his vessels, having General Ross and his troops on board, entered the latter river. One reason for doing so, was the certainty they would have of encountering Commodore Barney's flotilla of gun-boats, which had taken refuge there. The British ships of war having penetrated up the stream as far as Benedict, beyond which there is not sufficient draught of water for large vessels, the boats of the fleet were sent forward after the American flotilla. As they opened the reach above Pig Point, they perceived the American flag flying on a large sloop, and sixteen other vessels extending in a long line astern of it. At first it was supposed that Commodore Barney intended to dispute the passage of the river by an unequal fight. On approaching the gun-boats, however, it was found they had been abandoned and set on fire, the flag having been left flying in the hope that the English would approach precipitately, and be blown up into the air

with them. Happily, the intention of the enemy was discovered. One after another the American gun-boats blew up, and their blazing fragments fell hissing and smoking into the stream. In a few hours sixteen were totally destroyed, and the seventeenth, being but little injured, fell into the possession of the British. Thus the whole naval force of the enemy in that direction was destroyed, and the capital left comparatively defenceless.

Admiral Cockburn and General Ross resolved to march at once upon Washington; and the troops, amounting to 3,500 military, and 200 sailors to carry the guns (two 3-pounders only), landed at Benedict and pushed forward to Bladensburg, a village within five miles of the capital. It was a bold, and in many respects a rash adventure, to attack with so small a force the chief city of a great republic, which numbered its 8,000,000 of inhabitants, and boasted of having 800,000 men in arms! At Bladensburg, the American army intended for the defence of the capital, was stationed under the command of General Winder. The president had been greatly disappointed in his expectations of the forces he had summoned: but a small portion made their appearance—the spirit of the republic seemed paralysed; and General Winder had but 7,400 men under his command to drive back the invaders. This, however, was more than double the force of the British, while they had but two guns, and he twenty-six. It is difficult to imagine how, in such a case, fighting as the Americans were, not for national glory or their fatherland alone, but for the preservation of a city which symbolised the dignity and power of the whole republic, they could have been otherwise than successful.

The battle of Bladensburg—though it better deserves the name of rout than battle—took place on the 24th of August, and scarcely lasted half-an-hour. In order to advance, the English had to cross the river Potomac by a single bridge, all the approaches to which were commanded by the cannon of the Americans. General Ross divided his troops into two columns, and gave orders for an immediate attack. One column, under the command of Colonel Thornton, advanced rapidly through the fire, dashed across the bridge, and carried a fortified house at the other end of it. The other column, under Colonel Brooke, then crossed, and the two attacked the right

and left of the enemy at the same moment. It was soon seen that unpractised troops, and an undisciplined militia, could not stand in position against veteran regulars. The American batteries were carried, and their first line hurled back in confusion on the second, by one column of the British alone. The American army, astonished and appalled, took to flight, poured through Washington in confusion, and never halted until they reached the heights of Georgetown, leaving the guns in the hands of the victors. Pursuit was not attempted, chiefly because the British had no cavalry, but also in consequence of the extreme heat of the day, which had completely exhausted our men. The American loss was not great, for they were seized with panic, and fled before many of them could be killed; that of the English amounted to sixty-one killed and 185 wounded, a loss inflicted almost entirely by the American artillery during the forcing of the bridge. Before the arrival of the British at Bladensburg, President Madison had reviewed the American troops, who were delighted with his heroic language; and when the action commenced, he and a few others took up their position on a neighbouring hill, to witness the defeat of the invaders. Scarcely had the battle commenced before he sought his safety in flight. To quote the language of one of his own countrymen,—“Not all the allurements of fame, not all the obligations of duty, nor the solemn invocations of honour, could excite a spark of courage; the love of a life which had become useless to mankind, and served but to embarrass the public councils and prejudice the public cause, stifled the voice of patriotism, and prevailed over the love of glory. At the very first shot, the trembling coward, with a faltering voice, exclaimed—‘Come, General Armstrong; come, Colonel Munro; let us go, and leave it to the commanding general.’” According to other accounts, he narrowly made his escape; for it is said, that a delay of another five minutes, would have placed the president and the whole of the executive corps in the hands of the British.

After the battle, General Ross allowed his men two hours to rest. The march was then resumed; and, about eight in the evening, the troops arrived at an open piece of ground about a mile from Washington. There 2,000 of them were halted, and the remainder accompanied General Ross and Admiral Cockburn into the city.

As if needlessly to infuriate the victor, a volley was fired from the windows of a house, which killed one soldier and wounded three others, besides striking the horse on which General Ross rode. The offenders were instantly seized, and the house set on fire. Permission to ransom the city was given to the American authorities, and declined. Accordingly, the next morning, the capital, including the senate-house and house of representatives, the arsenal, dockyard, treasury, war-office, president’s palace, rope-walk, and the great bridge across the Potomac, were all given to the flames, and reduced to ashes. Before the conflagration of the president’s palace, General Ross, with some of his companions-in-arms, drank to the health of the prince-regent of England, within the walls of that edifice. The American troops, before evacuating the city, had themselves set fire to the navy-yard, and thus consumed immense magazines of powder, 20,000 stand of arms, a fine frigate of 1,600 tons, nearly finished, and a sloop of twenty guns already afloat. What they left unfinished, the English completed; and 206 pieces of cannon, and 100,000 rounds of ball-cartridge, were taken and destroyed. All this time private property was respected, and the inhabitants of the city uninjured. American writers assert, that many private houses were destroyed or greatly injured, and that several excesses were committed by the soldiery. In the confusion consequent on the destruction of all the public buildings of a city, some outrages may have taken place, and some unintentional injury must have occurred; but these matters were exceptions. Mr. Gales, an Irish newspaper editor, who had made himself notorious for his hostility to the English, declared in his American journal, “no houses were half as much plundered by the enemy, as by the knavish wretches about the town, who profited by the general distress.” On the evening of the conflagration, the British leisurely retired, and reached Benedict, by easy marches, on the 29th, where they re-embarked without any opposition from the enemy. When the English were fairly back on board their ships, President Madison issued a pompous proclamation, in which he invited the American people to join in a “manly and universal determination to chastise and expel the invaders.” It would seem he had quite forgotten that it was entirely in consequence of the continued attempts of the Americans upon the British

possessions of Canada that this retaliatory expedition against Washington had been taken. As may be presumed, the taking of the capital of the United States, and the destruction of all its public edifices, caused an extraordinary sensation in the minds of the American people.

Scarcely had the smoke ceased ascending from the blackened walls and rafters of the government buildings of Washington, than another blow was struck at the honour and security of the Americans. Captain Gordon, in the *Seahorse*, of 38 guns, with Captain Napier, in the *Euryalus*, of 38 guns, accompanied by three bomb-vessels, ascended the river Potomac, with the intention of subjecting the town of Alexandria to the same fate as had befallen the capital of the States. After having experienced great difficulties in threading the intricacies of the river, they arrived on the evening of August the 27th, abreast of Fort Washington, which commanded the stream. After a brief bombardment, the fort was deserted by its defenders, and fell into the hands of the English, together with all its guns. The expedition then pushed on to Alexandria, and took up such a position as effectually commanded the shipping of the place, then amounting to two-and-twenty vessels. Captain Gordon then proposed the terms on which he was willing to spare the town from the fate of Washington. These were thankfully accepted. The forts were destroyed, with all their artillery; the twenty-two vessels, with all their merchandise, were made prizes and carried away in triumph. On returning down the river, the British squadron was fired at by some batteries hastily erected with the object of cutting off their retreat. The fire was instantly returned, and with such effect that the Americans were driven from their guns, and the convoy proceeded in safety.

These enterprises, so easily accomplished and so ruinous to the enemy, induced Admiral Cockburn and General Ross to undertake the attack of Baltimore. Accordingly, the fleet sailed in that direction, and, on the 11th of September, reached the mouth of the Patapsco, which leads to that city. The attack, however, had been expected, and extensive preparations made to meet it. The British ships and vessels of light draught of water having anchored near the point of attack, the troops landed on the morning of the 12th, and marched directly to Baltimore. For the first six miles no

opposition was offered to their progress, though they passed several newly-made intrenchments, which had been abandoned at their approach. As they neared Baltimore, General Ross pushed on with an advanced guard of skirmishers, when they were fired upon by a body of the enemy concealed in the woods. The fire was returned, and the Americans fled; but ardent General Ross had received a bullet in the breast, which, in a few minutes, terminated his existence. Colonel Brooke immediately assumed the command, and the little army again pressed forward. At length they discovered the enemy, consisting of 6,000 infantry, 400 horse, and six guns, drawn up in line across the road, protected on either flank by a thick wood, and in front by a range of strong wooden palings, about breast-high. Brooke commanded an immediate attack, which was made with great vigour. The Americans fired steadily until the British reached the palings and began to break through, and being at the same time attacked in the rear and left flank by a detachment of our forces, which had made a circuitous route for this purpose, they threw down their arms and fled in every direction, leaving 600 killed and wounded on the field, besides 300 prisoners and two guns, in the hands of the British. To this spirited engagement, which did not last more than a quarter of an hour, was given the odd name of "the battle of the meeting-house."

The next day, Colonel Brooke and his little army pushed on to within a mile and a-half of Baltimore, where he found a body of 15,000 men, with a large train of artillery, manned by the sailors of the frigate lying at Baltimore, strongly posted on a series of fortified heights which encircled the town. It was undoubtedly imprudent to attack such a force with only 3,000 bayonets; but the gallant colonel had resolved on a night assault, when he received a despatch from Admiral Cochrane, informing him that the enemy had sunk twenty ships in the river, and thus, by preventing his further advance, made naval co-operation impossible. Satisfied, therefore, that Baltimore could not be taken without incurring a loss for which the possession of it could offer no equivalent, Colonel Brooke withdrew his troops to the ships.*

* There had been much misconception of the English power on the part of the American people, much extravagant boasting, and many confident assertions that the English alone were the cause of the war.

Though the British failed at Baltimore, they met with successes elsewhere. In the month of July, Sir Thomas Hardy, in the *Ramilies*, with Lieutenant Pilkington, sailed from Halifax, and took all the islands in Passamaquady Bay. In September, a naval expedition, under Sir John Sherbrooke and Admiral Griffith, sailed from Halifax and directed their course up the Penobscot river. Fort Custine, which commands the entrance, was abandoned by the enemy, and then blown up. An American frigate, the *John Adams*, was burnt after a short contest. The British expedition then proceeded to the town of Bangor, which surrendered, and

gave up twenty-two guns; and also to Machias, which likewise submitted without firing a shot. The whole militia of the county of Washington was put on parole not to serve again during the war, and possession was taken of the entire country between the Penobscot river and the British frontier of New Brunswick—a district a hundred miles broad. Thus the Americans learnt, by fatal experience, that invasion was an unsafe policy, which recoiled upon themselves with disastrous effects. These losses were possibly not without their value on the moral character of that people. A little adversity is a wholesome teacher.

DISGRACEFUL CONDUCT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST—CONSEQUENT DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH FLOTILLA ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, AND RETREAT OF THE ARMY FROM PLATTSBURG.

THE British government were resolved still further to retaliate on the Americans those acts of invasion which the latter had committed against Canada. The force under Sir George Prevost had been augmented by successive arrivals of reinforcements, including some of the finest regiments that had been trained under the Duke of Wellington, until it amounted to about 15,000 men. With such a power, it was naturally supposed that he could successfully invade the American provinces of Maine and New York, which border on the Canadas. Such an effort, it was deemed, would make the enemy feel the weight of that power which they had so rashly and needlessly provoked.

This, however, was by no means universal among the Americans, as the following impartial article from one of their papers, at that period, will evince:—"The war was commenced for these reasons:—First, to gratify ancient hatred against Great Britain, and to assist the French in subduing the English. Secondly, to give that tone and strength to the Madisonian government, which might naturally be expected to arise out of a state of war. Thirdly, to silence those men who had opposed the Jeffersonian and Madisonian course of policy; and to command their wealth for the purpose of keeping them still. Fourthly, to take the chances of the events which might arise out of this new state of things, and from the noise, excitement, and acclamation of successful war, probably to establish, by the help of arms, a government not unlike that of Buonaparte. Fifthly, to satisfy the people as to all the expenses and sacrifices which might arise, by conquering the Canadas, and making a great outcry as to our guns and glory. Now, it unfortunately turns out, that this war, which was pretended to be waged to protect seamen and commerce, has nearly annihilated both. Canada is not taken, and never will be. The English nation has not become bankrupt, and has

A body of 11,000 men was collected on the frontier of Lower Canada; but unfortunately, the incompetent Sir George Prevost took the command in person. It may be guessed that this circumstance marred the effect of an expedition for which victory seemed to be waiting; but the extent of this man's imbecility cannot readily be imagined. He first contrived needlessly to waste much valuable time; but at length, on the 6th of September, the troops arrived at the left bank of the little river Saranac, on the opposite side of which stood Plattsburg, a fortified place on Lake Champlain, garrisoned by General Macomb and about 1,500 Americans. It had been arranged

not fallen before our ally—in fact, Buonaparte; but he and his power are fallen for ever; and the English are the most powerful and effective nation, for their numbers, on the earth. Instead of having General Hull quietly domesticated in Little York, General Dearborn in Montreal, and General Wilkinson in Quebec, we have nobody within Canada, after two years' fighting and an hundred millions of expense, except the detachment of the army that are bravely defending themselves at Erie. But on the seaboard, and in the rivers of the United States, which conducted to the capitals of the several states, the enemy are in great and threatening force. Public credit is at an end. No confidence is placed in the national administration, even by their warmest partisans. A portion of our territory is taken away, and quietly possessed by the enemy. In short, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison have, in ten years, completely ruined the resources, and the government, and the character, and blasted the prospects of this once happy and flourishing nation. It is plain that Mr. Madison, and all his political adherents know this, and know that the country never can recover from these calamities while he and his friends remain in power."

that the attack on this place should be supported by the co-operation of the British naval force on the lake. It so happened, chiefly by the remissness of Sir George Prevost himself, that the British naval force on the lake, under the command of Captain Downie, consisted only of an unfinished frigate of 36 guns, a brig of 16 guns, two sloops of 11 guns each, and some gun-boats. These vessels were wretchedly equipped and worse manned—not a fifth part of the crews being sailors, but soldiers or Canadians, hastily, and consequently imperfectly, instructed in their duties. The *Confiance*, Captain Downie's ship, was newly built, and the carpenters were still at work upon her, when she was obliged to engage the enemy. This backward state of preparation necessarily caused some delay in her arrival to support the troops, who, however, had no cause to delay their proceedings on that account.

Immeasurably superior as was the army of Sir George Prevost to the garrison at Plattsburg, both in numbers and discipline, yet he would not order the attack until Captain Downie was ready to assist him. He even sent an offensive message to that officer, in the same way as he had done to poor Captain Barclay. Downie, who was a brave seaman, replied like one, and said that he needed no urging to perform his duty, and that he would be up with the enemy with the first breeze. To this Sir George replied, that as soon as Downie attacked the American ships, his troops should attack the forts; and that the scaling the guns of the British squadron, in doubling the head of Plattsburg Bay, should be the signal for the advance of the columns of attack. The Americans remained behind the three redoubts and two block-houses which had been erected at Plattsburg; and for four days did the English general keep his eager soldiers in inaction, watching a foe whom they could speedily have annihilated.

On the morning of the 11th, Captain Downie's flotilla hove in sight. It was soon encountered by the American squadron, commanded by Commodore M'Donough, and consisting of the *Saratoga*, of 26 guns; the brigs *Eagle*, of 26 guns; *Ticonderago*, of 17 guns; and *Pride*, of 7 guns; together with ten gun-boats. The aggregate of crews in the British squadron amounted to 537; that of the Americans, to 950: the aggregate of tons in the American squadron was 2,540; that of the British, 1,426. On the whole, it

will be seen the American squadron was by far the strongest; but had our vessels been properly manned, there would have been no reason for fear on that score. Captain Downie gave the preconcerted signal, and gallantly led the *Confiance* on to the attack, amidst a tremendous fire from the American line. All the gun-boats except three, and one of the cutters, took to flight, leaving the *Confiance* to bear the brunt of the battle. Captain Downie kept steadily on, and withheld his fire until he brought his broadside to bear on the enemy. All her guns, directed against the *Saratoga*, were fired at once; and the hull of the *Confiance* seemed one sheet of flame. Nearly half the crew of the American ship were struck, and her deck was encumbered by a mass of the dead. Of the three other British vessels, one, having become so crippled as to be unmanageable, drifted within the American line and was obliged to surrender; while another struck on a reef of rocks, and could not get into action. The whole force of the American flotilla was therefore at liberty to direct its guns almost exclusively against the *Confiance*. Still, though the crew of that ship had lost their captain, who was shot early in the action, they fired with such effect upon the *Saratoga*, as to silence her broadside and reduce her almost to the point of surrendering. The assistance of the vessels and the gun-boats that had so basely fled, would have secured a victory. Such was the state of things when the American commander contrived to wind his ship round, and bring her larboard side, hitherto untouched, to bear upon the British vessels. The *Confiance* attempted to do the same, but failed. A terrific broadside roared out from its opponent, and the British ship was soon compelled to lower its flag. One English vessel alone remained; against her all the guns of the Americans were directed, and, after a brief but heroic resistance, she too was compelled to surrender. Commodore M'Donough, on receiving the sword of Lieutenant Robertson, who assumed the command of the *Confiance* after the death of Captain Downie, observed with true magnanimity—"You owe it, sir, to the shameful conduct of your gun-boats and cutters, that you are not performing this office to me; for had they done their duty, you must have perceived, from the situation of the *Saratoga*, that I could hold out no longer; and, indeed, nothing induced me to keep up her colours but my seeing,

from the united fire of all the rest of my squadron on the *Confiance*, and her unsupported situation, that she must ultimately surrender." In this unfortunate conflict, the British had forty-seven killed and ninety-two wounded; the Americans fifty-two killed and fifty-nine wounded.

Sir George Prevost and his troops had heard the signal made by Captain Downie at the commencement of the action—that signal at which he had promised to advance upon the enemy. His soldiers were all ready and ardent for the expected conflict; when this fool or coward (for, strong as these terms are, one or the other he must have deserved, if not both), instead of giving orders for the attack, gave orders for the men to *cook their breakfasts!* The sad result of Captain Downie's being thus unsupported, was, as we have just seen, the loss of the British squadron. When that disaster was nearly consummated, the procrastinating Prevost gave the signal to attack. Before that attack was made, the shouts of the Americans announced their victory on the lake, and Prevost then recalled his command, observing that it was now too late, that no further advance into the American territory was practicable, and that the men lost in storming the redoubts, would prove an unavailing sacrifice. "There are upon record," says a writer, who speaks with an honest indignation of this disgraceful conduct, "many instances of the miraculous effects of rigid discipline and the articles of war; but there is scarcely one more marvellous than the patient forbearance and submission of the British officers and troops on this occasion. But if the brave generals serving under his orders did not take upon themselves the heavy and awful responsibility of calling a council of war for putting him under arrest as a traitor, coward, fool, or madman,—if the soldiery, maddened at seeing the flag of their country struck close under their eyes, did not hurl him into the lake,—there was still a loud roar of indignation and reproach."

The recall from the attack was followed by an order for *retreat!* Yes! having sacrificed a British squadron, Prevost gave an order which was to heap disgrace on a British army,—an order for retreat when victory was within their grasp, and at a moment when, under another leader, the far inferior force of the enemy would have been flying before them. Officers and men were in transports of rage and astonish-

ment; many of the former broke their swords, declaring they would never serve again; eight hundred of the latter deserted in disgust, and the rest mournfully marched back to the Canadian frontier, being compelled to abandon an immense quantity of ammunition and provisions, and to suffer in their retreat the bitter scoffing and hooting of the Americans.

The people of Canada joined in the murmurs of the troops against the disgraceful conduct of Sir George Prevost. Sir James Yeo, who commanded the British naval power on the lakes, took a more practical and satisfactory course. In his official despatch to the English government, he represented the conduct of that general in its true light, and gave it as his opinion, that the unfortunate Captain Downie was urged to hurry his ship into action before she was in a fit state to meet the enemy; that there was not the least necessity for the British squadron giving the enemy such an advantage as going into the bay to engage them; since, even if they had been successful, it would not in the least have assisted the troops; whereas, on the other hand, if the troops had taken the batteries first, it would have obliged the squadron of the enemy to quit the bay, and thus give the British a fair chance. Sir James Yeo added, that even after the defeat of the flotilla, the officers of the army were of opinion that they could have taken Plattsburg, and that they obeyed Sir George Prevost's orders for a retreat with extreme reluctance. In consequence of these charges Sir George was recalled, that his conduct might be investigated before a court-martial. He returned to England, where his death (hastened, no doubt, by a sense of shame) saved him from the punishment he had so justly merited. For an act which was venial in the extreme compared to the multiplied offences of this man, Commodore Byng was disgraced and shot. Had Byng been spared, and had Prevost met a disgraceful death, the scales of historical justice would have been trimmed by a more equal hand.

On the 17th of September, the American forces, which had been confined to Fort Erie by the vigilance of Colonel Drummond, rushed forth on their besiegers with great fury. Taking advantage of a thick mist and heavy rain, they at first succeeded in wresting two batteries from the British and doing considerable damage. After an obstinate contest, in which the British lost

600 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Americans 511, the latter were repulsed. Weary of remaining confined in a corner of the British dominions, they soon afterwards blew up Fort Erie, recrossed the Niagara, and withdrew into their own dominions. Thus ended the American invasion of the Canadas.

FUTILE ATTEMPT ON NEW ORLEANS, AND REPULSE OF THE BRITISH BY GENERAL JACKSON.

ALTHOUGH negotiations for peace had been opened at Ghent, and were proceeding with a prospect of speedily arriving at a specific conclusion, this did not prevent an expedition being undertaken against the Americans in Louisiana, with the expectation of capturing New Orleans, then a rising town, containing 17,000 inhabitants, and the great emporium of the cotton trade of the southern states. It was presumed that the capture of New Orleans, which commands the whole navigation of the Mississippi, would prove a heavy blow to the interests of the American government, as well as yield a rich booty to its captors. It has been estimated that no less than three millions of pounds would have been shared by those who could have been fortunate enough to have obtained even a temporary possession of the city.

The Americans obtained early information of the intentions of the British, and General Jackson, an officer who afterwards acquired distinction both in the military and political history of his country, marched to the banks of the Mississippi, and succeeded in assembling above 12,000 men in and about New Orleans, and in throwing up strong intrenchments on either side of the river, below the town. Situated on the eastern bank of the great river, "the Father of Waters," and about 110 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, New Orleans, though unfortified, presented great obstacles to an invader. Built upon a narrow neck of land, it was confined on one side by the river, on the banks of which, below the town, were some powerful forts, and protected on the other by morasses which it was almost impossible for troops to cross. The British troops and squadron, under the command of Major-general Keene and Admiral Cochrane, arrived off the shoals of the Mississippi on the 8th of December. Here the fleet anchored, and six American gun-boats advanced to dispute the landing of the troops. Captain Lockyer was accordingly deputed to dislodge or capture them; and a strong

detachment of boats, with marines and small-arm men, from each ship of the fleet, was placed under his command for that purpose. After a hard chase for six-and-thirty hours, he succeeded in coming up with and capturing, after a short battle, the whole of the enemy's gun-boats, though not without a loss of seventeen men killed and seventy-six wounded. The pursuit had led the boats thirty miles from the ships; their return was impeded by adverse winds and a stormy sea, so that they were unable to reach the ships until the 12th, or commence the landing of the troops until the 15th. Notwithstanding the latitude, the cold was intense; heavy rains were succeeded by severe frosts; and some of the negroes even perished from the severity of the weather. Great difficulties had to be overcome in the disembarkation of the troops, who amounted to about 4,500; but at length they were landed, together with a quantity of heavy guns and stores. After a portion only had reached the shore, the British were attacked during the night by a body of American militia, whom they repulsed after a severe conflict. On the 24th they were joined by Sir Edward Pakenham and by Major-general Gibbs; the former of whom had been sent out to take the command of the army, in consequence of the death of General Ross. The following day the army advanced in two columns, and marched to within six miles of New Orleans.

General Jackson had taken advantage of the delays which had occurred during the landing of the British. The defences he had constructed, assisted as he was by the peculiar nature of the country, were considered almost impregnable. His army was drawn up between the city and the invaders, as a wall of defence to the former. It was posted behind a deep canal, its right covered by the Mississippi, and its left resting on a thick wood. The American line was strengthened by a ditch which ran along its front, and was defended by flank bastions, which

enfiladed its whole extent, and on which a formidable display of heavy cannon was placed. In the event of his being driven from this strong line, General Jackson had caused two other lines to be constructed in his rear; the nearest at the distance of a mile and a-half, and the third at the distance of two miles and a quarter from his outer or main line. Nor was he satisfied with this arrangement; for, on the opposite or right bank of the river a redoubt had been erected, on which were mounted eighteen guns, commanding both the road and the river. So admirable were these defences, that some regular approaches against them, which had been commenced by the British, were abandoned as hopeless.

The fire of the Americans inflicted great damage upon the British; but, on account of their excellent intrenchments, their own loss was but trifling. All this time the labours and hardships of the soldiers were very severe. They were shared by all ranks from the general downwards, and for two days and nights no part of the army had any sleep; and such was the amount of duty to be attended to, that scarcely a moment could be allowed for the soldiers to take nourishment; though Sir Edward Pakenham, bred in the school of the Duke of Wellington, could not but be aware that no troops can be expected to fight well if they have not a proper supply of food. They were exposed to a deadly fire from the guns of the redoubt on the opposite side of the river; and the duty of a picket became more dangerous than the soldiers' position in a general action, in consequence of the incessant warfare kept up by the enemy's riflemen. The troops murmured that they were being killed piecemeal, without being allowed to get at the enemy. Pakenham was anxious to give battle, but he wished to engage on more equal terms. To bring about this he formed a plan, for the execution of which it was necessary to divide the army, by sending a portion of it across the Mississippi to seize the enemy's guns in battery, while the main body made a general attack on their whole line of intrenchment. As a preliminary to the enterprise, it was necessary to deepen a canal in the rear of the British position, across the neck of land occupied by them. Such an extraordinary amount of labour was necessary for the accomplishment of this work, the course of the canal having long been obstructed by an accumulation of

mud and weeds, that it was not made passable until the evening of the 6th of January. This result being accomplished, about fifty gun-boats and barges were brought up close to the bank, and at night launched into the Mississippi, with about 600 men in them, under the command of Colonel Thornton. About daybreak on the 8th, these were landed on the right bank of the river without opposition, while the armed boats moved forward to support them. The unexpected arrival of Major-general Lambert, with a reinforcement of 1,600 men, also raised the spirits of the troops, whose numbers, by this timely arrival, were swelled to about 8,000 men; and confident hopes were excited that, despite all their previous sufferings, success would crown their efforts at last.

Colonel Thornton's progress had been delayed by unexpected obstacles, and Pakenham impatiently gave orders for the assault on the American intrenched line, before the troops under Thornton had attacked the terrible flanking battery on the right of the river. Thornton was to have approached the battery in the darkness of night; to rush upon it, seize the guns, and, on beholding a rocket-signal in the air, turn their fire upon the American lines on the opposite bank. The rocket was seen in the air while, in consequence of unavoidable delays, his men had yet three miles to march before they reached the battery. Thus the assault on the lines was unsupported by the attack on the battery. As the troops moved forward, the dull light of a winter's dawn revealed their position to the enemy, and a tremendous fire from the batteries was opened upon them. Still they moved steadily on, when it was discovered that the scaling-ladders and fascines had been forgotten. Sir Edward Pakenham, furious at the disappointment, sent back a regiment for them; but, before they came, the time for using them with advantage had been irrevocably lost. In the absence of the proper appliances, one body of troops, urged on by enthusiasm, dashed across the ditch, and attempted to reach the parapet by mounting on each other's shoulders; in this a few succeeded, but they were not supported in time, and were soon laid low by the storm of bullets directed against them. In the meantime the fire from the American intrenchments was so fierce, that the head of the British column was driven back in disorder. The Americans were able to fire over their ramparts without exposing them-

selves to danger, and a panic began to prevail among their assailants. Pakenham resolved, if possible, by his own valour to retrieve the waning fortunes of the day. Rallying his troops, he led on a fresh column to the attack, and was in the act, with his hat off, of cheering them forward, when a musket-ball struck him on the knee and killed the horse on which he rode. Regardless of his wound he mounted a second horse, and was again dashing forward when another bullet struck him, and he fell dead into the arms of his aide-de-camp, Major M'Dougal. Generals Keene and Gibbs still strove to animate the troops, but both of them were soon wounded and carried from the field. Other officers were laid low by the keen-eyed American riflemen; and at length General Lambert, on whom the command had fallen, finding that it was impossible to carry the American works, and that the carnage amongst his men was both dreadful and unavailing, gave unwillingly an order to retreat. This was effected in considerable confusion; but the Americans were too cautious to leave the protection of their military works and attempt a pursuit. In this sanguinary affair the English lost 2,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Our men lay on the blood-trodden ground as if they had been mowed down in ranks, while there was not an American to be seen among the dead. They had, as we have previously observed, fought under cover, and they asserted with a natural tone of triumph, that their loss only amounted to eight men killed and fourteen wounded.

Colonel Thornton, with his little body of men on the other side of the river, had accomplished the task assigned to him; but, unhappily, it was effected too late. By a sudden charge with a part of the 85th and a body of seamen, he had made himself master of the redoubt, with a loss only of three men killed and forty wounded. The Americans, not expecting an attack on that side of the river, were taken by surprise, and thrice the number of the British fled before them, leaving behind their twenty-two guns. When he was about to turn these weapons on the enemy's flanks, he received news from General Lambert of the defeat of the attack on the left side of the river. An officer was sent across to examine the situation of the battery, and report whether it was tenable. On his giving an unfavourable opinion upon this point, the

detachment was ordered to return and join the main body. Most of the guns were spiked and abandoned, but some were carried away. Amongst the latter was a brass howitzer, on which was inscribed, "Taken at the surrender of York Town, 1781." When the army was thus reunited, a flag of truce was dispatched to the Americans, who readily agreed to a truce of two days for the burial of the dead. These last sad duties paid, the soldiers were anxious to renew the conflict, to avenge the fate of their lost companions; but this satisfaction was denied them. The army was in a very critical position, with a victorious force double their number, and constantly increasing, in front; and fourteen miles of desert country behind them, which must be crossed before they could regain their ships. General Lambert, therefore, prudently resolved not to hazard another battle, and on the night of the 18th, he commenced a retreat, which he accomplished with such ability, as to bring away with him nearly all the wounded, together with the artillery, ammunition, and stores, with the exception of eight heavy guns, which were destroyed. Eighty wounded men, too bad to be removed, were left to the humanity of the victors, which was generously extended to them. The Americans, indeed, did not, at least on this occasion, seem animated by any feeling of hatred towards our men. During a period of some days that General Lambert was detained in making a road across an extensive morass, they offered large inducements to the soldiers to desert and settle in the new country. Printed papers were thrown into the pickets, offering land and money to deserters; even our outposts were approached by men who endeavoured to persuade the sentinels to quit their stations. They offered some of our men as much as fifty or even one hundred dollars each; told them that all men who served kings must be in the condition of slaves; and painted the blessings of a land which was the home of freedom and prosperity. A considerable number of the soldiers, worn out with fatigues and privations, accepted these offers, deserted from their ranks, and adopted the new country as their own. When the British army began to retire, the Americans did not offer to molest it; and General Lambert and his troops reached their ships lying near the mouth of the Mississippi, and re-embarked on the 27th of January. Thus terminated an expedition which, with all its melancholy dis-

asters, was yet untarnished by disgrace. Such was the gratitude and admiration of the Americans towards General Jackson (afterwards president of the United States), that they bestowed upon him the extravagant title of "Conqueror of the Conquerors of Buonaparte." It has been truly observed, that the rapid success of the British when they met the American troops in the open field, had rendered the English general insensible to the dangers of attacking them when behind formidable intrenchments. The position of the Americans, and their expert use of the deadly rifle, made inexperienced soldiers a match for veterans.

We come now to a relation of the last act of the war. Having abandoned New Orleans, the vice-admiral and General Lambert resolved on an attack upon the American settlement of Mobile, on the coast of the state of Alabama. On the 8th of February, 600 men were landed, without opposition, about three miles from Fort Bowyer. The light companies were immediately thrown out, and, under cover of them, the brigade also was landed. The enemy showed themselves about 12,000 yards in front of the fort, but they gradually fell back without firing, and sought for protection within it. General Lambert, and some other officers, having reconnoitred the fort, expressed an opinion, that when batteries were established it must speedily fall. Ground was at once broken; the soldiers worked resolutely with their spades, works were thrown up, and on the morning of the 11th, a battery of four 18-pounders on the left, and two 8-inch howitzers on the right (each at about a hundred yards' distance), two 6-pounders at about three hundred yards, and eight small cohorns advantageously placed on the right, at intervals between one hundred and two hundred yards, all furnished to keep up an incessant fire for two days, were prepared to open. Before proceeding to extremities, General Lambert summoned the fort to surrender, and gave the commanding officer half-an-hour in which to accept or reject his terms. Convinced of the uselessness of resistance, the American officer submitted and surrendered the fort, with its two-and-twenty guns; and the garrison, consisting of 366 men, were sent on board the squadron as prisoners. The fort was found to be in an excellent state of defence, and well supplied

with provisions. It was, however, of little importance to the English government, and its possession was more than counterbalanced by the expenses of the force employed against it. The day following the surrender, intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between Great Britain and the United States; and the fort was shortly afterwards restored to the Americans.

General Jackson, though received in New Orleans with extravagant acclamations as a conqueror, did not meet with, from the legislature of Louisiana, that gratitude for his services which he had a right to expect. At a critical moment he had declared martial law in New Orleans. Many complained of this circumstance as a military tyranny, and they expressed their resentment by voting thanks to the officers who had defended the city, but omitting the name of the general. Democracy is ever jealous of the proceedings of military power, and rightly so; but, in this instance, a jealous regard for liberty led its votaries into an act of public ingratitude. Several influential citizens, animated by a sense of this, waited upon the general with a confidential address. He gratefully acknowledged the honour, and commented with some severity on the inconsistent conduct of his adversaries. He even caused one of the members of the legislature to be arrested, on account of certain articles published in a newspaper, which he considered of a dangerous tendency. A writ of *habeas corpus* was accordingly applied for, and served on the general. He, in return, arrested the district judge by whom it had been granted, and sent him out of the city. When, in consequence of the peace, the judge was restored to his authority, the general was summoned to answer for his contempt of court. He was defended by counsel, but with so little success, that sentence was given against him, and he was fined a thousand dollars. This decision was bitterly complained of by the citizens of New Orleans, who soon raised by subscription the amount of the fine; but it had been already paid by the general. He refused to be reimbursed, and made it his request, that the sum which had been destined for his relief, might be distributed among the relatives of the soldiers who had fallen in the conflict. He then surrendered his command to General Gaines, and retired from the service to private life.

PEACE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

DURING the progress of the war, the British government had made several overtures for a reconciliation. These were at first mistaken by the Americans, and regarded as confessions of weakness. The fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of peace in Europe, which left England free to concentrate her whole power against the United States, undeceived the Americans, and both president and people became anxious for peace. They well knew they were not in a condition to carry on a war with England single-handed; for they had brought themselves into great difficulties by contending with her even at a time when she was engaged in a war which taxed her resources and strained her powers of endurance to an extent unparalleled in her history. The foreign trade of America, which before the war amounted to £22,000,000 of exports, and £28,000,000 of imports, may be described as destroyed; for in 1814 the former had sunk to £1,400,000, and the latter to less than £3,000,000. During the war, no less than 1,400 vessels of war and merchandise had appeared in the *London Gazette*, beside which it is conjectured that an equal number were taken, which, on account of the smallness of their value, or some other circumstances, did not appear on that register. The ordinary revenues of the States, arising chiefly from customs, had disappeared; heavy taxes had to be laid on in consequence, two-thirds of the trading classes had become insolvent, and the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New England, shrinking from the impending ruin, were taking steps to break off from the union, and make a separate peace with Great Britain.

Lord Castlereagh, on the part of the English government, had proposed the appointment of plenipotentiaries to treat respecting terms of peace, either at London or Gottenburg. The American diplomatist made choice of the latter place, but the negotiations were afterwards, by mutual consent, carried on at Ghent. After much deliberation and correspondence, a treaty of peace was signed in that city on the 24th of December, 1814, on terms which have correctly been described as honourable to Great Britain. On each side there was a general restitution of conquests, and the boundaries of the Canadian frontier were defined; though, unfortunately, not with such preci-

sion as to exclude future dissensions. The ostensible cause of the war—the right of search—was left untouched; but America gave up her claims to compensation for captures made during the war, under the British orders in council. The peace in Europe having put an end to the continental system of the French emperor, the right of search was no longer of importance to England. Each nation engaged to terminate all hostilities existing between them and the Indian tribes. All prisoners of war, taken on either side, by land or by sea, were to be set at liberty, and to be allowed to return to their respective countries as soon as they should have paid the debts they had contracted during the period of their captivity. All archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a public or private character, which had fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, were, as far as practicable, to be restored. Finally, it stipulated that—“Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas, both his majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition: it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.” In England some disappointment was experienced that the war was not prolonged until the injuries this country had sustained were sufficiently avenged; but the government had no desire to carry on warfare of a vindictive character. The effects on the war had not been unfelt on the manufacturing interests of this country, an enormous market for which had existed in the United States. A permanent injury in this direction was effected by the manufacture of those commodities by the Americans themselves, which had hitherto been imported from this country. In nearly all the American States, news of the restoration of peace was hailed with joy, if not with enthusiasm. The bearer of the ratification of the treaty was honoured with a festive welcome, and carried through the principal streets of New York in peaceful triumph.

It is, perhaps, not out of place, in concluding this account of hostilities between two great nations, having one common origin, one religion, one language, and almost one literature, to trust that war may

never be renewed between them. Passing clouds have since dimmed the holy sunshine of mutual peace; and a distinguished historic writer has spoken of this peace as but an indefinite truce rather than a final pacification. In this stormy period it is indeed difficult to glance into the coming time, or

to predict the attitude of great nations in the misty and even threatening future; but we trust, with heartfelt ferventness, that the world will never again behold so sad and unnatural a spectacle as the flags and troops of England and America arrayed in deadly strife against each other.

BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS BY LORD EXMOUTH.

As already detailed in another part of this work, the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo brought peace to Europe—a peace which may be said to have remained unbroken till the year 1854. Notwithstanding the great sacrifices which England had made during the period of the war, in the year in which it concluded the nation was in a more prosperous condition than at any other period of its history.*

The return of peace now enabled Britain to turn her attention to affairs which, during

* The exports, imports, and tonnage of Great Britain had more than doubled since the war began; while the population of Great Britain and Ireland had increased from 14,000,000 in 1792, to 18,000,000 in 1815. Very different was the condition of France: in every way she had suffered most severely; and the last wild enterprise of Napoleon, besides the blood which was shed, drained her of sums not falling short of sixty million pounds. In every way the war subjected her to great mortification and enormous losses. She had to lament many miscarriages at sea. On these it is not for the English historian boastfully to enlarge; but the following statement, by a French writer in the *Quotidienne*, will not be suspected of exaggeration, and the view which he takes of the whole case it may be desirable to preserve. Having described the naval forces of France to have greatly fallen off in 1844 (the date at which he wrote), during the preceding half century, he supplies the following particulars:—"The French fleet, on the first of October, 1792, reckoned eighty six ships of the line, of which thirty-nine belonged to Brest, ten to L'Orient, thirteen to Rochefort, and twenty-four to Toulon. Three of these were of 120 guns, five of 110, ten of 80, sixty-seven of 74, and one of 64 guns. War broke out. The imperious tyranny of the commissioners of the Convention, the timid hesitation of some of the admirals, the ill-conceived and unconnected instructions sent from Paris, by men who knew nothing of navigation, and a concurrence of circumstances, subjected our squadrons to great disasters, although the courage of our naval heroes never for one moment failed. Our losses were enormous. It is painful to recall them; but it is the duty of history; and we have before us official documents of them which ought not to be concealed, as being secured in profitable lessons. Experience thus dearly bought should ever be brought into use. In 1793 we had thirteen ships of the line and nine frigates taken or destroyed at Toulon, and five frigates taken elsewhere; 1794, six ships taken or

the bustle and turmoil of war, she had been obliged to pass over. Up to the present year, the Barbary states on the coast of Africa had been allowed to carry on their piratical practices, destroying the commerce of the Mediterranean, seizing on the persons comprising the crews or passengers of the vessels they attacked, and selling them as slaves. Their prisons were filled with captives of every nation, who were treated with barbarous cruelty: and among those liberated by the British was a Neapolitan lady

sunk, eight frigates taken; 1795, five ships taken or burnt, six frigates taken; 1796, seven frigates taken; 1797, three frigates taken; 1798, thirteen ships taken or destroyed (eleven at Aboukir), ten frigates taken and two destroyed; 1799, six frigates taken; 1800, two ships and six frigates taken; 1801, two ships and ten frigates taken; 1803, one ship and six frigates taken; 1805, fourteen ships taken or destroyed (Trafalgar), four frigates taken; 1808, six ships and one frigate forced to surrender at Cadiz, two frigates taken; 1809, six ships and seven frigates destroyed, and seven frigates taken; 1810, eight frigates taken; 1811, three frigates taken, two destroyed; 1812, one ship taken, two frigates destroyed; 1813, two frigates taken; 1814, seven frigates taken; 1815, one frigate taken. The losses of France, during these twenty-three years, amounted to ninety-one ships of the line and 177 frigates, comprising eleven ships and as many frigates wrecked, or burnt by accident. Out of sixty ships taken, forty-one were added to the British navy; and out of 137 frigates taken, 108 had the same fate. These reverses on the ocean, however, did not prevent France from being triumphant on the continent, and her victories on land compelled different nations to add their squadrons to her's, but her allies were equally unfortunate. Their losses were:—Holland, twenty-two ships of the line and forty frigates; Spain, twenty-one ships and twenty-two frigates; Denmark, twenty ships and ten frigates. And yet all these successes of Great Britain were purchased at but a very easy rate. She had only seven ships of the line taken from her—viz., the *Alexander*, in 1794; the *Censeur* and *Berwick*, in 1795; the *Leander*, in 1798; the *Hannibal* and *Swiftsure*, in 1801; and the *Calcutta*, in 1805. She had also to record the capture of twelve of her frigates. One of these was by a deed the most glorious in our naval annals. On the 14th of December, 1798, the *Ambuscade* was boarded and taken by our sloop the *Bayonnaise*, of very inferior force."—Gaspey's *History of England*.



Engraved by H. Robinson

EDWARD PELLEW, VISCOUNT EXMOUTH, G.C.B.

OB 1833

FROM THE ORIGINAL BY SIR T. LAWRENCE, R.A. IN THE POSSESSION OF

EDWARD HAWKE, LOCKER ESQ^{RE}

of rank, who had been kept in a state of slavery for thirteen years; six of her children had died during the period, and two of them had survived the cruel punishment which they had undergone. In the course of this year the Americans had inflicted a severe chastisement upon the corsairs, and compelled the lawless pirates to respect the national flag of the United States. It now became necessary that Britain should step in and put an end to the horrible practice of Christian slavery, and compel the beys to respect the flags of the smaller powers of Europe.

In the spring of 1816, Lord Exmouth being in command of the British squadron, in the Mediterranean, received orders to proceed to Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, and demand the liberation of all Christian slaves, and then to negotiate on behalf of the minor powers in the Mediterranean; in particular the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, who, by the late political arrangements, had now become British subjects; and of Naples and Sardinia, who were then the allies of Britain. He was also instructed to endeavour to obtain a pledge for the abolition of all Christian slavery; and if his negotiations failed, he was at once to attack the place. Feeling that he was likely to meet with considerable opposition, especially at Algiers, Lord Exmouth at once dispatched Captain Warde, of the *Banterer*, to that place, with instructions carefully to observe the town, and report on the nature of the defences. Captain Warde discharged the duty entrusted to him with great skill and ability, and with such secrecy that even the British consul, resident at Algiers, had no suspicion of the object of his visit. So important was the information obtained by Captain Warde, and so correctly were his plans laid down, that Lord Exmouth afterwards stated, in his despatch, that had he proceeded to hostilities without having been furnished with Captain Warde's chart and observations, he should have assigned to the ships stations which they could not have occupied.

On Captain Warde rejoining the squadron, the admiral made known to the officers and men the service on which they were proceeding, in the following general memorandum:—"The commander-in-chief embraces the earliest moment in which he could inform the fleet of his destination without inconvenience to the public service. He has been instructed and directed, by his royal highness the prince-regent, to pro-

ceed with the fleet to Algiers, and there make certain arrangements for diminishing at least the piratical excursions of the Barbary states, by which thousands of our fellow-creatures, innocently following their commercial pursuits, have been dragged into the most wretched and revolting state of slavery. The commander-in-chief is confident that this outrageous system of piracy and slavery rouses in common the same spirit of indignation which he himself feels; and should the government of Algiers refuse the reasonable demands he bears from the prince-regent, he doubts not but the flag will be honourably and zealously supported by every officer and man under his command, in his endeavours to procure the acceptance of them by force; and if force must be resorted to, we have the consolation of knowing, that we fight in the sacred cause of humanity, and cannot fail of success."

The squadron immediately set sail from Port Mahon, and shortly after appeared off Algiers, when Lord Exmouth soon procured the assent of the dey to the proposals which he was instructed to make; the Ionian slaves were released as British subjects; but the Neapolitans and Sardinians were ransomed, the former at 500, and the latter at 300 dollars a head. The squadron having thus peaceably obtained the object of its mission, proceeded to Tunis, where the negotiations took an unexpected and important turn. By an error of the interpreter, the message of the admiral was made to read that the prince-regent *was determined that slavery should be abolished*—instead of "that it would be very agreeable to him if slavery were abolished." The dey of Tunis immediately suspended negotiations and summoned a divan. When Lord Exmouth was made aware of the mistake which had occurred, he availed himself of the advantage it gave him—allowed the divan two hours for deliberation, and retired to the house of the consul to await the result. Before the expiration of that time, he was informed that his demand was complied with. He then sailed to Tripoli, and the same terms were at once agreed to.

While these negotiations were proceeding, the admiral had received further instructions from his government, directing him to claim the privilege of British privateers being allowed to refit in the port of Algiers, and also that prizes should be permitted to be sold there; these privileges having re-

cently been granted to the Americans. In consequence of these additional instructions the squadron returned to Algiers. While engaged negotiating on these points, Lord Exmouth took the opportunity to press on the regency of Algiers the total abolition of Christian slavery; informing the dey that the governments of Tripoli and Tunis had complied with his demand. The dey of Algiers, however, refused to agree to the conditions of the British admiral, and an angry altercation ensued, in which Lord Exmouth threatened to bombard the town. The dey, however, consented to dispatch a message to the Ottoman Porte, to receive instructions from his government on the subject. Accordingly, an ambassador was sent in a frigate to Constantinople to procure the sanction of the Porte, and from thence he was to proceed to England to treat on the British admiral's proposal.

Lord Exmouth having so far accomplished the objects he had in view, returned with his squadron to Great Britain; but an outrage which was again perpetrated by the Barbary pirates, even before the squadron reached the shores of this country, brought upon them the punishment which their crimes so justly merited. A number of Italian, Corsican, and Neapolitan vessels, being engaged in coral fishing on the coast of Algiers, the crews landed at Bona, on May the 23rd, under protection of the British flag, in order that they might celebrate the festival of the Ascension by attending mass. While preparing to join in the ceremonies of their religion, a gun was fired from the castle, and when this preconcerted signal was heard, a body of upwards of 2,000 Turks and Moors fell upon the defenceless seamen, and massacred them in cold blood, tore to pieces the English flag, and threw the consul into prison. Such an atrocious outrage roused the feelings of the people of this country to the highest pitch of indignation, and immediately on Lord Exmouth's arrival in Britain, it was determined to send him out again to Algiers, with whatever force he deemed necessary, to inflict summary vengeance or exact complete submission.

The equipment of the squadron placed under the command of the gallant admiral proceeded with the greatest activity. Officers flocked in hundreds, soliciting to be allowed to join the expedition, and the greatest enthusiasm pervaded every one, from the humblest sailor to the admiral in command. The admiralty had determined

that the same ships which had just returned should not be sent out again; it being thought best that the vessels forming the expedition should be manned by volunteers. The armament which Lord Exmouth deemed sufficient for the purpose of attacking and destroying the stronghold of the pirates was only five sail of the line, five frigates, and as many bomb-vessels. It was considered by many of the most experienced members of the board of admiralty, that this was too small a force; Lord Nelson himself having, at one time, expressed an opinion that Algiers could not be successfully attacked with a less force than twenty-five ships of the line. Lord Exmouth, however, having had opportunities of personally inspecting the place, and being also in possession of Captain Warde's survey and report, felt confident in his estimate of the amount of force required. Having explained his plans to the admiralty, showing the position which each ship was to occupy, and the particular works to which it was to be opposed, they determined to allow the admiral to act on his own judgment. Confident of success, he said—"All will go well—at least as far as depends on me." Speaking to his brother on the subject, he said—"If they open their fire when the ships are coming up, and cripple them in the masts, the difficulty and loss will be greater; but if they allow us to take our stations, I am sure of them; for I know that nothing can resist a line-of-battle ship's fire."

Having made his arrangements at the admiralty, Lord Exmouth hastened to Portsmouth, and proceeded at once on board the *Boyne*, the ship which had carried his flag in the last expedition. Having mustered the ship's company, he read to them the admiralty letter, and expressed a wish that they should volunteer to accompany him in this new enterprise. Few, however, joined him, as having been a considerable time at sea, they were unwilling to sail again so soon without enjoying themselves for some time on shore; but volunteers were not wanting, and on the 25th of July the fleet left Portsmouth, and by the afternoon of the 28th was off Falmouth. Lord Exmouth hoisted his flag on board the 100-gun ship, *Queen Charlotte*. Rear-admiral Milne, the second in command, hoisted his flag on board the *Impregnable*. In addition to the five line-of-battle ships, two of which were three-deckers, the force included three heavy frigates, and two smaller ones; four

bomb-vessels, and five gun-brigs. Four of the line-of-battle ships were to destroy the fortifications on the mole, while the fifth covered them from the batteries south of the town, and the heavy frigates from those on the town wall. The bomb-vessels were to fire on the arsenal and town, assisted by a flotilla of the ships' launches, &c., fitted as gun, rocket, and mortar boats; and the smaller frigates and the brigs to assist as circumstances might require.*

The biographer of Lord Exmouth says:—"Through all the passage the utmost care was taken to train the crews. Every day, Sunday excepted, they were exercised at the guns; and on Tuesdays and Fridays the fleet cleared for action, when each ship fired six broadsides. On board the *Queen Charlotte*, a 12-pounder was secured at the after-part of the quarter-deck, with which the first and second captains of the guns practised daily at a small target, hung at the foretop-mast studding-sail boom. The target was a frame of laths, three feet square, crossed with rope yarns so close that a 12-pound shot could not go through without cutting one, and with a piece of wood the size and shape of a bottle, for a bull's-eye. After a few days' practice the target was never missed, and on an average, ten or twelve bottles were hit every day."

The fleet reached Gibraltar in the beginning of August, and having completed their provisions and ordnance stores, they were ready to set sail for their destination on the 12th; but owing to contrary winds, they did not leave till the 15th. When the British fleet arrived at Gibraltar, they found there a Dutch squadron of five frigates and a corvette, under the command of Admiral Von de Capellan. Learning the object of the expedition, the Dutch commander solicited and obtained leave to co-operate with the British squadron. The united squadrons now advanced in gallant style towards the stronghold of the pirates. On the evening of the 16th, the *Prometheus*, direct from Algiers, joined, and reported that the most active preparations were being made there to resist the attack. The defences were being put in the

most effective condition, and new and formidable works were being added; upwards of 40,000 troops had been assembled, and janizaries called in from distant garrisons. A considerable naval force had also been collected in the harbour, consisting of four frigates, five large corvettes, and thirty-seven gun-boats. On board the *Prometheus* were the wife, daughter, and infant child of Mr. M'Donnell, the British consul.†

Algiers,‡ or Algeria, is a country of North Africa, and is now in the possession of the French. The country was originally inhabited by the Moors and Numidians, and was afterwards under the power of the Romans and Vandals. In the sixteenth century it was invaded by the Spaniards, under Charles V.; but Barbarossa expelled the Spaniards, and founded, under the sovereignty of Turkey, the state of Algiers. From this period it became redoubtable on account of its corsairs, and many of the European nations found it necessary to pay tribute to this piratical state for the protection of their merchant vessels. In 1653 it was attacked by Admiral Blake, and forced to conclude a peace with England. In 1688 and 1761 the French attempted to reduce it, but were repulsed. The Spaniards also made various attempts against it with no better success; and by many the place had been deemed impregnable. Algiers, the principal city and capital of the state, stands on the declivity of a steep hill, its lower part being washed by the ocean. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, and crowned by a citadel; the whole presenting the appearance of a triangle, with its base towards the sea. Its fortifications are of considerable strength, the city being entirely surrounded by walls of great thickness, running to the summit of the hill behind the town. The harbour is artificial. In front there are two rocky islands forming a mole, which are connected with the mainland by a broad straight pier, 300 yards long, on which the storehouses were built. The pier projects into the sea at a point about a quarter of a mile from the northern extremity of the town; from

* Ostler's *Life of Viscount Exmouth*.

† "The wife and daughter of Mr. M'Donnell had succeeded in getting off, disguised as midshipmen; but the infant, which had been carefully concealed in a basket after a composing medicine had been given to it by the surgeon of the *Prometheus*, awoke, and cried as it was passing the gateway, and thus led to the arrest of all the party then on shore. The child was sent off the next morning by the dey,

and, as a solitary instance of his humanity, said Lord Exmouth, 'ought to be recorded by me;' but the consul was confined in irons at his house, and the surgeon, three midshipmen, and fourteen seamen of the *Prometheus*, were detained as prisoners."—Ostler's *Life of Lord Exmouth*.

‡ The name, *Al-jezair*, "the islands," is derived from the rocky islets which lie in front of the town, and on which the mole is built.

which the mole is carried in a south-westerly direction, and forms nearly a quarter of a circle. Another smaller pier projects from the mainland towards the head of the mole, and between the extremity of this pier and the head of the mole is the entrance to the harbour, which is not more than 120 yards in width. As already mentioned, all the works around the harbour were covered with the strongest fortifications. Immediately beyond the pier-head stood the lighthouse battery, a large circular fort, with more than fifty guns, in three tiers. The guns in the first tier were fired from ports, which were twenty feet above the base; those in the second tier were fired from embrasures in the wall; the third were mounted on an inner tower, and were 18-pounders, capable of being brought to bear on the mole-head. At the outer extremity of the rock on which the mole was erected was another battery with two tiers of ports, containing thirty heavy guns and seven mortars. This fort pointed round from north-west to east, and no ship could get into the bay to the north-west of the lighthouse without passing within a cable's length or a little more of it. There was also a magazine in this fort. The mole itself was filled with cannon, like the side of a line-of-battle ship, mostly disposed in double tiers, with ports below and embrasures above; and the eastern batteries next the lighthouse had an inner fortification, with a third tier of guns; making sixty-six heavy guns in the mole alone. The different batteries in the mole and entrance to the harbour mounted not less than 220 guns—18, 24, and 30-pounders, besides two 68-pounders, which were upwards of twenty feet long. On the sea wall of the town were nine batteries; two at the southern extremity: next came the Fish-market battery, with fifteen guns, mounted in three tiers; these guns flanked the mole: there were then three more batteries between the Fish-market and the gate leading to the mole; one over this gate, and two on the wall beyond it. Along the shore, within

1,200 yards of the town, were three additional batteries and a large square fort, with three tiers of guns pointing to the eastward; having in the upper tier fifteen, in the second eighteen, and in the lower eighteen guns. Another large fort and six batteries commanded the bay to the north-west; and scarcely a point in the city, or on the hills around it which commanded the approaches to the town, but was bristling with cannon ready to pour forth death and destruction on the infidel invaders. Altogether, there were nearly 500 guns ready to defend the sea-approaches to Algiers. The ramparts were admirably constructed, of the very best materials, and in excellent repair; so that a more formidable object of attack has rarely been presented to an invading force.

By daybreak on the morning of the 27th of August, the inhabitants of the city of Algiers could distinguish the white sails of the ships of the united squadrons as they lay nearly becalmed in the bay. At an early hour, a boat, in charge of a lieutenant, was sent from the *Queen Charlotte* with a flag of truce. The officer was to state the terms dictated by the prince-regent, and demand the immediate liberation of the consul and the people of the *Prometheus*. At eleven o'clock she was met outside the mole by the captain of the port, who received the communication, and promised an answer in two hours. During the period of the absence of the flag of truce, a favourable breeze having sprung up, the fleet stood into the bay, and lay-to within a mile from the town. About two o'clock the boat with the flag of truce was seen returning with the signal flying—that no answer had been given. Lord Exmouth immediately telegraphed to the fleet—"Are you ready?" In a few seconds, an answer in the affirmative was displayed by each ship as she bore up to take the station which had been appointed to her in the plan of attack which the admiral had prepared some time before, and with which each officer was intimately acquainted.*

Favoured by the light sea breeze, the

* Lord Exmouth's instructions for the disposition of the fleet, in their attack on Algiers, was issued on August the 6th; and on the 13th every ship received a plan of the fortifications, with full instructions as to the position she was to occupy. The instructions were as follows:—

Form of Attack.—The space for the attack on the south-east part of the mole of Algiers being very limited, it will require the greatest attention to place the ships well in their respective stations, and it is very

desirable to avoid opening any fire from them, if it be possible, before they are placed. But as it cannot be presumed that the enemy will remain inactive, it becomes necessary to prepare for that event by endeavouring to divert their fire from the ships of the line, by opening a fire from the frigates, which may under sail pass the batteries in advance, or possibly, in the intervals of the line, as circumstances point out.

The flag-ship will lead, and bring up as near to the mole-head as practicable. The *Superb*, *Impregnable*

Queen Charlotte led the attack, bearing steadily on for the mole-head. The other vessels moved slowly on to their various positions during an ominous silence; not a single gun having been fired on either side until the flag-ship had got anchored alongside of the mole, and was lashed by a hawser to the mainmast of an Algerine brig, which lay at the entrance of the harbour. Lord Exmouth had quite expected that the Algerines would attack whilst the fleet advanced towards the fortifications; for this he was quite prepared, his determination being not to reply to a fire while approaching, unless it became galling; in that case, the middle and main-deck guns of the *Queen Charlotte* (thirty long 24-pounders) were to have opened, keeping the upper deck for shortening sail, and the lower deck for working the cables. The guns of the last-named decks were not primed till after the ship was anchored. Had the ships in their first advance been subjected to a galling fire, a few more men might have been lost in killed and wounded, and some of the ships might not have been so near by forty or fifty yards; but there can be no doubt,

following, will anchor as close as they can to her, the latter ship placing herself to the southward of the large arch near the centre of the works, and the *Superb* between us; and when placed, it will be of the greatest advantage if they could be made fast to each other, and hove together to concentrate their fire.

The rear-ship, the *Albion*, will see if by any failure she can supply the place of either ship thrown out. But if the *Impregnable* succeeds in getting her place, it appears to me the *Albion* may be well situated close on her bow, presenting her broadside against the only flanking battery, marked H., of three guns, by which she may cover the *Impregnable*, and enfilade the north part of the works, by throwing part of her fire upon the upper tier of the Lighthouse battery.

The *Leander* will keep nearly abreast the *Superb*, and seeing the flag-ship placed, will anchor as near to her as possible, veering towards the town until she opens the mole, when she will either fire on the round tower, or the gun-boats, and batteries on the town walls. She must run a warp to the flag-ship, and heave as close to her as possible, to connect the fire of both, and to afford room for the *Severn* to get within her, or between her and the flag-ship.

The *Glasgow* will anchor, and present her broadside to the Fish-market battery, Nos. 9 and 10, and any other she may be able to fire upon.

The *Granicus* should occupy any space in the line open between the ships at anchor; or if either of the frigates in the mouth of the mole should meet with accident, she will endeavour to take her place.

Hebrus will attack battery, No. 7 and 8.

Minden will attack the large battery, No. 4, taking care not to pass to the southward of the north-east angle. She will also be able to fire on No. 5 and 6.

This attack need not be closely pressed, being a

so excellent were the arrangements, that the result would have been the same. As it was, however, the Algerines, confident in the strength of their defences, and calculating on being able to carry the larger ships by boarding, reserved their fire until the flag-ship got fairly into position, with her starboard broadside flanking all the batteries, from the mole-head to the lighthouse. The enemy's batteries, on which every eye was fixed, were seen crowded with troops, the gunners standing beside the guns with lighted matches, ready for action. The crew of the *Princess Charlotte* now gave three hearty cheers; and while the sound was still ringing in their ears, the heavy boom of a gun from the upper tier of the eastern battery was heard; a second and a third succeeded. One of these shots struck the *Superb* as she was getting into action, but the report of the third had not yet died away, when the thunder of the *Queen Charlotte's* broadside rent the air. Immediately the whole of the batteries opened fire, and a perfect hurricane of shot and shell was poured on the fleet. The fire of the *Queen Charlotte* was well sustained, falling with

cover only for the ships attacking the mole from a flank fire. Captain Patterson will be extremely watchful of our operations, and be ready to slip and join, in the event of any accident to the ships attacking; and he will use the schooner to the best advantage for communication.

Heron, *Mutine*, *Cordelia*, and *Britomart*, will consider it their first duty to attend and aid the ships they are named to assist in every possible way; and they are to remember that even their brigs are to be sacrificed to save the ships they are ordered to attend. Should that service be uncalled for by their being well placed, the captains will take any position where their fire can do good.

Prometheus will tow down the explosion-vessel as instructed, and receive her commander and crew.

The bombs will put themselves under the orders of Captain Kempthorne, and as soon as anchored prepare to open fire. They will be placed by the master of the fleet to the northward of the large arch; and they will take care during the attack not to throw their shells over our own ships. The Lighthouse battery is a great object, and keeping that in a line with the town-gate, will give two objects for throwing the shells at.—EXMOUTH.

N.B.—Ships leading into anchorage, are to have the preparative flag flying at the mizen-topgallant-mast-head, which is to be hauled down the instant they let go the anchor.

A slight change was made in the foregoing instructions, in consequence of the joining of the Dutch fleet. To that squadron Lord Exmouth assigned the duty of attacking the forts and batteries south of the town. This service, it will be observed, was intended for the *Hebrus* and *Minden*, which were now to take a position among their consorts in front of the mole.

deadly precision, and telling so fatally on the Algerines, that, by her first broadside, from five to six hundred men were killed or wounded on the mole-head. When the batteries opened their fire, none of the ships, except the *Queen Charlotte* and *Leander*, had yet reached their stations. The most admirable arrangements, however, had been made to save the men in the various ships from being exposed in going aloft to shorten sail. The *Superb*, following close upon the flag-ship, took up her position astern of her, and the *Minden* at not more than her own length from the *Superb*. The *Albion* was close astern of the *Minden*, the latter ship passing her stream cable out of the larboard gun-room port to the *Albion's* bow, to keep the two ships together. The *Impregnable* was anchored close astern of the *Albion*.

Meanwhile, the tremendous fire which was kept up on the nearest defences, from the broadside of the *Queen Charlotte*, proved so severe, that before the action had become general, the fortifications on the mole-head were reduced to a heap of ruins, and the guns dismantled. Having silenced the fire from this point, the flag-ship then sprang her broadside to the northward, and opened fire on the batteries over the gate which leads to the mole, and on the upper works of the Lighthouse fort. The accuracy and precision of firing which the gunners on board the *Queen Charlotte* had obtained, was here very strikingly exhibited. Her shot struck the tower of the lighthouse, and immediately reduced it to ruins; and gun after gun, in the batteries, was brought down.*

In the meantime the cannonade from the Algerine batteries was kept up with great spirit; and as the ships got within range, they were subjected to a galling and well-directed fire. Nothing daunted, however, they steadily advanced to the positions assigned to them, and immediately poured broadside after broadside upon the devoted city. Shortly after the commencement of the bombardment, the smoke became so dense that it was impossible for the admiral to see along the line, and he was only able to judge that his ships had got into their stations by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to

* One of the guns in the Lighthouse battery was dismantled just as the artilleryman was in the act of discharging it; when an Algerine chief was seen to spring upon the ruins of the parapet, and with impotent rage to shake his scimitar against the ship. Some of the gunners on board the *Queen Charlotte*

which they were opposed. The Algerines continued the defence of their fortifications with the most desperate bravery; the bastions and battlements streamed with fire, while the roar of upwards of a thousand pieces of artillery, mingled with the hissing of shells, and every now and then the explosion of a magazine, caused such a deafening noise as almost to take away the sense of hearing.

The Dutch squadron and the three large frigates now advanced, and took their stations in the most gallant manner and with the most perfect accuracy, although exposed to a heavy fire from the batteries. The Dutch ships came to anchor in front of the works to the south of the town, and kept up a well-supported fire on the flanking batteries, which it had been arranged they should attack. While the Dutch squadron was thus ably performing this service, the three British frigates, the *Severn*, *Leander*, and *Glasgow*, took part in the fight. The *Leander* had placed herself athwart the bows of the *Queen Charlotte*, with her after-guns bearing on the Algerine gun-boats, while, with the others, she was able to rake the Fish-market battery. The *Severn* lay ahead of the *Leander*, with the whole of her starboard broadside bearing on the Fish-market battery. Beyond the *Severn*, the *Glasgow* took her place, and brought her guns to bear on the batteries of the town. The two smaller British frigates, *Hebrus* and *Granicus*, were left to come into the line wherever they could find an opening. The *Hebrus* pressed onwards to obtain a position close to the *Queen Charlotte*; but the heavy cannonade having produced a lull in the wind, she got becalmed, and was obliged to anchor on the larboard quarter of the flag-ship. The captain of the *Granicus*, anxious to take his share in the battle, set topgallant-sails and canvas, and steered straight to where he saw Lord Exmouth's flag flying,—it being occasionally visible as the breeze blew aside, for a moment, the dense clouds of smoke in which the *Queen Charlotte* was enveloped. Favoured by his intrepidity and able seamanship, Captain Wise was able to anchor in the open space between the *Queen Charlotte* and the *Superb*.†

were so expert marksmen, that many of them were detected amusing themselves, in the wantonness of skill, by firing at the Algerine flagstaffs.—*Life of Lord Exmouth*.

† When Lord Exmouth observed the position which Captain Wise, in the *Granicus*, had been



H. Chamberlain



S. Owen



ARRIVAL OF THE BOMBARDING SQUADRON AT ALGIERS
RECEIVED BY THE MAYOR OF ALGIERS

THE BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS,

(FROM THE ORIGINAL IN GREENWICH HOSPITAL.)

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY

The bomb-vessels were placed to the east of the Lighthouse battery, at a distance of about 2,000 yards, the shells from which were admirably well delivered by the royal marine artillery; and although thrown directly across and over the attacking vessels, not the slightest accident occurred to any ship. The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket-boats were distributed in the opening of the line, and kept up an incessant and destructive fire on the ships in the harbour. The sloops of war, also, which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, if necessary, kept moving about, and took every opportunity of firing through the intervals in the line. Thus, by the excellent disposition of his force by the admiral, the strongest of the enemy's defences were commanded by his fire, while the fleet was exposed to the weakest of the enemy's.

About half-past three o'clock, an attempt was made to board the *Queen Charlotte* by the enemy's gun-boats. Under cover of the dense smoke they approached unseen, and with the greatest daring, till they were close in the vicinity of the flag-ship. On being observed, a heavy fire was immediately opened on them; and in a short time thirty-three out of thirty-seven were sent to the bottom. The battle now raged furiously along the whole line; a heavy cannonade having been maintained for upwards of an hour. Lord Exmouth considered the time was come to destroy the ships belonging to the Algerines. Instructions were accordingly sent to the *Leander* to cease firing; and the *Queen Charlotte's* barge being manned, under the command of Lieutenant Peter Richards, accompanied by Major Gossett, of the miners, Lieutenant Woolrige, of the marines, and a midshipman, they immediately proceeded towards the nearest frigate, which they boarded and set fire to so effectually, that she was completely in flames almost before the crew of the barge had got into their boat. The barge now returned to the flag-ship, and when she came alongside she was welcomed with three hearty cheers. Immediately after the frigate had been set on fire she burst into one sheet of flame, and it was hoped that the conflagration would spread to the rest of the Algerine shipping. This, however, did

fortunate enough to secure, he remarked that it did him the greatest credit, as he occupied with his small frigate a station of which a three-decker might be justly proud.

not occur; as, although she burnt from her moorings, she passed clear of her consorts, and drifted along the broadsides of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Leander*, grounding ahead of the latter ship, but without doing them any damage. The *Queen Charlotte's* launch, assisted by the gun-boats, then opened fire with carcass-shells upon a large frigate which was moored in the centre of the other ships inside of the Mole. In a short time this vessel was also on fire, and burnt so furiously, that notwithstanding all the exertions of the Algerines to extinguish the flames, the devouring element communicated to all the other ships in the port, and from them to the storehouses and arsenal on the Mole. About seven o'clock the frigate drifted out of the harbour, and passed so close to the *Queen Charlotte*, as nearly to set her on fire; she, however, escaped without damage.

About sunset, Lord Exmouth received a message from Rear-admiral Milne, by Captain Powell, informing him of the severe loss the *Impregnable* was sustaining, having then one hundred killed and wounded, and requesting him, if he could, to send a frigate to divert some of the fire he was then under. The admiral immediately sent instructions to the *Glasgow* to weigh and repair to the assistance of the rear-admiral's ship; but the effect of the bombardment having been to drive away the wind, she was obliged to anchor again. The *Glasgow* had, however, by her attempt to move out, obtained a better position than before, between the *Severn* and the *Leander*. In her new position the *Glasgow* was much exposed to the fire of the enemy; but this caused little uneasiness to her gallant commander, as by the change he was enabled better to command the batteries to which his ship was opposed. Being unable to grant any assistance to the *Impregnable*, Lord Exmouth sent word by Captain Powell, that as she had suffered so much, she might withdraw from the line; but the rear-admiral and his gallant crew declined to avail themselves of this privilege, and fought their ship till the last. At this time orders had been sent to the explosion vessel (an ordnance sloop which had been fitted up at Gibraltar for this purpose, and on board which had been placed 143 barrels of gunpowder) to bring her into the mole; but Rear-admiral Milne, thinking she might do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, Captain Powell was desired to carry the admiral's

orders to that effect to this vessel, which he did, and remained till they were executed. The explosion vessel had been intended for the destruction of the Algerine fleet; but, as has been seen, this was effected by other means. Everything being ready, she was run on shore under the battery north of the lighthouse, where, at nine o'clock, she blew up with a tremendous explosion.

About ten o'clock in the evening, the enemy's batteries commanded by the admiral's division were silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation; the fire of the ships was therefore slackened, as it now became necessary that they should husband their ammunition. During the bombardment, they had fired nearly 118 tons of powder, and 50,000 shot, weighing more than 500 tons of iron; besides 960 thirteen and ten-inch shells, thrown by the bomb-vessels, and the shells and rockets from the flotilla. Exposed to such a fire, it is not wonderful that the sea defences of Algiers, with great part of the town itself, were completely destroyed. Having thus executed the most important part of his instructions, the admiral prepared to withdraw his ships. About this time the land-wind sprung up, and favoured by this, the lower cable of the *Queen Charlotte* was cut, and her head hauled round to seaward. She still, however, continued to engage with several of her guns; and it was only by the assistance of her boats in towing, that she was rendered manageable. After considerable exertion had been made in towing and warping off, the whole fleet got under sail, and about two in the morning came to anchor, out of reach of shot and shell, after twelve hours of incessant labour. During the night a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning came on, with dreadful torrents of rain. The scene, as viewed from the ships in the bay, was one of terrific grandeur. The war of the elements seemed to have succeeded to the incessant roar of cannon which had just subsided; while the burning ships and storehouses, ever and anon bursting into streams of flame, emulated in brightness the vivid flashes of lightning which rapidly succeeded each other, and illuminated the battered walls and dilapidated buildings of the stronghold of the barbarians. When the storm had somewhat subsided, Lord Exmouth, with the feelings of a Christian, with which he was always animated, assembled in his cabin all the wounded who could be moved with safety,

that they might unite with him and his officers in thanksgiving to the God of Battles, who had given him such a signal victory over the enemies of humanity.

So soon as the two admirals could leave their ships, they came on board the *Queen Charlotte*, to congratulate Lord Exmouth on the glorious victory which he had just achieved. The casualties had been very great in proportion to the force employed; but still comparatively trifling to the service performed. The returns were 128 killed, and 690 wounded in the British ships; and thirteen killed and fifty-two wounded in the Dutch squadron. During the action Lord Exmouth had a very narrow escape, having been struck in three places; and a cannon-shot passed him so closely as to cut away the tails of his coat.

At daybreak on the morning of the 28th, Lord Exmouth dispatched a flag of truce with the following letter to the Dey of Algiers:—

“H.B.M. ship *Queen Charlotte*, Algiers Bay, August 28th, 1816.

“Sir,—For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless Christians, and your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday in the name of the prince-regent of England, the fleet under my orders have given you a signal chastisement, by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries.

“As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the unoffending inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace which I conveyed to you yesterday in my sovereign's name. Without the acceptance of these terms, you can have no peace with England.

“If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns; and I shall consider your not making this signal as a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my convenience.

“I offer you the above terms, provided neither the British consul nor the officers and men so wickedly seized by you from the boats of a British ship of war, have met with any cruel treatment; or any of the Christian slaves in your power; and I repeat my demand that the consul, the officers, and men, may be sent off to me, conformably to ancient treaties.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“EXMOUTH.

“His highness the Dey of Algiers.”

In order to prove to the dey that the British admiral was determined to enforce his demands, the bomb-vessels were directed to resume their positions. As the boat with the flag of truce neared the shore, it was met by the captain of one of the frigates which had been destroyed on the previous day, who stated that an answer had been sent to the first communication before the bombardment commenced, but that there was no one to receive it, as the boat had left. Shortly after the booming of the three guns was heard—the signal that the terms of the admiral were agreed to; and the captain of the port, accompanied by the Swedish consul, proceeded on board the *Queen Charlotte*, and informed Lord Exmouth that all his demands would be submitted to. On the next morning, the captain of the port paid a second visit to the admiral, bringing with him on this occasion the British consul; and, after arranging some preliminaries, Captain Brisbane went on shore by order of the admiral, and held a conference with the dey. Sir Charles Penrose, who had arrived from Malta after the bombardment, also went ashore, and assisted in the negotiations, which were soon concluded; and on the 30th, the result of the arrangement was communicated to the fleet in the following memorandum:—

“The commander-in-chief is happy to inform the fleet of the final termination of their strenuous exertions, by the signature of peace confirmed under a salute of twenty-one guns, on the following conditions, dictated by his royal highness the prince-regent of England:—

“I. The abolition of Christian slavery for ever.

“II. The delivery to my flag of all slaves in the dominions of the dey, to whatever nation they may belong, at noon to-morrow.

“III. To deliver, also, to my flag, all money received by him for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of this year—at noon also to-morrow.

“IV. Reparation has been made to the British consul for all losses he has sustained in consequence of his confinement.

“V. The dey has made a public apology, in presence of his ministers and officers, and begged pardon of the consul, in terms dictated by the captain of the *Queen Charlotte*.

“The commander-in-chief takes this opportunity of again returning his public thanks to the admirals, captains, officers,

seamen, marines, royal sappers and miners, royal marine artillery, and the royal rocket corps, for the noble support he has received from them throughout the whole of this arduous service; and he is pleased to direct, that on Sunday next a public thanksgiving shall be offered up to Almighty God, for the singular interposition of his divine providence during the conflict which took place on the 27th between his majesty's fleet and the ferocious enemies of mankind.

“It is requested that this memorandum may be read to the ship's company.”

Thus closed the battle of Algiers, one which will be long remembered in the annals of the British navy, as well for the desperate nature of the service, and the heroic courage displayed, as for the disinterested motives of humanity from which it was undertaken. On the 31st of August, above 1,200 slaves were embarked, who were ultimately restored to their country and friends. The total number liberated at Algiers and at Tunis and Tripoli, was 3,003.

Algiers, when visited by Captain Brisbane on the 29th, presented a melancholy appearance. The Mole, the Lighthouse battery, and all the fortifications near them, were one heap of ruins; and among the huge masses of stones and masonry were mingled cannon, gun-carriages, and dead bodies, laying one above the other, in one undistinguished mass. Upwards of 7,000 had perished in the defence of the place, while the number wounded was proportionally great. The walls of the town presented huge gaps opposite to the places where the men-of-war had presented their broadsides; and behind these were to be seen long lanes of crumbled houses, where the shot had cut its way right through them.

Lord Exmouth, writing to his brother, gives the following graphic account of the battle:—

“It has pleased God to give me again the opportunity of writing you, and it has also pleased Him to give success to our efforts against these hordes of barbarians. I never, however, saw any set of men more obstinate at their guns, and it was superior fire only that could keep them back. To be sure, nothing could stand before the *Queen Charlotte's* broadside. Everything fell before it; and the Swedish consul assures me we killed about 500 at the very first fire, from the crowded way in which the troops were drawn up, four deep above

the gun-boats, which were also full of men. I had myself beckoned to many around the guns close to us to move away, previous to giving the order to fire; and I believe they are within bounds, when they state their loss at 7,000 men. Our old friend John Gaze was as steady as a rock; and it was a glorious sight to see the *Charlotte* take her anchorage, and to see her flag towering on high, when she appeared to be in the flames of the Mole itself; and never was a ship nearer burnt; it almost scorched me off the poop; we were obliged to haul in the ensign, or it would have caught fire. Everybody behaved uncommonly well. Admiral Milne came on board at two o'clock in the morning, and kissed my hand fifty times before the people, as did the Dutch admiral, Von Capellan. I was but slightly touched in thigh, face, and fingers—my glass cut in my hand, and the skirts of my coat torn off by a large shot; but as I bled a good deal, it looked as if I was badly hurt, and it was gratifying to see and hear how it was received even in the cockpit, which was then pretty full. My thigh is not quite skinned over, but I am perfectly well, and hope to reach Portsmouth by the 10th of October. Ferdinand has sent me a diamond star. Wise behaved most nobly, and took up a line-of-battle ship's station;—but all behaved nobly. I never saw such enthusiasm in all my service. Not a wretch shrunk anywhere; and I assure you it was a very arduous task, but I had formed a very correct judgment of all I saw, and was confident, if supported, I should succeed. I could not wait for an off-shore wind to attack; the season was too far advanced, and the land-winds become light and calmy. I was forced to attack at once with a lee-shore, or perhaps wait a week for a precarious wind along shore; and I was quite sure I should have a breeze off the land about one or two in the morning, and equally sure we could hold out that time. Blessed be God! it came, and a dreadful night with it of thunder, lightning, and rain, as heavy as I ever saw. Several ships had expended all their powder, and been supplied from the brigs. I had latterly husbanded, and only fired when they fired on us; and we expended 350 barrels, and 5,420 shot, weighing above sixty-five tons of iron. Such a state of ruin of fortifications and houses was never seen, and it is the opinion of all the consuls, that two hours more fire would have levelled the town; the

walls are all so cracked. Even the aqueducts were broken up, and the people famishing for water. The sea-defences, to be made effective, must be rebuilt from the foundation. The fire all round the Mole looked like Pandemonium. I never saw anything so grand and so terrific, for I was not on velvet for fear they would drive on board us. The copper-bottoms floated full of fiery hot charcoal, and were red-hot above the surface, so that we could not hook on our fire-grapnels to put the boats on, and could do nothing but push fire-booms, and spring the ship off by our warps, as occasion required."

Lord Exmouth, after the action, sent off Admiral Milne, in the *Leander*, with despatches for the admiralty, but fearing that he might be delayed by contrary winds, he dispatched Captain Brisbane with a duplicate despatch on the 1st of September. On the 3rd of the same month, Lord Exmouth sailed for England.

The following is the despatch of Admiral Von Capellan to his government, descriptive of the action:—

"H.M. frigate *Melampus*, Bay of Algiers,
August 30th.

"Hon. Sir,—Lord Exmouth, during his short stay at Gibraltar, having increased his force with some gun-boats, and made all his arrangements, on the 14th of August the united squadrons put to sea. On the 16th, off Cape de Gatte, the *Prometheus* corvette joined the fleet. Captain Dashwood reported that he had succeeded in getting the family of the British consul at Algiers on board by stratagem; but their flight being too soon discovered, the consul, together with two boats' crews of the *Prometheus*, had been arrested by the dey, who, having already received a report of this second expedition, had made all preparations for an obstinate opposition, and summoning the inhabitants of the interior, had already assembled more than 50,000 men, both Moors and Arabs, under the walls of Algiers.

"His lordship, on whom I waited in the morning, was afraid that he should that day be obliged to rest satisfied with coming to an anchor, and confine himself for the night to an attack by bomb-vessels, gun and rocket-boats. Scarcely had I returned on board my vessel, when the sea-breeze sprung up, and the fleet bore into the bay with press of sail; the four bomb-vessels immediately took their station before the town, and everything was prepared for the attack.

Shortly afterwards, his lordship communicated to me by private signal—'I shall attack immediately, if the wind does not fail.' Upon this, I immediately made signal to form line of battle in the order agreed upon, in the supposition that all the officers must have been well acquainted with the position of the forts and batteries that fell to our share, before the attack was to begin; but as it appears the signal was not well understood, I resolved to change line, and to lead it myself in the *Melampus*. At half-past one o'clock the whole fleet bore up in succession, the *Melampus* closing in with the rearmost ship of the English line; and at fifteen minutes past two o'clock, we saw Lord Exmouth with the *Queen Charlotte* before the wind, with sails standing, come to anchor with three anchors from the stern, with her broadside in the wished-for position, within pistol-shot of the batteries, just before the opening of the Mole. This daring and unexpected manœuvre of this vessel (a three-decker) appears to have so confounded the enemy, that a second ship of the line had already well-nigh taken her position before the batteries opened their fire; which, how violent soever, was fully replied to.

"Having told Captain de Man that I wished as speedily as possible with the *Melampus*, and the other frigates in succession, to take our position on the larboard side of Lord Exmouth, and draw upon our squadron all the fire of the southern batteries, the captain brought his frigate in a masterly manner under the cross fire of more than a hundred guns; the bowsprit quite free of the *Glasgow*, with an anchor from the head and stern, in the required position, so as to open our larboard guns at the same minute.

"Captain Zievogel, who was fully acquainted with the above plan, and with the batteries, brought his frigate the *Diana*, nearly at the same moment, within a fathom's length of the place where I had wished it, for our directed position. The *Dageraad*, Captain Polders, also immediately opened her batteries in the best direction. The captains Van der Straaten and Van der Hart, by the thick smoke, and not being so fully acquainted with the localities, were not so fortunate in the first moments; but worked with the greatest coolness, and under the heaviest fire, so as to give their batteries a good direction. The *Eetragt*, Captain-Lieutenant Wardenburg, which I had placed in reserve, in order to be able to

bring assistance, remained under the fire of the batteries close by. Our ships had not fired more than half-an-hour, when Lord Exmouth acquainted me that he was very much satisfied with the direction of the fire of our squadron on the southern batteries; because these giving now as little hindrance as possible, he commanded the whole of the Mole, and all the enemy's ships.

"His majesty's squadron, as well as the British force, appeared to be inspired with the devotedness of our magnanimous chief to the cause of all mankind; and the coolness and order with which the terrible fire of the batteries was replied to, close under the massy walls of Algiers, will as little admit of description as the heroism and self-devotion of each individual generally, and the greatness of Lord Exmouth in particular, in the attack of this memorable day.

"The destruction of nearly half Algiers, and, at eight o'clock in the evening, the burning of the whole Algerine navy, have been the result of it. Till nine o'clock, Lord Exmouth remained with the *Queen Charlotte* in the same position, in the hottest of the fire; thereby encouraging every one not to give up the begun work until the whole was completed, and thus displaying such perseverance, that all were animated with the same spirit, and the fire of the ships against that of a brave and desperate enemy appeared to redouble.

"Shortly afterwards, the *Queen Charlotte*, by the loosening of the burning wreck, being in the greatest danger, we were, under the heaviest fire, only anxious for the safety of our noble leader; but upon offering him the assistance of all the boats of the squadron, his reply was, 'that having calculated everything, it behoved us by no means to be alarmed for his safety, but only to continue our fire with redoubled zeal, for the execution of his orders, and according to his example.'

"His lordship at last, at about half-an-hour to ten o'clock, having completed the destruction of the Mole, gave orders to retire without the reach of the enemy's fire; which I, as well as the others, scrupled to obey before the *Queen Charlotte* was in safety from the burning ships.

"In this retreat, which, from the want of wind, and the damage suffered in the rigging, was very slow, the ships had still to suffer much from a new-opened and redoubled fire of the enemy's batteries; at last, the land-breeze springing up, which

Lord Exmouth had reckoned upon, the fleet, at twelve, came to anchor in the middle of the bay.

"The *Queen Charlotte*, under the fire of the batteries, passing the *Melampus* under sail, his lordship wished to be able to see me, in order to completely reward me by shaking my hand in the heartiest manner, and saying, 'I have not lost sight of my Dutch friends: they have, as well as mine, done their best for the glory of the day.'

"The circumstance of the general order of Lord Exmouth to the fleet, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy, must make the squadron hope for his majesty's satisfaction.

"For our loss in killed and wounded, I have to refer you to the subjoined list. It is remarkably small for ships exposed to a fire of eight hours' duration, in comparison with that of the English ships. In the damage done to our rigging, &c., your excellency will observe that we have been less fortunate.

"The day after the action, Lord Exmouth sent a second summons to the dey, of which his lordship sent me a copy. It stated, that by the destruction of half Algiers, and of his whole navy, the dey was now chastised for his faithless conduct at Bona, &c., and that he could only prevent the total destruction of the town, by the acceptance of the conditions of the preceding day. The signal of the acceptance of the conditions was the firing of three shots which, three hours afterwards we had the satisfaction of hearing. In a conference with two persons empowered by the dey, on board Lord Exmouth's ship, at which myself, together with Admiral Milne and Captain Brisbane were present, all the points were regulated. The conclusion of the peace for England and the Netherlands was celebrated by the firing a salute of twice twenty-one cannon, and I have now the satisfaction of wishing you joy on the successful termination of the efforts of his majesty in the cause of humanity.

"I shall have the honour, on a future opportunity, to report further to your excellency, and am,

"With the highest respect, &c.,
"J. VON DE CAPELLAN."

The ships engaged in the bombardment of Algiers were—the *Queen Charlotte*, 108, Admiral Lord Exmouth, Captain J. Brisbane, C.B.; *Impregnable*, 104, Rear-admiral

Milne, Captain Edward Brace, C.B.; *Superb*, 74, Captain Charles Ekins; *Minden*, 74, Captain William Patterson; *Albion*, 74, Captain John Coode; *Leander*, 50, Captain Edward Chetham, C.B.; *Severn*, 40, Hon. Frederick William Aylman; *Glasgow*, 40, Captain Hon. Anthony Maitland; *Hebrus*, 36, Captain Edmund Palmer, C.B.; *Granicus*, 36, Captain William Furlong Wise; *Mutine*, 16, Captain James Mould; *Prometheus*, 16, Captain William Bateman Dashwood; *Infernal* bomb, Captain Hon. John James Percival; *Hecla* ditto, Captain William Popham; *Fury* ditto, Captain Moorson; *Beelzebub* ditto, Captain Kempthorne; *Cordelia* and *Britomart*, of 10 guns each; and the *Express* schooner. The Dutch squadron consisted of the *Melampus*, 36, flag-ship of Admiral Von Capellan; *Frederika*, 36, Captain Van der Straaten; *Dageraad*, 36, Captain Polders; *Diana*, 36, Captain Petrus Zievogel; *Amstel*, 36, Captain Van der Hart; *Ettragt*, Captain Wardenburg.

Lord Exmouth, on his arrival in Britain, was received with great enthusiasm, and he was raised to the dignity of a viscount for his services; Admiral Milne was knighted; and promotion, on the usual scale, was bestowed on the other officers. Admiral Viscount Exmouth also received an honourable augmentation to his arms. In the centre of the shield a triumphal crown was placed by a civic wreath; below was a lion rampant, and above them a ship, lying at the mole-head of Algiers, and surmounted with the star of victory. The former supporters were exchanged for a lion on the one side, and a Christian slave holding aloft the cross, and dropping his broken fetters, on the other. The name "Algiers" was given for an additional motto. Orders of knighthood were conferred on him by the kings of Holland, Spain, and Sardinia. A sword, ornamented with diamonds, was presented to him by the lord mayor of the city of London, at a grand banquet given by the Ironmongers' Company; Mr. Betton, a member of that company, who had himself endured the misery of captivity amongst the barbarians, having left a considerable sum for the ransom of Christian slaves in Barbary, and for which the company were trustees. A medal was struck by a society in Paris in honour of the victory, and the officers of the squadron presented to their commander a magnificent piece of plate, value 1,400 guineas, representing the mole of Algiers and its fortifications.

The thanks of parliament were cordially voted to the admiral, and the officers and men of his squadron, for the glorious achievement; and in both houses the highest testimony was borne to the able manner in which Lord Exmouth had conducted the expedition. Referring to the disadvantages which the commander-in-chief and his officers had laboured under in getting their crews so hurriedly together, Lord Melville, in the house of peers, said—"When the expedition to Algiers was determined on, it became necessary to collect men from different guard-ships,* and to call for the services of volunteers for this particular enterprise. He mentioned this circumstance because those who knew the value which naval officers attach to a crew long accustomed to act together, would be the better able to appreciate the skill and exertions of Lord Exmouth, and the difficulties he had to contend with in rendering crews, collected as he had stated, efficient for his purpose. To that object Lord Exmouth devoted his daily, his hourly attention, and accomplished it in a manner which reflected the highest credit on his judgment and ability. He then proceeded with his squad-

* Among others who volunteered to serve in this expedition, were a number of smugglers who had been taken on the western coast, and sentenced to five years' service in the navy. They were sent to the eastward as prisoners, in a cutter in which Mr. Pellew (Lord Exmouth's brother) had taken a passage to make a parting visit to the admiral, and they implored his intercession on their behalf. He advised them to enter for the *Queen Charlotte*, and gain a title to the indulgence they sought by their good conduct in the battle. They all did so: no serious casualty occurred among them; and they behaved so well, that Lord Exmouth applied to the admiralty, and obtained their discharge.—Ossler's *Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth*.

† On the occasion of Lord Exmouth's victory, there were not wanting those who made every endeavour to take away from him the merit of this great achievement, and who wished to make it appear that the victors owed their success to the forbearance or stupidity of the enemy. An officer who served in the *Queen Charlotte* thus disposes of this unworthy attempt to deprive an able commander of the honour which was due to him for making use of every means that human foresight could devise to effect the object which he had in view. Speaking of what might have occurred if the Algerine gunners had opened their fire earlier, he says—"It cannot be supposed that the officers and men who supported with so much steadiness and self-possession the continued fire of such an action, would have quailed under the first fire of the Algerines, even though it had been necessary to have borne it in silence. But what is the fact? The *Queen Charlotte* was the only ship secured, the only ship anchored when the battle began. The stations taken up, under the heaviest of

ron on the appointed service. He proposed certain terms to the dey of Algiers, according to his instructions, and no satisfactory reply being given, the ships took their positions. It was due to Lord Exmouth to state a circumstance not generally known. An opinion had prevailed, that accident and the elements had been very favourable to Lord Exmouth in the execution of the enterprise;† but the fact was, that when government had determined on the undertaking, many persons, and among them several naval officers, were of opinion that the defences were so strong that the attack could not succeed. Not so Lord Exmouth, though he was perfectly aware of the difficulties with which he had to contend. He had himself formed the plan of his operations, and gave it as his opinion that the object might be accomplished; not from any idle confidence, but founded on the reasons which he stated, and the plan which he had formed. He had in this plan settled the position which every ship was to take; and when the despatches came, he (Lord Melville) had noticed that the positions exactly taken were those which had been before settled. The whole scheme of

the fire, by the *Leander*, *Granicus*, *Glasgow*, *Severn*, and *Melampus* frigates, attest the assertion that the ships must have reached their stations; for be it remembered that these ships are mentioned, not only for the exactitude with which they took their assigned stations, but also because they were the most difficult, having to pass all the batteries, and anchor on a part of the position where not only the smoke of the admiral's ship, but also that of the enemy was settling. My own idea, and that of dozens of other officers, undoubtedly was, that we were going to an assured victory—that our opponents were outmatched in skill—that our chief's plans were infallible, and only required the exertions of his subordinates to insure success." The following anecdote shows the confidence the admiral had in his own resources, and the arrangements he had made for every contingency. After the battle was over, one of his officers remarked to him, that it was well for them that the land-wind came off, or they should never have got out; and that God only knew what might have been their fate, had they been obliged to remain in during the night. The admiral at once replied—"No man is more deeply sensible of the value of the land-wind which saved us many a gallant fellow; no man is more deeply grateful to Divine Providence, for having so favoured us, than myself; but I have not wholly rested on such a contingency. I never dreamed of carrying my squadron where I could not withdraw them. My means were prepared, and I am sure that the exertions of the officers and men would have realised all my expectations; and on no one could I have counted more truly than on yourself and your people." Such coolness in danger, and such able foresight, must always command success.

attack was before prepared by him, and exactly followed; and the whole transaction reflected the highest credit on Lord Exmouth as a naval commander, as well as upon his perseverance and gallantry." In the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh spoke to the following effect:—"He should not attempt," he said, "to add anything more to an action so glorious, both as to the principles upon which it was undertaken, and the mode by which it was carried out; but only observe that he intended to extend the thanks to the officers and seamen of their brave ally, the King of the Netherlands, whose co-operation had been so beneficial. He was sure the house would feel a peculiar gratification in seeing the navy of Holland united with ours for the general liberties of mankind, and be anxious to mark their sense of the services performed by the Dutch admiral, his brave officers, and sailors." We shall conclude our extracts from this debate with the remarks of one who was well able to give an opinion on the subject before the house. Lord Cochrane, who spoke on this occasion, said—"No one was better acquainted than himself with the power possessed by batteries over a fleet; and he would say that the conduct of Lord

Exmouth and the fleet deserved all the praise which that house could bestow. The attack was nobly achieved, in a way that a British fleet always performed such services; and the vote had his most cordial concurrence, for he never knew or had heard of anything more gallant than the manner in which Lord Exmouth had laid his ships alongside the Algerine batteries."* Such language as this, from such a man, must have been peculiarly grateful to Lord Exmouth's feelings.

As the bombardment of Algiers was the last great event in which Lord Exmouth took a part in the service of his country, we shall here lay before the reader a brief sketch of his career. Lord Exmouth entered the service an unfriended orphan, and with nothing to rely on but his character and his sword, he rose to the highest honours in his profession. The example of such a man is invaluable to those who have devoted themselves to the service of their country, as by the exercise of the same exertions they may hope to obtain the same rewards.

Edward Pellew, Viscount Exmouth, was born on the 19th of April, 1757, at Dover. His father was commander of the post-

obliterated in the consequences of subsequent disaster. The battle of Tours, in the days of Charles Martel, the deliverance of Vienna by John Sobieski, the victory of Lepanto by Don John of Austria, only averted subjugation from Christendom; the glories of Ascalon, the conquest of Jerusalem, the heroism of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, were forgotten in the disaster of Tiberias, the fate of Ptolemais, the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land. Even the more recent successes of the Russians over the Turks had been deeply chequered with disaster; the storming of Oczakow was balanced by the disaster of the Pruth; the Balkan had never been crossed by the followers of the Cross, and the redoubtable antagonists still exchanged desperate thrusts, with alternate success, on the banks of the Danube. But with the battle of Algiers commenced the decisive and eternal triumph of the Christian faith; the Cross never thereafter waned before the Crescent. Other triumphs not less decisive rapidly succeeded, and the Ottoman empire was only saved from dissolution by the jealousies of the victors. Navarino wrenched Greece from its grasp; Acre saw the sceptre of Syria pass from its hands; Koniah brought it to the verge of ruin; Algiers delivered its sway over Africa to France; the passage of the Balkan rendered it tributary to Russia. Nor was the waning of the Crescent less perceptible in Asia. The bastions of Erivan gave the Muscovites the command of Georgia; the Cross was placed on the summit of Ararat, the resting-place of the ark; the British standards were seen on the ramparts of Ghuznee, the cradle of the Mohammedan dominion of India."—*Alison's Europe from the Fall of Napoleon.*

* "These are noble words, such as the brave only can apply to the brave; rendered doubly striking, and not less honourable to the giver than the receiver, when it is recollected under what unmerited obloquy Lord Cochrane laboured at that time, and the shameful ingratitude with which he had been treated by his country. There were not wanting, however, many who thought that, on such an occasion, honours and rewards might have been bestowed with a more liberal hand, and that government would have acted more gracefully if they had seized this opportunity to bestow, perhaps, an unusual amount of the royal favour on a service which, during the last year of the war, had received so little of it, simply because the magnitude of its former victories had swept every enemy from the ocean. But the admiration and gratitude of the world was the real reward of the victors. Never, perhaps, since the fall of Jerusalem resounded through Christendom, had such a unanimous feeling pervaded every civilised state. Difference of race, of nations, of institutions, were forgotten in the common triumph of faith. The Roman catholic grasped the hand of the protestant, the Lutheran of the Greek. Through two hundred million of human beings, one simultaneous burst of joy broke forth; the unity of feeling, which is the charm of love between two faithful hearts, was for once felt by an entire fifth of the human race. The battle of Algiers was memorable in another point of view, still more important to the general interests of humanity. It was the first of the great and decisive triumphs of the Christians over the Mohammedans. Other victories had been gained in former days, but they were in defence only, or were

office packet on the Dover station. Like many others who have risen to eminence, early difficulties drew forth his energies. His father, who died in 1765, left six children, and a subsequent imprudent marriage of their mother deprived them of the support of a parent; and thus they were thrown on the world with scarcely any resources. Edward, the subject of this notice, began his career at sea in the year 1770, in the *Juno* frigate, with Captain Stott, whom he accompanied in the same year to the Falkland Islands, and afterwards to the Mediterranean. An incident in the history of young Pellew at this time is characteristic of the man. Captain Stott, whom Pellew had followed to the *Alarm*, after the *Juno* had been paid off, was an excellent seaman, but unfortunately retained some habits which were not suited to his position as commander of a ship. He kept a mistress on board. Among the midshipmen was a boy named Frank Cole, who was three years younger than Mr. Pellew, but had entered on board the *Juno* at the same time. Mr. Pellew was warmly attached to him. The woman had some pet fowls, which were allowed to fly about; and one day, when the ship was lying at Marseilles, and the captain absent, one of them was driven off the quarter-deck by young Cole, which led to great abuse from the woman, and a sharp reply from the boy. When the captain returned, he became so much enraged at her representations, that he not only reprimanded the youngster severely, but so far forgot himself as to give him a blow. In consequence of this, Cole, having consulted his friend Pellew, applied for his discharge. The captain immediately ordered a boat to be got ready, for the purpose, as he said, of turning Mr. Cole on shore. As soon as this order was given, Mr. Pellew went to the captain, and firmly but respectfully told him—"If Frank Cole is to be turned out of the ship, sir, I hope you will turn me out too." The spirited conduct of the lads attracted the notice of the two lieutenants on board—Keppel and Lord Hugh Seymour; and learning that they had no money, Lord Seymour kindly gave them an order on his agent at Marseilles. This incident in the early career of Lord Exmouth laid the foundation of an intimacy which continued through life. His next ship was the *Blonde*, Captain Pownoll, whose character as an able seaman and commander deservedly stood among

the highest in the service. On the commencement of hostilities with the American colonies, the *Blonde* was sent to America with General Burgoyne on board as a passenger. When the general came alongside the frigate, the yards were manned to receive him. Looking up, he was surprised to see a midshipman on the yardarm standing on his head. Captain Pownoll, however, who was near him, soon quieted his apprehensions, by telling him that it was only one of the daring tricks of young Pellew, a midshipman on board, and that he need not be in the slightest degree alarmed; as, if he should fall into the water, he would only pass under the ship's bottom, and come up on the other side. At another time, when the *Blonde* was going fast through the water, a sailor accidentally fell overboard while Pellew was engaged on the fore-yard. He immediately sprung from the yard into the sea, and seizing the drowning man, he held him up until a boat which was sent from the ship came to their assistance. His biographer states, that when Mr. Pellew came on board, "Captain Pownoll reproached him for his rashness; but he shed tears when he spoke of it to the officers, and declared that Pellew was a noble fellow."

During the continuance of the war with the American colonies, a party, of whom Mr. Pellew was one, was selected to act under Commodore Douglas, and other able officers, in equipping and afterwards commanding vessels on Lake Champlain, to oppose the enemy's flotilla. Our hero was appointed to the *Carleton* schooner, in which he was engaged in the most desperate service. On the 11th of October, 1776, the enemy's vessels were discovered drawn up in a strong line between one of the numerous islands on the lake and the western land. The *Carleton* was the vessel nearest to the enemy; and though her force was only twelve 6-pounders, and the enemy consisted of fifteen vessels, carrying ninety-six guns, she at once attacked, without waiting for the rest of the squadron. In this affair, General Arnold commanded the American squadron. The wind being unfavourable, none of the British vessels were able to work up to the assistance of the *Carleton*, so that this small craft was exposed to a severe fire from the whole of the enemy's force. In a short time the artillery boats approached to the assistance of the *Carleton*. Meanwhile, however, she had suffered severely. Mr. Brown, a midshipman, and

Lieutenant Dacres, had both been struck down, and the command devolved on Mr. Pellew, who continued the unequal contest with great spirit, until all efforts to bring up the squadron to his assistance having failed, Captain Pringle made the signal of recall. The *Carleton*, with two feet of water in her hold, and with more than half her crew killed and wounded, was in no condition to obey the order. While endeavouring to get his vessel out of range of shot, the gun-boats having taken the *Carleton* in tow, a shot from the enemy cut the tow-rope in two, when finding that his men hung back from executing the order he had given to secure it, the enemy's shot falling so thick as to render this a service of almost certain death, he at once ran forward and did it himself. If the *Carleton* had suffered severely herself, she had at least managed to give a good account of the enemy to whom she was opposed. She had, during the time in which she was engaged, sunk the *Boston*, a gondola, carrying an 18-pounder and two twelves; and burnt the *Royal Savage*, of 12 guns, the largest of the enemy's schooners. For his gallant conduct on this occasion Mr. Pellew received the following letter from Sir Charles Douglas, the senior officer at Quebec, to whose command all the lake service was subordinate:—

“Sir,—The account I have received of your behaviour on board the *Carleton*, in the different actions on the lakes, gives me the warmest satisfaction, and I shall not fail to represent it in the strongest terms to the Earl of Sandwich and my Lord Howe, and recommend you as deserving a commission for your gallantry; and as Lieutenant Dacres, your late commander, will no doubt obtain rank for his conduct when he reaches England, I am desired by General Sir Guy Carleton to give you the command of the schooner in which you have so bravely done your duty.” He also received the following from Lord Howe, appointing him lieutenant:—“Sir,—The account I have heard of your gallant behaviour from Captain Charles Douglas, of H.M.S. *Iris*, in the different actions on Lake Champlain, gives me much satisfaction, and I shall receive pleasure in giving you a lieutenant's commission whenever you may reach New York.”

His next service was with a party of seamen who were appointed to co-operate with General Burgoyne's army; and he was present at most of the encounters in that disastrous campaign, and afterwards in-

cluded in the capitulation at Saratoga, when the British army surrendered to General Gates, in 1777. Unfortunate as this expedition was to all concerned in it, Lieutenant Pellew contrived to distinguish himself, as he recovered a vessel laden with provisions after it had been captured by the enemy, for which service General Burgoyne thanked him in a letter written with his own hand. A circumstance highly creditable to the young officer occurred at this time. Before the capitulation, a council of war was held to determine on what was best to be done. Mr. Pellew was summoned to attend, in virtue of his being in command of the brigade of seamen who had assisted in the expedition. When the capitulation was proposed, Pellew, who was the youngest officer present, pleaded hard that he might be allowed to fight his way back with his handful of sailors. It was an unheard-of thing, he said, for sailors to capitulate; and if it met with the sanction of the council, he was confident he could bring them off. General Burgoyne, with great difficulty, succeeded in dissuading him from making the attempt, by representing to him that it would lead to a general ruin and violation of the capitulation. Being sent to England with despatches, he was immediately rewarded with a lieutenant's commission, the commanders-in-chief having borne the highest testimony to his skill and intrepidity. His natural fearlessness of character, and the confidence which he had in his own powers, often led him into positions of danger from which it required all his coolness and address to extricate himself. The water seemed to be a natural element to him, and he would often go out in a boat alone, and upset her by carrying a press of sail. On one occasion he nearly lost his life in a boat in Portsmouth harbour, having upset himself. On another occasion, he was going by himself from Falmouth to Plymouth in a small punt, when his hat blew overboard, and he immediately threw off his clothes and swam after it, having first secured the tiller a-lee. As he was returning with his hat the boat got way on her, and sailed some distance before she came up in the wind. He had almost reached her when she filled again, and he was thus baffled three or four times. At length, by a desperate effort, he caught the rudder; but he was so much exhausted, that it was a considerable time before he had strength to get into the boat.

In 1780, Lieutenant Pellew was again with Captain Pownoll in the *Apollo*. While cruising in the North Sea, the *Apollo* fell in with the French frigate *Stanislaus*. The enemy made every effort to escape; but the *Apollo*, under a press of sail, speedily overtook the frigate and brought her to action. Shortly after the commencement of the fight, Captain Pownoll was shot through the body. Pellew caught the dying commander in his arms, who was only able to articulate—"Pellew, I know you won't throw the ship away;" and immediately expired. Captain Pownoll well knew the character of his gallant lieutenant, for the action was continued with such impetuosity that the Frenchman fled before him, and sheltered himself from capture in the neutral anchorage of Ostend.* Pellew was immediately promoted to the rank of master and commander, first of the *Hazard*, and afterwards of the *Pelican* sloop of war, in

* The following is an extract from a letter written to the first lord of the admiralty, giving a detailed account of the action:—" When the action began, both ships had all their-sails set upon a wind, with as much wind as we could bear. The ever-to-be-lamented Captain Pownoll received a wound through his body about an hour after the action commenced, when standing by the gangway. The enemy had then suffered much, having lost the yardarms of both his lower yards, and had no sails drawing but his foresail, maintop-gallant-sail, and mizen-topsail, the others flying about. We had engaged her to leeward, which, from the heel his ship had, prevented him from making our sails and rigging the objects of his fire; though I am well convinced he had laid his guns down as much as possible. When I assumed the command, we had shot upon his bow. I endeavoured to get the courses hauled up, and the top-gallant-sails clewed up, neither of which we could do, as we had neither clue-garnets, bunt-lines, or leech-lines left. However, we got the top-gallant-sails down with most of the stay-sails, and the mizen-topsail aback; but finding we still outsailed him, I had no other method left but that of sheering across his hawse, first on one bow, then on the other, raking him as we crossed, always having in view the retarding his way, by obliging him either to receive us athwart his bowsprit, in which case we should have turned his head off shore, or to sheer as we did. He, foreseeing our intention, did so; but never lost sight of gaining the shore. In this situation we had continued for a considerable time. His bowsprit had been at two different times over our quarter-deck, but never so far forward as to enable us to secure him. All this time we were approaching the shore, and we were then, I am certain, within two miles of it. I had been cautioned by the master, whose abilities and great assistance I must ever gratefully remember, more than once, of the shoal water; and I had repeatedly called for and sent after the pilot; and I am sorry to inform your lordship he did not appear. Thus situated, in three and a-half fathoms water, and steering towards danger, there was no time to

which he drove ashore three large French privateers, for which gallant service he was advanced to be post-captain in 1782. During the ensuing peace, he commanded the *Winchelsea* frigate; and afterwards the *Salisbury*, bearing the flag of Admiral Milbanke, till the close of 1791. While in command of the *Winchelsea*, an officer who served under him gives the following account of his conduct during a gale of wind, while on the passage to Newfoundland:—" I remember relieving the deck one night after eight o'clock, when the captain was carrying on the duty, and shortening sail upon the quick approach of a severe gale, and being an old sailor for my age, being then sixteen, he ordered me to the mizen-top to close-reef and furl the mizen-topsail; and this being done, from the increase of the gale, we had before twelve o'clock to take in successively every reef, furl most of the sails, and strike the topgallant-masts and

hesitate; and, with the advice of the master, I wore, and brought-to under the mizen, with her head off shore, until we could get the courses and other sails taken in, not having then a brace or bow-line left, and being fully determined to renew the action in a few minutes. We had scarcely wore, when his foremast, maintop-mast, main-yard, and maintop fell, leaving his mainmast without rigging; and the ship at the same time took a large heel, which made us all conclude she had struck the ground. It was then half-ebb, and I firmly believe, had we pursued him, in less than ten minutes we must have run aground. She had fired a gun to leeward, seemingly to claim the protection of the port, which was answered by three from the garrison. I was at this time preparing to wear again to anchor alongside him; but Mr. Unwin, the purser, bringing me some orders found in Captain Pownoll's pocket, among which was one relative to the observance of neutrality, I did not think myself justified in renewing the attack. I therefore continued lying-to, to repair our damages. Our masts are much wounded, the rigging very much torn, and several shot under water, by which we made two feet of water an hour. Your lordship will, I hope, pardon me for troubling you with the relation of private feelings. The loss of Captain Pownoll will be severely felt. The ship's company have lost a father. I have lost much more, a father and a friend united; and that friend my only one on earth. Never, my lord, was grief more poignant than that we all feel for our adored commander. Mine is inexpressible. The friend who brought me up, and pushed me through the service, is now no more! It was ever my study, and will ever be so, to pursue his glorious footsteps. How far I may succeed, I know not; but while he lived I enjoyed the greatest blessing, that of being patronised by him. That happiness I am now deprived of, and unassisted by friends, unconnected with the great, and unsupported by the world, I must throw myself totally on your lordship's generosity. If I have erred, it was not from the heart; for I will be bold to say, the love and honour of his country makes no heart more warm than mine."

other spars, to make the ship snug, the midshipmen being on the yards as well as the men, and the captain, when the gale became severe, at their elbow. In close-reefing the maintop-sail, there was much difficulty in clewing up the sail for the purpose of making it quiet, and the captain issued his orders accordingly from the quarter-deck, and sent us aloft. On gaining the topsail-yard, the most active and daring of our party hesitated to go out on it, as the sail was flapping about violently, making it a service of great danger. A voice was heard amidst the roaring of the gale from the extreme end of the yardarm, calling upon us to exert ourselves to save the sail, which would otherwise be beat to pieces. A man said, 'Why, that's the captain; how the devil did he get there?' It was by such acts that he inspired confidence in his men, by all of whom he was greatly beloved; and while discussing among themselves the orders which he issued, they would finish by saying, "Well, he never orders us to do what he won't do himself;" and they often remarked, when talking of his seamanship, "Blow high, blow low, he knows to an inch what the ship can do, and he can almost make her speak."

On the commencement of the war with France, in 1793, Captain Pellew was appointed to the *Nymph* frigate at Plymouth, and put to sea on the 17th of June in that year. Before the evening closed, he fell in with the *Cleopatre* French frigate, of equal force, and chased her through the night. In the morning, the French captain, Jean Mullan by name, bore down into action. When within hail, Captain Pellew advanced to the gangway, and pulling off his hat, cried "Long live King George!" to which his crew responded with three hearty cheers. The Frenchman came forward with "*Vive le Nation!*" and was seconded by his men in like manner, on which Pellew put on his hat (the concerted signal for firing), and poured a destructive broadside into the enemy's ship, which returned it with great

effect; and after a desperate conflict of an hour, in which his gallant rival was killed, Pellew captured the *Cleopatre*, and carried her into Portsmouth.* The brave Captain Mullan, commander of the *Cleopatre*, was buried at Portsmouth with all the honours due to the gallantry he had displayed. Sir Edward Pellew wrote a letter of condolence to his widow: from the reply of the lady, having learnt that she was in narrow circumstances, he sent with her husband's effects whatever assistance his own slender means at that time enabled him to afford. Such acts as these are more honourable to a man than all the titles which monarchs or governments can bestow.

On being presented at St. James's, the king conferred on him the honour of knighthood. He was now advanced to the command of the *Arethusa*, which formed one of the western squadron of frigates employed against the French cruisers in the British channel. In this service Sir Edward was prominently engaged in the capture of the French frigates *Pomone*, *Flora*, and *Babet*, and the destruction of the *Felicite*, and also several smaller vessels of war. In 1795, with a detachment of frigates under his own orders, he captured the *Revolutionnaire*, of 44 guns, and soon after, a valuable convoy of merchant vessels, with the ship which protected them. But, justly as his conduct in presence of the enemy was entitled to distinction, it was eclipsed by that union of prompt resolution with constitutional philanthropy which personally endeared him to his followers. Twice already, when captain of the *Winchelsea*, this heroic spirit had been signally displayed by his leaping from the deck, and saving two of his drowning sailors; the first of these acts being performed while he was under severe indisposition. A more conspicuous example of this noble feeling was shown on the 26th of January, 1796, when, by his personal exertions, he preserved the crew and passengers on board the *Dutton* East Indiaman, crowded with troops, which was

* Captain Pellew gives the following account of this action in a letter to his brother Samuel:—"Dear Sam,—Here we are, thank God! safe—after a glorious action with *La Cleopatre*, the crack ship of France, 40 guns; 28 on her main-deck, and 12 on her quarter-deck, some of 36 pounds, and 320 men. We dished her up in fifty minutes, boarded and struck her colours. We suffered much, but I was long determined to make a short affair of it. We conversed before we fired a shot, and then, God knows, hot enough it was, as you will see by the

inclosed. I might have wrote for a month, had I entered on the description of every gallant action, but we were all in it heart and soul. I owe much to Israel [his brother], who undertook with the after gun to cut off her rudder and wheel. The tiller was shot away, and four men killed at her wheel, which I verily believe was owing to him. I will write again in a day or two, and do all I can for everybody. *Cleopatre* is fifteen feet longer and three feet wider than *Nymph*: much larger.—Yours, &c., E. P."

driven on the rocks under the citadel at Plymouth, in a tremendous gale, in which many other ships of the expedition to the West Indies were lost.*

Sir Edward being now in the *Indefatigable* as commodore of the western squadron, had the good fortune to capture the French frigates *Unite* and *Virginie*. On the 13th of January, 1797, having the *Amazon* as his consort, he fell in with the *Droits de l'Homme*, of 74 guns. Pellew pursued her in a heavy gale throughout the night, the French ship being unable to use her lower tier of guns with any effect, owing to the high sea; and even on board the two English frigates the men fought their main-deck guns often up to the waist in water. Having lost sight of the other ships towards morning, when close in with the coast of France, Sir Edward at length descried his brave antagonist ashore in Audierne Bay, totally lost, with great part of her crew.†

In 1798, Sir Edward's success was remarkably shown by the capture of no less than fifteen of the enemy's cruisers. In the following year he unwillingly surrendered this active service, upon being advanced to the command of the *Impetueux* of 74 guns. At this time the crew were on the eve of mutiny, and a few days after, while he was dressing in his cabin, they advanced in a tumultuous body to the quarter-deck. Sir Edward instantly rushed out among them, grappled with their ring-leader, and, being ably seconded by his

officers, he drove them between decks, where ten of the principals were put in irons, which quelled the insurrection.

A court-martial was afterwards held on the mutineers, when several of them were sentenced to be executed. When the unfortunate men were brought out to suffer the penalty of their crime, Sir Edward addressed a few words first to the men who had followed him from the *Indefatigable*, and afterwards to the rest of the crew. "Indefatigables," he said, "stand aside; not one of you shall touch the rope. But *you*"—meaning that portion of the crew who belonged to the *Impetueux* before he took the command, and among whom the mutiny originated—"who have encouraged your ship-mates to the crime by which they have forfeited their lives, it shall be your punishment to hang them." On a previous occasion, while the *Indefatigable* was lying in Falmouth harbour, Sir Edward Pellew quelled an attempt at insurrection on board that ship. One of the sailors, in the dead of the night, privately informed Sir Edward of the intended mutiny; but he pretended to discredit the man's tale, and to all appearance took no steps in consequence. However, when the ship was ordered to be got under weigh, it was observed that the sailors were sulky, and the officers complained that they could not get the men to go round with the capstan. Sir Edward immediately came forward, and drawing his sword, told the crew that he was acquainted with their plot, and commanded them to perform their duty

it impossible that a boat could live in it. Finding all his efforts useless, he exclaimed, "then I will go myself!" and attaching a rope, which formed the only communication with the ship, to his body, he was dragged on board through the surf. Having reached the deck, he declared himself, and assumed the command. He then informed the people on board that their only chance of being saved depended on their obeying his orders, and he assured them that he would answer for the safety of every one if they preserved order; that he himself would be the last man to leave the ship; and, drawing his sword, declared that he would run any one through who disobeyed him. In the meantime, two boats from his own ship, although ignorant that he was on board, made towards the wreck. The ends of two hawsers were now got on shore, and a cradle constructed, with travelling ropes so that it could be drawn backwards and forwards from the ship to the beach. The children, the women, and sick were first landed; next the soldiers were got on shore, then the ship's company, and finally Sir Edward himself, who was among the last to leave her. Not a single life was lost; and scarcely had all got on shore when the wreck went to pieces.

† See p. 38, ante.

* The conduct of Sir Edward Pellew, on this occasion, was so noble that a brief account of the circumstances cannot fail to prove interesting, and to show that it is not in the hour of battle alone that true bravery exhibits itself. The *Indefatigable*, Sir Edward's ship, was on the 26th of January, 1796, lying at Hamoaze, after having been docked, and Sir Edward was on his way in a carriage along with his lady to dine with a friend, when he was made aware that the *Dutton*, a large East Indiaman, employed in the transport service, had gone ashore under the citadel, where beating round she lay rolling heavily, with her broadside to the waves. The whole of her masts had gone overboard together. He immediately sprang out of the carriage and ran off towards the wreck. As soon as he arrived at the beach he learned that the ship had been deserted by her principal officers, and that in the course of a very short time the loss of all on board, in number more than 500, was inevitable, unless some one was on board capable of directing them. Sir Edward in vain endeavoured to persuade the officers to return to their duty. He also offered rewards to the pilots and some of the boatmen of the port, to induce them to board the wreck and succour the crew, but in vain; the sea running so high that they pronounced

as directed. He then desired his officers to draw their swords, and addressing them said—"You can never die so well as on your deck, quelling a mutiny; and now, if any man hesitate to obey you, cut him down without a word." The consequence of this prompt and decided conduct was, that the ringleaders were completely cowed, and the crew, accustomed to obedience, at once returned to their duty, and the frigate was soon under sail.

In 1799, he co-operated in landing the unfortunate French royalists in their expedition to the Morbihan, and afterwards proceeded with other ships of the line to co-operate in an attack upon Ferrol. In 1801, he received the honorary rank of colonel of marines, and was elected to serve in parliament as representative for Barnstaple. On the resumption of hostilities which followed the short and feverish peace, Sir Edward was appointed to the *Tonnant* of 80 guns, and hoisted a broad pennant in charge of five ships of the line. Being not long after advanced to the rank of rear-admiral, he received the chief command in the East Indies, and sailed thither on the 10th of July, 1804, in the *Culloden* of 74 guns. During five years, the naval administration committed to him in that quarter of the world was conducted with great efficiency and judgment. Having attained the rank of vice-admiral, Sir Edward Pellew proceeded to Europe, and had not long returned, when, in the spring of 1810, he was appointed to the chief command of the fleet, which was then observing the French force in the Scheldt. He hoisted his flag in the *Christian the Seventh* of 80 guns, and for many months kept an anxious watch on their movements. Early in the summer of the following year, he had the satisfaction of being removed to the more important station of commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. Here the constant wish of his heart was a general action. Twice indeed his flag-ship, with a few others of the van, got near enough to have a partial engagement with the rear of the enemy's fleet, while exercising before the port of Toulon; but these served only to augment his anxiety for a decisive conflict. How long and earnestly he maintained the blockade of the enemy's superior force in that port, unconscious that their imperious master had forbidden his admiral to venture an engagement,—how well he provided for the perfect equipment and efficiency, and the health and

comfort of his own ships,—every officer employed in that highly-disciplined fleet can bear ample testimony. At length the progress of events once more united the great powers of Europe; and while Sir Edward Pellew was engaged in combined operations with the forces of Lord William Bentinck upon the coast of Italy, intelligence arrived to inform him that Napoleon was already a fugitive from his capital, and shortly after, that he had embarked at Frejus, on his way to Elba.

The restoration of peace was distinguished by the rewards bestowed by the sovereign on those officers who had rendered the most important services. Among these our admiral was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Exmouth of Canonteign, with a pension of £2,000 per annum.

Upon the reappearance of Napoleon on the throne of France, a squadron was again dispatched to the Mediterranean, of which Lord Exmouth resumed the command. On arriving upon his station, he placed himself in communication with the Bourbon interests in the south of France, and with the Austrian general in Italy, thus effectually preventing any hostile movement of the French fleet at Toulon, and mainly contributed to the restoration of the legitimate sovereign of Naples. The decisive battle of Waterloo at length extinguished every hope of the fallen Napoleon, and peace was once more restored to Europe.

In the year 1827, the chief command at Plymouth was conferred on his lordship for the usual period of three years; soon after the conclusion of which, he was appointed to the honorary rank of vice-admiral of England, and finally retired from the active duties of his profession; and, excepting occasional attendance in the House of Lords, he passed the remainder of his days in his quiet retreat at Teignmouth. There, while enjoying repose in the bosom of his family, he looked back upon the chequered scene of his former services with unmingled gratitude for all the dangers he had escaped, all the mercies he had experienced, and all the blessings he enjoyed. Withdrawn from the strife and vanity of the world, his thoughts were raised with increasing fervour to Him who had guarded his head in the day of battle, and led him in safety through the hazards of the pathless sea. No longer harassed by the cares and responsibility of public duties, religion, which he had always held in reverence, now struck deeper root



Engraved by H. T. Beall

JEFFERY, FIRST LORD AMHERST.

OB. 1797.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL AMHERST.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND ENGRAVING COMPANY

in his heart, and nothing was more gratifying to the contemplation of his family and friends than the Christian serenity which shed its best blessings on his latter days.

His lordship expired at his house at Teignmouth, Devon, on the 23rd of Jan-

uary, 1833, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. The brave and venerable peer was succeeded in his title by his eldest son, Captain Pownoll Bastard Pellew, R.N., who scarcely survived his noble father more than ten months.

LORD AMHERST'S EMBASSY TO CHINA.

THE Chinese empire has, to a considerable extent, been a closed region to Europeans. The arrogant spirit and timid jealousy of its government and people, combined with the fact that the great surface and variety of its soil renders the inhabitants independent of other countries for a supply of the necessaries and even the luxuries of life, has led to the policy of a harsh and even offensive exclusion of strangers. The first attempt of the English to open a trade with China was made in 1637, when four merchant vessels arrived at Macao; but through the intrigues of the Portuguese then established there, the enterprise failed. The East India Company subsequently conducted a petty traffic at the different maritime ports, but chiefly at Canton. In 1792, Lord Macartney was sent on an embassy to put the trade on a more liberal basis, but he met with but little success.

The difficulties which the supercargoes at Canton experienced in the management of their trade, in consequence of the oppressions of the local government, induced the directors of the East India Company, early in 1815, to solicit the ministry to send another embassy to the Chinese court, in the hope that it might lead to a more amicable and unrestricted commerce between the two countries. The directors suggested that the embassy should consist of three members; the first, a person of rank, appointed by the prince-regent; and the other two to be Mr. Elphinstone, the chief of the factory at Canton, and Sir George Staunton, who was distinguished by his abilities, and regarded as peculiarly fitted for such a position, on account of his knowledge of the Chinese language. It was arranged that all expenses attending the embassy were to be defrayed by the East India Company, for whose interest, and at whose solicitation, it was to be undertaken.

The English government consented to these arrangements, but thought it advisable to give the deputation to the Chinese

court the character of an embassy extraordinary, as being more likely to cause an impression, and, consequently, to bring about the objects desired. Lord Amherst was therefore appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, and, on the 9th of February, 1816, he sailed from Spithead in the *Alceste*, commanded by Captain Murray Maxwell, and accompanied by the *Lyra*, commanded by Captain Basil Hall. On the 25th of July they entered the Gulf of Petchelee, and as they were then within forty-eight hours' sail of Ta-koo, the *Lyra* was sent on with the object of announcing the embassy, for the purpose of preventing unnecessary delays, and as a mark of respect to the Chinese authorities.

Considerable doubts were entertained as to the success of the mission. The usual jealousy of the Chinese court was probably enhanced by recent disturbances, in which an attempt had been made to assassinate the emperor; and a general and possibly correct impression existed that the disturbances had been fomented by religious sectaries, amongst whom the Christians were not only included, but were regarded with peculiar suspicion and dislike. So strong was this feeling, that a catholic bishop had recently been executed in one of the provinces; while another missionary remained under sentence of death.

But even this feeling did not constitute the chief difficulty in the way of an amicable reception of the English embassy. The vanity of the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire exacted from all who approached the assumed sacred person of the emperor an act of submission so humiliating as not only to be highly offensive to the feelings of every European, but not to be thought of by a British nobleman representing his sovereign. This ceremony is called the "Ko-tou," and consists of nine distinct prostrations in the imperial presence, besides other adulatory performances. Not only does it imply the most humble submission, but is, beside,

an act of religious veneration which, though paid to the emperor, and sometimes to his picture, or the seat he has occupied, is refused even to some of the inferior deities acknowledged by the Chinese people. Lord Macartney evaded this offensive ceremony; but in 1805 a Russian embassy was dismissed from the Chinese territories in consequence of the refusal of the ambassador to submit to it. There was therefore reason to suppose that this point of etiquette—as it was regarded by the Chinese, but degrading ceremony, as it must be considered by Englishmen—would be fatal to the reception of the embassy. What made this custom of the Chinese more offensive, is the fact that they regard all states who present them gifts and adulation as tributary nations.

An express having been dispatched to Peking, on the 12th of July a fast-sailing boat arrived with a copy of the emperor's edict, in which he expressed his satisfaction of the arrival of the embassy, and his intention to honour it with a gracious reception. Messrs. Toone, Davis, Pearson, Morrison, and Manning (who were all more or less acquainted with the Chinese language), joined the embassy at Hong Kong. The total number of persons in the suite of the ambassador amounted to seventy-five.

Lord Amherst was visited on board the *Alceste* by some Mandarins, and boats were provided by them for the passage of the embassy, and the presents of which they were the bearers, to Peking. On the 9th of August they left the ship, and commenced their journey. Captains Maxwell and Hall, being for a time thus released from their duties (for their ships were not required in China before the return of the embassy to Canton), proceeded, in the *Alceste* and the *Lyra*, to the coast of Corea, the eastern boundary of the Yellow Sea, with the intention of exploring and acquiring information concerning many places there, about which little or no precise information then existed.* Lord Amherst was saluted with three guns on reaching the small fort of Tong-koo, and three or four hundred Chinese soldiers were drawn out on the beach to do him honour. He was also visited by the Chin-chae, or imperial commissioner, who intimated, through the medium of Mr. Morrison, that at this interview he intended entirely to avoid the discussion of business,

and asserted that his sole object was to pay his respects to his lordship, and to become acquainted with him.

On arriving at the city of Tien-sing, Lord Amherst was visited by a party of Mandarins. At this place he and the immediate members of his suite were invited to an entertainment to be given them at the summer palace of the emperor, a picturesque and almost elegant building on the bank of the river. On entering the hall, a number of Mandarins were discovered in their robes of ceremony; and at about one-third of the room was a table covered with yellow silk, standing before a screen: this was an indication that some discussion was expected. After a few polite generalities, Kwang-ta-jin observed that the entertainment was commanded, and indeed given by the emperor; and that therefore the same ceremonies would be performed by them, and expected from him and his party, as if they were actually in the imperial presence. This was an artifice to induce Lord Amherst to perform the degrading Tartar ceremony of Ko-tou; but the ambassador very properly replied that he was prepared to approach his imperial majesty with the same demonstrations of respect as he would exhibit before his own sovereign. On their observing that it was requisite to go through the ceremony of Ko-tou, he declared his intention of following, in every respect, the precedent established by Lord Macartney. To this the Mandarins replied, that that nobleman had performed the ceremony;—a gross falsehood, which the difficulty of Lord Amherst's position prevented him from characterising as it deserved. Assuming a haughty tone, the Mandarins said they supposed it was the intention of the ambassador to please his imperial majesty; that the ceremony never was dispensed with; and that it was not becoming that they should perform a ceremony on this occasion which the ambassador refused.

On finding his lordship inflexible, the Mandarins hinted that unless the Ko-tou was performed, the embassy would not be received. Lord Amherst replied, that however mortifying it might be to his feelings, he must decline the honour intended him by the entertainment, and that on his arrival at Peking he would submit the reasons for his refusal, in writing, to the emperor. The

Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-choo Island. To this work we refer those of our readers who feel an interest in the subject.

* An account of their proceedings and discoveries in this locality was written by Captain Basil Hall, with the title of *A Voyage of Discovery to the West*

Mandarins inquired, in astonishment, if he rejected the bounty of the emperor? His lordship repeated his regret and his last proposition, which they, in their turn, positively rejected. After much discussion, the Mandarins said they would not insist on the performance of the ceremony on that occasion, but that they threw the responsibility of the consequences upon Lord Amherst, and that they could not pretend to say whether the embassy or presents would be received; adding, that it would be well to consider the discredit, among other nations, which such a dismissal would reflect upon England. His lordship answered, that the consciousness of obeying his sovereign's commands would relieve him from all uneasiness; that he had intended to make a bow before the table, but that, to evince the sincerity of his disposition to conciliate, he would make as many bows, on the present occasion, as they did prostrations. This was gloomily accepted, and Lord Amherst and his suite each bowed nine times before the table covered with yellow silk, in unison with the prostrations of the Mandarins. A handsome dinner, in the Chinese style, was then served, in which birds'-nest soup, shark-fins, custards, pyramids of preserved fruits, and hot wines, were conspicuous. When dinner was over, a dramatic entertainment took place on a stage at the lower end of the hall. The dresses were very splendid, but the affair was inexplicable; the best part of it being some tumbling,—a mean amusement, in which the Chinese excel.

On the 14th of August, the party left Tien-sing and proceeded on their journey. On the 16th they were informed by Chang and Yin, two of the Mandarins, that an edict had been received from Peking, containing an expression of the emperor's displeasure at their refusal to perform the Ko-tou, and of his fixed determination not to receive the ambassador unless it was complied with. Every inducement was held out for Lord Amherst to consent to submit to degrade his king and nation before the throne of a semi-barbarous potentate, but in vain. At length he observed, that the commands of his sovereign were too precise to admit of a departure from them without some reciprocal concession; therefore he proposed, that if a Tartar Mandarin, of equal rank with himself, would perform the Ko-tou before the picture of the prince-regent, then he would comply with the emperor's wishes. This proposition the

Mandarins affected to consider as altogether inadmissible. Lord Amherst then desired them to forward a memorial upon the subject to the emperor; but they replied, that they dared not transmit any paper containing such a request. His lordship then said he would make another proposal, which was, that in return for his performing the Ko-tou, the emperor would issue an edict declaring that any Chinese ambassador who might in future be presented at the English court, should perform the Tartar obeisance before his Britannic majesty. This the Mandarins declared to be utterly impossible, and to be more objectionable than the former proposition. They added an expression of regret, and observed that they saw no alternative between compliance and return, but said they would report what occurred to his imperial majesty.

On the embassy arriving at Tong-chow, they were received with a military salute, accompanied by some hideous noises, intended for music. A body of troops, armed with matchlocks, or bows and arrows, swords, shields, and quilted breastplates, were drawn up to do them honours. At this place the Ko-tou discussion was renewed. The Mandarins observed, that the object of the embassy was to strengthen the friendly relation between the two countries, and they trusted Lord Amherst would not permit a single circumstance to prevent its attainment. They hinted, with Asiatic duplicity, that even if he complied, he could make what report he pleased on his return to England. His lordship replied, that were he base enough to falsify the account, he had seventy-four witnesses with him, who would speak the truth. On the 22nd of August, Lord Amherst was visited by Ho, a Koong-yay, or noble, of a rank corresponding to our title of duke. This person was previously described as a man of few words, and remarkable for severity and inflexibility of character. Ho received his lordship in a manner only just short of rudeness, and then informed him that he and Moo-ta-jin (another Mandarin) had been dispatched to see him perform the Tartar ceremony. The object evidently was to intimidate his lordship, who replied that he had been deputed by his sovereign to the Emperor of China, for the purpose of manifesting the sentiments of regard and veneration entertained towards his imperial majesty, and that he had been instructed to approach his imperial presence with the ceremonial which had

proved acceptable to Kien-Lung, his illustrious father. The Koong-yay answered—"What happened in the fifty-eighth year belonged to that year; the present is the affair of this embassy, and the regulations of the Celestial Empire *must* be complied with: there is no alternative." Lord Amherst observed, that he had entertained a confident hope that what had proved acceptable to Kien-Lung would not have been refused by his imperial majesty. The Koong-yay vehemently rejoined—"That as there is but one sun, there is only one Ta-whong-te; he is the universal sovereign, and all must pay him homage." Finally, he broke off the interview by saying, while his lips quivered with rage, that the ambassador must either comply with the Ko-tou, or be sent back. As he retired, Lord Amherst placed a letter in his hands, addressed to the emperor, and requested that it might be delivered to his majesty. This letter the Mandarins afterwards opened and returned, as though unexceptional, even in their eyes, in point of profound respect; it was not exactly in accordance with Chinese etiquette. They intimated, however, that with a few slight alterations, which they suggested, they would undertake to transmit it to his imperial majesty. Chang afterwards informed Mr. Morrison that the letter had been privately submitted to the emperor, who did not return any direct answer to it, but remarked, that while the ambassador professed great respect, he required an alteration in the usages of his court, and refused to perform a ceremony which he, the emperor, had witnessed from a former English ambassador to his father Kien-Lung.

Several days elapsed without Lord Amherst's receiving any official communication from the superior Mandarins concerning the embassy; his lordship therefore requested to be apprised of the emperor's determination with respect to the period of their departure. The Chinese authorities seemed unwilling that the ambassador should leave without being presented to the emperor, and humiliating himself, and the sovereign he represented, before that celestial authority; and one of the Mandarins intimated that the embassy might entertain a confidence of being received, but that compliance with the ceremony would make all the difference between an angry or a gracious reception. It was added, that the question had come to a point of honour between the emperor and the English am-

bassador, and that, under such circumstances, it was impossible that the former could submit.

Another interview took place between Lord Amherst and the Koong-yay, which terminated by the ambassador expressing his intention of taking the subject again into consideration. In a discussion with the gentlemen associated with him in his mission, upon the expediency or otherwise of compliance, Lord Amherst expressed an opinion that, unless Sir George Staunton considered, under existing circumstances, compliance would be injurious to the interests of the East India Company, he was disposed, with a view of averting the probable evil consequences of rejection under irritated feelings, and contemplating the prospect held out of effecting the ulterior objects of the embassy, to comply with the emperor's wishes by performing the ceremony in his presence. Sir George, after consulting the gentlemen of the factory, reported that they considered compliance as highly injurious to the interests of the company, as the maintenance of the respectability, and consequent efficiency of the factory at Canton, rested entirely upon a belief entertained by the Chinese of their inflexible adherence to principles once assumed—a belief which would be at once subverted by concession in such a point on so important an occasion. Lord Amherst therefore prepared a note to the Koong-yay, stating his final and irrevocable determination not to perform the ceremony.

Scarcely was this delivered to one of the attendants of the Koong-yay, when that dignitary himself made his appearance, and requested that Lord Amherst would prepare for his instant departure to Peking, as the emperor had fixed an early day for his first audience, and ordered a house to be prepared as his residence. Lord Amherst, not quite understanding a conduct the very reverse of which he anticipated, requested an answer to his last note. The Koong-yay, bowing significantly, replied that there was no difficulty—that all was arranged, and that he knew what were the feelings of the ambassador's heart. Having said this he departed, leaving Kwang (another Mandarin) to continue the conversation. Lord Amherst stated that he trusted his last note had been thoroughly understood, as its object was to state distinctly the impossibility of his compliance with the Ko-tou; and he expressed a hope that the emperor

would receive him in the mode proposed. Kwang replied—"Both parties in the discussion had done their duty; but that now the affair was settled, and he might be perfectly easy: the ceremony would not be

again mentioned; and that we might rely upon the emperor's kindness, whose heart was truly liberal and expanded." It was now assumed that the point was conceded, and that all would go well.

ANGRY DISMISSION OF THE EMBASSY—THE ALCESTE FORCES THE CHINESE BATTERIES.

ON the 28th of August Lord Amherst and his attendants entered the large suburbs outside the walls of Pekin, or Pih-King, the modern metropolis of the Chinese empire. It consists of two contiguous cities, each surrounded by lofty walls having sixteen gates between them. Altogether it occupies an area of from twenty-five to twenty-eight square miles, though much of this space is occupied by gardens and enclosures. The southern, or Chinese city, is the seat of commerce, while the northern, or Tartar one, is the imperial city. The latter consists of three separate enclosures. The outer one, formerly appropriated to the Tartar garrison, is mostly occupied by Chinese traders. The second enclosure, Hwang-Ching, or the august city, contains many public buildings and temples, and is the residence of the great dignitaries of the empire. The inner enclosure, or forbidden city, is appropriated to the public and private palaces of the emperor, and has a magnificent temple of his imperial ancestors, pavilions, gardens, a lake, and an artificial mountain.

In the suburbs the embassy were objects of great interest to the people, many of whom carried paper lanterns to prevent their curiosity being disappointed by the darkness of the night. Lord Amherst was not conducted into the city, but taken to a country place in its neighbourhood, called Yuen-min-Yuen, where the emperor was then staying. The carriage conveying the ambassador and his suite stopped under some trees, and they were conducted to a small apartment belonging to a range of buildings in a square. Many Mandarins were in waiting, and among them several princes of the blood, who were distinguished by clear ruby buttons and round flowered badges. The subdued tone of all marked their proximity to the immediate presence of the sovereign. Scarcely had Lord Amherst taken his seat, when he was informed that the emperor desired to see him and the commissioners immediately. His lordship was surprised; he had been travelling

all night, was fatigued, in want of refreshment, and not dressed with that precision which is usual with those who represent their sovereign at a foreign court; he therefore represented the impossibility of appearing in the condition he then was. He also mentioned the indecorum and irregularity of appearing without his credentials. To this it was replied, that in the proposed audience the emperor merely wished to see the ambassador, and had no intention of entering upon business.

Lord Amherst persisted in stating that the proposition was inadmissible, and he transmitted a request to his imperial majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to wait till the morrow. On this, two of the Mandarins proposed that his lordship should go to the Koong-yay's apartments, from whence a reference might be made to the emperor. Annoyed at this unreasonable obstinacy, which amounted to persecution, the ambassador alleged illness as one of the reasons for declining the audience. This produced a visit from the Koong-yay, who after using every argument to bend him to submission, at length with some roughness, though under the pretext of friendly violence, laid hands on his lordship to take him from the room; another Mandarin instantly following his example. The ambassador shook them off with dignity, and declared that nothing but the extremest violence should induce him to quit that room for any other but the residence assigned to him; adding, that he was so overcome by fatigue and bodily illness as to require repose. Eventually a message was received stating that the emperor dispensed with the ambassador's attendance, and that he had been pleased to direct his own physician to afford his excellency every medical assistance that he might require. The physician instantly attended; and from what followed, we presume his report was to the effect, that the illness of the ambassador was assumed.

Scarcely two hours had elapsed after Lord Amherst's return to the residence assigned

to him—a pleasantly situated house, with flowers and trees near the principal apartments,—when some Mandarins arrived and announced that the emperor, incensed by the ambassador's refusal to attend him according to his commands, had given orders for his immediate departure. The Mandarins observed that the order was peremptory, and that even compliance with the ceremony of the Ko-tou would be then unavailing, though they subsequently added, that perhaps submission to it might still pacify the emperor. Little doubt can be entertained that the promise given at Tong-chow to Lord Amherst—of the emperor being satisfied by the ceremonial that his lordship might deem sufficient—was an invention and trick of the Chinese; the real object being to introduce that nobleman and his suite into the imperial presence under circumstances so inconvenient and indecorous as to make them almost indifferent what ceremony they went through, or to compel them to perform the Ko-tou during confusion and by personal violence.

Thus dismissed from the capital—dismissed, as the Chinese considered, with disgrace, and the object of the embassy altogether sacrificed, Lord Amherst had yet the proud satisfaction of knowing that he had maintained the dignity of his sovereign, and that he had not prostrated the honour of his nation at the feet of an arrogant and semi-barbarous prince. He at once set out on his return to Tong-chow, there to rejoin the boats which were to convey the embassy to Canton.

The presents brought from the prince-regent were rejected along with the embassy; but the emperor afterwards accepted a few of them, and sent some in return. His reasons were thus expressed, in an imperial edict respecting the treatment of the embassy, in which he says—"I, considering that the said nation had sent a tribute of sincere and entire devotedness from beyond a vast ocean of a distance of thousands of miles, could not bear to reject the expression of veneration and obedience; hence again, I sent down my pleasure, requiring that the most trifling articles of the tribute should be presented, and the kindness conferred of receiving them. They were maps, painted likenesses, and prints—three articles. At the same time, I conferred upon the king of the said country a white precious joo-ee, sapphire court-beads, and different-sized purses, to manifest the idea

of giving much and receiving little. The ambassador received them at Tong-chow with extreme joy and gratitude; and also rather showed, by his manner, contrition and fear. The said embassy came with the intention of offering tribute; still treat it with civility, and silently cause it to feel gratitude and awe: then the right principles of soothing and controlling will be acted on."

The joo-ee spoken of was a sceptre formed of a greenish-white stone, and symbolically expressive of contentment. Its handle was flat and carved, and not unlike that of a ladle; the top was of a circular shape, and resembled the leaf of the water-lily. There was also a Mandarin's necklace of green and red stones; a few beads of coral, with a red ornament set round with pearls, attached to it; and a few embroidered purses. On the walls of Tong-chow the members of the embassy observed copies of an imperial edict, prohibiting women from appearing in the streets, and exposing themselves to the gaze of the English ambassador and his attendants. Female curiosity was not, however, to be overcome, even by the fear of incurring the displeasure of the Son of Heaven! Lord Amherst afterwards learnt, from a Chinese, the cause of this stern and inhospitable edict. A party of Tartars, belonging to some barbarous tribes, on passing through the country on a similar occasion, violated the women of the villages on their route. All foreigners being alike despised by the Chinese, it seems they suspected the English might be guilty of a similar brutality. On returning from Peking, the members of the embassy experienced a marked difference in the treatment they received, compared with that bestowed upon them during their progress thither. To such an extent was this carried, that on a beggar standing up as Lord Amherst passed by him, the fellow was instantly ordered by a Mandarin to sit down again; the dismissed ambassador not being considered deserving of respect, even from the lowest class of society.

A few allusions to some of the most remarkable things seen by the members of the embassy (extracted from a narrative by one of them), will be fraught with interest to those who

"Love to talk with mariners that come from a far countree."

From Tong-chow, Lord Amherst and his attendants sailed onward through millet-

fields, willow-groves, and crowds of junks inhabited by half-clothed men, with little eyes and long tails, and women with prettily-dressed hair, but ugly faces. Occasionally they passed Miaos or temples, of which there are a great number in China. One was dedicated to the God of Fire: the statue of this idol was a short fat figure, seated on a throne, holding a drawn sword in one hand, and a serpentine ring in the other; near him stood two dwarf-like figures, each bearing rings. Another temple was somewhat philosophically dedicated to the Eternal Mother—that is, a personification of Nature. The figure of the goddess had a white cloth thrown over it; on her head was a crown; while in her hand she held a leaf—probably typical of her ruling all things, and producing all things. Other temples were dedicated to the Dragon King and to Kwae-sing; the latter being called by the rather inexplicable name of the Devil's Star Temple. One Miao was dedicated to four ladies, of singular chastity, who died virgins—an odd reason for making saints or goddesses of them. Chinese mythology depends much upon locality, and this singular people acknowledge almost as many gods as the Hindoos, whose deities are to be counted in thousands. We need scarcely say, that both in China and in India there exists a very general indifference to religious topics.

On the 23rd of September, the boats of the embassy entered the grand imperial canal, or Cha-khø, which runs into the Hoang-Ho, or Yellow River. A curious ceremony was here performed by the boatmen, in honour of the god of the stream. Early in the morning a cock was killed, and the bows of the boat sprinkled with its blood. The bird was afterwards roasted, and spread, with other eatables, consisting of boiled pork, salad, pickles, and a pot of sam-shoo, or spirit distilled from rice, upon the fore-castle, before a sheet of coloured paper. The master of the boat then threw two cups of the liquor, and a little of the provisions, overboard; after which some gilt paper was burnt, some crackers discharged, and the rest of the eatables consumed by the crew. Having passed through the canal and the Yellow River, the embassy entered the great Yang-tse-keang, or Son of the Sea—a name which, as the noblest of Asiatic rivers, it well merits. By the waters of this mighty stream, the city of Nankin, with its famous porcelain tower, is situated.

The jealousy of the Chinese prevented the members of the embassy from entering further than the suburbs. During his return, Lord Amherst was occasionally visited by some of the Mandarins; to one of them, a military officer named Wang, his lordship conversed concerning the Duke of Wellington, and gave him a medal containing a series of representations of the battles of that great commander. The name of the illustrious duke admits of a tolerably correct enunciation in Chinese, being merely changed to Wee-ling-tong.

Being unavoidably detained at Kan-choo-foo, the attendants of the ambassador were allowed to visit the city. The exchanges, or halls, in which the merchants met, were large and handsome buildings, in the style of the best Chinese temples; some of them contained elevated stages for theatrical representations. The hall of the Fo-kien merchants was dedicated to the goddess of navigation, who was also the tutelary deity of the province. The Englishmen, with some difficulty, obtained admission to a hall of Confucius (or, properly speaking, Koong-foo-tze.) A tablet, to the memory of the philosopher, described the spot as being the seat of the soul of the most renowned teacher of antiquity. The hall contained some sculptures, described as not being deficient in merit.

When Lord Amherst arrived within seven miles of Canton, on the 1st of January, 1817, he was met by Captain Maxwell and Sir T. Metcalfe, who came in boats in advance of the *Alceste* and *Lyra* to attend him to his residence. The ambassador, therefore, left the Chinese boat and proceeded in his own barge to the village of Ho-nan, where quarters had been prepared for him: they consisted of a Chinese temple, from which the idols were excluded for the time to afford him accommodation. A few days afterwards a letter from the emperor, enclosed in bamboo and covered with yellow silk, to the King of England, was delivered to Lord Amherst. It was written in Chinese, Tartar, and Latin, and ascribed the dismissal of the ambassador and commissioners to what it termed their pertinacious and successive refusals, under a plea of sickness, to attend the emperor. On the 20th of January Lord Amherst and his attendants re-embarked in the *Alceste* to return to England.

We must now relate the difficulty experienced by Captain Maxwell in bringing that

vessel to Canton to meet them, and the open hostilities he incurred and baffled while doing so.

When Captain Maxwell returned in the *Alceste* from his voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea, he anchored, on the 2nd of November, off the island of Lintin, and shortly afterwards some Mandarins came on board, and informed him that Lord Amherst had been dismissed from the court of Pekin in disgrace; and that the *Alceste* must not, therefore, proceed higher up the river for the purpose of procuring refreshments. The *General Hewit*, an Indian, which had brought out the presents from the King of England to the Emperor of China, was not permitted to load a cargo of tea, on the pretext that the space on board of her would be entirely occupied in carrying these rejected presents home again. It was insolently added that a British merchant ship must be held as a security for the good behaviour of the crew of the *Alceste*. Captain Maxwell, animated by the bold spirit of a sailor, and not fettered by those conventionalities which Lord Amherst, as an ambassador, was compelled to observe, desired the Chinese not to repeat this request unless they desired to be thrown overboard. He then stated that he should wait a reasonable time for a pass up the river, and that if it was not sent him in forty-eight hours, he should consider that leave had been given, and proceed accordingly.

The period expired; no answer was received; and the Chinese pilot, who had been hired to conduct the ship up the river, secretly absconded, observing that it was dangerous to have any communication with her. Captain Maxwell was in a difficult position: he was of course aware that Lord Amherst was in the power of these insolent people, and unable to say, in the event of any outbreak, how far they would respect even the person of an ambassador. He felt also that the British flag was insulted, and the safety of his vessel endangered by its being kept in an open and exposed roadstead during the winter. Tame submission, he knew, would increase the insolence of the Chinese, while open violence he considered might endanger the life of Lord Amherst. Having spent some days in consideration, he determined to weigh and run up the river. This he did on the 12th of November, as far as Mr. Mayne, the master of the *Alceste*, could carry him. As he ap-

proached the Bocca Tigris, or Tiger's Mouth, which was guarded by fortifications mounting 110 pieces of cannon, and garrisoned by 1,200 men, he observed the Chinese were prepared to attack him. Seventeen or eighteen war-junks, carrying from four to eight guns each, formed a line off Chumpee. As the *Alceste* continued silently to advance, the Mandarins sent an interpreter on board with a demand that Captain Maxwell should at once anchor his ship on pain of its being sunk. The captain ordered the boat of the messenger to be cut adrift, and then sent the man to a place of security below, with an assurance that he would first pass the batteries and then hang him at the yardarm, for daring to bring so insolent a message to a British man-of-war. The junks then fired some blank cartridges, which Captain Maxwell affected to consider as a salute, and returned with three guns unshotted.

The next day the *Alceste* passed the junks, which speedily got under weigh, and began, together with the forts, to fire on her with shot. The wind compelled Captain Maxwell to bring his vessel to anchor; but to show that he was not to be intimidated, he discharged one gun shotted at the admiral. Probably satisfied with seeing the *Alceste* anchor, the forts and junks ceased their fire. In the evening, the wind permitting her to lay the course, she weighed, and ran still higher up the river. As soon as the junks observed this they beat their gongs, fired guns, and sent up rockets to give the alarm. In reply, the batteries hung out lanterns as large as balloons, and discharged a heavy but ill-directed fire from both sides of the river. The *Alceste* steadily kept on her course, and returned the Chinese fire as fast as her guns could be brought to bear. When within half pistol-shot of the angle of the heaviest battery, and before its guns could be got to bear on the ship, the *Alceste* discharged a broadside from her long eighteens and her 32-pounder carronades. The effect was all that could be desired. The lanterns instantly disappeared as if by magic, and the fort on one side was silenced; while the fire from the other, instead of striking the ship, missed its aim, and did execution on its opposite neighbour. After a contest which lasted about an hour, the *Alceste* was permitted to ascend the river, and take up her anchorage. Not one man on board of her was hurt; the only injury she sustained was two shots in her hull, and a little

damage to her rigging. The loss met by the Chinese was carefully concealed, though it was reported that forty-seven were killed, and many others wounded. The poor Chinaman who had been sent below, under a threat of being hanged as soon as the batteries were passed, was brought trembling upon deck, where, falling prostrate, he kissed the feet of the captain, and implored for mercy. We need scarcely say it was granted to him; the execution of such a poor wretch was not called for, and would therefore have been cruelty. Captain Maxwell had vindicated the honour of the British flag after a nobler fashion.

Not a gun was fired at the *Alceste* as she passed by Tiger Island; and as the morning dawned, the vessel, with the British colours floating proudly at her mast-head, was at anchor in a good berth, and surrounded, at a very respectful distance, by the Chinese fleet. The news of this event excited considerable alarm among the English merchants at Canton; but their fears were soon dissipated by the arrival of several tea-junks

alongside the *General Hewet*, with permission for her to load her cargo immediately. It is evident that the Chinese, notwithstanding their arrogance, were by no means indifferent to the profits of their trade with England. Captain Maxwell, on remonstrating to the government at Canton on the insult offered to our flag, received for answer that it was all a mistake; that, in consequence of a delay in forwarding the pass, the Mandarins had not received notice of it, and that they had consequently but fulfilled their duty. A few days later the Chinese gazette gave a different version of the affair, which they represented as a friendly occurrence altogether, and described as a "chin-chinning," or salute between the two flags. This the Chinese not inaptly call "making face." The seasonable chastisement bestowed upon them by Captain Maxwell, had a very salutary effect; and when the frigate arrived at Whampoa, the viceroy congratulated the captain on his safe arrival, after having used every means in his power to obstruct the passage.

RETURN OF THE EMBASSY, AND WRECK OF THE ALCESTE.

LORD AMHERST and his company sailed homeward from Macao in the *Alceste*, on the 28th of January, 1817. Their departure was accompanied by a feeling of satisfaction that they were removed even from the waters of the Celestial Empire, and restored to the habits of independence and civilisation.* On the 9th of February, the

Alceste parted company with the *Lyra*; the latter vessel being sent with despatches to India. The *Alceste* then proceeded safely on her course, until she reached the Straits of Gaspar, leading into the Java Sea. On entering the straits early on the morning of the 18th of February, although soundings were being taken on each side of the

* Mr. Henry Ellis, one of the commissioners of the embassy, and the author of an account of its proceedings, gave the following estimate of the comparative civilisation of the Chinese:—"Many have probably been disappointed with their journey through a country that has, in my opinion, excited an undue degree of interest in Europe. Inferior by many degrees to civilised Europe in all that constitutes the real greatness of a nation, China has, however, appeared to me superior to the other countries in Asia in the arts of government and the general aspect of society. Although I am not prepared to say that the great principles of justice and morality are better understood in China than in Turkey and Persia (for these may be considered indigenous to the human mind), the laws are more generally known and more uniformly executed. Less is left to the caprice of the magistrate, and appeals to the supreme power are represented as less obstructed, and though tedious in bringing to issue, oftener attended with success. The great chain of subordination, rising from the peasant to the emperor, and displayed through the minute gradations of rank, must operate as a check upon arbitrary rule in the delegates of

the sovereign authority; or at least the diffused possession of personal privileges affords, to a certain extent, security against the sudden effects of caprice and injustice. Those examples of oppression, accompanied with infliction of barbarous punishment, which offend the eye and distress the feelings of the most hurried traveller in other Asiatic countries, are scarcely to be met with in China. The theory of government declares the law to be superior to all—thus supplying a great check to despotic power; and the practice, however it may vary in particular instances, seldom ventures openly to violate the established principles of legislation. In the appeals frequently made through the medium of the imperial edicts to the judgment of the people, however false or illusory the motive assigned in these documents, we have sufficient proofs that the emperor does not consider himself, like the Shah of Persia, wholly independent of public opinion; on the contrary, in seasons of national calamity, or under circumstances of peculiar emergency, the emperor feels called upon to guide the sentiments of his subjects by a solemn declaration of the causes that have produced, or the motives that have regulated his conduct."

vessel, and a vigilant look-out kept from the mast-head, yet she struck on a sunken reef of rocks, and remained immovable. It was soon ascertained that there was no chance of saving the ship; for the rock had completely penetrated the bottom. The pumps were useless; she filled to the orlop-deck, and nothing remained but to hoist out the boats and save the crew and passengers. The perfect self-possession of Captain Maxwell preserved order, and his commands were promptly attended to. Fortunately the wreck took place but three miles distant from the island of Pulo Leat, to which Captain Maxwell sent Lord Amherst, together with the other gentlemen of the embassy, and himself and crew remained with the vessel. Considering that a boat would reach Batavia in three days, and that, as it was impossible for all the crew to be conveyed at one time in the ship's boats, he decided on sending away a small part only, with the hope of receiving speedy and effectual assistance. Lord Amherst and his party had reached the island in safety, and on the evening of the next day they proceeded to Batavia in the barge, with a picked crew, commanded by the junior lieutenant. One of the cutters also accompanied it as a security against accidents. Batavia was 197 miles distant, and there was no probability of reaching it in less than sixty hours.

Captain Maxwell could not allow the boats more than a very small stock of provisions and water; there was but six gallons of the latter between the two boats. They left the island on the evening of the 19th, and, after great fatigue and considerable suffering from want of water, reached Batavia on the 23rd. On their arrival, they sent letters to the Dutch governor and to the English commissioners; and as the *Ternate* and *Princess Charlotte* were fortunately in the roads, both vessels were got ready for sea, and sailed the next morning to bring away Captain Maxwell and his men, who had taken refuge on the island of Pulo Leat.

The history of the wreck of the *Alceste*, and the sojourn of the crew in this desolate place, read like a romance. On the 22nd of February, the vessel was surrounded and set on fire by Malay pirates. These wretches, whose proas were continually increasing in number, completely blockaded the creek where the boats of the crew were laid up, and their hostile appearance threatened the latter with destruction. Captain Maxwell

had established himself on the top of a hill near the landing-place, where, by cutting down trees and clearing the underwood, an open space had been obtained sufficient for the accommodation of the crew and the reception of the stores and baggage. The trunks of the trees furnished materials for defences; platforms were erected at the most commanding points, and some hundred rounds of ball cartridge made up and distributed to the men with the small arms. Thus prepared, an attack from the Malay savages was an event less feared than wished for. The supply of food was husbanded with the greatest care, and a well sunk for the supply of water.

Still the position of Captain Maxwell and his brave fellows was sufficiently forlorn, and their hearts must have beat with joy when the appearance of the *Ternate*, on the 3rd of March, proclaimed that deliverance was at hand. The Malay proas, sixty in number, and carrying from eight to twelve men each, rowed precipitately away. A few mornings before, two of the pirate proas were discovered close in the cove where the ship's boats were moored. Lieutenant Hay, with the barge, cutter, and gig, dashed after them; and the former, after a short chase, succeeded in closing with them. The Malays fired at the barge, and then commenced hurling their javelins, but happily without doing any injury. The contest did not last long: one of the proas escaped, but in the other three of the pirates were shot, and a fourth stunned with a blow from the butt-end of a musket; five threw themselves into the sea and were drowned, and two were made prisoners. Their boat was taken, but sank shortly afterwards. On being brought on shore, the prisoners seemed to have no idea but that they would be speedily hanged or shot; and they sullenly awaited their fate. When their hands were unbound, food given to them, and medical attention bestowed upon one of them who had been wounded, they exhibited signs of surprise and gratitude. They were also much pleased on seeing the dead bodies of their companions (which had been washed on shore) decently buried. Captain Maxwell and his men were taken off by the *Ternate*, the *Princess Charlotte*, from inferiority of sailing, not having come up in time to render any assistance; and in the former vessel they reached Batavia on the evening of the 9th of April.

Lord Amherst and Captain Maxwell,

thinking it advisable to combine the conveyance of the embassy with that of the officers and crew of the *Alceste*, to England, the ship *Cæsar* was taken up for that purpose; and they sailed from Batavia-roads on the morning of the 12th of April.

On their return home they stopped at the Cape of Good Hope, and afterwards visited St. Helena, where Lord Amherst, Captain Maxwell, and the commissioners were intro-

duced to the exiled emperor, the captive Napoleon. The fallen warrior conversed alone with Lord Amherst for more than an hour. The rest were afterwards introduced and presented. Napoleon's manners were simple and affable, without wanting dignity. Such was the unsubdued ease of his behaviour, that he could not have been more free from embarrassment and depression in the zenith of his power at the Tuileries.

EVENTS THAT PRODUCED THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO—INTERPOSITION OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA.

GREECE mourned sullenly under the iron rule of Turkey, and its people were treated with a brutal severity by their Mohammedan oppressors. Degenerate as the modern Greeks are when compared with their illustrious ancestors, and probably deserving the contemptuous description given of them as "half brigands, half pedlars," still it was impossible for them to forget the heroism and freedom of their progenitors, and sometimes to dream of rivalling the one, and realizing the other.

As early as the year 1814 a secret association of Greeks was formed, whose object was the liberation of their country. On entrance, each member solemnly dedicated himself by oath to his country, saying—"I swear by thee, my sacred and suffering country; I swear by thy long-endured tortures; I swear by the bitter tears which for so many centuries have been shed by thy unhappy children; I swear by the future liberty of my countrymen—that I consecrate myself wholly to thee; that henceforth thou shalt be the scope of my thoughts, thy name the guide of my actions, thy happiness the recompense of my labours."

The strong excitement which produced associations of this nature, would be certain ultimately to break forth into action. The first note of insurrection was sounded in 1820 by Ali Pasha, of Janini, who declared himself independent of the sultan. Early in the next year the standard of Greek revolt was unfurled by Alexander Ypsilanti: the desire for freedom spread rapidly; and before the summer arrived, a Greek senate had assembled, and a little army and fleet collected. The fierce and gifted sultan, Mahmoud, subsequently the stern destroyer of the turbulent Janizaries, retaliated by the commencement of a war of extermina-

tion against the rebels to his authority. In his fury he caused the patriarch of the Greek church at Constantinople to be hanged before the portals of the edifice in which he had preached the doctrines of Christ; an act of wanton cruelty, which was followed by a massacre of all the Greek clergy wherever they could be found. The latter were thus driven to be the chief promoters of the insurrection; and the Greeks, goaded to madness by oppression, and excited almost to a frantic enthusiasm by the combined influences of patriotism and religion, obtained several victories over the Turkish forces, and compelled them to retire into the chief towns and fortified places. The Morea and the greater part of Northern Greece remained in the hands of the insurgents; but it was unproductive and desolate: it had been blasted by the consuming breath of war, scathed and rendered black and barren by the firebrands of the Mussulman troops.

On the 1st of January, 1822, the Greek congress issued a declaration of independence! "The Greek nation," said this document, "wearied by the dreadful weight of Ottoman oppression, and resolved to break its yoke, though at the price of the greatest sacrifices, proclaims to-day, before God and men, by the organ of its lawful representatives, met in national assembly, its independence!" Accordingly, M. Mavrocordato, who has since distinguished himself as an able statesman, was chosen president of the executive body, and M. Negris chief secretary of state; and Corinth, having been taken by the Greeks, was declared to be the seat of government. In the meantime the war was carried on with hideous ferocity: instances of revolting cruelty occurred; and the Turks, with a view of striking terror into the patriots, devastated

whole districts, and utterly depopulated the fine island of Scio, where it was estimated that not less than 50,000 unhappy persons were put to death, and as many women and children carried away, and sold as slaves, for shameful and revolting purposes. This frightful massacre, and its terrible consequences, has been justly branded as one of the most atrocious acts of Turkish vengeance and cruelty recorded in history. By some mischance or neglect, the Greek fleet did not proceed to the relief of Scio until it was too late to render assistance.

Narrations of horror spread to surrounding states, and the people of Italy, Switzerland, France, and England, listened with shuddering. The lethargic German wondered, and even the stern Muscovite pitied the unhappy Greeks, and ground his teeth as he cursed their Mussulman oppressors. The Greek struggle had attracted the attention of the great governing powers of Europe. Russia, in accordance with its secret policy of ruining the Ottoman power and possessing itself of Constantinople, was favourably disposed towards the Greeks; but the czar Alexander only made demonstrations in their favour; and as they did not seek a Muscovite instead of an Ottoman master, left them to fight their own battles. The courts of Austria and Prussia, ever true to the interests of despotism, trampled pity beneath the iron heel of a delusive expediency, and issued a declaration, in which they denounced the Greeks as rebels to the legitimate Turkish government, and their conduct as an evil example to all nations. France, not yet recovered from the terrible losses and humiliations of the late war, was too much distracted with her own affairs to interfere; but in England there existed a general and generous feeling in favour of the Greeks, and many of the admirers of liberty in this country were eager that the government should declare war against Turkey; and some even went so far as to propose to drive the Mohammedans out of Europe—a sentence of transportation, it was observed, more easily pronounced than carried into execution. The subject was brought before both houses of parliament, but the ministry declined to enter on a course of action which would have added to the formidable and constantly increasing power of Russia. This conduct, though undoubtedly prudent and judicious, yet, for lack of generosity and lofty purpose, procured them much unpopularity at the time.

During the campaign of 1823, the Greeks were almost uniformly successful; but their good fortunes were counteracted by their private dissensions and want of unanimity. On the 5th of January, 1824, their hopes were raised by the arrival from England of the poet Lord Byron, who, in his idolatrous admiration of the classic shores of Greece, and profound sympathy for its unhappy sons, had enthusiastically embraced their cause; but the excitement of the struggle was too much for his debilitated frame, and he expired the following April. During the year the results of the war were so uniformly in favour of the Greeks, that out of an immense fleet equipped by the Ottomans, only five vessels returned to the Turkish waters. The struggle was carried on with varied success during 1825: the Turks took Navarino, and thus became possessed of the key to the entire western coast of the Morea; but the Turkish fleet was subsequently defeated and dispersed by a Greek squadron. Still the ravages of the Turkish troops, who, under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, laid waste the country wherever they went, induced the Greeks to apply for succour to the great powers of Europe.

Several foreign agents were carrying on intrigues with the Greek leaders. France offered 12,000 troops, on condition that a son of the Duke of Orleans should be made king of Greece; but this proposition was declined. The wily czar of Russia also offered his protection, but on terms which the Greeks rejected as disgraceful. The Greek government then addressed itself to England, in which lay its chief hope; for it trusted that the free would help the brave, when heroically struggling for freedom. Mr. Canning replied, in terms of cold and measured sympathy—"The rights of Greece, as a belligerent power, have been invariably respected. The provisional government may depend on the continuance of this neutrality. It may be assured that Great Britain will take no part in any attempt to impose on it, by force, a plan for the re-establishment of peace contrary to its wishes, if such a peace should ever be proposed: but should the Greeks ever think it advisable to ask our mediation, we will offer it to the Porte; and if it is accepted, we will neglect nothing to make it effectual, in concert with the other powers whose intervention would facilitate the arrangement."

The taking of Missolonghi by the Turks in 1826, and the horrors which followed that

event, at length induced some of the great European powers to contemplate an interference. Undoubtedly they could long before have terminated the struggle; but they had a deep repugnance to aid in the severance of a subject state from the empire to which it was considered to belong. The high aristocratic or despotic feeling can listen with more complacency to terrible details of violated mothers and slaughtered babes than to relations of resistance to regal or imperial authority. It was urged that the tyranny or injustice of the Ottoman Porte towards its Greek subjects, could not be made the ground of interference, without setting it up as a principle, that every sovereign had a right to take care that his neighbour exercised his authority according to his notions of humanity and principle. France or England, it was contended, had no more right, in point of principle, to quarrel with the sultan for leading into captivity the dishonoured matrons of Missolonghi, than for tying up in sacks and throwing into the sea of Marmora the matrons of Constantinople who talked of forbidden things.* Notwithstanding this doctrine, subscriptions in behalf of the Greeks poured in from every capital of Europe, and even from some of its courts; for princes are often better than their principles. The King of Bavaria alone transmitted upwards of £5,000 for the purchase of the Greek women and children from slavery.

In 1827, the prospects of the Greeks became extremely gloomy; a political darkness enveloped them, and the holy stars of hope seemed hidden from their longing eyes. Athens was besieged by the Turks, and compelled to capitulate. Lord Cochrane, who had arrived in Greece, was made commander-in-chief of the fleet of that nation, and in conjunction with Colonel Church, on whom the rank of generalissimo of the land forces was bestowed, endeavoured, though in vain, to relieve Athens. Notwithstanding some successes of the Greeks (the unhealthy fruits of desperation), they were reduced to a most painful position, and almost plunged into despair, by the fall of Athens. Yet who shall pronounce dogmati-

* It was not so that England's lion-hearted protector Oliver Cromwell reasoned, when he learnt the awful details of the massacre of the poor and simple protestant Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont and Lucerne, by the catholic troops of the reigning Duke of Savoy, at the pious suggestion of the pope. The first act of the illustrious defender of religious

cally on the future? When least expected, help was at hand; and when the darkness was the most profound, the sun of hope shed its cheering rays upon the Greeks. Three of the great European powers were at length induced to interfere, and on the 6th of July, 1827, a treaty was signed at London by the representatives of England, France, and Russia, for putting an end to the sanguinary contest, which had been found at length to offer serious impediments to commerce, to increase piracy, and render necessary to other states burdensome measures of repression and protection. Thus the assistance which humanity could not elicit was yielded to the pleadings of interest.

The contracting powers offered their mediation to the sultan, by whom it was instantly and haughtily declined. The ambassadors of the three powers again presented a joint note to the Turkish government, and demanded an answer within fifteen days. They said—"It was their duty not to conceal from the Reis Effendi, that a new refusal, an evasive or insufficient answer—even a total silence on the part of his government, would place the allied courts under the necessity of recurring to such measures as they should judge most efficacious for putting an end to that state of things which was become incompatible even with the true interests of the Sublime Porte, with the security of commerce in general, and with the perfect tranquillity of Europe." A verbal answer was returned, reiterating the decided refusal of the sultan to admit the interference of foreign powers. On this the ambassadors stated that their sovereigns would then take the necessary measures to carry the treaty into execution, and enforce a suspension of hostilities, but without interrupting the friendly relations between them and the Turkish government.

Taking advantage of the delay caused by these negotiations, the sultan dispatched a powerful Turco-Egyptian fleet, consisting of ninety-two vessels, under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, to the Morea, with instructions to prosecute his operations with all possible speed. It appeared at Navarino at the end of August; but notwithstanding his liberty, on hearing the awful details (and they are indeed such as make humanity sicken), was to burst into tears; his second, to interfere in the behalf of the Waldenses, and protect them by the terrors of his name; his third, to commence an active subscription in England to supply the wants of the homeless, desolate, and afflicted survivors.

dispatch, Ibrahim found there an allied fleet of English, French, and Russian vessels, under the chief direction of Admiral Codrington; the French and Russian fleets being respectively commanded by Admiral de Rigny and Count Heiden. Admiral Codrington informed the Turkish commander of the negotiations for the production of peace then being carried forward, and offered him a safe conduct back, or permission to enter the harbour of Navarino, assuring him at the same time, that if any of the vessels ventured out, they would be driven back again. The Turks accepted these terms, and entered the harbour.

It was not long, however, before they sought an excuse for evasion. On the 19th of September a division of the Turkish fleet sailed out, falsely stating, as a reason for their conduct, that Lord Cochrane had made a descent on Patras, and that it was necessary to beat him off. This time an expostulation with Ibrahim produced the desired effect; but the Turks, on again venturing out of the harbour, were met by the English admiral, and driven back by force. Thus disappointed, Ibrahim revenged himself by ravaging the country;

and the progress of his troops was marked everywhere by desolation and blood. Captain Hamilton, who had been sent in the *Cambrian*, accompanied by a Russian ship, to observe the proceedings of the pasha, thus reported to Sir Edward Codrington:—"On entering the gulf, we observed, by clouds of fire and smoke, that the work of devastation was still going on. The ships were anchored off the pass of Ancyro, and a joint letter from myself and the Russian captain was dispatched to the Turkish commander. The bearers of it were not allowed to proceed to head-quarters, nor have we, as yet, received any answer. In the afternoon we went on shore to the Greek quarters, and were received with the greatest enthusiasm. The distress of the inhabitants driven from the plain, is shocking; women and children dying every moment of absolute starvation, and hardly any having better food than boiled grass. I have promised to send a small quantity of bread to the caves in the mountains, where these unfortunate wretches have taken refuge. It is supposed that if Ibrahim remain in Greece, more than a third of its inhabitants will die of starvation."

BATTLE OF NAVARINO, AND ITS RESULTS.

THE allied admirals, revolted at these details, resolved, if possible, to put a stop to a state of things which could not be contemplated without sensations of shuddering, sickness, and horror. They agreed that the only certain means of putting an end to these ravages, and effectually to blockade the port, would be to take their squadrons in, and moor them among the thickest of their enemies. This movement, calculated to terrify Ibrahim into a more complying mood, they accomplished on the 20th of October, to the astonishment of the Turks and the joy of the unhappy Greeks. As Sir Edward Codrington's ship the *Asia* passed the battery, the admiral received a message to signify that Ibrahim had not given any permission for the allied fleet to enter the port. Sir Edward's proud reply was—"That he had not come to receive orders, but to give them; that if any shot were fired at the allied fleet, that of the Turks would be destroyed, and that he would not be sorry should such an opportunity be given him."

The combined squadrons passed the batteries and took up their positions: this they were permitted to do without hostility, although preparations for action were observed in all the Turkish vessels. Strict orders had been given by Admiral Codrington that no gun should be fired unless the Turks began the contest. An immediate action was not apprehended, or indeed any engagement intended; but it must be seen that the state of feeling on both sides was such, that it required but a trivial event to fan the smouldering bitterness into flames, and lead to a hostile collision. That event soon occurred: a boat sent from the *Dartmouth* to one of the fireships was opened upon with musketry by the Turks, and Lieutenant Fitzroy and several of the crew were killed. As may be supposed, the *Dartmouth* replied with another fire of musketry, to vindicate her honour and protect her boat: shot produced shot; and in a short time a general engagement had commenced. Moharem Bey, the Turkish admiral, sent to Sir Edward Codrington to say that he

would not fire, and the latter returned a pilot to interpret his desire of avoiding bloodshed. The messenger, while in the boat, was shot by Moharem's men, and immediately afterwards the *Asia* itself was fired upon by them. Further hesitation would have led to the imputation of dishonourable submission, and the *Asia* opened a broadside with double-shotted guns. Apparently from some accident, Moharem was unable to bring his broadside to bear fully upon his opponent, while the fire to which he was subjected was so severe that he slipped or cut his cable, and went to leeward a mere wreck. The *Asia* then became exposed to a raking fire from vessels in the second and third line of the Turkish fleet: this carried away her mizenmast, disabled some of her guns, and killed and wounded several of her crew.

The battle lasted, with unabated fury, for about four hours; the proceedings of the other vessels resembling those of the *Asia*. The Turks fought desperately, but they were unable to cope successfully with their powerful adversaries; and as each of their vessels became disabled, such of the crew as could escape, set them on fire; and one after the other their burning and blackened fragments were blown into the lurid air. It is wonderful how the ships of the allies avoided the effects of the numerous and terrible explosions. As the dense clouds of smoke cleared away, a scene of extraordinary wreck and devastation was revealed. Of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets nothing remained, with the exception of some vessels which had escaped into the inner harbour, but burning, shapeless hulls and floating fragments, mingled with blackened, mangled, and blood-bespattered wretches, clinging to some fragment of wreck, or wildly struggling to avoid a grave beneath the waters.

The British ships had borne the brunt of the action. The allies had 626 killed and wounded; of whom the greatest part were English. Sir Edward Codrington's son was killed in this action, and the admiral himself had several remarkable escapes: a musket-ball passed through the sleeve of his coat at the wrist; his watch was smashed by a splinter; a cannon-ball whistled harshly through a rolled-up awning, under which he was standing, and just cleared his hat; he was twisted round several times, and his coat torn in many places by splinters. Amongst the killed were Captain Omaney, of the *Albion*, and Captain Bathurst,

of the *Genoa*. The loss of the Turks was enormous; and though not exactly ascertained, was estimated as amounting to about one-third of their force. Six hundred and fifty were killed on board the vessel of the Turkish admiral alone!

The results of the action were curious;—the allies had gained a brilliant victory over the fleet of a power with whom they were all nominally on terms of amity! In his despatches, Sir Edward Codrington had to apologise to his government for the serious responsibility he had assumed; though, however unfortunate the remote consequences of that action have certainly been, it is difficult to see how he could have done otherwise, without sullyng the honour of his national flag. "When I contemplate," said he, "as I do with extreme sorrow, the extent of our loss, I console myself with the reflection, that the measure which produced the battle was absolutely necessary for obtaining the results contemplated by the treaty, and that it was brought on entirely by our opponents. When I found that the boasted Ottoman word of honour was made a sacrifice to wanton, savage devastation, and that a base advantage was taken of our reliance upon Ibrahim's good faith, I own I felt a desire to punish the offenders. But it was my duty to refrain, and refrain I did; and I can assure his royal highness that I would still have avoided this disastrous extremity, if other means had been open to me." To the whole of the officers and men under his command, Sir Edward bore his unqualified testimony of admiration; and he wrote to Admiral Rigny and Count Heiden, expressing the pleasure he felt at the excellent management of the ships under their direction.

Subsequent to the battle, the allied admirals sent the following note to the authorities of Navarino:—"As the squadrons of the allied powers did not enter Navarino with a hostile intention, but only to renew to the commanders of the Turkish fleet propositions which were to the advantage of the grand seignior, it is not our intention to destroy what ships of the Ottoman navy may yet remain, now that so signal a vengeance has been taken for the first cannon-shot which has been ventured to be fired on the allied flags. We send, therefore, one of the Turkish captains, fallen into our hands as a prisoner, to make known to Ibrahim Pasha, Moharem Bey, Tahir Pasha, and Capitana Bey, as well as to all the other

Turkish chiefs, that if one single musket or cannon-shot be again fired on a ship or boat of the allied powers, we shall immediately destroy all the remaining vessels, as well as the forts of Navarino; and that we shall consider such new act of hostility as a formal declaration of the Porte against the three allied powers, and the grand seigniors and his pashas must suffer the terrible consequences. But if the Turkish chiefs acknowledge the aggression they committed by commencing the firing, and abstain from any act of hostility, we shall resume those terms of good understanding which they have themselves interrupted. In this case they will have the white flag hoisted on all the forts by the end of the day. We demand a categorical answer, without evasion, before sunset."

The Turks, who attribute every calamity to an inexorable destiny, wisely submitted at once in a case where eventual submission was inevitable; and the work of destruction was not renewed. The Greeks themselves made no important movement during these transactions, the result of which they hailed with enthusiastic joy. News of the battle was hurriedly sent to the ambassadors of the three powers at Constantinople, who received it before it had reached the Turkish government. Addressing themselves to the Reis Effendi, they broke the matter to him cautiously, by asking in what light the Porte would consider hostilities, if occasioned by the refusal of Ibrahim to comply with the declared will of the allied courts? He replied—"We hope that no hostilities have taken place; and we do not feel disposed to declare now what we would do, or not do, in certain cases. People do not give a name to a child before it is born, and its sex known." The following day the news reached the Porte, when the Reis Effendi, sending for the ambassadors, asked whether or not the sultan was at war with the three powers? In reply, the ambassadors asserted their conviction that the destruction of the Turkish fleet resulted entirely from the conduct of its commander.

The Porte behaved with an equanimity that had not been anticipated. English merchants and travellers were not slaughtered or detained, nor their goods seized, nor were the ambassadors dismissed. It, however, laid an embargo upon all vessels in the harbour of Constantinople, the avowed object being to protect the city in case of an attack. After frequent meetings of the

Divan, the Turkish government made a demand that the allied courts should desist from all interference in the affairs of Greece; that the Porte should receive an indemnity for the loss of its navy, and that satisfaction should be made for the insult offered to the sultan by its destruction. The ambassadors replied, that in consequence of the treaty into which the allies had entered, they could not abandon Greece; that the Porte had no claim to an indemnity, as the battle was caused by the conduct of its own fleet; and that it had the less reason to expect satisfaction, because it had been informed, in due time, that such an event might occur. On the 8th of December the ambassadors left Constantinople; and the sultan, whose calmness was merely assumed for the purpose of gaining time, prepared for war. During this period, the thoughts of the czar Nicholas often reverted to Constantinople; and the dark labyrinths of his subtle brain were filled with visions of conquest, aggrandisement, and glory—remote, indeed, but yet he fondly conceived they would become inevitable.

When Admiral Codrington's despatches, announcing the victory of Navarino, arrived in England, a shout of joy burst from the great majority of the people; for, animated by generous feelings of pity and a love of freedom, they hailed the event as decisive of the independence of Greece. A minority, however, condemned the action as not only rash, useless, and impolitic, but calculated to strengthen the already gigantic and threatening power of Russia in the east of Europe. It was not without anxiety that the questions were asked—Would Turkey make war on us in revenge for her fleet? or, from the loss of it, would not Russia devour Turkey? These doubts and anxieties were shared by the government. The speech from the throne, on the opening of parliament in January, 1828, contained the following passage:—"Notwithstanding the valour displayed by the combined fleet, his majesty deeply laments that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally; but he still entertains a confident hope that the untoward event will not be followed by further hostilities, and will not impede that amicable adjustment of the existing differences between the Porte and the Greeks, to which it is so manifestly their common interest to accede."

Long debates followed in both houses of parliament: the tory and government party

spoke of the battle in terms of reprehension; while the liberal party were loud in terms of approval and congratulation. The term "untoward event" was much reprobated by them. Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham, in the course of an eloquent speech, observed—"Against one paragraph of that address he was most anxious to record at once his unqualified dissent; having at the same time the fullest and firmest conviction that that dissent would be re-echoed from one end of the kingdom to the other. He meant to allude to the manner in which the late glorious, brilliant, decisive, and immortal achievement at Navarino was described as being a matter to be lamented. This was the first time he had ever seen men anxious to come forward and refuse credit where it had been so justly and generally called for, and set at nought the most splendid achievement of their arms. It had been reserved for some of the men of these times, to triumph and to be afraid—to conquer and to repine—to fight, as heroes did, the contest of freedom, and still to tremble like slaves—to act gloriously and to repine bitterly—to win by brave men the battle of liberty in the east, and in the west to pluck from the valiant brow the laurels which it had so nobly earned, and plant the cypress in their stead, because the conqueror fought for religion and liberty." Notwithstanding the adverse feelings of the ministry, Admiral Codrington was promoted; but the thanks of parliament were denied him. It was felt that to have given them would have been equivalent to a sanction of the battle, and likely to be extremely irritating to the Turkish government.

We cannot see that Admiral Codrington could have acted otherwise than he did, notwithstanding the censure that was then and has recently been cast upon the event. The blow struck was in favour of an oppressed and suffering people: it was the necessary and almost inevitable result of the atrocities perpetrated by the Turks towards a Christian state: the interests of humanity demanded it; and had not the European powers checked the haughty barbarity of the Ottoman, it would have seemed that the might of Europe bowed in submission or reverence before the arrogance of Asia; for it would have permitted the tyranny or caprice of the sultan to disturb the commerce of Europe, endanger its peace, and outrage its feelings. The battle of Navarino was assuredly a just achievement,

whatever might have been its inexpediency. Nor was it just alone; it was *necessary to sustain the dignity of European states when insulted by the semi-barbarism of Asia*. Nor, indeed, was it to be avoided; for it proceeded from the eternal laws of natural retribution. Nature will not permit tyranny to reign unchecked for ever: she has implanted feelings in the breast of man which in time supply its antidotes. Policy cannot avoid this natural law: it is "unshunnable as death," universal and inevitable. That by destroying the fleet of Turkey the allies encouraged the designs of Russia upon the great empire of the East, and thus indirectly led to the great war against Russian aggression in these days, is indisputable. It is, however, equally certain that the blow Turkey had received, led the czar Nicholas prematurely to attempt his scheme of conquest, and thus brought about that glorious alliance between France and England by which Russian power has been shaken until it trembles to its vast foundation, and its savage, grasping spirit awed into a dread of again carrying forward its dark designs. Terrible as are the horrors by which they are sometimes accompanied, the events of history roll forward in a tumultuous stream, which in its inexplicability yet seems to tend towards the amelioration of the world, and the triumph of national liberty.

"There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
Would men observingly distil it out."

The battle of Navarino was *right* in its own day; and it is difficult for any noble spirit much to lament it. If an error, it was one its perpetrators might yet be proud of; nor can it be regarded as producing unmixed evil. Turkey, in its time of power, was the dread of Europe, and arrogantly overshadowed neighbouring states: it is better that it should not possess more strength than is sufficient to ensure its own existence and respectability as an empire. As Turkey declined, Russia rose; but the Muscovite, no more than the Ottoman, can be allowed to sit in haughty eminence, with prostrate Europe beneath its sway. Whenever aggression becomes intolerable, it is certain to be checked; because an indignant world rises in awakened power to rebuke or smite it. Had the aggressions of Russia been less insidious and more open, she would have aroused Germany also, and her humiliation would have been complete and utter. Even as matters stood, France and

England, the greatest military and greatest naval powers of the world, needed not the Ottoman navy to assist them in teaching Russia to know herself and the states by whom she is surrounded. The world long stood in a false fear of Russia: she had strength and statesmanship, but her ambition misled her. Her imperial visions of glorious conquest and gorgeous dominion intoxicated her: she was dazzled with too much gazing on the sun; and while plotting the fall and enslavement of surrounding nations, she was too engrossed to observe the seeds of decay accumulating within herself. She, as well as Turkey, contains within herself the elements which will destroy her. Her race has been that of the riotous prodigal, who, on seeking his couch of down after a bacchanalian orgy, rises the next morning and learns, while still reeling, weak, and dizzy, that he is ruined. Russia has conquered too fast; and if, in future times, she renews her career of political dissoluteness, outraged Europe, banded in one common league against her, will strip her of all the territorial possessions she has unjustly acquired, and leave her, like the prodigal, "naked, bare, to every storm that blows."

We will endeavour, in a few words, to trace the immediate consequences of the battle of Navarino. Though the Sultan Mahmoud appeared to bear his defeat with a dignified composure, he really burned to avenge it, and secretly prepared for war. A copy of a manifesto, issued by the Reis Effendi, and addressed to the pashas of the provinces, fell, by accident or treachery, into the hands of the allies. This document urged the pashas to prepare energetically for war—a holy war in defence of Islamism. Russia, it said, especially hated their religion, and was the principal enemy of the Sublime Porte. "Let all the faithful, then," concluded this strange appeal, "rich and poor, high and low, recollect that to fight for us is a duty. Let them have no thought of their arrears, or of pay of any kind. Let us sacrifice willingly our properties and our persons; and struggle, body and soul, for the support of our religion. The Mussulmans have no other means of working out salvation in this world and the next. We hope that the Most High will deign to confound and scatter everywhere the infidels."

Russia eagerly grasped at this document as a pretext for making war with Turkey,—

a matter she had previously resolved upon. On the 7th of May, 1828, a Russian army, consisting of 115,000 men, invaded the Turkish empire, and a war commenced which produced the most serious disasters to Turkey. Shumla and Varna were besieged and taken, though the Russians, at first, were beaten and driven back from Silistria. The Turks also experienced great reverses in Asia; but the Russians purchased their triumphs with tremendous losses. The following year the famous Count Diebitsch was appointed by the czar to the command of the Russian army; and after a series of successes, accomplished as usual at the price of enormous losses, Adrianople was surrendered by the appalled Turks without firing a shot. The Sultan Mahmoud, who had obstinately struggled to the last, fearing that the Russian army would next march upon Constantinople, entered into the memorable treaty of Adrianople, by which peace was restored, but the Black Sea, in effect, consigned to the Russians. Greece was not forgotten, and the Porte was compelled to enter into arrangements by which that state was eventually erected into an independent nation.

In the meantime Ibrahim Pasha had entered into a stipulation with Admiral Codrington to abandon the Morea, in which his troops had been effectually blockaded. This he did on the 4th of October, 1828, having embarked his army on board the vessels which escaped destruction at Navarino, and departed for Egypt. Ibrahim, however, was permitted to leave a garrison in each of six fortresses; but from these his forces were expelled by the French, who undertook an expedition to the Morea for that purpose; and by the November of that year the Greeks of the Morea breathed freely, for they were entirely delivered from the withering presence of Turkish power. They drove the Turkish forces from northern Greece by their own efforts.

Independent, though scarcely regenerated, Greece was governed for some time by a president and national assembly; but the representatives of England, France, and Russia, assembled at London, resolved upon erecting it into a separate kingdom. Having decided on the limits of the new state, the allied powers proceeded to the selection of a king to govern it. To avoid grounds of mutual jealousy, it was laid down as an indispensable condition that the person elected should not be a member of

any of the royal families of England, France, or Russia. The allies first offered the crown to Prince John of Saxony, but he declined accepting the uncertain and perilous gift. Prince Leopold took it, but afterwards repented and declined, partly on account of the turbulent condition of the Greek people, and partly because the island of Candia was not included in the proffered dominions. At length, in 1832, Otho, the youngest son of the King of Bavaria, was fixed upon as a fitting sovereign, and crowned the following year. The new monarchy was at first almost absolute; but the revolution of September, 1843, introduced a constitution and a government moulded on those of France and England. It is to be regretted that in recent events the Greeks have not had the gratitude to remember that it was to England and France, but chiefly to England, that they owed the resurrection of their country, and their deliverance from a thralldom which was as galling and humiliating as it was terrible. Blinded by a hatred of their late oppressors, they are desirous of Russian rule.

"Such," says Alison, while reflecting on the events we have related, "was the resurrection of Greece; thus did old Hellas rise from the grave of nations. Scorched by fire, riddled by shot, baptized in blood, she emerged victorious from the contest: she achieved her independence because she proved herself worthy of it: she was trained to manhood in the only school of real improvement, the school of suffering. Twenty-five years have elapsed since her independence was sealed by the battle of Navarino, and already the warmest hopes of her friends have been realised. Her capital, Athens, now contains 30,000 inhabitants, quadruple what it did when the contest

terminated: its commerce has doubled, and all the signs of rapidly advancing prosperity are to be seen on the land. The inhabitants have increased fifty per cent.: they are now above 700,000; but the fatal chasms produced by the war, especially in the male population, are still in a great measure unsupplied, and vast tracts of fertile land, spread with the bones of its defenders, await in every part of the country the robust arm of industry for their cultivation. The Greeks, indeed, have not all the virtues of freemen; perhaps they are never destined to exhibit them. Like the Muscovites, and from the same cause, they are often cunning, fraudulent, deceitful: slaves always are such; and a nation is not crushed by a thousand years of Byzantine despotism, and four hundred of Mohammedan aggression, without having some of the features of the servile character impressed upon it. But they exhibit also the cheering symptoms of social improvement: they have proved they still possess the qualities to which their ancestors' greatness was owing. They are lively, ardent, and persevering; passionately desirous of knowledge, and indefatigable in the pursuit of it. The whole life which yet animates the Ottoman empire is owing to their intelligence and activity. The stagnation of despotism is unknown among them: if the union of civilisation is unhappily equally unknown, that is a virtue of the manhood, and not to be looked for in the infancy of nations. The consciousness of deficiencies is the first step to their removal; the pride of barbarism, the self-sufficiency of ignorance, is the real bar to improvement; and a nation which is capable of making the efforts for improvement which the Greeks are doing, if not in possession of political greatness, is on the road to it."

WAR WITH CHINA—THE OPIUM DISPUTE.

AFTER the dismissal, in 1817, of Lord Amherst's embassy from China, sources of irritation between the English residents and the Chinese authorities were of constant occurrence, and these at length terminated in open hostilities. The time was at hand when the power and resources of the Celestial Empire were, for the first time, to be weighed in the balance against one of the great states of Europe. The trial exhibited an amount of weakness, on the part of the

Chinese, singularly in contrast with the offensively arrogant tone they had invariably adopted in their intercourse with other states. Before the roar of the British cannon, the inflated impotence of this decrepit Eastern empire fell prostrate and helpless. In past ages the barbarous hordes of Asia were the scourge and terror of Europe; the latter continent is now retaliating, and the armies of civilisation are beginning to reduce the millions of the East

to the dominion of the West. England has laid a hand of iron on the vast peninsula of India, and it is far from improbable that eventually the tricolour of France may wave beneath imperial rule over the sunlit domes and minarets of Constantinople. From events now proceeding in China, it is also probable that that ancient and worn-out empire may be approaching its dissolution; and if so, it is certain the Anglo-Saxon race is destined to rule the feeble millions of that vast and interesting land.

It is not to be denied that the Chinese authorities had a legitimate cause of complaint against the English traders; but their conduct was of so arrogant and violent a nature, and in such open defiance of the laws which all civilised nations have bound themselves to observe in their intercourse with each other, that the retaliatory proceedings taken against them by the British government became not only justifiable, but unavoidable. A nation like England cannot, and must not, passively submit to outrage and insult from the rulers of a semi-barbarous state.

A considerable amount of opium was annually imported into China by the East India merchants. The Chinese government objected to the practice of smoking opium (which appears to have been on the increase among that people), as an immoral and enervating habit. The Chinese authorities had several times complained of the contraband importation of the drug, and at length they resolved on its utter suppression. To promote this end, they condemned some unfortunate Chinese, engaged in the trade, to death; and caused them to be executed in front of the British factories. This offensive exhibition produced expostulations, which were replied to in a Chinese proclamation by Admiral Chin, composed in the inflated and arrogant style usual with that people. "You foreigners," said he in this state paper, "give no heed to the laws of the heavenly dynasty,—are every day furiously rambling about; you never let us rest a moment from your visits. We would like to ask you, if our Chinese ships were to take a commodity prohibited in your country, and go on forcing it into consumption, if you would bear it patiently or not?" This document ordered all British ships to quit the Chinese coast; adding, that if the mandate was disobeyed, the vessels of war brought to compel them to do so, "would be as numerous as the stars, and disposed

in array like a chess-board. At the first call they will immediately respond. One cannot resist a host; and when the admiral of the fleet, and the commander of the garrison, should unite their forces, thick as the congregated clouds, you foreigners will not be able to sustain their attack. We naval and military commanders, however, do not wish to kill you in cold-blood without warning you of the consequences of your present line of conduct; and if you have any wisdom, you will immediately return to your own homes and escape the danger."

With respect to the executions, the English were told in another edict that the factories belonged to the Celestial Empire, and were merely granted by the great emperor as a favour. "What," it asked, "have you foreigners to do with the question, whether convicted persons shall be executed in front of the factories or not? Do you say the ground is used as a place of exercise by all the foreigners? Is it not, then, a place of concourse also for the people, the natives of the land? No daring presumption, no absurd complaint, can exceed these complaints. They are execrable in the extreme." In addition to this offensive edict, a threat was held out that many more executions should take place on the same spot.

The English traders at Canton denied that the opium trade was the true cause of the complaints made by the Chinese authorities, and declared, that even if it had been, it would be as impossible to prevent the smoking of opium in China, as to put an end to the drinking of malt liquor in England. They attributed the true cause of dissatisfaction to the circumstances that the increasing imports of the English had led to a balance in their favour, and that the silver was leaving the Celestial Empire. In the year 1838, the teas, silks, and other articles purchased by the English, amounted in value to £3,147,481, while the opium, metals, and cotton sold by them realised £5,637,052; giving a balance in favour of the British, of £2,489,571. This apparent evil, the Chinese, altogether ignorant of political economy, regarded as a real one, and they acted in reference to it with a tyrannical insolence which greatly disgusted the English residents, and disposed them to dispute and resist the conditions attempted to be imposed. To such an extent had the Chinese officials carried their arrogance, that they not only spoke of themselves as a superior race, but described the

English as brutes, destitute of reason, and strangers to honesty. The foolish falsehoods of these Chinese officers would have been ridiculous, had they not in effect proved highly injurious. The very money, it was said, of these "devils" was nearly worthless. "It is," said Keshen, viceroy of Petcherli, in a memorial to the emperor on the subject, "all boiled with and reduced by quicksilver. If you wrap it up and put it by for several years without touching it, it will become moths and corroding insects, and their silver cups will change into feathers or wings. Their money is all of this species; and if we leave it for four or five hundred years, I am sure I do not know what it will turn into at last." This strange idea was probably founded on a literal interpretation of the saying, which he might have heard from some missionary, that "riches make to themselves wings, and fly away."

Early in 1838, a "fire express" arrived at Canton from the imperial court at Peking, announcing that Lin Tsihseun, the governor of Hookwang, was directed to investigate the affairs of the seaports of the province. On the same day, Tong, the governor of Canton, received a despatch from the emperor's council, calling on him to co-operate with Lin in "scrubbing and washing away the filth;" these offensive epithets being applied to the English and other Europeans. Lin, the imperial commissioner, did not arrive until March; and after a week of investigation, he demanded that every particle of opium on board the ships should be delivered up to the government, that it might be burned and destroyed. A bond was also required, in the English and Chinese languages, which should bind the English never again to bring opium to China under the penalty of death. The foreigners signing the bond were also to declare, that if they infringed its conditions they would willingly submit to the punishment denounced. Lin threatened that if his requisitions were not complied with, the English would be overwhelmed by numbers and sacrificed; at the same time, some vague promises of reward were made to such as obeyed. To have signed the bond required, would have been for the English to place their lives at the discretion or caprice of the Chinese Mandarins.

At the same time, Commissioner Lin required that Mr. Dent, one of the principal English merchants, should appear

before his tribunal; the supplies of the English were cut off; their native servants removed; and the factories blockaded by an arc of boats, filled with armed men, the extremes of which touched the east and west banks of the river in front of those buildings, while the rear was occupied in strong force. Submission appeared inevitable; and our chief superintendent, Captain Elliot, desired his countrymen to deliver up all the opium then in their possession on the Chinese coast. On the 3rd of September, 20,283 chests of opium were surrendered to Commissioner Lin, and forthwith destroyed. The blockade then ceased, and the English, with the exception of sixteen persons, received permission to quit; the others being ultimately allowed to depart, under an injunction from the government never to return. Captain Elliot wrote to Lord Auckland, governor-general of India, informing him of these circumstances, and requesting as many ships of war, for the protection of life and property, as could be detached from the Indian station.

Towards the close of 1838, Commissioner Lin followed up his hostile behaviour by the issue of an edict prohibiting the importation of any British goods whatever, and ordaining that a bond should be required from any foreign vessel entering the port, declaring that it did not contain any British property, and consenting to the confiscation of the ship and cargo should any be discovered in it. On this, Captain Elliot addressed a petition to Commissioner Lin, promising a respectful submission to the statutes of the empire, and requesting, in terms of an almost supplicatory character, that the trade might be resumed. Some time previously, an affray had occurred at Macao between a party of English sailors and some Chinese villagers, in which one of the latter had been killed. Lin had demanded that the homicide should be delivered up that he might be put to death, a demand which was very properly refused. To this circumstance Lin referred in his reply, in which, after enumerating all the offences he affirmed the English had been guilty of, he declared, that until the murderer of the Chinese peasant was given up, there could be no intercourse between the two nations.

Notwithstanding this preematory decision, Lin relaxed so far as to permit the English to carry on commerce below the Bocca Tigris. He still, however, insisted that the captains of all vessels trading at

Canton should sign the bond we have referred to; which provided, that any infraction of the laws laid down with regard to the opium trade should be punished with death. One person, of a slavish or selfish nature (Mr. Warner, master of the ship *Thomas Coutts*), signed the bond, in violation of the injunction of Captain Elliot; an act which excited the disgust and indignation of the British merchants. The result was that Lin broke off the arrangements he had so recently come to, and demanded that all British ships should enter the river on the same terms as the *Thomas Coutts*, or leave the Chinese coast within a period of three days, under the penalty of total destruction if they remained.

Even this was not the extent of Chinese caprice and arrogance. A fleet of war-junks, under Admiral Kwan, and consisting of twenty-nine sail, assumed so menacing an attitude, that Captain Elliot sent for two English frigates, the *Volage* and *Hyacinth*, and then prepared a moderate but firm remonstrance to the imperial commissioner. On the 3rd of November the Chinese squadron approached the British vessels, and having cast anchor close to them, peremptorily demanded that an Englishman should be delivered up to be put to death, as an equivalent for the life of the Chinese villager who had been accidentally slain. Captain Smith, who was commanding the English vessels, resolved to resent this effort at intimidation, and compel the Chinese junks to return to their former anchorage. As nothing but force would effect this object, Captain Smith gave the signal for engagement, and the *Volage* and *Hyacinth*

ran down the Chinese line, and poured in a destructive fire as they passed. The lateral direction of the wind enabled them to perform the same evolution from the other extreme of the line, running up again with their larboard broadsides bearing. The Chinese returned the fire with much spirit; but it was soon evident that their frail vessels could not contend successfully with our men-of-war. One war-junk blew up, three were sunk, and several others water-logged. In less than three-quarters of an hour, Admiral Kwan and his squadron returned to their former anchorage, in by no means so defiant a mood as they left it. Though many of their junks were much shattered and distressed, they had the effrontery to report that they had obtained a victory. This, probably, was in consequence of Captain Smith presenting no obstacle to their retreat, and afterwards making sail for Macao, for the purpose of covering the embarkation of the English who desired to leave that place, and of providing for the safety of the merchant ships. There is very little doubt that the emperor was made to believe that his junks had obtained a victory; for few persons dare to tell unpalatable truths to despotic sovereigns; and they are thus usually left in ignorance of the real state of their affairs until the latter are frequently past remedy. The conflict, however, was highly important; for the English, who had previously been confident of success in the event of hostilities taking place, now felt assured that no force the Emperor of China could bring against them would be able to withstand their attack.

CAPTURE OF CHUSAN.

THE conduct of the Chinese, and the nature of the dispute between them and our merchants, was debated during four nights in the House of Commons, and it was concluded that a powerful fleet should be sent to China to vindicate the character of England and to demand reparation for the opium which had been destroyed. Some members considered that a war with China would be not only dangerous but unjust, as the government of that country had a right to make what regulations they pleased respecting the importation of opium. Others argued that the way in which they had

interfered was in opposition to the laws of nations, and too insolently offensive to be tolerated by a proud and powerful state like England. They added, that not only were the commercial interests of our merchants at stake, but that it must be borne in mind that our empire in the East was founded on the force of opinion; and, therefore, if we submitted to the degrading insults of China, the time would not be far distant when our political ascendancy in India would perish.

In March, 1840, Admiral Elliot, then at the Cape, received his appointment to the command of the China fleet, consisting of

ten men-of-war, of which two were steamers, and a number of transports. These were in addition to the *Druid*, *Volage*, and *Hycinth*, already in the Canton river. Commodore Sir J. Gordon Bremer was second in command to Admiral Elliot, and Major-general Burrell commanded the military force.

In the meantime the Chinese had been conducting themselves more like a horde of savages than a rational people. After issuing an edict, warning all foreign vessels from anchoring near the English ships, they sent eighteen fire-rafts, chained together, two and two, to burn the latter; an expedient which, perhaps, even more fortunately for themselves than the English, proved unsuccessful. They even proceeded to a still more tyrannical and atrocious expedient, and actually sent a boat-load of poisoned tea, packed in small parcels, to be sold to the English sailors. The intended effects of this infamous act were frustrated in a remarkable manner: the boat was captured by Chinese pirates, and her cargo sold by them to their own countrymen, many of whom died in consequence of partaking of it. One Chinese functionary proposed that expert divers should be employed to swim to the English ships during the night, board them in the darkness, and massacre every individual they found. After the manifestation of such treacherous and murderous schemes on the part of the Chinese, it resembles maudlin sentimentality to talk about the cruelty and immorality of our going to war with this miserable people to compel them to receive smuggled opium into their territory. The proceedings taken against them were imperatively demanded for the purpose of humbling barbaric insolence, compelling the Chinese to observe the common laws of nations, to abandon vindictive and illegal proceedings against our merchants, and to respect the British flag. Senile weakness may sometimes be admitted as an excuse for insolence; but it cannot be allowed to cover glaring acts of oppression and cruelty.

The British fleet arrived in the Canton waters during the month of June, 1840; and Commodore Bremer announced that on and after the 28th, a blockade of the river and port of Canton would be established, and that the anchorage of rendezvous for such British and foreign merchant ships as might resort to the coast of China, in ignorance of the blockade, should be Capsing-

moon and the Macao-roads. Thus, in excluding the English merchants from Canton, the Chinese had unintentionally annihilated the trade of the city altogether. They had, however, been so flattered by the representatives of European states submitting to their arrogant pretensions, that it seems never to have occurred to them that either England or any other power dare offer any resistance to the imperial will of the Son of Heaven! The Chinese, pursuing their absurd pretensions, issued a proclamation well calculated to raise a smile of mingled mirth and contempt on English lips: it stated, that whoever should capture an English man-of-war carrying eighty guns, and deliver the same to the Mandarins, should receive a reward of 20,000 Spanish dollars. At the same time a scale of rewards was offered for the assassination of English officers and men.

Having secured the blockade of Canton, Commodore Bremer, with a part of the fleet, left the mouth of the river, and sailed northward in the direction of Chusan. Admiral Elliot arrived at Macao, in the *Melville*, a 74, on the 28th of June; and after taking Captain Elliot, the superintendent, on board, followed the commodore. On the 2nd of July another proclamation was issued by the Chinese, in which the people were called upon to unite with the government in opposing the barbarians; fishermen and seafaring persons were commanded to go out and destroy the English ships; and were informed that their families would be maintained at the public expense while they were thus engaged: and a still higher scale of rewards was offered to any enterprising Chinese who should seize alive any *head thieves* (by which name they designated the captains and officers of the British ships.) These terrible measures, instead of striking terror into the "barbarians," as was confidently expected by the Mandarins, elicited only laughter and contempt.

Actual hostilities were not commenced until the 4th of July, when the *Wellesley*, *Conway*, and *Alligator* took up a position in Chusan harbour, and summoned the place to surrender. The Chinese admiral, accompanied by several persons of naval and military rank, went on board the *Wellesley*, and had a conference of some length with Sir Gordon Bremer. That officer explained to them, through the medium of an interpreter, that insult and aggression on the part of their officers, to an extent no longer

bearable, had obliged her Britannic majesty to seek redress; that his orders were to take military possession of the island and its dependencies; and that, as the force he had with him for that purpose precluded all chance of successful resistance, he earnestly entreated them to spare the great effusion of blood which would otherwise take place, by yielding at once. The Chinese authorities left in the evening, with an assurance that they would endeavour to prevent any delay in replying to the summons. During the night gongs were sounded, and other warlike demonstrations made; but no answer was returned. When the day dawned, the quays and shores were discovered lined with troops in considerable force. From the mast-heads of the vessels other forces could be seen on the plain beyond, and on the city walls. Three guns had been placed in position on a neighbouring hill, twenty-one were in line on the different wharves, and five were on a round tower of solid masonry. The war-junks were hauled up on shore in line, and presented thirty-four guns, and forty-five large gingals. Commodore Bremer delayed hostilities until half-past two, in the hope that when the Chinese saw the troops preparing to land in full force, they would negotiate. As they did not, he concluded that further forbearance would be useless, and he therefore ordered a shot to be fired at the round tower, as an earnest of his intention. It was instantly answered by the whole line of the Chinese defence. The work of war thus begun, broadside after broadside roared out from the British fleet, and a terrific destruction ensued. The cannonade lasted only seven or eight minutes before the Chinese guns were silenced. Then the dense cloud of smoke rolled slowly away, and revealed a scene of wreck and ruin. The Chinese troops had fled, their battery was destroyed, four junks were shattered to pieces, and the town appeared deserted. That so much pride as the Chinese exhibited should have grown upon such miserable weakness, and that they should have been so ill-prepared to back their extravagant pretensions, seemed almost impossible.

The British troops landed, and the national flag was speedily seen floating proudly over the first military position conquered in the Chinese empire by the arms of England.

After taking possession of a hill about fifteen hundred yards from Ting-hae-heen, the capital of the island, the troops advanced upon the city. Its dilapidated walls, on which the Chinese flags were flying, were surrounded on three sides by a deep canal about twenty-five feet wide, and a continued flat of inundated boggy land. Despite of an impotent fire which was opened upon them from the walls, and continued at intervals until nearly midnight, the English took up their position with the intention of commencing the attack next day. With the first dull gray light of the 6th, ten guns were placed in position within 400 yards of the walls. As no sound was heard within the city, and no Chinese were to be seen, the British at length suspected it had been abandoned. A party having been sent to reconnoitre, scaled the wall, and discovered the supposition to be correct. There were only a few miserable Chinese, who appeared unarmed above the gate, and hung a placard over the wall with the inscription, "Save us, for the sake of our wives and children." The city was then taken possession of, and the British flag hoisted upon its principal gate. The walls are about six miles in circumference, and though built of brick and granite of an inferior quality, the place, if garrisoned with disciplined troops, would have been capable of making a good defence.

The capture of Chusan made some impression on Chinese pride. Negotiations were resumed and protracted until the 15th of September, when Admiral Elliot consented to transfer them from the island the British then occupied to Canton, where all details were to be settled, and where the Chinese government promised to arrange everything to the satisfaction of the British. This was an error on the part of the admiral; as while the British forces remained at Chusan, they inspired the Chinese with greater terror, in consequence of their comparative proximity to Peking, than when the threatened danger was removed to Canton. The emperor, dissatisfied with the efforts of Lin as imperial commissioner, appointed Keshen to take his place. This functionary represented himself as being invested with full powers to treat with the English, and adjust the quarrel between them and the Chinese government.



THE HON EAST INDIA COMPANY'S STEAMER 'NEMESIS'
AND THE BOATS OF
THE 'SULPHUR', 'CALLIOPE', 'LARNE', AND 'STARLING',
DESTROYING THE CHINESE WAR JUNKS IN ANSON'S BAY,
JANUARY 7, 1841.

DEFEAT OF THE CHINESE; AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR WAR-JUNKS IN ANSON'S BAY.

THE subjects of the Celestial Empire had actively employed themselves in making use of the time which Keshen had gained by dilatory negotiations. They had erected new batteries at the Bogue; barricaded the bars in the river by sinking boats laden with stones; thrown up breastworks near Canton; and levied fresh troops. As it was evident from these hostile indications that they did not intend to come to a pacific arrangement, Commodore Bremer determined to give them another lesson on the subject of the relative strength of the Chinese and British empires. On the 7th of January, 1841, he opened a fire on the Bogue forts; over two of which he soon was enabled to unfurl the English standard.

Simultaneously with the attack on the forts, three regiments of troops, under the command of Major Pratt, were landed, attended by parties of seamen to drag the guns. After a two hours' march they reached the summit of a ridge, and were greeted with a loud shout of defiance from the Chinese, who occupied an intrenched camp at no great distance, with a hill fort, below which was a strongly palisaded breastwork, and a deep, broad, dry ditch. On each side of the camp two field batteries had been established; while, in a valley to the right, was a second fort, a large mound surmounted by three guns, and a flanking battery containing three others. The position was one of considerable strength, had it been held by European soldiers and defended by skilful military engineers. The Chinese waved their flags, sounded their gongs, and opened an ineffectual fire upon the advancing British. The latter pressed forward to the tower on the summit of the hill; and despite their bravado, the Chinese fled from it precipitately at the first fire from their approaching foes. In their confusion, a considerable body of them came full upon a party of marines and sepoy, whose well-directed volleys committed great havoc amongst them. Some of the fugitives ran back into the fort, and succeeded in closing the gates. They were, however, soon blown open, and the troops rushed in; a party of sailors scaling the wall at the same time in another direction. A considerable slaughter of the Chinese followed, though those who called for quarter received it. Many of these miserable wretches fought with desperate

obstinacy, from the mistaken idea that the English never spared the conquered; and as no signs could make them understand that submission would purchase safety, no alternative remained but to bayonet or shoot them. In one spot the dead lay in a heap three and four deep; it was behind a rock with a steep slope, over which the wretches had fallen in their attempt to escape. Leenshing, a commander who had risen from the ranks, and had gained the distinction of a blue button and a peacock's feather for his former services, was shot through the heart while vainly trying to rally his men. His son, who was fighting by his side, on seeing his father expire, made for the water, into which he sprang, and was seen no more. Altogether, it is supposed that the Chinese had not less than 600 killed in this encounter—for battle it cannot be called. The English had about thirty-eight wounded, but not one man killed; of the former, many owed their injuries to the explosion of a magazine.

Such a result might have inspired feelings of pity for the Chinese, whose incapacity in war was almost as great as their arrogant insolence in peace, but for their recent most inhuman conduct towards an English lady and a few other persons who were wrecked near their coast, and thus fell into the hands of these barbarians. These poor people were bastinadoed above the knees to prevent them from escaping, kept almost without food, had chains put round their necks, and, in this wretched condition, were dragged through the streets of several towns, amid the hootings and howlings of the ignorant and malicious savages. They were then carried about like animals in wooden cages, which, for several days and nights, they were not permitted to quit for any purpose whatever; and, finally, they were confined in a dark, dirty prison. What made all this disgusting outrage the more revolting was, that the Chinese reported, and perhaps believed, that Mrs. Noble the unfortunate lady who fell into their hands, was sister to the Queen of England. With a nation so callous to every feeling of decency and humanity,—not to speak of generous sympathy for the unfortunate,—so meanly malicious and savage in their revenge, nothing remained but to chastise them into a better observance of those prin-

principles of humanity which all nations, except the most barbarous of savages, intuitively respect. It was necessary to coerce and awe the Chinese into habits of a less repulsive and more human character.

We have not yet detailed all the reverses this arrogant and infatuated people experienced on that, to them, fatal 7th of January. No sooner were the defenders of the forts disposed of, than Captain Belcher proceeded in the East India Company's war-steamer *Nemesis*, accompanied by the boats of the *Sulphur*, *Calliope*, *Larne*, and *Starling*, to attack the war-junks which were then lying at anchor in Anson's Bay. The combat which followed was another illustration of the miserable weakness of the Chinese in war, and of the wild absurdity of those high pretensions which Europe had for ages treated with respect, and believed might be backed by a power which could maintain them. Scarcely had the engagement began, and while the thunder of our first broadside reverberated from the high lands of the neighbouring shore, a rocket from the *Nemesis* hissed sharply through the air, and ploughed its fiery way through the side of a junk into its magazine. A tremendous explosion followed; a mighty column of flame, and mingled black and white smoke, rose high into the air, and the fragments of the junk were heaved up, and then fell, together with the mangled, burnt, and blackened bodies of the crew, into the waters. Not one of the latter were saved; if any were not killed by the explosion, they sunk, stunned and senseless, beneath the waves, and never rose again. In a

short time the whole flotilla was sunk or totally destroyed. Even two junks, which had run into a creek hard by for safety, were carried off by the *Nemesis*, without opposition. The awe-struck Chinese looked on in passive bewilderment, hardly believing what they saw; for they thought so large a ship could not have ventured into such shallow water.

The next morning, when Commodore Bremer was about to attack the principal fort of Aminghoy, after having subdued the minor Bogue batteries, a flag of truce was sent by the Chinese, and hostilities were again suspended. Keshen, terrified at the wonderful strength of the "barbarians," offered to adjust matters without any further delay, and preliminary arrangements were entered into between him and Captain Elliot, involving the following conditions:—First, the cession of the harbour and island of Hong Kong to the British crown; secondly, an indemnity to the British government of six million of dollars, in six instalments; thirdly, direct official intercourse between the two nations, upon an equal footing; fourthly, the opening the trade of the port of Canton within ten days after the Chinese new year; the trade to be carried on at Whampoa until further arrangements. This decided on, Keshen reported to the Celestial emperor that the English barbarians were now obedient to orders; that they desired the imperial favour, and that it was therefore no longer necessary to stop their trade, or cut off their supplies of provisions. Imbecile arrogance could scarcely go farther than this.

CANTON SAVED BY RANSOM—DUPLICITY OF THE CHINESE.

WHEN the preliminaries agreed to by Captain Elliot, the superintendent, arrived in England, they were disapproved of by the government, and Sir Henry Pottinger appointed plenipotentiary in his stead. It soon became evident, also, that the Chinese were insincere in their professions; and when Captain Elliot applied for the release of Mrs. Noble and the other ill-treated shipwrecked persons detained as prisoners, he was met with an excuse, that they could not be set at liberty without an order from Peking. Ultimately the emperor contumeliously rejected the preliminaries of the treaty which Keshen had agreed to, and issued an imperial edict, expressing his de-

termination to inflict a severe punishment on the English. The resumption of hostilities became inevitable. The island of Chusan was abandoned on account of its unhealthiness, and the British then took possession of Hong Kong. Wang-tong was afterwards taken without the loss of a single man. The Chinese admiral, Kwan, was killed, and 1,300 Chinese surrendered as prisoners. On the 27th of March a new attack was made on the junks and batteries on the left bank of the river near Whampoa Reach. When the troops landed, the Chinese fled; and the British ships of war then approached the walls of Canton. Alternate negotiations and hostilities, during

which the English destroyed all the forts in advance of Canton, took place until the latter end of May. It was observed, that the more yielding the British appeared, the more insolent and violent did the Chinese become. The emperor desired utterly to destroy the invaders; but, fortunately, he lacked the power to do so. Had he prevailed, there is little doubt that the whole of the English would have been massacred. He commanded that several line-of-battle ships should be constructed on the model of the barbarians; but the head naval constructor, in despair of being able to comply with this peremptory order, escaped from the difficulty by suicide. The Chinese next attempted to cast some enormous cannon, sufficient, they conjectured, to sink the English ships at one discharge; but on proving the first they made, it burst and killed three persons who were engaged in the operation, after which they could not prevail upon any one to test the rest. A considerable number of fresh troops were also collected; but they soon became mutinous, and deserted for want of pay.

It was resolved to check these warlike efforts; and, at the end of May, General Gough and Sir Le Fleming Senhouse resolved to take possession of the factories of Canton, and at the same time attack its river defences. The Chinese had formed a strongly entrenched camp, and arranged other formidable means of resistance; but they were utterly dispirited, and scarcely dared to face the foe. They at once gave way at all points: their magazines were destroyed; and the English commander made preparations for the storming of Canton. General Gough, after reconnoitring the walls and gates, resolved on taking the city by assault before the panic of the Chinese subsided. He was not, however, able to carry this intention into execution, as a rugged hill and some wet paddy-fields prevented his men from getting up more than a few of the lightest pieces of ordnance, and a very small portion of ammunition. The assault, therefore, was deferred until the following day; but the next morning, May the 26th, the Chinese hung out a flag of truce, and on an interpreter being sent to ascertain the cause, a Mandarin replied that they wished for peace. General Gough consented to an armistice of two hours' duration; but stated, that if he had not a satisfactory interview with the Chinese general by the expiration of that period, he

should cause the white flag to be struck. That functionary would not, by making his appearance, acknowledge a defeat, and the emblem of peace was hauled down. The attack, however, was not renewed; for several parleys took place between the Chinese and the pacific Captain Elliot (whose recall had not yet reached him), and he wrote to General Gough, desiring him to suspend hostilities, as he (Captain Elliot) was employed in negotiations for peace upon the following terms:—First, the Chinese commissioner and troops to quit the city within six days, and remove to a distance exceeding sixty miles; secondly, six million dollars to be paid within one week for the use of the crown of England; thirdly, the British troops to remain in their positions until the whole sum was paid, when they were to retire beyond the Bocca Tigris; and fourthly, all losses occasioned by the destruction of the factories to be paid within one week. General Gough did not approve of this arrangement, but he felt it his duty to fall in with it. Consequently, on the 27th of May, the British flag was lowered from the captured forts, and the troops and brigade of seamen marched out and went to Ting-hae.

Notwithstanding this agreement, the conduct of the Chinese was so suspicious,—bodies of them advancing stealthily, apparently in hope of surprising the English in their camp,—that Sir Hugh Gough deemed it necessary to disperse them; and several skirmishes ensued. A few unfortunate English soldiers, who straggled from the camp, were waylaid and murdered for the sake of the price that had been set upon them. On these they pounced with the ferocity of savages, less from any patriotic feeling of love for their country, than from the hope of reward. However, as five of the six million of dollars, which were exacted for the ransom of the city, were paid on the 1st of June, and security was given for the remainder, the English troops were withdrawn. They had been in tolerable good health on the heights; but sickness prevailed amongst them to an alarming extent when they reached Hong Kong.

In a report of these transactions, made to the emperor by his nephew Yilushan, the Chinese troops were said to have fought most bravely against the barbarians; but the ships of the latter being strong and numerous, they could not beat them back. He admitted that the British landed, that

the city of Canton was in danger of being reduced to ashes, and that he had consented to give them the ransom demanded, to beguile them out of the Bogue; after which, he said, the forts could be repaired, and the Chinese again prepare to attack and

exterminate the intruders. The emperor approved of this treacherous suggestion; and, speaking of the English in language of assumed contempt, again signified his celestial pleasure that they should be utterly destroyed.

CAPTURE OF THE CITIES OF AMOY, CHIN-HAE, AND NING-PO.

SIR HENRY POTTINGER arrived at China in August, 1841, to take the place of Captain Elliot as plenipotentiary; as the English government very justly considered that the proceedings of the latter had not been characterised by sufficient determination. After having haughtily declined seeing Kwang-chow-foo, a Mandarin who was sent to negotiate, Sir Henry sailed with the squadron commanded by Sir William Parker to Hong Kong, the appointed rendezvous for the ships intended for the northward expedition. On the 21st of August the squadron left the island, and on the evening of the 25th, anchored in the harbour of Amoy. This was an extensive city, not much less than ten miles in circumference, possessing an excellent harbour, and a strongly built citadel, containing five arsenals. The population of Amoy was said to amount to 70,000, and the army garrisoning it consisted of about 10,000 Chinese troops. The fortifications and defences of the place were so formidable that the Chinese believed them to be impregnable. Several small islands rise from the sea at the entrance of the harbour, and batteries were placed on them all. The "long battery" extended more than half a mile, and mounted seventy-six guns, having a space of forty feet between each. It is built of solid granite-work, fifteen feet thick at the bottom, and nine at the top, and was about fifteen feet in height. Excepting at the embrasures for the guns, it was faced with a coating of mud two feet thick. The masonry of the work was admirable; and those who beheld it declared that they had never seen anything so strong or so well built. At the end furthest from the town stood a strong granite wall, half a mile in length, with loopholes at the top for the Chinese matchlocks: it was intended to protect their flank from our troops. In the middle of the wall were two semicircular batteries, and one larger one at the end nearest the town. The entire number of guns by which the place was defended amounted to above 500.

The Chinese officials viewed the approach of the English with amazement, at what they regarded as the reckless audacity of barbarians; and early on the morning of the 26th, they sent an officer of low rank, under a flag of truce, with a message from the Mandarins, inquiring what so large a force wanted in the inner waters; and directing, if it were not for trade, that they should loose sails and go away immediately, "ere the celestial wrath should be kindled against them." A written reply was sent, signed by Sir Henry Pottinger, the plenipotentiary; Sir William Parker, rear-admiral; and Sir Hugh Gough, commander of the forces. It stated—"There being certain differences subsisting between the two nations of Great Britain and China, which have not been cleared up, the plenipotentiary and the commanders-in-chief have received instructions from their sovereign, that unless these be completely removed, and secure arrangements made by accession to the demands last year presented at Tientsin, they shall regard it as their duty to resort to hostile measures for the enforcement of their demands. But the plenipotentiary and commanders-in-chief, moved by compassionate feelings, and averse to causing the death of so many officers and soldiers as in that case must perish, urgently request the admiral commanding in this province, forthwith to deliver the town, and all the fortifications of Amoy, into the hands of the British forces, to be held for the present by them. Upon his so doing, all the officers and troops therein will be allowed to retire with their personal arms and baggage, and the people shall receive no hurt; and whenever these difficulties shall be settled, and the demands of Great Britain fully granted, the whole shall be restored to the hands of the Chinese. If these terms be acceded to, let a white flag be displayed from the fortifications."

As might be expected, the Chinese did not accede to this demand; their only reply to it being an active preparation for re-

sistance. The plenipotentiary and commanders-in-chief, after reconnoitring the place, gave orders for an immediate attack. The *Modeste*, *Blonde*, and *Druid* stood in and took up their positions before the batteries at the entrance of the harbour. The line-of-battle ships, with the *Sesostris*, *Queen*, and *Bentinck*, were directed to attack the long batteries, while the *Nemesis* and *Phlegethon*, filled with troops, and covered by the remaining ships, were to keep ready for disembarking them when ordered. About one o'clock the port division led in, exchanged a few broadsides with the island batteries as they passed, and then approached to within pistol-shot of the principal ones. In consequence of the shallowness of the water the *Blonde* grounded, but, fortunately, with her broadside to the forts. For some time the fire was well sustained on both sides, the Chinese standing to their guns with more resolution than might have been anticipated from their previous spiritless and feeble conduct. The marines were then landed, followed by a detachment of the 26th. On seeing this, numbers of the fainthearted Chinese fled, while others came down from the fort, spitting at their assailants in impotent fury, and picking up stones to hurl at them. On receiving a volley, they also turned and fled after their less daring brethren. It was not long before the British colours were waving over their position. The *Modeste* then ran into the inner harbour, where she engaged five or six batteries, and speedily drove the men from their guns. In the harbour were found twenty-six war-junks, mounting altogether 128 guns, and deserted by their timid and incapable crews. The *Modeste* was followed into the harbour by the *Algerine*, and also by the *Blonde*, as soon as that vessel got afloat. The *Sesostris* and *Queen* had been for some time sustaining the fire of the formidable long battery, where the Tartars stood to their guns remarkably well. At length they were aided by the *Wellesley* and *Blenheim*, and finally silenced, after they had sustained a bombardment of three hours. Some troops who landed having succeeded in attacking them in the rear, several of the garrison were bayoneted at their guns. A party of seamen and marines, who were landed under the command of Commodore Fletcher, charged right up to the embrasures of the fort; and entering by these apertures, followed their fleeing foes through the suburb into an open sandy

plain, where the Chinese attempted a slight resistance, but were again routed and driven to seek refuge in a confined pass in the hills which separated the city from the suburbs. A large body of the Chinese, led by mounted Mandarins, was pursued towards that point by the general and his troops. The marines and seamen were so stationed as to be able to open a cross-fire on the fleeing enemy; the result was, that three of the Mandarins and about thirty of their men fell, and the rest broke up and ran precipitately in all directions. Within four hours after the firing of the first shot, all the positions of this supposed impregnable fortress were carried, and the British troops were then bivouacked for the night on the heights between the chief city and suburbs. The loss of life in this brilliant affair was but trifling: not more than 150 of the Chinese were killed; while the casualties of the English amounted only to a few wounds inflicted by the arrows of their Asiatic foes. On the landing of the British troops, the Mandarin who was second in command, rushed despairingly into the sea, and was drowned; another was seen to cut his throat, and fall in front of the soldiers as they advanced. The poor wretches probably feared some dreadful doom from the lips of the emperor, for not having obeyed his orders for the extermination of his foes. A few days after Amoy was captured the British troops were withdrawn from the city, but they took possession of one of the neighbouring islands.

Unfavourable weather relaxed the efforts of the British; but on the 21st of September, the squadron approached Chusan harbour. There the troops were disembarked, and Ting-hae, which had been abandoned, was retaken, with a loss of only two killed and twenty-four wounded. On the 7th of October the squadron sailed for Ning-po, and on the evening of the 9th it anchored off the city of Chin-hae, a place of considerable strength, at the mouth of the Ning-po river. Chin-hae, and its defences, was thus described by Admiral Parker:—"It is enclosed by a wall thirty-seven feet in thickness and twenty-two feet high, with an embrasured parapet of four feet high, and nearly two miles in circumference, and is situated at the foot of a commanding peninsula height, which forms the entrance of the Tahee river, on its left or north bank. On the summit is the citadel, which, from its strong position, is considered the

key to Chin-hae, and the large and opulent city of Ning-po, about fifteen miles up the river; and it is so important as a military post, that I trust I may be excused for attempting to describe it. It stands about 250 feet above the sea, and is encircled by a strong wall, with iron-plated gates at the east and west ends. The north and south sides of the heights are exceedingly steep; the former accessible only from the sea by a narrow winding path from the rocks at its base, the south side and eastern end being nearly precipitous. At the east end of the citadel, outside its wall, twenty-one guns were mounted in three batteries of masonry and sand-bags, to defend the entrance to the river. The only communication between the citadel and city is on the west side, by a steep but regular causeway, to a barrier-gate at the bottom of the hill, where a wooden bridge over a wet ditch connects it with the isthmus and the gates of the city, the whole of which are covered with iron plates, and strongly secured. The space on the isthmus between the citadel hill and the city wall is filled up towards the sea with a battery of five guns, having a row of strong piles driven in a little beach in front of it, to prevent a descent in that quarter; and on the river side of the isthmus are two batteries adjoining the suburbs, and mounting twenty-two and nineteen guns, for flanking the entrance; twenty-eight guns of different sizes, and numberless gingals, were also planted on the city walls, principally towards the sea."

The British troops were landed early on the 10th of October, the operations being protected by the ships of war, which, in performing this important duty, sustained but very little damage from the fire of the enemy. Shortly after eleven, most of the Chinese batteries were carried, and their terrified defenders fleeing in every direction. Another quarter of an hour of furious bombardment, and the wall of the citadel was breached by the iron tempest hurled against it. On this point the Chinese had hitherto worked their guns with considerable firmness, but they abandoned them on seeing their defences reduced to a ruinous condition, and retreated precipitately towards the city. Not a moment was allowed them to recover from the shock they had sustained; the battalion of seamen and marines were landed, together with the detachments of artillery and sappers; and the whole force advanced to the assault with startling rapidity

and decision. The explosion of a magazine within the citadel burst open the gate, and the remnant of the garrison fled as the British rushed impetuously in. No sooner were they within the walls than another explosion occurred, probably from design, but without injuring any of our men. This post secured, the troops were re-formed, and again pushed onwards towards the city. The Chinese still occupied its walls and two adjacent batteries in considerable force; but their hearts failed them before the terrible foe they had to encounter, and they also fled after a few volleys of musketry. The city wall was then scaled in two places; the Chinese, in terror and confusion, made their escape by the western gate, and the British colours were upraised over the walls of Chin-hae.

The loss sustained by the British in this affair was very slight, but great numbers of the Chinese perished. Many were shot, others drowned in their attempts to escape, and a great number of prisoners were taken, besides many pieces of cannon. The prisoners were deprived of their arms, and liberated on the following day. Some were subjected, before their departure, to the indignity of losing their much-valued long plaited tails—a fitting punishment for their arrogance, and one they regarded as an extreme humiliation. Sir Hugh Gough, on hearing this, gave orders that the Chinese should be spared this affront; but the command was not received until our rough barbers had completed their operations.

Having left a garrison in Chin-hae, the expedition proceeded up the river to the city of Ning-po, before which they made their appearance on the 13th. Its walls were nearly five miles in circumference, and it contained a population of 300,000 persons. As the British vessels grimly took up their positions, no soldiers made their appearance, though the inhabitants were collected in clusters on both banks of the river, and densely thronged the bridge of boats which extended across it. On the British landing, they found the town undefended, although the gate was barricaded. The walls, however, were soon scaled; the Chinese themselves assisting in removing the obstructions and in opening the gate. These poor people all appeared anxious to throw themselves on British protection, saying that their Mandarins had deserted them, and that their own soldiers were unable to defend them. Sir Hugh Gough assembled some of the

most respectable of the commercial class who had remained in the city, and assured them of his desire to afford them all the protection consistent with his instructions to press the Chinese government. He also issued a proclamation calling upon the people to reopen their shops, promising that they should not be molested. This they did to some extent; and every precaution was taken to prevent the troops from plundering, though the conduct of the latter was so gratifying in this respect, that it elicited the warmest commendation of the commander-in-chief. A strict search, however, was instituted to discover any public treasure that might have been preserved

there, but no great amount of bullion was found. Several extensive stores of money were reported, but they were affirmed not to belong to the government, but to the merchants and bankers of the city. These statements were naturally received with much suspicion; but ultimately a compromise was made, and the holders were compelled to pay a per-centage for the security, which the British authority extended to the remainder. In the public granaries an enormous quantity of rice and corn was found. This was disposed of to the Chinese, each of whom were allowed to take away as much as he could carry for a dollar. Thus the distress caused by the war was partially alleviated.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR—CAPTURE OF THE CITIES OF CHAPOO AND CHINKIANG-FOO—SCENES OF HORROR ENACTED AT THE LATTER.

It might be supposed that the severe lessons the Chinese had received, and their repeatedly proved incompetency to resist the English, would have taught them to abate their arrogant tone, and induce them to seek for peace. Such, however, was not the case; and the vaunting impotence of the imperial decrees became even more insolent than before. Instead of speaking of the English as an equal and powerful enemy, the celestial emperor described them as "rebels," who had dared to act contemptuously towards his dynasty; and at length proceeded to the absurd extent of decreeing their utter annihilation. "I, the emperor," said he, in an imperial edict, "now order Meenfang, and the great minister Hoo, to lead forth the army of 50,000 men, and most decidedly make a thorough extermination of the English rebels, in order to tranquillise the hearts of our people. But if you dare to be cowardly, and privately, of your own accord, proceed to make peace, most certainly will you be put to death. Let the two words 'make peace,' for ever after this find no place in your hearts, nor ever give them form by writing them out. If you both (Meenfang and Hoo) do not tremblingly carry out my imperial design, then are you not the son and minister of our realm. And should you dare to become tardy in your duties, and listen to their pretensions to make peace, I, the emperor, will place myself at the head of a mighty force, and most uncompromisingly make an end of English guilt. All the troops of Keelin,

Woolung, and Solun, will also hasten to assemble at the capital, that we may altogether advance and exterminate—not allowing so much as a bit of broken plank of the English to return: then will be laid aside my imperial resentment."

Other edicts followed, all expressing the impotent fury of the emperor, who declared that the indignation of both gods and men were aroused against the English barbarians: that he would treat all their solicitations for peace with utter scorn, and, collecting a great army, destroy their nests and dens (in England and India), and thus cut them off, both root and branch, allowing them not one foot of ground, in order that his imperial wrath might be appeased. Unable to wreak his vengeance on his foes, this eastern despot visited his own subjects with brutal and vindictive punishments. Keshen, the unfortunate Mandarin who had negotiated with the English, was accused of receiving bribes from them, and the emperor ordered him to be cut in sunder at the waist. The imperial savage also commanded all who officially attended Keshen, whether great or small, his relations, and all who appertained unto him, to be decapitated indiscriminately. He doomed another unhappy wretch, accused of traitorously combining with the English, to be put to death, by having his flesh cut from his bones in small bits; his native place also was to be laid waste, and his relatives sentenced to the penalty of transportation. The emperor also degraded

many of his Mandarins, and deprived every officer of the province of Canton of his official button, until they should make good their delinquencies by efficiency of effort.

The hostile operations against the Chinese were continued; but minutely to follow the movements against them would weary the reader, from its monotonous repetition of details of advance and particulars of flight. The exclusive system so long pursued by those who sway the destinies of the Chinese empire, of shutting out all whom they termed barbarians, together with the knowledge they had acquired and the discoveries they had made, now recoiled upon those who had pursued so senseless and suicidal a policy. China, uninfluenced by the knowledge and progress of more enlightened nations, ignorant of its own weakness, and holding, with a superstitious reverence, to ancient modes of art and warfare long since abandoned by more active-minded states, was, in the hour of trial, found to be almost defenceless. Pompous boastings and threats which they supposed their enemies would regard as awful, soon appeared in the light of amusing absurdities, when opposed to the bold movements of European warfare. The Chinese concluded that the preposterous language they had for ages considered to be appropriate in all their communications with representatives of the western world, had actually secured to their empire the omnipotence it assumed. More frankness and resolution on the part of the foreign ambassadors, might have undeceived the tea-growers and their government half a century sooner, and spared them the bitter mortification which they had now to experience. Their air-built castles and vanity-bred day-dreams of universal authority, were soon to burst and vanish like gaudy sun-painted bubbles blown by sportive children on a summer's day.

Urged forward to action by a fear of incurring the merciless anger of their emperor, the Chinese made a desperate effort to recover both Chin-hae and Ning-po, but with the usual result—repulse and considerable slaughter on their side, and comparative immunity from loss on that of the English. Attempts were then made to cut off the supplies of the latter, and thus reduce them by starvation. It was ascertained that a body of from three to four thousand men were encamped at a town called Tse-kee, about ten or eleven miles' distance from Ning-po. On the 15th of March, 1842,

General Gough sent a force of 1,500 men to disperse them. The Chinese were discovered drawn up in a position of some strength, and when they were attacked, displayed more determination than was usual with them. They were, however, defeated with a loss of five or six hundred men; while that of the English amounted but to three killed and twenty wounded,—a powerful instance, if any were needed, to show that the antiquated tactics of these Asiatic conservatives could never compete with the strength and science of European troops. It was understood that the force thus encountered was the *élite* of the Chinese army, and had been sent, under Commander Yih King, to “exterminate the barbarians.”

As nothing was to be gained by remaining at Ning-po, the expedition abandoned it on the 7th of May, and sailed for the river Tséentang, in order to attack the city of Chapoo. On the 18th the fleet opened a fire upon the place, and its defenders, though 10,000 strong, were soon overpowered. The town was carried with but little loss, and, as usual, the Chinese sought for safety in precipitate flight. A body of Tartar troops, consisting of about 300 men, on finding their retreat intercepted, threw themselves into a joss-house, and there fought desperately until the building, riddled by British bullets, fell in upon them. Forty of them surrendered, and seven were made prisoners; the rest perished miserably by bullet and bayonet. The squadron, after destroying the batteries, magazines, foundries, barracks, and other public buildings of Chapoo, sailed towards that part of the great Yank-tse-keang river where it is joined by the Woo-sung.

The astonishment and perplexity of the Chinese authorities was extreme as the unwelcome truth came with irresistible evidence upon their obtuse minds, that they were unable to crush the powerful foes whose anger they had so arrogantly provoked. The troops of the Celestial Empire were scattered in disgraceful flight before the forces of a distant, and, as they supposed, or affected to suppose, obscure nation; its cities were captured, and the edicts of the Son of Heaven set at defiance! The Chinese had already taxed their invention and resources to the uttermost, but without effect. The English captured some large pieces of cannon, which had received names indicative of the service they were intended to perform. One was called “the terror

and subduer of the barbarians;" while another was itself somewhat sportively termed "the barbarian." These engines were found to be as inefficient in extirpating the foe as the troops and war-junks of the empire had been; and some of the Mandarins who had been disposed to negotiate instead of to fight, were restored to the offices of which they had been angrily deprived. Elepoo, an old Mandarin, who had been superseded and disgraced for his mildness, was again entrusted with office, and sent to the scene of action. Some communications passed between him and the English officers in command of the expedition, with a view of terminating the quarrel without further hostilities: but Chinese arrogance was not yet sufficiently humbled; the conferences produced no result; and Sir Henry Pottinger, General Gough, and Admiral Parker, resolved to strike another blow, by taking possession of the great cities of Chin-Kiang-foo and Nankin.

It was felt by the English commanders that a blow must be struck at once, of a character so severe as to terminate the prevarication of the Chinese, and compel them to sue for peace. The combined armament now consisted of upwards of seventy sail, and carried 12,000 fighting men, of whom 9,000, including marines, were in the highest state of discipline. The naval brigade also comprehended 3,000 seamen, two-thirds of whom, when required, were available for land service. The fleet sailed from the anchorage off Woo-sung on the 6th of July, destroying some batteries at Sayshan on the 14th, and appeared in the river Yang-tse-keang, before Chin-Kiang-foo, on the 20th. This city stands about half a mile from the river. The northern and eastern sides face upon a range of steep hills, the western and southern on low ground, and the grand imperial canal serves in some measure as a wet ditch to these faces. To the westward, the suburb through which the canal passes extends to the river, and terminates under a precipitous hill, opposite to which, and within one thousand yards, is the island of Kinshan. It is not more than a few hundred yards in circumference, and by no means calculated for a military position; indeed, though called an island, it is a mere rock rising abruptly from the water. A small seven-storied pagoda crowns its summit, and a few temples and imperial pavilions, interspersed with trees and partly in ruins, occupied

only by Chinese priests, run round its base and up its sides.

On the morning of the 21st of July, the whole of the British troops were landed in brigades: the first under Major-general Lord Saltoun, the second under Major-general Bartley, and the third under Major-general Schoedde. The Chinese encampments in front of the city were soon attacked and destroyed by Lord Saltoun's men, who drove the enemy before them over the hills. Sir Hugh Gough then directed General Bartley to advance his troops against the south gate. The command was instantly obeyed, and the gate blown open by the explosion of bags of gunpowder attached to it. The men, however, on rushing in, found, after traversing a long archway, that the gate did not lead into the city, but only to an outwork of considerable extent. Fortunately, General Schoedde had previously taken possession of the inner gateway by scaling the city walls at the north angle, and having cleared the whole line of the ramparts to the westward, carried the inner gateway after an obstinate resistance. The Tartars fought with the fury of desperation; and the heat of the sun was so overpowering, that several of the English soldiers dropped dead from its effects. In consequence of this, the advance of the troops into the town was suspended until the evening, when the fierce heat and blinding rays of the sun had declined. The British pushed forward into the streets, and at almost every step terrible spectacles presented themselves. The city was nearly deserted; for all the respectable inhabitants and local authorities had fled. The streets and houses were encumbered with the ghastly burdens of the corpses of a vast number of men, women, and children; some of the latter, drowned or strangled, glared hideously with the fixed and sightless eyes of death, from the bottom of wells; for many of the Tartars, after destroying their wives and families, had committed suicide. Night prevented a close inspection of the city; and the poisonous odours, arising like a deathladen mist, from such numbers of corpses already fast decomposing from the effects of the sun, were so offensive, that General Schoedde and his troops, who were left to occupy the city, were compelled to retire to the adjoining heights commanding it.

The morrow dawned upon a frightful scene of desolation and misery. The rosy light of the unconscious sun revealed a

multitude of tragedies combined into one climax of revolting horror. The lately flourishing city was a spectacle of ruin; its blackened ramparts and blood-bedabbled streets covered with the bodies of the dying and the dead; the tramp of English soldiers mingled with the wails and moanings of those who yet lived; many of the finest buildings destroyed; and the main street of shops and the dwelling-houses near the gates were gutted by a horde of native marauders, who had commenced plundering even before the fierce tumult of the fight had ceased. These wretches, who during the night had carried off an enormous amount of property, must have made their escape, under cover of the darkness, through a gateway opening upon the south-east, at which a guard was not placed until the morning. Shortly after daybreak, armed parties were sent out to patrol the Tartar quarter in search of concealed soldiers, and to destroy the arsenals and depôts of military stores. Fatigue detachments were also employed in the gloomy but necessary duty of burying the dead, from whose remains the most offensive and dangerous exhalations were arising. The scenes witnessed by these men were of an appalling description. In the houses were seen whole families lying dead in groups, and stiffened in pools of congealed blood. The bodies of the little children, who had been sacrificed in the insane despair of their parents, were usually found lying in the chambers of the women, as if each father had assembled the whole of his family before consummating the shocking massacre. Many corpses of boys were lying grimly in the streets, amongst those of horses and soldiers; as if an alarm had been spread, and they had been stabbed while attempting to escape from their ruthless parents. In a few instances these poor little sufferers were found still breathing the morning after the assault, the tide of life ebbing slowly away as they lay writhing in the agony of a broken spine—a mode of destruction so cruel, that but for the most certain evidence of its reality, the shocked listener would refuse credence to the relation.

“In one of the houses,” wrote Major Ochterlony, himself a spectator of what he describes, “the bodies of seven dead and dying persons were found in one room, forming a group which, for loathsome horror, was perhaps unequalled. The house (evidently the abode of a man of some rank

and consideration), and the delicate forms and features of the sufferers, denoted them as belonging to the highest order of Tartars. On the floor, essaying in vain to put food with a spoon into the mouths of two young children extended on a mattress, writhing in the agonies of death, caused by the dislocation of their spines, sat an old decrepit man, weeping bitterly as he listened to the piteous moans and convulsive breathings of the poor infants, while his eye wandered over the ghastly relics of mortality around him. On a bed, near the dying children, lay the body of a beautiful young woman, her limbs and apparel arranged as if in sleep. She was cold, and had been long dead. One arm clasped her neck, over which a silk scarf was thrown, to conceal the gash in her throat which had destroyed her life. Near her lay the corpse of a woman somewhat more advanced in years, stretched on a silk coverlet, her features distorted, and her eyes open and fixed, as if she had died by poison or strangulation. There was no wound upon the body, nor any blood upon her person or clothes. A dead child, stabbed through the neck, lay near her; and in the veranda adjoining the room were the corpses of two more women, suspended from the rafters by twisted clothes wound round their necks. They were both young; one quite a girl, and her features, in spite of the hideous distortion produced by the mode of her death, retained traces of their original beauty, sufficient to show the lovely mould in which they had been cast. From the old man, who appeared, by his humble garb, to have been a servant or retainer of the family thus awfully swept away, nothing could be elicited as to the mode or authors of their death,—nothing but unintelligible signs of poignant distress. He was made to comprehend the object of the interring party, and at once testified the utmost satisfaction and gratitude for their humane interposition, assisting to carry the bodies down from the staircase into the court, where a shallow grave having been excavated beneath the pavement, he tenderly placed them in their sad resting-place; and having covered them with clothes, the stone slabs were replaced over their remains. The two dying children shortly afterwards breathed their last, and were interred beside the grave of their hopeless relatives. The old man remained in the now silent abode of his last chief, and was seen no more.” This is but one of

many scenes of horror enacted by the despairing Chinese, to save their wives and children from what they regarded as the profaning touch of the victors.

For some time the English were unable to ascertain what had become of Hailing, the Chinese general. Search had been made for him among the killed and wounded, but in vain. At length Mr. Morrisson, the English interpreter, met with a man who had acted as secretary to the Tartar chief, and who informed him that Hailing, having harangued his troops, and then led them against the enemy, returned to his house after the day was irretrievably lost, and calling for his secretary, desired him to bring his official papers into a small room adjoining an inner court of the building, where deliberately seating himself, and causing the papers, with a quantity of wood, to be piled up around him, he dismissed the secretary, set fire to the funeral pile, and perished in the flames. The tale was evidenced by the discovery of the apartment in which this strange example of barbarian and unavailing heroism had been enacted. The skull and partly-calcined bones of the general yet lay, amidst charred fragments of wood, on the paved flooring.

Leaving the desolate city of Chin-Kiang-foo, which had become rather a great graveyard, or charnel-house, than a dwelling-place for human beings, the squadron proceeded up the river Yang-tse-keang towards Nankin, off which city it anchored on the 9th of August. Nankin, or rather Nanking, which signifies "court of the south," is the ancient capital of China, and its popula-

tion is estimated at 400,000 persons. Its ancient walls can be traced, over hill and dale, for thirty-five miles; but since the transference of the seat of empire to Peking in the thirteenth century, the city has much declined, and the modern walls enclose scarcely more than an eighth part of the extent confined within the ancient ones. The famous porcelain tower, of which travellers have spoken so much, consists of seven stories, is 200 feet in height, and was built at a cost, it is said, of from seven to eight hundred thousand pounds. Nankin is the centre of a very extensive trade, and contains some important manufactures of crape, satin of the finest quality, paper, artificial flowers, Indian ink, and nankeen—from which latter substance it derives its name.

The city of Nankin appeared destined to become a prey to the horrors which had so recently devastated Chin-Kiang-foo. Every preparation had been made by the English for the attack; the ships were in position, and the troops ready to land. Happily for themselves, the Chinese succeeded in averting the blow; their pride was humbled, and they felt convinced of their inability to compete with those terrible invaders who seemed to them to be armed with almost superhuman powers. On the 17th of August, General Gough and Admiral Parker received a letter from Sir Henry Pottinger, the plenipotentiary, desiring them to suspend hostilities, as he was engaged negotiating with Keying, Elepoo, and Newkéen, Chinese officers of high rank, who had been appointed by the emperor as commissioners to treat for peace.

PEACE WITH CHINA, AND CONCILIATORY PROCEEDINGS.

THE British plenipotentiary claimed from the Chinese government a large sum of money to cover the expenses of the hostile measures that had been taken against it, and to reimburse the English merchants for the confiscated opium. He also demanded that certain ports should be open to British commerce, and a territorial concession granted in addition. It taxed the powers of the chief Chinese commissioner to invent language of a character that should render these demands even endurable to the emperor; but he got over this difficulty with much ingenuity. He represented that the barbarians at first *begged* for 30,000,000

dollars, but that he had achieved a great diplomatic victory in beating the stipulated sum down to 21,000,000. He added, that if they were soon enabled to order the men-of-war to retire, the advantages to China would be very great indeed. We quote the conclusion of the report of Keying to the emperor, as being one of the most unintentionally amusing state papers perhaps ever written:—"I, your servant, have examined and found what are the unwarrantable demands of the said barbarians, which they so importunately urge, and they are deserving of the utmost hatred. But, considering that they have already attacked

and laid in ruins Kingkow (and it is proved that not only the rivers, but Chinkeang it will be difficult to recover speedily), but I am apprehensive we shall be blocked up both on the north and south, which will be the heaviest calamity. The ships which formerly blockaded the entrances were far different from these, and great expense is unavoidable. As yet, our reputation is not lost. As to the extorted 21,000,000 dollars, they are to be reckoned at seven mace each of Sycee silver, which will amount to upwards of 11,700,000 taels. The Hong debts are 3,000,000 dollars, weighing 2,100,000 taels, which must be recovered from the Hong merchants of Canton, when a clear examination has been made. There still remains 12,600,000 taels. This year the first payment of 6,000,000 dollars has been made, equal to 4,200,000 taels. Now, 1,000,000 has already been carried to the account of the people and merchants of Keangsoo, which the officers must pay in the first instance; and, in time, money may be looked for the purchase of honours (buttons and peacock's feathers.) The remainder is to be cleared off in three years; not requiring 3,000,000 taels for each year. Moreover, the duties that the said nation will pay should be taken into account, which will shift the expenditure from the imperial family, and disputes will be prevented. Comparing one year's expenses of the army with the sum paid to the English, it is as three to ten; and *there is only the name of fighting, without the hope of victory.* It is better to adopt plans in accordance with circumstances, and put an everlasting stop to war. If we prepare our armies to regain the places already in their hands, it is a difficult matter to engage with them on the waters. Though near to each other, we have been idle (there has not been any fighting) for many days; and as to those places which they have taken and keep possession of, will it not be allowed them to return to us our territory, and allow them to trade, since they are willing respectfully to pay the duties? Just now they are sensible, and repent of their errors, and are as obedient as if driven by the wind; and when again united in mutual friendship, benevolence, and truth, all things will go on well. And since they will guard their own market, and surround and protect the sea boundaries, there will not be any necessity for recourse to our interference, which will be to the advantage of our country."

On the 29th of August, 1842, a treaty of peace was concluded between her majesty the Queen of England and the Emperor of China,—a treaty memorable as being the first in which the celestial potentate ever authorised his ministers to meet those of England, or of any other western nation, on a footing of equality. It consisted of twelve articles, the most important of which were the following:—That British subjects shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, Ning-po, and Shanghai: that the emperor of China pay to her Britannic majesty's officers and subjects the sum of 12,000,000 dollars on account of the expenses incurred by the war, from which any sum received by her majesty's combined forces, as ransoms for cities and towns in China, were to be deducted: that the total amount of 21,000,000 dollars claimed by the British, should be paid in instalments on stated dates, and that interest at the rate of five per cent. should be paid on any portion of the instalments not discharged at the periods fixed: that her Britannic majesty's chief high officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese high officers, under the term "communication;" the subordinate British officers, and Chinese high officers in the provinces, under the terms "statements," on the part of the former, and on the part of the latter, "declaration;" and the subordinates of both countries on a footing of perfect equality. This item was far more important than it seemed, as it set at rest the vexed question of superiority claimed by the Chinese in their intercourse with the British, and for ever settled all claim for the performance of such offensive ceremonies as the Ko-tou.* The last article guaranteed the retirement of the British forces from Nankin and the grand canal as soon as the Emperor of China gave his assent to the treaty, and the first instalment of the money was paid. All military posts were to be withdrawn, with the exceptions of the islands of Koolangsoo and Chusan, which were to be retained by the British forces until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports to British merchants were completed.

To show that the war had not been entered into for the purpose of compelling

* For an account of this barbarous and adulatory ceremony, see *ante*, page 247.

the Chinese to receive smuggled opium, as some of our dainty moralists sophistically asserted, but to teach the rulers of China that they could not haughtily set aside the laws of nations, and treat England as a feeble power that might be insulted with impunity, Sir Henry Pottinger issued a proclamation against the importation of opium by English merchants, stating "that any person who may take such a step will do so at his own risk, and will, if a British subject, meet with no support or protection from her majesty's consuls or other officers."

Peace being thus restored, the Chinese authorities accepted with a placid and not ungraceful dignity the state of things which had been forced upon them. Whatever might be their feelings, they at least appeared to desire that the fierce and angry passions which had been excited by the war should perish with it. Now that the contest was over, the English and Chinese plenipotentiaries and commanders associated together with great cordiality, and several complimentary visits and friendly banquets took place. An entertainment given to Keying, a Tartar general belonging to the imperial family, who had acted as principal commissioner for the restoration of peace, was regarded as peculiarly interesting. In the centre of the apartment, the imperial standard of China floated beside the banner of England. Over the doorways were hung appropriate mottoes in Chinese, on crimson silk, expressive of the good understanding existing between the two nations—a circumstance with which (it being in accordance with their own customs) the Chinese visitors expressed themselves much gratified. General Gough gave as the first toast—"The Queen of England and the Emperor of China; and may the happy relations subsisting between the two countries be productive of increased commerce and prosperity to both." In a second toast the general addressed himself particularly to Keying, and after expressing the honour and gratification he felt at receiving him on that occasion, said, that being born and bred a soldier like himself, it was not his intention to occupy much time with unnecessary compliments, but simply to assure him that he gave him, with all sincerity, a soldier's welcome, and felt satisfied there was that professional sympathy between them that would lead him to accept it with corresponding cordiality. The British gen-

eral thus concluded:—"I must not forget the high representative and diplomatic capacity in which his excellency is now among us, or the great objects of commercial union and peace he has come here to consolidate. In that capacity, therefore, and as the representative of the highest authority in China, I beg leave to propose his health—the health of Keying, the enlightened statesman, and who, alike the friend of England and of China, has taught us to respect him for his political talents, as we value him for his social qualities." Keying listened with great attention, and appeared anxious to have every sentence fully translated. On the applause with which the toast had been drunk subsiding, he replied, with much readiness, to the effect, that though his talents had been greatly overrated, the general had only done justice to his sincerity; for he could assure him, on the faith of a Tartar soldier, while he had any voice in the affairs of China, the peace and prosperity of both countries would be always the objects nearest to his heart. He then gave his hand to Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Pottinger with earnest good-will, as if anxious by this act to convey at once his public feelings and his personal acknowledgments.

Even after this, hostilities threatened to break out again. In the September of 1841, the *Nerbudda* transport was wrecked on the coast of Formosa, and of those who escaped and reached the shore many were murdered by the Chinese; and the others, after being brutally ill-treated, were put in irons and confined in the common gaols like felons. At the peace, one of their number (a Swede) stated, that nearly the whole of these unfortunate men, amounting to about 200, had been murdered in confinement. Sir Henry Pottinger, on receiving this revolting tidings, demanded satisfaction from the emperor for such an outrage upon humanity. He claimed that the authors of the false representation by which that potentate had been induced to sanction the execution of the victims, should be immediately punished; and even then, he added, he was not prepared to say that hostilities would not be renewed when intelligence of the horrible transaction should reach Great Britain. The emperor ordered an inquiry to be made, the result of which was, that Takungah, the governor of Formosa, was degraded, and also ordered to repair to Peking, there to be handed over

to the board of punishment. Others who had participated in the murders were deprived of their decorations, though their crime was not adequately visited.

In England, many people felt that though we were inevitably led to humble the insolence of the Chinese, we were in the wrong as far as the commencement of the quarrel was concerned. These views were thus expressed in a memorial on the subject, signed by 200 of the leading mercantile firms in the principal towns of England and Scotland:—"That our commerce with China cannot be conducted on a permanently safe and satisfactory basis so long as the contraband trade in opium is permitted. This is proved by the persevering resistance of the Chinese government to the introduction of that drug into the empire, by the amount of complaint and irritated negotiation to which at various times it has given rise, and by the manner in which it has long been carried on in armed vessels, with an audacity which rendered it necessary for the Chinese government to interfere; and produced, in the opinion of the late superintendent, a state of things in which 'serious accidents, and sudden and indefinite interruptions to the regular trade, must always be probable events;' and which led him to warn Lord Palmerston, several years ago, that though the trade was proceeding tranquilly at present, 'the vast opium deliveries at Whampoa, under extremely hazardous circumstances, might certainly at any time produce some grave dilemma.'"

It was feared that possibly the Chinese might be treacherously endeavouring to lull the English into security by pacific professions, with the intention of rising against them when the latter would be unprepared for resistance; and that, consequently, peace might again give way to hostilities. Fortunately, it turned out otherwise; reflection had shown the impolicy of treachery; or the impression made by the English was such, that there was no occasion to call in question the good faith of the Chinese. Sir Henry Pottinger did his best to preserve the newly-engendered feeling of respectful amity, by endeavouring to make it understood, that if the English were powerful enemies, they were also frank and generous friends. He issued a second proclamation prohibiting the smuggling of opium, and expressive of his determination, by every means at his disposal, to see the provisions of the commercial treaty fulfilled

by all who chose to engage in future commerce with China. Keying replied, on behalf of the imperial government, by a proclamation in a similar spirit:—"Henceforth, then," it said, "the weapon of war shall for ever be laid aside, and joy and profit shall be the perpetual lot of all; neither slight nor few will be the advantages reaped by the merchants alike of China and of foreign countries. From this time forward, all must free themselves from prejudices and suspicions, pursuing each his proper avocations, and careful always to retain no inimical feelings from the recollection of the hostilities that have before taken place; for such feelings and recollections can have no other effect than to hinder the growth of a good understanding between the two people." It must be admitted that this language exhibited more of a generous desire to forget the past, and of a spirit of high philosophical forbearance, than was to have been expected under the circumstances. Keying seems to have felt the full force of a sentiment uttered by the greatest of our poets:—

"Things without remedy should be without regard;
What's done is done."

The disciple of Confucius was tinged with the poetic philosophy of Shakspeare

The amicable relations thus restored seemed rather to be strengthened by the recent hostilities. The terrors of war had taught the Chinese to respect those whom they had hitherto despised. "It's wonderful," said Sir Lucius O'Trigger, "how much I like a man after I have fought with him." The observation reveals a profound truth, applicable alike to nations as to men; for that which is true of the latter, is also true of the former. In the month of May, 1843, the Emperor of China testified his newborn respect for the Queen of England by a truly imperial present. It consisted of some golden bedsteads and a quantity of silk of a kind never hitherto seen in Europe; two ear-drops, each worth a thousand pounds; and a shawl, containing on it, in needlework, a delineation of every kind of beast known to the Chinese; besides fourteen large cases, each weighing fourteen hundredweight; and a small box of jewellery. Not only was the intrinsic value of the present worthy of being sent from one powerful sovereign to another, but the gift was the more welcome as being a mute exponent of the altered feelings it represented.

DISPUTE BETWEEN TURKEY AND EGYPT.

WHILE the events just related were proceeding in China, the English government became implicated in a dispute in which the balance of power in Europe was concerned, and which led to her making another warlike demonstration in the East; the theatre of operations being, in this instance, Syria and Egypt.

The latter country, presumed to be the earliest civilised state in the world, had for ages degenerated from its ancient grandeur and power; and after 2,000 years of foreign domination, it was subjected by the Turks in the 16th century, and became a province of the Ottoman empire. Since the decline of Turkish power, it not unfrequently happened that the pasha of an extensive province felt himself strong enough to rule independently of the Sublime Porte, and even to set it at defiance. We have now to relate an incident of this kind, which not only led to the interference of England, but even threatened to plunge Europe into a general war.

The resolute and talented sultan, Mahmoud the Second, regarded Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, with suspicion and dislike. To show that he had solid grounds for doing so, we will briefly trace the principal events of the strangely romantic career of that distinguished man. Mehemet Ali was born in 1769, at Cavallo in Roumelia, of poor and obscure parents. While yet young he left them, and began his career as a dealer in tobacco; but as commerce was not the field most fitted for an ambitious and subtle nature, he soon abandoned it, and entered the army. When the French invaded Egypt, Ali was sent to that country at the head of a body of Albanians; and after the evacuation of the French, he made himself extremely useful to Kourschid Pasha, the governor of Egypt. Kourschid was unpopular with the Mamelukes, and disliked by his own soldiers; and the scheming and capable Mehemet soon began to see an opening for himself. The pasha became jealous, and endeavoured to get rid of his over-active servant. It was too late; Mehemet had gained over his countrymen to his interest, and soon contrived, with the assistance of the Mamelukes, to depose the pasha, and assume that dignity himself. Though many efforts were made to remove the adventurer, his own talents and the

weakness of the Turkish government, enabled him to keep his position. Apparently the most submissive of pashas, he yet always contrived to gain his point in any controversy with the Porte; and every effort to displace him only left him more powerful than before. In 1811, he contrived a treacherous massacre of the Mamelukes—a savage act, but one by which he seated himself more firmly in his hitherto insecure position. Shortly afterwards, with the assistance of a French officer, he set to work to raise an army, and discipline it on the European model; a task which, with his usual energy, he accomplished in the face of enormous difficulties. He contrived to win the favour of the sultan by subduing the Wahabees, a reforming sect of military Arabs, who had captured Mecca and Medina, plundered the caravans, and put a stop to the pilgrimages of the faithful. In the several campaigns which he undertook against these wild warriors, his two sons, Tousson and Ibrahim, greatly distinguished themselves. The sultan acknowledged this service by bestowing upon Ibrahim the pashalic of the holy cities; but the restless Mehemet Ali pushed his arms further, and contrived to get possession of the most valuable parts of the coast of Arabia. In 1824, he again assisted the sultan by sending a powerful army and fleet, under his son Ibrahim, to Greece, to assist in crushing the insurrection there; but, as we have related, the great European powers interfered, his fleet was destroyed at the battle of Navarino, and not more than half his army returned to Egypt. The Turkish government endeavoured to console Mehemet for this reverse, by conferring upon him the government of Candia.

From that period until 1831, the far-seeing pasha occupied himself in the improvement of his country, in the execution of public works, and in carrying out numerous reforms. His endeavour to restore the ancient grandeur of Egypt, and raise it to a considerable military and naval power, led him to set on foot many stern and tyrannical conscriptions. This, and his haughty disregard of the feelings and interests of his subjects on all other matters where his own desires were concerned, induced many of them to abandon their country and take refuge in Syria, where they were received

into the protection of Abdallah Pasha. Though under considerable obligations to Mehemet Ali, this man disregarded all his remonstrances; and the active Ali, in November, 1831, dispatched a well-appointed army of 40,000 men, with a squadron of five sail of the line and several frigates, to Acre, or St. Jean d'Acre, a fortified city and seaport of Syria. This expedition was under the command of his son Ibrahim, who crossed the desert, laid siege to Acre, and after a period of six months, took it by storm. Abdallah Pasha was made prisoner and sent to Egypt, where, however, he was honourably treated, and, by this conquest, the power of Mehemet extended into Syria.

The jealousy of the sultan was aroused; he commanded Mehemet to withdraw his troops from Syria, and raised an army to enforce his mandate, in the probable event of its being disputed. Mehemet would not submit: his ambition had been fostered by success; and he resolved not only to retain Acre, but to extend his authority over Syria. Ibrahim defeated the troops of the sultan in several encounters, and the latter became seriously alarmed for the stability of his throne. In this emergency Russia, ever ready to interpose in the affairs of Turkey, offered assistance to the sultan, and Ibrahim considered it wise to enter into a treaty, which, although it saved the Turkish empire from destruction, surrendered the pashalic of Adona and the whole of Syria to Mehemet Ali and his son.*

In 1838, the powerful Mehemet Ali resolved to free himself altogether from allegiance to the sultan, and refused any longer to pay tribute to the Porte. Mahmoud would not resign his provinces without another struggle, and he made an effort to reduce Mehemet to obedience, and to recover Syria by threatening that district with a large army, assembled on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Mehemet directed his

son Ibrahim to concentrate his forces near Aleppo, but at the same time to guard against venturing upon any aggressive movement.

The European powers viewed this state of affairs with much uneasiness. France and England anticipated the probable defeat of the sultan's forces; and fearing that a Russian army would be sent to protect the Turkish government—a service for which Russia would exact an usurious territorial payment when the time came,—the ministers of each of these powers sent instructions to their ambassadors to do everything within their means to prevent hostilities between the Porte and Egypt. Mehemet Ali acted with a real or assumed moderation; but the fiery sultan expressed his determination to punish his rebellious vassal, and issued a manifesto, which declared that Mehemet, the viceroy of Egypt, and his son Ibrahim, were deprived of all their dignities; and Hafiz Pasha, the generalissimo of the Turkish army, was named as the successor of Mehemet in the government of Egypt. This sentence of deposition was followed by a formal declaration of war, and a fleet of thirty-five sail was sent to act against the refractory viceroy. The fleet departed for Egypt; and the Turkish army, consisting of from thirty to forty thousand men, crossed the Euphrates and encountered Ibrahim Pasha, who had a force of about equal power, on the 24th of June, 1839. The battle of Nezib followed. Hafiz Pasha was utterly defeated; 6,000 Turks were killed or wounded in the sanguinary struggle, and 10,000 remained prisoners in the hands of the victorious Ibrahim; the *matériel* of the Ottoman army, including 104 pieces of artillery, became the spoil of the Egyptians; and the residue of the host of the sultan retreated, and recrossed the borders. The stern, impetuous, and revengeful Mahmoud, was spared the profound humiliation which

* Sir Charles Napier (who presently figures in this narrative) had an interview with Mehemet Ali at Alexandria, in the year 1840, and he gave the following description of this remarkable personage:—"On entering the reception-room of Mehemet Ali, which is in the old palace, we were most graciously received. The pasha, in a short dress, was standing surrounded by his officers, and free admission seems to have been given to Franks of all description. After a few compliments on both sides, the pasha walked to a corner of the room, and seated himself on his divan. Pipes and coffee were called for, and we smoked away for a considerable time, as if we had been the best friends in the world. . . . The pasha is a man of low stature, is a good deal

marked with the smallpox, his complexion sallow, his eyes quick and penetrating. He wears a fine white beard; and when in good humour, has a most fascinating manner; but when out of temper, his eyes sparkle, he raises himself up in his corner, and soon convinces you he is much easier led than driven. He is easy of access, and indeed fond of gossiping; and seems to be informed of everything that is either said or done in Alexandria. He has many friends among the Franks; and when he takes a liking, the man's fortune is made. He has built a very handsome palace, and furnished it with taste. Opposite the palace is the harem, where his wife resides; but the old gentleman has given up his visits to that establishment."

the news of this event would have forced upon him. His health had been declining for some time, and he was no longer numbered among the living when the fatal news reached Constantinople. He died on the 1st of July, 1839, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was succeeded on his

shaken throne by his son Abdul-Medjid Khan, the present sultan, then a retiring youth, only seventeen years of age. A relation of these particulars, which we have briefly and rapidly run over, are necessary, that the part which England took in this eastern dispute may be understood.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

THE young sultan appointed Kosrew Pasha as grand vizier, and, not yet having been informed of the battle of Nezib, sent orders to suspend the march of the imperial army, and forwarded to Mehemet Ali an offer of pardon, with the hereditary possession of the province of Egypt, if he would return to dutiful obedience. Before the latter message could reach Alexandria, Achmet, the Capitan Pasha, or Turkish admiral, treacherously carried over the fleet under his command to Mehemet Ali, asserting, as a cover for his traitorous conduct, that Kosrew, the new vizier, had poisoned the late sultan at the instigation of Russia, and that he had applied to Mehemet for assistance to revenge so foul a transaction. By this defection, the wily Egyptian viceroy was placed in an unexpectedly favourable position, and the young sultan left comparatively helpless. With his customary cunning, Mehemet forwarded a letter of congratulation and submission to Abdul-Medjid, but he laid claim to all the dominions then in his possession, and required that they should be secured to his posterity. He also assured the European ambassadors at Alexandria that he had no intention of using the Turkish fleet against the Porte, but that he would restore it if the conditions he proposed were accepted.

The young sultan was disposed to comply with the demands of the powerful pasha, when the five great powers of Europe interfered. They announced to the Ottoman government that they had agreed to discuss together and settle the question, and they invited the Divan to suspend its decision, and confide in the benevolent disposition of the mediating powers. Unfortunately, a difference of opinion on the subject existed between the great powers themselves. England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia thought it desirable to support the authority of the sultan; while France, influenced by M. Thiers, was inclined to support Mehemet

Ali in his aggressive conduct towards the Porte. M. Thiers, animated by a bitter animosity towards England, declared that any attempt to coerce the pasha would produce from France an immediate declaration of war. All the great powers were of opinion that it was desirable to maintain the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, but they were not unanimous as to the means to be adopted for securing that object. The other great powers intimated to France that if she found it impossible to act with them, it must not give her surprise if they took upon themselves to act without her. This heightened the unhappy irritation of the French people against England, and M. Thiers seriously contemplated hostilities with this country, with the view of "trampling upon the treaties of 1814."

After much wearisome discussion, a memorial in the name of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was addressed to Mehemet Ali on the 19th of August, 1840. It was composed on the prudent consideration that if war was once kindled, it was impossible to say to what point it would not ultimately extend; and the pasha was therefore earnestly dissuaded from provoking that interference on their part which might lead to hostilities. This document is of so interesting a character, and throws so much light upon a rather intricate question, that we shall quote a considerable portion of it:—"What can be more glorious for the pasha than to create a new line of succession; to see it acknowledged by his sovereign, and by all Europe?—what a consolation would it be to be able to say, at the close of a brilliant career, 'What I have created will descend to my posterity, to my children, from whom no one can take it away!' In our days, it is no longer the territorial extent, nor even the material force of a state which constitutes its happiness and security; it is the more solid guarantees of treaties

which establish its integrity, by causing it to enter into the political system of Europe. It is thus, that casting our eyes on the map, many small states, without resources, are there found bordering upon the most powerful empires; they have no injustice nor oppression to dread; all Europe watches over their honour and their security. Such guarantees once obtained, of what importance is it to Mehemet Ali, or to his descendants, to acquire some districts more, which have hitherto been of no use to him, and the possession of which has not only exhausted their own resources, but, in addition, the greater part of the resources of Egypt? The viceroy knows better than any body, the sacrifices in men and money which the occupation of Syria and Arabia has cost him. This is not all. In the place of the differences which have unhappily existed between the Ottoman Porte and his highness, there would be sincere friendship and union, founded upon the identity of their political interests and of their creed. The Mussulman nation would regain its former strength and prosperity; if at any time (which God forbid!) the integrity of the Ottoman empire were threatened from without, Turkey might reckon upon the support of Egypt, and Egypt upon that of Turkey, for the defence of the common country. The personal interest of Mehemet Ali, and that of his family, the fate of the inhabitants of Egypt, and that of the Mussulman nation, the wishes for the integrity and prosperity of the Ottoman empire, of which he has always declared himself the most zealous defender,—all, in a word, enjoin the viceroy to accept most honourable conditions, and which are more advantageous than would be a mere extension of territory, precarious and expensive to maintain. Mehemet Ali would still have before him a very glorious and brilliant career: being entirely at ease with regard to the fate of his possessions, he would be able to devote all his energies and all his efforts to the consolidation of the noble institutions established by him in Egypt. The rich countries of Nubia, of Soudan, and of Senaar, present a wide field for the triumphs of science and civilisation. It is thus that Mehemet Ali would acquire the name of regenerator of Egypt, the ancient cradle of knowledge. Let us turn to the other alternative, that of a refusal to accept the conditions of the convention. One immediate consequence of such a refusal would

be the employment of coercive measures. The viceroy is too enlightened, and too well acquainted with the means and resources which the four powers have at their disposal, to flatter himself for one moment that he could, by his feeble means, offer resistance to one or other of them. To reckon upon foreign support, under the present circumstances, would be but to cherish a vain hope. Who could stay the decisions of the four great powers?—who would dare to brave them? Who would be willing to sacrifice his own interests for those of another—to compromise his own safety, out of pure sympathy for Mehemet Ali? Besides, what real advantage could result therefrom? It would provoke a general struggle, in which the viceroy would be the first sacrifice, and in which he must inevitably fall; far from being of advantage to him, such an interference in his favour would only hasten his downfall, which would then have become certain. The four great powers will put forth forces more than sufficient to combat every opposition which may be made to the execution of the convention. On Mehemet Ali alone would rest all the responsibility of a war; he would have been the cause of the intervention, and of the presence of European troops in Egypt and in Asia. The Mussulman people will know that he is the author of the evils of a war undertaken purely for his personal interests. Mehemet Ali has threatened to spill much blood before giving way. The European powers, on the contrary, are desirous to spare as much as possible the blood of the Mussulmans, and that of the Christians arrayed under the banners of the Sublime Porte. Forces sufficient to render all resistance impossible, and to annihilate it at one blow, will be directed to the quarter where there shall be occasion for them. Can there be a doubt that the viceroy will be overcome, and will it be with glory? No! for there is no glory in falling through one's own fault, in consequence of blind rashness, and by engaging in a desperate struggle. But there would be glory and wisdom in yielding to necessity, and in bending to the force of circumstances. And if Mehemet Ali is overcome, will his name descend to posterity? No! for his conquests have not thrown the world into confusion, like those of Ghengis Khan, of Tamerlane, of Alexander, and of Napoleon. History will say, 'There was, under the sultan Mahmoud, a pasha of Egypt, a man of striking

character, of genius, and of courage; he was successful against his sovereign. The young successor of Mahmoud, immediately on ascending the throne of his ancestors, stretched forth his hand to Mehemet Ali, in order to offer him the first honours of the empire, as well as peace and harmony. The pasha rejected these offers with disdain; it was then that Europe declared herself against Mehemet Ali; he fell; his name will be lost among those of so many other rebel and vanquished pashas who preceded him.' In refusing to accept the convention, Mehemet Ali might, perhaps, flatter himself with the chimerical hope, that the powers will not employ with vigour and energy the measures necessary for carrying into execution the convention of the 15th of July. Even admitting this, which is impossible, what would follow from it? Could the viceroy flatter himself thus

to obtain the continuance of the *status quo*? But what state is there which, with the sword of the great powers constantly suspended over it, its commerce annihilated, and its communications cut off, would be able to support such a state of things? Mehemet Ali may sacrifice his own interests and those of his family to inordinate self-love, to destructive views, and to boundless ambition. He may carry fire and sword into the heart of Asia Minor, desolation throughout the Mussulman nation; he may menace the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and thus provoke the intervention of foreign troops; but he will not do so with impunity. Should Ibrahim Pasha advance, his retreat will be for ever cut off; he will find certain defeat, perhaps a tomb, in Anatolia, and will involve, in his fall, that of Mehemet Ali and all his family."

HOSTILITIES AGAINST THE EGYPTIANS—STORMING OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE, AND RESTORATION OF PEACE.

ON the 15th of July a convention was signed at London by the ministers of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, without the concurrence of France. At this meeting it was resolved to offer the following *ultimatum* to Mehemet Ali—namely, that the pashalic of St. Jean d'Acre should be secured to him for life, in addition to the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt, on his restoring the Turkish fleet, and surrendering Syria to the sultan. It was added, that if he failed to give his assent to this arrangement within ten days, the sovereignty of Egypt alone would be conceded to him; and that if he still held out, force would be used to subdue his opposition. Mehemet hesitated, and the offended sultan pronounced his formal deposition. On this the pasha, who was prepared for the struggle, came to the conclusion to resist to the utmost; but, with his usual air of moderation, declared, that though he would repel force by force, he would not be the aggressor.

The European powers at once resolved to restrain the turbulent pasha. An allied English and Austrian fleet, under the command of Sir Robert Stopford and Admiral Banderia, consisting of three English ships of the line, a frigate and two steamers, besides two Austrian frigates and a schooner, were dispatched to Alexandria in the sum-

mer of 1840, and the ports of Syria and Egypt declared to be in a state of blockade. On the 12th of August the squadron anchored at Beyrout, a small town on the Syrian coast, surrounded by a wall, with a few weak turrets mouldering to ruins, and mounting only a few guns. Two forts added to the defence of the town, and served as magazines for arms, ammunition, and provisions. On the 11th of September, the allied admirals, whose squadron was much augmented by British vessels, demanded the surrender of the town, and desired Souliman Pasha, the Egyptian general, to withdraw his troops from it. As that officer would not give an immediate reply, a heavy fire was opened on the forts; but the town was spared as much as possible. The following morning, Souliman addressed a letter to the allied admirals, in which he observed:—"For the sake of killing five of my soldiers, you have ruined and brought families into desolation; you have killed women, a tender infant and its mother, an old man, two unfortunate peasants, and doubtless many others whose names have not reached me; and, far from slackening the fire of your ships, when my soldiers (who did not once fire) fell back on the town across the inhabited country of Beyrout, your fire became more vigorous,

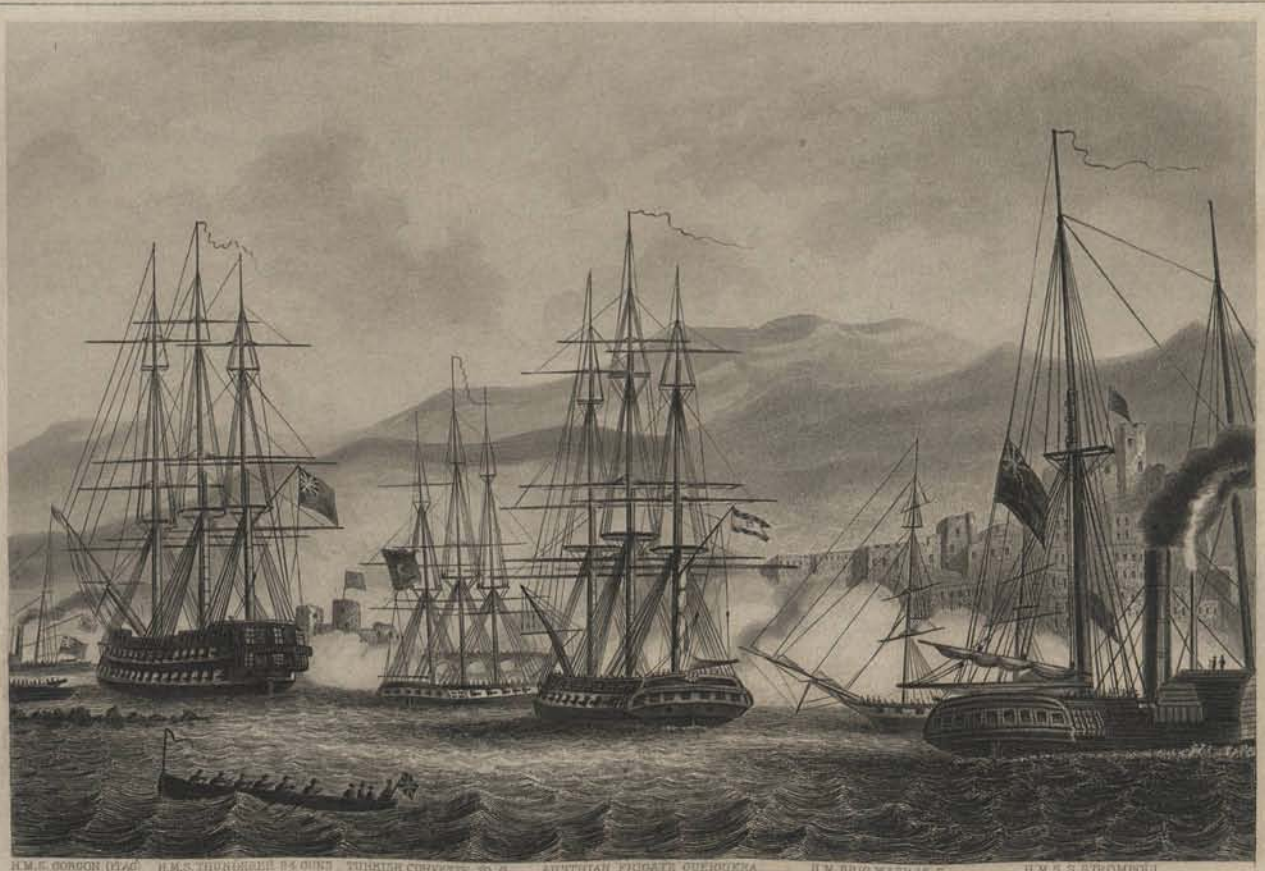
and also more destructive to the unfortunate peasants than to my soldiers. You appear decided to make yourselves masters of the town, notwithstanding that the question would remain as before. If the fortune of war prove adverse to me, Beyrout shall only fall into your power when reduced to cinders. Mehemet Ali alone can give you an answer." Not wishing to proceed to extremities, the squadron was withdrawn on the 16th, with the exception of the *Edinburgh* and the *Hastings*, which ships occasionally kept up a fire on the town.

A force landed from the ships, headed by Commodore Napier, intrenched themselves at D'Jounie, where being joined by 3,000 Syrian mountaineers, they presented a force of 12,000 men. With these the city of Sidon was taken by storm on the 26th of September, and the Egyptian garrison of the castle, consisting of nearly 3,000 men, made prisoners. The loss of the allies was very trifling. Though some disorder took place, Sidon was not subjected to those barbarities which usually occur after a town is taken by storm. The conduct of the English marines, the Austrians, and the Turks, is described as admirable. The day before Sidon was taken, Captain Houston Stewart, with the *Benbow*, *Carysfort*, and *Zebra*, attacked Tortosa; but though his officers and men displayed great gallantry, they experienced a severe loss, and were beaten off in consequence of the boats grounding upon an unknown reef. On the 10th of October, this trifling reverse was immeasurably repaid. Ibrahim Pasha, with an army of 14,000 Egyptians, engaged the allies, under Commodore Napier, at Boharsof, at the foot of Mount Lebanon. Ibrahim's troops were completely routed and dispersed in all directions, leaving their baggage, ammunition, and provisions behind, besides about 600 prisoners. Ibrahim himself was swept along in the dense mass of terror-stricken soldiers, and night alone put an end to the pursuit.

The Egyptians felt that they were engaged in a struggle with an enemy with whom they were unable to compete. Before the end of October, the Egyptian force at Tripoli, consisting of about 4,000 men, blew up the magazine in the castle, and abandoned the city. It was soon afterwards taken possession of by the Syrian mountaineers, and the Egyptians retired by the road of Balbeck, destroying the villages in their retreat. Almost at the same time

Latakia and the passes of Adana were abandoned, and the garrisons retired on Aleppo. Ibrahim had collected his discomfited troops at Zachle and Damascus; but, as far as he was concerned, all chance of active operations seemed at an end.

It was the intention of the allies to attack the famous fortress of St. Jean d'Acre; but during a lull in the proceedings of the admirals, Commodore Napier paid a visit to the Emir Becher, grand prince of Lebanon. The old man, who was seated cross-legged in an apartment of his château, smoking his pipe, rose and embraced the commodore, whom he addressed as his friend and protector, for coming to release the mountaineers from the oppression of Mehemet Ali. On leaving, a painful incident occurred, which we will relate in the language of the commodore:—"A sad accident clouded our otherwise pleasant journey. The mountaineers are good horsemen, and fond of showing off whenever a little flat-ground allows them to exhibit their dexterity in firing their muskets and pistols, and throwing the *d'jerred* at full gallop, reloading in an incredible short time. The young prince and several of his attendants, seeing an opportunity for display, set off at full gallop; one of his men, close behind him, amused himself by throwing his musket in the air, to show his dexterity in catching it; it unexpectedly went off, and shot out both the prince's eyes. The poor lad fell instantly from his horse, and when we came up, he was indeed in a most pitiable condition; his eyes hanging out of their sockets, and streaming with blood; he himself, unconscious of what had happened, was pulling them out with his fingers, and it was with great difficulty that I could persuade him to desist, and allow them to be bandaged. What an awful visitation was this! A few minutes before, this youth was full of life and spirits, the heir to the ruling prince,—in one moment plunged into eternal darkness. His poor attendant, who had accidentally done the deed, hung over him more dead than alive; the poor fellow seemed to suffer more than the prince himself, who was nearly unconscious. We were three leagues from the first village, and with great difficulty succeeded in getting him there, carried in one of our cloaks. I rode on to Beyrout, and dispatched an English surgeon to his assistance. His sight, as I expected, proved to be gone for ever; but youth, and the strength of his constitution, in a few



H.M.S. GOSCON 1740 H.M.S. THUNDERER 94 GUNS TURKISH CORVETTE 20 G AMERICAN FRIGATE OUREGONA H.M. BIRD WASP 16 G H.M.S. S. BROMBOLL

ATTACK ON SIDON,
BY
COMMODORE CHARLES NAPIER.

W. W. Terry

G. Cranch

months healed his wounds, and otherwise restored him to perfect health."

On returning to Beyrout, Sir Charles Napier found a steamer had arrived from England, bringing with it orders for the attack of Acre. This ancient and famous fortress was, for a length of time, deemed impregnable; and in 1799, the greatest soldier of the age (Napoleon) laid siege to it in vain. When the distinguished Egyptian general, Ibrahim Pasha, laid siege to it in 1831, it held out for six months, during which time 20,000 shells and 200,000 shots were thrown into the town, and the garrison ultimately surrendered, only in consequence of a want of water. When it had fallen into the hands of the Egyptians, Mehemet Ali employed vast numbers of labourers to make it a fortress of the first order towards the land side; but much remained to be done when the British and Austrian squadron arrived before it.

On the 2nd of November, the allies anchored at some distance from the fortress towards Mount Carmel. The English fleet consisted of the *Gorgon*, *Stromboli*, *Phœnix*, and *Vesuvius*, which were war-steamers (this being the first time these terrible floating fortresses had been used in warfare), seven line-of-battle ships—namely, the *Princess Charlotte* (bearing Admiral Stopford's flag), the *Powerful* (bearing the broad blue pennant of Sir Charles Napier, who commanded on this occasion), the *Bellerophon*, the *Revenge*, the *Thunderer*, the *Edinburgh*, and *Benbow*, together with the *Castor*, *Pique*, *Carysfort*, *Talbot*, *Wasp*, and *Hazard*.

The bombardment began on the following day, the 3rd of November. About one o'clock the *Powerful*, followed by the *Princess Charlotte*, *Thunderer*, *Bellerophon*, and *Pique*, bore up and ran along shore towards the north angle of the fortress, the bow guns of the *Powerful* being fired to prevent the Egyptians from pointing their cannon with accuracy. Captain Collier, of the *Castor*, at the same time led the southern division of the attacking vessels into position. The Egyptians opened fire, but they had not the range, and their shot passed considerably over their foes. The British vessels passed the circular redoubt, and anchored about 700 yards from the sea-wall, which was defended by forty guns. As each ship anchored, she opened a terrific fire against the fortress. "The shot," said Sir Charles Napier, "were so well directed, that the bravest men of the bravest nation in the

world could not have resisted; no wonder, then, that the Egyptians were soon thrown into disorder." Only five of their guns were well served, and these, from being pointed too high, did little more than damage the spars and rigging of the attacking vessels. While a fearful storm of fire and iron was poured against the west face of the fortress, Captain Collier, supported by the Austrian and Turkish vessels, rained down destruction on the south. The Turkish admiral even ran inside of all the squadron, and took up a dangerous position in front of a new and very strong work. The Egyptians exhibited considerable resolution, and for two hours the thunder of both ships and fortress roared incessantly; but then came the incident that decided the fortune of the day. An awful crash took place, which seemed to shake both earth and heaven, and for a time suspended the wild conflict. Men stood motionless at their guns, and, as the dense clouds of smoke rolled heavily away, gazed eagerly at each other, as if mutely to inquire what had happened. The grand magazine of the fortress had blown up, and the consequences were most appalling. Men, guns, and huge fragments of masonry were hurled upwards, and many a poor mangled wretch expired in the air. Others were buried in the casemates or beneath the ruins, and if not at once crushed to death, perished slowly from starvation or gradual suffocation. It is supposed that not less than from 1,200 to 2,000 persons perished by this explosion.

The appalled Egyptian garrison still continued the struggle, though with diminished heart and means. The five guns, to which we before alluded, sustained their fire with spirit to the last. At dusk a signal was made to discontinue the engagement, but an occasional firing was kept up until a considerable time after dark, to prevent the Egyptians remanning their guns. This they were either not in a position or humour to do; for, shortly after midnight, the governor abandoned the town, and took the greatest part of the garrison with him. The walls were not breached; and it is the opinion of the assailants that the struggle might have been protracted considerably. The number of the Egyptians who left the town was unknown, nor was their loss ascertained. It must have been great, as a whole battalion, which was formed near the magazine, ready to resist any attempt to storm, was

entirely destroyed. The town itself was almost beaten to pieces, and in most parts of it lay mournful numbers of sick and wounded wretches, quite neglected, and dying in dreary, unsoothed misery, for want of a little attention. On the morning of the 4th, the town and fortress were taken possession of by the allied forces in the name of the sultan. Seven hundred Egyptians and two officers also came in with their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition was found in the fortress. The entire loss of the allies did not amount to more than eighteen killed and forty-one wounded.

Mehemet Ali soon became convinced that his dreams of conquest were impracticable. Garrison after garrison surrendered; and his disheartened troops deserted in such numbers, that his army, lately 76,000 strong, was soon reduced to 25,000 men. The Syrian tribes, and the garrison and inhabitants of Jerusalem, returned to their allegiance to the sultan. At the desire of Mehemet Ali a suspension of hostilities was granted, and the English government recommended that if the Egyptian viceroy would make his submission to the sultan, restore the Turkish fleet, and withdraw his troops from Syria, that the sultan should not only reinstate him as pasha, but make that dignity hereditary in his family. Mehemet Ali, being not without fear that Alexandria might share the fate of Acre, was willing to accept these conditions. A treaty to that effect was signed on the 27th of November, 1840. The pasha hastened to accept and to fulfil the conditions thus imposed, declaring that he was ready to sacrifice all he possessed to obtain the good graces of the sultan, and owning that it was through the intervention of the allies that he had been restored to the favour of his sovereign.

The ambitious old man had at least the merit—and it is no trifling one—of submitting gracefully to what the harsh and appalling lessons of war had convinced him was inevitable. Had many of the great troublers of the poor world's peace have done the same, instead of convulsing kingdoms and desolating the homes of hundreds of thousands by the insatiate fury of their frantic ambition, seas of blood would have been spared, treasures incalculable redeemed from the grasp of the dark spirits of destruction, and many a spot rendered black and barren by the fierce blaze of battle,—burnt and trampled into a sterile wilderness by the passionate struggles of contending armies,—would have smiled in the solemn face of heaven as its golden stalks of grain waved gently, wantoning in the sweet air charged with the essence of a thousand wild flowers, and tinted with the rosy hue of a midsummer sun.

Our long and interesting labour is drawing to a close: here we terminate the history of the wars in which England was engaged during the lifetime of her great military chieftain, but after he had retired from active service on the field. All with the exception of our brilliant and marvellous campaigns in India, which we have reserved to relate in a consecutive narrative, and have put into a form that will convey to our readers a vivid conception of the vast possessions of Britain in the East, how her empire there was founded, and how it has been since sustained. With that will end our history of an era unsurpassed in the records of the world for gorgeous and appalling events, and of an illustrious individual who figured as one of the greatest actors in its varied scenes, and whose life is inseparably interwoven with the records, not of England alone, but of Europe and also of the romantic East.

BRITISH INDIA

SCALE
100 200 300 Miles



NOTE

Presidency of Calcutta	Red
Presidency of Madras	Blue
Presidency of Bombay	Green
Military Stations	Red with black dots
Civil Stations	Blue with black dots
Stations both MILITARY & CIVIL	Red and Blue with black dots
Proposed Railways	Black line

COOTUB MINAR DELHI

CAMPAIGNS IN INDIA.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

So little is generally known of the connection of England with India, that it is idle to relate an account of our recent wars on that vast peninsula, without briefly alluding to the rise, extent, and grandeur of the British empire in that romantic land, which has, from time immemorial, been so blessed by nature and so cursed by man. A distinguished living historian, whose eloquence equals his erudition, observes that the British empire in India forms, beyond all question, the most dazzling object in an age of wonders, and that antiquity may be searched in vain for a parallel to its lustre. After alluding to the dominions of ancient Rome, the results of three centuries of conquests, he remarks:—"But in the eastern world, an empire hardly less extensive or populous, embracing as great a variety of people, and rich in as many millions and provinces, has been conquered by the British arms in less than eighty years, at the distance of above 14,000 miles from the ruling state. That vast region—the fabled scene of opulence and grandeur since the dawn of civilisation, from which the arms of Alexander rolled back, which the ferocity of Timour imperfectly vanquished, and the banners of Nadir Shah traversed only to destroy—has been permanently subdued and moulded into a regular province by a company of British merchants, originally settled as obscure traffickers on the shores of Hindoostan; who have been dragged to their present perilous height of power by incessant attempts at their destruction on the part of the native princes; whose rise was contemporaneous with numerous and desperate struggles of the British nation with its European rivals, and who never had a fourth part of the disposable national strength at their command. For such a body, in such times, and with such forces,

to have acquired so immense a dominion, is one of those prodigies of civilisation with which the history of the last half century so abounds; with which we are too familiar to be able fully to appreciate the wonder; and which must be viewed by mankind, simplified by distance, and gilded by the colours of history, before its due proportions can be understood."*

Hindoostan, or India, is a vast peninsula of Asia, stretching out its rich plains and terraces far into the Indian ocean. Separated from Thibet on the north by the stupendous and snow-capped mountain chain of the Himalayas,† it extends to Cape Comorin on the south, and its shores, on either side, are washed by the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Its length, from the Himalaya mountains to the green slopes of Cape Comorin, is 1,800 miles; its greatest breadth, from the waters of the Indus to those of the Brahmapootra, about 1,500 miles. It has about 3,280 miles of coast line, and an area of a million square miles, or about nine times the extent of Great Britain and Ireland. Its climate is chiefly tropical, and the romantic beauty of its wild scenery is almost beyond description. Stupendous mountain ranges, rising sublimely up into the intensely blue expanse of infinite space,—lofty forests, whose gigantic extent and solemn stillness strike the spectator with awe,—rich and seemingly interminable plains, watered by noble rivers, and rivalling the far-famed delta of the Nile in the ceaseless luxuriance of their vegetation,—are a few of the features of a vast tract of land which seemed designed by nature for a paradise of peace, plenty, and luxurious indolence. Alison, in a passage of unsurpassed beauty, speaks thus eloquently on this attractive subject:—"All the productions of the globe are to be found, and for the most part flourish to perfection, in the

* Alison's *History of Europe*.

† Himalaya is a compound Sanscrit word, signifying the abode of cold or snow. This grand range of mountains extends to a length of 1,500 miles, while its breadth, so far as it is known, varies from eighty to a hundred and twenty miles. The whole range, therefore, occupies a surface of 150,000 square miles and upwards. It is traversed by narrow moun-

tain passes called Ghauts, a word which both in sound and meaning corresponds to our term of gates. The base of these mountains, on the side of India, is covered with a thick and almost impenetrable jungle, the abode of serpents and beasts of prey; and the malaria arising from its enormous masses of decaying tropical vegetation, has won for it the ominous title of "the Belt of Death."

varied climates and soils of the splendid Indian peninsula. The forests, the fruits, the crops of Europe, are recognised by the delighted traveller in the Himalaya mountains, where the prodigy is exhibited of valleys tolerably peopled, and bearing crops at the height of sixteen or seventeen thousand feet above the sea, or considerably above the summit of Mont Blanc, or the Great Glockner. On the side of these stupendous mountain ranges, nature appears on an extraordinary scale of magnificence; huge pinnacles of bare rock shoot up into the azure firmament, and forests overspread their sides, in which the scarlet rhododendrons, sixty feet in height, are surmounted by trees 200 feet in elevation. The peach, the apricot, the nectarine, even apples, pears, and strawberries, refresh the European, to whom they recall, in a distant land and amidst oriental luxuries, the images and enjoyments of his youth. The forests of the plains of Hindoostan exhibit a richness of foliage and luxuriance of vegetation of which not a conception can be formed by those who judge of nature only by the robe she wears in northern climates. Poetry can alone describe their charms:—

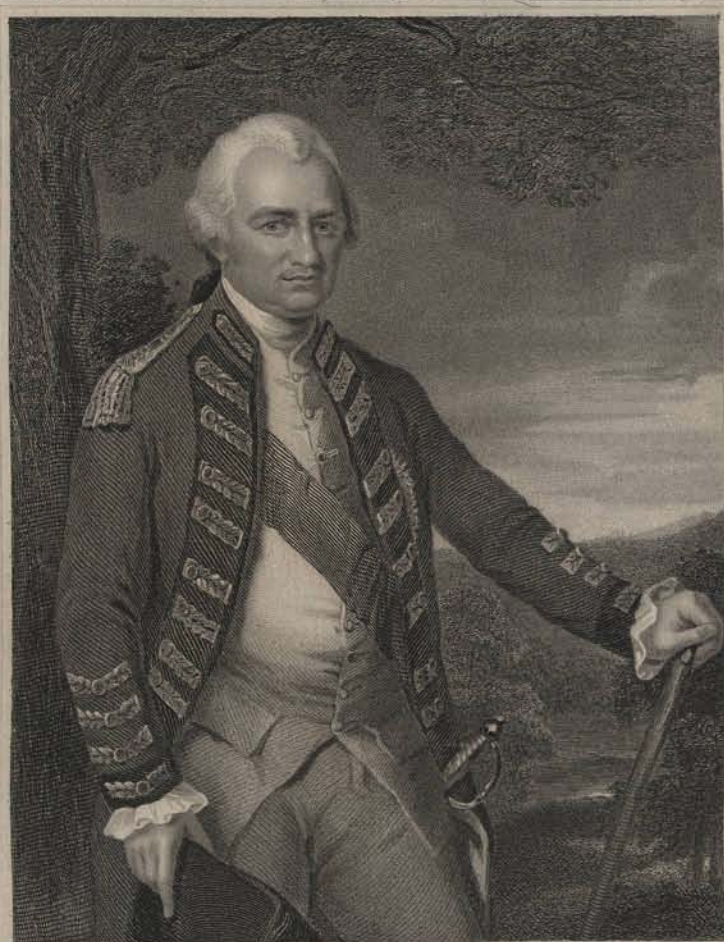
“ ————— Behold us now
Beneath the bamboo's archèd bough;
Where, gemming oft that sacred gloom,
Glow the geranium's scarlet bloom,
And winds our path through many a bower
Of fragrant tree and giant flower.
The ceiba's crimson pomp displayed
O'er the broad plantain's humbler shade,
And dusk anana's prickly spade;
While o'er the brake, so wild and fair,
The betel waves his crest in air;
With pendant train, and rushing wings,
Aloft the gorgeous peacock springs;
And he, the bird of hundred dyes,
Whose plumes the dames of Ava prize;—
So rich a shade, so green a sod,
Our English fairies never trod.*

Wheat, barley, and oats, with noble forests of teak and oak, flourish on the cool slopes of the mountains; while at their feet the vast plain of Bengal is covered, to an incalculable extent, with double crops yearly of rice, or with thickets of bamboo canes, fed by the fertilising floods which, at times to the breadth of a hundred miles, exhibits a sea of water, interspersed only with tufts of wood, solitary palms, hamlets, and pagodas. Indigo grows in luxuriance in many districts, and forms a staple article of commerce to the country. Sugar thrives as well as in the West Indies, and promises to

* Bishop Heber's *Evening Walk in Bengal*.

fill up the deficiency in the productions of the globe, occasioned by the emancipation of the slaves in the western tropical regions. Grapes, melons, pine-apples, figs, dates, mangoes, are everywhere found in profusion, with many other fruits still more luscious, peculiar to the eastern hemisphere. The elephant, at once the strongest, the most sagacious, and the most docile of animals; the camel, the ship of the desert; the horse, the companion and fellow-soldier of man, alike flourish in a country where the tiger and the rhinoceros rule the wilds of nature. Even the flowers and birds partake of the splendid character of creation; the roses of Cashmere and Delhi yield their highly prized perfume to the world; the red blossoms of the ixora and mussonda, and innumerable other tropical plants, diffuse a blaze of beauty through the woods; the scarlet plumage of the flamingo, the varied hues of the parrot, rival the colours of the setting sun. But the woods are silent, or resound only with the harsh scream of birds, or the fearful cry of beasts of prey; no troops of feathered songsters fill the air with their melodious voices, nor welcome in the breath of spring with the voice of gladness and the notes of love.”

This glorious land has, from the earliest records we possess concerning it, been periodically the theatre of wars, tyranny, and wretchedness. The native Hindoo race appear for the most part incapable of sweeping back the fierce tide of invasion and conquest that has so often broken over them, attracted by the extent, beauty, and wealth of their possessions. Even now that the dusky inhabitants of that vast peninsula consist of many races and nations, many of whom are brave, fierce, and haughty in their natures, and amongst whom 15,000,000 of Mohammedans are scattered, they are unable to resist the European yoke, and have been compelled to submit to the dominion of an empire 12,000 miles distant, and to a power which rose from the possession of a few factories, to grasp the many sceptres and diadems of India, and eventually to confer the blessings of tranquillity and safety on a people who had sighed for them for ages, yet found them not. In eventually bringing peace to the homes of 140,000,000 persons, is to be found the chief palliation for the English conquest of India; though, indeed, it must be admitted that that conquest was rather forced upon them as an inevitable necessity, than sought for



Engraved by W. T. Mose.

ROBERT, FIRST LORD CLIVE.

OB. 1774.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN

THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

from a lust of power. Amongst the vast number of sable inhabitants dwelling in India, there are scarcely 80,000 white men. The disproportion between the rulers and the ruled is so enormous, that the Hindoos say, with truth, that if every one of the followers of Bramah were to throw a handful of earth on the Europeans, they would be buried alive in the midst of their conquests!

All that is known of India before it was invaded by Alexander the Great, B.C. 331, amounts to little more than uncertain conjectures. For nearly three centuries after his death the Indian traffic was chiefly conducted by Egyptian and Arabian merchants by the way of the Red Sea, the Nile, and the Mediterranean. The historical traditions of the Hindoos are of too wild and extravagant a nature to merit the attention of others than the lovers of curious and ancient legends. The Greek kingdom of Bactria was overthrown by the Tartars, who invaded India B.C. 126, and overrun the greater part of its north-western provinces. In the latter part of the 10th century of the Christian era, Hindoostan was invaded by the Mohammedans, under Sabuktaghin, a Tartar soldier. His son, the celebrated Sultan Mahmud, is however regarded as the first Mohammedan conqueror of Hindoostan. After many struggles the dominion passed into the hands of the Afghans, until the invasion of the irresistible Tamerlane, in 1398, overturned the tottering power of the native princes, and placed the Tartar, or, as it is commonly called, the Mogul dynasty, on the throne of Delhi. Aurungzebe, the last powerful sovereign of the Mogul empire of Hindoostan, died in 1707. After him it gradually declined, the Mahrattas and the Sikhs rose into prominence, and many of the native princes regained their independence. Wars, confusions, and assassinations succeeded, and eventually the last emperor of the race of the mighty Tamerlane, who regarded himself as an instrument of destiny, and assumed the bold title of "the Scourge of God," became, though still bearing the mockery of a regal title, a pensioner of the East India Company.

The first European nation that attained any dominion in Hindoostan was the Portuguese. In the year 1497, Vasco de Gama discovered a route to India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and for nearly a century the Portuguese enjoyed and abused the advantages of superior knowledge and art, amid a feeble and semi-barbarous people.

By the Portuguese, the revolting institution known as the "Holy Inquisition" was introduced into Hindoostan, and the first grand ceremonial the natives beheld performed in the name of Christ, was that mixture of blasphemy, tyranny, and horror, an *Auto da Fé*. In the beginning of the 17th century, the English, Dutch, and French began to make settlements along the coast, and the Portuguese power rapidly declined. On the last day of the 16th century, Queen Elizabeth signed a charter on behalf of about 220 gentlemen and merchants, giving them a monopoly of the trade to be founded with the East Indies. This, it has been acutely said, was a fitting conclusion for a century of extraordinary progress, and also for a reign characterised throughout by measures of unrivalled political sagacity. For a long period the English company remained mere traders, industriously pursuing a pacific career; and so far from dreaming of foreign conquest, they did not even provide sufficient force to preserve their own factories from aggression.

We pass over the long struggle between the French and English for ascendancy, which, but for the extraordinary genius of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Clive, would have terminated in the triumph of the former. This extraordinary man appeared on the scene as the avenger of an unparalleled atrocity, and as the founder of the British empire in India. The Eastern fatalist might regard him as the mysterious instrument of an inscrutable destiny, to punish a deed of the blackest crime and horror by the confiscation of an empire, and by pouring out the blood in sacrifice of its inhuman ruler. The English possessed three settlements in Hindoostan: one at Bombay on the west coast, a second at Madras on the Coromandel coast, and a third at Calcutta in Bengal. The latter is the wealthiest and most lovely province in India, and was known throughout the East as the rich kingdom and the garden of Eden. In the year 1756, a vicious and despotic youth, named Surajah Dowlah, ascended the viceregal throne. Feeble in intellect, capricious in temper, and savage by nature, he is said to have been steeped so deeply in the most coarse and brutal vices, as to find a pleasure in cruelty for its own sake, and actually to listen with delight to the groans and sobs of the victims of his savage whims. Added to this, his constitution was ruined by early debauchery, and his savage temper further

brutalised by habitual drunkenness. This youthful tyrant, who entertained a vehement hatred towards the English, invested and captured Calcutta, chiefly with a view to obtain the wealth he believed the merchants to have accumulated. The governor and military commandant fled, and when the fort was captured, the Englishmen taken prisoners amounted only to 146. The nabob consented to spare their lives; and after complaining of the smallness of the treasure he had found, retired to rest.

"Then," to quote the unrivalled description by that brilliant master of historical word-painting, Macaulay, "then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left to the mercy of the guards, and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was 146. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated; they entreated; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them. Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who even in that extremity retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was, that nothing could be done without the nabob's orders—that the nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him. Then the prisoners went mad

with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies—raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, 123 in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up."

The horror and excitement of the English at Madras, on hearing the news of this terrible deed of wanton tyranny, was intense, and they sent a military and naval force, under Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson, to attempt to punish the nabob, and save the British settlement at Bengal. They had selected the right man to avenge the fate of his unhappy countrymen, and to teach the dusky and capricious tyrants of the East that English blood could not be unjustly shed without the exaction of a terrible retribution. The bravery of Clive (who had won from the natives the name of Sabat Jung, the daring in war), and, we must add, his treachery also, enabled him to succeed beyond the most sanguine expectations. Triumph followed triumph; and at the memorable battle of Plassy, Clive, at the head of 3,000 men, of whom only one-third were British, in one hour completely routed an army of 55,000 men, led by Surajah Dowlah. The young savage was deposed, and Meer Jaffier rewarded for treachery to his late master by the vacant throne. This irresolute and feeble-minded man being raised to the supreme power in Bengal by the English, became little more than their instrument. In reality, they governed in his name. Surajah Dowlah, who had fled on his swiftest elephant from the field of battle, was discovered some nights afterwards, in a famishing condition, in a deserted garden. Some women who had ac-

accompanied him were endeavouring to prepare a dish of rice and pulse, when they were discovered and betrayed by a man whose ears the young tyrant had caused to be cut off about a twelvemonth before. Meeran, the son of Meer Jaffier, caused the deposed despot to be confined in a small chamber near his own, and there he was murdered, at the age of five-and-twenty, by repeated sabre strokes.

The directors of the East India Company, on receiving news of Colonel Clive's success, appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, and Meer Jaffier came to regard him with slavish awe and as an instrument of destiny. Shah Alum, the eldest son of the Great Mogul (for that potentate yet retained a shadow of power), collected an army of 40,000 men, with the design of overthrowing Meer Jaffier and expelling the English. It was in vain; the genius of Clive was in the ascendant, and this army melted away at the mere terror of his name. After defeating an attempt, on the part of the Dutch, to wrest from the English their ascendancy in India, Clive returned in 1760, with an income of £40,000 a-year, to England, where he was received with honours, and raised to the peerage. Great confusion arose in Bengal during his absence; and on the solicitation of the company, Clive (then Lord Clive) sailed again to the shores of India, and reached Calcutta in May, 1765. Such had been the corrupt conduct of the company's servants, and the misery they had brought upon the natives, that on his arrival he exclaimed, "I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—irrevocably so, I fear. However, I do declare, by that Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt." His commanding will destroyed oppression, preserved peace, and still further extended the British power. When, after a stay of eighteen months, he returned for the last time to England, he left the representatives of the company the actual rulers of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. The right to collect the revenues of these districts was purchased from the feeble Mogul; and the son of Meer Jaffier, thus deprived of a power he was unable to wield, was consoled with a pension. On his return to

England, Lord Clive experienced the ingratitude of a nation that had once covered him with honours and applause: he sunk into a desponding state, and, in his forty-ninth year, terminated his existence by suicide. Mr. Macaulay, in estimating the character of this remarkable man, who found his countrymen in India a company of pedlars, and left them an association of princes, observes, that the only man who at a similarly early age gave equal proofs of talents for war, was Napoleon Buonaparte. "Such an extent of cultivated territory," said that gorgeous writer, "such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the sacred way, and through the crowded forum, to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one half of a Roman legion."

It is not for us here to trace the career of Warren Hastings, who rose from a clerkship at Calcutta to be the first governor-general of India. Endowed with a large mind and a cold heart, calm, scheming, and unscrupulous, this extraordinary man preserved and extended the dominion Clive had won. The kingdom of Mysoor, an extensive tract of Southern India, whose lofty table-lands, swept by the cooling breezes of the Indian ocean, bred a more hardy and manly race than the lower plains of Hindoostan, was governed by an able Mohammedan adventurer, named Hyder Ali. This man, originally only a common soldier, and so illiterate as to be unable either to read or write, impelled by a daring ambition, and sustained by great capacity, seized the kingdom of Mysoor, and seated himself upon the throne of Seringapatam. War arose between Hyder Ali and the English presidency of Madras, and the latter found him the most formidable enemy with whom they had had to contend in effecting the conquest of India. In the month of June, 1780, he led an army of 20,000 regular infantry, and 70,000 horsemen into the Carnatic, and gave towns and villages, in every direction, to the flames. The wretched inhabitants were slaughtered, without respect to sex or age,

and thousands who escaped the sword perished by famine, or were driven away before the goading spears of their captors, to be sold as slaves. Hyder interposed his living torrents between the two small English armies commanded by Colonel Baillie and by Sir Hector Monro, and then overwhelmed the former with numbers, and compelled the latter to retreat. Bodies of the wild Mysorean horse dashed up almost to the gates of Madras, and the British empire in Southern India trembled on the verge of ruin.

The news speedily reached Calcutta, and the emergency brought the great genius of Warren Hastings into action. It has been truly observed that it is invariably in a crisis of this kind that the really great acquire an ascendancy. The timid shrink from responsibility, the multitude clamour for submission, but the brave and intrepid stand forth as the deserving leaders of mankind. He dispatched the brave veteran, Sir Eyre Coote, with a small force to the assistance of his countrymen, and superseding the incapable council of Madras, took upon himself the supreme direction of affairs. The ability and wisdom of his master-mind soon made itself apparent. The progress of Hyder Ali was checked; siege after siege was raised; and at length the forces of the Mohammedan chieftain were, after a struggle

of six hours' duration, driven in wild, disorderly flight from the battle-field of Porto Novo. Hyder Ali died in December, 1782, at the advanced age of eighty-two, bequeathing to his son, Tippoo Saib, his kingdom and his hatred to the English. Fortunately, although Tippoo inherited all his father's activity, cruelty, and perfidy, he was by no means his equal in the arts of war and government.

In consequence of the severe censures cast upon his conduct in England, Mr. Hastings resigned his office as governor-general, and returned to England early in 1785. He was impeached by the House of Commons, and then followed that extraordinary trial, lasting 130 days, and extending over a period of seven years, which will ever be famous as one of the most remarkable judicial inquiries on record, and which has been immortalised by the eloquence of Macaulay, in one of the most glowing and gorgeous of his artistic passages.* Lord Cornwallis succeeded to the rank of governor-general of India and commander-in-chief, and the affairs of that vast eastern peninsula were subjected to a department of the English government called the Board of Control. Cornwallis was directed to act in a pacific manner, but still soon found himself involved in a war with Tippoo Saib, who was intriguing with other native powers

* For this brilliant description we refer our readers to Macaulay's *Critical and Historical Essays*: it would be out of place to quote it here. We shall, however, select his summary of the character of Mr. Hastings, which if drawn with perhaps too favourable a pen, may serve to redeem the memory of that gifted though perhaps tyrannous man from the obloquy cast upon it by the eloquence of Fox, Burke, and Sheridan:—"On the 22nd of August, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, he (Mr. Hastings) met death with the same tranquil and decorous fortitude which he had opposed to all the trials of his various and eventful life. With all his faults (and they were neither few nor small), only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation, where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried—in the great Abbey which has during many years afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the great Hall,—the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill-chosen. Behind the chancel of the parish church of Daylesford, in earth which already held the bones of many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely extended name. On that very spot probably, fourscore years before, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of ploughmen. Even then his

young mind had revolved plans which might be called romantic. Yet however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so strange as the truth. Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line,—not only had he repurchased the old lands, and rebuilt the old dwelling,—he had preserved and extended an empire. He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu. He had patronised learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo. He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that ever sought the destruction of a single victim; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fulness of age, in peace, after so many troubles; in honour, after so much obloquy. Those who look on his character without favour or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But though we cannot, with truth, describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy; his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the state, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either."



Engraved by H. Knight.



Engraved by J. Rogers.



THE ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE LORD CORNWALLIS, MARCH 6, 1793.

THE SURRENDER OF TWO SONS OF TIPPOO SULTAUN.

for the subversion of the English dominion. Tippoo was the aggressor; but he was defeated, and compelled to purchase peace with half his kingdom; to pay £3,500,000 as the expenses of the war, and to surrender his two sons as hostages. On the return of Lord Cornwallis to England, he, who had been sent out in the interests of peace, had added 24,000 square miles to its eastern dominions.

Lord Cornwallis was succeeded as governor-general by Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a man whose abilities were respectable rather than great, and who also was partly chosen on account of his pacific disposition. During his four years' rule the scourge of war was rather delayed than averted. The English in India were to experience the truth of the observation of a French writer, that "in the light of precaution, all conquest must be ineffectual unless it could be universal; since the increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostility." They had no alternative but to go on conquering until their dominions were bounded by the snowy heights of the Himalaya, and the swift rolling waters of the Indus.

The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) was the next governor-general of India, and arrived at Madras in April, 1798. His attention was soon called to the intrigues of Tippoo Saib, who was negotiating with the French for the expulsion of the English from India, and for the assistance of an European force to aid in the accomplishment of that design. The elder brother of the "Iron Duke," the latter then a young and undistinguished soldier, was also a man of commanding talent. The illustrious and world-wide reputation since acquired by the younger brother, has thrown that of the elder one somewhat into the shade. "Educated," says Alison, "like his brother Arthur at Eton, he inhaled amidst its classic shades that delicacy of taste, and proficiency in the composition of the ancient languages, for which that seminary has long been celebrated. He retained these accomplishments undiminished throughout his whole eventful career, and attained such skill in them as raised him to the very highest rank as a scholar in the age of Porson and Parr. When he entered on active life, his talents for business soon introduced him to the notice of government; but his predilection was so strongly evinced from the first for Oriental affairs, that na-

ture appeared to have expressly formed him for the command of the East. At an age when most of his contemporaries were acquainted with the affairs of India only through the uncertain medium of distant report, or the casual hints of private conversation, he was fully master of the politics of Hindoostan, and had already formed those clear and luminous views of the condition and situation of our power there which enabled him, from the very outset of his career, to guide with so steady a hand the complicated mazes of Indian diplomacy. He had for several years been an active member of the Board of Control, then under the able direction of Lord Melville, and had acquired, from his remarkable proficiency in the subject, a large share in the confidence of government. But it was not in any of the public offices, it was not from the inspiration of Leadenhall-street, that he drew the enlarged and statesmanlike views which from the first characterised his eastern administration. It was in the solitude of study that the knowledge was obtained; it was from the sages and historians of antiquity that the spirit was inhaled; it was in the fire of his own genius that the light was found."

The duplicity of Tippoo Saib was met by a declaration of war; and on the 5th of March, 1798, the British force, under General Harris, together with that of an allied native power, entered the Mysoor territory and pressed forward upon its capital, Seringapatam. The storming of that famous city, the death of Sultan Tippoo, the overthrow of his dynasty, and the annexation of the territory of Mysoor to the British dominions, are related in an early portion of this work, as they led to the first important military achievement of the illustrious soldier whose life it illustrates.

The new possessions of the British brought them into contact with a new enemy, the Mahrattas, a powerful confederacy of northern native chieftains, of warlike and predatory habits, and who, when united, could bring no less than 200,000 horsemen into the field. These fierce tribes, but for their constant feuds with each other, would no doubt have subdued the whole of India, and founded a Mahratta dynasty. The most renowned of them were the rajahs of Berar, Scindiah and Holcar, each of whose standards were followed by nearly 60,000 horsemen. The head of their confederation was styled the

Peishwa, who, though his authority was little more than nominal, yet from his seat of government at Poonah, professed to execute treaties and issue orders binding on the whole allied states. That these wild and fierce warriors should view the approaches of the conquering strangers with feelings of alarm and bitterness, is not calculated to excite surprise. A more extensive war than had hitherto existed was commenced on the 4th of September, 1803; the fort of Allyghur was taken by storm, and the British colours planted on its walls. On the 11th of the same month, General Lake defeated 20,000 of the enemy, commanded by French officers, at the battle of Delhi, and captured that famous city, the ancient capital of Hindoostan, and seat of the Mogul emperors. Further successes followed at Agra, at Ahmednuggur, at the noble city of Aurungabad; and at length the united powers of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, numbering 50,000 men,

and supported by above a hundred pieces of cannon, were attacked and overthrown at Assaye, by Wellesley, with a force not exceeding 8,000 men, of whom not more than 1,500 were British troops. The Mahratta power thus shaken at Assaye, was completely humbled on the plains of Argaum. A few fortresses stood out for a while, but they fell before the warlike genius of General Wellesley, and Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar were compelled to sue for peace. This was granted them at the price of an enormous territory; and the influence of the British was rendered paramount through the whole north of Hindoostan. With this ended General Wellesley's career in India: he returned to England in the March of 1805, to win still brighter laurels from more noble foes. And here we conclude our introductory chapter. We shall next proceed to narrate our Indian campaigns from that period until the final consolidation of our Eastern empire.

WAR WITH THE GOORKALESE—DISPERSION OF THE PINDARRIES AND PATANS.

DURING the second administration of Lord Cornwallis, who succeeded the Marquis Wellesley as governor-general of India, an extremely conciliatory course was pursued, for the authorities at home were surprised, and even alarmed, at the extent of their conquests. The once indefatigable soldier, however, lived but a few months after his arrival, and sunk to the grave, under chronic dysentery, before the close of the year 1805. He was succeeded in the administration by the Earl of Minto, who bore sway in India from 1806 to 1813, and followed, as far as possible, the non-intervention policy. During this period, the English became implicated in disputes with the tribes of Pindarry freebooters, but hostilities did not yet break out. Lord Moira was the next governor-general, and he was not so fortunate as to be able to remain at peace with the native tribes. The Goorkas, or Nepaulese, a bold and hardy race, inhabiting a mountainous and densely wooded country lying at the base of the snow-clad Himalayas, committed many aggressive acts against the rajahs and zemindars, who occupied the position of British subjects. Expostulations were unheeded, for the Goorkalese chiefs believed that in the probable event of a war with the English, their native mountain fastnesses would

always afford them an invulnerable position from which they could issue on predatory incursions, and thus make a state of hostility more advantageous than one of peace purchased at the sacrifice of their favourite system of encroachment. A cruel outrage, on the part of the Goorkalese against some English subjects, induced Lord Moira, in November, 1814, to issue a declaration of war against the state that sanctioned the atrocity.

An army, consisting of four divisions, commanded by Major-generals Marley, Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony, and comprising 22,000 men, was directed to attack different portions of the hostile country. The expedition commenced unfortunately; the gallant General Gillespie was shot through the heart while leading his men to the assault of the petty fortress of Nalapane. His death dispirited his soldiers, and the siege was protracted until the assailants had sustained a loss, in killed and wounded, far beyond the entire number of the garrison that defended it. When at length the foe were compelled to abandon the fortress, the British troops found in the place the mangled bodies of hundreds of men and women, dead or dying of wounds or thirst, and affording terrible evidence of the hardy

desperation of the foe whom they had undertaken to subdue.

This inauspicious commencement appears to have struck the British commanding officers with an unusual hesitation and prudence scarcely removed from timidity. From this censure General Ochterlony alone must be excepted, as he displayed the same energy and bravery which had made the British a name of terror in the East during the times of Clive, Hastings, and Wellesley. Ochterlony did not fall into the superficial error of despising the enemy he had to encounter. His movements were at first cautious and laborious, but the blow was but delayed that it might descend with a surer aim. Having reduced Ramgurh and some other forts, he compelled Umur Sing to retire, with his entire force, to the strong position of Maloun. General Ochterlony's troops having obtained a position on the peak of Deothul, from which the enemy considered it necessary to dislodge them, an attack was made on them on the 16th of April, 1815, on all accessible sides. Ochterlony's troops, though chiefly natives, were prepared. The assailants consisted of the flower of the Goorkalese army, who rushed on with such desperate intrepidity, that many of them were bayoneted or cut to pieces within the British works. So steadily and effectively was their fire directed against our artillerymen, that at one time only three officers and one bombardier remained to serve the guns. Happily a reinforcement arrived at the most critical moment of the struggle; the scale of advantage was turned, and the British, after having for two hours acted on the offensive, became, in their turn, the assailants. Bhukti Sing, a famous chieftain, was slain, and his dismayed followers put to flight, leaving behind them about 500 dead and dying men upon the blood-soaked earth. The loss of the British amounted to 213 in killed and wounded; and the cheaply purchased victory of Deothul afforded a great triumph to the native troops, by whom it was almost wholly achieved. The Goorkalese, who had fought with an obstinate bravery, solicited the body of Bhukti Sing, whose loss they greatly deplored, saying, in the metaphorical language of the East, that the blade of their sword was broken. General Ochterlony granted the request, and sent the corpse, wrapped in rich shawls, as the acknowledgment by a generous enemy of the bravery of a fallen chief. The following day the two widows

of Bhukti sacrificed themselves upon his funeral pyre. The Goorkalese concentrated themselves within the fortress of Maloun, where they were besieged by the British troops. The dispirited followers of Umur Sing entreated him to make terms with his assailants, but he refused to do so until wholesale desertions of his troops (who came over to the British camp, and surrendered themselves as prisoners of war) had left him with but 250 adherents. Then, seeing the batteries ready to open upon the walls of the fortress, he became convinced of the hopelessness of prolonged resistance, and resigned his last stronghold, together with a vast tract of hilly land in a country hitherto deemed impregnable to Europeans. Many of the Goorkalese entered the British service, and the whole territory of Nepal was declared to be under British protection.

Chafing with irritation at the defeat they had drawn upon themselves, Umur Sing and his sons advocated the renewal of war, and rejected the proposed treaty between themselves and the British. General (now Sir David) Ochterlony (for he had been rewarded for his services with a baronetcy) again took the field in January, 1816, at the head of nearly 17,000 effective men, including three European regiments. Again the Goorkalese were defeated, and Umur Sing, with hot haste and humility, signed the treaty he had so imprudently ventured to reject.

While these operations were in progress, some of the Mahratta chieftains had shown a desire to take advantage of any symptom of weakness in the British government. "Hordes of Pindarries and Patans had arisen," said Sir John Malcolm, "like masses of putrefaction, out of the corruption of weak and expiring states." The Pindarries were desperate banditti, whose only object was rapine; while the more ambitious Patans were military mercenaries, associated for the purpose of invading or plundering such states as they could overpower or intimidate. So audacious had these lawless tribes become, and to such an alarming height had their incursions risen, that in 1816 they remained twelve days within the British frontier, during which period they displayed a revolting recklessness with respect to crime and cruelty, having plundered 339 villages, murdered 182 persons, severely wounded 505, and subjected no less than 3,603 others to different kinds of torture! The ordinary

modes adopted by these wretches of harassing their helpless fellow-creatures, for the purpose of extorting their hidden property, were placing heavy stones on the head or the chest of the miserable victim; applying red-hot irons to the soles of the feet; tying the head in a bag filled with hot ashes; throwing oil on the clothes, and then setting fire to them. No less than five-and-twenty unhappy women drowned themselves, to escape violation by these ruffians, heroically preferring death and honour to the polluting embraces of blood-thirsty and lascivious miscreants. The Peishwa, or presumed head of the Mahratta confederacy, together with our old enemy Scindiah, hypocritically affected to desire the suppression of these enormities; but it was well known that they encouraged the perpetrators of them; and it became necessary to take hostile steps against such treacherous neighbours. The duplicity of Bajee Rao, the Peishwa, having been discovered, it was demanded, amongst other humiliating concessions, that he should renounce the right of supremacy over the Mahratta confederation, and surrender certain territories in Malwa, Guzerat, and the Deccan, for the purpose of supporting a force of 8,000 men, to be maintained in lieu of a contingent which he was bound by treaty to supply to the British. The only alternative allowed him was a declaration of war. Bajee Rao could scarcely be expected to submit to terms which reduced him from the position of an independent prince to a mere vassal: but he acted with profound dissimulation; and, while he plaintively promised acquiescence, secretly strained every nerve in preparation for resistance.

The lawless power which the British had resolved on subduing, was a very formidable one. The chiefs of the Pindarry plunderers were said to possess a force which, when united, amounted to 15,000 horse, 1,500 foot, and twenty guns. The power of the Patans, under Ameer Khan, was still more to be dreaded; for it was estimated at 12,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 200 guns. If, as was contemplated, a confederation between the four most powerful Mahratta chiefs, together with the Nizam, Ameer Khan, and the Pindarries, had been carried out, there would have been a force of about 130,000 horse, 87,000 foot, and nearly 600 guns, which might have been brought into the field to dispute the British supremacy. Happily, individual ambition and divided

views rendered this dreaded combination an impossibility.

The designs of the Marquis of Hastings were extremely extensive. Considering that the peace of Central India depended on the total dispersion or extermination of these predatory bands, he assumed as a principle, that in the operations against the Pindarries no native power should be suffered to remain neutral, but that all should be required to join in a league for the suppression of a common foe to peace and order. The forces thus collected for this expedition comprised above 91,000 regular troops, and 23,000 irregular horse, separated into divisions according to the plan of the campaign. The marquis assumed the command in person; and, on the 20th of October, 1817, he crossed the river Jumna, and took up a position which threatened the camp of Scindiah, both in the front and in the rear. The startled chieftain, fearing to fight at so great a disadvantage, submitted to a treaty dictated to him by the British, in which he pledged himself to a participation in the measures then being taken for the reduction of the Pindarries, whose proceedings he had hitherto favoured. Ameer Khan, leader of the Patans, who was a mere adventurer, also agreed to disband his army if recognised as ruler of the territory of which he was in the actual possession. Treaties, in a similar spirit, were made by minor chieftains: thus was the pen even as effective as the sword, in dispelling the power which threatened the ascendancy, and indeed the existence of the English in India.

The want of cordiality which existed between the leading chieftains of the Pindarries, prevented them from forming any combined plan of resistance, and they retreated sullenly before the advancing foe, fixing their hopes chiefly on secret assurances of aid from the Peishwa, Bajee, who was gloating over the vengeance which he thought he should shortly bring down upon the British, to whom he still professed submission and attachment. At length Bajee Rao threw down the mask, and openly avowed his hostility. The British residency in his dominions was pillaged and burnt by his troops, though happily not until after the escape of Mr. Elphinstone (the resident) and his suite. A division of the English army, consisting of 2,800 rank and file, and of whom 800 only were Europeans, immediately advanced towards the city of Poonah, the residence of Bajee Rao, and central seat of

the Mahratta government. They were met at the village of Kirkee, four miles distant from the city, by the army of the Peishwa, comprising 18,000 cavalry and 8,000 foot. The engagement took place on the 5th of November, 1817, and the Mahratta troops, after opening a battery of nine guns, made a spirited charge of 6,000 horse, bearing with them the Juree Putka, or swallow-tailed golden pennon of the empire. They rushed impetuously against the British front, but were received with remarkable steadiness by the 7th battalion. This corps was led by Colonel Burr, who, though completely paralysed on one side, calmly took his post by its colours. One bullet went through the hat of the veteran, another grazed the head of his horse; while two attendants were shot by his side; but the infirm soldier, unhurt and undismayed, continued to cheer and direct his men. Such a sight might have nerved even cowards to an unequal struggle; but these men were brave and hardy troops, educated in their duties by the noble old man who displayed such heroic complacency; and the example converted every one of them into heroes. Fortunately, the charge of the Mahratta horsemen was broken by a deep slough, the existence of which they had not observed. While scrambling and backing out of the mire, they were exposed to a heavy fire from Colonel Burr's detachment, by which their leader was killed, and confusion spread through their ranks. At the advance of the British they broke and fled, leaving 500 in killed and wounded behind them, besides a number of their valuable and highly cherished horses. The loss of the British amounted to 186 killed and fifty-seven wounded.

Bajee Rao beheld the battle from a neighbouring hill; and although at first he issued orders of the most ferocious and vindictive character, he retreated at midnight towards Sattara; and his city of Poonah, the Mahratta capital, surrendered on the following day. The fugitive Peishwa, still at the head of a considerable army (for he had been joined by Appa Sahib, the Rajah of Berar), was pursued through the mountain passes by General Smith, who, however, failed in bringing him to action.

On the 1st of January, 1818, a detachment of the British forces, led by Captain Staunton, and consisting of 600 infantry and 350 irregular horse, were sent to support Colonel Burr in repelling an expected

attack on Poonah. After a long night march they reached the hills above Corygaum, a village overhanging the steep bank of the Beema river, and beheld with astonishment the whole force of the Peishwa, estimated at from twenty-five to twenty-eight thousand men, encamped on the opposite bank. Both sides made for the village, and the Peishwa ascended a neighbouring eminence to witness what he deemed a certain victory. The struggle, on the part of such a mere handful of troops as the British, seemed utterly hopeless; but though suffering severely from thirst and fatigue, they declared that sooner than fall into the hands of their foes, they would die to a man—a gloomy result, which seemed extremely probable. Having gained possession of a small temple, they fought for hours beneath a burning sun, disputing every foot of ground, and repulsing repeated attacks with the bayonet. With the coming darkness of night the onslaught of the foe ceased, and a supply of water having been procured, they waited with cheerful hope the renewal of the struggle on the following day. At dawn, however, the enemy were discovered moving off in the direction of Poonah, in consequence of the rumoured advance of General Smith; and the brave little band was saved.

General Smith had not abandoned his pursuit of the Mahratta army, which he at length brought to action at Ashtee. Bajee Rao at once provided for his personal safety by a retreat, and left his general, Gokla, with a body of eight or ten thousand horse, to fight the British. Gokla perished bravely, sword in hand; there was no one capable of taking his place, and his troops fled in wild dismay, leaving elephants, camels, and baggage of all descriptions to the victors. Notwithstanding the intense heat, which was so great that men dropped and died from sun-stroke to an extent that was almost as fatal as the sword of the enemy, General Smith pushed forward, intercepted the flight of Bajee Rao, and peace was finally granted to the humbled Peishwa only on the hard condition that he was to renounce every political right or claim, in return for which he was to be allowed a pension of not less than eight lacs of rupees a-year; and Beithoor, a place of sanctity, was appointed for his future residence.

The baffled Pindarries, expelled from their haunts, were compelled to retreat in various directions; a large body of them, however, under the command of a ferocious chieftain,

named Cheetoo, took refuge in the camp of Holcar, near Mahidpoor. There they were attacked by the British forces on the 21st of December, 1817, and utterly defeated, with a loss of 3,000 men in killed and wounded. Many of the fugitive Pindarries were seized and put to death by the native peasantry, who remembered with bitterness the outrages they had long passively sustained. The daring chieftain Cheetoo, though hunted from place to place, still roved about at the head of 200 followers, and bore up against his misfortunes with an enduring spirit worthy of a better cause. At length he disappeared, and for some days no man knew what was become of him. Then his horse was discovered grazing near the wild jungles of Aseerghur; and a further search revealed, amid the forest solitudes, a heap of blood-stained garments, beside which lay a human head, in which the ghastly and disfigured features of Cheetoo were recognised. The robber chieftain had been torn

to pieces and devoured by a tiger. The struggles of the Pindarries were over; another famous leader put an end to his life with poison; while most of them submitted on a promise of pardon, and received small grants of land, by the cultivation of which they learned to support themselves. Their followers merged into the ordinary population; many of them settled as cultivators of the soil; and thus directing their energies to a useful end, became a blessing where they had hitherto been a curse. The Patan troops who yet remained embodied, were conciliated or dispersed without further bloodshed. With these proceedings terminated the warlike operations of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings. The East India Company expressed their gratitude to him for the ability he had exercised and the energy he had displayed, by presenting him with the sum of £60,000 from the territorial revenues of India, for the purchase of an estate in England.

THE BURMESE WAR—CAUSE OF DISPUTE AND EARLY HOSTILITIES.

THE English power in India was next assailed from a very different quarter. Between Hindoostan and the Chinese empire lies the kingdom of Burmah. The power of the Burmese was of comparatively recent growth. The people of Ava, its capital city, had themselves been recently subject to the neighbouring country of Pegu; but in 1753 they revolted under a leader of their own nation, who, after capturing Rangoon, the capital of Pegu, assumed the title and the style of a sovereign, and, during the succeeding eight years, laid the basis of an extensive state, which was subsequently enlarged by acquisitions on the Tenasserim coast taken from Siam, and by the annexation of the previously independent states of Arracan, of Munnipoor, and of Assam. The Burmese, both in appearance and disposition, rather resembled the lethargic and ostentatious Chinese than the quick, fiery, impetuous tribes of Hindoostan. Their figures were mostly short and stout, their complexion of a light brown, or rather yellowish cast, their hair black, coarse, and lank, their cheek-bones large and prominent, and their eyes obliquely placed. Their language also resembles the Chinese, though they were less civilised than that ancient people.

The religion of the Burmese is chiefly Buddhism, and a religious nature was attributed to their sovereign, who was regarded as an object of mystic veneration, and styled *Alompra*, or *Alaong-b'hura*, a term which denoted that the individual who bore it was destined to attain the supreme felicity of absorption into the Divine Essence. When a Burmese monarch died, it was announced that he had withdrawn from this world to go up and amuse himself in the celestial regions. Still further to heighten the awe and mystery with which the Burmese surrounded the person of their sovereign, and to increase the "divinity that doth hedge a king," the potentates of Burmah were nameless, or rather never addressed or spoken of by their individual name. Not until the death of the king was his name permitted to transpire. Until then he was called "the fortunate king of the white elephants, lord of the seas and earth," a title varied by that of "king of the golden foot." The style of the Ava court was to speak of "the golden presence," to address "the golden ear," or lay petitions before "the golden foot;" and on state occasions, the royal head was oppressed with the weight of a golden pyramid, and the body clothed in wrought gold.

These idolaters of royalty were also extremely superstitious in religion. The white elephant they regarded as sacred, and offered adoration to an animal of that kind, which they kept in a splendid hall, veiled from the profane eyes of the vulgar by a curtain of black velvet richly embossed with gold. Offerings were made to the brute, consisting of gold and silver, muslins, broadcloths, ottar of roses, brocades, and other valuables. If, as may be assumed without any great violence to logic, the elephant did not care for these gay things, it is possible that the officiating priests did, and that they found their advantage in encouraging the pious offerings of the enlightened devotees. The trappings of the animal were magnificent, consisting of the richest cloth of gold studded with diamonds; and the vessels from which he took his food and drink, were of gold, inlaid with precious stones. There was, however, some reason assigned for this extravagance. These honours were rendered to the elephant on account of that form being supposed to be the last stage of many millions of transmigrations through which a soul passes before it enters Neilbarm, or Paradise, or is absorbed into the Divine Presence. The religion of these semi-savages, romantic and irrational as it may appear, bears no small resemblance to the poetical nonsense believed in, or rather dreamed about, by some of our modern speculators under the name of Pantheism!

As may be supposed, the government of Burmah was an unqualified and barbarous despotism; its fiscal system replete with uncertainty, rapacity, and violence; and the soil, though of high fertility, allowed to lie waste, or tilled only in the rudest fashion, except in the neighbourhood of the towns. Its productions are numerous and highly valuable; cattle, horses, elephants, gold, silver, amber, sapphires and other gems, costly marble, iron, copper, tin, lead, and coal, also are found. But, as in most other Eastern countries, these precious natural gifts are neglected for want of the energy and industry necessary to turn them to account. In the East, the generous earth, the prolific nurse of a varied, exhaustless, and eternal creation, teems in wanton and gorgeous profusion with vegetable and mineral wealth, with all that can minister to the necessities of life or create its luxuries, with all that the body can crave, or the mind desire, to satisfy the most ideal, costly, and brilliant magnificence; and yet man,

“the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals,” sits down in dreamy apathy and pines for food, or directs his energies to wresting from his neighbour that which he has not industry sufficient to provide for himself. The saviour, the regenerator of the East, will be the gifted man who succeeds in convincing its dusky millions of the creative power, the beauty-breathing and blissful influence of industry; of energy directed into a just and wholesome course. Ah! how true is the saying, that the history of the world is little more than a dreary record of *wasted energy*. Think of those two words, for in them lies a text for many homilies!

Circumstances, in connection with the conquest of Arracan, brought the Burmese in contact with the British government in India. At the close of the 18th century, many thousands of persons, belonging to a tribe called Mughs, sought refuge from the intolerable persecution of their oppressors in the British portion of Arracan. The king of the white elephants viewed this emigration with anger and distrust, and attempted to prevent any more of the Mughs from leaving his territory. As is invariably the case in such matters, the severity intended to repress their exodus, increased it, and in 1798, more than 20,000 Mughs crossed the frontier in an almost frenzied state. These poor people had fled from oppression, through wilds and deserts, without any preconcerted plan, leaving behind them abundant traces of their melancholy progress, in the unburied bodies of helpless loved ones, both old and young, and even mothers lying with glazed eyes, and the traces of despair deep-marked in their rigid features, and with the cold lips of infants still clinging to a bosom dry for ever. The leader of one party, when commanded to return, replied that he and his companions would never do so, but that they would rather die by the hands of the English, or seek refuge in the jungles of the great mountains, choosing wild beasts for their neighbours, in preference to merciless men. No violence was committed by these miserable multitudes, who sustained life as best they could on “reptiles and leaves!” Hear this, ye indolent Sybarites of civilisation, who, in your rose-tinted and perfumed apartments, have your equanimity disturbed by an unexpected breeze of the sweet outward air! Numbers of the despairing Mughs perished daily, until at length the

British governor-general took a tardy pity upon their misery, provided them with the means of sustenance, and with materials for the construction of huts, to shelter them from the approaching rainy season. Tracts of waste land in the province of Chittagong were assigned them, and at length a colony of 40,000 of these poor exiles was established there.

The Burmese potentate had repeatedly demanded the surrender of the Mughs, but had ever met with a decided refusal; qualified, however, by an offer to give up any proved and notorious criminals, and by a promise to prohibit any renewed immigration of Burmese subjects. The discussion produced by these events might have subsided and been forgotten, but for the imprudence of the Mughs themselves. Now that the heavy hand of tyranny was no longer able to reach them, they were visited by an intense and natural longing to regain possession of their ancient rights and former homes. A warlike chief arose among them, and kindled a desire for vengeance against their late oppressors. Under his leadership they made annual irruptions into the land of their forefathers. The government at Calcutta strove in vain to check these aggressions, and gave permission to the Burmese to pursue the depredators to their haunts in Chittagong. This concession did not satisfy his majesty of the golden foot, and he imprisoned an agent sent to him by Mr. Pechell, the chief magistrate of Chittagong, and attempted to form a confederacy with the native princes of India for the utter expulsion of the English from the peninsula. He also imperatively demanded that all the Mugh emigrants should be surrendered to his vengeance; adding that, for answer he required compliance, and not argument. The governor-general sent a despatch to the court of Ava, in which he represented that the British government could not, with justice and humanity, yield to the demand requiring them to give up to their enemies a large body of emigrants, who for thirty years had been located on the English territory. The Burmese were assured that no prohibition existed to prevent the voluntary return of the Mughs to their former home. It was further urged, that the death of the leader of the Mughs justified the expectation that the disorders which had occurred would not be renewed; and increased vigilance, on the part of the British, was promised, to guard against any

fresh outrages. Finally, it was submitted to his Burmese majesty, that at this point the correspondence might close, as a further agitation of the question could lead to no beneficial results. The conciliatory tone adopted towards the court of Ava was regarded as significant of weakness, and the representatives of the golden-footed monarch became extremely insolent and overbearing.

Although no actual rupture had yet taken place, the Burmese were actuated by very hostile feelings towards the English, and ready to take or give offence at the first opportunity. One night during September, 1823, a thousand Burmese troops landed on an islet named Shahpoori, situated at the entrance of the arm of the sea dividing Chittagong from Arracan. The place was little more than a sandbank, affording pasturage only for a few cattle, and containing a guard of thirteen men. Three of these were killed by the unexpected invaders, four wounded, and the rest driven from the island. On an explanation being demanded of this violent and aggressive act, the Burmese replied that the islet rightfully belonged to the king of the white elephants and the golden foot, and that the non-admission of his claim to it would be followed by the invasion of the British territories. Submission to conduct and language of this character was impossible, without forfeiting for ever that character for invincibility on which the British dominion in the East was founded. To have permitted an injury to pass unredressed, an insult unatoned for, would have been for the English to have invited attack and contumely from the numerous dusky tribes and nations over whom their sceptre had been extended so recently, that the masses yet chafed silently over the bitterness of defeat and submission.

Had the British been content to submit to aggression and affront, even this mean alternate would have been rendered difficult. The Burmese followed up their threat of invasion by actually posting a military force within five miles of the town of Sylhet, only 226 miles from Calcutta. All remonstrances addressed to the court of Ava were treated with contemptuous silence, and war became inevitable; but Lord Amherst, then governor-general, entered upon it with extreme reluctance. In May, 1824, a force of five or six thousand men, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, was sent

on an expedition against Rangoon, the principal Burmese seaport. A naval force, under Captain Marryat, was to co-operate. It consisted of the *Liffey*, of 50 guns; the *Slaney*, of 20; the *Larn*, of 20; the *Sophie*, of 18; four of the company's cruisers, together with brigs, small craft, and twenty row-boats, each carrying an 18-pounder at the bow. In addition to these was the *Diana*, the first steam-vessel ever seen in India, and one which, as will be seen, performed a service little calculated upon. The total amount of the force embarked on this service at Calcutta and Madras, amounted to 8,700 men. One division was sent, under General McCraigh, against the island of Cheduba; another, under Major Wahab, against Negrais; while the third sailed up the Rangoon river, and cast anchor near the town. The Burmese had been long preparing for an aggressive war against the British, but intoxicated by an arrogant sense of their own power, and utterly ignorant of the nature and resources of the race they attacked, they had not made arrangements for defending themselves at home. Rangoon, therefore, was quite unable to resist such a force as that which appeared before it. It never occurred to the Burmese monarch that his own territories might be invaded. When his advisers suggested to him that Rangoon might be attacked, he vauntingly replied—"I will take such measures as will prevent the English from even disturbing the women cooking their rice."

The town of Rangoon, situated on the northern bank of a branch of the river Irawaddy, was but of small dimensions. It extended about 900 yards along the shore, and reached a width of six or seven hundred in its broadest part. The centre was defended by an enclosure of palisades, about ten or twelve feet high, and a small battery defended the landing-place. The British, conscious of their vast superiority over their unenlightened enemy, and desirous of sparing the blood which must be shed if extremities were resorted to, humanely attempted to open a negotiation. Their efforts were replied to by a feeble and impotent cannonade from the battery, which was almost immediately silenced by one or two broadsides from the *Liffey*. The troops were then landed in three divisions, a spectacle which induced the astonished Burmese to reopen their fire, with no other effect, however, than for it to be again almost im-

mediately silenced by the guns of the *Liffey*. In a few minutes afterwards the British flag was hoisted upon the foot of Rangoon, without our soldiers having fired a musket!

Asiatic cunning is often more effective than Asiatic courage. The governor of Rangoon adopted a measure which harassed the enemy, to whom he was compelled so speedily to submit. He drove the whole native population, together with their cattle, into the dark recesses of the neighbouring jungle. When the British entered the town, the wretched huts of reeds and mud were found to be deserted, and every sort of provision removed. A few English merchants and American missionaries, who had been living at Rangoon, had been seized, thrown into prison, and threatened with death. Their barbarous guards even took a savage pleasure in preparing the instruments of death in the sight of the prisoners, and of strewing sand on the ground to absorb their blood, as if the execution was to be put in effect immediately. The unfortunate captives were saved by the advance of the English. One of them, Mr. Hough, an American missionary, was sent on board the *Liffey*, accompanied by a Burmese, delegated by the members of the government, then in the jungle about ten miles distant, to beg that the firing might cease, and to ask what terms would be granted. It was stated that the Burmese had seven Englishmen with them in irons, and a hint was given that their fate would depend on the answer given to this overture. To this barbarous insinuation it was replied, that as the place was then in the hands of the British, protection to person and property was all they could expect, and they would not be even assured of these till the prisoners were released. It was added, that if they dared to injure one of them, the whole country should be desolated in revenge for the atrocious deed. The messengers retired with a promise to return, but they did not again appear. Great anxiety was felt for the safety of the prisoners, but on the following morning the whole seven were discovered by some reconnoitring parties in different places of confinement. The guards placed over them had fled on the approach of the British, and left their captives uninjured. They had been confined near a great temple or pagoda, called the Shoe-Dagon, a magnificent erection, 338 feet in height, and forming the principal religious building of the country.

The capture of Rangoon did not produce the effect that was anticipated. No further application for peace was made by the Burmese; and though they dared not meet the British in the field, they constantly harassed them by nocturnal attacks. These the British were unable to return, as they could not bring their means of war to bear upon the fugitives in the jungle, a place of security which the Burmese evinced no anxiety to leave. Great vigilance was necessary also at night to prevent our ships being destroyed by fire-rafts, made of timber and old canoes, and filled with cotton and petroleum. These were turned adrift by the Burmese soon after high-water, and floated down the river, burning with uncontrollable fury. Though the river was narrow, the officers were able to evade the danger by keeping a rigid look-out, and steering their ships over to either side, and thus allowing the floating conflagration to pass harmless by.

When his majesty of the golden foot heard that the English were actually in possession of Rangoon, he was extremely incensed, and resolved upon more vigorous and extensive efforts than he had before attempted. The inhabitants of every village and town within 300 miles of the seat of war, were ordered to furnish a number of armed men. The royal mandate was responded to with more promptness than might have been expected, and the Irawaddy was covered with vessels carrying soldiers to the general rendezvous of the grand army of the lord of the white elephant, and the king of the seas and the earth.

A large body of the Burmese were stationed in a fortified camp at the village of Kemmendine, a few miles above Rangoon. It was deemed necessary to dislodge them from this position, and, on the 16th of May, Colonel Birch embarked with the grenadier company of the 38th regiment, in the boats of the *Liffey*, for that purpose. The party was too small for any considerable exploit, but the almost impenetrable jungle rendered the action of a large body of troops impracticable. They stormed several strong stockades, trampled over spikes, and broke through palisades; and at one place drove out 400 of the defenders at the point of the bayonet. The Burmese received the charge of the British with great bravery, and did not give way until sixty of their comrades had fallen.

Very little foresight had been shown by the British authorities in the design of the

campaign. The troops were almost destitute of means of transport, and entirely dependent on Bengal and Madras for all their supplies. The south-west monsoon set in, and the rainy season, longer there than in any part of India, commenced. Rain constantly fell in torrents, accompanied by violent winds. The Burmese had anticipated the approach of the unconscious allies, and began to advance through the impenetrable jungle. At every pass they constructed stockades and redoubts, even within musket-shot of our sentinels, on whom they constantly fired from their lurking-places. Sometimes they even advanced stealthily, and carried off some unhappy soldier, whom they put to death in a hideously savage manner, sometimes crucifying him, in contempt of the Christian religion, and at others sawing him asunder between two planks.

The enemy began to stockade themselves again at Kemmendine; Sir Archibald Campbell, on the 2nd of June, therefore took some troops, and a small naval force, for the purpose of watching their operations, and effecting a diversion. The troops landed and burnt the Burmese encampment, though not without some loss in consequence of mistaking some of their own men for those of the enemy. About fifty or sixty of the Burmese war boats were also taken, and after having their high prows and useless ornaments cut off, were made extremely serviceable. We mentioned that minor divisions of the expedition were sent against the islands of Cheduba and Negrais. The first place was successfully reduced, and the island left under the charge of Lieutenant-colonel Hampton, with the *Slaney* as its naval protector. The island of Negrais also was taken; but as it was found to be covered with a dense jungle, extending to the water's edge, it was considered not worth retaining, and abandoned, after its stockades and boats were destroyed. The two detachments then retired and rejoined the army at Rangoon.

The want of fresh provisions, the constant rains, the deficiency of wholesome water, and the unhealthiness of the climate, brought sickness and cholera among the English soldiers and sailors. But though their sufferings from these causes were great, their spirits remained undaunted. As the Burmese continued throwing up stockades at no great distance from the advanced posts of the English, Sir Archibald Campbell again

resolved to attack them. He had purposely delayed doing so until they had approached to such a nearness as would, he conceived, place them in his power. On the 28th of May, he took four companies of Europeans and 400 native infantry, together with two field-pieces, and started on a *reconnaissance*. The Burmese withdrew from their unfinished stockades and breastworks at the approach of the British; and the latter, after a march of five miles, reached a morass, spanned by a narrow wooden bridge, on which the enemy were then beginning to form. The passage of the bridge was soon carried by the artillery; but the progress of that force was terminated by one of those sudden and tremendous storms common in that locality during the rainy season. Leaving the field-pieces in charge of the native infantry, Campbell pushed onward with his European troops. He soon overtook the Burmese drawn up in masses, and prepared to defend a gorge in front of them. Without hesitation he still pushed forward, resolving to oppose his small band to a force of between four and five thousand men. Close to the jungle were some villages, defended by two stockades. Wild shouts were raised as the soldiers behind them opened fire on the British. The muskets of the latter were so wetted by the storm, that they could not be discharged, and it was resolved instantly to close with their opponents. A savage struggle ensued; the stockades were forced; and the Burmese, with spear or musket couched, and heads lowered, charged madly on the gleaming bayonets of their foes, who received them as if their serried ranks were formed from living rock. A frightful scene of slaughter ensued; the fierce troops of Ava neither gave quarter or expected it, but, with glaring eyes and bloody weapons, ground their teeth, and died cursing the powerful enemy they could not overcome.

It was impossible to spare the lives of infuriated men who would not submit. So long as they could wield a weapon, they struck desperately at their foes; and to destroy these fanatical savages became simply an act of self-defence. The mass of the Burmese army made no attempt to support their companions in the stockade; but when they saw the British in possession of the latter, they raised a ferocious howl, and advanced as if determined to avenge their fate. On beholding the steady front of the British, they thought better of it, and withdrew, when the British also returned to their quarters.

The Burmese, baffled in their attempts to subdue the enemy their own arrogance and aggression had drawn upon them, then had recourse to negotiation. It was perfectly understood that their object was merely to gain time while they made more extensive preparations for war; therefore, the terms on which peace might be made were at once communicated to them; and they were informed that unless these terms were immediately assented to, hostilities would not be delayed. To convince them that this decision was not an idle one, an advance was made the following morning against Kemmendine. The troops were again led by Sir Archibald Campbell, and the Burmese were panic-stricken on beholding the effect of the shells thrown into the place, and speedily retreated from the effect of weapons which seemed more than natural in their terrible destructiveness. The stockades were forced, and the English were soon in possession of Kemmendine. They found that, as at Rangoon, the inhabitants had all been driven away, and the place rendered desolate;—a negative and obstructive mode of war, which has sometimes produced effects more fatal than the sword, and not seldom allied itself with pestilence and famine.

LONG AND CHEQUERED CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE BURMESE.

THOUGH victory waited on the active operations of the British, their situation was extremely deplorable. It is not courage so much as endurance that is the highest excellence of soldiers: to suffer with patient heroism is often more a prognostic of ultimate victory than to fight with devoted bravery. The country surrounding Rangoon had been devastated at the command of its

sovereign; and the English, disappointed in their hopes of obtaining supplies of fresh meat and vegetables, were compelled to subsist on tainted meat and sour biscuit. Pestilential malarias arose from the jungle and the swamps, and spread fever and dysentery through the camp; these were followed by scurvy and hospital gangrene; and by the end of the monsoon, scarcely 3,000 men

were fit for active duty. The Burmese monarch had relied on the unhealthiness of Rangoon to aid the efforts of his ill-disciplined troops, and enable them to execute his command to drive the invaders into the sea, or bring them to the capital to suffer torture and death. Despite of the high language he had held, the king of the golden foot became extremely uneasy on witnessing the pertinacity of the English, and in an unguarded moment he compared himself to a man who, having got a tiger by the tail, knew not whether to hold on or let go. It is said that he was encouraged in holding on by an odd tradition that Ava would remain invincible until a magical vessel advanced against it without oars or sails. This prophecy was apparently fulfilled, when the *Diana* steamed up the Irawaddy,—a circumstance which filled the Burmese with astonishment and terror; some of them even leaping into the water to escape from the presence of what they regarded as a supernatural and infernal contrivance.

The Burmese in the jungle having been reinforced, advanced on the 1st of July, and approached Rangoon. They were led by Sykia Wongee, a favourite of the king and third minister of state, who was sent to surround and capture the British forces. The Burmese attacked with their jingals and other heavy arms, but their advance was soon checked by a discharge of grape and shrapnel. They fought for a short time with great fury, and then retreated to the jungle, leaving about one hundred of their comrades dead on the field. In consequence of this reverse, Sykia Wongee was recalled in disgrace, and the command was given to Soomba Wonjee, the second minister of state. Soomba was attacked by Sir Archibald Campbell on the 8th, and was slain after having fought with determined bravery and considerable skill. This engagement was a very fatal one to the Burmese; several other chiefs of rank perished, ten stockades were captured, 800 of the Burmese troops were left dead on the field, while numbers more crawled back to the jungle to die of their wounds, or were probably eaten by the alligators with which the river abounds. The neighbouring villages were reported to have been filled with helpless sufferers, left there to expire unassisted and uncared for. The spoil included thirty-eight pieces of artillery, forty swivels, and 300 muskets. The loss of the British amounted to but four killed and forty-seven

wounded. While the army was thus engaged, the boats of the navy towed not less than fifty-three huge fire-rafts clear of the shipping; and Captain Hardy, of the *Teignmouth*, destroyed eleven large country boats laden with stone, and intended to have been sunk by the enemy in the channels of the river; Lieutenant Dobson also captured thirty-five large boats, deeply laden with rice and salt fish, and doubtless intended for the use of the Burmese troops.

At this period the rainy season was at its worst, and the consequent sufferings of the troops were very great. Most of the neighbouring lands were under water, and the troops had sometimes to march, or rather wade, knee-deep in muddy slush. Even under these circumstances the subjugation of the maritime provinces was resolved upon, and an expedition, under Colonel Miles, sent against Tavoy and Mergui. The former yielded without opposition; and the latter, after giving some trouble, was taken by storm. After it was reduced, however, the people submitted very quietly to the new government placed over them.

The defeats sustained by the Burmese troops had damped their courage, and their chieftains became convinced that they had entered into the war with a false confidence, and with an erroneous estimate of the enemy they had to deal with. The king felt it was necessary to adopt some means of reviving the spirits of his people, and he resolved upon at once striking a decisive blow. With this view, his two brothers, the princes of Tonghoo and Irawaddy, were sent from Ava to superintend the operations. That nothing might be wanting to ensure success, these great personages brought with them a host of astrologers, and a body of troops called "the King's Invulnerables." These soldiers were remarkable for the curious and elaborate tattooing of their bodies, which were covered with figures of animals. They were trained to perform a defiant war-dance upon the field of battle, and to expose themselves while doing so to the hottest fire of the enemy, in order to inspire the rest of the army with courage. They derived their name of Invulnerables from a real or pretended belief that their persons were impervious to steel or bullet—an assumption which did not derive any confirmation from their encounter with the British. Early in August, the Burmese army, under the command of the two princes, encamped near the bank of the

Irawaddy, and the royal chieftains announced that it was their determination not merely to expel, but also to exterminate the English. They also gave orders (which were, however, more easily given than executed) that the channel of the river in the rear of the English forces should be blocked up, that not one of the "wild captive strangers" might escape the punishment about to overtake them. Notwithstanding these lofty announcements, the British dispossessed them of the spot on which they had encamped; the Burmese declining the battle on that occasion, as the astrologers did not think that the auspicious time for an attack had arrived.

For several weeks the opposing forces remained stationed near each other. Then the astrologers fixed the 30th of August for the attack, promising that the stars would shower victory on the Burmese arms, that the Invulnerables would recapture the great pagoda of Shoe-Dagon, and enable the princes to celebrate an approaching festival within its sacred walls. At midnight on the 30th, the Invulnerables advanced in a compact body, yelling forth bitter imprecations on the "impious strangers." The British were prepared, and soon the darkness of the night, which was intense, was irradiated by vivid and rapidly-repeated flashes from their cannon. The triumphant yells of the Invulnerables were changed to cries of pain and screams of death, as their ranks were torn asunder by showers of grape-shot and volleys of musketry. Thrown into inextricable confusion, they no longer performed the dance of defiance, but made a different and more prudent use of their legs, fleeing in terror and despair to the nearest jungle.

The defeat of the Burmese troops could not be concealed from the lofty lord of the seas and earth, who was not without difficulty convinced that his supposed invincible bands had failed to overwhelm the English. With a resolute perseverance not common in a semi-barbarous people, he resolved to make greater exertions than ever to wipe from his sacred and unspeakable name the disgrace that defeat had left upon it. He appointed the famous Maha Bandoola, a chieftain unrivalled in his dominions for courage and warlike skill, to command the army. This man, barbarian as he was, showed himself to possess real military talent. When, in the breaking out of the war, the Burmese threatened to invade

Bengal, Bandoola was appointed to lead the army; and so sanguine were the expectations entertained of his success, that he was actually provided with golden fetters, in which he was to bring back the governor-general of India captive to the court of Ava. The British expedition against Rangoon had interfered with the execution of this design, and now Maha Bandoola was to exhibit his martial talents in the defence of his native country, instead of carrying fire and sword into the dominions of the foe.

The English soon found, to their cost, that Bandoola had not acquired his warlike reputation altogether without deserving. Rapidly advancing a portion of his army as far as Ramoo, he succeeded in surrounding a British detachment consisting of five companies of the 23rd native infantry, three of the 30th, and some provincials, together with the Mugh levy and artillery. Falling upon them with as much suddenness as ferocity, he threw them into confusion, and gained a complete victory. Among the prisoners were many native and some European soldiers, who were all put to death, to gratify the savage triumph of their bloodthirsty foes. The news was received at Bengal with astonishment and terror. It was impossible to tell what might be the consequence of such a defeat of a power whose influence over those it governed was based upon the belief that it was invincible. Not only was the advance of the vindictive Burmese to be feared, but it was probable that the half-conquered tribes of India might rise from north to south; that the brave dwellers of the mountain Ghauts (so recently reduced) might unite with the Mahratta cavalry and the troops of the Mysoor and the Carnatic, and, encouraged by a reverse of the rulers they had so dreaded, overwhelm and bury them beneath the desperate onslaughts of armies almost as numerous as the leaves of the vast forests of Hindoostan, and far outnumbering the pallid stars which throw a soft and spectral light over its broad tracts of jungle and its rich level plains.

Such was the terror exhibited by the soft and effeminate Bengalese, that whole villages were deserted by their inhabitants; and the native merchants were with difficulty prevailed upon to believe that they were safe at Calcutta, under the protection of Fort William. These fears were allayed by the retirement of Bandoola from Ramoo, from whence he was recalled by the king of

Ava, that he might restore the reputation of the Burmese in the neighbourhood of Rangoon, prior to undertaking the conquest of Bengal and the subversion of the British power. Bandoola retired from Ramoo in a manner which would have reflected credit upon an European general. The advanced posts of the English had no suspicion of the intended movement. Evening closed in without any indication of unusual activity in the Burmese camp; but when the morrow dawned, the whole army had disappeared, leaving no trace of its route, and not a single sick or wounded soldier to point to the direction his comrades had taken.

The terror created by the daring, skill, and ferocity of Bandoola was not confined to the spiritless traders and villagers of Bengal—a race in whom craft had ever predominated over courage; who ever fled, rather than fought; and in whose effeminate bosoms the manly virtues of defiant resistance to injustice and aggression found no place. Unfortunately, the native troops of the East India Company, the sepoy, whose discipline and courage had more than once even put that of British soldiers to the blush, became affected with a superstitious dread of encountering the Burmese. The ignorant are always superstitious; and the mass of mere soldiers, even in Europe, will ever be extremely ignorant. Necessarily educated as machines,—taught to endure hardships rather than acquire information, to strike and not to reason, soldiers are apt to receive wild ideas concerning destiny and supernatural influences. The English who besieged Orleans in the early part of the 15th century, were paralysed by their superstitious fears, at the approach of the supposed miraculous virgin, Joan of Arc. These men, the immediate descendants of those hardy English who had won almost incredible victories at Cressy and Agincourt, were made sullen, timid, and, for the time, worthless as soldiers, by a vague, undefinable apprehension—a superstitious terror of a name to which they feared victory was bound by a mystic and inexorable destiny. If these things were, and still are so in enlightened Europe, how much more then in Asia—the nursery of all that is fabulous, the birth-place of a hundred dreamy barbarian and extravagant creeds, which take the place of pure and simple religion. Many of the sepoy regarded the Burmese power with

awe, and looked upon Maha Bandoola as a destined conqueror, with whom it was useless to contend.

This feeling soon took a tangible form. Some native regiments, assembled at Barrackpore, complained loudly of several grievances under which they affirmed they laboured. On an examination being made, the complaints of the sepoy were found to be as unreasonable as they were unexpected. The truth was, they were mere pretences to conceal the uneasiness and terror which had seized them on learning that they had to encounter the Burmese troops. By November, 1824, the 47th regiment of native infantry at Barrackpore was in open mutiny. This regiment, together with a number of sepoy (equal to about two companies of the 62nd) and about twenty men of the 26th regiment, refused to obey their orders to march. There were some exceptions to this insubordination, in the persons of the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers. On Sir Edward Paget, the commander-in-chief, being informed of the mutiny, he proceeded to Barrackpore, and had all the troops assembled at the station. Every effort was made by the officer commanding the 47th regiment to reduce the men to obedience, but without effect. Sir Edward Paget was thus driven to the adoption of severe measures. Giving a preconcerted signal, the mutineers were attacked by the faithful forces, and at once broken and put to flight. The most guilty were secured, tried by a court-martial, sentenced to death, and executed. As this misconduct of the men was regarded as being attributable, in some measure, to the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers (the spirit of insubordination being known and connived at by them), the 47th regiment was struck out of the army list, and the native officers discharged from the service as totally unworthy of the confidence of the government and the name of soldiers. A new regiment was then raised, in which the European officers of the late 47th received appointments. On this occasion the governor-general addressed an exhortation to the native officers of the Bengal army, calling upon them to bear in mind the example furnished by the 47th regiment, as that which would inevitably fall upon them, if they were found to be deficient in zeal and fidelity.

General M'Craigh was sent from Rangoon with a considerable detachment of the Bri-

ish troops, to endeavour to dislodge the enemy from a position he had taken up at Keykloo. During the march of the British, they were horrified and incensed by beholding mute and ghastly evidences of the ferocity of the Burmese. Fastened to the trunks of trees, along a considerable portion of the road, were the bodies of twenty-three sepoy and pioneers, who had on a previous occasion been taken prisoners. They were mangled and mutilated in every manner that a depraved imagination and savage nature could suggest. If it was calculated that this dreadful spectacle would intimidate our troops, the enemy were mistaken; for the soldiers, excited by a generous indignation, swore to revenge the sad fate of their friends and comrades. At sunset on the 10th of October, General M'Craigh halted within a mile of the enemy's position, with the intention of attacking the enemy the next day. During the night, however, the Burmese made another of their mysterious and well-conducted retreats, and by the morning no trace of them was to be seen.

Bandoola had returned triumphantly to Ava, where he was received with the highest honours by the Burmese monarch. Such was the exultation caused by his solitary success, that it was assumed by his followers that he would soon be able utterly to crush the English. His name acted like a talisman upon the dusky and yellow hordes who dwelt in the valleys of the Irawaddy and its tributary streams. Those who had desponded recovered confidence, and felt assured that, under such a chief, they could not fail to conquer. Vast numbers flocked to his standard, and a large fleet of war boats, carrying a train of artillery, was to proceed by the river to favour his operations. On the other hand, the English suffered not only from the depression of their native troops, but the army was visited by fever and dysentery. Besides this, the heat of the climate, and the crowded state of the hospitals, seemed to render recovery almost an impossibility. Under these circumstances, the patients were removed to Mergui and Tavoy, where, in consequence of the salubrity of the air, those who had languished for months at Rangoon were speedily restored to health and vigour, and were again able to confront the enemy. The English government also made some attempts to strengthen their cause by endeavouring to form an alliance with the

kingdom of Siam, the inhabitants of which had long been at enmity with the Burmese. The Siamese, however, declined assisting the English, as they believed the latter were no match for the military genius of Bandoola, and they would not ally themselves with what they deemed to be a sinking cause.

The rainy season over, the health of the British army rapidly improved; its spirit depressed, but not broken, acquired its usual hilarity, and the troops waited impatiently for orders to advance. Bandoola had taken up his station in the forest near Rangoon, with the most formidable and best equipped army the Burmese had yet sent into the field. It amounted altogether to nearly 60,000 men, of which 35,000 were armed with muskets, and most of the others with swords and long spears—weapons which the powerful arms of these people enabled them to wield with terrible effect. As usual, they were attended by a body of Invulnerables, who, while protected, as they said, from danger by spells, were to dance defiance to the English. On the 30th of November, the Burmese army was seen fronting the great Shoe-Dagon temple, stretching from the river above Kemmendine, in a semicircular direction, towards Puzendown. Clouds of smoke curling upwards from the different bivouacs indicated its nearness, and even the noise proceeding from the bustle of the camp was sometimes wafted by the wind towards the British lines. At night a profound silence prevailed; but this was ultimately broken by the sound of the heavy tramp of a multitude moving slowly through the woods. The following day a number of war boats and fire-rafts were seen upon the river, and the expected attack was commenced by a heavy fire of musketry and cannon at Kemmendine. The *Teignmouth* considered it prudent to withdraw from the neighbourhood of the fire-rafts, which she did amidst the yells and shouts of the Burmese, who rushed down to the river's bank, and opened a fire upon the British shipping. This was returned by heavy broadsides, and the shot ploughed through the ranks of the Burmese and mowed them down in masses. After a time the firing ceased, the vessels having sustained very little injury from the attack.

On the morning of the 1st of December, the Burmese columns advanced, on the west side of the river, in five or six divisions. Their appearance, however, was rather showy

than warlike, the chiefs advancing under the shade of gilt umbrellas till they arrived opposite Rangoon, where it was their intention to form stockades and erect batteries for the destruction of the English shipping. Fresh columns afterwards issued from the forest, and took up such positions as almost to surround the British forces. Then, taking to their intrenching tools, they threw up a mound of earth, and formed a parapet with such rapidity, that before two hours had elapsed, they were hidden behind their newly-made earthworks. While thus reposing in fancied security, a detachment from the British army burst suddenly into their intrenchments, forced them from their cover, and retired, after having observed the exact character of the works. These were ingenious but rude; their trenches being merely a series of pits, each of which was capable of holding two men, and was excavated so as to afford shelter from the weather as well as from the fire of an enemy. Each pit was provided with a supply of rice, water, and fuel for its occupants, and in a hollow beneath the bank, straw or brushwood was stowed away on which one soldier could sleep, while another remained on guard. During the evening the Burmese returned to their trenches, which they were careful to guard against a fresh surprise.

Several attacks had been made during the day on Kemmendine, but they were all successfully repulsed. The Burmese were extremely anxious to get possession of this post, because they could launch their fire-rafts from it with an infinitely greater chance of destroying the British shipping. If the fire-rafts had been set afloat at Kemmendine, they would have been carried by the set of the tide into the midst of the shipping; but launched from any other part of the river, they only passed very near, or were easily guided off. As the darkness of night set in, the Burmese resolved to make one effort, more desperate than any of the preceding ones, to obtain possession of Kemmendine. Scarcely had our weary soldiers laid themselves down to rest, when suddenly the sky, and the whole surrounding country, became brilliantly illuminated. Several tremendous fire-rafts were seen floating down the river towards Rangoon, while, simultaneously with their appearance, the rolling of musketry and roar of cannon in the direction of the village of Kemmendine, announced that another attack had been made upon the British

station there. With no small amount of judgment, the Burmese had launched their fire-rafts upon the stream with the first of the ebb-tide, with the hope of driving the vessels from their stations before Kemmendine, while the rafts were followed by war boats, ready to take advantage of any confusion that might ensue.

This device was defeated by the ready intrepidity of the British seamen. Entering their boats, they fearlessly grappled the flaming rafts, and conducted them past the shipping, or ran them on shore on the bank. Neither the attack on the water or land side succeeded; the flaming rafts passed threateningly but harmlessly on towards the sea, while by land the enemy were repulsed with heavy loss from before the fort. The gallant band within it were relieved by Captain Chads, who having at that moment returned from a reconnoitring expedition from Pegu, sent up the *Arachne's* pinnace, with three rowing boats, under the command of Lieutenant Kellett, who, by a well sustained fire on the flanks of the enemy, effectually relieved the garrison. The lieutenant also pursued and captured several of the enemy's war boats; one of them being ninety-six feet long, nearly fourteen feet wide, and propelled by seventy-six oars. Some of the fire-rafts, which had been stranded and burnt out on the banks of the river, were afterwards examined, and found to be most ingenious and formidable means of aggression. They were made of bamboos worked together, and having between every two or three rows a line of large earthen jars, filled with petroleum and cotton. Other inflammable materials were distributed in different parts of the raft; and the whole burnt with a fierceness that is scarcely conceivable. Some of these destructive affairs were more than one hundred feet in length, and being divided into pieces, attached to each other by a sort of hinge, were so arranged, that when they caught upon the cable or round the bow of the ship, they might double on each side of her, and so ensure her destruction. One raft touched the *Teignmouth*, and set her on fire; but through the activity of the crew, the flames were extinguished before much damage was done. The indefatigable exertions of the naval officers and seamen won the high commendation of Sir Archibald Campbell.

The dawn of the following day revealed the Burmese busily engaged in digging new trenches within musket-shot of the northern

face of the great pagoda, and their numbers and activity enabled them to gain such a position that they could direct their fire even into the barracks of the English. Of course it was necessary to dislodge them; and it was soon found, that notwithstanding their boldness and ferocity, they always gave way before the charge of European troops. But though often repulsed, they were always ready to renew the strife; and a harassing warfare was continued, with scarcely any intermission, through seven successive days.

On the 5th of December, an attack was made by the British on the left wing of the Burmese army, which extended to the vicinity of the town of Rangoon. Two columns of attack were formed, one led by Major Sale, consisting of 800 men, and the other under Major Walker, comprising 500. Major Walker made a gallant attack on the enemy's lines, and perished in the first intrenchment, which was, notwithstanding, carried by his men. Major Sale forced the centre, and the left wing of the Burmese was speedily broken and dispersed, after sustaining a heavy loss. Bandoola spent the following day in rallying his discomfited troops; and, however mortified by the reverse, he showed no indisposition to continue the contest. On the 7th he evidently intended to make a great effort to recover the advantage he had lost. That day the whole Burmese army was drawn up in front of the British, and their bravadoes could be heard from our camp. Having lashed thirty fire-rafts and large boats together, so as to form a line extending nearly across the river, they drifted them down to burn the shipping, which fortunately escaped uninjured, although one vessel was touched by them.

The ever-ready Sir Archibald Campbell did not leave it to the Burmese to commence the attack. At half-past eleven he led an assault on the enemy's camp. The British were received with a spirited fire, but they advanced, undismayed and unchecked, up to the works of the enemy, who, unable to withstand them at close quarters, speedily fled in confusion. Their intrenchments were at once taken possession of, and in them were found scaling-ladders, and everything necessary for storming the pagoda. In the defeats sustained by the Burmese, from the 1st to the 7th of December, their losses were very heavy. Some officers estimated them at 5,000 in killed

and wounded; but this is doubtless an exaggeration. During the same period the loss of the British did not amount to 300 men.

Bandoola, aware that unless success waited on his efforts, he had little to expect from despotic gratitude, and that probably a painful and lingering death would be his doom if he returned defeated to Ava, resolved to make another effort to defeat the powerful foe to whom he was opposed. A Burmese deserter brought news of the meditated attack, and preparations were made to receive the enemy. First, upwards of sixty blazing canoes and bamboo rafts, all loaded with oil and combustibles, were launched down the river; but, as usual, they all proved impotent for mischief. The Burmese were more successful in a treacherous attempt to set fire to Rangoon, and about a fourth part of the town was consumed. To punish the enemy, Captain Chads sent Lieutenant Kellett, with the *Diana* steam-vessel (the dreaded magic ship) and a suitable force, up the Panlang branch of the river. The lieutenant attacked the enemy's war boats, which he found in strong force,—defeated the Burmese sailors, and slaughtered them in great numbers, and took three of the largest war boats, together with forty other boats loaded with ammunition and provisions for the army before Rangoon. In the meantime Sir Archibald Campbell again anticipated the Burmese, by storming and carrying by assault the intrenched and stockaded works of the enemy, which were defended by upwards of 20,000 men, under the command of Maha Silwah. Bandoola retired with his army to a village named Kokeen, where he again intrenched his force, about four miles from the great pagoda; but the number that now followed his no longer victorious standard was thinned by the sword and by desertions, and fell far short of the vast host that formerly threatened even the very extirpation of the English. It was now supposed not to exceed 25,000 men; but the military talents of Bandoola still rendered it extremely formidable. The new intrenchments of the enemy were pronounced by Sir Archibald Campbell to have been contrived with an amount of judgment that would have done credit to European engineers. Still, when attacked, as before, by British soldiers and British shipping, they were again forced to give way, and abandon this new position. At Kokeen the Burmese

suffered a terrible reverse, and were driven from the ramparts at the point of the bayonet. Great numbers also fell beneath the sabres of a body of British cavalry; and the routed and dispirited Burmese army retreated upon Donoobew. Many of the natives, seeing that the English did not injure those who were not in arms against them, took courage to return to Rangoon and resume their peaceful occupations—a circumstance which afforded our army the

means of subsistence, and much facilitated its operations. By the close of the year 1824, the savage Burmese repented of their aggressive conduct; for they had begun to perceive the vast difference, in a prolonged contest, between savage and scientific warfare. They were, however, yet to receive some bitter lessons before they abandoned a cause begun in despotic wantonness, and now tending surely to irreparable defeat and humiliation.

PROGRESS OF THE BURMESE WAR.

MANY difficulties were yet to be overcome before such a peace as would be satisfactory to the English government in India could be made with the Burmese, and fresh victories were necessary to convince this fierce and obstinate people of the hopelessness of the struggle in which they were engaged. To strike terror into the king of the golden foot, it was resolved to push on towards Ava, the capital of the empire; the naval force proceeding up the Irawaddy, and the army marching as near to the banks of the river as possible. The land force was indeed divided,—one portion proceeding by land, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell; and the other, intended to act on the river, proceeded in boats under the orders of Brigadier-general Cotton.

In their advance the British passed through many mournful scenes of desolation and ruin. Through the whole line of march the villages were empty and silent, and the country deserted. At Mophee they found a splendid mansion, which had been erected for Bandoola when he was coming down to Rangoon; but that, too, was silent and desolate: a smaller and still more silent habitation awaited the once victorious, but now fugitive general. The advance, sometimes through forests or jungle, where gaunt leafless trees seemed to share the general desolation, was necessarily slow; and in one of the many woods they passed, they found a succession of strong stockades, extending for many miles, and which had sheltered the enemy during the rainy season. As may be supposed, our troops had to endure many privations—exposure, cold, and hunger; but they obtained a tolerable supply of buffalos' flesh. A complimentary embassy was also received from the Siamese, who were surprised and

delighted at the success of the English; but that prudent people were by no means inclined to take an active part against the Burmese. Late in February, the British reached Soomza. The governor of that place had fled from his post, but, fearful of being punished by the lord of the white elephants, he sent several messengers to Sir Archibald Campbell, expressing a desire to place himself under British protection, adding that he was so surrounded by spies, that he could not find an opportunity for getting away. It seems that his correspondence with the English was discovered; for an officer, bearing a letter, was sent to him from the king. The governor received the paper, and while engaged in reading it, the head of the unsuspecting victim was severed from his body by a single blow from the sword of the treacherous messenger. Such is the subtle and deadly nature of the wrath of an eastern despot! Sudden and unprepared for execution, without trial or even accusation.

Bandoola and his forces were still at Donoobew, where they presented a very formidable appearance. The flotilla, which during its progress had carried the extensive stockade and outworks of the Panlang, after a very feeble resistance, although defended by upwards of 4,000 men, arrived on the 6th of March (1825) within two miles of the white pagoda of Donoobew. General Cotton, the commander of the "water column" (as the troops on board the vessels were called), dispatched a summons to Bandoola to surrender the place. The Burmese chieftain returned an immediate and decided refusal. As the number and weight of the enemy's artillery, and the ability with which it was worked, gave good reason for expecting a resolute defence,

General Cotton determined to attack the forts in detail. Landing below the stockades, he left the defence of the river to the navy, and led an attack against the stockade pagoda, which was carried by assault after a short cannonade. The loss of the English amounted to twenty in killed and wounded; while that of the enemy was estimated at 450. The outworks of Donoobew were then attacked, but the defences were so skilfully arranged, and the Burmese worked their artillery with so much steadiness, that the English were driven back after suffering a severe loss. So considerable were the effects of this reverse, that General Cotton found it necessary to re-embark his troops and fall back about ten miles lower down the river.

Great disappointment was experienced by the English, and the matter gave considerable uneasiness to the commander-in-chief, who had not entertained any doubt of the success of the attack. No blame could be attached to any one; every possible effort had been made; and the reverse was one of those casualties of war which the most experienced soldiers are compelled at times to suffer. It was now resolved to make a more vigorous and, as it was trusted, irresistible attack upon Donoobew. The land and water divisions of the British forces were united; and, on the 18th of March, Sir Archibald Campbell had the whole of his army on the right bank of the Irawaddy, where Bandoola was situated. On the 25th he advanced against Donoobew; while the flotilla, under the command of Captain Alexander, was at hand ready to give every possible assistance; and the war steamer, so much dreaded by the natives, boldly passed their strongest redoubts.

Bandoola awaited the attack at the head of 15,000 veteran Burmese troops. His position was defended by strong fortifications, and a powerful cavalry also threatened the flanks of the English. It was evident that the Burmese had left no means in their power untried to repel the invaders, whose slow yet constant advance, in spite of all their efforts, both surprised and terrified them. With a strange confusion of modern and ancient modes of warfare, the Burmese made a sortie with their cavalry, attended by seventeen armed elephants. They were charged by the British cavalry, covered by the artillery; the elephant riders were soon dismounted or killed, and the huge beasts returned very quietly to the town.

On the 2nd of April, the British encamped in front of the Burmese works, from which, for some hours, a heavy firing was kept up, with scarcely any intermission. It ceased in the afternoon—a circumstance which induced the English to believe that some new hostile movement was in progress. This supposition was a correct one: about ten o'clock at night the camp was roused by the sound of musketry, and the war-cries of the Burmese. The men seized their arms, and were hurriedly formed. They were scarcely in position when the enemy pressed forward with the intention of turning the British right, while a distant fire was opened on the left and centre. When the right wing had been outflanked, the two extreme regiments changed front, and by a constant fire on the enemy, so completely checked the assailants, that they were compelled to withdraw. The English then opened their mortar batteries, and continued for a considerable time to throw rockets into the Burmese works. The rockets were thrown occasionally for several days, and produced great effect. On the 31st, a Burmese came from the works of the enemy, carrying before him a piece of canvas, on which was inscribed the words—“In war we find each other's force; the two countries are at war for nothing, and we know not each other's minds.” This seemed to indicate a desire for peace on the part of the Burmese; but on the bearer being questioned as to the object of it, he professed to know nothing. Afterwards he declared that there had been a great consultation at Bandoola's house, at which it was resolved that he should seize a favourable moment for sallying out upon the British with all his force. The firing of rockets was renewed on the 1st of April with destructive effect, and the breaching batteries were opened at daybreak on the 2nd. Their deadly showers of iron were unnecessary, for the Burmese fortifications were already deserted by their disheartened defenders. With the first thunders of the British cannon, two Lascar seamen, who had been left prisoners in the fort, came out and informed the English general that the place was abandoned. The dreaded Bandoola was no more: he had been killed on the preceding day by a rocket; and his followers were, in consequence, so dispirited that they had fled during the night. This unexpected intelligence proved to be correct, and the British troops immediately marched in and took possession. So precipitately had the

Burmese retired, that they left behind them a vast quantity of artillery, arms, and ammunition, and a large depôt of uninjured grain.

Sir Archibald Campbell continued his advance, and led his forces onward, by the banks of the river, to Promé, one of the largest towns of the Burmese empire. It was to that place the enemy had retired after abandoning Donoobew, and there they attempted to organise a new army, with the hope of still driving back the advancing foe. Fresh chieftains were appointed, and a numerous artillery was on the road from Ava to crown the summits of the neighbouring hills. The advance of the British was too rapid to admit of these arrangements being carried into effect. They no sooner made their appearance before Promé than the startled Burmese army abandoned it without a musket being fired. As they retired, however, they left the city in flames, which were not extinguished before a great deal of mischief was done. The Burmese had attempted to delay the march of the English upon Promé by commencing some negotiations. If this artifice had succeeded in retarding the English for two days, the enemy would have received large reinforcements, Promé would have been strongly fortified, and probably not taken without a melancholy loss of life. The British commander was not deceived: he did not suffer the march of his troops to be suspended for an hour; and thus the artifice of the enemy was foiled, and another instance afforded of the truth—that celerity in war is ever a forerunner of victory, while procrastination is the precursor of disaster and defeat. In their flight from Promé the Burmese had adopted their customary and cruel policy of laying all the villages through which they passed in ruins, and of driving the wretched peasantry from their homes, into the neighbouring woods and jungle. Scenes of intense misery afterwards greeted the gaze of the English. Blackened heaps of ruins, over which groups of dogs howled dismally, charred rafters, and desolated fields and gardens, trampled into barrenness by the heels of the retiring army, were all that remained to indicate the spots where recently towns and villages had stood,—where the young grain was springing,—where early flowers were putting forth their beauty,—where the husbandman tilled the earth in the hope of receiving its produce,—and where the playful voices of children were heard,

happily ignorant, in their wild gambols, of the approaching terror—of the bitter scourge that chastised a people for the tyrannical aggression of its rulers.

At Promé the English formed a military depôt, and encouraged the natives to return to their habitations, which many of them did, though generally in a deplorable state of destitution. The English remained at Promé in good quarters during the months of June, July, and August, at which period heavy rains almost preclude an army from taking the field, or only allow it to do so at the price of extreme misery and sickness, as the English had unhappily learnt in the preceding year. While our troops were resting after their hazardous and exhausting exertions, Captain Marryat and Major Sale were engaged at Negrais, at the entrance of the Bassein river. The result of their operations in that locality was to annex Bassein to the other provinces taken from the enemy, who was thus deprived of all the maritime districts from Cape Negrais to Tenasserim. To comprehend the advantages derived from this movement, it must be observed that the delta of the Irawaddy and Bassein rivers afforded abundant supplies to Donoobew; that a chain of communication (established through a combination of active chiefs brought over to the English cause) from Negrais to Lamina, enabled Major Sale to open a communication with the British general higher up the river; and that the occupation of this chain prevented a powerful reinforcement from joining a Burmese army then stationed at Donoobew, in the rear of Sir Archibald Campbell—a circumstance which, if it had occurred, might have been fraught with the most serious results to the English.

The Burmese monarch, though he must have been convinced that mere bravery, when opposed to bravery in alliance with all the advantages of European science, could not be successful, was yet disinclined to abandon the struggle. He caused troops to be levied in every part of the empire, and offered extravagant bounties in order to procure a force sufficiently powerful to overwhelm the English. The Shan tribes on the Chinese frontier were required to furnish their military tribute, and 15,000 of that race responded to the summons, in the hope of getting a share of the wealth of the invaders, whom they supposed they were about to subdue. On the setting in of autumn, a Burmese army was collected to

oppose the advance of the British; so numerous as to be estimated at 70,000 men. The English, also, were slightly reinforced by the arrival of Commodore Sir James Brisbane, who succeeded to the command of the Indian squadron, and brought with him the boats and seamen of the *Boadicea* frigate.

Notwithstanding the vast preparations of the Burmese to continue the contest, they were disposed to enter into a negotiation for the restoration of peace. Arrangements having been made to that effect, commissioners from the hostile forces proceeded to the appointed rendezvous on the 2nd of October. The Burmese commissioners proposed that the first day of their meeting might be devoted to social intercourse, a suggestion which was somewhat reluctantly complied with, for the British well knew the craftiness of their adversaries. The British were represented by General Cotton, Captain Alexander, Brigadier M'Craigh, Lieutenant-colonel Tidy, and Captain Snodgrass: the latter, who acted as military secretary to the general, afterwards gave a striking picture of the forms and ceremonies, courtesies, and shufflings of the Burmese diplomatists. The principal conditions of peace proposed by the English were—the non-intervention of the court of Ava with the territories of Cachas, Munnipoor, and Assam; the cession of the four provinces of Assam; the payment of the expenses of the war; a certain sum as an indemnification, one-half to be paid immediately, and the provinces of Tenasserim retained until the liquidation of the other half. In addition to this, the court of Ava was to receive a British agent, and to consent to a commercial treaty upon principles of mutual advantage. The Burmese commissioners had declared that they would do their best to bring about a peace; but after some delay, these conditions were disdainfully rejected; their final determination being thus abruptly communicated:—"If you wish for peace, you may go away; but if you ask either money or territory, no friendship can exist between us. This is Burmese custom."

Another appeal to arms was thus rendered inevitable; and well might the Burmese look with hope to the result of another struggle. Such were the unequal numbers of the opposing armies, that it seems wonderful the English were not overwhelmed and exterminated by their fierce and multitudinous foes. But for the undaunted spirit of the

Anglo-Saxon race,—a spirit which ever rises higher, and becomes more defiant and heroically enduring under reverses,—the British army would have been cut to pieces by the sabres of the dusky hosts who almost surrounded them, or trampled to death, and left to feed the alligators of the Irawaddy, and strew its banks and neighbouring marshes with their whitening bones. Patient and unrepining in the long dreary hours of endurance and suffering—brave, calm, and resolute in the hour of battle, and firm as adamant against the raging assaults of furious recklessness, the English must ever eventually predominate over the daring, excitable, but unenduring hordes of the East. The genius of the North has risen in its might, and before its iron arm and nervous brain the might of the East becomes "unstable as water." The British army was altogether insignificant in comparison with that of the enemy. Besides the troops in garrison at Prome, and some native regiments at Rangoon, it could not number more than 5,000 men, of whom only 3,000 were Europeans. The Burmese, in the several divisions of their army, had more than 70,000 men. Sudda Woor, with 15,000 men, crossed the Irawaddy, and passed along its western bank, with the object of intercepting the rear of the British. The Burmese centre, under Kee Wongee, the chief minister, marched by the eastern side of the river; while the left wing, consisting of 15,000 more, and commanded by a celebrated chieftain named Maha Nemiow, advanced by a distinct route ten miles distant from the river. An army of reserve, consisting of 10,000 men, were posted at Melloone, under the command of the king's half-brother, Prince Memiaboo. Another body of soldiers were stationed to check any movement from Arracan; while Syki Wongee carried on a harassing warfare in the vicinity of Pegu, and constantly threatened Rangoon.

The result of the next movement of the Burmese deceived them with a promise of success,—a circumstance which, by encouraging their audacity, led to their more rapid ruin. Colonel M'Dowall, with two brigades of native infantry, was ordered to dislodge the enemy from the fort of Watygoon. Dividing his men into two bodies, he advanced by different routes towards a certain point, where he intended to reunite them and make an unexpected attack. This scheme was prematurely discovered by the Burmese: Colonel M'Dowall was attacked

while reconnoitring, and killed, together with fifty-three of his men; and no less than 110 more were wounded. His disheartened troops, compelled to retreat, were driven several miles before the enemy.

Encouraged by this delusive success, Maha Nemiow resolved to hazard an advance on Prome. He had, however, too much respect for the valour of his enemy to neglect using due precaution. Not only did he raise stockades as he advanced, but he communicated with the other divisions of the Burmese army, that their movements might correspond with his. For some days he remained in the neighbourhood of Prome, with his soldiers continually employed in strengthening their position. Among the troops under his command were 8,000 men of the Shan tribes, who, besides being led by a number of princes bearing gilded umbrellas, were accompanied by three beautiful women of high rank, who rode through the lines of the men, urging them, by exhortations and blandishments, to annihilate the foe they were about to encounter. Not only were the ladies admired by the Shans for their high spirit, but they were revered, as being supposed to be endowed with something of a prophetic and supernatural character. Nor was this presumed to be their only gift; for the barbarous warriors who rejoiced in their smiles, were taught that they had the power of turning aside the bullet in its screaming flight, and of rendering harmless the most deadly instruments of war. The Shans were full of confidence, for they had not yet tried their strength against British troops, and their demeanour was as joyous as if they were about to take part in some festival, than plunge into a work of slaughter. This wild and savage exultation was speedily to receive an effectual check; for, in the contest which followed, the Shans learnt that their weakness, when opposed to the brave and disciplined troops of Europe, was scarcely exceeded by their arrogance. The power of superstitious fanaticism is but as the power of a drunken man, who though striking with reckless fury, lets fall his ill-directed blows on air, and is speedily overpowered by the resolute courage and well-governed efforts of his calm and collected adversary.

As Maha Nemiow remained in his threatening position, General Campbell resolved not to wait for the attack, but to commence offensive operations. Preparations were

made to attack the Burmese on the 1st of December. It was arranged that Sir James Brisbane was to cannonade their posts on both sides of the river at daybreak, and at the same time a corps of native infantry was to make a feigned attack on the centre, while the columns advanced to commence a real attack on the left. The cannonade had not long occupied the attention of the enemy before Sir Archibald Campbell bore, with nearly his whole army, on their left. The Burmese, unable to stand the shock, were soon thrown into confusion. The Shans fought bravely for a short time, but then took to their heels, leaving their leaders, who obstinately refused quarter, to perish. Maha Nemiow died fighting, and his body, together with his sword, his Wongee's chain, and other insignia, were left on the field. In a short time the left of the Burmese army was utterly routed, and fleeing in frantic dismay. One of the beautiful Shan prophetesses lay dead, with a bullet in her bosom; and a second, while crossing the Nawine river, was seen to fall from her horse into the arms of an attendant, as a shrapnel shell exploded over her head.

After a rest of two hours, the British forded the Nawine, in order to attack the enemy's centre at daylight the next morning, before certain intelligence could be received of the defeat of the left wing. Early on the 2nd they were advancing, in spite of great natural obstacles. At the same time Sir James Brisbane passed the enemy's works, opened a spirited cannonade from the flotilla, and succeeded in capturing 300 boats laden with stores for the use of the Burmese army. Sir Archibald's new attack was brilliantly successful. Of the immense host so recently opposed to him, the division of Sudda Woor, defended by the Irawaddy, was all that remained entire. It did not continue so long. On the 5th of December a British division crossed the river, forced the stockades, and made an assault with such effect, that the whole corps, speedily overthrown and scattered, in miserable despondency could only seek safety by fleeing in all directions through the neighbouring woods. Such was the rapid, the almost meteor-like advance and success of the British forces, that the enemy were so astonished and terrified, that they deserted a strong chain of posts on the banks of the river, which, with the smallest exertion of skill and courage, might have prevented the advance of our flotilla.

FINAL STRUGGLES OF THE BURMESE, AND CONCLUSION OF PEACE.

SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL now made preparations for marching upon Ava; and his troops, flushed with victory, were prepared to undertake any enterprise however daring. The remains of the Burmese army rallied at a strongly fortified city called Melloone, where the reserve, under Prince Memiaboo, was stationed. The defences of this place were in the best style of Burmese fortification, and the number of troops there was increased, by the arrival of the fugitives, from ten to fifteen thousand men. During the onward march of the British, they witnessed scenes at once repulsive and awful. At some points the ground was strewed with ghastly burdens; the dying and the dead lay promiscuously together, as the retreating enemy had dropped from the effects of their wounds, or from exhaustion and disease. Here and there, a small white pagoda marked the new-made grave of some chieftain; while numerous mounds of a more humble character told of the terrible mortality the war had brought upon the enemy. The banks of the river, and the dark jungle in its vicinity, were infested with wild dogs, who were seen crunching the bones of the festering dead, and with vultures, who gorged their lean bodies with human flesh. Almost the only sounds heard, besides the regular tramp of the army, were the harsh scream of these birds of prey and the growl of evil-looking dogs, who showed their white teeth as they retreated sulkily from their hideous meal at the approach of living men. The latter were revolted by the pestilential odours steaming up rankly into the tainted air from the putrefying remains of the dead, and creating an atmosphere fraught with disease and lurking death. The Burmese themselves had added other horrors to make these appalling scenes the more hideous. In some of the deserted stockades gibbets were standing, on which were nailed the bodies of some poor wretches who had been crucified, merely, it was supposed, for quitting their posts to seek for food, or for flying before the enemy. For fifty miles along the road objects of horror met the eyes of the English, who were frequently unable to find room for their tents until they had performed the repulsive task of removing the putrefying corpses of the Burmese to a distance.

The Burmese monarch had now become irresolute; at one time he seemed to long for peace, and at another he was agitated by the vain hope that probably one more effort might perhaps decide the war in his favour. On the 26th of December, some Burmese, bearing a flag of truce, made their appearance in the English camp, and signified that Kolein Menghie, a Burmese commissioner, had arrived with full powers to conclude a peace. At the same time, a truce of five-and-twenty days was requested, but positively denied by the British general, who would only admit of one of four-and-twenty hours. The object of the Burmese was evidently to gain time while they prepared for further efforts; but the English continued their advance on the following day, and encamped on the banks of the Irawaddy, about four miles below Melloone. After the suffering they had undergone, and the victories they had achieved, they were resolved to conquer such a peace as promised both advantage and permanency, though they were aware the difficulties with which they had still to contend were immense. Major Snodgrass observes—"We had now marched 140 miles from Prome, without meeting an inhabitant along the once thickly peopled banks of the Irawaddy, or being able to procure one day's supply from a country formerly abounding in cattle, so effectually had the enemy succeeded in laying waste the line of our advance." Delay, it will be seen, would thus have been most fatal to the English, and might even have brought upon them the horrors of starvation. The policy of the Burmese government, though barbarously severe, was likely to have proved efficient, had not repeated defeats and unexpected catastrophies altogether shaken their confidence in themselves.

Two British officers were sent to Melloone, to arrange a meeting with Kolein Menghie, the new commissioner. That functionary, as usual, endeavoured to delay proceedings as much as possible, and desired that business should be postponed until the approaching full moon, which he anticipated would be a propitious period. The artifice was perfectly understood; added to which, the officers felt that they were not respectfully treated; therefore they declared that the truce would end with their visit, and

that offensive operations would be recommenced immediately. This declaration was acted upon; and, on the 29th, the division advanced to Patanagoh, a town upon the banks of the river, directly opposite to Melloone. The fortifications of the latter place lay fully exposed within practice distance of the English artillery. The principal stockade, which was filled with men, and mounted a considerable number of guns towards the water, appeared to be about a mile square. In the centre of it a handsome and newly gilt pagoda was observed, which had been recently erected to the memory of Maha Bandoola, in order to encourage his successors to follow the example he had set at Donobew, in preferring death to the loss of his post.

On the appearance of the English on the opposite bank of the Irawaddy, the Burmese troops stood about in small parties, gazing vacantly at them. A fleet of war-boats lay at anchor under the stockade, apparently unprotected. The sound of numerous gongs and other warlike instruments brought the crews running to the beach, and in a few minutes every boat was manned and in motion. Our flotilla had not yet arrived; but a fire from our artillery checked the movements of the enemy's war-boats, and prevented their retreat. The sound of firing brought up the English flotilla, led by the *Diana*, which was permitted to anchor above the town, thus cutting off all retreat of the Burmese by water. As they offered no obstacle to this movement, it was assumed that they were really desirous of bringing the war to a close. A truce was therefore concluded that morning, and it was agreed that negotiations for peace should be entered into the following day, the first of the new year.

Kolein Menghie, the diplomatist who was to act for the Burmese government, was a little shrivelled man, in whose dry and yellow features dissimulation and low cunning were indelibly imprinted. He was accompanied by the Kee Wongee, as joint commissioner. The English demanded a crore of rupees (about one million sterling), to defray the expenses of the war. The commissioners answered, that in war all the expenses were not on one side, and that those of the Burmese, in the present contest, had greatly exceeded the burdens which the English had been compelled to bear. "For," said Kolein Menghie, "we have had to raise and appoint four or five new armies,

one after another; and have had, at all times since you came to the country, an immense multitude eating the public bread, and receiving the king's money—a great part of whose revenue has been stopped." He added, that it would be cruel to insist on the exaction of the sum named, as the Burmese government could not pay it. "Our forests," he observed, "contain fine trees; you may cut them down; we could, perhaps, with economy, in one year give you a million baskets of rice; but we do not grow rupees, and have in no way the means of procuring such a sum as you require." Notwithstanding these protestations of poverty, the English negotiators would not abate their demand; and, after long discussions, the Burmese assented to it. The treaty was therefore accepted and signed, and fifteen days were allowed for obtaining the ratification of the king, the delivery of all prisoners, and the payment of the first instalment of the indemnity.

It was supposed that this treaty was a final one, and that hostilities were now at an end. The gallant Sir James Brisbane, suffering severely from a disorder incidental to the country, and feeling satisfied that his services would no longer be required, sailed from Pulo Penang, from whence he proceeded to New South Wales, where he sank and died about a year after having left Melloone. While the English general was waiting for the ratification of the treaty, circumstances occurred which excited suspicion. The Burmese were observed engaged in strengthening their defences, especially during the night. On remonstrances being made, evasive answers were returned, and scarcely a day passed without a visit being received from some chief of rank, who rarely failed to expatiate on the blessings which would result from peace being concluded between the two great nations. When the fifteen days had expired, three officers of state visited the British commissioners, and with many expressions of deep regret, reported that some unfortunate accident (what they could not surmise) had prevented the arrival of the ratified treaty and the prisoners. They added, that they had not heard from Ava since the treaty was sent there for signature. In reply, the English commissioners did not conceal their conviction that this assertion was a gross falsehood. The Burmese officers then offered to pay forthwith an instalment of four lacs of ticks, and give hostages for

the performance of the remaining articles of the contract; and in return, they desired that the British army should be withdrawn to Prome. Of course a positive refusal was given to this deceitful proposition. The Burmese next required that the English should remain where they were until the result of the communications with the king should be known. On this also being negatived, they entreated that five or six days might be granted them, but still met with refusal. The English commissioners would only promise, that if the Burmese evacuated Melloone in thirty-six hours, and continued retiring before the English towards Ava, hostilities should not be resumed, and the march should be suspended as soon as the ratified treaty arrived.

On this proposal being peremptorily rejected by the Burmese, it was intimated to them, that as they had again broken their promises, hostilities would be resumed on the following day. Accordingly, at eleven the next morning, the English batteries opened a fire upon the enemy's stockade, and maintained it for two hours. During this bombardment, preparations were made for the assault. The stockades were attacked on the south-west angle and on the northern face. The British succeeded in escalating the works, establishing themselves in the interior, and in driving before them a body of from ten to fifteen thousand Burmese. The latter, after a short struggle, fled and left the whole of their artillery and military stores in the hands of the English. All Prince Memiaboo's stud was taken, and a sum of money, amounting to from thirty to forty thousand rupees, was discovered in his house. In addition to this, the English and Burmese copies of the unrati- fied treaties were found, just as they had been left when signed and sealed more than a fortnight before. This afforded a convincing proof of the treachery of the Burmese; for it was plain that the treaty had never been sent to Ava for ratification by the king, and that the story that its return was momentarily expected, and had only been delayed by some accident, was a falsehood, framed for the purpose of gaining time while preparations were made for further hostilities. The worthless copies of the treaty were sent after the Kee Wongee and Kolein Menghie, the peace commissioners, accompanied by a note, in which they were sarcastically informed that they had left something behind them which was forwarded with the belief that it

might now be more acceptable to their government than it was a few days before. These wily diplomatists returned an answer, in which they politely acknowledged the receipt of the treaty, and said that the hurry of their departure had also caused them to leave a large sum of money behind them, which they professed to be quite sure that the English general only waited for an opportunity to restore to its former owners. Sir Archibald Campbell, as it may be supposed, did not see the matter in this light, and thought that the rupees were better in the hands of the English, than in augmenting the resources of their enemies.

The British army resumed its march upon the royal city of Ava on the 25th of January, 1826. It was again met by messengers from the Burmese monarch. These were Dr. Price (an American missionary) and Mr. Sandford, a surgeon, who had fallen into the hands of the Burmese, and been detained as prisoners. They were sent on parole, and directed to express his Burmese majesty's desire for peace, and to bring back a statement of the lowest terms that would be granted. These were furnished them, and varied but little from those previously offered and accepted at Melloone. The British, however, consented, on reaching Pagahmmew, to a suspension of their march for twelve days, to allow time for procuring the money compensation from Ava.

The Burmese monarch was either a very vacillating character, which is very probable, or he was again acting with treachery, which is equally probable. While pretending to negotiate, he had again been preparing to renew the war, and to make one more great effort to annihilate the invaders of his territories. By great exertion he had collected another army, amounting to 16,000 men, on whom he bestowed the title of "Gong-to-doo," or "retrievers of the king's glory." This army was placed under the command of a new leader, distinguished for his savage nature, and bearing the title of Nuring Thuring, or Prince of Sunset, which was then erroneously translated by the English into Prince of Darkness, or King of Hell.

A rumour of Nuring Thuring's approach preceded him, and on the 9th of February, he appeared close to the walls of the city of Pagahmmew, and put his troops in battle order. He was encountered by Colonel Campbell with about 2,000 men only, as two brigades of the British army were

absent on duty. The strength of the enemy was eight times as numerous; but the English, flushed with many victories, regarded the result with confident hope. The neighbouring jungle was held by strong bodies of Burmese skirmishers, with whom a running fight was maintained for some miles, when the British debouched into the open country, and beheld the bulk of the enemy's force drawn up in the form of an inverted crescent. Colonel Campbell instantly brought the whole of his force to bear against the Burmese centre. The enemy were unable to resist the fury of the charge; their centre gave way, the army was cut into halves, and soon thrown into irretrievable confusion. A total rout ensued; and great numbers, in their anxiety to escape death by the sword, rushed into the waters of the Irawaddy, and were drowned or became the prey of the alligators. So thorough was the defeat of the Burmese, that out of their army of 16,000 men, but two or three thousand remained together. The rest were dispersed or slain; and the last hope of the monarch of the golden foot was like water poured out upon the dusty earth. The unfortunate Prince of Sunset, despite his lack of military genius, seems to have been a brave man; for he hurried to Ava, and venturing into the "golden presence," prostrated himself before his monarch, and solicited a more powerful force, with which to crush the invaders. The enraged despot instantly commanded him to be dragged from his presence and put to a cruel death.

The military resources of the King of Burmah were exhausted, and nothing remained for him but to accept the terms offered by the victors. He once more attempted to delay the advance of the English by treachery and delusive promises; but these were treated with contempt by the latter, who again resumed their march upon Ava. The country through which they passed was extremely beautiful, the banks of the noble river being richly studded with villages, pagodas, temples, and other handsome buildings. They had approached within forty-five miles of the capital, when Messrs. Price and Sandford again arrived, accompanied by two ministers of state. They brought with them the few Englishmen whom the Burmese government had in their hands as prisoners, together with five-and-twenty lacs of rupees, as the first instalment of the recompense the

English were to receive on account of the expenses of the war. The Burmese ministers declared that their government abandoned the contest, and showed that they had authority, under the sign-manual, to consent to such terms as the English might think it necessary to demand. The treaty of Yandaboo, so called from the place where it was concluded, was signed on the 24th of February, 1826. By it, his majesty of the golden foot renounced all future interference with Assam and its dependencies. Arracan and Tenasserim were ceded to the English; and the King of Burmah was to pay a crore of rupees (about one million sterling), to receive a resident at his court, and to grant to the vessels of the English the same privileges as were enjoyed by his own. The peacock signet was affixed to this treaty, and its conditions were observed during the life of the reigning monarch; the payment of the money, which the Burmese government seemed to regard as the heaviest infliction, being lightened by a permission to settle it by instalments. The Burmese, delighted at the prospect of getting rid of the English, even engaged to furnish boats for the conveyance of a great part of the army to Rangoon. Some disappointment was felt by the latter at being compelled to return when they were so near the golden city, without having entered it and secured a portion of its riches. The conduct of the commander was, however, influenced both by wisdom and humanity. No motive except the gratification of an appetite for plunder and excess, could have been served by overrunning Ava; while the English would ever have been regarded by its inhabitants and their posterity, as merciless and wanton destroyers. Enough had been done to win respect for the British arms, and to warn the Burmese government not to venture again upon an invasion of the British territory. Unhappily for the interests of humanity, hostilities were renewed for a brief period in 1852.

Undoubtedly, much of the success of this prolonged and trying war was attributable to the courage, perseverance, and military talent of Sir Archibald Campbell. These were justly acknowledged by the directors of the East India Company, who presented him with a magnificent gold medal, designed to commemorate the series of victories he had obtained. It bore on one side the representation of a lion, with the British standard waving over him, and an elephant



SIR J. LITTLER



SIR R. SALE.



LORD HARDINGE



LORD GOUGH.



SIR H. SMITH.

filling the external ditch; but the British contrived to repair the breach before the object was effectually accomplished.

A delay of some days occurred, which was occupied in surveying the works and the surrounding country, and in arranging the plan of attack. Lord Combermere, animated by a merciful desire to save the women and children within the place from the horrors of a bombardment, sent a letter to Doorjun Sal, promising to allow them to be conducted unmolested to some place of safety. This humane proposal was refused, either because the usurper was indifferent to the misery which might be brought upon the helpless, or that he suspected the circumstance would in some way favour the views of the British commander.

On the 23rd of December, the besiegers commenced digging their first parallel, at the distance of 800 yards from the works. The men had to labour under a heavy fire from the fortress, but they progressed with steadiness. On the 24th, three English batteries opened upon the fortress, and sustained their fire until the end of the month, at which time scarcely a house in the place was left untouched. Still it was found that the strength of the mud wall was so great, that cannon-shot had very little effect upon it. Lord Combermere then adopted a suggestion of Major-general Galloway, and resolved on mining the wall. Several attempts were made to carry this design into execution, but without effect. One of them was met by a counter-mine, and the English compelled to withdraw. At length they were more successful. Two mines were exploded on the 16th of January, which, together with the fire from the batteries, produced such a breach as induced Lord Combermere to make arrangements to take the place by assault.

This was to be effected on the 18th of January, 1826, and the troops told-off for that purpose were collected in the advanced trenches, unperceived by the enemy. The signal was to be given by the explosion of a mine, in which no less than 10,000 lbs. of gunpowder had been deposited. The train was fired at eight in the morning, and the explosion which followed was awfully tremendous. The ground first trembled, then seemed as if influenced by convulsive throes; then came a blinding glare, a terrific roar and shock; and a portion of the works were hurled with gigantic force into the air, accompanied by such clouds of dust

and smoke as for a time enveloped both besiegers and besieged in total darkness. Before it had altogether cleared away, the English sprang forward to the breaches with a fatal ardour; for several of the foremost of them shared the fate of the enemy, and were crushed beneath falling fragments, or perished in the hideous convulsion which had shattered the mighty wall of the fortress. The enthusiasm of the assailants received a momentary check; but on the order to advance being repeated, they dashed forward and scaled the ramparts. There the besieged desperately opposed their progress: but the sabre is no match for the bayonet; many died fighting, and the rest were driven tumultuously back. On approaching any gun they could not carry off, they fired it madly against their assailants, and pushed on, followed by deadly bayonet charges, which left many of them dead or mangled upon the earth. Within two hours the English were masters of the whole rampart, and the citadel was surrendered in the course of the afternoon. This victory was, however, purchased at a heavy cost; for the English sustained a loss of 600 men. Lord Combermere himself narrowly escaped at the time of the great explosion; for an enormous mass of the wall fell and crushed to death two sepoys who stood within a few feet of him. The loss of the enemy was estimated at upwards of 10,000 men; of whom 8,000 were slain by the explosion and the assault; the rest were cut off by the English cavalry while attempting to escape through the gates on the western face of the fortress.

Doorjun Sal, though indifferent to the safety of his dependents, was not insensible to his own. When the assault commenced, he quitted the fortress with his wife and two sons, escorted by forty horsemen, and sought refuge in a neighbouring wood. There the defeated usurper remained for some hours, and then endeavoured to escape unperceived. He was not fortunate enough to accomplish this object; but being discovered by a troop of native cavalry, he surrendered without opposition, and was sent as prisoner of state to Allahabad. The fortifications of Bhurtpoor were then demolished—a politic step on the part of the British. The young rajah was seated upon the throne of his late father: the people submitted to his sway; those who had fled from their homes returned; and tranquillity was restored. The British government in

India did not, however, give its services without some return. The army appropriated a considerable booty; and although the sovereign authority was allowed nominally to remain in the hands of the principal widow of Baldeo Singh, who acted as regent to the infant rajah, the paramount authority was really vested in a British resi-

dent, permanently appointed to Bhurtpoor. Lord Combermere was requited for his services with the rank of viscount; and the governor-general, in consideration of the successful termination of the Burmese war, and the fall of Bhurtpoor, was raised to the dignities of Viscount Holmsdale, and Earl Amherst of Arracan.

ORIGIN OF THE AFGHAN WAR.

For nearly fourteen years, India was tranquil, and the English ruled their vast conquests undisturbed. Then they became involved in a war, the severity of which found no parallel in their early military proceedings; and the history of which involves the relation of one of the saddest tragedies that ever befel our troops. The origin of this contest was extremely complicated, for it arose out of the conflicting interests of England, Russia, Persia, and India. We will endeavour to state those facts only which are necessary to a comprehension of the subject.

The British dominions in India were separated from Persia by the great plain of the Punjab, the mountainous territory of Afghanistan, and by a broad belt of desert. The Punjab, or country of "the five great waters," of which the mighty river Indus is the chief, was principally inhabited by the Seiks, the most robust, active, and warlike race in India. They were governed by Runjeet Singh, a chieftain whose courage and military talents had obtained for him the proud title of "the Lion of Lahore;" that city being the capital of his dominions.

The Afghan monarchy had for many years been a subject of fierce dispute; usurper succeeded usurper, and most of its rulers perished by violence. Shah Soojah having obtained possession of the musnud, or throne, by deposing his brother Mahmoud, was, in his turn, expelled by the reviving strength of that brother, and driven into exile. In this situation he sought the protection of his neighbour, Runjeet Singh, who plundered him of all his valuables, including the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond, the symbol of Afghan royalty; and made him a prisoner. Mahmoud did not long retain the regal power; for, by an act of fiendish cruelty, he raised up the avenger who was to overthrow him. This was Dost Mohammed, who, by natural genius and

reckless daring, eventually became the absolute ruler of the state. Dost Mohammed, or "the Dost," as he was afterwards generally called, was one of the twenty brothers of Futteh Khan, the gifted minister to whom Mahmoud owed his throne, and who repaid that gift by consenting to his murder under the most atrocious circumstances. Dost was born of a woman of low caste, and was therefore regarded somewhat contemptuously by the high-bred Douranee ladies of his father's family. At an early age, he was put to the degrading office of sweeping the sacred cenotaph of Lamech, the father, as he is termed by these people, of the prophet Noah. Afterwards, he was permitted to hold some menial office about the person of his distinguished brother, in which position he saw everything, listened in silence to everything, and waited with patience an opportunity of advancement. At the age of fourteen he slew one of the enemies of his brother in the open street, in broad day, and then galloped home to report what he had done. From this period his promotion was secure.

Afghan morality is not as the morality of Europe. In the eyes of these wild people treachery seems to be a legitimate exercise of intellect, and murder a necessity, if the path of a man be crossed by a successful rival. Dost Mohammed possessed all the recklessness and unscrupulousness of his race, combined with many attractive qualities. His daring was scarcely exceeded by his intelligence; his manner was frank and open; and he was endowed with those gifts which most inspire confidence and attract affection. In addition to this, he possessed a graceful person and an attractive countenance. Though given to many excesses, he could exert a severity of self-denial; and, notwithstanding an utterly neglected education, his native firmness, dignity, and sagacity, fitted him for command. When

scarcely arrived at manhood, he was regarded as a dashing, fearless soldier, and an able leader. At that age, however, it must be added, that his scruples were few and his excesses many.

It is worth while to dwell for a few moments longer upon the character of this remarkable man, who was to play so important a part in the narrative of our Afghan war. It is thus boldly traced by a military writer who had been in India, and enjoyed the confidence of some of the chief actors in the struggle.* Dost Mohammed, when once supreme at Cabool, "began fully to understand the responsibilities of high command, and the obligations of a ruler both to himself and his subjects. He had hitherto lived the life of a dissolute soldier. His education had been neglected; and in his very boyhood he had been thrown in the way of pollution of the foulest kind. From his youth he had been greatly addicted to wine, and was often to be seen, in public, reeling along in a state of degrading intoxication, or scarcely able to keep his place in the saddle. All this was now to be reformed. He taught himself to read and to write—accomplishments which he had before, if at all, scantily possessed. He studied the Koran; abandoned the use of strong liquors; became scrupulously abstemious; plain in his attire; assiduous in his attention to business; urbane and courteous to all. He made, and without exposing himself to a charge of hypocrisy, a public acknowledgment of his past errors, and a profession of reformation; and did not belie by his life the promises which he openly made. It is not to be questioned, that there was in the conduct of Dost Mohammed, as a ruler, much that may be regarded with admiration and respect. Success did not disturb the balance of his mind, nor power harden his heart. Simple in his habits, and remarkably affable in his manner, he was accessible to the meanest of his subjects. Ever ready to listen to their complaints, and to redress their grievances, he seldom rode abroad without being accosted in the public streets or highways by citizen or peasant, waiting to lay before the sirdar a history of his grievances or sufferings, and to ask for assistance or redress. And he never passed the petitioner,—never rode on; but would rein in his horse, listen patiently to the complaints of the meanest of his subjects, and give directions to his attendants to take

the necessary steps to render justice to the injured, or to alleviate the sufferings of the distressed. Such was his love of equity, indeed, that people asked, 'Is Dost Mohammed dead, that there is no justice?' He is even said, by those who knew him well, to have been kindly and humane—an assertion which many who have read the history of his early career, will receive with an incredulous smile. But no one who fairly estimates the character of Afghan history and Afghan morals, and the necessities, personal and political, of all who take part in such stirring scenes, can fail to perceive, that his vices were rather the growth of circumstances than of any extraordinary badness of heart. Dost Mohammed was not by nature cruel; but once embarked in the strife of Afghan politics, a man must either fight it out or die. Every man's hand is against him, and he must turn his hand against every man. There is no middle course open to him. If he would save himself, he must cast his scruples to the winds. Even when seated most securely on the musnud, an Afghan ruler must commit many acts abhorrent to our ideas of humanity. He must rule with vigour, or not at all. That Dost Mohammed, during the twelve years of supremacy which he enjoyed at Cabool, often resorted, for the due maintenance of his power, to measures of severity incompatible with the character of a humane ruler, is only to say, that for twelve years he retained his place at the head of affairs. Such rigour is inseparable from the government of such a people. We cannot rein wild horses with silken braids."

Runjeet Singh, profiting by the unsettled state of Afghanistan, seized upon Attock, the key of India at the north-west, and also possessed himself of the province of Peshawur. Shah Soojah, trembling for his safety, succeeded in making his escape in the disguise of a beggar, and threw himself on the protection of the English at Loodiana, where his family had previously found refuge. The state of the governments beyond the Indus were such, that the British were in a condition to observe a strict neutrality, which they professed to desire; when a circumstance occurred which led to their interference.

Dost Mohammed applied to Persia for assistance, for Shah Soojah had appeared in arms against him, with the hope of regaining possession of Cabool. The young Persian monarch listened with satisfaction.

* *Kaye's History of the War in Afghanistan.*

He was ambitious, and talked openly of conquest, and he desired to possess himself of the fortress and city of Herat, which lay beyond the boundaries of his kingdom. Herat has been described as the "Gate of India." Within the limits of the Heratee territory, all the great roads leading on India converge. The nature and the resources of the country are such as to favour the passage of an army, and the success of an invader. All the materials necessary for the organisation of a great army, are to be found in the neighbourhood of Herat. The fertility of its soil has won for it the title of "The Granary of Central Asia." Its mines supply lead, iron, and sulphur; the surface of the land is laden with salt-petre; the willow and poplar trees, which furnish the best charcoal, flourish in all parts of it; whilst from the population might be drawn hardy and docile soldiers, with which to recruit the ranks of an invading army.

The Persian monarch had other motives than those of ambition to induce him to endeavour to become master of Herat. Russian agents were continually at his elbow, promising the assistance of the czar, and urging him towards the fulfilment of his purpose. The writer whom we have just quoted, observes—"Mohammed Shah had little real respect for his great northern neighbour; but he profoundly revered the gigantic power of the czar; and mistaking quiescence for weakness, aggressiveness for strength, contrasted the resources of Russia and England in a manner very unfavourable to the pretensions of the latter. The enormous wings of the Russian eagle seemed to overshadow the whole land of Iran; and the shah was eager that they should be stretched over him in protection, and not descend upon him in wrath. He knew, by bitter experience, what was the might of the northern army; he had fled before the Cossacks on the field of Ganjah, and narrowly escaped with his life. But of the English he knew little more than that some courteous and accomplished gentlemen were drilling his native troops, and doing their best to create for him a well-disciplined army, out of the raw materials placed at their disposal." Persia, indeed, was acting directly under the influence of Russia. It was felt that British interests were threatened, and the British government were alarmed. Indeed, a Persian garrison in Afghanistan seemed like the head of a Rus-

sian army advancing upon Hindoostan. Therefore, although the Persian army which besieged Herat was defeated, and compelled to abandon the siege, yet it was resolved, at Calcutta, that we must obtain the sovereignty of Cabool, or prepare to see Russia making an attempt to possess herself of our Indian dominions. The suspicions of the British were further aroused by the discovery, that a Russian agent had been offering assistance to Dost Mohammed.

Lord Auckland, then governor-general of India, resolved to interfere in a manner which he thought calculated to check the increasing influence of Russia, and her dreaded advance into Hindoostan through the agency of Persia. Although it would have been an easy matter to secure Dost Mohammed as a friend, and to have strengthened Afghanistan into a bulwark between our dominions and Persia, yet Lord Auckland resolved, as a pretext for invasion, on setting up the cruel and feeble-minded Shah Soojah against the powerful Dost Mohammed. In addition to this, he sent five ships of war into the Persian Gulf, to draw the attention of the monarch of that country from Herat.

Runjeet Singh was solicited to assist in the restoration of Shah Soojah—a circumstance to which, from motives of enmity to Dost Mohammed, he agreed to, though by no means willingly. Finally, a triple treaty was formed between the governor-general, Runjeet Singh, and Shah Soojah. The professed object of this treaty—that is, the restoration of a legitimate monarch to the throne from which he had been unjustly expelled—was altogether false; for Shah Soojah was himself a usurper, and had scarcely a greater right to the musnud than had the Dost; while the latter was an immeasurably better ruler. Runjeet Singh was to furnish a few thousand troops, which were to be paid by Shah Soojah; and, in return, the former was to be confirmed in possession of all the territories wrested by him from Cabool. The English were sufficiently gratified by having an excuse for invasion, and a prospect of becoming possessors of Cabool. A force, entitled "the army of the Indus," was collected, and war was declared in the October of 1838.

This force was commanded by Sir Henry Fane, who is described as "a fine old soldier of the tory school, with a strenuous dislike of half-measures, especially in military affairs." While this army was being

The city was made over to Shah Soojah, and Hyder Khan (the recent governor) dismissed in safety.

On learning of the capture of Ghuznee, Dost Mohammed endeavoured to make head against the invaders; but he fled across the frontier of Afghanistan into Bokhara. Shah Soojah and the British army pushed forward to Cabool (the capital of North Afghanistan), and made their appearance before its walls on the 6th of August. They entered without resistance, and with considerable pomp; but there was no enthusiasm, no welcome on the part of the people. When Shah Soojah possessed the Balla Hissar, or palace-citadel, in triumph, the British government of India had done all that it had undertaken to do. The time was come for the withdrawal of the British army, but such a step could not be ventured on. The shah had no hold upon the affections of his people, and was altogether unequal to the government of so turbulent a race. He was diffident of himself, and dreaded the return of Dost Mohammed with a power which might hurl him from his unsteady throne. Mr. Macnaghten, therefore, was left at Cabool, as comptroller of the shah, with a portion of the British troops, under Colonel Sale, to support him. The rest were to return to India;—the Bengal troops, led by General Keane, through the Khyber route, and the Bombay column, under General Willshire, by the western line of the Kojuck and the Bolan. In England the news of the success of the campaign elicited from royalty rewards for the chief actors in it. Lord Auckland was created an earl; General Keane was made Baron Keane of Ghuznee; a baronetcy was conferred on Mr. Macnaghten; and a shower of lesser distinctions descended upon the working officers.

The winter of 1839 passed in tranquillity. The English were in military possession of Afghanistan, for they had established garrisons in the cities of Candahar and Cabool, and in the principal posts on the main roads to Hindoostan: this, though a necessary consequence of the steps that had been taken by the British government, was a severe drain on its finances, besides being extremely distasteful to the Afghan people. Our aged ally, Runjeet Singh, died during the summer of 1839; and now it was anticipated that a lurking animosity on the part of the Seiks would be likely to show itself in a malignant form, in the event of any misfortune of the

British rendering it safe for them to venture upon open hostilities.

Dost Mohammed, when he fled from Cabool, had taken refuge, together with two of his sons (Afzul Khan and Akbar Khan), in the city of Bokhara. The treacherous ameer of that city desired also to possess himself of the family of the fugitive, that he might deprive them of their jewels and their ornaments. Dost Mohammed declined placing the ladies of his family in the hands of his treacherous host, who, consequently, threw him into prison, and threatened him with death. The Dost and his sons at length contrived to escape. After encountering many dangers they were received by an old ally, who placed all his resources at their disposal. The abilities of the fugitive ruler were not forgotten by the Afghans, and he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. In this position he resolved on an attempt to regain the power he had lost; and when reminded that his wives and children were in the power of the English, replied mournfully, "I have no family: I have buried my wives and children."

At first the progress of Dost Mohammed was successful; a body of Afghan troops, raised by Shah Soojah, deserted to him, and the English at Cabool became greatly alarmed. An insurrection was also feared. "The Afghans," said the British minister, "are gunpowder, and the Dost is a lighted match." Fortune, however, favoured the British; Brigadier Denny utterly defeated Dost Mohammed at Bamian, and the fugitive ameer, and his two sons, are said to have been indebted for their lives only to the swiftness of their horses. Defeated, but not depressed, this remarkable man yet entertained hopes of success. "I am like a wooden spoon," he said; "you may throw me hither and thither, but I shall not be hurt." He rallied his troops; and, on the 2nd of November, 1840, met and defeated a British force in the valley of Purwandurrah. Awed by this disaster, the British contemplated falling back on Cabool, and remaining there solely on the defensive. Dost Mohammed was too wise a man not to know that, despite this momentary success, he was engaged in a hopeless struggle. He had struck the last blow, and he considered that he might now retire from the contest, and throw himself upon the protection of his enemies without any loss of personal dignity or honour.

Attended by a single follower, the Dost turned his horse's head towards Cabool, and

leaving the beautiful valley which had been the scene of the struggle, a ride of four-and-twenty hours brought him beneath the walls of the city. Sir William Macnaghten was returning from an evening ride when a horseman galloped up, and informed him that the ameer was at hand. "What ameer?" inquired the envoy. "Dost Mohammed Khan," was the answer; and presently the ameer made his appearance, and after saluting Sir William, offered him his sword, and said he was come to claim his protection. The fallen chief was treated with a becoming generosity; every effort was made to soothe his feelings, and he soon became serene and cheerful. Dost Mohammed captivated all the English

officers by his courtesy and intelligence; while in the British camp he remained an honoured prisoner; and on being sent into India he was received by Lord Auckland with much consideration; and a pension of two lacs of rupees, or about £20,000 a-year, was granted him. This was but right; for the Dost had been deprived of his kingdom, not because he deserved to forfeit it, but to support a mistaken course on the part of the English government. Sir William Macnaghten, in the following words, wrote an unconscious satire upon himself and his colleagues:—"We ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim."

AFGHAN INSURRECTION, AND MURDER OF SIR ALEXANDER BURNES AND SIR WILLIAM MACNAGHTEN.

THE position of the English in Afghanistan was both uncertain and perilous. Tranquillity was only maintained by the power of the sword, and the people hated the oppressive intruders. The English desired to govern the country through the instrumentality of Shah Soojah; but they were unable to accomplish this object. The shah was uneasy in consequence of his dependent position; and the fierce Afghans were watching for an opportunity to expel the infidels. The revenues of Cabool fell short, and scarcely sufficed to pay the expenses of the government, and the military occupation of the country was maintained at a ruinous expense to the East India Company. An attempt was made to diminish this expenditure by reducing the amount of "black mail," paid to certain Ghilzye chiefs for checking the excesses committed by the robber tribes who infested the mountain passes. This proved to be a doubtful economy; for it was absolutely necessary that the Koord Cabool Pass—a long and dangerous defile, through which the road from Jellalabad to Cabool runs—should be always open to the British. The Ghilzyes rose in arms when their allowance was stopped, and Major-general Sir Robert Sale was ordered to force the pass. This he did after encountering much savage resistance; and he finally arrived at the fortifications of Jellalabad, without the native troops of Shah Soojah, who deserted him and went over to the robbers.

In Cabool, the English in the service of Shah Soojah were the object of general

hatred. A storm was gathering; but Sir William Macnaghten, whose want of foresight in this event equalled his resolute courage, regarded it with indifference, or rather failed to discern the signs of its approach. He flattered himself that everything was quiet, and he was pleased with the idea of shortly quitting Cabool, and ending his official days in comparative quiet and repose in the distinguished position of governor of Bombay, to which he had recently been appointed. He was to have been succeeded by Sir Alexander Burnes, who since the restoration of the shah, had been at Cabool in an unrecognised and unintelligible position. It has been happily remarked that his mission in Afghanistan appears to have been to draw a large salary every month, and to give advice that never was taken. At this time the command of the troops was held by General Elphinstone. He had succeeded Sir Willoughby Cotton, and was a gentlemanly old officer, borne down by physical infirmities, and utterly destitute of military talents. The soldiers next in rank to him were Sir Robert Sale and Brigadier Shelton, both, happily, officers of long Indian experience.

The Afghans soon had other than political reasons for disliking the foreign supporters of a prince to whom they were at the least indifferent. Mr. Kaye observes, in his animated narrative:—"The English had by this time begun to settle themselves down in Cabool. Indeed, from the very commencement, they had done their best, as

they ever do, to accommodate themselves to new localities and new circumstances, and had transplanted their habits, and, I fear it must be added, their vices, with great address, to the capital of the Douranee empire. It was plain that they were making themselves at home in the chief city of the Afghans. There was no sign of an intended departure. They were building and furnishing houses for themselves, laying out gardens, surrounding themselves with the comforts and luxuries of European life. Some had sent for their wives and children. Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and other Englishwomen, were domesticated in comfortable houses within the limits of the great folly we had erected on the plain. The English, indeed, had begun to find the place not wholly unendurable. The fine climate braced and exhilarated them. There was no lack of amusement. They rode races; they played at cricket. They got up dramatic entertainments. They went out fishing; they went out shooting. When winter fell upon them, and the heavy frosts covered the lakes with ice, to the infinite astonishment of the Afghans they skimmed over the smooth surface on their skates. There is no want of manliness among the Afghans; but the manliness of the Feringhee strangers quite put them to shame. They did not like us the less for that. The athletic amusements of our people only raised their admiration. But there was something else which filled them with intensest hate. I am not writing an apology. There are truths which must be spoken. The temptations which are most difficult to withstand, were not withstood by our English officers. The attractions of the women of Cabool they did not know how to resist. The Afghans are very jealous of the honour of their women; and there were things done in Cabool which covered them with shame and roused them to revenge. The inmate of the Mohammedan zenana was not unwilling to visit the quarters of the Christian stranger. For two long years, now, had this shame been burning itself into the hearts of the Cabooles; and there were some men of note and influence among them who knew themselves to be thus wronged. Complaints were made; but they were made in vain. The scandal was open, undisguised, notorious. Redress was not to be obtained. The evil was not in course of suppression. It went on till it became intolerable; and the injured then began to see that the only remedy was in their own hands. It is enough to state

broadly this painful fact. There are many who can fill in with vivid personality all the melancholy details of this chapter of human weakness, and supply a catalogue of the wrongs which were soon to be so fearfully redressed. Such, dimly traced in their social aspects, was the general condition of things at Cabool in this month of September, 1841. Politically—such was Macnaghten's conviction—everything was quiet from Dan to Beersheba. The noses of the Douranee Khans had, he said, 'been brought to the grindstone;' and the Gooroo and other Ghilzye chiefs were in his safe keeping at Cabool, seemingly contented with their lot. As the month advanced, our prospects seemed to brighten. The envoy continued to write that everything was '*couleur de rose.*'"

An extensive confederacy was formed against the English in Afghanistan. Macnaghten and Burnes were both warned that an insurrection was on the eve of breaking forth; but the first was sceptical; and the second replied that, as he was not yet envoy, his interference would be premature. On the night of the 1st of November, 1841, there was a secret meeting of Afghan chiefs, and it was agreed that the insurrection should commence on the following day by an attack on the house of Sir Alexander Burnes, in consequence of his having incurred the bitter hatred of one of them. Before daybreak Sir Alexander had received warning from a friendly Afghan; but still that ill-fated gentleman was incredulous. Shortly afterwards there was a tumult around his dwelling, and he then thought it necessary to write to the envoy for supports. One of the messengers returned wounded, the other was slain. Entering a gallery in the upper part of his house, Burnes attempted to address the mob that surrounded it. He only elicited shouts of execration, and a cry for blood. The crowd increased every moment, and the streets resembled a waving sea of life. Some of the mob had set fire to Sir Alexander's stables, forced their way into his garden, and called upon him to come down. One man who had contrived to enter the house, swore on the Koran that he would convey Burnes, and his brother who was with him, safely through the garden to the Kuzzilbash fort. Disguising himself in Afghan costume, Burnes accompanied the man to the door. Scarcely had he entered the garden than his treacherous conductor called out with a loud voice, "This is Secunder Burnes!" The infuriated

mob rushed upon the brothers with frantic energy, and the unhappy gentlemen were instantly cut to pieces by the knives of the Afghans. Lieutenant Broadfoot also was shot by the rabble, and his body given to be devoured by the dogs of the city. It is said that he slew no less than six of his assailants before he was struck by the fatal bullet which deprived him of life. The house next to the one inhabited by Sir Alexander was that of Captain Johnson, paymaster of the shah's forces. This also was attacked and plundered; and, finally, both dwellings were set on fire, and every man, woman, and child found within them, murdered.

Emboldened by impunity, and actuated by avarice and a thirst for blood, the mob proceeded to other atrocities, and soon the entire city was in confusion. Shah Soojah was the first to interfere, and he sent out a regiment of Hindoostanee troops from the palace to subdue the insurgents. These men became entangled in the narrow intricate streets, and were overpowered by the mob. After having lost about 200 of their number, they were compelled to abandon their artillery and to hurry back in disorder for shelter. Then General Elphinstone sent Brigadier Shelton with a body of troops to the Balla Hissar. They came too late, for the insurrection had become general, and Shelton also received orders not to act against the people at a moment when nothing but vigorous action could have suppressed the outbreak. This ill-timed forbearance is attributed to Sir William Macnaghten, who desired to spare the inhabitants of Cabool from the violence of military retribution.

Several days were passed in irresolution by the English authorities, while every hour Afghans thronged into the city from the neighbouring villages, and swelled the great tide of insurrection. They surrounded the cantonments, and poured in a constant fire from every available spot. The commissariat fort was abandoned by the few troops left in the occupation of it; and all the stores, upon the preservation of which the existence of the British forces depended, fell into the hands of the enemy. This circumstance not only threatened our troops with immediate starvation, but was such an exposure of imbecility, that all who had before held aloof, from a belief that the British would arise and crush the insurgents, took heart and openly declared themselves. General Elphinstone was in a state of complete

bewilderment and stupor (it must be charitably urged on his behalf, that his frame was almost paralysed by disease, and his mind was clouded by suffering); the operations of our men were confined to aimless skirmishing; and all was confusion.

Insufficient supplies of provisions for the troops were procured from some neighbouring villages; but the hostility of the Afghans rendered it extremely difficult to obtain them. On the 10th of November the British troops captured a fort, from which the insurgents had been firing into the cantonment; but this small success was accomplished in so spiritless a manner, that it almost resembled a defeat. The enemy then contrived to plant two guns in such a manner as to command the cantonment, and opened a fire upon it. On the 13th, Brigadier Shelton was sent out with a body of troops to take these guns. After a chequered combat, in which the disheartened British were thrown into confusion by a charge of Afghan horse, and driven before them, they rallied, drove the enemy to retreat in their turn, and captured the guns. They were, however, able only to carry off one of them; for our now demoralised soldiers forgot their national character, and hesitated where they should have fought, and the largest of the guns was merely spiked. The British envoy, in writing to Captain Macgregor for assistance, observed—"Our situation is a very precarious one; but with your assistance we should all do well, and you must render it to us if you have any regard for our lives, or for the honour of our country. We may be said to be in a state of siege; and had we not made two desperate sallies, we should ere now have been annihilated."

Aid was not sent; and on the 23rd of November the dejected British were defeated in an engagement with their besiegers. Disheartened and overpowered by numbers, a change came over the spirit of our troops, and they fled before the fierce Afghans like sheep from wolves. Insubordination followed, our infantry were struck with panic, and our cavalry, when ordered to charge, refused to follow their officers. Many of the latter were slain while still bravely endeavouring to rally their men, who at length sought refuge in a confused and disgraceful flight. Shelton behaved with great bravery, and was struck with no less than five bullets; even the aged and feeble Elphinstone went out from the ramparts, and strove to rally the fugitives: it was in vain; they had become a

mere mob, and had forgotten that they were British soldiers. Fortunately the leader of the insurgents was slain, and they therefore made no effort to follow up their advantage, but with shouts of exultation withdrew their force to the city.

A general gloom prevailed in the cantonment; the sick, hungry, and disorganised troops were no longer fit for fighting; and Sir William Macnaghten turned his attention to negotiations with the enemy. The insurgent chiefs accepted an invitation to discuss the preliminaries of a treaty. The terms demanded were such as the English officers deemed it a disgrace to listen to: they were—that the British should surrender at discretion, giving up themselves, with all their arms, ammunition, and treasure, as prisoners of war. These terms were resolutely rejected. “We shall meet, then,” said Mohammed Khan, as the conference broke up, “on the field of battle.”—“At all events,” replied Macnaghten, “we shall meet at the day of judgment.”

Famine was making its slow but hideous approaches upon the British. The wretched camp followers sustained life by feeding upon the bodies of the camels which had been starved to death, and all the trees in the cantonments were stripped of their bark and light branches, to supply provender for the cattle. Food was not to be obtained by purchase, for the villagers would not sell, and it could not be obtained by fighting, for the soldiers would not fight. These disasters were aggravated by the number of the sick and wounded in hospital, which exceeded 600. On the 11th of December but one day's provisions remained, and negotiations were again resorted to. The Afghan chiefs assembled, and amongst them was Mohammed Akbar Khan, the favourite son of Dost Mohammed. This remarkable man had arrived in Cabool during the dawn of the insurrection, and he was at once recognised as the leader of the chiefs, and the champion of his exiled father. Bold, dashing, courageous, and energetic, he spurned at restraint, and abandoned himself to the fiery impulses of his nature. He had been one of the most joyous and light-hearted of men; he laughed heartily, and seemed always disposed to look with cheerfulness on the sunny side of life. But the misfortunes of his family, and the vicissitudes he had himself experienced, had brought out all the latent ferocity of his character; and he whom the English had usually spoken of as a thought-

less, good-tempered, well-meaning young man, became eventually the chief actor in one of the bloodiest tragedies that modern history has recorded.

The conference between the British and the Afghan chiefs lasted two hours, and during that time the following terms were agreed upon:—That the British should evacuate the whole of Afghanistan, including Candahar, Ghuznee, and Jellalabad; that they should be permitted to return unmolested to India, and that supplies should be granted to them on their road thither, certain men of consequence accompanying them as hostages; that means of transport should be furnished to the troops; that Dost Mohammed Khan, his family, and every Afghan then detained within the British territories, should be allowed to return to their own country; that Shah Soojah and his family should have the option of remaining at Cabool, or proceeding with the British troops to Loodiana—in either case receiving from the Afghan government one lac of rupees per annum; that an amnesty should be granted to all who had taken the part of the Shah Soojah; that all prisoners should be released, and that no British force should ever be sent into Afghanistan, unless invited by the Afghan government.” It was decided that the British troops should abandon their cantonments within three days, during which time the chiefs should send in provisions for their use, and that Captain Trevor should remain as a hostage for the sincerity of the English.

Neither Afghans nor English trusted each other. The supplies promised by the former were, to a large extent, withheld; while the latter still lingered at Cabool, unwilling to retire in disgrace. Shah Soojah exclaimed against the folly of his allies, and indignantly inquired whether any people in the world ever before gave their enemies the means of killing them. The English officers in charge of Candahar and Jellalabad took the same view of the case, and refused to abandon their positions, on the plea that the order for them to do so must have been forcibly extorted from General Elphinstone. Thus the treaty was placed in abeyance, and the troops in cantonments lived on from day to day, frittering away their resources, and growing more dependent every hour.

Sir William Macnaghten was rendered desperate. It is said that his mind was by this time unhinged, his intellect clouded, and his moral perceptions deadened. Cer-

tain it is, that he lent himself to a scheme of treachery which recoiled upon his own head. He saw that the Afghan chiefs were devoid of honesty and sincerity amongst themselves; that each of them was contending against the rest; and he hoped to foment discord among them, and then to unite himself with the most powerful. With this object he opened many secret negotiations with them, and scattered bribes about with a reckless prodigality. On the evening of the 22nd of December, a messenger arrived with secret propositions from Akbar Khan. They were—that Akbar Khan and the Ghilzies should unite with the English, seize the person of Ameen-oollah Khan, a leading chief, whose head, for a certain sum of money, they promised to lay at the feet of the envoy. This part of the offer Macnaghten rejected: he would not pay a price for the blood of the chief; but with the rest he agreed. The English were to continue in Afghanistan until the spring, and save their credit then by withdrawing as if of their own free will. Shah Soojah was still to be king, while Akbar Khan was to become his minister, and also to receive an annuity of four lacs of rupees from the British government, and a bonus of thirty lacs.

The next morning the envoy was to meet Akbar Khan to arrange everything definitively. Sending for the officers of his staff (captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie), he desired them to accompany him, and related the object of the proposed interview. Mackenzie at once exclaimed that it was a plot. "A plot!" replied Sir William, incredulously; "let me alone for that—trust me for that." General Elphinstone coincided in this idea, and urged the envoy to pause before he committed himself irretrievably to so perilous a course. All opposition, however, proved useless. At noon, Macnaghten, his staff, and a few horsemen, started upon their ill-omened expedition.

The meeting took place on the banks of the river, and Macnaghten presented to Akbar Khan a beautiful Arab horse, who received it with many expressions of thanks, and also spoke with gratitude of the gift of a handsome pair of double-barrelled pistols, which Sir William had sent him the day before. Many Afghan chiefs were present; and the excited Macnaghten did not observe that a brother of Ameen-oollah Khan was among them. As a suspicious number of Afghans were gathering round the party, it was remarked, that if the conference was

to be a secret one, the intruders ought to be removed. "They are all in the secret," replied Akbar Khan; and as he spoke, Sir William and his companions were violently seized from behind. Resistance was hopeless, and the slender escort of sixteen men galloped back to the cantonments to save their lives,—except one, who perished nobly in an attempt to join his masters. The officers of the staff were dragged away, and each compelled to mount a horse ridden by an Afghan chief. The latter dashed through a crowd of fanatical Ghazees, who struck savagely at the Englishmen as they were dragged past. The unfortunate Captain Trevor slipped from his insecure seat, and was immediately cut to pieces by the furious wretches around him. He left a widow and seven children in the camp. The other two officers were made prisoners.

During this wild scene, Sir William Macnaghten was struggling on the ground with Akbar Khan. His looks expressed horror and astonishment, but he struggled manfully against his fate. The Afghan chief, exasperated beyond control by the resistance of his victim, whom he intended only to seize, not slay, drew a pistol from his girdle—one of those very pistols which had been presented him by the envoy—and shot the unhappy gentleman through the body. "*Az barae Khoda!*" (for God's sake) were the last words Sir William was heard to utter, and soon afterwards his corpse was hacked to pieces by the bloodthirsty fanatics who fell upon it. His head was then paraded in triumph through the streets of Cabool, and the bleeding and mangled trunk exposed to the insults of the rabble. "Thus," says Mr. Kaye, "perished William Hay Macnaghten—struck down by the hand of the favourite son of Dost Mohammed. Thus perished as brave a gentleman as ever, in the midst of fiery trial, struggled manfully to rescue from disgrace the reputation of a great country. Throughout those seven weeks of unparalleled difficulty and danger, he had confronted with steadfast courage every new peril and perplexity that had risen up before him; and, a man of peace himself, had resisted the timid counsels of the warriors, and striven to infuse, by the manliness of his example, some strength into their fainting hearts. Whatever may be the judgment of posterity on other phases of his character, and other incidents of his career, the historian will ever dwell with pride upon the unflinching courage and constancy of the man

who, with everything to discourage and depress him, surrounded by all enervating influences, was ever eager to counsel the nobler and the manlier course, ever ready to bear the burdens of responsibility, and face the assaults of danger. There was but one civilian at Cabool; and he was the truest soldier in the camp."

TERRIBLE RETREAT OF THE BRITISH FROM CABOOL.

GENERAL ELPHINSTONE made no effort to revenge the murder of Sir William Macnaghten. Negotiations were renewed with the treacherous Afghan chiefs, and a treaty was concluded, by which the British engaged to give up all their forts in Afghanistan, abandon the country, surrender their guns, restore the deposed Dost, and pay the sum of £140,000 in return for the supplies necessary for the retreat. Hostages were demanded and given for the performance of these humiliating conditions. A treaty so disgraceful was made merely for permission to depart, even though it was well known that the promises of the chiefs were not to be depended upon, and that they were even then treacherously plotting the destruction of our wretched force. One officer nobly urged that they should hold out until they were relieved, or else cut a path through their enemies, and force a retreat to Jellalabad. These plans were, however, voted impracticable by men who seemed to have lost all high sense of honour in the baseness engendered by fear. Among the reports of intended treachery which reached the ears of the garrison, was one that Akbar Khan had sworn that he would obtain possession of the English ladies, as a pledge for the safe return of his own wives and family, and annihilate every soldier of the British army, with the exception of one man, who should reach Jellalabad to tell the story of the massacre of all his comrades. Subsequent events gave this reported oath an air of prophecy.

On the 6th of January, 1842, the British force, consisting of between four and five thousand fighting men, and twelve or fourteen thousand camp followers, besides women and children, commenced a retreat to which there is no parallel in history. The snow lay deep upon the ground, and before the last of the troops quitted the intrenchment, their houses and huts were fired by their vindictive foes; and a glare, like that which lighted the French from Moscow, was thrown upon their dreary path. Two days of horror, suffering, and death, brought them to the jaws of the Koord-Cabool Pass. The troops

and camp followers were little more than a vast mob, many of whom perished from cold and exhaustion, and found a winding-sheet in the snow. In that sterile place no wood could be obtained for fire, and the shivering sepoy burnt their caps and accoutrements to obtain a little warmth.

Akbar Khan, who had hung upon their rear, now demanded four more hostages as security for the abandonment of Jellalabad. They were surrendered, and the military rabble entered the dreaded Koord-Cabool Pass. Akbar Khan was either acting with treachery, or he was unable to restrain the fury of the hordes of fanatic Ghilzyes, who seemed bent upon the destruction of our wretched troops. Three thousand men are said to have perished in this awful pass,—shot down by the Ghilzye marksmen, or cut to pieces by Afghan knives, after they had fallen from exhaustion. Happily the English ladies, who rode through either on horseback or in camel-panniers, were uninjured, except Lady Sale, who received a bullet in her arm. It seemed scarcely possible that they and their infant children could long continue to bear up against the intense cold and incessant fatigue to which they were subjected. They were therefore surrendered to the mercy of Akbar Khan, who promised them his protection, and undertook to convey them to Peshawur. Their husbands were allowed to accompany them. Akbar Khan behaved to them with respect and generosity, and treated them as his "guests." He even earnestly craved the forgiveness of the widowed Lady Macnaghten, assuring her that he would give his right arm to undo what it had done; while in many ways he strove to alleviate the hardships of the march by bearing the weakest of the party over fords on his own steed, binding up the wounds of the officers with his own hands, and suffering the ladies to encumber the march with the costly baggage which two or three of them still retained.

The next morning the doomed force resumed its march towards Jellalabad. The native regiments were rapidly perishing; their

hands were frostbitten, and they were unable to pull a trigger in their defence. Paralysed and panic-struck, they rushed forward in aimless desperation; while the remorseless Afghans occasionally swept down, and slaughtered them with their long knives like sheep. In one narrow gorge, the dying and the dead almost choked up the defile; and, by nightfall, not a single sepoy remained alive. General Elphinstone sent to Akbar Khan, who, with a body of horse, still hovered on the rear of the retreating force, entreating him to stop the massacre; but that chieftain replied, that it was impossible,—that the Ghilzyes were uncontrollable, even by their immediate chiefs; and that there was but one chance for the English—an immediate and unconditional surrender of arms.

General Elphinstone at once refused these dishonourable terms; and the ghastly wreck of the British force pursued its dismal march. As they proceeded through a narrow defile, called the Haft-Kotul, or Pass of Seven Ascents, a murderous fire was opened upon their rear, and a frightful slaughter took place; but the savage assailants were bravely repulsed by General Shelton and a handful of Europeans. Another conference was held with Akbar Khan, who was implored to save the remnant of the unhappy force. He endeavoured to persuade the petty chiefs of the country, who came flocking in, to spare the victims of their vengeance. It was in vain; their hatred and vindictiveness was not to be controlled: offers of money were disregarded; and they loudly declared that they only wanted the blood of the Feringhees (infidels.) The massacres continued; and, on the evening of the 12th, the remains of the harassed expedition entered the terrible Jugdulluck Pass. Here many brave officers fell, sword in hand. The enemy had blocked up the mouth of the pass with barriers made of bushes and the branches of

trees, and there these merciless foes lay in wait for the worn skeletons, for whose blood they thirsted. The massacre that followed was terrible; and, at this point the British army literally ceased to exist! Only a few officers and men cleared the barricade and struggled onward. One by one they were murdered, or dropped and died from fatigue and starvation. "At last," to quote the language of Mr. Kaye, "on the 13th of January, a sentry on the ramparts of the works of Jellalabad, looking out towards the Cabool-road, saw a solitary white-faced horseman struggling on towards the fort. The word was passed; the tidings spread. Presently the ramparts were lined with officers, looking out, with throbbing hearts, through unsteady telescopes, or with straining eyes tracing the road. Slowly and painfully, as though horse and rider both were in an extremity of mortal weakness, the solitary mounted man came reeling, tottering on. They saw that he was an Englishman. On a wretched, weary pony, clinging, as one sick or wounded, to its neck, he sat, or rather leant forward; and there were those who, as they watched his progress, thought that he could never reach unaided the walls of Jellalabad. A shudder ran through the garrison. That solitary horseman looked like the messenger of death. Few doubted that he was the bearer of intelligence that would fill their souls with horror and dismay. Their worst forebodings seemed confirmed. There was one man who was to tell the story of the massacre of a great army. A party of cavalry were sent out to succour him. They brought him in wounded, exhausted, half dead. The messenger was Dr. Brydon; and he now reported his belief that he was the sole survivor of an army of some 16,000 men." Among those who had been taken back by the Afghans to Cabool, was the wretched General Elphinstone, who died there in captivity.*

* Mr. Kaye has the following generous estimate of the character of this unfortunate and ill-placed man. It must certainly be admitted that the faults, or rather heavy crimes, which led to the extinction of a British army, lay less with General Elphinstone than with those who appointed him to a position for the terrible responsibility of which he was so manifestly unfit:—"By his fellow-captives his dissolution had long been anticipated, and was now hardly deplored. Death brought him a merciful release from an accumulation of mortal sufferings. Incessant pain of body and anguish of mind had long been his portion. He felt acutely the humiliating position into which it had pleased Providence to cast him, and neither hoped nor wished to live to

face his countrymen in the provinces of Hindoostan. They who watched beside the poor old man, during the painful close of his life, bear testimony, in touching language, to the Christian fortitude with which he bore his sufferings, and the Christian charity with which he spoke of others, under all the burdens which pressed upon him. The hardships to which he had been subjected on the march from one prison-house to another had, perhaps, accelerated the crisis which was hanging over him; but he had long been passing away to his rest, and they who loved him most, scarcely desired to arrest the progress of the maladies which were so surely destroying him. He left on record a statement of all the circumstances of our disasters; but even with

RELIEF OF THE BRITISH GARRISONS, AND REVIVAL OF THE BRITISH HONOUR.

THESE calamitous tidings reached Lord Auckland when he was preparing to return to England, which he did on the whigs being removed from office. He was succeeded, as governor-general, by Lord Ellenborough, who arrived in India at the close of February. The change was a fortunate one; for Lord Auckland was prostrated by the terrible misfortune that our arms had undergone, and he was not equal to that energy of conduct which, at this juncture, was necessary, not for the occupation of Afghanistan, for that was justly deemed hopeless, but even for the retention of India.

Generals Sale and Nott still held out at Jellalabad and Candahar, though their troops suffered from bitter cold, scarcity of fuel and provisions, and repeated attacks from the enemy. At Jellalabad, several minor shocks of earthquake were succeeded, on the 10th of February, by a terrible convulsion, which levelled with the ground the defences that had been erected and rendered efficient, at the cost of three months' intense labour of mind and body. Akbar Khan, with the flower of the Afghan horse, it was expected would attempt to enforce the fulfilment of General Elphinstone's order of surrender. But the brave garrison did not abate one jot of hope or courage. The spade and pickaxe were again taken in hand, and the work of restoration went forward so rapidly, that Akbar, deceived as to the extent of the damage sustained, declared that English witchcraft had preserved Jellalabad from the effects of the mighty shock. The Afghans, having little

this statement in his hand, he could not have faced his countrymen without bringing down upon himself a verdict of condemnation. After all that has been written of his deficiencies at Cabool, it may seem a startling inconsistency to say that he was a brave and high-minded gentleman. He was so esteemed before, in an evil hour for his own and his country's reputation, he was ordered to carry his infirmities across the Indus; and in spite of all the humiliating circumstances of our discomfiture at Cabool, posterity may so esteem him. Not upon him, but upon those who are responsible for his appointment to high military command at such a time and in such a place—firstly, upon those who sent him to India; secondly, and chiefly, upon those who sent him to Afghanistan—must we fix the shame of this great miscarriage. When he consented to leave the quiet enjoyment of an honoured old age at home to carry his good fame and his broken constitution to a distant Indian presidency, he committed a fatal error, for which he made terrible atonement. But

inclination for a hand-to-hand encounter with Sale's brigade, contented themselves with striving to maintain a rigid blockade; but the garrison sallied forth and swept away a flock of 500 sheep and goats, in the very face of the foe.

The brave soldiers were rewarded for their constancy. General Pollock, with 12,000 men and supplies of all kinds, was approaching to their relief. He was delayed by many and most serious difficulties. The Seik troops under his command mutinied, and threatened to kill their officers if they interfered with them. They had a horror of entering the famous Khyber Pass, which had never yet been carried against defenders. General Pollock was also compelled to pause for two months at Peshawur, where he had 1,800 men in hospital. The *morale* also of those who were considered efficient, was in the lowest possible state; and it seemed as if all the soldierly qualities of the native troops were perishing. General Pollock reassured them, and at length succeeded in gaining their confidence; and when the hour for exertion came, they said they were resolved not to suffer their faces to be blackened before all India. On the 5th of April he struck his camp, in the dim twilight of early morning, and the troops moved off in silence, without beat of drum or sound of bugle. The heights on either side of the dreaded pass were covered with the enemy, while the entrance was blocked up with a barricade composed of mud, large stones, and heavy branches of trees. Our mode of attack had not been anticipated by the Khyburees,

there are few who will not pity rather than condemn the man, who found himself suddenly with all his weakness upon him, in a sea of difficulty which demanded almost superhuman strength to buffet through it. In these pages he has appeared only as the military leader—as one who, in the hour of danger, was tried and found wanting. His fine social qualities cannot be accepted as a set-off to his military deficiencies. It is not to be pleaded in answer to the charge of having sacrificed an army at Cabool, that he was an agreeable gentleman in private life, that he was always ready with an anecdote and told it well, and that it was very hard not to love him. But now that it has been recorded how the soldier became the captive, and how the captive passed away to his rest, these things may be set down with a kindly hand upon the last page which bears his name; and it may be permitted to us, for a little space, to forget the deficiencies of the soldier whilst we sympathise with the sufferings of the man."

who were accordingly taken by surprise. Our light infantry swept the hills, and clambering up the precipitous peaks, poured down a hot and destructive fire upon the disconcerted enemy, many of whom took to flight. When the flankers had fought their way to the rear of the mouth of the pass, General Pollock advanced with the centre column, turned the enemy's position, and began to destroy the barrier. The enemy had assembled in large numbers at the mouth, but finding that they had to deal with different men and a different system from what they had seen a few months before, gradually withdrew, and the British force entered the pass without further opposition. The spirits of the sepoys were restored, and once again they had a perfect confidence in their officers. The loss of the enemy was estimated at about 300 killed, and six or eight hundred wounded. The spirits of our sepoys rose with success, and it was seen that the British infantry, and the native Indian troops in our service, were able to meet the Khyburees in their own wild fastnesses. Some time before, the Duke of Wellington had observed, that he "had never heard that our troops were not equal, as well in their personal activity as by their arms, to contend with, and overcome, any natives of any hills whatever." Though the perilous route was not threaded without some further fighting (for the enemy still hovered about, and sometimes fired upon our men during the night), yet it was eventually accomplished with but little loss of life, and none of baggage. On the 16th of April, General Pollock arrived at Jellalabad, and Sale and his brave troops welcomed their saviours with three hearty cheers. The band of the 13th went out to play them in; and the relieving force marched the last two or three miles to the tune of "Oh! but ye've been lang a coming." The little garrison had been shut up in a perilous position for five months.

Shortly before the arrival of the relieving force, General Sale's little army of 6,000 men had left the fort, marched against the camp of Akbar Khan, said to consist of 60,000 men, and made a spirited attack upon it. To quote from the despatch of General Sale—"The artillery advanced at the gallop, and directed a heavy fire upon the Afghan centre, whilst two of the columns of infantry penetrated the line near the same point, and the third forced back its left from its support on the river, into the

stream of which some of his horse and foot were driven. The Afghans made repeated attempts to check our advance by a smart fire of musketry, by throwing forward heavy bodies of horse, which twice threatened the detachments of foot under Captain Havelock, and by opening upon us three guns from a battery screened by a garden wall, and said to have been served under the personal superintendence of Akbar. But in a short time they were dislodged from every point of their position, their cannon taken, and their camp involved in a general conflagration." The loss of the British merely amounted to ten killed and fifty-three wounded. Amongst the slain was Colonel Denny, as brave and chivalrous a soldier as ever advanced against a foe. He received a mortal bullet from the piece of an Afghan marksman. The ball passed through his body, and he died with the sound of battle in his ears,—hoping, but not living to be assured, that it would end triumphantly. The loss of the enemy was very severe. Four guns recently taken from our dispirited troops at Cabool, were also recaptured, to the great joy of the men. The confidence of the British was restored; the dishonour their arms had recently sustained was felt to be wiped away; and Lord Ellenborough, the new governor-general, issued a notification, congratulating the "illustrious garrison" of Jellalabad and the army on the return of victory to its ranks.

General Nott, who commanded the British garrison at Candahar, was reinforced, and able to disperse the Afghan hordes by whom he was surrounded. The Ghazees had endeavoured to take the place by assault; and for nearly three hours, the fate of the British garrison seemed to tremble in the balance: then European discipline prevailed; and the ferocious Ghazees, after having suffered severely, drew off in despair. The garrison at Ghuznee was not so fortunate. After having resisted a besieging force for nearly five months, the garrison, being almost destitute of ammunition, food, and water, surrendered to Shumshooden Khan. That chieftain promised that they should be honourably treated, and conducted in safety to Cabool.

For several months General Pollock remained at Jellalabad, and General Nott at Candahar, waiting for intelligible orders from Lord Ellenborough. To some abilities, that statesman added great eccentricities. He startled the slow-going function-

aries of Calcutta by his restless energy, and by what they deemed his obtrusive activity. His orders at this time were contradictory; but it is probable that they were so because he had not made up his mind to the course he intended to pursue. A want of generosity appeared to pervade the commands of the governor; for they were so worded as to cast upon the generals the disgrace of any failure that might occur, should they march against Cabool to avenge the fate of our slaughtered army, and to confer upon him the chief honours of success. The generals, however, were neither of them terrified into inaction by that bugbear of weak minds, responsibility. Having obtained the necessary supplies, they resolved to march in concert with each other, and so combine their operations as to reach Cabool together.

On the 20th of August, General Pollock left Jellalabad for Cabool, with an army of about 8,000 men. The movement was hailed with delight by the troops, who longed to avenge their murdered comrades. Sir Robert Sale, on learning that Cabool was the destination of the force, and that there was a chance of rescuing his heroic wife and the other prisoners, was wild with delight. While detained for a short time at Gundamuck, a wretched-looking Afghan, mounted on a miserable pony, and attended

by three followers, rode into the camp. He was soon recognised as Futteh Jung, but lately king of Cabool; for Shah Soojah had been assassinated by the Afghan chiefs.* Futteh Jung, who succeeded him, had been a mere puppet, while the real power of the state remained in the hands of Akbar Khan, who took to himself the post of wuzeer, or minister. Akbar deprived the wretched prince of his wealth, threatened him, and finally threw him into close confinement in the Balla Hissar. With much difficulty Futteh Jung escaped, and after encountering many obstacles, reached the English camp, and threw himself upon our protection. He was received with kindness, and treated with ceremony.

On the 8th of September, the British forces approached the hills which commanded the road through the Jugdulluck Pass, and discovered that their summits were occupied by large bodies of Ghilzyes, under different chieftains, each with a distinguishing banner. The English opened an artillery fire upon them; but this failed to disperse them. The infantry were then sent forward to the attack, and they ascended the heights with impetuous gallantry. The Ghilzye tribes at once saw that they had different men to deal with than those whom they had recently so ruthlessly slaughtered. The enthusiastic

served:—"That he would have been glad to have cast off the Feringhee alliance and to have ruled without the restraint of our superintendence, is not to be questioned. He may, therefore, have regarded with inward satisfaction the progress of the insurrectionary movement, and rejoiced in its ultimate success; but he does not appear to have been more than a passive instrument in the hands of others. It was obviously his policy to appear all things to all people. He could not venture to take any decided course. He never in the prime of life had been conspicuous for manliness of character; and now, in his old age, he was more than ever a waverer and a waiter upon fortune. Perhaps I should not err if I were to say that he was true neither to his own countrymen nor to his British allies. He was prepared to side with either the one or the other, according to the direction in which the tide of success might be seen to flow. He had no affection for the English; but he dearly loved English money. He knew the value of British aid; but he would fain have had it from a distance. From the very first he had disliked the obtrusive manner in which it had been forced upon him. He wanted the *prestige* of British support without the encumbrance of British control. To retain our friendship, and yet to rid himself of our presence, was unquestionably the desire of the shah; but it is doubtful whether his desire would ever have shaped itself into any overt acts of hostility against the government which had restored him to the throne of his fathers."

* The position in which Shah Soojah was placed, taken in connection with his proved incapability to grapple with the difficulties that surrounded him, almost precluded the possibility of his dying peacefully in his bed. He had reigned at Cabool, but he had not ruled. First a puppet in the hands of the English, and afterwards a puppet in the hands of the Afghan chiefs, it was his fate to be suspected of insincerity towards both parties. The chiefs believing him to incline towards the English, desired him to show that he was true to Afghan interests by placing himself at the head of the troops and marching against Jellalabad. Yielding a reluctant consent, he arrayed himself in royal apparel, and on the morning of the 5th of April proceeded in a chair of state towards his camp. While on his way he was fired upon by the followers of Soojah-ool-Dowlah, a chieftain who had lain in ambush for him. Several of the escort were struck down by the volley, and a bullet entering the brain of the shah, killed him on the spot. The corpse was immediately stripped of all the jewels about it, and then thrown contemptuously into a ditch. The body afterwards lay in state, and was ceremoniously buried. The Moollahs or priesthood declared that the murderers of the shah should be stoned to death; but a powerful chieftain shielded the assassin, by saying that it was not a time to carry out such a sentence, and that intestine animosities must be forgotten in a common league against the Feringhees. In estimating the character of the shah, the historian of the war ob-

cheers, and determined front of the British, struck them with panic, and they turned and fled before our bayonets. But they were not at once repelled. Gaining the summit of an apparently inaccessible height, they rallied, and again planting their standards, looked down with defiant hatred on their foes. General Pollock directed the height to be stormed; and the order was obeyed with so much spirit, that the Ghilzyes again fled, and, this time, in precipitate confusion. This victory was chiefly effected, under the able direction of General Pollock, by the brave and seasoned veterans of the old Jellalabad garrison. General Sale gallantly led up the heights, in front of his old regiment, and received a wound in the conflict, though, happily, not a severe one. Our loss altogether was but trifling; and it was plainly seen that the Ghilzyes, even when fighting in their wild native passes, were as unstable as water when opposed to British infantry, under the eye of a capable commander. These men—butchers rather than soldiers—now fled like sheep before the comrades of the men whom, but a few months before, they had so remorselessly slaughtered in this very pass.

Akbar Khan advanced with an army from Cabool, attended by many Afghan chiefs, with the object of arresting the approach of the British. Akbar wished to negotiate, and was willing to accept any terms the English general might please to dictate, if the latter would only consent to stay his advance upon the capital. General Pollock felt that the time for negotiation was past; and Akbar, therefore, collected all the forces he could muster, and resolved to oppose the progress of the British through the passes. Akbar consulted with some English officers he had in his power, who assured him that his defeat was certain, and that opposition would only occasion an useless expenditure of life. He replied, that he knew he had everything to lose, but that it was too late to recede; adding, with the fatalism which is so current in the East, that the issue of the contest was in the hands of the Deity, whose decrees were inevitable, and that it mattered little to him who was the victor.

The two armies met on the 13th of September, in the valley of Tezeen. This was commanded on all sides by lofty hills, on every available height of which Akbar had posted his troops. Influenced by the hope of plundering our baggage, the Afghan

horse entered the plain. They were instantly charged by the British squadrons, and by the native cavalry in the British service. The effort was a brilliant one, and the enemy could not sustain the shock. Many of the Afghans were cut to pieces with the heavy sabres of our dragoons, and the rest, thrown into confusion, turned and fled. At the same time the British infantry pushed up the heights of the pass, in the teeth of a furious fire poured down upon them by the foe. The Afghan jezail, for its deadliness of aim, and the distance it would carry, was a far superior weapon to the British musket. But when our men reached the hill-top, they charged with the bayonet. The foremost of the foe stood to be transfixed, but the rest broke and fled in terror. However, the struggle was not yet ended. All day the Afghans prolonged the desultory warfare along the ridges of hills, and from behind rocks; but at length the enthusiastic cheers of the British proclaimed that they had achieved a decisive victory. Seldom had our British troops displayed a higher courage in action, or a more resolute perseverance. The native sepoy, rivalled the gallantry of the European soldier; and the stalwart Afghan shrunk from a close contest with men who seemed to have resolved on victory, and to spurn the thought of defeat. Still, many an Afghan warrior died that day a hero's death upon his native hills, cheered by the thought that he was winning Paradise by his martyrdom. These men were fighting upon ground with which they were familiar; they were at home in those tremendous defiles, and their arms were nerved to strike by the thought that they were contending in defence of their hearths and altars; that, indeed, the very existence of their nation was at stake. It has been truly observed, that they were fighting with the last hope of saving their capital from the grasp of an avenging army; but yet the Afghans were thoroughly beaten on their own ground, and in their own peculiar style of warfare. The Afghans suffered in consequence of their own cruelty; for our troops were madened by the sight of the skeletons of their former comrades, and they were carried to victory by the irrepressible energy of revenge. Akbar Khan fled in dismay; and General Pollock and his army pursued their march in triumph. On the 15th of September, the British army was encamped on the race-course of Cabool.

MARCH OF GENERAL NOTT ON CABOOL, AND ESCAPE OF THE PRISONERS.

It is necessary briefly to trace the course of General Nott and his troops from Candahar to Cabool, where he had arranged to meet the force under General Pollock, and strike in unison the blow that was to avenge the cruel massacre of a British army, and to enforce the respect for British arms necessary for the maintenance of our predominance in India.

A part of the Candahar force, under General England, was sent to Quettah and Surkar; and, on the 9th of August, the rest of the force, amounting to about 7,000 men, under General Nott, proceeded by the way of Ghuznee to Cabool. The troops left Candahar in the most orderly and peaceable manner; no acts of licentiousness were committed by the soldiery, and they and the citizens were even seen embracing each other on parting. General Nott sternly maintained a high state of discipline, declaring that if any soldier was detected in plundering, the offender should be hanged, and the officer to whose regiment he belonged removed from the command of his corps. The good order thus preserved produced its own reward; for, during the early part of the march, the villagers brought in supplies more freely than the officers had ventured to anticipate. When, however, the army arrived at Mookoor, it became apparent that the enemy were on the alert; the villages were deserted, and supplies were no longer brought to the camp. On the 28th of August, the enemy, by a stratagem, decoyed a body of British cavalry into an ambush, where they were attacked by an overwhelming force, and compelled to seek for safety in flight, after two officers had been killed, three wounded, and fifty-six men killed or disabled. An exaggerated report having reached General Nott that the party had been annihilated, he led his troops against the enemy; but the latter rapidly moved off, leaving only their videttes visible on the peaks of the hills. It was then reported that shots had been fired from some fortified villages in the neighbourhood of the field of action. The general marched upon them, and the villagers came out and prayed for quarter. It was granted; but a body of men was sent to search the houses where it was believed that articles plundered from the British had been concealed. As the soldiers entered the place they were fired at

by some Ghazees, and General Nott instantly gave the place up to carnage. The women and children were spared; but the men were butchered indiscriminately; not less than a hundred of them being massacred in consequence of the crime of a few fanatics. This severity seems scarcely to have been called for. Major Rawlinson, in his journal, observes—"I do not think the men were to blame; had they supposed themselves committed, they would have fled to the hills before the troops moved out; but no doubt there were *Ghazees* in the place—desperate men, who had no wish to save their own lives, provided they could destroy an infidel; and to the infatuation of these few men were the others sacrificed. Five commissariat camels were found inside, so that parties in the fort had certainly been plundering; and as we approached the place, I remarked a Moollah from one of the Boorjes, evidently haranguing the people, and urging them to die as *Ghazees*."

On the 30th of August General Nott encountered Shumshoodeen Khan at Ghoaine. The latter mustered about 10,000 men, and the neighbouring chiefs were still joining him, for he had greatly exaggerated the advantage he had recently gained, and had sent round the heads of the officers who had fallen, that he might stimulate the people to rise against the infidels, whom he said he had so gloriously beaten in the field. After a brief engagement the Afghans broke and fled before a bayonet charge of our troops; Shumshoodeen hurried to Ghuznee for safety; and the tribes who had joined him dispersed and returned to their homes: one of their guns was captured, and Shumshoodeen's tents, magazines, and stores were found scattered about the plain. General Nott allowed his men a day to rest, and then resuming his march, presented himself on the 5th of September before Ghuznee.

Shumshoodeen had been reinforced from Cabool by Sultan Jan, and he occupied some heights to the north-east of the fortress with a strong body of horse and foot. The city, also, seemed to be swarming with men; the gardens, ravines, and watercourses being filled with marksmen. The chiefs were conspicuous even from a distance, on account of their gay attire and noble chargers. Having succeeded in gallantly clearing the heights, General Nott encamped his force and prepared for the siege. It was not

anticipated that the defence would be very vigorously conducted, for it was evident that Shumshoodeen had trusted more to external operations. The Afghan troops within the city lost heart when they saw our engineers constructing batteries against them, and the more so when Shumshoodeen refused to enter the city, and take his share of the dangers of the siege: therefore, during the darkness of night, they quietly abandoned the place, and betook themselves to the hills. The next day it was taken possession of,—the British flag was hoisted from the highest tower, and Shumshoodeen's artillery, worked by his enemies, roared out a royal salute in honour of the triumph.

General Nott proceeded to the execution of his design, which was—that the city of Ghuznee, and the whole of its fortifications, should be destroyed. The works were mined and blown into the air, the guns burst, the town and citadel fired, and the place reduced to ruins. In the neighbourhood of Ghuznee stands the village of Roza, which contained the tomb of Sultan Mahmoud. Nott had been directed by Lord Ellenborough to visit this tomb, and bring from it, as trophies, the famous idol-destroying mace of the conqueror, and a pair of sandal-wood gates embossed with brass, which were said to have been carried away by him from the temple of Somnauth, in Guzerat, in the year 1024. The Mohammedan priests, who had the guardianship of this shrine, held it in peculiar reverence, and related many traditions concerning it. European learning and scepticism have cast discredit upon the genuineness of these relics; but no such doubts ever occurred to the people of Afghanistan, who regarded them as sacred. Lord Ellenborough had fixed his desire upon these gates, though it has been observed—"What he knew about them, where he had read of them, or by whom his attention was drawn to them, history cannot determine." However, the order was obeyed, amidst the tears of the priesthood. When the removal was effected, they prostrated themselves at the foot of the shrine, and uttered loud lamentations. Major Rawlinson, in an account of this circumstance in his journal, observes—"Their (the Moollahs or priests) only remark was, 'You are lords of the country,

and can of course work your will on us; but why this sacrilege?' The reply was, 'The gates are the property of India; taken from it by one conqueror, they are restored to it by another. We leave the shrine undescrated, and merely take our own.' The sensation is less than might have been expected; and no doubt the Moollahs, who have had the guardianship of the tomb for generations in their family, will be the chief sufferers by the measure. I doubt if the Afghan tribes, lately risen from obscurity to power, and holding the country rather as conquerors than as citizens, possess that feeling of unity with each other, and identity with the interests they are supposed to protect, to view the abduction of the gates as a material outrage. The act may be made use of by the priesthood to excite fanaticism against us; but if the chiefs could only retain their darling plaything, power, they would care little about the gates of Somnauth. Religious excitement is alone to be apprehended from our carrying off these trophies. I call them trophies, although assured that they are spurious; for the belief in their genuineness is, politically considered, the same as if they really were so."

General Nott and his forces proceeded onwards towards Cabool, which they did not reach without a good deal of hard fighting. On the 17th of September they encamped about four or five miles from the city, having left memorials of the latter part of their course in the smoking forts of the enemy, nearly thirty of which they gave to the flames. General Pollock now evinced a laudable anxiety for the recovery of the ladies and other prisoners, who, during the retreat from Cabool, had been confided to the protection of Akbar Khan. On his arrival at Cabool, Pollock had sent his military secretary, Sir Richmond Shakespeare, with a body of 600 horse, to overtake the prisoners and their escort. Fearing that this party might be intercepted by the enemy, who were reported to be hovering about with some mischievous intention, Pollock desired General Nott to proceed with a strong detachment of troops, to the support of Shakespeare and his party. Nott rather ungraciously declined this honourable duty, and Sir Robert Sale was dispatched instead.*

* In justice to a brave officer, we give General Nott's own reasons, as sent to General Pollock, though we do not think them of such force as to warrant the cruel abandonment of the English ladies, children, and officers who were in the hands of the

enemy:—"The troops under my command have just made a long and very difficult march of upwards of 300 miles, and they have been continually marching about for the last six months, and most certainly require rest for a day or two: the same with my

Let us glance back to the 9th of January, when in the dreadful Koord-Cabool Pass, the ladies, their children, and husbands were made over to the protection of Akbar Khan. They were at first placed in a small fort, where they found Pottinger, Lawrence, and Mackenzie—the officers who had been surrendered as hostages. After the horrors and starvation they had undergone, the wretched rooms into which they were crowded seemed a luxurious shelter, and the “greasy palao” given to them tasted delicious. On the 11th they were conducted to the Tezeen fort. We are told, “the road was strewn with the stark bodies of the mangled dead. Here and there little groups of wretched camp followers, starving, frostbitten, many of them in a state of gibbering idiotcy, were to be seen cowering in the snow; or solitary men, perhaps wounded and naked, were creeping out of their hiding-places, in an extremity of mortal suffering and fear. The sickening smell of death rose from the bloody corpses through which our English ladies guided their horses, striving not to tread upon the bodies, or, in their camel-panniers, jolted and stumbled over the obstructing carrion. Happy were they all when, about the hour of evening prayer, that dreadful journey was at an end, and the fort of Tezeen appeared in sight. There they were hospitably received, and there another captive was added to their number. Lieutenant Melville, of the 54th native infantry, who had been wounded in the retreat, and whose wounds had been bound up by the hand of Akbar Khan himself, was waiting their arrival in the fort.”

The next day they again resumed their dreary journey; and at Jugdulluck they found General Elphinstone, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson, all of whom had been claimed as hostages by Akbar Khan. Here, also, they learnt the melancholy tidings that all the soldiers and camp followers who had left Cabool, with the exception of this little knot of prisoners, had, in all probability, been annihilated on the march. After a long and painful journey they were lodged in the fort of Budeeabad,

where five rooms were set apart for their accommodation; the party consisting of nine ladies, twenty gentlemen, and fourteen children. They were now, for the first time during a fortnight, able to change their clothes. Clean linen was scarcely to be procured; “and the nice sensibilities of delicate English ladies were outraged by the appearance of nauseous vermin.” They remained in the prison for nearly three months; but their captivity, though extremely weary, was not rendered painful. They possessed a few books, and they were permitted to wander about the fort. The children amused themselves with “hop-skotch” and “blind-man’s-buff,” while the seniors of the party whiled away their time with two or three packs of limp and dirty cards, and some rude backgammon and draft-boards, which they had the ingenuity to construct. When the news arrived of Akbar Khan’s defeat by General Sale, on the plain of Jellalabad, the prisoners feared that they should all be massacred from motives of revenge. Their arms had been taken away, and a rumour ran through the fort that they were all to be put to death. On the arrival of Mohammed Khan these terrors were dissipated, for he went among the prisoners in a kindly manner, entered into conversation with them, and, on leaving them, said it was necessary that the next morning they should be removed from Budeeabad.

Before leaving this fort, the lives of the prisoners had been in peril from the effects of a severe shock of earthquake,—the same that destroyed the works of the English garrison at Jellalabad. It occurred on the 19th of February, and is thus described by Lieutenant Vincent Eyre, one of the captives:—“This morning it was remarked, that an unusual degree of heat and stillness pervaded the air. Whether these were premonitory symptoms of what was shortly to happen, it is impossible to determine; but at eleven A.M. we were suddenly alarmed by a violent rocking of the earth, which momentarily increased to such a degree, that we could with difficulty maintain our balance. Large masses of the lofty walls that encom-

camels and other cattle. I lost twenty-nine camels yesterday, and expect to-day’s report will be double that number. I am getting short of supplies for Europeans and natives, and I can see but little probability of getting a quantity equal to my daily consumption at this place; I have little or no money. I have so many sick and wounded, that I fear I shall have the greatest inconvenience and difficulty in carrying them; and should any unnecessary

operations add to their number, they must be left to perish. If I remain here many days I shall expect to lose half my cattle, which will render retirement very difficult. I sincerely think, that sending a small detachment will and must be followed by deep disaster. No doubt Akbar Khan, Shumshoodeen, and the other chiefs are uniting their forces, and I hourly expect to hear that Sir R. Shakespeare is added to the number of British prisoners.”

passed us fell in on all sides with a thundering crash; a loud subterraneous rumbling was heard, as of a boiling sea of liquid lava, and wave after wave seemed to lift up the ground on which we stood, causing every building to rock to and fro like a floating vessel. After the scenes of horror we had recently witnessed, it seemed as if the hour of retribution had arrived, and that Heaven destined to destroy the blood-stained earth at one fell swoop. The dwelling in which we lodged was terribly shaken, and the room inhabited by Lady Sale fell in; her ladyship, who happened to be standing on the roof just above it, having barely time to escape. Most providentially, all the ladies, with their children, made a timely rush into the open air at the commencement of the earthquake, and entirely escaped injury. General Elphinstone, being bedridden, was for several moments in a precarious position, from which he was rescued by the intrepidity of his servant Moore, a private of her majesty's 44th, who rushed into his room and carried him forth in his arms. The poor general, notwithstanding all that had occurred to cloud his fame, was greatly beloved by the soldiery, of whom there were few who would not have acted in a similar manner to save his life. The quaking continued for several minutes with unabated violence, and a slight tremor in the earth was perceptible throughout the remainder of the day. The Afghans were, for the time being, overwhelmed with terror; for, though slight shocks of earthquake are of common occurrence every year during the cold season, none so fearful as this had visited the country within the memory of the present generation. We shortly learned that our fort had been singularly favoured, almost every other fort in the valley having been laid low, and many inhabitants destroyed in the ruins. The town of Turgurree, especially, seems to have suffered severely, scarcely a house being left standing, and several hundreds of people having been killed in the fall."

On the 23rd of February, the little party of captives were joined by Captain Bygrave, who was brought into the fort in a very weak state, after having lost the ends of his toes by frostbite. His adventures had been perilous, and his escape from the horrors that overwhelmed most of his comrades wonderful. He was one of those who had surmounted the barrier placed across the mouth of the Jugdulluck Pass. Collecting

a small party of the men who had followed his example, he addressed them on the absolute necessity of their holding firmly together in the bond of discipline, for the preservation of their lives; declaring his willingness to lead them if they would only obey orders, and act with spirit adequate to the emergency. The poor fellows responded with a cheer, and declared their intention of being guided solely by his commands. They kept in rank for three or four miles; but the repeated onsets of Afghan horsemen threw them into irremediable confusion. The harassed and exhausted men could neither hold together nor pursue their march with that steadiness on which hung their only chance of escape. Captain Bygrave, finding all his efforts to save them unavailing, and foreseeing the inevitable destruction of the whole party, eventually resolved to strike off the high road, and endeavour to make his way over the hills to Jellalabad. In this hazardous undertaking he was accompanied by Mr. Baness, a civilian, who had become involved in the difficulties that beset our ill-fated army. They plodded on wearily for four dismal nights, and hid themselves during the day, sometimes among long rushes in the low bed of a mountain stream, and, at others, under the thick foliage of evergreen shrubs, on the summit of some lofty snow-clad peak. During this period, they subsisted merely on a few dry grains of coffee, which Mr. Baness had in his pocket, and an occasional bit of wild liquorice-root, which they discovered growing in the bed of the Soorkab river. Then Captain Bygrave prevented, by lameness and frostbitten toes, from proceeding further, and his companion pushed on alone. After lying for some time in an almost insensible state, Captain Bygrave contrived to crawl towards a village, where, by the offer of a piece of gold, he induced the first man he saw to take him to the residence of the chief of the village. This man pitied his forlorn condition, treated him with kindness for several days, and then sent him as a prisoner to Akbar Khan.

After leaving Budeeabad, the party of captives were carried about from place to place; and during this wretched pilgrimage the bedridden General Elphinstone breathed his last. At length they were taken to Bamian, and lodged in a miserable fort under the command of one Saleb Moham-med. This man, a soldier of fortune, and

a good-humoured, talkative, boasting fellow, was induced, on the promise of a bribe of a lac of rupees and a pension in Hindoostan, to consent to deliver them up to the British. An agreement to that effect was written out and signed; and Saleb Mohammed becoming daring in his rebellion, even hoisted the British flag on the fort. The party supplied themselves with funds by levying contributions upon some Lohanee merchants, and preparations were made to stand a siege in case any of the confederate chiefs might appear at Bamian. As to their guards (amounting to about 250 men), their fidelity was secured by a promise of four months' pay, as a gratuity, as soon as they should reach Cabool. On the 15th of September, intelligence reached them that Akbar Khan had been defeated by General Pollock at Tezeen, and had fled no one knew whither. An immediate return to Cabool was therefore resolved upon. The next day they started on their journey; and, on the afternoon of the 17th, were met by Captain Shakespeare and his body of horsemen. On the 20th, a cloud of dust rising over the hills, gave notice that another body of horse was approaching. It proved to be the British

cavalry and infantry sent after Captain Shakespeare, and in a short time the veteran Sir Robert Sale had embraced his wife and widowed daughter. Lieutenant Sturt, the husband of the latter, had been mortally wounded in the Koord-Cabool Pass. Great was the general joy;—the captives were at liberty, and in safety, and a royal salute was fired, to express the triumph felt by the deliverers. On the 21st of December they entered Cabool, where they found the shops closed, and the streets deserted; and where they paused, as they went along, at some melancholy memorials of the great outbreak which, a year before, had overwhelmed us with misery and disgrace. It has been truly observed that General Pollock judged rightly, that if he returned to Hindoostan without the brave men and tender women who had endured for so many months the perils of captivity in a barbarous land, his countrymen would have regarded the victory as incomplete. If they had been abandoned, the stain of inhumanity would have sullied our arms. Let him fight what battles, destroy what forts, and carry off what trophies he might, he would, without the liberation of the prisoners, be only half a conqueror after all.

THE WORK OF RETRIBUTION; AND RETURN OF THE BRITISH TO INDIA.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH had strictly ordered that Afghanistan should be abandoned; but he at the same time expressed a wish that the army should leave behind it some decisive proof of its power, without impeaching its humanity. It was considered necessary to subject the people of Cabool to some punishment, that they might learn that the British power could not be insulted and injured with impunity; and that outrages, at the relation of which humanity shudders, could not be perpetrated without arousing the Nemesis of Retribution. Certainly the English were the aggressors: they were not justified in their interference with the internal affairs of Afghanistan; they brought their sufferings upon themselves by a dishonest policy; and, to use an oriental phrase, "they went out to hunt deer, and roused tigers." But the treachery and cruelty of the Afghans was of so extreme and malignant a character, that it deserved a punishment. Our position in India also demanded that the tribes of Central Asia should know that Britain's reverses were but transitory

and accidental; that she still ruled in Hindoostan; that her arms, dimmed for a moment, had recovered their lustre; and that she could hold in pride what she had acquired in power.

The English generals were reflecting in what way to strike. Pollock was inclined to act with a just discrimination,—to protect those whom he deemed our friends, and to punish our enemies. Nott, whose temper was sterner, declared (and, probably, with truth) that we had not a friend in Afghanistan, and that he knew not what our enemies ought to expect for their cruelty, treachery, and bloody murders. Supplies came in but slowly to the camps (Pollock's and Nott's forces were stationed on opposite sides of Cabool), although high prices were offered for them; and General Nott observed—"I believe the enemy are organising a system to bring our men to the same state of starvation to which General Elphinstone's army was reduced, in hope of the same results."

While the Afghans, though desirous of averting the danger that hung over them,

yet displayed an unwillingness to bring in supplies, it was reported to General Pollock that Ameen-oollah Khan had taken the field at Istaliff, and was endeavouring to bring together the scattered fragments of the Afghan force. It was believed that the purpose of the chief was to attack the British as they retired from Cabool, and endeavour to entangle them in some of the mountainous routes through which they would have to pass. General Pollock, therefore, determined to disperse this force, and to leave some mark of his resentment on a part of the country which had poured forth so many of the insurgents who had risen against us in the preceding winter. General M'Caskill was therefore dispatched with two divisions of the army to Istaliff, to scatter the enemy and destroy the place. The strength, however, of the hostile chiefs was already broken, and they were desirous of conciliating a power they could no longer safely defy. Ameen-oollah Khan made overtures to the English, and declared that he had always been their friend at heart, though unwillingly compelled to act against them with the object of securing his own safety. The fugitive Akbar Khan, also, sent what was regarded as a peace-offering to the English camp, by the safe delivery of Captain Bygrave, the last prisoner who had remained in his hands.

General M'Caskill marched so rapidly upon Istaliff, that he took the enemy completely by surprise. This town had been regarded by the Afghan chiefs as a place of refuge, in which they would be secure from the assaults of the invaders. Relying upon its strength, they had collected in it their women and their treasures. Not apprehending an attack, scarcely any measures had been taken for its defence. On the approach of M'Caskill the people were seized with a panic, and prepared for flight. Collecting their property and their women, they left the town precipitately, and made off for some place of safety. Ameen-oollah Khan was among the fugitives, for he fled at the first onset. Our troops entered the town, and were opposed by some Afghan marksmen who had been stationed in the gardens. The British dashed in amongst them, and they immediately followed their companions. For the sake of the women, General M'Caskill would not suffer a pursuit, and those who fell into our hands in the town were treated with respect, and given over to the keeping of the Kuzzilbashes. The town was then

given to the flames, after two guns and a considerable amount of booty had been taken. It is to be regretted that, in the confusion that followed, many atrocities were perpetrated. Animated by a retaliatory spirit, the British and the native soldiery vied with each other in revenging the cruelties inflicted upon their comrades by the Afghans. The latter were denounced as a guilty race, and great numbers of them massacred without mercy. The Hindoos, in their fury, even set fire to the clothes of some of the Afghan corpses, that, according to their superstition, the curse of a burnt father might attach to the sufferers' children. After the conflagration of Istaliff, some fortified places in the neighbourhood were also destroyed, and the British returned in triumph to Cabool.

The great object of the retributory march to Cabool had yet to be performed. General Pollock resolved on the destruction of the Char Chouk, or principal bazaar in Cabool, which had been erected in the reign of the great Aurungzebe (the last of the native emperors of India, who held the sceptre of his ancestor Tamerlane with a resolute and powerful grasp), and was considered the most interesting architectural object in Central Asia. In this building the remains of the murdered Macnaghten had, with a disgusting ferocity, been triumphantly exposed to derision; and the English general doomed its destruction, to mark the horror and indignation which had been inspired by Akbar Khan and its associates. This act, which has been regarded as unjustifiable by men of extreme conciliatory principles, was to our minds one of extreme moderation. On the 9th of October, Abbott, the chief engineer, with Pollock's force, began the work of ruin. He was ordered not to resort to fire, or to use gunpowder, for fear of involving the city in a general conflagration. However, the massiveness of the building was so great, that it baffled all other attempts to destroy it, and gunpowder was obliged to be resorted to. The bazaar was therefore undermined in several places, and eventually blown into heaps of ruins. A strong detachment of British troops accompanied the engineers to protect the city from further injury, and the inhabitants from plunder and outrage. Colonel Richmond, who commanded these troops, was unable to control the impetuosity of the soldiers and camp followers who poured into the place. The hideous past was too recent to permit them to regard a helpless enemy with generous

forbearance. They thirsted for revenge, and longed for plunder; and nothing could restrain them. Forcing their way into the city, they streamed through the streets, plundered the shops, and then applied firebrands to the houses. In this, as in all such wild acts of retribution, the innocent suffered with the guilty: such is the dark necessity of war. Many unfortunate Hindoos, who had been induced to return to the city and reopen their shops, were utterly ruined, and nothing was left to them but to beg their way back to India in the rear of our columns. In the madness of excitement, friend and foe were struck down by the same relentless hand. The raging fever of revenge could only be slaked by crimson streams. For three days Cabool was a scene of wild tumult, and much of it was laid in ruins. This is to be regretted: the mind shudders in contemplating it; but it can scarcely be wondered at. "When," it has been observed, "we consider the amount of temptation and provocation,—when we remember that the comrades of our soldiers, and the brethren of our camp followers, had been foully butchered by thousands in the passes of Afghanistan,—when everywhere tokens of our humiliation, and of the treachery and cruelty of the enemy, rose up before our people, stinging them past all endurance, and exasperating them beyond all control, we wonder less, that when the guilty city lay at their feet, they should not wholly have reined in their passions, than that, in such an hour, they should have given them so little head."

The English army now prepared to depart. Futteh Jung, who had entered Cabool with General Pollock, had been placed upon the throne; but he was emphatically told that he was to look for no assistance, either in men, money, or arms, from the British government, and that he must therefore make the best of his own resources. He was but a weak prince, and he soon became aware of his utter inability to maintain himself in the regal palace after the departure of the British. He trembled at the prospect; and dreading the return of his old enemy, Akbar Khan, prudently surrendered his crown, and implored the British general to afford him the protection of his camp, and convey him to India,—a request which was complied with. The Kuzzilbash chiefs, therefore, set up another puppet, the Prince Shahpoor, a scion of the house of the late Shah Soojah. Futteh Jung, with the bitterness of a mean spirit, urged his attend-

ants to set fire to the palace when he left it, observing that Shahpoor's rule would be but a brief one, and that he could not bear the idea that the seraglio of his house should fall either to Akbar Khan or to the Ghilzyes. Futteh Jung's followers attempted to execute his orders, but happily the flames did not spread.

On the 11th of October the British colours were lowered from the Balla Hissar, the regiment stationed there was withdrawn, and preparations were made for the return of the British to India. The following day the march was begun, and the army was followed by a crowd of unfortunate Hindoos, who had been reduced to beggary by the spoliation of Cabool, and who sought to obtain a safe conduct to the provinces of India. General Pollock carried off many guns and military trophies, but he had not conveyance for the former, and was soon compelled to destroy them. The gates of Somnauth, however, were borne away in safety, to the extreme delight of the governor-general. The march of the army back to India was accomplished with very little opposition, for both the power and spirit of the Afghan chiefs were broken. From Cabool to Jellalabad some night attacks were made upon the baggage of the British army, but no organised resistance was offered to its progress. The army halted for a few days at the latter place, the defences of which Pollock caused to be destroyed. The army then directed its march to Peshawur, and the terrible Khyber Pass had to be traversed again; but our native troops had no tremulous despondency this time. The Afreedi Maliks offered to sell us a free passage; but the proud reply was, that General Pollock would take one. It was his only proper course; the result of buying an unopposed passage from these robbers, would have been to animate the foe, and cast discredit upon the British arms.

The first division, under the general himself, who effectively crowned the heights as he advanced, passed through with only the loss of two or three privates. General M'Caskill did not take the precaution of crowning the heights: the brigade under his command was overtaken by night; and, under cover of the darkness, the Khyburees came down upon the rear-guard, and threw it into so great a confusion, that the irregular cavalry rode right over the infantry, knocking down several of the officers. Many of our men were cut off, and num-

bers of them were struck with stones, which the enemy hurled in all directions. Captains Christie and Nicolson were killed, and two of our guns abandoned. The assailants, however, made no effort to carry them off, and they seemed only bent on plunder.

Taken altogether the march was attended with very unimportant casualties. Peshawur was reached in safety, and the victorious forces entered the Punjab. Though suspected of treachery, the Seiks offered no opposition; and now, the only enemy the troops had to contend against was sickness, which had broken out extensively in their ranks. This was felt the more severely on account of the scarcity of conveyance at the disposal of the generals. Still the return was accomplished without any serious mortality. On the 17th of December, Sir Robert Sale crossed the river Sutlej at the head of those brave soldiers who had held possession of Jellalabad under such trying circumstances. Lord Ellenborough, who loved the pageantry and pomp of war, went forth in state to meet them. Triumphant arches had been erected, and a large sum expended in decorations, among which symbols of victory glittered brilliantly upon scarlet draperies. "A street of 250 elephants," says the graphic historian to whom we have been so much indebted, "more or less caparisoned, had been formed, and through this marched the heroes of Jellalabad, the 13th light infantry (Sale's own regiment) at the head of the column. The morning was dull and lowering—not a

gleam of sunshine lighted up the festive scene; but there were sunny hearts and bright faces; and as the horse artillery guns boomed forth their welcome, the band of the lancers struck up the ever-animating 'Conquering Hero' tune, and each regiment, in succession, as the column passed on, saluted their long absent comrades: the heart must have been a dull one that did not acknowledge that there is something of a bright side even to the picture of war." The mere moralist may, perhaps, censure this latter expression, but the sentiment is a becoming one from the lips or pen of a soldier.

General Pollock crossed the river on the 19th, and General Nott on the 23rd, the latter bringing in his train the gates of Somnauth. Peculiar honours had been bestowed upon Sale's brigade, on account of its prolonged endurance within the defences of Jellalabad; but Pollock and Nott were also received with much rejoicing and festivity. There were dinners, complimentary harangues, grand field-days, and other pleasant pageantries, which are usually the smiling offspring of success and triumph. The governor-general had been attended by a large body of troops, entitled the "Army of Reserve." A grand review took place of these and the triumphant army, and forty thousand men and a hundred guns were manœuvred before the eyes of the generals and the governor. With this parade closed the military events, in the East, of the stormy and eventful year of 1842.

PROCEEDINGS OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH—RESULTS OF THE WAR.

EVERY Englishman in India received with delight the news that the stain had been removed from our arms, and that victory sat again upon our standards. A shout of triumphant congratulation proceeded from north to south, from the snow-crowned heights of the Himalayas to the sunlit slopes and grassy plains of Cape Comorin. Suspense was passed, anxiety had perished; our countrymen had emerged from the dark cloud that overshadowed them; and our military glory, which, in those remote lands, had received a serious wound, was re-established, and stood prouder, loftier, and more secure than ever. Our authority in India had been perilled; it now stood on a still surer foundation. England had ruled, be-

cause it was believed by the natives of that vast peninsula that her power was irresistible, that it was her destiny to rule, that the fates favoured her designs, and that no people could oppose her with impunity. This opinion had been shaken to its base by the disasters we had experienced in Afghanistan; but it was re-established by our final successes. It was felt that if for a brief period imbecility had rendered our soldiers timid and emasculate, British perseverance had recovered what had been lost, and British power would resolutely retain what had fallen to it. "It is indeed," wrote an able Indian statesman, "a comfort to be able to look a native in the face again with confidence; for although there was in reality no

change that one could see in their bearing towards us in this region, yet one could not help feeling that we had fallen from our high position; and they would have felt this too, and in the end, perhaps, shown that they did, had not the noble resolution been taken of moving forward to retrieve our tarnished reputation." When the intelligence of the reoccupation of Cabool reached Lord Ellenborough, he issued a manifesto, which, in a rather grandiloquent style, reviewed the recent war, and indicated the future policy of the British government. It ran as follows, and is interesting, from its being an epitome of the history of this fearful struggle, from which we so happily withdrew without incurring that dishonour which appeared to threaten us:—"The government of India directed its army to pass the Indus, in order to expel from Afghanistan a chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a sovereign represented to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects. The chief believed to be hostile became a prisoner, and the sovereign represented to be popular was replaced upon his throne; but, after events which brought into question his fidelity to the government by which he was restored, he lost by the hands of an assassin the throne he had only held amidst insurrections, and his death was preceded and followed by still existing anarchy. Disasters unparalleled in their extent, unless by the errors in which they originated, and by the treachery by which they were completed, have, in one short campaign, been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune; and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the cities and citadels of Ghuznee and Cabool, have again attached the opinion of invincibility to the British arms. The British arms in possession of Afghanistan will now be withdrawn to the Sutlej. The governor-general will leave it to the Afghans themselves to create a government amidst the anarchy which is the consequence of their crimes. To force a sovereign upon a reluctant people, would be as inconsistent with the policy as it is with the principles of the British government, tending to place the arms and resources of that people at the disposal of the first invader, and to impose the burden of supporting a sovereign, without the prospect of benefit from his alliance. The governor-general will willingly recognise any government approved by the Afghans themselves, which shall appear de-

sirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states. Content with the limits nature appears to have assigned to its empire, the government of India will devote all its efforts to the establishment and maintenance of general peace, to the protection of the sovereigns and chiefs its allies, and to the prosperity and happiness of its own faithful subjects. The rivers of the Punjab and Indus, and the mountainous passes, and the barbarous tribes of Afghanistan, will be placed between the British army and an enemy approaching from the west (if, indeed, such enemy there can be), and no longer between the army and its supplies. The enormous expenditure required for the support of a large force, in a false military position, at a distance from its own frontier and its resources, will no longer arrest every measure for the improvement of the country and of the people. The combined army of England and of India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valour, and in the officers by whom it is commanded, to any force which can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and for ever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won, in security and in honour. The governor-general cannot fear the misconstruction of his motives in thus frankly announcing to surrounding states the pacific and conservative policy of his government. Afghanistan and China have seen at once the forces at his disposal, and the effect with which they can be applied. Sincerely attached to peace for the sake of the benefits it confers upon the people, the governor-general is resolved that peace shall be observed, and will put forth the whole power of the British government to coerce the state by which it shall be infringed."

The governor-general was not satisfied with issuing this proclamation. He was pleased to regard the honourable retirement of our troops from Afghanistan as his own work; and he therefore issued another paper, which drew upon him a perfect torrent of ridicule and censure. This was the famous proclamation of the gates, addressed "to all the princes, and chiefs, and people of India," and correctly described by the Duke of Wellington as a "song of triumph." Addressing the chieftains and people of India by the title of "my brothers and my friends," the excited statesman observed—"Our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan,

and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mohammed looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee. The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory; the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit the gates of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored temple of Somnauth."

This proclamation was certainly very unnecessary; for the temple of Somnauth had long been in ruins, and its gates forgotten by the Hindoos, to whom, therefore, their return could scarcely be an object of much satisfaction, while it was an outrage upon the feelings of the Mohammedan population of India. The pompous proclamation excited rather surprise than enthusiasm, and sensible men properly regarded it as a mistake and a failure. The vehement attacks, however, which were made upon it by the ultra-religious party in England, as an impious attempt to restore a decayed idolatry, were simply ridiculous. Lord Ellenborough was attacked in the House of Commons, and a proposition was brought forward that the proclamation should be censured as "unwise, indecorous, and reprehensible." Sir Robert Inglis had attacked Lord Ellenborough on this subject; but that was naturally to be expected. A gentleman of his bounded views and narrow sectarianism could scarcely have done otherwise. But it does, however, excite surprise to see a man of the erudition and eloquence of Mr. Macaulay led by party spirit into such company. After making a severe attack upon Lord Ellenborough, Mr. Macaulay alluded to the wild fables and superstitious rites connected with Hindoo worship, some of which he considered had been too much tolerated by the British government. The observation was not a creditable one. It was enough that we had forced a foreign government upon the natives of Hindoostan, without persecuting them on the ground of their religion. Not to tolerate the religion of a vast country in which the English were numerically considered a mere handful in comparison with the native population, would not only have been a departure from the equitable precepts of Christian morality, but it would have been

the excess of tyranny and extravagant arrogance. Mr. Macaulay added, that a purer system had been gaining ground among the Hindoos, and that the East India Company had sent orders to the governor-general to have nothing to do with the native temples, to make no presents to them, and to employ no troops to do them honour. But Lord Ellenborough had departed from the neutrality inculcated: he interfered in the concerns of an idolatrous temple; made a gift to it, and sent troops with his present; that temple being dedicated to "Siva the Destroyer," and to the most repulsive rites. Nor was he even a popular divinity; for his temples were supported only by the Brahmins, and owned but small congregations.

Sir Robert Peel, at that time the head of the government which had appointed Lord Ellenborough, very successfully replied to this declamation. He observed, that the gates of the temple of Somnauth were regarded less as objects of religious devotion than as a great trophy of war. He believed that the feeling which actuated the governor-general was, that so presented, they would prove most acceptable to the people of India. His noble friend never for a moment intended that the matter should be regarded as any manifestation of religious feeling, as it had been in this country. When he spoke of the restored temple, Lord Ellenborough was evidently under the impression that the temple which was restored by the wife of Holkar was still in existence. He apprehended that all that was intended was to hand over these gates to the ruler of Guzerat, that they might be placed in the temple of the place from whence they had formerly been taken, as a military trophy. The expression "restored temple," implied that the gates of the former temple should be placed in it; and it was never contemplated to reconstruct a temple for their reception. Sir Robert admitted that the attention of the government had been drawn to the subject, and that it had been thought necessary to make representations to India with respect to it. He, however, called upon the house to look to the general character of Lord Ellenborough's administration. When he arrived in India he found some portion of the army dispersed, and a feeling of general despondency prevailing: but what was exhibited after the lapse of ten months? They found the same governor-general at the head of an army of 40,000 men, after having effected the evacua-

tion of that country which had been the scene of such base treachery; they found that every disaster had been retrieved almost on the spot where they severally had been experienced; they found that the passes, which were full of the bones of the sepoys, had been forced by an army which had been almost dispirited; and in its place they had now an army full of enthusiasm, and fit and ready to meet any troops that could be brought against them. "Then, exhibiting this contrast, I will remind you," continued Sir Robert Peel, addressing the opposition, "of the language you held on this subject at this time last year. I will, then, ask you whether it is consistent with justice, with decency, or with common sense, that you, whose policy has been reversed, should take this single proclamation, and tell the governor-general—'True, you have conquered—true, you have re-established the British name in Afghanistan—true, you have created one universal feeling of security throughout Hindoostan; but you have issued an unwise, an improvident proclamation, and the reward of your labours shall be, that you shall be disgraced by a vote of condemnation?'" The motion to censure Lord Ellenborough was lost by a large majority.

Let us return to the East. The historical drama enacted in Afghanistan was drawing to a close. The tragic wail of defeat and horror had passed away, and the rosy light of victory had once again beamed upon our arms. But the unjust and mistaken policy of our Indian government was swallowed up in irrevocable failure; for that there was no redemption. All we had done was reversed, and the tide of events rolled on exactly as they had done before our ill-fated interference. The tripartite treaty was at an end; Shah Soojah was dead; his family proved that they were utterly destitute of power and influence; and Akbar Khan soon recovered himself sufficiently to make a descent upon Cabool, in which he contrived to carry everything before him. The young king, Shahpoor, narrowly escaped with his life, and fled for safety to Peshawur. To add to the utter failure of our policy, Dost Mohammed was set at liberty; for, indeed, we had no honourable pretext for retaining him. He was welcomed back by his son, and resumed the throne which the flight of Shahpoor had left vacant for him. He deserved this ultimate triumph, for he had been a generous foe. At the time of the furious outbreak against the English at Cabool, which began

with the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes, and terminated with the expulsion of the British forces, the Dost had been jealously watched and guarded. But he made no effort to escape, nor did he manifest any feeling of exultation on learning the calamities which had befallen his captors. It was at first suspected that he had in some way been the cause of the Cabool insurrection; but he always protested that he had in no way promoted it, and that he was ignorant of its secret history. "Recollect," said he, on one occasion, "that I have, from the first day I came in, been on your side heart and soul. I swear by the most holy God, that since my submission, I have not communicated with Cabool and its people except through you. I am your guest, or your prisoner, whichever you please. I came to you in the hope of being in time employed by you; and I should say what is not true, if I denied still entertaining that hope; and I am ready to lay down my life in your service." With a belief that it is hopeless for a man to oppose himself to his destiny, he submitted passively to his fate. All things he regarded as being in the hands of God, and in that great keeping he was content to leave them. It was destiny: such was his creed. If it was the will of Heaven that he should return to Cabool, and again take up his residence in the Balla Hissar, he was prepared to do so. But he was not disposed to regain his sceptre by force or fraud. He acted on a venerable precept of the East—"Seek not after thy fate; it is seeking after thee."

An enormous amount of human life, and about fifteen millions of treasure, had been expended in our unauthorised interference with the internal affairs of Afghanistan; and now the melancholy question came to be asked—what had we gained by these great sacrifices? The expedition was undertaken with the object of erecting in Afghanistan a barrier against Russian encroachment through the instrumentality of Persia. Yet the Persians returned to the siege of Herat, and obtained possession of it. The Afghans, whom, by entering into an alliance with Dost Mohammed, we might have converted into friends, we had made into bitter and unforgiving enemies. Before our armies crossed the Indus the English name was respected in Afghanistan; now it is detested. Its people are by nature unforgiving; and there was scarcely a family in the country which had not the blood of kindred to

revenge upon the accursed Feringhees. Our proceedings were unjust; and it seemed as if a curse had rested upon them from the beginning. Let us trust that time will efface the recollection of these wrongs from the memory of the Afghans, and that in the

end we may do what we might readily have done at the beginning; that is, make them a friendly state, disposed to favour our interests, and to resist the march of Persian troops and the influence of Russian gold.

ANNEXATION OF SINDE.

SINDE is a country of Northern India, lying between Hindoostan and Beloochistan, and bearing a considerable resemblance to Egypt, though far inferior to it in fertility. It is traversed through its whole extent by the noble river Indus, and bounded on one side by mountains, and on the other by a desert. The inhabitants are a mixture of Hindoos and Beloochees, a Mohammedan people resembling the Afghans. Sindé was governed by three chieftains, called Ameers, who, like most of the rulers of this part of Asia, had obtained their power by usurpation. Noor Mohammed ruled at Hyderabad; Sheer Mohammed at Meerpoor; and Meer Roostum at Khyrpoor in Upper Sindé. These men exercised an aristocratic military despotism; and although it has been contended by some writers that the English acted with severity and injustice towards them, their conduct was so stained by ferocity and treachery, and their habits were so brutal, that it is scarcely possible, on perusing a full account of their proceedings, to entertain any sympathy for them.

The ameers were suspected of assisting the Afghans in the recent struggle. They openly rejoiced at the massacre of our countrymen, who they said had been compelled to eat dirt; and confidently proclaimed that they would "Cabool the Feringhees." In addition to this insulting conduct, they had neglected to pay a tribute to which they were subject; disputes had arisen about a treaty for the navigation of the Indus, the operation of which infringed upon their hunting-grounds; and finally they expelled our resident, Major Outram. Even this act was performed in a manner which must excite the disgust and indignation of every civilised mind. His residence was attacked by a body of 8,000 men, who would doubtless have massacred him and all his dependents, if they had been able to accomplish their treacherous intention. Fortunately, the house was of stone, contained a garrison of one hundred men, and

was protected by an English steamer in the river. After a prolonged resistance of three hours, Major Outram and his men, having nearly expended their ammunition, made good their retreat to the steamer.

Hostilities were inevitable. General Sir Charles Napier had lately arrived in India, and to him was assigned the command of an army destined to act against Sindé. The choice was a fortunate one; for the brave and eccentric general was one of the most resolute, daring, and remarkable soldiers of the age. He marched against the ameers in December, 1842, at the head of 2,000 infantry and 900 cavalry; to which little force was added twelve pieces of cannon and a battery of 24-pound howitzers. The entire force entrusted to him consisted of about 8,000 men; but they were widely distributed. The ameers had collected an army estimated at from 70,000 to 80,000 men; and they trusted to draw the English among the jungles and swamps, and then deceive them with pretended negotiation, until the waters of the Indus should rise and inundate their camp, and the fierce rays of the sun incapacitate them from fighting. Then these brave Beloochees intended to rush upon the comparative handful of English, and slaughter them all like sheep.

On the 5th of January, 1843, General Napier marched, with only 400 men mounted on camels, against Emaum Ghur, a fortress which the Beloochees deemed impregnable from its defences, and inaccessible from its situation. After a terrible march of eight days, over a sandy waste, the fortress was reached, and found to be deserted. Mohammed Khan and the garrison, though six times the number of the assailants, had fled two days before, carrying with them a vast treasure the place had contained. Napier blew up the fortress with gunpowder, and returned without the loss of a man.

General Napier then invited the ameers to meet at Khyrpoor, with a view to come to an amicable agreement on the subject of

the treaty. They readily acceded, as they hoped to trifle away the time until the hot season arrived. They trusted to be able to draw the English army so far from its reserves, that it would be wholly at their mercy; then, after putting every man of it to the sword, they were to cut the throats of every man, woman, and child, connected with the English, who could be found in Sinde. One exception only was to be made: they resolved to keep General Napier alive, that he might be led in triumph by a chain attached to a heavy iron ring bored through his nose.

Napier soon discovered the treachery of the ameers: he found that they were collecting troops in every direction, and resolved to give them battle before all these forces were united. He directed his progress to the village of Meeance, six miles from Hyderabad, the capital of Sinde. The British general had with him a force of only 2,400 men; while he was opposed by an army of ten times that number. The history of this war has been written by Colonel W. Napier, the brother of the general who conducted it. He observes—"Thick as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Beloochees in their many-coloured garments and turbans; they filled the broad deep bed of the Fullalle; they clustered on both banks, and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords, beaming in the sun; their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures they rushed forwards, and full against the 22nd, dashed with demoniac strength and ferocity. But with shouts as loud, and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, and hearts as big, and arms as strong, the Irish soldiers met them with that queen of weapons the musket, and sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood."

The victory of the English was complete, though purchased at the loss of 254 men in killed and wounded. This battle was fought on the 17th of February, 1843. It was followed by the surrender of the aged ameer, Meer Roostum, together with Meer Musseer and Meer Shadad; and on the 19th, General Napier entered Hyderabad as a conqueror. The Beloochee troops within the city left it to join Sheer Mohammed. On the 24th of March the British marched from Hyderabad against Sheer Mohammed,

the Ameer of Meerpoor, who had approached the former city with an army of 25,000 men. The British forces had been swelled by reinforcements to 5,000 men; and, notwithstanding the great disparity that still existed, General Napier felt confident as to the result. The battle which followed was furious and brilliant, and the rout of the enemy complete. The British lost 270 in officers and men; but it is estimated that the enemy had not less than 5,000 killed or wounded. It was remarked that all the fallen Beloochees were grim-visaged men of mature years; not a youth was to be found among them. The great slaughter that took place arose from the fact, that these ferocious people neither give nor expect quarter. When wounded, they would not surrender, but continued to strike furiously at all who approached them, which made it necessary to shoot or bayonet them—operations which, though painful to reflect upon, the British soldiers performed without remorse upon men from whom they could expect no mercy.

The battle of Hyderabad was followed by the bloodless surrender of Meerpoor. Sheer Mohammed abandoned his capital, and fled with diminished forces to Omercote, known as the "desert fortress." Napier wrote a summons to him to surrender, saying that there was no dishonour in being defeated in battle; and that it was folly to attempt to defend Omercote, as he could batter it down in a day, and destroy all within it. The ameer would not at first surrender; but when the British arrived and placed their guns in battery against the fort, he opened its gates, on receiving a promise that the lives of himself and the garrison should be spared, and that he should be allowed to depart. Sheer Mohammed contrived to collect another army of 10,000 men, and once again took the field. He was encountered on the 17th of June by detachments commanded by captains Roberts and Jacob, experienced a fresh defeat, and fled, attended only by ten horsemen, to the desert. All opposition was now over; and the ameers being disposed of, the country was taken possession of by the British, and General Napier appointed its governor. It is a pleasure to be able to say, that, under British rule, the people have become tranquil and industrious, and the country has enjoyed far more prosperity than it did under the sway of the ameers.

BRIEF RENEWAL OF THE MAHRATTA WAR.

DURING the year (1843), the old enmity of the Mahrattas was aroused. The affairs of the court of Gwalior, which had long occasioned anxiety to the British government, came to a crisis. The country was in confusion: the various chiefs were struggling for power, and the people left at the mercy of licentious and undisciplined troops. The British government was bound by treaties with the late rajah to protect his successor and preserve his territories. That successor was a boy of but eight years of age; and his helplessness not only encouraged plots against his life, but exposed him to being made an instrument in the hands of the enemies of the British authority.

Lord Ellenborough, also, acting upon the doctrine inculcated by the Marquis Wellesley—of the rights of the British government as the paramount power in India,—ordered the advance of a body of troops sufficient, he observed, “to obtain guarantees for the future security of its own subjects on the common frontier of the two states, to protect the person of the rajah, to quell disturbances within his highness’s territories, and to chastise all who shall remain in disobedience.”

Towards the close of 1843, the British army crossed the Indus, and marched upon Gwalior. It was composed of two divisions, the chief of which, comprising 14,000 men, was under the command of Sir Hugh Gough; the other, amounting to about 8,000 men, was led by Major-general Grey. They marched by different routes, and on the 29th of December the main division came unexpectedly upon a body of the enemy, about 18,000 in number, drawn up in a very strong position in front of the village of Maharajpooor. The enemy mustered also one hundred guns, which were admirably worked. The Mahratta troops fought with desperate bravery, and their gallantry elicited the admiration of the English general. A column of our infantry charged the artillery of the enemy, which wrought severe execution as they approached, but the rush of the British soldiers was irresistible. The gunners were bayoneted at their posts, and the Mahratta troops driven back upon the village. There a furious conflict ensued; and our dusky foes, after discharging their matchlocks, fought sword in hand with the most determined courage. The village was,

however, taken in reverse by General Valiant’s brigade, and twenty-eight guns were captured by this movement. At this point the resistance was desperate, and the slaughter immense. During this period our cavalry was advantageously engaged with that of the enemy, and after some well-executed charges, succeeded in capturing some guns and two standards. In moving on the right of the enemy’s position, Major-general Valiant had to take, in succession, three strongly intrenched positions, where the enemy defended their guns with such frantic desperation, that the 40th regiment lost two commanding officers (Major Stopford and Captain Codrington), who fell at the very muzzle of the guns. Finally, the enemy succumbed to the repeated charges of our troops, and victory graced the bayonets of the English.

The opposition had been of a more serious character than was expected, and our loss amounted to 106 killed and 684 wounded. Seven officers either perished on the field, or died subsequently of their wounds. The loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at between three and four thousand men. The survivors retreated to Gwalior, leaving on the field fifty-six pieces of artillery, and all their ammunition waggons.

On the same day that the Mahrattas experienced this severe reverse, they suffered another defeat from the second division of the British army under Major-general Grey. The troops under his command did not exceed 2,000 men, while those of the enemy were estimated at 12,000. The engagement took place at Puniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior. The enemy took up a strong position on the heights, where they were immediately attacked, and, after being driven from steep to steep, thoroughly defeated: they sustained a heavy loss, though its exact extent was not ascertained; that of the British amounted to twenty-five killed and 189 wounded.

The victorious divisions met beneath the walls of Gwalior, which was taken possession of on the 4th of January, 1844. About 5,000 Mahrattas were found in the stationary camp, and, being well supplied with artillery, they held out until an offer of liquidation of arrears and three months’ additional pay, induced them to surrender their arms and disperse quietly. The Mahratta durbar

offered no further opposition to the demands of the Indian government. Colonel Stubbs was appointed governor of the fort which commands the city, and the administration vested in a council of regency under his

control, during the minority of the infant rajah. It was arranged that a British force should be maintained in the country, at the cost of the Gwalior government, which was also to pay the expenses of the campaign.

INVASION OF BRITISH INDIA BY THE SEIKS; AND BATTLES OF MOODKEE AND FERROZESHAH.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH was recalled from India in July, 1844, and succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge, who, though a soldier, was sent out as governor-general, with instructions to pursue a more pacific policy than had been followed by his predecessor. It was soon, however, discovered that the conditions of our rule in India were not yet consistent with repose.

The Punjab is an extensive country in the north-west of India, and derives its name from two Persian words—*Punj*, five, and *ab*, water; from the five rivers which flow through the territory. The inhabitants are Hindoos, Mussulmans, and Seiks; the latter, though forming not more than a tenth part of the population, being the dominant race. The Seiks are one of the most original people in the East. Following the tenets of Govind and Narruk, who, four centuries ago, formed a religion from Hindooism and Mohammedanism, they were a tribe of military fanatics, who looked with hatred upon all men who did not profess the Seik faith. They were brave, heavily armed, and possessed of excellent artillery. Their troops were good horsemen, brave and hardy, not easily dispirited by defeat, and rallying with admirable spirit after disaster. They had encouraged foreigners to accept military service in their army; and many French and Italian officers had been taken into the pay of Runjeet Singh, and were employed in improving the organisation and discipline of his troops.

During the war with Afghanistan, the Seiks, though the allies of England, acted in a manner which excited suspicion of their good faith. After the death of Runjeet Singh (the old lion of Lahore), the kingdom was shaken to its base by a series of intrigues and assassinations, exceeding in atrocity the worst crimes committed at the worst periods of Hindoo or Mohammedan history. At length the supreme authority of the state, or what remained of it, was vested in the person of Rancee Chuuda, a

concubine of the late Runjeet Singh, and the mother of a boy named Duleep Singh, who, though notoriously not the son of the rajah, had been in some respects treated by him as such. The boy was made rajah, and the mother swayed as regent. Whatever factions divided the Seiks, they were united on one point; and that was, in entertaining a bitter hatred to the English. Influenced by this feeling, by a hope of conquest, and a desire for plunder, the Seiks, towards the end of 1845, came to the resolution of invading the British territory. Sir Henry Hardinge, in accordance with his instructions, resolved, if possible, to avoid an appeal to arms. Whatever the bitterness of the Seiks against us, it was not supposed that the Lahore government would dare to provoke hostilities. All that was anticipated was an incursion by a military rabble, which would be easily repelled. The governor-general was therefore somewhat taken by surprise, when he heard that a Seik army, reported to consist of 50,000 men, and carrying with it 108 pieces of cannon, had crossed the Sutlej on the 11th of December, and after investing Ferozepore on one side, had taken up an intrenched position at the village of Ferozeshah, about ten miles in advance of the former. Both divisions commenced throwing up earthworks around their camps, and preparing for a vigorous contest.

Some preparations had been made for the border raid that had been expected, and 15,000 men were added to the English army stationed on the frontiers. The Ferozepore division, under General Littler, was raised from 2,000 to 8,000 men; and the other stations were proportionally strengthened. It is probable that the enormous force of the Seiks might have crushed this division of the British army; but they said, proudly, that they scorned to fight an enemy so inferior to them in number; therefore they remained about Ferozepore, and contented themselves with plundering the



MAJOR GENERAL SIR. R. H. SALE, G.C.B.

MORTALLY WOUNDED AT THE BATTLE OF MOODKEE,
DEC^r 18. 1843.

Drawn by J. Gilbert.

Engraved by J. Rogers.

country until the 17th of December, when they left General Littler and his troops in the rear, and marched off to intercept the progress of the larger force which the governor-general had collected with what speed he could, and ordered to march without delay on Ferozepore. This force consisted of from fifteen to twenty thousand men, including cavalry and a supply of light field guns, and was under the chief command of Sir Hugh Gough. It was accompanied, also, by the governor-general, who accepted the second command. The latter had issued a declaration of war directly he heard the Seiks had crossed the river Sutlej—an act which was in direct contravention of existing treaties. The British army pushed on by forced marches, and, after enduring great privations without a murmur, reached the village of Moodkee on the afternoon of the 18th of December.

Scarcely had they encamped, when the alarm was given that the Seik force, 30,000 strong, was coming down upon them. The British were weary from long marching; still, after a brief interval for refreshment, they fell into their ranks, and pushed forward again to meet the enemy. The latter were at hand; and posting their artillery behind some low jungle, they opened a severe cannonade upon our advancing troops. This was vigorously replied to from our light field batteries. Our fire, directed with steady precision, proved the most effective, and produced some confusion in their ranks. The latter were soon utterly broken by a sweeping charge of our cavalry, followed up by a sustained fire of musketry. The opposition of the enemy was desperate; but they were unable to resist the combined bravery and energy of our troops. They were hurled reeling back, maddened with rage and wounds, and blinded with smoke, and dust, and blood. Nevertheless, they contested every foot of ground, but were driven off by the bayonet wherever they attempted to make a stand; and shortly after sunset they fled, leaving seventeen of their guns in the hands of our troops. "Night," said the commander-in-chief, "only saved them from worse disaster; for this short conflict was maintained during an hour and a-half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which yet more obscured every object." Victory had lighted on the arms of the British, but it had cost them a heavy price. Of our brave fellows, 215 had perished, while 657 more were

wounded. General M'Caskill was amongst the slain; and the brave Sir Robert Sale was struck with a grapeshot, which shattered his thigh, and eventually terminated his valuable life.

The enemy retired to their intrenched camp at Ferozeshah, and the Seik army collected there was estimated at 35,000 men, supported by eighty-eight guns. Immediately after the battle of Moodkee, the English army was strengthened by the junction of General Littler's division, and Sir Hugh Gough resolved to follow up the impression made upon the enemy, by returning their attack. The British force numbered about 18,000 men, and sixty-five guns. The disparity between 18,000 British troops, when opposed to 35,000 natives, would have been utterly disregarded in the days of Clive or Wellington; but these fierce, hardy, and disciplined Seiks, were not like the passive Hindoo: they had proved themselves to be far more formidable opponents than had been expected; and the difference in point of number was sensibly felt: of course, the more so, as in every Indian army the minority only are British, the remainder being sepoy troops.

The intrenched camp of the enemy was in the form of a parallelogram, extending about a mile in length, being half a mile broad, and intersecting in its area the strong village of Ferozeshah, the shorter side looking towards Ferozepore and the open country. On the 21st of December, the British army advanced from Moodkee in four divisions, the right being led by Sir Hugh Gough, the left by General Littler, the centre by Major Gilbert, and the rear by Sir Harry Smith. As at Moodkee, the governor-general had accepted a position as second in command. The hostile encampment was reached about eleven o'clock, and the engagement commenced with an attack by our artillery on the lines of the enemy. They replied with a fierce and well-served cannonade, which told frightfully upon the British ranks. It was necessary to silence this destructive fire, and an order was given to our infantry to advance and seize the guns of the Seiks. Then followed the deadly charge; the bristling lines of bayonets glittered coldly in the wintry air, and were employed with irresistible energy. Many of the Seik artillerymen fell dead upon their guns, and spent their last breath in an impotent curse upon their foes; while the others reeled back from the deadly

shock, fell into confusion, and fled. Many of the guns were carried, and turned against their late owners. Victory seemed almost gained; but the Seiks rallied, and repelled the British with a murderous fire of musketry. The latter, unable to stand up against it, were compelled to draw back and leave some of the guns in possession of the foe. The battle had been a prolonged one, and the approach of night interrupted the awful strife. The wintry darkness came on suddenly, and compelled both sides to cease fighting, because they could no longer distinguish friend from foe.

The main body of the British force withdrew a few hundred yards, and prepared to bivouac. The vigilant enemy, however, did not give themselves wholly to repose. Bringing some guns to bear upon that part of the field where the governor-general and the commander-in-chief were resting, they opened a fire upon our recumbent troops. Springing to the back of his horse, the governor-general led the gallant 80th, and a portion of the 1st Bengal Europeans, against the hostile guns, caused them to be spiked, and then returned to his previous station. Still the enemy continued to harass our troops whenever the moonlight enabled them to discover their position. The night, also, was one of great anxiety to the British commanders: their loss had been severe; and the reserve force, under Sir Harry Smith, had been compelled to retire; while it was believed that reinforcements were on their way to join the foe. Difficulties and dangers, however, serve but to strengthen the true soldier, and to nerve him to fresh and more resolute exertions.

With the dawn of day the English renewed the attack. General Gilbert led his division against that part of the enemy's intrenchment which had not been carried on the preceding day. General Gough then led the right wing, while Sir Henry Hardinge rode at the head of the left. The enemy, as before, opened a fierce fire upon our advancing troops; but the deadly storm failed to check their onward movement. Many fell dead or wounded; but the bulk dashed on with wild impetuosity, and the charge was successful. The Seiks were driven out of the village of Ferozeshah, and hurled back upon their reserve, which arrived just in time to prevent their total destruction. Thus strengthened, they were enabled to retire across the Sutlej without molestation. We had captured all their cannon, many of their standards, and remained in possession of the camp from which we had driven them. Large stores of grain and ammunition also fell into the hands of the victors: the loss of the enemy was very great, the field being literally covered with their dead. That of the English, also, was exceedingly heavy, and betokened the warlike nature of the enemy, and the ferocity of the struggle. Of our men, 694 were killed, and 1,721 wounded. The reader will better understand the severity of this loss, when we state that it nearly equalled, and exceeded in the number of slain, that suffered by the British at the memorable battle of Inkermann, in the Crimea, on the 5th of November, 1854. On that occasion, our loss amounted to 462 killed, 1,952 wounded, and 198 missing. Totals—at Ferozeshah, 2,370; at Inkermann, 2,612.

BATTLES OF ALIWAL AND SOBRAON—THE SEIKS SUE FOR PEACE.

THE heavy price at which the British had purchased their victories, added to the want of a battering train, prevented them from marching upon Lahore, and bringing the war to a summary conclusion. Several weeks elapsed before the arrival of reinforcements enabled Sir Hugh Gough again to take the field. The Seiks turned this delay to account. Throwing a bridge of boats across the Sutlej, they encamped at Sobraon, on the left bank of the river, where, under the direction of two European engineers, they constructed an almost impregnable *tête-du-pont*. From this position

they resumed offensive measures. The sirdar, Runjoor Singh, crossed the river about the 18th of January, 1846, at the head of a numerous force, and established himself in position at Baran Hara, near the city of Loodiana, which he threatened to give up to plunder and devastation. Sir Harry Smith was dispatched with a considerable body of troops to the relief of the place. This he effected, though not without being attacked by a superior force, and subjected to considerable loss.

Sir Harry Smith then marched against the village of Aliwal, with a force of about

10,000 men, accompanied by thirty-two guns. On the 28th of January they caught sight of the enemy. The Seik army consisted of about 24,000 men, and sixty-seven guns. The strength of their position was in the village of Aliwal; their rear rested on the river, and they were intrenched strongly on both flanks. The British troops immediately marched upon the camp of the enemy. On approaching it, our troops broke into open columns, and took ground to the right, to prevent being outflanked by the enemy. "When I had gained sufficient ground," said Sir Harry Smith, "the troops wheeled into line; there was no dust, and the sun shone brightly. The manœuvres were performed with the celerity and precision of the most correct field-day. The glistening of the bayonets and swords of this order of battle was most imposing, and the line advanced. Scarcely had it moved forward 150 yards when, at ten o'clock, the enemy opened a fierce cannonade from his whole line." The reply of the British was an immediate advance upon the village of Aliwal, which was stormed by our troops. Colonel Wheeler's brigade led the attack, and the whole line pressed forward and stormed the batteries, everywhere carrying the guns at the bayonet's point. The Seiks fought gallantly, and remained at their guns, on which many of their artillery fell dead or lacerated from bayonet thrusts. Charge after charge of our cavalry also broke upon them like waves of a storm-swept sea, and cut their men to pieces as they attempted to rally. Many, however, of our own men fell in this work of carnage; the 16th lancers and the 3rd cavalry suffering most severely. The battle lasted from ten o'clock until one, by which time the enemy were thrown into confusion, and driven, by repeated charges of cavalry and infantry, across the river, where great numbers of them were drowned. Sixty-five of their guns were captured; added to which, large stores of ammunition and grain became the prize of the conquerors. The loss of the latter amounted to 150 killed and 415 wounded. That of the Seiks was not ascertained; but it must have been very severe.

Sir Harry Smith and his victorious troops returned to the main camp of the British at Ferozepore on the 8th of February, and on the following day, the long-expected heavy guns arrived: they were needed; for, notwithstanding the severe chastisement the enemy had received, the fugitives fell back upon Sobraon—their last stronghold, which

they were resolved to defend with unyielding desperation. There, 30,000 men were protected by formidable intrenchments, defended by seventy pieces of cannon. These intrenchments were united by a bridge, with a reserve on the opposite side of the river, where also they had a considerable camp, and some artillery. Before daybreak on the 10th of February, the British troops, amounting to 16,000 rank and file, with ninety-nine guns, marched to the attack of the Seik camp at Sobraon. The engagement began at nine in the morning; and the advance of the British was met by a murderous fire from cannon, muskets, and camel guns. For some time it appeared impossible to carry the intrenchments of the enemy. The English were repeatedly driven back; but the charge was invariably renewed. The defence was conducted with great vigour and gallantry. Our heavy guns poured their deadly contents upon the foe; and, at one time, the valley of the Sutlej reverberated with the thunder of full 120 pieces of ordnance. The desperate fury of the Seiks was spoken of by Sir Hugh Gough as "inconceivable;" and at particular points, when their intrenchments were taken from them at the point of the bayonet, they strove to regain them by the fiercest combat, sword in hand. Line after line was slowly carried by the British, and the day was finally decided by some terrific charges of our cavalry. Our dragoons behaved with remarkable gallantry, and, with their reeking sabres, mowed down the obstinate defenders of batteries and field-works with a fearful energy: their efforts were supported by the full weight of three divisions of artillery, and by every field gun which could be sent to their aid. The fire of the enemy was overcome, and the Seiks were hurled back in masses over their bridge, and into the stream of the Sutlej. Hundreds fell by steel and bullet; hundreds more were drowned. The slaughter was terrible, and would have excited compassion in the hearts of the victors, if the Seiks had not, in the early part of the action, set an example of barbarity by mangling every wounded soldier who fell into their power. The battle lasted two hours; by eleven the British were the victors; but, as in their preceding contests with these fierce people, the victory was dearly won. They had lost 320 killed, including many valued officers; while the wounded amounted to 2,063! To account for this heavy loss on our part, it must be borne in mind that the enemy had

been drilled by European officers; and that, by offers of extravagant pay, many of our native troops had been induced to desert and fight against us. The loss of the Seiks was immense, and supposed to have reached between eight and ten thousand in killed and wounded. Many of their most distinguished chiefs were among the dead. Many trophies also fell into the hands of the British; and, amongst them, sixty-seven pieces of cannon, upwards of 200 camel swivel-guns, and an immense quantity of munitions of war. The bridge the enemy had erected across the waters of the Sutlej, and over which they had boasted that they would carry devastation into India, was destroyed, by being partly burnt and partly sunk.

The victorious army turned their steps towards Lahore, the capital of the Punjab. It was met by Gholab Singh, who came to beg pardon of the British, in the name of the Seik government, for the aggressions it

had committed, and to solicit terms of peace. The terms demanded were severe ones; but the Seiks, who were no longer in a condition to resist, accepted them. The territory lying between the Sutlej and Beas rivers, was surrendered in full sovereignty to the British, and a large sum paid down as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. The Seik army, also, was to be disbanded and placed on the same regulations, with regard to pay, which obtained in the time of Runjeet Singh. All the guns that had been pointed against the British were likewise surrendered, together with the entire regulation and control of both banks of the river Sutlej. The Seiks expressed themselves grateful for the terms granted to them,—peace was concluded, and Sir Henry Hardinge returned to England, where he received the reward of his services by an elevation to the peerage; while a similar mark of the royal favour was conferred on Sir Hugh Gough.

SIEGE OF MOOLTAN—BATTLES OF CHILLIANWALLAH AND GOOJERAT—ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB.

LORD DALHOUSIE succeeded to the governor-generalship of India, and during his administration the war with the Seiks was renewed, and the whole of the Punjab annexed. This factious people had merely signed the treaty of peace as a means of gaining time. A series of new crimes and intrigues commenced; and, as before, a hatred of England was the only feeling held in common by the contending parties. The renewed hostilities broke out at Mooltan, the capital of a petty state between the Indus and the Sutlej, conquered by Runjeet Singh. He placed the city under a governor, whose son, Moolraj, ruled it at the time the English advanced upon Lahore. The durbar of the latter city thought proper to recall Moolraj, and put Sirdah Khan Singh in his place. Accordingly, Mr. Van Agnew (assistant to the resident at Lahore) and Lieutenant Anderson, were deputed to proceed with the new governor, and instal him in his authority. Moolraj feigned a treacherous submission; and, shortly afterwards, the two Englishmen were, at his instigation, attacked and brutally murdered. This atrocity led, in the first instance, to some petty engagements, in which Lieutenant Edwardes, a young officer who had never before seen actual service, won much distinction by his

attempts to bring the assassins to punishment; and, in the second, to the siege of the fortress of Mooltan. This was undertaken in August, 1848, by a British army, amounting to 28,000 men. The defection of a considerable body of Seik troops, who left the British service and went over to the enemy, caused the siege to be raised on the 15th of September. It was evident that we were again threatened with wide-spread hostilities by the Seiks; and, as Lord Dalhousie observed, "no other course was open to us but to prosecute a general Punjab war with vigour, and ultimately to occupy the country with our troops."

In accordance with this resolution, a British army, under Lord Gough, assembled at Ferozepore. From thence they marched to the attack of a great body of Seiks encamped on the river Chenab. An engagement took place on the 22nd of November, which, although followed by the retreat of the enemy, was attended with heavy loss on our part, and led to no beneficial result. The siege of Mooltan was resumed on the 21st of December, by General Whish, at the head of an army of 32,000 men, strengthened by 150 pieces of artillery. A bombardment was commenced on the 28th, and continued, at intervals, until the morning

of the 30th, when the principal magazine in the place blew up with an awfully destructive explosion. In this magazine Moolraj had deposited an amount of powder which had taken him five years to accumulate. About 800 men perished from the effects of the explosion, and the principal houses and temples of the city were destroyed. Such was the concussion, that it is said that bottles were knocked off the tables, even at a distance of two miles. The walls of the fortress, however, remained uninjured, and Moolraj sent the British a defiant message, saying that he had still enough powder and shot to hold out for twelve months, and that they were to do their worst, for he intended to retain the place as long as a stone of it remained standing. This boasting was soon subdued. The cannonade was resumed with great fury,—a breach was effected, the place carried by assault, and, on the 2nd of January, 1849, the British colours were hoisted upon the walls of Mooltan. A garrison was left in the fortress, and the remainder of the army marched off to join the commander-in-chief. Moolraj, who had surrendered himself to the British, was placed on his trial for having instigated the murder of Mr. Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson. The evidence brought forward proved him to be a disgusting monster, for he had subjected the bodies of the murdered men to the most shocking and repulsive mutilations. The crime being clearly proved, he received sentence of death; but it was commuted into imprisonment for life.

Lord Gough had, by a heavy cannonade, compelled the Seiks to fall back about two miles, but they took up a strong position near the village of Chillianwallah, with their artillery planted in a commanding and safe position, under cover of some low but dense jungle. On the 13th of January, 1849, Lord Gough advanced, and drew up his troops in order of battle. The conflict which followed has been much criticised, and is said to have been attributed to irritation on the part of his lordship, rather than to a sound policy. The movements of the British were certainly not the result of much reflection and foresight. Our left division was directed to make a movement which exposed it to a terrible flanking cross-fire from the batteries of the enemy. Other bodies of troops were ordered to advance in the face of such a storm of round shot, grape, and musketry, that they were mowed down like grass, and compelled to

retreat. Some companies were surrounded and nearly cut to pieces; and so much confusion prevailed, that a body of our cavalry, on being ordered to charge that of the enemy, faced about, and actually retired from the field in spite of the remonstrances of their officers. These dastards, in their flight, actually dashed through our artillery, and thus exposed it, while in a disordered state, to an attack from the enemy, who cut down no less than seventy-three gunners, and carried off six of the guns. The safety of the whole army was endangered, and defeat was impending over it. Thanks, however, to the indomitable bravery of a part of our troops, the advancing Seiks were repulsed by a heavy fire of grape, and the British finally remained masters of the field. The enemy, however, carried away four of our guns and five stands of colours, besides recovering the greatest part of the guns which had been taken by the English during the struggle. Our loss, also, was very heavy;—twenty-six European officers and 731 men were killed; while sixty-six officers and 1,446 men were wounded. Though the English had a right to claim the victory in consequence of their retaining possession of the field, the result was an extremely equivocal one. Indeed, a few such victories would have annihilated the finest army in the world.

When information of the details of this battle reached England, it was received with a storm of grief and indignation such as had not been elicited since the catastrophe of Cabool. Lord Gough was severely reflected upon; and Sir Charles Napier, who had returned to England since the conquest of Sind, was sent out to supersede him. Before he arrived Lord Gough had recovered the laurels which were falling from his brow, and the Seik forces were completely overpowered. On the 21st of February, Lord Gough again encountered the Seiks near a place called Goojerat. The force of the enemy amounted to 60,000 men; that of the British to 25,000 only. The latter, however, were far stronger in the matter of artillery, as they brought a hundred guns of the heaviest calibre into the field, while the Seiks had but fifty-nine brass pieces of comparatively light metal. To this circumstance we mainly owe the victory, which we gained after nine hours of conflict. The battle began at seven in the morning with a cannonade, and by four in the afternoon the enemy was driven from

every point, and in general retreat, which was converted by our cavalry into a total rout and flight. The pursuit was carried on, accompanied with great slaughter, for a distance of fifteen miles. The enemy were utterly defeated; their army was annihilated as a hostile force, and Sheer Singh, its leader, escaped to the hills with merely a dispirited remnant of the formidable force he had lately commanded. Fifty-three of the enemy's guns were captured, together with his stores of ammunition and camp equipage.

The power of the Seiks was broken, and they now sincerely sought for peace. There being no longer any enemy capable of opposing the British, the governor-general issued a proclamation, dated 29th of March, 1849, in which, after reciting the aggressive acts of the Seiks, it stated that the government of India, not influenced by a desire for conquest, but for its own security, declared the kingdom of the Punjab to be at an end, and all the territories of the Maharajah, Dhuleep Singh, to be then and henceforth a portion of the British empire in India.

THE SECOND BURMESE WAR.

FOR nearly two years India was tranquil, or her peace was only disturbed by the inroads of some predatory tribes in the vicinity of Peshawur. A series of unfortunate events then led to a renewal of war with the Burmese. The government of that people was unable to conceal the hostility it felt towards the English, which manifested itself in various acts of oppression against traders of our nation settled at Rangoon. In consequence of some oppressive judgments delivered by the governor of that town against English merchants, Commodore Lambert was dispatched to Rangoon to satisfy himself respecting the truth of the statements, and to demand about £900 as compensation. The commodore arrived early in January, 1852, and, conceiving himself insulted by the governor of Rangoon, he gave notice to all British subjects to repair for protection to the squadron which had accompanied him. The few who remained behind were thrown into prison by the Burmese. Open hostilities soon followed, and the commodore, after declaring the coast of Burmah to be in a state of blockade, left in a steamer for Calcutta, to receive further instructions.

Lord Dalhousie confirmed his proceedings, and, on the 2nd of April, another British squadron arrived at the mouth of the Rangoon river; and it was left to the Burmese monarch to decide whether he would resort to arms, or purchase peace by the payment

of £100,000, on account of the expenses incurred by the British, and sanction the residence of an accredited agent at Rangoon, in compliance with the treaty of Yandaboo. The steamer sent to receive the reply of the Burmese government was driven back by a vigorous fire, and the war commenced. Martaban was stormed and taken with but little loss. Rangoon was attacked on the 11th of April, 1852. The Burmese offered a desperate resistance; and the intense heat, from the effects of which several of our officers dropped down dead, impeded operations. The struggle was prolonged until the 14th, when the fall of the Golden Pagoda completed the capture of Rangoon. Bassein fell during June, without a struggle; and, in the following month, Prome was taken possession of. In November the province of Pegu also fell into the hands of the British. This was declared by Lord Dalhousie to be annexed to our Indian empire; and he at the same time intimated to the Burmese, that no further hostilities would be carried out against them if they were content to submit to the loss of a territory which they had themselves acquired by usurpation. The losses of the Burmese, together with a revolution at Ava, induced them to give a sullen assent to these terms, and an equivocal peace followed, which, it is to be regretted, can be regarded as little more than an armed neutrality.

