



SERINGAPATAM.

4th May, 1799.

THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS

2nd Battalion, Formerly 94th Foot



BY

Lieut.-Colonel H. F. N. JOURDAIN, C.M.G.

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FELLOW ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

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AND

EDWARD FRASER

Author of "The Soldiers whom Wellington Led."

"The War Drama of the Eagles."

"Napoleon, the Gaoler." etc. etc.

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VOLUME II

1572-1922



THE SCOTS BRIGADE

THE SCOTCH BRIGADE

THE 94TH (SCOTCH BRIGADE)

THE 94TH REGIMENT

2ND BN. THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS

3RD BN. THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS

4TH BN. THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS

UNIFORM AND EQUIPMENT



"SERINGAPATAM"
 "TALAVERA"
 "BUSACO"
 "FUENTES D'ONOR"
 "CIUDAD RODRIGO"
 "BADAJOZ"
 "SALAMANCA"

"VITTORIA"
 "PYRENEES"
 "NIVELLE"
 "ORTHES"
 "TOULOUSE"
 "PENINSULA"
 "ALMA"
 "INKERMAN"

"SEVASTOPOL"
 "CENTRAL INDIA"
 "SOUTH AFRICA,
 1877-8-9"
 "RELIEF OF LADYSMITH"
 "SOUTH AFRICA, 1899-
 1902."

THE GREAT WAR

6 Battalions

REVISED

(In accordance with Army Order No. 55/1925)

"MONS"
 "Retreat from Mons"
 "Marne, 1914"
 "AISNE, 1914"
 "MESSINES, 1914, '17"
 "Armentières, 1914"
 "YPRES, 1914, '15, '17"
 "Langemarck, 1914, '17"
 "Gheluvelt"
 "Nonne Bosschen"
 "Festubert, 1914"
 "Givenchy, 1914"
 "Neuve Chapelle"
 "St. Julien"

"Aubers"
 "Somme, 1916, '18"
 "GUILLEMONT"
 "Ginchy"
 "St. Quentin"
 "Bapaume, 1918"
 "Rosières"
 "Hindenburg Line"
 "CAMBRAI, 1918"
 "Selle"
 "France and Flanders,
 1914-18"
 "KOSTURINO"
 "Struma"
 "Macedonia, 1915-17"

"Suvla"
 "Sari Bair"
 "SCIMITAR HILL"
 "Gallipoli, 1915"
 "Gaza"
 "Jerusalem"
 "Tell 'Asur"
 "MEGIDDO"
 "Sharon"
 "Palestine, 1917-18"
 "Tigris, 1916"
 "KUT AL AMARA, 1917"
 "Baghdad"
 "Mesopotamia, 1916-18"

PREFACE

THE Second Volume of the History of The Connaught Rangers comprises the History of the 2nd Battalion—previous to 1881 known as The Scots Brigade, The Scotch Brigade, The 94th (Scotch Brigade) and The 94th Foot,—the 3rd Battalion (formerly the Galway Militia), and the 4th Battalion (formerly the Roscommon Militia).

An Appendix on Uniform and Equipment, kindly contributed by Mr. P. W. Reynolds, illustrated by representations of all the buttons, breast-plates, shako-plates, helmet-badges and other badges known to be in existence, is included and is as complete as possible.

Considerable difficulty, involving wide and complicated research and consequent regrettable delay, has been experienced in compiling a satisfactory and comprehensive narrative of the career of The Scots Brigade, as no connected record or detailed account of its two centuries of adventurous war service is in existence. The narrative has, as a result, had to be constructed with more or less disjointed details, fitted together and compiled from widespread and innumerable sources. Every care has been taken to ensure authenticity and accuracy of facts. It should be added also that no Regimental Record or Digest or documents of any description are now to be found for the period 1793–1818, covering the war services of The Scotch Brigade and 94th in India and in the Peninsula under Wellington. Those sections of the Volume consequently, as with The Scots Brigade, have had to be compiled by piecing together details from outlying sources of information, among others from private diaries and letters, and in particular Donaldson's *Eventful Life of a Soldier*.

It has been found impossible further to augment the record of the 3rd and 4th Battalions of Militia, in regard to which all available documents, etc., placed at the disposal of the Regimental History Committee by the War Office, have been utilized.

Special acknowledgment is made here to Colonel C. de W. Crookshank, M.P., author of *Prints of British Military Operations*, for giving permission to reproduce the broadsheet woodcut of "The Storming of the Castle of Badajoz."

In conclusion hearty thanks are tendered to all those who have laboured so earnestly and well to make the Second Volume of the History so complete. I am specially indebted to Mr. Edward Fraser for his work of research and compilation throughout, in particular with regard to the sections dealing with The Scots Brigade and The Scotch Brigade and the original 94th down to the disbandment in 1818, after the Peninsular War. Recognition is also equally due to Mr. P. W. Reynolds for his comprehensive and exhaustive Appendix on Uniforms, etc., as before mentioned, to Captain C. T. Atkinson for invaluable assistance in reading proofs, and to Mr. K. R. Wilson for his practical supervision and advice throughout the stages of production and publication, and again for the compilation, as in the First Volume, of the Index, which, in itself, is an undertaking of considerable dimensions. Thanks are again tendered to Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arthur Leetham, K.C.V.O., C.M.G., for placing at disposal the resources of The Royal United Service Institution.

The Third Volume of the History, now in preparation, will include the War record of the 5th and 6th (Service) Battalions, together with chapters on the Colours, Medals, etc., and a List with biographical notes of officers who have served with the 88th and 94th and the 1st and 2nd Battalions of The Connaught Rangers.



Lieut.-Colonel.

President,
Historical Research Committee,
The Connaught Rangers.

JUNE, 1926.

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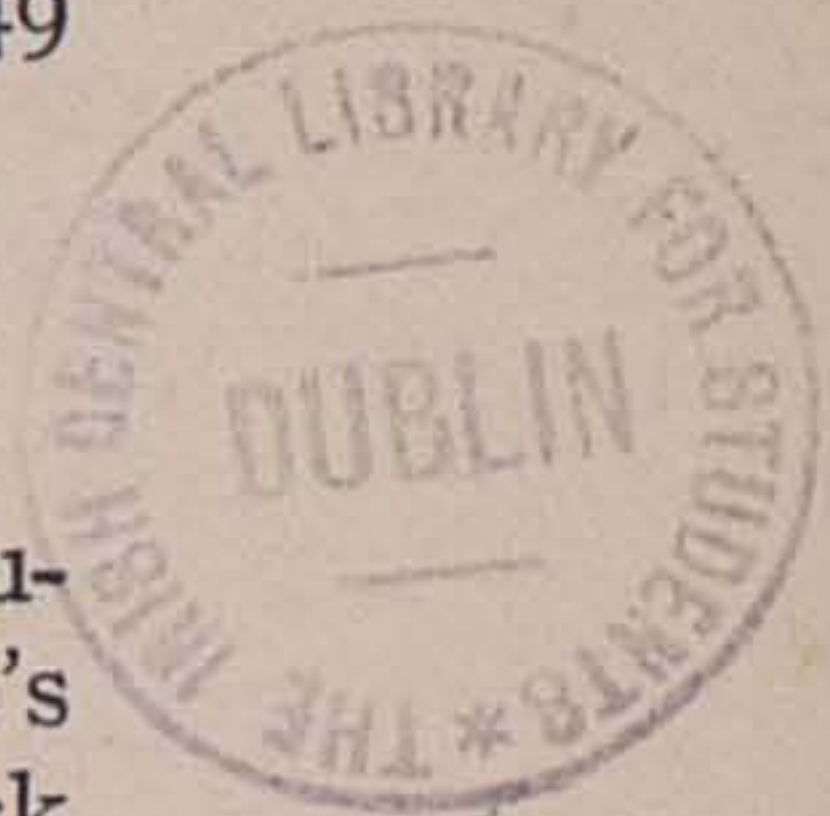
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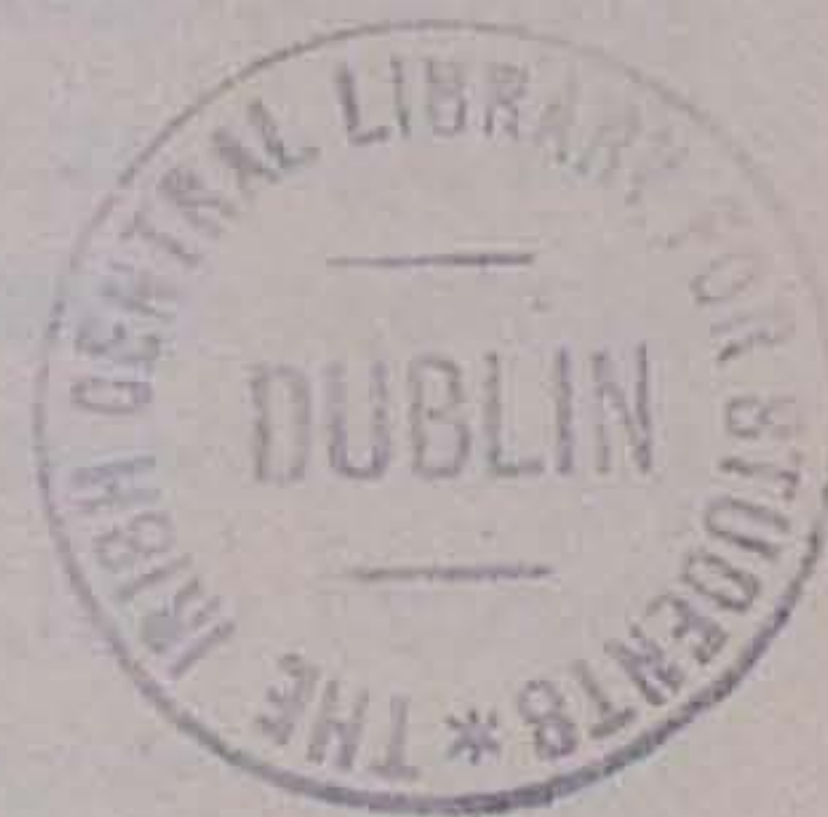
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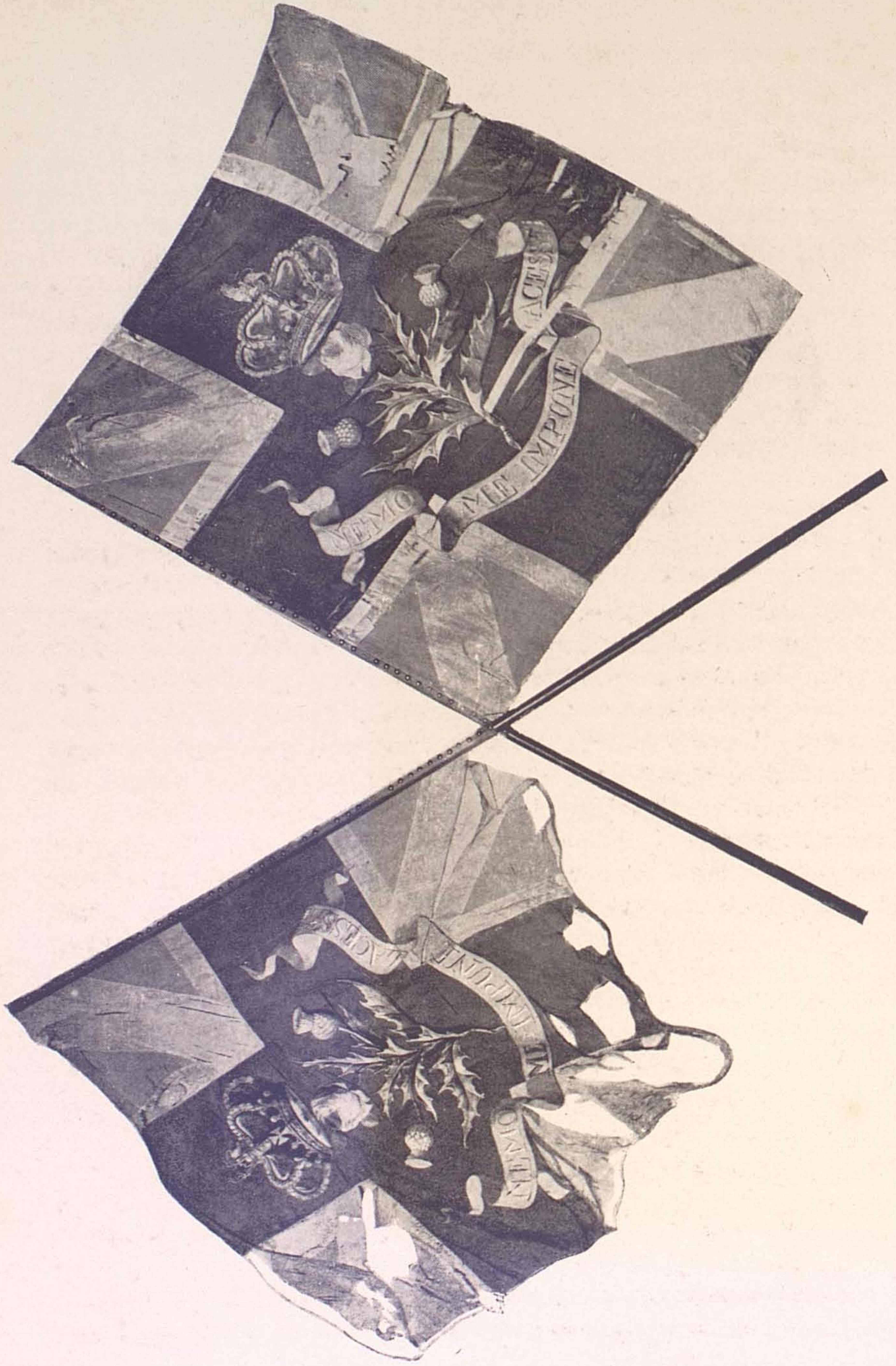


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THE LAST COLOURS OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE.
(Now in St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh.)

THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS

CHAPTER XXX

ANCESTRY OF THE 2nd BATTALION THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. THE HISTORIC SCOTS BRIGADE, 1572-1783. THE 94th (SCOTCH BRIGADE). THE LINK OF CONTINUITY.

1793-1881

THE 2nd Battalion of The Connaught Rangers for upwards of sixty years previous to 1881 was known as the 94th Foot. The Battalion was raised in 1823, taking the number and filling the place in the Army List of the former 94th, raised in 1793 and disbanded in 1818, which for the first nine years of its existence had no number and was known as "The Scotch Brigade." The 94th of 1823 was, in 1874, officially authorized to take over and consider as its own the battle honours awarded to its predecessors, the Scotch Brigade (94th), for services in India, in the Mysore and First Mahratta Wars, and in the Peninsular War. The Battalion was granted at the same time the "Elephant" badge, awarded in 1807 by George III to the earlier 94th for its Indian services. That made the 94th of 1823-81 the legitimate successors to the Scotch Brigade, whose traditions, again, had been directly inherited from the ancient "Scots Brigade" of European history, which came into existence in the sixteenth century. Its exploits in arms during over two hundred years in the service of Holland, won undying fame. For a great part of the period, the Scots Brigade had been officially held to form part of and to belong to the forces of the British Crown: and to be only "lent to the Government of the Netherlands."

The Scotch Brigade was a development out of "The Scots Brigade." Officers of the Scots Brigade, who had quitted the Dutch service and had been brought on to the British half-pay establishment under special circumstances (related later in these pages), were in 1793 specially selected to raise, as a re-embodiment of their own old corps, the Scotch Brigade. Thus the chain links the 2nd Battalion of The Connaught Rangers and the Scots Brigade of old.

That the Scotch Brigade and 94th of 1823-81 were considered to represent in the British Army the older corps is repeatedly evidenced. At every presentation of Colours to the battalion the connection and association was publicly emphasized. At the first presentation of Colours in Edinburgh in June 1795, Lord Adam Gordon, Commanding the Forces in Scotland, specially made reference to the old Scots Brigade as having been "re-modelled" in them. In his address he particularly enjoined on all ranks of the battalion "to maintain the reputation which all Europe knows that old and most respectable corps has most deservedly enjoyed." At the second presentation of Colours, in July 1847, Lieut.-General the Marquess of Tweeddale, Governor of Madras, and Commander-in-Chief of Fort St. George, who made the presentation, especially referred to the connection of the 94th with the Scotch Brigade of 1793, adverting, as the account of the ceremony in the *Digest* says, "to the many hard-fought Battles that it had been the lot of the old 'Scotch Brigade,' 94th Regiment, to be engaged in with Honour." The Scotch Brigade had received its number "94" in 1802: the highest number figuring at that period in the Army List for infantry was "93," then borne by the regiment now known as the 2nd Battalion, The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. His Majesty, King George V, when presenting Colours on July 11th 1911 to the 2nd Battalion of The Connaught Rangers used these words: "Your Colours record the services of the Regiment in all parts of the world. You gained marked distinction in India, the Peninsula, and in South Africa."

Reverting momentarily to the raising of the 94th (Scotch Brigade) in 1793. Lord Amherst, then Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, in his letter of service to the three lieutenant-colonels, former field officers of the Scots Brigade in the Dutch service, who were appointed to raise the Scotch Brigade, used these expressions:

"His Majesty has been pleased to revive the Scots Brigade . . ."
"The Scots Brigade, lately in the service of the States-General of the United Provinces, is forthwith to be levied in Great Britain." Again, in another official document, Lord Amherst directs that the field officers and captains of the Scotch Brigade "are to serve in the regimental rank which they held in the Scots Brigade." The Royal Warrant for the formation of the Scotch Brigade also notifies that "The Scots Brigade, formerly in the service of the United Netherlands, shall be re-established."

It may perhaps also be permissible in this connection to recall by the way what has been done in the cases of certain other British regiments, in whose continuity of existence there have been gaps and in all these

cases considerably longer gaps than in the history of the 94th. Through their numbers and the revived Battle Honours granted them by Queen Victoria, the 18th, 19th and 20th Hussars, in spite of intermediate disbandments and lengthy disappearances from the Army List, are considered the representatives to-day of famous Light Dragoon regiments bearing these numbers which served under Wellington in India and in the Peninsula. In like manner, too, through their Battle Honours "Blenheim," "Ramillies," "Oudenarde" and "Malplaquet," the 5th Lancers at any rate until their recent splitting up and squadronal amalgamation with other cavalry regiments were identified as successors to Wynne's dashing dragoons of Marlborough's War.

How much stronger is the claim of the 94th to the Honours of the Scots Brigade than the aforesaid regiments! There is, however, no shadow of doubt that the 94th of 1793-1818 were entitled to claim connection with the Scots Brigade, and that the battalions raised in 1823 were intended to be revivals of the units disbanded under those numbers in 1818. The case of the 94th is really one of the very few examples of a real revival.

Incidentally, with regard to the granting in 1874 to the 94th of 1823, who later became Connaught Rangers, of the honorary distinctions originally awarded to the earlier 94th, disbanded on Christmas Eve 1818, the accepted practice in European armies in cases of regiments filling the place of former-day corps with the same name and number where there have been gaps in continuity may be noted. The modern regiments of the French Army, for example, are officially authorized and encouraged to identify themselves with the regiments of the Grand Army of Napoleon which bore the same numbers, although the entire military force of France has been reformed and reshuffled and every unit dissolved since 1815 at least twice. Ever since Napoleon III issued his decree in 1853, "Jemappes" and "Valmy," "Marengo" and "Hohenlinden," "Austerlitz" and "Jena," "Friedland" and "Wagram" and a score of other victories of the 1793-1815 period, have figured on the Standards and Colours of the French Army. More than that indeed, although, at an earlier period, the ancient Royal Army of France was practically pulled to pieces and reshaped during the Revolution, certain French regiments of to-day are authorized to consider themselves as the successors of regiments of the Monarchy that served under Turenne and fought against Marlborough and Wolfe. The present French 88th, to take one example, the opposite number across the Channel to the 1st Battalion of The Connaught Rangers (who met the Napoleonic 88th in action in the Peninsular War), is permitted to consider itself as representing the historic "Régiment de Berwick" of the old Irish Brigade of France. Through the numbers borne

by them at the present time, also, it may be mentioned as a matter of interest, "Corunna" (as La Corogne), "Oporto," "Fuentes D'Oñoro," "Ciudad Rodrigo," "Albuera" (as "Albuhera"), "Salamanca" (as "Arapiles"), "Toulouse," are allowed among the Battle Honours on the Colours of a number of French regiments.

In a similar way in the German Army, at least until the Great War, through regimental names and numbers certain of Frederick the Great's Seven Years War victories, such as "Hohenfriedburg," were authorized to be commemorated as Battle Honours—mostly recorded on small metal scrolls on the helmet-plates—for various of the older Prussian regiments; although, since the Jena campaign in 1806, the old Frederick regiments one and all ceased to exist, an entirely new and differently composed Prussian Army being created.

In the fighting after Mons in 1914 some of our regiments encountered German battalions, dating after 1866, the men of which bore on their shoulder straps, or on tunic sleeves, coloured scrolls inscribed "Peninsula," "Barrosa," "El Bodon," "Waterloo" and so on, Battle Honours originally granted more than a hundred years ago by George III to the King's German Legion of the British service, which was disbanded in 1816. The King's German Legion Battle Honours were specially revived and authorized by the ex-Kaiser on January 24th 1899, for selected regiments of the modern Hanoverian contingents of the German Imperial forces, by fancifully working out a legendary connection between them and the long-ago-extinct King's German Legion. By a similar method, also, the Death's Head and Cross Bones shako badge of the historic "Black Brunswickers," who served under Wellington in the Peninsular War, was accorded with certain British Battle Honours, as their badge to a modern Brunswick corps—the 3rd Battalion of the German 92nd Infantry Regiment.

A similar course was followed in the Russian Army after the Crimean War, when certain regiments, raised during that war, were authorized, through corresponding names and numbers, to adopt as their own Battle Honours originally allotted to regiments which went through the Moscow campaign and had long since been disbanded. In the Swedish Army, further, and to conclude, two Battle Honours recorded on the Colours as "Leipsic 1631" and "Lützen 1632," have been granted to at least one modern regiment, just seventy years old, through a traditional connection through its name with one of Gustavus Adolphus's regiments of the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER XXXI

EARLIER SCOTS VOLUNTEERS IN HOLLAND. THE SCOTS BRIGADE RAISED FOR THE WAR OF DUTCH INDEPENDENCE IN 1572. THE SEA FIGHT OFF FLUSHING, 1574. REINFORCEMENTS FROM SCOTLAND, 1577. BATTLES OF REMINANT, GEMBLOUX AND MECHLIN. THE SIEGE OF ANTWERP, 1584-5. DEFENCE OF BERGEN-OP-ZOOM, 1588. DEFENCE OF BOMMEL, 1599.

THE Scots Brigade came into existence in the second half of the sixteenth century, at the outbreak of the War of Dutch Independence. The first Scots to take part in that contest were apparently certain bands of adventurers who, in the summer and autumn of the year 1568, crossed to Holland to join the armed bands which "William the Silent," Prince of Orange, in conjunction with the "Confederacy of the Beggars" (Gueux), was raising. The Scots, in small independent formations, took their part in the endeavours to contend with Alva's all-conquering spearmen during 1568 and then for the time being all trace of them disappears.

What became of the survivors is not on record. Some, it may be taken for certain, paid the penalty before firing parties in the relentless campaign of revenge on all who had had to do with the revolt, which Alva, hand in hand with his atrocious "Council of Blood" carried out universally during 1569. Says one old writer: "Gallows, wheels, stakes and trees on the highways, were laden with carcasses or limbs of such as had been hanged, shot, beheaded or roasted, so that the air which God had made for the respiration of the living now became the grave and habitation of the dead."

For nearly four years nothing is known of any Scots under arms in Holland. The Dutch everywhere lay quiet: terrorized, panic stricken, crushed by persecution and groaning under incessant fines, arbitrary imprisonment and ever-increasing taxation. Not a shot was fired anywhere, except by way of murder or assassination.

1572

Then, in 1572, came another call to arms, in which a special appeal for help was made to Scotland, addressed to the Regent Morton. The proved fighting worth of the Scots companies in the rising of 1568 had not been forgotten by the Prince of Orange, who sent forth the call to arms.

The Dutch Netherlands had risen again. The capture, under exceptionally dramatic circumstances, of the town of Brill (or Briel) on the Island of Voorne in the province of Zeeland in April 1572, surprised by a cruising privateer manned by Dutch refugees and exiles, the historic "Beggars of the Sea," had roused the people everywhere. Town after town hoisted the Orange Standard. William, who, in the popular enthusiasm of the hour, had been elected Stadtholder (Deputy Viceroy) of the three chief provinces of the Netherlands, Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, with full powers as Governor and Captain-General, was turned to for aid. In response he sent out broadcast appeals to all friendly rulers in Europe, entreating them to supply men to fight for his cause.

The Regent Morton (Douglas, Earl of Morton), to whom William wrote personally, spared no efforts to support the Prince of Orange. The recently ended civil war in Scotland had left an abundance of excellent fighting material in the shape of trained soldiers available for active service. And there were tried and trusty officers to lead them. Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, his son (later the first Earl of Buccleuch), Preston of Gourton, Balfour of Burleigh, Halkett of Pitfirran, Stuarts and Hays, a Haig of Bemersyde, Douglasses, Grahames and Hamiltons—these are the names of some who answered Morton's call and crossed to the Continent with the first companies, the nucleus of the later regimented force which came to be known as "the Scots Brigade of the Army of Holland."

Substantially all the names of the officers are those of Lowlanders. With the practical cessation of organized warfare along the Borders after the accession of James VI and after Elizabeth's adoption (at Cecil's advice) of a friendly policy towards Scotland, there was little outlet for the energies of the fighting men of the Lowlands. Consequently the Brigade gained many recruits from the Lowlands of Scotland.

Contingents of Englishmen came over also, with Queen Elizabeth's sanction. Unwilling at first, it being contrary to her principle as a Tudor autocrat to grant assistance to a people who in her view were "rebels against their lawful sovereign," circumstances led her to adopt another attitude. An acrimonious dispute had suddenly arisen between England and Spain over certain Spanish treasure ships, carrying specie to Antwerp to pay Alva's army, which Dutch privateers had forced to take shelter in English harbours. Elizabeth had detained the vessels and gave leave for

English volunteers to enrol against the Spaniards in the Netherlands under the leadership of the celebrated Sir Thomas Morgan. The volunteers became in due course the English Brigade of Holland from whom are descended the present-day "Buffs," The East Kent Regiment.

The sieges of Haarlem and Alkmaar, in the autumn of 1572 and during the following year, were initial events in the war which had now commenced actively all over the northern Netherlands, but there are no records extant of the services of the Scots companies at either siege.

1573-1574

Their first mentioned part in hostilities was at the siege of Middelburg, the capital of the Island of Walcheren, in 1573-4. The Scots companies were with the Prince of Orange in the besieging force, and gained special distinction on the occasion, for, as it so happened, their share in a sea fight. Unable to break through the besiegers by land, as a last desperate resort, at the end of January 1574, a large Spanish fleet of forty sail with 1,000 troops on board and provision ships started down the Scheldt from Antwerp to the rescue. To intercept them a Dutch fleet of about the same numerical strength had collected at Bergen-op-Zoom and, manned by the "Beggars of the Sea," moved out to waylay the Spaniards.

Before it started, the Scottish and English companies (according to manuscript notes in a collection of Scots Brigade documents, preserved by Cannon and now in the War Office Library), after a brilliant opening display by capturing by storm Fort Rammekins, close to Flushing, and barring one of the channels up to Middelburg, "requested to be permitted to embark on the Dutch ships and fight the enemy at sea." They were given leave, made a forced march and were taken on board the Dutch ships at Flushing. The action, it was planned by the Dutch, was to be a ship-to-ship encounter, boarding with "battle-axes, pistols and daggers." No quarter was to be given. "Morgan's English regiment," according to the Cannon document, "boarded the Spanish Vice-Admiral, and a Scots Captain, Robinson, boarded the Rear-Admiral." A complete victory resulted. "Thirty Spanish ships were taken or sunk," while the remainder fled back to Antwerp. Middelburg surrendered three weeks later, on February 18th.

In 1574 also, Scots companies took their part in the siege of Leyden, but no particulars of what they did are apparently extant.

1577

So well established had the reputation of the Scots become within nine years of the landing of the first volunteer party, that, in 1577, the "Estates-

General of the Seven Provinces" petitioned the King of Scotland (James VI, in later times James I of England) to send over additional companies of Scots. In reply, by way of further aid, the Scots Privy Council authorized the raising of thirteen new companies for service in Holland. They were each to comprise 200 officers and men. Then, for the first time as it would appear, the oversea Scots were authorized to carry Colours: the Scottish national flag, the white St. Andrew's Cross on a blue field,* while also instructions were given for their drums to beat the "Scots Duty," the renowned Scots March. The rank and file of at least some of the companies apparently were kilted, wearing the old-time "belted plaid." So the Jesuit annalist Famiano Strada in his work *De Bello Belgico* (Decas Prima), covering the period between 1567 and 1590, and written from the Spanish side, suggests in the account of the Scots at the Battle of Mechlin (Malines), fought on a broiling summer's day of 1578 (August 1st). The Scots, says Strada, threw off their plaids to fight, some taking off their shirts as well and tying them round their waists, fought half stripped.

1578

The redoubtable Don John of Austria, the hero of the sea victory of Lepanto, and the conqueror of the Moriscoes, reckoned the foremost general in Europe at the day, half-brother of the King of Spain and from 1576 to his death in 1578 Spanish Viceroy of the Netherlands, commanded the enemy in person at Mechlin on August 1st 1578. The Spaniards left over a thousand dead on the field at Mechlin when they broke in flight before the Scots. Mechlin was the third action of the new force from Scotland within the first six months of their landing. Their first had been the ill-fated Battle of Gembloux, where Don John practically destroyed the Dutch forces. Their second had been the Battle of Reminant (or Rijnemants). On that occasion the Scots more than got back their own for Gembloux and turned the tide of battle by a sweeping onrush in the crisis of the fight. Led by their commander, Sir Robert Stewart, they decided the fate of that fiercely contested day.

The name "Scots Brigade" seems to have first come into use unofficially about this time. According to the writer of one of the Cannon MSS. at the War Office, it was then familiarly used everywhere in Holland for the companies. Officially, on the other hand, the designation Scots Brigade was not adopted until a hundred years later—exactly to a year

* According to a work of some authority, *The Story of the Scottish Flag*, by Dr. Wm. McMillan and John A. Stewart, "the Scots Brigade carried in its earlier days a green flag with a saltire. Two flags of this type may still be seen carved on the monument erected to William, Duke of Hamilton, in Bothwell Parish Church."

(1678). For convenience here, the popular name will throughout be followed, Scots Brigade.

1581

Their heroism at Reminant and Mechlin led to yet another appeal being made to Scotland for more Scots to be sent to Holland: and, following on the granting of that, in 1581, sanction was given for the Scots Brigade to recruit freely in Scotland at any time, without making special application. Thenceforward there is hardly an action of importance in the history of the eighty-years-long war for Dutch Independence in which the Scots Brigade in detachments, or as a complete unit, did not have a part.

In 1581, the year in which the seven revolted provinces publicly declared their independence, three of the Scots companies, in garrison during the siege of Courtrai, fell to a man in action. The Spaniards, on that occasion, effected an entrance by stratagem and the Scots, neither giving nor accepting quarter, died in hand-to-hand fighting.

1584-1585

At Antwerp, during Parma's protracted siege of the great fortress in 1584-5, the Scots Brigade, as part of the garrison, figured repeatedly in heroic but fruitless efforts to break through the investing lines.

The Scots Brigade, in the defence of Antwerp won immense fame, in particular, for their part in the desperate fighting on the Kowenstyn Dyke in the closing period of the siege, on May 26th 1585. The Kowenstyn Dyke was a narrow causeway only six feet wide, along which, at short intervals, the Spaniards had built strong blockhouses. "Never," says Motley in his *History of the United Netherlands* (Vol. I, pp. 250-1), "since the curtain first rose upon the great Netherlands tragedy had there been a fiercer encounter. Flinching was impossible. There was scant room for the play of pike and dagger, and close packed as were the combatants the dead could hardly fall to the ground. It was a mile-long series of separate mortal duels and the oozy dyke was soon slippery with blood." At the close, "the English and the Scotch under Balfour and Morgan were the very last to abandon the position which they had held so manfully seven hours long." The day was lost just when the Scots and English on the Kowenstyn were within an ace of success, by the sudden withdrawal of the co-operating Dutch Squadron, demoralized by the death of their commander. Reporting the fight on the Kowenstyn to the King of Spain, Parma wrote: "The feast (*sic*) lasted from seven to eight hours with the most brave obstinacy on both sides that has been seen for many a long day" (Motley: Vol. I, p. 255).

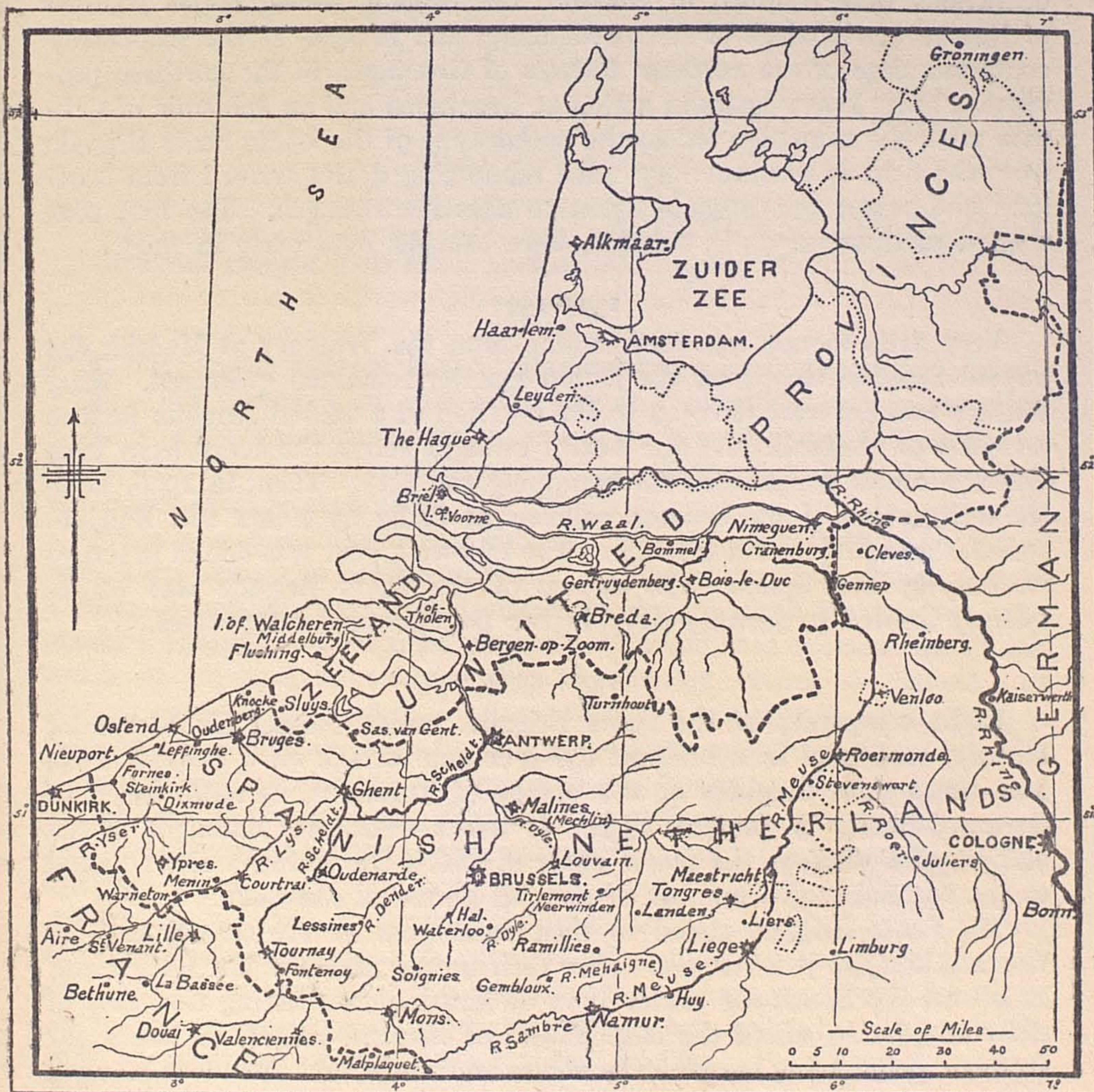
1588

In October 1588, Parma's army, on its return from the coast at Dunkirk, where it had assembled for the projected invasion of England and had heard the guns to seaward of the defeated Spanish Armada in the final battle, moved inland and besieged Bergen-op-Zoom. There the Scots Brigade again met the enemy. The Spaniards attempted, by the aid of traitors in the town, to surprise the fortress by a sudden attack at night, and the Scots, "choyce souldiers" under "General Balfour," with the English companies of the garrison under Lord Willoughby, saved the place. Getting timely information of the Spanish plans they trapped the leading assailants, decimated the main assaulting column with musketry, and then, from the ramparts at close range, blocked the supporting troops in the moat, where the rising tide drowned most of them. The gate of the principal work, the North Fort, being purposely left open, the Spanish advanced "forlorn hope" detachment, entering confidently, was cut off and trapped by the portcullis being dropped as soon as they were inside. The men of the main column of assault were shot down from the ramparts as they reached the drawbridge. In consequence of the losses caused by the disaster to his force, and further heavy losses in the trenches in meeting a sortie of the garrison on November 11th, Parma raised the siege. He burned his camp next day and retreated to winter quarters, the Spanish rearguard as it went being cannonaded from the ramparts.

1589-1592

The relief of Rheinberg, a Dutch fortress on the eastern frontier near the Rhine, south of Wesel, the result of a daring attack by a small column of Scots pikemen and musketeers, was a notable feat of arms by the Brigade in October 1589. Earlier in that year one of the regiments of the Scots Brigade had taken a notable part in checking Count Mansfeld's attack on the Bommel forts on the Meuse, preventing a formidable raid into the Dutch northern provinces by the enemy. On that occasion, one of the Spanish regiments had met with disaster in the same locality years before, and now suddenly coming on the kilted troops drawn up across the river, the whole corps, in superstitious anticipation of a repetition of the former tragedy, refused to attack. The mutinous hanging back demoralized the other troops and a general retreat had to be ordered.

A contingent of the Scots Brigade, during a temporary lull in active operations in the Low Countries in 1592, served under Count Philip of Nassau in aid of the Huguenots in France.



THE NETHERLANDS.

1593-1594

Rejoined by their comrades from France, when in March 1593, active operations were resumed in Holland, the Brigade served under Maurice of Nassau at the siege of Gertruydenberg, and in 1594 at the stubbornly contested siege of the northern fortress of Groningen in the northern province. Their heavy losses in action at Groningen and an epidemic of sickness after the campaign led to the withdrawal of the whole Scots Brigade from the field to garrison duty, until reinforcing drafts arrived from Scotland and raised the Brigade again to effective strength. The first contingent of these, 1,500 in number, were brought over early in 1595.

1595-1597

Very little money was forthcoming from the Treasury at Madrid, the unpaid Spanish troops on the Dutch frontier remained quiescent. King Philip's energies were devoted to the creation of a second Armada for the conquest of England. All the wealth brought across the ocean from Peru and the Indies was needed for equipping the fleet. Then, in 1596, came the destruction of the Spanish galleons at Cadiz by Essex and Raleigh, and the vast project fell through. The following year was one of practical bankruptcy for Spain. The service of the Scots Brigade was consequently limited to garrison duty in the Dutch frontier fortresses.

1598-1599

Eight companies of the Scots Brigade, under Colonel Sir Alexander Murray, took part in a brilliant flying-column attack on a Spanish force four times their numbers at the village of Turnhout, 25 miles south of Gertruydenberg, in January 1598. It was a midwinter midnight march and surprise victory, the moral effect of which led within a short period to the surrender of a number of Spanish garrisons elsewhere.

The Scots Brigade added to their reputation at the second siege of Bommel in 1599, just ten years after their former action at the same place. This time the Spaniards, under Juan de Mendoza, the acting Governor of the Netherlands, seized the large Island of Bommel-Waart, an important strategic point, lying between the Meuse and the Waal. Mendoza planned to capture the fortress of Bommel on the north side of the island. Maurice of Nassau hastened to the rescue and, holding the line of the Waal, threw up defence lines round Bommel, checked the enemy and then counter-attacked the Spaniards in the island. In one attack the Scots Brigade lost, among other officers, their veteran commander, Sir Alexander Murray, killed in action. Mendoza finally retreated south in disorder, leaving behind 25 per cent. of his force of 10,000 as casualties.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE SCOTS BRIGADE AT NIEUPOORT, 1600. THE SIEGE OF OSTEND, 1601-4.
THE CAPTURE OF SLUYS, 1604. THE "TRUCE OF TRÈVES." SERVICE IN
SWEDEN UNDER GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, 1611-13.

1600

THE Scots Brigade took a distinguished part in the historic battle of Nieuport on July 2nd 1600, the severest action in the open field of the whole eighty years of the War of Dutch Independence. There were two distinct actions on that day at Nieuport, in both of which the Scots Brigade took part.

From erroneous information that the Spanish army in the Low Countries, then under the Archduke Albert, Regent of the Netherlands, was in a state of mutiny, the States-General decided to carry the war into the enemy's country and capture Nieuport. Ostend was temporarily in the hands of England, in alliance with the United Provinces. Maurice of Nassau received his orders in June 1600 and assembled at Flushing a force of 12,000 troops, including the three regiments of the Scots Brigade. He embarked in transports on June 21st and sailing up the Scheldt landed at Sas van Gent. Capturing the Spanish fort there Maurice marched overland south-west to Nieuport, and, carrying by storm Oudenberg and other outlying enemy forts on the way, the neighbourhood of Nieuport was reached on July 1st. Information then came that, in spite of the reported mutinous state of the Spanish forces, the Archduke had assembled upwards of 15,000 of all arms, and was marching from Ghent *via* Bruges for Nieuport. He was stated to have recaptured Oudenberg and to be within twenty-four hours' march of Maurice, advancing rapidly. The Dutch forces had halted to the south of Nieuport. To bar the Spaniards crossing the Yser at the bridge at Leffinghe, 5 miles up the river, Maurice, at dawn on July 2nd detached 2,000 foot and four troops of horse, with two guns, under Count Ernest of Nassau. The estuary of the Yser below Nieuport was only fordable at low water, and the detachment was sent along the south bank to hold the enemy off up stream, until Maurice could get his main army across to a defensive position on the dunes north of the town. With

Ernest went the Scots regiment commanded by Colonel Edmonds and the Dutch Zeeland regiment.

The detached force reached Leffinghe Bridge at daybreak but just too late. The enemy were already crossing the bridge. The Spaniards quickly discovered the small numerical strength of Count Ernest's detachment, and the main force of the Spaniards instantly attacked. At once the Dutch cavalry bolted. Immediately afterwards the Zeeland Regiment, panic-stricken at a swarming mass of Spanish pikemen approaching them, "made off as fast as the cavalry." For one moment the Scots hesitated. Then, with the Spaniards crowding in on them, they also broke in disorder. They made off and attempted to get across to the north bank of the river, where they expected to find Maurice in position. The Yser, however, at that hour was in flood at high tide. The Scots were overtaken by the Spanish cavalry and slaughtered almost to a man, the Spaniards, by order of the Archduke, giving no quarter. The few Scots who reached the Yser were drowned. Unfortunately they missed a ford near by where most of the Zeelanders crossed, up to their armpits. Over 900 of the Scots Brigade, it is recorded, perished on that morning before eight o'clock. The toll of death included Colonel Edmonds and eleven captains. Stuart, Barclay, Murray, Kilpatrick, Nisbet, Michael, are recorded names of fallen, as well as other officers to the total number of forty. They fell, it is on record, trying to rally their men.

The main Dutch Army, with which were the other regiments of the Scots Brigade and Vere's English regiments, waded waist deep across the Yser estuary below the town of Nieuport to the north bank between eight and ten o'clock; as soon as the tide allowed. They were in position by noon, facing north-east; the right by the Yser above the town, the left on the seashore, along a ridge of dunes 50 or 60 feet high. The town of Nieuport was in rear of the centre. The two regiments of the Scots Brigade and half the English forces were in reserve at first. Maurice decided to await the enemy's attack. The Spaniards, he calculated, would be tired after their long forced march from Bruges, but would not delay attacking, as they could hardly have had opportunity to bring any supply of provisions with them. Except Prince Maurice himself—who learnt it shortly before noon—no one in the army apparently had yet heard of the early morning disaster at the bridge of Leffinghe.

After the loss of the 2,000 with Count Ernest in the morning action, and counting the detached garrisons left *en route* to hold the captured forts, Maurice had barely 7,500 men to meet the 12,000 of the Archduke's army.

The Spaniards were in front of Maurice by noon, having advanced leisurely after the early fighting. They halted to rest till two o'clock.

Shortly after the hour they attacked along the whole line, opening with a heavy musketry fire from the ridges of sandhills on their side, and then advancing in solid masses of pikemen, the normal formation of the Spanish *tercios*. Their cavalry remained halted near the river bank in rear. They took little part in the action that afternoon.

The first onset of the Archduke's pikemen was held off for some time at all points. Then, at length, the Dutch front line in the centre, overpowered by weight of numbers, began to give ground. They fell back in good order, the Spaniards, after recoiling a little at first to re-form, following them at a short distance. Meanwhile the Dutch and Frisian regiments on the flanks were becoming disordered, and then, in the second phase of the action, the centre, again pressed hard at close quarters, began to weaken seriously. The position became grave towards four o'clock as the crisis of the fight came on. Maurice now brought up his reserve of Scots and English to counter-attack. Their arrival saved the day and turned apparent defeat into victory. Joining some of the English troops who had been reinforcing the centre, they forced their way through the Spanish advanced groups of skirmishers. Then, joined by rallied Dutch troops, all charged in directly on the masses of the Spanish main body. The pikemen, in the course of the fighting over the rough broken ground of the downs, had probably lost formation and also been thrown into disarray by the crowding back among them of the musketeer skirmishers for protection. Tired out, exhausted after their days of hard marching since leaving Bruges, and the additional toil of the earlier fighting on that day under a hot July sun, the Spaniards broke back and gave way all along the front. The twelve guns of the Dutch artillery pouring in a heavy fire "into the brown" added to the disorganization.

Maurice, who watched the fighting from a high dune near by, as the Spanish infantry lost cohesion, sent in his 2,000 cavalry. It was the decisive stroke. The cavalry, horses and men fresh, smashed into the reeling mass of disordered pikemen before they could attempt to re-form. Ridden down and broken, the enemy gave way everywhere and seized by a general instant panic, all turned their backs and ran in confusion. A third of the broken Spanish army were casualties; half the rest were prisoners. Nieuport is noticeable as one of the few pitched battles in the open in a war which was mainly one of sieges.

The *éclat* of the victory at Nieuport, the rout of the veteran troops of the great military monarchy of Europe, hitherto deemed invincible, helped to refill the ranks of the Scots Brigade with a large number of first-class recruits. They were added to in the following year by volunteers, Scots and English, who came over to help in the defence of Ostend.

1601-1605

After Nieuport the war centred upon the great Siege of Ostend. Ostend, originally a small fishing village, had been regularly fortified in 1583 with ramparts and outworks and two broad ditches, to fill which from the sea gaps were excavated across the dunes. In the great siege by the Spaniards which lasted for three years and eight months, from July 1601 to September 1604, the garrison comprised companies of soldiers from all quarters. It was made up of a medley of nationalities: English and Scots principally, but also Dutch and Danes, French Huguenots in regular companies, German mercenaries, as well as Flemish refugee volunteers from the Spanish Netherlands. Prince Maurice, after Nieuport, had been summoned to take the field elsewhere and the famous English leader, Sir Francis Vere, the elder of the two "Fighting Veres," commanded in Ostend as Governor during the first year of the siege. He was then summoned for active operations elsewhere. Of his successors, three Dutch officers who commanded in turn during the rest of the siege, two were killed. The third Dutch Governor signed the capitulation in September 1604, with his left hand, his right arm having been shot off while on the ramparts.

Until the ramparts of Ostend were pulled down and the town was converted into a seaside pleasure resort in the first half of the nineteenth century, a memorial of the Scots Brigade's part in the great siege remained in the shape of an outwork, between the glacis and the sea, bearing the name "Schottenburg"—the Scots castle. It stood outside the north-west angle of the *enceinte*; in the open, at the only place where an approach to the fortress walls on firm ground was possible. It was one of the three works erected to secure the key of the position in that quarter and its site was a little to the right rear of the modern Kursaal.

Some of the fiercest assaults of the Spaniards were delivered on and round the Schottenburg. The first of note took place on December 4th, just when the garrison had for the moment fallen to a bare 2,000 men. When the attack took place reinforcements were on the way by sea, but contrary winds had delayed them. The December assault was beaten off with difficulty, and three weeks later five ships arrived and landed men and stores under a heavy fire from the Spaniards.

Then came the second great attack. On January 8th 1602, the Spaniards, confident of ability to storm the fortress, assaulted the three works in force. A bombardment of several hours, "the cannon balls coming so thick and fast that they struck together in the air and broke," preceded the assault. The ramparts of the Schottenburg "crumbled under the fire," but the men lying flat by order suffered few casualties. The firing ceased at sunset, until, as dusk came on, the flash of a single gun shot up from

the Spanish lines. Before its report had died away the Spaniards, with scaling ladders, came charging out of their lines. The enemy's musketeers fired a volley as they closed, but the Scots, again lying on their stomachs, except those manning what guns on the ramparts had escaped destruction, suffered little harm. The gunners did good service and "killed many Spaniards." Three times in the first hour's fighting the enemy gained the ruins of the parapet; only, after hand-to-hand fighting, to be hurled back. So for several hours the fight on and round the Schottenburg went savagely on, the Spaniards unable to make good a footing at any point. Then the attacks suddenly ceased and the enemy retired, "leaving mounds and masses of dead amid piles of broken scaling ladders, axes, muskets, spades and shovels."

The principal attack had been delivered against the three works, but little less fierce fighting had meanwhile been going on elsewhere round Ostend, everywhere with similar results. Finally the opening of a sluice at a critical moment of the enemy's retreat swept away into the sea and drowned many of the assailants. The defeat proved so disheartening to the Spaniards that for months no more serious assaults were attempted.

In the attack on the Schottenburg one regiment of the Scots Brigade was commanded by an officer whom a Dutch writer calls "Colonell Brog." Near by, in rear of the Schottenburg, Captain St. Clair's company in the Scots Brigade held the *fausse-braie* throughout, with two other companies in support.

In April 1602 reinforcing troops, including another regiment of the Scots Brigade, joined the garrison of Ostend, brought round from Flushing in a flotilla of "great shallops." The same transports relieved and carried back most of the earlier defenders "to rest awhile," together with Sir Francis Vere, recalled to take up a command under Maurice of Nassau. On the enemy's side, after the relief, strenuous efforts were made to block up the entrance to the harbour entirely, or to render it impassable, but subsequent autumn and winter storms made havoc of the Spanish harbour works and all through the long siege, at intervals, relief ships with reinforcements, provisions and ammunition were able to get through.

The Spaniards, during 1602, contented themselves with continuous bombardments week after week. As fast, however, as the fortifications fell the garrison, which was kept at an average of 6,000 men, built them up again. Then, on April 13th 1603, on the arrival with large reinforcements under a famous soldier of the age, the Marquis Ambrose Spinola, a second tremendous effort was made to storm Ostend. The Scots Brigade had their part in beating off that, and it failed as disastrously for the assailants as had the first.



No breathing space for the garrison, however, followed the April attempt to storm. Spinola, urged by peremptory orders from Madrid to take Ostend, and reckless of the lives of his men, gave the defenders little rest after the April failure. Assault after assault to wear the defenders down. Sapping and mining was continuous, met, on the part of the garrison, with incessant sorties and constant counter-mining. That characterized the fighting during a great part of 1603 and down to the close of the siege in the autumn of 1604. The besiegers, however, were not to be shaken off. In spite of every effort by the defence to keep the enemy back the Spanish ring of fire drew closer and closer in, and finally the inner works were breached by mines and a long mine was run under the town, or rather under what had been the town. Ostend inside the walls, as a Dutch writer puts it, had long before the end become "a heap of stones and sand." Spinola's final summons was sent on that, before the long mine went up, and messengers, by leave of the Spanish general, were despatched from the Dutch Governor to Prince Maurice of Nassau, then at Sluys, and to the States-General at The Hague, reporting the hopeless state of the place. In reply leave was given to capitulate and on September 22nd 1604 the garrison, 4,000 strong, surrendered, the Honours of War being granted them.

Prince Maurice, unable to relieve Ostend or to break through Spinola's outer lines of contravallation, during one period of the siege went off to the eastern frontier of the Netherlands, by way of making a diversion and possibly drawing off the Spaniards from before Ostend. He laid siege to Rheinberg and enforced its surrender. Some companies of the Scots Brigade, not under orders to reinforce the garrison of Ostend, marched with Prince Maurice and took a leading part before Rheinberg. Maurice then returned to the coast and in 1604 besieged Sluys. Additional companies of the Scots Brigade, recently arrived from Scotland, joined him shortly before the siege, which lasted from May to August 1604. Spinola, to whom Sluys was of importance as containing a large arsenal fully supplied with munitions and his reserve artillery, detached a column to its relief, but he was unable to break through Maurice's lines of contravallation and Maurice made himself master of the place, obtaining possession of a large magazine of ammunition and more than a hundred guns.

The Scots Brigade was, in 1605, increased by a fresh corps, brought over by Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, a force described as being "in fine order and one of the best companys in the service." It developed, a little later, into the 4th Regiment of the Scots Brigade.

Two attempts by Prince Maurice to surprise and storm Antwerp in April and August 1605, in which the Scots Brigade took part, failed: the

first attack in consequence of spies putting the garrison on the alert ; the second, owing to an unexpected advance of Spinola with greatly superior forces.

The one serious action of the year's campaign took place on the Ruhr on October 8th. Prince Maurice, with a flying column, comprising all his cavalry, 5,000 infantry, including a new corps of the Scots Brigade under the Earl of Buccleuch, with four guns, attempted to surprise Spinola's camp at daybreak on the 8th, after a night march and crossing the Ruhr.

The attack succeeded at the outset, the Dutch cavalry driving in the camp guards. Then, however, Spanish reinforcements were rushed up, on which the cavalry gave way and bolted in confusion. Spinola, getting his forces rapidly into battle order, forthwith advanced in strength on Maurice's small column and a hasty retreat had to be made. Vere, with the English companies and Buccleuch with the Scots, were ordered to take post as rearguard and hold the bridge over the river till the Prince's main column was safely across. For over an hour the Scots and English stubbornly maintained their ground, beating back repeated charges of Spanish horse and foot. A French company was sent back from the column to reinforce them when the time came for the rearguard itself to fall back, and finally a small party of sixty Scots and English were told off by Vere to cover the last of the withdrawal. The sixty did so and then themselves rushed for the river. The Spaniards closed on them as they reached the bank and of the sixty only ten men reached the far side alive, all of the ten wounded. "The rearguard," as Spinola himself wrote in his despatch to King Philip, "saved the Dutch army."

The hour's stand of the Scots and English gave Maurice time to rally his main column and regain his camp in safety, after which, being pressed no further by Spinola, he fell back westward.

1606-1609

There was little or no fighting in 1606, and early in 1607, negotiations for peace were opened, and an armistice was agreed to. Negotiations dragged out for two years until at last, in March 1609, an agreement was reached and a twelve-years so-called "truce," the "Truce of Trèves," was signed, Spain conceding independence to the Seven United Provinces. To the aid rendered by the Scots Brigade on upwards of a hundred battle-fields the Dutch, in no small degree, owed the victory that they had achieved.

The Scots Brigade was not disbanded by the States-General on the signing of the Truce of Trèves as was the case with the greater part of the Dutch national forces. It was maintained as the principal defence

force of Holland, being in garrison in the Dutch southern fortresses along the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands. A detachment of the Scots Brigade, under Prince Maurice, took part in 1609 in a series of frontier operations on the Rhine against the Imperial Army, culminating in the capture, after a short siege, of the fortress of Juliers, the possession of which had been the object of hostilities.

1610-1621

In 1610 the Scots Brigade was warned for service under Henry IV of France (the famous Henri Quatre) for a war against Austria and the Empire in which Holland undertook to take part. The troops were awaiting orders to march when the assassination of the French King by the knife of the fanatic Ravaillac in May 1610 cut short the project. In 1611, a proportion of the Scots Brigade were permitted by the Dutch to volunteer for service under Gustavus Adolphus in his patriotic war to expel the Danish invaders of Sweden. The volunteers, formed as two provisional regiments, were actively employed in Sweden until 1613, when, after materially aiding Gustavus to make a clearance of the Danes, the Scots Brigade volunteers were recalled to Holland to rejoin the Brigade.

The remaining six years until the expiration of the Truce of Trèves in 1621 were passed by the Scots Brigade in garrison.

CHAPTER XXXIII

RENEWAL OF THE WAR, 1621. DEFENCE OF BERGEN-OP-ZOOM, 1622. SIEGE AND DEFENCE OF BREDA, 1624-5. SIEGE OF BOIS-LE-DUC, 1629. "THE BULWARK OF THE REPUBLIC." DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH EXPEDITIONARY FLEET AT THOLEN, 1632. SIEGE OF MAESTRICHT, 1632. SIEGE OF ANTWERP, 1638. CHARLES I WARS WITH SCOTLAND AND THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR, 1639-45—RECALL OF PART OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE. CLOSE OF THE WAR OF DUTCH INDEPENDENCE IN 1648.

1621

THE Spaniards reopened hostilities with the Dutch in the autumn of 1621. Spain, in a truculent mood under the influence of the new King, Philip III, who was "seized with a fever of glory and conquest," would listen to no compromise.

The Scots Brigade, with a strength of three regiments, took the field in 1621 under Prince Maurice, but the main Dutch army, made up of contingents from the Seven United Provinces, was slow in assembling, and there is little to chronicle for the first year of the renewed war.

1622

In 1622, Spinola opened the campaign by vigorously laying siege to the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, a key position in the strategical situation. Part of the Scots Brigade were in the garrison, under command of Colonel Sir John Henderson. Prince Maurice had been able to reinforce Bergen-op-Zoom just in time with fourteen companies of Scots and some English. All were under Colonel Henderson. Throughout the siege, it is recorded, the Scottish pikemen repeatedly did magnificent service, at one time in sorties, and at another helping to beat the enemy back from the breaches. Colonel Henderson met his death in a sortie on July 23rd. Maurice of Nassau hastened to the relief with other Scots Brigade companies in his army, but Spinola's numerical superiority kept him at bay. Unable to force the Spanish lines he finally encamped a short distance out of gun range.

Little or nothing could be done towards compelling the raising of the siege until a force of mercenaries under Count Ernest Mansfeld, hired by



the States-General as aid in the emergency, could arrive on the scene and reinforce Maurice.

The coming of Mansfeld reversed the situation at Bergen-op-Zoom and Spinola was outnumbered. Skilfully avoiding being brought to action by Maurice's now superior force, he broke up from his lines and the ten-weeks' siege came to an end advantageously for the Dutch. The Siege of Bergen-op-Zoom was the principal operation of the year 1622.

1623

The armies on both sides were quiescent during 1623. Spinola's treasure chest was empty and no pay for his troops could be sent him from Madrid owing to the non-arrival of the Plate Fleet from the West Indies, kept back in port in consequence of news that a Dutch man-of-war fleet was cruising to waylay it in its voyage across the Atlantic. On the Dutch side Prince Maurice was seriously ill and until his recovery the Scots Brigade and the other Dutch forces remained in garrison in the frontier fortresses.

1624

Spinola received his treasure chest and large reinforcements early in the summer of 1624, on which he prepared to take the field. Maurice by then had regained his health and the Dutch army was on the move. Owing, however, to an inclement, excessively rainy summer, the opposing armies were unable to make contact until the month of August.

Prince Maurice, on his side, had learned in good time from Spanish boastings that the reduction of Breda, the strongest fortress in the Netherlands, was to be his opponent's first objective. He thereupon added sixteen companies of the Scots Brigade to the garrison, to serve as the backbone of the defence, and had provisions and ammunition supplies furnished sufficient to last many months. For himself he hoped to be able during the operations to compel the Spaniards to raise the siege.

Spinola, after a rapid move from near Brussels, appeared before Breda on August 18th with 18,000 men. Maurice followed Spinola cautiously, unwilling to encounter the overpowering force of Spaniards in the open, and trying in vain, by threatening several small fortified places, to induce his antagonist to weaken his force by detaching succouring troops. Finally Maurice made a dash at Antwerp, thinking to capture the city by a sudden *coup de main*. He had discovered that the fortress was weakly held, most of the normally strong garrison being in the ranks of Spinola's main army. The attempt, however, failed. The Spaniards at Antwerp, warned by spies, were able to beat back the assaulting force. Maurice after that returned to near Breda, until, not venturing to attempt to force Spinola's

outer lines, in the late autumn he finally retired to The Hague, leaving the Spaniards to carry on the siege unmolested. Prince Maurice died in April 1625 and the command of the relief force devolved upon the English leader, Sir Horace Vere, until Maurice's brother, Prince Frederick Henry, could assume the supreme command.

1625-1626

There were companies of the Scots Brigade with Prince Maurice, as well as the sixteen companies who took a leading part in the defence of Breda. The former, in April 1625, in a last desperate effort to break through the Spanish lines and relieve Breda did brilliant work, in a forlorn-hope attempt made by Prince Frederick Henry shortly after taking over charge. The garrison of the fortress by April 1625, had come nearly to the end of their resources. In spite of the strength of Spinola's lines of contravallation and the numerical superiority of the besiegers, Prince Frederick Henry felt himself in honour bound to make a last effort to get through to the garrison. He sent Sir Horace Vere, with a picked force of 6,000 men, including the Scots Brigade companies and those of Vere's English Brigade, to venture a direct attack along the only routes of approach, two narrow, 25-feet-wide causeways. Spinola had drawn a double line of circumvallation round the city, with strong forts at intervals, and had flooded the low-lying land by cutting the dykes at Terheyde. Only the two narrow causeways, palisaded and cut through, and fortified with a breastwork and redoubt were available to approach the siege works from outside.

Advancing along the causeways, the Scots and English Brigade companies, musketeers and pikemen, who led the onset, reached Spinola's outworks and, throwing in fireballs, stormed a redoubt and a half-moon. The fighting was fierce and at close quarters, and casualties were many, but the assailants forced their way forward foot by foot, until the ammunition of the musketeers gave out. Spanish reinforcements came up at the moment, and further progress proved impossible. The assailants had to fall back and did so keeping perfect order to the end. No more could be done to save Breda after that and on July 2nd 1625 the finely defended garrison surrendered.

The eleven-months' siege of Breda crippled the Spanish Army of the Netherlands through casualties, sickness and deaths from disease. It was unable to make any further effort that year. Nor did it stir out of quarters in 1626, receiving only dribblets of reinforcements, while no money was forthcoming to pay the troops, causing several mutinous outbreaks. On the Dutch side there was general depression: partly the result of the loss

of Breda ; partly from the shock that the whole nation received at the news of a disastrous defeat that their fleet in the Mediterranean suffered off Gibraltar in 1625. There was also continuous squabbling between the Councils of the Seven Provinces over the share of each in contributions to the common war-chest. The Scots Brigade, ill supplied with food and clothing, had to go through a lean time. One special cause of discontent was the official niggardliness and breaches of contract to provide for the families of the Scots regiments in Holland. The States-General had sanctioned their being brought over to live in garrison, undertaking that the Dutch Government would provide liberally for their wants.

1627-1628

Prince Frederick Henry in 1627 was able to carry through a brilliant campaign on the eastern frontier, capturing the important fortress of Groll and returning to his base without being brought to action. It was effected with a force stated at 100 companies of infantry (including the Scots and English regiments), fifty-five squadrons of cavalry and ninety guns, and the success of the operation materially restored the nerve of the Dutch nation. During 1628 neither side took the field and there was little or no fighting.

1629

The Dutch in 1629, for the first time in the whole war took the offensive. Spain had received a staggering blow in 1628, by the capture in the West Indies of the whole of the annual Spanish " Silver Fleet," the " Plate Fleet " of treasure galleons on which year by year Spain depended for revenue. Also, the redoubtable Spinola, the most eminent soldier in Europe, had been recalled from the Netherlands to undertake a campaign in Italy. Prince Frederick Henry took the field in 1629 with the full forces of Holland, including all the regiments of the Scots Brigade. Every Scots Brigade leader of old and new contingents was under arms, at the head of a regiment, and of non-regimented companies. Holding commands and appointments in various capacities in the Brigades were the veteran Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, Colonels Halkett, Douglas, Bruce, Kilpatrick, and Haig of Bemersyde, Sir Henry and Sir David Balfour, Sir James Livingstone (Earl of Callender), and Sir Francis Henderson. The English Brigade, also at full strength, consisted of four regiments.

The reduction of Bois-le-Duc (Hertogenbusch), the principal frontier fortress in Brabant, a place of arms that the Spaniards had elaborately strengthened, was the Dutch main objective for the campaign. Prince Frederick Henry appeared before it on April 30th with the largest and most efficient army that the Seven Provinces had ever put in the field, 24,000

Foot and a cavalry force of 4,000 Horse. The Spanish garrison comprised 8,000 Regulars and a burgher-guard force of half as many.

The lines of contravallation that Prince Frederick Henry threw up on his arrival, extended round Bois-le-Duc for 30 miles. They needed all their strength, for a Spanish army, of 30,000 of all arms, came up. It was a supreme effort by the Spaniards, whose army was formed by denuding every garrison of its best men and assembling troops from all over the Spanish Netherlands and everywhere else within reach, together with a large contingent of German mercenaries from the Rhineland. The Spaniards attacked the Dutch lines in force, almost daily, while the garrison made sortie after sortie. Then, a Spanish force was detached to ravage Guelderland, burning villages and harrying the peasantry, with a view of enticing the besiegers from their lines. Prince Frederick Henry, relying on his fortifications, detached a force of 6,000 men, with part of the Scots and English Brigades, temporarily to reinforce threatened garrisons; but even in their absence he was able to beat back both sorties from within and attacks from without. In the trenches, it is related, the Scots and English companies, with some French companies serving with the Dutch, relieved each other in turn daily. So May and June, July and August 1629 passed, the service in the trenches being at all times costly in casualties. The hard fighting wore the Spanish army out. Broken and dispirited, and disorganized by their heavy losses, the Spaniards outside drew off in September and left Bois-le-Duc to its fate. That then came swiftly. On September 17th the great fortress surrendered. The fall of the fortress was, as one historian puts it, "the mortal blow to Spanish domination in the Netherlands." For their service at Bois-le-Duc the Prince of Orange gave the Scots Brigade the proud designation, cherished to the last hour of the Brigade's existence, a century and a half later—"The Bulwark of the Republic."

1630-1631

Both sides suffered from reaction during the next year. Nor was any offensive of moment undertaken by either army during 1631.

1632

The capture of Dunkirk, then a Spanish fortress and the principal open-sea base of the Spaniards, was planned by the Dutch as their main event of the campaign of 1632. It failed, however, perhaps fortunately for the Scots Brigade. Prince Frederick Henry, with from 6,000 to 8,000 men, including most of the companies of the Scots, invaded the Spanish Netherlands to besiege Dunkirk, in co-operation with a French army, coming

north. The Dutch civilian "deputies" from the States-General, however, who by custom accompanied the armies in the field, and had the right of veto at councils of war, stopped the invasion march before it reached Dunkirk. They declared themselves uneasy at the distance to which the army was proceeding from the frontier and refused to be responsible for the safety of the country if the Prince advanced further into the enemy's territory. Prince Frederick Henry had to turn back. He effected his retreat, as events proved, just in time to avoid being intercepted in the open by a Spanish army of 12,000 men, which, unknown to the Dutch, had rapidly advanced with the intention of surprising the Dutch on reaching Dunkirk.

The retreat proved, further, to be otherwise fortunate for Holland. The Spaniards had prepared a counter-offensive invasion. As Prince Frederick Henry on his return reached the frontier of the Seven Provinces early in August, a large Spanish expeditionary force of 6,000 troops from Antwerp, evading the main Dutch Fleet which was held weather-bound off Flushing, sailed in transports down the East Scheldt to make a landing in North Holland. A change of wind checked them in their passage and unable to make their way forward the Spaniards decided to disembark on the Island of Tholen, or Tolen, on the northern side of the East Scheldt estuary, where the Dutch had no garrison, and thence make a pounce on Bergen-op-Zoom, which was easily within reach. Their presence off the coast was, however, reported just in time and, although the probable place of landing of the enemy was uncertain, a flying column of 2,000 men of the Scots and English Brigades were hastened off to discover their movements and to prevent their landing anywhere, until the main army could come up. The Scots and English companies came in sight of the Spanish vessels as these were anchoring off Tholen, and were just in time, thanks to the state of the tide, to prevent them getting a footing ashore. To reach Tholen the Scots and English had to wade across the channel between the island and the mainland up to their armpits. Then, as the Scots and English reached the beach, the Dutch main fleet, also warned in the nick of time, which had managed to work round, unexpectedly made its appearance. It at once attacked, and all was quickly over now with the Spanish invasion expedition. Numbers of men, cannonaded out of the transports, jumped overboard and were drowned in trying to swim ashore. Others who reached the beach were taken prisoners by the Scots and English companies to the number of more than 5,000 soldiers and sailors. The thirty-six Spanish vessels of war and transports were all either sunk or captured.

Again in 1632, the Dutch, massing all their forces, including the Scots Brigade, the English Brigade and the French companies, took the offen-

sive. This time the thrust was made across the eastern frontier, the capture of the strongly garrisoned fortress of Maestricht being the objective. Prince Frederick Henry started from Nimeguen with 17,000 Foot and 4,000 Horse in May, and capturing *en route* several garrisoned towns, on June 10th invested Maestricht. As at Bois-le-Duc, while pressing hard the enemy within the fortress, the besiegers fortified their position with practically impregnable lines against attacks from outside ; and with the same result. On June 25th upwards of 24,000 Spanish and German troops collected from all quarters, came hastening up. They were commanded by the Marquis of Santa Cruz, son of the famous Admiral who, had it not been for his sudden death, would have led the Spanish Armada against England.

Santa Cruz attacked the Dutch outer works before Maestricht and was beaten back. Then, in July, the Spanish General Gonsalvo de Cordoba, formerly Second-in-Command in the Netherlands, recalled from Southern Germany with more troops, joined Santa Cruz. The two attacked in co-operation, and were in like manner driven off. The German cavalry general Pappenheim, of "Black Cuirassier" fame, was next ordered to help before Maestricht, bringing 16,000 additional men. As a final effort, a tremendous double assault on the Dutch protective outer entrenchments was made. Santa Cruz, Cordoba and Pappenheim attacked together on two sides of Maestricht at once, and at the same time the garrison made a furious sortie against the Dutch inner lines. The battle lasted the whole of an August day from dawn to dusk, and ended in the complete defeat of the assailants. The Marquis after that retreated to Liège, while Cordoba led back his decimated regiments to the Palatinate and Pappenheim went back to Germany.

The garrison made a fine defence to the last, holding out stubbornly for three weeks longer and making sorties day and night. The besiegers ran a mine under the 50-feet-wide ditch and made a practical breach in the ramparts. On August 20th, however, helped by a successful escalade, a lodgment within the *enceinte* was effected, and in response to a final summons on August 23rd, Maestricht surrendered. Throughout the siege, it is recorded that, as at Bois-le-Duc, the honour of being responsible for the advanced works was divided between the Scots and English Brigades and their French comrades, the companies of the three nationalities relieving each other in turn. The capture of Maestricht was the great event of the 1632 campaign.

1633-1636

The Spaniards had been too roughly handled in the Maestricht campaign to embark on any serious work in the Netherlands during 1633. A

new army was organized in Italy early in the year for service in the Netherlands, but Wallenstein, the Imperialist generalissimo during that period of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, refused it passage down the so-called "corridor" route along the east bank of the Rhine usually taken by Spanish troops for the Netherlands, while Richelieu's objections barred the way along the west bank. Passage by sea was prevented by the overpowering superiority of the Dutch fleet. Wallenstein's assassination in 1634 enabled a start to be made in the summer, and after taking part with the Imperialists in the battle of Nordlingen in Bavaria, where the Swedish army formerly led by Gustavus Adolphus was routed, the reinforcing Spanish army, 18,000 strong, reached the Netherlands and went into winter quarters, it being too late in the year for field operations.

France allied itself with Holland in 1635 and the united forces, in which the entire Scots Brigade were included, invaded the Spanish Netherlands to capture Brussels, the capital of the Spanish Netherlands. Faulty leadership on the Franco-Dutch side, however, caused the failure of the invasion, while on the other hand, the ably commanded Spanish forces, in greatly superior numbers, counter-invaded the south of Holland and captured several strongly fortified towns.

In the next year, 1636, the Spanish Netherlands army invaded Northern France and threatened Paris. The Dutch army and Scots Brigade, after a period of inaction caused by a raging epidemic of sickness (influenza) in their camps, in September moved to take the Spanish forces in rear and compelled their hasty retreat across their own frontier.

1637

An attempt to capture Dunkirk, the principal objective proposed for the 1637 campaign, failed mainly owing to eight weeks of bad weather preventing the Dutch joining their French allies before the fortress. Prince Frederick Henry, who still commanded the Dutch army, then turned to recapture Breda, which the Spaniards had held with a garrison of 4,000 men ever since they took it in 1625. Breda fell on October 11th after an eleven-weeks' siege, in spite of repeated efforts by the Spanish main army to break through the besieging lines to the rescue. Throughout all operations year after year the Scots Brigade took part. Details of their service are, however, lacking.

1638

There was little activity on either side in 1638, until the latter part of the year. Prince Frederick Henry had set his mind on the capture of Antwerp, but internal dissensions between the States-General and the

Provincial States over levies and taxes tied his hands until the campaigning season was nearly half over. At the same time the Spanish Netherlands army was, fortunately for Holland, unable to take advantage of the situation owing to depletion in *personnel*, the result of contingents being withdrawn to take part in the ever-widening Spanish war with France.

The financial dispute in Holland was adjusted in July, whereupon Frederick Henry began his operations against Antwerp with a preliminary dash to blockade the fortress on the west side. A force of 6,000 men under the command of Count William of Nassau was told off for the purpose and ordered to move south from the island of Voorne and seize the dyke of Calloo. It was to advance from there and capture the Fort of Burght while the main army crossed the Scheldt within striking distance to the south of Antwerp. The Scots Brigade accompanied William of Nassau and led his column. They stormed the forts of Calloo and Verrebroek close by, after which, wading through the Antwerp inundations on that side for six miles, they advanced under artillery fire from other forts and finally seized the master position on the dyke of Calloo. To hold it was another matter. The Spaniards at once counter-attacked at three points and a severe series of contests at close-quarters took place, lasting several hours. In the end, in spite of superior numbers, continually reinforced, the Spaniards gave way and the dyke was secured by the Scots Brigade. Then came disquieting news. Heavy masses of fresh Spaniards were reported moving to cut Prince William off. A retreat had to be ordered to Liefkenshoek, a fortified camp in the vicinity. Before that could be carried out, however, more Spaniards came up and attacked the column. Some of the Dutch companies now gave way, causing general disorder, which brought about the break up of the column in rout. Upwards of three thousand men of the total force of six thousand fell in the action. Many of the others were taken prisoners. To add to the catastrophe Prince William's artillery had to be abandoned. The reverse abruptly stopped Prince Frederick Henry's attempt on Antwerp.

1639

A large proportion of the Scots Brigade, including many officers, were summoned back to Scotland early in 1639 for the First Bishops' War against Charles I. They took their discharge from the service of the States-General in most cases. The Commander-in-Chief designate of the Army of Scotland, Alexander Leslie, had himself been in early days a Captain of the Scots Brigade in Holland. He issued letters of recall to all Scottish officers on the Continent. "He caucit," says an old writer, "send to Germanye, France, Holland, Denmark, and other countreis for the most expert and

valiant capitaines, lieutenantis, and under officiares, who cam in greyte numberis upon hope of bloodie warre." They were, however, to be disappointed. The "war" that ensued was over in a few weeks without any fighting. Charles I had no money to pay his troops, and his levies, untrained and semi-mutinous, after facing Leslie on the border near Berwick, dispersed and trickled back home. The only casualty was one man, killed by a random shot at the outposts.

1640

Another war with England, brought about over the same quarrel, the "Second Bishops' War," broke out in 1640. The Scots army of 1639 had been disbanded, but most of the officers and men from the Continent were still in the country. They assembled in July near Dumbarton under Leslie, a Scots Brigade officer, Colonel William Baillie, "Colonell to a regiment of foote of the Dutch," being second in command. The English Army, the *personnel* of which comprised, in the words of an English officer, "the meanest sort of men and unacquainted with service," was met and routed at Newburn, at a ford across the Tyne, on August 28th. King Charles yielded to the Scottish terms of peace as the ultimate result.

1641-1643

The belligerents, on both sides, were now falling into a state of mutual exhaustion. The Dutch States-General, with the end in view, independence from the domination by Spain, refrained from employing large forces in the field. The Dutch had moreover begun also to be suspicious of their French allies. Thus the Scots Brigade in Holland remained entirely on garrison duty. At the same time, the commencement of the Civil War in England, and the possibility of Scottish aid being asked for, on behalf of the Parliamentary side, prevented further reinforcing drafts being sent to the Brigade in the Low Countries.

1644-1648

The officers and men of the Scots Brigade remained in Scotland after the Second Bishops' War. Most of them enrolled in 1644 in the "Solemn League and Covenant" Army of 21,000 troops, horse and foot, raised by Leslie (now Earl of Leven) to join the English Parliamentary forces in the Great Civil War. "Every Lieutenant Colonell, save four, and every Major, save three," records Rushworth in his contemporary *Historical Collection of Private Passages of State* (Vol. V, p. 604), "had served in the Continental Wars." They were at Marston Moor in the thick of the fighting. Six years later those of them who had continued in Scotland took part in

the Scottish War, 1650-1, and met their fate at Dunbar and Worcester, at Cromwell's hands.

During this time, from 1639 to 1644, the companies of the Scots Brigade remaining in Holland, were, except for one or two minor expeditions, mostly kept in garrison. Spain was unable to take the offensive in the Netherlands. Her hands were more than full with her war with France, and with continued fighting in Northern Italy, a rebellion in Roussillon, north of the Eastern Pyrenees, another rebellion in Catalonia across the mountains to the south, and a national revolt and war of independence started by Portugal, which for the previous half-century had been a Spanish possession. The Brigade in Holland was called into active service under Prince Frederick Henry in 1644 and 1645. In the former year it took, as is recorded, a prominent part at the capture of the fortress of Sas-van-Gent on the Scheldt, south-west of Antwerp, "an exceptionally brilliant piece of work." In 1645 the Scots Brigade again saw fighting at the storming of Hulst, a fortress to the east of Antwerp. The Brigade was present also in 1646, at the taking, after short sieges, of various minor fortified places. In 1646 also, at the close of the English Civil War, it was considerably reinforced by new drafts from Scotland. A last rally against the Dutch was made by Spain in 1647, ending in disastrous failure, after which, for the Scots Brigade and the Dutch Army all active service ceased. The eighty-years-long war for Dutch Independence finally closed with the Peace of Munster, signed early in 1648.

The reason for maintaining a foreign force in the Netherlands—for such, of course, The Scots Brigade was—terminated with the final overthrow of Spanish domination over the United Provinces. The Brigade at the outset had come to the Netherlands to aid in the struggle for Independence and had now at last achieved its end.

As "The Bulwark of the Netherlands" the Scots Brigade could, however, not be dispensed with: the man-power of the population of Holland was wanted to attend to the re-conditioning of the country and the rebuilding of Dutch prosperity. A large proportion of the officers and men, moreover, had practically become denizens of Holland in private affairs, and there was little inducement to return to Scotland while their lawful sovereign (Charles II) was in exile.

So the Scots Brigade continued in the service of the Netherlands.

1649

During the whole of this year the Scots Brigade garrisoned a number of the fortified towns along the frontier.

Recruiting in Scotland had now practically ceased.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE SCOTS BRIGADE DURING THE DUTCH WARS WITH ENGLAND OF 1652-4 AND 1664-7. CONVERSION INTO DUTCH REGIMENTS. EXPEDITION TO HELP DENMARK IN 1653. REORGANIZATION OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE IN 1675. RECALLED TO ENGLAND FOR THE MONMOUTH REBELLION, 1685. LANDED IN TORBAY WITH WILLIAM OF ORANGE, 1688. ON DUTY IN LONDON. SENT TO SCOTLAND IN 1689 AND FATE AT KILLIECRANKIE. NAVAL SERVICE. EMBARKATION FOR THE WAR IN FLANDERS, 1690.

1650-1651

THE Scots Brigade in Holland was not disbanded on the signing of the Peace of Munster, as were practically all the Dutch national native forces. They were told off as garrison troops, and as such the Brigade was maintained from 1650 to 1664. It was a hard time for the Scots. Not only were the Dutch provincial authorities, who were responsible for the garrison arrangements, niggardly and neglectful, but foreign refugees were by degrees infiltrated into the Brigade, while commissions were distributed among relatives and friends of the Dutch burgo-masters.

1652-1664

The war of 1652-54 between England and Holland did not affect the Scots Brigade. To the Scots it was not a matter in which they were interested. The Dutch quarrel, from their point of view, was with a usurping English republican power which held the Scottish Kingdom in bondage by armed conquest. Their rightful sovereign, Charles II, was an exile, actually dependent on Dutch hospitality: they owed no allegiance to the then English masters of Scotland. The contest, of course, also was entirely a naval one.

During the period of peace following the Treaty of Munster a picked contingent of the Scots Brigade took part in 1659 with an expeditionary force that the Dutch Government sent to the Baltic on loan to the Danes for a war with Sweden. The veterans of the Brigade took a prominent part in the decisive routing of the Swedes in the action on the Island of Fünen, "a most obstinate and bloodie fight wherein the Dutch Foot (i.e. Scots) did wonders."

1664-1667

In 1664 when the Second Dutch War with England broke out, the States-General transformed the Scots Brigade into a Dutch corps. Recruiting in Scotland necessarily stopped with the outbreak of the war, whereupon, and because of the war, the Dutch reconstructed the entire force with *personnel* of various nationalities. A few officers of the Brigade were specially reappointed, on taking an oath of fidelity to the States. The "Holland March" was substituted for the ancient Scots "Duty" at guard-mounting. Officers had to wear Orange badges and sashes. The Scottish Colours were replaced by Colours bearing the Arms of Holland. Two of the three regiments of which at that date the Scots Brigade was composed, were so dealt with and re-named. The third was disbanded and replaced by a corps entirely of foreigners. Except those who had married into Dutch families and thus had compulsory ties, most of the officers and men sought employment elsewhere. Charles II, on the war breaking out, recalled the English Brigade in the Netherlands service, but, for some reason, he showed no interest in the Scots Brigade, and left it to the mercy of the Dutch Government. On the other hand the loyalty of most of the Scots serving in Holland towards Charles II had been very lukewarm for some time past, and when the war broke out comparatively few recrossed the sea to enrol under their sovereign's flag. There was practically no land fighting in the War of 1664-67: hostilities were almost entirely confined to naval operations. The Dutch landed at Landguard Fort, but were beaten off after quite a sharp fight by the garrison.

1672-1678

The ex-Scots Brigade took part in the Dutch War of 1672-78 with England and France, but, like the rest of the Dutch troops, did badly. The only fighting on land of course was with the French, who invaded Holland and overran the country, taking at the outset "forty towns in forty days." The Dutch Army was in a hopeless state. For some years it had been under civilian administration, with no Commander-in-Chief, each province having taken over the responsibility for a group of regiments. Consequently the army had practically ceased to exist as an efficient force.

The Prince of Orange (afterwards William III, King of England), on being appointed Stadtholder and Captain-General, as the last resource had the sluices opened, flooding out the French and saving Amsterdam, on which the French were finally marching. Collecting what troops he could, he took the field, and in 1673 succeeded in rescuing Maestricht, then besieged, in the garrison of which were the ex-Scots Brigade regiments. In 1674, with the aid of German troops, William checked Condé in the action

of Seneff. Several of his regiments, however, behaved badly, among them the two ex-Scots Brigade regiments. It was the misconduct at Seneff of the ex-Scots Brigade regiments, whose traditions he knew, that drew the Prince of Orange's attention to the corps. He called into consultation Captain Hugh Mackay of Scourie, formerly an officer of Dumbarton's Royal Scots, who had recently, on Great Britain making peace with Holland early in 1674, come over into the Dutch service in order to marry a Dutch lady. Mackay's military capacity and character had already made their mark, and William asked his advice. What was wrong with the corps formerly so renowned in war? Mackay told the Prince frankly. "Though called the Scots Brigade," said he, "they were a mixture of deserters and outcasts from all nations. In promotions to commissions the preference had been given to Dutch, Germans and Frenchmen, through political influence, and the aggrieved Scottish officers who had left the service were preventing others from joining it. If his Highness would clear out the foreign officers and replace them with Scottish gentlemen of family, as in former days, and enrol Scottish recruits, the Brigade would be as good as ever." The Prince of Orange assented and placed the reorganization in Mackay's hands.

The result justified Mackay promptly. There was plentiful material in Scotland, and among Scots who had served in various disbanded corps raised in Great Britain during the war with Holland. That had ended, as far as England was concerned, in 1674, and the demobilized men came over in crowds to fight Great Britain's recent ally the French.

The Brigade was re-formed in three regiments, all Scots. The old Scottish Colours with the St. Andrew's Cross were restored, as well as the old red uniform, and the Scots "Duty" March. The oath of allegiance to the King of Scotland, as of old, was reintroduced. Within a few months the ranks were full and discipline perfect. Once more the prestige of the Scots Brigade became established.

At the same time the English Brigade in Holland, broken up in 1664, was re-formed in three regiments, similarly made up with men of English "special service" regiments disbanded after the late war with Holland. It was expressly stipulated by Charles II, when sanctioning the recruiting, that the general officer commanding each brigade should henceforward be a natural subject of the King of Great Britain, and that, should His Majesty recall the regiments of both the Scots and English Brigades to his service at home, the States of Holland should forthwith grant them permission to embark.

The Earl of Ossory, one of the noblest and most chivalrous fighting men of the day, was appointed to command the six regiments, three Scottish and three English, each regiment of two battalions, as a British Brigade. He

held the appointment until his death in 1680, when he was succeeded by Henry Sidney, afterwards Earl of Romney. The famous Colonel Dumbarton of the Royal Scots, was to have been Ossory's successor, but he was a Roman Catholic and the Dutch Government would not in consequence accept him.

The rejuvenated Scots Brigade had its baptism of fire and did good service at the Dutch siege of Maestricht in 1676, where four of its new officers were killed and three wounded. It "did things to the admiration of all who beheld them" in the last action of that war between France and Holland, at St. Denis (a Dutch village) on August 17th 1678, where the men "attacked and beat the enemy," according to one account, "in their shirt sleeves."

1685

The three regiments of the Scots Brigade, with the three English regiments in Holland, were summoned to England by James II to take part in the suppression of the Monmouth rebellion. The officers had on James's accession sent the new King a loyal address of congratulation, as from a corps forming part of his own British Army. The Scots Brigade came over under Colonels Mackay, Barthold Balfour and John Wauchope. In this connection, as showing the national composition of the Brigade at that time, these are some names of officers from the muster rolls: Colyear, Gordon, Graham, Buchan, Campbell, Mackenzie, Halkett, Livingstone, Lauder, Erskine, Hamilton, Arnot, Chambers, Dalziel, Douglas, Murray, Ramsay. The Brigade landed at Gravesend on June 30th 1685, and were reviewed on Blackheath by James II. Said the King to the Dutch Ambassador, who was present: "I have never in my life seen better or finer soldiers." James also wrote a most laudatory letter on the efficiency of the Brigade to the Prince of Orange.

The Brigade then marched through London to Hounslow Camp. "This Day," reported the Secretary at War, William Blaythwayte, writing from Whitehall to the Duke of Albemarle, on July 4th, "three Scots Regiments of Foot, consisting of about 1,500 men, lately come from Holland, marched through the City on their way to Hounslow, where they are to encamp. They are the best men and the best prepared for service that ever were seen, having their tents and all other necessities of their own with them. Tomorrow the English regiments are expected from Holland."

As it turned out, however, the services of the Scots and English Brigades were not required. Sedgemoor decided the fate of the Monmouth rebellion before they could start for the West of England, and in a few weeks, early in August, the two brigades returned to Holland.

Some of the men, it would appear from an entry in the Register of the

Privy Council dated July 26th 1685, went off to Scotland to join Argyll's rising on behalf of Monmouth. "Whereas we are informed," begins a Royal Proclamation issued in consequence, "that severall of the souldiers of our Scots Regiment in the service of the States-Generall of the United Netherlands, doe daily desert and run from their Colours without leave of their officers, and that thereafter they are either harboured and employed in our Kingdom of Scotland, and notwithstanding of this their crime of deserting, are entertained in our forces there, to the great prejudice of our Sovereigne and the ruine of such officers, whose cloathes, money, and armes they steal, and at whose expenses they have been brought into the service." . . . Therefore, to summarize the concluding part of the proclamation, all loyal subjects were required to assist in arresting the runaways.

1688

The Scots Brigade was again summoned back by James II early in 1688 at the beginning of the political troubles in England, which were already shaping towards civil war, and which, within twelve months, brought about William of Orange's invasion and King James's abdication. The demand for the return of the regiments was based on Charles II's convention of 1678 under which the Scots and English Brigades were liable to recall as a British regular force belonging to the Crown and only "lent" to Holland. The Dutch Government, however, now refused James's demand for the return. They were only bound to send the Brigades back, they declared, if England was engaged in a foreign war and threatened by invasion. The most the Dutch consented to do was to allow any who desired to take their discharge from the Brigades and return independently to Great Britain to do so. The religious question at issue in England, however, prevented the great majority of the *personnel* of the Scots Brigade from volunteering on the side of King James. In all, of the officers, only twenty-five per cent., just sixty out of the total establishment of 240, answered King James's summons. Only one regimental commander, Sir John Wauchope, went over, and not more than a handful of the men offered to accompany the officers. As soon as possible the places of those who left were quickly filled up by new officers and men from Scotland. These came over on their own account more or less surreptitiously, the Scottish Privy Council having, in February 1688, at the King's instance, forbidden further beating up for recruits for the Scots Brigade in Holland.

Both the Scots and English Brigades formed part of the army with which William of Orange landed in Torbay in November 1688. Mackay, now a general officer, was in command of the Scots Brigade, which com-

prised three regiments, Mackay's own, Colonel Ramsay's and Colonel Balfour's. Of these a small party of Mackay's regiment, under Lieutenant Campbell, had a small skirmish at Wincanton, during William's march to London, with part of an Irish regiment under the celebrated Patrick Sarsfield. No account of the affair is on record except that the Irish, who were in slightly superior numbers, had the best of it until they had to fall back on their opponents being reinforced by one of the Scots Brigade regiments coming up from the main column. On the occupation of London by the invaders the three regiments of the Scots Brigade held one end of London Bridge and Southwark, and part were quartered in Clerkenwell. The three English Brigade regiments had charge in the Tower. Except for William's Dutch Guards at Whitehall Palace, foreign troops were, as a matter of policy, kept away from the capital. The three regiments wore red coats : in Mackay's regiment lined with blue ; in Balfour's lined with white ; in Ramsay's lined with yellow.

A Standing Order as to conduct, issued in Holland by Mackay, for his own regiment, was adopted for all Scots Brigade regiments. The order, which ran in these words, was addressed to the Major of the battalion. "The said Major, commanding in chief, shall have special care his men be kept under exact discipline both as Soldiours and Christians, to hinder cursing and swearing and all other unchristian and disorderly customs, and to chastise in purse and person such as persist in them after intimation."

1689

The Scots Brigade was sent to Scotland in 1689 to serve under General Mackay against Claverhouse (Viscount Dundee) and his Jacobite Highland force, and was engaged at Killiecrankie. The Brigade was weak in numbers just then, having had to furnish heavy drafts to fill up the establishments of various English battalions. The men were the best trained and disciplined in Great Britain, and were consequently needed to supply a backbone for the new English formations. The three regiments, Mackay's own, Colonel Balfour's and Colonel Ramsay's, after the draftings, altogether totalled only 1,100 of all ranks. On arrival in Edinburgh the Scots Brigade was first quartered in Leith and in the outskirts of the Scottish capital. They then moved north with Mackay's army.

At Killiecrankie on July 27th Mackay's regiment suffered the most severely of all, coming in for the brunt of the Highland charge. "All the captains," wrote Mackay, "are either killed or do bear the marks of their good behaviour. Besides I lost six very good subalterns, brisk fellows." General Mackay's brother, James, was among the killed. Balfour's regiment was in garrison in Stirling Castle on the day of battle. Only two com-

panies, under the personal command of their Colonel, Barthold Balfour, were at Killiecrankie. Ramsay's regiment was in the action on the left wing, posted with the two companies of Balfour's. Mackay's regiment had the right of the line, where Mackay himself had his station. Of the two battalions of which each regiment of the Scots Brigade was at that period composed, only the first battalions of the three regiments were at Killiecrankie. The second battalions were in garrison at various places in Scotland.

There is no need to detail the battle or describe how a sudden panic seized the whole of Mackay's force, Scots and English regular regiments alike, as the furious downhill rush of the clansmen closed on the line. Mackay's men bore the brunt of the charge and suffered accordingly. The regiment, it is stated, was singled out for special attack at the outset because of its reputation. "We counted," said one of Dundee's officers afterwards, "if Mackay's were beat it would facilitate the rest of the work."

The Scots Brigade, after Killiecrankie, was reorganized in Edinburgh by General Mackay. He called in the second battalions from their garrisons and re-formed the three regiments with them and with stragglers returned from the field as single battalion corps. Mackay kept command of the first regiment as Colonel; Colonel Ramsay again took charge of the second. Colonel Balfour was among the killed at Killiecrankie, and Lieut.-Colonel Lauder, formerly Balfour's second in command, succeeded to the command of the reconstituted regiment, thenceforward known as "Lauder's." The Scots Brigade after that, as a Brigade of three single battalions, went through the series of campaigns in Flanders known as "King William's War."

1690-1691

During 1690, while the greater part of the Scots Brigade were kept in garrison at Stirling, Perth and Dundee and in the Highlands at Inverness to overcome the Jacobite clans, a picked force of 600, mostly Lauder's men, were detached on special service work on board frigates cruising among the Hebrides to prevent the clans on that side of Scotland combining in an expected Jacobite rising in the Western Highlands. Except a landing-party affair with the Jacobites in Mull, the cruising provided no fighting of consequence.

Two of the regiments of the Scots Brigade, Mackay's and Ramsay's, returned to Holland at the end of 1690. The third regiment, Colonel Lauder's, remained in Scotland until 1692, when it rejoined the others in Flanders for William III's campaign of that year. Colonel Ramsay had been promoted to brigadier's rank in 1691, and his regiment was taken over by Colonel Sir Charles Graham. It was known thereafter as "Graham's."

CHAPTER XXXV

WILLIAM III'S CAMPAIGNS IN FLANDERS. THE SCOTS BRIGADE AT THE BATTLE OF STEINKIRK, 1692. AT THE BATTLE OF LANDEN, 1693. AT THE SIEGE OF NAMUR AND STORMING OF THE CITADEL, 1695.

THE three regiments of the Scots Brigade, now known as Mackay's, Lauder's and Graham's, figure repeatedly and prominently in William III's campaigns in Flanders: notably in 1692 at Steinkirk: in 1693 at Landen (Neerwinden): and in 1695 at the Siege and Storming of Namur, which the French had taken three years earlier.

1692

The Battle of Steinkirk took place seven weeks after the fall of Namur, which surrendered to Marshal Luxembourg, in supreme command of the French forces in the Netherlands, in June 1692. King William, despite every effort, was unable to relieve the fortress. Seven weeks of manoeuvring followed between the armies, which were of nearly equal strength, each declining to be drawn into an attack except at an advantage. Finally, in July, Luxembourg halted and encamped at Steinkirk on the river Sennett, not far from Hal where the Allied forces under King William, British, Dutch, German and Spaniards, had taken up position. William planned to surprise the French with an attack in force. To mislead Luxembourg beforehand, on July 22nd a suspected French spy in the Allied camp was arrested and made to write a secret message to the Marshal, to the effect that any large movements of the Allies observed on the next day would only be troops out foraging, so that Luxembourg need not trouble about them. The letter was dictated to the spy by William himself in his tent, a staff officer holding a pistol close to the man's head as he wrote. He was then confined to await results.

The whole Allied army started at daybreak next morning across the intervening country, which was mostly broken-up ground, intersected with ravines, and with bush cover everywhere. Their movement, thanks to the spy's letter, was paid no heed to for some hours. No suspicion was aroused in the French camp until towards eleven o'clock. Then Luxem-

bourg himself, after having received various puzzling reports from the outposts, rode out himself to make a personal investigation. Watching through his glasses he saw something suspicious in the distance. Something else was observed and the marshal then suddenly realized the whole gravity of the situation. The alarm was given instantly and a defensive line was hastily taken up. Unfortunately for King William at the same moment the leader of the Allied main attack, the Prince of Wurtemberg, committed an act of folly and threw away the chance of a surprise. He halted and began cannonading the French camp at long range. The French guns replied and then followed an artillery duel which lasted for upwards of an hour and a half. The first object of the movement thus failed. Not till nearly one o'clock in the afternoon was it that the infantry attack opened. Then, badly planned, it came on with a rush.

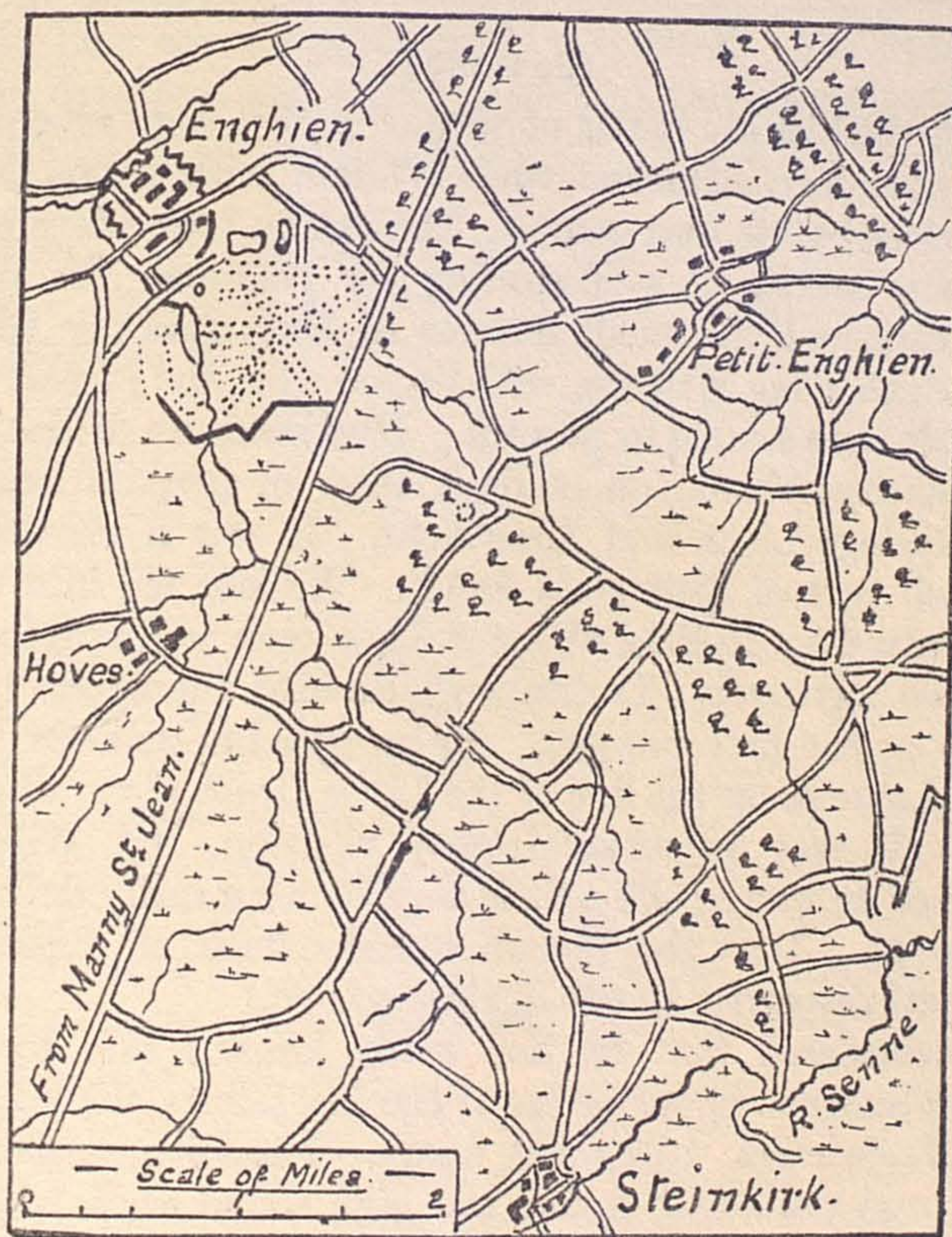
Mackay's, Graham's and Lauder's regiments of the Scots Brigade, with two English regiments, all under Graham, recently promoted Brigadier, pressed forward on the right of the line. They made directly for the first French line, and attacked at point-blank range. The resistance was desperate, the encounter on that quarter, as in most parts of the battlefield, developing into a series of hand-to-hand hedgerow combats. "Their fire," says D'Auvergne, the Chaplain of the Third Regiment of Guards—now the Scots Guards—in his *History of the Campaigns in Flanders, 1691 to 1697*, "was generally muzzle to muzzle, the hedges generally only separating the combatants."

The veteran leader of the Scots Brigade, General Hugh Mackay, fell early in the action, while leading his regiment. Just before the charge he had sent word to Count Solmes, the Dutch general, in command of William's infantry, that the contemplated attack was a rash move at that moment and would only lead to waste of life. It should, said Mackay, be countermanded. The reply was a curt order to advance at once. "God's will be done," said Mackay on receiving the reply, and he went forward, to be among the first who fell. Lieut.-Colonel Æneas Mackay, who succeeded his uncle, the Colonel, in the command was wounded shortly afterwards.

The attack all the same broke the French first line, and also forced back the second and third lines in places, badly shaken throughout. The retiring French fell back from hedge to hedge and in that form the fighting went on for two hours, "Each hedge being contested at arm's length: the muzzles of the musquets met in the branches." The British fought their way on until they were almost in the French camp, until only the enemy's fourth line remained intact. That, however, consisted of the pick of the Army of France, the six regiments of the Gardes Françaises, and a brigade of the Swiss Guard regiments. Regiments of the line not yet engaged were

hurried up to join them, after which Luxembourg ordered a counter-attack as his last-hope effort to hold the advancing Allies.

The Brigades of the French and Swiss Guards came fiercely to the charge. Not a musket was fired as, with pikes advanced and swords drawn, they surged forward against the weak array of redcoats, now reduced to half the original strength. But the redcoats did not flinch : they stood up as Britons



STEINKIRK.

fight against overwhelming numbers. The struggle was man to man. Many officers of rank went down on both sides. Among the officers of the Scots Brigade, Colonel Lauder was wounded as he led his men and fell into the hands of the French.

Then, in consequence entirely of the sullen refusal to support of the Dutch General Solmes, it became impossible to hold further the ground won. No reinforcements were sent up by Count Solmes, in spite of repeated urgent requests, and after that, finally, "after keeping their ground and

hoping for supports that never came," while our ranks thinned and fresh troops were being added to the French, slowly the attacking force, hard pressed but in good order, fell back. In the end, covered as rearguard by the massed grenadier companies of the three regiments of the Scots Brigade with the two English regiments, who turned at bay to beat off the enemy with musketry volleys at intervals, the Allied army in the late evening regained the camp at Hal. So Steinkirk ended.

1693-1694

At Landen, the historic battle of 1693, the rôles were reversed: Luxembourg, with 80,000 men, attacked, while William, with 50,000 men, stood on the defensive close by his own camp. The action took place on July 18th 1693, after some weeks of manœuvring for position. In June Marshal Luxembourg captured the small fortress of Huy, midway between Liège and Namur, which King William, with 60,000 men, the largest force he was able to assemble, was unable to prevent. Huy made no defence and capitulated. Luxembourg thereupon made a show of preparations, as though intending to besiege Liège and Maestricht. It was a ruse to induce the Allies to detach part of their main forces. William fell into the trap and weakened his army by sending off some 8,000 men to strengthen the garrisons of the two fortresses. Luxembourg decided thereupon to force on a general action at the first moment. He proposed to strike in the vicinity of the village of Landon, on the line of the Little Geete river, where the Allies were posted. It was an unsatisfactory position, but William, though strongly advised to move back a little way to more easily defended ground, refused to do so. That the French would attack all expected, because of the numerical disparity, 80,000 against 50,000.

William considered that he had made himself safe by entrenching strongly along his line: in particular at the key points, the villages of Neerlanden and Neerwinden, two miles apart. The villages, like all Belgian villages, had mud walls four or five feet high round each, which were prepared to withstand assault, as were the dividing field-walls across the ground between the two villages, forming an entrenched line. The vital point in the position, close to Neerwinden, was the hamlet of Laer, where the three regiments of the Scots Brigade were posted, with three other Scottish battalions of the British Army, the 21st, Royal Scots Fusiliers, the 25th, then the Edinburgh Regiment,* and the 26th, The Cameronians. In support were the Buffs and the 4th King's Own. Ramsay, whose promotion from Colonel of one of the regiments of the Scots Brigade to brigadier's rank has been mentioned, was in command in Laer. He is described as "a

* Now the King's Own Scottish Borderers.

thorough soldier, full of fire and very brave." Colonel Lauder, who had been exchanged after Steinkirk, was again with his regiment.

The ground in front of Laer was a network of hedges and ditches, so that close fighting was expected.

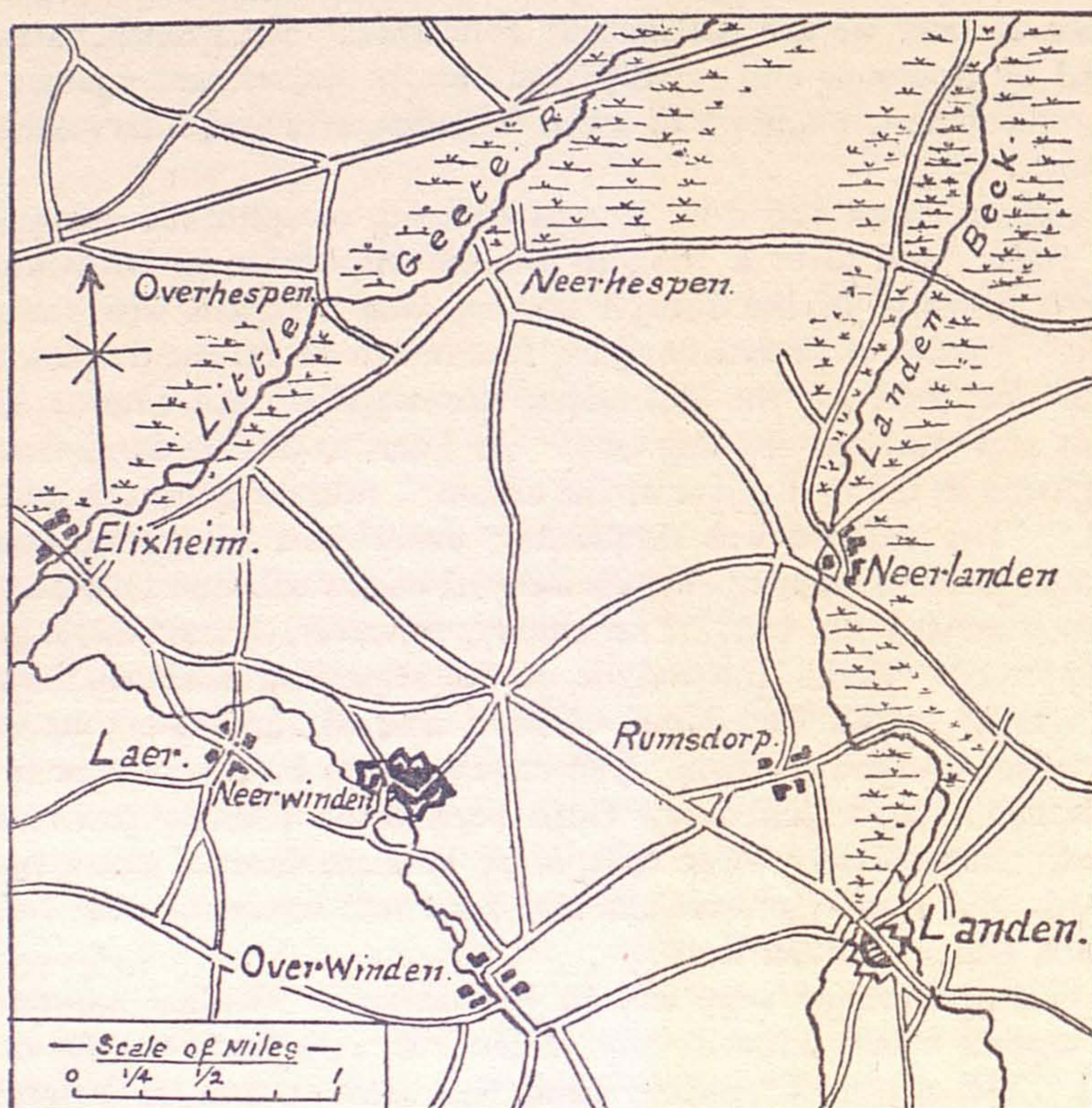
Luxembourg attacked in force on July 19th, opening the action at 8 a.m. with a two-hours' cannonade. Then followed simultaneous assaults by brigades in column on Neerlanden, Neerwinden and Laer. With what took place at Laer we are particularly concerned. Six French battalions, supported by dragoons and cavalry, were at the outset sent against Laer, while three columns, made up of seven brigades, attacked Neerwinden half a mile off.

Everywhere, from the first, it was difficult to stem the enemy's impetuous rush: and after a time it became impossible to withstand the continuous pressure of the French masses, who attacked with fierce impetuosity. Parties of French carrying fascines to fill up the ditches, which had been deepened by the defenders, accompanied the French leading battalions and rendered crossing easy. At Laer, as at Steinkirk, there was hedge fighting in the first phase of the action, "muzzle to muzzle and hand to hand." The defence was desperate; every foot of ground was disputed; charges and counter-charges swayed backwards and forwards while casualties mounted up fast. The enemy, however, gained little ground until reinforced. Under the weight of the swarming numbers Ramsay's brigade was at length forced out of Laer, and at the same time French cavalry broke into the position. The cavalry were however taken in flank by a German force, which drove them back while Ramsay re-formed his command. Immediately after that King William himself came up with the Guards and some Hanoverians and Laer was regained, with Neerwinden, which had also been lost.

The enemy however were not to be baulked. Marshal Luxembourg made a second attack immediately afterwards with fresh troops on both positions. The resumed fighting took the same course as before—and had the same ending. The impetuous French first rush overpowered the defenders of Laer, but these again rallied and counter-attacked, with the result the French were again forced back. A third of the defenders of Laer and Neerwinden had by that time fallen.

Luxembourg was counselled, after the second attack failed, to break off the action. He refused to do so, and brought up his last reserve, the French and Swiss Guard regiments, with some line battalions, which so far had been comparatively lightly engaged. With these, supported by the remains of the defeated battalions, the Marshal delivered his third attack, again concentrating in force on Neerwinden and Laer. As before,

the assailants were held for a time after the first rush by the desperate resistance of the defenders; then their superior numbers began to tell. The weakened and lessening force of the defenders, coupled with an increasing shortage of ammunition, in the end made further resistance impossible. Fighting hard till almost their last cartridge was gone, the men in Neerwinden and Laer found further defence impossible.



LANDEN.

“At Laer,” to quote from Colonel Clifford Walton’s account of the Battle of Landen, “the final struggle had been fought out with true British determination. The same contempt for numbers, the same heroic devotion, the same ferocious daring were displayed by Ramsay’s men now, as earlier in the day.” They were compromised finally and had to draw off. A force of Brandenburgers after stubbornly holding the trenches between Laer and Neerwinden gave way while the last of Ramsay’s brigade were still holding Laer, and French cavalry broke in through the gap. Ramsay

thus outflanked could only call off his men at once and make his way back to safety as best might be done. "Retreat," to use again Colonel Clifford Walton's words, "had by this time become difficult, the French infantry pushed the British regiments in front, the cavalry galled them in flank and cut them off in rear from the rest. Surrounded on all sides by the literally swarming squadrons thirsting for their blood, the brave little remnant of the Scots Brigade sought no quarter, but continued with unquenchable valour to hew a path for itself through the masses of the enemy."

The casualties among the officers of the Scots Brigade, according to D'Auvergne, were these. In Mackay's: killed, one Lieut.-Colonel (Macdougall); mortally wounded, one Captain and one Lieutenant; wounded, one Colonel (Æneas Mackay—for the second time), two Captains, one Lieutenant, and three Ensigns. In Lauder's the casualties were: killed, one Lieut.-Colonel (Balfour), two Captains; mortally wounded, one Captain; wounded, one Ensign; prisoners, one Colonel (Lauder—taken for the second time), two Captains and one Lieutenant. In Graham's the casualties were: killed, two Lieutenants and one Ensign; wounded, two Captains and one Ensign.

Landen cost Marshal Luxembourg in round numbers, as estimated, 8,000 of all ranks. It cost the Allies upwards of 12,000 men, and in addition eighty guns, left on the battlefield. At that period every company in a battalion carried a Colour. So many Colours in fact were taken by the French at Landen—mostly German, very few English—that Marshal Luxembourg was given the sobriquet of "Le tapisseur de Notre Dame." It was customary at that time to display trophies in the cathedral. No Scots Brigade Colours were lost. Indeed, to the end of its career in 1783 it was always the proud boast of the Scots Brigade that no enemy had ever captured a single one of their Colours.

There was no more serious fighting for the rest of that year, nor was there any action of importance in 1694.

1695

The situation was entirely altered in 1695 by the death in January of Marshal Luxembourg, a loss to the French that, in Fortescue's words, "was absolutely irreparable." Marshal Villeroy, who was appointed in Luxembourg's place, was a man of showy attainments, but immeasurably inferior to his predecessor in military ability. The state of French finances also necessitated the maintenance of a reduced army in the field, which compelled the adoption of a defensive campaign for 1695. Villeroy's plan practically locked up a great part of his army immobile behind entrenchments and useless for offensive purposes.

William, on his side, realizing that the enemy were restricting themselves to the defensive, determined to use the opportunity for striking at and recovering Namur. The possession by the enemy of that immensely important fortress, since its capture three years before, had disadvantageously affected the strategic situation for the Allies.

King William opened his campaign with a series of feints by various columns of his army towards both flanks of the French line of entrenched works and in the result entirely drew off Villeroy's attention from his intended objective. All the French field forces concentrated towards Menin. Then, in the second week of June, detaching a sufficient force towards Lille, temporarily to hold in check Villeroy's comparatively small field army, William started directly for Namur and concentrated round it. Only at the last moment did the French take alarm and realize the situation. Marshal Boufflers, Villeroy's second in command, had just time to throw himself into Namur and reinforce the garrison with some hastily collected dragoons and artillery. He arrived barely twenty-four hours before the first British and Dutch troops with William himself were before Namur. The rest of the Allied forces arrived with well-timed precision within a few hours, and by June 23rd Namur had been completely invested.

The city of Namur stands on a peninsula formed by the junction of the Rivers Meuse and Sambre. The fortress comprised two distinct groups of works: the ramparted city and a formidably strong citadel, on a rocky eminence, separated from the city by the Meuse. Both city and citadel, or "castle," as it was usually called, had been elaborately fortified, first by the celebrated Dutch Engineer Coehorn and since 1692, with additional strengthenings by Coehorn's French rival, Vauban. In 1692, Coehorn had been inside Namur, assisting the defence, and Vauban outside, directing the siege: now, Coehorn was outside with William planning to master his own original works as improved by Vauban. The Citadel, on its steep height, formed with its adjacent forts Terra Nova and Coehorn Fort (otherwise Fort William), and certain little less formidable redoubts and lunettes together with an entrenched outer line, an apparently impregnable place of arms. Upwards of 130 pieces of ordnance, guns and mortars were on the ramparts. The total garrison numbered upwards of 16,000 men, with magazines and storehouses fully supplied against a protracted siege.

Mackay's regiment of the Scots Brigade was with the besieging army before Namur. Lauder's regiment was with the covering army watching Villeroy's field force; except its grenadier company, which had been detached to take part in the siege operations as part of a battalion of grenadiers kept in reserve for the assault on the breaches when these

should be practicable. Graham's regiment was elsewhere, in garrison at Dixmude.

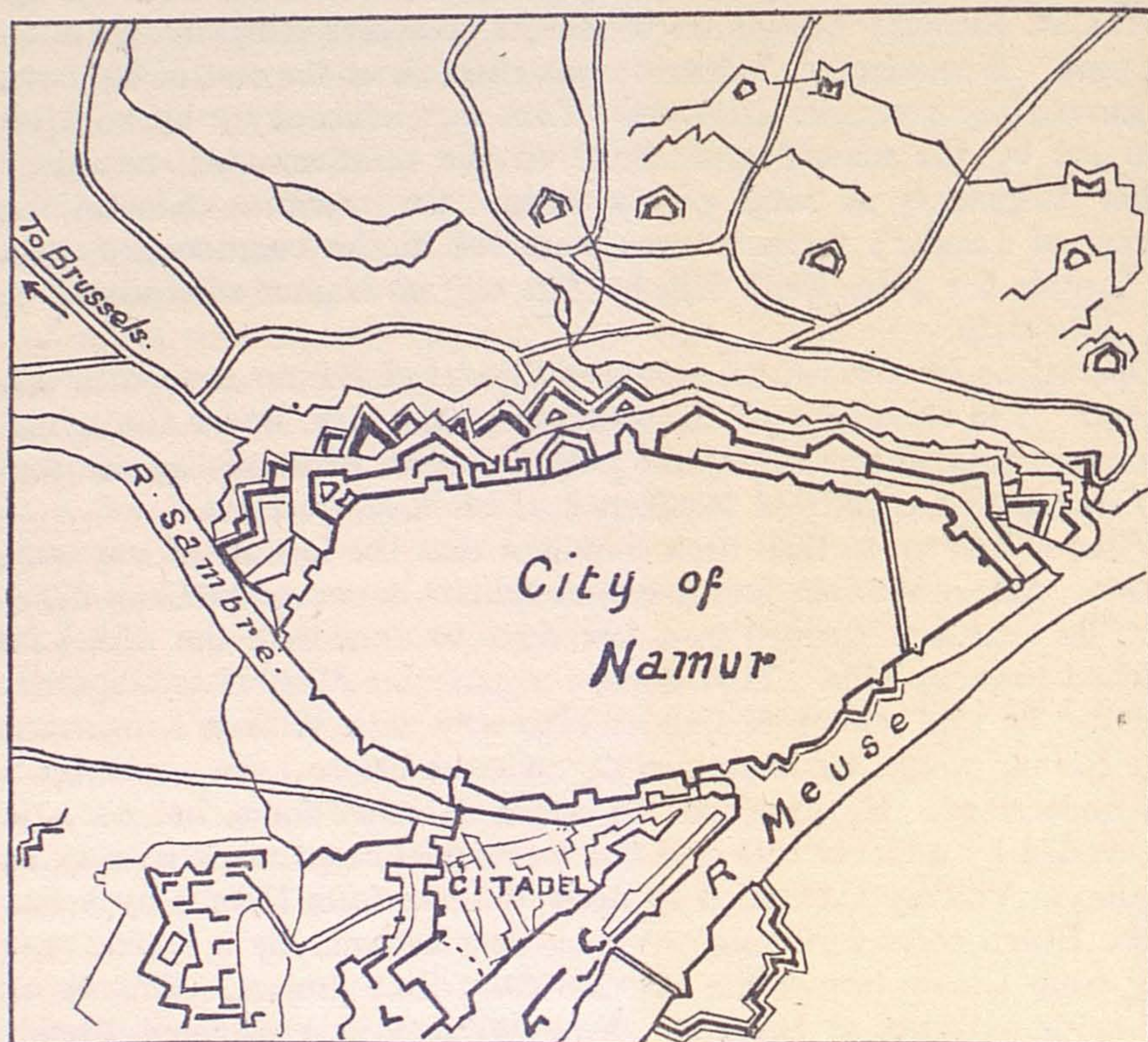
Ground was broken before the city fortifications on July 3rd, and three days later the outworks on the north side were assaulted and carried after sanguinary fighting. The success enabled trenches to be opened closer in, against the main fortifications of the city, near the St. Nicholas' gate. An assault was next made on the counterguard of the St. Nicholas' gate and the St. Nicholas' bastion, in which the grenadier company of Lauder's took part. A satisfactory lodgment was effected, at the cost of 800 casualties among the grenadier stormers. That was followed up by an attack, again led by the massed grenadiers, on the counterscarp; resulting in further lodgments at vital points within the *enceinte*. Lieut.-Colonel Stewart of Lauder's regiment was wounded in the counterscarp attack, and Captain Sir John Keith killed. The city of Namur surrendered next day, July 24th.

Operations for the reduction of the Citadel of Namur were then taken in hand. The remainder of the garrison of the city, under the terms of the capitulation, at the same time passed over to reinforce the garrison of the Citadel, where Marshal Boufflers had his head-quarters.

Villeroy had up to then been confident that the fortune of war was on his side. When William first invested Namur he wrote to Louis XIV at Versailles that he expected in a few days to annihilate the Allied force detached towards Lille. That done, the sanguine Marshal anticipated no difficulty, he said, about dealing satisfactorily with William's main army. Thus Namur would be triumphantly relieved before long. Villeroy was soon undeceived. He struck at the Allied detached force, but the attack was evaded by a clever ruse and the threatened corps made its way back to safety. Villeroy then tried to draw William from Namur by a march on the Dutch coast fortresses. A menacing advance by a Dutch reserve army from Ghent turned the Marshal from that project. Villeroy after that made a thrust at Brussels. King William, he considered, would be bound to quit Namur in order to save Brussels. The city of Namur had just surrendered, and Villeroy was thrown into a fever of anxiety over the possibility of the capture of the Citadel with a Marshal of France, Boufflers, inside it. Villeroy's move, however, was countered by bringing down the Dutch reserve army from its head-quarters at Ghent to protect Brussels. William himself calmly continued meanwhile to maintain his grip on Namur, pushing on with preparations for opening trenches against the Citadel.

Foiled once more, Villeroy, as his last desperate throw, called in every available man from the French garrisons within reach. These placed

Villeroy within a few days at the head of 80,000 men, and with them he marched forthwith, intending to compel William to give battle in the immediate neighbourhood of Namur. By that time the bombardment of the Citadel and its forts had been in progress for some days and the works had suffered severely. A hundred and thirty-six heavy siege guns and fifty mortars and howitzers were pounding at the French defences. When,



NAMUR.

on August 16th Villeroy arrived in front of William's entrenched covering army already six practicable breaches had been made in the *enceinte* of the Terra Nova and Coehorn forts.

Villeroy came and saw and fell back. He was expected to attack on the 17th and 18th but on these days he simply reconnoitred. On the 19th the whole Allied covering army stood to arms from dawn to dusk, while masses of the French formed up opposite William's lines just out of range. They made, however, no forward move and retired at nightfall. They

moved silently off during the night and Villeroy was reported 10 miles distant next morning. On learning this William decided to storm the breaches at once. Orders to that effect were sent to the Elector of Bavaria, whom the King had left in immediate command of the besieging force while he faced Villeroy.

Four of the six practicable breaches in the Terra Nova and Coehorn forts were selected for assault. One was to be attacked by Dutch troops, one by Prussians, one by Bavarians, and one by the British. The command of the British stormers was allotted to the celebrated "Salamander Cutts," Lord Cutts, Colonel of the Coldstream Guards, with Mackay's regiment of the Scots Brigade as part of his supporting column. The assault on the Terra Nova was made at the appointed hour, noon on August 20th, and, unfortunately, broke down at the breaches where the British attacked owing to expected reinforcements not coming up in time. The grenadier storming battalion and the 18th Royal Irish, who headed the attack, fought their way up the breach on to the ramparts: but they then found an unassailable inner retrenchment barring further penetration. At the next breach the Bavarians had been beaten back. The British storming troops were ordered to retire and as they withdrew were counter-attacked while under a cross fire from the Terra Nova and Coehorn forts and further thrown into disorder by the sallying out on them of a large body of French infantry and dragoons.

Cutts, who had been wounded in the head in the first onset, came back with his wound dressed just afterwards. Mackay's regiment, not yet engaged, was close at hand and he called on it for a forlorn hope of 200 men. Every man volunteered, whereupon Cutts told off Lieutenant Alexander Cockle of Mackay's to lead a new assault. Fort Coehorn, whence the Bavarians had been driven, was pointed out to Cockle as his objective. His instructions were to "attack the salient angle next the breach, sword in hand, without firing a shot." If he could master the palisades he was to lodge himself in the covered way. The rest of Mackay's regiment were to follow, with, by Cutts' personal order, "their Ensigns bearing the Colours at their head."

The orders were carried out, and more. Cockle and his 200 succeeded in getting over the palisades, beat back the enemy on the covered way, and then, seizing some French guns, turned them on the enemy. Lieutenant Cockle was well backed up by his own regiment, with, following close after Mackay's, the 18th Royal Irish. These had quickly rallied after retiring from the Terra Nova, and now joined in the attack with two other regiments. "The Ensigns of Mackay's marched boldly up and planted their Colours on the ramparts and so fired were the men with

emulation in honour of their battle-worn emblems that the covered way was not only gained, but held." *

Emboldened by the British success at the Coehorn fort, the Bavarians pulled themselves together and now assaulting the Terra Nova fort made a lodgment. The Dutch and Brandenburgers also won their breaches. By five o'clock that evening the Allies had a firm grip everywhere. The Citadel itself had not yet been assaulted, but Marshal Boufflers beat a parley early next morning and asked for a forty-eight hours' truce, ostensibly to bury his dead. Before it expired he offered to surrender the part of which the enemy still held Coehorn Fort, proposing to discuss terms for the Citadel. "Surrender all or none," was William's peremptory reply. A further parley followed and Boufflers finally assented to terms. He agreed to surrender the Citadel and all the outworks if the garrison were granted the Honours of War and allowed to return to France without restriction as to future service. The terms were acceded to and the surrender took place in due course. The taking of the fortress of Namur, hitherto deemed impregnable, and the amazing and unprecedented news of the surrender with it of a Marshal of France, staggered all Europe.

Villeroy, completely stunned by the catastrophe—which was announced to him first by hearing in the distance the triumphant triple salvo of artillery fired by the Allied army immediately Marshal Boufflers came to terms—thereupon retreated rapidly to Mons. After that, giving up hope of doing anything with his now hopelessly dispirited army, he withdrew to winter quarters for the year, and the campaign of 1695 terminated.

On the day of the final assault Mackay's regiment had one Captain, one Ensign and seventy-three rank and file killed; one Major, four Captains, four Lieutenants, six Ensigns and a hundred and sixty-six rank and file wounded. Lieutenant Cockle was promoted to a company ten days after the surrender.

The part in the campaign of 1695 taken by Graham's regiment was unfortunate. It had been detached in June as part of the garrison of Dixmude and in consequence shared in the fate of the luckless fortress, which, on July 28th, the Governor, General Ellenburg, a Dane, apparently in a fit of panic, surrendered within twenty-four hours of the first shot being fired. Ellenburg was tried by court-martial and beheaded, a form of execution then usual in continental armies for "very superior" officers. It was considered a more aristocratic mode of taking an officer's life than by sending him before a firing party. Colonel Graham, as having been a

* Detailed accounts of the siege and storming are in Kane's *Campaigns of King William*, and particularly in D'Auvergne's *History of the Last Campaign*, 1695 (pp. 148-55), both written by officers present.

member of Ellenburg's Council of War which yielded to the general's insistence as to surrendering, was, with other commanding officers attending the council, tried and cashiered. The regiment, after being temporarily sent as prisoners to France with the rest of the Dixmude garrison, was with them exchanged for Marshal Boufflers. Colonel David Colyear succeeded to Graham's command and the regiment, after rejoining the Scots Brigade, was known by his name as "Colyear's Regiment."

1696-1697

No operations of importance followed for the Scots Brigade in the campaigns of 1696 and 1697, until the war with France ended. During the period Lauder's and Colyear's regiments of the Scots Brigade were with the field forces: Mackay's, after its casualties at Namur, was kept on garrison duty. Mackay's regiment had one small adventure, in June 1696 at Huy, when the French tried to surprise the garrison of the fortress by sending in a party of soldiers to seize the main gate, concealed in some Dutch commissariat hay wagons bringing in supplies from the neighbourhood. By accident one of the wagons upset at the gate and flung out the hidden soldiers, sprawling all over the ground, and the attempt, which was to be made by a force secretly following, failed.

In June 1697 negotiations for a general peace, which had been proceeding for a considerable time, were concluded and brought about a suspension of arms, resulting finally in the signing of the Peace of Ryswick in September 1697. So "King William's War" closed. Colonel Æneas Mackay died at Bath in 1697, having been an invalid from his wounds received at Landen. He was succeeded by Colonel Robert Murray, whose name the regiment thenceforward had.

CHAPTER XXXVI

REORGANIZATION OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE, 1697-1701. STRENGTH INCREASED TO SIX REGIMENTS WITH REGIMENTS FORMERLY ON THE BRITISH ESTABLISHMENT. THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION. AT THE SIEGE OF KAISERWERTH, 1702. SAVING THE DUTCH ARMY AT NIMEGUEN. AT THE STORMING OF VENLOO, 1702. AT THE CAPTURE OF LIÈGE, 1702. THE GALLANT DEFENCE OF TONGRES, 1703. AT THE STORMING OF HUY, 1703. THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1704 AND 1705.

1697-1701

THE three regiments of the Scots Brigade, who had been borne on the British regular establishment during the war, ever since 1689, were returned to the Dutch establishment at the end of 1697. At the same time three other Scottish regiments in the British service, raised during the war, "Ferguson's" (the present 1st Bn. Cameronians), "Strathnaver's," and "Hamilton's," were transferred to the Dutch establishment, to replace the former three English regiments of 1678 in the service of Holland, which after 1697 became incorporated in the British Army. Two of them are now represented by the Northumberland Fusiliers and The Royal Warwickshire Regiment: the third was disbanded in 1698. Ferguson's Cameronians were brought back finally to the British establishment in 1699. They were replaced on the Dutch establishment by a regiment under Lord Portmore, raised in Scotland in 1688 out of ex-Scots Brigade officers and men. "Portmore's" had served on the English establishment during the war. The Scots Brigade was thus now raised to a strength of six regiments.

The three old regiments of the Scots Brigade, Murray's (so called since 1697 on the death of Colonel Æneas Mackay), Colyear's and Lauder's, remained in Holland during the five years of peace between 1697 and 1702 when the War of the Spanish Succession broke out. The Scots Brigade in Holland during that war—which is often called, to distinguish it from the former war, "Queen Anne's War"—comprised now six regiments: three old and three new. Of these last Portmore's and Strathnaver's received fresh Colonels during the first twelve months of hostilities, Lord Portmore being replaced by Colonel John Dalrymple (afterwards the cele-

brated British Field-Marshal, the Earl of Stair) and Lord Strathnaver by the Marquess of Lorne (afterwards the celebrated Field-Marshal, the Duke of Argyll and Greenwich).

That renewed hostilities with France were certain was apparent to all the world a twelvemonth and more before the new war actually broke out. The interval was made use of by all the regiments of the Brigade for procuring supplies of recruits from Scotland to complete to full establishment. The usual method of recruiting in war time at that period was for officers going home on leave during the season for winter quarters to employ themselves in enlisting men in the districts where their homes were and bring back with them the drafts so raised on returning to headquarters.

The outbreak of hostilities came about in this way. The invalid King of Spain, who for the past forty years had been expected to die almost any week, died at the end of 1700, bequeathing on his death-bed his dominions to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, in defiance of a treaty with the Austrian Imperial Family, to which Louis XIV was a party. Louis XIV, regardless of the arrangement, at once claimed the Spanish Netherlands and in the spring of 1701 overran the country with troops and occupied the "Barrier fortresses" along the Dutch frontiers. The Dutch, alarmed at having so aggressive a neighbour as France close to them, appealed to England for help, the States-General requesting that an English contingent should be sent over, as arranged for under the treaty of 1678, which provided for such an emergency. Twelve English regiments (later increased to fifteen) were sent in June 1701, with Marlborough in chief command. Marlborough, in virtue of special diplomatic powers as "Ambassador Extraordinary," forthwith negotiated the "Grand Alliance" of England, Holland, Denmark and the German Empire against France. War broke out within a short time when Louis XIV, on the death of James II in September 1701, officially recognized James's son, James Francis Edward (the "Old Pretender" of history) as James III, King of England. In consequence, in May 1702 Queen Anne, who had succeeded to the throne two months earlier, declared war against France. The other members of the "Grand Alliance" had declared war against France a few weeks before.

1702

Hostilities began in Italy between the French and an Imperial army, and at the same time a combined force of 35,000 men, Germans and Dutch, with the English contingent sent to Holland in 1701, commenced operations on the lower Rhine. The three "old" regiments of the Scots

Brigade, Murray's, Lauder's and Colyear's, served with the Dutch contingent. Hostilities in that quarter opened with the siege of the French garrison in Kaiserwerth, a fortress a few miles north of Düsseldorf. The French at Kaiserwerth hindered the use of the Rhine as a line of communication between Holland and Southern Germany.

The three "new" regiments of the Scots Brigade, Dalrymple's, Lorne's and Hamilton's, were with the main Dutch army, under General Ginckel, whom William III had created Earl of Athlone. This main army took post at Cranenburg, between Nimeguen and Cleves, to cover the siege of Kaiserwerth. Ginckel's army, for the time being, was held in check by Marshal Boufflers with a French army 60,000 strong, lying at Xanten, 15 miles south-east of Cranenburg.

Marlborough was unable to reach the front until early in July, by which time Kaiserwerth had been taken (June 15th). The Scots Brigade suffered heavy casualties before Kaiserwerth, having a Lieut.-Colonel, Sir James Colyear, killed, Major Hepburn wounded, two Captains mortally wounded, six subalterns wounded, 100 rank and file killed and 250 rank and file wounded.

The Scots Brigade regiments with Ginckel, on their part saved that general from something like a disaster. Badly served by his patrols, Ginckel was all but surprised in his camp by Marshal Boufflers and had to make a hasty retreat to Nimeguen. He only just made off in time, sacrificing his stores and part of his camp. Although outnumbered two to one, he reached safety by skilful handling, and thanks largely to the stubborn rearguard fighting of his Scots Brigade regiments, which cost the enemy upwards of 1,000 casualties. Fortunately the bulk of the French infantry were too far in rear and practically only cavalry and dragoons were able to attack. Fortunately again, for the Scots Brigade regiments, and indeed for the whole army, Boufflers was unaware of the state of things inside Nimeguen. Though a fortress of the first class, not a single gun was mounted on the ramparts, while, further, the Dutch Governor, jealous at having been superseded a short time before in the command of the field army by Ginckel, shut the gates in his face and refused help of any kind. Only the action of the townspeople prevented a catastrophe as the French main body came up. They rose on the Governor, broke open the ordnance stores and magazines, hauled guns on to the ramparts, and carried up shot and powder on their backs enabling the garrison gunners to fire a few long-range rounds at Boufflers' advanced pursuers, which brought the Marshal to a halt. The French drew off after two days and fell back by Cleves to Gennap.

That was the position at the front when in July Marlborough reached

Nimeguen and took supreme command at the head of 60,000 men, including the re-united six Scots Brigade regiments. He had landed six weeks before, but jealous intrigues and difficulties raised by the Dutch Government as to his powers over the Dutch contingent as generalissimo kept him at The Hague till then. Marlborough had to assent to the permanent presence at Army Head-quarters of two Dutch civilians, men ignorant of military matters, as "Field Deputies," with power to veto any plan or order of the Commander-in-Chief they disagreed with. The deputies began by exercising their powers and preventing Marlborough from defeating Boufflers' army on two if not three occasions during the next six weeks, when by a series of masterly manœuvres, Marlborough had outmanœuvred the enemy and had them practically at his mercy.

In the ultimate result, however, in spite of the paralysing action of the Dutch deputies, Marlborough, by the end of August, was successful in forcing the French away from the line of the Meuse. That accomplished, he turned to deal with the eastern fortresses on the Meuse, held by the French, beginning with Venloo. Dalrymple's (ex-Portmore's) regiment of the Scots Brigade, together with the 18th Royal Irish and the massed grenadier companies of the other five Scots Brigade regiments, took a notable part in the storming of the main outwork of the fortress, Fort St. Michael, a large five-bastioned work.

The assault took place in the third week of the siege, at 4 p.m. on September 18th, after the besiegers had sapped up to the foot of the glacis. "Salamander" Cutts, who led the assault, gave these verbal orders: "Jump into their works and follow them, let the consequence be what it may." The rush of the Scots Brigade grenadiers and the 18th Royal Irish drove the defenders to the covered way and then into the ravelin, where sixty stubborn Frenchmen headed by a captain tried to hold them. The French party then ran back, crossed the ditch by a bridge of loose planks, and racing round the foot of the walls climbed up at one place by tufts of grass between the stones. The pursuers got up the same way, on which the garrison laid down their arms. Two days later Venloo and its citadel, after being bombarded by guns turned on them from Fort St. Michael, surrendered. The capitulation came about in this way. On seeing the besiegers lined up all round the walls to fire a *feu de joie* with shotted guns and muskets aimed at the ramparts, as a display to celebrate the news just received, of Prince Eugene's victory at Landau, the Venloo populace took fright, thinking that the storming of the place was intended and forced the French Governor to surrender.

Roermonde, a minor fortress at the junction of the River Roer and the Meuse, was then besieged and taken in nine days, surrendering on Sep-

tember 25th on the stormers advancing to the breaches. The fort of Stevenswart (St. Etienne), on an island in the Meuse, 6 miles up the river from Roermonde, surrendered after a two-days' bombardment.

The taking of Liège as the sequel was Marlborough's final achievement of the year. Boufflers, alarmed for its safety, moved towards the city, but was forestalled by Marlborough suddenly crossing his path and taking up the very position the French Marshal was making for. An action was speedily imminent, but again the obstruction of the Dutch deputies balked Marlborough's men of certain victory and Boufflers fell back safely to his former lines. Liège city surrendered at once to avoid bombardment (October 13th). The citadel held out for eighteen days, when the walls were breached and the place was stormed. "Salamander" Cutts, with 1,200 men, including the Scots Brigade grenadier companies, assaulted the ramparts and after a sharply contested resistance, costing the assailants heavy casualties (434 of all ranks), the remnant of the garrison gave in. No quarter, according to Sergeant Parker of the Royal Irish, was asked or given, and most of the garrison fell in the combat. Fort Chartreuse near by fell next day. With the taking of Liège the service of the Scots Brigade in Marlborough's first campaign of the war closed.

1703

The campaign of 1703 opened with the siege of Bonn, on the Rhine above Cologne, by Marlborough, begun on April 17th. Two of the regiments of the Scots Brigade were among Marlborough's forty battalions engaged in the operations. Six companies of another regiment of the Brigade, Dalrymple's, were with a Dutch army, commanded by General Auverquerque, or Overkirk as we spelled the name, protecting Marlborough's line of communications stationed between Liège and Maestricht. Overkirk was lying, off his guard with his force strung out in cantonments, when Villeroy, at the head of 60,000 men, a greatly superior force, moved rapidly from Brabant to surprise him. Four companies of Dalrymple's as the result found themselves prisoners of war. They were captured, together with the Queen's of the British Army, and a Dutch battalion, at Tongres, a small fortified place on the River Jaar (or Geer) some 10 or 12 miles south-west of Maestricht. Villeroy, on his way to surprise Overkirk, unexpectedly appeared before Tongres, as Lieut.-Colonel Hepburn, of the Scots Brigade detachment at Tongres, describes in a letter, at five on the morning of May 9th. So secret was Villeroy's move that he arrived "without the least notice of approach, although he had a train of artillery." The summons to surrender was rejected and for twenty-eight hours the small garrison, with only two guns on the ramparts, held out.

They only surrendered after a wide breach had been battered in and Villeroy's column of assault had massed in front. The twenty-eight hours' defence saved Overkirk's army. It gave the Dutch general time to draw together his cantoned battalions and to reach the shelter of the guns of Maestricht, from before the walls of which fortress Villeroy recoiled, after exchanging a few cannon shots. The only corps existing to-day which helped to defend Tongres, The 1st Battalion Queen's Royal Regiment (West Surrey), was granted the title of "Royal" and its motto "*Pristinæ Virtutis Memor*" by Queen Anne in honour of its part in the defence of Tongres.

This then followed. Incensed at the audacity of so small a place holding up a Marshal of France with an army, Villeroy refused the Honours of War to the little garrison, and sent them prisoners to Amiens. They were badly treated there, as accounts state, and confined until the following October, when Marlborough obtained their release in exchange for the French garrison of the fortress of Huy, captured by him in the summer. He purposely detained the garrison of Huy as prisoners because of the treatment of the Tongres garrison and held them as pledge for the freeing of the Tongres men.

Marlborough, on the surrender of Bonn (June 1st), joined Overkirk at Maestricht and resumed charge as generalissimo in the field. Six weeks of manœuvring to entice Villeroy out of the fortified lines in Brabant to which the French had retreated, followed, Marlborough making every endeavour tirelessly to draw his opponent into the open. He succeeded at last, on July 12th, and had every prospect of a successful action when, once more, the Dutch deputies, who still accompanied him, refused, as they had done the year before, to consent to an attack. All that was then left was to return to the Meuse, where Marlborough laid siege to the fortress of Huy and took it in ten days. The grenadiers of Dalrymple's and Hamilton's regiments of the Scots Brigade had a special part in capturing Huy. They escaladed a high rock on which stood a fort (Fort Picardie), overlooking part of Huy, surprised the garrison and captured the fort. Even then the French garrison courageously held out until Marlborough, on the breach being reported practicable, summoned them to surrender. What Marlborough did with the garrison of Huy has been told.

After the taking of Huy, Marlborough planned to attack Villeroy in spite of his entrenchments. He proposed to attempt the new French lines on the river Mehaigne, the "Lines of Brabant," learning that they were only in part completed. He had a fair prospect of success: he could bring up superior forces at the decisive point and his troops were eager for battle. Again, however, at the critical moment the Dutch deputies

mulishly refused assent. All that could be done, so late in the season, was to besiege and take Limburg. Villeroy did not try to prevent it, and Limburg fell after a fortnight's siege operations.

1704

The year 1704 saw no fighting for the Scots Brigade. Marlborough was in Germany, engaged in the Blenheim campaign. Villeroy, as in the previous year in command of the French army in the Low Countries, had, in consequence, his attention diverted to the Palatinate and Middle Rhine district, to cover and support Marshal Tallard's army in Bavaria. The greater part of Villeroy's army being in Alsace, Overkirk, with 70,000 Dutch troops, sufficed to guard Holland. During 1704, Argyll's regiment, as the Marquis of Lorne's command was now called (Lord Lorne having succeeded to the Dukedom of Argyll on his father's death in 1703), was, with Dalrymple's regiment, in garrison at Bois-le-Duc and Bergen-op-Zoom. The other four regiments of the Brigade were in camp and cantonments with Overkirk's field army along the line of the Meuse.

1705

The following year, 1705, though no engagements of note took place during that twelvemonth, provided an experience for one regiment of the Scots Brigade. Marlborough was on the Luxemburg frontier, confronting a French army under Marshal Villars, when Villeroy, in June, suddenly quitted his lines in Brabant and moved rapidly down the Meuse valley with the object of capturing Liège. Huy, which lay directly in Villeroy's path, was besieged by the French and taken in eight days. Four companies of Hamilton's regiment of the Scots Brigade formed part of the Huy garrison, and in consequence of their capture, it is recorded, "lost their clothes." Argyll's regiment of the Brigade was in garrison in Liège citadel when, on June 16th, Villeroy appeared before it. Overkirk, with whose field force was Lauder's regiment, had been stationed near Liège. Having less than half Villeroy's numbers he fell back on Maestricht. Fortunately for Liège, which was weakly garrisoned, Marlborough was able to disengage safely from in front of Villars and arrived in time to save the place, as Villeroy retreated to his lines on Marlborough's approach.

Marlborough, reinforced by Overkirk's troops and German contingents, then moved westward hoping to be able to break through Villeroy's entrenched lines between Namur and Antwerp. The lines were 80 miles long, and by a series of feints towards the Namur end Marlborough induced Villeroy to weaken his centre in order to reinforce the threatened point. On July 18th, after an all-night march, he surprised the reduced garrison

at Tirlemont at daybreak and forced his way through the lines. All six regiments of the Scots Brigade were with Marlborough during the operation. Driving the nearest French garrisons of adjacent sectors of the lines before him Marlborough was advancing on Louvain when the Dutch deputies forbade him to cross the River Dyle, the passage of which Villeroy had hastened up to dispute. Ten days were taken up in bringing the two Dutch civilian obstructionists to reason. Marlborough then crossed and outmanœuvred Villeroy into a position where certain defeat and possibly a disaster awaited him. The Dutch deputies balked him again. The decisive action of the campaign was on the point of opening, when, at the bidding of the deputies, the Dutch generals, whose commands made up practically half Marlborough's entire force, refused to move their troops. Villeroy was thus enabled to retreat into safety and no other opportunity of bringing him to action occurred that year. "I thought the victory so secure," commented Marlborough bitterly, "that I cannot forgive those who were the cause of our not attacking." During the campaign Lauder's, Dalrymple's and Hamilton's regiments of the Scots Brigade took part, it may be mentioned by the way, in a sharp affair on August 17th, almost on the very ground where, a hundred and ten years later, Wellington's army fought the Battle of Waterloo. During the following winter Colonel John Borthwick, in command of the Cameronians, exchanged regiments with Lord Dalrymple of the Scots Brigade, taking up duty on January 1st 1706. A little later, the command of the whole Brigade was conferred on the Duke of Argyll, who, however, continued also as titular commanding officer of his own regiment in the Scots Brigade until after the end of the year.

CHAPTER XXXVII

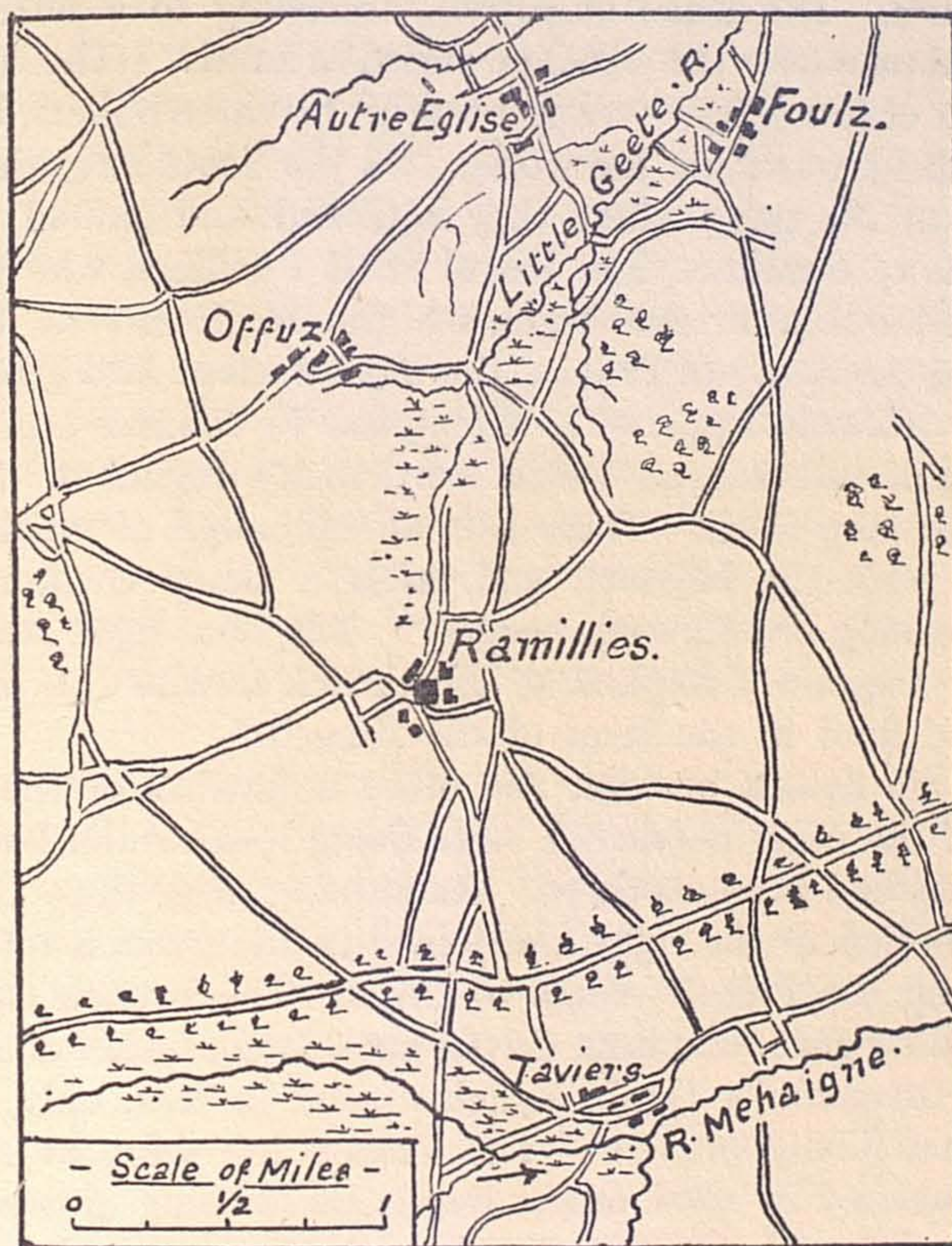
THE SCOTS BRIGADE AT THE BATTLE OF RAMILLIES, 1706. THE ATTACK ON THE KEY OF THE POSITION. STORMING OF THE VILLAGE OF RAMILLIES. AT THE BATTLE OF OUDENARDE, 1708. THE FORCED MARCH TO FORESTALL THE FRENCH. CAPTURE OF THE VILLAGE OF EYNE AND SEVEN FRENCH BATTALIONS.

1706

NOW we come to 1706, the year of Ramillies, in which battle the Scots Brigade took a noteworthy part. Marshal Villeroy, as before in command of the French army in the Netherlands, made his first move early in May. He was informed that the Prussian and Danish contingents would be late in joining Marlborough, and anticipating that the Allied forces from numerical inferiority would not venture to oppose him, he left his now re-fortified lines in Flanders and with 70,000 men boldly struck out across country once more to attempt the capture of Liège. It proved a fatal miscalculation. Marlborough, who had been assembling his forces on the line of the Meuse, was joined by the belated German and Danish contingents in the nick of time, and rapidly advancing, crossed Villeroy's path and barred his way on the river Gheete near the village of Ramillies.

Villeroy was completely taken aback. He halted and took up a defensive position on the high ground north of the river Mehaigne forming the watershed between the Gheete and the Mehaigne, extending his line of battle over about two miles. The village of Ramillies was a little to the right of the centre of the position, as it fronted Marlborough. Villeroy's right was stretched from the bank of the Mehaigne to Ramillies village on flat, open ground, and there the French cavalry, numbering 100 squadrons, were drawn up. Ramillies itself was entrenched, with the houses loop-holed as well as could be managed in a few hours. A ditch was dug round it, and twenty selected battalions were placed as garrison, with twenty-four guns in position behind garden walls. From Ramillies to the village of Offuz, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile away, two lines of infantry were posted, forming the French centre. The French left, comprising both

cavalry and infantry, extended from Offuz to the village of Autre Église. A wide belt of marshy ground was in front of the enemy's left, protecting it, but the marshy ground had the defect of at the same time making it almost impossible for the French troops of the left wing to move forward. The result of Villeroy's faulty disposition was that Marlborough was able to contain the French left with a comparatively small force, keeping it



RAMILLIES.

immobile, while he massed the greater part of his army for a concentrated attack on the French centre and right.

The Scots Brigade regiments, at first posted on the right of the centre of Marlborough's line, on the action opening were moved behind a ridge of high ground, unseen by the French, to join in the assault on Ramillies village, which was the key of the enemy's position. They arrived just at the crisis of the fighting for the village and had a part in turning the fate

of the day in that quarter. Twelve battalions, ten Danish and Prussian, and two British (The Buffs and The Royal Scots Fusiliers), were attacking Ramillies when the Scots Brigade joined in, but, although they were gaining ground, the defence was very stubborn and the issue far from being decided. The Scots Brigade regiments were led by their brigadier, the Duke of Argyll, in person. Forming line, they advanced "firing by platoons" and forced the French out of the nearest hedges in front of the walled enclosure. The Duke of Argyll, according to a letter, was "the second or third man over the trenches, sword in hand." The rush "charged the French out of Ramillies." Argyll was hit by three bullets, but "happily all blunt" and he was none the worse. As the Scots Brigade forced their way through at the point where they attacked, and gained the outskirts on the far side of Ramillies, The Royal Scots Fusiliers, who were engaged near-by, forced out a French regiment, the Régiment de Picardie, the senior corps of the Army of France, the most ancient and renowned of the French Line. Picardie apparently attempted to counter-attack the Scots Brigade in flank and rear, on which Borthwick's regiment of the Brigade faced about to stop them. There was an exchange of musketry, Borthwick's closed with the bayonet, and, after a sharp encounter, Picardie recoiled, "breaking out through hedges." The final fight was decided, it is stated, by Captain Campbell of Borthwick's, who "brought up the grenadiers and fired in the faces of the French."

There are no details of what the other regiments of the Brigade, or indeed any of the other regiments, were doing meanwhile, but within two hours Ramillies had been captured. Re-forming after that, the captors of the village wheeled to the right and joined in the general infantry attack which rolled up the French centre to Offuz. The French cavalry of the right wing had by that time been driven back in confusion and were trying to rally near Ottomond's Tomb, a high mound in rear, only, however, to be charged and finally broken. The French left wing at Autre Église, previously weakened by some of the troops there being drawn off to assist the yielding centre, also gave ground on being attacked by the Allied troops facing them, who waded through the marsh to get to close quarters.

The five-hours' action ended with the complete rout of the French army, all going off in wild confusion, and hard pressed by a vigorous pursuit, taken up at once and relentlessly driven home.

The casualties among the officers of the Scots Brigade in killed, as far as can be traced, were these: Colonel Borthwick, shot through the head as he led, and two Captains of Borthwick's regiment (Walter Clerk and Denun); Lieut.-Colonel Murray, Majors Edward Halkett and Cunningham, and Captain Hugh Sutherland, of Colyear's regiment; Captains

L'Amy and Andrew Mowat of Murray's regiment. No record is extant of the casualties in any of the other regiments of the Brigade.

There was no check in the hot pursuit. All attempts at rallying had to be given up until the Scheldt was reached and the fragments of the broken army could shelter under the protection of the guns of Lille.

Marlborough after Ramillies turned to reduce the numerous fortresses garrisoned by the French in Brabant and Flanders, and they fell one after the other, with, in most cases, little attempt at defence. Brussels admitted Marlborough on May 28th: Alost and Malines declared for the Allies a few hours later. Then Ghent and Bruges were evacuated and, on June 2nd, the fortress of Oudenarde fell. The fortress of Antwerp surrendered on June 17th. Ostend, similarly a first-class fortress in high order, surrendered on July 6th, after a three-weeks' siege, on the counterscarp being stormed. After Antwerp the fortress of Menin, one of Vauban's masterpieces, fully equipped against a long siege, was taken in four weeks. Early in September another fortress, Dendermonde, specially safeguarded by an elaborate inundation system, fell to Marlborough, and, early in October, yet another fortress, Ath. Marlborough was about to besiege Mons and close his campaign with that capture when the Dutch Government begged him to hold his hand. It was November, too late in the year for campaigning, they urged, and their army was tired out. So Marlborough's work in 1706 ended.

All six regiments of the Scots Brigade were at the siege of Ostend where the Duke of Argyll, their brigadier, had the chief command. Borthwick's regiment, now commanded by Colonel Hepburn, and known by his name, was present at six sieges. Lauder's and Argyll's were at three, Lauder's regiment particularly distinguishing itself at the storming of the covered way at Menin, where Lauder's attacked side by side with the 18th Royal Irish.

The Duke of Argyll, on being appointed Colonel of The Cameronians in September 1706, vacated the command of the Scots Brigade, and also of his regiment in the Brigade. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment in February 1707 by the young Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the Duke of Atholl, a brilliant young soldier, and one of Marlborough's A.D.C.'s, who had served as a volunteer with Argyll's regiment in the trenches at the siege of Ostend. Argyll's regiment now became known as "Tullibardine's."

1707

In marked contrast to the year of Ramillies, there is little to record in regard to the doings of the Scots Brigade in 1707. It was for Marlborough

a year of foiled strategy and shattered hopes, abnormally bad weather hampering his movements, while, at the only opportunity afforded him of bringing the enemy to action, Marlborough experienced another disappointment and was baulked of an apparently certain victory by the veto of the Dutch "Field Deputies" at the critical moment. The action, had it taken place, would have been fought on August 4th, the anniversary of Blenheim, as Marlborough remarked in a letter; and further, by a coincidence, over the ground on which Wellington fought the Battle of Waterloo. The Scots Brigade was with Marlborough's advanced-guard troops on the occasion and exchanged shots with the French in a skirmish near Soignies.

1708

The year 1708 was the year of Oudenarde, and also the year of the great siege of Lille, at both of which regiments of the Scots Brigade took a prominent part. Marshal Vendôme, Villeroy's successor after Ramillies, and perhaps the ablest of the marshals of Louis XIV, was Marlborough's antagonist. He had not, however, a free hand, being associated with, as his nominal superior, the Duke of Burgundy, Louis XIV's grandson, heir to the throne of France.

The attempted French invasion of Scotland in March 1708, to assist the Pretender in deposing Queen Anne and recovering the throne, caused the campaign in the Netherlands to open considerably later than usual, not till late in May. The invasion project, however, proved a fiasco.

The expedition, after three months of preparation, started from Dunkirk behind time. Then, off the Firth of Forth, just as the British North Sea fleet came in sight, a sudden storm scattered and drove the expedition back to Dunkirk. The Scots Brigade was warned for service in Scotland but had not started, when, on March 22nd, intelligence was received in Holland of the failure of the French attempt.

For the campaign of 1708 Marlborough was to be joined by an Imperial force under Prince Eugene, who had come from Italy and when the campaign opened in May was in the Moselle valley near Coblenz.

Vendôme, at the head of 100,000 men, which gave him a numerical superiority over Marlborough of 20,000, moved first, advancing from Mons towards Soignies. Marlborough, with whom was the Scots Brigade, started from near Brussels and faced him at Hal, where the two armies remained in presence for a fortnight. Vendôme then, on June 1st, moved towards Louvain, on which Marlborough made a forced march and faced him at Parck, covering Louvain. Vendôme then, after halting for three weeks, went off on June 22nd into West Flanders to intercept Marlborough's line of communication with Ostend, the base connecting Marlborough with

England. Moving first rapidly north-west, Vendôme captured Ghent and Bruges, where the disaffected Dutch inhabitants opened the gates to him. Ghent citadel, garrisoned by a half-battalion of Temple's regiment (an English battalion disbanded at the peace in 1713), held out a few days and then had to surrender.

The capture of Ghent and Bruges gave Vendôme control of the main waterways of West Flanders and he moved on that to seize the fortress of Oudenarde on the Scheldt, held by a small Allied garrison. Oudenarde was a vitally important strategic point in Marlborough's line of communications with Ostend. To prevent Oudenarde falling, Marlborough, then at Assche, sent cavalry forward at once to get in touch with the French, while the rest of the army rapidly followed after. Marlborough had previously made arrangements to ensure rapidity of movement in an emergency. Eight days' supply of bread was carried with the columns: the baggage of the army was cut down to bare necessities.

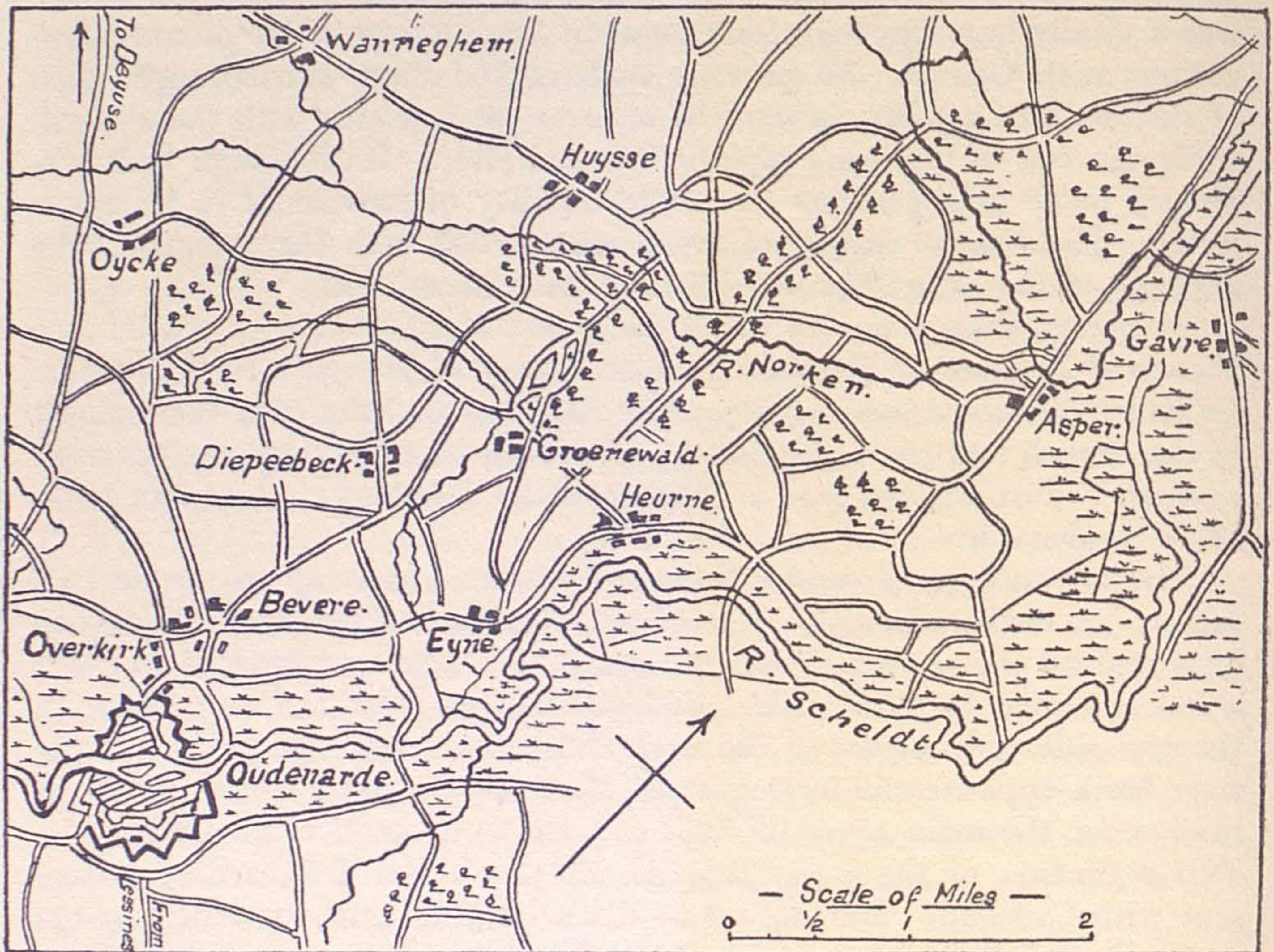
Marching sixty miles in thirty-six hours, Marlborough forestalled the French at Lessines on the river Dender, on the direct route to Oudenarde, for which Vendôme was making. The Allies crossed the river there ahead of the French and compelled the enemy, foiled on finding themselves anticipated, to turn off and seek a crossing of the Dender at Gavre, six miles below Oudenarde.

The advance-guard, under General Cadogan, made up to twelve battalions (six of them British), with fifteen squadrons of dragoons, thirty-two guns and all the pontoons with the army, was now sent forward to make a forced march to Oudenarde. Cadogan was to cross the Scheldt from the east side of the river to the west and to hold the high ground of the river bank opposite the fortress until Marlborough could come up, laying bridges for the main army to cross as soon as it could reach Oudenarde. Two regiments of the Scots Brigade, Colyear's and Tullibardine's, were sent with Cadogan. Starting off at dawn on July 11th, by half-past ten in the forenoon Cadogan had reached his destination, the banks of the Scheldt close to Oudenarde—about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the fortress down stream.

The pontoons were launched, and while the river was being bridged in readiness for the main army, which had started four hours after Cadogan, Cadogan's dragoons and part of his infantry pressed forward along the further (west) side of the Scheldt and up to the nearest high ground, which extended northward for between 2 and 3 miles as a ridge roughly parallel to the river. About 2,000 yards from where the pontoons were being laid was the village of Eyne, with, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile beyond, north and north-west, two other villages, Heurne and Groenewald. Eyne was on low ground near the river, Heurne and Groenewald on the plateau of the ridge, inland

from the river. In and round these three villages the work of the Scots Brigade regiments at Oudenarde mostly took place.

The French, on their side, had reached Gavre a little earlier and were crossing there, in more or less leisurely fashion, confident that they had outdistanced Marlborough. Some of their cavalry were reconnoitring and foraging up the valley of the Norken, a small stream to the west, on the far side of Groenewald, where the plateau fell away. Beyond the Norken



OUDENARDE.

valley again the French advance-guard, horse and foot, were slowly feeling their way forward along a second ridge. None of the enemy as yet were on the ridge overlooking the Scheldt.

Cadogan's cavalry, crossing the ridge, drove in the French foragers and then in turn forced back the leading infantry. That skirmish was the first news to the French that any of the Allied army were near. It startled Vendôme. He gave orders at once to form the line of battle along the ridge of high ground overlooking the Scheldt and extending to opposite Oudenarde, so as to prevent Marlborough from crossing. He guessed that

the Allied troops already on the ridge would be only a small advance-guard force, and to keep them off while his line was forming he sent seven battalions with some cavalry to hold Heurne. Vendôme reported what he had done to the Duke of Burgundy, who, in a bad temper that day—the Royal Duke for long had been on bad terms with the Marshal—in virtue of his nominal position as supreme Commander-in-Chief, promptly issued orders for Vendôme's arrangements to be stopped. The Duke directed another line of battle to be taken up, on the ridge on the far side beyond the Norken valley, two miles in rear of Vendôme's extended line. The new orders threw everything into confusion. Vendôme's original orders were in process of being carried out, and in the general mix-up that resulted, the seven battalions originally ordered to Heurne were forgotten. No other orders reached them: they marched on unsupported, and finally, mistaking one village for the other, halted and occupied Eyne. There they were completely isolated and had blundered into Cadogan's reach, within easy striking distance. It was by now two in the afternoon and Marlborough with the main army had arrived. Marlborough's regiments had reached the pontoon bridges and were crossing rapidly, on seeing which Cadogan at once launched an attack with all his force on the luckless seven battalions in Eyne, who were Swiss troops in the French service.

The fight was sharp and proved short and decisive. The cut-off battalions fought stubbornly at first but they had had no time to place Eyne in a state of defence. They were forcibly thrust out at the point of the bayonet, losing heavily in casualties. A pair of their Colours were taken by Hepburn's men of the Scots Brigade in the village street fighting. Four of the battalions were broken up and surrendered in and near the village as they tried to get away. The other three tried to escape out of Eyne towards the Norken and were cut off by Cadogan's cavalry, which had been sent round in rear of the village before the attack.

The disaster at Eyne was seen by the Duke of Burgundy. Apparently losing his self-possession at what he saw, he now hastily ordered his whole line to advance from its just-formed position on the high ground west of the Norken across the valley against the high ground opposite, which some of Marlborough's leading troops had nearly reached. Only the French centre and right, however, went forward; for some reason, accounts about which vary, the French left, of which Vendôme was in personal charge, did not move.

Cadogan's battalions, including Colyear's and Tullibardine's of the Scots Brigade, were pushed forward from Eyne to Groenewald to meet the attack of the French centre and to prevent the enemy from gaining

a footing on the open ground of the plateau there. "I had the honour," wrote the Marquis in a letter to his father, the Duke of Atholl, in Scotland, "to begin the attack on the left, being commanded with 500 grenadiers to take post on a very close ground and keep the enemy off till all the cavalry came up." This was about four in the afternoon, from which time onwards to between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, the village was securely held. The French attack in front of Groenewald lasted until the close of the action.

Anticipating that the brunt of the attack by the advancing French centre, as it reached the high ground in front of Groenewald, would first fall on Cadogan, Marlborough had detached the Duke of Argyll with twenty battalions to his support, with orders to extend Cadogan's line to the left. Argyll, with the greater part of Marlborough's infantry, was able to join Cadogan just before Groenewald was attacked. The new-comers lined the hedges beyond the village which fringed the edge of the plateau overlooking the Norken valley. Then some Brandenburgers came up and prolonged Argyll's line yet further to the left. They took post just as the French attacked with thirty battalions.

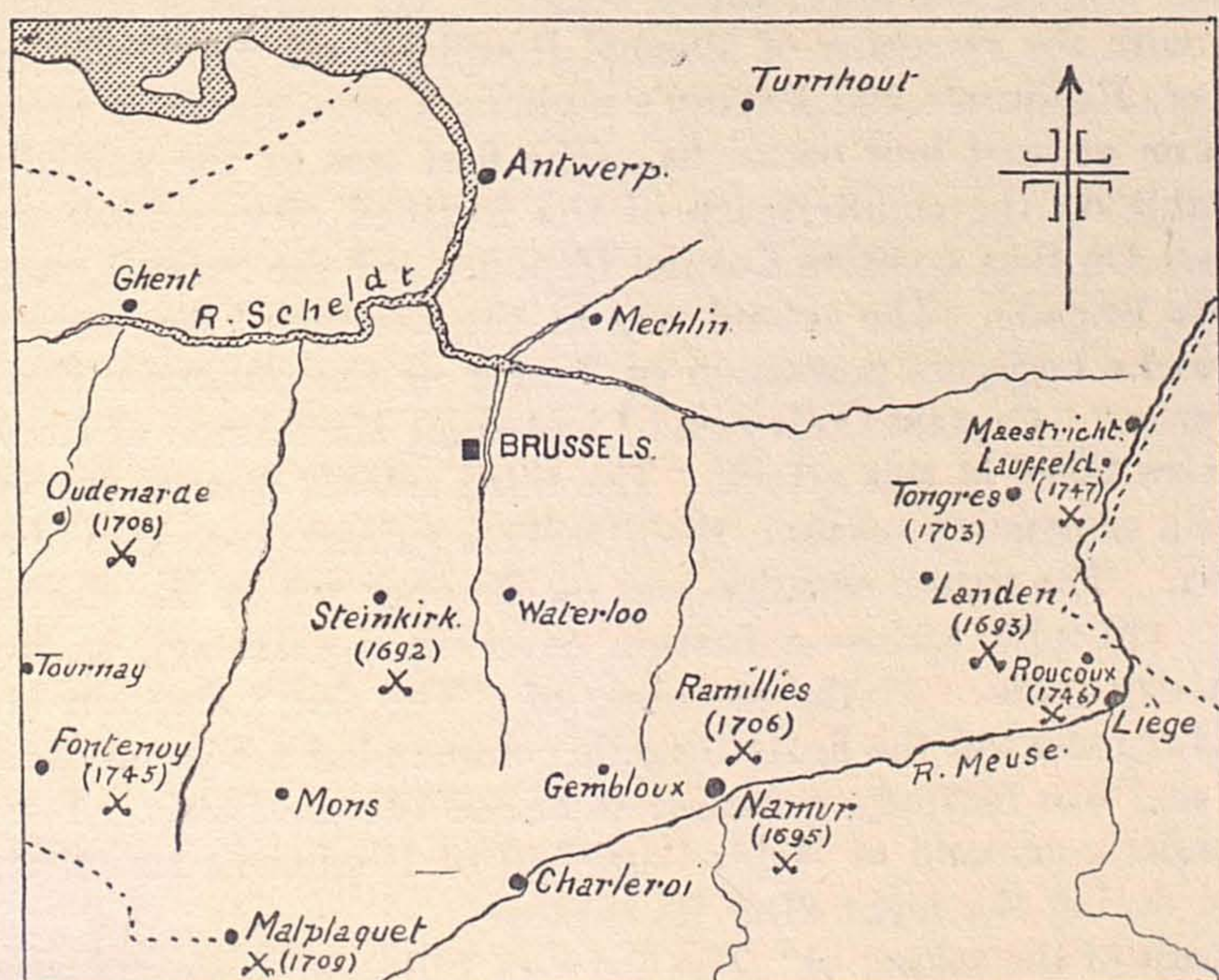
The fighting, as the French closed in front of Groenewald and all along in that quarter, was, as is described, hand to hand at close quarters everywhere, in places "duels between battalions." The French, with their superior numbers, at one time pushed round the flank of the Brandenburgers, until Marlborough reinforced the position with other Brandenburgers and some Hanoverians. Finally the enemy's attack was checked, the French being slowly forced back to cover in the enclosures on the hillside and in the valley below. They made a stand there until at nightfall the general advance all along the Allied line broke through.

"Small shot continued very brisk and smart on both sides with several severe assaults from about three in the afternoon till past nine at night," describes Sergeant Millner of the 18th Royal Irish, in Argyll's sector of the line adjoining Groenewald. Millner adds this of the final break through: "We drove the enemy from ditch to ditch, from hedge to hedge, out of one scrub and wood to another, in great hurry, disorder and confusion."

All through the evening, until the end came, there was hard fighting everywhere, the French right stubbornly resisting as well as the centre. It was not until after dusk that the French gave way. The end was brought about as the result of Marlborough's final turning move with fresh troops, his original rearguard force of Dutch cavalry and Danish infantry, who had crossed the river a short while before. Making a wide sweep round, concealed all the way behind the high, flat-topped ridge known as the Boser Couter plateau, to the north of which the action was

then proceeding, these outflanked the French right and attacked it in rear. Simultaneously, as has just been said, the final charge forward from Groenewald took place. The French centre and right now went to pieces.

The enemy's left, where Vendôme had remained in personal command, sulking, it would appear from various accounts, after his unpleasantness with the Duke of Burgundy early in the day, remained immobile almost to the end, as it were a refused wing, a state of things that enabled Marlborough to bring his whole available force against the French centre and right in the crisis of the battle. All that the French left did was, at the close of the action, to cover the retreat of the fugitive centre and right. Vendôme, recovering his temper now that the Duke of Burgundy had brought himself to hopeless grief, effected that successfully. The French made off to the north-west and took shelter behind the line of the Ghent-Bruges Canal. Marlborough's army after its past week of forced marches and the exertions of the hard-fought day under a broiling July sun, was in no condition to pursue, and rested in the neighbourhood of Oudenarde for the next two days. Its total casualties were exceptionally few: about 3,000 of all ranks, as compared with 9,000 (killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters on the following day) on the side of the French.



THE BATTLES OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE SCOTS BRIGADE AT THE SIEGE OF LILLE, 1708. AT THE SIEGE OF
TOURNAY, 1709. AT THE BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET, 1709. SIEGE
OPERATIONS OF 1710. LAST SERVICES IN THE WAR, 1711-1714.

1708

THE Scots Brigade next took part in the great siege of Lille, to which Marlborough turned his attention after Oudenarde. At Lille, behind the extremely formidable defences of the great fortress, the veteran Marshal Boufflers was in command with a large garrison.

Marlborough himself, with his main army camped near by, covered the operations. Prince Eugene had charge of the investing and bombarding force, as part of which the whole of the Scots Brigade seems to have served throughout. During the siege, which began in the middle of August 1708 and ended with the surrender of Marshal Boufflers and the citadel of Lille in December, Hepburn's and Murray's regiments were specially prominent in assaults on at least four occasions. The first was at the partially successful assault on the counterscarp of the fortified city *enceinte* on September 7th. On that occasion Colonel Hepburn led the massed grenadiers of the Scots Brigade. The second was at the assault of September 29th, which gave the besiegers possession of "most of the outworks that were of consequence." Captain Ogilvy and Lieutenant Mackinnon of Hepburn's regiment were killed in this attack. The third assault was on October 1st when, after a sanguinary combat, the attackers gained possession of all the counterscarp. The fourth occasion was on October 3rd at the storming of "The Cat" (Flemish *Katte*—a bastion covering a gateway), in front of one of the city gates. At the storming of "The Cat," Captain Mackay of Murray's regiment of the Scots Brigade commanded a column of massed grenadiers and was mortally wounded as he led the assailants. The Scots Brigade, under command of Major Campbell of Hepburn's regiment, held the bastion during the night after its capture.

As a result of the taking of "The Cat" of Lille, the besiegers were able to drain off the moat, exposing the base of the main wall to artillery fire, and by October 22nd a practicable breach in the main city wall had been

made. On that, while the final preparations for storming the breach were being arranged, the city surrendered. Boufflers with 7,000 men of the garrison then withdrew into the citadel on the western side of the fortress, to hold out to the last. He did his best until December 9th, when the unfortunate Marshal capitulated, for the second time in that war. After the capitulation of the citadel the Scots Brigade, with other regiments, formed the garrison of Lille. Marlborough, before sending the rest of the army into winter quarters, proceeded to regain Ghent and Bruges and minor places that had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the year.

1709

The year 1709 was the year of the Siege of Tournay and the Battle of Malplaquet, in which battle two regiments of the Scots Brigade were almost annihilated. Field operations did not begin until June, owing, for one thing, to the long-drawn-out series of negotiations for peace which Louis XIV initiated early in the year. The negotiations failed at the last owing to the exorbitant terms insisted on by the Allies. Other reasons for the delay were the terribly severe winter and very late spring, also, on the side of the enemy, the state of the French army, which had practically gone to pieces after Oudenarde.

Marshal Villars, the only French Marshal as yet unbeaten, was in command. He kept back from the first from taking the offensive. His force was France's last army, as he said, and he dared not take risks. At the opening of the campaign Villars took up his position along a formidably entrenched line of works extending from the Lys near St. Venant to the Scarpe near Douai, to which was given the name of the "Lines of La Bassée," from the place where Villars had his head-quarters. Marlborough at the same time concentrated to the south-east of Lille.

Well aware of his superiority over the enemy, Marlborough proposed to move to the right, and, capturing Ypres on the way, to gain the sea-coast and invade north-western France in co-operation with a British fleet. Prince Eugene, who remained with Marlborough during 1709, and the Dutch deputies, considered, however, that the scheme was rash and it had to be given up. Thereupon Marlborough altered his plans for a stroke to the east. Marshal Villars, alarmed at Marlborough's original concentration in front of his centre and left, had denuded all the French fortresses to the east of Douai of the best part of their garrisons in order to strengthen the force immediately under his command, including the garrison of the important fortress of Tournay on the Scheldt. Marlborough on learning of the weakened state of Tournay, the strategic position of which offered an opening for invading France on that side, decided to attack that fortress

at once. His siege train was brought by barges from Menin down the river Lys and up the Scheldt, and, on the arrival of the guns on July 3rd the bombardment of Tournay began. It lasted for three weeks, when the town surrendered, the garrison withdrawing to the citadel beyond the town walls on the south side.

The two Scots Brigade regiments of Hepburn and Tullibardine joined the field army before Tournay. Hepburn's, acting as guard to the siege train, came from Menin, Tullibardine's from Brussels, just before the move on Tournay. They were the only two corps in the Brigade up to full strength just then, owing to difficulties in recruiting in Scotland as a result of exceptionally energetic efforts then being made to fill the ranks of the Scottish regiments on the British establishment. Both were almost entirely made up of men from the Highlands, the Duke of Atholl in particular sending a contingent of clansmen to his son's regiment. Murray's and Hamilton's regiments were kept in garrison at Courtrai, although their colonels joined Marlborough as brigadiers with the Dutch contingent. Colyear's replaced Tullibardine's in garrison at Brussels.

The operations at the siege of the citadel of Tournay were mostly underground work, and consisted of as ferocious fighting as any that took place during the whole war. The French constructed a labyrinth of underground mine galleries for blowing up the besiegers' batteries. "There is not a foot of ground," wrote an officer, "that is not undermined." Said Marlborough: "The many mines we have to encounter obliges us to carry on all our operations by sap." "We fight," says a letter in a London newspaper from another officer, "in armour by lanthorn and candle, they disputing every inch of the galleries with us to hinder our finding out their great mines."

Marshal Villars, for his part, kept his army behind its entrenchments and made no effort to interfere with the siege, and in the result on September 3rd the citadel of Tournay surrendered.

Marlborough then proposed to advance to the south-east and take Mons. If there was time after that he intended to push into France past Villars and to turn his defensive position on that side before the campaigning season closed. A move of that nature, calculated Marlborough further, would compel the French to give battle in the open, and, as it actually did do, afford the Allies the opportunity of dealing a decisive blow to the French field army. The reduced state of the garrison of Mons, with most of its garrison withdrawn to join Villars' field army, as Marlborough knew, offered the prospect of only a short siege.

Marlborough acted promptly. Before the siege of Tournay citadel ended a large portion of the army was moved to positions in front of Villars'

entrenchments between Douai and Valenciennes, leaving just sufficient men to finish the siege. Then, on August 31st, four days before the citadel garrison surrendered, a force under the Earl of Orkney was pushed forward towards Mons to force the passage of the river Haine at St. Ghislain, six miles west of Mons. At four on the afternoon of September 3rd, on Tournay citadel surrendering, Marlborough sent off the Prince of Hesse-Cassel with another force after Orkney. Cadogan with the cavalry followed that evening, and at midnight Marlborough and Eugene with the main army, including Hepburn's and Tullibardine's Scots Brigade regiments, were marching on the route taken by Cadogan. Twenty-six battalions under General Withers were left to see to the evacuation of Tournay, with orders not to leave until Villars' troops had begun to move. Withers was then to do his best to overtake Marlborough.

Orkney, after marching by the north bank of the Haine in incessant rain on roads deep in mud, reached St. Ghislain to find the passage across the river too strongly held for him to force. Hesse-Cassel joined Orkney and then pressed on north of Mons, covered by a belt of woodland along the Haine, until Obourg, six miles east of the fortress, was reached. He crossed the Haine there, wheeled south-east and forcing back a weak force of French dragoons, holding the old fortified lines between Mons and Maubeuge on the Sambre, south of Mons, passed through the lines and halted. Marlborough and the main army following Hesse-Cassel crossed to the east of Mons and on September 7th invested the fortress.

Again Marshal Villars was faced by the unexpected. On hearing of Orkney's arrival at St. Ghislain he sent off thirty squadrons of dragoons to reinforce the small force holding the Mons—Maubeuge lines. They were, however, too late and fell back to Quievrain, a few miles east of Valenciennes, whither Villars himself had gone and where the Marshal was waiting for his infantry, who were marching their fastest, to come up.

In front of Villars now, between him and Mons, stretched at that time a belt of dense woodland several miles wide, traversed only by two gaps. One gap was to the north by Jemappes. It was called the Trouée de Boussu and was a short way from St. Ghislain. The other gap, the Trouée d'Aulnois, was some distance further south, in front of the village of Malplaquet. Villars, on his army coming up, at first feinted towards the northern gap. Then, at daybreak on September 9th, screened by the woods, he moved off rapidly to the Malplaquet gap. There he formed the French army up across the western end of the gap, taking post along a slight ridge, about two miles in extent, flanked on either side by woods into which Villars put troops.

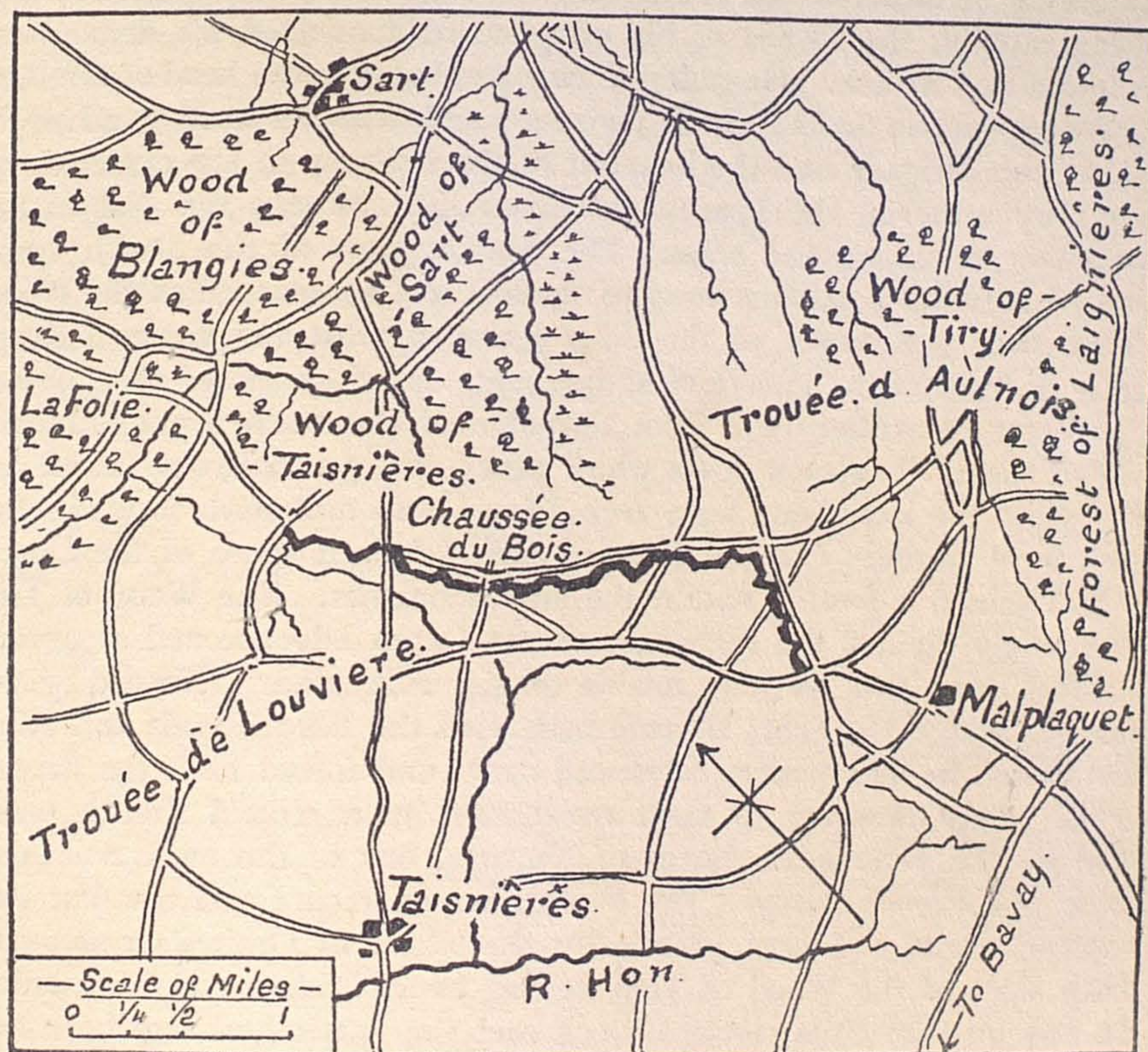
Marlborough, immediately on learning of Villars' arrival near Mal-

plaquet, left a small blockading force before Mons and moved with the main army to confront Villars. He halted at the eastern end of the Malplaquet gap on the afternoon of September 9th. Contact was gained during the forenoon, after a small preliminary cavalry skirmish and a short cannonade, but beyond that there was no fighting on the 9th. Marlborough's artillery had not yet come up, and he had no idea as to Villars' dispositions. Villars, on his side, was unwilling to risk the offensive and occupied himself with fortifying his position. It could only be attacked by direct frontal assault against which every effort was made to render the position impregnable. A triple line of entrenchments extended in front on the right, bristling with cannon, which were grouped at points. A line of nine redans barred approach across the open space in the centre. Within the woods along both sides of the space concealed field-works with abattis of felled trees were constructed. Along the edge of the woods, strongly held by infantry under cover of thick fringing brushwood undergrowth, were carefully concealed guns.

Marlborough, after an early morning reconnaissance, was strongly desirous of attacking on the 10th and proposed an immediate action before the French, who could be seen working strenuously on additional fortifications, should further strengthen their works. The Council of War, however, which he had to summon, objected. So the whole day was lost, a breathing space for the French which was turned to account in greatly increasing the defensive obstacles. Old Marshal Boufflers joined the French forces at the front during the 10th. He had arrived at Douai a day or two before and now came to serve in action under Villars as a volunteer, an act of fine patriotism, for Boufflers was ten years Villars' senior on the Marshals' list. Boufflers took charge of the French right.

The plan of battle decided on by Marlborough and Eugene was in outline this: to hold the French right by a feint attack and at the same time overwhelm the French left, posted in the woods of Sart and Taisnières which extended over that side of the battlefield, by a close infantry attack with superior numbers, supported by heavy artillery fire. Villars, it was calculated, would be compelled to withdraw troops from his centre, weakening it. The French centre, facing open ground without natural cover though defended by field works, was then to be attacked and broken through by an infantry assault, in combination with a massed onset by the cavalry of the Allies, which was ordered to exploit the success of the infantry, when they had broken through. The Dutch, under the Prince of Orange, thirty battalions (including Hepburn's and Tullibardine's regiments) were told off to form the holding force on Marlborough's left. Two strong divisions of Germans and Danes, under Generals Schulen-

berg and Lottum, numbering fifty-eight battalions aided by a massed battery of forty guns, constituted Marlborough's force on the right for attacking the French left. General Withers' twenty-six battalions, due to arrive from Tournay during the forenoon, were to co-operate by outflanking the French extreme left—an interposition that in due course proved of decisive effect. Fifteen British battalions, under Lord Orkney, com-



MALPLAQUET.

bined with practically the whole of the Allied cavalry, formed Marlborough's striking force against the French centre, and the final attack there drove in the French centre and brought about the victorious issue of the battle.

The Allied left, under the Prince of Orange, as arranged, was to demonstrate before the Wood of Lagnières, which flanked the gap of Malplaquet, half an hour after the right had gained a footing in the Wood of Sart. Orange's troops, whom Marlborough apparently intended to hold as a reserve, took up position ranged in two bodies of troops, each deployed in

four lines just beyond grape shot of the enemy. The two Scots Brigade regiments of Hepburn and Tullibardine were on the extreme left, nearest Lagnières wood, with next them the Dutch "Blue Guard," the *corps d'élite* of the Dutch army. Unfortunately the Prince of Orange became excited: he was to wait for orders until after the expiration of the first half-hour. No orders, however, came, and, apparently imagining from heavy firing he heard on the centre and left that the attack there was progressing rapidly, the Prince of his own accord converted his demonstration into a real attack. He galloped sword in hand to the head of the Blue Guards and the two Scots Brigade regiments and gave the word to advance.

The Scots Brigade had the heaviest of the fighting on the extreme left where they attacked the French extreme right. It was the first to become engaged among the trees. The greater part of the Dutch corps advanced between Lagnières wood to the left and a copse called the Wood of Tiry, near the centre of the open space, against the entrenchments directly in front of the village of Malplaquet. As they neared their objective a burst of artillery fire from the edge of the main wood suddenly enfiladed them. It struck down whole ranks, doing murderous execution. Then, while the battalions were trying to re-form and push forward, the French local reserves charged forward and dislodged those of the Dutch who had gained a footing within the entrenchments. The Wood of Tiry unfortunately divided the regiments of the Dutch advance and separated the attack into two portions, unable to aid each other. Headed by the Prince of Orange, the Scots Brigade men with the Blue Guards and other rallied Dutch in that quarter, advanced again and forced back the French reserves. Only however to meet overthrow by a second French onset headed by the veteran Regiment of Navarre, one of the most renowned corps in the French Army. The French attack recaptured the first line of entrenchments and sent practically the whole of Orange's command, on both sides of the Wood of Tiry, reeling back, broken and in disorder.

It was by that time eleven o'clock and the battle had raged for two hours. On the right Schulenberg's and Lottum's Germans and Danes, after a series of bayonet encounters in the Wood of Sart, were at length gaining ground.

Marlborough, who, in answer to an urgent message, had been called to the right, was hurriedly summoned away to the Prince of Orange. "He galloped back over the battlefield, a mile or so of open fields, and was appalled to see the havoc. Of the great force that had advanced an hour and a half before against Boufflers and the French right, fully a third was broken, and 2,000 or more lay dead upon the stubble and the coarse heath of that upland. The scattered corpses, strewn over half a mile of flight

from the French entrenchments, almost back to their original position, largely showed the severity of the blow."

The disaster to his left wing made Marlborough abruptly alter his plans and order Orkney and the centre to attack at once without waiting for the Wood of Sart to be cleared. The French centre, Marlborough rightly calculated, had already been seriously weakened by troops being drawn off to reinforce the French in the Wood of Sart. A remnant of Hepburn's and Tullibardine's men apparently attached themselves to Orkney's British battalions, who went forward, about one o'clock in the afternoon, to assault the French redans in front of the enemy's centre.

The attack succeeded at the first rush. The redans were carried and the massed cavalry of the Allies, hitherto waiting in rear, began passing through the captured earthworks and deploying in readiness to charge the French cavalry, who, in like manner up to then in rear of their own army, had pushed up to the rescue of their centre. The French cavalry charged the British while these were in the act of deploying. After a sharp sabre encounter they thrust our horsemen back, only, however, to be themselves stopped by Orkney's infantry, manning the captured earthworks. Marlborough himself, personally leading a fresh body of Allied cavalry, British and German, successfully charged the French cavalry before they could re-form. A second French charge was made, however, this time by the French Household Cavalry, which checked Marlborough's attack. Prince Eugene now brought up the last cavalry reserve of the Allies and the action in the centre ended, shortly after three o'clock, in a cavalry *mêlée* until both sides fell back and retired from the contest, exhausted by their exertions.

The action was over by then on the British right. Lottum and Schulenberg, after protracted fighting in the Wood of Sart, "from tree to tree," had at last thrust the French out. General Withers and his battalions finished the fight on that side. The French were re-forming in rear of the Wood of Sart to counter-attack Schulenberg and Lottum's men as they came out into the open, when Withers unexpectedly took them in flank, firing into them and charging them with the bayonet. The French left on that gave way and retreated out of action.

No pursuit was attempted by Marlborough. Not only were all exhausted by the very severe fighting but also the losses of the Allies, principally through the disaster to the left in the Prince of Orange's rash attack, had been enormous: 20,000 men out of 100,000 who went into action. The casualties of the French are stated at about 12,000, actually not many more than the total casualties of the ill-fated Dutch, which were estimated at over 10,000 of all ranks.

The two regiments of the Scots Brigade were almost annihilated at Malplaquet. In addition to the wholesale slaughter during the Prince of Orange's advance, they had lost many men among the survivors who took part in the later attack led by Orkney against the redans in the centre.

Colonel Hepburn was mortally wounded, shot in the head. His second in command, Major Campbell, next senior officer of Hepburn's regiment, was also mortally wounded. Four Captains and three Lieutenants were killed: two Lieutenants and two Ensigns were mortally wounded: three more Lieutenants were severely wounded: 80 per cent. of the rank and file were casualties. A junior Captain (Litested) with two Lieutenants and two Ensigns, were the only officers unwounded. They, with just 100 men, were all that remained after the final fight. The Colours of Hepburn's were several times nearly taken, those in charge of them being killed or disabled. They were, we are told, "borne by several men in turn."

The Colours of Tullibardine's were temporarily missing, after the fierce fighting among the brushwood scrub along the edge of the wood of Lagnières. They were recovered after the battle from under the dead bodies of those who last bore them. The Marquis of Tullibardine himself was killed in the second charge, led by the Prince of Orange. He had been wounded, shot through the thigh in the first charge, but, as Lord Orkney wrote to Tullibardine's father, the Duke of Atholl, "would not come off, which showed more than ordinary courage." Tullibardine's second in command, Lieut.-Colonel Charles Swinton, was killed, together with three Captains and "many other officers." The rank and number of these and their names are not stated. The regiment, as a whole, was, in Lord Orkney's words, "quite cut to pieces."

Three former Colonels of the Scots Brigade held brigade commands in the Dutch force at Malplaquet, Brigadier-Generals Colyear, Murray and Lauder. One was wounded, General Colyear; as usual with him in the actions in which he took part. He had been wounded at the head of his regiment at Steinkirk and Landen in King William's War: he had similarly been a casualty at Ramillies in the present war.

Colonel Hepburn died from his wounds three weeks after Malplaquet, on September 26th. He was succeeded by Colonel James Douglas, by whose name the regiment, in the usual way, was thenceforward known. Major Campbell, of Tullibardine's, who was nominated to the command of the regiment immediately after Malplaquet, was never able to take up his command. The wound he received in the battle incapacitated him and proved to be mortal and he died in the following November. Colonel James Woods succeeded to the command on Campbell's death, the regiment in due course becoming known by his name.

Douglas's and Woods's of the Scots Brigade, as with Dutch regiments that suffered heavily at Malplaquet, were withdrawn from the field and exchanged for Dutch garrison regiments. They took the places of these until fresh drafts of recruits arrived. The French made no serious effort to save Mons after Malplaquet. Marlborough's siege train arrived from Brussels in the third week of September, escorted by, among other troops, Colyear's regiment of the Scots Brigade, previously in garrison in Brussels, and after bombardment, on October 23rd, on the breach being reported practicable Mons capitulated. The surrender of Mons closed the campaign of 1709.

The regiments of Douglas and Woods remained quartered in Lille from after Malplaquet until the following July (1710). Both being by then again brought up to strength by a continuous supply of recruits from Scotland, they joined the main army in the field shortly after the close of the siege of Douai.

1710

The campaign of 1710 was practically confined to siege work, with little or no interference from the French. Marshal Villars, again at the head of the French army in Flanders, was too weak in numbers to venture another battle. Marlborough, for his part, turned to reduce what remained of the fortresses covering the French frontier, in order to clear the way for, as he intended, an invasion of France and march on Paris in 1711. The work was done without interference by the French army, which remained within its fortified lines. Douai was laid siege to on April 23rd and capitulated on June 26th. Bethune was invested on July 15th and taken six weeks later, on August 28th. St. Venant fell on September 29th after a fortnight's siege. Aire, the last of the fortresses besieged in 1710, surrendered on November 8th. Douglas's, Woods's and Hamilton's regiments of the Scots Brigade are mentioned as being in the trenches at the three last-named sieges, but no details of their service are on record.

1711-1714

None of the Scots Brigade regiments were in the field in the campaign of 1711, Marlborough's last year of active service, the year of Marlborough's great feat, the outmanœuvring of Marshal Villars by the piercing and capture of the famous "Ne plus ultra" lines. The Scots Brigade remained in garrison during 1712 and 1713, the regiments being divided between Douai, Courtrai, Menin and Liège.

The war ended in 1714 with the Treaty with France at Rastadt.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION. THE SCOTS BRIGADE AT THE BATTLE OF FONTENOY, 1745. IN GARRISON AT TOURNAY. RETURN TO ENGLAND DEMANDED FOR THE CAMPAIGN WHICH RESULTED IN CULLODEN. DUTCH TRICKERY FOILED. AT THE BATTLE OF ROUCOUX, 1746. AT THE BATTLE OF VAL, 1747. THE DEFENCE OF BERGEN-OP-ZOOM, 1747. HEROIC CONDUCT OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE. SAVING THE COLOURS OF THE GARRISON.

1715-1742

AFTER 1715, for the twenty-eight years of peace that followed, the Scots Brigade was allotted the special duty of garrisoning the so-called "Barrier Fortresses" along the Dutch southern frontier, allotted to Holland under the Treaty of Utrecht. These were Namur, commanding the passage of the Sambre and Meuse; Tournay, ensuring the navigation of the Scheldt; Menin and Ypres, with the fort of Knocke, protecting the line of the Lys; Furnes and Warneton; and half the fortress of Dendermonde, of which the Scots Brigade shared the charge with Austrian troops. The Southern Netherlands, hitherto the Spanish Netherlands, had been transferred from Spain to Austria, and thenceforward for a hundred years was known as the Austrian Netherlands. The fortresses of Breda, Bergen-op-Zoom and Bois-le-Duc were garrisoned by the Scots Brigade, conjointly with the handful of regulars that the Dutch kept in pay as their national army. Officers of Scottish nationality continued to hold commissions in the three regiments of the Brigade, but as difficulties arose at times in obtaining recruits from Scotland, a gradually increasing percentage of foreigners were brought into the battalions.

The military forces of Holland were not employed on active service until 1742. The War of the Austrian Succession broke out in 1740, but no Dutch troops took the field until nearly three years later. Holland was a party to the Pragmatic Sanction which guaranteed the succession to the Hereditary Dominions of the Hapsburg family of Austria to Maria Theresa, the Queen of Hungary, but when called on to fulfil their obligations in support of Maria Theresa's succession the Dutch Government hung back. The Elector of Bavaria disputed Maria Theresa's claim and in conjunction

with France and Prussia took up arms against her, but the Dutch would not stir until, at the end of 1742, under outside pressure they gave a reluctant and qualified consent to take part on behalf of the hard-pressed Queen.

1743-1744

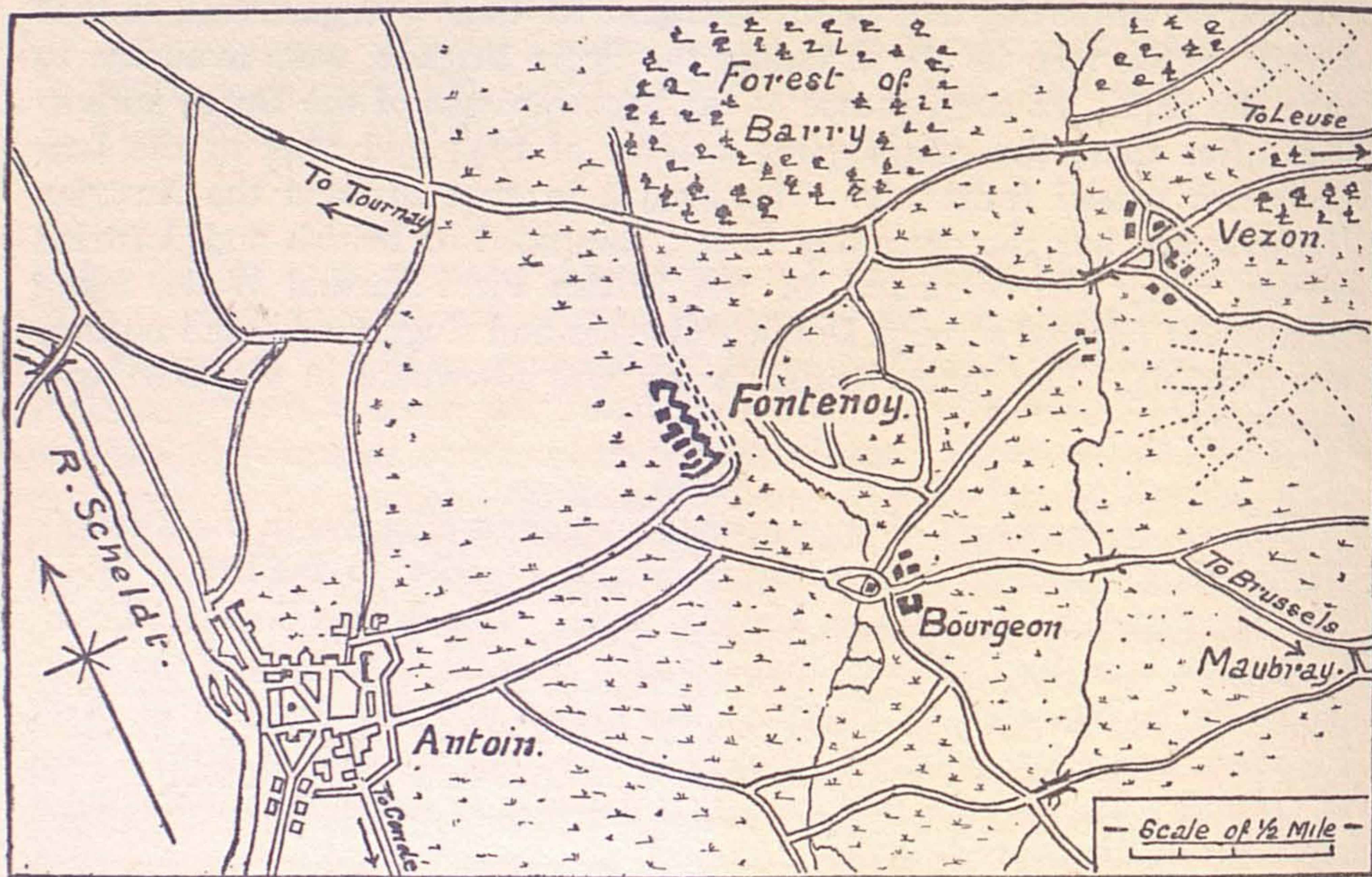
At the end of December 1742 the Dutch finally agreed to furnish a contingent of upwards of 40,000 men—who, except the Scots Brigade, proved practically useless. The Dutch national regiments existed at that time practically only on paper, and recruits had to be largely scraped together from the slums of Amsterdam and other cities. The Dutch then insisted on employing half their contingent for their own garrisons, so that barely 20,000 men in all, including the Scots Brigade, were available to take the field. In consequence of the backwardness of the Dutch authorities after that, the campaigning seasons of 1743 and 1744 in the Low Countries passed fruitlessly. The French in 1744 invaded the Austrian Netherlands, but the defending forces, composed of British and Austrian troops, under the command of the British Field-Marshal Wade, found themselves fettered through Dutch jealousies and sluggishness, and nothing was possible. The main British Army was elsewhere in the Dettingen campaign.

1745

France, in the spring of 1745, opened a vigorous offensive in the Austrian Netherlands, invading with an army greatly superior to the Allies, under the ablest general of the age, Marshal Saxe. The British Commander-in-Chief now was the Duke of Cumberland. Marshal Saxe opened the campaign by laying siege to Tournay, the most important fortress in West Flanders, and a key position covering routes from the British Army's base at Ostend. The fortress was held by a garrison of 8,000 men, including a regiment of the Scots Brigade.

Fontenoy was fought on May 11th 1745 to save Tournay. Two regiments of the Scots Brigade were present in the action and were involved as part of the Dutch division at Fontenoy in the lamentable failure of the division in the action. The Dutch, at Fontenoy, with some Austrians formed the left wing of the line of battle and were to open the attack by storming the village of Fontenoy. The village had been placed by the French in a complete state of defence and a picked force from the French regiments was posted to hold it. The outskirts bristled with guns, and redoubts close by added to the strength of the position, while, in addition, a French flanking battery of 16-pounders, posted across the Scheldt, enfiladed and swept the ground in front. All approach had to be made up long, open, glaxis-like slopes, bare of cover. The Dutch infantry, twelve bat-

talions in two lines, were at the outset drawn up in full view and within cannon range of the French and suffered casualties in consequence. Then orders to advance were given. "The sombre lines of the republican troops advanced: they were met with a murderous fire from the redoubts, from the battery on the left bank of the Scheldt, and from the troops and artillery stationed in Fontenoy. The battalions . . . were seen to lose their order, to hesitate, to pause, then to waver, and finally to retire and drift in confusion from the zone of fire." The flanking tempest of cannon shot from across the river was apparently the deciding factor in the *débâcle*.



FONTENoy.

The Duke of Cumberland, with the massed right-wing column of British and Hanoverians, then advanced against the French line. They in like manner had to face massed artillery and cross open and shot-swept ground. Without flinching however or halting the right wing pressed on. They beat down opposition with a continuous rolling fire, drove in the enemy with the bayonet at close quarters, and then charged three hundred yards deep into the French main camp. Decimated and breathless, they now halted and re-formed, expecting to see the Dutch on the left wing coming on. But the Dutch line made no move. The Prince of Waldeck, who was in command, attempted a second attack, but it broke down, and after that the Dutch

division refused to try again. It was out of the question for the Scots Brigade battalions to advance by themselves. Colonel Donald Mackay fell at Fontenoy at the head of his regiment. He was the grandson of the veteran Mackay, of King William's War, killed at Steinkirk, and had succeeded his father, Æneas Mackay, in the command. How the reckless, headlong, forlorn-hope Irish Brigade charge at Fontenoy finally decided the day is history.

Tournay surrendered within ten days as the immediate consequence of Fontenoy. Cumberland drew off his troops in good order after the action, thanks to the British rearguard infantry and cavalry, but in the face of Marshal Saxe's superiority of numbers he was reduced to the defensive. "Treachery and cowardice," in Cumberland's words, within the walls of Tournay settled the fate of the fortress. The Dutch Governor surrendered, although he had ammunition and stores to stand a siege for months. Most iniquitous of all, he signed terms of capitulation by which the troops under his command were debarred from taking part in any military operations for the next eighteen months—until January 1st 1747.

That order affected the Scots Brigade regiment in the garrison three months later. In August 1745 on the landing of the Young Pretender in Scotland, Cumberland was ordered to send several of his regiments back. The Duke objected to weaken his British force and the Scots Brigade, together with Dutch troops, all making up a contingent of 6,000 men, were directed by the Dutch Government to proceed to England. The Dutch Government, although at first they demurred to sending any troops at all, had to consent in virtue of a treaty which bound Holland to supply that number of men should the United Kingdom be invaded. They cunningly selected for the service the immobilized ex-garrison of Tournay, including the Scots Brigade regiment involved. In the result France promptly protested, pointing out that doing so was a violation of the terms of the capitulation at Tournay, and the whole contingent after landing at Gravesend was re-shipped and returned to Holland, to remain in cantonments in Friesland, outside the war area, until January 1747.

In September and October, as the result of the panic in England on the news of Cope's defeat at Prestonpans, the whole British force in the Netherlands except some cavalry units was withdrawn, and accompanied the Duke of Cumberland to the campaign in the Highlands which resulted six months later in the Battle of Culloden. The other Scots Brigade regiments meanwhile continued in Holland with what was left of the Dutch army. Forty per cent. of the national Dutch forces were by this time prisoners to the French, having been taken in various surrendered garrisons.

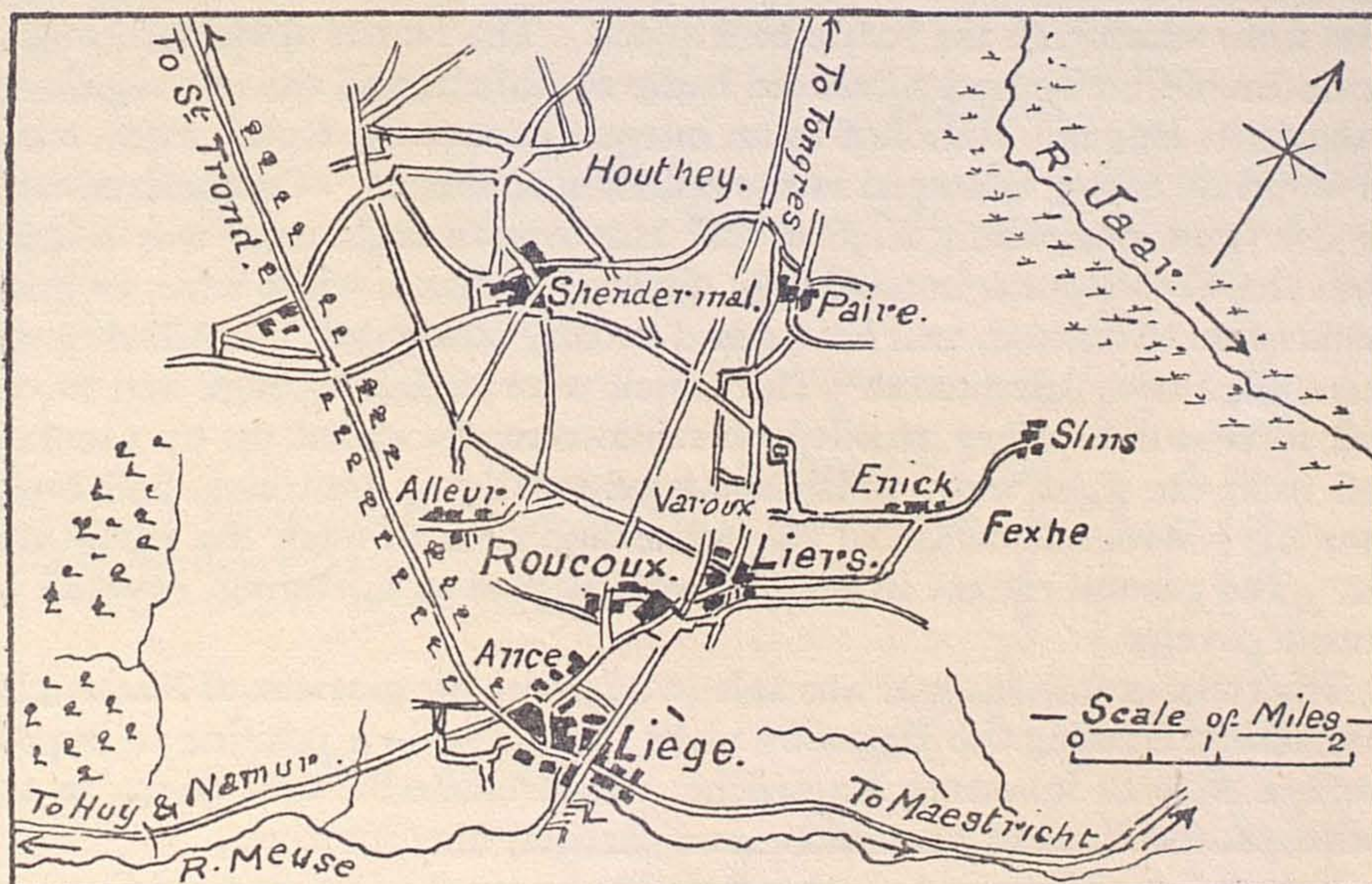
1746

The Scots Brigade received a new lease of life in 1746 under somewhat remarkable circumstances. The result of Culloden filled its ranks with excellent fighting material from among the Jacobite refugees and Highland clansmen who had been "out" in the rebellion. Enough of these escaped Cumberland's harrying operations after Culloden to make up two complete battalions of upwards of 1,000 men each. The two battalions were formed into a new regiment of the Scots Brigade, 2,000 strong, under command of Henry Douglas, Earl of Drumlanrig. It took the place for the war of the unfortunate Tournay garrison regiment, the men of which now had been sent into cantonments beyond the Zuyder Zee. The two other regiments of the Brigade, who had served at Fontenoy, were, with surplus Culloden refugees, brought up to full strength of two battalions per regiment, each of 1,000 men. The new enrolments enabled the Scots Brigade to reconstitute itself. The foreigners in the Scots Brigade regiments, entered as has been said during the preceding years of peace, were now weeded out by the Colonels and turned over to Dutch national battalions. The new Scots recruits had no objection to fighting for an ally of England. Exiles and in poverty, they put up with the wretched pay of Holland for the purpose of fighting the French, who, as they considered and said, had let "Prince Charlie" go to his ruin without rendering the promised active help. Thanks mainly to the stiffening of the Dutch field troops by the renovated Scots Brigade, 6,000 strong, the Dutch army on the battlefield at Roucoux (October 11th 1746), the one action of that year, was able to make the only satisfactory fight that it made during all the war.

In the Battle of Roucoux, which was fought to save Liège and Maestricht, the Scots Brigade showed that its old-time spirit was again alive. On that occasion the French under Marshal Saxe had 120,000 men against 80,000 of the Allies, and the Allies in consequence were on the defensive. They had taken up a position near the village of Roucoux, a mile from the outworks of Liège. "Marshal Saxe," describes Fortescue (Vol. II, p. 154), "opened the action by a furious assault upon the Dutch on the left flank, his infantry being formed in dense columns, so that the attack could be renewed continually by fresh troops. Simultaneously, fifty-five battalions in three similar columns were launched upon Liers, Varoux and Roucoux," the three villages on the right of the Dutch position, held by the British, Hanoverians and Hessians. "Outmatched though they were, Dutch, British and Germans all fought splendidly and repelled more than one attack." Two of the three villages were captured by the French but were retaken by a counter-attack. The line held all along till a general retirement was ordered and the whole force drew off, filing off wing by wing.

The Dutch on the left retired "in good order despite heavy losses," covered by the British cavalry, who covered the retirement of the whole army.

As to the steadiness of the Scots Brigade at Roucoux, an officer present mentions this incident of one of the battalions. They were on the extreme left of the Dutch flank at the beginning of the action. "Colonel Colyear's regiment, in which I served as an Ensign, was drawn up on a ridge of rising ground, the slope of which was to the rear, so that by retiring a few paces the cannon balls must have passed over their heads. But it was thought requisite that we should appear in full view of the French, who



Roucoux.

kept up an incessant fire of their artillery on us for more than two hours without ever advancing near enough to engage with small arms. The ardour of the soldiers to charge an enemy by whose fire they saw their comrades fall on every side may easily be conceived, but it was so much restrained by the authority of their officers that the whole brigade seemed immovable, except when the frequent breaches which the cannon made in the ranks required to be closed up."

1747

There were two historic events in the year 1747 in which the Scots Brigade bore a part. One was the Battle of Laffelt, or Lauffeld, fought on June 21st. The action is also known as the Battle of Val, the locally

abbreviated name of another village on the battlefield, Vlytingen, round which hard fighting centred. The second event was the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, at which an exploit of outstanding heroism was performed by two battalions of the Brigade in garrison, ever remembered and recalled with pride to the last day of the existence of the old Scots Brigade, and afterwards as long as any survivor of it lived.

Of the part taken by the Scots Brigade at Laffelt, where the Duke of Cumberland was in command, there is little on record. Two regiments were in the battle. The action was brought on to keep Marshal Saxe, as before with a greatly superior army, from attacking Maestricht, about three miles from which city the battle took place. The Dutch division, forming the centre of Cumberland's line, did badly at Laffelt, and the two regiments of the Scots Brigade, stationed as an integral part of the Dutch force, could not avoid becoming swamped in the resulting confusion. Cumberland with the left wing, comprising English and Hanoverian regiments, was bearing down the French force immediately opposed to them, when Saxe, to bring the advance to a stand, sent his massed cavalry straight at the Allied centre where the Dutch force stood. The Dutch were ridden through and forced back in disorder. They recoiled on reinforcements called up by Cumberland from the right wing, which consisted mostly of Austrians, and broke these up. With the centre of the Allied line cleft through the battle was lost. The general retreat in the end was effected in fair order, covered by British cavalry.

The Duke of Cumberland was able to reinforce the garrison of Maestricht, after which, crossing the Meuse by night, he halted in a position to impede Marshal Saxe in investing Maestricht. That opened a new phase in the campaign, for Marshal Saxe thereupon changed his objective.

Entrenching his main army between Tongres and Liège, to hold Cumberland in check, Saxe started off 30,000 men, under his second in command, Count Löwendahl, an exceptionally capable officer with brilliant service in seventeen campaigns to his credit, to make a forced march and lay siege to Bergen-op-Zoom. It was largely a political move. Negotiations for a general peace were being talked of, and the possession of Bergen-op-Zoom, a place of arms of European fame at that day considered as impregnable, would be for France a most important piece to play as a set-off when the game on the diplomatic chess-board began. The French siege train, which was on the way from Namur for the till then expected attack of Maestricht, was diverted on the march to Bergen-op-Zoom, where Löwendahl, with tiger-spring activity arrived and opened the trenches on July 14th, three days after the Battle of Laffelt. A second French force under Count d'Estrées was moved to cover Löwendahl's siege operations.

The fortress had a garrison of 10,500 men, among whom were included one of the regiments of the Scots Brigade, comprising two battalions, and commanded by Lord John Murray. With them a number of officers of the Black Watch, then quartered in South Beveland, were temporarily serving. The Governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, General Baron Cronstrom, a veteran Dutch officer, though eighty-five years old, and in ill health, gallantly did his best in the defence. For two months by constant sorties and an unremitting artillery fire from the ramparts, he successfully kept the besiegers at bay. The French repeatedly attempted to gain a lodg-



LAUFFELD.

ment in the outworks by escalade, but were each time repulsed. On one occasion, on July 25th, the attempt was made where the Scots Brigade were in charge. They beat back the assailants with heavy loss, reckoned at about 400 men, and following them up raided and wrecked the nearest trenches and "destroyed the Grand Battery."

The siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, it is stated, attracted widespread interest all over Europe: partly from the importance and reputation for impregnability of the fortress itself, partly, undoubtedly, by reason of the unexpectedly stubborn defence. "It is on record," says a note in Cannon's collection of Scots Brigade manuscripts in the War Office Library, "that an old lady whose family had derived an immense fortune in India sent the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom a thousand pounds in provisions and money

and promised to repeat the present every week the besieged kept the place." It was apparently possible for the gifts to get through to their destination, for throughout the siege a connection is stated to have been maintained with a Dutch entrenched camp at Rosendahl, 3 miles off, which was held by a strong force.

The unexpectedly long duration of the siege caused such surprise and impatience in France that in September a peremptory message was sent from Versailles to Marshal Saxe in these words: "Bergen-op-Zoom must be taken forthwith at all costs." Löwendahl by a surprise attack achieved the feat, the sudden catastrophe to the defence bringing about the magnificent exploit of the Scots Brigade.

Löwendahl decided to assault on September 13th, although the main defences of the fortress were still intact. A Dutch traitor in the garrison arranged at the same time to open one of the sally-ports to the French.

The hour selected was 4 a.m., and approaching silently in the dark the French escalading parties found themselves, after a sudden, short intensive bombardment at the last moment, within the *enceinte* with next to no opposition. The nearest gate was quickly opened and supporting troops pressed in. The surprise was complete. The Dutch pickets and sentries raised no alarm until the enemy were on them. The rest of the garrison was asleep in their beds until the shells began to fall. All of these except the two Scots Brigade battalions and one Dutch battalion, bolted from their parade grounds on falling in, and then opening the fortress gates on the further side from the assault, they made off for Rosendahl camp. The two battalions of the Scots Brigade assembled in the market-place and stood firm, as did the Dutch battalion, of whose further doings however we are not told. The Scots made desperate efforts to beat the French back, fighting successfully (as the *Hague Gazette* of a few days later records), from street to street for upwards of four hours. They gained ground by degrees even, until fresh enemy reinforcements pouring in forced them back with two-thirds of their numbers casualties. They rescued old General Cronstrom from his bed, and saved the Colours of the Dutch regiments of the garrison which had been lodged in the Governor's quarters. With these, and with their own Colours flying and drums beating, turning at bay from time to time, the Scots Brigade finally fought their way along the streets to the Steenborg Gate, after which gaining the open they eventually reached the Dutch entrenched camp at Rosendahl. The French, content on their side with the possession of the city and having suffered serious casualties at the hands of the Scots Brigade, did not attempt pursuit beyond the walls.

"The two battalions of the Scots Brigade," to use the words of the *Hague Gazette*, a translation of which was published in the London news-

*The University of Edinburgh.
By kind permission.*



GENERAL JOHN REID.

Colonel 88th The Connaught Rangers.

(In the uniform of The 88th Connaught Rangers.)

Served with The Scots Brigade at Bergen-op-Zoom, 1747—1748,
as Lieutenant, Loudoun's Highlanders.

papers a few days later, "have, as usual, done honour to their country, which is all we have to comfort us for the loss of such brave men, who from 1,450 are now reduced to 330, and those have valiantly brought their Colours with them, which their grenadiers recovered twice from the midst of the French at the point of the bayonet." Says another Dutch newspaper account: "Out of 600 men Colyear's have only 156 left. Marjoribanks has lost 15 officers and nearly all the men."

So many Scots Brigade officers fell at Bergen-op-Zoom, it is on record, that all the surviving ensigns forthwith were promoted direct to company commands. Purchase of commissions was not permitted in the Brigade.

Two young officers of the Scots Brigade fell into the hands of the enemy in the street fighting: Lieutenants Francis and Alan Maclean. They were taken before General Löwendahl, who, according to a contemporary account, said this to them: "Gentlemen, consider yourselves upon your parole. If all had conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now be master of Bergen-op-Zoom!"

The surprise, as has been said, took place at 4 a.m. The fortress was completely in French hands by 9 a.m. The taking of Bergen-op-Zoom gained for Löwendahl the bâton of a Marshal of France.

The Scots Brigade at Bergen-op-Zoom fought their last fight and fired their last shot.

1748

The war still continued throughout the first four months of 1748, but the Brigade had no opportunity of meeting the enemy. At the end of April preliminaries of peace were arranged and a six-months' armistice was agreed to, resulting in the following September in the signature of the definitive Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which terminated the War of the Austrian Succession. Thereupon ended the fighting days of the Scots Brigade.

The following is a list of the principal actions in which the Scots Brigade took part between 1572 and 1783: Reminant; Gembloux; Mechlin; Antwerp; Nieuport; Ostend; Breda; Bois-le-Duc; Maestricht (Calloo); Steinkirk; Landen; Namur; Ramillies; Oudenarde; Lille; Tournay; Malplaquet; Fontenoy; Roucoux; Val; Bergen-op-Zoom.

CHAPTER XL

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT REQUEST THE RETURN OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE TO ENGLAND ON THE OUTBREAK OF THE SEVEN YEARS WAR. THE RETURN OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE REQUESTED IN 1775 ON THE OUTBREAK OF THE AMERICAN WAR. THE BRIGADE DURING THE DUTCH WAR WITH ENGLAND, 1781. DECISION OF THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT TO CONVERT THE SCOTS BRIGADE INTO A DUTCH FORCE. RESIGNATION OF OFFICERS FROM THE DUTCH SERVICE AND RETURN TO ENGLAND. PLACED ON BRITISH HALF-PAY. BRITISH DEMAND FOR RESTORATION OF THE COLOURS. THE SCOTS BRIGADE RESTORED AS "THE SCOTCH BRIGADE."

GREAT BRITAIN was engaged in two wars, The Seven Years War and The American War, during the thirty-four years after 1748 in which the Scots Brigade continued in the service of Holland, and in that period several applications were made to the Dutch Government for the return of the Scots Brigade, as forming part of the British Army. Each time, however, to the expressed dissatisfaction of the officers of the Brigade, the request was refused, or else unsatisfactory conditions for compliance were stipulated for.

1755-1759

In 1755, when the Seven Years War was on the eve of breaking out, the British Government proposed to recall one of the two battalions of which each of the three regiments of the Scots Brigade was composed, leaving the three second battalions in Holland. The widowed Princess of Orange, George II's eldest daughter, objected on that occasion and prevailed on her father to have the demand withdrawn, pleading that the Brigade, whose fidelity to the House of Orange was proverbial, was her main support for safeguarding the interests of her young son, the hereditary Stadtholder, against the plottings of the powerful anti-Orange and republican faction in Holland.

The officers, deeply hurt at seeing Hanoverians and Hessian mercenaries imported into England in their own rightful place, in vain petitioned the King to recall the Brigade. In 1756 and 1759, the two years when a French invasion of England was seriously threatened, the Scots Brigade, both

officers and men, again petitioned the British Government to recall them, but with the same result. The Dutch Government this time refused the applications that the British Government then made in response to the Brigade petitions, alleging that they could not spare any of the Scots Brigade regiments, as their own military establishment was below strength.

1763

In 1763, at the close of the Seven Years War, the officers petitioned to be recalled to Great Britain and removed altogether from the service of Holland "on account of indifferent usage" by the Dutch authorities, and difficulties with the foreigners, "Hollanders and high Dutchers," who were then being brought into the ranks of the Brigade. Recruiting in Scotland for the Scots Brigade had been stopped since 1757, so as not to interfere with the raising of Highland regiments which Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was then forming. After the war, also, the British authorities declined for one reason and another to permit the Scots Brigade to resume recruiting in Scotland. The officers, however, continued to be drawn mainly from Scottish families connected by old tradition of service with the Scots Brigade. They had to take an oath of allegiance to King George, either in London or in Edinburgh, on taking up their commissions.

1775-1779

When in 1775 trouble broke out with the American colonists, the British Government, citing the ancient treaty which required Holland to return the Brigade on demand in time of war, applied to Holland to send over the Scots Brigade, undertaking that it would be returned at the peace, when also recruiting in Scotland would again be permitted. Hanoverian regiments were offered in their place meanwhile. The Dutch, however, whose sympathies were strongly on the side of the Americans, made stipulations to which the British Government could not assent. They put forward conditions to the effect that the Brigade, either as a whole or in part, was not to serve outside Great Britain or at Gibraltar, with other provisos couched in rigid and almost insulting terms, and in the result the request was formally withdrawn.

Bitterly disappointed at not being recalled to fight for their country, the officers of the Scots Brigade in 1778, when France joined the American colonists against Great Britain, and also in 1779, when Spain in addition became an enemy, once again petitioned the British Government to recall them for active service. They laid stress on the fact that the Brigade belonged to the British Crown and that the regiments were legally at their Sovereign's disposal. Once more, however, they met with a rebuff. The

reply from Whitehall was that in the semi-hostile temper of the Dutch Government it would not be discreet to insist on their return.

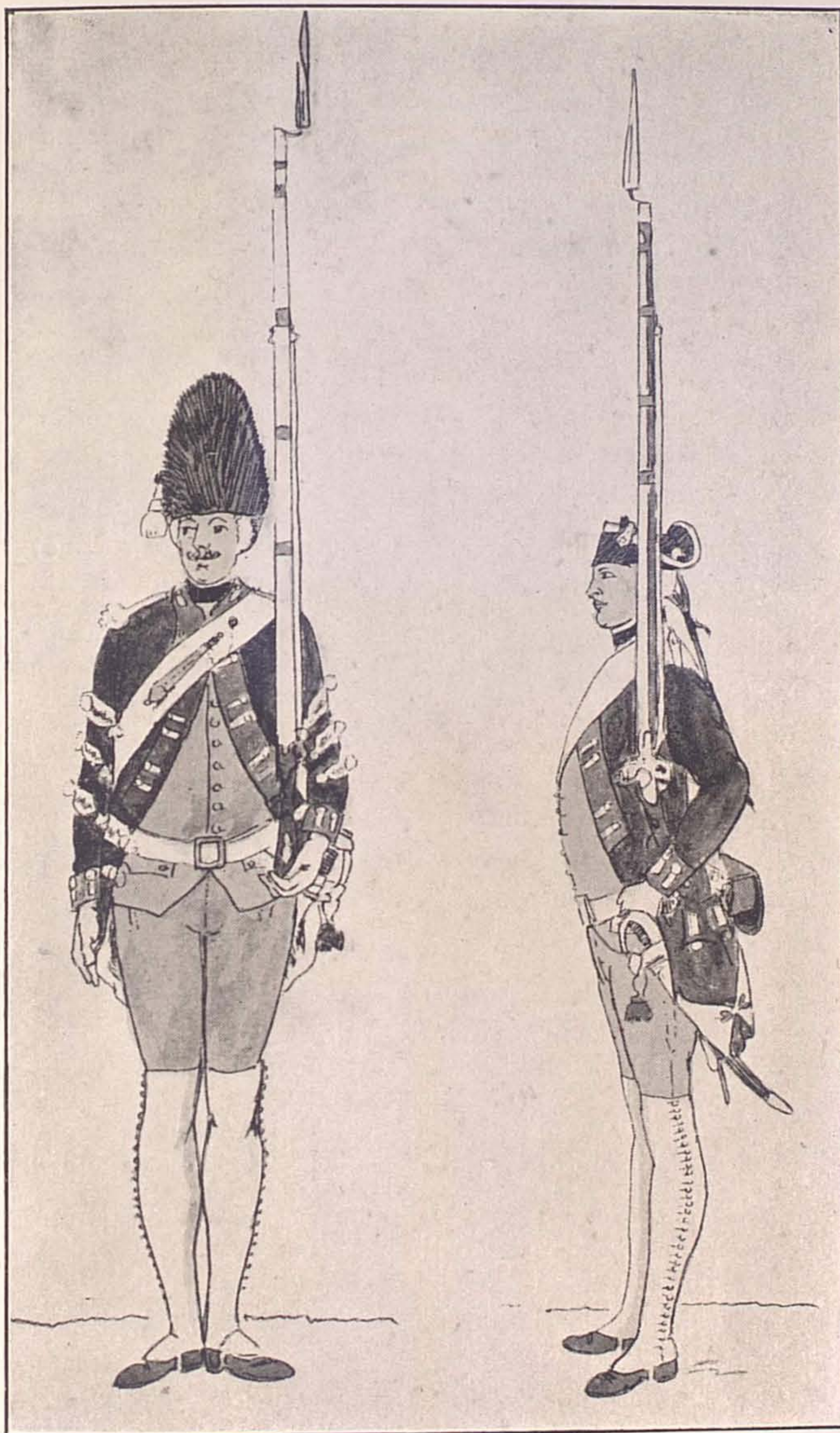
1781

When, in January 1781, Holland joined the hostile combination against Great Britain headed by Russia, as one of the "Armed Neutrality" Powers, and England had to declare war against the Dutch, yet another appeal was made by the officers of the Scots Brigade, only however to be replied to with sympathetic words and a statement that now nothing could be done. In the outcome, during the war the Scots Brigade regiments were practically interned by the Dutch Government, being removed to do garrison duty in the Meuse fortresses on the eastern frontier of Holland under a species of detentive supervision.

1782-1793

In November 1782, the Dutch Government, at the close of the war, turned against the Scots Brigade. They determined to make an end of it and entirely to destroy its connection with Great Britain. On November 18th 1782, the States-General adopted a resolution that the officers of the Brigade must forthwith either take an oath abjuring their allegiance to the British Crown or forfeit their commissions and quit the service of Holland. The historic red uniform of the Brigade was ordered to be discarded for Dutch blue coats; orange-coloured sashes were to be taken into wear; the Royal Arms of Great Britain were to be erased from the regimental appointments and accoutrements. The historic Colours of the Scots Brigade, ensigned with the St. Andrew's Cross, were ordered to be permanently laid aside and Colours bearing the Dutch Arms only to be substituted. The words of command were in future to be given in Dutch, instead of, as heretofore, in English. The two-centuries'-old "Scots Duty" was to cease to be beaten and the "Dutch March" adopted in its place.

The officers were given six weeks in which to make up their minds whether they would quit the service or become "Hollandized." January 1st 1783 was officially designated as the date on which the three regiments were to terminate their British connection and be incorporated as units of the Dutch national army. Declaring that their allegiance was due only to the British throne, the officers appealed to King George, forwarding a copy of the resolution of the Dutch States-General and asking what they should do. The reply was sent on December 20th by Lord Grantham, a Secretary of State. It was a non-committal answer, leaving the officers practically to make their own arrangements. "His Majesty," said Lord Grantham, "was thoroughly sensible of the loyalty manifested towards his



Grenadier.

Sentinel.

SOLDIERS OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE.

1777.

Royal person and Government," and also recognized that many of the officers were "by long service, by connexions and endearing ties unavoidably attached to the State under which they had long served." Those who should return to Great Britain would, because of "His Majesty's paternal regard" for them, be "received into his gracious protection," while those who continued, for the reasons given, to reside in Holland, should not be "under the apprehension of having forfeited his regard for them."

In the result sixty-one officers, headed by the Lieut.-Colonels of the three regiments, George Cunninghame, Frederick Halkett and Ilay Ferrier, at once resigned their Dutch commissions and came over to England, where they were presented to the King at the next *levée* after their arrival. Their offer to serve, it was notified to them by Lord Conway, the Commander-in-Chief, would be accepted, but within a few weeks the war ended, and after that all that was done was to place the officers, by means of a special Act of Parliament, on the half-pay list of the British Army according to the rank they had held in the Scots Brigade.

The titular Colonels of the three regiments, Houston, Stewart and Dundas, who held rank as Lieut.-Generals in the Dutch Army and were elderly men, remained in Holland and were retained on Dutch full pay for life. The Dutch Government exempted them, "as a reward for meritorious services, from abjuring their allegiance to the British Sovereign and subscribing to the new Dutch oath of allegiance."*

To recover their Colours, which had been laid up in the arsenal at Delft, was a matter of special importance to the officers of the Scots Brigade, and they immediately on taking up residence in Great Britain urged on the War Office to take steps to have them returned to Great Britain. Lieut.-Colonel Cunninghame was thereupon, by instructions from King George himself, sent to The Hague, to receive the Colours on their being handed over, about which no difficulty was expected. The Dutch Government, however, would not come to a decision and a protracted diplomatic correspondence ensued, Lieut.-Colonel Cunninghame being kept waiting meanwhile at The Hague. During the negotiations the States-General, apparently fearing that the

* The regiments in the Scots Brigade that they commanded, though henceforward Dutch line regiments, were, it was ordered in 1783, to be known by their old colonels' names as long as the three officers lived. Houston's regiment continued to be so known until 1788, when, on the General's death, it took a Dutch name, from its new Dutch colonel (Nyvenheim). Stewart's similarly took a Dutch colonel's name in 1795, on the death of General Stewart. Houston's changed its name to Bentinck's in 1789, on the death of its old colonel. All three were attached to the French army when France, after the Revolution, annexed Holland, and all fought against British troops in the Duke of York's campaign of 1794, of which mention is made in Vol. I, dealing with the services of the 1st Battalion, The Connaught Rangers. On Napoleon incorporating Holland into the French Empire in 1810, the three regiments became the 124th, 125th and 126th of the French line, and all three perished in the disastrous Retreat from Moscow.

Colours might be surreptitiously taken possession of and removed to England, had them brought under guard to The Hague and placed in special custody there, "in the Magazine of the Generality." The Dutch Government then, in February 1784, notified that they were "not inclined to employ Mr. Cunninghame, late Lieut.-Colonel in the States' service." They would "take the necessary measures for sending the Colours to England in a decent and suitable manner." They did not do so, however, and the British Government, for one reason or another, gave up persevering in the demand.

The senior officers of the Scots Brigade in Great Britain did not, however, give up. In 1792, when war with the French Revolution begun to appear probable and the French threatened to invade Holland, they petitioned the King requesting to have their Colours recovered. The memorial that they presented prayed that "these Royal British Colours, in the preservation of which so many lives were lost may no longer remain in the arsenal of Holland but may be demanded in your Majesty's name as they were in 1783." Nothing however seems to have been done by the authorities this time and the Colours of the Scots Brigade remained in Dutch hands until 1885. In that year, through the good offices of Lord Reay, the head of the Clan Mackay, they were brought to Scotland and are now befittingly laid up for ever in St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh.

Three efforts were made to reconstitute the Scots Brigade during the ten years of peace between the close of the American War in 1783 and the outbreak of the great war with the French Revolution in 1793. In 1787, when for a few weeks a new war with France seemed probable, over a question of armed intervention in Holland, the officers of the Scots Brigade in Great Britain were arranging to offer their services in the re-forming of the Brigade, but the crisis passed off without war. An independent offer was made at the same time, as it happened, by an ex-officer, a Captain Balfour Wemyss, to raise a new Scots Brigade in Holland at his own expense, but owing to objection by the British Ambassador at The Hague the scheme came to nothing. In 1790, when Great Britain was arming for an expected war with Spain, the former officers of the Scots Brigade petitioned for leave to re-form the Brigade, but, as the Spanish Government conceded the demands of Great Britain, the war preparations ceased. In 1791, when for a short time a war with Russia threatened, the Scots Brigade officers repeated their offer. They again made it in 1792 on a war with the French Revolution becoming probable. "We pray," ran the words of the petition asking King George to re-form the old Scots Brigade, "that when your Majesty shall think proper to augment your Land Forces by additional battalions, the distinguished actions of the Scotch (*sic*) Brigade in maintaining the

Military Glory of the Nation may not be lost, but may serve to animate the same regiments revived."

The petition was complied with just a twelvemonth later, when the war with France broke out and the historic Scots Brigade was ordered to be "re-established" under the designation of "The Scotch Brigade."

The historic Colours of The Scots Brigade, now in St. Giles's, are understood to be the standards borne by the battalion in the heroic fight at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747, which were held in special honour by the Brigade to the last.

The dedication and laying-up service took place on March 25th 1885, in the presence of Lord President Ingles and a large and representative congregation of the civic authorities of Edinburgh and many military officers of rank. The Guard of Honour was provided by the Royal Scots, then in garrison in the Castle, who lined the nave with a party of Dragoons from Piershill Barracks. The band of the Royal Scots played during the ceremony. They had been entrusted to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh by Lord Reay for the occasion, owing to Lord Reay's absence in India. At the service the Lord Provost handed them over to Major-General Alastair Macdonald, Commanding the Forces in Scotland, who formally presented them at the entrance of the Choir to the Dean, the Rev. Dr. Cameron Lees. The Cathedral dignitaries and clergy then moved in procession to the Holy Table, on which the Colours were laid. Dr. Lees then delivered an address accepting the Colours, which he declared would be ever treasured in honoured memory of the Scots Brigade. (See illustration facing page 1.)

CHAPTER XLI

ORDER FOR THE REVIVAL OF THE SCOTS BRIGADE AS THE SCOTCH BRIGADE, 1793. LETTER OF SERVICE TO THE COMMANDING OFFICERS. APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS. RECORD OF THE THREE COMMANDING OFFICERS. RECRUITING AND FORMATION OF THE BATTALIONS. LIST OF OFFICERS FIRST GAZETTED, 1794. THE BROTHER OF THE SECRETARY AT WAR APPOINTED COLONEL-IN-CHIEF OF THE SCOTCH BRIGADE. THE FOUR BATTALIONS REORGANIZED AS TWO, 1795. COLOURS PRESENTED IN EDINBURGH. ORDERED TO GIBRALTAR. THE TWO BATTALIONS AMALGAMATED IN ONE BATTALION, 1796.

1793

“**H**IS Majesty has been pleased to revive the Scots Brigade, lately in the service of the States-General of the United Provinces which is forthwith to be levied in North Britain.” In those words ran the preliminary official notification, issued in June 1793, which brought the 94th of Wellington’s Indian campaigns and the Peninsular War into existence. It was followed by the announcement in *The London Gazette* of July 5th of the names of the officers appointed to command the three battalions of which the Brigade was to be composed. They were Lieut.-Colonels George Cunninghame, Frederick Halkett, and Ilay Ferrier. Each had held command of a battalion in the Scots Brigade in Holland at the time of the break-up in 1782, and the three were the seniors, in that order, of the officers who had then quitted the Dutch service.

The Letter of Service addressed to each of the three officers was worded as follows :

“SIR,—

“I am commanded to acquaint you that His Majesty approves of your raising a regiment of Foot upon the following terms : viz. the corps shall consist of one company of grenadiers and six battalion companies. The grenadier company to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, two fifers, and 57 private men ; each battalion company to consist of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and 57 private men, with the usual staff officers and with

a sergeant-major and quarter-master sergeant exclusive of the sergeants above specified. The regiment is to be under your command as Lieut.-Col., with a company and to have one major, having also a company. The Captain-Lieutenant is, as usual, included in the number of lieutenants above mentioned. The pay of officers is to commence from the dates of their commissions, the pay of the non-commissioned officers and private men from the dates of their respective attestations. Five guineas levy-money will be allowed for each approved recruit. You will transmit to Lord Amherst, in order to be laid before the King, a list of the officers whom you may think proper to recommend for commissions in your regiment. They must be taken from the half-pay of the late Scotch Brigade, if there should be a sufficient number for that purpose: if not they are to be taken from the half-pay of the army at large. The field-officers and captains are to serve in the regimental rank which they severally hold in the Scotch Brigade, and cannot be allowed any brevet-rank whatever in this country. In all respects of pay, clothing, arms and accoutrements, and allowances for bread and necessaries the corps is to be on the same footing as His Majesty's other marching-regiments of infantry. The Beating to authorize this levy, being made out in the usual form, allows the recruiting to be carried on in any part of Great Britain. It is meant notwithstanding to be confined to Scotland. No man is to be enlisted above 35 years of age, nor under five foot four inches high. Well-made, growing lads, between 16 and 18 years of age, may be taken at five feet three inches. The recruits are to be engaged without limitation as to period of service. The non-commissioned officers and privates are to be inspected by a general officer, who will reject all such as are unfit for service, or not enlisted in conformity with the terms of this letter. It has not been thought necessary to prescribe any particular time for the completion of your corps, His Majesty not doubting but that the officers who are engaged in this levy will exert themselves to render it complete and efficacious as soon as possible. In the execution of this service I take leave to assure you of every assistance which my office can afford.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"(Sgd.) GEORGE YOUNG."

The *Gazette* of July 5th also announced the names of the majors, second in command, of the three battalions, two of whom, Major John Stedman of Halkett's battalion, and Major John Lind of Ferrier's, had held identical rank and position in 1782 in the Scots Brigade in Holland. Subsequent gazettes, in July, notified the names of most of the other officers of the three battalions. Eight former Scots Brigade officers, captains and subalterns, received commissions in the new First Battalion of the Scotch Brigade

(Cunninghame's) ; ten in the new Second Battalion (Halkett's), including, as adjutant, Lieutenant Robert Kennedy, who had been adjutant to Lieut.-Colonel Halkett's battalion in Holland ; and six in the new Third Battalion (Ferrier's).

A letter from the Commander-in-Chief to one of the re-appointed Scots Brigade Officers is extant. It is addressed to " Lt. John Turnbull, of the Scotch Brigade late in the Dutch Service," and runs as follows :

" SIR,—

" The King having been graciously pleased to appoint you from the half-pay to a Lieutenancy in Lieut.-Colonel Commandant Halkett's Battalion of the Scotch Brigade, lately in the service of the States-General of the United Provinces, which Brigade it is His Majesty's intention shall be forthwith levied in North Britain, I have to desire you will be pleased to signify to me, without delay, for the King's information, whether such appointment will be agreeable to you, that otherwise, I may lose no time in recommending to His Majesty another officer in your room.

" I am, Sir, your most Obedient Humble Servant,

" (Sgd.) AMHERST.

" Lt. John Turnbull."

The designation " Scotch Brigade," in place of the original and more correct designation " Scots Brigade," was officially adopted from the first and continued throughout the career of the corps, being furthermore constantly used by the officers after the corps had become the 94th.

Of the three commanding officers, Lieut.-Colonel George Cunninghame was the oldest and senior in rank. He was born in 1730, the son of a Lieut.-Colonel Commandant of a battalion of the Scots Brigade, who, as a junior officer, had seen service under Marlborough. Promoted Captain in 1748, Major in 1771, and Lieut.-Colonel in 1775, he had, between then and 1778, in addition to commanding a battalion in the Brigade, held the special appointment of Member of the " Grand Council of War " at The Hague. He was on leave in Scotland in November 1782 when the order " Hollandizing " the Brigade was issued and had sent in his resignation and quitted the Dutch service with the other officers. In virtue of his former position on the " Grand Council," and being the senior officer of those who left the Brigade, Lieut.-Colonel Cunninghame had been, as has been said, selected by the British Government to proceed to Holland and receive the Scots Brigade Colours, on their being returned as a matter of right to Great Britain. It was not anticipated that the Dutch would raise any objection.

Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Halkett, the second senior of the three lieu-

tenant-colonels appointed to the Scotch Brigade in 1793, had been Captain in the Scots Brigade since 1750, Major since 1774, and Lieut.-Colonel since 1777. His family had been connected with the Brigade from its very beginning, more than two centuries before, and its members had served with distinction. An early ancestor, his great-grandfather, as a Colonel, had fallen in action at the Siege of Bois-le-Duc in 1628 : his grandfather, Major Edward Halkett, had been mortally wounded under Marlborough at Ramillies. Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Halkett himself had been specially summoned back to Holland, after quitting the service in 1782, to advise the "Grand Council of the States" on matters connected with the Dutch reconstruction of the Brigade. Out of regard to the interests of brother officers, who were remaining in Holland on account of family ties, Lieut.-Colonel Halkett continued some time at The Hague, but he declined to accept a high command then offered him and had returned to live in Edinburgh, where he was resident in July 1793.

Lieut.-Colonel Ilay Ferrier, of an ancient Scottish family, the Ferriers of Belsyde, the junior of the three Lieut.-Colonels of the Scotch Brigade of 1793, had joined the Scots Brigade in Holland as Ensign in 1764. Promoted Captain in 1772, and Major in 1776, he had become Lieut.-Colonel commanding a battalion not very long before the break-up of 1782, immediately after which he quitted the Dutch service and returned home to Scotland.

The three battalions of the Scotch Brigade began recruiting in October 1793. Their head-quarters and depôts were established, the First Battalion, Lieut.-Colonel Cunninghame's, at Irvine in the west of Scotland ; the Second Battalion, Lieut.-Colonel Halkett's, at Dunfermline, north of the Firth of Forth ; the Third Battalion, Lieut.-Colonel Ferrier's, at Linlithgow on the south side of the Forth. There seems to be no record extant of the early days of the First and Second Battalions. In regard to the Third Battalion various references are made in Scottish newspapers of 1793. "Colonel Ferrier," says a paragraph in the *Edinburgh Courant* of October 19th, "arrived in Edinburgh from London yesterday and proceeded to Linlithgow where he has established his head-quarters." Another paragraph in the same newspaper a few days later, says this : "Yesterday Colonel Ferrier inspected the first division of his regiment, one hundred fine lads who had a hogshead of porter to drink his Majesty's health : the Officers and Magistrates spent the evening at the Colonel's quarters and again drank his Majesty's health etc." A paragraph in the *Edinburgh Courant* of January 20th 1794 among various items of news in a "Letter from Linlithgow," dated the previous day, says "Colonel Ferrier's battalion is known as the 'Linlithgow Garvies' on account of the thin nature of most of the men

and their short stature." Colonel Ferrier, according to another newspaper paragraph, was raising the corps at "considerable expense privately."

The Third Battalion was practically complete by November 1794, and in December moved to Edinburgh and took up duty as the garrison of Edinburgh Castle. The First and Second Battalions, which were experiencing considerable difficulty in recruiting, remained at Irvine and Dunfermline respectively.

The first list of officers appeared in *The London Gazette* of February 11th 1794 as follows :*

" War Office, February 15.

A BATTALION OF THE SCOTCH BRIGADE

To be Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant ; George Cunninghame.*

To be Major ; Alexander Hume.*

To be Captains of Companies ; Sir James Baird, Bart., Alexander Scott,* Robert Montgomery, Thomas Vincent, — Reynolds, Patrick Ewing.

To be Captain-Lieutenant ; James Urquhart.*

To be Lieutenants ; James Butter, John Gilfillan, Andrew Douglas,* Malcolm Stewart, Alexander Robertson,* Queensberry Douglas.*

To be Ensigns ; Hugh Campbell, Henry Cumming.

To be Chaplain ; Charles Ochiltree.

To be Adjutant ; James Butter.

To be Quarter-Master ; Thomas Mason.

To be Surgeon ; Charles Anderson.

A BATTALION OF THE SCOTCH BRIGADE

To be Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant ; Frederick Halkett.*

To be Major ; John Stedman.*

To be Captains of Companies ; David Douglas,* John Cameron,* William Ramsay, James Munro, John Ramsay.*

To be Lieutenants ; Donald Robertson, James Macbeath,* James Anderson,* John Turnbull, William Macbeath, James Stuart, *jun.*,* Francis Mackay.

To be Ensign ; John M'Dougal.

To be Chaplain ; D. — Ritchie.

To be Adjutant ; Robert Kennedy.*

A BATTALION OF THE SCOTCH BRIGADE

To be Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant ; Ilay Ferrier.*

To be Major ; George Lind.*

* The asterisks denote the officers formerly of The Scots Brigade in Holland as far as it is now possible to ascertain their names.

To be Captains of Companies ; Colin Dundas Graham,* James Durham, Thomas Meyrick, Alexander Cameron,* Duncan Drummond.

To be Captain-Lieutenant ; James Douglas.*

To be Lieutenants ; Francis Simpson,* James Innes,* Walter Rudiman, Robert Collier, John Cuninghame.

To be Ensign ; Charles Molle.

To be Adjutant ; Robert Collier.

To be Surgeon ; James Collier.

1794

A Colonel-in-Chief was appointed to The Scotch Brigade on November 8th 1794 (*London Gazette*, November 8th–11th), the officer selected being Colonel Francis Dundas, a brother of the Secretary of State for War, Henry Dundas, afterwards the first Viscount Melville. Colonel Dundas, “a very capable officer,” as Fortescue describes him, had served as a subaltern and captain in the First Guards in the American War, had commanded in succession two Line regiments the 45th (Nottinghamshire) and the 1st Foot (The Royal Regiment) and had recently done distinguished service as Chief of the Staff to General Sir Charles Grey in the successful Martinique Expedition in the West Indies. He had, however, never before been in any way connected with the Scots Brigade, and the War Minister, Henry Dundas, possibly not quite sure in his mind how the three Lieut.-Colonels Commandant of the battalions of the Scotch Brigade might take the introduction of an outsider as Colonel-in-Chief over their heads, in notifying the appointment of his brother, wrote to each of the three officers. In his letter, by way doubtless of making things easier for his brother, the War Minister pointed out that the appointment would “in no way interfere with their emoluments”—that is, would not affect the financial profits from “off-reckonings” and other extras which at that period formed a source of income for officers in command of battalions.†

To provide his brother with his own unit in the Brigade, apart from the Colonelcy-in-Chief, Henry Dundas proceeded to create a 4th Battalion, which began to be formed in the winter of 1794. The officers' names were first announced in the following April (*London Gazette*, April 28th–May 2nd 1795). Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Scott from the 53rd Foot was appointed as Lieut.-Colonel, with, as second in command, Major Gordon Skelly, from the 1st Battalion The Royal Scots, who had served in that regiment as a subaltern when Colonel Dundas commanded it. The other officers were brought in from the half-pay lists of various regiments. One officer of the

* See footnote on opposite page.

† There is a brass tablet to the memory of Colonel Francis Dundas in the Parish Church of South Queensferry, Linlithgowshire.

Scotch Brigade, Lieutenant Francis Mackay of the 2nd Battalion, was transferred to the 4th Battalion, with the rank of Captain.

1795

Recruiting for the rank and file of the 4th Battalion, the head-quarters of which were at Dalkeith some five miles south-east of Edinburgh, proved slow. Owing to the multiplicity of Fencible and Volunteer Corps and new units which were at that time being raised "for rank" by officers all over Scotland, men were hard to come by. The 4th Battalion, however, had obtained sufficient men by April 1795 for an inspection to be held by the Colonel-in-Chief. That ceremony ended the career of the 4th Battalion as a separate unit.

In the first week of May the 4th Battalion ceased to exist in that form. By order of the Duke of York, the newly appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, the four Scotch Brigade battalions were reduced to two. The 1st Battalion, which had not yet reached its establishment, was amalgamated with the 4th and the combination re-numbered as the 1st Battalion. Lieut.-Colonel Ilay Ferrier's 3rd Battalion, the only one up to strength, absorbed the original 2nd Battalion, which like the original 1st was below establishment. It became the new 2nd Battalion. The amalgamation took place in pursuance of the policy the Duke of York had adopted of consolidating the national armed strength by reducing the multiplicity of small semi-independent and weak units and concentrating them in a limited number of formations of effective size. Lieut.-Colonel Scott of the 4th Battalion was appointed to command the new 1st Battalion, and Lieut.-Colonel Ilay Ferrier to command the new 2nd. The two Lieut.-Colonels took their Majors with them on amalgamation. Major Skelly of the original 4th Battalion became Major of the new 1st, and Major John Lind of the original 3rd Battalion, Major of the new 2nd. Colonel Dundas retained his Colonelcy-in-Chief of the Scotch Brigade, as the two battalions in combination continued to be officially styled.

Lieut.-Colonels Cunninghame and Halkett, both of whom were sixty-five years of age, were superseded and placed on the Retired List, each with the rank of Colonel, and on full pay. The two Majors of the original 1st and 2nd Battalions, Majors Alexander Hume and John Stedman, together with four captains, two lieutenants and one ensign of those battalions were, in like manner, retired on full pay, pending disposition. The other officers, surplus to the two new battalions, were absorbed at the same time in various other regiments. A "comb-out" of the least suitable recruits also took place through all battalions, the men retained as efficient being distributed between the 1st and 2nd Battalions. The men parted with were sent to a

temporary formation, styled in *The London Gazette* "The Royal Garrison Battalion of the Scotch Brigade," apparently a unit of the "Garrison Regiment" formed in 1795 of men unfit, or too old for field service, whom it was proposed to employ on sedentary duty at Gibraltar or in garrisons elsewhere.

Lieut.-Colonel Scott, who now took command of the 1st Battalion, was a veteran of the Seven Years War. He had entered the Army as long before as 1761, when a boy of twelve, and as ensign of the 24th Foot he had carried the King's Colour of his regiment at Wilhelmstahl. Exchanging at the close of that war into the 53rd Foot, he had served under General Burgoyne in the American War, and then on the staff in the Duke of York's 1794 campaign in Flanders, during which he was wounded and invalided home. On recovery he joined the Scotch Brigade.

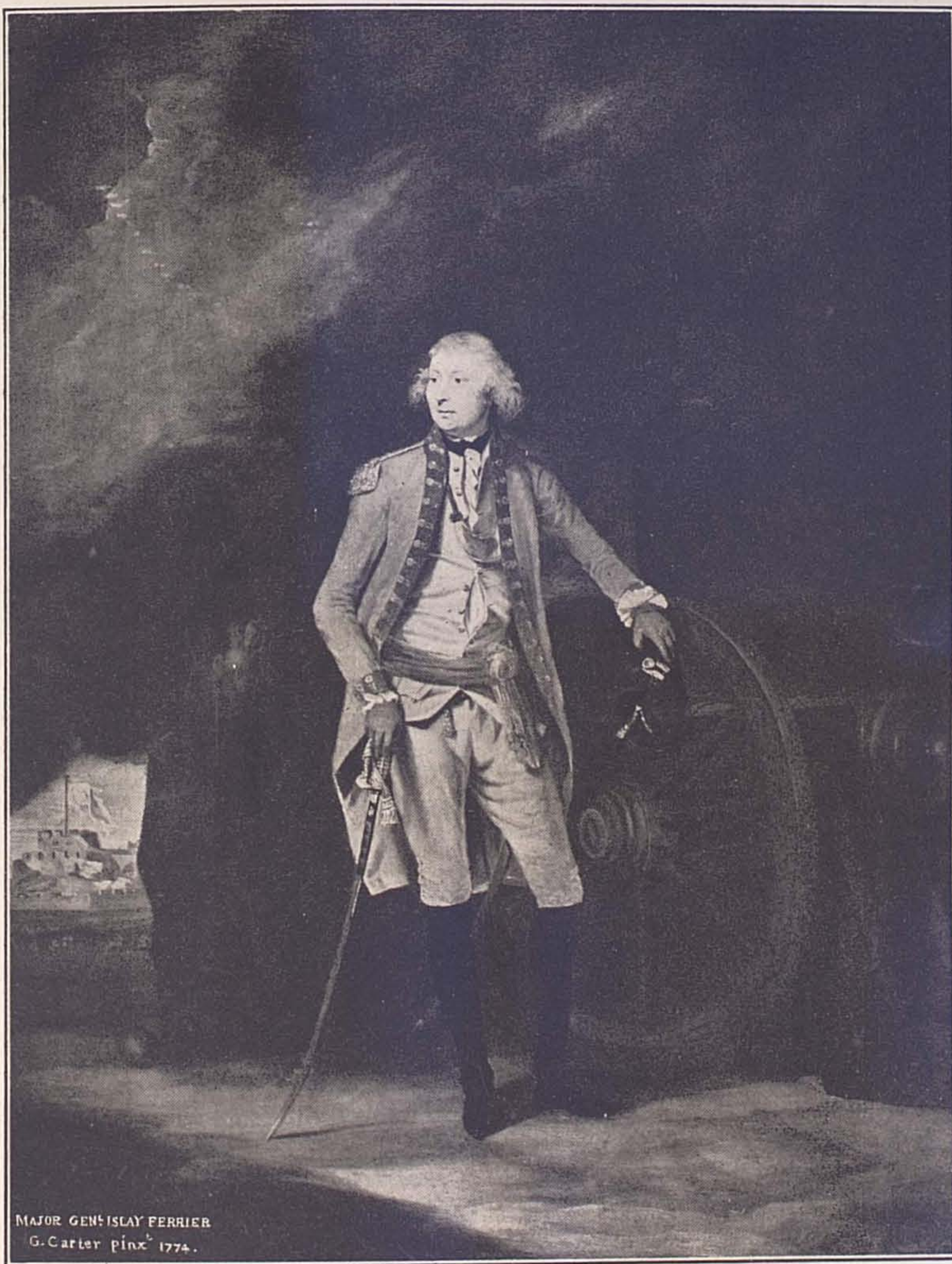
Colours were presented to the Scotch Brigade by Lieut.-General Lord Adam Gordon, Commanding the Forces in Scotland, in George Square, Edinburgh, on June 19th 1795. Addressing the parade Lord Adam Gordon said, "General Dundas and Officers of the Scots Brigade, I have the honour to present the Colours to you, and I am very happy in having this opportunity of expressing my wishes that the Brigade may continue by their good conduct to merit the approbation of our gracious Sovereign and to maintain that reputation which all Europe knows that old and most respectable corps has most deservedly enjoyed." In his address, after consecrating the new Colours, the Chaplain used these words: "You have not to erect a new fabric, but to build upon the reputation of your predecessors." Beyond this quotation from the *Edinburgh Courant* of June 20th, there is no record extant of what took place at the presentation. Whether only one stand was presented, to serve for the Brigade, or two sets of Colours, one set for each Battalion, does not appear. At the time Lieut.-Colonel Ferrier's battalion formed the garrison of Edinburgh Castle, and Lieut.-Colonel Scott's battalion had its head-quarters at Dalkeith, whence officers with escort to receive Colours for the battalion could easily have been sent.

Lieut.-Colonel Ferrier's battalion had been stationed at Edinburgh ever since it first marched there from Linlithgow at the end of 1793, except for three months under canvas in 1794 when it did duty in the Camp formed at Dunbar, to safeguard the Scottish capital in the event of a French invasion, which the civil population expected every summer during the war. During its stay in Edinburgh, on January 21st 1795, while still the 3rd Battalion of the Scotch Brigade, Colonel Ferrier's command were publicly complimented by a Special Resolution of the Lord Provost and City Council and Magistrates of Edinburgh, expressing the thanks of the City of Edinburgh to the battalion "for their alacrity" on the occasion of a "serious and alarming fire in Edinburgh on January 15th."

There was another invasion alarm in 1795, the French being expected to attempt a landing in the South of England, and a number of battalions, both Regular and Fencible, were ordered from Scotland to Kent, Sussex and Hampshire. Among these were both battalions of the Scotch Brigade, which left Scotland in August 1795 and marched to Hilsea Lines, Portsmouth, where the Brigade was quartered for three months. It then, in September 1795, left England for Gibraltar, to begin a tour of foreign service which was to last for upwards of twelve years, and to increase the fame of the Scotch Brigade.

1796

While at Gibraltar, in April 1796, a second "comb-out" of the older men among the rank and file took place, in consequence of the amalgamation of the two battalions of the Scotch Brigade into one unit. The officers not required for the new single battalion, were, like those reduced in the former year, retired on full pay pending absorption in other regiments. To the great regret of all ranks Lieut.-Colonel Ilay Ferrier was passed over for the command of the new single battalion by Lieut.-Colonel Scott, in accordance with a ruling by Lord Amherst in 1793 when appointing Colonel Ferrier to the Scotch Brigade, to the effect that his service in the Scots Brigade in Holland and ten years (1783-93) on British half pay was not to count in regard to future advancement. Having been continuously on full pay and in employment since 1762 Lieut.-Colonel Scott went over his head. In reply to Colonel Ferrier's formal application to the Governor of Gibraltar for leave to quit the garrison, Lieut.-General O'Hara wrote this: "I lament for the King's Service the necessity of your returning to England for the arrangement of your private affairs as it will deprive the garrison of one of its most active, zealous and intelligent officers." General O'Hara at the same time took steps to bring specially to the notice of the Duke of York "Lieut.-Colonel Ferrier's eminent services in connection with the raising of his battalion and the high state of discipline to which he has brought it." In consequence of the strong representations made to the Duke, Lieut.-Colonel Ferrier was, on May 3rd, on his arrival in England, promoted to full Colonel. On May 25th he was appointed Inspecting Field Officer of the Recruiting Service for the Edinburgh district, a post he held until his promotion to Major-General on April 29th 1802. Further, on July 2nd 1796 Colonel Ferrier was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Dumbarton Castle, which post he held until his death in 1824. In the interim, in 1819, Colonel Dundas, formerly of the Scotch Brigade, then a full General, was appointed Governor of Dumbarton Castle. General Dundas, at that time, had ceased to be Colonel-in-Chief of the Scotch Brigade—ever since 1809.



MAJOR-GENERAL ILAY FERRIER.

Joined The Scots Brigade, as Ensign, in Dutch Service, 30th October 1764,
Lieutenant-Colonel, 5th July 1793.
Major-General, 29th April 1802.

Incidentally, this unusual experience which befel Colonel Ferrier may be recorded. During his tenure of the Lieut.-Governorship of Dumbarton Castle, in May 1799, Colonel Ferrier saw his death notified in *The London Gazette*, together with the appointment of his successor. The fact is thus recorded in the *Caledonian Mercury* of May 10th 1799: "The *London Gazette* received here on Tuesday announced that Colonel Samuel Graham is appointed Lieut.-Governor of Dumbarton Castle *vice* Colonel Ferrier deceased. We have a letter from Colonel Ferrier of yesterday's date in which he says, 'Notwithstanding the authority of the *London Gazette*, I can assure you now that so far from having gone to the other world I am in such perfect good health that I inspected, on Thursday and Friday last, part of the Linlithgowshire Volunteers at Hopetoun House and Boners, and at this moment am ready to undertake any professional duty whatever, either at home or abroad.' " The *Gazette* announcement, it would appear, caused so much annoyance in various ways to Colonel Ferrier that in the end he had, so it is related, this notification inserted in the newspapers, "Take Notice, I, Ilay Ferrier, am not dead."

The Colours of the original 3rd Battalion of the Scotch Brigade, presented in Edinburgh in 1795, and carried at Seringapatam, were retired in India in 1801. They were then sent home to Colonel Ilay Ferrier, as the Officer who had raised and first commanded the corps. It was presumably on account of the alteration of design necessitated by the passing of the Act of Union with Ireland, when details of the design on the Colours of all regiments were ordered to be altered. These Colours were preserved in the family of Colonel Ferrier until Armistice Day, 1925, when they were presented to the Parish Church of Linlithgow by Major-General J. A. Ferrier, the senior representative of the family, and laid up with a special religious service. The 3rd Battalion of the Scotch Brigade was, as has been told, originally raised by Lieut.-Colonel Ilay Ferrier at Linlithgow.

CHAPTER XLII

ORDERED FROM GIBRALTAR TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, 1796. HIGHLAND UNIFORM SUPERSEDED BY INDIAN SERVICE UNIFORM. IN GARRISON IN CAPE COLONY. AT THE SUPPRESSION OF TWO NAVAL MUTINIES, 1797. SPECIALLY TRAINED UNDER SIR DAVID BAIRD. ORDERED TO INDIA FOR SERVICE AGAINST TIPPOO SULTAN.

1796-1797

THE Scotch Brigade remained at Gibraltar for six months. In June 1796 orders were received for the battalion to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope as soon as transport could be provided. Disquieting news had reached England as to the situation at the Cape, captured from the Dutch in the previous autumn, and in consequence troops from England, Lisbon, Gibraltar and India were being despatched to reinforce the garrison. A Dutch squadron with troops on board for the recapture of the Cape was understood to be at sea, having evaded the British blockading squadron off the Texel. It was, secret intelligence stated, to be met at sea by a French squadron from Rochfort, also with troops on board, while other French colonial troops, sent from Mauritius, were to land at the Cape and assist. As it turned out, the French were unable to put to sea, but by June, the Dutch squadron was known to be well on its way.

The transports for the Scotch Brigade, with escorting men-of-war, arrived at Gibraltar in June. Major-General Francis Dundas, the Colonel-in-Chief of the Scotch Brigade, who was to relieve Major-General Craig in the command of the forces at the Cape, came out at the same time. The battalion left Gibraltar early in August and reached the Cape at the end of the month. They arrived and found, to their disappointment, that their services were not required for immediate active work. Less than ten days before, thanks to the timely arrival of a powerful British squadron under Vice-Admiral Elphinstone (afterwards Lord Keith), which had been on special service against the Dutch colonies in the East Indies, the entire expedition from the Texel had been surprised in Saldanha Bay and compelled to surrender at discretion.

In accordance with a Standing Order for the Cape Station, issued in December 1795, that regiments on arrival should adopt uniform as worn

in India, the Scotch Brigade presumably laid aside the feathered bonnet and belted plaid hitherto worn.* Indian service uniform comprised round felt hats, six inches high in the crown and four inches wide in the brim, with black feathers for battalion-company officers, small white feathers for grenadier-company officers, and small green feathers for light-company officers; red jackets; white pantaloons or trousers and short black half-gaiters. The opinion was prevalent at the War Office at that time, it would appear, that Highland dress was "unhealthy" for troops serving in hot climates. Indeed, even in the Mediterranean (in Corsica in 1796), according to Colonel Greenhill Gardyne in *The Life of a Regiment* (Vol. I, p. 35), the Gordon Highlanders had to give up their kilts and take to white or grey trousers for summer wear, their belted plaids being tailored into tartan trews for winter wear.

There was a good deal of unrest among the Boer population for several months after the Scotch Brigade arrived at the Cape, particularly in the up-country eastern province of Graaf Reinet, always a refractory district, and small patrolling columns of all arms, to which the infantry regiments of the Cape garrison contributed detachments, were continually kept on the move, or in camp in the Stellenbosch and Swellendam provinces, in readiness to deal with expected trouble on the Graaf Reinet border.† The Graaf Reinet people in 1796 flatly refused to take the required oath of allegiance to the King of England, as the Boers elsewhere had done, and on the British flag being hoisted at the township of Graaf Reinet, two of the Boer leaders, Kruger and Joubert, had defiantly hauled the flag down. No official notice however was taken of the incident as no overt act of hostility followed, the Graaf Reinet burghers being short of arms and ammunition. Attempts to smuggle supplies into the country by means of fast sailing vessels from Batavia and Mauritius were foiled by the naval watch kept on Algoa Bay and along the coast, and a land blockade of the Graaf Reinet province, supported by the patrolling columns and camps on the Stellenbosch and Swellendam borders, prevented other supplies reaching the malcontents from Cape Town. On such duty passed the first year of service at the Cape with the Scotch Brigade.

The Brigade was then, in October and November 1797, called on to take part in dealing with two mutinies that took place in the Cape Squadron. The first, on October 7th, was an outcome of the great fleet mutinies of the earlier part of the year at Spithead and the Nore. It broke out on board

* There is, however, no order extant specially mentioning the Scotch Brigade.

† In this connection the names of some of the Graaf Reinet leaders, who were field cornets or at the head of commandos at this time, Schalk Burgher, Prinsloo, Van der Merve, Kruger, Joubert, are of interest to The Connaught Rangers, their descendants having been met with in the South African War of 1899-1902.

the flagship at the squadron anchorage in Simon's Bay and was largely due to similar alleged grievances. The red flag was hoisted, certain officers objected to were turned ashore, the flag-captain was put under nominal arrest by the men, the admiral (Rear-Admiral Pringle) was confined to his cabin. Nothing further was then done by the mutineers beyond sending a statement of their grievances to the Governor of the colony with a request for redress.

The Scotch Brigade, at the time in garrison at Cape Town, was, with other available troops and some field artillery, hastened to the heights overlooking Simon's Bay, where they made ready for action. The mutineers, however, on promise of an inquiry into their grievances and of an amnesty being granted them, quietly returned to duty, whereupon the troops were withdrawn to their stations.

The second and more formidable mutiny broke out on November 9th. It originated during the holding of the inquiry into the circumstances of the first mutiny, in consequence of a seaman, a witness in connection with the inquiry, coming into the court drunk and being summarily sentenced to a month's cells. The crews of the flagship, H.M.S. *Tremendous*, and other ships, then in Table Bay, on that hoisted the red flag, this time also threatening to bombard Cape Town. The Scotch Brigade and all troops within reach turned out again, and with two brigades of artillery manned the batteries on the shore line fronting the ships. This time Lord Macartney, the Governor of the Cape, General Dundas and Admiral Pringle in council took severe measures. Furnaces for red-hot shot were quickly prepared and a curt summons to surrender within two hours was sent to the mutineers. They only gave in at the very last, within ten minutes of the expiry of the time limit: just as the troops were expecting the order to begin firing. The Scotch Brigade had its final parade in connection with the mutiny at the Cape a month later, when the garrison at Cape Town paraded to witness the hanging at the yard-arm on board the ships of the squadron of the ringleaders in the second mutiny.

The officer to whose training at the Cape the Scotch Brigade owed its shaping into the first-class fighting machine that it was to prove itself in India, came at this moment into its history—Sir David Baird. Colonel Baird of the 71st Foot, as he was then, reached Table Bay from India on the morning of the execution of the naval mutineers. He was on his way to England with the cadre of his regiment, which, after drafting nine-tenths of its establishment into regiments remaining in India, according to the practice with all home-going regiments, was returning home after eighteen years' hard service in the East. At Governor Macartney's request Colonel Baird remained at the Cape with the acting rank of Brigadier-General, the

86th and Scotch Brigade being given to him as his command. The two regiments are described by Baird's biographer as being "remarkably fine bodies of men," each 1,000 strong, only "requiring a master's hand to perfect them in discipline." That requirement their new Brigadier was just the man to supply. He took them in hand at once and "employed himself in drilling and completing them in the new (Dundas's) system," as Captain Middlemore of the 86th, afterwards a general officer, records. The Brigadier we are told "quite won the confidence and attachment" of all ranks in spite of the severity of the work he set them to, first of all using them to cut down and clear a "small forest of trees to obtain space for a brigade exercising ground." "Our intervals of labour and our time of relief from hard work and hard drills," says Captain Middlemore, speaking of the officers, "was occupied in hunting, a diversion to which our chief was extremely partial and on these occasions we were favoured with invitations to his hospitable table." The training course ended with a review before General Dundas, the Commander-in-Chief "who was delighted to witness our great and rapid improvement." Summing up, Captain Middlemore concludes thus: "The whole brigade was in the highest state of discipline and every man that served in it gloried in belonging to General Baird."

1798

The Scotch Brigade was, so to speak, at the top of its form, when, in October 1798, news arrived of a move at an early date to a new sphere of activity—to India. A fast sailing sloop-of-war from England, H.M.S. *Albatross*, arrived at the Cape then with orders for General Baird to start for Madras as soon as possible, taking with him the 84th Foot and the Scotch Brigade, together with the 28th Light Dragoons, who were to be drafted into dragoon regiments in India. Hostilities with Tippoo Sultan of Mysore were on the eve of opening and the troops leaving were intended for that campaign.

Baird sailed for Madras towards the end of October, taking passage in H.M.S. *Sceptre*, a line-of-battle ship of the Cape Squadron. Head-quarters and six companies of the Scotch Brigade were on board with the General. Most of the 84th, with the dragoons, embarked in other vessels which accompanied the *Sceptre*, that man-of-war also serving as general escort. The remainder of the 84th, with the four other companies of the Scotch Brigade, were to follow as soon as transport could be provided for them in outward-bound Indiamen, expected to put in shortly at the Cape.

War with Mysore had become inevitable and had been decided on in the previous June, but the unprepared state of the Madras Army, to which the operations would have principally to be entrusted, had caused the

opening of hostilities to be deferred until early in 1799. Both the Governor-General, Lord Mornington (afterwards the Marquess Wellesley) and the Home Government had received intelligence in June that Tippoo had planned an attack on the British possessions in India in conjunction with a French landing on the Malabar Coast. The Mahratta States and an invading Afghan army had also been invited to co-operate. At that moment Bonaparte's army was in Egypt and its advance to India by either the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf was considered practicable. The despatch to Madras of the regiments from the Cape, together with a regiment from England and one from Lisbon, had been ordered in consequence of the information received in London in June.

According to the latest advices received in India from a British secret agent in Egypt, the French were in full possession of the country, as a consequence of Bonaparte's victorious "Battle of The Pyramids." What was especially significant was that Bonaparte himself had, during the autumn months of the year, paid a visit to Suez, and had made careful inquiries as to the navigation of the Red Sea, and also set on foot arrangements for the concentration at Suez and the neighbourhood of every kind of vessel which it might be possible to employ in the transportation of a large portion of his forces in Egypt.

A British naval squadron was cruising in the Red Sea and between Bombay and Aden, but Bonaparte apparently had the idea that he would be able to elude that, as he had successfully evaded Nelson in his passage from France to Egypt during the previous June and July.

CHAPTER XLIII

PREPARATIONS FOR THE MYSORE WAR. THE SIX COMPANIES OF THE SCOTCH BRIGADE FIRST ARRIVED IN INDIA JOIN THE ARMY. ARRIVAL AT MADRAS OF THE REMAINING FOUR COMPANIES. ONE COMPANY SENT AS MARINES ON BOARD H.M.S. "SYBILLE," 1799. PART TAKEN BY THE SCOTCH BRIGADE IN THE ACTION WITH "LA FORTE." ESCORTING THE FRENCH PRISONERS UP THE HOOGLHY. RETURN TO MADRAS.

1799

THE commencement of the Mysore campaign was fixed for February 1799. Tippoo, occupied with his military preparations, and awaiting active assistance from his French allies in Egypt, had remained quiet, contrary to expectation, during the latter part of 1798, returning evasive answers to the demands for an explanation that Lord Mornington sent to him as soon as the British preparations for war were sufficiently advanced to make it prudent to do so. The siege train for Seringapatam was ready and most of the regiments, including several from Bengal and Bombay, had assembled by November, thanks mainly to the energy of Colonel Arthur Wellesley (the future Duke of Wellington), who, with his regiment, the 33rd Foot, had been sent to Madras from Calcutta in the previous August.

After that, in December 1798, in order to be on the spot when the critical moment for taking action against Tippoo arrived, Lord Mornington proceeded in a frigate, H.M.S. *Sybille*, from Calcutta to Madras. He reached Fort St. George and took up his residence there at the end of December, a few days before the arrival of General Baird in H.M.S. *Sceptre* with the Scotch Brigade (less four companies, as has been mentioned) on board. The troops from the Cape, as they landed, were pushed up-country to Vellore, 50 miles from Madras, where the "Grand Army," as it was termed, was concentrated with Lieut.-General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, in supreme command. Major-General Baird, on arrival in January, was appointed to command the First Brigade of the Expeditionary Force, in which the six companies of the Scotch Brigade was included as a unit. It was proposed to move forward from Vellore in the second week of February, advancing by easy stages to the Mysore frontier, on reaching

which the British ultimatum was to be sent forward by General Harris. The ultimatum was to be followed up by an immediate advance on Seringapatam, General Harris being given full powers to deal, as plenipotentiary, with any answer from Tippoo received *en route*.

While Head-quarters and the six companies of the Scotch Brigade who had arrived at Madras with General Baird went forward with the "Grand Army," one of the remaining companies of the battalion was employed on special service of another kind, and underwent a unique experience. The company, one of the four originally left behind at the Cape, came in the last transport, and did not reach Madras until the middle of February.

The safe arrival of the last transport from the Cape was a great relief to all at Madras. The vessel came in several days overdue and the four Scotch Brigade companies landed to find everybody in great anxiety about them. The mercantile community at Madras had been in a state of panic for the previous ten days over reports that were current of wholesale depredations among Indiamen and country shipping in the Bay of Bengal by a French frigate *La Forte*, reputed to be the fastest and most powerful afloat, which had recently come north from Mauritius. Admiral Rainier, the British flag-officer in command in the East Indies, had twenty-one ships, from seventy-fours to sloops, at disposal on the station, but, except for one or two cruising ships in Far Eastern waters and two ships, the frigate *Sybille* and the *Fox*, a corvette, in the Bay of Bengal, all were on the Malabar Coast side of India, or in the Red Sea, watching for Bonaparte's move from that quarter. At that period the whole of the Pacific Ocean, the China Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea were within the limits of the East Indies naval station.

Three days after the Scotch Brigade landed, the *Sybille* anchored in Madras Roads. After bringing Lord Mornington to Madras at the end of December she had returned to Calcutta to fetch money for the pay of the "Grand Army" and now returned with twenty lacs of rupees on board. That news, when, a few days later, it reached the Scotch Brigade companies at Vellore, caused, we are told, "great satisfaction among all ranks." The *Sybille* arrived on February 18th and immediately on landing her treasure that afternoon was ordered to put to sea at once and cruise in search of *La Forte*. Orders were issued, at the special desire of Lord Mornington, the same evening for one company of the Scotch Brigade to embark on board the *Sybille* next day, to serve as marines. Owing to sickness on board during the previous autumn, when the *Sybille* had been for some months in dock at Calcutta, the ship had lost over a hundred officers and men out of her complement as a 48-gun frigate of 350, including marines. Of these last indeed only nine were left. The company of the Scotch

Brigade for embarkation was made up to a hundred and one officers and men all told. With these and with volunteer seamen from Indiamen in the roads and from a recaptured merchantman sent in by the *Fox*, the *Sybille's* emergency complement, in view of the formidable enemy she was being sent to meet, numbered 371 of all ranks and ratings.

The Scotch Brigade company comprised five officers, Captain-Lieutenant James Campbell, in command, Lieutenants Beach and James Bogle, Ensign John Stretch and Surgeon Nicholls; with ninety-six N.C.O.'s and men, including two drummers. They embarked at half-past four on the afternoon of February 19th, and the *Sybille* sailed before sunset. With the Scotch Brigade company, Captain Davies, one of the Governor-General's aides-de-camp, also embarked as a Volunteer. The commander of the *Sybille* was Captain Edward Cooke, a very capable frigate captain of that day, who, five years before, as Flag-Lieutenant on board the *Victory*, had done notable service in the Mediterranean with Lord Hood at the evacuation of Toulon.

Immediately on putting to sea the *Sybille* cleared for action. Throughout the following week's passage of 900 miles, during which the ship stood north up the Bay of Bengal for the Sandheads at the mouth of the Hooghly, every officer and man slept at his battle-quarters. Being on the French frigate's cruising ground according to the latest intelligence, Captain Cooke expected to fall in with her at any time. Not a sail however was sighted until four days out, when an English brig flying a flag of truce as a cartel was fallen in with. She proved to be one of *La Forte's* prizes, in charge of one of that vessel's lieutenants, bound to Madras with prisoners for exchange. The French lieutenant, who was brought on board the *Sybille* to be interviewed by Captain Cooke, on being shown round the *Sybille*, openly scoffed at the idea of her being able to stand up to *La Forte* in action. "She will only make an example of you," he said, "and I only wish I had been kept on board my ship to be in the action." He defiantly told Captain Cooke further that *La Forte* was not far ahead of him and that he would find her ready for him off the Sandheads. The English skipper of the brig—the name of which, the *Happy Chance*, was, we are told, taken as of good omen by those on board the *Sybille*—like the French officer, told Captain Cooke that *La Forte* was far too powerful an antagonist for him to venture on. The skipper, however, pluckily volunteered to serve on board the *Sybille* and arrangements as to his exchange against a French prisoner then at Madras were made with the French officer of the cartel. Captain Cooke, for his part, was not disturbed by what he heard about *La Forte*. He calmly said, as he had already said before leaving Madras, if he could not capture her, she would not capture him, and he would leave

her in such a state that she would be harmless against British shipping for a long time to come.*

The *Sybille*, leaving the *Happy Chance*, then stood on, and, two days later, was off Balasore Roads, to the west of the mouth of the Hooghly, where a boat was sent in to inquire about *La Forte* from some small trading vessels lying at anchor. No information of any use was, however, forthcoming, and the *Sybille* proceeded for the Sandheads, where Captain Cooke cruised to and fro for three days without hearing or seeing anything of *La Forte*. It was a great disappointment; but fortune had not deserted them.

About half-past eight on the evening of February 28th, faintly flickering flashes were seen beyond the horizon to the south-east. No sound however could be heard and the general opinion was that the flashes were only sheet lightning. There seemed however to be something out of the usual about them, and, after a while, at the instance of the navigating master of the *Sybille*, Captain Cooke decided to turn the frigate's head in that direction and made sail. The Master's opinion was that the flashes were reflections from artillery fire beyond the horizon, and, by way of precaution, all lights on board were obscured, tarpaulin covers being drawn over the battle-lanterns above the guns at the open ports. It was a clear starlight night with a light breeze. The flashes ceased before long, but, keeping on in their direction, shortly after half-past nine o'clock three large vessels, clustered together, were made out on the horizon. All three were lighted up, the biggest one with a double row of ports being brilliantly lighted up. On board the *Sybille* every one was convinced that they had their enemy in sight, and so it was to prove.

The three ships were actually *La Forte* with two prizes, two "country ships" (the name given to vessels registered at ports in our Eastern possessions), merchantmen trading to China, the *Mornington* and the *Endeavour*.

* The actual difference between the two ships was this. The *Sybille*, a former French forty-gun frigate captured in 1794, five years previously, was a vessel of 1,091 tons. She mounted, for armament, twenty-eight 18-prs. and six 9-prs., with fourteen 32-pr. carronades (short-range pieces), making a total of forty-eight guns. *La Forte*, originally built as a seventy-four gun line-of-battleship of exceptional thickness of scantling, was a vessel of 1,401 tons, nearly a third larger than the *Sybille*. She mounted twenty-eight 24-prs., fourteen 18-prs., and eight 36-pr. carronades, with, in addition, eight 1-pr. swivels set up along the bulwarks—in all fifty-eight pieces. The *Sybille*, with a length over-all of 154 feet, as compared with *La Forte's* 170 feet, was also the smaller vessel in appearance, while her broadside weight-of-metal was 503 lbs. to *La Forte's* 610 lbs. The normal crew of the *Sybille* was, as has been said, 350 officers and men; that of *La Forte* 600 officers and men, including a company of marine artillery; but so many had been sent away as crews of prize vessels, that, at the time of the action, the French ship's fighting complement was the same as the *Sybille's*, as increased at Madras—370 odd of all ranks and ratings. *La Forte*, which was flying the flag of Rear-Admiral de Sercey, in command of the French frigate squadron in the East Indies, had on board, in addition, the Admiral's staff and suite, some twenty supernumeraries.

It had been *La Forte* firing at the *Endeavour* in capturing her that had caused the flashes seen an hour earlier and taken for sheet lightning.

For nearly three hours in the light breeze the *Sybille* slowly approached the vessels, apparently unnoticed by them. Then, between midnight and half-past twelve, *La Forte* apparently first observed her, and, leaving her two prizes, stood towards the oncoming stranger. The French ship approached with her open ports lighted up, and without troubling to go to quarters. She took the *Sybille*, as it came out later, for an Indiaman making for Balasore Roads, and blundering heedlessly into her clutches.

"What fools! Their watch must be asleep," exclaimed the French captain to his admiral, by whose side he was standing, on seeing no lights on board the approaching vessel: so the skipper of the *Endeavour*, who had been taken on board *La Forte*, and was standing close by on the quarter-deck, afterwards related. "Voilà, mon ami," exclaimed Admiral Sercey, turning to the English skipper: "Le bon Dieu nous a envoyé encore une bonne prise."

Then, as the *Sybille* began to close within range, a gun was fired at her, followed, after a pause, by three or four in quick succession. No notice was taken by the British frigate, which steadily headed towards *La Forte*. Then the French suddenly took alarm. The drums on board *La Forte* were heard from the *Sybille* frantically beating to action-stations. Men could be seen through the lighted ports hastily tugging at and casting loose the broadside guns. "All was shouting and noise, whistles were piped, orders were cried out, and the crew hurried up to serve the guns." So describes the *Endeavour's* skipper on board *La Forte*. From their post on board the *Sybille*, drawn up in the open on the forecastle, along the gangway at the side, and on the quarter-deck, the men of the Scotch Brigade witnessed a sight that few other soldiers probably ever had a chance of seeing.

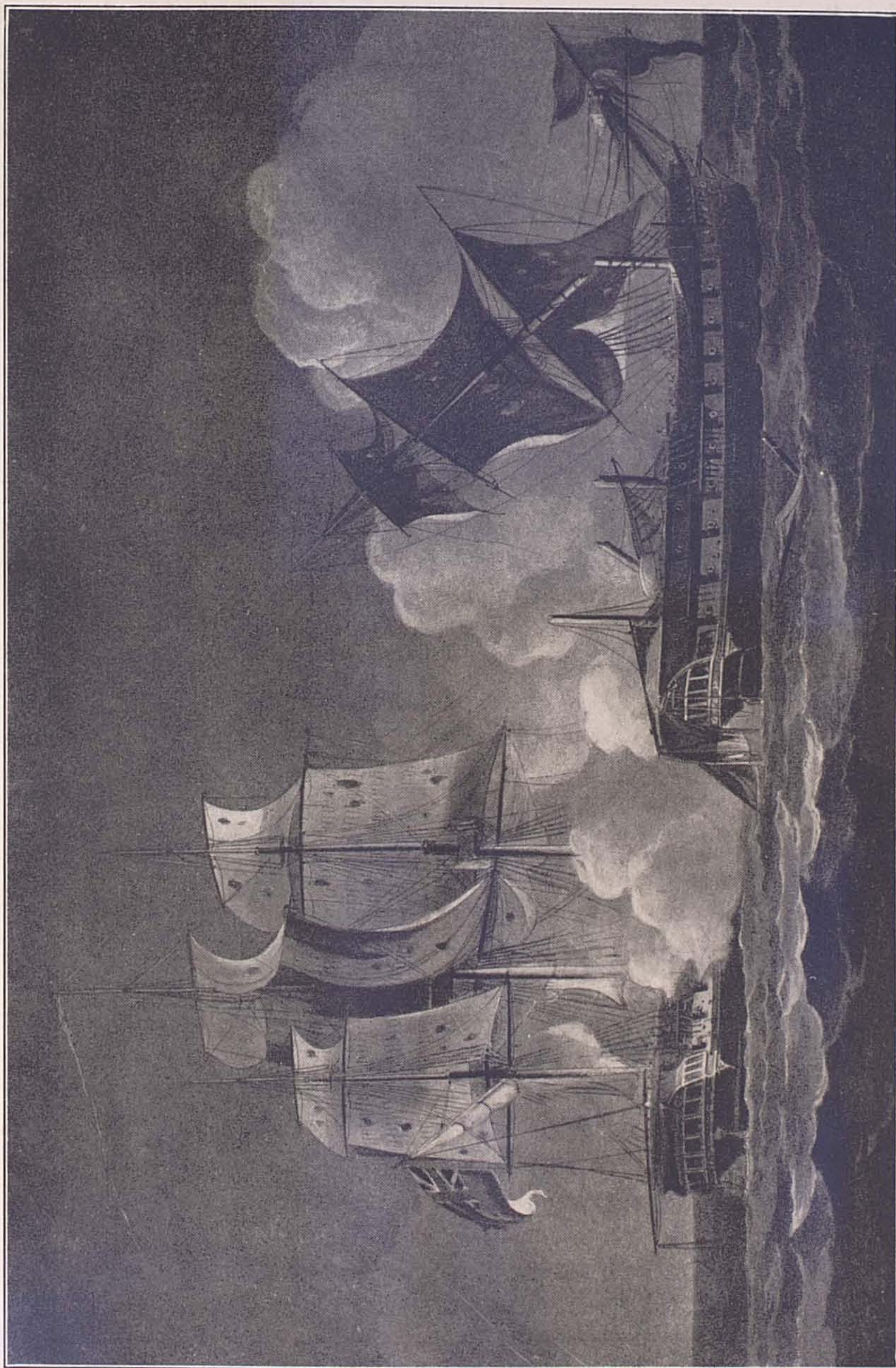
The *Sybille* rapidly neared *La Forte*, the two ships approaching on opposite tacks. The French ship now began firing badly aimed broadsides. No allowance was made apparently for the rapidly closing range and the shots went high. Not one even hit the hull of the *Sybille*. All flew well over the heads of the Scotch Brigade men, as, with ordered arms, they stood ranged on deck. A few ropes in the rigging were cut—that was the only damage done. On board the *Sybille* all meanwhile was dead silence: not a gun or musket replied.

La Forte crossed the *Sybille's* bows, still firing, a few minutes before one o'clock, on which the still-darkened *Sybille* silently tacked. She now took the weather-gage of *La Forte*: but, instead of ranging up to windward as the French expected, she passed rapidly close under *La Forte's* stern.

As she did so the tarpaulin covers were stripped from the battle-lanterns over the guns, lighting up the *Sybille* "as if by magic," as one of those on board *La Forte* described, and a double-shotted broadside, fired within pistol-shot range, forty yards, crashed into the French ship's stern. It enfiladed, or "raked," her along the whole length of her decks. Upwards of eighty men were struck down and several of the guns dismounted and disabled by that opening blow, as was afterwards told by French survivors. The *Sybille* at once sheered alongside her opponent, clewed up her sails to "fighting canvas," just enough to keep steerage way, level with her antagonist, and the action began at the closest quarters. The two ships after that engaged broadside to broadside, sometimes coming so near together that the yard-arms touched, and at no time further apart than half pistol-shot, twenty yards.

It was the opportunity of a lifetime for the Scotch Brigade. Lined up along the bulwarks and hammock-nettings, their rapid file-firing did its work : almost every shot told. Man by man, the front and rear rank of each file fired alternately, now stooping behind the bulwark rail to load, then standing up to fire ; so for forty minutes the first phase of the action passed. At one moment the men were firing at the opposing flashes of the French small-arm men on *La Forte's* upper deck ; the next moment they were aiming into the large, three-feet-wide squares of the French frigate's lighted-up ports, glaring targets in the smoke : in that manner the Scotch Brigade men did their part that night. As was admitted by the enemy later, the incessant storm of musket bullets distracted the men serving *La Forte's* guns, striking them down right and left, and seriously crippling their firing. When, next morning, the British prize crew went on board *La Forte*, the French ship's bulwarks looked, we are told, "like a honeycomb."

The seamen of the *Sybille's* guns were at the same time literally hammering the hull of their big antagonist to pieces. They also from the first had mastered the enemy's gunners. The action lulled between half-past one and two o'clock, the French fire gradually dying away and then entirely ceasing. The *Sybille* thereupon ceased firing also and hailed *La Forte* to know if she had surrendered. No reply came back. Figures were then made out against the starlit sky of men creeping up the rigging. What it meant was quickly realized. An attempt was being made to cast loose the sails and steal off. At once orders were given to recommence firing, and instantly on board the *Sybille* the great guns and the musketry from the Scotch Brigade men reopened. An irregular fire of musketry and a few straggling shots from *La Forte's* guns was the enemy's reply. The clustering French sailors in the rigging and on the yards, seen in a black mass from the deck of the *Sybille*, were shot down, dropping in numbers, and then a few minutes



ACTION BETWEEN H.M.S. "SYBILLE" AND "LA FORTE."

28th February 1799.

later, one after the other as the *Sybille's* guns smashed through them at deck-level, *La Forte's* masts and yards all came crashing down.

It was the end. Not another shot came from *La Forte*, and the *Sybille* finally ceased firing. The time was just half-past two o'clock a.m.: the action had lasted just an hour and a half. "Three tremendous cheers," as an officer described, closed the *Sybille's* work; "such a ringing English cheer as few are privileged to hear, and I have never heard in my life before or since," as the *Endeavour's* skipper put it.

Without taking possession of *La Forte* the *Sybille's* crew turned to make good damages and prepare to deal with the two captured ships, the *Mornington* and *Endeavour*. The French prize crews on board had fired a few shots during the action to help *La Forte*, and both ships were still keeping close by. Not certain about them in the dark, it was thought advisable to put the *Sybille* in a state to tackle both.

Only at daylight was it possible to attend further to *La Forte*. Then, a hail for a boat to be sent, came across from her, in English, from the skipper of the *Endeavour*, at the request of the only French officer not *hors de combat*. In response, a party of the Scotch Brigade, under Lieutenant Mauger, R.N., Third Lieutenant of the *Sybille*, was sent in the jolly-boat and took charge of the prize. Not to arouse suspicion in the *Mornington* and *Endeavour*, meanwhile, seamen's blue boat-cloaks were wrapped over the red jackets of the Scotch Brigade boarding party while rowing across.

The *Sybille* now stood towards the *Mornington* and *Endeavour*. By way of a ruse to detain them till the *Sybille* could close alongside, the French tricolor was hoisted over the British flag on board both *Sybille* and *Forte*. To further the ruse also the red-coated soldiers of the Scotch Brigade on board the *Sybille* crouched down and hid behind the bulwarks, holding their muskets cocked in readiness to open fire.

The attempted ruse, however, failed. Something gave the alarm to the *Mornington* and *Endeavour*. Both ships hastily exchanged signals and then, rapidly hoisting sail, made off. The *Sybille* fired guns at them and tried to chase, but one of her damaged spars came down, and the others were too crippled to bear sufficient canvas. The retreating vessels now drew further and further away and the *Sybille*, to the great disappointment of all on board, had to give over attempting to pursue. It was a severe disappointment, for the recapture would have added materially to the prize money for the capture of *La Forte*, in the shape of "salvage money," the naval term for the proceeds in case of a recaptured vessel. Both the *Mornington* and *Endeavour* had rich cargoes from China on board, besides upwards of £20,000 in specie.

The musketry of the Scotch Brigade company on board the *Sybille* helped materially, it was admitted on all hands, in the action. "The men of the Scotch Brigade," says a naval officer, "were of the most essential service, for the action being constantly within pistol-shot distance their musketry caused great havoc on the quarter-deck and forecastle of the French frigate." "The effect of their unremitting fire," says the naval historian James, writing from information supplied him by naval officers and others in the *Sybille*, based on what they observed on the morning after the action, "was seen in the innumerable bullet-holes all along *La Forte's* topsides, and it was felt by many a poor fellow, who, as is customary in the French service, had been employed in loading his gun on the outside of the ship." The musketry of the Scotch Brigade with its "unremitting fire" was also undoubtedly of material assistance in keeping down casualties on our side, the disparity as to which, between the two ships, was extraordinary. *La Forte* had 150 killed and wounded (sixty-five killed and eighty-five wounded), among the former being Rear-Admiral de Sercey, together with the French Captain and his First, Second, and Third Lieutenants. The *Sybille* had only six killed and sixteen wounded; among the mortally wounded being Captain Cooke, commanding the ship, and among the killed Captain Davis, Lord Mornington's aide-de-camp serving with the Scotch Brigade company as a volunteer, two men of the Scotch Brigade (Privates Peter Duckett and James Mollison), and two seamen.

In his official despatch to the Admiralty on the action Admiral Rainier, the Commander-in-Chief on the East Indies station, made special mention of the "company of His Majesty's Scotch Brigade, embarked by order of His Excellency the Governor-General."

The *Sybille* remained with *La Forte* at anchor off the Sandheads for four days, refitting and rigging masts and shifting the French prisoners. These were divided between the two ships, 110 in each, under guard of the Scotch Brigade, half the company taking over charge on board each ship. Then, taking her captive in tow, the *Sybille* started for Saugor Roads at the mouth of the Hooghly where the Indiaman fleet usually anchored on arrival. At the next spring tide the two proceeded to Kedgerree, fifteen miles, as high up as a ship of the *Sybille's* draught could go with her guns on board. *La Forte* was practically cleared out there and the remains of her guns and heavy gear landed, in order that she might proceed at the next spring tides up to Kidderpore, close to Calcutta, where there was a repairing dock and means of refitting. *La Forte* was also surveyed and valued at Kedgerree for the Admiralty Court to decide as to her purchase into the Navy as "lawful prize" and what prize-money her captors should receive. As filling the place of Marines the Scotch

Brigade company were entitled to a share of the proceeds of the purchase money.

At Kedgerree the notification was made that a special gratuity would be given by the East India Company to the captors of *La Forte*. "Out of consideration for the destruction of a very formidable Enemy to the interests of the Honourable Company and those of the commercial part of India," ran the notification, "the Indian Government has agreed to take over all the guns, stores and fittings, though paying more than they are worth and though the repairs to them will take a large sum." The proceeds came to 30,235 sicca rupees, between £4,000 and £5,000 in English money, and with the £12,500 paid by the Admiralty on purchasing *La Forte* into the Navy was in due course divided among all ranks and ratings on board the *Sybille* in the action.*

Leaving the *Sybille* to refit at Kedgerree with stores brought down from the East India Company shipyard establishment at Diamond Harbour, 27 miles above Kedgerree, *La Forte* was lightened to an empty hull of shallow draught and towed up to Calcutta by the *Sybille*'s boats. She went up with the French prisoners and the wounded on board, and with the Scotch Brigade in charge of the prisoners, who now numbered some 230. The anchoring of *La Forte* with the British flag over the tricolor off Bankshall, by the Kidderpore repairing yard, close to Calcutta, was the signal for a royal salute from the guns of Fort William and flag hoisting and cheering from the shipping in the river. The prisoners were handed over by the Scotch Brigade to the 76th Foot, in garrison at Fort William, where they were lodged. After a short rest at Calcutta, during which the

* As to the material damage to the two ships; the incessant hail of bullets into *La Forte*'s portholes from the Scotch Brigade musketry undoubtedly told on the nerves of the French cannoniers, and helped to account for the almost incredible discrepancy between the damage suffered by *La Forte* and that done to the *Sybille*. More than three hundred shot-holes from cannon shot were counted next day in *La Forte*'s engaged side, which in places was "quite beaten in." Within the ship, in spite of her extra-stout line-of-battleship timbering, everything was literally in splinters or shattered to fragments. Boats, booms, bulk-heads, capstan, binnacle, everything was débris; guns were smashed and dismounted; broken gun carriages lay about everywhere; even the ship's bell had a grape-shot hole through it. The *Sybille*, on the other hand, had just six cannon shot in her hull, one of which had gone through both sides, and only a small number of grape shot were visible, sticking in her timbers. Aloft, the *Sybille* had suffered in splintered masts and yards and torn sails, but the masts still stood, while those of *La Forte*, shot through within the hull, or close above the deck, had all three come crashing down.

The East India Company gratuity, it may be added, came to less than was hoped for, most of the guns on board *La Forte* being found, according to inventory, which exists in manuscript at the India Office, to be "so damaged as to be only old iron," and the gun carriages "so damaged as to be only fit for firewood." Among the items catalogued were complete sets of cavalry equipment, chests of arms, muskets and bayonets, and a number of blunderbusses meant for Tippoo's troops, which *La Forte* had not had opportunity of landing. The Indian Government took over these for the use of their own sowar and sepoy regiments.

Scotch Brigade men and the towing-boat's crews from the *Sybilie* were made guests of the authorities and enjoyed themselves at the public expense, the party returned down stream to Kedgerie and rejoined the ship in the last week of April.

The refitting of the *Sybilie* was completed by the third week of May and at the next spring tides, the ship dropped down stream to Saugor Roads, in readiness to put to sea. Captain Cooke died from his wounds at Chowringhee (Calcutta) on May 23rd. He was buried with full state funeral ceremony : minute guns from Fort William, and an escort of the 76th Foot, who furnished the graveside firing party while the 2nd Bengal European Regiment lined the streets. The monument erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey by the East India Company, speaks of the action in which Captain Cooke fell, as " an event not more splendid in its achievement than important in its results to British trade in India."

At the end of May the *Sybilie* sailed for Trincomalee naval yard, there to complete details of her refitment beyond the resources of the Indiaman dockyard at Diamond Harbour. On her way, after a rough beat down the Bay of Bengal in the teeth of the south-west monsoon, on June 15th she brought-to off Madras Roads and landed the company of the Scotch Brigade.

At Madras the company rejoined the wing of the Scotch Brigade from which it had been detached in February, the portion of the Scotch Brigade which followed from the Cape after Head-quarters and the six companies brought by H.M.S. *Sceptre* with General Baird. They had been retained in garrison at Fort St. George while their more fortunate comrades of the first arrival had gone forward with the General to join the " Grand Army " in camp at Vellore.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE MYSORE WAR OF 1799. START OF THE "GRAND ARMY" FROM VELLORE. ACTION AT MALAVELLY. THE SCOTCH BRIGADE CHARGED BY TIPPOO'S CAVALRY. ACCOUNT BY GENERAL HARRIS, THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. NIGHT ENCOUNTER IN THE SULTANPETTAH TOPE. CAPTURE OF THE SULTANPETTAH TOPE. ATTACKS ON THE OUTWORKS OF SERINGAPATAM. THE STORMING OF SERINGAPATAM. THE SCOTCH BRIGADE IN THE ADVANCE OF THE RIGHT COLUMN ALONG THE RAMPARTS. CASUALTIES TO OFFICERS. VELLORE. THE POLYGAR WAR, 1801-2. MADRAS.

1799

HEAD-QUARTERS and the six companies of the Scotch Brigade who joined the "Grand Army" went through the campaign under the command of Major Skelly. Lieut.-Colonel Scott had temporarily quitted the Scotch Brigade on reaching Vellore Camp to take charge of a newly formed brigade of Madras native troops, with whom he served until after the fall of Seringapatam. Owing to the holding back at Madras of the four companies the strength of the Scotch Brigade in the Mysore campaign was not more than 559 of all ranks.

The six companies of the Scotch Brigade with Head-quarters arrived at Vellore in the third week of January 1799 and reported to Colonel Arthur Wellesley of the 33rd Foot (later the Duke of Wellington) who was in charge of the camp. The organization of the Mysore field force during the past three months, first at Wallajabad (40 miles south-west of Madras) and then at Vellore, had been Colonel Wellesley's work. It had at length been accomplished and all was ready when the Scotch Brigade marched into the camp.

A few days later, on January 29th, General George Harris (Major-General, with the local rank of Lieut.-General) assumed the supreme command of the "Grand Army" which was thereupon organized in six infantry brigades. The Scotch Brigade, six companies, were appointed to Major-General Baird's command, the First Brigade, which included also the 12th and 74th Foot. The First Brigade with the Third and Fifth Brigades constituted the Right Wing of the "Grand Army." The "Grand Army" now totalled in round numbers 21,000 of all arms. It was to co-operate

with a force of 6,000 from the Bombay side and with the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force of 16,000 cavalry and infantry, then coming down from the north.

Lord Mornington's efforts to obtain from Tippoo a satisfactory explanation of his intrigues with the French and a definite settlement as to future relations with the British Government, having finally failed, the Governor-General on February 3rd issued instructions to General Harris to advance from Vellore and open hostilities. The Commander-in-Chief was to forward the British ultimatum to Tippoo on crossing the Mysore frontier. Orders were sent at the same time for the Bombay force, which had landed at Cannanore on the Malabar Coast, to cross the frontier on that side. The Hyderabad force was ordered to join the "Grand Army" at an early date.

The "Grand Army" moved forward on February 11th and was joined on the 18th near Amboor by the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, which was then placed under Colonel Wellesley, with the 33rd Foot added in support. The advance, owing to difficulties over transport arrangements, had to be by short stages at first, and was somewhat slow and protracted. It was not until March 6th that the Mysore frontier was crossed near the fort of Ryacottah. Lord Mornington's "Declaration" was despatched to Seringapatam from there and the advance continued, the army marching in two parallel columns, with the cavalry in front and rear. The British force was on the left and the Hyderabad force on the right. Enclosed between them were the baggage vehicles with 120,000 bullocks, elephants and camels and a vast horde of attendants, coolies and bazaar followers.

The enemy were sighted immediately the frontier was crossed. They consisted of about 5,000 Mysore horse who were burning villages and laying waste the country directly in front, in the expected path of the advance. Serious delay however was caused immediately afterwards by a complete breakdown of the transport animals which died by hundreds, owing to the defective arrangements for their provisioning of the Madras authorities. Marches after that could only be made every other day. The neighbourhood of Bangalore was reached on March 14th, when a considerable force of Tippoo's horse in formed bodies began to appear. They were however dispersed by the light artillery with the British cavalry. The army then changed direction and moved southward towards Kankanhalli, which enabled a part of the country to be reached which had not been ravaged by the Mysore horse. The move to the south took the enemy by surprise. Difficulties in bringing up the siege-train ammunition, owing to the condition of the animals however continued, and a bare five miles a day was the average rate of progress. It was then, on March 21st, reported that Tippoo

and his main army were a little more than a day's march in front, strongly posted and prepared to dispute the passage of the River Madoor.

Tippoo, who at the outset had assembled his entire army on the Madoor, had, on the very day that General Harris crossed his eastern frontier (March 6th), moved west in force and attacked the Bombay column as it reached his western frontier at Sedaseer; only, however, to be driven back after a sharp engagement, following on which he had returned to face the slowly approaching Grand Army.

No action however resulted at the Madoor, the enemy falling back hastily towards Malavelly in the direction of Seringapatam on the main road. The river was then crossed without opposition. Considerable difficulties about water were next experienced, the wells and tanks being found poisoned with "milk hedge," a strong poison, which caused violent sickness among many of the men, and deaths among a number of the animals. The Mysore horse meanwhile kept swarming round the flanks, killing many of the camp followers while out foraging near the line of march.

On March 26th, when within five miles of Malavelly, the enemy again began to appear in force, and on the army camping for the night, parties of Mysore infantry and cavalry, with guns and elephants, were reported on the move along a ridge a short way on the further side of Malavelly village. A general action next day was now certain, and at daybreak on the 27th the army moved out from camp with every hope of dealing the enemy a decisive blow.

The main force moved along the high road towards Malavelly with the cavalry in front and the Hyderabad force marching parallel to it on the left, covering the siege-train column and baggage. Proceeding cautiously, when within a mile of Malavelly village, the Mysore cavalry were seen mustering in force opposite the main column of the British force. The Mysore infantry were on a ridge beyond the village. The enemy's guns were moving to the south, making for a position to enfilade the British as they advanced. Orders were now given for the Hyderabad force under Wellesley to attack the enemy's right flank, the British cavalry working in support, while the right or main column, headed by the First Brigade and led by General Harris in person, advanced directly on the enemy's centre. The Second and Fourth Brigades, with Colonel Scott's Sixth Brigade, were echeloned so as to prevent an attack on the baggage.

The enemy however did not wait for these dispositions to be completed. They fell back to a second line of heights in rear, on which General Harris directed preparations to be made for encamping just beyond the village, covered by two cavalry regiments and the pickets of the army. As the troops halted artillery fire opened from the enemy. On seeing the camp

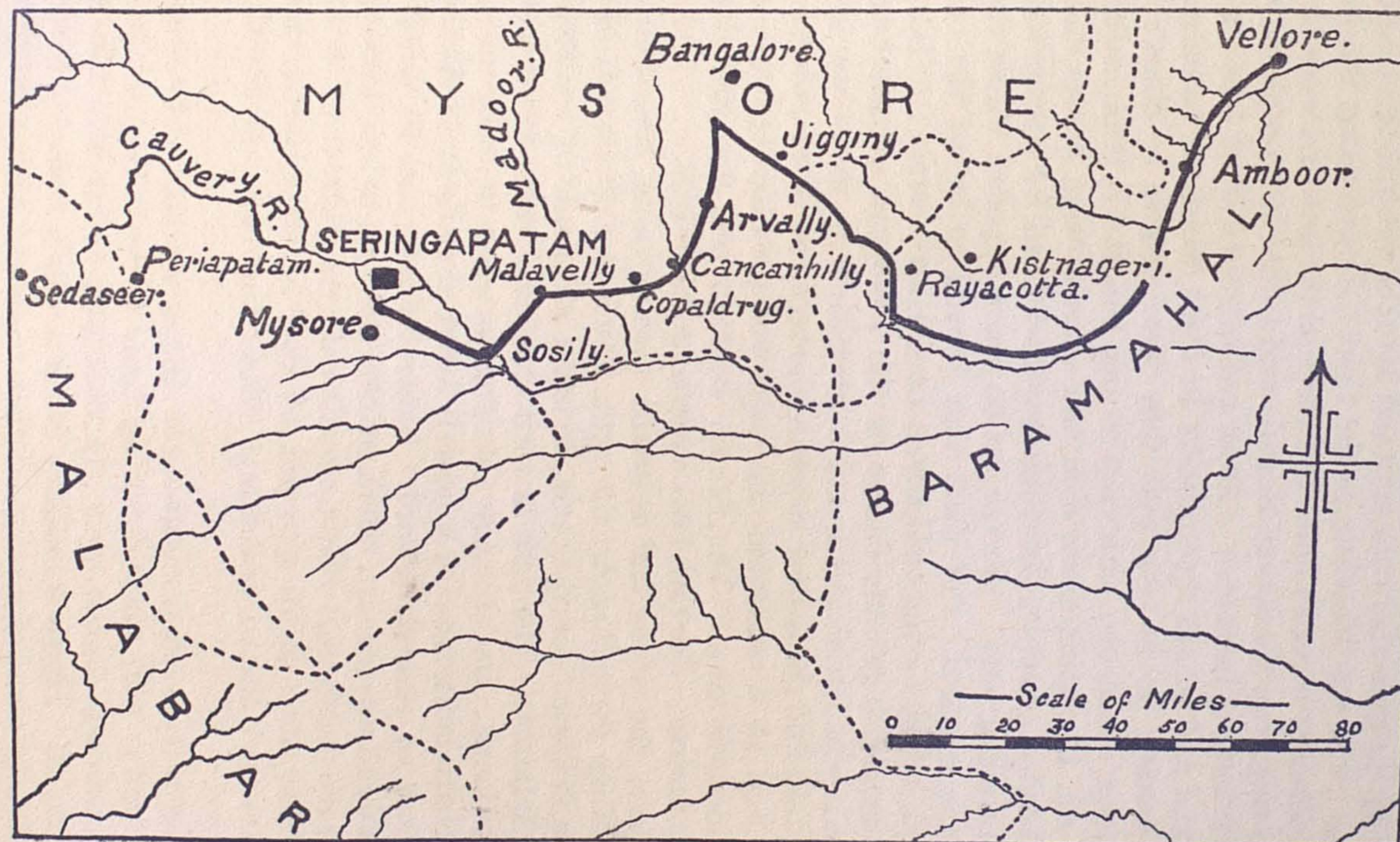
being marked out, Tippoo, who was present with his main body, began a long-range gun fire on the parties raising the tents. At the same time his cavalry began to move in a threatening manner towards the right of the British main column. More enemy guns then came into action, replied to by General Harris ordering up his artillery, while the three brigades of the Right Wing in the main column formed on the left of the advanced pickets.

As described in letters from officers who were with the Right Wing and stationed in the part of the battlefield where the Scotch Brigade were engaged, this was the course of events in that quarter.

Just as the army was about to encamp and the lascars were pitching the tents on a sandy plain, a few hundred yards behind the ancient mud fort of Malavelly, a sudden cannonade opened from a height a mile and a half in front. Parties of the enemy also began to push forward, but the pickets of the 12th Foot and the Scotch Brigade attacked them and beat them off. The Right Wing troops then advanced in close column of battalions towards the enemy, during which movement large bodies of hostile infantry and cavalry came into view. At the same time groups of Mysore rocket-men began to fire at our advanced guard parties, but soon gave over and drew off. The Right Wing battalions deployed as they came within a few hundred yards of the heights where the enemy were formed up, and then all advanced to some rising ground whence Tippoo's whole force was made out, halted not far in front.

Immediately facing the 12th Foot and Scotch Brigade a large body of horse in wedge formation, headed by two elephants carrying howdahs, were drawn up. They were making ready to charge and the two regiments halted to receive them. As they did so, larger masses of Tippoo's cavalry, several thousands strong—"apparently about 12,000" according to one officer—began to close up in rear of the advanced wedge of horsemen. Immediately afterwards the cavalry charged, firing muskets from the saddle and shouting and yelling as they approached.

Not a shot was fired in reply from our side. The two battalions stood waiting with arms at the recover until the enemy were within fifty yards. Then, as the galloping rush neared, on the word of command muskets were levelled and a volley blazed out all along the line. The Commander-in-Chief himself, Lord Harris, ordered the firing. He had just before ridden up and was close in rear of the Scotch Brigade. "I ordered the men," wrote Lord Harris describing the encounter, "to get ready but not to fire until they came quite close. There was no time to call to the commanding officers." The volley brought down the leaders of the onset right along the front and instantly checked the charge. The horsemen pulled up, hesitated, and then swerved off and raced wildly down the line.



MYSORE—ROUTE OF THE "GRAND ARMY," 1799.

"I gave the words 'Present' and 'Fire,' so opportunely," continues Lord Harris, "that about forty men fell within several yards of us. One man was bayoneted by the grenadier company and another cut through that company close to me. The rest wheeling to the right galloped along the front."

Half a dozen or so other horsemen reached the line and were bayoneted. Rapid file firing from the Scotch Brigade and 12th Foot completed the overthrow of the mass of horsemen. As an eye-witness's letter tells, "a rampart of fallen men and horses rose quickly in front which so embarrassed the horsemen coming up in rear that they were unable to charge through. The elephants, maddened with pain as the bullets hit them, swung round and made off, trampling down men and overthrowing horses and flinging off their smashed howdahs, the chiefs inside who had led the opening charge tumbling headlong out." So the action went opposite where the Scotch Brigade were engaged. For them that proved to be all the battle. In his despatch to the Governor-General, Lord Harris wrote: "The enemy's cavalry hazarded a resolute charge on the European brigade commanded by Major-General Baird, but found it impossible to make any impression on H.M.'s 12th and the Scotch Brigade who received them with the greatest steadiness and by a continued close and well-directed fire repulsed them with considerable loss." The Scotch Brigade had one man killed and five men wounded. The 12th Foot suffered no casualties.

Elsewhere, the enemy had delivered their opening attack on the third regiment of the First Brigade, the 74th, which was on the left of the 12th and Scotch Brigade. On that side the onset was made by a massed column of Mysore infantry. The 74th in their encounter came in for a somewhat rough experience. Impetuously charging forward to meet the oncoming enemy the battalion got out of hand as it followed up its first volley, delivered as Tippoo's men rushed forward. General Baird had to gallop forward and halt and re-form the line, which enabled the 74th to hold their opponents while the 12th and Scotch Brigade dealt with the Mysore horse in front of them. It was when Baird galloped off that General Harris, seeing what was happening, came to take charge where the 12th and Scotch Brigade were engaged.

Wellesley's Hyderabad troops were similarly attacked by others of the Mysore infantry, who came down on them in swarming masses, said to number upwards of 10,000 men. In that part of the field the 33rd Foot bore the brunt. Tippoo's infantry faced a volley from the 33rd at sixty yards and only checked as the British bayonets were closing on them. As they did so, as they hesitated in front of the bayonets, the horsemen of General Floyd's First Cavalry Brigade, the 19th Light Dragoons with two Madras cavalry regiments, crashed into them from one flank. The

charge, made at full gallop, broke up the enemy into a panic-stricken mob, among whom the sabres of the cavalry did deadly execution. The charge took place just as the Mysore cavalry swerved off in front of the 12th and Scotch Brigade. Together with that it settled the fate of the action. Tippoo made no effort to support his first attack, and attempted no second effort. Becoming anxious at the possibility of losing his artillery should the British press forward, he retired his whole force to a ridge of high ground some two miles in rear. The enemy halted there while their guns moved off along the Seringapatam road, and then all retreated rapidly. The British followed them up for 2 miles beyond where the action had taken place. After a short halt there, General Harris ordered a general withdrawal to the former camping ground, there being no water supply within reach ahead.

Tippoo fell back on the north side of the Cauvery along the high road westward to Seringapatam, leaving a strongly posted force in position at Arakery, a short distance from Seringapatam. He expected the British to follow the same route as that taken by Lord Cornwallis in the campaign of seven years before, when Seringapatam was attacked on the north and north-east side. Anticipating an advance on that line Tippoo ordered the villages along the road and stacks of grain and forage to be destroyed and the whole countryside in that direction laid waste. General Harris, however, had planned an easier, if somewhat less direct, line of march. He had decided to attack Seringapatam on the south-west side of the fortress. By approaching along the south bank of the Cauvery he would the more easily join with the Bombay force, now nearing Seringapatam. The new route of approach was a complete surprise to Tippoo, and entirely disconcerted his plan of defence.

General Harris advanced on the day following the action at Malavelly, March 28th, moving towards the small riverside fort of Sosily, covering a ford across the Cauvery. There, on March 29th and 30th, the army crossed the river. The Cauvery at Sosily, though upwards of 300 yards wide, was, at the ford, not more than between 2 and 3 feet deep. The transfer of the army to the south bank of the Cauvery gave General Harris command of practically unlimited resources in grain and fodder supplies, in addition to turning Tippoo's intended line of defence. "All the villages," says Lieut.-Colonel Beatson who, as Surveyor-General to the Army in the field, went forward with the advance-guard cavalry, "though abandoned by the inhabitants, were filled with forage of which there were many stacks in the open fields. The country was open and delightful: the soil rich and fertile: neither fires nor the enemy's horse in sight: in short, the whole scene was a pleasing contrast to that to which, for some time before, we had been accustomed. . . . Many advantages were derived from this

movement, since it enabled the army to take up its position before Seringapatam, with full bazaars and an ample supply of cattle and sheep."

March 31st was a day of rest in camp, during which intelligence came in that Tippoo had withdrawn his infantry and guns into Seringapatam. He himself, with the cavalry, it was reported, had crossed the river to the south side, where, on the army again advancing next day, enemy horsemen began to show in front. On April 2nd, during a short 3 miles march forward, the Mysore cavalry appeared in force, keeping about 2 miles in front. During that afternoon, when the British again encamped, "a person seemingly of distinction and afterwards ascertained to be Tippoo Sultan, reconnoitred for several hours from a hill in front."

The Mysore cavalry fell back steadily in front of the advance next day (April 3rd), and then, on the British advanced guard reaching the last ridge before the evening halt, Seringapatam came in sight. A reconnaissance next morning showed Tippoo's infantry in position for action on the east side of the fortress. General Harris, however, had no intention of giving the enemy battle there. He continued his move forward and was not attacked. "The army," again in the words of Lieut.-Colonel Beatson, "on the morning of the 4th, marched by the left, keeping on the high grounds about four miles from the fort of Seringapatam. The Sultan had a full view of the whole of our line as it passed. Although his horse had appeared in front and on our right, we were suffered to pass without the least molestation."

At that evening's halt the flank companies of the Scotch Brigade were warned for a night operation, together with the flank companies of the 12th and 74th Foot. A considerable force of enemy "rocket-men" had been reported in force in a large grove of cocoa-trees, bamboo and betel shrubs, known as the Sultanpettah Tope, from the name of a village near by. They were occupying the tope, in front of our advanced pickets, "apparently," says Colonel Beatson, "for the purpose of annoying our next march." Major-General Baird was directed to make a night attack on them and clear them out. It proved an adventurous experience for all concerned.

The flank companies started an hour before midnight, but, after entering the tope, they found that the enemy had evacuated it. It was pitch dark and the tope was crossed with irrigation trenches 4 or 5 feet deep, in threading the way among which the staff officer guiding the column by what glimpses of the stars he could obtain between the tree-tops, mistook his bearings. He continued to lead on confidently however until General Baird, becoming suspicious as they neared the outskirts of the tope that they had gone wrong, halted the column. Catching

a firefly the General put it on the glass of his pocket compass and found that they were heading south instead of north ; straight into an enemy camp which was known to be just beyond the tope. The troops were at once faced about and a withdrawal begun in the direction in which the British camp was believed to be. All, though, was not quite over. On the way back, as they silently felt their way in the dark, they suddenly came on a dismounted picket of Tippoo's cavalry. It was a surprise to both sides, but the bayonets of the leading men of the flank companies made short work of the horsemen's effort at resistance. General Baird, after that, taking with him the survivors of the Mysore troopers and the captured horses, continued his retirement without further incident, and towards 3 a.m. was once more in the British camp.

The army resumed its flank march round Seringapatam next day (April 5th) and took up its ground opposite the west face of the fortress, at a distance of about 3,500 yards, the left being close to the River Cauvery. The line of march kept mostly under cover on high ground, wide of the Sultanpettah Tope and the other topes in its vicinity. These had been reoccupied at daylight by the Mysore rocket-men who announced their presence by firing rockets at the nearest British troops which passed in sight ; but without serious effect.

An attempt to drive the rocket-men out of the Sultanpettah Tope was made on the night of April 5th, but failed. It was part of an extended operation that night designed to clear the front and flanks in preparation for breaking ground with the siege works. The enemy, expecting to be attacked after Baird's visit of the previous night, had for the night of the 5th garrisoned Sultanpettah Tope in particular with a number of musketeers, as well as with additional rocket-men. In the result the attack which was made by two regiments, the 33rd Foot and a Bengal sepoy battalion, all under Colonel Wellesley, miscarried. Assailed on all sides in the pitch-black darkness under the trees as they entered the tope, the two flank companies of the 33rd gave way. The remainder of the battalion was led to the shelter of an embankment for the night on which the enterprise was declared at an end.

It fell to the Scotch Brigade next day (April 6th) to take the leading part in avenging the repulse and finally taking possession of Sultanpettah Tope as an outpost for the attack on Seringapatam. The command was given to Colonel Wellesley, by way of compensation for his bitterly felt disappointment at the failure of the night before. At the same time Colonel Shawe, who with the 12th Foot and two native battalions had on the previous night carried an enemy post in a ruined village about 2,000 yards to the north of the Sultanpettah Tope without firing a shot, was to push

forward and drive the enemy from the bank of an aqueduct, a short way in advance, which ran along the front of the British position.

The whole of the Scotch Brigade with the army was employed, together with two battalions of sepoy and four guns and a supporting cavalry detachment of the 25th Light Dragoons. It was a daylight operation this time, starting at 9 a.m., and was briskly and successfully carried out in the face of a sharp fire from the tope and from the aqueduct bank, which also extended beyond Sultanpettah Tope. A few rounds of grape from the field pieces with the Scotch Brigade checked the enemy's musketry at the outset. Then, as outflanking parties pushed into the wood and threatened the defenders on either side, the rocket-men and musketeers garrisoning Sultanpettah, who numbered upwards of 5,000 altogether, according to one account, gave way and beat a hasty retreat out of the wood. The success of the attack, both there and where Colonel Shawe forced the enemy back with a similar flanking rush and final dash in with the bayonet, secured a strongly connected line of advanced posts, extending from Sultanpettah north to the Cauvery for a distance of about two miles. So the way was cleared for beginning work on the first parallel facing the south-west front of Seringapatam.

The next three weeks were mainly occupied in completing arrangements for the siege and in collecting materials for constructing the breaching batteries. Activities were confined to long-range exchanges of artillery fire with the fortress. General Stuart's force from Bombay joined the Grand Army on April 16th and camped on the north side of the Cauvery. There additional batteries were now begun in order to enfilade the west front of Seringapatam, in particular, in the vicinity of where it was intended to form the breach and assault the walls. Convoys with food supplies were also brought up during the interval from the Baramahal district escorted by cavalry.

Then, on April 26th, all being ready, a second push forward of the advanced line was ordered to drive in the enemy's outpost positions and to enable the heavy guns to be brought up to the third parallel for forming the breach, close in front of the ramparts near the north-west angle of the fort. Colonel Wallace of the 74th had general charge of the operation. Two columns were formed for the attack, one headed by the Scotch Brigade. "The column which was to attack the enemy's right," in the words of Lieut.-Colonel Beatson, "consisted of four companies of the Scotch Brigade, and four of Bengal sepoy, under the command of Major Skelly. A little after sunset they advanced rapidly from the head of our approaches, stormed the entrenchment with great spirit and threw the enemy into such confusion that they were obliged to retreat. At the same instant a similar attack was

made, with equal success, by Lieut.-Colonel Money Penny, with four companies of His Majesty's 73rd and four of Bengal Volunteers. Both columns now inclined to the right and pursued the enemy, who continued firing as they retreated. The object of our attack being obtained, it was no longer necessary to expose our men to the enemy's guns and musketry by which they were at this time severely galled. Colonel Money Penny and Major Skelly therefore took post in the aqueduct, which before had formed a ditch to the enemy's entrenchment, and now became our third parallel."

On the following day (April 27th) the Scotch Brigade made a second advance, to capture a large ruined building, surrounded with mounds of fallen masonry, near the bank of the Little Cauvery. The enemy had re-occupied the building during the previous night, with the result that their musketry was so galling at daybreak on the 27th that it rendered the newly acquired posts almost untenable. During the night also the enemy retook possession of a "circular work," as it is described, near by, and began firing from that in the morning. Three companies of the 73rd were sent by Colonel Wallace against the circular work and speedily captured it. Major Skelly at the same time, "with a few men with great spirit attacked the enemy in the old building and dislodged them. The possession of this post, which was named 'Skelly's Post,' and of the circular work, named 'Wallace's Post,' perfectly secured the whole line of advanced posts from any further annoyance from the enemy's musketry." The captured posts were linked up during the night with the forward line previously gained, a double entrenchment being made round Skelly's Post with a trench line to Wallace's Post and a strong force of troops placed to hold the section. The whole new line "formed a very strong parallel of seven hundred yards in length," which, on the approaches being completed, enabled the main breaching battery to be rapidly placed in position for opening fire.

The guns were placed in position everywhere during the next four days, and at sunrise on May 2nd the bombardment of Seringapatam began, the first battery opening on the curtain, 60 yards to the right of the north-west bastion, the point at which the breach was to be made. All the batteries, mounting twenty-nine heavy guns and six howitzers, joined in during the morning with such effect that by sunset a practicable breach had been made in the *fausse braye*, while the main rampart appeared to be so shattered that a few hours' more firing would certainly bring it down. The next day's cannonade completed the destruction, with the result that by the end of the afternoon the main breach was reported practicable. Orders were thereupon issued for the assault to take place next morning (May 4th), and during the night the troops appointed for the service filed down to their stations in the advanced trenches. They were brought forward in small

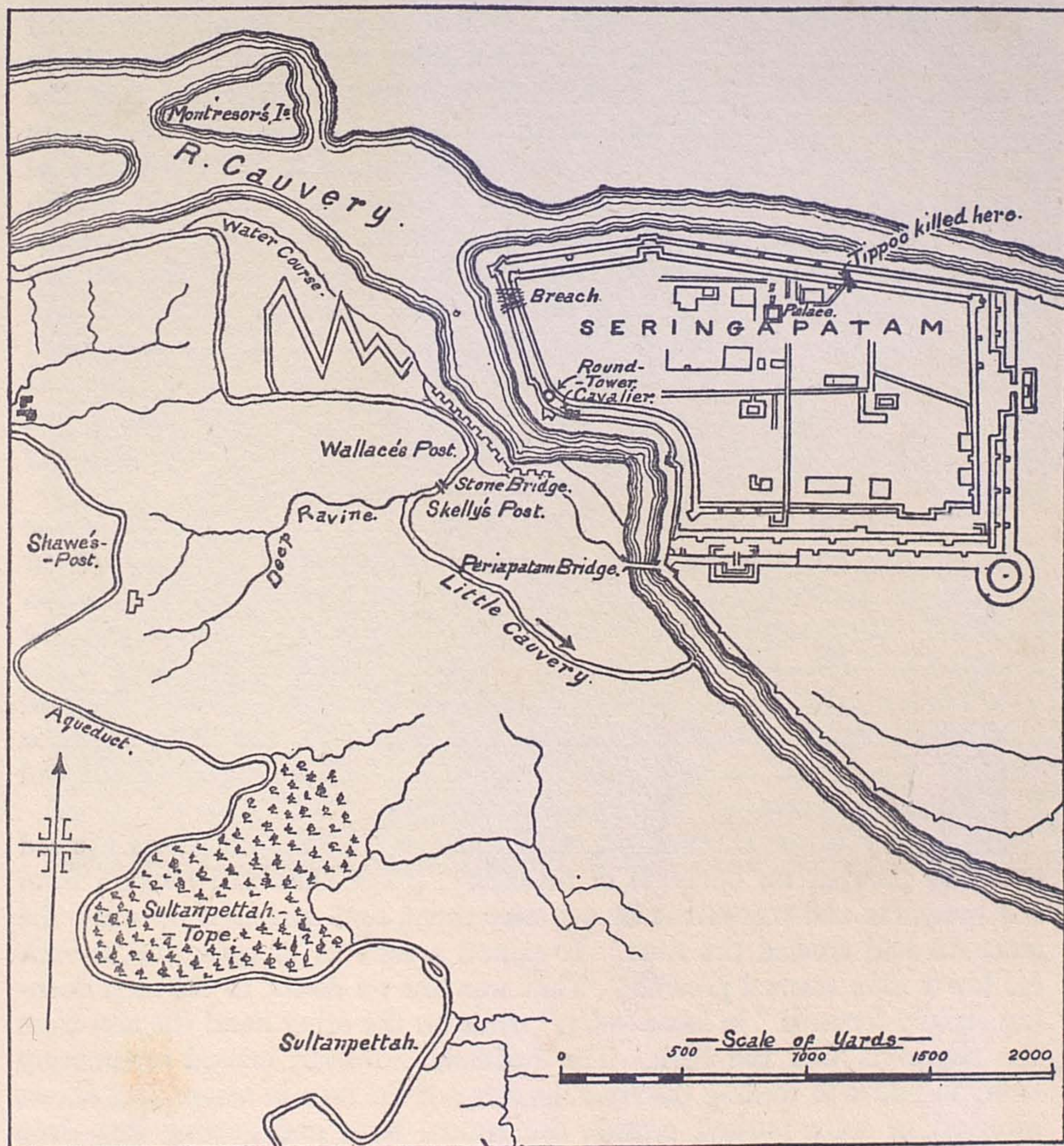
parties as silently as possible, so as not to attract the enemy's attention.

The storming force was to comprise 2,500 British troops and 1,800 native infantry. They were to be formed into two columns, all under the command of Major-General Baird, who, at his own expressed wish, was to lead the assault. Colonel Wellesley was appointed to take charge in the trenches with other troops, in readiness to support the assaulting troops.

Major-General Baird's two columns were to ascend the breach together and then separate on gaining the ramparts. One column was to turn to the right, and the other to the left, after which both were to fight their way along the walls round the fortress to the east front where they would again unite and being reinforced by the supporting troops await further orders. The column to attack along the north side designated as the "Left Attack," was in charge of Colonel Dunlop of the 77th Foot. It comprised six European flank companies from battalions of the Bombay force, together with the 12th and 33rd Foot, ten flank companies of Bengal sepoy battalions and fifty artillerymen and gun-lascars; these last accompanying the assaulting troops so as to be available for turning guns captured on the ramparts on the enemy. The column to attack along the ramparts on the south side, termed the "Right Attack," which General Baird accompanied, was under the command of Colonel Sherbrooke of the 2nd Brigade. It comprised the flank companies of the Scotch Brigade, each made up to 131 strong, the grenadier companies of the 73rd and 74th Foot, and fourteen flank companies of Madras and Bombay sepoy battalions, with fifty artillerymen and gun-lascars.

The companies of the Scotch Brigade each comprised two captains, four lieutenants, one assistant-surgeon, five sergeants, and rank and file.

Details were carefully arranged beforehand. Each column was to be accompanied by European and native pioneers and parties of men from the battalion companies of the regiments leading the attack, carrying scaling ladders. In addition, hatchets were to be carried by the leading flank company in each attack. A forlorn-hope of a sergeant and twelve men, all volunteers, was to head each attack with, close in support, a subaltern and twenty-five men. "The leading companies of each attack," ran the orders for the assault circulated to officers by General Baird, "are to use the bayonet principally and not to fire but in case of absolute necessity." On no account were the stormers to quit the ramparts to attack within the fortress, except to seize cavaliers in their immediate neighbourhood. Every cavalier or strong post captured was to be held by the battalion companies of the supporting European troops, "so as to free the flankers and keep them in full force to carry on their attack in front and ready to assault the body of the town and the Sultan's palace."

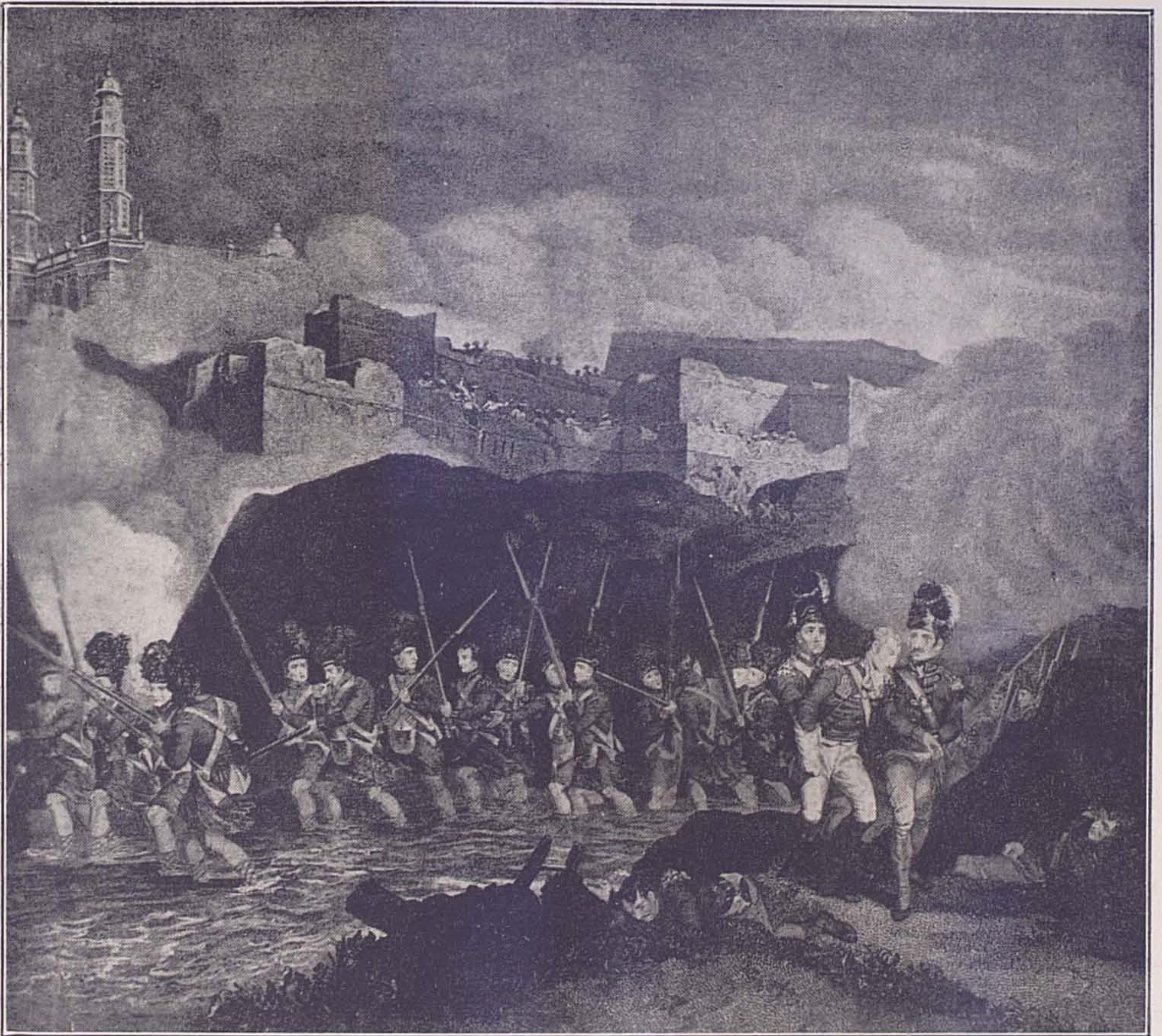


SERINGAPATAM.

Daybreak on May 4th was the time first fixed for the assault. It was, however, then decided that an hour after noon would be a better time and cause less loss of life in the assaulting force and the hour was altered to 1 p.m. The enemy, it was thought, would most likely be off their guard just then, resting, if not asleep after the midday meal, and be least likely to expect an attack. There were no signs during the forenoon that the enemy had any suspicion of an assault, and on the British side everything appeared as usual. The stormers, waiting assembled in the third parallel trenches, kept close under cover while the artillery cannonaded the breach and enfiladed the ramparts on either side as on the day before. What the enemy might have noticed, but did not, was that the place where the Cauvery was to be forded, directly in front of the breach, had been staked out with guiding rods on either side of the passage across. That had been done secretly and silently by engineer officers after midnight on May 3rd. At the place selected for crossing the river the water was less than 3 feet deep and only 18 inches in parts. There was deep water and a rocky bottom on either side and the distance across was 280 yards.

Major-General Baird himself gave the signal for attack, just after one o'clock. At the same moment the enfilading batteries intensified their fire and the breaching battery guns changed from shot to blank cartridge. Stepping out on to the parapet Baird drew his sword and called to those nearest him, "Men, are you all ready?" "Yes!" came the answer. "Then forward, my lads," called the General, and both storming parties, with Baird in advance, swarmed over the parapet and rushed for the river, the near bank of which was just 100 yards from the first parallel. Both Right and Left Attack columns left the trenches together.

The enemy, however, were not caught asleep. As the red coats showed over the parapet an outburst of musketry, grape shot and rockets from the ramparts and top of the breach met them, and was kept up until the stormers had crossed the river. It caused a number of casualties, though far fewer than seemed possible. That was due no doubt to the men dashing rapidly forward "in loose order," while on the other hand the aim from the ramparts was too high. The fusillade, however, caused momentary delay in places in fording the river, as some of the men in scrambling across swerved, or were pushed, outside the staked lines and getting into deep water had to be hauled back. But there was no real check, and the two columns, racing side by side, crossed the glacis and the shallow outer ditch, and gained the foot of the fallen masonry of the breach. There were steps down into the ditch so that the scaling ladders were not wanted. Close to the walls the assailants were for the moment partially sheltered from the enemy above by the steep slope of the ascent up the breach. The enfilad-



THE STORMING OF SERINGAPATAM.

4th May 1799.

ing batteries sweeping through the clustering enemy ranks on the ramparts helped further at that moment to demoralize the defence.

General Baird, who had led the way across the river, "following close to the forlorn-hope and cheering the men forward," continued to lead up the breach among the foremost. There was sharp hand-to-hand fighting on the upper portion of the breach, where a number of Tippoo's "Tiger Grenadiers," a picked corps, so called from the striped and spotted pattern on their purple uniform coats, came part of the way down to meet the assailants. In the encounter here Colonel Dunlop, while heading the men of his column, the Left Attack, was disabled by a sword-cut on the wrist. The preliminary success was now soon complete. The breach was won within six minutes of leaving the trenches. To let General Harris and the Head-quarter staff know that a footing had been secured on the ramparts a Colour was waved aloft directly the columns reached the top. What the Head-quarters party saw of the opening assault is thus described by a staff officer with General Harris. "About a quarter past one, as we were anxiously peering, telescope in hand, at the ford and the intermediate ground between our batteries and the breach, a sharp and sudden discharge of musquetry and rockets along the western face of the post announced to us that General Baird and the column of assault were crossing the ford, and immediately afterwards we perceived our soldiers in rather loose array rushing towards the breach." Then, "after a short and appalling interval we saw the acclivity of the breach covered with a cloud of crimson and in a few minutes afterwards observed the files passing rapidly to right and left."

"In a few minutes more," relates Lieut.-Colonel Beatson, accompanying General Baird and the Right Attack column led by the flank companies of the Scotch Brigade, "the breach, 100 feet wide, was crowded with men, who, being now collected in sufficient force to enter upon the rampart, filed off to the right and left, according to General Baird's instructions. The movement of the columns was confined to a narrow space, the breadth of the rampart. Of the Left Attack little could be distinguished, as the leading companies were soon hid by the cavalier and by those that followed: so far, we perceived that as the column advanced the enemy retired, and another flag was shortly displayed upon the north-west bastion. To the right of the breach we had a distinct view of every movement. Here, the enemy retreated the moment our men advanced upon them with the bayonet. Captain Molle, commanding the grenadier company of the Scotch Brigade, was very conspicuous; almost singly he pursued the enemy until he came to the mud cavalier, behind the great round tower (situated on the south rampart about 300 yards from the breach), on which he planted a flag and

displayed his hat on the point of his sword. Under these banners his men soon collected, and being supported by the rest of the troops composing the Right Attack they advanced rapidly and drove the enemy before them. At this moment a small party crossed to the second rampart (an inner wall round Seringapatam with a ditch between it and the outer wall of the south rampart), from which there was no opposition and soon got to the cavalier. . . . The three cavaliers from which it was apprehended the Right Attack would have received great annoyance, fortunately made no resistance. Those stupendous works were abandoned: the Right Attack succeeded in getting possession of them and of the whole of the southern ramparts, and within less than an hour arrived upon the eastern face of the fort."

As each point was gained a flag was hoisted to notify to the Left Attack and the Commander-in-Chief the progress made.

Except at one place, a short distance beyond the round tower mentioned by Colonel Beatson, the enemy on the south rampart made no effective attempt to rally or to counter-attack. The enemy's one serious effort was headed by the officer commanding the French in Tippoo's service, a Colonel Chapuy, with eight or ten other French officers and about 100 French soldiers. The counter-attack led to sharp fighting, a large body of Tippoo's troops following the French lead, and there were a number of casualties in the encounter. The defending force however was finally beaten back by the Scotch Brigade flank companies and the advanced storming parties, after which the Frenchmen retreated to some buildings near by and all surrendered. The Right Attack troops pressed on after that to the last cavalier beyond the south, or Mysore, gate of Seringapatam, where they came in sight of Tippoo's palace. By that time the enemy's resistance had everywhere practically ceased. General Baird then, on the two columns meeting as arranged, ordered a halt "in order to refresh the troops before he proceeded to summon the palace, as they were much exhausted with fatigue and the extreme heat of the day."

By a Return obtained by General Harris from one of Tippoo's officers, at the time of the assault there were in the fortress of Seringapatam 13,739 regular infantry and 8,100 more in the outworks or on the island. In addition, there were 120 French, some 70 of whom had come from Mauritius. Upwards of 8,000 of the defenders were stated to have been casualties.

With that ended the active work of the Scotch Brigade at the taking of Seringapatam. Tippoo had taken part in the defence on the north rampart against the Left Attack and none of the Scotch Brigade were near the gateway where he was killed. Nor were they present at the finding of the body and the final giving up to General Baird of the Mysore princes in the palace, as far as is known.

The casualties of the Scotch Brigade during the campaign and at Seringapatam were returned as fourteen killed, eighty-six wounded and one missing. Captain Hay was killed during the siege operations. Among the officers wounded were Captain Molle, slightly, and Lieutenants McBeath, Innes and Archibald Maclaine. The latter officer was three times wounded during the assault, his injuries keeping him in hospital for over a twelvemonth. Major Skelly, the commanding officer, was specially mentioned in the General Order issued on May 5th.

The British total casualties were: 25 Officers killed and 45 wounded; European rank and file, 181 killed, 622 wounded, and 22 missing; native troops, 119 sepoy killed, 420 wounded, 100 missing.*

The treasure in specie and jewels belonging to Tippoo, captured at Seringapatam, was valued at £1,146,216, and an Order from the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, directed its issue to all ranks forthwith. The distribution was shared out as follows:—

The Commander-in-Chief	£100,000
Generals (each)	£10,000
Colonels	£4,320
Lieut.-Colonels	£2,550
Majors	£1,720
Captains	£864
Lieutenants	£432
Ensigns	£108
Sergeants	£14
Rank and File	£7

A Medal was also granted by the East India Company. Generals, gold; Field Officers, silver gilt; Captains and Subalterns, silver; N.C.O.'s, bronze; Rank and File, tin. Officers in the British Service were not granted permission to wear this until 1851, long after most of those entitled to them were dead.

The Scotch Brigade, on the Grand Army withdrawing to Madras after the fall of Seringapatam, were, with the 33rd Foot and three native bat-

*The well-known set of engravings of the Storming of Seringapatam, a section from one of which is given here, erroneously showing the Scotch Brigade in kilts and plumed bonnets, was made from a huge panorama picture of the event—covering 2,550 square yards of canvas, and 120 feet in length—painted by Sir Robert Ker Porter, a celebrated artist-traveller of the time, which was exhibited in London in 1800. Porter, then only 19 years of age, painted it in ten weeks, and the panorama is said to have “astonished the public.” The engraving, by an Italian named Vendramini, was made from a smaller replica (9 feet long) painted for the engraver by Porter, and now in possession of the Earl of Stair at Lochinch Castle, Kennedy, Wigtownshire, Scotland. Within a few days of the panorama closing, the building in which it was stored was destroyed by fire and the original canvas perished. Vendramini's original engraving proof is in the British Museum Library.

talions, left to garrison the captured fortress, where also Colonel Wellesley was stationed as Governor. The Scotch Brigade were housed in the Toste Khana, described by Wellesley as "one of the best barracks for Europeans that I have seen in India." The four companies who last landed at Madras, from whom the company serving as marines in the *Sybil* had been drawn, as already related, remained at Madras until after the taking of Seringapatam. They furnished the guard of honour to Lord Mornington at Fort St. George in September 1799 on the Governor-General embarking—in the *Sybil* once more—to return to Calcutta. They then rejoined Head-quarters and the six companies who had gone through the Mysore campaign at Seringapatam. The now complete battalion continued in garrison at Seringapatam until October 25th when orders were received to return forthwith to the Carnatic, to the northern area of the Madras Presidency. It was reinforced by a draft of 240 rank and file from Scotland, brought out by Lieutenant Halkett, shortly before leaving Seringapatam. The Scotch Brigade proceeded to Vellore, in which fortress the Mysore princes had been interned, and there became part of the "Northern Division" of the Madras Army, recently reorganized as three Divisions, "Northern," "Centre," and "Southern." The battalion remained in garrison at Vellore for some months, until, early in 1800, Head-quarters and half the battalion moved down to Fort St. George, Madras, leaving at Vellore for a short time five companies under Captain James Allen.

Major Gordon Skelly, as Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, quitted the battalion in 1800, invalided home, and retired from the service shortly afterwards. He was succeeded in the command by Major James Ferrier, nephew of Colonel Ferrier, who had served in the Scotch Brigade since 1795, when he joined from the Royal Scots with the rank of Captain.

1800

The half battalion at Madras, in August and September 1800, were attached to Colonel Stevenson's column operating in the campaign against the Mahratta freebooter Dhoondia Waugh (or Wao), and took part in the final capture of Dhoondia's artillery and camp, following his defeat at Conaghul on September 10th by the co-operating column under Wellesley.

1801-1802

Two companies of the Scotch Brigade, under Major Campbell and Captain Allen, in June 1801 took part in the capture and occupation of the Danish territory and fort at Tranquebar. Denmark had joined the Northern Confederacy against Great Britain, a hostile combination engineered by Russia at the end of 1800, the fate of which was decided by Nelson's

victory at Copenhagen and the subsequent assassination of the Tsar Paul.

From March 1801 to May 1802 the other companies of the Scotch Brigade, split up in detachments, were in the field during the difficult and protracted jungle campaigns in Dindigul and the outlying districts in the south of the Carnatic, known as the Polygar War. The enemy were a number of semi-independent hill rajahs and military chiefs at the head of bands of irregular levies often supplied with artillery, who had revolted against the Madras Government. They resisted everywhere stubbornly and skilfully, and the storming of their hill forts and fastnesses proved on several occasions sanguinary work. The British columns, under Colonels Agnew and Inglis, were exposed throughout the operations to constant harassing attacks; and had usually to cut their way through almost impenetrable jungles fired on from under cover on all sides. Captain Allen, in charge of the flank companies of the Scotch Brigade serving with Colonel Inglis's column, was particularly engaged in actions at Sherwele, Ardingly and Serungapore. Captain Archibald Maclaine, previously wounded at Seringapatam as related, was again, and for the fourth time, wounded when leading another detachment of the Scotch Brigade at the storming of the hill-fort of Panjalumcorchy on May 23rd 1801. At the close of the Polygar War the Scotch Brigade returned to Madras and concentrated there, forming the British regiment in garrison at Fort St. George.*

Major James Ferrier, the Commanding Officer, was promoted to Lieut.-Colonel in 1802. At the same time Major James Campbell, an officer whose brilliant services with the Scotch Brigade as the 94th Foot, during the next twelve years will be repeatedly mentioned in these pages, joined the Scotch Brigade. He exchanged to the battalion from the Argyll Highlanders (the then 91st). Major Campbell joined at Madras in September 1802.

* It may be of interest to record that in 1801, while at Fort St. George, Madras, the Scotch Brigade formed a Masonic Lodge—one of the "Travelling" or "Movable Military Lodges" established in the Army in India in the eighteenth century. It was granted a warrant by the Grand Lodge of England in December 1801 and was in existence as Lodge No. 111 on the Indian Register until March 1806. At that date the Provincial Masonic Authority in Madras reported to Grand Lodge the following: "The Regiment having been so long on Field Service, Lodge No. 111 has been subject to various distresses, particularly the loss of two-thirds of its members, amongst whom were some of its best and brightest ornaments." The Lodge was retained in the Register till 1813 and then was removed from the roll.

CHAPTER XLV

THE SCOTCH BRIGADE NUMBERED AS THE 94th REGIMENT, 1802. THE FIRST MAHRATTA WAR, 1803. FOLLOWING UP THE ENEMY AFTER ASSAYE. CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF ASSEERGHUR. THE 94th AT THE BATTLE OF ARGAM. ADVANCE AGAINST THE FORTRESS OF GAWILGHAR. STORMING OF THE FORTRESS BY THE 94th. DESCRIPTIONS BY OFFICERS PRESENT. CAMPAIGN AGAINST HOLKAR, 1804-5. THE LAST YEAR IN INDIA: PREVENTING A MUTINY AT MADRAS. THE "ELEPHANT" GRANTED AS REGIMENTAL BADGE. THE GOVERNOR'S FAREWELL ORDER. RETURN TO ENGLAND. THE INDIA MEDAL.

1803

IN September 1803, the official notification arrived at Head-quarters from London that the Scotch Brigade, till then without a number in the Army List, had been numbered as the 94th of the Line. The notification actually reached the battalion in the field during the Mahratta War, a few days before the battle of Assaye was fought. The number had been vacant since 1796, when the then 94th (Hutchinson's), raised in 1794, had been disbanded. The official notification as to the numbering of the Scotch Brigade as the 94th had appeared in *The London Gazette* of December 25th 1802, but did not reach Madras until nearly nine months later, in September 1803, when it was sent up-country to the seat of war. The original designation of "Scotch Brigade" was at the same time to continue as an adjunct to the new number, the name of the unit appearing in the Army List thus—"94th (Scotch Brigade)."

The numbering of the regiment as the 94th, on the announcement reaching India, was a surprise and felt as a keen disappointment to all ranks. They claimed, as the officially revived Scots Brigade, to be one of the oldest, almost indeed the most senior of all, of the regiments in the British Army, on the ground that during the two and a quarter centuries they had served on the Continent, they had really only been attached to, and not incorporated in, the military establishment of Holland. They had been only "lent" to the Dutch Government by Treaty, and had at all times been liable to recall by the British Government. And on several occasions of emergency their recall had been demanded and acquiesced in. They

had always worn the British red coat; had been recruited in Scotland and borne on their Colours the Cross of St. Andrew; had used at all times only the English words of command as in the British Army; had always had as their regimental call and march the ancient Scots "Duty"; their officers had been Scots by lineage and birth, who had, as a condition of their commissions, taken a special oath of allegiance to the British Crown. In the fullest sense they were entitled, they maintained, by seniority of origin and of service, to a place at or at least near the top of the list—or at any rate a special place among the oldest corps. All ranks were greatly aggrieved at finding their two hundred and thirty years of Continental service ignored and that they had been placed only as the 94th. As Royal Troops of the British Crown, furthermore, the Scots Brigade had, throughout its service in Holland, claimed and been accorded precedence over all Dutch troops; posted, on parade and on the battlefield, on the right of the line, and on the line of march, at the head of any body or column of troops that regiments of the Brigade might be attached to.

The battalion, in the First Mahratta War, which opened in 1803, served with the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force under Colonel Stevenson. It set out for Hyderabad from Fort St. George in the first week of November 1802, and joined Colonel Stevenson on the frontier in March 1803. The Scotch Brigade was the only European corps with the Hyderabad Force in the war. The Hyderabad troops joined the Madras Field Force under Major-General Wellesley, the Commander-in-Chief, on June 3rd, near the Ajunta Ghaut on the north-west border of the Nizam's territory. War with the Mahrattas had not yet been declared, but the aggressive attitude towards the British of the two principal Mahratta princes, Scindia and the Bhonsla Rajah of Berar, and their threatened invasion of the protected State of Hyderabad, left little doubt of hostilities opening at an early date.

The battalion, on joining the camp at Hurryhur, the base of operations on hostilities opening, was at a strength of 1,013 of all ranks, having been brought up to that number by recent drafts from Scotland. Lieut.-Colonel Ferrier, nephew of General Ilay Ferrier, was in command. Although in broken health from the climate, he had lately rejoined from sick leave after a long illness. He was, however, shortly afterwards again forced to go on the sick list, although remaining with his men. In his place Major James Campbell took active charge of the battalion.

On August 6th news was received of the final rupture with Scindia. Wellesley's force was at Poona at the time, after having established the Peishwa in power. Colonel Stevenson's force was guarding the passes on the north-western frontier of the Nizam's Dominions in the vicinity of Aurungabad.

Ahmednagar, attacked by Wellesley as his first objective, surrendered after a brilliantly effected preliminary assault on the outer town, or pettah, on August 12th, an operation that placed in Wellesley's hands a fortress covering the Nizam's western frontier and cut Scindia off from the southern Mahratta chiefs. The 94th and Stevenson's other battalions were in the meanwhile, and all through August, occupied in marching and counter-marching along the long line they had to watch, engaged in parrying and holding up attempted Mahratta raids across the frontier. One raid only, a cavalry raid, made its way through on August 24th by the Ajunta Ghaut and then came to a halt, after which on September 2nd the first clash with the Mahrattas in which the 94th had a part took place. On that day Colonel Stevenson's force assaulted and captured Scindia's fort at Jalna, about 40 miles east of Aurungabad. Stevenson then, while Wellesley turned his attention to Scindia's Deccan army, then some 40 miles off and moving slowly, was directed to make a counter-raid north-eastward into Berar. He was to move by Ellichpur, and if supplied in time with heavy guns attack the fortress of Gawilghar, in addition to, if practicable, striking at Nagpur, Bhonsla's capital. The raiding Mahratta cavalry at Ajunta Ghaut retired on Wellesley's approach, and on being joined on September 21st by a force of sixteen French trained battalions of Scindia's infantry and other troops with artillery, the assembled Mahratta army encamped by the river Kaitna, in the neighbourhood of the village of Assaye. Colonel Stevenson was then at Budnapore near Jalna, where, on September 21st, Wellesley joined him and inspected the 94th for the first time since seeing them as the Scotch Brigade at Seringapatam.

It was now decided that the combined forces should attack the enemy at Assaye in concert on September 24th, and on September 22nd both divisions started. They were to march independently, Wellesley by a route to the eastward of the intervening range of hills, and Stevenson by a route on the western side. As it happened, Wellesley, without waiting for Stevenson to join him, on hearing that the enemy were about to retire, attacked with his own force only and, as all the world knows, routed the enemy at Assaye. A message was sent just before the combat to hasten up Colonel Stevenson, and he marched towards the sound of the guns as best he could, but, misled by his native guides while crossing the hill range, he was unable to get within eight miles of the battlefield before the action was over. Thus it was that the Scotch Brigade, and consequently in due course, The Connaught Rangers, were unable to place "Assaye" among the list of "battle honours" on the Colours.

Colonel Stevenson's troops, wearied out by the excessive toil from their difficulties in crossing the hill range, were unable to join Wellesley, who

remained at Assaye, till the evening of September 24th. There was then a delay of twenty-four hours more before the pursuit of the enemy could begin, Stevenson's surgeons having to be lent to help in dressing the wounded of Wellesley's force, most of whom were suffering from severe cannon-shot injuries. It was in consequence not until the 26th that Stevenson was in a position to take up the pursuit, Wellesley's troops being for the time unable to attempt it.

Colonel Stevenson followed the retreating Mahrattas for some distance towards the river Nerbudda, picking up abandoned artillery on the way. Then, on the enemy dividing into two groups, he received orders to take possession of the fort at Burhampore, a large city, the former capital of Kandeish, some 70 miles from Ajunta on the Nizam's border, and capture the important fortress of Asseerghur, 12 miles north of Burhampore, on the River Tapti, along which Scindia and the Bhonsla Rajah had retreated, moving westward in the hope of arranging for co-operation with Holkar. Wellesley himself remained near Ajunta, occupied with the transport of his wounded from Assaye and watching for the enemy's next move.

The fort at Burhampore, most of the guns of which had been carried off by Scindia in his retreat, was occupied with little opposition on October 19th, after a brush with some of Scindia's rearguard troops near by. Two days later the large and powerful fort of Asseerghur was taken. Although considered the Key of the Deccan, and strongly fortified, Asseerghur fell after a few hours' bombardment, on the pettah or outer town being stormed by the flank companies of the 94th and a sepoy battalion. The Killedar, or Commandant, of the fort surrendered on terms and was allowed to withdraw the garrison on the final summons after the breach had been reported practicable. Colonel Stevenson's force was then ordered to be ready to invade Berar and move against the fortress of Gawilghar, as had been proposed by Wellesley earlier. Heavy guns were being brought up and were near at hand.

Before Stevenson's force could move off, on the morning of November 29th, Wellesley's division joined, and at the same time sudden news arrived which brought about the battle of Argaum. The Bhonsla's Berar army was reported to be camping only 10 miles off, and, on being reconnoitred early in the afternoon, appeared about to move.

Wellesley had not intended to bring on an action that day. He had proposed to halt and camp until next morning as his troops had had a long march and the weather was hot. The discovery, however, on brushing aside the covering screen of Mahratta Horse, that the movements reported earlier had really meant the drawing up of the enemy in order of battle and within 5 miles, on the plain in front of the village of Argaum,

entirely altered the situation. An immediate attack was decided on, although it was three o'clock in the afternoon.

The enemy were drawn up, Scindia's troops on the right, the Berar troops on the left, infantry, horse and guns in masses, and extended in a general line for some 5 miles from wing to wing. They numbered upwards of 50,000, as against 10,000 or 11,000 on the British side. From fifty to eighty heavy guns were ranged along their front, with a clear field of fire over an open plain, which the attack had to cross, for upwards of 1,000 yards.

The battalions of Wellesley's and Stevenson's divisions advanced first for 3 or 4 miles in three columns across cultivated ground overgrown with standing grain crops which reached breast high. Then, at the edge of the open ground, they deployed and all lay down so as to let the enemy's shot from the artillery, which opened immediately the troops came into view, pass overhead harmlessly. Wellesley's division, forming the right of the line, comprised the 74th and 78th Foot, with six sepoy battalions: Stevenson's on the left comprised the 94th Scotch Brigade and six sepoy battalions. After a short delay, caused by two of Wellesley's sepoy battalions getting into confusion by a misadventure under fire at the outset in taking up position, all were in line by half-past four o'clock. To make use of as much of the daylight as remained before sunset, the attack opened at once with a general advance, first of the cavalry with galloper guns on the wings, and then of the infantry in line with bullock-drawn field-guns in intervals.

The artillery, East India Company batteries and battalion guns, all kept firing during the advance, while the infantry "strode forward as if on parade" and in silence. The battalions, out of musketry range at first, had to hold their fire. On the enemy's side the Mahratta guns were firing their hardest; concentrating mostly on the three European battalions, the 74th and 78th and the 94th Scotch Brigade, whose Colours and the cut of their uniform marked them out from the sepoy battalions. Without checking the British moved on rapidly until within musket range. Then a few shots went off and immediately afterwards the "Charge" sounded and all raced forward. They were met all along the line by an attempted counter-charge. A picked force of Scindia's Arab contingent, known as the "Farsi Risala," in a wild swarm rushed Wellesley's wing. The massed Bhonsla Horse at the same moment galloped down on the Scotch Brigade and Stevenson's sepoys of the left wing. Both onsets were received with volleys and were everywhere beaten back. Only a comparatively few of the enemy reached our line, where they were bayoneted. Then suddenly, as the British charge pushed home, as the British line

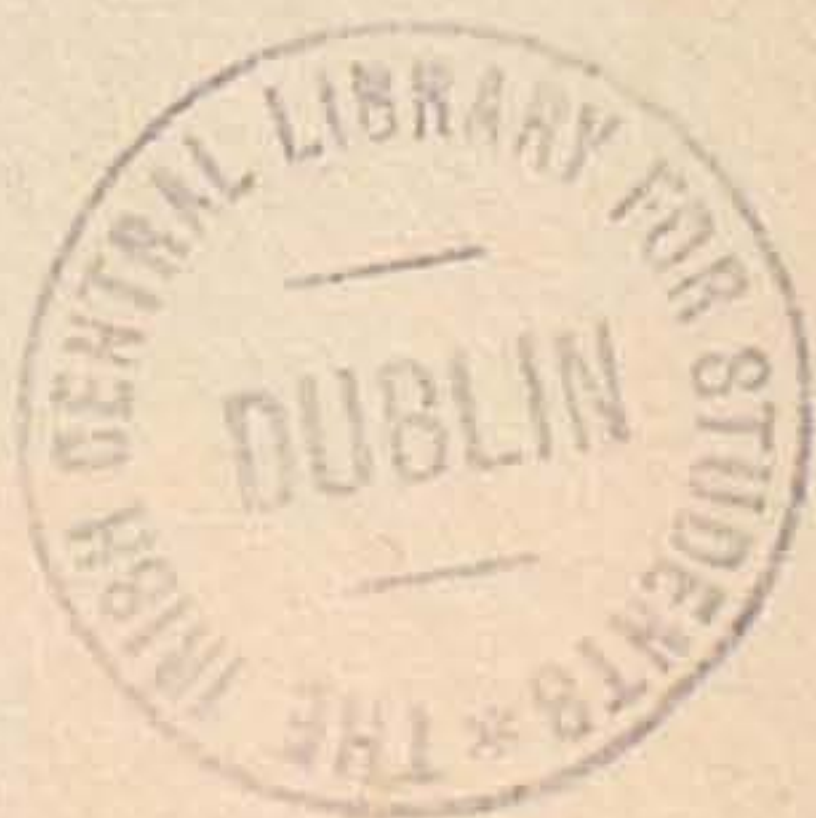
forced its way to within 60 yards, the enemy's guns fired a last discharge and immediately afterwards the whole Mahratta array buckled and broke up at all points. The enemy's horse on the wings had yielded after two weak attacks at either end of the British line, and had gone off in flight just before. The panic that set in among the infantry at seeing themselves abandoned by their mounted comrades spread along the whole long Mahratta line like wildfire and the battle of Argaum was over.

"Major-General Wellesley," says the official despatch on Argaum, dated November 29th 1803, "had particular satisfaction in observing the order and steadiness in which the 94th Regiment, commanded by Major Campbell, advanced to the attack." The battalion was at the time in Major Campbell's charge, Lieut.-Colonel James Ferrier—he had been promoted to that rank early in 1803—being absent on the sick list throughout the campaign. He did not rejoin until the spring of 1804, after the operations had closed. The regimental casualties in the action numbered two killed, thirty-seven wounded, two missing. One officer, Lieutenant James Donald, was mortally wounded and died within a few hours: two officers, Lieutenants John Robertson and Frederick Campbell, were wounded.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note in regard to the Commanding Officer of the 94th in the battle, that in 1816 when Colonel Campbell, C.B., as he then was, was made K.C.B., he was, as stated in *The London Gazette* of April 29th, granted as part of the honourable augmentation to his family arms "a canton charged with an elephant and the word 'ARGAUM.'"

The pursuit of the fugitives by the cavalry lasted until past midnight, aided by bright moonlight. In addition to some 3,000 casualties among the overtaken enemy, the captures of artillery, camp equipage and stores, elephants and camels, were immense. Stevenson's division continued the pursuit next day, following in the track of the Mahratta infantry, some 4,000 or 6,000 of whom had made for Gawilghar fortress and joined the garrison there. Against Gawilghar operations were now at once undertaken. The fortress lay between 35 and 40 miles from Argaum, as the crow flies. Its old walls, stormed by the 94th, still stand, crowning one of the highest peaks of the Satpura range between the sources of the Purna and Tapti rivers, some 4,000 feet above sea-level. They are visible from Argaum in clear weather.

A description of the stronghold itself and the approach routes to it is thus given in a letter from Wellesley to his brother the Governor-General, dated December 15th, 1803. "The fort of Gawilgarh . . . consists of one complete inner fort which fronts to the south where the rock is most steep; and an outer fort which covers the inner to the north-west and north. This outer fort has a third wall which covers the approach to it from the



north by the village of Labada. All these walls are strongly built and fortified by ramparts and towers. The communications of the fort are through three gates: one to the south with the inner fort; one to the north-west with the outer fort; and one to the north with the third wall. The ascent to the first is very long and steep, and is practicable only for men; that to the second is by a road used for the common communications of the garrison with the countries to the southward; but the road passes round the west side of the fort and is exposed for a great distance to its fire; it is so narrow as to make it impracticable to approach regularly by it, and the rock is scarped on each side. This road also leads no further than to the gate. The communication with the northern gate is direct from the village of Labada, and here the ground is level with that of the fort: but the road to Labada leads through the mountains for about 30 miles from Ellichpur: and it was obvious that the difficulty and labour of moving ordnance and stores to Labada was very great. However, after making inquiry at Ellichpur, it appeared both to Colonel Stevenson and me that this point of attack was on the whole the most advantageous, and we accordingly adopted it."

It was at Ellichpur, the ancient capital of Berar, situated about 12 miles in a direct line from Gawilghar, that, on the Argaum pursuit ceasing, on December 5th Wellesley and Stevenson rejoined. Colonel Stevenson's division, according to the plan formed, was to take the long road round and attack the fortress from Labada on the north side, breaching the walls and carrying the place by assault. Wellesley was at the same time to approach by the shorter road on the south and demonstrate against that front of the fortress, by way of making a diversion while the main attack was in progress. Both divisions started on December 7th. Wellesley reached his position with little difficulty in less than two days. He had only light field pieces with him. It took the 94th and Stevenson's force four long days to get into position owing to the physical difficulties of their route. The heavy siege train, guns and ammunition wagons accompanied Colonel Stevenson.

The move opened with a sharp encounter with an outlying detachment of the enemy who held a small fort on high ground at Damergaum, a village at the entrance to the first of the mountain passes through which Colonel Stevenson's force had to make its way. The fort was stormed by two companies of the 94th, supported by half a battalion of sepoys. After that came the long and toilsome mountain march. "It was," wrote Wellesley in a letter to his brother the Hon. Henry Wellesley (afterwards Lord Cowley) dated January 24th 1804, "one of the most difficult, and in the success of the execution, extraordinary operations I have ever wit-

nessed. All the heavy ordnance and store carriages were dragged by hand by the troops over high mountains and through valleys and ravines for nearly 30 miles from Ellichpur, by roads made by themselves with a laborious exertion to which I did not think they were equal." Says Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was on the Staff in a political capacity, in his diary:—"The guns were got forward by the soldiers and sepoys and bullocks pulling, and elephants shoving, and up steeps by putting stones under the wheels to prevent running back." Music helped, as Mountstuart Elphinstone adds, recourse being had to the "good custom of beating drums and playing the 'Grenadiers' March' while the sepoys are dragging guns up the ghauts." To clear a road for the guns and main body, baggage, etc., a detachment of two companies of the 94th, with parties from a sepoy battalion, kept ahead of the column working incessantly night and day in reliefs with picks and shovels and felling axes.

In that way, by December 11th, the village of Labada, less than a quarter of a mile from the northern front of Gawilghar, was at length reached. A brief final skirmish, in which the light company of the 94th led, cleared the enemy outposts from Labada, and by the evening of December 12th two breaching batteries of five and four guns respectively were in position on Stevenson's side. Wellesley's battery of four field guns was also ready for action against the south front, and all three batteries opened fire on the 13th. Wellesley's guns, as has been said, were only intended to make a demonstration and divert the enemy's attention from the intended point of attack. They had to fire up the steep hill-side and could effect nothing against the thick stonework on that side. "The shot, unable to make any impression, simply rebounded from the solid wall and rolled back to the very muzzles of the guns." Stevenson's heavy siege guns on the other side, firing at a short 150-yards' range, and on the level, did their work easily. The bombardment, opening on the 13th, continued all that night and all the next day, with the result that by evening on December 14th a practicable breach had been made in the outer wall on the north side. Thereupon the order was issued for the assault to take place next day. It ran as follows:

"The breach having been reported practicable, the troops will advance to the attack at 10 o'clock.

"Storming party to be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Kenny, and to be formed as follows:

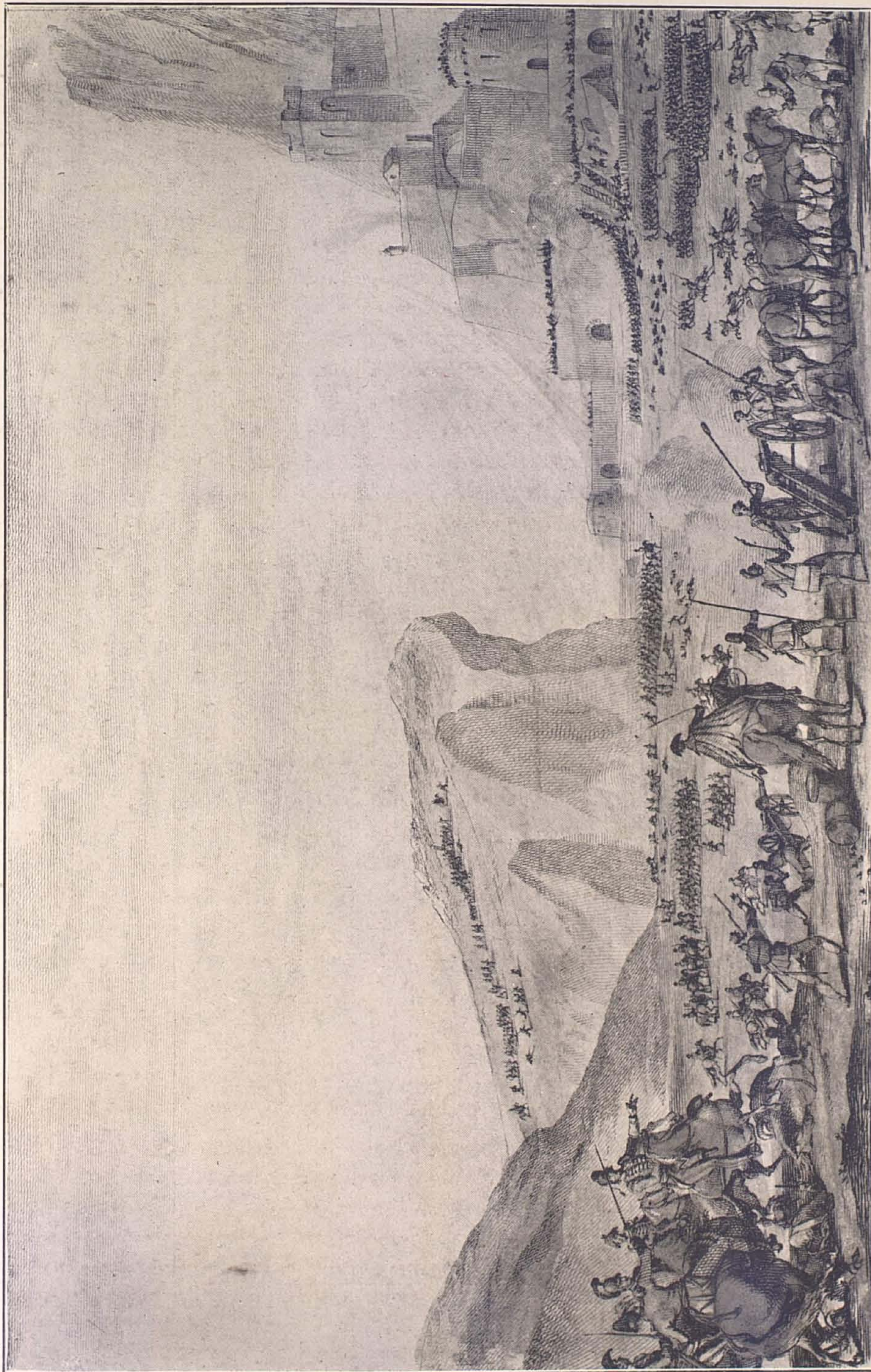
"The Advance to consist of a sergeant and twelve volunteers of His Majesty's 94th Regiment. First party under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Kenny to be composed of one flank and two battalion companies of the 94th Regiment, and the flank companies of

the 2nd Brigade. Second party under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Desse, to consist of one flank and two battalion companies of His Majesty's 94th Regiment, and the flank companies of the 1st Brigade. Third party, the remainder of His Majesty's 94th Regiment under Major Campbell. The 2nd Brigade under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Haliburton will follow the storming party, advancing from the right. The first party after entering the breach will turn to the right, and the second party to the left, and drive the enemy from the ramparts, while the 94th Regiment and the 2nd Brigade will advance and take possession of the heights and of the enemy's guns. A detail of artillery to accompany each party, to take possession of the guns and turn them upon the enemy. Pioneers and scaling ladders will be allotted to each party."

The assault on the north front was delivered according to plan under Lieut.-Colonel Kenny of the 11th Madras Native Infantry. At the same time two columns from Wellesley's division, made up from the 74th and 78th Foot, with a battalion of sepoy, under Colonels Wallace and Chalmers, moved out against the southern and north-western gates of the fortress to make a feint attack and be ready to take advantage of any opportunity of intercepting the garrison that might offer. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who accompanied Lieut.-Colonel Kenny, gives in his journal, and also in a letter, an eyewitness's account of the attack in which the 94th were the principal assailants.

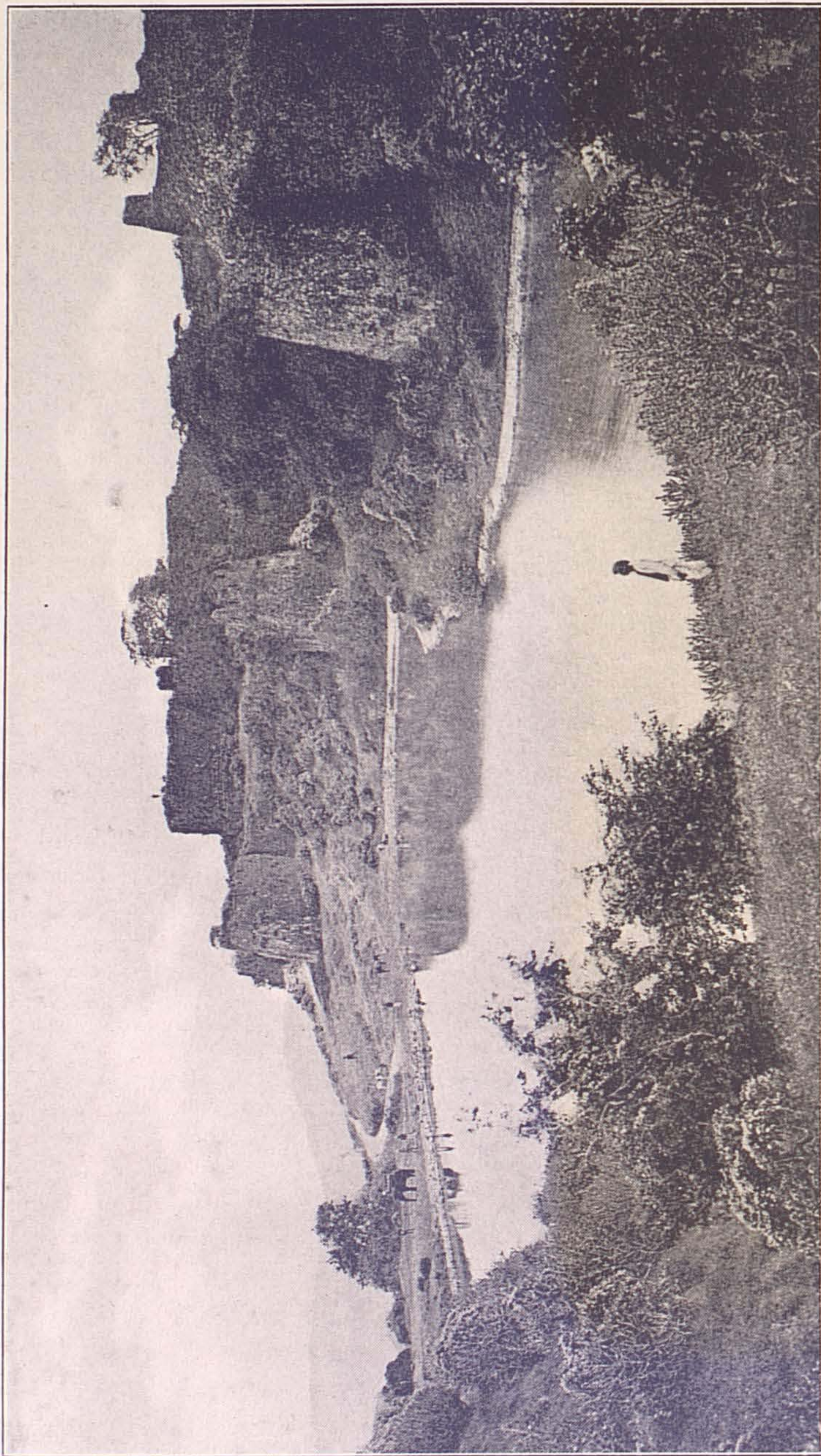
"Colonel Kenny led the whole: with him went Winfield, Johnson . . . and myself, and perhaps Latwidge, and an officer of the 94th. Then followed the 94th Regiment. Our advance was silent, deliberate and even solemn. Everybody expected the place to be well defended. As we got near we saw a number of people running on the rampart, near the breach. Colonel Kenny said they were manning the works. . . . I was amazed they did not fire: our cannon fired over our heads. We got to the breach where we halted, and let the forlorn-hope, a sergeant's party, run up: then we followed, ran along and dashed up the second breach and huzzaed. Perhaps the enemy fired a little from some huts by the second breach: I did not see them do that. I saw some of them bayoneted there. We kept to the right after entering the second breach and soon after the troops poured in, so that there was no distinguishing forlorn-hope or anything."

Mountstuart Elphinstone in a letter to a friend goes on with further details from this point. "We huzzaed and dashed up the second breach and leaped down into the place. Such of the enemy as stood were put to the bayonet, but most of them ran off to the right and down a narrow valley which led to a gate. Here they met Colonel Chalmers coming on with half the 78th



ASSAULT OF FORT GAWILGHAR.

17th December 1803.



GAWILGHAR—THE OUTER FORT.
(Present Day)

(he had been sent round by the General to attack this gate). The 94th pressed behind, firing from above and a terrible slaughter took place. After this we endeavoured to push on, when to our astonishment we discovered that we had only gained a separate hill, and that the fort lay behind a deep valley, beyond which appeared a double wall and strong gates. . . . I thought we should have to entrench ourselves and wait till guns could be brought up to breach the inner walls. But Colonel Kenny, almost alone, had run straight on to the gate where he was now perceived. The Europeans (94th) followed the road down and crowded after him. The first wall was joined to a steep hill and the Europeans (94th) began slowly and with difficulty to climb up one by one. Beyond the first wall was a narrow rocky road, overtopped by a steep rock, and another wall and gate, over which those who climbed the first wall would have to go, which the steepness and height of the wall made impossible. While the Europeans were climbing over the enemy kept up a fire from their works : in the meantime our people poured in at the breach and covered the hill opposite to the enemy. They fired on the enemy and the valley was filled with such a roar of musketry as can hardly be conceived. The sight cannot be described. At last our men got over and opened the first gate. Scaling ladders were brought, got up the hill and applied to the second wall. The enemy fled from their works : we rushed over the wall, and the fort was ours."

Lieutenant J. Blakiston of the East India Company's Engineer Corps adds other details in regard to the 94th. Immediately after the storming of the first breach, which he says "was taken in two minutes with little resistance" . . . "a column of troops were seen to issue from the inner fort. This was immediately charged by the grenadiers of the Scotch Brigade and repulsed with great slaughter." Then, when the lower fort had been taken, "two sepoy battalions were drawn up on a height fronting the wall of the inner fort, on which they commenced such an incessant and well-directed fire that none of the enemy durst show their noses above the parapet. Under cover of this fire the light company of the Scotch Brigade placed their ladders against the wall and we were soon master of the last defences of the fort. The scaling party was led by Captain Campbell of the light company. He placed the first ladder and was the first man on the inner ramparts. The light company then charged forward to the gate of the inner fort, opened it and admitted the rest of the battalion and the foremost of the sepoys."

There was one final fight after that for the 94th inside Gawilghar, as Lieutenant Blakiston thus records. "Scarcely had the gate been opened to admit the remainder of the storming party, when a body, looking more

like furies than men, having their long hair cast loose over their shoulders, and brandishing their swords, came rushing from behind some buildings and fell furiously upon our Europeans (94th). These however received them with that coolness and determination for which undisciplined valour, however desperate, can never be a match. The contest was nevertheless sanguinary to both sides, for these desperadoes sold their lives dearly. One fellow in particular, it was told, having got his back to a wall killed and wounded several Europeans before he could be despatched. Among this party was the Killedar: also the Commander-in-Chief of the Berar Rajah's infantry."

In his General Order of December 15th Wellesley, after recording that "the gallantry with which the attack was made by the detachment under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Kenny has never been surpassed," went on to add his "special thanks to . . . Captain Campbell of the 94th who led the light infantry of the Scotch Brigade to the escalade of the inner fort by which the capture was finally assured, and to Major Campbell of the 94th."

Wellesley, further, in a letter to Colonel Stevenson, wrote that he "had seen several places taken by storm, but never any in which so little irregularity was committed or so little plundering. In an hour after the storm," added Wellesley, "the troops marched out with as much regularity as if only passing through."

The defeat at Argaum, followed by the startling surprise and storming of Gawilghar, a fortress that all India had believed to be absolutely impregnable, ended the war. It was a knock-down blow to the enemy, coming as it did, as the sequel to the rout of Scindia's northern army by General Lake at Laswari, early in November. Within two days of the capture of Gawilghar the Bhonsla Rajah of Berar sued for peace and accepted the British terms: a fortnight later Scindia did the same.

1804-1805

The Indian war service of the 94th Scotch Brigade was however not yet over. Hostilities with a third Mahratta prince, Holkar of Indore, broke out early in 1804, and kept the battalion, attached throughout to the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force, in the field until March 1806. The Hyderabad Force was principally employed in the operations in Khandeish, Holkar's territory south of the River Tapti, lying to the west of Berar beyond the north-west border of the State of Hyderabad. In the two principal actions of the Khandeish campaign in October 1804—the taking of Holkar's fortresses of Chandore and Galnah, the centres of Holkar's power in Khandeish—the 94th took the leading part.

The Chandore stronghold, 85 miles west of Aurungabad, comprised a walled pettah, or outer town, and towering above it, 1,600 feet above the plain, the main fort on a steeply scarped rock with high embattled walls all round. The pettah was stormed on October 8th with little opposition by the pickets of the 94th and 74th and the fort was bombarded during the next day to occupy the enemy's attention while a place to attempt an escalade up the rock was being searched for by Major Campbell of the 94th with a reconnoitring party from the battalion. A likely point was at length found, and at 3 a.m. on October 10th the storming party, the flank companies of the 94th, 150 of the pickets and 300 Madras sepoy, all under Major Campbell, started to climb up and escalade. They reached the walls at dawn, planted their ladders silently, and taking the Mahratta garrison by surprise carried the fort at the point of the bayonet within a quarter of an hour. The 94th had one drummer and six rank and file wounded—no other casualties.

The 94th again had the main part a week later in taking Holkar's fort at Lussulgaum by another *coup de main*. The capture of the strong work at Galnah took place on October 21st, the fort there being breached by artillery and taken by a surprise attack, led by Major Campbell, the flankers of the 94th, a company of the 74th and two sepoy battalions forming the column of assault. The Mahratta commandant and garrison of 500 men surrendered after the first rush up the breach. One man killed and ten wounded were the casualties in the 94th.

Major Campbell was in command of the 94th all through the campaign, with local rank as Lieut.-Colonel. He had been promoted to that rank in command of the battalion on September 27th, on which day Lieut.-Colonel Ferrier died. That officer had rejoined from sick leave in the previous May, but his health again gave way, and, this time refusing to quit his dearly loved Scotch Brigade, he passed away in camp among his comrades.

Holkar's territory south of the Tapti passed into British possession with the capture of the three strongholds, and was garrisoned by the Hyderabad Force until the end of the war in March 1806. The 94th and the other battalions had at the same time to keep ready for action in case Scindia, again at the head of a large army, should attempt to come to Holkar's aid, as was constantly threatened.

The principal active operations of the war with Holkar throughout the two years, 1804 and 1805, were, it should be said, carried out by the Northern Army under Lord Lake and culminated in the final victory at Deig in November 1805. An officer of the 88th (1st Battalion, The Connaught Rangers), belonging to the detachment left in India (as related in

Vol. I, pp. 12-13) was present and was wounded at the Battle of Deig on November 13th, while attached to the 76th Foot—Captain James Chisholm.

The war with Holkar terminated the war service of the 94th Scotch Brigade in India. The battalion continued with the Hyderabad Force until March 1806. It was then sent south to Trichinopoly for a few weeks, to help keep in order the followers of a disaffected Rajah. The local restlessness however subsided, after which, on the dispersal of the Madras troops to cantonments, the 94th moved back to the Presidency and took over duty as the European corps in the garrison of Fort St. George.

1806

All ranks were in need of a rest. The numbers had dwindled through sickness to barely 300. A year before, indeed, Wellesley had reported to General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief in India: "The 94th Regiment requires rest and ought to be relieved." Since 1802 it had marched to and fro in the field 984 miles.

At Fort St. George extra duty fell on the 94th during June and July 1806, in consequence of the agitation and unrest among the sepoys of the garrison over certain new uniform regulations by the Madras Government ordering the adoption of leather hats in place of turbans, and forbidding the wearing of beards and the display of caste marks and earrings on parade. It was these new regulations which were the prime cause in the third week of July of the mutiny at Vellore. An outbreak was prevented at Fort St. George by the presence of the 94th, but excitement was rife in all the stations of the Madras Army, resulting in overt trouble at some places, in particular at Bangalore, Bellary and Wallajabad, also at Hyderabad. Severe repressive measures had to be had recourse to in the worst cases, the disbanding of a battalion at one station and the execution by blowing from a gun of the chief ringleaders at another station. The severity finally cowed the mutineers, after which the authorities cancelled the new regulations and the situation again quietened down to normal.

It was in October 1806, while the battalion was at Fort St. George, that the proposal to confer the Elephant badge on the 94th was made. In that month the Court of Directors of the East India Company through their Chairman approached the Duke of York, the Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards, "representing the distinguished services of H.M. 94th Regiment and its long employment in the East and desiring that His Majesty's gracious permission should be obtained to place on the Colours and appointments the badge of an Elephant in recognition of their services in the East." The Duke assented and a Submission to the Sovereign in

accordance with the representation was made, with the result that the following notification, dated "Horse Guards, April 16, 1807," appeared in *The London Gazette* of April 14th-18th.

"His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of the 94th Regiment bearing the Elephant on their Colours and on their Appointments as an honourable and lasting testimony of their distinguished Services in India."

1807

The year 1807 saw the close of the nine years' tour of duty of the 94th in India. Orders for the battalion to prepare to return home were issued in July, shortly after the final inspection of the battalion at a review held at Fort St. George by Lord Minto, the newly arrived Governor-General of India, on the 12th of the month. On that occasion the Governor-General expressed his "gratification at the excellent order and appearance of the troops and the promptitude and correctness with which every part of the manœuvres was performed . . . which, while it does honour to the skill and discipline of the soldiers, cannot but reflect the highest credit on their officers of every rank." An official transcript of the Governor-General's words was forwarded to Lieut.-Colonel Campbell and duly entered by him in the Regimental Record—now unfortunately missing.

Lord Minto's review, it may be mentioned here, was the second public function at Madras in which the 94th figured in their last year. On March 19th the battalion had been specially paraded to receive and take charge of the Colours of the Madras Fencible Corps, a ten-company volunteer regiment of city natives officered by Europeans, mostly members of the Madras Civil Service and of the white non-official community, raised in 1804 and now disbanded. The display on the occasion was in its details a notable affair, carried out before the Governor and military and civil authorities of Madras, in the presence of the entire garrison of Fort St. George. The Colours were handed over to the grenadier company of the 94th with elaborate ceremonial, and as they were being marched away between the drawn-up double lines of the battalion, the band played "Farewell to Lochaber" and the battalion fired three funeral volleys into the air over the Colours as they passed along.

The official order for the 94th to leave India was received by Major-General Cradock, commanding the Madras Army, on July 16th 1807. It instructed him "to expedite the return of that corps to England, it being the next to depart according to the regulations established for His Majesty's Regiments on the Establishment of India." On August 3rd a further order was issued to "enforce the drafting to other regiments" of as many

men "as would volunteer in conformity with the measures sanctioned by the Governor-General." The result of the drafting is thus recorded in an undated entry in the books of the Madras Military Council. "94th Regiment. We observe with approval that of the 823 men, the strength of the Regiment, 624 volunteered into other corps in India." * Then, in the last week of September, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell received orders from Major-General Meadows, General Cradock's successor, for the embarkation of the battalion in the Indiamen of a homeward-bound fleet due to sail from Madras towards the end of October. The Colonel at the same time received the gratifying notification that official sanction had been received for the officers of the 94th to receive four months' Full Batta "for their meritorious services, as granted to regiments of distinguished merit."

Finally came the farewell following official commendation from the Government of Madras, published at Fort St. George in General Orders on October 19th.

"On the occasion of the departure of His Majesty's 94th Regiment for Europe, the Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to publish in General Orders his perfect approbation of their conduct both in Garrison and on the Field, during their long period of Service under the Orders of the Government of Fort St. George.

"The Governor in Council will further have great pleasure in availing himself of the present opportunity of communicating to the Honourable Court of Directors, the high sense which he entertains of the Conduct and Services of His Majesty's 94th Regiment."

The strength of the battalion as reduced to cadre on embarkation on October 18th, after the departure of the drafts, was 130 of all ranks.

When, in 1851, the "India Medal" was granted—being provided according to *The London Gazette* of February 25th 1851, "at the expense of the East India Company to surviving officers and soldiers of British regiments who served in India"—only four officers and forty of the rank and file of the 94th were alive to claim the medal. The four officers were Lieutenants James Lewis Basden (then Lieut.-Colonel, C.B.), who also received a clasp for Ava when serving with the 89th as Major, Charles Campbell (then Brevet Lieut.-Colonel), Cosmo Gordon (then Lieut.-General), and Archibald Maclaine (then Major-General Sir Archibald Maclaine, K.C.B.). Each of these officers received three bars, for Asseerghur, Argaum and Gawilghar, with the medal. Of the thirty-eight rank and file of the 94th who survived and claimed the India Medal, thirty received it with bars

* The battalion had been brought up to that strength during 1806 by means of drafts from other corps returning to England in 1805 and 1806. A draft of its own from the depôt of the Scotch Brigade in Edinburgh had also come out in 1805.

for Asseerghur, Argaum and Gawilghar ; three with Asseerghur and Argaum bars ; two with Argaum and Gawilghar bars ; one with Asseerghur ; one with the Argaum bar only ; one with the Gawilghar bar only. A medal for Seringapatam had been awarded by the East India Company in 1801 to all present at the capture, but leave to wear it was not granted to officers and men of the British regiments engaged until the *Gazette* notification of February 28th 1851 appeared. No roll of the recipients of the Seringapatam medal as far as the 94th are concerned seems to be extant, and what officers and men ever received it is uncertain. According to a memorandum among official records at the India Office, a box of nineteen silver Seringapatam medals for officers of the 94th, and two copper medals for privates, arrived from Calcutta in March 1812 at the East India House, London, and was forwarded to the paymaster of the battalion, then in Spain. No more Seringapatam medals it would appear reached England for the 94th, and what became of the missing ones seems never to have been traced, although letters of inquiry were sent out from England to India.

The Naval General Service Medal with a bar for the *Sybille* and *La Forte* action of February 28th 1799 was at the same time granted to survivors of all who served on board the *Sybille*, but there were no claimants or recipients from the Scotch Brigade. Twelve medals in all were struck, but according to official records there were apparently only four recipients, a midshipman and three seamen, all then alive of the three hundred and sixty-five who came out of the action.

For Seringapatam, according to Mayo's *Medals and Decorations of the British Army and Navy* (Vol. I, p. 135), in February 1801 the General Court of the East India Company issued orders for the preparation of thirty gold medals, 185 silver gilt, 850 silver medals, 5,000 bronze medals, and 45,000 "pure tin" medals, at a total cost of £3,915 13s. 11d. They were designed to give "a representation of the action and an indication, by the position of the sun of the time of day at which it took place." They did not reach India until 1808, after the 94th had left the country.

Mention of the Seringapatam medal is also made on pages 137 and 391 of this volume.

CHAPTER XLVI

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND, 1808. THE 94th ORDERED TO CEASE WEARING HIGHLAND DRESS AND THE KILT, 1809. IN JERSEY. ORDERED TO LISBON. ORDERED TO CADIZ. THE SIEGE OF CADIZ BY THE FRENCH, 1810. GARRISONING FORT MATAGORDA IN CADIZ BAY. HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE FORT. MRS. RESTON OF THE 94th—"THE HEROINE OF MATAGORDA." IN THE LINES OF CADIZ. ORDERED TO LISBON TO JOIN WELLINGTON.

1808

THE 94th arrived in the Thames and disembarked at Gravesend on April 11th 1808, proceeding thence to Chatham where on May 6th they took ship for Leith. There, on May 11th, the officers and men landed and marched to Dunbar camp, where they were quartered until May 1809. The reconstruction of the battalion to strength was carried out at Dunbar—the establishment being fixed at 950 of all ranks. By a return of December 25th 1808 the strength of the battalion was on that day 570 rank and file.

1809

General Francis Dundas vacated the Colonelcy-in-Chief of the Scots Brigade on January 6th 1809. He was succeeded by General Lord Forbes, a Coldstream Guardsman, as Colonel of the 94th on January 7th 1809. General Lord Hill succeeded to the Colonelcy on September 18th 1809. He continued to be Colonel of the 94th throughout the Peninsular War; until April 29th 1815.

It was while the 94th were at Dunbar, that in April 1809 the Order came out depriving the Scotch Brigade of the privilege of wearing Highland garb and the kilt. As a Scottish unit, it had worn the kilt from 1793 until 1796 when it adopted temporarily Indian service uniform at the Cape, reverting presumably to Highland garb once more on returning to Great Britain in 1808. There is, it should be said, nothing extant as to the resumption of Highland dress.

The words of the "Submission to the Sovereign" by the Horse Guards, dated April 7th 1809, on which was based the subsequent order taking the kilt away from certain regiments, ran as follows:

“As the population of the Highlands of Scotland is found to be insufficient to supply recruits to the whole of the Highland Corps on the establishment of His Majesty's Army, and as some of these corps, by laying aside their distinguishing dress, which is objectionable to the natives of South Britain, would in a great measure tend to facilitate the completing of their establishments as it would be an inducement to the men of the English Militia to extend their services in greater numbers to those regiments, it is humbly submitted for the approbation of His Majesty that His Majesty's 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 91st and 94th Regiments should discontinue to wear the dress by which His Majesty's regiments of Highlanders are distinguished and the above corps should no longer be considered as on that Establishment.”

According to an authenticated note on the tartans worn by certain of the Scottish regiments, the 94th in 1809 were wearing the Royal Stuart Tartan. If so, it must have been adopted since their arrival from India: the Mackay tartan, as far as can be gathered, had been the tartan worn from 1793 to 1796. In the list given these tartans are mentioned: “42nd (their own), 71st (McLeod), 72nd (Mackenzie), 74th (Campbell), 78th (Mackenzie), 79th (Cameron), 91st (Campbell), 92nd (Gordon), 93rd (Sutherland), 94th (Royal Stuart).”

It is a curious fact, and perhaps not without significance, that, immediately following on the Order depriving the regiment of its Highland garb, the title Scotch Brigade disappears from the Army List, and the number 94 alone is continued.

From Dunbar the 94th moved to Aberdeen, where they remained until early in September 1809, being brought up meanwhile to an establishment of 760 rank and file. The battalion then, on September 8th, proceeded to Portsmouth and a month later embarked for Jersey, reaching St. Heliers on October 8th. The stay in Jersey lasted four months, until January 1810, on the 19th of which month the battalion, 970 strong, embarked for Portugal to join Wellington's army, then cantoned on the Mondego in winter quarters and preparing for the coming campaign in the spring in defence of Portugal. Napoleon was already heavily reinforcing his armies in Spain by transferring thither most of the corps of the Grand Army which had vanquished Austria at Wagram, and the British Government had to send out every regiment available to Lisbon.

1810

The 94th landed at Lisbon on January 31st but were on shore for less than a week. They embarked again on February 6th for Cadiz in company with the 79th and 2/87th, as a brigade under Major-General William Stewart.

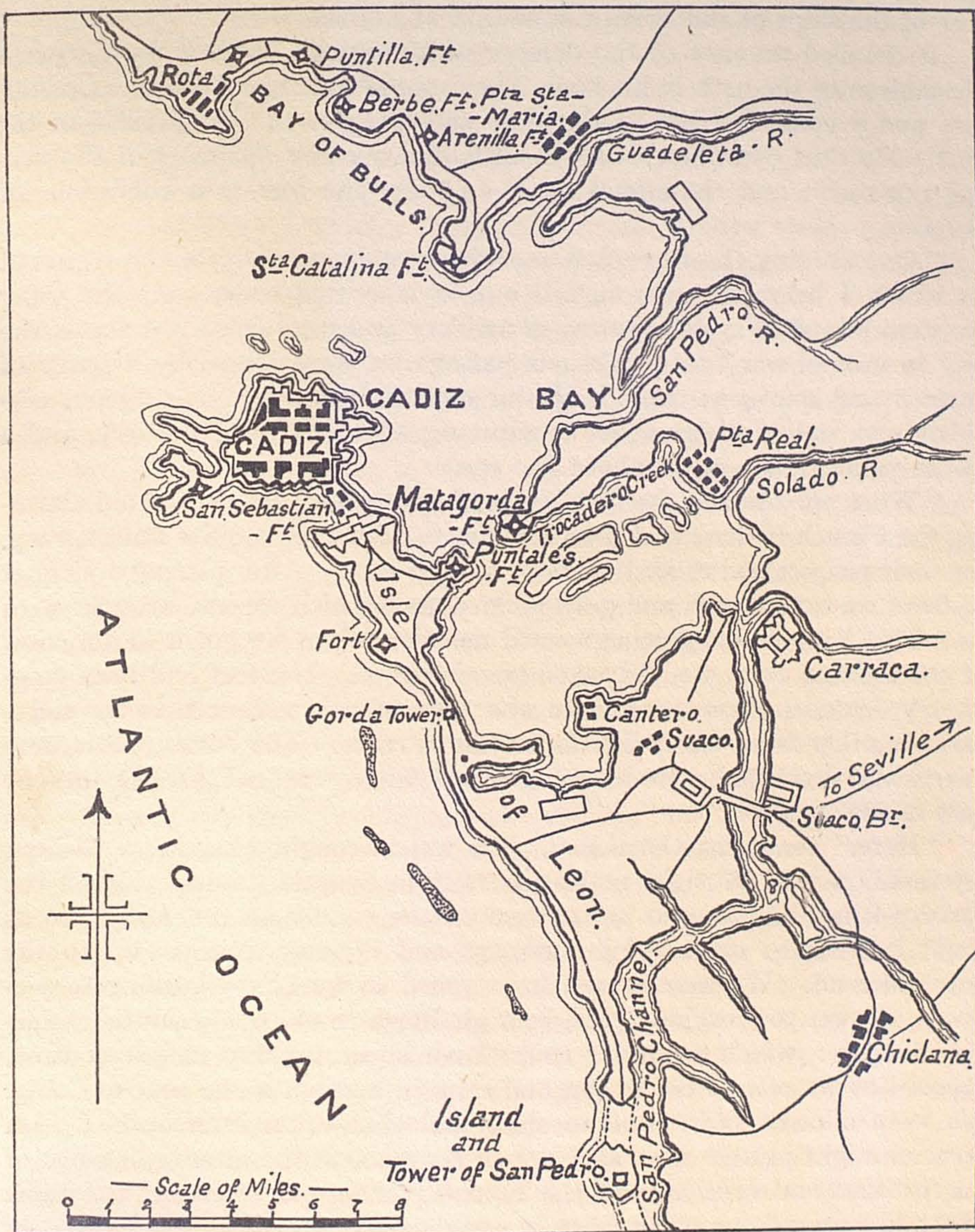
The force was being hastily despatched by Wellington in response to an urgent appeal for help from the Spanish Government.

Marshals Soult and Victor had swept down on Andalusia and after scattering the Spanish armies that attempted to bar their way had invested Cadiz on the land side. Victor, who had charge of the siege operations, was already in position to open an attack against which the Spanish garrison, inadequate in numbers and ill equipped, disorganized and demoralized, with their senior officers quarrelling among themselves, appeared helpless. A French advance into the Isla de Leon at the outset would undoubtedly have taken Cadiz by a *coup de main*. Against that the arrival of Stewart's force, 3,500 bayonets, safeguarded Cadiz.

The brigade on landing was pushed forward to the outpost line, along the edge of the salt marshes fringing the channel of the Rio de Santi Petri. There the Light Company of the 94th, together with the light companies of the other two battalions of Stewart's command, were skirmishing with the French advanced posts within a few hours of setting foot on shore. On that came an event that won fame for the 94th throughout Wellington's army—the Defence of Fort Matagorda.

Matagorda was a small stone fort, rectangular in trace and 45 yards long by 40 yards wide, mounting originally seven guns. It stood on the east side of Cadiz Bay, on wooden piles sunk into a mud flat at the extremity of the Trocadero peninsula, on a spit dividing the outer from the inner harbour. Opposite was a corresponding fortified work, Puntales Castle, distant 1,200 yards across the water, on the long Isla de Leon peninsula on which the city of Cadiz stands. The fort had been evacuated by its Spanish garrison in a fit of panic on Marshal Victor's approach, a few days before the British brigade arrived. The ramparts and parapet had been blown up, leaving Matagorda practically in ruins. General Stewart on his arrival considered the holding of Matagorda fort to be of vital importance, as it countered two other forts on the Trocadero peninsula, similarly abandoned by the Cadiz Spanish garrison, which the French had occupied and on which they were mounting guns. He directed it to be taken possession of and placed in a state of defence as best could be managed. Six guns and two mortars were to be mounted on it and a Spanish 74-gun ship with some gun-boats were told off to take station in support near by.

The officer selected to have charge of the enterprise was Captain Archibald Maclaine of the 94th, whose war services in India have been previously mentioned. Two officers of the 94th, Ensigns Cannon and Scott, with sixty-seven N.C.O.'s and men of the battalion were detailed for the service, together with a party of twenty-five artillerymen under Lieutenant Brereton, R.A., twenty-five marines under Lieutenant K. S. Parker, R.M.,



CADIZ AND FORT MATAGORDA.

and twenty-five bluejackets under Midshipman Dobson of H.M.S. *Invincible*, one of the ships of the British squadron at Cadiz.

A detailed account of the defence of Matagorda is given by Sergeant Donaldson of the 94th in his book *The Eventful Life of a Soldier*. Donaldson was a young private at the time and was one of the garrison of the fort. He thus describes, to begin with, the opening incidents of the taking possession and the efforts made to place the fort in a condition for defence.

"One evening the three first men from each company of the regiment to which I belonged were turned out in marching order. At the quay we were joined by a detachment of artillery and were conveyed across the bay in man-of-war boats. On our passage we were joined by a party of seamen and marines: who, with our captain-commandant, surgeon, two subalterns, one of whom acted as adjutant, a lieutenant of artillery, and a midshipman, made in all about 150 men.

"When we reached the fort, we used every precaution to avoid alarming the French if there had been any there: but it was quite unnecessary, for their picquet had retired, without firing a shot. After placing a picquet in front we set to work and got up three guns which we had brought with us. This kept us busy enough until morning when we got a better view of the isolated place we had taken possession of. The fort had been completely demolished on its sea face when the French advanced to the siege, and the other faces were all more or less in ruins. The bomb proofs were nearly all destroyed. In what remained there was not shelter for the half of our men."

"Here," continues Donaldson, "we were wrought like slaves without intermission, out all night under the rain on picquet (at low tide on the marshy fringe of the mud flat as near to the enemy on the Trocadero as could be risked), or carrying sandbags and digging trenches up to the knees in mud. We were driven from guard to working—working to picquet—picquet to working again, in a gin-horse round of the most intolerable fatigue: which we never could have borne for any length of time, exposed as we often were to sun and rain, in a climate like that of Cadiz. We were allowed little time to sleep and that often interrupted." On occasion night patrols were sent out to reconnoitre the ground in front of the fort and had brushes with the French pickets who "were in the habit of coming close down on us when it was dark."

Two months passed in this manner with little serious opposition from the enemy on the Trocadero. The French were meanwhile keeping out of sight, busily engaged in constructing batteries behind the houses of Trocadero village (between 800 and 900 yards distant) and preparing plat-

forms on the two abandoned Spanish forts in readiness for the arrival of the siege-train guns and mortars, then on the way from Seville. "By the end of March," continues Donaldson, "we had got up six guns and two mortars on the fort, which was all we could mount to have any effect. We were supported by a Spanish man-of-war and six or eight gun-boats and with them we used to bombard the small village at Fort Lewis and annoy the working parties coming down from Porto Real to build batteries. We often made great havoc amongst them, with spherical case-shot. One day in particular I remember, we brought down an officer who was riding on a white horse at the head of the party, and we saw them carry him off in a litter from the place where he fell."

"An attack was meditated on the French positions, and a number of troops were landed on the fort for that purpose. A strong party of seamen was also landed at Fort Catalina, who succeeded in storming it, and spiking the guns: but in consequence of some signals being thrown up by adherents of the French in Cadiz, they were alarmed, and the troops were obliged to return without effecting what had been originally intended."

On March 25th Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Graham arrived at Cadiz to take over the command from Major-General Stewart. He was followed a week later by reinforcements from England, three companies of artillery, a composite battalion of Guards, the 2/44th Foot and five companies from the 2nd and 3rd Battalions of the 95th Foot, bringing up the garrison of Cadiz to 8,000 British, including two battalions arrived from Gibraltar on February 17th. One of these last was the 2nd Battalion of the 88th Connaught Rangers, some of whom helped later at Matagorda. There were also some 17,000 Spanish troops now in Cadiz, but in bad order: they were more of a hindrance to the defence than a help.

General Graham went over in a man-of-war's boat to inspect Matagorda on March 26th, the day after he arrived. He found the men of the garrison at work forming a counter-guard to cover the walls of the fort, 15 feet high. By scuttling old Spanish gun-boats in the mud it was proposed to set up also a flanking battery. General Graham considered the defence of the place hopeless. "It is a miserable place," he reported in a despatch to England, "and must fall whenever seriously attacked, there being no shelter for shells. I am in great doubt whether it should be continued." He allowed, however, the work to proceed.

A Scottish officer serving with the Spanish Army at Cadiz, Viscount Macduff (afterwards 4th Earl of Fife, K.T., G.C.B.), was a constant visitor to the 94th garrison at Matagorda, "bringing with him hampers of food, hams and fresh meat, wine and beer."

Graham visited Matagorda again on April 9th and also went on board

the Spanish 74-gun ship and some gun-boats moored near to assist with flanking fire. It did not make him more hopeful.

Twelve days later the attack suddenly began on Captain Maclaine and his little garrison—opening at 3 a.m. on April 21st.

“They commenced their operations,” says Donaldson, “by blowing up the houses which had hitherto masked the batteries. I was out on picquet at the time and suspected that they designed to attack us. Our suspicions were soon verified, for in a short time after they gave a salute of grape-shot which ploughed the earth on every side of us: but this was only a prelude. A volley of red-hot shot at the Spanish man-of-war succeeded, which set her on fire and obliged her to slip her cable and drop down the bay. A volley or two more of the same kind scattered the gun-boats: and we were then left to bear the brunt of the battle alone. Now it began in earnest. Five or six batteries, mounting in all about twenty guns and eight or ten mortars, opened their tremendous mouths, vomiting forth death and destruction.”

Not a shot came in reply from the fort from 3 a.m. for over two hours, until it was clear daylight and the gunners could see their targets. All were lying down near their guns.

“They plied us so fast with shell,” continues Donaldson, “that I saw six or eight in the air over us at once.” Then “the French soon acquired a fatal precision with their shot, sending them in through our embrasures, killing and wounding men at every volley.” Of Captain Maclaine, Donaldson says: “The commandant was moving from place to place giving orders and exposing himself to every danger. No one could doubt that he was brave.

“The carnage now became dreadful but our men’s spirits and enthusiasm seemed to rise with the danger. The artillery officer stood on the platform and when he reported any of our shot taking effect, a cheer followed and ‘At it again, my heroes,’ was the exclamation from every mouth. When any of our comrades fell it excited no visible feeling but revenge. ‘Now for a retaliating shot,’ was the word; every nerve was strained to lay the gun with precision and if it took effect it was considered that full justice was done to their memory.

“The action was kept up the whole of that day, during which we lost the best and bravest of our men. Our guns had been well directed at first, but, towards evening, the most of the artillery who had commanded them were either killed or wounded and the direction of them was then taken by men who knew little about it. The consequence was that much ammunition was used to little purpose.”

Throughout the day, from morning to night, the house roofs of Cadiz

were crowded with people with telescopes, anxiously watching the progress of the fight, as were the tops and mastheads of the men of war and shipping in the outer harbour.

At nightfall the enemy suspended firing and the fort in turn ceased to reply. All now turned-to to try and repair the destroyed parapet and ramparts as they best might. Reinforcements to make good casualties were brought over after dark from the British troops in Cadiz, among them men from the 2nd Battalion of the 88th, as well as some from the 87th. General Graham also sent a message to Captain Maclaine thanking him for the day's stand and offering to relieve the 94th. The offer was declined with thanks—they would fight it out to the end.

During the day, shortly before noon, Graham had had himself rowed out to the fort, passing through a storm of fire. He found all in good spirits, though casualties had been heavy and the greater part of the parapet had already been battered down. The garrison had just temporarily silenced the enemy's principal battery. During the afternoon two naval officers, Lieutenants Chapman and McPherson, with half a dozen blue-jackets, volunteers from the famous "Fighting" *Téméraire*, one of the British Squadron in the outer roadstead, pulled across under fire and joined the garrison; as did Lieutenant Wright of the Royal Artillery from Cadiz, on getting a semaphore message that Lieutenant Brereton had been wounded.

An unpleasant incident of the afternoon of the 21st was this. At one time the fort had to cease firing because all their powder was used up. Application for a further supply had been made shortly before to the Spanish Governor of Fort Puntales, but that officer refused to send any. The semaphore message from Captain Maclaine to General Graham notifying the refusal was taken in *en route* by H.M.S. *Atlas*, whereupon Captain Saunders of that ship on his own initiative went off with his barge's crew to Puntales, forced the Spaniards to open the magazine at once and rowed away with sufficient barrels of powder to the fort to enable Matagorda to reopen fire. The Spanish authorities at Cadiz had also in the forenoon, by insisting on preliminary red-tape formalities, prevented General Graham from sending British gun-boats up the Trocadero channel to take the French batteries in reverse and relieve the pressure on Matagorda.

"The whole of the night of the 21st and morning of the 22nd," says Captain Maclaine in his report to General Graham, "I employed in endeavouring to repair the parapet of the south-east face, composed of sandbags, which, from the very heavy fire of twenty-one pieces of cannon (most of them 32-pounders) the enemy had totally demolished, so that the men at the guns were completely exposed. We continued to replace the sandbags and fill up the breach so as to put ourselves in a tolerable state of defence :

and at daybreak in the morning (April 22nd) the enemy opened with a salvo from all his batteries. We returned the fire with the same spirit and success as yesterday, but the fort soon became a complete ruin and nowhere afforded any shelter for the reliefs." Four of the seven guns were now disabled and put out of action, and the bomb-proof casemate in which the magazine was lodged was blown in, entirely exposing the powder barrels.

"The precision the French had attained with their shot was remarkable," says Donaldson, who relates in detail the Spanish flag incident mentioned by Napier. "We had a flag-staff of the usual size, on which was hoisted the Spanish colours. They cut it across with a cannon ball, it was repaired and again replaced, but was not five minutes up when another shot brought it down again. This occurring four or five times successively gave great offence to the sailors, who attributed all that we had suffered to fighting under the Spanish flag and swore that if the Union Jack were up in its place the French would not bring it down so easily." The flag-staff was finally repaired by some of the bluejackets, and then, instead of again hoisting the Spanish flag they hoisted a British boat-ensign—a small Union Jack. It had however reluctantly to be hauled down by the commandant's orders, in order to avoid offending Spanish susceptibilities. The Spanish flag was now re-hoisted but was again shot down in a few minutes, after which it was finally fastened up at one end of the ramparts and no further attention paid to its fate.

General Stewart came over from General Graham during the early morning to report on the state of the garrison. On his return the evacuation of the fort was ordered and a naval officer, Captain Stacpole, was sent with boats from the British squadron to bring off the garrison. The defenders' casualties at the end of the thirty hours' bombardment numbered eighty-three out of the 147 who had originally formed Captain Mac-laine's command. The 94th had had four killed and twenty-eight wounded, and the 2/88th party two killed. The gunners R.A. had ten casualties, the Marines twenty, the Navy nineteen.

Donaldson, who was one of the last to leave the fort according to his own account, says that the French, when they saw the evacuation taking place, attempted to gain possession and were beaten off. He had gone down, he relates, into a half-destroyed bomb-proof to look for his overcoat, and "on coming up to the ramparts found that all the men had left the fort with the exception of three or four and the commandant, who was watching the motions of a strong party of French, evidently coming down to take the place. Our ammunition was expended, but he ordered all the loose powder, grape, and ball cartridge to be collected, and having

stuffed three guns (all we had left fit for service) to the muzzle with them, we watched the enemy until within about 200 yards of the battery, when the guns were fired into the very middle of their column and laid the half of them prostrate on the earth; the rest wheeled to the right about and left us to embark at leisure."

He himself, continues Donaldson, with the other men then hastily collected as many as they could of their dead comrades' bodies on the ramparts and placed them under cover, by way of "some sort of burial as the last kind office we could perform," after which they hurried down to the last of the boats. A mine had been laid under the remains of the fort and the train to it was fired as they pushed off. "We were not a great distance from the fort when it blew up, but only partially. The French were still firing, and one of the shells falling into a boat which preceded us burst and killed three men, besides wounding others. We were taken by the boats on board of the *Invincible*, seventy-four, where we were very kindly treated: from that we were conveyed to Cadiz."

One notable episode in connection with the 94th at Matagorda is related by Donaldson in connection with a woman of the regiment, the wife of Sergeant Reston of the 94th. The truth of it is confirmed by Napier, who spells the name Retson. Mrs. Reston and two other soldiers' wives had been permitted to accompany the detachment to the fort—probably to cook and do washing for the garrison, as was allowed on service in the Peninsular War in all units.

"When the French opened on us," says Donaldson, "she was wakened out of her sleep by a 24-pound shot striking the fascine where her head lay, but nothing daunted she got up, and removing her child, a boy of four years old, down to the bomb-proof, she assisted the surgeon in dressing the wounded men, who were fast increasing on his hands, for which purpose she tore up her own linen and that of her husband. Water being needed, one of the drum-boys was desired to go and draw some from the well in the centre of the battery, but he did not seem much inclined to the task and was lingering at the door with the bucket dangling in his hand. 'Why don't you go for the water?' said the surgeon. 'The poor thing's frightened,' said Mrs. Reston, 'and no wonder at it: give it to me, and I'll go for it.' So saying she relieved the drummer from the perilous duty, and, amid the dreadful discharge of artillery playing on the battery, she let down the vessel to fill it with water. She had scarcely done so when the rope was cut by a shot, but she determined to get her message (*sic*) with her, and begging the assistance of a sailor she recovered the bucket and brought it filled with water down to the bomb-proof where her attention to the wounded soldiers was beyond all praise. In the in-

tervals she carried sandbags for the repair of the battery, handed along ammunition and supplied the men at the guns with wine and water ; and when the other two women (who had been in hysterics in one of the bomb-proofs, from the time the action had commenced) were leaving the battery she refused to go." Mrs. Reston remained on the ramparts helping, as Donaldson tells, until the very last, until the evacuation of the fort.

"The mountains of Caledonia," said General Graham when he heard of what Mrs. Reston had done, "can produce heroines as well as the walls of Saragossa!"* Her intrepid conduct was, on her husband's death some time later, represented to the War Office by officers of the battalion, by General Graham, and by Lord Hill, the Colonel of the 94th, with the view of obtaining a compassionate allowance for her, but in vain. The Secretary at War would do nothing. "The cold reply was," says Donaldson, "that he had no funds for the purpose." She eventually found employment as a nurse in the City Hospital in Glasgow, her native place, and while there, in 1843, on her story becoming known a subscription was got up for "the Heroine of Matagorda" through the *Glasgow Chronicle*. Her case was supported by *The Times* in London, but the appeal produced only £200. She refused to accept the money, gave it away to charities, and continued her hospital work till her death in December 1856, at work among the patients to the last.

From the *Invincible* the 94th Matagorda detachment were landed later in the day at Cadiz and marched for the night to a casemate bomb-proof under the city ramparts. "Half naked and blackened with the smoke of gunpowder," remarks Donaldson, "we looked more like chimney sweeps than soldiers." They proceeded to the battalion camp in the lines at Isla next morning. "Our comrades turned out to receive us, and our hearts thrilled with exultation at the encomiums passed on our bravery. The poor fellows flew with alacrity to procure wine to treat us. . . . Next day we were called out. The regiment formed square and the remains of our party were marched into it. We were then addressed by our commanding officer in terms of the highest eulogy and held out to the regiment as a pattern."

Captain Maclaine's report, in addition to bringing before General Graham for distinguished conduct the names of Ensigns Cannon and Scott of the grenadier company of the 94th, and officers of other corps serving under his orders, specially recommended "Hospital-mate Bennet, attached to the 94th, who was the surgeon attending the garrison." The report

* The allusion was to Doña Augustina, the heroic Spanish woman whose intrepidity on the ramparts of Saragossa during the famous siege was the admiration of everybody. She was at that time as it happened on a visit to friends in Cadiz, and General Graham had met her.

made no reference to Mrs. Reston. General Graham, in forwarding it to the Secretary at War in England, specially mentioned Captain Maclaine himself and the two Ensigns of the 94th together with Lieutenants Brereton and Wright R.A., Major Lefebre R.E. (the last man killed on the ramparts of Matagorda at the moment of final withdrawal), and Midshipman Dobson. He added this: "The defence of Matagorda has been witnessed by everybody with admiration and I should not have been justified in allowing it to be continued so long but from the expectation of the possibility of some diversion being made in its favour, which however was found to be impracticable." This last was a reference to the backwardness of the Spanish Governor of Cadiz in regard to permitting British gunboats to enter the Trocadero Channel so as to take the French batteries in rear.

General Graham further issued a special Order of the Day dated "Isla April 23rd 1810." In addition to offering his "best thanks" to every one of the Matagorda garrison "for the steadiness and bravery by which so severe and unequal a contest was so long maintained," and naming the officers mentioned in his official despatch just referred to, he said this of Captain Maclaine: "The troops having witnessed the gallant defence of the little redoubt of Matagorda against the powerful efforts of the enemy, it is unnecessary to hold up the conduct of Captain Maclaine of the 94th Regiment as a noble example of fortitude and patience."

The battalion continued in garrison at Cadiz until the following September, employed for most of the time in the front line facing the enemy's siege batteries across the marshes of the Rio de Santi Petri. The 94th camp was at Gallineras, in support of the Caraccas works on the left of the defence position. "The French," says Donaldson, "once or twice made a powerful attack on our picquets but were repulsed with loss, and the skirmishing at our outposts and firing from the batteries were carried on almost without intermission. We expected them to make an attack on us with their whole force, and scarcely a night passed without being turned out in consequence of movements on their side, notice of which was communicated to the troops by different coloured rockets thrown up at our outposts."

So the operations at Cadiz were carried on until the first week of September. General Graham then received orders from Wellington directing him "as it is important to reinforce the army" to send at once to Lisbon the 94th, the 2/30th and the 2/44th. Masséna and Ney were advancing in greatly superior force, 80,000 French to 50,000 British and Portuguese, and had crossed the frontier of Portugal, while Wellington was preparing to give battle at Bussaco and then fall back within the lines of Torres Vedras.

On the battalion leaving Cadiz, the Marquess Wellesley, brother of the Duke of Wellington, then British Diplomatic Agent at Cadiz, wrote to Wellington specially mentioning Maclaine and adding: "You know that Maclaine who behaved so gallantly at Matagorda is in the 94th." Maclaine, who ultimately became General Sir Archibald Maclaine, K.C.B., etc., was ever afterwards known among his acquaintances and among old Army officers as "the Hero of Matagorda."

In a despatch to Lord Liverpool, General Graham wrote this of Captain Maclaine in connection with the defence of Matagorda: "It would be an injustice to the Service not to recommend him in the warmest manner to your Lordship's notice." The result was the promotion "without purchase" of Captain Maclaine to the 87th Royal Irish Fusiliers on October 4th 1810. With his new regiment he took part at Barrosa in 1811, where he had his horse shot under him and was wounded severely for the sixth time in his career. Major Maclaine was promoted to Lieut.-Colonel in 1813. He became a Major-General in 1841, and was appointed Colonel of the 52nd Foot (now the 2nd Bn. Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry), was promoted Lieut.-General in 1851, and General in 1855. His death took place in London in March 1861. With the Scotch Brigade, as has been said, Sir Archibald Maclaine served at Seringapatam, the Polygar War, at Argaum and the storming of Gawilghar—receiving four of his six severe wounds while in India.

CHAPTER XLVII

THE PENINSULAR WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1810-11. FROM CADIZ TO THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS. SERVICE IN THE LINES. THE FIRST MEETING WITH PICTON. STARTING IN PURSUIT OF MASSÉNA. THE COMBAT OF REDINHA. THE ATTACK AT GUARDA. THE ACTION AT SABUGAL. FUENTES DE OÑORO.

1810

THE 94th sailed from Cadiz on September 9th 1810, and after a rough passage of eleven days against head winds disembarked in the Tagus. After a short stay in Lisbon they were taken up the river in boats to Villa Franca, and landing there marched to Alcantara and on to Rio Mayor where a day's halt was made. The battalion then, on September 29th, moved forward along the main road to Cavallos. "Here," says Donaldson, "we received information from men going sick to the rear that our army was retreating after having fought an action at Bussaco. This intelligence was soon confirmed by cars coming in with the wounded—those who had suffered slightly were walking, while others, whose wounds were more severe were either sitting or lying on the cars. . . . The wounded continued to pass the remaining part of the day and during the whole night."

From Cavallos the 94th marched across country to Alcobaça, where, on October 6th, they joined the Second Brigade of the Third Division—Picton's. They moved up next day into the front line of the Torres Vedras position, in which the Third Division was responsible for the left sector. That extended from the village of Torres Vedras westward along the line of the river Zizandre to the sea, covering a front of about 10 miles. With the entrenched work of San Vincente immediately in front of Torres Vedras and the lower end of the Zizandre Valley dammed and converted into an impassable marsh for some 6 miles, one division sufficed to safeguard the sector.

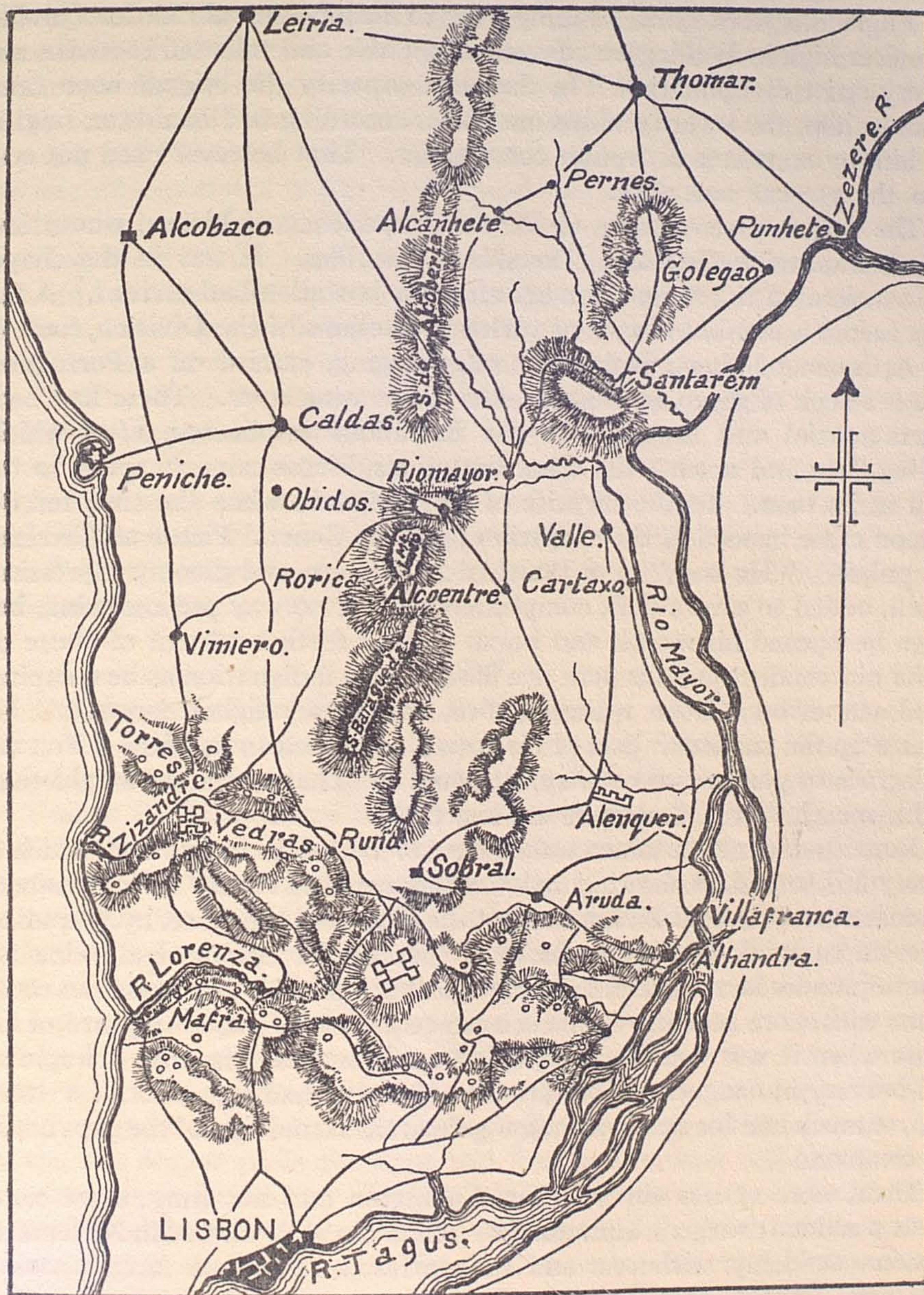
Major Thomas Lloyd joined the 94th from the 43rd Foot on October 4th, an officer of whom it has been said, in connection with his services with the 94th, "his name will never be forgotten as long as the records of the regi-

ment shall interest its present and future representatives." Wellington wrote to the Commander-in-Chief at The Horse Guards in asking for his promotion to the majority in the 94th: "This officer, always distinguished, has drawn my particular notice by the use of his talents at the advanced posts of the army: and the wound which he received in the affair of the 24th July (Almeida) has rendered his claim to promotion more urgent, if it has not added its strength."

The battalion on entering the Lines of Torres Vedras was quartered in a hamlet adjoining Torres Vedras village, the march to which Donaldson describes. "The ground was of a clayey nature and with the rain that fell it had become like bird-lime. Our feet stuck fast at every step and our shoes were actually torn off and many of them left lying in the clay. Some men were walking barefoot, others in their stockings without shoes, and more had one shoe on and another carrying in their hand. We were a set of drenched and miserable-looking wretches, and the officers were in as bad a plight as ourselves." The battalion only stayed a few days in the hamlet, the neighbourhood being overcrowded with troops. They then moved to Cadaciera, another village in the front line, 5 miles west of Torres Vedras and overlooking the Zizandre valley. At Cadaciera the battalion remained until the end of November, occupied mostly in strengthening the position, felling trees in the neighbouring pine woods for abattis, and constructing entrenchments. The outposts of Junot's army corps immediately faced Picton across the river.

"Every morning," says Colonel Jones, R.E., in his *Memorandum on the Lines of Torres Vedras*, describing the daily routine within the Lines, "two hours before daybreak the troops stood to their arms at the point of assembly of their several cantonments, Lord Wellington in person being at the fort on Monte Agraça in readiness to direct any general movement according to the exigencies of the moment. The army thus remained under arms until a communication from every portion of the line and ocular demonstration had assured their comrades that no change had taken place in the position of the hostile troops, nor any preparation been made for immediate attack. The several brigades and divisions were then ordered to resume their daily labours of strengthening their respective fronts, making lateral communications, improving the roads and securing their outposts, etc. The weather was generally wet and the duty irksome, still all supported it with cheerfulness in the full confidence of annihilating their opponents whenever the threatened attack should take place."

The Second Brigade of the Third Division at this time comprised 2/5th, 2/83rd, 2/58th (relieved by the 94th from October 6th), three companies of the 5/60th and Sutton's Portuguese Battalion. Major-



THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS.

General Lightburne was in command when the 94th joined, but left for England a week later, handing over to Major-General Charles Colville, an officer high in Wellington's favour as an able and talented tactician and a very strict disciplinarian. In that last capacity the brigade soon came to know him, the severity of his measures, according to Donaldson, rendering him by no means a popular commander. That however need not concern the present narrative.

The 94th soon also came to have an experience of Picton, whose first introduction to the battalion Donaldson describes. It was in the chapel at Cadaciera on the second Sunday after the battalion had arrived. A few days before a number of men of various battalions of the Division, some of the 94th among them, had, while out foraging, carried off a Portuguese farmer's flock of sheep and also broken into a wine-store. There had been courts-martial and floggings in the battalions implicated, after which, having "dressed down" the other battalions, Picton came to speak to the 94th in its turn. To the surprise of all in church, when the time for the sermon came instead of the chaplain appearing General Picton stalked into the pulpit. "He had," says Donaldson, "a stern and gloomy expression, which, added to a very dark complexion made it no way prepossessing, but when he opened his mouth and began to pour forth a torrent of abuse on us for our conduct and his dark eye flashed with indignation as he recapitulated our errors, 'hope withering fled, and mercy sighed farewell.' He wound up the particular part of his speech addressed to us with—'You are a disgrace to your moral country, Scotland!' That had more weight than all his speech. It sunk deep in our hearts."

Donaldson came to take another view of Picton in due course, which it is only fair to add, as showing how the 94th came to regard their divisional commander: "General Picton was not the character which we, by prejudice, were led to think him. Convinced of the baneful effects of allowing his men to plunder he set his face sternly against it, and although no man could blame with more severity when occasion required, he was no niggard of his praise when it was deserved. Nothing could surpass his calm intrepidity and bravery in danger, and his presence in battle had the effect of a talisman, so much had his skill and valour gained the confidence of the men under his command."

Then, more or less abruptly for Wellington and his army, there came about a sudden change. The situation became entirely altered in November. Masséna suddenly withdrew and concentrated his whole force between Santarem, Punhete and Thomar. It was a move that meant the abandonment of the offensive by the French, and the adoption of an entirely defensive rôle. The new situation however did not lead to activity on Welling-

ton's part. Masséna's new position was practically impregnable to direct attack, and at the same time it was beyond Wellington's power with the forces he had with him to attempt to turn it. The result was that except for the moving up of certain divisions to the British advanced line in front of the new French main position nothing special took place during December, January and February. Wellington's plan was to trust to starvation in the devastated country of Northern Portugal and to the severity of the winter weather to force Masséna out and compel his retreat further back. In the rearrangement at the end of November the Third Division was moved forward 17 miles to Alcoentre on the Leiria road and there took post in rear of Pack's Portuguese Brigade, which was pushed forward as outposts to hold the line of heights overlooking the middle course of the Rio Mayor river. The Fifth Division was at the same time brought up to Torres Vedras in support of Picton.

At Alcoentre, a small village in the neighbourhood of the town of Rio Mayor, the 94th remained from the end of November 1810 to the first week of March 1811, mostly occupied as before. "We were," says Donaldson, "kept pretty busy strengthening the position, making batteries, breastworks, abattis, etc."

1811

The strength of the battalion, according to a return of February 15th 1811, was as follows: 1 Lieut.-Colonel, 1 Major, 8 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 11 Ensigns, 6 Staff, 43 Sergeants, 22 Drummers, 670 Rank and File.

During February there came a new development. Wellington judged that the time had come to take the offensive and thrust Masséna back out of Portugal. He had not believed it possible for Masséna to hold on where he was after the end of December, but since apparently he would not move he had to be beaten back. Large reinforcements from England and the Mediterranean were on the way to Wellington, indeed were overdue, and he determined when these had reached him to make an encircling attack on the French positions early in March. The part of the Third Division in the scheme of operations was, together with the Fifth and Light Divisions and Portuguese brigades, to break through and overpower the French right on the Rio Mayor while the First and Fourth Divisions held in check the enemy's left at Santarem. The late arrival in the Tagus of the reinforcements however caused the date first proposed for the attack to be put off to the middle of March, by which time as it turned out Masséna was in full retreat.

While awaiting the arrival of the reinforcements, on March 4th 1811, the 94th, together with the whole of the Third Division, were reviewed by

Wellington. "From the place where we were assembled," says Donaldson, "we could see Santarem, General Masséna's head-quarters. Next day the whole army was ordered to advance, as Masséna had retreated during the night." This opened the campaign of 1811.

The 94th started from Alcoentre with the Third Division in pursuit of Masséna. They were at Alcanhede and Permes on March 8th, expecting to be in action within a few hours, as reports kept coming in that the French had halted to accept battle. Nothing however occurred and on March 9th the Division crossed the steep watershed between Alcanhede and Porto de Moz on the Santarem-Leiria road, a barren, ill-featured stretch of upland.

Porto de Moz, a small town, was found sacked and burned, and dead bodies of its inhabitants lay everywhere. Next day they reached Leiria, which town had in like manner been sacked and burned. The battalion halted at Leiria for twenty-four hours, lodged in a large abandoned convent. On March 11th as they moved forward the French rearguard was overtaken near Pombal and a sharp encounter, in which the Light Division was mainly concerned, took place. The Third Division who now joined the advanced troops were not engaged. They had been moved to the right by a mountain road to turn the left of the French, but before the enemy's position could be reached the French had retired. It was for the 94th a dreary day's tramp in pouring rain; no rations could be brought up, no rum, bread or meat.

On March 12th in the afternoon the first serious encounter in the pursuit took place—the Combat of Redinha. There Ney, with the French rearguard of two divisions, endeavoured to check Wellington, holding the village of Redinha and the heights in first line, with supports behind the Ancos River.

The enemy appeared to be in considerable force and Wellington, after deploying his three leading columns—the Third Division on the right, Pack's Portuguese Brigade in the centre, the Light Division on the left,—waited till 2 p.m. for the Fourth Division to come up. As the Third Division was coming up in close column before the deployment, the enemy's guns opened fire. The first shot pitched into the middle of the 94th, killing a sergeant and wounding three privates. The Fourth Division when it arrived took part with Pack's Portuguese and thereupon the Third and the Light Division moved forward. The Third Division on its side had to advance through a wood and over difficult ground. Then, on getting through, it had sharp skirmishing for upwards of half an hour which gradually forced back the French left wing. The Light Division on the opposite flank, emerging from woods on that side at the same time, drove in the enemy in their front. Wellington's battalions in the centre were by now coming up, and Ney, seeing the general British advance, retired his force rapidly across the river. Picton, following up, then attempted to ford the river, but the

stream was too rapid and deep for all to get across. Those who got over did so by swimming, among the swimmers being the Light Company of the 94th, led by Major Lloyd.

Most of the British had to file over the narrow bridge in the village, after which the men re-formed line and moved against Ney's second position, on a ridge two miles off. A stand there however proved impossible for the French. The Third and Light Divisions again turned their flanks, on which Ney gave up further resistance and drew off.

"Our light companies," says Donaldson in his narrative of the day's proceedings, "had been skirmishing before we came up and they were now briskly engaged with their sharpshooters who were covering the retreat. Some of their columns were observed to be much in rear of the others and the General, thinking that they might be intercepted and taken prisoners, ordered those men who could swim to the front for the purpose of crossing a river which ran down the centre of the ravine. They were headed by one of our majors and took the river, but, as it was found deep and running very strict there was some difficulty in getting over. In consequence of this the French were enabled to reach the village before they could be intercepted, which they set fire to as they passed through. It was now near dark and we passed to the right of the town where we encamped."

The battalion had 16 casualties at Redinha: 2 men killed and 1 officer, Captain James Bogle of the Light Company, and 13 men wounded. The officer killed had served with the 94th at the Cape and in India before Seringapatam. On going into action at Redinha he is said to have addressed his men in these terms:—"The French are before you, my lads, let us fight manfully: if we live we'll be an honour to our country, if we die" (lowering his voice) "it's no great consequence!" So Donaldson relates.

Masséna's retreat continued and the pursuit was resumed next day. "They were out of sight next morning and we had to commence the hunt again, which was an arduous task. No sooner did we get to the top of one hill where we had seen them assembled than we found them formed on another. The valleys which lay between the mountains were so narrow that they were more like great clefts than anything else, and the sides so steep that we had to scramble on our hands and feet to ascend them."

The Third Division throughout the pursuit of Masséna was in the forefront, working in close association with the Light Division. Both the 94th and the 88th of the First or Right Brigade of the Division took part together in the affairs of Casal Novo, Foz do Aronce (otherwise Foz d'Aronce) and Guarda, passing through similar experiences to those related by Grattan and described in the previous volume at pages 61-65. At Casal Novo the 94th had 4 men wounded, and at Foz do Aronce 6 men wounded.

At Guarda the Third Division was two hours ahead of the rest of the army and halted close in front of the French. The enemy, said Picton in a letter, "allowed me to remain within four hundred yards of his main body, threatening his rear for above two hours before the other columns made their appearance. I did not think it wise to attack until the columns following were within reach. Then we drove the enemy out of the nearest work they held." Upwards of 15,000 of the enemy under Loison were in position, but for some unaccountable reason did not attack. Then when the first of Wellington's advanced troops of the main army appeared, Loison lost his head and ordered a hasty retreat, whole battalions hurrying off and leaving their half-cooked dinners on the camp fires.

Picton attacked before anyone else of Wellington's van troops could get up, according to an account by an officer of another division then coming up. "One of our staff officers," he says, "examining with a glass an unfinished fort on the left of the position remarked to Sir E. Pakenham who was near, 'We shall have some sharp work there, that place is full of men.' The gallant Sir Edward immediately fixed his glass on the fort and after observing for a short time, exclaimed, 'Full of men—yes it is full of men: but, by G-d, they're all red coats!' A further reconnaissance was quickly made and it was discovered that it was Picton's division which had thus early got possession of the fort, after driving the enemy out with such precipitation that they actually left their kettles on the fires containing their meat, which thus became a most acceptable prize to Picton's soldiers."

The last stage of Masséna's retreat was now being reached. Masséna was now nearing the frontier of Portugal. His army was in a terrible state of destitution, worn out, half starved, and nearly demoralized by losses and desertions, but the Marshal would not, for the sake of his own *amour propre*, let himself be hustled into Spain without one more trial of strength. He halted, proposing to attempt a counter-offensive.

Masséna formed up his three corps, the 2nd, 6th and 8th, on the Upper Coa to face Wellington in the neighbourhood of the town of Sabugal. The 2nd Corps under Reynier had its position on the heights above Sabugal. The 6th Corps, under Loison, Ney's successor, was on its right some way off down the river and not immediately in touch. The 8th Corps was further off.

Wellington planned to fall on Reynier with his full strength and, isolating the 2nd Corps, to overpower it in detail before Loison could come to its aid. The Light Division, under Sir William Erskine during Craufurd's absence on leave in England, was to ford the Coa two miles above Sabugal, sending one of its brigades to cross higher up the river, and take the 2nd Corps in flank and rear. Picton with the Third Division was to ford the

river about a mile above Sabugal. The massed Fourth and Fifth Divisions were to cross at or near, below Sabugal. The Coa in that district was fordable at several points. The First and Seventh Divisions were to follow and to be in close support. Orders for the attack at daybreak next morning were issued on the evening of April 2nd.

Unfortunately, owing to a thick mist with drizzling rain during the morning, and to blundering on the part of General Erskine and his staff, the plan of action miscarried at the outset. First of all, General Erskine, following Wellington's original time-table, started at his appointed time regardless of the weather difficulties and recklessly forced his way forward blindfold through the mist. Only part of his division, however, followed him. By mischance, owing to the mist and the misunderstanding of an order, one brigade did not move off. When at length it did, groping its way, it missed its ford: at the place where the men crossed they were up to their armpits. The result was that the brigades of the Light Division came into action separately and came up against greatly superior forces. Meanwhile Picton with the Third Division and the Commander of the Fourth Division had waited, informing Wellington that it was impossible to see what was in front owing to the mist and asking for fresh instructions. Then, after a while, suddenly the sound of firing was heard in the direction of the Light Division. It increased in intensity, showing that Erskine was heavily engaged and on that Picton started to cross the river making as rapidly as possible towards the sound of the guns. The mist and drizzle kept on, and after groping for the ford the crossing was effected. Owing to the mist the French pickets on the opposite bank were surprised and offered little resistance.

The 94th, with the rest of Colville's brigade, crossed where the water was up to their waists. They then, as Donaldson says, took their way with the division up a steep rise, with Picton riding in front with his stick on his shoulder. They went on through a wood on a hill in front beyond which they formed line and pushed on at the double. Loison had drawn off most of the troops of his centre to reinforce those engaged with the Light Division, and Colville, apparently unobserved by the enemy in action until near at hand, suddenly came on two French three-battalion regiments, which were in the act of joining in against the Light Division. These tried to hold Colville back, but they were closed with at once and had to give ground. They were chased, losing heavily in casualties and prisoners, after which there suddenly came down over the whole battlefield the tremendous cloudburst in torrents of rain which broke off the action at Sabugal and ended the day. When at length it cleared and visibility became possible the French were seen making off fast. It was by then too late to follow them.

The 2/88th took part together with the 94th, at Sabugal, as a unit temporarily attached to Colville's Brigade of the Third Division. The 2/88th had left Cadiz in February and had overtaken Wellington's army at Guarda. They were to join and be drafted into the 1/88th of the First Brigade of the Third Division, but for the moment, for convenience, were attached to the Second Brigade.

After Sabugal the 94th moved with the Third Division to Fuentes de Oñoro. Masséna had now withdrawn beyond Ciudad Rodrigo to the neighbourhood of Salamanca in order to re-equip and refit his broken and exhausted forces and to get together what reinforcements he could induce Marshal Bessières, who commanded in the North of Spain, to send to him. Wellington thereupon placed his divisions in cantonments along the Spanish frontier so as to cover the blockade of the French garrison of the fortress of Almeida, which was now undertaken. The British siege-train guns were still on board ship at Lisbon and it was only possible to blockade Almeida. No interference by the enemy appeared possible. Wellington indeed calculated that Masséna's forces, after what they had undergone, could not be able again to take the field before the end of the summer. There was no movement of the enemy during April, and little beyond occasional exchanges of shots between patrols here and there. Wellington took advantage of this lull in the operations to pay a flying inspection visit of a fortnight to Beresford's force, then facing Soult's army on the Guadiana and in the neighbourhood of Badajoz.

Wellington returned on April 28th, receiving on the way back the unexpected news that the French had reorganized more quickly than had seemed possible, and were again moving forward in force, presumably to compel the raising of the blockade of Almeida. Wellington was able to bring rapidly together some 35,000 of all arms: Masséna, with reinforcements, recovered sick and rejoined detachments, had available upwards of 48,000 all told.

The French, concentrating at Ciudad Rodrigo, advanced from there on May 2nd, whereupon Wellington took up a line of defence on the small river Dos Casas, little more than a narrow stream, with the village of Fuentes de Oñoro as the key of his position. The Third, First, and Seventh Divisions were posted on the heights in rear of Fuentes, with the light companies of the 94th and the other battalions of the Third and First Divisions, under Lieut.-Colonel Williams of the 5/60th, holding the village itself. The straggling village had been fortified and put into a state of defence, the houses and outlying garden walls being loopholed and the streets barricaded.

The attack began early on the afternoon of May 3rd between two o'clock and 3 p.m., after a reconnaissance of the position by Masséna during the



FUENTES DE OÑORO.

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forenoon. The Marshal opened by sending ten battalions against the lower part of the village, Ferey's Division of the 6th Corps, some 4,200 men. Ferey threw his first brigade into action in three columns and their rush by sheer weight of numbers forced the defenders, who did not amount to more than 1,800 in all, out of the houses in the lower village and up to the higher ground in rear, round the church and walled enclosures there. "No other part of the line," says Donaldson, "had as yet been attacked by the French: they seemed bent on taking the village of Fuentes in the first place as a 'stepping stone,' and the main body of each army lay looking at each other." The reserve force of the defenders after the enemy's first onset repelled the attack and recovered the lost ground.

Ferey then brought up his second brigade and, making an attack at two points, again compelled the defenders to give ground. "They sent forward," says Donaldson, "two strong bodies of fresh troops to retake it, one of which, composed of the Irish Legion, dressed in red uniform, was at first taken for a British regiment. They had time to form up and give us a volley before the mistake was discovered." It was really the Hanoverian Legion in Napoleon's service, which wore red like Napoleon's Irish Legion. The latter was attached to another division. "In spite of the unparalleled bravery of our troops," continued Donaldson, "they were driven back, contesting every inch of ground." The Hanoverians lost six officers and over 100 men. The Irish Legion was not engaged.*

The village, however, was not to be yielded. Wellington, closely watching what was taking place, now sent forward two battalions, the 71st and 79th, supported by a third, the 24th, to regain the lower village. "On our retreat through the village," as Donaldson describes, "we were met by the 71st Regiment, cheering, led on by Colonel Cadogan, which had been detached from the line to our support. The chase was now turned and although the French were obstinately intent on keeping their ground, and so eager that many of their cavalry had entered the town and rushed furiously down the streets, all their efforts were in vain. Nothing could withstand the charge of the 71st and in a short time, in spite of all resistance, they cleared the village." The impetuous charge, backed up by the men of the light companies of the original garrison of Fuentes, drove the enemy on to the open ground beyond until checked by the French cavalry.

Masséna, however, was not to be driven back yet. He promptly sent forward four battalions, drawn from another division of the 6th Corps, Marchand's: but again the enemy's attack broke down. The reinforce-

* The Irish Legion was in Solignac's Brigade, and was in reserve. Solignac's Brigade had only two casualties out of 4,000 men present.

ment was unable to do more than occupy some scattered houses on the east side of the Dos Casas stream. They were held there until night came on, when the contest for Fuentes de Oñoro village temporarily ceased, leaving the British in possession. Firing continued for some time after dark here and there, and then all quieted down.

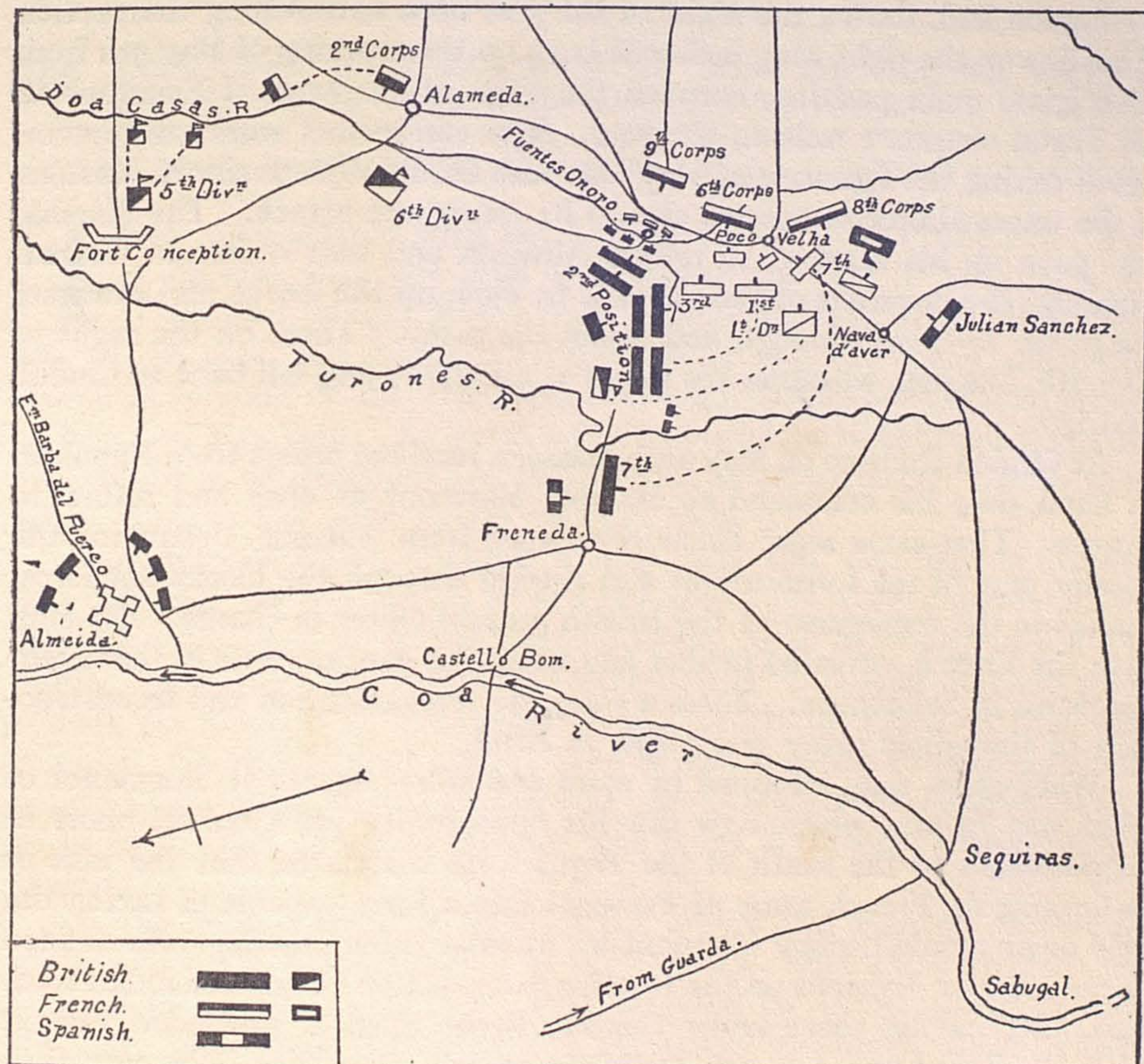
During the night the light companies were withdrawn. They were sent back into the village next morning to rejoin the 71st and 79th and 24th, but beyond a brief exchange of shots between ten and eleven nothing occurred and a mutual stoppage of hostilities took place. "Both sides," says Donaldson, "were busily employed burying the dead and bringing in the wounded: French and English promiscuously mixed and assisted each other in that melancholy duty as if they had been intimate friends. So far did this friendship extend that two of our lads, who spoke French, went up that night after dark to the enemy's picquet and having conversed and drunk wine with them returned unmolested to their company."

There was no fighting on May 4th. Masséna was fully occupied in reconnoitring the whole position, with a view to an attack in force on the right of Wellington's position next morning.

In the second action at Fuentes de Oñoro, on May 5th, the Light Company of the 94th was again engaged, but not the battalion companies or grenadier company. The Light Company, with the other light companies of the First and Third Divisions, returned to assist the three battalions, the 71st, 79th, and 24th, who were still garrisoning the village. Masséna on the 5th assaulted Fuentes village with the battalions of Ferey's Division, as before in conjunction with picked battalions from another division, Claparède's. They attacked impetuously and after a severe struggle forced the defenders in spite of a temporarily successful counter-attack, back to the houses of the upper part of the village. Wellington then sent in additional troops, together with a Portuguese battalion as reinforcements, but the French were not to be stopped. The enemy redoubled their efforts with a greatly increased force. Fresh battalions from French divisions of the 9th Corps were added to the previous assailants. Under cover of a storm of grape and round shot the French reinforcements, massed in column, surged over the defences at the upper end of the village and broke through in spite of desperate resistance, finally forcing the defenders entirely out of the village. It was immediately after this that the 88th Connaught Rangers, led by Colonel Wallace, recaptured Fuentes de Oñoro at the point of the bayonet, as related in Vol. I (pp. 70-71). Close after the 88th, and the 74th, also of MacKinnon's Brigade of the Third Division, who attacked at another point, swarmed the former defenders of the village, among them the Light Company of the 94th, pressing on again eager for

vengeance. The general battle ended with the retaking of Fuentes de Oñoro.

The other companies of the 94th, together with the rest of Colville's brigade, had meanwhile been kept back in the main position. They were in line with the rest of the Third Division during the earlier part of the day



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when the division changed front to meet Masséna's threatened outflanking move. After that had failed to materialize against the new position Colville's brigade was held ready to support the attack on Fuentes de Oñoro of the 88th and 74th—the only two of Picton's battalions to be engaged as units. Their assistance however was not required. The successful onset

of the 88th and 74th and the final occupation of Fuentes de Oñoro village rendered it not necessary to call on Colville.

The action was practically over by two in the afternoon. After that till nightfall there was only occasional firing here and there.

There was no fighting on May 6th. Both armies remained facing one another mostly occupied in collecting the wounded and burying the dead. Wellington had, during the night of the 5th, been entrenching the portion of his line on the right wing deflected back on the morning of May 5th from his original main position, between the ridge at the back of Fuentes and the Turon stream 1 mile to the rear. The entrenched works were completed during the forenoon of May 6th, and effectually convinced Masséna of the impossibility of success should he renew the attack. The Marshal now gave up his attempt to relieve Almeida and sent orders to General Brennier, the governor of the fortress, to blow up the works and evacuate the place, to break through and rejoin the army. Then, on the night of May 7th, Masséna withdrew his forces at all points and fell back to Ciudad Rodrigo.

At Ciudad Rodrigo on May 10th Masséna received orders from Napoleon to hand over his command to Marshal Marmont at once and return to France. That same night Brennier escaped from Almeida, destroying the greater part of the fortifications and getting through the blockading force, thanks to the remissness of the British general officer in charge. On May 11th the French retreated further and went into cantonments in the neighbourhood of Salamanca. There a complete reorganization and reconstruction of the whole army was taken in hand.

Wellington, duly informed by spies and secret agents at Salamanca of what was to take place, now saw his opportunity for a special effort in Estremadura to the south of the Tagus. He calculated that the task of re-forming the French army of Portugal into a force capable of taking the field again would occupy Marmont for at least three months. He decided to canton four divisions on the frontier in a position to watch Ciudad Rodrigo, and leaving them under General Brent Spencer proceeded himself with the Third and Seventh Divisions to join Beresford, who was then engaged in the first siege of Badajoz. News had also come that Marshal Soult with a powerful force was advancing from Andalusia against Beresford with the intention of rescuing Badajoz.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE PENINSULAR WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1811. THE SECOND SIEGE OF BADAJOZ. FACING SOULT AND MARMONT ON THE CAYA. EL BODON. PICTON AND THE 94th. THE RETREAT FROM FUENTE GUINALDO. THE MOVE FORWARD TO CIUDAD RODRIGO. "HUNGRY VILLAGE."

THE 94th started with the Third Division from Fuentes de Oñoro on May 14th and after marching at the rate of 15 miles a day reached Campo Mayor near Badajoz on May 24th. Wellington left on the 15th, and galloping all the way at 50 miles a day, passed the marching columns of the Third and Seventh Divisions *en route* and arrived at Elvas on May 19th. As he set off he had received intelligence that Soult was closing in on Beresford and raced ahead in consequence. He was too late; Albuera had been fought on May 16th.

Soult retreated after Albuera, and on May 18th the siege of Badajoz was resumed. It was carried on as a blockade until the Third and Seventh Divisions had come up and the siege artillery could be brought back from Elvas. Meanwhile Wellington sent Beresford off in pursuit of Soult, whose retreat did not end until Llerena, on the borders of Andalusia, had been reached. Soult, who had already sent off demands for assistance to Marmont at Salamanca, halted at Llerena. Beresford halted opposite him, so as to keep Soult under observation and cover Wellington's operations at Badajoz.

At the Second Siege of Badajoz the attack was directed against the north and north-eastern points of the fortress. The Third Division was allotted to the attack on the Castle, situated on an eminence adjoining the City. The Seventh Division was allotted to the attack on the outlying fort of San Cristobal, on a high rocky hill facing the Castle across the Guadiana.

The Third Division, marching in from Campo Mayor, forded the Guadiana above the town and joined the besieging force on May 27th. Ground was broken on the 29th and next day the first parallel was begun, at a distance of 800 yards from the Castle. "On the night of the 29th," says Donaldson, "the stores and ordnance having arrived, we marched down towards the town for the purpose of breaking ground; it was fortunately very dark

and as we kept the greatest silence the French were not aware of our approach. When we reached the place where it was intended we should open the trenches we formed a line across the front of the town, where 2,000 intrenching tools had been laid. We were then told our safety depended on expedition for if the French discovered our presence before we had worked ourselves under cover a warm salute might be expected." We commenced work vigorously and in six hours were under cover without the French having discovered our presence. "A communication," continues Donaldson, "was kept up between the several trenches and a covered way formed, which prevented the men from being so much exposed in going to and returning from the camp. Still we suffered severely from the enemy's shot and shell with which they now plied us hotly, having their guns constantly ready to fire at even a single individual if he put his head above the trench. The shells fired from the garrison were also thrown so as to make them fall in it. At night we could see them by the fuse and were often enabled to get out of their way; in the day we ran more risk, although we could still distinguish them from shot by the whistling sound they made coming through the air."

The breaching batteries opened on the morning of June 3rd, one twenty-gun battery on the Third Division front and four batteries, mounting fourteen guns, on the Seventh Division front. The practice was not however very effective, as the guns were old Portuguese pieces from the ramparts of Elvas, mostly ancient and worn-out eighteenth-century cannon. Several became unserviceable while in action, others were damaged by the enemy's reply fire. Additional Portuguese guns were brought up on May 4th and in front of the Castle a new battery was also opened at 650 yards range.

Making the best of their artillery a practicable breach was apparently effected at San Cristobal by the 6th, whereupon an attempt was made to storm the fort by parts of three battalions of the Seventh Division. It proved however impossible to get on to the breach and the effort completely failed. Donaldson describes what the men of the 94th witnessed of that assault from the Third Division lines facing the Castle. "Being at night we could not see the attack further than the flash of their fire-arms which from our encampment looked like an exhibition of fireworks." Of the second attempt to storm San Cristobal, made on the night of the 9th, Donaldson writes: "They advanced intrepidly to the foot of the breach, but the same obstacles presented themselves and after having suffered most severely without being able to effect a lodgment, they were again ordered to retire."

The artillery with the Third Division had meanwhile been baffled in their efforts against the Castle, although a battery of British heavy ship's

guns sent up from Lisbon was employed. Masses of the outer masonry fell where the shots struck, but the solid clay-slate rock behind the masonry remained upright and unyielding. What appeared to be a practicable breach was finally made on May 9th, but to reach it for an assault was impossible except at an excessive cost of life. The nearest parallel was 800 yards from the Castle and every foot of the intervening open space was fully exposed to a murderous frontal and cross fire from the guns of the Castle, and the adjacent bastions of the fortress *enceinte*, as well as from batteries at San Cristobal.

Then news reached Wellington which compelled him to give up the siege at once. His operations at Badajoz had been a race against time throughout. Information that he had been expecting all along of an enemy move to rescue the fortress reached him on May 10th. Intelligence came to hand that Marmont had reorganized his army with unexpected rapidity, and was on the move to join Soult for the relief of Badajoz. The situation for the French was urgent. The garrison was already in distress for provisions and in danger of being starved into surrender. The siege operations were abandoned on May 10th. From this until the 17th, says Donaldson, "we were busy withdrawing the guns and stores which were sent to the garrison of Elvas as a place of security and on the 17th we quitted our investment of the place and withdrew to Campo Mayor."

The two marshals joined forces at Merida on June 17th, and on the same day Wellington withdrew across the Guadiana. Soult and Marmont then marched to Badajoz and entered it triumphantly with bands playing on June 20th. With 60,000 men they next advanced towards where Wellington had halted with about 54,000 of all arms, British and Portuguese, on the line of the river Caya between Elvas and Campo Mayor. The four divisions left with General Spencer in May had joined Wellington, having come down south immediately it was known that Marmont had started to join Soult. Beresford's two divisions, now under Hill, had also rejoined Wellington. The 94th, with the Third Division, had their post at the northern end of Wellington's line, near Campo Mayor.

The armies were in presence from June 22nd to June 28th, but nothing occurred beyond cavalry encounters, for the most part between patrols. Wellington's position was an extremely strong one and the two marshals in spite of their superiority in numbers did not dare to attack. In Napier's words: "Marmont's army was conscious of its recent defeats at Bussaco, at Sabugal, at Fuentes de Oñoro: the horrid field of Albuera was fresh, the fierce blood there spilled still reeked in the nostrils of Soult's soldiers."

Then came a sudden change. On June 28th Soult parted from Marmont, taking with him two divisions to deal with a serious insurrection in

Eastern Andalusia. Marmont was now left with not more than 47,000 men to face Wellington with 54,000. His forces remained concentrated in the vicinity of Badajoz until July 15th while the fortress was being re-victualled with six months' supplies. He then moved into Estremadura and dispersed his forces in cantonments south of the Tagus.

Wellington on that dispersed his forces into cantonments. It was a great relief to remove from the unhealthy districts on the Caya and Guadiana, which were notorious for fever at that time of year. Already there had been great sickness in all battalions of the army. Wellington did not think it advisable for the moment to make a fresh attack on Badajoz. The 94th and the Third Division were now sent across the Tagus and north to the neighbourhood of Castello Branco, a high and healthy locality. A large garrison was to be established there in view of the next operation. Wellington had already decided, as soon as the opportunity offered, to make a bold stroke for the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo. General Dorsenne with a portion of the French "Army of the North" had occupied that part of Spain during Marmont's absence in Estremadura, and still controlled the country between Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca.

The stay of the Third Division at Castello Branco was not a long one. Dorsenne had had to withdraw north to meet a Spanish rising in Galicia, and in the first week of August Wellington moved in force across the Tagus and re-established his divisions in cantonments west of the Agueda, within striking distance of Ciudad Rodrigo. Then, seeing his way to blockade Ciudad Rodrigo and cripple the garrison by intercepting its food supplies, he brought forward the Third and Light Divisions to the Agueda, in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress, as the blockading force. Cavalry posts and a formidable Spanish contingent of irregulars at the same time watched the main convoy road between Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca.

That situation continued throughout August and during the first three weeks of September, Marmont making no effort to interfere. A great convoy of stores had reached Ciudad Rodrigo only a day or two before Wellington crossed the Tagus and the Marshal was satisfied that Ciudad Rodrigo would be in no danger of running short until the end of October. Siege operations were obviously impossible without heavy guns, of which Wellington had none so far as Marmont knew. He was entirely unaware that a large and powerful siege train, recently arrived from England, was being secretly brought up the Douro, to be transported across country to Wellington in due course.

The surprising and unwelcome news that Wellington possessed a siege train and that it was on the way to Ciudad Rodrigo reached Marmont at his head-quarters at Almaraz on the Tagus in the middle of September.

He also learned that the battalions on the Agueda had been busily employed in making gabions and fascines for some weeks past. The intelligence started Marmont into activity. He promptly concerted plans with Dorsenne, recalling him from Galicia, and ordered his own divisions to prepare at once to march for Salamanca. All reached their destinations by September 20th and two days later, Marmont began advancing towards Ciudad Rodrigo. He set out with five infantry divisions and Montbrun's cavalry division and was joined by Dorsenne on the 23rd with four infantry divisions and Wathier's cavalry division. Marmont was at the head of over 50,000 men.

Wellington on his side had had two fortified positions prepared in rear of his front line, on which he proposed to retire should the enemy press an attack in force. The first was at Fuente Guinaldo, some 7 miles in rear of the line held by the Third Division on the Agueda at Alfayetes. The second was an impregnable hill position 9 miles further back. The British Commander-in-Chief was aware of the strength of the nearing enemy, but he did not think it necessary to call up his troops from their cantonments. He did not consider that Marmont intended anything more than a demonstration in force in order to cover the safe arrival in Ciudad Rodrigo of the immense convoy with provisions for six months which he had had assembled. Accordingly, Wellington contented himself with directing the Third and Light Divisions of the blockading force to continue in their positions, and only to fall back if in real danger of being isolated. They were then only to retire for a short distance and await further orders.

The Third Division's position extended over 6 miles along which the division was strung out in four widely separate detachments. Colonel Wallace's brigade, split into two detachments of two battalions each, was at Pastores and El Bodon, to the right of the main road from Ciudad Rodrigo to Fuente Guinaldo. One half of Colville's brigade—three battalions, the 5th and 77th Foot and the 21st Portuguese attached—was on the road itself, posted where it crossed high ground to the left of El Bodon. The other half of the brigade, comprising the 94th, and the 2/83rd, with the 9th Portuguese attached, were 4 miles away on the left of the road, near the village of Campillo. They formed the extreme left wing of the divisional front.

The Combat of El Bodon on September 25th began with Montbrun's cavalry, four brigades of dragoons and chasseurs, driving in Wellington's outpost screen in front of the Third Division, a thin line of five weak squadrons of the 11th Light Dragoons and King's German Legion Hussars. Thrusting his way through there, with particular orders from Marmont to push forward as far as possible and discover whether Wellington's siege guns

had arrived and what preparations for siege works were in progress, Montbrun made for the Fuente Guinaldo road and came to the place where the 5th and 77th Foot barred the way. He paid no attention to the outlying detachments of the Third Division to right and left of the road, who, immediately on the first alarm, began closing in on the road, moving slantwise across country so as to gain the road between El Bodon and Guinaldo.

The desperately stubborn resistance made by the 5th and 77th Foot, supported by the 21st Portuguese, two Portuguese field batteries and the cavalry driven in by the French advance, kept Montbrun back for over an hour. It enabled the 94th and the other outlying Third Division battalions to reach the road and join the 5th and 77th, when these, having successfully covered the concentration at length withdrew on receiving orders from Wellington. Montbrun, fortunately for the defence, had with him only one horse artillery battery and no infantry. A French infantry division which had started with the reconnaissance had been stopped and ordered off elsewhere.

The reunited Third Division moved solidly on in a long column of march 6 miles across a flat open plain destitute of cover of any kind, retreating, as Donaldson describes, "in excellent order, at an ordinary pace, keeping exact distances, ready to form up in the event of a charge being made." The French cavalry all the time kept hovering on their flank, riding along one side but not venturing to charge, after the rough experience they had had earlier when they tried to break into the square of the 5th and 77th. The French artillery cannonaded the column continually all along its length, firing on it from successive positions. "The French cavalry," relates Donaldson, "had even the audacity to ride to our front, and having taken part of our baggage brought it back close past our column. We could render no assistance, as our own safety depended on our keeping ourselves ready to form square." Picton, adds Donaldson, rode for some time at the head of the 94th. He told the captain in command of the battalion, both field officers being on the sick list, on seeing him looking rather anxiously at some of the French who seemed inclined to risk a charge: "Never mind the French—mind your regiment! If the fellows come here we will give them a warm reception!" The approach of the Fourth Division coming out from Fuente Guinaldo, headed by cavalry, to meet the column and cover its entry into the entrenched camp ended the retreat. Montbrun then drew off and fell back to El Bodon, where he waited for Marmont to come up.

The 94th were under arms all the next day, standing-to with the rest of the troops at Fuente Guinaldo, in hourly expectation of a general engagement. Only the Third and Fourth Divisions, with one Portuguese brigade

and three cavalry brigades, were in the camp on May 26th. None of Wellington's other divisions (the First, Fifth, Seventh and Light Divisions) were able to reach Fuente Guinaldo during that day. Not more than 15,000 British and Portuguese of all arms were in consequence available to oppose the 40,000 which Marmont, hustling forward every unit he could hasten up, had in front of the camp by noon of the 26th, within cannon shot.

As Wellington anticipated from past experience, Marmont remained quiet. He did not venture to attack Wellington in an entrenched position. The Marshal, as he himself wrote, "passed the day in studying the English position." When night came on Wellington expected to be attacked, particularly as during the afternoon the French reserve divisions were seen arriving. Sending word to his three divisions which had not yet concentrated, to make for the second position at Alfayetes, on darkness coming on Wellington prepared to move off there with the troops from Fuente Guinaldo as secretly as possible. "When night came on," says Donaldson, "we were ordered to kindle a great number of fires for the purpose of making the French believe we still remained in our encampment. Two hours after we commenced our retreat, leaving the fires burning brightly, and marched all night."

"The road we travelled," continues Donaldson, describing the night march, "was uncommonly narrow and various impediments in the way often caused the rear to halt. The fatigue we had undergone the preceding two or three days and the almost total want of sleep during that time, completely overcame us; the moment a halt was made, we dropped down on the ground fast asleep, and it was by the greatest exertion that we were able to rouse ourselves to proceed. Indeed, some of the men could not resist its effects and, stepping aside off the road, threw themselves down and yielded to its influence, although certain of being taken by the enemy, which they accordingly were. Next day we halted in a meadow, where, having our rations served out, we proceeded on to a village near which our light division and cavalry had a severe skirmish with the French whom they repulsed."

Marmont, by a coincidence, had retreated from in front of Fuente Guinaldo on the night of May 26th. The French marched back to the Agueda and Ciudad Rodrigo, while Wellington moved away in the opposite direction. The Marshal returned on May 27th and followed Wellington to before the Alfayetes position, but after a desultory attack on the village of Aldea da Ponte twenty-four hours later, he gave up the idea of further fighting and finally drew off his entire command to Salamanca. There Marmont placed his own troops in cantonments for the winter and Dorsenne with his divisions returned to the north of Spain. The 94th and the other units of the

Third Division were in reserve, in rear of the main Alfayetes position, during the combat at Aldea da Ponte, and had consequently no part in the affair.

Wellington, as soon as he knew for certain that the enemy had dispersed into cantonments, followed suit with the greater part of his own forces. Only the Third, Fourth and Light Divisions were retained in the front line. These once more moved up to the Agueda to take up the observation, in the form of a partial blockade, of Ciudad Rodrigo. The Third Division did duty as reserve to the other two divisions, cantoned at Aldea da Ponte and Fuente Guinaldo. "We were quartered," says Donaldson, speaking for his own regiment, the 94th, "in a Portuguese village on the frontier within a few leagues of Rodrigo, where we remained until January 1812. This was a miserable dirty place with a few poor wretched inhabitants in it. It was designated by the soldiers the 'Hungry Village,' as, to answer some purpose we were then unacquainted with, we had only half rations during the greater part of the time we were in it."

"Towards the end of December," relates Donaldson of that period in the front line, "we were once or twice marched from our village to within a short distance of Rodrigo for the purpose of intercepting supplies which the French attempted to throw into it. The weather being extremely cold we suffered much on the journey. The governor of that garrison (General Renaud), while out on a reconnoitering party about this time, was taken prisoner by the Spanish guerrilla chief, Don Julian."

The Brigadier, Colville, was transferred on December 11th to temporary charge of the Fourth Division. He was succeeded in command of the Second Brigade of the Third Division by Lieut.-Colonel James Campbell of the 94th, the senior officer of the brigade. Colonel Campbell held the command all through 1812.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE PENINSULAR WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1812. IN THE TRENCHES BEFORE CIUDAD RODRIGO. THE STORMING OF CIUDAD RODRIGO:—ACCOUNT BY AN OFFICER OF THE 94th. ENSIGN LANG'S LETTER. ACCOUNTS BY OTHER OFFICERS IN THE BRIGADE. THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN WILLIAMSON. THE MARCH TO BADAJOZ AND OPENING OF THE THIRD SIEGE. THE 94th AT THE STORMING OF THE CASTLE. PERSONAL NARRATIVES.

PREPARATIONS were meanwhile being made to attack the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo in real earnest. They had begun in November with the bringing forward of the siege guns over almost impracticable roads to Almeida, where they were parked. To mislead enemy spies it was given out that the guns were to be mounted on the ramparts in place of those destroyed when Brennier made his escape six months before. At the same time the men of the divisions nearest the front line were employed at special rates of extra pay in making gabions and fascines. In December intelligence came to Wellington that Marmont had had to detach upwards of 15,000 men to Valencia on the eastern side of Spain. Then Wellington received information that the pick of the regiments of Dorsenne's northern army had been recalled to France, in view of Napoleon's coming war with Russia. Meanwhile Marmont's main army, much reduced in numbers, lay quiet in its cantonments. Neither Marmont nor Dorsenne imagined that Wellington would move in midwinter. The end of February was the earliest date they considered possible, and then both anticipated that they would have three clear weeks in which to draw their troops together. Wellington's opportunity for a tiger-spring at Ciudad Rodrigo was at last offered. It was taken instantly.

1812

The divisions on or near the frontier were ordered on January 2nd and 3rd to prepare to push forward to the line of the Agueda. The 94th with the second brigade of the Third Division started from Aldea da Ponte near Alfayetes in a snowstorm and marched to Marti Agna. Next day it crossed the Agueda and took up quarters in Ceridillo del Arroyo. By

January 5th all the divisions concerned, the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Light Divisions, were at the front, the Third Division being at Martiago de Zamorra. Three days went by before the siege train could arrive, which Wellington employed in making a close reconnaissance of the fortress. Then, all being ready, on January 8th the divisions closed in and the investment was completed, the siege operations commencing forthwith. Wellington worked to a time-table. The capture had to be effected before Marmont, whose head-quarters were at Valladolid, could concentrate his cantoned divisions and appear on the scene.

The first parallel was completed by January 11th, the Light and Fourth Divisions having charge of the trenches, taking duty in them for twenty-four hours in turn. The second parallel was begun on the 11th, the Third Division having charge of the trenches. The men had to march for 4 or 5 miles from their camp to the trenches and work in six-hour reliefs at night in bitter cold and darkness. They were employed for half their time in repairing sections that the ceaseless shell fire of the enemy had destroyed. The 94th had their first casualties on the morning of the 12th when Lieutenant Bogue and three men were wounded. The battalion was in the trenches again on the 15th, when the Third Division relieved the Light Division and had its second spell of work in completing the second parallel, 150 yards from the city ramparts.

Donaldson records an incident which took place on the night of the 15th. "The French kept up a very destructive fire on us during the whole of our operations and while forming the second parallel they threw out some fire balls to enable them to see where we were working that they might send their shot in that direction. One of them fell very near where a party were working and by its light completely exposed them to the view of the enemy. A sergeant belonging to our regiment of the name of Fraser, seeing the danger to which they were exposed, seized a spade and jumping out of the trench, regardless of the enemy's fire, ran forward to where it was burning, and having dug a hole, he tumbled it in and covered it with earth."

On January 19th the breaches were reported practicable and the troops for the assault were told off. The Third Division was appointed to the main breach, its two brigades being given two separate lines of approach. The First Brigade, Mackinnon's, was on the left. It comprised the 1/45th, 74th and 1/88th, and was to make a frontal attack on the breach. The Second Brigade, Campbell's, was on the right. It comprised the 2/5th, 77th, 2/83rd and 94th, and was to approach the great breach from two points, and support Mackinnon's brigade in the actual rush up the breach. The 2/5th were first to enter the ditch some way to the left and then, escal-

ading the *fausse-braye*,* where it met the walls of the town, they were to push along it to the breach. The 94th, advancing from the left of Santa Cruz were to make a dash at the ditch between where the 2/5th dropped into it and the great breach, and then to push along the ditch to the breach. They were, however, ordered not to mount the *fausse-braye*. Then the battalion, together with the 2/5th, was to join the 1st Brigade in the assault up the breach. The 2/83rd were to be held back to cover the advance, while the 77th were to form the brigade reserve, and support where necessary.

The Light Division was allotted to the assault of the lesser breach.

As it chanced there is extant a full and detailed narrative of the part taken by the 94th in the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, written by an officer of the battalion.

“ On the 19th of January, 1812, the Third Division in turn of duty entered the trenches, the relief taking place in the morning, as was usual during the siege. In the afternoon of the same day the Light Division arrived in the environs of the place; but, lest the enemy should suspect from the presence of additional troops that an attack was intended, this division was ordered to march on the Salamanca road to such a distance that nightfall might prevent their return from being noticed by the garrison. The besieged must have supposed that the object of a march in that direction was to cover the siege from the advance of the enemy, which was to be looked for.

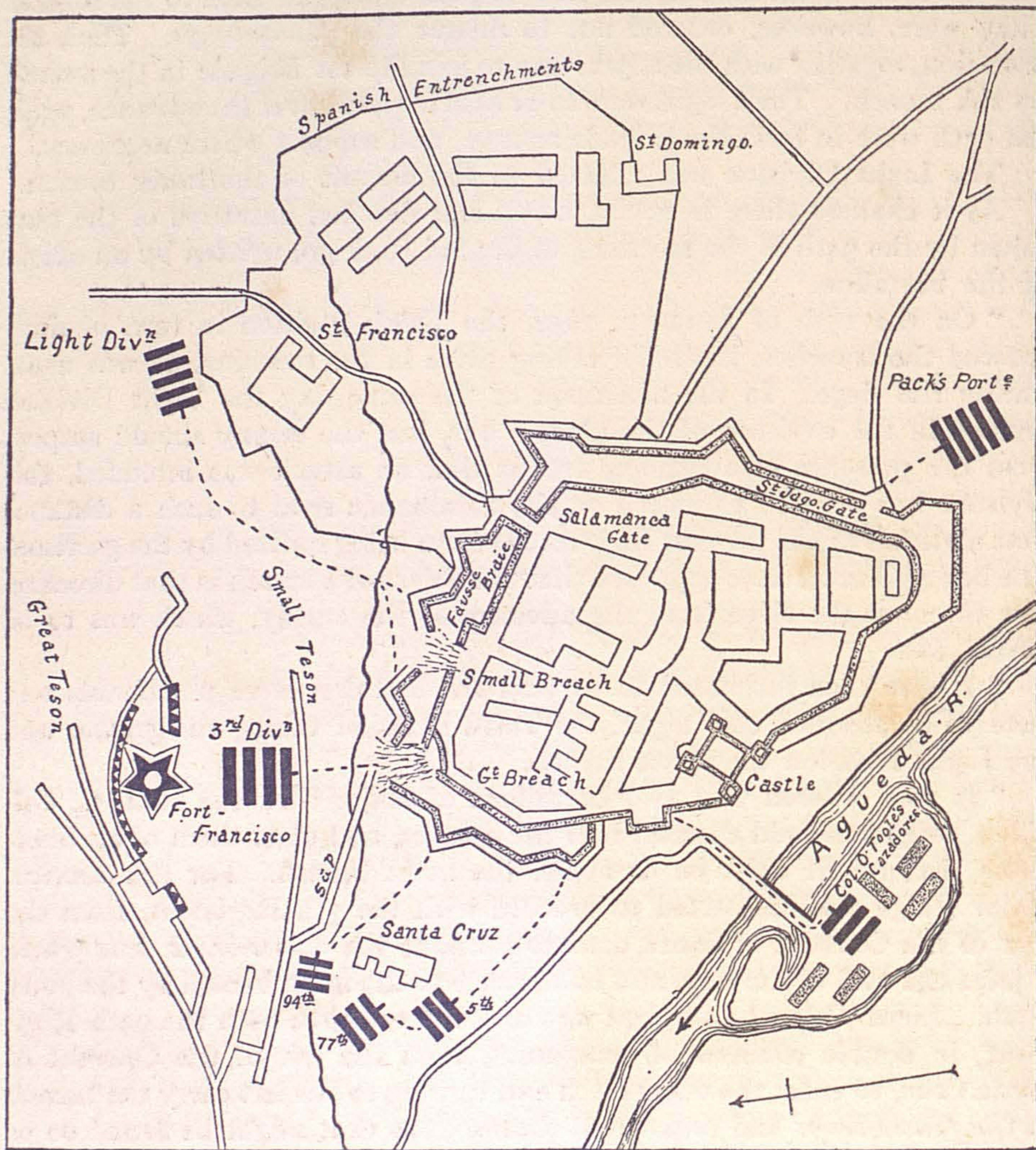
“ It was then intimated to us that the breaches were practicable and were to be stormed that night, the Third Division taking the greater and the Light Division the lesser breach.

“ It was ordered that two battalions of Major-Gen. the Hon. C. Colville's Brigade should descend into the ditches, and clear them of all hindrance that might exist on or about the main breach. For this service, Major Ridge was instructed to proceed with the 5th Regiment, from the rear of the Convent of Santa Cruz to escalate the *fausse-braye* near where it joins the wall of the city, and to advance to the main breach by the inner ditch. Lieut.-Colonel Campbell was directed to move with the 94th Regiment, in double columns of companies, from the left of the Convent of Santa Cruz, to enter the outer ditch and turning to the left carry the breach in the *fausse-braye* and remove all obstructions that might be found on or about that breach and the main one, and thereafter to co-operate with the storming party in entering the place. From the engineers' stores, there were given out to the 94th Regiment a number of knotted ropes to assist

* An old seventeenth-century military engineering term originally given to the lower *enceinte* wall, erected in front of the main wall of a fortress in the ditch, as an intermediate protection against artillery breaching fire.

in descending the ditch, and of felling-axes to break down and remove the impediments supposed to exist about the breach.

“Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, having set his watch at the head-quarters



CIUDAD RODRIGO.
19th January, 1812.

of the division, moved his regiment forward as soon as evening permitted to the Convent of Santa Cruz and took post under a loop-holed wall to the left of it, along which it had been intended to form a ditch, which however was excavated to the depth of only a foot or two. This position was



THE STORMING OF CIUDAD RODRIGO.

19th January 1812.

enfiladed by two light brass guns, mounted en barbette on a projection of the *fausse-braye*, but as the moon threw the shadow of the wall on this half-formed ditch, we were enabled to approach unobserved to within 120 yards of the outer defences of the place.

“ Here we waited until the moment arrived, at which, as Colonel Campbell had been told, the storming party would leave the trenches. Although we had less ground to pass over to reach the breach than they it was of importance that we should be there before them in order to perform the duty of removing whatever might embarrass the attack. Then, extending our front in the order prescribed, we passed in silence over the glacis, and reached the ditch. The bottom was not visible in the shade, but Williamson, captain of grenadiers, threw himself into it, and finding the depth not so great but that men with arms might leap into it without injury, the regiment followed him and pushed forward at the same rapid pace to the breach in the *fausse-braye* and through it to the foot of that which had been made in the rampart of the place. Here an instant sufficed to show that the breach was clear for attack, and to correct the formation of the regiment, Colonel Campbell, knowing that we must be immediately supported by the parties that were approaching the breaches in different directions and that it was of consequence not to lose a second of time in such a situation, gave the word to fix bayonets and mount, which was so done that the front reached the top of the rampart as one man. No sooner had they set foot upon it than a strong train of gunpowder was fired from the enemy's left, which, passing across the breach, kindled and exploded a great number of shells, by which many were killed and wounded and all who had gained the top were thrown down and stunned. At the same time a brisk fire was opened from a breastwork which had been raised at a little distance from the rear of the breach, just without the line of fire of our batteries. The space between this breastwork and the interior scarp of the wall, which was entire and 16 feet high, was filled with carriages of different kinds, *chevaux de frise* and similar articles, so put together as to make it a work of time for an individual to traverse it by daylight.

“ The check that had been given was however but momentary. Immediately after, all sprang to right or left to force in by either flank of the breach. Colonel Campbell and those near him attacked that on our right. On this side the enemy had prepared a double retrenchment, consisting of two ditches, (each 10 feet deep and the same in width), and two parapets formed across the rampart. It appeared that they had been communicating with the breach from this side at the moment we mounted by means of two strong planks laid across the ditches on the inner-edge of the rampart. In the confusion of the surprise the plank traversing the

ditch next to the breach was only drawn a little back, so that one end fell to the bottom of the ditch while the other rested on the interior lip. In this position it furnished the assailants with the means of passing. This was eagerly seized and by mutual assistance they rapidly cleared the first ditch. The plank laid over the second ditch having been left undisturbed, Colonel Campbell proceeded forthwith to take advantage of it. While he was on the plank a French officer sprung forward and calling on his men to fire made a lunge with his sword at the colonel. He parried the blow and closed with the Frenchman and both were instantaneously borne within the second retrenchment by the ardour of our men who were pressing on. At this instant the 5th Regiment reached and mounted the breach with a vehement cheer. This, corresponding in the rear most opportunely with the exertions of those in front, startled and appalled the French soldiers at the critical moment at which, by supporting their brave officer, who was forced to yield his sword, they might have successfully defended their post. The advantage thus lost, their assailants were too energetic to permit them, whatever efforts were made, ever to regain. Springing one after the other within the retrenchment, each as he came up threw himself on the enemy, of whom the foremost soon lay lifeless on the *terre-plein*, and the rest, who were beyond the immediate reach of the bayonet, turned and fled in panic without a thought but to save themselves.

“Colonel Campbell stopped the pursuit at a place where a street coming from the centre of the town, nearly at right angles with the rampart, is terminated by the retaining wall but ascends by a ramp on the left to the *terre-plein*. Beyond this ramp the houses encroach on the rampart and narrow it at one point to a few paces, whence it slopes gently down as far as the Agueda gate. A post was thus formed which those who had reached it could have defended against any number of the enemy, had they recovered themselves.

“The writer of this narrative had just congratulated Campbell on his success when the tread of a considerable body of the enemy descending the street gave warning of their approach. A sufficient number of our men having been posted to close the rampart where it was narrowest, the rest moved down the ramp to receive the enemy on the bayonet as they should turn at the foot of the street. They came down at a steady step till within twenty or thirty paces of us, but then, hearing a call given to those who were on their way from the breach to move on, they all at once halted, seemed to listen for a moment, and then, throwing down their arms, fled with precipitation.

“Our party was now joined successively by Captain C. Campbell of the 94th, (brother of the colonel) ; Captain Laing, of the 94th, wounded through

the wrist ; Major Ridge, of the 5th, lame, having sprained his ankle ; the sergeant-major of this last regiment and several men. Still, in all, it did not number above forty. Patrols were sent out who went to the old Moorish castle ; to the Agueda gate, which was found strongly barricaded with stones, to remove which would have required the labour of many hours ; and to the different streets and lanes which touched the rampart in this direction and which were found deserted and strewn with arms.

“ A strong desire was now manifested to advance into the town and to take the defenders of the breach in reverse, but this Colonel Campbell would not permit, and all soon became sensible that by holding our present post, whatever might happen, the garrison would be compelled to submit as the knowledge that we had penetrated and established ourselves in the town must soon reach the parties who defended the breaches, and paralyse their exertions. Whereas, should we leave the rampart and enter the streets, we not only exposed ourselves to be cut off in them, if any body of the garrison still retained courage and discipline enough to make a last effort, but also it left free passage to them to occupy again the retrenchments we had carried, and thus enabled them almost to a certainty to drive the assailants from the main breach.

“ It now being clear that all those belonging to the 5th or 94th Regiment who had turned to the right flank of the breach, had either passed the retrenchments or fallen, while single files were sent in different directions to keep up the alarm of the enemy by discharging their arms in the streets, officers went repeatedly towards the breach in order to bring over those who were attacking the left flank. But they were unable to gain their attention which was entirely occupied by the fire kept up on them from the retrenchment on that flank and from the breastwork raised in rear of the rampart. This fire had brightened up and become very close, it having evidently been reinforced at the same instant that the parties approaching us had given way and our troops were dropping fast, and had opened their fire in return. As the dazzling light in front and the smoke which hung over the breach threw the ditch and flank by which we had crossed into complete obscurity no persuasion could prevail on them to follow in that direction.

“ The storming party and the other brigade of the Third Division on arriving afterwards were in like manner attracted by the fire of the enemy, and, without searching for entrance but where that fire appeared, eagerly strove to bring their own to bear on it, which in time they did so effectively as not only to keep down the fire of the flank but to overpower and extinguish that from the breastwork, in which the men were more exposed and were no longer sustained by fresh supplies from the panic-stricken

garrison. Seeing this, those on the flank dispersed and allowed our people to enter without further opposition.

“About the same time, the Light Division carried the lesser breach. From the weak defence made at this breach it seems evident that when the attack was made the enemy stationed to defend it had become aware that the town had been entered elsewhere. It appears impossible otherwise to account for the French soldiers, with every means of resistance at hand, allowing a high and narrow breach to be carried without causing a greater loss to the assailants. That which the Light Division sustained here did not exceed what might have been caused by a single discharge into the crowded ditch.

“The town now became speedily filled with our troops, and no Frenchman was found in any quarter under arms.

“Those officers and men of the 94th and 5th Regiments who attacked the retrenchment on the left flank of the main breach, clung to it to the last, and suffered severely in their constant efforts to overcome the obstacles to their entrance, but it was an utter impossibility so long as those behind it stood firm. The instant however that they wavered these brave men sprung over, and both they and the Light Division each thought themselves first into the town.

“A little attention to the following particulars will enable one to form a tolerably correct idea of the time consumed in the operation.

“The point at the Santa Cruz convent from which the 94th Regiment started, by the route they followed along the ditch and through the breaches, was not further from the one within the town at which Colonel Campbell stopped the pursuit, than about 500 yards. The whole of this distance was traversed at a very rapid pace, with only a pause of a few seconds to form at the foot of the breach and an equally short one at the top, from the explosion of shells. The retrenchments and ditches formed in the rampart were passed without a breathing-time, in a manner only to be accomplished by men under the most powerful excitement, many badly wounded, and themselves unable to proceed, still continuing to lend their aid and support to their comrades. The struggle within was but momentary, so that five minutes had not elapsed from the regiment quitting the shade of the convent-wall before the lodgement was made in the town and the majority of the garrison had thrown down their arms, many never having had time to take them. The time from this until the enemy engaged at the breaches abandoned them, may, no doubt, have appeared to men in our situation much longer than it was in reality, but that it was not short will be admitted when it is considered that after the enemy's inlying picquets had faltered and dispersed, as before mentioned, and after a patrol

had gone to the Castle and returned, an officer had ample time to go down to the Agueda gate, examine it, come back, make his report, and again return to the breach before the storming party from the other brigade had entered it. When they did arrive it still required a considerable time to overpower the fire from the breastwork at the back, and until this was done those behind the retrenchment on the rampart held fast. In short, it is probable that altogether an hour had nearly elapsed before all resistance ceased."

Another detailed account of the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo is given by Ensign John Lang of the 94th, in a letter home, a copy of which has been specially placed at disposal for the present history by a member of the family. The gallant young officer fell in action within a few months, while leading his men at the storming of the Castle of Badajoz. Omitting one or two details of a family nature, Ensign Lang's letter, written immediately after the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo, runs as follows :

"Our regiment was the first that entered the breach. I shall never forget it. I believe I may safely say that the Army never experienced hotter work, or harder duty while it lasted, since they entered Portugal. . . . The Siege of Rodrigo was carried out by the 1st, 3rd, 4th, and Light Divisions, who took the duty by turns and marched from their different Quarters to the trenches. Our first turn was on the 11th inst. We set off in the morning before daylight for Rodrigo, sixteen miles distant, arrived on our ground about 1 o'clock, went into the trenches about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, and remained there till 5 next morning. . . . The whole of the evening the enemy kept up a constant fire upon us of musketry and shells, much more so than at Badajoz. . . . Our regt. was very lucky till the night the town was stormed ; not a man of it was killed or wounded, altho' the regt. who took up just our very same position had a good many. . . . I shall pass on to our third turn, which was on Sunday the 19th. We had heard that the Light Division was to storm it that morning, and consequently, so soon as the day dawned, we kept our eyes anxiously turned to Rodrigo to notice the firing commence : but we were mistaken, the brunt of it fell to the 3rd Division :—they are brought in for everything. After arriving on our ground we were kept in tearing suspense all the afternoon, it being rumoured that our and the Light Division were to do the business that night, which proved to be the case. About 5 in the afternoon orders came that we were to make the attack at 7 in the evening, the Light Division at one breach and ours at another. Picks and axes were given to the front rank of the grenadiers and to the first company of our regt., and also ropes to swing us down into the ditch, which we were to clear of any obstructions that were supposed would be in our way. Accordingly

we moved off about dusk and got down under cover of a convent to a short distance from the ditch ; there we remained till the hour of attack. It being come and everything ready, we rushed forward as fast as our legs could carry us, cheering all the way. On reaching the ditch we found it only about 6 feet high, so we leaped down as quick as possible and made to the breach with all possible speed and met with no obstacles. After getting to it we found ourselves to be the first there. On the front rank getting to the top of it the enemy saluted us with such a volley of grape-shot and shells (the latter they had laid across the top in rows), the explosion of which was so dreadful that I thought we should all have been blown up in the air together. That awful moment I shall never forget. Some of the men that had got up to the top came tumbling down, dead as herrings. It stunned us for a moment, but we gave another cheer and rushed on, scrambled to the top and drove the fellows from the guns opposite the breach. Our regiment was about five minutes in the town (and it is only 200 men strong) before any other regt. came to its support : at last the 5th came, the others followed. The French dogs kept peppering at us with musketry and hand-grenades at such a rate that I well thought we would all have been slain together. At last we drove them from the ramparts into the town, and then they threw down their arms and surrendered. After the firing had ceased, ere you would say Jack Robinson, all the dead bodies were stript, naked as they were born, by our own troops. They are so accustomed to these things that they think nothing of it whatever. I even saw them pulling the britches off a poor fellow before he was dead."

(Here follows a rather grim account of the sacking of the town and of the horrors there until the regiment was moved out.)

" I was ordered down from the camp next morning with a party of men to collect any of the wounded of our regt. that might have been left on the ramparts. I found three poor fellows almost frozen with cold. Such a spectacle :—the ramparts were covered with dead bodies stript naked as they were born and frozen quite stiff. To show you how careless the fellows are about the dead, I saw Capt. McDougall of the 5th Regt., a man of considerable landed property, lying stript amongst the rest. . . . We had two captains killed, but immediately on their falling a sentry was placed over them to guard them from being stript, and had them afterwards brought to the camp and decently buried. . . . Old Captain Anderson was one of those killed ; he was shot through the head and his brains bespattered his coat.

" The enemy that night blew up two mines, which killed a great many both of their own men and ours. It was a shocking spectacle, the sight of

the dead bodies lying at the place where it happened all bruised and burnt quite black—some wanting both legs, others blown all to pieces, legs and arms mixed together in confusion. It was here where Genl. McKinnon was killed.

“ You were always wishing to hear of our regt. doing something great. Now I think it has done a good deal, but I fear much it will not receive the praise due to it as it was not intended that it should be the first that should enter the breach ; it was only meant that it should clear the way for the other brigades, but somehow or other we got to it before them and of course did not wait their coming. . . .

“ I forgot to mention that two or three days after the affair at Rodrigo it was just like a rag fair, the men selling their plunder &c. One of our men got a box full of silver spoons, knives and forks &c. out of the French Governor's house.”

Lieut.-Colonel Ridge of the 5th gives this description of events, in a letter written five days after the storming: “ Instead of following into the breach, on our arrival at it General Mackinnon's brigade had not arrived: the 94th only, which had also a separate route, came up and a junction of the two weak regiments was formed, supported by the 77th—one hundred and fifty men! The enemy, on our halting as directed, opened a most destructive fire of shells, grenades, and every kind of combustible devilment he could bring together. This had the effect of deciding the step we must take, as our orders said nothing about going back, and poor Dubourdieu at the moment observing, ‘ Major, it is as well to die in the breach as in the ditch, for here we cannot live,’ the two regiments, as by one consent, pushed up the breach, almost eating fire. But the ‘ Mounseers ’ liked fighting best at a distance and gave us ground: and, taking General Funk with them, neglected to pull away the planks they had thrown over the ditches, cut by them across the ramparts, by which neglect their preparations for defence were rendered ineffectual. Five and Ninety-Four followed them right and left, at the same time keeping as well as we could the centre in check until the arrival of the intended assailants when the town and all was ours.”

An officer of the 77th, which did not remain in brigade reserve but joined the stormers, adds other details about the 94th on the occasion. “ Suddenly we heard a cheer from a body of men, who, crowning the summit of the counterscarp, flung down bags filled with heather to break their fall, and leaped on them into the ditch. It was the old Scotch Brigade, which like us having been intended as a support, was true to its time and was consequently placed in the same predicament with ourselves. On the appearance of the 94th the fire of the garrison was redoubled and after a

moment's consultation between the seniors it was decided that it was better to die like men on the breach than like dogs in the ditch. Instantly, with a wild hurra, all sprung upwards, absolutely eating fire. I think the breach must have been seventy or eighty feet wide. The Ninety-Fourth took it on the right, we on the left extremity as you look to the country, and I affirm it would have been a work of no small labour to have achieved the ascent under any circumstances, consisting as it did of a nearly perpendicular mass of loose rubbish on which it was extremely difficult to obtain a footing.

"As our serious intentions were now evident to them the enemy developed and employed their entire means of defence; two guns pointed downwards from the flanks, and had time to fire several rounds of grape, working fearful destruction, particularly on the 94th. On the margin of the breach were ranged a quantity of shells, which were lighted and rolled down amongst us, acting rather as a stimulus to push up and avoid their explosion. The top of the breach was defended by a strong body of the garrison, who maintained a heavy fire of musketry and shewed for some time an undaunted countenance. Hand-grenades and fire-balls were not wanting, nor yet the agreeable accompaniment of a heavy fire from a distant flanking demi-bastion which bore on the foot of the breach and crest of the glacis where the 45th and 88th, who were just arriving in time to do good service, suffered very severely by it."

The casualties of the 94th at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo were returned at: 2 Officers and 13 Other Ranks killed, 6 Officers and 48 Other Ranks wounded—a total of 69.

The officers killed were: Captain James Williamson of the Grenadier Company and Captain Anderson. Captain Williamson was the senior captain of the 94th, and on the day of the storming was acting as second in command to Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, in charge of the Right Wing. He had been seventeen years with the battalion, and had served with it all through the campaigns in India and in action on every occasion, at Seringapatam and in the Mahratta war. "He was killed," wrote Colonel Campbell to his father, "by a musket shot through the heart and fell close to my side while valiantly cheering with his hat in his hand at the head of the grenadiers of the 94th Regiment, whom he bravely led, with that manly courage and magnanimity I have frequently seen him display, to the assault of the Ciudad Rodrigo. Brave fellow! He was the first that leaped into the ditch and with Captain Laing and myself ascended and surmounted the breach. . . . No hero ever died a more renowned or glorious death. A sergeant was left with the body to preserve it from insult till the awful tragedy was at an end, when it was carefully conveyed to our

bivouac and there interred with all the respect we had it in our power to pay to the remains of one so dear to us all."

The officers wounded were Captain Laing (severely), and Captains Cairncross and Kyle (slightly), Lieutenants Taylor (dangerously), Cannon (slightly), and Ensign Scott (slightly).

Two sergeants and nine rank and file were killed, and seven sergeants, three drummers and thirty-eight rank and file wounded.

Of one of the officers wounded, Captain Laing, Donaldson has this to say. "We used to call him 'Robinson Crusoe,' from his wearing very large whiskers and always carrying a goat-skin haversack in which he kept the greater part of his necessaries, including his pipe and tobacco, of which he was very fond. The other officers rather shunned his company, from his not being very exact in his dress and being eccentric in his habits, but he was well liked by the soldiers being an excellent officer and brave as a lion."*

The 94th left Ciudad Rodrigo with the other battalions of the Third Division on the day after the storming, returning to its former quarters at Serradilla del Arroyo for a few days and then moving to Villa Mayor. At Villa Mayor it remained until February 19th, when the Third Division started for Badajoz.

Wellington had decided within a week of the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo to follow up that stroke forthwith by the capture of Badajoz, at the southern end of the Portuguese frontier. Marmont and Dorsenne, taken by surprise and only receiving news that Wellington was before Ciudad Rodrigo on January 13th, had not been able to concentrate more than a third of their forces before the fortress fell. They were still some miles away on the other side of Salamanca when the totally unexpected and startling intelligence reached them of the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, which for the time being completely paralysed both commanders. Wellington was also aware that Soult in Andalusia, occupied with the siege of Cadiz, was not likely to be able to intervene and attempt the rescue of Badajoz in time.

Wellington began his preparations for the coming campaign on January 27th by starting off his siege train and heavy guns for Elvas, the Portuguese frontier fortress, twelve miles from Badajoz. Most of these he

* Picton, in Divisional Orders of January 20th, said this: "The breach was first stormed by the 5th, 77th and 94th regiments, most ably supported by the flank companies, Major-General Mackinnon's brigade, the 45th and 88th, as well as other Regiments of the Division. . . . Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, Commanding the Right Brigade and 94th Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Dunkin, Commanding the 77th, and Major Ridge, 2nd Battalion 5th Regiment, are particularly entitled to the thanks of the Lieut.-General as having led and carried the breach." Picton, in the same Order, notified his personal gift of £300 to the N.C.O.'s and Men of the whole division, "who will do the Lieut.-General the honour to drink to the future success of the Third Division."

sent back to the Douro, to be shipped down the river and conveyed round by sea to Setubal, south of Lisbon, the nearest port to Elvas. The remainder of his 24-pounder siege howitzers he sent overland with bullock transport, by the mountain roads through Beira and across the Tagus at Abrantes. When all, as Wellington calculated, were nearing their destination he started his cavalry and infantry divisions. He moved them one by one as quietly as possible, in order to keep Marmont as long as might be unaware of what was impending. The Third and Light Divisions formed the advanced guard, going off first, on February 19th. One division, the 5th, and one cavalry brigade, Wellington kept back in position to make a show and deceive the enemy, and at the same time Wellington himself remained at his head-quarters at Frenada. Wellington judged that Marmont was not likely to suspect anything serious in the south as long as the British Commander-in-Chief remained in the north. The surmise was correct and the intelligence that Wellington was remaining at Frenada, with the added story that Wellington was amusing himself with hunting and was going to make a stay of several weeks, completely hoodwinked Marmont and Dorsenne. They continued to mark time until after Wellington had arrived at Elvas on March 12th. He left Frenada on March 5th and galloping all the way reached Elvas shortly after the infantry divisions had taken up their preliminary positions on a line a little way in rear of Elvas, between Portalegre and Villa Vicosã.

Both Marmont and Soult, on learning the fate of Ciudad Rodrigo, had expected that Badajoz would be Wellington's next objective. Neither however imagined it possible that Wellington could be in a position to attempt it for a considerable time to come. By then Marmont, as he wrote to Soult, would be able to join the Army of Andalusia. The news that Wellington and seven divisions were at Elvas found Soult at Cadiz, with no serious preparations to assist Badajoz yet begun, and Marmont still at Salamanca, in great trouble over a series of peremptory instructions from Napoleon in Paris ordering an immediate and wholesale redistribution and reorganization of his and Dorsenne's commands. Then while Soult, who had hurried from his head-quarters at Seville, was making a desperate eleventh-hour effort to collect troops, Marmont received a direct order from Napoleon not to cross the Tagus. He was instead to invade Beira, the Portuguese province due west of Leon. Marmont was "not to worry about Badajoz." Soult could safeguard that, and an invasion of Beira, said Napoleon, would bring Wellington hastening back to save it.

Wellington on his side, unaware of course of Napoleon's final order to Marmont, fully expected that Marmont, as in the previous summer, would

hasten to join Soult. He knew of Soult's energetic efforts to assemble a relieving force for Badajoz and looked forward to having his hands full when the two marshals joined. With that before him, the siege of Badajoz again became for Wellington a race against time as in the previous year. He directed the investment to commence at once and the siege train to be brought up from Elvas. Graham and Hill at the same time took post at Albuera as a covering force. During March they had been operating to the east of Badajoz with 31,000 men to prevent the divisions of Drouet, Daricau and Foy, stationed in Estremadura, from uniting with Soult as the Marshal slowly approached from Seville. Wellington had on the spot before Badajoz 45,000 men.

The Third Division with the Fourth and Light Divisions crossed the Guadiana on March 16th and invested Badajoz without opposition. Ground was broken on the night of the 17th, in front of the Picurina Fort some 400 yards from the *enceinte*, on the east side of the fortress where it had been decided to make the main breach. It was a wild and stormy night of wind and rain, but the first parallel, less than 200 yards from the fort, was, in spite of the difficulties, half dug by daylight next morning to a length of 600 yards. The French did not discover what was going on until daylight. They then opened a fierce fire of guns and musketry on the trenches. However, owing to the weather, which continued stormy with mist all day on the 18th, they failed seriously to check the working parties. On the 20th a sortie to destroy the trenches was beaten back, after which further rain flooded the trenches, hampering and practically stopping work. "The weather was so bad," says Donaldson, "and the rains so heavy that we were working up to the knees in water and the pontoon bridge over which we crossed the Guadiana was carried away." The batteries against Picurina Fort were brought up during the 24th and opened fire next day, silencing the work. The Picurina was successfully stormed at ten on the night of March 25th by 500 men of the Third and Light Divisions, made up with detachments from the battalions. It was a desperately contested affair and the casualties were very heavy—over 50 per cent of the assailants. How many the 94th contributed is not on record, nor are details of their part in the storming extant. All that Donaldson says is: "In this affair we lost a great number of officers and men."

The construction of the breaching batteries was taken in hand at once on the site of the shattered works of the fort. They were ready after four days' work, labour that was very costly in life to the working parties and to the engineer officers and sappers in particular. "The French covered the whole of the Picurina knoll with such a hail of projectiles that no amount of cover seemed to guarantee those labouring in it from sudden death.

When the batteries had been completed, the bringing forward of the guns and ammunition cost many lives more."

The batteries opened fire on March 30th and 31st and on April 2nd the two bastions attacked, the Trinidad and Santa Maria bastions, began to show signs of very considerable damage. Yet more serious damage was done during the 3rd and 4th and then, on the morning of the 5th, both breaches were reported practicable. It was then however clearly made out that the garrison were building a semicircular inner retrenchment among the houses of the town as a second line of resistance, and also were accumulating formidable obstacles in rear of the breaches. On that discovery the assault, which had been ordered for that night, was put off for twenty-four hours, and a third breach was ordered to be made in the curtain between the two bastions. The new breach was in turn reported practicable by noon on April 6th, whereupon Wellington, to give the enemy no time to retrench behind it, fixed the assault for 7.30 p.m. that night. The hour was altered during the afternoon to 10 p.m., at which hour the assault took place.

The Fourth and Light Divisions were by the original plan told off to make the main attack at the three breaches, while two feint attacks or demonstrations to distract the enemy's attention were to be made at other points of the *enceinte* by two Portuguese brigades. Picton then specially requested leave for the Third Division to attempt the escalade of the Castle. The enemy's attention, he maintained, would be concentrated on the defence of the breaches and in all probability in consequence the Castle, owing to its apparently impregnable situation on a steep and scarped eminence, would only be held by a comparatively weak garrison. He had, he said, noted parts of its front where the walls were assailable owing to the lie of the rocky ground at the foot. He proposed to make a surprise attack, crossing the Rivillas stream by the aid of the remains of a mill dam below where the French had made an inundation, and dragging scaling ladders up the slope to the walls. Leave was given for the Third Division to take part in the attempt on Badajoz.

A striking picture is given by Donaldson of the state of feeling among his comrades of the 94th during the twenty-four hours preceding the assault, from the time when they were warned to hold themselves ready. "Various were the effects produced on different individuals. There was an unusual talking of relations, a recalling to mind of scenes forgotten, a flow of kindly feeling which softened down the rough soldier into something milder and more pleasing. Many letters were written during that day to absent friends in a more affectionate style than usual; and many injunctions were given and taken about writing, in the event of the fall of either party, to their

relations. The nearer the time drew for the intended attack the more each individual seemed to shrink within himself, yet still nothing of fear or doubt of our success was expressed ;—every feeling displayed was natural and manly. At length night came and the appointed hour for turning out."

An officer of the 2/5th Foot, who was in the same brigade with the 94th, describes also the opening on that evening for the attack. "As soon," he says, "as it was sufficiently dark to prevent observation from the garrison the two British brigades of the Third Division, composed as follows—The Right, of the 45th, 74th, and 88th, under Sir J. Kempt: the Left, of the 2nd battalion 5th, 77th, 83rd and 94th, under Colonel Campbell of the 94th: their Light Companies and three companies of the 5th Battalion 60th, the whole under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams of the 60th, forming the advance—moved from the ground on which they were encamped in columns right in front. The Division took a circuitous direction towards the river, and according to a preconcerted plan halted on the ground which had been pointed out to them, there to await the arrival of the several divisions and corps at the points allotted to each previous to the general attack. During this halt the brigades were earnestly addressed by their respective commanders on the duty they had to perform."

"It was dark and gloomy:" continues Donaldson, "not a single star shewed its head; the air was still, not a sound could be heard but the noise of the field crickets and the croaking of frogs; every word of command was given in a whisper and the strictest silence enjoined, which I believe was unnecessary; few felt inclined to speak."

The word to go forward at length came. "At last the order was given to advance and with palpitating hearts we commenced our march, slow and silent, a dead-weight hanging on every mind: had we been brought hurriedly into action, it would have been different, but it is inconsistent with the nature of man not to feel as I have described in such a situation. The previous warning—the dark and silent night,—the known strength of place—the imminent danger of the attack—all conspired to produce it. Yet this feeling was not the result of want of courage for I never witnessed anything like the calm intrepidity displayed in the advance after we came within range of the enemy's cannon."

At this moment, just at a quarter to ten, before the attack had opened at the breaches or anywhere else, the enemy on the Castle ramparts discovered the Third Division. Apparently, just after the advanced party under Major Williams had crossed the Rivillas and had lain down on the further bank for the column to come up, a French sentry in the covered way fired a shot. Not realizing how near to the enemy they were, the leading men of the 60th began firing and so the alarm was given.

"Being apprised of our intentions," says Donaldson, "they threw out fire-balls in every direction and from total darkness they changed the approaches to the garrison into a state of light as day. By this means they were enabled to see the direction of our columns, and they opened a fire of round and grape shot which raked through them, killing and wounding whole sections.

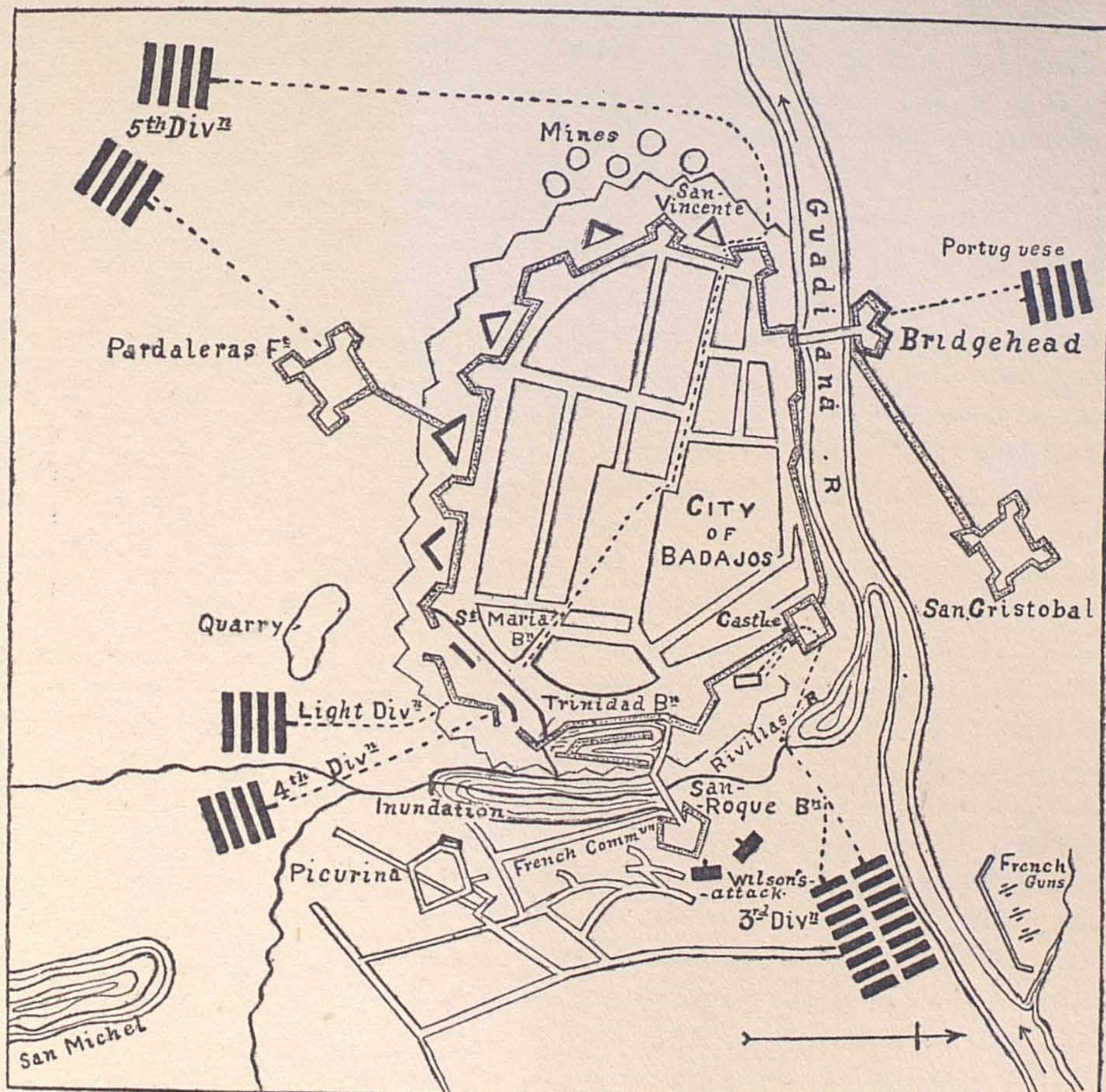
"We still advanced, silent as before," continues Donaldson, "until we reached a sort of moat about fifty feet wide formed by the inundation of the river. Here we had to pause, rank entire, the passage being only capable of admitting one at a time. On this place the enemy had brought their guns to bear, and they kept up such a fire of grape and musketry on it that it was a miracle any of us escaped. When we reached the other side we formed again and advanced up the glacis, forcing our way through the palisades, and got down into the ditch. The ladders by which we had to escalate the Castle were not yet brought up, and the men were huddled on one another in such a manner that we could not move: we were now ordered to fix our bayonets. When we first entered the trench, we considered ourselves comparatively safe, thinking we were out of range of their shot, but we were soon convinced of our mistake for they opened several guns from angles which commanded the trench and poured in grape shot upon us from each side."

Two attempts to escalate had been made by the 1st Brigade under Kempt, together with a Portuguese Brigade, before the 94th reached the Castle walls. The first attacks were made too much to the left, against the curtain between the bastions of San Pedro and San Antonio, further along the Castle walls. Both had failed, beaten off by the defenders, who overturned or broke the ladders with loss of life to those below.

Picton, who was with the first column, was among the wounded, being rendered for a short time *hors de combat*. "Picton was encouraging his men by voice and gesture to mount the ladders, when a ball struck him in the groin a little above the watch in his fob. He did not faint or fall, but was assisted to the glacis and then became faint and almost insensible. He remained so for about twenty minutes, and then the pain partly subsided and he went back to direct the attack. After the troops stormed the Castle he was helped up a ladder into the Castle."

The 2nd Brigade joined the survivors of the men who had preceded them, and as soon as their own ladders came up, renewed the attempt to escalate. "Some ladders," says the officer of the 2/5th previously quoted, "were reared against the walls by the grenadiers of the 5th, at one of which was Colonel Campbell and Lieut.-Colonel Ridge who commanded the 5th and at another the officers of the grenadiers of the 5th. Colonel Ridge

called to Ensign Canch of the latter to lead at his ladder, and immediately both, at their respective ladders, pushed up followed by their men. Having succeeded in gaining the top of the wall they joined and found they mustered strong enough to beat off what was immediately opposed to them."



BADAJOZ.
6th April, 1812.

Some of the 94th clambered up by means of their own ladders, raised at the same time, "until," says Donaldson, "at length a few having made a landing good on the ramparts at the expense of their lives, enabled a greater number to follow. When about a company had thus got collected together, we formed and charged round the ramparts, bayoneting the French artil-

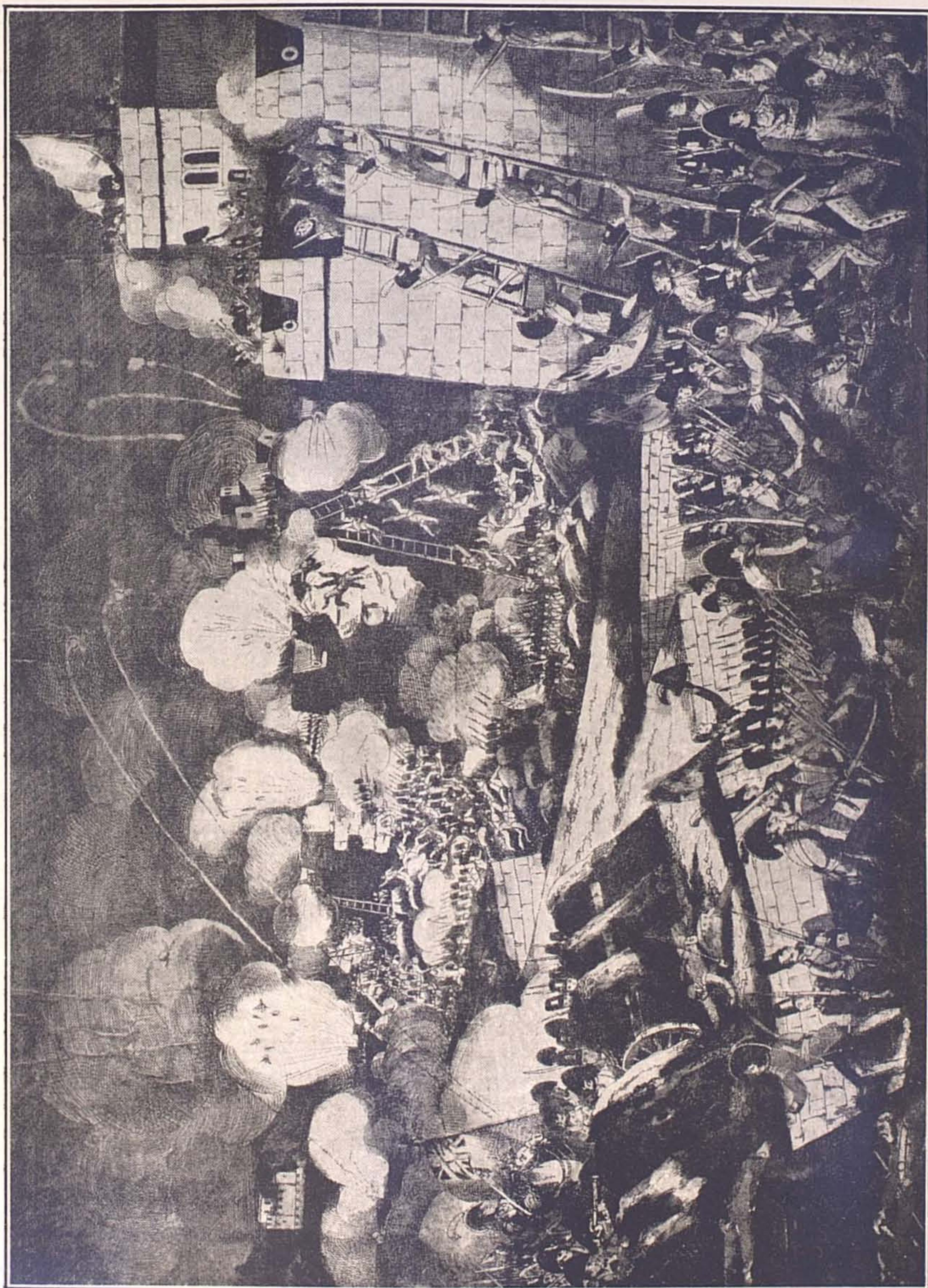
lery at their guns. In the direction that the party I was with took they had drawn out a howitzer loaded to the very muzzle, pointed it towards us, and a gunner had the match ready to fire when he was brought down by one of our party. In this direction we charged until we reached the sally-port communicating with the town."

There was fighting within the Castle walls for upwards of an hour until midnight before the last of the defenders were either driven through the gates or killed. One desperate group took refuge in the keep, where they resisted from stair to stair, fighting desperately at bay until all were killed.

Picton had by then sufficiently recovered from the shock and pain of the wound he had received at the time of the first attempt to escalate and resumed charge. His intention was to debouch at once from the Castle and to push along the ramparts to the nearest breach. It was though, impossible to get out. The gates into the city, except one postern, were found bricked up. It had been the French Governor's intention to make the Castle his *reduit* if the city defences fell. The one postern open was discovered after some delay, but exit from it was immediately afterwards barred by the coming up of a French battalion—the 88th Line, 500 bayonets—sent hastily by the Governor from his reserve on hearing that the British were in the Castle. There was a sharp fight, in which Colonel Ridge of the 5th fell, before the French 88th could be forced back, and by the time that was over and the enemy driven back, the city of Badajoz had been entered at another point. The escalate of the San Vincente bastion, on the opposite side of the city, by Walker's Brigade of the Fifth Division proved the decisive stroke that brought about the collapse of the enemy's hitherto successful resistance at the breaches. The French main body surrendered to the Fifth Division. The Governor of Badajoz, General Phillippon, escaped with a few hundred men across the Guadiana to Fort San Cristobal, where, with no food and but little ammunition, he surrendered at daybreak. So ended the siege of Badajoz. Reference to the two days' sack of the ill-fated city that followed is made in Vol. I at pages 93-4.*

The casualties of the 94th at the storm of Badajoz on April 6th were 1 Officer (Ensign Lang) and 12 Other Ranks killed, and 1 Officer (Ensign

* The illustration of the Storming of the Castle of Badajoz is a reduced representation of a large broadsheet published in London in May 1812 by an enterprising publisher (G. Thompson, of West Smithfield), who made it his business to interview wounded and others as they arrived from Spain and made up the picture from their descriptions and sketches. It is a unique specimen, reproduced by special permission from the only known original to-day, which is in the collection of Col. C. de W. Crookshank, M.P., author of "Prints of British Military Operations." Wellington is seen in middle distance on the extreme left, cocked-hatted, on a white charger, and close to a regimental Colour. The ladders on the right against the castle wall leading up to the embrasures are being mounted by the 5th Foot and the 94th.



THE STORMING OF THE CASTLE OF BADAJOZ.

6th April 1812.

Bogle) and 51 Other Ranks wounded, a total of 65. The 94th were the second heaviest losers in the brigade and the fourth heaviest in the Third Division, in which the heaviest losses of all were the 1/88th Connaught Rangers with a total casualty list of 144. In the operations before Badajoz previous to the actual assault the 94th had 2 Officers wounded, 2 Other Ranks killed and 16 Other Ranks wounded.

"The twenty-one days of siege," says Fortescue, "cost the Allies nearly 5,000 in killed and wounded, close upon 4,000 of them being British and the rest Portuguese, and of this number almost exactly three-quarters fell in the assault. Six generals were wounded, Picton, Walker, Cólville, Kempt and Bowes of the British Army, and Harvey of the Portuguese. Four battalion commanders were killed, Ridge of the Fifth, Gray of the Thirtieth, McLeod of the Forty-Third and O'Hare of the Rifles. . . . Small wonder was it that even the iron firmness of Wellington was broken down when he learned the numbers of the fallen and that for the first time ever recorded of him he burst into a passion of tears."

Soult arrived at Villa Franca, a few miles in front of where Graham and Hill stood on guard by Albuera, on April 7th, the day after the fall of Badajoz. He received the news there by messengers whom Phillippon had got through to him just before the Governor hoisted the white flag at San Cristobal. Appalled at the catastrophe, for he had counted on Badajoz offering resistance for a month at least, Soult retreated hastily into Andalusia. There, Spanish forces, which Wellington had set in motion, by threatening Seville and Soult's line of communications elsewhere, effectually prevented Soult from making any further appearance in the field against Wellington in Southern Spain.

CHAPTER L

THE PENINSULAR WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1812. WELLINGTON'S MOVE TO CUT OFF MARMONT. PREPARATIONS TO ATTACK THE SALAMANCA FORTS. THE ARMIES MANŒUVRING IN PRESENCE BETWEEN THE DOURO AND THE TORMES. THE BATTLE OF SALAMANCA. MARMONT'S FALSE MOVE. THE ATTACK OF THE THIRD DIVISION. THE 94th IN THE ACTION. PERSONAL NARRATIVES.

WELLINGTON was now free to turn his attention again to Marmont. He did so at once. He had left a Spanish force under Carlos de España and Portuguese militia forces with some German Legion Hussars to protect Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida and to watch the Beira-Leon frontier during his absence at Badajoz. Marmont, as Wellington knew, could do nothing serious against either fortress, for Marmont's entire siege train had been captured by Wellington at Ciudad Rodrigo. The Spaniards, however, procrastinating as usual, had neglected to provision Ciudad Rodrigo. Consequently, as it was promptly blockaded by Marmont when he made his irruption into Beira, the fortress garrison of Spaniards were in danger of being starved into surrender. Messages to that effect were sent to Wellington, and to save Ciudad Rodrigo he set his entire force, except one division, in motion within a week of the storming of Badajoz, to return to the line of the Agueda, headed by the Third and Light Divisions as advance-guard. Hill with the Second Division was left to watch Drouet in Estremadura and to cover Badajoz till the fortifications had been repaired and a garrison provided.

Wellington had also another stroke in view. He saw an opportunity by a rapid move north to fall on Marmont in Beira and to overpower him before he could get back behind Salamanca. Marmont, as yet unaware of the fate of Badajoz, was meanwhile continuing his invasion of Beira as ordered by Napoleon. The three divisions he had with him had penetrated beyond Sabugal to Guarda and Castello Branco. He stopped short on April 16th, when the amazing intelligence of the capture of Badajoz reached him, nine days after the event, and fell back to Salamanca calling in his detached troops. Marmont, however, contented himself with that. He did not consider himself menaced by Wellington, being obsessed with the

idea that Wellington would remain in the south for some time and probably turn his attention to Soult. Belated news came to Marmont on the 22nd that two British divisions (the Third and Light Divisions) were across the Tagus, but that again, Marmont considered, was only a demonstration to hold him from any move towards Soult. All he did was to retire a few miles to Fuente Guinaldo. At that moment, quite unknown to the Marshal, Wellington himself and all his six divisions were over the Tagus, shaping their marches to attack Marmont from various points and throw him back on the Agueda, then in flood and impassable.

The fortune of war intervened and saved Marmont at the last moment. He found himself at the end of his food supplies and on April 23rd, the river having gone down and become again passable, he suddenly quitted Fuente Guinaldo and his adjacent cantonments early in the morning and moved off rapidly, making for Salamanca and Valladolid. Wellington was thus, by a mere chance, little more than twenty-four hours too late. The British advanced troops, indeed, entered Fuente Guinaldo on April 24th, the day after the French had evacuated it. So Wellington's attempt to beat up Marmont's quarters and put his army out of action was baulked at the last moment. Wellington now gave his troops a much-needed rest for a short while, until the opening of the next phase of operations, the Salamanca campaign.

During May, while Wellington with the main army rested on the Agueda, Hill and the Second Division on the 18th of the month carried out the destruction of the bridge and covering forts at Almaraz. Thus the direct route between Marmont and Soult's forces in Estremadura and Andalusia was severed. Wellington was now free to deal with Marmont and to begin his move on Salamanca.

The campaign opened on June 13th with a general advance in force across the Agueda. The advance was made in three parallel columns, the 94th and Third Division and two Portuguese brigades forming the left column. Nothing was seen of the enemy until the 16th, when French outposts were encountered by the advanced cavalry about 5 miles from Salamanca and driven in, retiring across the Tormes. Marmont at that moment was concentrating at Fuente Saucó, 20 miles north of Salamanca, on the road to Toro on the Douro.

Wellington now learnt that the French had entirely evacuated Salamanca except for three so-called "forts" to the south-west of the city: large high-walled stone buildings, formerly convents, which by careful engineering had been adapted into strongly fortified works, each garrisoned by 800 men. They covered the Salamanca bridge over the Tormes. Wellington made the attack on them with the Sixth Division, the other

divisions fording the river and taking post along the heights of San Cristobal to the north and east of Salamanca. The attack on the "forts" broke down. They proved beyond the power of the attack to reduce, as the few heavy guns brought with the army were not sufficiently powerful and the small supply of siege artillery ammunition available gave out. The bombardment had to cease on June 21st until more heavy guns and ammunition could be brought from the gun park and dépôt at Almeida. Before that could be done, on June 21st, Marmont with 35,000 men made his appearance before the heights of San Cristobal. Coming up close in rear to reinforce him were two divisions, 10,000 more men. Wellington had about 44,000, of whom 28,000 were British and the rest Portuguese and Spaniards. He did not, however, utilize his superiority to attack Marmont before the two divisions joined. Wellington was calculating on Marmont attacking him, which would lay the French open to a counter-stroke. He did not consider that Marmont could afford to let the Salamanca forts go the same way as Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, without a battle. Marmont for his part deemed Wellington's position on the heights too strong to assail, and after being in presence two days the French drew off 6 miles and halted. Then Wellington, having received heavy guns and ammunition from Almeida, on June 26th recommenced his attack on the Salamanca "forts." They fell on the 27th just as Marmont proposed to attempt their rescue and risk a battle. The Marshal, on the forts being taken, retreated at once. He fell back beyond the Douro and took up a position across the river, holding the bridge of Tordesillas and most of the fords between Toro on his right and Simancas on his left.

Wellington promptly pursued and confronted Marmont on the Douro. The Third Division watched the French right, posted near where the river Trabancos joins the Douro, and controlled the important ford of Pollos where the ground covered a safe passage should Wellington decide to advance beyond the river. Wellington however did not propose to force the Douro line: partly because of the heavy loss of life the operation must certainly have entailed. He remained content with holding off the enemy from attempting to regain Salamanca. The armies faced each other, immobile for upwards of a fortnight, after which Marmont made his first move. He had been further reinforced by Bonnet's division from the Asturias and with an all-French force at his back, almost equal in numbers to Wellington's conglomerate army of British, Portuguese and Spaniards, Marmont considered that the moment was opportune for another thrust to recover Salamanca. It was plain that no assistance was coming for Marmont from Caffarelli's "Army of the North," centred at Burgos, and nothing had been heard from King Joseph and the "Army of the

Centre" at Madrid. The guerillas had intercepted all the messages and Marmont's situation was consequently unknown to King Joseph. Caffarelli was held fast by Spanish activity in Biscay, backed by the coast operations of a British naval squadron.

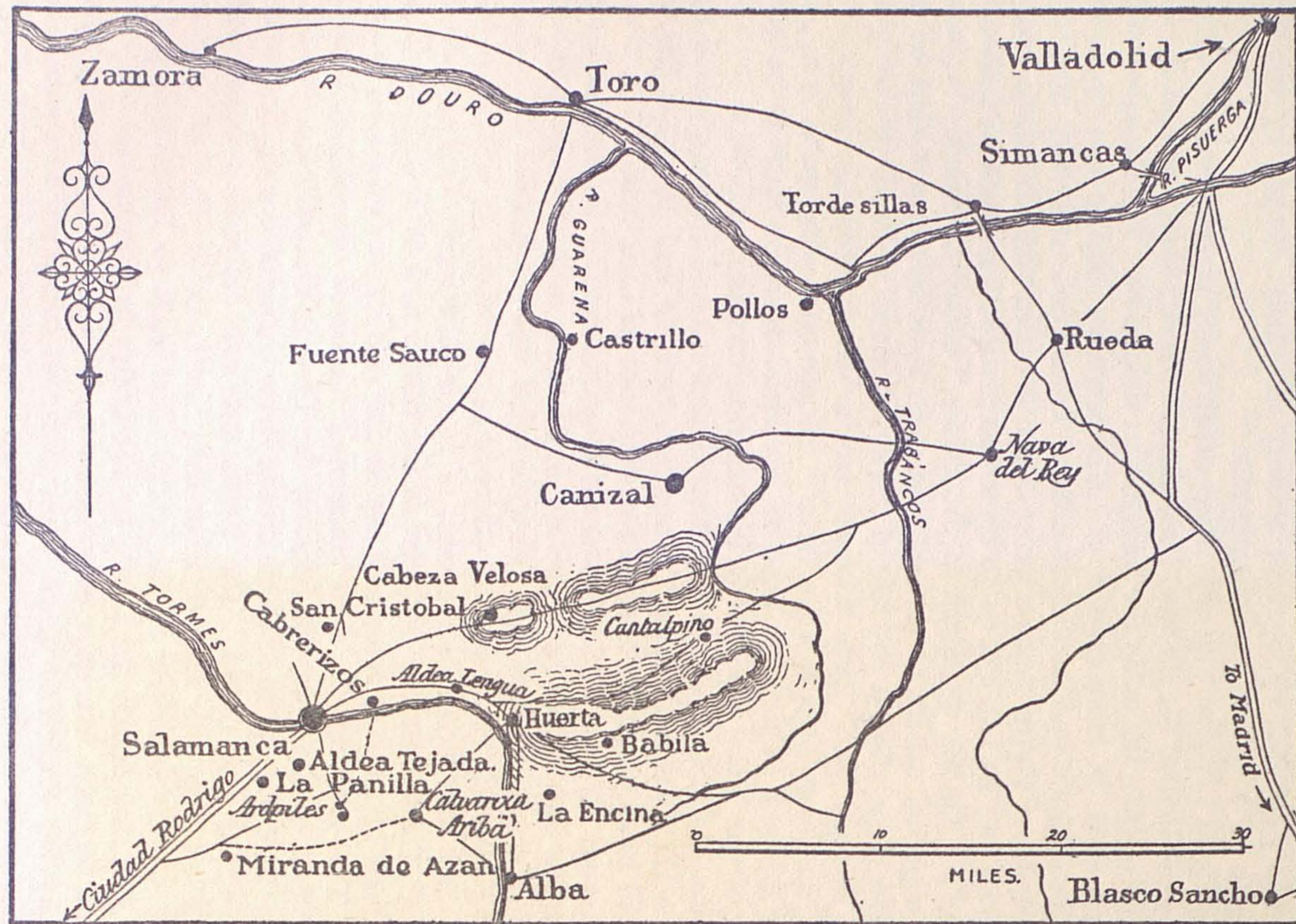
The Third Division was now temporarily under Wellington's brother-in-law, Major-General Sir Edward Pakenham. Picton, sorely against his will, had had to leave the army for England on sick leave. His Badajoz wound had reopened in consequence of over-exertions during the operations round Salamanca and had incapacitated Picton and compelled him to go into hospital. Picton made a game effort to rejoin after the army reached the Douro, but he had had to go back and proceed forthwith to Lisbon for England. "On our approach to the Douro," writes an officer, "accounts of an expected action so aroused the general at Salamanca that off the old fellow came after us and joined the Left Column at Pollos on the river." It was in vain, and "poor Picton," as the writer terms his disappointed chief, "had to go back in a few days." Picton on leaving specially applied for Sir Edward Pakenham, then on the Head-quarters Staff, to be given charge of the Third Division in his absence, and that was done.

Picton, it is stated, on learning that Pakenham had been appointed, said to his A.D.C., Captain Tyler, "I am glad he is to lead *my* brave fellows; they will have plenty of amusement with him at their head."

Marmont on July 15th opened his effort to recover Salamanca by extending his line to the right and making a feint beyond Wellington's left wing to Toro near where the Third Division was on guard. He counter-marched suddenly, immediately afterwards, and struck at the Allied right wing. Foy and Bonnet's divisions of Marmont's right wing crossed the Douro at Toro while the divisions of the centre and at Tordesillas joined in the feint by moving ostentatiously in the vicinity of Pollos ford towards Toro. The crossing at Toro completely deceived Wellington and the greater part of the army fell back on the Toro-Salamanca road, the Third Division withdrawing to Castrillo on the River Guarena, one of the southern tributaries of the Douro. The retirement was Marmont's opportunity. He recalled Foy and Bonnet from over the river at Toro at once and rapidly counter-marching all the troops there back to Tordesillas, pushed his whole army across the Douro by the bridge at Tordesillas.

Then followed five days of manœuvres, a series of outflanking movements by the French to which Wellington was compelled to conform day after day until the immediate neighbourhood of Salamanca was reached. The Third Division throughout was with the rearguard but was not called upon to engage.

Both armies were on the Tormes, a short distance eastward of Sala-



THE CAMPAIGN OF SALAMANCA.

manca, on the afternoon of July 20th. The Allied Army continued between the French and Salamanca, covering the city. Marmont crossed the Tormes next day by the fords of Huerta and La Encina, leaving at night a rearguard force of one division, Sarrut's, with some guns, at the village of Babila Fuente, on the north side of the river, to safeguard the passage over of the last of the baggage and stores.

Wellington, on seeing the French crossing, made his own crossing during the afternoon of July 21st, by the fords of Cabrerizos and Santa Marta, nearer to Salamanca. To hold in check, or "contain," the French rearguard force left on the north bank of the Tormes, and prevent it from making a sudden dash at Salamanca along the river bank, he stationed the Third Division, with D'Urban's Portuguese Horse, near Cabrerizos ford, a short distance from the city. They remained there all night and until noon next day, July 22nd, some little time before the battle commenced.

The order to cross the Tormes reached Pakenham at noon, some time after the French rearguard force had rejoined their main body. Firing could already be heard at various points on the battle front beyond the river where French skirmishers and British light troops were in contact; particularly in the nearer sector near Calveriza de Ariba, where Foy's tirailleurs on Marmont's extreme right flank had begun a long-range exchange of musketry with part of the Seventh Division.

Pakenham was directed, says Oman, "to march over the town bridge of Salamanca and take up a position between Aldea Tejada and La Penilla to the east of the high road to Ciudad Rodrigo. . . . The Third Division marched from Cabrerizos at noon, passing through the city which was at this moment full of alarms and excursions. The sight of Marmont close at hand and of the British baggage train moving off hastily towards Rodrigo had filled the inhabitants with dismay. Some were hiding their more valuable property, others (who had compromised themselves by their friendly reception of the Allied Army) were preparing for hasty flight. Some used bitter language of complaint—" 'The English were retreating without a battle after betraying their friends.' " The Third Division, according to Fortescue, forded the river, and did not pass through Salamanca at all.

"A glorious sunny morning," in Fortescue's words, "had already dried up the rain of the previous night, and a large cloud of dust was visible moving steadily from north-east to south-west. The Marshal inferred that Wellington meant to retire by his right and was therefore reinforcing that wing to the utmost. As a matter of fact that dust had been raised by Pakenham who, instead of making for the bridge of Salamanca, had passed the Tormes by the ford of Cabrerizos and was striking across country

little more than a mile in rear of the Light Division towards Aldea Tejada. . . . Marmont's imagination magnified the movement of one division of infantry and one brigade of cavalry into the march of half an army."

The Third Division remained halted near Aldea Tejada for upwards of two hours, until about half-past three in the afternoon. By that time the two French divisions of Maucune and Thomières had begun the move that was the direct cause of the catastrophe for the enemy. With Pakenham's dust in his eyes Marmont conjured up the vision that lured him to his fate. Wellington, he assured himself, was beginning to retreat. By extending his own left sufficiently far, reasoned Marmont, he would be able before night to sever the British communications with their base at Ciudad Rodrigo. The severing of Wellington's communications would however not bring about disaster unless there was a battle to confirm the advantage. Marmont was overlooking the essential fact that strategical success depends on tactical success and is incomplete without it. His patience broke down. He had been trying for days to get the better of Wellington, but all his thrusts had been parried and he was no nearer getting Wellington at a disadvantage. His loss of patience induced him to risk dividing his force, which let Wellington in upon him.

The greater part of the Allied forces were entirely concealed from Marmont by intervening ridges of high ground. They were ranged on the reverse slopes and the Marshal was only able to see little of them. On the strength of that he proceeded to make an imaginary picture for himself of the situation. Marmont did just what Napoleon was ever warning his officers never to do. Under the influence of the false impression Marmont jumped to conclusions and issued the fatal order.

The French divisions at noon, when the Third Division received orders to move to Aldea Tejada, were strung out irregularly in this order, naming them from right to left. Foy's division was on the extreme right flank behind Calverisa de Ariba, with Ferey's division in support of Foy. The centre and left-flank divisions comprised those of Clausel, Brennier, Thomières and Maucune, with Bonnet's division somewhat advanced. Sarrut's division was on the way from Babila across the Tormes to take post in support of the centre, but was still a long way off. The French divisions of the centre and left were about opposite the Great Arapile hill, a long-backed eminence of moderate height with crags at either end. Wellington had attempted to occupy it during the early forenoon but had been forestalled by a dash forward by Bonnet's division.

It will be convenient to keep to the French side until the clash came about in which the Third Division figured.

Marmont, for his extension to the left, directed Maucune and Thomières

to push forward and occupy Monte de Azan, a plateau some way off, about 3 miles long and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide, which trended westerly beyond the Greater Arapile hill, then occupied by Bonnet's division. Maucune halted on Monte de Azan and extended his deployment considerably to the left, sending out tirailleurs against the village of Arapile. A heavy cannonade covered his move. Thomières did not halt. He pressed on past Maucune, marching forward fast and extending the French front yet further to the left. The long extension of the enemy's line in this manner caused two breaks or gaps. One was between Maucune and Clausel, whose division was next Maucune on the right in Marmont's original line, and a dangerously wide one between Maucune and the rapidly moving Thomières as that officer continued his westward push.

Wellington from the Lesser Arapile hill saw what was taking place: two or three graphic and varying versions are extant of how he made the discovery. He galloped off, spurring hard to Aldea Tejada and ordered Pakenham to start at once and strike at Thomières, whose column was now nearing the far western end of the plateau and was isolated. He then rode rapidly to order General Leith with the Fifth Division, next on the left of Pakenham, to attack Maucune, whose division was halted and in line. Bonnet's division, the nearest to Maucune, was half a mile off.

"At three in the afternoon," wrote Sir Edward Pakenham on July 25th to his brother Hercules Pakenham, afterwards a well-known general, "the Third Division received orders to move in double column across the enemy's left, which was advantageously placed on some strong heights, there to form line, carry the heights and sweep everything before it. These instructions your old companion executed in the most excellent style."

"It might have been near three o'clock," describes the Brigade-Major of the 1st or "Right" Brigade of the Third Division, Lieut.-Colonel James Campbell, "when Lord Wellington, followed by some of his staff, galloped up to where the Third Division was posted. Calling for Sir Edward Pakenham, he gave him certain orders in a very few impressive words, and Sir Edward's reply was quite in character. Our camp kettles were in an instant overturned and packed upon the mules, which started for the rear. Many men looked blank enough at having lost their dinners, and vented their ire upon the stubble they had been obliged to use as fuel, and which had made the business of cooking so tedious. The Division was soon under arms and moved off rapidly in open column, the 45th Regiment leading."

"To me," continues Colonel Campbell, "as Brigade-Major of the Right Brigade, Sir Edward Pakenham in his quick decided manner pointed out the direction we were to take. He desired me to tell Colonel Wallace, 88th Regiment, the officer in temporary command of the brigade, to move

on with as much rapidity as possible, but without blowing the men too much. We soon descended into a kind of valley, or rather hollow, and having brought up our left shoulders a little, we pushed on at a quick pace but in excellent order, the side of the hollow towards the enemy concealing our movements from their sight.

“The whole scene was now highly animated. The Left Brigade, headed by the 5th Regiment, was, as I saw, marching parallel to the Right, so as to be ready to form a second line. The Portuguese brigade followed by the right, and the whole of the left flank of the column was covered with a cloud of sharpshooters, composed of the light infantry companies and riflemen of the 5th Battalion, 60th Regiment.”

The battalions of the Third Division about to engage were as follows : Right Brigade (Lieut.-Colonel Wallace, The Connaught Rangers), 1/45th, 74th, 1/88th, three companies 5th Battalion 60th : Left Brigade (Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, 94th Scotch Brigade), 1/5th, 2/5th, 2/83rd, 94th : Power's Portuguese Brigade, 9th and 21st Line, 12th Caçadores. The total strength of the brigade was : British, 3,678 : Portuguese, 2,197—altogether 5,875 of all ranks. The 94th went into action with 24 Officers, and 323 Other Ranks : all told, 347.

D'Urban's Portuguese Horse, two dragoon regiments, rode on the right and ahead of the Division. They were the first to come into contact with Thomières, who was moving with his divisional cavalry all on his opposite flank, on his inner flank, with no scouts out either ahead or on his right, the danger flank. D'Urban's Portuguese dragoons, supported by two squadrons of the British 14th Light Dragoons, surprised Thomières' leading battalions. They approached unseen, screened by some trees, and then charged in on the front and flank of the French. That was the first that Thomières knew of the presence of the Third Division. He hastily brought up his divisional artillery, some twenty guns, to the edge of the ridge above the hill-side up which Pakenham was now seen to be approaching. At the same time he threw out tirailleurs to head off the British infantry, while he endeavoured to form line with his nine battalions along the edge of the plateau against Pakenham as he came up.

It was too late. The Third Division, deploying in three lines and regardless of the cannonade of grape from the French guns and the musketry of Thomières' tirailleurs, breasted uphill the long slope of the plateau. Wallace's 1st or “Right” Brigade led, then came Power's three Portuguese battalions, who followed it in the second line. Campbell's Brigade came on as the support line.

“In spite of every resistance (for the enemy's columns remained firm till our line had closed to within 10 yards on the most distant points) we

were," Pakenham wrote to his brother Hercules, "never brought to a check. The crash was magnificent."

"Having outflanked the French left," describes Brigade-Major Campbell, "the whole formed line and with Sir Edward Pakenham in front, hat in hand, the brigades advanced in beautiful style covered by our sharpshooters, the first line admirably supported by the Left Brigade."

"The enemy's skirmishers and ours now set to work, yet we did not wait for their indecisive long shots. Advancing still rapidly and steadily, our right soon came into contact with their left, which had opened a very heavy and destructive fire upon us. That would have lasted long enough had the brigade been halted to return it. The enemy however was instantly charged and overthrown. It was now evident to us all that Sir Edward Pakenham knew how to handle Picton's Division."

The magnificent onset of the three British battalions of the Right Brigade, in particular the irresistible charge of the 88th, led personally by Wallace, is related in detail in Vol. I, page 99. "The enemy," says Oman, "his columns already in much confusion and mixed with the wrecks of the tirailleurs, gave way and went off in confusion along the top of the plateau."

French Cavalry, Curto's Light Horse, came hastening up round the outer flank of the wrecked French division, which, Thomières having fallen early in the fight, at that moment had no leader. Curto made an attack on the two battalions on the right of the first and third lines of the Third Division, the 1/45th and the 1/5th. The 45th were half-heartedly attacked. They threw back some companies *en potence* and soon beat the attack off. The 5th were pressed harder. They lost many men and fell back a short way, but were unbroken, after which they rallied, re-formed and came back to their place again. "We retired," says Sergeant Morley of the 5th, "slowly, in good order, not far, not 100 paces. General Pakenham approached and very good-naturedly said 'Re-form' and after a moment 'Advance—there they are, my lads, let them feel the temper of your bayonets.' We advanced rather slowly at first, a regiment of dragoons which had retired with us accompanying, . . . and took our retribution for our repulse."

Donaldson, who had just rejoined the 94th after temporary illness, in his rather meagre narrative of events on that day, says that the 5th "were furiously charged by the enemy's cavalry and thrown into some confusion." He adds that the 94th, whose commanding officer Lieut.-Colonel Campbell commanded the Brigade and who was at the time at the head of the 94th next in the line to the 5th, advanced at once to assist the 5th. Donaldson's words are: "Ours coming up in time routed them,"

i.e. the French cavalry. Brigade-Major Campbell states that after their repulse "the enemy's cavalry were quickly pursued, chiefly by Colonel Wallace at the head of the 88th, whose impetuosity it was found most difficult to restrain."

"Driving in their left," proceeds Donaldson, speaking of the 94th, his own regiment, "we came in front of where our artillery were playing on the enemy, but no time was lost, for by marching past in open column they continued to fire without interruption, sending their shot through the intervals between each company without doing us any injury, although it created rather unpleasant sensations to hear it whistling past us." The enemy's artillery fire meanwhile caused, as Donaldson mentions, many casualties—"the men were falling thick on every side." He remarks incidentally that "a Portuguese cadet who was attached to our regiment received a shell in the centre of his body, which bursting at the same instant, literally blew him to pieces."

Driving the broken French battalions before it, the all-conquering Third Division now pressed on for upwards of a mile until it came on the flank of Maucune's half-formed-up division. Covering Pakenham's right flank D'Urban's mounted men kept pace with the infantry advance, while outside them rode Arentschild's brigade, the British 14th Light Dragoons and the 1st Hussars of the King's German Legion, watching to check Curto's chasseurs. These had re-formed and were attempting to stem the fugitive rush and make a counter-attack on the pursuers.

On that came about an attempt by the French to make a stand. Pakenham's battalions now found the enemy's efforts at resistance beginning to stiffen, as Thomières' headmost fugitives got their second wind and rallied. "With Sir Edward Pakenham still in front," says Brigade-Major Campbell, "we were again ready for another dash at the enemy, who were trying to re-form on a gentle height a short distance in front of us. . . . Truly inspiring had the scene now become. Beautifully the practice of Major Douglas's artillery was telling among the French!"

Leith's Fifth Division were by now also getting to grips with Maucune. As they did so Pakenham's left wing, with the 94th, came up to link with them and drive in Maucune. Campbell's brigade was by this in the front line of the Third Division, pressing forward into the thick of the fighting.

It was at that moment, just before the two divisions could join hands, that Le Marchant's Dragoon Guard Brigade passed through between Leith and Pakenham. They rode close to the left flank companies of the Third Division and then made their headlong charge which, as related in Vol. I (p. 100), destroyed Maucune's division finally.

"Our dragoons, with Generals Le Merchant (Le Marchant) and Sir

“ Under a heavy fire from their numerous and well-served artillery and from a very large body of skirmishers with which the French bravely endeavoured to cover their retreat, our noble dragoons now dashed at them. Such a scene instantly presented itself as has seldom been witnessed. We saw before us our foes completely overthrown. Thousands of them were taken prisoners by the dragoons, numbers were cut down, and the remainder, in total derout, were running as fast as their legs could carry them towards another height, where a considerable number of their troops were posted, and from whence they kept up a heavy fire upon the division engaged upon our left. The enemy though began soon after to retire, under a ruinous fire from our artillery and sharpshooters, who, intermixed with some of our dragoons gave them not a moment's respite.

“ The Third Division, thus aided and supported by our splendid dragoons, were completely victorious. The enemy's left was entirely discomfited, carrying alarm and confusion amongst their centre and right.”

The Third Division then, forming line with the Fifth Division across the breadth of the plateau, pressed forward, driving before them still struggling remnants of Thomières' and Maucune's divisions. They had also to deal with part of Brennier's division, which had by now come up in rear of Maucune. The Dragoon Guard charge had gone through Maucune and in its final rush had reached Brennier, whose leading regiment, the 22nd Line, was crashed into and sent flying, hotly chased by Le Marchant's men. A stand against Pakenham was attempted by four French regiments to whom the charge of the Dragoon Guards had not been able to penetrate, but these were compelled to give way, outflanked by the Third Division, while D'Urban and Arentschildt's horsemen after sharp fighting forced back Curto's covering troopers. General Leith having been badly wounded, Sir Edward Pakenham took charge of both the Third and Fifth Divisions. The broken French in the end were roughly hustled off the plateau and back towards the wooded range of hills where Marmont had formed up his army before commencing his fatal leftward extension.

The Third Division and the 94th had their final fighting in that quarter as the afternoon was drawing to its close. The broken remains of the French left wing battalions halted then, rallying outside the woods on Sarrut's division, which till then had hardly been engaged. Against them, flushed with consciousness of unchecked success, were, besides the Third, the Fifth, and the Seventh Divisions, Bradford's Portuguese Brigade, and, working on their flanks, three cavalry brigades, D'Urban's, Arentschildt's and Anson's—the British 11th, 12th and 16th Light Dragoons. The final stand of the French was desperate. “ These men, besmeared



SALAMANCA.

22nd July 1812.



with blood, dust and clay, half naked, and some carrying only broken weapons," as an officer of the Third Division describes, "fought with a fury not to be surpassed." It could though only be a hopeless effort. The push of the assailants was continuous and irresistible. Each time the French tried to stand their ground they were outflanked and had again to move back. Then at last, driven into the woods, Marmont's battalions went to pieces and streamed off in disorderly groups from the battlefield eastward.*

The victory by that time was everywhere nearly secured. What French units remained more or less intact were beginning to draw off, under the able direction of Clausel, who had succeeded to the command on both Marmont and Bonnet (the French second in command) being incapacitated by wounds. The French made for the bridge at Alba de Tormes, where, as it unfortunately happened, the passage across had been unblocked by the premature withdrawal of Carlos de España's Spanish guarding force, although specially posted there by Wellington.

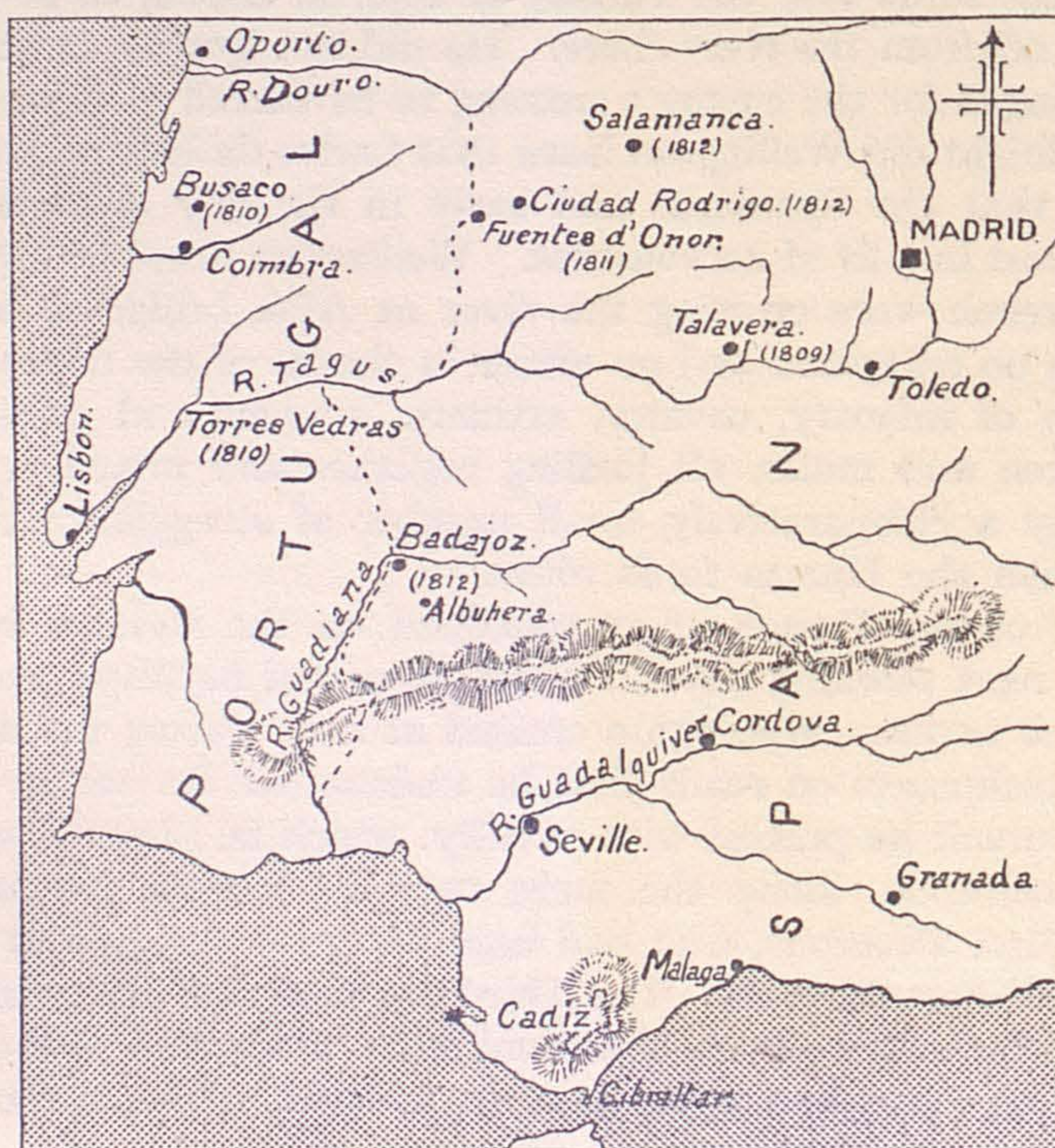
Wellington pushed his pursuit eastward during the night. He directed it towards the fords over the Tormes at Huerta, hoping to be able to cut the French off from the river there. He did not pursue to the south, as he had arranged for the enemy's crossing to be barred at Alba de Tormes. Not till midnight did Wellington learn that Carlos de España had betrayed his trust: that the Spaniards had early in the day evacuated the all-important post in a fit of nervousness. Wellington heard at the same time that the French were crossing the river at Alba bridge in a disorderly crowd, with no rearguard and no officer in charge of the retreat; a stampeding mob of infantry, cavalry, artillery, wagons and carts, transport animals, oxen and mules, all jostling together and mixed up in a wild panic. Only a comparatively small number of stragglers were reported to have taken the Huerta fords route.

Nothing of the French army remained on the western bank of the Tormes by next morning beyond small parties of fugitives and wounded, hiding in the woods. Wellington crossed at Alba during the day, sending forward detachments on roads that he understood the enemy had taken. The main pursuit he pressed with cavalry, which he himself accompanied, towards Peñaranda, along the main road by Garcia Hernandez. The Light and First Divisions, who had been the least engaged in the battle, followed Wellington's route. The Third Division and the others who had had the hardest fighting on the 22nd were allowed a well-earned rest. They were on the move again next day, following the advanced guard,

* At Salamanca one officer of the 94th, Lieutenant Innes, was killed. Three officers were wounded, Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, Captain Cooke and Lieutenant Griffith (severely). Three of the rank and file were killed and twenty-one wounded.

Wellington received intelligence on July 25th, when at Flores de Avila, that King Joseph with Marshal Jourdan, his Chief of the Staff, had left Madrid on the 21st to join Marmont with the "Army of the Centre," approximately 14,000 men. Joseph was reported to be marching north through the Guadarrama Pass for Espinas. The "Army of the Centre" was moving towards Salamanca, when, on the night of July 24th, King Joseph received letters from the wounded Marmont and from Clausel giving a full account of what had happened at Salamanca. The "Army of the Centre" on that turned back hastily to regain Madrid.

The next news that Wellington had was that the French under Clausel were making for Valladolid. He at once started in that direction with the Light and First Divisions as his vanguard. The Third Division followed with the main army. The French thereupon fell back from Valladolid to Burgos and were pursued by the Allied advance guard as far as Valladolid. Wellington halted there and disposed his main forces south of the Douro.



THE PENINSULAR WAR.
1809-1812.

CHAPTER LI

THE PENINSULAR WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1812. THE ADVANCE ON MADRID. TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO THE CITY. ENTHUSIASM OF THE POPULACE. TAKING OF THE RETIRO. FREE ADMISSION TO THEATRES AND BULL-FIGHTS. A PUBLIC EXECUTION. FROM MADRID TO THE TAGUS. THE ENEMY CONCENTRATING. RETIREMENT NORTH TO SALAMANCA. JOINING WELLINGTON IN THE RETREAT FROM BURGOS. TERRIBLE HARDSHIPS OF THE LAST THREE DAYS. SERGEANT DONALDSON'S DETAILED ACCOUNT. ARRIVAL AT CIUDAD RODRIGO. LIEUT.-COLONEL LLOYD AND THE 94th.

WELLINGTON proposed to desist for the present from following the beaten army, which he calculated would be incapable for action for a long time. He designed instead to devote his attention to King Joseph and the "Army of the Centre," which was delaying near Segovia north of the Guadarrama Pass. Joseph and Jourdan had the idea that Clausel would rally on them. The "Army of the Centre" however did not make a stand at Segovia. It drew off for Madrid on July 31st, as Wellington discovered through a cavalry reconnaissance in force on that day. Wellington therefore moved with the Third Division to Cuellar, concentrating the rest of the main body near by, until he had reconsidered the situation. He definitely decided in the end to move direct on Madrid, and started for the Spanish capital on August 5th. The Sixth Division was ordered to stand by at Cuellar, and watch from there and beyond Valladolid what Clausel was doing.

On the enemy's side King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan hastily evacuated Madrid on hearing of Wellington's approach, and then went off towards Aranjuez on the Tagus. On August 12th Wellington, after a cavalry combat at Majalahonda, triumphantly entered Madrid at the head of the Allied Army.

"We encamped," says Donaldson, "about half a league from Madrid on the 11th of August and in a short time our camp was filled with the inhabitants who had come out to see us, and in their own language, welcomed us as their deliverers.

"On the 12th, being ordered to march into the town, we were met by the inhabitants carrying branches of laurel and playing on guitars and

tambourines; joy beamed on every countenance, the ladies thronged round the British Colours eager to touch them and the air was rent with acclamations; '*Viva los Engleses*' echoed from every mouth. The windows were hung with embroidered cloth and filled with ladies waving their handkerchiefs."

"Having marched up to the Plaza del Sol," continues Donaldson, "we took up our quarters in a large building, but our work was not yet finished. The French, having fortified the Retiro, had left a garrison in it whose outposts were established in the Prado and botanic garden. That night a detachment having driven them in, broke through the wall in several places and established themselves in the palace of Retiro, close to the exterior of the enemy's works, enclosing the building called La China. Next morning, the 13th, we were turned out and assembled on the Prado with scaling ladders ready to attack the works, but they capitulated and were allowed to march out with the honours of war, the officers with their baggage and the soldiers their knapsacks, and surrendered themselves prisoners.

"There was found in the garrison one hundred and eighty nine pieces of brass cannon, nine hundred barrels of gunpowder, twenty-thousand stand of arms, and considerable magazines of clothing, provisions and ammunition, with the eagles of the Thirteenth and Fifty-First Regiments. Having relieved their guards, they marched out at four o'clock in the afternoon, two thousand five hundred and six men, among whom were two colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, twenty-two captains, and thirty-five subalterns."

The Retiro, originally a seventeenth-century royal summer palace, had been converted by Napoleon's instructions into an arsenal, and also fortified to serve as a large citadel and fort for holding down Madrid in case of a Spanish popular rising. The arsenal was packed with artillery equipment and field and siege *matériel*, including hundreds of the guns of the old Royal Spanish army captured all over Spain, and thousands of Spanish army muskets and bayonets, hundreds of barrels of powder and boxes of rounds of ammunition. Joseph had left in the Retiro a garrison of drafts, for the most part recruits for various regiments, apparently proposing to hold the arsenal until, as Joseph hoped, Soult moved up from Andalusia to join him. A counter-attack, King Joseph anticipated, would then retake Madrid.

Wellington moved the three divisions of his force at Madrid between August 16th and 18th to the Escorial, 25 miles north-west of Madrid, leaving the Third Division with the 1st Brigade of the Light Division in garrison for the time being in Madrid itself. The 2nd Brigade of the

Light Division was posted 6 miles to the south of Madrid to support troops of Hill's Estremadura force stationed on the Tagus.

All ranks of the 94th and of the other troops at Madrid had an exceptionally agreeable time during the two and a half months that their stay lasted. The Madrelíños and Madrelíñas vied with each other in showing their appreciation of their deliverers, and in recompensing the "Rubios," the red-coats, for the hardships of war. As guests of the nation, picture galleries, museums, theatres, all places of entertainment, were open to officers and men free of charge. There were public balls twice a week for officers. Seats at bull-fights were also reserved for officers and men, at one of which, as Donaldson notes, "Lord Wellington was present, and sat in a box on the right of the King's box, the royal box being empty." The troops had further a spectacle afforded them, as it chanced, of witnessing a Spanish public execution, the putting to death by the garotte of a notorious scoundrel, a priest, Diego Lopez, one of Joseph's most dangerous secret agents and spies, who had been taken with damning documents on him. "One of their State prisoners who was executed for treason," Donaldson calls him, adding somewhat gruesome details of what he saw on the occasion, as he does also of what he saw at a bull-fight. "The prompt neck-twisting of the Spanish machine," says some one else speaking of Lopez's execution, "seems to have impressed even those most accustomed to the sight of every form of sudden and horrible death." "Never," says Oman, speaking generally of the way the Madrid citizens behaved to the soldiers, "was an army better treated—wine could be had for the asking and at last the men had to be confined to their quarters for many hours a day lest they should be killed by kindness!"

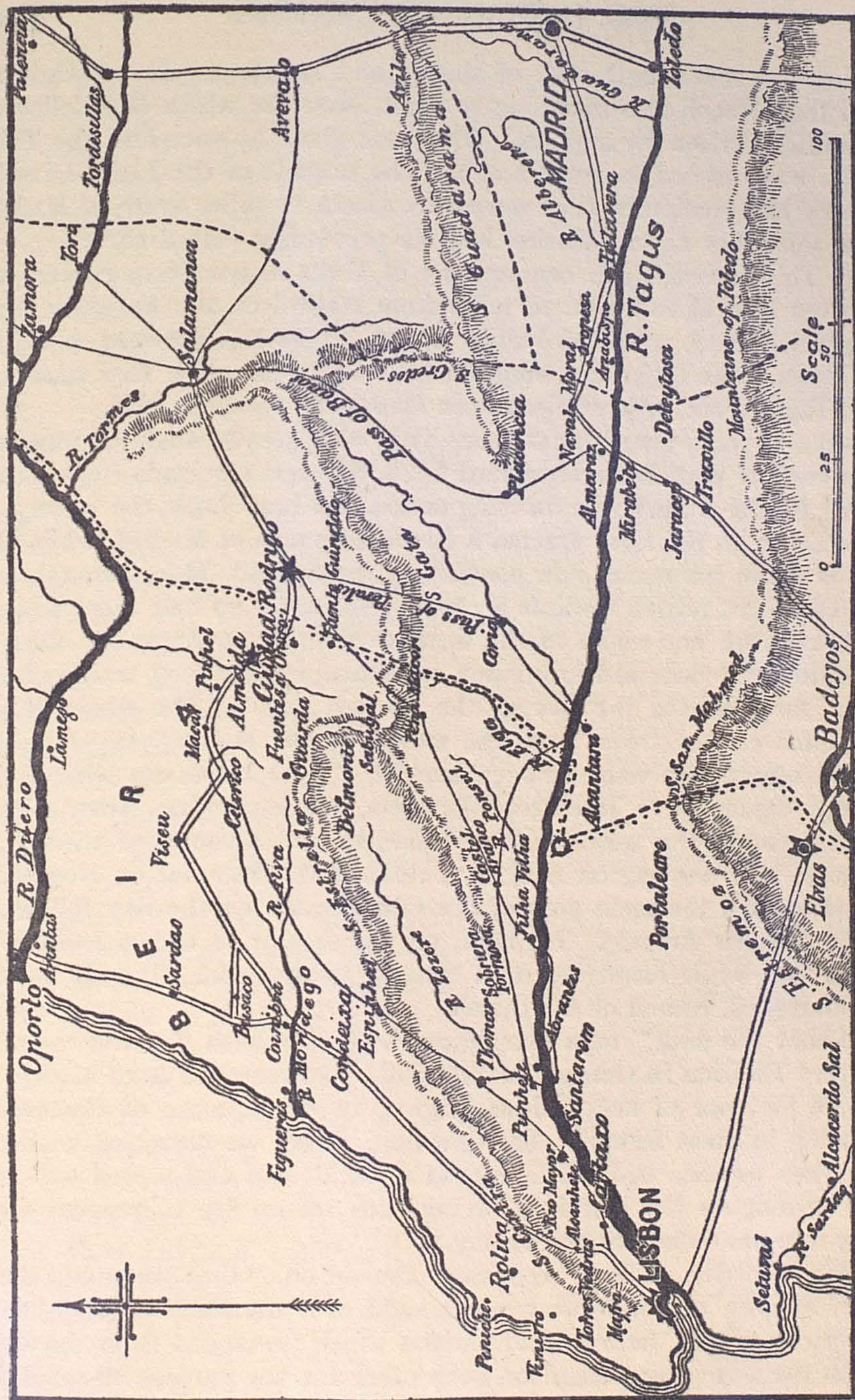
The men were quartered in various monasteries and convents of Madrid, and in tents in the public gardens. The officers were billeted, as one of them relates, in "the most splendid houses and the most richly furnished mansions of the nobility, principally those of the *Afrancesados* who had had to leave Madrid with Joseph." A subaltern, after describing how he had quarters in the house of a Spanish Marquis, adds that on visiting a brother subaltern in another mansion he found him "reposing his limbs on a bed of down, enveloped by white satin curtains edged with long gold bullion, encompassed with mirrors, the whole surmounted by a golden helmet adorned with a noble plume of ostrich feathers." Carlos de España, his *lache* at Alma de Tormes discreetly overlooked by Wellington, was appointed Governor of Madrid at Wellington's suggestion. General Pakenham was lodged, also at Wellington's suggestion, in the Royal Palace when Wellington left for the north, and the Third Division became the main garrison of the capital.

Wellington waited in Madrid for nearly three weeks. His hands were tied until he could learn what Marshal Soult and the "Army of Andalusia" would do in the new position of affairs. If Marshal Soult, as was naturally expected, moved at once on Madrid in the hope of recovering the capital, Wellington was in the right place there to meet him. No definite news of Soult's having actually begun a move could be obtained until the last week of August, by which time intelligence had also reached Wellington that King Joseph and Jourdan had started eastward to unite forces in Valencia with Suchet. That meant that Soult would have to make a long and slow march across Southern Spain before the three enemy armies could combine. The time such a lengthy march must inevitably take gave Wellington an opportunity for a move against Clausel. That officer, although the *morale* of the beaten Salamanca army was still in a very low state and its reorganization still in progress, had begun to show signs of menacing activity on the Douro.

General Hill with the Second Division was at Estremadura observing Soult. Pakenham was at Madrid, prepared to march and support Hill as might be needed, while also various details of troops were within call. Wellington proposed to be away from Madrid for not more than a month. After that period he would return, and, picking up Pakenham and Hill, move against Soult while still on his way to join King Joseph. Suchet, according to the latest intelligence, was likely to be held in check by Maitland's expeditionary force of between 8,000 and 10,000 British troops, which had been sent across from Sicily, in accordance with instructions from Wellington, at the outset of the Salamanca campaign. Maitland's troops had landed and the anxious Suchet had informed both King Joseph and Soult that he dared not stir from the coast of Eastern Spain. Wellington therefore, considering that he had time safely to turn his attention to Clausel and put a stop to his activities, started from Madrid on August 31st, for what was to eventuate as the ill-fated Burgos campaign. Wellington anticipated a quick and straightforward operation, and, unwisely as it proved, took with him insufficient guns for his purpose.

Lieut.-General Charles Alten of the Light Division was left in chief command of the forces in and near Madrid, from south of the Guadarrama range to the Tagus, in touch with Hill in Estremadura.

All continued quiet with the Third Division at Madrid during September and the first three weeks of October. Soult, it was confirmed, was moving back from Andalusia slowly. He had raised his long siege of Cadiz on August 24th, the abandonment of the French lines entailing the wholesale destruction of Soult's immense heavy artillery train. As Soult moved eastward Hill drew in his outlying detachments and fell back



MADRID AND THE TAGUS VALLEY.

to Toledo, 40 miles south-west of Madrid and Aranjuez. It was then reported that Joseph was marching to meet Soult, on which Hill called on the Madrid garrison for support. That was given at once and the Third Division was ordered to move south. The brigade of the Light Division at Madrid had previously been moved to Alcalá, 20 miles south of Madrid, to join the other Light Division brigade previously placed there.

The Third Division, in consequence of Hill's instructions, moved forward from Madrid to Pinto, 12 miles from Madrid on the Aranjuez road, in support of Hill, who had halted on the Tagus line between Aranjuez and Toledo. The Light and Fourth Divisions at the same time hastened to the Tagus from their stations near Madrid to reinforce Hill.

Soult's advance-guard on October 27th with greatly superior numbers was in contact with Hill's rearguard force, Skerrett's brigade from Cadiz. Skerrett fought a stubborn delaying action and beat back the enemy at Puente Larga on the river Jarama a few miles south of Madrid, while Hill with his entire command, now comprising the Second, Third, Fourth and Light Divisions, retired towards Madrid. Hill made no halt there beyond bivouacking for one night to the west of Madrid, at Aravaca. One or two regiments "traversed in column of companies the long walks of the Prado," most skirted the city on the western side. "The whole of the dismounted cannon taken from the enemy in the Retiro," says a Light Division officer who went through Madrid, "were blown up with a tremendous explosion." The Third Division, accompanying Army Headquarters, passed the western side of Madrid and bivouacked with it at Aravaca. Hill, moving on next day, reached the Escorial on November 1st and crossed the main pass of the Guadarrama on the day following, moving towards Arevalo. He then, on the receipt of orders from Wellington, sent while retreating from Burgos, to make for Alba de Tormes and Salamanca, turned off westward.

"About the 24th," says Donaldson, beginning with the first move of the Third Division in October to join Hill, "we marched from Madrid to Pinto, a distance of about three leagues, in consequence of the enemy advancing in great force in that direction. Here we remained until the 30th, when we were ordered to retreat upon Madrid and passed our pontoons burning on the roadside, having been set on fire to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy.

"We supposed at first," continues Donaldson, "that we would again occupy Madrid, but when we came in sight of it the Retiro was in flames and we could hear the report of cannon which proceeded from the brass guns in the fort being turned on each other for the purpose of rendering them useless to the enemy. The stores of provision and clothing which

we had previously taken were also burned and every preparation was made for evacuating the place. The staff officers were galloping about giving directions to the different divisions concerning their route. The inhabitants whom we met on the road were in evident consternation, and everything indicated an unexpected and hurried retreat. Instead therefore of entering the city we passed to the left of it. The enemy's cavalry by this time were close on our rear and before ours had evacuated the town on the one side the French had entered it on the other. We marched about a league past Madrid, when we encamped for the night. Next morning we proceeded on our retreat, nor halted until we reached Salamanca, having the enemy encamped close on our rear every night."

Hill's retreat from Madrid to Alba de Tormes, 12 miles as the crow flies to the south-east of Salamanca, where he had orders to halt, was not pressed or interfered with by the enemy. The march followed the route Escorial, Espinar—Peñaranda—Alba de Tormes. It was a dreary tramp, rain falling heavily every day with a November mist spread over the countryside. The thick weather however balked Soult's light cavalry in trying to keep close on Hill's track, and Hill gained a day's march on the French. At the same time other reasons kept Soult's main body and infantry back. Soult heard a rumour that Wellington had suddenly returned from Burgos and had joined Hill with two divisions. That disquieted the Marshal, who was always nervous when within striking distance of Wellington, and he delayed his main body so as to give Joseph's troops, now known to be nearing after their march from Valencia, time to come up and join him.

General Hill arrived at Alba on November 8th and crossed the Tormes by the town bridge to the left or southern bank, where he halted. A brigade of the Second Division with a Portuguese division were left on the right bank to hold the town with its old Moorish castle, dominating the Tormes bridge. Wellington, on the same day, with his army retreating from Burgos, took up position on the Heights of San Cristobal, north of Salamanca, on almost the same ground that he had occupied five months before against Marmont. The French Army of Portugal, now under Souham, Clausel's successor, which had followed Wellington from Burgos, was then on the Douro, crossing at Tordesillas.

The Third Division, together with the Fourth and Light Divisions and a Portuguese brigade and cavalry, were next ordered to leave Hill's command and join Wellington, taking post on the south side of the Tormes near Calvariza de Abaxo, about five miles east of Salamanca. For the present they were to act as reserve to Wellington's three divisions on the Heights of San Cristobal.

Soult did not come up in force until November 10th by which time Souham had joined. The three French armies of Andalusia (Soult), the Centre (King Joseph), and of Portugal (Souham), in total 95,000 strong, now confronted Wellington, whose force, with Hill's accession included, numbered under 70,000. It was a homogeneous French force against a composite Allied force of British, Portuguese and Spanish. The odds against Wellington were the heavier in that while the French were mostly veteran troops who had seen hard service, from 20,000 to 25,000 men of Wellington's force were Spaniards, troops ill organized and of quite inferior fighting value.

No general action however resulted. The French, after demonstrating at Alba on November 10th, crossed the Tormes on the 14th, and Wellington, thereupon withdrawing his divisions on the Heights of San Cristobal, likewise crossed the river during that afternoon and night. The 94th, with the Third Division, were in the front line at Calvariza de Abaxo, having their light companies well advanced within long cannon range of the enemy.

The French commanders agreed that they had their opportunity of dealing the English a conquering blow, but disagreed how best to strike it. Soult, in supreme command as the senior marshal, was apparently hypnotized by Wellington's presence; but in fact the Allied position was a strong one and well protected. November 15th, furthermore, was a day of driving rain-squalls and thick mist, so that Wellington's dispositions could not be satisfactorily made out.

The enemy made no attack and then began to extend to the west in solid, close columns, with a strong force of massed cavalry heading the move. There was no dislocation of units as on Marmont's ill-fated day. Wellington, to avoid having his retirement to Ciudad Rodrigo intercepted, was compelled during the afternoon to withdraw. Soult, as Fortescue puts it, "shrank from bold action in the presence of Wellington and permitted him to draw off the British Army almost within range of the French guns." Wellington fell back to the line of the Valmusa River, just west of Salamanca, where he bivouacked on the night of the 15th.

Donaldson, speaking of the withdrawal, says this: "The French having taken up nearly the same position they had occupied on the 22nd of July, on the afternoon of the 15th November we turned out of the town, and forming on nearly our old ground expected an immediate engagement. We had been so much harassed in retreating from Madrid in the severe weather that we felt much more inclination to fight than to go farther, but we were disappointed, and after performing some evolutions we filed

off on the road leading to Rodrigo and commenced retreating as night was setting in. I never saw the troops in such a bad humour."

The retirement was made in three columns, each moving by one of three parallel roads which lead from Salamanca to Ciudad Rodrigo. The Third Division went by the southern road, with the Second and Fourth Divisions and some Portuguese; all under Hill's leadership. There was no serious pursuit by the enemy beyond Salamanca, once it was seen that Wellington, by his rapid withdrawal, had foiled the prospects of an attack in co-operation with an outflanking move. The Armies of the Centre and of Portugal now halted and occupied Salamanca. Soult alone with his Army of Andalusia or, as it was now termed, the "Army of the South," went on, notifying to King Joseph that he did not propose to push Wellington farther back than to the line of the Agueda, just beyond Ciudad Rodrigo.

The retreat on November 16th was practically unmolested, except for a small rearguard skirmish with some French light cavalry, who were easily beaten off by the Second Division, acting as rearguard to the southern column. The 16th however was a terrible marching day; the rain came down in torrents and the road lay through morasses of deep sticky mud. The southern road, on which the Third Division marched, an unmade side-track, was particularly bad going. Then, at the midday halt, the news went round the columns that, by some blundering in the Quartermaster-General's department, all the provision carts of the army had taken another road far to the north. "All that the troops got," says Oman, "was the carrion-like meat of over-driven bullocks, hastily slaughtered, and acorns hastily gathered in the oak-woods through which the roads ran."

This is Donaldson's account of that day with the 94th. "Retreating before the enemy at any time was a grievous business, but in such weather it was doubly so: the rain, now pouring down in torrents, drenched us to the skin and the road, composed of a clay soil, stuck to our shoes so fast that they were torn off our feet. The night was dismally dark, the cold wind blew in heavy gusts, and the roads became gradually worse. After marching in this state for several hours, we halted in a field on the roadside and having piled our arms, were allowed to dispose ourselves to rest as we best could. The moon was now up, and wading through the dense masses of clouds she sometimes threw a momentary gleam on the miserable beings who were huddled together in every variety of posture, endeavouring to rest or screen themselves from the cold. Some were lying stretched on the wet ground rolled in still wetter blankets; more, having placed their knapsacks on a stone or their wooden canteens, had seated themselves on them with their blankets wrapped about them, their heads

reclining on their knees and their teeth chattering with cold. Others, more resolute and wise, were walking briskly about. Few words were spoken, and, as if ashamed to complain of the hardships we suffered, execrating the retreat and blaming Lord Wellington for not having sufficient confidence in us to hazard a battle with the enemy under any circumstances were the only topics discussed.

"A considerable time before daylight we were again ordered to fall in and proceeded on our retreat. The rain still continued to fall and the roads were knee deep. Many men got fatigued and were unable to proceed. Some spring-waggon were kept in the rear to bring them up, but the number increased so fast that there was soon no conveyance for them. As we formed the rearguard they soon fell into the hands of the French cavalry, who hung on our rear during the whole retreat. When we came to our halting ground the same accommodation awaited us as on the preceding evening. By some mismanagement the commissary stores had been sent on with the rest of the baggage to Rodrigo and we were without food. The feeling of hunger was very severe. Some beef that had remained with the division was served out to us, but our attempts to kindle fires with wet wood were quite abortive. Sometimes, indeed, we managed to raise a smoke and numbers gathered round in the vain hope of getting themselves warmed, but the fire was extinguished in spite of all their efforts. Our situation was duly distressing; tormented by hunger, wet to the skin, and fatigued in the extreme, our reflections were bitter!"

The march on November 17th was, says Oman, "an even worse day, the rain still continued to fall and stomachs were still more empty than on the preceding morning." The only food that the southern column got that day was from the celebrated raid upon the swine, which so much enraged Wellington. It is told in the *Memoirs of Grattan* of the 88th, as mentioned in Vol. I (p. 105), and is thus related also by Oman. "The main wealth of the peasantry of this forest region lay in their pigs which had been driven into the heart of the woods to hide them from the passing armies. From some unknown cause a stampede broke out in one vast herd of the creatures which ran across the road cutting through the middle of the Third Division. The starving soldiers opened up a lively fusillade upon them and whole battalions broke their ranks and pursued them with the bayonet, cutting up the creatures before they were dead, each man going off with a gory limb or rib. Many officers farther to the rear thought from the firing that the French had cut into the head of the column."

Donaldson, it is rather remarkable, says nothing about the pigs. His account for that day is again unhappy reading and runs as follows: "About the same hour as on the preceding morning we again fell in and marched

off, but the effects of hunger and fatigue were now more visible. A savage sort of desperation had taken possession of our minds and those who had lived on the most friendly terms in happier times now quarrelled with each other, using the most frightful imprecations on the slightest offence. All former feeling of friendship was stifled and a misanthropic spirit took possession of every bosom. The streams which fell from the hills were swelled into rivers which we had to wade. Vast numbers fell out, among whom were officers, who, having been subject to the same privation, were reduced to the most abject misery.

“It was piteous to see some of the men who had dragged their limbs after them with determined spirit until their strength failed, fall down amongst the mud, unable to proceed further, As they were sure of being taken prisoners, if they escaped being trampled to death by the enemy's cavalry, the despairing farewell look that the poor fellows gave us when they saw us pass on would have pierced our hearts at any other time; but our feelings were steeled and so helpless had we become that we had no power to assist, even had we felt the inclination to do so.

“On this night the rain had somewhat abated, but the cold was excessive and numbers who had resisted the effects of the hunger and fatigue with a hardy spirit were now obliged to give way to its overpowering influence and sunk to the ground, praying for death to relieve them from their misery. Some prayed not in vain. Next morning before daylight in passing from our halting ground to the road we stumbled over several who had died during the night. Inadvertently I set my foot on one of them and stooped down to ascertain whether the individual was really dead. I shall never forget the sickening thrill that went to my heart when my hand came in contact with his cold and clammy face. On this day our hearts seemed to have wholly failed us: to speak was a burden and the most helpless weakness pervaded every individual. We had now arrived at that pitch of misery which levels all distinction of rank, and I believe no order would have been obeyed unless that which was prompted by regard to the common safety.”

The Seventh and Light Divisions of the column on the centre road were attacked by the French with both cavalry and infantry on the evening of the 17th at the village of San Muñoz on the small River Huebra. They kept the enemy back but no attack was made on the southern road column, holding the line of the Huebra 5 to 7 miles higher up stream.

Soult's half-hearted pursuit ceased on the 18th and next morning the marshal gave up and turned back. The British continued their retreat, now untroubled by the enemy, for another day of starvation and in rather less rain than on the two previous days. “This day,” relates Donaldson,

"we halted sooner than usual, and the weather being clearer we got fires kindled. Still no rations, but we were encamped among oak trees, and greedily devoured the acorns which grew upon them, although nauseous in the extreme. The officer commanding the brigade and our colonel (Lloyd) joined in the repast. In many respects the officers were in a worse situation than the men, not having anything to change themselves, as their baggage had been sent on before us.

"If anything could have given us comfort in our miserable situation it was having a kind and sympathizing commanding officer. He made many of the weakly men throw away their knapsacks and by every means in his power he endeavoured to infuse comfort and courage into their sinking hearts, braving every difficulty in common with the meanest individual and even rejecting the superior accommodation which his rank afforded when he saw the men suffering. It was in a situation like this where true greatness of mind could be displayed, and there must have been something innately great and noble in the mind which could thus rise superior even to nature. In my opinion, a much greater degree of real courage was necessary to brave the horrors of this retreat than to face the fire of a battery.

"During the night our situation was worse than in the day, for there was then nothing to divert our attention from our wretched state, and, although we despaired of ever seeing it, we felt that indescribable longing after home which every one must have felt in the same situation. It will be needless to detail our next day's sufferings: they were of the same nature as the preceding, only more aggravated.

"We were now drawing near Rodrigo, where our baggage had been ordered. Each day our hopes had been kept alive in the expectation that we would find provision at our halting-place but we were deceived."

On the evening of November 19th a few miles march brought the columns within a short distance of Ciudad Rodrigo, and then at long last the men again received rations. The provision column had by now been brought round from off the distant northern road and food was sent forward at once.

"About dusk," says Donaldson again, "we took up our ground on the face of a hill near Rodrigo and the weather changing to a severe frost was intensely cold. We had not been long halted when the well-known summons of 'Turn out for biscuit,' rung in our ears. The whole camp was soon in a bustle and, some of the strongest having gone for it, they received two days' rations for each man. It was customary to divide it but on this night it was dispensed with and each eagerly seizing on what he could get endeavoured to allay the dreadful gnawing which had tormented

us during four days of unexampled cold and fatigue. In a short time two rations more were delivered, and the inordinate eating that ensued threatened to do more mischief than the former want. We went into quarters next day when many who had borne up during the retreat now fell sick and were sent to the hospital."

The retreat ended at nightfall on November 19th and next day the army was distributed in quarters in the vicinity of Ciudad Rodrigo, where the troops remained until November 27th. Wellington had by then received definite intelligence that Soult had retired to Avila and was scattering his battalions into winter quarters. Wellington learned also that King Joseph and Jourdan were on the march back to Madrid and that the "Army of Portugal" was on its way to cantonments at Toro and Valladolid. The British divisions were thereupon moved back and distributed into winter quarters. The Third Division with five other divisions was stationed in the Portuguese province of Beira, at some distance from the frontier, the 94th finding quarters in the village of Fonte Arcada.

Lieut.-Colonel Campbell gave up the charge of the Left Brigade of the Third Division in November after the taking up of winter quarters, Major-General Colville having returned to the Brigade. Lieut.-Colonel Campbell then reverted to his command of the 94th, which for the past twelve months had been under Major Lloyd. General Colville had come back from sick leave in England completely recovered from a wound received at Badajoz which had necessitated his giving up his temporary command of the Fourth Division. Major-General Pakenham however had still the Third Division, for Picton was recuperating at Cheltenham and was not due back for another six months.* In January Lieut.-Colonel Campbell again quitted the regiment and took over charge of the Brigade once more, as Pakenham had been moved to the substantive command of the Sixth Division and Colville to the charge of the Third Division until Picton came out. Lieut.-Colonel Campbell had a larger brigade than before under his orders, four battalions. They were the 1/5th, 2/83rd, 2/87th—which latter battalion, under their fiery chief, Lieut.-Colonel Hugh Gough, had just joined from Cadiz full of pride as the "Aiglers" of Barrosa—and the 94th. During 1812 the 2/5th had been absorbed into their 1st Battalion, and the 77th, decimated at Badajoz, had been sent down to Lisbon. Major Lloyd, now Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, resumed command of the 94th on Lieut.-Colonel Campbell resuming charge of the Brigade.

* "Picton," says Fortescue, "had apparently no great wish to leave England; but having been invested with the red riband by the Prince Regent on the 1st of February, he was so much pleased that on the very next day he went to the Horse Guards to say that he was prepared to go back to the Front immediately." His offer was accepted, and he sailed for Lisbon in the same ship with General Graham and Brisbane who had also been on sick leave in England.

1813

The 94th remained at Fonte Arcada for upwards of six months, until the beginning of May 1813, during the long pause from active hostilities that preceded the opening of the Vittoria campaign.* Wellington in the interval was busily employed, in virtue of his appointment as Generalissimo of the Spanish national forces, in organizing and co-ordinating the operations which he designed for the various Spanish provincial armies, so that they might afford him assistance when the forthcoming advance began. Tents made their first appearance for the British Army in Spain during the spring of 1813, and, no less important, tin camp-kettles. These were of a size to be easily carried by the men on the top of their knapsacks and had come from England to replace the ponderous cooking pots of thick iron, hitherto in use, four to each company, carried on mules. "They had always been a nuisance," says Oman, "partly because the mules could never be relied on to keep up with the unit, partly because their capacity was so large that it took much firewood and a long space of time to cook their contents." As an officer of another division wrote: "It sometimes took a tree or half a church door to partly warm up the kettle, and we often had to move on before the meat was half cooked!" † There were also, during the first six months of 1813 while the army was marking time, other alterations in battalion-economy matters, also the notable uniform change of the introduction of a shako for officers, similar to that worn by the men, in place of cocked hat hitherto worn, "which had made them easy marks for the enemy snipers."

Donaldson describes Fonte Arcada, the quarters of the 94th, as a village "situated on the face of a hill which forms one of an extensive range: at its foot ran one of the tributary streams of the Douro, meandering through a fertile and tolerably well-cultivated valley. After we had cleaned it (which we had to do with every Portuguese village before we could inhabit

* An Official Return quoted in Wellington's Despatches, Vol. VI, p. 523, gives the strength of the 94th in January 1813 as follows:

Effective strength	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	342
Sick	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	216
On passage	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11
											—
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	569
Wanting to complete	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	239
											—
Establishment	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	808

† The camp-kettles to be carried by the men had been formerly advocated by Crauford, but the idea was rejected. Now the mules, instead of the iron kettles, were to carry tents. Also greatcoats were taken from the men, "the Principal Medical Officer having decided that the relief in the weight to be borne would more than compensate for any mischief from cold."—*Fortescue* IX, pp. 100-1.

it) we felt ourselves very comfortable and soon forgot our former fatigue, which we did the readier that we had a commanding officer who interested himself warmly in our welfare."

"No eulogium," continues Donaldson, characterizing Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd, "can convey an idea of his merits as a man and a soldier, but it is deeply engraven on the hearts of those who served under him. So harmoniously did he blend the qualities of a brave, active, intelligent officer with those of the gentleman and the scholar that the combination fascinated all ranks. His exterior corresponded with his mind: he was somewhat above the middle size, and to a face and head cast in the true Roman mould was joined an elegant and manly body. His system of discipline was not coercive, he endeavoured to encourage, not to terrify: if there was a single spark of pride or honour in the bosom of a man, he would fan it to a flame. His aim was to prevent crime rather than to punish it, and he rarely resorted to corporal punishment. When he did so it was only in the case of hardened ill-doers with whom no lenient measures would succeed. Even then he never punished to the tenth part of the sentence awarded, and if the culprit sued for pardon, promising not to be guilty again, he would say 'I take you at your word, and forgive you, but remember your promise!'

"The men's interests formed his chief study, and the complaint of the meanest individual was heard and investigated with the strictest impartiality, without respect to persons. By the measures he took he made every individual interested in his own honour and that of the regiment, and I believe that every man in it loved and honoured him. So successful were his efforts that he brought the regiment into a state of order, cleanliness and discipline, which could never have been attained by any other means. He was always the first in danger and the last out of it; and in camp, he went later to rest and was sooner up than the meanest individual composing his corps.

"He was a native of Ireland (Limerick, I believe), and a striking corroboration of the general remark, that where an Irishman is a gentleman, he is one in the most extensive meaning of the word. Unfettered by cold, calculating selfishness, his noble heart and soul was seen in everything he did: such was Colonel Lloyd." Such a man was Lieut.-Colonel Campbell's second-in-command, who took over command of the 94th when Colonel Campbell commanded the Brigade. Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd's heroic death in action at the head of the 94th will be told in due course.

CHAPTER LII

THE PENINSULAR WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1813. WELLINGTON'S PLAN TO EXPEL THE FRENCH FROM SPAIN. CONCENTRATION BEHIND THE PORTUGUESE FRONTIER. WITH GRAHAM'S CORPS. TRYING MARCHES. BURGOS CASTLE BLOWN UP. LIEUT.-COLONEL LLOYD AND THE REGIMENT. THE ADVANCE TO VITTORIA. PICTON'S IMPATIENCE. THE 94th IN ACTION WITH THE THIRD DIVISION. FINAL ROUT OF THE FRENCH.

DURING January and February 1813 Wellington heard by official letters from England of Napoleon's disastrous Moscow retreat. In March he learnt further that numerous French battalions were being recalled from Spain for Napoleon's new army in Germany. On that he learned that the pick of the French veterans in the regiments remaining in Spain were also being withdrawn, while their places were being taken by raw, half-trained conscripts. The armies facing him, although they still greatly outnumbered him, were thus enormously weakened, and they could hope for no reinforcements. That meant everything to the 1813 plan of campaign.

Wellington's proposed operations for the coming summer, designed to commence early in May and planned in view of the new situation, aimed at nothing short of the complete expulsion of the French from Spain.

The French line at that time stretched across practically the centre of Spain, from Toro on the Douro to Toledo on the Tagus. The enemy were convinced that the main attack of 1813 would be directed southward against their left, towards Madrid and the Tagus. Special attention for that reason was paid to strengthening the Douro sector, so as to threaten Wellington's flank on that side when he made his advance.

Wellington's intention, however, was otherwise. In planning the 1813 Campaign, Wellington aimed, in the words of Sir Charles Oman, "not at local successes in Castile or at recovering Madrid, but at driving the French right up to the Pyrenees."

Wellington's plan was to force back the French right flank, turning it by a series of outflanking movements, and then to advance in full force eastward and north-eastward, directly against the enemy's main line of

communications with France. He proposed as the opening phase to mass six divisions as the "Left," or northern wing, under Graham, the victor of Barrosa, who had just returned from sick leave in England, and three divisions as the "Right" under Hill. Graham was to concentrate well behind the Portuguese frontier and cross the Douro in Tras os Montes, beyond enemy observation. Hill, coming from further south, was to concentrate on the Agueda line behind Ciudad Rodrigo, where Wellington with an intermediate smaller force would join Hill. Graham would then press eastward to the river Esla, while Hill, with Wellington, crossing the Tormes at Salamanca and forcing the passage if opposed, pushed north to pass the Douro at Toro and to unite with Graham beyond the western extremity of the line of French Douro defences. The scheme worked out exactly as planned. The French, as Wellington expected, fixed their attention on Hill. They looked for him to strike south-east after reaching Salamanca. Instead he turned off north before the enemy realized the situation. Of Graham's move they knew nothing at all until too late.

The 94th, with the Third Division, were attached to Graham's force, until the Left and Right wings had united. The 94th, with the other battalions of the Third Division, received orders to concentrate at Moimento in Tras os Montes, close to the Douro. The Third Division was still under Colville. Picton, who was hastening up from Lisbon, had not yet arrived. The Third Division moved on May 16th with Picton by then at its head, crossed the Douro at St. Joao de Pesquiera, and marching 15 miles a day proceeded by Villafior and Vinhas to Vimiosa, on the border of Tras os Montes and the Spanish province of Leon, midway between Braganza and Miranda de Douro. At Vimiosa the Third Division halted from May 18th to the 24th so as to give time for other divisions of Graham's force, who had further to march, to join company.

The 94th moved on May 26th with the centre column of Graham's force and crossed the frontier between Portugal and Spain on the 27th, reaching the Esla on May 28th. The Third Division halted there, at Losilla and Carvajales, until Graham's other divisions joined. It was perfect weather, rations were plentiful and came up to time, while the troops, realizing that Wellington had the game in his hands, were in high spirits and full of confidence. Wellington joined Graham at Carvajales on May 30th. He galloped over with his staff from Salamanca and crossed the Douro at Miranda, slung in a basket working with a travelling rope arrangement on a cable stretched across the river, which was otherwise impassable at that point. Moving forward along the Douro to Toro, Hill's force joined Graham and on that the whole army was successfully concentrated on the flank of the French Douro defence line. Wellington had

80,000 of all arms at disposal, including the Spanish Galician army, which lay halted within 20 miles of him.

A redistribution of the divisions now took place, the army, not counting the Spaniards, being grouped in three main columns; a formation that continued throughout the campaign until the Pyrenees were reached. The "Left" or northern column, under Graham, was reduced to two divisions, the First and Fifth. The "Head-Quarters Column," as the new central force, taken charge of by Wellington himself, was termed, comprised four divisions, the Third, Fourth, Sixth and Seventh. The Right, or southern column, under Hill, comprised the Second and Light Divisions, a Portuguese division and Spanish troops.

Already Wellington was contemplating his master move of shifting forward his sea-base of operations from the Tagus to the north coast of Spain. From Toro he wrote directing that all supply vessels should assemble at Corunna instead of at Lisbon. There they were to await his instructions and then proceed to Santander on the northern coast of Spain, which port a naval squadron was sent to occupy and secure forthwith. The great flank march of the three columns then proceeded.

It was at this moment, when the marching columns were leaving Toro that the French first seriously took alarm. The news that Wellington was across the Douro caused general consternation. Madrid was hastily evacuated on June 2nd and a general rush north towards Valladolid and Burgos of all the widespread French forces ensued, to try and bar Wellington's way eastward at once. The few French troops immediately in front of Wellington retreated precipitately. Only Suchet's army on the Mediterranean side of Spain did not move. It was held fast by the presence on the coast of the Anglo-Sicilian expeditionary force, now in charge of Sir John Murray, who was under Wellington's instructions.

The 94th, with the Third Division, on May 29th, in honour of the restoration of Charles II, observed in Great Britain as a festival at that time, "in common with the whole army decorated their caps with oak leaves." The Division attempted to ford the Esla on May 31st but found the river too deep and the current too strong. They crossed next day by a pontoon bridge. French cavalry vedettes watched the crossing and then hastily fell back. The advance then continued, the marches starting at 4 a.m. each day.

Wellington on leaving Toro on June 4th expected to be opposed before he reached Valladolid by the former French Army of the South, now under General Gazan, a capable and energetic officer, who had replaced Soult on that marshal's recall to France some time before. There were however no signs of resistance in that neighbourhood, and Wellington pushed past.

The 94th and Third Division with Wellington and the Head-Quarters Column, proceeding by La Mota, Castromonte and Ampuda, passed north of Valladolid on the 6th. The march, though rapid, was easy-going. The battalion was now crossing the Plains of Leon: open level country, mostly cornfields, along good roads and with cool and fair weather, except for an occasional thunderstorm.

No enemy opposition was encountered as far as the Head-Quarters Column in the centre of the advance was concerned, and hardly a shot was fired by the 94th throughout the series of marches—not indeed until the actual day of the Battle of Vittoria on June 21st. Whenever the French attempted, or seemed inclined to attempt, a stand the consistent outflanking moves of Graham's northern column compelled their speedy retirement. Although the enemy were rapidly increasing in numbers in front of Wellington, every successive natural line of defence, on the Rio Seco, on the Carrion, on the Pisuerga, on the Arlanzon, was abandoned in turn. It was a royal progress for the battalions. "At all the small towns and villages passed through in our advance beyond the Douro and across the Carrion and Pisuerga," writes an officer, "the inhabitants turned out to welcome the British, ringing the church bells, firing every old musket they had in the air, beating tambourines and singing, dancing fandangos and chanting the national anthem. They brought out wine for the troops and offered what food they had—although sometimes keeping their grain stores hidden until the wily commissariat officers, rummaging everywhere, in cellars, caves, and church towers, set to work and got hold of these."

Colville's Brigade passed Palencia on June 6th. King Joseph had had his head-quarters there only on the previous day. Going on again within a few hours, they halted at Amusco on June 8th and 9th.

The army was now within 40 miles of Burgos, where a general engagement was considered certain. The French main force, the Armies of the Centre and South, had halted at Burgos on June 9th. They were taking up a closely concentrated line north and south of the city, with the "Army of Portugal" under Reille on the line of the river Hormaza, some 10 miles in advance to the west, in the direction of Wellington's approach. Wellington, between June 10th and 12th, closed up his forces to the front, the Head-Quarters Column moving up to Melgar and on to Castrogeriz, rather more than 20 miles due west of Burgos. Graham's column, meanwhile, moving northward, outflanked the enemy's position and rendered it untenable. Finding also that the fortress of Burgos itself, as yet only partly repaired since Wellington's siege in the previous October, was in no state to offer resistance, King Joseph, on the advice of Marshal Jourdan, the Chief of Staff to King Joseph, ordered a further retreat westward. The French,

blowing up the Castle of Burgos with loss of life to one of the retiring columns owing to faulty arrangements in the timing of the explosion, now fell back. From near Castrogeriz the 94th saw the huge flash as the Castle magazine went up and heard the crash of the explosion. Wellington received intelligence at Castrogeriz on June 13th of the enemy's retirement from Burgos. He at once ordered the resumption of the advance, with the Ebro line as the next objective. He proposed to turn that barrier, as he had turned the Douro and the Burgos positions, by crossing the river higher up to the north-east, in order to outflank the enemy before they had settled in their position. The French were making for the region round Miranda de Ebro, where they hoped their new line would prove impregnable.

Wellington's decision was to prove vital for the fate of Napoleon. "When I heard and saw the (Burgos) explosion," described Wellington long afterwards, "I was within a few miles and the effect was tremendous, I made a sudden resolution forthwith; to cross the Ebro instanter and to endeavour to push the French to the Pyrenees. . . . That evening, or the very next morning, I crossed the river and pushed the French till I afterwards beat them at Vittoria. And lucky it was that I did. The battle of Vittoria induced the Allies to denounce the Armistice; then followed Leipsic and all the rest."

The 94th, with the Head-Quarters Column, left Castrogeriz on June 12th, and then turned nearly due north for Villadiego. All three columns, Graham's, Wellington's, and Hill's, were now heading north, hustling forward at full speed, making long and hard marches over mountain tracks and apparently impassable ground. They were entirely unopposed. The enemy believed it impossible that any troops could traverse that part of the country, and knew nothing of the movement until Wellington's whole army was over the Ebro. The 94th covered four long Spanish leagues on three successive days, June 13th, 14th and 15th, taking their route by way of Masa and Puente Arenas, where, at the Bridge of San Martin, they crossed the Ebro with the Head-Quarters Column.

"The retreat of the French," says Donaldson, summarizing the doings of those days, "had been so rapid during this time that our marches were often very severe, which, together with the heat of the weather, and occasional scarcity of water, caused many to get fatigued and unable to keep up with their regiment. Here again," continues Donaldson, "the conduct of Colonel Lloyd was remarkable. By every means in his power he encouraged and assisted those who were weakly, taking their knapsacks from them, and carrying them on his own horse: sometimes having half a dozen on it, and a man sitting above all, while he walked on foot at the head of his regiment, in the most difficult parts of the road, at the same time also

inducing the other officers to follow his example. Often when he saw an individual failing through want of strength, he has taken off his liquor flask and given it to the poor fellow to drink, saying, 'Don't let your spirits down, my man : you will soon get strength, and be able to keep up with the best of them ; none of them shall have to say that you fell to the rear ! ' "

Donaldson goes on to say this, speaking of the commanding officer of the 94th. " When he came into camp he was never a moment idle, either reconnoitering the enemy's position, or drawing charts of the roads, &c. He scarcely allowed himself to rest, and was always up an hour or two before the bugle sounded : but he would never allow the men to be disturbed before the proper time. ' No,' said he, ' let the poor fellows get all the rest they can.' But then he expected them to be alert : officers and men, without distinction, were obliged to be in their respective places at once without delay ; all his motions were double-quick—and he detested nothing so much as laziness."

One of the interesting details about Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd which Donaldson relates is that he made it a practice to encourage the celebration of the anniversaries of the actions in which the 94th had taken part by having extra " spreads " in celebration of the events provided for the men, towards the cost of which he and other officers contributed liberally.

Donaldson also tells a story of Picton's grim sense of humour. " On this advance a man belonging to one of the regiments of the brigade, who was remarkable for his mean pilfering disposition, had on some pretence lingered behind his regiment when they marched out to the assembling ground and was prowling about from one house to another in search of plunder. General Picton, who was passing through, happened to cast his eye upon him and called out, ' What are you doing there, sir ? why are you behind your regiment ? ' The man, who did not expect to see the general in the village, had not an answer very ready, but he stammered out an excuse, saying, ' I came back to the house where I was quartered to look for my gallowses ' (braces). ' Aye, I see how it is,' replied the General : ' Get along, sir, to your division, and take my advice :—always keep the word gallows in your mind ! ' "

From the Ebro the advance of the Head-Quarters Column pressed forward along the high road, running 20 miles north of the river, leading by Medina de Pomar to Osma and Orduna, and then on to Vittoria. The whole army followed that route, with occasional diversions by side tracks to keep the way clear as much as possible for the guns and wheeled vehicles. Graham was in advance, then came the Centre Column headed by the Third Division, then Hill with artillery and transport. The marches were long and trying at the fast pace at which they were carried out. At

Osma the Head-Quarters Column, instead of turning north towards Orduna, took the south-eastern road by Espeja and Carcamo. Espeja, reached on June 18th, was little more than 20 miles from Vittoria.

"We crossed the Ebro," writes Colonel Hugh Gough of the 87th (the battalion marching next in column to the 94th), "at San Martin on the 15th and have been making long and distressing marches ever since through the boldest, most mountainous and romantic country that I have ever beheld. We have lately been badly off for bread but our general (Picton) has been indefatigable in his exertions. . . . The feeling of confidence is general. I am sanguine that this will be the most brilliant campaign for the Grand Lord (i.e. Wellington) that he has ever attempted."

The French, compelled hastily to abandon the line of the Ebro on discovering that Wellington had crossed the river up-stream, were falling back from Miranda, where they had taken up position, by the Puebla Pass on Vittoria. The retirement was covered by Reille with 15,000 men, formed as rearguard along the line of the river Bayas, about midway between the British advanced troops of the Head-Quarters' and Hill's columns and Vittoria. The French main army on June 19th withdrew behind the line of the river Zadorra in the immediate vicinity of Vittoria, whereupon Reille, threatened with an attack by the British Fourth and Light Divisions supported by Hill's column, also withdrew across the Zadorra.

Wellington meanwhile was occupied in closing up his somewhat straggling rear. He had at the same time to wait until Graham's column, which, through an error in staff work, had taken a wrong road after passing the Ebro, could join hands. The weather during the past two days had broken and become very bad—"continuous unbearable cold and rain—the sun only visible at intervals," as one writer describes.

Wellington, who was now in camp in the valley of the Bayas with the greater part of his Head-Quarters Column, was employed during June 20th in arrangements for a general action next day and in reconnoitring the line by which the two flanking columns under Graham and Hill were to make their attack. The 94th, with the Third Division, were to form part of the main frontal attack on the centre of the enemy's position. On the 20th they were camped by the village of Zuazo in the Bayas Valley. General Graham and the Left Column took post during the day about 8 miles to the north of the Head-Quarters Column: General Hill's troops were halted about the same distance to the south near the village of Pobes. Wellington had at hand ready for action, upwards of 75,000 men, of which just under 40,000 were British. The French had on the spot from 57,000 to 60,000, all nationals. The enemy were short of six divisions. Three of Foy's command were scattered in Biscay to the north, too far off to reach

Vittoria : three under Clausel, coming up from Aragon to the south-east as rapidly as they could move, were still two days' marches distant. The French were hoping that Clausel at least might arrive in time for the action, They did not expect also to be attacked on June 21st. Marshal Jourdan was confined to bed with a feverish cold during June 20th, and King Joseph did nothing in the way of reconnoitring towards the British until early on the day of the battle next morning, when Jourdan was able to ride with him. When the two started out at six a.m., they still had no idea that Wellington was about to attack. It was only whilst they were out that they learnt that the British had struck camp in the Bayas Valley and were advancing in order of battle.

Wellington's plan of attack, in brief outline, was this. Graham, with two divisions, two Portuguese brigades, Spanish infantry, and cavalry, 20,000 men in all, was to work round on the left and to cut the French line of retreat by the high road to Bayonne. At the same time he was to attack the enemy's right wing, in touch with the main frontal attack delivered by the Head-Quarters Column on the enemy's centre. That central attack was to be delivered by two columns of 30,000 men. The left-hand column, the nearest to Graham, was composed of the Seventh Division under Lord Dalhousie, with Picton's Third Division, the two brigades of which included, in Brisbane's, the 1st Battalion 88th, Connaught Rangers, in Colville's, the 94th. Meanwhile, away on the British right, Hill, with the Second Division, at a strength of three British brigades, a Portuguese brigade, three cavalry brigades and Morello's Spaniards, 20,000 men, was to drive in the French right. Hill's attack was to be the opening move of all, timed to commence at 8 a.m.

The *terrain* of the battle, the plain of Vittoria, of which Oman gives a detailed description, was an oval expanse of rolling ground, in length about 12 miles from north-east to south-west, and in breadth from 6 to 8 miles. Lofty hills surrounded the battlefield. The narrow, rapid-flowing mountain stream, the River Zadorra, ran in a series of curves and bends along its north-eastern side. Several bridges crossed the Zadorra, none of which, by a piece of strange neglect by the French, had been destroyed. In addition, at certain shallow stretches the Zadorra was fordable. The small city of Vittoria stood at the northern end of the open expanse, on a slight eminence with flat ground all round, in full sight from all parts of the battlefield. Three miles north-east of Vittoria the royal high road, or *Chaussée*, from Bayonne to Madrid crossed the plain and river, and the battlefield was further traversed by four or five carriage roads and numerous tracks, crossing the plain between villages all over the district.

Reveille sounded at daybreak on June 21st, and the 94th, with their

comrades of Colville's Brigade and the rest of the Third Division, started as the sun rose, from Zuazo and Anda, villages in the Bayas Valley. They had a stiff climb up by a village track and over the intervening Monte Arroyo, a steep and difficult mountain upland. Then crossing into the Zadorra valley by the appointed hour, 8 a.m., were at their forward position or "jumping off" point, at Las Guetas village, opposite the bridge of Mendoza. As they arrived they heard the guns of Hill's corps beginning to open. The enemy's positions and the city of Vittoria were in full view where the 94th halted. The Third Division was to work with the Seventh Division, under Lord Dalhousie, an officer a very little senior to Picton, who was in command of the Seventh Division.

It was a most unfortunate arrangement, for Lord Dalhousie, in addition to being not very expert as a leader, was as Oman puts it, a "fussy and occasionally disobedient officer." He had indeed been only a short time in the Peninsula and his previous war service had been as a Brigadier in the Walcheren Expedition, in which there was next to no fighting. "Being as Lieutenant-General slightly senior to Picton (though they had been gazetted major-generals on the same day in 1808) he was entitled to take the command over the head of the war-worn and experienced leader of the Third Division."

The orders to Dalhousie, and also to Picton, were to wait until Hill's attack, to their right, had developed and reached a certain point, whereupon the two divisions were to attack together at once. Hill's objective was reached at eleven o'clock, but Dalhousie had not yet arrived. Picton was not to move without the Seventh Division, of which only one brigade was up. Lord Dalhousie, says Oman, refused to advance farther than the edge of the hills, apparently using his discretion in interpreting the orders given him "to regulate his action from what was going on to his right, and only to move when it should be 'evidently necessary' to favour the progress of the columns in that direction." His two rear brigades had also been delayed by a breakdown of the divisional battery on the steep hill-side descent in rear. In the circumstances Dalhousie "used his discretion to wait for formal orders from Head-Quarters and to do nothing."

What Picton did as the progress of Hill's push forward became more and more evident every moment and midday was long past, is related by Oman (Vol. VI, pp. 410-11) in these words.

"We have an interesting picture of him on that morning from eye-witnesses. He was a strange figure—suffering from inflammation of the eyes, he had put on not his cocked hat but a broad-brimmed and tall civilian top-hat, the same that may be seen to-day in the United Service Museum. During the struggle on the right the centre was inactive. General Picton

was impatient, he inquired of every aide-de-camp whether they had any orders for him. As the day wore on, and the fight waxed louder on the right, he became furious, and observed to the communicator of these particulars, 'D—n it! Lord Wellington must have forgotten us.' It was near noon, and the men were getting discontented. Picton's blood was boiling, his stick was beating with rapid strokes upon the mane of his cob. He rode backward and forward looking in every direction for the arrival of an aide-de-camp, until at last one galloped up from Lord Wellington. He was looking for Lord Dalhousie—the 7th Division had not yet arrived, having to move over difficult ground. The aide-de-camp checked his horse, and asked the general whether he had seen Lord Dalhousie. Picton was disappointed: he had expected that he might at least move now, and in a voice which did not gain softness from his feelings, answered in a sharp tone, 'No, Sir: I have not seen his Lordship, but have you any orders for me.' 'None,' replied the aide-de-camp. 'Then, pray, Sir, what are the orders that you do bring?' 'Why,' answered the officer, 'that as soon as Lord Dalhousie shall commence an attack on that bridge,' pointing to the one on the left (Mendoza), 'the 4th and Light are to support him.' Picton could not understand the idea of any other division fighting in his front, and drawing himself up to his full height said to the astonished aide-de-camp, 'You may tell Lord Wellington from me, Sir, that the 3rd Division, under my command, shall in less than ten minutes attack that bridge and carry it, and the 4th and Light may support if they choose.' Having thus expressed his intention, he turned from the aide-de-camp and put himself at the head of his men, who were quickly in motion toward the bridge, encouraging them with the bland appellation of 'Come on, ye rascals! Come on, ye fighting villains!'"

Instantly the Third Division threw itself into the fight, all cheering as they went forward, and "shooting," as an eye-witness described, "like a meteor across the front of the still halted column-head of the Seventh Division." Brisbane's Brigade and the 88th made for the Mendoza bridge and crossed the Zadorra there. Colville's Brigade with the 94th raced along the river bank and forded the Zadorra, 300 yards up-stream. Both brigades passed over with little opposition, there being only a weak French cavalry brigade opposite.

Picton then re-formed his two brigades with Power's Portuguese brigade on the far side of the Zadorra, across which he was now followed by the one brigade of the Seventh Division.

The whole force next struck across the short intervening slope of open ground, in a north-easterly direction. They made for the nearest French, Leval's Division, in position a short way off in front of the villages of Arinez

and Margarita. Brisbane's Brigade, with Kempt's Brigade of the Light Division in support, attacked on the side of Arinez and after fierce bayonet-work, in which the 88th were prominent, broke through. Colville made towards Margarita village a little farther off, where the French Division of Darmagnac pushed up hastily to stop them and link with Leval. The contest for Margarita was severe and prolonged, for the French resisted Colville stubbornly, and were helped by a German brigade of the Confederation of the Rhine in the French Service, then occupying the neighbouring village of La Hermandad. "Colville's were left unsupported and suffered considerably in holding its own against D'Erlon's whole force. Dalhousie was not up to support, although a little later his second brigade arrived on Colville's right, with Power's Portuguese Brigade on its own right." "Colville," says Oman, "was held in check, suffered heavily and could not get forward. But after half an hour's deadly fighting the enemy gave way, not only because of the frontal pressure but because the troops on his left (Leval's Division of the Army of the South) had been defeated by Picton, thereby exposing the flank of Darmagnac's line."

Margarita was now finally stormed and taken, Dalhousie's second brigade, with some skirmishers of the 5/60th and the 52nd Light Infantry of the Light Division assisting in the closing push. The 94th and 87th then rushed La Hermandad together, driving the Germans out, as D'Erlon fell back to a second position between the villages of Zuazo de Alava and Crispijana.

Colville's Brigade after that was withdrawn into second line for a short space, being relieved in the front line by Grant's Brigade of the Seventh Division. Colville had himself been slightly wounded and Lieut.-Colonel Campbell of the 94th severely wounded. Colville's Brigade in the two attacks, out of 2,200 on the muster rolls, had lost in casualties 33 Officers and 515 Other Ranks; upwards of 25 per cent. of its total strength.

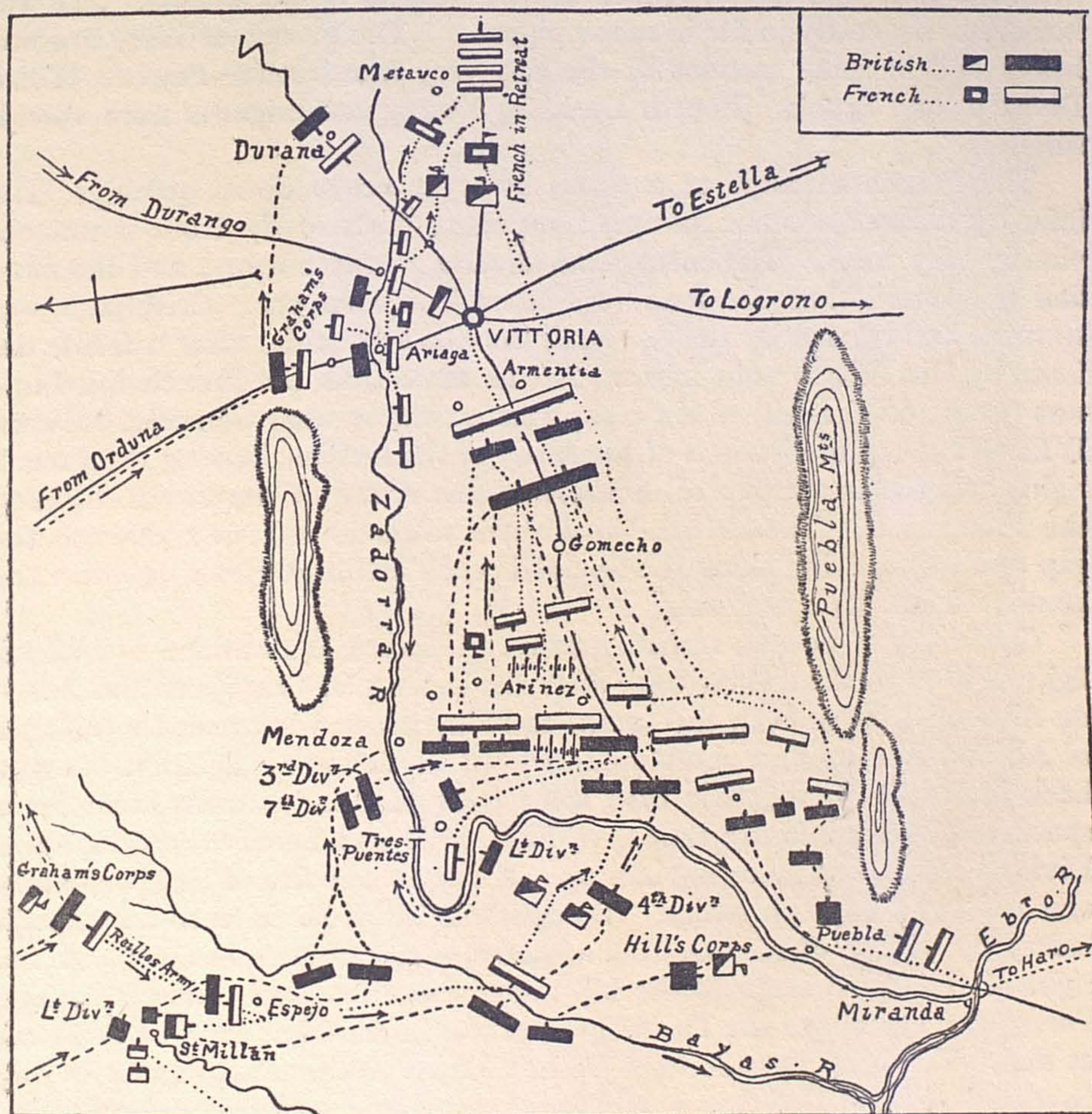
Picton meanwhile, during the fighting at Margarita, had delivered "the really decisive blow of the whole battle," to use Oman's words, in and about Arinez, 1,000 yards south of Margarita.

A general pause in the attack now ensued in that part of the field until between three and four o'clock, while the brigades of the Third Division and other units of the centre striking force were re-forming for the next advance. It was now also necessary to bring up the Fourth Division and Hill's Second Division into line with the Third Division.

The French by that time had been forced out of their original first and second line positions, and had fallen back to a third defence line nearer Vittoria, more or less irregular and disconnected in places, besides being not very strongly held anywhere. Practically every gun the French armies

of the Centre and South had on the field was now placed in front in a long line of batteries—seventy-six guns in all.

The second British advance in the centre started about four o'clock. Colville's Brigade, brought forward again into the front line, was the ex-



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treme left-hand unit of the attack, opposite the village of Crispijana. To support the infantry all the British guns of the Head-Quarters' and Hill's columns had, as on the French side, been brought up, seventy-five pieces, only one fewer than the enemy faced them with. "The cannonades" that now began, were, as Oman describes them, "the fiercest ever known

in the Peninsula—each side was mainly trying to pound the enemy's infantry."

"The advance of the line," if one may continue the quotation, "was a splendid spectacle, recorded with notes of admiration by many who witnessed it from the hill of Arinez or the heights of La Puebla." It was however very costly in life in many places. "The French artillery fire was heavy and in some sections of the line very murderous—Power's (Third Division) and Stubbs' (Fourth Division) Portuguese brigades were special sufferers."

The French attempt at a stand however broke down quickly. The infantry defence was not resolute: on many parts of the front it was obviously very weak. The enemy was already a beaten army, and the news had got round that the road to France had been cut. Crispijana was stormed and carried by the 94th and Colville's Brigade, after a feeble defence by the French 16th Léger. At the same time the French third line was turned on the left, where a gap was broken in near Gomecha between D'Erlon's group of divisions of the Army of the Centre, forming the French right, and Gazan's group of divisions of the Army of the South, forming the French left. The British skirmishers worked their way through the gap and began firing along the line of French artillery, shooting down the gunners from flank and rear.

Gazan began now to retreat hastily. D'Erlon, determined to make a fight of it to the last, drew back after the capture of Crispijana and Zuazo de Alava, half a mile to the south, to rising ground between the villages of Ali and Armentia, a short mile in front of Vittoria. D'Erlon brought back his artillery, together with some guns of Gazan's army, and for a space, to give his infantry time to re-form, kept up a fierce fire on the Third Division which was following him up. "The terrific fire of their musketry and artillery," says Fortescue, "brought the Third Division to a standstill before the village of Ali until the advance of the Fourth Division on the right of the Third stormed the hill and drove the enemy from it." The Portuguese brigade of the Third Division was in the front line in the attack at first. Colville's brigade with Grant's and Vandeleur's brigades of the Seventh and Light Divisions finally swept round and turned D'Erlon's right. As this was taking place D'Erlon received King Joseph's order for an immediate general retreat. It was by then nearly five o'clock. Colville continued his onward push and in the course of it dealt the French resistance its finishing blow.

The thrust of Colville's Brigade, with Grant's Brigade close by, between Ali and the river, round D'Erlon's left flank uncovered at the same time both the right flank and rear of the Army of Portugal under Reille, which



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until then had been holding back Graham's attack from the north in the vicinity of Vittoria. Colville, with the 94th well forward, forced his way through. He broke in between D'Erlon and Reille, close to the river Zadorra, sweeping away all resistance and pressing forward over the hills by Ali in rear of Reille's defence.

King Joseph's order for the general retreat had reached Reille just before that. It specially directed him to hold the bridges immediately in front of him, to prevent Graham from crossing until the rest of the French army—Gazan and D'Erlon's divisions, and the Train and baggage in Vittoria itself—could get clear. To maintain himself on the Zadorra with Colville pushing on in his rear was however hopeless for Reille to attempt. Graham, seizing the opportunity to advance, quickly drove in Reille's divisions facing him and crossed the Zadorra, moving directly on Vittoria. Reille's position became desperate, although, resisting as he gave ground step by step, he skilfully kept his units together. He made his way across the north of Vittoria and to the eastward road to Salvatierra, the only line of retreat that remained open to the French.

The Salvatierra road, which led eventually to Pamplona, had already become blocked. It was choked up with the jammed mass of vehicles, baggage waggons, artillery caissons, together with King Joseph's waggons of plundered spoil from Madrid, treasure *fourgons*, carts, pack animals, all intermixed with mules and oxen all attempting to get away by that way at once.

The 94th, with Colville's Brigade, as Reille's left-wing troops recoiled before them towards Arriaga, made first for Vittoria. They had on the way to repel several desperate charges by Digeon's dragoon brigade, attached to Reille's command, while covering Reille's retreat. The attacks were pressed home on occasion so determinedly that, as Digeon himself related, one of the British battalions—not the 94th—had to form square. Reille's infantry, thus protected by the cavalry, "scrambled off," abandoning their artillery, the gunners of which unhitched the traces and galloped away. That was the end of the fighting at Vittoria for the 94th.

"When we reached the town, passing to the left of it," says Donaldson, who as it happens gives next to no account of the part that the 94th took on the day of Vittoria, "we found their baggage to the right of the road lying in the greatest confusion. The columns passed on, but some of the stragglers who fell out got immense sums of money out of the treasury waggons. Few of them were much the better of it however. I knew one man who got to the amount of £2,000 here who was going without shoes before we left the country!

"We passed on some distance beyond Vittoria and encamped, but

many of the men returned that night to the baggage and got money and valuables of every description. The camp that night and next day was like a fair and the dollars and doubloons were flying about in every direction." The pursuit was carried on to about five miles beyond Vittoria, where, as darkness came on, the wearied troops halted and bivouacked for the night.

By extraordinary good fortune, considering the fierce, close-quarter work in the various encounters throughout the action, the casualties of the 94th numbered not more than sixty-six of all ranks. They amounted to one-fifth of the battalion's strength at roll-call before leaving the Bayas Valley. One volunteer, a candidate for a commission, Enright, and five rank and file were killed. Eight officers were wounded :—Lieut.-Colonel Campbell (so severely that he had to return to England) ; Captains Cairncross and Gore (both severely) ; Lieutenants McArthur, Jackson (the Adjutant), Nairne, and Cannon (the two latter severely) ; Ensign Stainton, and the Non-Commissioned Officers and Men three sergeants, one drummer and fifty-one privates were wounded.

The total casualties on the British side at Vittoria amounted, including British, Portuguese and Spanish troops, to about 5,000 in killed, wounded and missing—in round numbers a total rather more than the losses at the storming of Badajoz. The British casualties numbered 3,574 of all ranks ; the Portuguese 949 ; the Spanish 553. On the French side the total casualties, as far as can be calculated from necessarily defective returns in consequence of the loss of regimental documents in the rout, were, according to Marshal Jourdan's statement, between 7,000 and 8,000, killed, wounded and prisoners.

CHAPTER LIII

THE PENINSULAR WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1813. AFTER VITTORIA: IN CHASE OF CLAUSEL. BEFORE PAMPLONA: MARSHAL SOULT'S BREAK THROUGH. THE FIRST BATTLE OF SORAUREN. WELLINGTON ARRIVES. THE SECOND BATTLE OF SORAUREN. THE 94th AND THIRD DIVISION IN PURSUIT. AT ARISCUN IN THE PYRENEES. SERGEANT DONALDSON AND GENERAL HILL. CAMPED ABOVE THE MAYA PASS IN RAIN AND SNOW.

THE pursuit of the French along the Salvatierra road was taken up at ten next morning, June 22nd, the troops moving off from where they had bivouacked at dark on the night of the 21st. The broken-up French army with King Joseph was however beyond immediate reach. It had continued its headlong flight in the dark until nearly midnight, when sheer exhaustion forced the fugitives to stop and snatch a few hours' rest. Roused up with daylight next morning they were again hastened off.

Wellington on his side moved off in pursuit in three columns, organized as on the march to Vittoria. Graham, on the right, moved by a side track north of the Salvatierra road. The 94th with the Third Division moved on the main road, the Third Division heading the Head-Quarters Column. Hill, on the left, moved to the south of the main road. As Salvatierra, 16 miles from Vittoria, was neared the mountains closed in on either side, and the Right and Left Columns had to converge and fall into the line of march on the one road. Graham was now detached and sent off with the First Division, two Portuguese brigades and a cavalry brigade, to the north-west to intercept Foy's force, which was retreating to France from Bilbao, and also two strongly escorted French convoys which had left Vittoria shortly before the battle. Spanish troops had been sent from Vittoria to intercept the convoys but it was uncertain whether they had done so.

The march eastward of the rest of Wellington's main body was slow, owing mainly to the tired condition of the men after their exertions of the past weeks and in the battle. Also, most of the men who, during the night after the battle had straggled back from their bivouacs along the

road to Vittoria after dark to loot the large French convoy in the town, had only got back shortly before the pursuit recommenced at ten on the 22nd.

The long start gained by Joseph and Jourdan enabled them to reach Pamplona ahead of the pursuit. Thence, after a night's halt, the wrecks of the Armies of the Centre and South made off north for the French frontier by the Pass of Roncesvalles. Reille and the Army of Portugal, after being relieved from rearguard work by other troops, had previously been sent back directly to France by the Baztan Valley route.

The pursuit was further hampered by bad weather. Heavy and incessant rain set in on the morning after the battle and lasted for twenty-four hours without intermission, making it hard work for the artillery and commissariat train to keep pace with the infantry. The enemy had lost all their guns except two in the battle, and all their vehicles, and so they got over the ground faster.

An unwelcome piece of news reached Wellington on the morning of the 23rd. It was that Clausel with his three divisions was nearing Vittoria in his rear. Clausel, as yet in ignorance of the battle, was on the march to join Joseph at Vittoria. In consequence of Clausel's approach, Wellington sent back his rearmost division, the Fifth, to reinforce Pakenham, who with the Sixth Division was at that moment occupying Vittoria. As it happened nothing took place. Clausel heard at the last moment, on the evening of June 22nd, when his cavalry were in sight of Vittoria, that King Joseph had been defeated on the 21st. He at once turned back. He had as yet no information as to the extent of the disaster and made for Pamplona, hoping to find the army reorganized there.

News of Clausel's hasty withdrawal and probable objective, Pamplona, reached Wellington as he was nearing that city. He learnt at the same time of the retreat to the frontier of King Joseph with the main French army. Instead of continuing the pursuit of Joseph and Jourdan or of investing Pamplona, Wellington now decided to go after Clausel, and, if possible, intercept his retreat. The Third, Fourth, Seventh and Light Divisions, who had been told off for the investment of Pamplona, were at once sent to intercept Clausel. The French general's whereabouts were, however, uncertain. He had changed the direction of his retirement on receiving information of the complete rout of King Joseph's army, and of its having left Pamplona. Clausel was now making for Saragossa in the hope of being able to join hands with Marshal Suchet and the French Army of Valencia, 50,000 strong. Abandoning his guns and heavy baggage, Clausel raced his men on as fast as they could march. He was able to evade attack. All efforts to overtake Clausel were fruitless, owing to the

difficulty of obtaining definite news of his whereabouts in time, and to the speed of his forced marches. The troops were further hampered by having to move by almost impassable by-roads and hill tracks. All the bridges over streams on the way had been also broken by the French.

Clausel reached Saragossa and finding that it was impossible to get in touch with Suchet, he turned north and made for the Jaca Pass through the Pyrenees. He ultimately joined the main French Army on its arrival on the northern side of the mountains, on the line of the Lower Bidassoa.

Wellington, finding it impossible to overtake Clausel, on June 28th altered the direction of the pursuit. Apparently with the idea that Clausel, instead of retiring to Saragossa and joining Suchet, might make directly for the Jaca Pass—as Clausel did ten days later—Wellington directed his four pursuing divisions to push north across country for the Jaca Pass. The 94th, with the Third Division, headed the new chase, which proved a difficult and toilsome march up the valley of the Aragon river and across hills by rough village tracks. The march was pressed forward for nearly thirty hours until Sanguesa was reached. There, on June 29th, Wellington suddenly ordered the troops back and called off the pursuit. The prospects of success, he considered, were not promising; the weather continued bad; the troops were wearied and “in sullen mood” (as Wellington himself wrote) at their seemingly endless trappings with no results. Also, what counted perhaps more with Wellington, to block Clausel’s route would mean his falling back and joining Suchet, which would materially increase the enemy’s power of causing trouble on Wellington’s right rear. Clausel’s joining the broken forces of King Joseph was a much lesser evil, and so the pursuit was abandoned.

The 94th, with the Third Division, thereupon moved back to the vicinity of Pamplona, where the Third Division with the Seventh and Light Divisions formed the covering force for the operations then opening. Their presence also supported Wellington’s forces further north, operating towards the passes of the Pyrenees. Battalion head-quarters were established in the village of Olague, between 3 or 4 miles from the lines on the north side of the fortress of Pamplona, to which working parties proceeded daily to the lines for trench digging and forming approach works and parallels.

It was at Olague, during the former halt of the 94th there before starting in the pursuit of Clausel, that an incident occurred of which Donaldson tells the story. “A party of our regiment relieved a Spanish picquet on a hill above our encampment. It had rained during the night and the picquet’s arms, which were piled in front of the tent, had got a little rusty. Being fatigued they had neglected to clean them. Colonel Lloyd, who was

ever on the alert, particularly when near the enemy, having paid them a visit very early in the morning, took notice of their arms. Without passing any remark, he called the sergeant, who, thinking that he wished to inspect the picquet, ordered them to turn out. 'Never mind falling in,' said the colonel, 'I only called to ask why you did not make those Spaniards whom you relieved last night take their arms with them.' The sergeant, who did not see through the sarcasm, replied that the Spaniards did take their arms with them. 'And pray then, whose arms are these?' 'The picquet's arms,' replied the sergeant. 'Poh! nonsense! you don't intend to make me believe these arms belong to British soldiers. Send for the Spaniards, and make them take away their arms.' So saying, he walked down the hill. Each man felt his honour implicated, and the colonel had not gone many paces when they were all busy cleaning their muskets."

The 94th remained at Olague until the fourth week in July, when Marshal Soult made his thrust south to rescue Pamplona. Soult had arrived on the Pyrenees front in the middle of July, having been sent specially by Napoleon from Germany as "Lieutenant of the Emperor" and Commander-in-Chief, to supersede King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan and to reorganize their shattered forces for the recovery of French domination in Spain.

Wellington's attention during the first three weeks of July was mainly occupied with Graham's siege of San Sebastian. He proposed to deal with San Sebastian first and then turn on Pamplona, operations against which fortress were not meanwhile to be pressed closely.

Wellington for the present was not desirous of invading the south of France beyond the Pyrenees until he knew more of the situation in Germany, where the Armistice of Plesswitz, following on Napoleon's victory at Dresden, had recently brought about a suspension of hostilities. If the armistice resulted in a peace with the Central Powers, Napoleon would be able to turn his undivided attention to Spain. Wellington therefore considered it best meanwhile to secure his position by mastering first of all the two fortresses on his flanks, San Sebastian and Pamplona.

The 94th, with the covering force before Pamplona, were at Olague on July 25th when Soult broke through from the north to relieve Pamplona and began the nine days' series of Battles of the Pyrenees by attacking the British forces holding the Passes of Maya and of Roncesvalles. The western pass, forming the Maya position, was forced after a desperate resistance by Hill's advanced-guard brigade. The Roncesvalles position on the eastern side, on Wellington's extreme right, as a support to which a few miles to the south lay Picton with the Third Division at Olague, had to be

evacuated in consequence by the brigades holding it. The direct route to Pamplona, starting from St. Jean Pied de Port on the northern side of the Pyrenees, led through the Pass of Roncesvalles. Soult with 30,000 men made his principal attack there, and outnumbered and in further danger of their position being turned, the two brigades at Roncesvalles evacuated the pass. They fell back on the main body of the Fourth Division, stationed close in rear. General Sir Lowry Cole, who commanded the Fourth Division, on that sent word to Picton at Olague and in response the Third Division started to aid the Fourth Division. Picton, as senior officer, took command of the Third and Fourth Divisions on their joining, and covered the retirement with the Third Division as rearguard. He decided however not to give battle until near Pamplona, as the country between did not appear to him to offer a tenable defensive position. The two divisions continued their retreat to the neighbourhood of the village of Sorauren, from 4 to 6 miles north-east of Pamplona. It was unmolested except for a minor detaining combat on the afternoon of July 26th, in which the Fourth Division only was engaged. A final halt was made and a defensive position taken up close to Sorauren on July 27th. The 94th, with the Third Division, took post on the extreme right, on the heights in front of the village of Huarte. Cole's brigades were ranged along a ridge westward. Wellington then unexpectedly came on the scene. An hour before midday, not long after Picton had ranged his line in order of battle, Wellington suddenly appeared. Galloping up alone, he rode to the highest point of the position, his appearance, as the well-known story in Napier and elsewhere relates, being greeted with a wild outburst of cheering all along the line.

Soult now suspended his attack until the afternoon. All his troops were not up, having been delayed by a dense fog which had set in during the previous day. On the British side, Hill's corps as well as the Sixth and Seventh Divisions, urgently ordered to Sorauren early on the morning of the 28th by Wellington himself, had not had time to join. The Sixth Division arrived first, on July 28th, the following day.

Soult began, towards the close of the afternoon, by ordering General Foy, who had just come in on the French left, to make a demonstration against Picton on the Heights of Huarte. The marshal's design was to discover the strength of the force on the British right and how far it extended. The advance, however, was only partial and in small force, and on Foy's troops coming within artillery range Picton brought forward the Third Division to the crest of the Huarte Ridge while British cavalry showed themselves on Picton's flank. Picton's divisional battery then opened fire on Foy's nearest troops, who immediately fell back in haste.

Soult now satisfied himself as to the force on the British right and with that the fighting on July 27th ended.

The "First Battle of Sorauren" took place next day, July 28th. Soult proposed to attack the British centre in force with five of his six divisions. The remaining division, Foy's, was to remain on the French left, confronting and containing Picton and the British in the Huarte position, so as to prevent Picton from intervening in the central battle.

It was on the Fourth Division, holding the line to the left and somewhat in advance of where the 94th and Colville's brigade were, that Soult directed the brunt of his attack. There, a little before noon, the three divisions of Clausel's command began the action with a series of frontal attacks on Cole's position along the heights of Oricain. The fighting was in places very severe, and great stubbornness was shown on both sides. It lasted until late in the afternoon, when the French were repulsed at all points. Foy, on the extreme left of the French, about the same time that Clausel attacked, began his holding manœuvre to occupy Picton. He refrained however from any real attack. Except for casual carbine shooting between parties of British cavalry beyond Picton's extreme right and French cavalry detachments approaching on that side, and long-range artillery fire from Huarte Ridge, only the light companies of the Third Division were engaged. These were mostly engaged in dealing with Foy's tirailleurs. Beyond irregular musketry firing during the afternoon until the action ended about half-past four, little took place on Picton's section of the front on July 28th.

It was in the First Battle of Sorauren on July 28th that the fine exploit of the Light Company of the 88th, the First Battalion of The Connaught Rangers, took place, as recorded in Vol. I (pp. 115 and 116.) The illustration facing this page was painted immediately afterwards from descriptions by eye-witnesses, participants in the action. Not more than two other copies of the picture, both defective, are, it may be added, known to be in existence at the present time.

Both sides kept their original positions next day, July 29th, during which Lord Dalhousie with the Seventh Division joined Wellington and took post on the left of the Sixth Division, which had come up on the 28th and was prolonging Cole's line to the left. Hill on July 29th was still on the march towards Wellington from the direction of the Maya Pass, with D'Erlon's three divisions moving in the track of Hill towards Soult. Neither, however, were as yet near enough to be in touch with the main armies. There was no fighting on the 29th in front of the main position, where, in the course of the day, guns were brought up. Wellington, says an officer on Picton's staff, rode through the bivouacs of the Third Division

[Painted by L. M. Wright.]



THE 88TH AT THE FIRST BATTLE OF SORAUREN.

28th July, 1813.

during the morning of the 29th. He looked "much elated" we are told.

Only in front of Picton, in the sector occupied by the 94th, was there, according to Donaldson, a small partial encounter on the 29th. "The French," says Donaldson, "occupied a hill on one side while our division were posted on a rise opposite, a small valley being between; in this valley there was a sort of intrenchment formed, where our picquets lay. It could be of little use to either side as it was exposed to the fire of both armies, but the French out of bravado determined on taking it and selected a party for that purpose. A brave fellow of an officer headed them and came cheering down the hill. Our men did not incommode themselves in the least until they were so near that they could take a sure aim, when those in the rear of the intrenchment starting up, saluted them with a volley of musketry that brought down an immense number, among others the officer, who was some way in front. When they saw him fall they turned to the right-about and ascended the hill, leaving him on the ground."

The "Second Battle of Sorauren" was fought on the following day, July 30th. Wellington in that action was the assailant. Soult, on the afternoon of July 29th, from information as to D'Erlon's movements and Hill's situation, changed his plans. He had already on the night of the 28th sent back his artillery, wounded and transport to the frontier by the Roncesvalles route. He decided to abandon the effort to relieve Pamplona. Instead, he proposed to draw off from in front of Wellington and, thrusting aside Hill's force, to join D'Erlon. That, Soult calculated, would place him astride of Wellington's line of communications, in a position, before Wellington could intervene, to compel the raising of the siege of San Sebastian.

The crucial difficulty for Soult was how to withdraw safely the divisions facing Wellington: to make a flank march across Wellington's front and within little more than half a mile of Wellington's force, on the alert and in order of battle. By the joining of the Sixth and Seventh Divisions Wellington was of about equal strength to Soult. Soult risked the manœuvre, and was attacked in the course of his withdrawal before a bare third of his force had got clear. Two-thirds of the French army were in the act of passing in front of Wellington's position, when at daybreak on July 30th Wellington struck at them. It had been impossible to prevent Wellington's outposts from hearing the noise that the French troops of the left wing unavoidably made as they drew off at midnight, and the British guns were waiting to open fire the instant there was sufficient daylight to see. Shelling the French centre columns, massed in column of march, with a sudden

artillery outburst from the guns hauled up to the high ground on the 29th, Wellington followed up the gunfire with a swift infantry attack on the French, while they were disorganized under the cannonade. He then launched an infantry frontal attack on them which broke up the enemy. Maucune's Division in particular suffered heavily from the shell fire.

The part appointed to Picton and the Third Division, stationed as Wellington's right wing, was to turn the French left wing, the flanking move being at the same time combined with a frontal attack. Two French divisions had not yet moved off from before Picton's position, the divisions of Foy and Lamartinière, both under command of Reille. Soult himself, after starting the first move of his left-wing troops at midnight on July 28th, had gone off to meet D'Erlon, who had orders to force Hill aside and clear the approach towards San Sebastian.

Picton was not long in discovering that the French force immediately in his front on the previous evening had moved away. He now formed the Third Division in readiness for a flanking move along the road to the Roncesvalles Pass. Moving rapidly forward for between 3 and 4 miles to the hamlet of Zabaldica, Picton then, between eight and nine o'clock, sent up the light companies of the 94th and his other battalions against Lamartinière's Division, which just then was about to withdraw from the high ground above Zabaldica in order to follow Foy. Foy's troops had moved in towards the French centre and with Maucune's badly battered division in the village of Sorauren were making desperate efforts to hold back the attack of Cole with the Fourth Division and Pakenham with the Sixth.

Lamartinière's stand at Zabaldica did not last long. Picton, coming on at speed with the main force of the Third Division, promptly turned his flank, and worked round to the French rear. Lamartinière began to give back about ten o'clock, retiring first in *échelon* of brigades. His withdrawal was soon made difficult by Picton's light companies, who swarmed up on the high ground, getting close and harassing the French battalions as each turned to retreat. Foy's rear brigade also, which apparently had not got very far towards the centre, together with a great part of Lamartinière's division, was at one moment all but cut off. Foy himself, as he reported, while trying to hasten his rear brigade, was in danger of being taken prisoner. So the 94th and their comrades of the 88th in Brisbane's brigade of the Third Division did their part.

The end came quickly for the French left wing after that. Under Picton's pressure by eleven o'clock it was hastening off in disorder towards Roncesvalles and the adjacent Lanz Valley. The broken French left wing was joined by other fugitives from the two nearest of the centre divisions (Conroux's and Maucune's), some 4,000 altogether, who, with General

Maucune among them, came streaming over the hills from Sorauren to escape from Cole and Dalhousie.

So rapid was the clearing off of the enemy in that quarter, that by about one o'clock Picton's foremost pursuers were outdistanced. Reille eventually managed to halt most of the fugitives and make hasty arrangements to re-form, in order, if possible, to get across country and in touch with Soult. Reille, with some 6,000 men, late in the evening reached Olague, where he found Clausel with what troops of the centre divisions that general had been able to bring away. Foy, ordered by Reille to take a route parallel to Lanz Valley, was overtaken by Picton's advanced guard, two squadrons of Hussars and the light companies of the Division. He had difficulty in keeping them back, and gave up trying to follow Reille over the mountains after dark. He then took the Zubiri Valley route to the French frontier, which he reached on the following morning.

The work of the Third Division in the Second Battle of Sorauren practically ended with Foy's getting away. Picton's main body thereupon by Wellington's directions took post to hold the Pass of Roncesvalles until further orders.

Wellington meanwhile, with the other divisions and Hill's force, completed the defeat of Soult's remaining forces in the Baztan Valley. The final "Battle of the Pyrenees" took place at the Pass of Echelar on August 2nd, after which Soult drew back north of the Pyrenees and Wellington halted to re-group and rearrange his divisions to cover his operations against San Sebastian and Pamplona.

The 94th, with the Third Division, after a four-days' bivouac on a hill above Roncesvalles Village, moved on August 5th to the Maya Pass. "During the few days we remained on the hill," says Donaldson, "the mist was so thick that we durst not move from the camp for water without forming a chain of men to guide us back."

On arrival at the Maya Pass on August 6th Major-General Colville finally quitted the command of the Left Brigade of the Third Division and proceeded once more to take up temporarily the charge of the Sixth Division. Colville was succeeded in the brigade by Colonel John Keane, "a young and dashing officer," as Gleig describes him, who was brought in from the command of the 5/60th as brigadier. Lieut.-Colonel Campbell of the 94th, who had previously held the command of the brigade with distinction during 1812, at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz and Salamanca, and had been repeatedly mentioned in despatches by Wellington, was still on sick leave in England, recovering from his severe wound received at Vittoria. Otherwise undoubtedly the brigade would again have gone to Campbell. Colonel Keane's record was an excellent one, including service under Abercromby

in Egypt in 1801, at the capture of Martinique in 1809, and in command of the 5/60th at Vittoria. His services in command of the Left Brigade of the Third Division were to win for him the K.B. He lived to win a place in history in later times as the Captor of Ghuznee, when a Lieut.-General and Commander-in-Chief in the First Afghan War, and to become the first Lord Keane.

Donaldson says this of the 94th at Maya: "We were posted on the heights above the village of Maya, occupying the ground from which part of our advanced posts had been driven back on the 25th, the scene of action being marked out by the dead bodies lying about and the ground strewn with the fragments of clothing, particularly the tartan dress of one of our Highland regiments."

The 94th remained on the heights for three weeks, being mostly employed in supplying parties for the erection of field works. Wellington was not satisfied that Soult had given up the idea of trying to rescue Pamp-lona and was having his whole front fortified. The 94th next went down on relief for a few days' "rest" to Ariscun, a village three miles off in a valley below.

While the battalion was at Ariscun an interesting experience befel Donaldson, now a sergeant, in which Lord Hill, who had been Colonel of the 94th ever since September 1809, and continued to be Colonel until after the Peninsular War, was the principal figure. "While we were here," relates Donaldson, "I was sent on command with a letter to General Hill, whose division now occupied the heights above Roncesvalles. . . . Having ascended the mountain, I found the second division encamped on nearly the same ground that we had formerly occupied and enveloped in mist as we had been. The place where General Hill and his staff were encamped was surrounded by a small intrenchment, inside of which the tents were pitched, with a kind of log-house built in the centre to serve as a mess room. Judging from the proud and haughty bearing of some of our ensigns, in coming into the presence of the general second in command of the British Army I expected to be annihilated by his look, and I was ushered into the mess room to deliver my message with a palpitating heart. I no sooner however saw the humane and benevolent-looking countenance of the general than my apprehensions vanished. Having read the letter, he questioned me concerning the health of the commanding officer and asked me questions concerning our regiment (of which he was colonel) in the kindest and most unaffected manner. Then calling one of his servants, he ordered him to provide me liberally in meat and drink. Some time after, seeing me standing outside the tent, he called me, and asked me whether the servants had paid attention to me. Next morning on giving

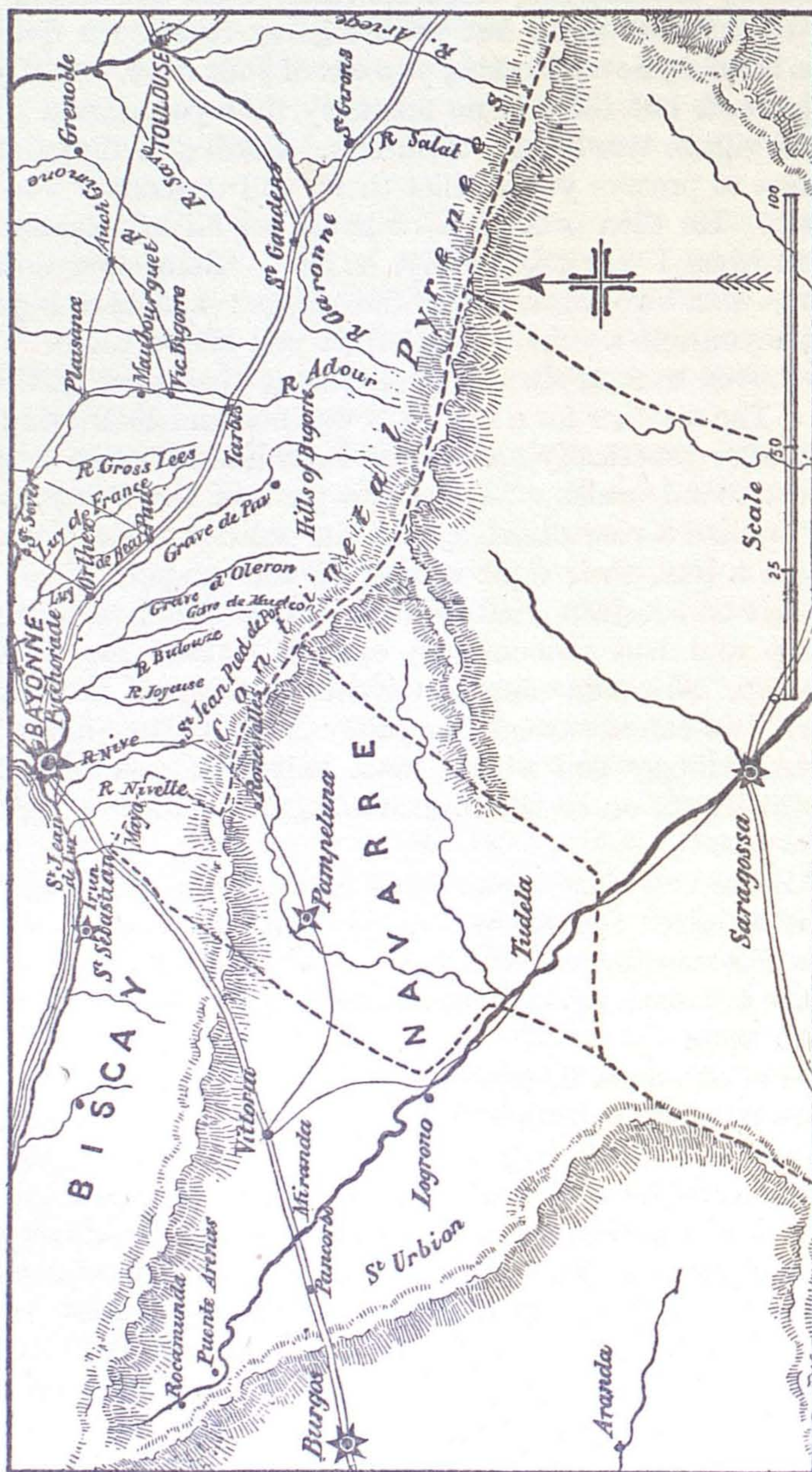
me a letter for my commanding officer he said, 'I did not intend that you should have returned so soon, but we are going to remove down to the valley, and as it would be only taking you out of your road, it will be as well for you to proceed, but there is no necessity that you should go farther than the small village two leagues from this. I will give directions to my orderly dragoon to procure you a billet there, and to-morrow you can join your regiment.' He then ordered his servant to fill my haversack with provision, and when I was going away, he said, 'Remember now what I have told you,—don't go farther than the village: and here is something for you to get yourself a refreshment when you arrive there.'"

The 94th moved back at the end of August to their post on the heights above Maya. The weather for a few days was fine and clear and the widespread views over practically the whole French front were a source of special interest to all ranks. "From this part of the Pyrenees," notes Donaldson, "we had a view of France and the position of the French army, which occupied a line, their right resting on the sea-port of St. Jean de Luz and the left on St. Jean Pied de Port. Here they had formed an intrenched camp and had redoubts on each hill along the whole line." "From our camp," writes an officer in another battalion of Keane's Brigade in September, "we can see twenty or thirty leagues into France, studded with towns and villages and with a most extensive view of the Bay of Biscay. We look over on to the French camps, in which it appears they have very few men."

In the action at San Marcial on August 31st, when Soult fought his last action for the relief of San Sebastian, the Third Division took no part. Their position was some miles from the scene of action, and beyond standing to arms in case a French attack was made in their direction, the Division was not called upon.

The citadel of San Sebastian, whither the French garrison had retreated after Graham's successful storm of the city ramparts on August 31st, surrendered on September 9th.

Pamplona meanwhile still held out. It was closely blockaded by a Spanish force to which Wellington had entrusted the operations after the Battles of the Pyrenees. The British divisions holding the passes on the French frontier in consequence continued in their positions to prevent any further attempt to relieve the beleaguered garrison that Soult might be tempted to make. The marshal's prestige as the "Lieutenant of the Emperor," sent specially by Napoleon to drive Wellington back into Spain, had suffered a bad blow by the loss of San Sebastian and Wellington felt convinced that Soult, in order to save himself from further discredit, would make a forlorn hope for the rescue of Pamplona.



THE CAMPAIGN NORTH OF THE PYRENEES.

Picton left the Third Division on September 8th to return to England for another spell of sick-leave, and once more Colville took over the Division until Picton should return.

For the Brigade holding the advanced position at the Maya Pass, where the 94th were stationed during September, the sector comprised an outpost line of company pickets along the crest of the outermost ridge, with the light companies of the battalions distributed as supports and bivouacking a short distance in rear below. In rear of the supports lay the reserve, in camp by Maya village. There all were kept ready to turn out at short notice, prepared, as an officer puts it, to "scale the steep and toilsome ascent" to the line of pickets.

The 94th found Maya pleasant quarters with fair weather for the first half of the month. Then, in mid-September, the weather broke and changed abruptly to snow and sleet, the squalls alternating with heavy rain and gales, which caused great discomfort all along the line. In some places the pickets were snowed up and had to be dug out, the rescue parties testing the snow-covered ground across which they had to find their way for crevasses by driving commissariat oxen ahead of them. That state of things lasted until the first week of October, the inclement conditions severely trying the drenched men when on duty in the open.

Wellington forced the passage of the Lower Bidassoa, the frontier boundary line between Spain and France, on October 7th, but the Third Division was outside the main area of operations. Their part consisted of a demonstration against the French in the vicinity of the Maya Pass, coupled with a short push forward to clear their immediate front. "We drove the French outposts back into the valley, at the same time burning their huts," says Donaldson. "While engaged in this business," he proceeds, "there fell a tremendous shower of hail stones, some of them measuring five inches in circumference. The regiment got partially under cover in a small chapel but those with the baggage were exposed and many were hurt severely."

The 94th next moved forward between 4 and 5 miles to the north-west, to "a bleak hillside" above the village of Zugarramurdi, where the battalion spent three weeks of October and the first week of November. There was no fighting anywhere on the front during the period, and the weather was even worse than before: "real winter cold and the men very miserable in tents which gave insufficient protection. Rain by day was followed by frosts at night and on more than one occasion a north-westerly gale from the Bay of Biscay brought down half the tents in the camp." So an officer in another battalion of Keane's Brigade writes. Donaldson says much the same: "The weather was very severe—the wind often blowing

with such violence that the tents could not be pitched." "The sentinel freezing at his post," as a Second Division officer, then on the heights above the Maya Pass describes, "looked oftentimes, when the chill mists upon the mountains dissipated for a few hours, with longing eyes on the smoke of towns and villages and scattered homesteads lying below in pleasant and warm valleys all green with verdure or golden with corn." The contrast, adds the writer, tempted many, "without principle to endure to the end, to desert to the plains below." There is no record of any deserters from the 94th. Colonel Lloyd's men were not of that sort, as far as is known.

The 94th remained encamped in the neighbourhood of the Maya Pass for upwards of six weeks, until after the first week of November, experiencing a continuous succession of snow and sleet storms and tempestuous weather, which held both armies immovable meanwhile for offensive purposes.

From all accounts the autumn and early winter seasons of 1813 were long remembered as one of the most inclement and stormy known in Southern Europe.

Wellington stood fast throughout the period, watching and waiting. Soult kept his men hard at work continually, busily engaged in digging-in and entrenching a formidable line of field-defences along the valley of the Nivelle, a line of works elaborately planned with the best skill of his engineer and artillery staff, as described in the next chapter.



THE PENINSULAR WAR.
1813-1814.

CHAPTER LIV

THE PENINSULAR WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1813. PREPARATIONS FOR FORCING THE PASSAGE OF THE NIVELLE. THE 94th AND THIRD DIVISION ADVANCE INTO ACTION. THE ATTACK ON THE BRIDGE OF AMOTZ. FIGHTING FORWARD TO ST. PÉ. DEATH OF LIEUT.-COLONEL LLOYD. DONALDSON'S AND OTHER ACCOUNTS. THE FRENCH 88th LINE AND WHAT FOLLOWED ITS CAPTURE. THE BATTLE OF THE NIVE.

PAMPLONA surrendered at last, on October 30th. The news was conveyed to Wellington in a despatch from the Spanish officer conducting the siege, Don Carlos d'España, thus worded: "Most excellent Lord—Glory be to God and honour to the triumphs of your Excellency in this memorable campaign. I have the honour and great satisfaction of congratulating your Excellency on the surrender of the important fortress of Pamplona." Wellington was now free of everything to hamper him in rear. During October he also received satisfactory news as to the progress of the Allied campaign in Germany since the termination of the armistice, followed by despatches giving confirmatory official details. Positive further instructions as to the invasion of France had been sent to him by the British Government some time previously.

The Allied Army after the Passage of the Bidassoa was reorganized and grouped in three corps. Hill commanded the corps on the right of the line, which extended to near Roncesvalles. It comprised the Second and Sixth Divisions, with a Portuguese and a Spanish division. Beresford commanded the centre corps, comprising the Third, Fourth and Seventh Divisions, with attached Spanish units. The Light Division, with Longa's Spanish troops, were on the left of Beresford. Sir John Hope, who had replaced Graham, invalided home, commanded the corps on the extreme left of the line, which extended to the sea south of St. Jean de Luz and the mouth of the Nivelle. It comprised the First and Fifth Divisions, with a British brigade and two Portuguese brigades attached.

Wellington's object was the breaking through of Soult's exceptionally strongly fortified position on the Nivelle; upwards of twelve miles of steep entrenched heights, extending from a little to the east of St. Jean de Luz on the right to the Pic de Monderrain, a rocky eminence beyond Ainhoa village, on the left.

The French during September and October had been incessantly labouring on the defences on the Nivelle. A large entrenched camp was made at Serres near St. Jean de Luz, while across the river, redoubts and field works, with abattis of felled trees covering the approaches, extended along the position eastward. The obstacles were supplemented with inundations where mountain streams could be dammed, and in places with blocked roads, stopped with barricades of casks filled with stones. The fortifications had not all been completed by November, but Soult by then considered his position as practically impregnable. From Ascain, a village 3 miles south-east of St. Jean de Luz, the line ran across the Petit Rhune hill ridge to Sarre and Amotz, two villages near the centre of the position, on the left or southern bank of the Nivelle. At the Bridge of Amotz, where the Nivelle made a bend south, the French defence line crossed to the right bank. It thence trended east and south-east on high ground past the village of Ainhoa to the rocky elevation of Monderrain, 12 to 16 miles from St. Jean de Luz. Reille commanded on the right, from St. Jean de Luz to Ascain; Clausel in the centre from Ascain to Amotz; D'Erlon on the left, from Amotz to Monderrain.

Wellington had at hand for the action about 90,000 of all arms: British, Portuguese and Spaniards. Soult had upwards of 80,000 all told, but of these, some 20,000 men, cavalry and Foy's division and Paris's brigade were at some distance beyond the left of the battle-line, near Bidarray and at St. Jean Pied de Port,* too far off materially to aid in the defence. To hold upwards of 12 miles of battle front against 90,000 men, Soult had thus not more than 60,000 men.

Wellington had proposed to force on an engagement in the first week of November, immediately after the fall of Pamplona, but in consequence of the terrible weather which prevailed all through the last week of October and until November 4th, movements were hopeless. "It was," in Fortescue's words, "physically impossible for Hill to move owing to snow, and morally impossible for the rest of the army to do so owing to rain." The weather cleared on November 4th and the date for the action was fixed for the 8th. Then, however, came more rain and the 10th was named for the attack. On that day finally took place the Battle of the Nivelle.

Wellington, after a final reconnaissance on November 8th and 9th, decided to strike in force at the centre of Soult's position, at Sarre and Amotz bridge, where Clausel and D'Erlon's corps linked. That was the weak point of the enemy's dispositions. The approach there also was over

* St. Jean Pied de Port was a small town, fortified originally by Vauban, to bar the exit from the "port," or pass, of Roncesvalles against an enemy coming north through the Pyrenees by that route.

less difficult ground than elsewhere. Beresford with 36,000 men, including the Third, Fourth and Seventh Divisions, in conjunction with the Light Division on his left and a Spanish force, was to strike at that point. Hill, with about 26,000 men, confronting D'Erlon and the French right, was to co-operate by at the same time driving in the enemy crossing the Nivelle and then attacking Amotz and the French centre on the north side of the river. Wellington intended meanwhile to hold Reille in check on the French right near St. Jean de Luz with an artillery demonstration and a feint attack, carried out by Hope's corps, 19,000 strong, until the French centre had been penetrated. Then, with his whole force over the river, Wellington proposed to turn left and force his way down the north bank of the Nivelle, overpowering the French right wing and finally cutting Soult off from his base at Bayonne.

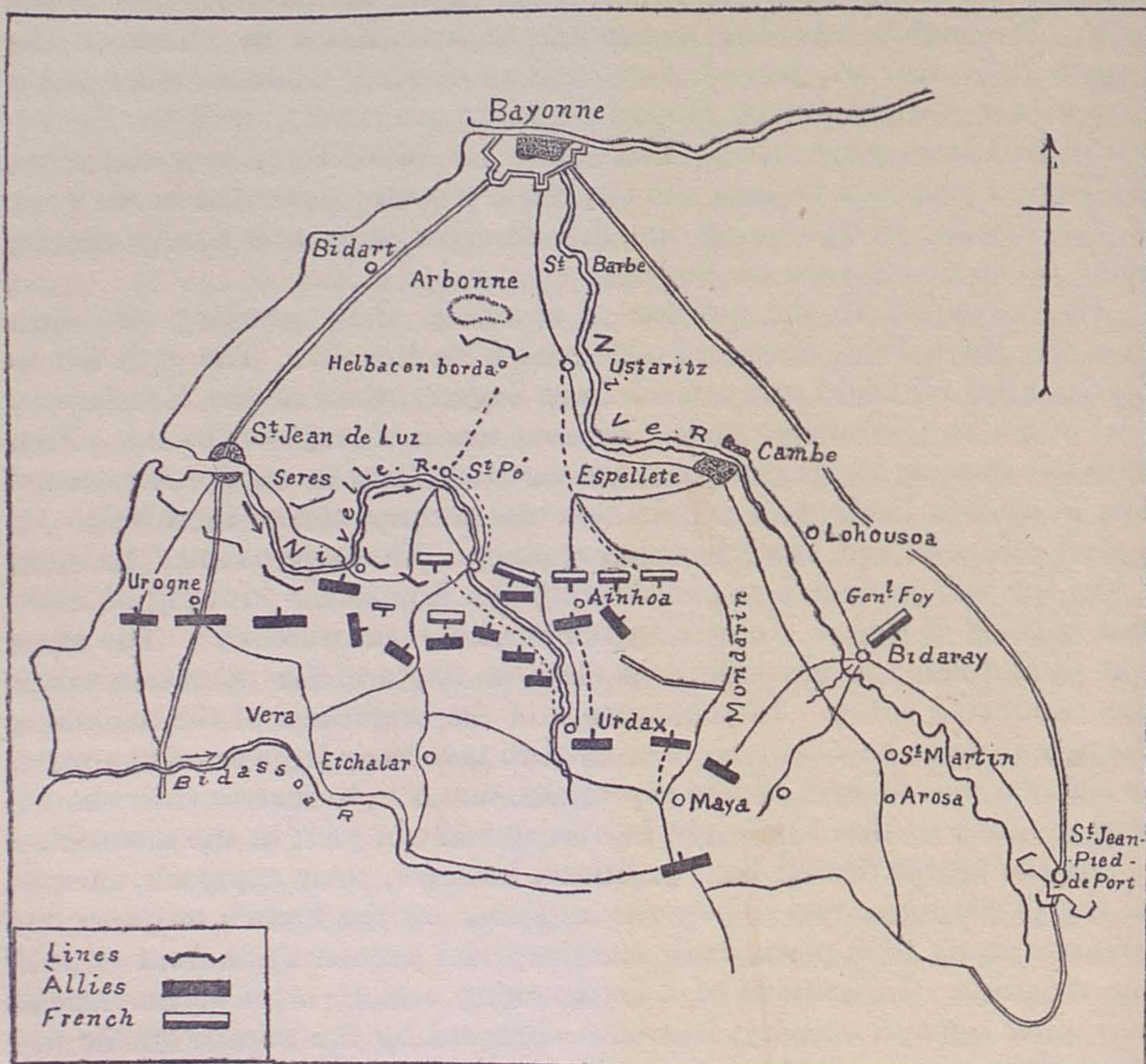
Hill advanced to the position of assembly, the "jumping off" line, from the Maya Pass, Beresford advanced from Echelar. The 94th fell in shortly after midnight and started from Zugarramurdi in the Echelar district at 2 a.m. (November 10th) "without sound of bugle or drum." Fires were left burning in the camp and the tents standing to deceive the enemy. The move was made with a quietness and secrecy almost incredible. So a staff officer of the Third Division states. "The only sound," he adds, "was the village church clocks striking the hours, the crowing of cocks and barking of dogs. No talking nor smoking was allowed." The moon was at the full; it was almost as clear as day and the mountain march was conducted easily. In consequence of the brightness of the moonlight the men in some battalions were ordered to turn their large brass cap-plates to the rear and to wear oilskin cap covers, and also to reverse their shouldered muskets so that the bright barrels should not glint in the moonshine.

As the troops neared their positions, however, their approach, in spite of the precautions, was discovered in places by the French outposts and irregular firing took place, both musketry and cannon shots from some of the redoubts. Indications of a forthcoming attack, artillery movements and other signs of activity, had been observed by the French on the previous day and the enemy were on the alert. No reply however was made to the preliminary firing by either Beresford or Hill until 7 a.m., the time fixed for their general attack. Hope had begun his feint attack demonstration before then and was successfully diverting the enemy's attention to that side of the battlefield. Fifty-five of Wellington's ninety guns were firing their hardest from Hope's sector of the front. Soult posted himself opposite there. Four of his nine available divisions were held fast as Hope's threat developed.

Then, on the stroke of seven o'clock, Beresford and Hill made their

thrust. Three guns went off in quick succession just as daylight came on from Pic Achuria, a lofty hill to the right rear of Beresford's group of divisions, where Wellington himself had taken post, as the signal to attack.

The Light Division on Beresford's left after sharp fighting carried the French entrenchments immediately before them on the Little Rhune, and



NIVELLE.
10th November, 1813.

at the same time the Third, Fourth and Seventh Divisions, working forward together, forced their way through the French front line with equal success, storming Sarre and the adjacent redoubts.

Three French divisions, those of Generals Conroux, Maransin and Taupin, were in position at Sarre and in the immediate vicinity. They held the ground between the village of Sarre and the bridge over the Nivelle

at Amotz, 2 miles beyond, the capture of which bridge was the special objective appointed to Colville's brigade. The Fourth and Seventh Divisions had to deal specially with Sarre and two redoubts close by in rear on the east side, known as La Grenade and Ste. Barbe. The Third Division lent a hand in the attack on the redoubts. Then, while the Fourth and Seventh were combating Conroux's men in Sarre, who resisted desperately in the barricaded streets and from loopholed cottages and houses, they fought their way forward to force the gorge of the Nivelle and reached the bridge of Amotz.

The 94th, according to Donaldson, had the principal part in taking the bridge of Amotz. "The enemy," he says, "having been driven from the redoubts in front of Sarre, we advanced upon the village. Our regiment being selected to charge a strong column that protected the bridge Colonel Lloyd filed us off from the division and led us on the attack in the most heroic manner. Having succeeded in carrying it with considerable loss on our part we returned and took up our place in the column.

"After having passed through the village we advanced to the attack of the enemy's main position on the heights behind it, on which a line of strong redoubts were formed with abattis in front, formed by trees cut down and placed with their branches towards us, serving as a cover for their infantry."

Colville's skirmishers of the light companies swarmed over the bridge and into Amotz, driving the defenders out. They then turned to their right up the ridge beyond on that side (the right bank of the Nivelle), where the Sixth Division of Hill's command had begun to force back the French defenders, Darmagnac's division of D'Erlon's corps.

On the other side of the river, on the left bank, after the bridge of Amotz was taken half of the Third Division swung to the left, to push towards St. Pé village,* two or three miles away, where there was another bridge across the Nivelle. Conroux's division, beaten back from Sarre, rallied, and joined by reinforcements and a battery sent to their aid by Clausel, made a strong effort to bar the way and for a time held up Colville. The British attack however was too vigorously pressed.

Colville, in Fortescue's words, "developed a vigorous onslaught by the bridge of Amotz against Conroux's division, which stood for a time firmly in its entrenchments, though the British, taking advantage of small enclosures for shelter, were able to return its fire with effect. At last Conroux fell, mortally wounded: and the soldiers discouraged by the loss of their beloved chief, gave way and fled down the bank of the Nivelle, uncovering the left

* St. Pé is a local colloquial abbreviation for St. Pierre on the Nivelle, which is a small village by that river, distinct from the St. Pierre on the Nive.

flank of Maransin. By eleven o'clock the Third Division were masters not only of the bridge but of the eastern end of the hill between it and the Louis XIV Redoubt."

Maransin was then dealt with. The Fourth and Seventh Divisions, who after capturing Sarre had had hard fighting to force a line of strongly held entrenchments on a ridge between Sarre and the river, had reached the locality a little before Conroux's division broke and were attacking Maransin at close quarters. Taupin, in danger from the Light Division's attack on his sector, could give little help. On the break up of Conroux's division, the Fourth and Seventh charged in on Maransin with the bayonet in front, while Colville in like manner charged home on the flank. The overthrow of the French division was immediate and complete. Several of the French battalions were hurled over ("cast headlong" according to Napier) down into a ravine in rear of the ridge on which the fight took place. The "Louis XIV" Redoubt near by was also stormed and many of the defenders bayoneted. The rest, over 180, surrendered. General Maransin himself, fighting desperately with what men he could collect to regain the redoubt, was taken prisoner, but contrived to make his escape in the turmoil. Maransin managed with the assistance of a newly arrived battalion to rally most of his men on high ground some little way in rear, after which he fell back, hotly pursued, to the neighbourhood of the village of St. Pé.

"Keane's Brigade," says the commissariat officer of the Third Division already quoted, "supported by Brisbane and Power, stormed a redoubt near the road to St. Pé, when the brigade, especially the 87th, suffered severely."

Maransin was just too late to reach the bridge of St. Pé. Conroux's routed battalions, racing foremost in the flight, reached St. Pé and were able to get across the Nivelle. Maransin's, chased hard by the Third, Fourth and Seventh Divisions, were cut off by Colville's skirmishers, who had just before seized the bridge. The chase was stopped at St. Pé whereupon Maransin was able to disengage. He made off and crossed the Nivelle some way lower down at Ibarron.

It was in this attack of the Third Division on Conroux that the gallant commanding officer of the battalion, Colonel Lloyd, met his death while leading the 94th into action, riding well in front on a grey charger. Donaldson describes what took place. "Having extended our line at the foot of the hill our division proceeded to the attack. Colonel Lloyd, having pushed his horse forward before the regiment, advanced cheering on his men with the most undaunted bravery—but before he reached its summit, he received a mortal wound in the breast. He was only saved from falling off his horse

by some of the men springing forward to his assistance. When this was perceived by the regiment, a pause of a moment was made in the midst of their career, and the tear started into each eye as they saw him borne down the hill: but the next moment was devoted to revenge. Regardless of everything they broke through all obstacles, and driving the enemy from their position, they charged them through their burning huts without mercy. . . . I never witnessed sorrow so general as that produced by the intelligence of his death," continues Donaldson, "our hearts were full—we felt as if we had lost a father."

"On receiving his wound," states the Third Division commissariat officer, "Colonel Lloyd staggered and fell. Tossing his sword in the air he exclaimed 'It's all over with me.'"

Napier's tribute to Colonel Lloyd may be added here. "In him also were combined mental and bodily powers of no ordinary kind. A graceful symmetry combined with Herculean strength, and a countenance at once frank and majestic gave the true index of his nature, for his capacity was great and commanding, and his military knowledge extensive both from experience and study. On his mirth and wit, so well known in the army, I will not dwell, save to remark, that he used the latter without offence, yet so as to increase his ascendancy over those with whom he held intercourse, for though gentle he was valiant, ambitious, and conscious of his fitness for great exploits. He like Freer was prescient of, and predicted his own fall, yet with no abatement of courage. When he received the mortal wound, a most painful one, he would not suffer himself to be moved but remained watching the battle and making observations upon the changes in it until death came. It was thus at the age of thirty, that the good the brave the generous Lloyd died. Tributes to his merit have been published by Lord Wellington and by one of his own soldiers, 'by the highest and by the lowest.' To their testimony I add mine, let those who served on equal terms with him say whether in aught I have exceeded his deserts." Wrote Wellington in his despatch: "We have lost in Lieut.-Colonel Lloyd of the 94th an officer who had frequently distinguished himself and was of great promise."

It was while the Third, Fourth and Seventh Divisions were driving Maransin before them to St. Pé that the Light Division effected the capture of the French 88th, one of Taupin's battalions, in the so-called Signal Redoubt, about a mile from St. Pé. The French battalion in the redoubt were entirely cut off in spite of Taupin's efforts to bring aid to them, and after beating off two attempts to storm the Signal Redoubt surrendered to Colborne of the 52nd in dramatic circumstances, as Fortescue relates. "Waving his handkerchief he (Colborne) summoned the commandant to

surrender or take his chance of falling into the hands of Giron's Spaniards. The French Colonel demurred and tried to make terms, but being answered, 'Nonsense, you must surrender,' he yielded, cursing his hard fate. He and nearly four hundred veteran soldiers became prisoners." *

The capture of the French 88th dramatically gave Wellington the first authentic news of Napoleon's irrecoverable catastrophe at Leipsic. A copy of *The Imperial Gazette*, containing the news in a bald official form, was found in the Signal Redoubt. A staff officer was told off to question the senior officers of the 88th about it, but they refused to give information. "On hearing this," related Wellington to an intimate friend later, "I directed that they should be left alone: but I sent them an invitation to dine with me, which they accepted readily. I warned my staff to ask them no questions, but to see that they were well supplied with Madeira. Gradually they became in excellent humour and far more communicative. Watching my opportunity, I turned in an off-hand manner to the commanding officer and said—

" 'Où était le quartier-général de l'Empereur d'après les dernières nouvelles? '

" 'Monseigneur,' he replied, 'il n'y a plus de quartier-général.'

" 'Comment plus de quartier-général? '

" 'Monseigneur, il n'y a ni quartier-général, ni armée française: l'affaire est finie.'

"Then he went on to tell me of the Battle of Hanau, of the Emperor being driven over the Rhine and the army totally dissolved. The effect of this announcement on twenty or thirty of the principal officers of the English army round that table, may be imagined but not described."

The 94th, with the Third Division, remained halted at St. Pé from about three o'clock in the afternoon until nearly five. The Fourth and Light Divisions were with them there, but all were held back for the time by Wellington until Hill's Sixth Division, working forward from Amotz, could come within touch. Soult was meanwhile rallying his reserves in that quarter, on the right bank near St. Jean de Luz and in the vicinity of his entrenched camp at Serres. Wellington therefore deemed it advisable to watch and wait. At the same time, between three o'clock and five, Maransin's division with the remainder of Conroux's and Taupin's broken bat-

* A battalion of the French 88th Line was among the defenders of Badajoz, but did not apparently engage the 88th Connaught Rangers there. The French 88th were also at Vittoria, but in another part of the field from where Picton's Division fought. The French 94th Line were in action at Salamanca, Vittoria and the Nivelle, where the British 94th were engaged, but again the opposite numbers were in other parts of the battlefield and did not come into contact.

talions across the Nivelle opposite St. Pé, were collecting to re-form at Habacenborda, a short distance north of St. Pé.

Wellington, on the Sixth Division coming up at five o'clock, pushed the Third and Seventh Divisions across the river at St. Pé against Marassin, but the enemy only offered a weak resistance. The French were driven back with little effort and drew off to the fortified works at Serres. After that as darkness came on it became impossible to advance further and Wellington ordered a general halt. Firing went on here and there between the outposts irregularly during the early evening and at intervals until nearly midnight, but the troops of both armies were too wearied to continue the action seriously. So after twelve hours' fighting the Battle of the Nivelle ended.

The casualties of the 94th at the Nivelle were, one officer (Colonel Lloyd) and ten rank and file killed: two officers (Lieutenants John Thornton and James Tweedie) and fifty-six rank and file wounded. Two rank and file were reported missing. Colonel Lloyd was buried after the action on the battlefield. His remains were later removed to the little cemetery of Bedart, beside the village church, where a commemorative monument was erected over the grave by the regiment. It does not now exist. According to the commissariat officer of the Third Division, on falling Colonel Lloyd "was quickly borne into a cottage near at hand where he breathed his last. That same day he was buried under a large tree together with an ensign of the 87th Regiment."

Wellington advanced again early next morning, November 11th, intending to renew the action and intercept Soult between St. Jean de Luz and Bayonne. He was, however, unable to overtake Soult. During the night the French, spiking such of their remaining guns as they could not carry off, retreated rapidly across country between the Nivelle and the Nive. Soult then, on the 12th, moved further back to a position in the neighbourhood of his large entrenched camp close to Bayonne. There he halted with the intention of holding the lower course of the Nive as far as Cambo, some 10 miles above Bayonne. Difficult ground in front would, he trusted, make it difficult for Wellington to approach. The Third Division bivouacked in a wood near St. Pé with the Seventh and Fourth Divisions on their left and the Sixth Division on the right.*

The Third and Seventh Divisions, with Geron's Spanish contingent,

* According to the Third Division commissariat officer at p. 263 of his book of reminiscences, "the battle bore several different names according to the respective situations of the several corps engaged. The Left Column called it the Battle of St. Jean de Luz, the Right Column called it the Battle of the Valle de Bastan, the Third Division—the Battle of St. Pé; the Fourth—the Battle of Zarra; the Sixth—the Battle of Anhoa; according to where they were principally engaged."

moved forward on November 11th through the forest in rear of St. Pé for Arbonne, about 4 miles south-east of Bayonne, where they took post in the centre of Wellington's new line, fronting towards the fortress. Hill with the right-wing troops moved to the left bank of the Nive between Ustaritz and Cambo. Hope with the left wing pushed along the coast road to Bidart, with outposts towards Biarritz.

The army spent the remaining three weeks of November and the first ten days of December between the Nivelle and the Nive in fairly comfortable quarters. For the first fortnight the weather was mild for the time of year, which was found a great relief after their hardships and exposure during the last weeks of camping high up on the sleet-drenched northern hill-sides of the Pyrenees. All ranks however at this time suffered serious privations from shortness of supplies and their bad quality. Owing to the backwardness in forwarding money on the part of the British Treasury it was impossible to provision the troops satisfactorily. Requisitioning, except for cash down, was not permitted. Speaking of the quality of the food, a soldier in another division (Sergeant Anton of the 42nd) writes: "The biscuit was frequently crushed to crumbs and mouldered to dust, and the beef would not have been allowed a stall in the poorest market in Britain." Of the soup he says: "Not a single blade of vegetable was to be had to put into it: our supply of rice was curtailed and the only thickening for it was the crumbs and dust of ship's biscuit."

During November the Third Division formed the reserve to Wellington's centre. The brigades however were constantly on the move from left to right and back, in support of threatened sections of the front line where skirmishing took place, between Ustaritz and across the Nive at Urcuray and Hasparren.

The Battle of the Nive, Wellington's next serious operation, took place between December 9th and 12th. Wellington had intended to attack at the end of November, but the setting in of torrential rains, first between November 11th and 19th and then between November 26th and December 8th, swamped the country between the rivers—a tract uneven and rugged, cut up with ravines and ridges, woods and watercourses, copses and swamps with rough cart roads and cross paths—the hopeless condition of the *terrain* effectively impeding movement. The plan of operations for the attack on December 9th was this. Beresford in the centre was to cross the Nive by a pontoon bridge at Ustaritz at daybreak with the Third and Sixth Divisions. Hill, on the right, was at the same time to cross the Nive by three fords at and near Cambo. Hope, on the left, was to make a demonstration and feint attack towards the entrenched camp at Bayonne

and to prevent Soult from reinforcing his centre and left while Beresford and Hill attacked.

All turned out at 3 a.m. on December 9th and began silently concentrating at their positions of readiness. Not a sound was made, no smoking was permitted. A beacon fire lighted on a height above Cambo gave the signal for Hill and Beresford's attack. The beacon was fired shortly before daylight, whereupon both corps crossed the river. Hill forded it at and above Cambo. Beresford with the Third and Sixth Divisions crossed at Ustaritz where it was too deep to ford, by the pontoon bridge. Darmagnac's division, Beresford's immediate opponent, attempted to hold back the attack, which was led by the Sixth Division, but was forced to retire. The Third and Sixth Divisions followed in pursuit, making progress as rapidly as the bogged state of the ground would permit. It was however not until an hour after noon that they were able to come up again with Darmagnac, who with reinforcements had occupied the village of Villefranche and the neighbouring heights. The enemy made a stand there until the two divisions after sharp fighting drove the French out of Villefranche. They seized the heights above it, within 4 miles of Bayonne, but then a halt had to be made, owing to a dense sea fog that rolled up from the Bay of Biscay and shrouded the whole countryside. The Third Division was now brought back to hold the bridgehead at Ustaritz, re-crossing the pontoon bridge in the evening and bivouacking at Ustaritz. Hill's advanced troops reinforced the Sixth Division. Hill, in like manner, had been retarded by the swamped country and also by the stubborn defence made by Foy's division on the French left. Wellington passed the night at Ustaritz in a château where Beresford had his head-quarters.

Hope, during the forenoon, had carried out his feint attack and demonstration against the French right as ordered. After a series of skirmishing engagements during the day he drew back in the afternoon, when the fog came on, to his former position by St. Jean de Luz.

On the French side the day's proceedings gave Soult encouragement. He had already anticipated that the attack would take place simultaneously on both banks of the Nive. In consequence of what he had learned of Wellington's dispositions during November 9th, Soult now planned a sudden counter-attack in force next morning on Hope, who was separated by the river from Hill and Beresford and for the time isolated. Soult expected to be able to hold off Beresford and Hill and to overpower Hope by a concentrated attack before the troops of Wellington's centre and left could arrive to the rescue. "The enemy," wrote Soult on the 9th, "by extending his troops has lost the advantage of his numerical superiority and I have resolved to attack him in the false position he has taken up."

Soult opened his counter-attack on Hope on the morning of December 10th. He utilized the night of the 9th for passing four divisions over from the right bank of the Nive to the left, by a bridge within the lines of the entrenched camp at Bayonne, to join the two divisions then on the left bank close to Bayonne. Thus six French divisions, comprising the two corps of Clausel and D'Erlon, were concentrated against two British divisions (the First and Fifth), an attached British brigade (Aylmer's) and two Portuguese brigades.

Soult proposed a surprise attack at daybreak, but pouring rain all night prevented the attack from opening until between eight and nine o'clock. The fighting was severe but failed to break the resistance of Hope's line, although, under pressure of the enemy's numerical superiority, it had, gradually, to yield ground. As with the British on the previous day the swamped condition of the roads and country made the French advance laboriously slow. Then, between one and two in the afternoon, Soult received disquieting intelligence. He was informed of the approach of hostile columns from two directions. One was the First Division, nearing from St. Jean de Luz. The other was comprised of the Third and Sixth Divisions. They had re-crossed at Ustaritz and were hastening forward on the left bank of the river and endangering Soult's flank in that direction.

Wellington on his side had been taken by surprise. He had since the previous day been with Hill on the right bank and was there when he unexpectedly learned of the danger to Hope. The increasing cannonade on the left bank warned Wellington of the gravity of the situation. He thereupon rapidly passed the Third and Sixth Divisions over the Nive at Ustaritz and marched them to the sound of the guns. As it neared the enemy the Third Division was directed on Urdains, where a French division (Abbé's) held the bridge. Abbé however retired after a few skirmishing shots when the Third Division came up, and then, finding himself baulked, Soult fell back to Bayonne entrenched camp and the action ended for the day.

The 94th, with the Third Division, had assembled at the alarm posts at daybreak but all had appeared quiet until 10 a.m. Then the division was hastily moved to the left. At first apparently the enemy's activity was taken for a *ruse*: Soult "was practising some grand manœuvres with the view of deceiving Lord Wellington."

The Third Division watched the bridge at Urdains throughout December 11th and 12th, and covered the making of a new bridge near Villefranche, at the same time helping to hold D'Erlon's corps in check in the neighbourhood of Urdains. The enemy however made no move in that

quarter. Soult, on the afternoon of the 11th, attacked the position held by the Fifth Division of Hope's corps on the Biarritz side of the front, but was beaten back after a sharply contested action. On the 12th there was no infantry fighting, beyond an outburst of firing between the picquets on the left of the British line owing to a false alarm.

On December 13th came the last of the series of the Battles of the Nive, Soult's action with Hill's corps at St. Pierre. There, as it happened, the Third Division were able to take little or no part. Soult, aware that Hill's corps was by itself on the right bank, isolated and within easy reach of a counterstroke from Bayonne, attempted to make on that side a surprise attack similar to that on Hope three days previously. During the evening of December 12th Soult crossed the Nive with six divisions behind the shelter of his entrenched lines, and with 35,000 men assailed Hill with 14,000 on the morning of the 13th. Both Wellington and Hill, however, had expected an enemy move of that nature, and Wellington had arranged for the Third and Sixth Divisions and other troops to cross the Nive to Hill's support. The Third and Sixth were to cross by the pontoon bridge at Villefranche, but, unfortunately, a sudden rise of the river during the night of the 12th broke the bridge. Strenuous efforts to repair it were made but it proved impossible for the Third and Sixth Divisions to cross until midday, by which time the action at St. Pierre was practically over. Hill, single-handed, had successfully beaten back Soult at all points. The French in the afternoon were about to make a final forlorn-hope attack on Hill when the columns of the Third and Sixth Divisions, marching fast, came into view, on which Soult desisted from his attempt and the action ceased. Wellington, who also had not been able to arrive until the fighting had practically ceased, pushed forward with the Third and Sixth Divisions during the afternoon close up in front of the enemy's lines on the outskirts of Bayonne entrenched camp, but the enemy held back. Soult only made a show of defence by extending two divisions before the outworks, and withdrew the others, declining further action.

The 94th after the Battle of St. Pierre moved to the vicinity of Hasparren, a village some ten miles south-east of Bayonne, on the moorland between the Nive and the river Adour. In that district the Third Division faced the outposts on the left of the French line, which by now had been extended to the Adour. Three French divisions were immediately in front at Hasparren, with their sentry line close to the British, a small stream running between. It was a bleak exposed place and the weather turned bitterly cold during December, in consequence of which the battalions in the front line there were relieved every three days, returning to

the brigade camps at Hasparren. The period was quiet for most of the time, although there were constant alarms. In expectation of attack the battalions in the front line stood-to at their alarm posts daily at daybreak and remained under arms for some hours, often in very trying weather conditions. The alarms were caused, as it was discovered later, by the firing of the French conscripts in the enemy's line while at musketry practice every forenoon. During December Napoleon withdrew great numbers of the older soldiers from Soult's units for his final campaign in Eastern France, and the drafts of raw conscripts sent in their place had to be trained after joining their battalions at the front.

Picton returned from England at the end of December. Colville then finally quitted the command and proceeded to take charge of the Fifth Division.

In the middle of December news reached Wellington to the effect that the Allies, following up Napoleon's retreat after the disasters of the Leipsic campaign, had successfully crossed the Rhine. The intelligence proved false, or at least was premature, but on the strength of it Wellington proposed a move forward at one or two points.

It proved, however, impossible to attempt anything because of the weather. The idea had to be abandoned in consequence of the sudden rising of the Nive on December 20th, which swept away the pontoon bridge at Villefranque, carrying down all the boats and bridging materials. The bridge over the Nive at Ustaritz was only saved from the same destruction by being hastily taken up. Hill's corps was for the time isolated, as was the case on the French side with the divisions of Clausel and Foy.

After that until the end of the year the situation continued quiet.

The French Marshal on his side now rearranged his line and planned to cross the Nive and attack the British in flank and rear, with the idea of manœuvring them out of their posts in the Adour.



GENERAL LORD HILL, G.C.B., G.C.H.

Colonel 94th.

18th September 1809—29th April 1815.

CHAPTER LV

THE PENINSULAR WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1814. THE CROSSING OF THE GAVE D'OLORON. PICTON'S ERROR OF JUDGMENT. THE DISASTER TO THE LIGHT COMPANIES. THE BATTLE OF ORTHES. THE ATTACK OF THE THIRD DIVISION. THE 94th AT VIC DE BIGORRE. ADVANCING TOWARDS TOULOUSE. TAKING UP POSITION BEFORE THE FORTRESS. THE 94th AND KEANE'S BRIGADE IN ACTION BY THE LANGUEDOC CANAL. EVACUATION OF TOULOUSE BY THE FRENCH. CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN.

1814

THE New Year opened with a threatening move by Soult, commenced by an attack on the British cavalry outposts between the rivers Joyeuse and the Bidouze, tributaries of the Adour on the south bank, across the moorland to the north-east of Hasparren. The Third Division, together with the Fourth, was ordered forward to support the cavalry on January 6th, but the enemy retired on Picton's approach and the cavalry outpost line was restored without fighting. According to Donaldson, speaking of his own regiment, the 94th, "we drove in the enemy's outposts, returning on the 7th." Throughout the rest of January, owing to the apparent restlessness of the enemy in front of Hasparren, the 94th and the other units of the division were kept in constant expectation of an attack. Every morning they stood-to from dawn to after sunrise "shivering in the intense cold," as an officer's letter puts it. "We were much harassed," says Donaldson, "marching a distance of two or three miles every morning to the alarm-post two hours before daylight and remaining there until it appeared."

Wellington, as February came on and the weather became more open, decided on immediate operations to force Soult away from Bayonne. His belated funds from the British Treasury, £400,000 in gold, had now arrived and he could pay his way. Wellington had also received urgent instructions from the Cabinet in London to press hostilities in the South of France vigorously. This was designed primarily as a political measure, to help the Allies in their so far not very successful contest against Napoleon, now at bay in Eastern France.

Wellington's principal aim was to advance into France to the important city and seaport of Bordeaux and the line of the Garonne, which involved at the outset the passage of the Adour below Bayonne at a point between the French entrenched camp and the sea, where the river was wide and deep. To cross the Adour, however, could only be made feasible by drawing the main force of the enemy off from the neighbourhood of Bayonne as far as possible, so as to prevent Soult from successfully interfering with the crossing.

The French left wing, which was too widely strung out over a long stretch of country from Bayonne eastward, was in consequence the most vulnerable part of Soult's line. If attacked on the left also Soult would be in serious danger of losing connection with St. Jean Pied de Port, at the entrance to the main pass through the Pyrenees by which the marshal hoped Suchet and the "Army of Valencia" would come to his aid. The attack on the French left would also threaten Soult's own direct line of communications, which ran north-east towards the Upper Garonne. The thrust at the French left would further compel Soult to reinforce his left from Bayonne and cripple him in endeavouring to prevent the crossing of the Adour.

The move towards the point at which Wellington intended to deliver his attack, in the direction of Orthes, was made by the various divisions between February 12th and 16th. The 94th with the Third Division started from Hasparren on the 14th. The French left, now under General Harispe, fell back eastward before Picton's advance, making little opposition except for minor rearguard encounters. As Wellington expected, his move against the French left wing resulted in a closing-up movement of the enemy to that side and general shift eastward of the whole French line from Bayonne, where a garrison of 14,000 had to be left. During the advance, as an officer with the Third Division mentions, "it was a very sharp frost and we suffered much from cold." Snow fell heavily on February 18th, by the evening of which day the advanced troops on both sides were in presence on a front of about 25 miles, extending southward from the Adour along the Gave (the Basque word for any rapid mountain river) d'Oloron and the Gave de Pau.

Picton with the Third Division was in the centre. He crossed the river Bidouze on February 22nd and marching across a wide heath halted a short distance on the west of the Gave d'Oloron. Thence he was directed to move forward at daybreak on the 23rd to Osserain and Arriverete, close to the Gave. Orders were now given Picton to make, in Wellington's words, "demonstrations as if desirous of fording the Gave d'Oloron at and near Sauveterre." The demonstrations by Sauveterre (12 miles from

Orthes on the Gave de Pau) were designed to cover the crossing of the Gave d'Oloron on February 24th by divisions elsewhere.

Picton, unfortunately, for some reason of his own converted his demonstration into an actual attempt at crossing ; with serious consequences to the light companies of Keane's brigade, including the Light Company of the 94th. Advancing under cover of a heavy cannonade from Osserain and Arriverete against the French bridge-head trenches and some houses opposite Sauveterre and the fords near by, which were held by a strong force, Picton ordered the light companies of Keane's brigade (drawn from the 5th, 87th and 94th), 300 officers and men, to ford the river at a village just above Sauveterre, and to attack the left of Villatte's division, posted across the Gave at that point. Captain Culley of the 5th was in charge. It was icy cold crossing the swiftly flowing torrent of half-frozen water. Then came disaster. The ascent from the river on the enemy's side was by a steep and narrow track, on reaching the top of which the light companies were rushed by two French battalions of the 119th Line. They were driven headlong downhill and into the river, losing in killed, prisoners and drowned, ninety men. Only the prompt arrival of a British battery, which raced up to the river bank and opened fire, saved the survivors.

Donaldson gives a vivid eye-witness's account of what took place. "On the morning of the 24th our brigade were ordered some way down from the bridge for the purpose of crossing a ford near a mill. Our light companies, covered by a party of the Seventh Hussars, first took the river, in a particular part of which there was a strong current, caused by the mill stream. This, together with the large round stones that formed the bottom, caused some difficulty in getting across, but they effected it, and advancing up the bank through a narrow lane lined a wall on the top of the height. The cavalry then returned and the right of the brigade had crossed the river, when the enemy, having detached a strong force to oppose our progress, drove in the light troops so precipitately that in retreating through the lane already mentioned, they were wedged in so closely that they could not move. A number then struck off to the right and attempted to swim the river, but being carried away with the current many of them were drowned. Of those who crossed at the ford many were wounded in the river and losing their footing sunk to rise no more, among whom was a brave young officer of our regiment. The French had by this time come close down on them, and none would have escaped being killed or taken prisoners had not a brigade of guns been brought down to the edge of the river and by a heavy fire of grape covered the retreat."

“On re-crossing,” concludes Donaldson, “the brigade withdrew under cover of some houses and on the 25th, the division crossed the river on a bridge of boats, the enemy having blown up the stone bridge and retreated.”

Of the 94th Light Company: Ensign Richard Topp was killed (drowned according to one account); three sergeants and two rank and file were wounded; one sergeant and five rank and file were missing, prisoners or drowned.

According to the officer of the Third Division previously quoted, “Lord Wellington meanwhile led the Second, Sixth and Light Divisions over the river by a pontoon bridge which had been laid down higher up, and marching upon the enemy’s left, while his attention was being diverted by the Third Division, compelled him to leave Sauveterre very precipitately.”

The final driving of the enemy from the bridge-head was done by the Third Division. “About ten o’clock our division advanced and drove the enemy’s pickets over the bridge into the town. The bridge was then blown up in our faces.” It was repaired by Picton’s men next morning and the Third Division thereupon crossed the Gave d’Oloron and moving forward occupied the town of Salis. “On our march this day we were met by the peasantry of the villages we passed through bearing large branches of laurel, which they waved over our heads from each side of the road as we passed.” The Third Division encamped near Salis.

Next morning, February 26th, the Third Division with its artillery and the guns of the Second Division again moved forward, marching on Berenx, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles off over a hilly road, to secure the bridge over the Gave de Pau at that place. The French however blew up the bridge before Picton’s advanced guard could reach Berenx. The Gave was then crossed at a ford which was discovered about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the bridge. “The water,” writes an officer in the Fourth Division, which forded the river not far off, “was so intensely cold as almost to deprive me of breath. The stream was up to my hips and up to the middle of the short men.” The securing of the crossing at Berenx enabled Wellington to unite the right and left sections of his force and to concentrate on the right bank of the Gave de Pau.

The general engagement at Orthes took place next day, February 27th. The opposing armies were of about equal force, approximately 40,000 of all arms, with from forty to fifty guns on each side. Wellington had a small advantage in numbers, but he had decidedly the advantage in the quality of the troops owing to the large percentage of incompletely trained conscripts in most of the French battalions. Over 10,000 of Soult’s best men, veterans of the Peninsular battles during the past five years, had been taken from him to reinforce Napoleon. Soult’s line extended for

about five miles on the heights along which the road from Orthes to Dax runs, the right of the French position being on high ground overlooking the village of St. Boes, the left at and a little beyond the town of Orthes. Reille's corps, comprising Taupin's and Rouget's divisions, was on the right and held the formidable heights above St. Boes: D'Erlon's corps, comprising Foy's and Darmagnac's divisions, was in the centre posted along a line of narrow hog's-backed hills. Clausel's corps, comprising Villatte's and Harispe's divisions, was on the left on high ground above Orthes. Both French flanks rested on ground offering exceptional difficulty to attack. The right and centre were further protected by a stretch of swamps and marshes in the intervening valley.

On the British side Hill, with the Second and Light Divisions and Portuguese and Spanish troops, commanded on the right, facing Clausel. Picton with the Third and Sixth Divisions commanded in the centre, facing D'Erlon. Beresford, with the Fourth and Seventh Divisions and Portuguese and Spaniards, commanded on the left, facing Reille. The 94th and 88th being with the Third Division, the doings of Picton's command are our concern here.

The action opened between half-past eight and nine by the advance of the Fourth and Seventh Divisions to attack the French right and turn the St. Boes position, while Picton with the Third and Sixth Divisions advanced against the enemy's centre. Hill, who had not yet crossed the Gave de Pau, was to move two miles along the left bank and then cross higher up and deal with and outflank the French left, forcing his way round to the rear of the enemy's line.

The Sixth Division crossed the Gave de Pau early on the morning of the 27th by a pontoon bridge and then joined the Third Division. The two divisions then moved forward towards their first objective, to ascend the outlying spurs or "tongues of land" as Wellington calls them in his despatch, leading to the long ridge where the enemy's centre and right stood posted. The Light Division was brought across the river by the pontoon bridge to fill a gap of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile between Picton and Beresford, in order to connect the attacks of Picton's and Beresford's corps and also to serve as a general reserve under Wellington's immediate orders.

Picton's first work was to threaten the French centre and left and hold it fast until Beresford had broken in on the French right at St. Boes, keeping back his real attack until Beresford was well forward. Reille's position however on steep rising ground proved too strong for Beresford's Fourth and Seventh Divisions to force, in spite of four successive assaults.

Picton marched Brisbane's and Keane's brigades of the Third Division

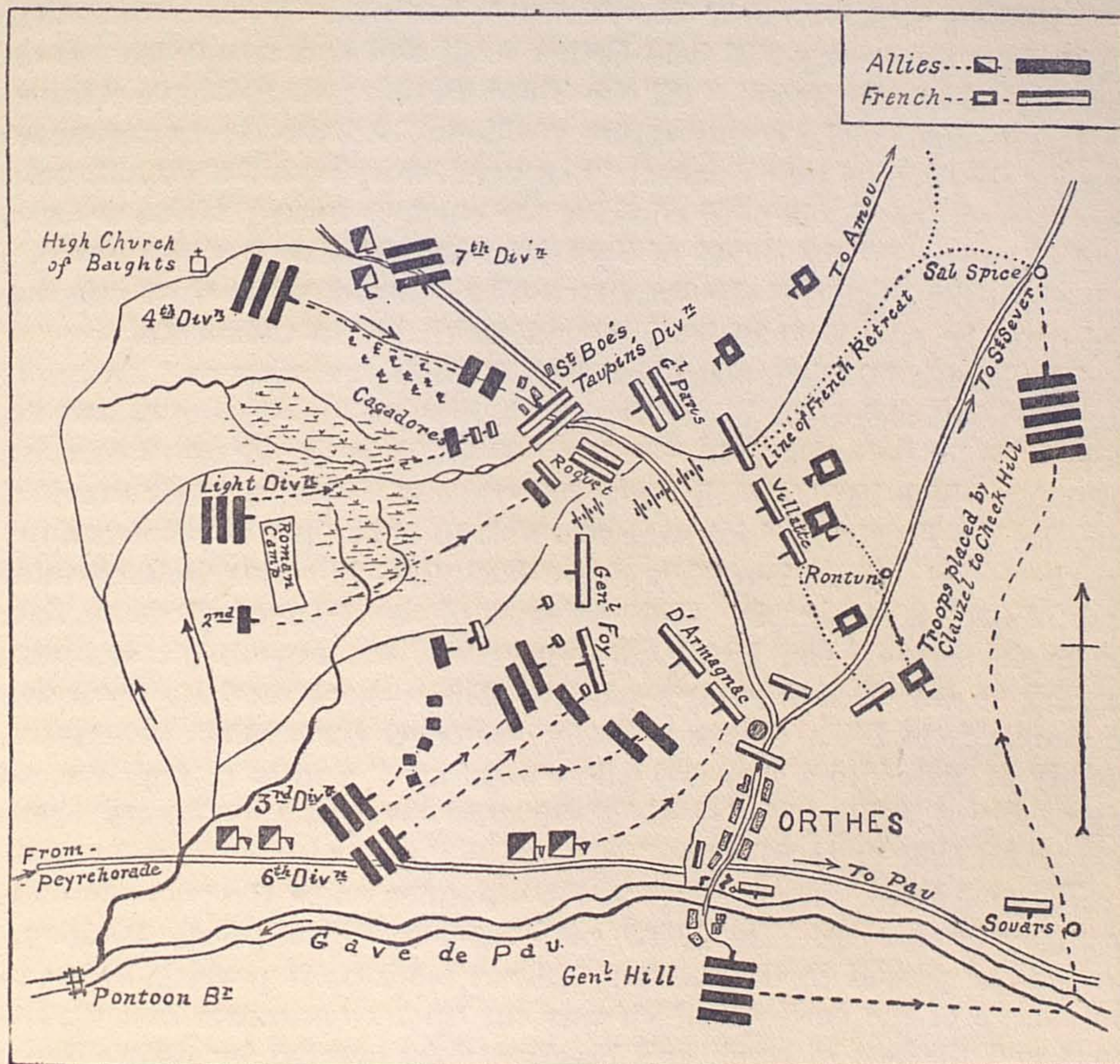
(with which were the 88th and 94th), "left in front, towards the enemy's centre position and posted it in a ravine under cover of a little hill ready to attack the French at that point as soon as circumstances should require." The 3rd Brigade (Power's) of the Third Division reached a spur near by where the Sixth Division joined them a little before seven o'clock. Picton's artillery then opened fire on Foy's left on an adjoining spur. The light companies of the 88th and 94th and the other battalions of the two divisions now pushed up the slopes towards the main ridge in front. They quickly became engaged in a general skirmishing action with Foy's tirailleurs, but no further movement was made. The check to Beresford at St. Boes held Picton back. The Third and Fourth Divisions were, in consequence, as Picton himself puts it in a letter, "for nearly two hours exposed to the most continued and severe cannonade I ever witnessed." The enemy's artillery fire against Beresford was also extended against the Third Division, the cannonade "darkening the air with their shells, some of which were carried to the hill where we stood."

Picton's opportunity at length came. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, seeing that Beresford was still unable to carry the hill above St. Boes, Wellington sent Picton orders to attack in aid of Beresford. "I altered the plan of action," says the Duke, "as to order the immediate advance of the Third and Sixth Divisions to attack the left of the height on which the enemy's right stood." Picton went forward at once. He opened his attack with Power's 3rd Brigade of his division and the Sixth Division on the left, assailing Foy's position up one spur on the hill-side, while Brisbane's and Keane's brigades in two columns made their push forward up the adjacent spur on the right.

The 3rd Brigade and Sixth Division quickly came under fire from D'Erlon's batteries on that flank while Foy's infantry met them with "a most obstinate resistance." The French infantry however were overcome and pushed back, a battery of Picton's guns doing considerable execution. Then Foy, in trying to steady his men, fell hit, badly wounded by a grape shot. His fall was seen and caused, as a French officer writes, "un découragement sensible." The enemy gave ground and fell back after that, under a heavy fire from the artillery of the Third Division. Brisbane's brigade (with which was the 88th) and Keane's (with which was the 94th) had meanwhile a stiff task. The opposition to them was determined, and progress consequently slow. One French counter-attack checked and drove back Brisbane's leading battalion, but it rallied quickly and again advanced.

Picton's columns then inclined towards the enemy in front of Beresford and began to press in on the left flank of Rouget's division of Reille's

corps. To aid Beresford, Wellington had a short time before sent forward the 52nd from the advanced brigade of the Light Division against the right flank of Rouget's division. The attack of the Third Division on Rouget's left flank, while the 52nd assailed Rouget's right flank, broke down the French defence in front of Beresford. The double attack on his



ORTHES.
27th February, 1814.

left and right flanks overpowered Rouget and compelled him to give way. Pressed on both sides his men evacuated their position on the ridge above St. Boes and retreated in disorder.

The break of the enemy in that quarter of the battlefield decided the fate of the day for Soult at Orthes. The final victorious on sweep of the

brigades of the Third Division which followed is thus described by the officer of the Third Division whose journal has been previously quoted.

"A loud cheering (audible notwithstanding the roar of the cannon and rattling of the musketry) at this time drew general attention to the Third Division, which was forcing its way to the enemy's main position enveloped in fire and smoke."

"Nothing decisive could be affected," continues the narrator, after saying how the enemy still held Orthes itself and had troops massed on the ridge above the town, "till the Third Division should have finished its task of forcing the enemy centre positions. All the eleven regiments forming the division were desperately engaged, carrying hill after hill, until they were at length observed climbing the enemy's main position under a loud cheering and the sound of light infantry bugles. A sharp struggle ensued on the ridge and the French cavalry charged, while their infantry fled over the vast tract of level ground which lay in their rear."

The Fourth Division, when Rouget's division gave way and broke, at once attacked and drove back Taupin's division on the heights behind St. Boes. No longer exposed to the deadly enfilade fire of Rouget's flanking batteries, which had been the principal cause of defeat to their previous assaults, the Fourth Division were now able to fight their way successfully up on to the ridge, where they drove back Taupin's now isolated force and followed it in pursuit. Hill's columns of the right wing, all by then across the Gave de Pau, had meanwhile turned the French left and were heading to cut off the enemy's retreat. The menace to the French line of retreat from Hill's approach finally converted the enemy's retirement, orderly at first, into a rout and wild confusion—"a mass of fugitives, all arms mingled, flying pell-mell whilst our guns were pouring shrapnel shells and round shot amongst them."

The action was over by three in the afternoon when the pursuit of the enemy was taken up. The Third, with the Fourth and Sixth Divisions, headed the pursuit in the centre: difficult work as it proved, owing to the nature of the country, which was cut up by enclosures and narrow lanes and thickets of scrub and brushwood intersected by deep ditches and marshy streams. Until the final break away and scattering, as Hill neared, Soult was endeavouring to make a stand on a second ridge some way in rear with three of his divisions, Villatte's, Darmagnac's and Harispe's, while other rallied divisions formed in rear. Picton was closing on Darmagnac when the stampede set in and Soult's effort collapsed. The follow-up was continued until nightfall, by which time the fugitives were mostly over the Luy de Béarn River at the bridge near Sault de Navailles village, between 5 and 6 miles from Orthes. Again Soult, halting Villatte's and

Harispe's divisions, the least affected by the panic, took advantage of high ground and a strong natural position at the bridge over the Luy de Béarn to make a stand for covering the retreat. Wellington proposed to force him back at once, but darkness came on before the arrangements for the attack could be completed. The Allied force then bivouacked near the Luy. Soult retreated during the night along the main road leading north to St. Sever, 15 to 20 miles off, near the Adour and on the southern fringe of the sandy desert country of the Landes.

The Passage of the Adour near Bayonne, Wellington's primary object in the Orthes operations, had been successfully carried out by Hope's corps between February 24th and 26th. Bayonne itself, both the fortress and the entrenched camp, were closely invested on both sides of the Adour. To follow Soult up hard and to force the defeated French army back into the barren and inhospitable sandy desert tract of the Landes north-east of the Upper Adour now became Wellington's next objective. The move had a double purpose. By driving Soult into the Landes, Wellington would at the same time be placing himself between Soult and Suchet, should Suchet be coming to Soult's aid. The possibility of Suchet coming into the campaign was an ever-present anxiety to Wellington's mind.

The pursuit was resumed from the Luy de Béarn on the morning of February 28th, when the advance was made in three columns. Hill's corps was on the right. Picton, with the Third, Fourth and Sixth Divisions, and the Hussar Brigade and reserve artillery, was in the centre, following the high road to St. Sever. Beresford, with the Light and Seventh Divisions, was on the left.

The neighbourhood of St. Sever was reached in the afternoon and Soult was found in position across the Adour on the right bank, as though he intended to dispute the passage. A strong rearguard force was seen ranged in order of battle on heights commanding the Adour bridge. Orders for an attack next day were given, but during the night the French evacuated St. Sever, Soult continuing his retreat along the right bank of the Adour towards Grenade, 6 or 7 miles eastward, with one division marching on the left bank of the river. The Adour was crossed and the march in pursuit resumed next day, in the course of which Beresford was detached with the Fourth and Seventh Divisions and the left-wing troops to capture Soult's magazines at Mont-de-Marsan, 8 miles north of St. Servan, and then to proceed on special service to Bordeaux. Soult from Grenade turned south-east along the right bank of the Adour, to make a stand, as he hoped, at Aire.

The French rearguard of two divisions was overtaken on the way to Aire during the afternoon of March 1st by the light companies, acting as

advanced guard to Picton's centre column, at the village of Cazeres, on the right bank of the river, about 5 miles from Aire. Two attacks to ascertain the enemy's strength and dispositions were made and a general attack was ordered for next morning, as Soult had halted his main column a little to rear on either flank of the two divisions, as though willing to accept battle. The British centre column on March 2nd attacked the two French rearguard divisions, while Hill's column made a wide move round to outflank Soult, approaching Aire from the north-west. Hill's attack was resisted stubbornly and with some success for a time, but it eventually drove the enemy in, more or less in disorder, and towards evening Soult retreated again, leaving Aire to fall into Wellington's hands.

Heavy snow during the night after the action and driving squalls of rain and sleet during March 3rd compelled Wellington to halt. The saturated country—the weather had been wet persistently during the past ten days—and the flooded streams, in front which now became raging torrents in spate, prevented pontoon bridges being laid. It was impossible either to move troops or to bring up supplies. "It became necessary," says the Third Division commissariat officer previously quoted, under date March 3rd, "to allow the troops to go into quarters and they were put up in the huts and cottages about the country, the division headquarters and the Portuguese Brigade occupying Cazeres."

Wellington's enforced halt gave Soult a long start on the new line of retreat that he decided on after Aire, and touch with the enemy was in consequence lost for several days. Soult on being hustled past Aire had decided to abandon his idea of eventually retiring on Bordeaux, and instead to transfer his line of operations to the neighbourhood of Toulouse. By falling back in that direction he would further, calculated Soult, be within reach of help from Suchet who at last seemed to be inclined to come up through Catalonia to Soult's aid in the South of France.

Wellington remained in the vicinity of Aire with his troops in cantonments until March 9th. Having by then learned of Soult's whereabouts he moved forward eastward and southward in the track of the enemy towards Vielle, from 10 to 12 miles from Aire. There the unexpected news came in that Soult had stopped his retreat and was advancing. Soult had heard just before that Beresford's wing had been detached to Bordeaux and expected to find Wellington with a materially weakened force. Wellington on the other hand took it that Soult's sudden display of boldness meant that part at least of Suchet's force had joined. He halted his forces and concentrated about Aire. Soult's leading columns made their appearance on March 14th, but, after a reconnaissance of Wellington's outposts remained stationary until the 16th. Soult then retired, followed cautiously

by Wellington's advanced troops. Still under the impression that at least 10,000 of Suchet's men were with Soult, Wellington refrained from pressing the enemy, until the Fourth Division and other outlying troops came in on March 17th, bringing Wellington's numbers up to some 55,000 of all arms.

Wellington moved forward on March 18th southward in the direction of Tarbes with the intention of cutting Soult off from Toulouse. The Third Division, with the Sixth and two Spanish Divisions, all under Picton, marched directly by Maubourgue towards Vic de Bigorre, a small town at which a cross-road joined the main road from Aire to Tarbes.

On March 19th came the combat of Vic de Bigorre, fought by the Third Division against D'Erlon's corps. Vic de Bigorre lay a short distance to the south-east of Soult's line of retreat, and about 9 miles to the north of Tarbes, on which Soult was falling back. It being reported to Soult that enemy troops were moving towards Vic de Bigorre, the marshal on the 18th posted a cavalry brigade there. Later intelligence then came that the British were approaching Vic de Bigorre in considerable force, and to prevent his right flank from being turned, Soult, early on the 19th, hastily despatched D'Erlon there with two divisions. D'Erlon, to his great surprise on reaching Vic de Bigorre, found the French cavalry driven out and Bock's dragoons of the King's German Legion, whom Picton had sent forward, in possession. D'Erlon compelled the dragoons to quit, and then almost immediately Picton's advanced troops, the light companies of the Third Division, made their appearance. The ground on every side of Vic de Bigorre offered good facilities for defence, thick-set vineyards ("a perfect forest of vineyards" as an officer puts it) with hedges and ditches between, half encircling the town in front and running close beside and lining the road. D'Erlon rushed up the leading battalions of his foremost division at the double, rapidly deployed his tirailleurs among the vineyards and on each side of the road and sent forward four guns to enfilade the approach along the road. His second division D'Erlon posted south of Vic de Bigorre, between it and the Adour.

Picton, with whom now was Wellington, attacked at once as the column came up, sending in the light companies to right and left to skirmish among the vineyard enclosures and the adjoining fields. "The attack," says an officer, "wore the appearance of as disagreeable an affair as the division had ever encountered. The enemy were completely concealed and had much advantage from the avenues being known to them." They took full advantage of the cover afforded by the enclosures and hedges. "Our Division," describes Donaldson, "advanced up the main road to the attack until the enemy's artillery which commanded the road

forced us to strike into the fields to right and left. We drove them from one field to another while they contested the ground with the greatest obstinacy at every hedge and ditch, giving us a volley as we came up and then retreating to the next fence." The fighting lasted until about three in the afternoon, obstinately contested all the time. D'Erlon then drew off one of his divisions to high ground beyond the village, leaving the other to hold on against the Light Division till it became dark. From the heights a few shells were thrown into the town as the Third Division reached there and began to pass through. D'Erlon at nightfall fell back with both of his divisions to the south of Vic de Bigorre. He halted there until next morning to cover the retreat of the rest of Soult's army on Tarbes during the night. The Third Division followed for two miles beyond the town and then bivouacked as other troops came up.

The casualties of the 94th at Vic de Bigorre numbered twenty-one, including one officer wounded. It was a light list considering the nature of the fighting, but the largest casualty list in the Division.

Wellington advanced on Tarbes next day (March 20th) and a rear-guard action with D'Erlon took place in the neighbourhood during the afternoon. Soult, after making a show of resistance, now drew off his main body along the road to Toulouse, leaving D'Erlon to cover the retreat. The retirement was unexpected and a disappointment. There had been a persistent rumour that Soult had announced his intention of fighting. "We were informed that the French marshal had declared he would fight on the heights to the last man." The Third Division was in support on this occasion and was not engaged, the brunt of the encounter falling on the Sixth and Light Divisions and part of Hill's corps. On D'Erlon withdrawing to follow Soult "the Second and Third Divisions marched through the town in triumph, with their bands playing and bugles sounding. The inhabitants, who appeared to be chiefly women, assembled in the streets to see the novelty of a British army, crying 'Vive les Anglais!' and 'Vive Angleterre!'"

Soult, by dint of pushing his men ahead at headlong speed, "the rear-guards and flank guards employed unceasingly in whipping up the laggards," reached Toulouse during March 24th. Hardly any pursuit was made from Tarbes. Wellington, for one thing, was hampered by contradictory and disquieting news as to Suchet's movements, and by a widespread report that Napoleon had fallen back on Orleans and might move south to combine with Soult. He therefore advanced with great caution. The "appalling" weather conditions, continuous rain and the roads "knee-deep in mud and water" in addition made progress towards Toulouse extremely slow. In consequence of these delays it was not until March

25th that Wellington's advanced troops were again within a striking distance of Soult, near Muret, 6 miles south of Toulouse.

Soult on Wellington's approach withdrew the greater part of his troops within the outworks and *enciente* of the fortress, on the far side of the Garonne and behind the Languedoc Canal, along the northern and eastern sides of the city, fortifying the locks and bridges.

Little time to make good his defences was allowed the marshal. Wellington, after a reconnaissance of Soult's position, decided to cross the Garonne above Toulouse and attack on the south, where the city was without the protection of the canal. He laid down his pontoon bridge about four miles from the outworks on the night of March 30th and sent Hill's corps across the river next morning. The Third Division, with Freire's two Spanish divisions, moved up near the bridge in support of Hill. Wellington, however, altered his arrangements two days later. He withdrew Hill from across the river on April 3rd and had the pontoon bridge taken up and re-laid on the night of April 4th, between 3 and 4 miles below Toulouse.

The Third, Fourth and Sixth Divisions, with three cavalry brigades and three batteries of artillery, crossed the Garonne during the 5th. The horses were led over in single file and the guns dragged over by hand, while the bands played "The Downfall of Paris," a favourite march tune with the Peninsular Army. As a fact Marmont in Paris had hoisted the white flag a week previously—on March 30th—and had sent officers to the Allied Head-quarters notifying the surrender of the capital. The crossing was risky work, as heavy rain had again been falling for three days; the river was rising fast and the bridge had begun to sag in the middle under stress of the strong down-stream current. The bridge indeed broke not long after the crossing. One of the pontoons was carried away, and the French then floated down dead horses, tree-trunks and a stone-laden barge in the hope of destroying the remainder of the bridge. The attempt failed and the barge capsized, but as the river continued to rise, it was three days, not until April 8th, that the bridge could be re-laid. It was passable on the 9th and communications fully restored.

During the three days Hill, Picton and Beresford were out of touch with each other and the army was to all intents broken into three parts, entirely separated from each other, in grave danger of being attacked and overpowered in detail. Soult, however, "to the amazement of his officers," refrained from seizing his opportunity. Picton's command in particular was exposed to attack, and Wellington, anxious in consequence at the situation, visited the Third Division camp daily. "Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford," says the Third Division commissariat officer in his

journal, "crossed the river together in a little boat, mounted dragoon horses on the other side and joined the troops. Considering the enemy's vast superiority of numbers it is surprising that they did not come out of their works and attack this small force whose ammunition might have been exhausted. Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford returned in the evening."

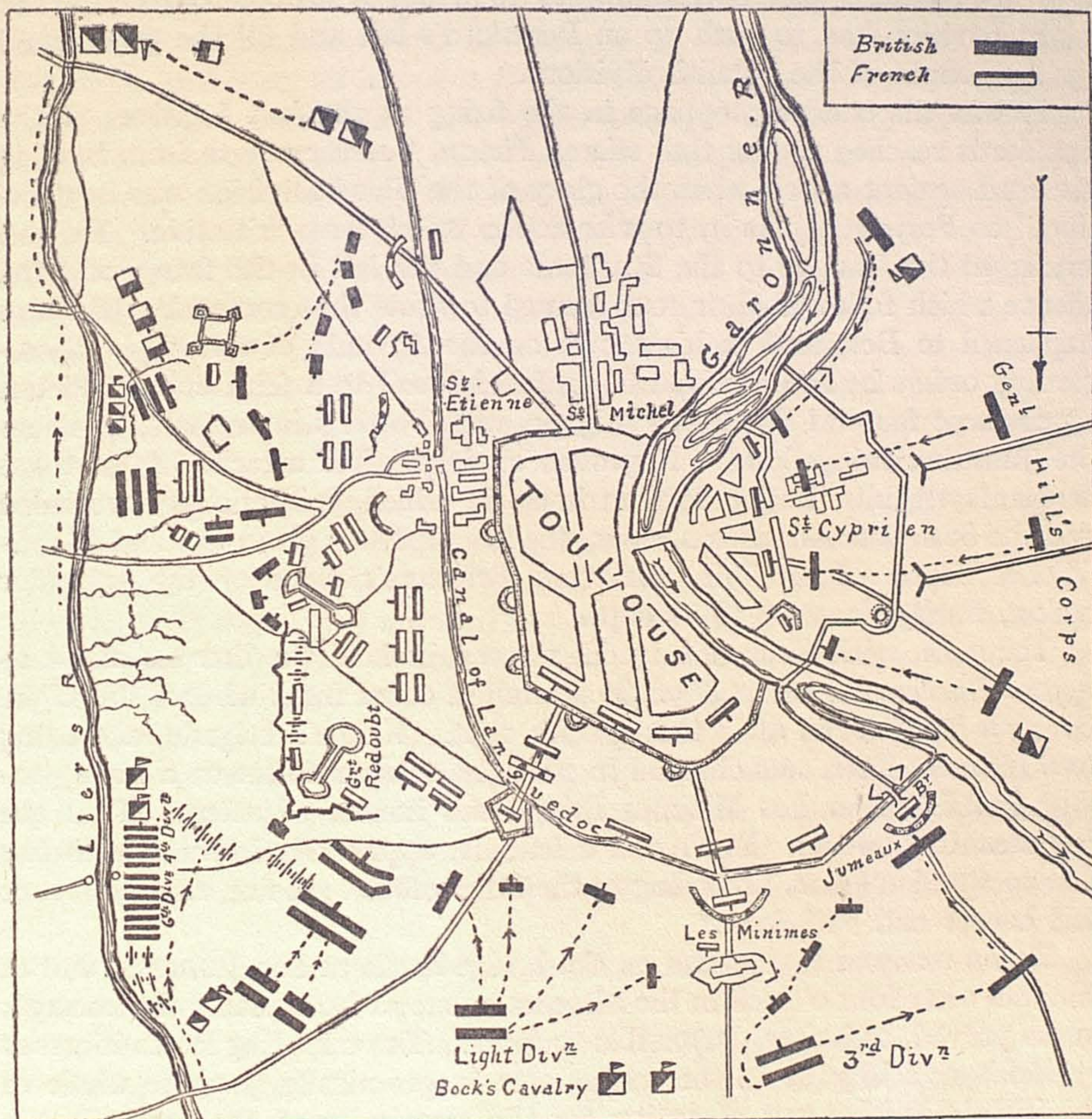
April 10th (Easter Sunday) was the day of the Battle of Toulouse. The sector allotted to the Third Division was opposite the north front of the fortress. It lay along the Languedoc Canal * from the Garonne to the canal bridge near the suburban village of Les Minimes, on a front of about 2,000 yards. The 94th with Keane's brigade were at the Minimes bridge end of the position. Brisbane's brigade, in which was the 88th, faced the enemy at the Jumeaux Bridge towards the river end of Picton's line. Picton's orders were to deliver a series of feint attacks in co-operation with the Light Division, which latter force extended the British line along the canal on Colville's left. Opposite the Third and Light Divisions on the other side of the Languedoc Canal and holding the bridges, was ranged Darricau's division, for the most part under cover of outlying garden enclosures and small houses.

The Third Division first came into action between eight and nine o'clock, as it moved up to its battle front, the light companies in advance engaging Darricau's tirailleurs. These were posted in cottages and garden ground on the near side of the Languedoc Canal. The 88th and Brisbane's other battalions, after driving the French sharpshooters in and back over the canal, had a sharp fight at a large house in front of the Jumeaux Bridge and then firmly established themselves there. The light companies of the 94th and Keane's brigade, at the same time and in like manner, forced back the French outlying pickets opposing their advance and captured Les Minimes Village and the walled enclosures on both sides of the road adjoining the bridge, which also they seized and held. Power with the 3rd Brigade of the Division was in support of Keane's left, in rear of Les Minimes Village. After that, in pursuance of Wellington's orders for the feint attack, while the attacks on the fronts of the fortress elsewhere were taking place they held Darricau fast by musketry across the canal. So the battle went in front of Picton until between eleven o'clock and noon.

Hill's corps, on the immediate right of Picton, was during this time making a false attack on the St. Cyprien suburb of Toulouse across the Garonne, lying in a loop of the river on Hill's side of the Garonne.

* The Canal de Languedoc, or Canal du Midi, was 65 feet wide and between 6 and 7 feet deep. It had been constructed in Louis XIV's time to connect the Atlantic Ocean with the Mediterranean. There was a line of trees along it on both banks.

About eleven o'clock took place the ill-fated attack of Freire's Spanish divisions, who were on the left of the Light Division sector, against the Great Redoubt on the Calvinet Ridge, on the opposite side of the city to Picton. Counter-attacked unexpectedly by Darmagnac the Spaniards were



TOULOUSE.
10th April, 1814.

seized with panic. They bolted back in utter confusion under a heavy fire of cannon and a musketry fusillade from the French. Some of the fugitives made for the bridge of Minimes to seek safety with Keane's men. "We saw them," says the previously quoted Third Division commissariat officer, who apparently watched from near where the 94th were, near

Minimes, "hastening down the hill into the plain pursued by the enemy, who quitted their works and seemed resolved to exterminate the poor fellows altogether, until our Light Division, showing itself, prepared to take the task off the hands of the Spaniards, when the enemy fled back into his redoubts and entrenchments to avoid a British charge." The Light Division had to push up on Beresford's left and fill the gap caused by the retreat of the Spanish divisions.

It was the sudden stoppage in the firing as the last fugitives of the Spaniards reached shelter that stirred Picton, "never averse from butting his head against a wall when the glory of the Third Division was in question," as Fortescue puts it, to take action on his own initiative. He had witnessed the disaster to the Spaniards and the lull in the firing, and the silence which followed their rout seemed to show that something had also happened to Beresford in his attack on the far side of the city. Disregarding orders he had received to confine himself to a feint attack, Picton hastily sent forward Brisbane's brigade, with Power's in support, to storm the Jumeaux bridge-head. It proved an impossible attack. After three desperate assaults, lasting half an hour, in which Brisbane was wounded and the 88th suffered serious losses, the attempt was given up, and Lieut.-Colonel Taylor of the 88th, who took Brisbane's place on the brigadier falling, finally drew off the troops.

The 94th, with Keane's brigade, meanwhile held the line extended to oppose Darricau along most of the stretch of canal front whence the Light Division had moved after the Spanish rout. Keane's brigade, according to a French officer, was checked in several attempts to storm a large convent building near Les Minimes Bridge and houses adjacent. After the last assault, however, the French defenders, apparently hopeless of being able to stand another, according to the same officer, set fire to the convent and houses and withdrew.*

Picton renewed his attacks on the bridge-heads at Les Jumeaux and at Minimes after four o'clock in the afternoon, but at both places the enemy's works proved, as before, impossible to force. The crippling losses incurred by Brisbane's brigade in the earlier attack, practically put the whole of the Third Division out of action for the remainder of the day. Picton until the battle ceased had to revert once more to exchanges of musketry with Darricau across the canal. Firing in that quarter went on till after dark.

The final phase of the action was Beresford's successful attack with the Fourth and Sixth Divisions on the St. Sypière Redoubt and the Mont

* *La Bataille de Toulouse. Après documents les plus récents, 1914. H. Geschwend and F. de Gélis.*

Rave position on the east side of Toulouse. It took place while Picton with his second attack was keeping Darricau's division fully occupied. Towards five o'clock in the afternoon Soult abandoned the contest and retired within his inner lines.

The action was not renewed on April 11th. Wellington had to wait until more ammunition could be brought up. Soult evacuated Toulouse that night and drew off unopposed. He took the direction of Carcassonne, the rendezvous that Soult had appointed with Suchet for their joining forces—a meeting, however, that was not brought about.

The appearance of white Bourbon flags flying on the ramparts of Toulouse on the morning of April 12th told Wellington that Soult had gone. He entered the city at ten o'clock, and was met at the gates by the local authorities and escorted to the great square in front of the Hôtel de Ville, where two British cavalry regiments had preceded him and were lined up. All the balconies round the square, every window and even the house-tops were crowded with well-dressed females crying "Vive le Roi," and "Vive les Bourbons."

An official despatch from Paris with the news of the abdication of Napoleon and the appointment of a Provisional Government was brought to Wellington that evening. The intelligence was forwarded to Soult and received next day. The marshal however demurred at accepting the information until he himself had been informed officially from Paris, which led to a move forward by Hill's corps and the Third, Fourth and Sixth Divisions to Villefranque on the road to Carcassonne on April 16th and 17th. Soult then received the instructions he required and agreed on April 18th to a suspension of arms. The British thereupon withdrew to the neighbourhood of Toulouse again.

So ended the war service of the 94th, the former Scotch Brigade.

The following are the principal actions in which the Scotch Brigade and 94th took part between 1793 and 1818:

As Scotch Brigade: *Sybille* v. *La Forte*; Seringapatam.

As 94th (Scotch Brigade): Asseerghur; Argaum, Gawilghar.

As 94th: Cadiz and Matagorda; Redinha; Sabugal; Fuentes de Oñoro; Ciudad Rodrigo; Badajoz; Salamanca; Vittoria; Sorauren; Nivelles; Nive; Orthes; Vic de Bigorre; Toulouse.

It was not until 1847 that a medal for the Peninsular War was granted, the "General Service Medal" for campaigns between 1806 and 1814, which in 1850 was extended to include the Egypt Campaign of 1801.

Only 141 Officers and Men of the 94th were then alive and claimed it.

CHAPTER LVI

THE RETURN OF THE 94th AFTER THE PENINSULAR WAR. STATIONED IN IRELAND. BATTLE HONOURS FOR THE PENINSULAR WAR GRANTED. "SERINGAPATAM" BATTLE HONOUR GRANTED. THE 94th ORDERED TO BE DISBANDED. LAYING UP OF THE COLOURS IN EDINBURGH CASTLE.

1814-1818

THE 94th, with the Third Division, was quartered at the town of Grenade, 15 miles north of Toulouse, until the end of May. The battalion then marched to Bordeaux and thence to Pauillac on the estuary of the Gironde. At Pauillac the 94th embarked on board the *San Domingo* line-of-battle ship for the Cove of Cork (the former name of Queenstown). It arrived and disembarked there on June 14th 1814. "Our regiment," says Donaldson, "was nearly 900 strong when we first went out to the Peninsula. We received at various times 400 recruits. When we left the country our strength was about 250, out of which number not more than 150 remained who went out with the regiment."

After two or three days in billets in Cork the 94th marched to Fermoy, where the battalion was quartered in barracks for a week or ten days. It proceeded then to its station, Wexford, and was stationed there for nine months. At Wexford the 94th had its first spell of rest after the Peninsular War. Arrears of pay for several months was received and liberal leave and furlough were granted. Being still virtually the "Scotch Brigade" with Edinburgh as its depôt, recruiting parties were sent to Scotland to bring the 94th up to establishment.

Intimation was received at Wexford that by a General Order of March 1815 the Honour

"PENINSULA"

had been granted to the 94th, together with all regiments which had served under Wellington between August 1808 and April 1814.

Major-General Sir Charles Colville, under whom the 94th served in the Peninsular War, as has been related, was appointed Colonel of the Regiment

on April 29th 1815, in succession to General Lord Hill. He retained the Colonelcy until the disbandment in 1818.

Kilkenny was the next station of the battalion. The district round was in a state of unrest, and for most of the three months at Kilkenny the companies were distributed in detachments among various villages. In 1816 came the final move to Dublin, where the 94th remained until in December 1818 the order for disbandment was received.

At Dublin in March 1818, the notification was received through *The London Gazette* of March 7th, of the grant to the 94th of the following additional Honours for service in the late war.

" CIUDAD RODRIGO "	|	" VITTORIA "
" BADAJOZ "	|	" NIVELLE "
" SALAMANCA "	|	" ORTHES "
" TOULOUSE. "		

The General Order was dated February 11th 1818.

The grant of the Honour

" SERINGAPATAM "

was announced in a War Office Memorandum of June 24th 1818. The Honour was granted to all the King's Regiments in India that were engaged in the Siege: the 19th Light Dragoons, 22nd (late 25th) Light Dragoons, the 12th, 33rd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 77th and 94th Foot, "in commemoration," as it was stated, "of the distinguished gallantry displayed by those regiments in the storming of Seringapatam in the month of May 1799." The Honour had been approved by the Prince Regent on May 22nd a month previously, through the special representations of Lord Harris, the Commander-in-Chief in the Mysore Campaign, backed by the powerful influence of the Duke of Wellington (Colonel Arthur Wellesley in 1799).

"Seringapatam," the first Honour won by the 94th, was the last that the battalion was destined to receive. Already the 94th had been marked down for disbandment. Politicians in and out of Parliament were frantically clamouring for a wholesale reduction of the Army, and the Government had to yield. The general situation in Great Britain indeed was extraordinarily like that after the Great War of 1914-18: unprecedented depression in trade, shipping and agriculture, social unrest, and an unreasoning popular outcry to return at once to the Army and Navy establishments of the year before the war—to the 1792 establishment when Great Britain had for Home Defence, and the defence of all the British

possessions all over the world, an army of fewer than 60,000 officers and men. Between the end of 1814 and the beginning of 1818 160,000 regulars were disbanded, including all second battalions, and also 80,000 militia, but the cry was kept up that more must go. In response the establishment for 1818-19 was ordered to be cut down by a further 22,000 of all ranks, and thereupon the 94th were marked down for disbandment.

In July 1818, on the return to Great Britain of the regiments of the "Army of Occupation" in France, the disbandment was ordered of all cavalry regiments numbered beyond the 17th Lancers, and of all infantry regiments beyond the 93rd Highlanders. The 94th thus most unfortunately just came within the ban. The officers were placed on the half-pay list and the formal disbandment of the battalion took place on December 24th in Dublin.

The closing incidents in the career of the 94th Scotch Brigade were the laying up of the Peninsular War Colours in the Armoury of Edinburgh Castle and the presentation of a sword-of-honour as a token of regard and affection to the veteran Commanding Officer, Brevet-Colonel Sir James Campbell, K.C.B.*

In a biographical notice of Colonel Campbell, giving an outline of his career with the Scotch Brigade and 94th in India and Spain, published in *The Royal Military Calendar*, Vol. IV, in 1820, the following is said: "This officer has been twice severely wounded, at the battles of Salamanca and Vittoria, and has been publicly thanked for his services on many occasions. For his conduct in the Peninsula he has the honour of wearing the Cross and one Clasp; and he is a Companion of the Bath and a Knight of the Tower and Sword of Portugal. On the 4th of June 1813 (in the Birthday Gazette) he had the brevet of Colonel, and on the 12th of August 1819 that of Major-General."

In 1831, as is noted further on (p. 309), Major-General Campbell was appointed Colonel of the 94th Foot raised in 1823, thus adding another link to the connection of the 94th (Scotch Brigade) with the 94th which in 1881 became the 2nd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers.

* The sword was one of the most admired exhibits at the great Military Exhibition in Chelsea in 1890.

CHAPTER LVII

THE 94th RECONSTITUTED. THE OFFICERS FIRST APPOINTED. FORMER OFFICERS OF THE 94th GAZETTED. RECRUITING OF THE RANK AND FILE. FROM GLASGOW TO EDINBURGH. ORDERED TO GIBRALTAR.

1823

THE 94th which succeeded the 94th (Scotch Brigade) and ultimately became the Second Battalion of the Connaught Rangers, was ordered to be raised in December 1823. In consequence of expected serious trouble in the West Indies, where a general rising of the negro population of the islands was believed to be imminent, and the disturbed state of Ireland, the British Government found it necessary to increase the infantry establishment of the Army by six regiments, which were to be numbered from 94 to 99 inclusive.

The officers appointed to the 94th were all drawn from the Half Pay List and the Royal Veteran Battalions, the announcement of the names of those first appointed being gazetted on December 1st. They were as follows :—

Major-General Sir Thomas Bradford, K.C.B. To be Colonel.
Lieut.-Colonel W. G. White, C.B., 48th Foot (Half Pay). To be
Lieut.-Colonel.
Bt. Lieut.-Colonel James Allan, 56th Foot (Half Pay).
Major P. F. Thorne, 60th Foot (Half Pay).
Bt. Major W. Gray, 3rd Roy. Vet. Bn.
Captain G. Crozier, 44th Foot (Half Pay).
„ Jas. Kirkman, 2nd Roy. Vet. Bn.
„ David Munro, 94th Foot (Half Pay).
„ W. A. Craig, 1st Roy. Vet. Bn.
„ G. F. Lindsay, 22nd Foot (Half Pay).
„ A. Bacon, 18th Light Dragoons (Half Pay).
Lieutenant John Orr, 89th Foot (Half Pay).
„ Alexr. Stewart, 2nd Roy. Vet. Bn.
„ R. Sadlier, 3rd Roy. Vet. Bn.
„ Thos. Workman, 65th Foot (Half Pay).

Lieutenant	Alexr. Innes, 42nd Foot (Half Pay).
„	John Armet, 40th Foot (Half Pay).
„	B. Hartley, 2nd Roy. Vet. Bn.
„	Henry Nicholls, 1st Roy. Vet. Bn.
„	T. R. Timbrell, Rifle Brigade (Half Pay).
„	Chas. Gascoigne from 54th Foot.
Ensign	Willm. Belford, 34th Foot (Half Pay).
„	John Bickerton, 1st Roy. Vet. Bn.
„	W. J. Coward, 1st Roy. Vet. Bn.
„	J. Alexander, 1st Roy. Vet. Bn.
„	J. A. Kingdom, 94th Foot (Half Pay).
„	J. Wetherall, 85th Foot (Half Pay).

Additional appointments of officers were made in succeeding *Gazettes*. The establishment when completed included five officers of the former 94th (Scotch Brigade). They were: Bt. Lieut.-Colonel Allan: Captain (Bt. Major) James Bogle (appointed December 25th): Captain David Munro, Lieutenant T. R. Timbrell, and Ensign J. A. Kingdom. Of these Lieut.-Colonel Allan and Major Bogle had seen service with the 94th Scotch Brigade in both the Indian and Peninsular Wars.

Major-General Sir Thomas Bradford was promoted to Lieut.-General in May 1825. He continued to be Colonel of the 94th until April 17th 1829.

The establishment of the battalion was at the outset fixed at 650 men.

Head-quarters were ordered to be established in Glasgow, with a detachment at Paisley, and recruiting was directed to commence throughout Great Britain and Ireland in accordance with a circular memorandum, issued on December 4th to the Inspecting Field Officers of Recruiting. The entire recruiting staff of the Army everywhere was ordered to be employed in raising men for the new regiments. In addition, several of the newly appointed officers were sent out on recruiting duty. The 94th was exceptionally fortunate. So successful were the recruiting arrangements that, by an order dated January 8th 1824, more than sufficient men had been enrolled and recruiting for the battalion was ordered to cease.

The South of Scotland supplied the majority of the recruits, but several parties of recruits were sent to Glasgow from London, and also from Ireland. Upwards of a hundred recruits came from Ireland, many of them from Cork. On the first day at Cork, according to a paragraph in *The Edinburgh Advertiser* of December 23rd, "Captain Craig of the 94th with three other officers paraded through the streets of the town with a party of drums and fifes and in less than two hours had enlisted twenty-five fine young men." Another newspaper records the marching through London and



LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR THOMAS BRADFORD, G.C.B., G.C.H.

Colonel 94th.

1st December 1823—17th April 1829.

Westminster of a batch of recruits for the 94th on the way to Glasgow. Recruiting for the battalion was also very successful in Edinburgh, where, according to the novelist James Grant, in the preface to one of his books ("The King's Own Borderers"), "the green standard of the old brigade of gallant memory was borne through the streets from the Castle of Edinburgh." As to that story, it is rather curious to find that no mention of the incident appears in any Edinburgh or other Scottish newspaper, all of which recorded news in connection with the 94th every week regularly. James Grant, it may be remarked also, was a child of two at the time. Round Edinburgh was the most fruitful recruiting field of all for the 94th. "In one district alone," according to *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* of January 1st 1824, "between 300 and 400 fine young men have been recruited in the course of a few days." In the result, when the recruits were finally assembled in Glasgow, it was found that instead of 617, the establishment fixed for N.C.O.'s and men, no fewer than 1,007 in all had enrolled for the 94th. The surplus of men volunteered thereupon, it is stated, for the 96th and 99th.

The battalion, according to a letter from the Secretary at War (Lord Palmerston) to General Bradford on December 12th, was officially ordered to be placed on the establishment of the Army as from December 25th 1823. The facings were, by a Horse Guards Circular Letter of December 22nd, ordered to be green, the facings colour of the 94th Scotch Brigade. No application, it would appear, was made to revive the former title of "Scotch Brigade," and the battalion appeared in the Army List simply as the 94th.

1824

The battalion remained at Glasgow until February 10th, when orders were received to march to Edinburgh Castle. "They are all young, fresh-looking fellows, and considering the short time they have been embodied, promise to make good soldiers," says a paragraph in *The Edinburgh Advertiser* in reporting the arrival of the 94th.

The stay of the battalion in Edinburgh was brief. On March 8th orders came for the 94th to hold itself in readiness to embark from Greenock for Gibraltar.

CHAPTER LVIII

FOREIGN SERVICE. GIBRALTAR. PRESENTATION OF THE FIRST COLOURS.
EPIDEMIC AT GIBRALTAR. MALTA. IRELAND.

1824

THE embarkation for Gibraltar took place at the end of April and during May, the battalion proceeding in three detachments, totalling twenty officers and 601 N.C.O.'s and men. They then proceeded in different transports, which arrived at Gibraltar on May 23rd and on June 14th and 21st respectively. Two captains and two subalterns remained behind at the Dépôt, which, on the battalion sailing, was established at Albany Barracks, Isle of Wight. The Dépôt continued there until April 1825, when it moved to Stonehouse Barracks, Plymouth.

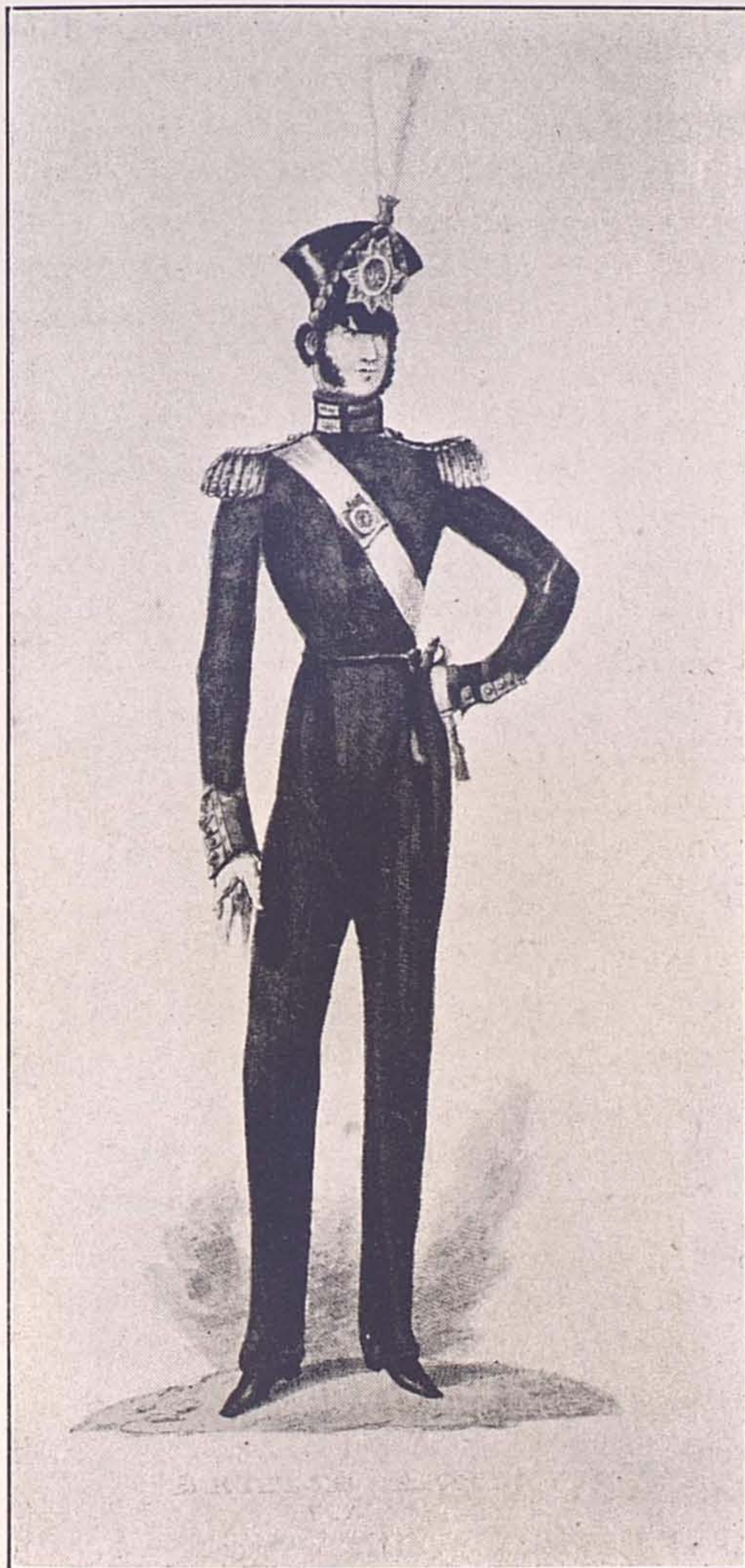
1825

At Gibraltar, on April 21st 1825, the 94th received its first Colours, which were presented on the occasion by Mrs. Allan, wife of Major Allan. General Sir George Don, G.C.B., G.C.H., the Governor, and the regiments of the garrison attended the ceremony. The address made by Mrs. Allan was in the following words:—

“ I feel proud of the distinguished honour of presenting to this young and aspiring corps these sacred banners, emblems of purity, honour and glory, which I now confide to your valour and care. I trust, in the hour of danger, they will be your guide to the achievement of deeds of fame, and that, so long as the blood flows in your veins, you will rally round and sustain them unsullied and unspotted, and hand them down to posterity, immortalized by acts of valour. Gentlemen, I present to you the Royal Colour—this is the King's standard: I now present your Regimental Colour. May honour and victory ever attend you, and may God bless and protect you.”

The following Regimental Order was issued that afternoon:—

“ The Commanding Officer feels much satisfaction in communicating to the Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 94th Regiment, His Excellency the Governor's high approval of their appearance this morning at the consecration of the Colours, when His Excellency desired him to express his approbation of the same, as



OFFICER 94th.

1830.

also his happiness at seeing their great improvement and soldier-like appearance under arms."

1826-1831

Lieut.-Colonel Geo. Wm. Patey was appointed to command the 94th in 1826. He held the command for fifteen years, until 1841.

General Don inspected the regiment on December 18th 1826, and on March 10th 1827.

A Horse Guards Circular Letter of March 25th, which reached Gibraltar on April 24th, notified the augmentation of the regiment at an early date to ten companies. These were to consist of six Service Companies, each of eighty-six rank and file, and four Depot Companies, each of fifty-six rank and file; making a total of 740 rank and file. Another Circular, dated a month later, notified that a corresponding increase of the establishment of non-commissioned officers would take place. The augmentation was carried out during 1826. The battalion at this period from time to time received drafts recruited all over the United Kingdom by parties from several special formations employed on that service.

From September to December 1828 a serious epidemic of fever raged to an alarming extent in the Gibraltar garrison. Out of 311 of all ranks in the 94th who were attacked, fifty-eight died, including two subalterns.

General Don inspected the 94th on May 27th 1830.

Major-General Lord Keane, under whom the 94th served in the last two years of the Peninsular War, was appointed Colonel of the Regiment on April 18th 1829. He held the command until April 1831, when he was succeeded by the old Peninsular War Lieut.-Colonel of the Regiment, Major-General Sir James Campbell, K.C.B. Major-General Campbell was appointed Colonel of the 94th on April 13th 1831.

General Sir William Houstoun, G.C.B., inspected the 94th on October 21st 1831.

There is no further record of any particular occurrence during the tour of duty of the battalion at Gibraltar. Orders were received on November 3rd 1831 for the 94th to be held in readiness to proceed to Malta, and on February 18th the first division, comprising eight officers and 199 rank and file, embarked for that station. The second division, comprising Headquarters and the remainder of the battalion, twelve officers and 310 rank and file, embarked on March 3rd.

The following Garrison Order was issued by the Lieut.-General Sir William Houstoun, G.C.B., Lieut.-Governor of Gibraltar, on the departure of the Headquarters division:—

"On the departure of the 94th Regiment for Malta, His Excellency

the Lieutenant-General commanding is glad to express his entire approbation of the steady discipline of this regiment since he assumed the command of the garrison, and to remark at the same time that this result has been obtained without any sacrifice of discipline or recourse to undue severity. The exemplary conduct of this corps reflects great credit on the judicious system established by Lieut.-Colonel Patey, so well supported by the officers of the 94th Regiment, and the Lieut.-General will have great satisfaction in stating the sense he entertains of their merit to the Commander-in-Chief."

1832-1838

On landing at Malta in March 1832, the battalion took up quarters in St. Elmo Barracks. Detachments proceeded in December to Forts Manoel and Tigne, and to the Island of Gozo, a further detachment proceeding for duty at Fort Ricasoli in April 1833. For three months, from January to April 1834, a detachment of a corporal and three privates did marines' duty on board the Government schooner *Lady Emily*. The battalion at this time was occupying Floriana Barracks, whither it had removed in December 1833, and where it remained until November 5th 1834. The 94th then embarked for Ireland on board H.M.S. *Romney*, arriving at Cork in December 1834. From Cork the battalion proceeded to Fermoy, where Head-quarters were established.

The four Depôt Companies remained at Plymouth until June 1830, when they embarked for Chatham and took up quarters there on the 10th of the month. The Depôt left Chatham in July 1832 and was next established at Portsmouth: first in Fire-House Barracks and then in Haslar Barracks. It was inspected at Portsmouth by General Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. A Portsmouth Brigade Order, issued as the result of the inspection, notified Lord Hill's "unqualified commendation of the steadiness and good order exhibited by the Companies." The Depôt Companies left Portsmouth in November 1834 for Spike Island, there to await the arrival of Head-quarters and the Service Companies from Malta. At Spike Island the Depôt Companies were inspected by Lieut.-General Sir Hussey Vivian, K.C.B., Commanding the Forces in Ireland. In his address to them on parade he said their "high state of discipline and excellent conduct" had been officially reported to him. "I am particularly happy," Sir Hussey added, "to assure you of my entire approbation and it is only justice to say that you are the very best Depôt I have met during my tour of inspection." The Depôt Companies rejoined Head-quarters on December 19th, and on January 1st 1835 the Service and Depôt Companies were combined and the regiment was re-formed as a battalion of ten companies.



LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR JAMES CAMPBELL, K.C.B.

Major 94th, 7th April 1802.

Lieutenant-Colonel, 27th September 1804.

Colonel, 4th June 1813.

Placed on half-pay 94th, on disbandment of Regiment, 24th December 1818.

Major-General, 12th August 1819.

Colonel 94th, 13th April 1831—12th December 1834.

Died 6th May 1835.

Major-General Sir John Colborne, K.C.B. (Lord Seaton, and later a Field-Marshal), was appointed Colonel of the 94th on December 12th 1834 *vice* Lieut.-General Sir J. Campbell, appointed Colonel of the 74th.

The 94th continued at Fermoy until August 20th 1835, with detachments at out-stations from time to time for short periods:—at Cork, Rathcormac, Charleville, Macroom, Mallow, Doneraile, Castletown, Roche and Mallow. The battalion was inspected at Fermoy in June 1835 by Major-General Sir T. Arbuthnot. Head-quarters and the available effectives of the battalion proceeded meanwhile, on July 25th, to Cork for temporary duty and to furnish guards of honour during a visit paid by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Earl of Mulgrave. They returned to Fermoy on August 8th and then, on the 17th and 19th of the month, moved to Limerick where Head-quarters were stationed until the end of May 1836, small detachments of the battalion being distributed between Rathkeale, Tipperary, Newcastle and Newport, Kilrush, Cappagwhite, Killenaule, Roscrea, and Thurles.

The regiment was inspected by Major-General Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., on October 7th 1835, and at Limerick again on May 18th 1836, the Major-General on each occasion, it is stated, making “a very favourable report of the high military condition of the corps.”

From Limerick the 94th moved on May 26th and 27th 1836 in two divisions to Templemore. Detachments were furnished for duty at Eyrecourt, Laurencetown, Shannon Harbour, Portumna, and Borrisokane.

Head-quarters moved again, in October 1836, to Birr, detachments proceeding to Banagher, Killinane, Frankford, Mullingar, Maryborough and Tullamore, and also again to Thurles and Roscrea. The detachments, with reinforcements sent from head-quarters, were employed on several occasions, in aid of the Civil Power, in consequence of local disturbances: in particular at Tullamore, Frankford, and at Mullingar.

Major-General Sir John Buchan, K.C.B., inspected the 94th on June 22nd 1837.

The regiment concentrated early in September 1837 and moved from Birr to Dublin, marching in three divisions. It was inspected at Dublin on October 19th by General Sir Edward Blakeney, K.C.B.

Major-General Sir Thomas McMahon, Bart., K.C.B., was appointed Colonel of the 94th on March 28th 1838.

The 94th were stationed in Dublin until May 1838, when the regiment proceeded in two transports to Cork, where Head-quarters were stationed for the next four months. Detachments of a company each were quartered for part of the period at Mallow and Skibbereen.

CHAPTER LIX

SERVICE IN INDIA—1838 TO 1854. FROM CEYLON TO THE MALABAR COAST. THE 94th DIVIDED. THE RIGHT WING AT ADEN. THE LEFT WING IN BURMAH. PRESENTATION OF COLOURS AT MADRAS. TO CANNANORE. THE OPERATIONS AGAINST THE MOPLAHS. OFFICIAL COMMENDATIONS OF THE GRENADIER COMPANY OF THE 94th. FINAL SERVICE IN INDIA AND PASSAGE TO ENGLAND.

1838

ORDERS were received in September for the 94th to embark for Ceylon. The six Service Companies under the command of Colonel G. W. Patey, C.B., K.H., sailed from Queenstown (then known as the "Cove of Cork") in the *Apollo* troopship on October 5th, arriving after a fair passage by the Cape of Good Hope at Colombo on January 30th 1839. The four Depot Companies remained in barracks at Cork.

1839–1846

The battalion was stationed in Ceylon for little more than two months, after which it was ordered to Cannanore on the Western or Malabar Coast of India. It disembarked there on April 23rd. Colonel Patey was now appointed Officer Commanding in the provinces of Malabar and Kanara. In that capacity he officially inspected his own regiment on May 27th.

The Depot Companies, which remained stationed at Cork until June 1839, embarked on the 12th of that month for Liverpool. They moved from Liverpool to Chester in July, and after a month's stay at Chester, marched in August for Chatham, where they took over quarters in Brompton Barracks.

At Cannanore the 94th, in accordance with a General Order from the War Office, dated October 24th 1839, was placed on the Indian Establishment; nine companies, with a total strength of 1,087 of all ranks.

During the first eighteen months that the 94th were in garrison at Cannanore, Colonel Patey, (now promoted Major-General) as Officer Commanding the provinces of Malabar and Cannanore, held four inspections of the regiment, in addition to the first one previously recorded: on May

19th and December 23rd 1840, and on May 27th and December 6th 1841.

The 94th was now to be divided for a considerable time. On December 18th 1841, the Left Wing, under command of Major G. F. Lindsay, consisting of fourteen Officers and 257 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, marched from Cannanore to Trichinopoli, arriving there on January 19th 1842. Head-quarters and the Right Wing remained at Cannanore until March 1843. Lieut.-Colonel Milner, with twenty-three Officers and 572 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, then proceeded to rejoin the Left Wing; leaving Cannanore on March 23rd and reaching Trichinopoli on April 23rd. The reunited battalion remained quartered at Trichinopoli until January 1845, when the two wings separated for independent duty. They did not meet again for upwards of two years. The Right Wing was sent on special service to Aden, the Left Wing proceeded to Burmah.

Colonel Wm. Henry Sewell, C.B., was appointed to the command of the battalion in 1841.

While at Trichinopoli inspections of the 94th were held by Major-General Allen, C.B., on May 16th and December 2nd 1842: and by Major-General Gibson, on December 17th 1844.

The despatch of the Right Wing to Aden was in consequence of news that had reached India that hostilities with the Arabs were anticipated. To reinforce the small garrison at Aden, Head-quarters and the Right Wing of the 94th (nineteen Officers and 532 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men) marched to Negapatam and embarked there, reaching Aden early in March 1846. The expected hostilities with the Arabs did not take place until a year later, but the Right Wing of the 94th was retained in the interim at Aden in garrison, where it was employed for part of the time in constructing the defences. The long-deferred Arab attack, when at length it came in July and August 1846, was easily repulsed. The two assaults that the Arabs attempted were driven back on each occasion with considerable loss to the assailants, after which the Arabs drew off and hostilities came to an end. The Right Wing of the 94th remained at Aden until December 1846, and then embarked for Madras. It arrived in the following January and took up quarters at Fort St. George.

Lieut.-Colonel Henry Robert Milner succeeded to the command of the 94th in 1841.

While at Aden the Right Wing was inspected on September 12th and December 11th 1845, and on June 6th 1846, by Lieut.-Colonel H. R. Milner, the officer in command of the 94th; in his capacity as commanding the garrison at Aden.

1847

The Left Wing (sixteen Officers and 503 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men) under command of Major Dennis, had meanwhile been on garrison duty: first in Burmah, at Moulmein, and then, from January 1846 to March 1847, in Calcutta. After that it proceeded by sea to Madras, where the Left Wing rejoined the Right, which had recently returned from Aden. Thus once more the regiment was complete.

Inspections of the wings as each arrived were held at Fort St. George by Major-General Sir E. K. Williams, commanding the Centre Division of the Madras Army, on February 22nd and 24th and on May 27th 1847.

The second presentation of Colours to the 94th was made at Fort St. George on May 6th 1847, by Lieut.-General the Marquess of Tweeddale, Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army.

Lord Tweeddale, after the consecration of the Colours by the garrison chaplain, adverted in his address, as summarized in the *Digest*, where the only account of the proceedings is to be found, to "the many hard fought battles which it had been the lot of the old (Scotch Brigade) 94th Regiment to be engaged in with honour," adding that although no opportunity had been afforded to the young corps to distinguish itself in the field, it had passed the greater part of its career on foreign service, in garrison at Gibraltar, Malta, Ceylon, Aden, Calcutta and Madras, where, he was happy to say, the good conduct of the corps had always been most conspicuous. During the four and a half years it had been under his command he could speak, continued Lord Tweeddale, in the most favourable manner of its uniform high character and bearing. He therefore felt assured that, wherever its services in the Field might be called for, the honour of the country would not be committed to a worthier body of men than that to which he now entrusted new Colours.

The Colours were then handed to Ensigns Melton and Knight, after which, the Commanding Officer, Lieut.-Colonel Browne, having replied, the regiment marched past the General and the ceremony terminated.

Major-General Sir William Warre, C.B., was appointed Colonel of the 94th on September 28th 1847.

1848

The battalion remained in garrison at Fort St. George until January 1848, receiving in the interim drafts from home of five Officers and 231 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men. The 94th were next ordered to return to Cannanore, whither they proceeded by sea from Madras in four divisions. The first division, comprising Head-quarters, under Lieut.-Colonel Browne, eleven Officers and 372 Non-Commissioned Officers and

Men, embarked at Madras on January 20th 1848 in a sailing ship and arrived at Cannanore on February 9th. The second division, six Officers and 299 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, under Captain Seale, left Madras on February 1st by steamer and reached Cannanore on February 8th, a day in advance of the first division. The third division, under Major Paterson, six Officers and 198 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, left Madras by steamer on March 19th and landed at Cannanore on the 24th.

From February 1843 to December 1852 Cannanore continued the station of the battalion, with one company on detachment for a short time at Manjeri in the south of Malabar. It received from time to time small drafts of officers and men from England.

The ordinary routine of garrison duty was not interrupted until August 1849. Then, on August 29th, information was received at Cannanore of the outbreak of an insurrection among the fanatic Moplah Arabs in Southern Malabar, the centre of trouble being the district round Manjeri. The Moplahs had been causing the Government great anxiety for some time past, their unrest culminating in an attack on a sepoy detachment of the 39th Madras Native Infantry, sent to keep order, in which the British officer in command and the greater part of the detachment were killed.

The Grenadier and No. 1 Company of the 94th, under Major Dennis, with Captain E. S. Mercer, Lieutenants Vaughan, Walton and Lewis, Ensign Wyatt and 209 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, were ordered to march for Manjeri at once, and set off on August 30th. On the way Captain Mercer, Lieut. Walton, Ensign Wyatt, with No. 1 Company, were detached to protect Calicut. The Grenadier Company then, on arriving at Bridagherry, 30 miles from Cannanore, were suddenly ordered to push forward as fast as possible, in consequence of an urgent letter received by Major Dennis. The letter was from the Collector and Magistrate of Malabar and asked that "the freshest men should be pushed on at all speed." Another march of 22 miles brought the Grenadier Company to Ellatore, where, to quicken the journey, they embarked in native boats and proceeded for the next 30 miles by river to Ariacote. From Ariacote one march brought them to Manjeri, the centre of the trouble. The insurgents were reported to be terrorizing the district, occupying as their stronghold a "Mair" or Brahmin temple, on a hill near Manjeri which was difficult to approach.

The Collector and Magistrate of Malabar, Mr. H. P. Connolly, who accompanied Major Dennis, thus describes the journey up the river, in his official report to the Government of Madras.

"The Grenadiers arrived at Ellatore in the afternoon in a perfect storm of rain. There was no time for delay, and after drinking a little coffee,

or arrack, the men were put into boats, wet as they were. It was expected that they would arrive at Ariacote, 12 miles from Manjeri, the next morning. But the weather got worse and worse, and so powerful was the torrent of water that the large boats, in which the soldiers were embarked, were unable to stem it. . . . We were only able to get them up in detached bodies by the repeated trips of small snake-boats, in which the gentlemen of the party had made their passage. . . . For more than thirty hours the men had to remain cramped in their boats in wet clothes. The deluge of rain made the slight covering over them of little service, and they were without regular food. The only murmur that was heard was at the idea of being too late! . . . Very many of the men had lacerated feet from the journey already made, some so much so that it seemed impossible they could march, but they either cut their boots into all sorts of shapes to ease their hurts, or else walked without any covering at all."

Manjeri was reached on the afternoon of September 3rd and the attack on the Moplah position was arranged to take place next morning, in co-operation with a detachment of the 39th Native Infantry, which had been picked up *en route*. The Moplahs, however, prematurely took alarm at the unexpected arrival of troops. They evacuated their position during the night and moved off secretly. The next heard of them was that they were destroying a Brahmin temple 12 miles distant. Pursuit thither was taken up on the afternoon of September 4th. A sharp encounter *en route* was the result.

"The head of the column," to quote the words of Major Dennis's report to the Commanding Officer of the 94th, "the Grenadiers, moving in column of sections, left in front, was attacked on the road by the insurgents, who rushed on the troops in the most desperate manner, armed with spears, war knives and some matchlocks. They fought until the entire band (sixty-four in number) were killed." The British casualties were two privates killed and Lieutenant Vaughan and four Non-Commissioned Officers and Men wounded. "It was owing to the consummate coolness of the officers and men," stated Mr. Connolly in his official report to the Madras Government, "that so few casualties occurred on our side."

A memorial obelisk over the remains of the men killed in the affair was afterwards erected at the village where the Grenadier Company encountered the Moplahs. It still exists and bears on it the following inscription:—

"Within this Tomb rest the remains of James Hart and Thomas Blake, of Her Majesty's 94th Regiment. They fell in action on the 4th September, 1849, while gallantly withstanding a band of fanatic Moplahs at a Temple near Angaddepooras, the property of the Rajah of Wallowanad, who has caused this Tomb to be erected in the memory

of the Departed, and as a small return for the services rendered him on that day by their soldiering comrades of the Grenadiers."

The moral effect of the engagement had the immediate and unexpected result of subduing the insurrection all over the Manjeri district and the other Moplah bands in that quarter forthwith dispersed. More than that, the news spread quickly all over the Malabar province and the bands of rebels everywhere broke up and disappeared. As it came out later, the Moplahs had planned a widespread rising and campaign of rapine and outrages, with the destruction of a number of Brahmin temples, their special objects of attack. The Grenadier Company returned after the engagement to Manjeri, where it remained for a week as garrison. The Grenadiers then returned to Cannanore, rejoining Head-quarters on September 16th.

An official letter of thanks to Major Dennis and the Grenadier Company of the 94th for their "most conspicuous display of discipline, gallantry and steadiness" was received from Lieut.-General Sir George Berkeley, K.C.B., the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, who also notified his intention of bringing the conduct of all ranks on the occasion to the notice of the higher authorities. The Commander-in-Chief's commendation resulted in a General Order by the Governor of Madras in Council, expressing the thanks of the Government in very complimentary terms. In addition, Mr. Connolly's detailed account of the part taken by the 94th detachment in the expedition was officially published by order of the Madras Government.

1849-1851

Another company of the 94th had an encounter with a band of Moplahs two years later, on August 27th 1851, when an outbreak occurred near Calicut. The detachment of the regiment then stationed at Calicut, under Captain Rhodes, with Lieutenant MacCarthy, four Non-Commissioned Officers and fifty Men, dealt with the rising summarily. After marching in extremely hot weather for two days they surprised the leaders and principal band of the insurgents near Collatore and in a hand-to-hand fight, in which four men of the 94th were casualties, destroyed the whole band, who were killed, as stated in the *Digest*, "fighting desperately to the last."

During its second tour of duty at Cannanore the battalion was inspected on May 17th and November 12th 1849, by Major-General L. B. Lovell, Commanding Officer in Malabar and Kanara; by his successor, Brigadier-General H. R. Milner, on March 20th 1850; and by Colonel Pratt, C.B., Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, on October 21st 1851. Inspections

were held in 1852 by Lieut.-Colonel Bruce and Lieut.-Colonel William Prescott, successively commanding in Malabar and Cannanore, on March 19th and October 26th 1852.

1852

The 94th received orders in November 1852 to move by wings to Bangalore and Fort St. George, Madras. Head-quarters and the Right Wing, eleven Officers and 533 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, marched on December 9th for Bangalore, where they arrived on December 30th, after a march of 192 miles. The Left Wing remained at Cannanore until March. It then proceeded by steamer to Madras in three divisions. The first consisted of three Officers and 174 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men: the second of two Officers and fourteen Non-Commissioned Officers and Men: the third of three Officers and 116 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men. Head-quarters and one company of the Right Wing had, previous to the arrival of the Left Wing, been moved from Bangalore to Madras, leaving four companies at Bangalore.

1853

A communication from the Adjutant-General, Horse Guards, dated February 2nd 1853, was received at Madras on April 7th of that year, commenting on Lieut.-Colonel Prescott's report on the 94th for the second period of 1852.

“ Nothing can be more creditable than the whole tenor of the report on this regiment, both as regards its efficiency, its general discipline and state of instruction, and as respects the orderly habits and soldier-like demeanour in their cantonments.”

Major-General William Staveley, C.B., was appointed Colonel of the 94th on August 1st 1853.

1854

The end now came of the first period of service of the 94th in India. The battalion received orders early in 1854 to prepare to return to England at an early date. That was followed on February 10th by a General Order from the Commander-in-Chief at Madras directing that all men desiring to extend their service in India should be permitted to volunteer for regiments in the three Presidencies. Those volunteering to remain in India numbered 343 of all ranks.

Head-quarters and the Left Wing, four Officers and 277 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, under command of Brevet-Colonel Dennis, embarked at Madras on March 21st 1854 and sailed for England on board

the transport *Earl of Hardwicke* next day. The embarking Officers besides Lieut.-Colonel Dennis were: Captains Adam Campbell and S. Lyster, Lieut. Osenant, J. Buchanon, Ensign Sydenham Malthus, Adjutant R. R. Meads, Quartermaster Fitzgerald, Asst.-Surgeon Stoney. The Right Wing from Bangalore, five Officers and 182 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, under Major D. M. Cameron, sailed from Madras on April 15th. Four of the Officers, Colonel Milner and Captains Buller, Kirby and Dare, were the only officers who had left England with the battalion in 1838. Quartermaster Fitzgerald had come out then as a N.C.O. Head-quarters and the Left Wing landed at Gravesend on June 30th: the Right Wing landed at the same place on September 15th. Each wing, as it arrived, proceeded to Brompton Barracks, Chatham, entering the barracks with the band playing "Home, Sweet Home."

Major Cameron died of dysentery on board ship on June 30th, when off the Cape of Good Hope. The following Order was issued by Colonel Milner, the Commanding Officer, on his death being reported to Head-quarters, after the arrival at Chatham of the Right Wing:—

" REGIMENTAL ORDER "

" With unfeigned regret the Commanding Officer announces to the regiment the demise of Major Donald Cameron, which melancholy result took place on the 30th June last, on board the *Hampshire*. Although Colonel Milner has not held the immediate command of the regiment since the appointment of Major Cameron to it, yet he cannot refrain recording in Regimental Orders, the high opinion he entertained of him as an officer, whilst in command of a wing of the regiment at Bangalore, at which station Colonel Milner commanded. He found him ever ready and willing to attend to any suggestion for the good and comfort of the corps. His loss therefore to him at the present time will be severely felt. In social life he was a sincere, warm-hearted friend and by his amiable and honourable feelings had endeared himself to all his brother-officers."

During the voyage four privates died.

The 94th, on arrival in England, had been on foreign service for fifteen years and nine months.

CHAPTER LX

THE CRIMEAN WAR. VOLUNTEERS FOR THE 18th ROYAL IRISH. WINDSOR CASTLE AND THE TOWER OF LONDON. THE INDIAN MUTINY. ORDERED TO INDIA. PESHAWAR. CHOLERA AT MEEAN-MEER. UMBALLA. RETURN TO ENGLAND.

1854

THE Crimean War broke out in March 1854, while the 94th were at sea on the way to England. In consequence the establishment of the regiment was, by a letter from the War Office, dated July 14th, fixed at 1,337 of all ranks. To obtain the additional men however proved very difficult. Although several recruiting parties were sent out by Colonel Milner men came in very slowly and the battalion, even by September, was upwards of 600 short of establishment. One reason was that the whole country was at that time being scoured for recruits by regiments under orders for, or proceeding to, the Crimea. At the same time a further depletion of the ranks was forced on the 94th. While the regiment was still short of men, the War Office, on November 25th, called for volunteers from the 94th for the 18th Royal Irish, then also at Chatham, which was due to embark for Sebastopol at an early date. The pick of the rank and file of the 94th were asked for: "men between the ages of 18 and 35, trained and ready to proceed at once." A bounty of one guinea per volunteer was offered, the authorities undertaking that at the end of their service all survivors who desired might rejoin the regiment. In response 154 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men volunteered, and on November 30th were transferred to the Royal Irish. A week later eleven additional men volunteered and also joined the 18th.

As recorded in the *History of The Royal Irish*, it was a chance stroke of luck that enabled the 18th to go out to the Crimea at the expense of the 94th. The 18th had returned from India just before the 94th, and shortly after arrival the flank companies had been sent to do duty at Windsor Castle in place of companies of a Guards battalion. H.M. Queen Victoria was struck by the stalwart appearance of the sentries, and learning from Colonel Edwards, the Commanding Officer, that the regiment was very eager to go to the front, she was pleased specially to direct that the 18th

should proceed forthwith to the Crimea. Medical examination showed that not more than 400 men were fit for the campaign, and on the battalion concentrating at Chatham from Windsor and Canterbury, the 94th were laid under contribution, finally to the extent of half the battalion—all the best men, over 400 in all. It was very hard on the 94th, who had volunteered for the Crimea immediately on reaching England.

There was then a prospect at the end of 1854 of the regiment forming part of an expeditionary force for service in the following year for operations against the fortress of Sveaborg on the Baltic coast, but the expeditionary scheme was given up as far as British military force was concerned. The expeditionary force it was decided was to consist entirely of French troops, embarked in the Allied Baltic Fleet.

Major-General Thomas Henry, C.B., was appointed Colonel of the 94th on May 31st 1854. Lieut.-General the Hon. Henry Edward Butler was appointed Colonel of the 94th, in succession to General Henry, transferred to the 20th Foot, on July 25th 1854.

Lieut.-Colonel John Leslie Dennis was appointed to command the 94th in December 1854.

1855

The movements of the 94th during the present year (1855) were as follows: A detachment of four officers and 161 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men was sent on November 29th 1854 to Windsor under Brevet-Colonel Dennis, for guard duty at the Castle. Head-quarters and the rest of the battalion (except a half company left at Chatham), seventeen Officers and 678 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, followed in February 1855. They proceeded by rail to Windsor and took over the Guards' barracks.

The 94th was also called on in 1855 to provide temporarily the garrison of the Tower of London. A detachment of eight Officers and 284 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, under Captain E. S. Mercer, was sent there from Windsor on April 12th. The detachment continued at the Tower until July 9th, and then rejoined Head-quarters at Windsor.

From Windsor also the 94th sent a representative detachment of two Officers and 111 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men to London on the occasion of Her Majesty's distribution of Crimean Medals to wounded and invalids from the Crimea, held in St. James's Park on May 18th.

The battalion was inspected at Windsor in August by Colonel Foster, Deputy Adjutant-General, and shortly afterwards orders were received to proceed to Gibraltar. The Service Companies, twenty Officers and 810 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, under Brevet-Colonel Dennis, left

Windsor on September 3rd and proceeded by wings for embarkation to Portsmouth and Liverpool respectively.

Lieut.-General George Powell Higginson was appointed Colonel of the 94th on January 29th 1855, Lieut.-General Butler having been transferred to the 55th Foot.

1856

The 94th was quartered at Gibraltar for nine months, until June 1856. It then proceeded to Ireland, landing at Queenstown on June 27th. The four *Depôt* Companies (Nos. 7, 8, 9 and 10), comprising five Officers and 168 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, under Major Butler, remained at Windsor until October 26th 1855. They then moved to Plymouth, where they were stationed until June 25th 1856. The *Depôt* Companies after that embarked for Queenstown and rejoined Head-quarters and the Service Companies on their return from Gibraltar.

The 94th was quartered in Cork for three weeks, and then proceeded by way of Buttevant to Nenagh. It was inspected there on August 1st by Major-General Sir James Chatterton, K.H., commanding the Limerick District.

In pursuance of orders received in August from The Horse Guards the establishment was fixed at six Service and four *Depôt* Companies, the total strength of the Service Companies to be twenty-seven Officers and 864 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.

Head-quarters under Colonel Dennis, with six Officers and 325 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, proceeded from Nenagh to the Curragh on August 21st 1856. The rest of the battalion followed on August 22nd and 23rd; the first division, under Captain Drew, comprising five Officers and 372 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men; the second division, under Major Buller, comprising five Officers and 300 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.

At the Curragh the *Depôt* Companies were separated from the Service Companies and quartered in another part of the camp. They left the Curragh on September 4th, seven Officers and 370 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, under Captain W. H. Dare, and proceeded to Kingstown, where they embarked for Pembroke Dock, their appointed station.

The Service Companies were inspected at the Curragh in light marching order by General Sir Richard England, the Divisional Commander, on August 29th 1856. The establishment of the regiment was now ordered, by instructions from the Horse Guards dated September 5th, to be fixed at twelve companies, comprising fifty-six Non-Commissioned Officers and 1,021 Men.

Lieut.-Colonel Chas. Jas. Conway Mills was appointed to the command of the battalion in October 1856.

1857

The 94th continued to be stationed at the Curragh until March 1857. It was then ordered to Clonmel, to which place it proceeded on March 26th for a month, disturbances being apprehended consequent on the taking place of a General Election. During the month detachments were distributed in readiness to aid the Civil Power at Cashel, Waterford, Carrick-on-Suir and Tipperary. The regiment after the election moved back to the Curragh, all detachments being called in.

Major-General Shirley, C.B., whose distinguished services in command of the 88th Connaught Rangers during the Crimean War are recorded in Vol. I (pp. 146-178) inspected the 94th at the Curragh on May 13th. At that inspection the regiment appeared on parade wearing for the first time the single-breasted tunic, then introduced.

Another tour of foreign service was now foreshadowed for the 94th. In consequence of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, news of which reached England in July 1857, urgent orders from the Horse Guards, dated July 14th, were received by the 94th, in common with all regiments in Great Britain and Ireland, to send out recruiting parties and take immediate steps to bring the battalion up to a strength of 1,200 rank and file. Recruiting parties accordingly were at once sent out from battalion head-quarters in Ireland, and also from the Dépôt at Pembroke Dock in England. No orders for a move to India, however, reached the 94th at that time.

The regiment left the Curragh for Dublin on August 10th and 11th 1857, and took up quarters in Richmond Barracks. While there musketry practice was incessantly carried out by detachments which proceeded in turn to the Curragh ranges. The establishment was next ordered, by a Horse Guards letter of September 17th, to be further increased to a total strength of 1,339 of all ranks.

Definite intelligence of a move to the East followed on that. It was notified in the third week of September that the 94th would proceed to India at an early date. The Dépôt Companies were at the same time directed to move to Chatham and remain there until further orders.

The Service Companies left Dublin for Queenstown in four divisions, the first three starting on October 2nd and 3rd. The first division, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Buller, comprised eight Officers and 208 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men: the second, with Head-quarters, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Mills, comprised twelve Officers and 353 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men: the third, under the command

of Major Lyster, comprised four Officers and 143 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men. These three divisions embarked on board the screw steamship *Austria* for Karachi and sailed on October 5th. The fourth division, under the command of Major N. H. Kirby and comprising 105 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, which did not leave Dublin until October 16th, was to proceed by a later transport, the steamship *Leopold*, also embarking at Queenstown for Karachi.

The start of the voyage for those in the *Austria* proved unfortunate. On October 7th they ran into a very severe storm which lasted two days and caused such serious damage to the ship that she had to put back, making for Plymouth and eventually reaching Plymouth Sound on October 10th. The men for most of the time were kept under battened-down hatches, and one man, Band-Corporal Tray, who had occasion to go on the upper deck was swept overboard and drowned. As the transport had to be docked the battalion landed at Plymouth and remained in barracks there until November 13th, when the *Austria* was reported again fit for sea. Two inspections of the 94th took place in the interim, on October 17th and November 11th, both being held by Major-General Eden, an old 88th officer and now commanding the Western District. The *Austria* sailed again on the morning of November 14th ; only however to be again crippled and compelled to return to Plymouth.

This time a second gale was encountered when the *Austria* was 400 miles out. The ship's engines broke down completely. The vessel, unmanageable and drifting, narrowly escaped being broached-to and capsized in putting about to return. The voyage back was made under what small sail could be hoisted and took eight days, with, further, two narrow escapes from shipwreck at the end. The *Austria* was all but wrecked on the Eddy-stone in thick weather, and only just got clear in time ; she then only just escaped drifting on the Mewstone, off the entrance to Plymouth Sound. Tugs finally brought her in.

Another disembarkation at Plymouth followed and the 94th remained on shore until December 9th. A larger transport, the *Abeona* of the P. and O. line, took the battalion on board this time, together with the party which were to have gone out in the *Leopold*. As there was room for them in the *Abeona* they were brought across from Queenstown to Plymouth and rejoined the rest of the battalion. The *Abeona* sailed on December 10th and the 94th landed without further adventure at Alexandria on December 24th, to cross overland to Suez where another transport was in readiness for them.

The two wings travelled independently as far as the Nile by the partially constructed railway across Egypt. Crossing the Nile by ferry steamer, they

continued by train on the opposite bank to Cairo and beyond to within 25 miles of Suez, as far as the line then went. The final 25 miles were covered on donkey-back, officers and men all being mounted: riding in column of sections at fifty paces interval, and with 300 paces between companies. "This was the first instance," notes the *Digest*, "of a British regiment having passed through Egypt in a body." *

1858-1859

The P. and O. steamer *Oriental* took the regiment on from Suez to Karachi, where it arrived on January 14th 1858. The 94th remained at Karachi until February. It was inspected there on January 19th by Brigadier-General James Creagh, C.B., commanding the Karachi Brigade.

The move up-country, first to Mooltan, began on February 3rd, when the Left Wing, six companies, comprising sixteen Officers and 390 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Buller, marched to Kotree (115 miles). Embarking there on board an Indus Flotilla steamer and a flat, an eighteen-days' up-river journey brought them to Mooltan. The Right Wing followed and arrived at Mooltan on March 8th. Orders were then received for the 94th to continue on to Rawal Pindi, the appointed station of the regiment. The Left Wing proceeded first, in detachments, by rail to Lahore and Meean-Meer, and thence by march-route to Rawal Pindi, the last detachment arriving on April 14th. The fort at Attock was taken over by two companies under Major Lyster on April 16th. The Right Wing, under Lieut.-Colonel Mills, comprising fourteen Officers and 420 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, following the same route as the Left Wing, reached Rawal Pindi on April 29th, reuniting the battalion.

The 94th remained at Rawal Pindi until August 3rd, and then moved to Nowshera in detachments. The first detachment under Major Lyster, comprising five Officers and 151 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, arrived at Nowshera on August 7th. They travelled part of the way on elephants and part by bullock-transport train. The detachment met with a new experience at Nowshera. "On the 10th August," notes the *Digest*, "the station of Nowshera was completely destroyed by a flood. . . . The water rose to the top of the houses of which none were left standing except the barracks, built on higher ground." The detachment was in consequence ordered on to Peshawar on August 14th.

Two more detachments, each of a company, followed to Peshawar from

* The *Digest* is in error here. The 10th Hussars and other regiments, sent during the Crimean War from India as reinforcements for the army before Sebastopol, were landed at Suez and marched across to Alexandria for transport thence to the Black Sea.

Rawal Pindi direct on September 12th and 20th, travelling, as the first detachment had done, on elephants and by bullock train. Head-quarters with five companies, comprising nine Officers and 357 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, under command of Lieut.-Colonel Buller, left Rawal Pindi on October 7th by march-route for Peshawar. Owing to the Indus bridge at Attock having been carried away by a second flood, which caused a halt at Attock of twelve days, Peshawar was not reached until October 28th.

The 94th was inspected by Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton, K.C.B., commanding the Peshawar Division on November 8th 1858, and for the second time, on April 30th 1859.

The wives and families of the 94th, who had mostly come out to India with the battalion, were, during October, brought up to Peshawar by bullock-transport train from Karachi, where they had remained till then.

The regiment was inspected by Sir Sydney Cotton for the third time on November 8th 1859.

1860

Peshawar continued the station of the 94th until March 1860, when the battalion moved down and took up quarters at Nowshera. It remained at Nowshera until March 1861. The battalion was inspected there twice by Sir Sydney Cotton, on May 1st and November 27th 1860.

1861

Meean-Meer was the next station of the 94th, whither it received orders to proceed by march-route at the end of February 1861. The battalion left Nowshera on March 4th, and picking up two companies, which had garrisoned the fort at Attock, arrived at Meean-Meer on March 30th. Head-quarters and the Right Wing, except two companies in the fort at Lahore, took up quarters in the cantonment. The Left Wing, under Major Lyster, was on April 2nd detached to Amritsar, to form the garrison.

Brigadier-General J. H. Ferryman, C.B., Commanding the Lahore District, inspected the wing at Meean-Meer on April 18th 1861.

A change in the shade of the green facings was made in 1861, in obedience to instructions from The Horse Guards dated March 13th. The shade now to be adopted was styled "Lincoln Green," and a strip of cloth, according with the sealed pattern, was sent to the battalion from The Horse Guards. The establishment of the battalion was also in 1861 ordered to be reduced to 1,071 of all ranks.

On August 13th 1861, cholera broke out suddenly at Meean-Meer, without the usual premonitory symptoms. The Right Wing at once marched

out of cantonments to some distance and went into camp. Every effort to check the epidemic was made, camp being moved every few days, but it was not until a month later, in the middle of September, that the cholera disappeared and the battalion returned to the station. In the Left Wing at Amritsar the epidemic broke out in the first week of September and continued virulent until the last day of the month, in spite of measures being adopted to check the epidemic, similar to those taken at Meean-Meer. The total loss in both wings from the epidemic during the two months was returned at 220, including five women and six children.*

Brigadier-General Ferryman, C.B., inspected the wing at Meean-Meer on November 8th 1861.

1862

Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Geo. Buller was appointed to the command of the battalion in February 1862.

The 94th continued at Meean-Meer and Amritsar until February 27th 1862. Both wings on that date moved to Jullundur, arriving there on March 7th. At Jullundur Brigadier-General H. Kenny, C.B., commanding the Sirhind Division, inspected the regiment on April 2nd.

The principal event of 1862 was the presentation of new Colours—the third stand received by the 94th—at Jullundur on November 19th. The presentation was made by Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton, K.C.B., who came expressly from Peshawar for the occasion, having been specially asked on behalf of the regiment to perform the ceremony.

In his address to the regiment Sir Sydney Cotton referred to the service of the 94th under him at Peshawar, laying stress on “the efficient state of drill and discipline in which this corps ever was when serving under me.” “In every instance,” the General went on, “where it became my duty to report on the state of the corps at my inspections, my reports were full of the commendations it so richly merited.” The General also laid stress on the “high state of discipline and the soldier-like bearing which ever has been so pre-eminently conspicuous amongst all grades.” Sir Sydney, in the course of his address—which was a very lengthy one—pointedly expressed regret that, at the re-formation of the regiment in 1823, steps had not been taken to claim the Honours of the old 94th, Scotch Brigade. “Still,” he proceeded, “these Honours are your own.”

* The 51st, now the 1st Battalion, The King's Own Light Infantry, were also at Meean-Meer, and suffered severely from the cholera epidemic. The 94th had at the time no territorial connection, and it was subsequently agreed between the two regiments to erect jointly a Memorial Window in York Minster to those who died from the epidemic. It was erected by a joint subscription from all ranks—four lights each 17½ feet high and 4 feet wide, representing incidents from Scripture in the lives of Joshua, Gideon, Caleb, and David. A brass plate below the window records the numbers and names of those who died in both regiments.

The new Colours were received by Ensigns Stehelin and Jones. Major Mercer was in command of the battalion on the occasion, owing to absence on leave in consequence of a family bereavement of Lieut.-Colonel Buller, the Commanding Officer.

1862-1863

Brigadier-General Kenny inspected the 94th for the second time on December 8th 1862. Major-General Lord G. Paget, his successor in command of the Sirhind Division, inspected the regiment on April 9th 1863, and also made a satisfactory report.

A trained bandmaster from Kneller Hall was added to the establishment in 1863, in virtue of authority from the War Office by a letter dated June 4th.

The regiment now moved back to Meean-Meer to join a camp of exercise there, proceeding in two divisions by wings, on November 11th and 19th. Major-General Cunningham, C.B., commanding the Lahore Division, inspected the 94th at Meean-Meer on December 2nd.

1864

Throughout 1864, from January 4th when it left Meean-Meer, the regiment was distributed at various stations in the Sirhind District. Headquarters and two companies were at Kasauli, four companies at Amritsar, two companies at Kangra, two companies at Phillour. Two inspections were held during the period by Major-General Lord George Paget, C.B., commanding the Sirhind Division, on June 30th and October 25th 1864.

1865-1867

The regiment after that was ordered to concentrate at Umballa as its next station, and proceeded there in the course of the month. It remained quartered at Umballa for two years, until in October 1867 the 94th left the station to return to England. During the two years at Umballa inspections of the 94th were held by Major-General A. M. Becher, C.B., on March 28th and October 30th 1865, and on March 16th 1866; by Major-General C. S. Reid, on October 30th 1866, and March 15th 1867; by Major-General Becher again on October 18th 1867.

Major-General Sir Edward W. Forestier-Walker, K.C.B., was appointed to the colonelcy of the 94th on April 20th 1866, on the death of General Higginson.

The establishment of the 94th was reduced to 1,020 of all ranks by an order from the War Office of May 18th 1866.

An epidemic of cholera broke out in the regiment at Umballa on April 23rd 1867, and cases continued until May 18th. As before, the battalion marched out in detachments and camped separately. The epidemic proved happily less severe than the previous one at Meean-Meer, the deaths numbering one Officer (Lieutenant Mercer), eighteen Non-Commissioned Officers and Men, and two women.

A further reduction of the establishment of the battalion was ordered by a War Office letter of May 17th 1867, the total strength being now fixed at 1,000 of all ranks.

Orders for the 94th to return to England followed shortly, and in August the usual volunteering of men to regiments in India was authorized. In all 219 of the battalion volunteered. They were transferred as from September 1st.

The last inspection of the 94th in India was held by Major-General Becher, C.B., on October 18th 1867.

Colonel J. D. Carmichael, C.B., assumed command of the regiment on October 23rd, and two days later the move from Umballa for Karachi commenced. The marching-out strength was seventeen Officers and 460 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men.

Karachi was reached on November 27th. Bombay, however, had been decided on for the final port of departure, as the passage home was to be made by one of the regular Indian troopships. After being quartered at Karachi for six weeks the battalion embarked for Bombay, proceeding in two hired transports, one a steamship, the other a sailing-ship. At Bombay, which was reached on January 22nd, the Indian troopship *Jumna* was in waiting. The *Jumna* sailed on January 24th for Suez, where the regiment disembarked, and crossing Egypt by rail to Alexandria took ship there to Portsmouth on board the Indian troopship *Crocodile*.

CHAPTER LXI

STATIONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES—1868 TO 1874. ESTABLISHMENTS. AT THE AUTUMN MANŒUVRES. GRANT OF BATTLE HONOURS AND THE ELEPHANT BADGE OF THE FORMER 94th SCOTCH BRIGADE. 1874 TO 1878, STATIONS IN IRELAND. TO ALDERSHOT.

1868-1870

LIEUT.-COLONEL SEPTIMUS LYSTER succeeded to the command of the 94th Regiment in 1868, in succession to Colonel J. D. Carmichael, C.B.

The 94th arrived at Portsmouth on February 26th 1868, and disembarking next day proceeded at once by train to Dover, the station appointed for the regiment. The strength on arrival was twenty-two Officers and 457 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men. A War Office letter of March 5th fixed the establishment at 709 of all ranks. The establishment was further reduced by forty privates by an order issued in April 1868.

Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Robert Mein, C.B., succeeded Colonel Lyster in the command in 1868, on the arrival of the battalion in England.

Major-General Ellice, C.B., and Major-General D. Russell, C.B., inspected the 94th at Dover on respectively June 27th and October 6th 1868. Major-General D. Russell, C.B., inspected the regiment on May 11th 1869.

The 94th, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Mein, moved by march-route from Dover to Woolwich in three divisions on May 17th, 18th and 19th.

Major-General Sir D. Wood, K.C.B., inspected the regiment on October 13th 1869 and May 9th 1870.

A further reduction of the establishment to 601 of all ranks was ordered by a War Office letter dated May 25th 1870.

The 94th, under the command of Major Lord John Taylour, moved from Woolwich to Aldershot by march-route on June 20th 1870. Lord John Taylour succeeded to the command of the battalion the same day, on June 20th. It camped on Rushmoor Bottom until August 31st and moved into barracks two days later. Army establishments generally were ordered in August to be augmented as a precautionary measure in consequence of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. The establishment

of the 94th was, by a special Army Circular of August 24th, directed to be augmented by 200 privates.

Major-General G. J. Carey, C.B., inspected the regiment on October 5th 1870 and again on May 19th 1871.

1871

In February 1871, in consequence of the termination of the Franco-Prussian War, establishments were reduced. That of the 94th was ordered to be decreased by 100 men.

A letter was received from The Horse Guards, dated April 10th 1871, expressing the Duke of Cambridge's appreciation of "the satisfactory shooting" of the 94th during the course of musketry instruction for the year 1870-1.

The 94th, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Lord John Taylour, took part between September 8th and 21st, in the Autumn Manœuvres of 1871, held in the neighbourhood of Aldershot, the first Autumn Manœuvres held by the British Army. The battalion formed part of the 1st Brigade of the Third Division.

A week later, on September 27th 1871, the 94th left Aldershot for Newport, Monmouthshire. It was quartered there until July 1873, with detachments at Bristol, Brecon, Cardiff, Popton Point, and Pembroke Dock. The establishment was, by a War Office order of May 1st 1872, fixed at 799 of all ranks.

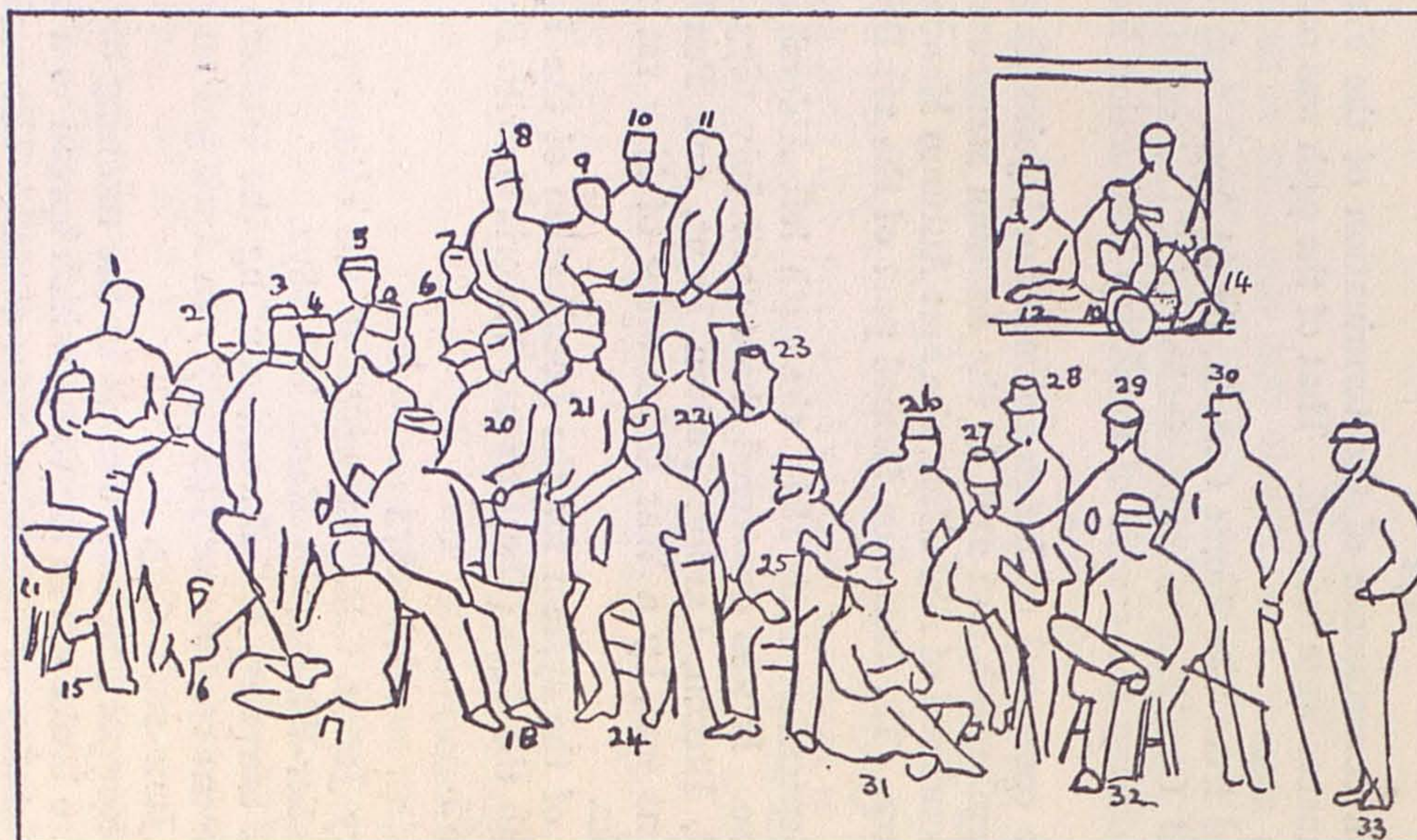
On the introduction of the system for the Localization of the Forces, the 94th were linked with the 89th (The Princess Victoria's), with Brigade Depôt at Armagh, No. 65.

1872-1873

Lieut.-General Henry Jervis, C.B., succeeded to the colonelcy of the 94th, *vice* General Forestier-Walker, on March 8th 1872.

Major-General Sir C. Staveley, K.C.B., commanding the Western District, inspected the regiment on October 14th 1871, on April 3rd and July 5th 1872, and also on June 20th 1873.

While quartered at Newport, at four o'clock in the morning on June 5th 1873, a disastrous fire broke out in the town, which spread to a building in which a large quantity of explosives were stored. The regiment turned out at the first alarm and helped the local fire brigade to deal with the conflagration. On the danger to the storehouse containing explosives being seen, volunteers were called for to prevent the flames reaching the explosives. "Immediately," to quote the report in a local newspaper, "half a dozen sturdy fellows of the 94th responded, and scaling the walls like cats, in the midst of the fire removed, at tremendous risk, the dan-



1.—Capt. P. R. Anstruther. 2.—Asst.-Surgeon J. Page. 3.—Lieut. W. A. Symes. 4.—Lieut. H. Farrer. 5.—Capt. J. Murray. 6.—Major Lord John Taylour. 7.— — — —. 8.—Capt. Caulfield French. 9.—Ensign F. T. Goodridge. 10.— — — —. 11.—Capt. C. Butler. 12.—Lieut. J. Mackinlay. 13.—Lieut. du Vernet. 14.—Lieut. F. B. Campbell. 15.—Capt. and Bt.-Major H. L. Cafe. 16.—Lieut. Wadham Locke. 17.—Ensign J. G. Kelly. 18.—Surg.-Major A. A. Stoney. 19.—Lieut. Ramsey-Stewart. 20.—Capt. Sydenham Malthus. 21.—Capt. James Browne. 22.—Capt. G. R. Salyin Bowlby. 23.—Capt. and Bt.-Major H. F. Brooke. 24.—Colonel J. D. Carmichael, C.B. 25.— — — —. 26.—Lieut. R. E. Wallace. 27.—Ensign M. Humpage. 28.—Lieut. C. Brinkman. 29.—Lieut. W. E. Montague. 30.—Lieut. J. Mitchell Elliott. 31.—Ensign E. S. Brook. 32.—Lieut. H. W. Melliss (Adjutant). 33.—Lieut. and Quartermaster Thomas Harper.

OFFICERS, 94th REGIMENT, Grand Shaft Barracks, DOVER.

1868.



COLONEL J. D. CARMICHAEL, C.B., AND OFFICERS, 94th REGIMENT.

Dover.

1902

gerous casks to a safe distance." The Town Council of Newport passed a special resolution of thanks to the regiment, which was forwarded to Lieut.-Colonel Lord John Taylour, the Commanding Officer.

The establishment of the regiment, by a special Army Circular of June 14th 1873, was fixed at 602 of all ranks.

A notification was received in June 1873 that the 94th were to take part in the Autumn Manœuvres on Dartmoor in the following July and August, after which it was to proceed to Ireland. The regiment, under Lieut.-Colonel Lord John Taylour, quitted Newport for Devonshire on July 21st, and after thirty-one days on Dartmoor, in extremely rough and inclement weather, with persistent rain day after day, on July 22nd marched to Plymouth and embarked there in the troopship *Tamar* for Kingstown, landing on August 25th. Head-quarters and four companies proceeded to Mullingar and detachments to Oldcastle, Kells, Navan and Trim.

1874

From Mullingar, on May 6th 1874, Head-quarters moved to the Curragh, the detachments rejoining there within the next few days.

At the Curragh, on May 25th, a Horse Guards letter, dated April 15th 1874, was received, notifying the grant to the regiment of the Honours borne on the Colours of the former 94th. The letter, which was addressed by the Adjutant-General to Lieut.-Colonel Lord John Taylour, ran as follows :—

" I have the honour, by direction of H.R.H. the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of the 94th Regiment of Foot being permitted to bear upon its Second or Regimental Colour the Honours and Distinctions previously borne by the 94th Regiment, which was disbanded in the year 1818, viz. :

" The Elephant "

with the words

" SERINGAPATAM "

" CIUDAD RODRIGO "

" BADAJOZ "

" SALAMANCA "

" VITTORIA "

" NIVELLE "

" ORTHES "

" TOULOUSE "

and

" PENINSULA "

" I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

RICHARD AIREY, A.G."

The letter was read to the regiment on parade on the morning of May 25th by Lieut.-Colonel Lord John Taylour, the Commanding Officer.

The 94th were inspected by Major-General R. Wardlaw, C.B., commanding the Curragh District, on July 15th.

Authority was signed at The Horse Guards on August 3rd for the officers of the 94th to wear on their forage caps the badge of "A White Elephant with the word 'Seringapatam.'" The figures "94," worn with the badge, were, it was laid down, not to be less than three-quarters of an inch in height.

Permission to resume the historic title of "The Scotch Brigade," for some official reason, unexplained, was withheld. At Seringapatam, which Battle Honour was now revived, there was no "94th" in existence. "The Scotch Brigade" was the sole designation of the regiment by which that distinction was won.

1875-1877

The battalion left the Curragh for Belfast on March 31st 1875. It was stationed there, with a detachment at Carrickfergus until April 1876, when the 94th moved to Newry for a year.

On May 24th 1875, the War Office refused an application to sanction "Fuentes de Oñoro" being borne on the Colours, on the plea that "that particular Honour had not been borne by the old 94th Foot."

Major-General E. W. Bell, V.C., C.B., commanding the Belfast District, inspected the 94th on July 7th 1875, and (at Newry) on July 22nd 1876.

The battalion was re-armed in 1875 with the Martini-Henry rifle, a weapon combining the breech-block action invented by a naturalized Swiss subject, Mr. Martini, with the polygonal rifled barrel invented by Mr. Alexander Henry of Edinburgh.

It replaced the Snider-Enfield breech-loading rifle which had been in use for the past nine years, a converted weapon, extemporized in consequence of the startling performances of the Prussian breech-loading needle-gun in the wars of 1864 against Denmark and in 1866 against Austria. It combined the barrel of the Enfield muzzle-loader of 1853, introduced as an improvement on the original Mínié rifle (which replaced the old "Brown Bess" of the Peninsular War), with a hinged block breech mechanism called the Snider, from its inventor's name. The calibre of these are interesting, as showing the gradual diminution of bore that took place: Brown Bess, calibre .753 inch; Mínié, .702 inch; Enfield, .577 inch; Martini-Henry, .45 inch. So in due course we come to .303 of the Lee-Metford and Lee-Enfield.



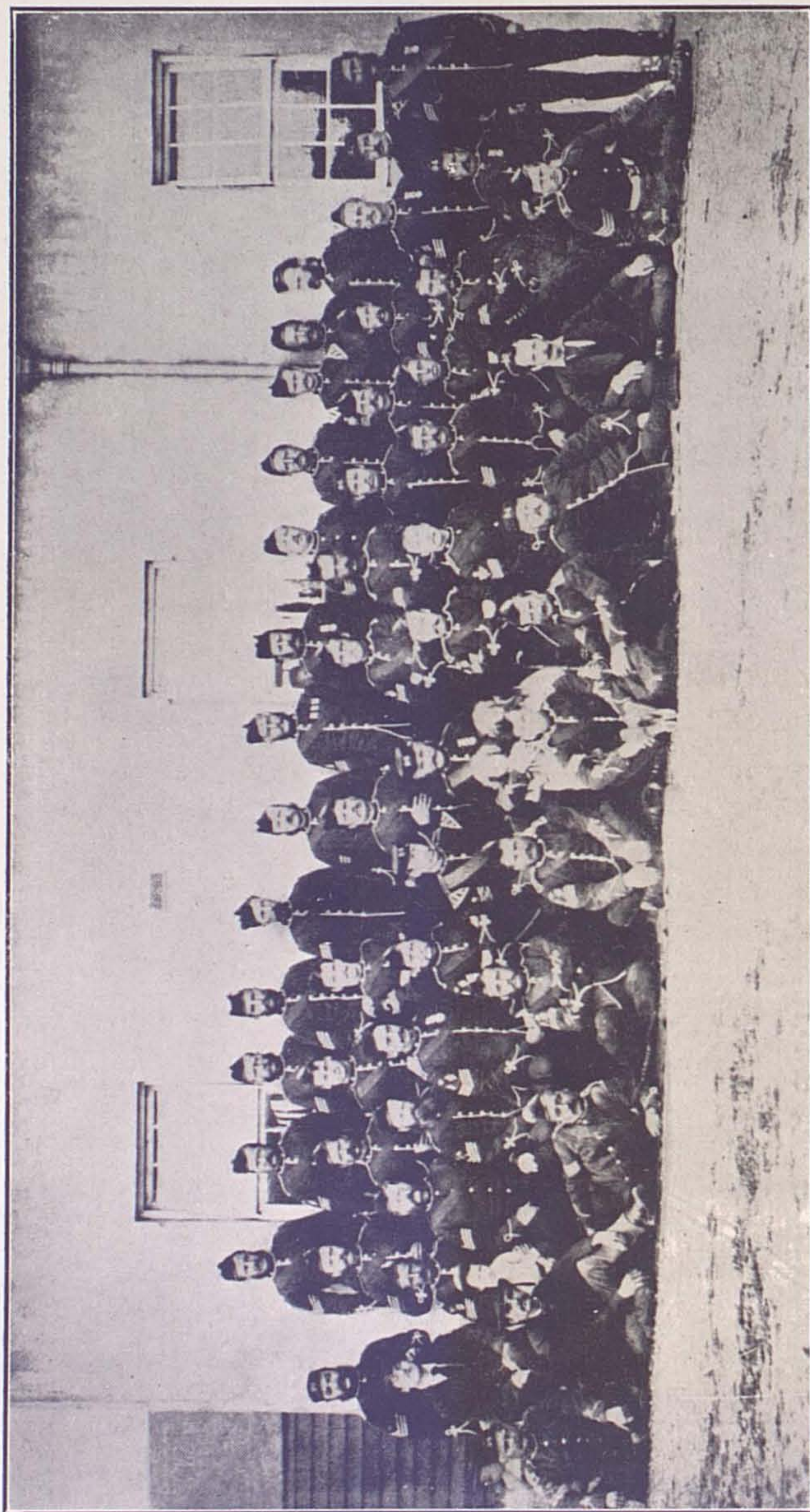
(Standing) Left. Lieut. J. M. Elliot. Capt. F. B. Campbell. Capt. R. A. V. Pope. Major S. Malthus. Lieut. J. H. Poë. Lieut. George From. Lieut. John Mackinlay. Capt. G. R. S. Bowlby. Capt. P. R. Anstruther. Lieut. E. T. Evans.
 (Sitting). Lieut. C. C. Budd. Capt. C. Butler. Lieut.-Col. Lord John Henry Taylour. Major John Murray. Capt. James Browne.
 (On Ground). Lieut. L. G. Brooke, Qr.-Mr. Patrick Lacey.

LIEUT.-COLONEL LORD JOHN TAYLOUR AND OFFICERS, 94th REGIMENT.

The Curragh.

1874.





THE CURRAGH—SERGEANTS, 94th REGIMENT.

1874.

The Zulu War was the first campaign in which the Martini-Henry was employed, and the 94th had their first experience of the breech-loading system in action at Ulundi in that war, as described a few pages further on in the present volume.

On two occasions while at Belfast, on November 26th 1875 and on January 1st 1876, the battalion was called on to aid the Belfast fire brigade in dealing with two large fires and assist the police in maintaining order. The special thanks of the Corporation of Belfast were accorded to the 94th for its "alacrity and willingness."

At Newry, whither the battalion proceeded on April 11th, it also received the municipal thanks for aid rendered at a fire which broke out in the town on October 3rd 1876. Detachments to Drogheda and Monaghan were furnished from Newry.

The 94th left Newry and embarked at Belfast for Liverpool on March 27th 1877, going on by rail to Fleetwood, at which place it was stationed until the end of June 1878. On arrival at Fleetwood an official letter was received by the Commanding Officer from Major-General Bell under whom the regiment served while at Belfast and Newry expressing "satisfaction at the general good conduct, soldier-like bearing and discipline of the 94th Regiment."

Lieut.-General Sir Henry de Bathe, commanding the Northern District, inspected the 94th on August 3rd 1877.

Lieut.-Colonel Sydenham Malthus took over command of the battalion from Lord John Taylour on October 31st 1877.

1878

Aldershot, where the 94th arrived from Fleetwood at the end of June 1878, was the final station of the battalion in Great Britain before it was ordered to embark for South Africa and the Zulu War.

CHAPTER LXII

THE ZULU WAR: FEBRUARY 11th-SEPTEMBER 19th 1879. FROM ALDERSHOT TO DURBAN. JOINING THE SECOND DIVISION. THE MARCH TO ULUNDI. LORD CHELMSFORD'S DECISIVE VICTORY AT ULUNDI. THE 94th IN ACTION. OFFICIAL NARRATIVE. A STAFF OFFICER'S ACCOUNT. OPERATIONS WITH COLONEL BAKER RUSSELL'S COLUMN. THE CAPTURE OF CETEWAYO AND END OF THE WAR.

1879

THE disaster at Isandhlwana on January 22nd 1879 was the immediate cause of the move of the 94th to South Africa. Lord Chelmsford, the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, on January 27th, on his arrival at Pietermaritzburg the capital of Natal from the scene of the catastrophe, took measures to inform the War Office of what had taken place both by telegraph and by despatch, at the same time asking for reinforcements. South Africa not being at that time in telegraphic communication with Europe, the message had to be conveyed by steamer to St. Vincent and then telegraphed from there. The news in consequence did not reach London until February 11th. It came to hand early in the morning and before midnight the reinforcements to be sent had been detailed and the preliminary measures for their transport and supply had been taken.

The 94th at Aldershot received orders on the evening of February 11th, by telegram, to hold itself in readiness to proceed to South Africa for active service in the field. The battalion was inspected on February 17th by H.R.H. The Duke of Cambridge and left Aldershot for Southampton early on February 26th to embark during the forenoon on board the hired transport *China*. During the last week at Aldershot 348 volunteers from regiments remaining at home joined the battalion, bringing the embarkation strength of the 94th up to 897 N.C.O.'s and Men, with twenty-eight Officers. The officers were:—In Command—Lieut.-Colonel Sydenham Malthus; Majors—Brevet-Lieut.-Colonel J. Murray and P. R. Anstruther; Captains—J. Browne, W. E. Montague, F. B. Campbell, G. R. S. Bowlby, G. Fromm, S. N. M. L. Nairne, E. S. Brook; Lieutenants—J. H. Pöe, H. W. W. Spooner, H. F. G. Campion, J. MacSwiney, H. A. C. Harrison; J. de C.

O'Grady; Second-Lieutenants—R. G. Wolridge-Gordon, F. H. Carroll, E. Harding, A. Harding, A. W. D. Maclean, H. Cowper, A. D. Campbell, G. L. E. Massy, J. J. F. Hume, L. L. Nicol; Adjutant—Lieutenant L. G. Brooke; Quartermaster—P. Lacy.

On the battalion embarking a final inspection was made on board the transport by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, together with H.S.H. General Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, commanding the Southern District. The *China* weighed anchor at 4 p.m. on the 26th. St. Vincent was reached on March 6th, and, after two days there to coal, the transport proceeded to the Cape, arriving in Simon's Bay on March 25th. After a stay of four days at Simon's Bay the *China* sailed for Durban. The ship arrived on April 2nd, and the battalion disembarked the same day and went into camp at Durban. The 94th began its march to the Front on April 6th, proceeding by train to Botha's Hills and marching thence 8 miles on to Pietermaritzburg. It halted there until the 11th. Proceeding it reached the village of Greytown, a post on the line of the communications 35 miles north of Pietermaritzburg, on April 14th. At Greytown E Company (Captain Pöe) and C Company (Captain Froom) were detached, relieving two companies of the 4th King's Own. The battalion, now six companies, continued its march on April 16th through the thorn country along the Natal Border by way of Helpmakaar, 12 miles from the Zulu frontier.

Dundee, the objective of the march, was reached on April 24th. The troops for the campaign were being now reorganized in two divisions, and the regiments to form the new Second Division, under Major-General Newdigate, were assembling at Dundee. The 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers had arrived there just before the 94th, and on the day after the coming in of the 94th, the 58th arrived, together with artillery, companies of the 2/24th and departmental units. Major-General Newdigate inspected the 94th on April 26th, and next day, the battalion, as before six companies strong, left for Conference Hill, 30 miles to the north-east, where the Advanced Supply Dépôt of the Second Division was being established. The battalion escorted a convoy of 130 wagons. The Buffalo River was crossed at Landman's Drift on April 30th and Conference Hill reached on May 3rd. Lord Chelmsford, accompanied by the French Prince Imperial as extra A.D.C., passed the 94th *en route* and visited the camp on May 2nd. At Conference Hill, which overlooked the Blood River, the western boundary of Zululand, the battalion, after laagering, constructed two stone redoubts to protect the enclosure where three months' supplies were to be collected. Lieut.-Colonel Malthus was relieved as commandant of the post at Conference Hill on May 13th by Lieut.-Colonel Davies, Grenadier Guards. On May 31st the 94th left Conference Hill for Kopje Allein

(Lone Hill), 12 miles lower down the Blood River, where the Second Division finally concentrated before entering Zululand. The Zulus were reported to be massing near Ibabanongo and Inzayeni, a few miles off towards Ulundi.

For the coming operations the Second Division was now constituted in two brigades, to the second of which the six companies of the 94th, with seven companies of the 1/24th were appointed as the infantry units of the brigade. Six companies of the 2/21st Royal Scots Fusiliers and six companies of the 58th comprised the infantry of the 1st Brigade of the Division. The Divisional troops were composed of two batteries R.A. (N/5 and N/6), No. 2 Company R.E., Bettington's Natal Horse, Shepstone's Basutos, the 2nd Bn. Natal Native Contingent, and an Ammunition Column, with A.S.C. and A.M.D. details. Major-General H. H. Crealock commanded the First Division and Major-General Newdigate the Second, with Colonel Pearson (3rd Buffs) and Lieut.-Colonel Clarke (57th Regiment) as Brigadiers in the First Division, and Colonel Glyn (24th Regiment) and Colonel Collingwood (21st Royal Scots Fusiliers) as Brigadiers in the Second Division. The strength of the 94th on entering Zululand was twenty-two Officers and 629 N.C.O.'s and Men.

The advance of the Second Division into Zululand across the Blood River began on the morning of June 1st, Lord Chelmsford with the General Head-quarters Staff accompanying the division. It was on June 1st, about 4 p.m., that the French Prince Imperial was killed, when on a reconnaissance about 20 miles from the Zululand Border. The Prince Imperial had gone forward in advance to select a camping ground on the banks of the Ityotyosi River for the division to occupy at the end of its second day's march, and to examine the road for that march. The Second Division halted on June 1st for the night on the *nek* between the Itelezi and Icenci Hills, where at 7 p.m. the news of the death of the Prince Imperial was reported to Lord Chelmsford. The Second Division remained halted during June 2nd, when the body of the Prince Imperial was brought into camp. After provisional preservative measures had been taken the body was removed under cavalry escort to Natal in the afternoon.

On June 3rd the Second Division resumed its advance and encamped near the junction of the Tombokola and Ityotyosi Rivers, within half a mile of where the Prince Imperial had met his death. Colonel Evelyn Wood's Flying Column, operating with the Second Division, kept throughout some 8 or 10 miles in advance. The Second Division crossed the Ityotyosi River on June 4th and occupied Wood's former camping ground, the Flying Column moving forward to the further bank of the Nondweni River. On the evening of June 4th three Zulu chiefs came into the camp

under a flag of truce with a message from Cetewayo to Lord Chelmsford offering terms of peace. They were sent back with a written notification that the two British 7-pounder guns captured at Isandhlwana and known to be at Ulundi, with all British arms, also the cattle taken at Isandhlwana, must be returned before any discussion of terms could take place. As a further preliminary also, a Zulu impi of 1,000 men must come and publicly lay down its arms before the British camp on behalf of the Zulu nation.

The Second Division remained halted during June 5th and 6th, on the former of which days there was a skirmish, a few miles in advance, between part of the Flying Column with three troops of the 17th Lancers and a Zulu force. The building of a fort by the Nondweni River was begun by the 94th and other troops while the Second Division was halting. It was given the name "Fort Newdigate" and was designed to be the first of a line of forts for the security of the line of communications which it was proposed to construct at 20 miles' intervals. On the division moving forward two companies of the 2/21st were to garrison "Fort Newdigate."

On the night of June 6th a sudden alarm was caused by nervousness among the native contingents, whose dread of the Zulus was notorious. For security at night the camp was surrounded by groups of infantry with supports in rear, small parties of natives being stationed between these groups. As recorded in the official *Narrative of the Field Operations connected with the Zulu War*, this is what occurred. "At 9 p.m. on the 6th June, the natives forming one of the parties of natives thought they saw a Zulu creeping towards them, and fired three shots, which was the recognized signal that the camp was attacked. The groups of the 58th Regiment, who were on either side of this party of natives, ran in on their supports, the officer in charge of which, after ordering two volleys to be fired, instantly retired with his men into one of the unfinished forts. The tents were immediately struck and the troops manned the wagon laager to receive the expected attack. Fearing that the piquets might be shot, General Newdigate now ordered the 'close' to be sounded, and very soon afterwards the troops opened fire from all faces of the laager, and two rounds were fired by the artillery. Orders were promptly issued for this firing to cease, but, as all the outposts had not been withdrawn, two sergeants and three men received gunshot wounds. Order having been restored, the bright moonlight showed that there was no enemy near the camp, and shortly afterwards the tents were again pitched." It may be added that "Fort Newdigate" was after that always called in camp slang "Fort Funk."

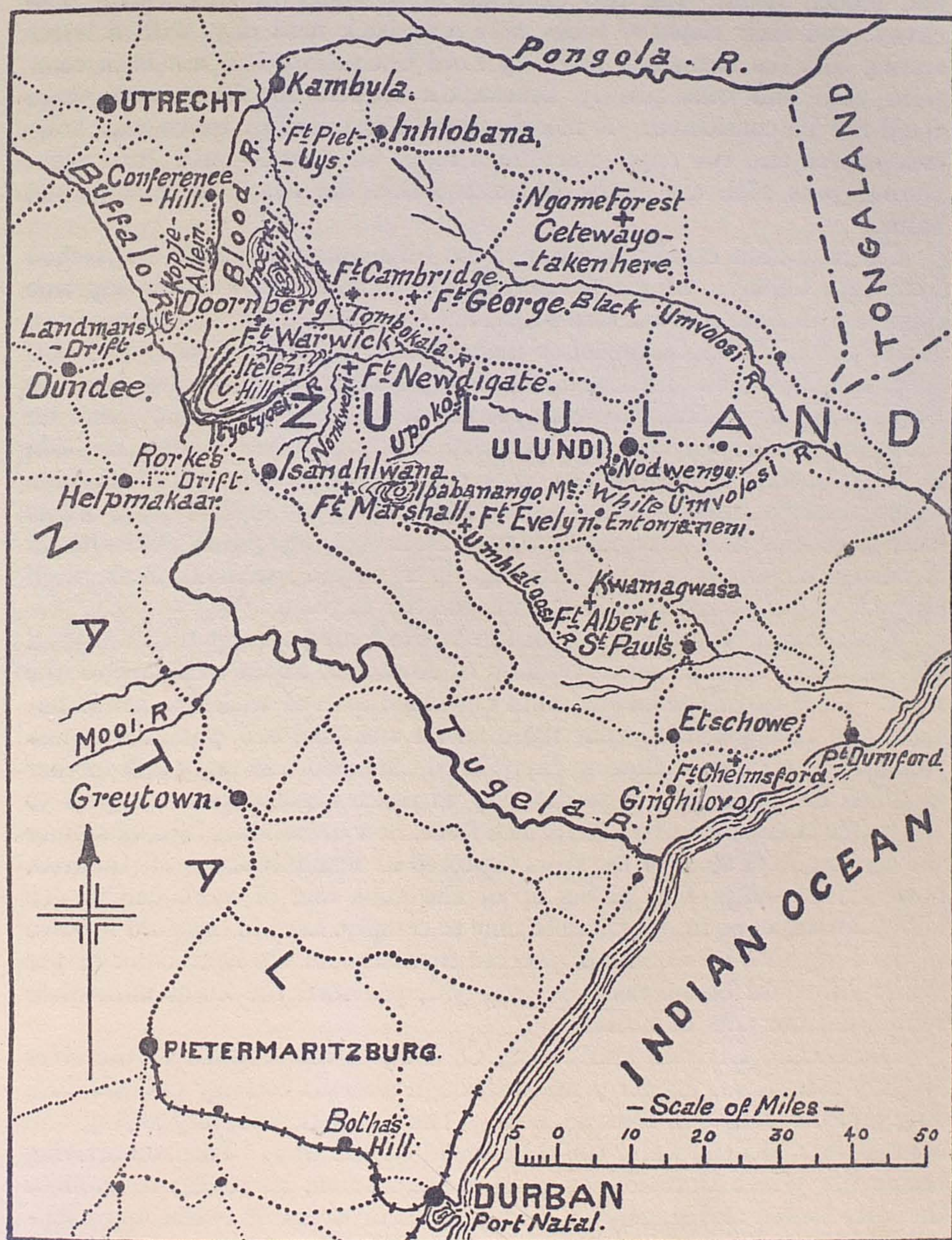
The division, leaving two companies of the 2/21st Royal Scots Fusiliers with two Gatlings at "Fort Newdigate," together with a company of a native contingent and a squadron of the King's Dragoon Guards, moved forward on June 7th and camped at Nondweni, on the left bank of the River Upoko (also known as the Teneni), near where the skirmish on June 5th had taken place.

The division remained encamped at Nondweni from June 8th to June 18th, on which latter date the 2nd Brigade was redistributed. The remaining companies of the 2/21st were allotted as the garrison of a new fort, in advance of Nondweni, "Fort Marshall," and the 1/24th, 58th and 94th were combined as one brigade under Colonel R. J. Glyn of the 1/24th. The brigading together of the 94th and 58th, it may be mentioned, produced for Colonel Glyn's command the nickname of "The Elephant and Castle Brigade"; suggested by the badges of the two regiments.

On June 16th an official intimation was received that Lieut.-General Sir Garnet (afterwards Field-Marshal Lord) Wolseley had been designated to replace Lord Chelmsford, with additional powers as Military and Civil Governor in Natal and beyond the frontier. Sir Garnet was on his way from England and was due to arrive in a fortnight's time.

The Second Division resumed the march on June 19th, proceeding on that day to the Ibabanango Mountain. The Umhlatosi River was crossed on June 22nd and 4 miles beyond a third fort was built, "Fort Evelyn," named after Colonel Evelyn Wood. Two companies of the 58th were placed in garrison at "Fort Evelyn," with two guns and some natives. Proceeding on June 25th, the division halted near Entonjaneni (Little Springs) on an elevated plateau, 5,000 feet above sea-level and commanding the valley of the White Umvolosi River. It was now distant about 20 miles from Ulundi. Then, on June 26th, the Second Division closed up on the Flying Column, camping within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Colonel Wood's force. Several large Zulu military kraals were within view at a short distance ahead. They were evacuated on the approach of the British force and set on fire, a small skirmish taking place between parties of Zulus and advanced detachments of the Flying Column.

Three more envoys from Cetewayo came to the camp on June 27th. Each carried an elephant tusk in token of their authority, according to the Zulu practice, and brought with them a letter from Cetewayo to Lord Chelmsford (written for the King by a Dutch trader named Cornelis Vijn who was then living at Ulundi). With the messengers were sent 150 oxen, part of the large number captured at Isandhlwana. The oxen, wrote Cetewayo, were all that had survived a recent epidemic of lung sickness. He could not, said the King, send the captured rifles, as men of the impis



THE WAR IN ZULULAND.



had hidden them. The two captured guns would be forwarded. The envoys and their elephant tusks were sent back next day, with a letter stating that the terms laid down by Lord Chelmsford had not been complied with and consequently Cetewayo's request for immediate peace could not be considered. A modification of the British terms was however offered and two days' grace for a reply was given—until June 29th. During June 28th and 29th, in consequence, the whole force remained halted.

On June 28th came a telegram from Sir Garnet Wolseley, despatched from Cape Colony. Sir Garnet announced his assumption of the supreme command in South Africa and requested a statement by telegram of the situation, with Lord Chelmsford's plan of campaign. The force was also ordered to fall back on the First Division, then many miles away on the Umhlazi River towards Ginghelovo. Lord Chelmsford's reply, sent on the 29th, pointed out that it was impossible to retire on the First Division in the presence of the enemy. After that, no further communication from Cetewayo having been received on the expiry of the time limit, orders were issued for a further advance next morning, June 30th. The troops, it was directed, were now to march lightly equipped; without tents, with only ox-wagon transport and rations for ten days.

The advance into the valley of the White Umvolosi began as arranged and the force bivouacked at midday at Amakeui, about half-way to the river. Here two more envoys from Cetewayo arrived with another letter. Cetewayo now promised that more cattle and the two 7-pounder guns would be sent on the following day. Lord Chelmsford in reply still further modified his demand as a preliminary to peace negotiations in regard to the public submission of a Zulu armed force, now demanding instead simply the sending in of 1,000 of the rifles captured at Isandhlwana. He insisted, however, on the prompt giving up of the guns and of more cattle. To allow Cetewayo the fullest possible time to comply, Lord Chelmsford notified to the King that he would not proceed further than the near bank of the White Umvolosi before noon on July 3rd, provided the Zulus meanwhile refrained from acts of hostility.

The Second Division and Flying Column moved forward to the river on July 1st, advancing for 7 miles through difficult country covered with long grass, cactus and mimosa bush. The weather was very trying and oppressive, and little water could be found on the way. Then, on arriving beside the White Umvolosi early in the afternoon, according to promise the force halted and laagered. A large force of Zulus was seen approaching on the opposite side as the troops neared the river, and preparations were made to meet an attack, but the Zulus did not cross. They then



BIVOUAC OF THE 94th NEAR UMVOLOSI RIVER.

3rd July 1879
(The Night before Ulundi.)



fell back, after which the rest of the day passed quietly. July 2nd was spent in strengthening the defences of the laager by clearing away the bush on all sides and building a small fort on rising ground. No large force of Zulus was seen and no message came from Cetewayo. A few Zulu snipers fired occasionally from a rocky hill across the river, but no notice of that was taken. The defensive preparations at the fort and laager continued during July 3rd. On that day, as the time fixed by Lord Chelmsford for the receipt of Cetewayo's reply expired at noon without any answer having come, the fact was taken as a final rejection of the British terms.

During the forenoon parties of Zulus on high ground on the left bank of the river began firing on our outposts and watering parties, which reopened hostilities. The firing became so hot in the afternoon that two 9-pounders were pushed forward to a commanding point on our side of the river to shell the enemy, and two companies of the 94th, D and G, under Captains Bowlby and Campbell, went out to support the guns. A little later the mounted infantry and cavalry of the Flying Column with native irregulars under Lieut.-Colonel Buller, V.C. (afterwards General Sir Redvers Buller) crossed the river to make a reconnaissance in force in the direction of Ulundi. They chased the Zulu skirmishers back, until they suddenly came under a heavy fire from a force of about 5,000 Zulus, till then in concealment. Swarms of Zulus also were soon seen working round to cut off Buller's force, which finally had to withdraw across the river, covered at the drift by the artillery and the two companies of the 94th.

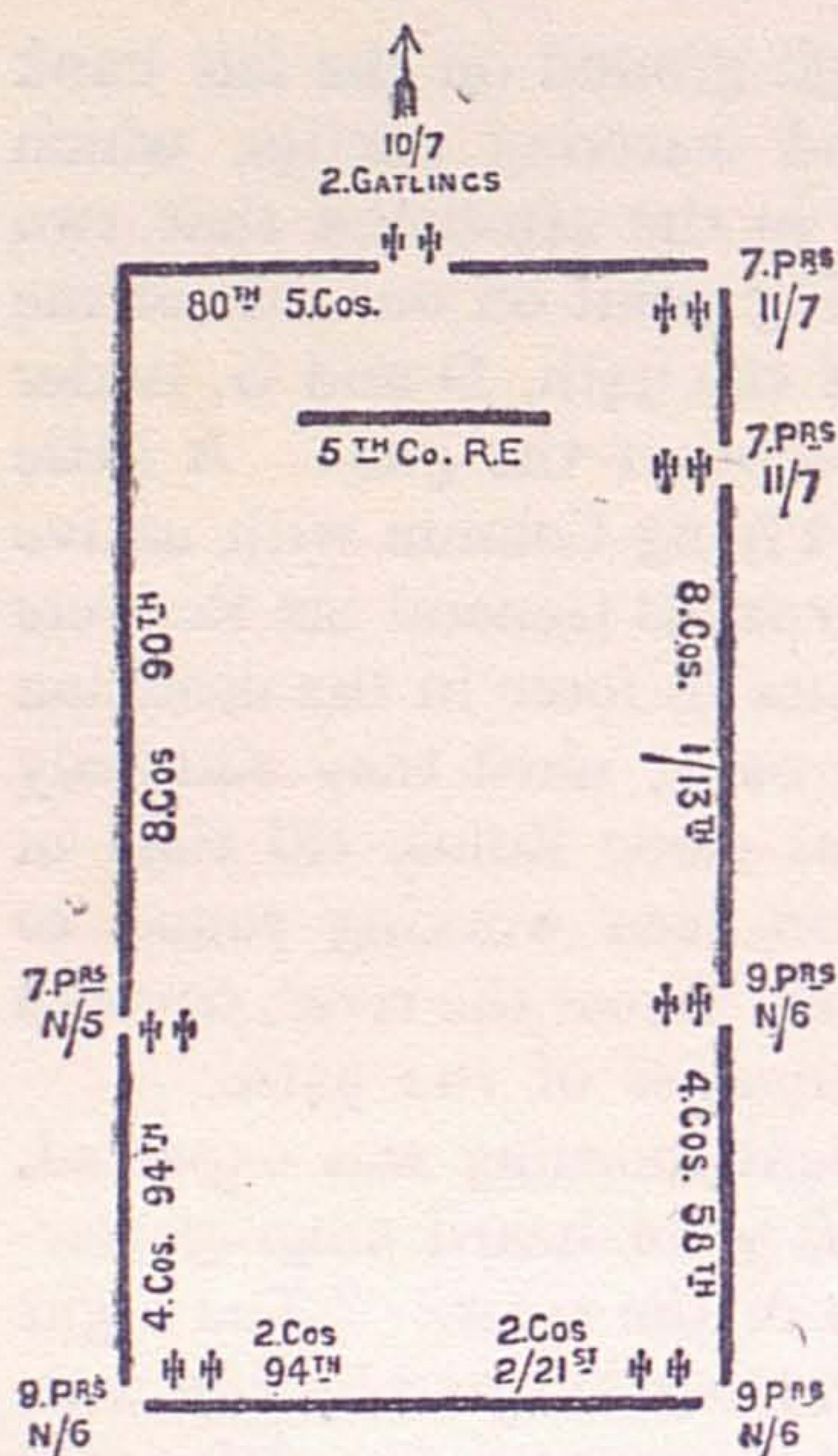
An attack by the Zulus in force at dawn next morning was expected, as throughout the night of July 3rd the Zulus were heard singing war-songs and dancing in kraals on the further side of the river. "The night of the 3rd," describes a Staff Officer, "was rendered hideous by the war-songs which proclaimed the enemy's intention of fighting next day. We could gather from the volume of sound that there was a goodly host assembled."

The expected early morning attack was not made, and between 7 and 8 a.m. on July 4th the combined forces of the Second Division and the Flying Column forded the river and advanced, the mounted troops under Colonel Buller leading the way.

Five companies of the 1/24th, with one company R.E., and small detachments from other units, numbering 529 British and 93 armed natives, were left to hold the entrenched camp by the river, under Colonel Bellairs, D.A.G. The main attacking force numbered 4,166 Europeans and 958 native irregulars, with 12 guns and 2 Gatlings. The 94th was the largest unit which went into the action at Ulundi: 20 Officers and 593 N.C.O.'s and Men. The officers were:—Lieut.-Colonel Commanding—Lieut.-

Colonel S. Malthus, Lieut.-Colonel J. Murray ; Major—P. R. Anstruther ; Captains—J. Browne, F. B. Campbell, G. R. S. Bowlby, S. N. M. L. Nairne, E. S. Brook ; Lieutenants—H. W. W. Spooner, H. F. G. Champion, J. MacSwiney, H. A. C. Harrison, J. de C. O'Grady ; Second-Lieutenants—R. G. Wolridge-Gordon, E. Harding, A. D. Campbell, G. L. E. Massy, J. J. F. Hume, L. L. Nicol ; Adjutant—Lieutenant L. G. Brooke.

On arriving at 8 a.m. at the place where the Zulus had attacked Buller's reconnoitring force on the previous day, 3 miles from the White Umvolosi, the combined force was formed into a hollow rectangle, with the Native



Contingent, the Ammunition and R.E. columns and the Bearer Company in the interior. The infantry on the sides of the rectangle were in fours, those in the front and rear faces were deployed. The order of march was as follows :—80th Regiment ; 4 7-pounders (11/7 R.A.) ; 2 9-pounders (N/6 R.A.) ; 2 Gatlings (10/7 R.A.) ; 90th and 1/13th Regiments ; 94th and 58th Regiments ; 2 7-pounders (N/5 R.A.) ; 4 9-pounders (N/6 R.A.) ; 4 9-pounders (N/6 R.A.). In rear were two companies of the 2/21st with native troops, covered by three squadrons of the 17th Lancers.

“The general direction of the march,” to quote the *Official Narrative* of the action compiled by the Intelligence Branch, Q.M.G.'s Department, Horse Guards, “was towards the north-east between the Undabakaombi and Nodwengu kraals and was

continued for about a mile past the latter, when, having reached a favourable position previously reported on by Lieut.-Colonel Buller, Lord Chelmsford wheeled the rectangle half-right and halted it with its front facing towards Ulundi, which lay due east and about a mile and a half away.

“The Zulus, who had begun to assemble on the surrounding heights soon after the British troops got clear of the bushy ground, were now seen advancing from all sides, and at about 8.45 a.m. came into collision with those mounted men of the Flying Column who were in front and on the right flank. These were soon forced to fall back, and by about 9 a.m. the whole of the mounted men had retired within the rectangle formed by the infantry, which afforded ample space for their accommodation.

“When their front was clear the artillery opened fire on the advancing

enemy, and the ground being almost entirely free from bush the effect of this arm was very destructive. The Zulu movements, however, were not checked, and their great circle gradually contracting to within musketry range, the firing soon became general. The casualties among the British troops, collected as they were in a dense mass on open ground, and exposed to a converging attack, must have been very serious if the enemy's fire had been at all accurate, but, as it was, the loss was comparatively small. The Zulus, firing wildly, pressed forward in their usual loose order, and sought to close with the British troops, but the steady and well-sustained fire of the infantry supported by the Gatlings and artillery, rendered this impossible, and at no point did they succeed in approaching nearer than 30 yards. A large force of the enemy came up from the Nodwengu kraal, and, having failed to make any impression on the right face of the rectangle, extended to its left with the object of outflanking the troops immediately opposed to it. Finding, however, that on all sides a similar solid line of infantry met them, the Zulus lost heart and began to falter. A want of concert in their action was perceptible and the large reserves which were on the ground not being brought up the check which the advanced portions received was speedily taken advantage of. At 9.25 a.m. Lord Chelmsford ordered the 17th Lancers to engage the enemy, and Colonel Drury-Lowe, leading out his men through an opening made in the rear face of the rectangle, charged the Zulus who were near the Nodwengu kraal and dispersed all who were on the open ground. Leaving a number of the enemy who had taken refuge in a ravine to be dealt with by the mounted natives, the Lancers pushed on after those who were now flying towards the hills, and in this pursuit the efficacy of the lance as a cavalry weapon was abundantly proved.

"The mounted men of the Flying Column, under Lieut.-Colonel Buller, issued from the front of the square after the Lancers had gone out, and pursued various scattered parties of the enemy whose flight now became general. Comparatively little opposition was attempted after the Zulus had commenced to fall back, and the very heavy losses which they suffered in their flight were inflicted almost with impunity. The pursuit ceased at the base of the hills, and some of the enemy who remained on the crests above were soon dispersed by a few shells from the 9-pounders. Shells were also thrown into the great kraal of Ulundi, and this, as well as the other military kraals in the neighbourhood, was burnt by the mounted men."

The following vividly descriptive account of Ulundi by Lord Chelmsford's A.D.C., Captain W. C. E. Molyneux (afterwards Major-General)* is perhaps the most interesting narrative of the action extant.

* *Campaigning in South Africa and Egypt*, p. 185.



“ We were all across the river by seven, and at half-past eight had reached the knoll selected by Buller on the previous day for our position. The Chief now took personal command of the united force, wheeled the rectangle half-right so as to face Ulundi kraal, halted it, faced the men outwards, and ordered the ranks to be dressed and the ammunition carts to be placed handy and open. Wood proposed to entrench, but the Chief refused. ‘ No,’ he said, ‘ they will be satisfied if we beat them fairly in the open. We have been called “ ant-bears ” long enough.’

“ The Zulus did not keep us waiting long. The ranks were scarcely dressed before our mounted men on the right commenced firing at the back of Nodwengu kraal, and almost immediately it was taken up all along the line of scouts. Buller and Drury-Lowe brought in the irregulars and 17th Lancers at a gallop, so as to clear the infantry front. ‘ Volleys by companies ’ was the order when the square was closed again. The Chief refused to dismount, so all staff-officers, including Newdigate’s and Wood’s, remained on horseback throughout the action : and a very fine view we had of the whole battle.

“ The Zulus had remained in the horseshoe formation of the previous day, and now joining the two horns, they came with a tremendous rush at our rear face. This was held by two companies of the 2nd Battn. 21st, and two of the 94th, the greatest rush coming at the right rear-angle held by the 21st. There was a patch of bush and long grass 30 yards off it, behind which the enemy were assembling ; so the Chief brought the 5th Company Royal Engineers up behind the 21st to help them in case of need ; but company volleys and case from two 9-pounders scattered the Zulus at this point and stopped a closer rush. The guns this day were in action in line with the infantry : the two Gatlings in the centre of the front face, and the others, two together, either at the angles or at the intervals between the regiments. The flank and front faces were the next engaged, and it seemed to me, from horseback, that the Zulus killed many of their own men. At one time I was watching the enemy opposite the left face. They were in a hollow, and our men, being unable to see them, were not at the moment firing ; yet two or three threw up their arms and fell, which could only have been from shots fired by their friends opposite, who were attacking our right face and whose bullets had passed over our heads and hit them.

“ Shortly after nine o’clock a dense black mass of Zulus emerged from Ulundi kraal and moved down the slope, east of the Imbilane stream and towards us : it was the reserve, or the ‘ Loins ’ of the Zulu army, consisting of the royal regiments of the Undi corps, at least 5,000 strong. Two 9-pounders had been moved from the left rear to the left front angle

and they had taken the range to a solitary euphorbia tree on this slope, about 2,000 yards off. Down the slope came the Zulus in a wide rectangle fifty deep, beating their white shields and shouting their war-cry. The two Gatlings in the centre of our front face, after playing havoc in the black ranks, had now jammed and were out of action ; but the 9-pounders were equal to the occasion. Loading with shrapnel they fired, both shells bursting in the centre of the front of this mass, which at once opened out into two wings. Two more shells followed, one into the heart of each wing : they hesitated, then closed again : two more shells sent them all to the rightabout, and we saw no more of Cetewayo's reserve that day. It had at no time been within a mile of us.

"After three-quarters of an hour the foremost Zulus began to waver. Seeing this, the Chief told Colonel Drury-Lowe to take his Lancers out and disperse them. Just as he had mounted a spent bullet hit him on the spine and benumbed him, so Major Boulderson took command. Leaving by the left face, where a company of infantry was wheeled back to form a gateway, he took his men out towards Nodwengu kraal, and then, wheeling into line to the right, charged the still unbroken part of the Zulu right horn. Poor Wyatt Edgell was shot dead almost before the Lancers had cleared the square. One Zulu regiment stood firm and even gave the cavalry a volley ; the fire was wild, however, and the ensuing shock when horse met foot could even be heard by us. The Zulus broke and fled, followed fast by the Lancers : but some rallied on the rocky hills to the north-west where the cavalry could not follow and they were dispersed by shrapnel shells. The lance-pennons were a sight that night ; there was not one that had not done its work. Buller's mounted men, who had left the square after the Lancers, dispersed several other parties of the enemy : and within an hour there was not a Zulu to be seen."

Major-General Newdigate, in his report on the action, speaks of the 94th in the following terms—"The 94th Regiment occupied the rear face with its left adjoining the right of the 2nd Battn. 21st and also the left face of the square. Colonel Malthus commanded his Battalion most efficiently. The companies in the rear face were under the command of Major Anstruther, whose conduct during the whole day is deserving of high commendation. The Adjutant of this regiment, Lieutenant Brooke, rendered great assistance." Colonel R. J. Glyn, the Brigadier, in his report refers to the regiment as follows :—"The columns of the enemy which I had noticed at first moved round to the back of a ridge about 300 yards from our left and opened a brisk fire on the 94th Regiment, from which they suffered some loss. The enemy were however dislodged from there by steady volleys fired by sections of this regiment."

When the wounded had been attended to, the combined forces of the Second Division and Flying Column, still in rectangular formation, moved about 1 mile nearer Ulundi and halted on the banks of the Imbilane stream. The men rested there and had their dinners and about 2 p.m. all started to return to the bivouac on the White Umvolosi. The wounded having to be carried on stretchers the march was consequently very slow and the bivouac was not reached till about 4 p.m.

The total British loss was 12 killed and 88 wounded. The 94th with a casualty list of 15 (2 rank and file killed and 13 wounded, including the Adjutant, Lieutenant Brooke), had the largest casualty list of any unit.

The night of July 4th was passed at the laager by the White Umvolosi, the garrison of which had not been attacked during the action at Ulundi. The Second Division on the 5th began to move back to "Fort Newdigate," halting on the way at Entonjaneni. There, on the night of July 6th, a storm of bitterly cold wind with drenching rain burst on the troops. The tempest raged with more or less violence throughout the 8th and 9th, rendering all movement impracticable, and causing great mortality among the transport oxen.

The Second Division and Flying Column separated on July 9th, the former proceeding for Natal by the road taken during the advance, the Flying Column going off to the south. Two companies of the 94th, A and B, under the command of Major P. R. Anstruther, accompanied the Flying Column as far as Kwamafoza, where they remained to garrison a fort. The other companies continued with the Second Division, which, on July 15th, arrived at the Upsoko River. The 94th quitted the division for "Fort Newdigate" on July 26th. The battalion now received orders to join a column under Colonel Baker Russell of the 13th Hussars, which was to scour the north-eastern district of Zululand and reduce tribes in that quarter to submission. The capture of Cetewayo, reported to be a fugitive in hiding in the district, was another object of the expedition.

A fort was built by the 94th about 12 miles north of "Fort Newdigate" while waiting for Lieut.-Colonel Baker Russell to arrive. It was named "Fort Malthus," after the Commanding Officer of the 94th, but a little later an order from Sir Garnet Wolseley changed the name to "Fort Cambridge." The two companies under Major Anstruther rejoined the battalion on August 5th, and at the same time Colonel Baker Russell arrived and took charge. The column now comprised one squadron of K.D.G.'s, a battery of R.A. (7-pounders), six companies of the 94th, No. 2 Company R.E., a company of mounted infantry organized and commanded by Lieutenant J. de C. O'Grady of the 94th, and native irregulars. The column

started on August 9th, leaving one of the companies of the 94th (D, Captain Bowlby) to garrison "Fort Malthus."

The operations of the column involved several trying marches and lasted until the second week of September. No opposition was offered and the Zulus surrendered in all directions. It proved however impossible to capture Cetewayo and on August 13th the column had to desist from the attempt owing to the desertion of the native guides and the hopelessly difficult country to be crossed before reaching the place where the King was reported to be hiding. The capture was finally effected by the squadron of the K.D.G.'s attached to the force, under Major Marter. Cetewayo when brought in was taken over by a guard of the 94th, who escorted him as a prisoner of war to Pietermaritzburg and handed him over to the authorities.

Two companies of the 94th were detached during the operations to hold "Fort George," in the neighbourhood of the Black Umvolosi River, and one company was posted near the Transvaal frontier to garrison "Fort Piet Uys," named after a loyal Transvaaler who had fallen earlier in the war. The final operation of the column took place during the first week of September, and consisted in the occupation and blowing up of caves used as the stronghold of a Zulu chief, Manganyoba, who for some time past had been carrying out a series of bandit or guerrilla raids. Manganyoba was chased from place to place until, on September 19th, he finally surrendered.

On the column being broken up shortly afterwards, the 94th proceeded to Middelburg in the Transvaal, to join a force assembled there as a column of observation in consequence of the hostile attitude that the Boers of the Transvaal had begun to assume towards the British.

There was however to be another campaign for the 94th before hostilities on the part of the Transvaal Boers began.

Lieut.-General Earl Howe was appointed Colonel of the Regiment on February 6th 1879. He was succeeded by Lieut.-General John Thornton Grant on June 25th the same year, 1879.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE SEKUKUNI CAMPAIGN: NOVEMBER–DECEMBER 1879. THE ATTACK ON "SEKUKUNI'S TOWN." STORMING OF THE "FIGHTING KOPJE." COLONEL BAKER RUSSELL'S LIFE SAVED BY A PRIVATE OF THE 94th. THE "V.C." WON BY PRIVATES FITZPATRICK AND FLAWN OF THE 94th.

1879

ON the capture of Cetewayo it was decided to resume operations against Sekukuni, the chief at the head of the most powerful confederacy of tribes outside Zululand, which had been suspended in October 1878 when hostilities with the Zulu nation became imminent. Sekukuni's territory, which was in the Lydenburg district of the Transvaal, had been included in the Transvaal territory annexed by Great Britain in April 1878. On the annexation Sekukuni, at the secret instance of Cetewayo, broke out into open revolt against the new rulers of the country. The British force sent against him in August 1878 had however found it impossible, from various causes, to carry the operations through before the greater danger from the Zulus compelled their suspension.

Hostilities against Sekukuni now opened in November 1879, the troops employed, known as the "Transvaal Field Force," being under the general direction of Sir Garnet Wolseley, Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, with Colonel Baker Russell in immediate charge of operations. The Field Force comprised a mule battery R.A.; two mounted infantry companies, one from the 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers, one, under Lieutenant J. de C. O'Grady, from the 94th; the 2/21st, the 94th, and one company of the 80th Regiment, with Carrington's Horse, two mounted volunteer corps of British and friendly Boers, and a native contingent of Swazis, etc.

Middelburg was selected as the base of operations and the advance started from there early in November, on the arrival of Sir Garnet Wolseley and the Head-quarters Staff.

The route followed was by Pokwani Hill, then across the Oliphant River and along the Oliphant Valley, a tract of difficult "bush" and dense forest. Small forts were built at intervals to keep open the line of communications. Three of these were occupied for short periods between

November 5th and November 13th by companies of the 94th, but only one was attacked, "Fort Burghers," held by D Company (Captain G. R. S. Bowlby) and some native irregulars. The attack took place on November 12th and lasted an hour and a half, when the enemy, who were estimated at about 5,000, were beaten off. The companies of the 94th, on November 24th, as the column advanced nearer to Sekukuni's Town, the Chief's stronghold, concentrated at the front. Then followed, on the night of November 25th, a rapid push forward over the final stage of the approach, a 20-miles' forced march to the immediate vicinity of Sekukuni's Town.

The mounted troops were sent forward after sunset with orders to attack at dawn and seize the Water Kopje, 4 miles from Sekukuni's Town and commanding the approach to the water supply on which the troops and animals would be entirely dependent during the operation. In support of the mounted troops the 94th made a forced march that same night with orders to take over and hold the water supply immediately on its seizure by the mounted troops. The night move was completely successful. The enemy were surprised and driven off, and the Water Kopje was occupied and quickly placed in a state of defence by the 94th. During the next two days the main column reached the place, on which the 94th handed over charge of the Water Kopje to a native force and rejoined the main column.

Orders were now issued for an attack in force at dawn next day, November 28th.

The enemy's main position comprised two defensive sections. One section consisted of a fortified mountain with a lower spur running south at right angles to it at the eastern end, facing the British advance. In the angle between the mountain and the spur, a kloof, or ravine, led up to the top of the mountain. "Sekukuni's Town" and the Chief's kraal were at the lower end of the kloof. The second section formed the key of the enemy's position. It comprised an isolated hill, a mass of piled-up rocks and boulders 100 feet high, which rose in front of Sekukuni's Town. It was known as the "Fighting Kopje" and from top to bottom was honeycombed with caves and hollows, across and in front of which had been built loopholed schanzes or stone breastworks. A large force of the enemy, who were well supplied with water from springs inside the caves, formed the garrison. The southern face of the mountain had in like manner been rendered apparently impregnable.

The Centre or Main Attack on the Fighting Kopje and Sekukuni's Town was committed to Lieut.-Colonel Murray of the 94th, with at his disposal the battalion, less four companies, and the 2/21st Royal Scots Fusiliers, less two companies. The Right Attack, against the spur running south

from the enemy's position on the mountain, was in charge of Major P. R. Anstruther of the 94th, with one company of the battalion and a native contingent. The Left Attack, against the enemy's position on the left of Sekukuni's Town, under Captain Carrington of the 24th, was formed with a mounted infantry company of the 94th (Lieutenant J. de C. O'Grady), a mounted infantry company of the 2/21st and two South African Volunteer Corps, Ferreira's and Raaf's Horse. The Right and Left Attacks were to clear the caves on the face of the mountain and then, swinging inwards, turn the enemy on both flanks and attack the town in reverse. The remaining two companies of the 94th, who, with one company of the 80th and 6,000 Swazis, had just joined from Lydenburg, formed a fourth body, known as the "Lydenburg Force," which was designed to attack the northern face of the mountain and take the position in reverse over the top, after that joining hands with the main body on the south face.

The Right and Left Attacks and the Lydenburg Force opened action at 10 a.m. Each carried out their part successfully and cleared the enemy out of the caves by noon. They then joined the Centre Attack which, having had orders to confine its operations till then to a delaying action, had been holding the enemy on the Fighting Kopje and in the town with a heavy artillery bombardment and infantry skirmishing fire. The Fighting Kopje was now surrounded, whereupon the general assault on the great stronghold was ordered. The rush forward covered the Fighting Kopje with troops in a very few minutes, but to get to close grips with the enemy proved impossible. Sekukuni's men were invisible in the caves, while they kept firing between the rocks and boulders over which our men were scrambling, and from underground clefts beneath, causing many casualties.

In this fighting Colonel Baker Russell, who personally led the assault, was saved from almost certain death by a man of the 94th, his orderly, Private Woods, belonging to the mounted infantry company of the regiment. Woods, who was close behind the Colonel, suddenly saw a rifle protruded up through a cleft between rocks at Colonel Baker Russell's feet. He rushed forward to reach the man below before he fired and got between the man and the Colonel as the hidden native fired, receiving the bullet in his body and being severely wounded. Woods had in consequence later to be invalided out of the service. He was recommended to Sir Garnet Wolseley by Colonel Russell for the V.C., but for some unknown reason nothing was ever done for him.

The situation on the Fighting Kopje before long became baffling. Although the hill had been successfully occupied, the enemy under shelter in the caves and in concealment remained unsubdued. They could not be got at and were apparently little the worse for the earlier bombardment.

As the only way to deal with the situation a trench was now rapidly dug round the base of the Kopje and manned with marksmen widely extended. The Sappers then dropped charges of dynamite with time fuses into the caves and clefts to start out the defenders while the men in the trench were to shoot them down as they showed themselves. Even then, though, the garrison stubbornly held on. The fuses had to be made shorter, for apparently, the enemy, many of whom had formerly worked in the Kimberley diamond fields, managed in most cases to cut the fuses before they could act. It took twelve hours more before the brave survivors of the Fighting Kopje garrison surrendered and the battle was finally over.

Sekukuni himself had meanwhile disappeared. He was known to be alive and to have gone off unharmed. On that B Company of the 94th, under Captain E. S. Brook, with native levies and carriers, was sent in pursuit. They overtook and captured Sekukuni some way off on December 2nd and brought him, a prisoner, to Head-quarters.

A trophy of the capture of the Fighting Kopje, in the shape of a huge elephant tusk, one of Sekukuni's badges of office as Chief, was in the possession of the 94th until the disbandment of The Connaught Rangers in 1922. Lieut.-Colonel Murray had it mounted in silver and presented it to the officers' mess of the 94th. It has been, since 1922, deposited in the Museum of the Royal United Service Institution. Sekukuni possessed two elephant tusks. The companion tusk was sent by Sir Garnet Wolseley to Queen Victoria and it is now in Windsor Castle.

Two privates of the 94th, Francis Fitzpatrick and Thomas Flawn, won the V.C. in the action at Sekukuni's Town for rescuing and carrying out of action, in circumstances of great gallantry, Lieutenant C. J. Dewar of the King's Dragoon Guards, who was attached at that time to the mounted infantry company of the 94th and had been severely wounded. The two privates and six men of the native contingent were the only persons near Lieutenant Dewar when he fell. The natives were carrying him down the hill when some forty of the enemy suddenly rushed out after the party. The six native contingent men dropped the wounded officer and ran away. Lieutenant Dewar must have been killed but for the devoted gallantry of the two Irishmen, one of whom carried him on his back while the other fired and kept off the oncoming enemy. One man covering the retreat and the other carrying the officer, the two privates finally brought Lieutenant Dewar into safety.

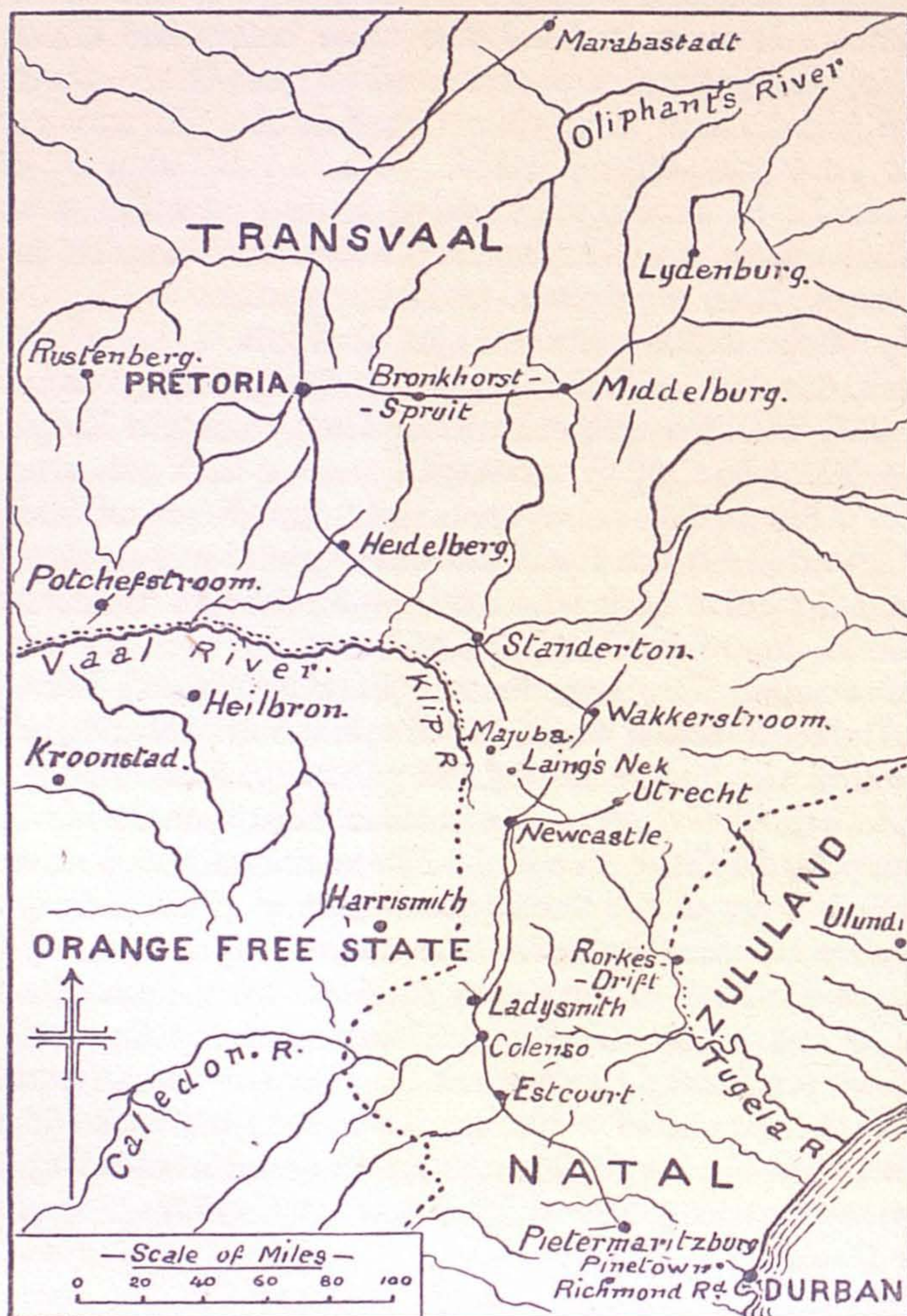
1880

The command of the battalion passed to Major Anstruther as Lieut.-Colonel in August 1880, in accordance with the following announcements in *The London Gazette*, dated "War Office, August 6th, 1880."

"94th Foot.—Lieut.-Colonel Sydenham Malthus, C.B., retires on pension with the honorary rank of Colonel; dated 7th August, 1880.

"Major and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel John Murray, C.B., retires with the honorary rank of Colonel.

"Major and Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Philip Robert Anstruther to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice Sydenham Malthus."



SOUTH AFRICA

1880-1881

CHAPTER LXIV

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR : DECEMBER 1880—APRIL 1881. THE TREACHER-
OUS ATTACK ON HEAD-QUARTERS AND TWO COMPANIES OF THE 94th
AT BRONKHORST SPRUIT—JANUARY 20th. THE PRESERVATION OF
THE COLOURS. THE WOUNDED AFTER THE ACTION. THE MURDER
OF PAYMASTER ELLIOT.

THE events in the history of the 94th during the four months between December 1880 and March 1881, which centre round the unfortunate occurrence at Bronkhorst Spruit, are best recorded in the account by Lieutenant J. J. F. Hume (now Brigadier-General Hume, C.B.E.), who was present throughout, as related by him in *The Ranger* of September 1925 (pp. 164-73).

“After Sir Garnet Wolseley’s successful campaign against Sekukuni, which was brought to a close on December 2nd 1879, by the capture of the Chief and the total destruction of his army and stronghold, in which it had taken a prominent part, the Head-quarters of the regiment had been quartered in Lydenburg, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel S. Malthus, C.B., and on his retirement under Lieut.-Colonel John Murray, C.B., and from August 1880 under Lieut.-Colonel Philip Robert Anstruther. A and F Companies were with the Head-quarters, the others being scattered over the Transvaal garrisoning small posts—B and G at Marabastadt in the Zoutpansberg, under Captain (temporary Major) F. B. Campbell ; C at Wakkerstroom, under Captain G. Froom ; D and H at Standerton, under Captain H. F. G. Campion ; E (Mounted Infantry) at Pretoria, under Lieutenant J. de C. O’Grady, with Lieutenant C. J. Carden. This company had recently arrived, having been on duty escorting Colonel Sir Owen Lanyon, K.C.M.G., the Governor, on a tour of inspection in the native districts, and was waiting to rejoin the Head-quarters of the regiment on its expected arrival in Pretoria.

“Towards the end of November 1880, orders were received for the 94th to move to Pretoria as soon as transport could be procured. A subaltern officer, with fifty other ranks, were with a medical officer and details, to be left at Lydenburg till further orders, to guard the Government stores, ammunition, etc. A redoubt was to be made on the site of

the hutted camp, suitable to the garrison, by joining up some of the huts with a defensive parapet and ditch, in which the troops could be housed and Government property stored.

“ On December 5th A and F companies marched for Middleburg (93½ miles), *en route* for Pretoria, leaving a subaltern, together with fifty other ranks, to garrison Lydenburg, with Surgeon J. Falvey in medical charge. The marching-out state of the column was as stated here: 94th Regiment, Head-quarters, Two Companies.—viz. Officers 6, Other Ranks 230, women 2, children 3, total 236 (women and children not included). Commissariat and Transport Department.—Officer 1, W.O. 1, Other Ranks 5, total 7. Medical Department.—Officer 1, Other Ranks 3, total 4. Totals.—Officers 8, W.O. 1, Other Ranks 238, women 3, children 3, total 247 (women and children not included).

“ The names of the officers were: Lieut.-Colonel P. R. Anstruther, Commanding; Captain S. N. M. L. Nairne, Commanding F Company; Lieutenant J. J. F. Hume, Commanding A Company; Lieutenant and Adjutant H. A. C. Harrison; Captain J. Mitchell-Elliot, Paymaster, 94th Regiment; Captain J. MacSwiney, Acting Quartermaster; D.A.C.G. E. T. Shaen-Carter, Commissariat and Transport Staff; and Surgeon E. C. R. Ward, A.M.D.

“ [The women above listed were Mrs. G. Fox, wife of Sergt.-Major Fox, 94th; Mrs. Smith, widow of Bandmaster Benjamin Smith, 94th, and two children; Mrs. Maistré, wife of Sergeant Maistré, 94th.]

“ In the course of the march the column passed through the Steel-poort Valley. The weather was very wet, the roads mere tracks, were broken up and boggy, and the wagons were constantly sticking in the holes and drifts. This necessitated the frequent ‘double spanning’ of the wagons and man-handling them to get them out, and so seriously delayed the progress of the march.

“ Middelburg, the first stage of the march, was reached on December 15th. The column halted on the 16th to rest the oxen, and on the 17th the march was resumed. That evening it arrived at the Oliphants River and camped near the drift. The river was in flood and the drift was almost impassable for the wagons. This occasioned further delay, and the 18th was spent in getting them over. On the 19th the river had fallen considerably, the camp was struck before dawn, the drift crossed, and the march resumed at daylight. That night Honey’s Farm was reached, the column halted for the night and pitched camp.

“ The day after leaving Middelburg the Colonel had been informed that a ‘friendly’ meeting of Boers was being held at a house we should pass on the road, and that Boer emissaries were endeavouring to stir up the

people to oppose his march, but quite without any success. In consequence, he decided to form a wagon laager on arrival at Honey's Farm. Strong guards were also mounted at 'Retreat' to act as picquets, and sentries were posted round the camp. The picquets and sentries were visited at intervals through the night by an officer's and other patrols. Nothing unusual occurred, and at dawn on December 20th the column resumed its march."

Between 8 a.m. and 9 a.m. a halt was made for breakfast, the force bivouacking near a Boer farm. Some of the men went off to pick fruit in the garden of the farm and were turned out by the Provost-Sergeant at the Commanding Officer's instance, and compensation was given with an apology for the trespass to the farmer's wife. "She was extremely affable and treated the whole matter very lightly, without any *arrière pensée*."

"A thing that struck us both (the Provost Sergeant was with me)," continues General Hume in his account, "was that there appeared to be an unusually large number of saddle horses standing about the premises. We thought little of it at the time, and dismissed the matter from our minds. Had we only realized it, this was a very sinister and significant fact. We did later, when we were informed by the Boers themselves that this farm was the rendezvous of the Boers who had been following the regiment during the past two days, at a distance, all the way from the house in which was being held the 'friendly' meeting of which the Colonel had been informed on December 18th.

"Later on that day (20th) they undoubtedly formed the party that attacked our rearguard and the wagon escort and helped to surround us. They held up the train by shooting the leading oxen in the 'spans,' and after surprising and shooting down poor Carter and the N.C.O.'s and men, they rifled their pockets, robbing Carter of his watch, and the men of their money and any valuables they had on their persons.

"After breakfast the march was resumed, with the intention of halting that night at the Spruit, some 6 or 7 miles further along the road to Pretoria. The name of this Spruit was Bronkhorst Spruit.

"We moved off about 10 a.m. in the following order of march—

94th Mounted Infantry: 2 Privates.

Half a mile (about).

Mounted men, i.e. Officers' grooms armed with rifles and bayonets and carrying 40 rounds of ammunition.

Half a mile (about).

Band and Drums, including boys (40).

F Company (40).

Colour Party.

(Colours carried by 2 Staff Sergeants and escorted by 3 Sergeants.)

A Company (38).

Quarter Guard: 1 Drummer, 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 18 Privates.

Provost Escort: 1 Sergeant, 4 Privates.

18 Prisoners.

Wagon train, 33 wagons, etc.

The wagons were escorted by a baggage guard, strung along the road, consisting of mess and officers' servants, sergeants' mess employees, company cooks, and other regimental employees. They were followed some 200 or 300 yards in rear by a rearguard: one sergeant, one corporal and eighteen privates. Captain Nairne and Lieutenant Hume were with their companies. D.A.C.G. Carter was in rear of the transport train, looking after the wagons. Colonel Anstruther, Lieutenant and Adjutant Harrison and Conductor Egerton were riding together in front of the band and drums. Captain J. MacSwiney, who was acting Quartermaster and Mess President, and who had a bad foot, was being carried in the officers' mess wagon.

"The band was playing a march and all was well. About 12.30 p.m. the force (main body) had arrived at a point about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles from the Spruit near which we were to camp. In this locality several farms were situated—the nearest was in a hollow about 400 yards off the road on our right, belonging to a Boer named Grobelaar. Trees surrounded the homesteads and afforded sufficient cover to effectually conceal considerable mounted forces. On our left was a very long, low, grassy ridge. In a ravine at its foot, and between it and the road along which we were marching, and about 200 yards from us was a thin wood of thorn trees (*Wakumbeechi*). In this and on the reverse slope of the low ridge the Boers were lying in ambush. Suddenly the band halted and stopped playing, and an order was passed down by the Colonel 'to halt, and the wagons to close up.' At the same moment a mounted man carrying a white flag emerged from the wood on our left, or from behind the ridge. He galloped up to the Colonel, who had dismounted, and handed him a paper. It afterwards transpired that this was an ultimatum signed by Piet Joubert and countersigned by Paul Kruger, Bok, and Jorrisen, ordering Colonel Anstruther to halt where he was until a reply had been received from Colonel Sir Owen Lanyon, the Governor, to the letter the Boer leaders had addressed to him. It also warned the Colonel that if the troops advanced beyond the Spruit it would be taken as an act of war. The messenger added that '*two minutes were allowed for an answer.*'

"The Colonel replied: 'I have orders to proceed with all possible despatch to Pretoria, and to Pretoria I am going, but tell the Commandant I have no wish to meet him in a hostile spirit.'

To continue in the Colonel's words. 'He agreed to take my message, and I asked him to let me know the result, to which he nodded assent and rode off. Almost immediately fire was opened on us. I ran back and ordered F Company to attack, but before they could open out a murderous fire was brought to bear on them. This was returned by the two companies and taken up by the quarter guard, baggage escort, and rearguard, and became general along the line of wagons. The firing had lasted about ten minutes or a quarter of an hour when I observed that my officers were all either killed or wounded, and most of the N.C.O.'s, as well as about three out of every five of the men. I, therefore, ordered the "Cease fire" to be sounded, and to save the lives of the survivors I hoisted a flag of truce.' So Colonel Anstruther himself said while lying wounded.

A letter had been sent to Colonel Anstruther from Pretoria, saying that hostilities were possible, but it was delayed on the journey and was only delivered after the encounter. So there was no warning.

General Hume, resuming his narrative, thus proceeds: "I was with my company and had seen the messenger approach the Colonel; presently I saw him gallop back towards the wood, and as he went raise his rifle and fire in the air. This was evidently a prearranged signal, as immediately fire was opened on us from the edge of the plantation and the ridge. In the meantime the Colonel had come running back and given the order to Captain Nairne to attack with his company, and for my company to support him. Before we could extend, however, half the men were already down, so all that could be done was to lie flat and return the fire.

"There was no cover, so we lay down on the edge of the road in loose files and returned the fire. The Colonel was hit in the first burst of fire and was on the ground in line with, andⁿ between, the two companies. Harrison, the Adjutant, was near him and alongside of me. I was on the

* According to another account by a survivor, Conductor Egerton (now Colonel), two Boers first rode up to Conductor Egerton. One of them, speaking good English, asked him, "Are you commanding?" The reply, with an indicatory gesture, was, "No, there is the Commanding Officer." The same Boer approached the Colonel and said to him: "I represent the Boer farmers in this district and my instructions are that until the result of the Conference now proceeding at Maritzburg is known, there is to be no movement of troops and you are to bivouac here." Colonel Anstruther replied: "This is a very serious matter, stopping the Queen's troops. My instructions are to go on to Pretoria." To that the Boer retorted, "Very well, practically you do it at your own risk, because you will be forcibly held up." The two Boers then rode off and disappeared. Colonel Anstruther then turned to Conductor Egerton and said: "Ride back quickly and serve out more ammunition." The men had only five rounds each on them. Conductor Egerton rode back and the boxes were broken open with axes. As that was being done, firing began.

right of my company and my Colour-Sergeant, who was in command of the right half company, was just behind it and on my left. He had just reported to me that more ammunition would soon be required, and I was arranging with him to send the drummers for more when he was shot dead. Just then the Adjutant ordered me to tell my bugler to sound the 'Cease fire.' As he spoke he was hit in the head and fell back dead.

"The messenger who had given the signal was killed before he reached his friends, as he was seen to fall off the horse, which galloped away."

Major-General Colley, G.O.C. in South Africa, commenting on the report of the Court of Enquiry on the disaster, on January 20th 1881, said this: "The detachment was taken at a disadvantage and greatly outnumbered. The men seem to have behaved steadily and well, and to have fought gallantly as long as resistance was possible, and only to have ceased firing and surrendered at the order of their Colonel."

"The officers," continues General Hume, "had been picked off almost immediately the firing commenced, and all were either killed or wounded; except the Paymaster, Captain J. Mitchell-Elliot, who was unwounded. Captain S. N. M. L. Nairne and Lieutenant Harrison, the Adjutant, were killed."

"Lieut.-Colonel Anstruther was wounded at first and was hit again several times. In all he had five wounds in his thigh. He survived until December 26th, when he died from shock following the amputation of his leg. The Service and his country lost a gallant soldier and his regiment a true friend. He was justly beloved of all ranks, who recognized his worth and appreciated him at his true value as a calm courageous soldier, a kind considerate friend, a perfect gentleman and a good man. The soldier who said, 'He was a man in a million,' was right."

"Captain J. MacSwiney died the same afternoon, and E. T. Shaen-Carter on January 5th 1881. Lieutenant J. J. F. Hume and Surgeon E. C. R. Ward, both wounded in varying degrees, ultimately recovered. Conductor R. Egerton was also slightly wounded."

"Mrs. Fox, wife of Sergt.-Major G. Fox, was severely wounded. She survived for some years and eventually died as the results of her wounds at Cambridge Barracks, Portsmouth, where the regiment was then quartered, on January 22nd 1888. Sergt.-Major Fox, her husband, was also wounded in the right arm, the bullet passing through the crown surmounting the four-bar chevron of his badge of rank. Mrs. Fox, by command of H.M. Queen Victoria, was buried with full military honours, all regiments, corps and departments in the garrison being represented at the funeral, as well as the G.O.C. and Staff. The bands of all regiments, in-

cluding the R.M.A. and R.M.L.I., were also present and played during the passing of this gallant lady to her last resting-place."

The "Royal Red Cross," at that date only recently instituted by H.M. Queen Victoria as a decoration to be conferred on those nurses and other women who distinguished themselves by their courage, resource, and devotion to duty, when in attendance, on active service, on wounded and sick sailors and soldiers, was conferred on Mrs. Fox, Mrs. Smith, and Mrs. Maistré for their courageous conduct and devotion in their attendance on the wounded during the action at Bronkhorst Spruit, and afterwards for three months during the time the wounded were held prisoners of war. On her return to England, Mrs. Smith (wife of the bandmaster) was granted the silver medal for deeds of gallantry of the "Order of St. John of Jerusalem." * Mrs. Fox, Mrs. Maistré, and Mrs. Smith were, apart from members of the Royal Family, amongst the earliest recipients of the Royal Red Cross. After her death the decoration awarded to Mrs. Fox was presented by Lieutenant and Quartermaster G. Fox to the officers of the battalion and occupied an honoured place on the walls of the Ante-Room until the disbandment in 1922. Mrs. Maistré, at her death, which took place at Aldershot, was, like Mrs. Fox, buried with military honours.

"The Colours," continues General Hume, "which had been carried during the action by two staff-sergeants—Pearce and Maistré—and had been posted in the centre between the two companies, were removed from their staffs immediately after the fight and hidden in the stretcher occupied by Mrs. Fox, under the blanket. When Conductor Egerton and Sergeant Bradley (94th) volunteered to walk into Pretoria with a request from Surgeon Ward to the S.M.O. for assistance, both the Colours were handed to them to take in. They were wrapped round their bodies under their coats and taken by them and handed over to Captain F. B. Campbell, 94th. They were placed by him for safe custody in the Guard Room of the 2/21st Royal Scots Fusiliers, together with the Colours of that regiment." They were passed to Conductor Egerton in this way:

As Conductor Egerton was about to start, a bandsman came to him and

* The following District Order was published by Colonel Bellairs, C.B., commanding at Pretoria: "Pretoria, April 5th 1881. The Officer commanding desires to thank Mrs. Smith, widow of Bandmaster Benjamin Smith, of the 94th, for the good services she rendered at the Bronkhorst Spruit fight in assisting the wounded. Mrs. Smith was herself present in the midst of the action, but though surrounded by the dead and dying, she in a courageous way set about alleviating the sufferings of the wounded, and for upwards of three months has continued to be unremitting in her attention to them under very trying circumstances. Such true heroism and devotion merit recognition and high praise. Colonel Bellairs, therefore, takes the opportunity of Mrs. Smith returning to England, publicly to refer to the good acts she has performed."

said, "I have the Colours." Conductor Egerton thereupon went into a tent that had been put up for the wounded and told the bandsman to pass the Colours in under the lower edge of the tent. He then quickly undressed partially and put the colours round his waist, after which he left the tent and started off with Sergeant Bradley. Knowing the country and speaking the *taal*, Conductor Egerton and Bradley reached Pretoria without incident. They arrived late at night, but were challenged and held up for some time by a picket of the 21st Royal Scots until the Governor and G.O.C. had been communicated with. On that, medical assistance was sent out to Bronkhorst Spruit.

Shortly after the arrival of the 94th wounded in Pretoria, in April 1881, a Ceremonial Parade took place. All the troops in garrison were represented. A hollow square was formed, the sides facing inwards, the troops forming the two side faces, and the wounded the top face. The Colours of the 94th Regiment had been replaced on their staves, which had been brought to Pretoria by the wounded.* They were stacked on piled arms in the centre of the square. Lieut.-Colonel Gildea, commanding the 2/21st Royal Scots Fusiliers—in whose care the Colours had been since they were brought from Bronkhorst Spruit after the fight on December 20th, and placed in the Guard Room with the Colours of that battalion by Captain Campbell, 94th—addressed the wounded—and then taking them from the piled arms, handed the Colours over formally to Captain F. B. Campbell, 94th Regiment, who received them on behalf of the regiment, the troops giving a Royal Salute. They were then marched away under the escort of G Company, 94th Regiment, the band of the 21st playing them off, to the Regimental March of the 94th, "Blue Bonnets."

The Colours had been presented to the 94th Regiment at Jullundur, in the Punjab, on November 19th 1862, by Major-General Sir Sydney Cotton, K.C.B. They obtained their "baptism of fire" at Ulundi on July 4th 1879, in the Zulu War. Later they were in the Sekukuni Campaign, and on November 28th at the storming and capture of the stronghold. On December 20th 1880, they were again in action. The same stand, indeed, continued to be carried until June 1911, in which year the battalion, with others, was presented by H.M. King George V with new Colours at a review in Phoenix Park, Dublin. These new Colours are now at Windsor Castle in the custody of His Majesty, who, on the disbandment of the Irish regiments in 1922, took them, together with the Colours of other Irish battalions, into his own care, as described fully in Vol. I. Later, the old 94th Colours were taken to the Dépôt at Galway and handed

* The Colour staves, it is said, after being in the possession of two Boers, were recovered from them by Lieutenant Hume, and so regained.

over to the care of the officer commanding it. They were deposited in a chapel which stood outside the gates of Renmore Barracks. This chapel had been built for a former commander of the 88th Regimental District and handed over to the Dépôt for the use of the regiment. During the troubles in Ireland in 1916, they, together with a pair belonging to the 4th (S.R.) Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, were stolen one night and have never been seen or heard of since.

Surgeon Ward, in his report to the P.M.O. at Pretoria, states: "I found when all were collected, fifty-seven killed and 100 wounded. Of the wounded in this action, twenty died, making a total of seventy-seven deaths." Dr. Harvey Crowe, who came out from Pretoria on the afternoon of the 20th, states: "The average of wounds was five per man. One man received no less than nine distinct wounds, or counting the wound of entry and exit separately, this man had eighteen holes drilled in him." *

General Hume adds the following as to incidents after the action:—

"Soon after the firing ceased, Franz Joubert, brother of the Commandant General Piet Joubert, who was in command of the Boers in this action, rode up and, it is said, learning that Colonel Anstruther had been badly wounded, expressed sorrow. He gave orders for some of the wagons to be loaded up with arms and ammunition, etc., and despatched to the Boer camp. Surgeon Ward asked permission to send a couple of messengers into Pretoria with a request to the S.M.O., Surgeon-Major Skeen, for medical assistance, drugs, stores and comforts for the wounded. He was himself slightly wounded in the left thigh. Of his four orderlies, A.H.C., one was severely wounded, another slightly. He also asked permission to take from the wagons what he required for the wounded—tents, blankets, etc. This was granted. Twenty unwounded men were also left to help to bury the dead and assist with the wounded. The remainder of the unwounded, including Captain J. M. Elliot, the Paymaster, were then marched off as prisoners of war. All surgical and medical appliances that could be rapidly got at were removed off the wagons and a camp for the wounded was formed. The Boers took all the wagons, oxen, horses, ambulances, water carts, etc., leaving one water cart and a pair of oxen in the camp.

"About 11 a.m. on the 22nd, Surgeon-Major Comerford, A.M.D., Civil Surgeon Harvey Crowe, and Father Meyer, one sergeant and five men A.H.C., two ambulances and one wagon, with a liberal supply of surgical and medical material comforts, arrived, having been despatched by the

* Notwithstanding this, no bones were touched, and a very few weeks after he was walking about as "sound as a bell." His name was Duffy and he served in the regiment for many years, taking part in the Nile Expedition of 1885, and was present at the action of Abu Klea, where he was again wounded.

S.M.O. promptly in response to Ward's 'S.O.S.' They also brought with them a wagon loaded with 'luxuries,' thoughtfully sent by Captain F. B. Campbell, 94th, for the wounded of his regiment."

In regard to the casualties in the two companies at Bronkhorst Spruit, it should be observed that the men were in scarlet uniforms with white pipeclayed accoutrements and lay in the open by the roadside with the Boers not two hundred yards off.

"On January 5th 1881, Surgeon-Major Comerford and Father Meyer left for Pretoria, taking ten of the wounded with them, and leaving Dr. Crowe to help with the wounded left in camp. After this, all communication was cut off by the Boers, and we were left entirely on our own resources. The Senior Commissariat Officer at Pretoria had delegated authority to us to purchase supplies, and this we did by requisition. . . . As the men recovered from their wounds and began to get about again they were set to work cutting firewood, helping in keeping the camp clean, building walls round the two cemeteries, making wooden crosses and cutting the names and descriptions and erecting them as temporary headstones to the graves of the officers and other ranks.

"On January 15th (1881) a party of Boers visited the wounded and took away some thirty N.C.O.'s and men who had recovered sufficiently to be able to march to Heidelberg, the seat of the 'Government of the South African Republic.' They were subsequently released and sent over the border into the Orange Free State, which professed to be neutral. 'My devoted and faithful batman,' remarks General Hume, 'Private Samuel Miskimmin, who, fortunately for me, had come out of the fight "without a scratch," hearing the Boers were taking *all* unwounded men away, and being determined not to leave me, got his arm bandaged by a hospital orderly, and putting it in a sling, hobbled about the camp with a stick to support him, looking, or trying to look, as feeble and ill as he could. This masquerade he successfully sustained until the Boers had departed.'

"I cannot allow this opportunity to pass," General Hume proceeds, "without paying my small tribute to the devoted services of Surgeon E. C. R. Ward. Until the arrival on December 22nd of medical assistance from Pretoria, the entire care of the wounded was thrown on his shoulders. When it is remembered that they numbered 100, and that the average of wounds per man (not counting those killed) was five, that he was himself wounded, and the supply of bandages, etc., was non-existent and had to be improvised, the difficulty of the task before him may be appreciated. He stated that he commenced his work of attending to the wounded at 2 p.m. on this fatal day, as soon after the action as he possibly could and without rest continued it through the night. It was six

o'clock the following morning before he had seen and dealt with the last case. In addition to his medical duties, it must not be forgotten that all the responsibility for making the necessary arrangements for the pitching of the camp, distributing blankets, providing food and water, and generally superintending matters, was entirely his. He acknowledged with gratitude the able and willing help he received from Sergt.-Major Fox, Quartermaster-Sergeant Earle, Mrs. Smith and every N.C.O. and man that was able to give it, both wounded and unwounded alike, but the work of organizing was entirely his.*

"Dr. Harvey Crowe, who had come out from Pretoria on December 22nd, remained until the camp was struck at the Armistice. He rendered most valuable service. A gross outrage was perpetrated on this gentleman by the Boers. On one of the occasions on which they had come to the camp to remove the more convalescent of the wounded cases, Surgeon Ward had decided to send Dr. Crowe with the party, as some were still weak. When Dr. Crowe returned he reported that one day during the march he had been taken by these ruffians, stripped to the waist, and flogged with a sjambok—without any reason or explanation. He assumed that, being a civilian, they considered he was guilty of treachery because he was on the British side. He had complained to the Boer 'authorities' at Heidelberg, but got no satisfaction. This was also reported to Pretoria on our release, but equally without any result.

"At the end of March 1881, an Armistice was arranged between Major-General Sir Evelyn Wood and the Boer leaders—at first for a week. In accordance with its terms, officers were despatched by Sir E. Wood to each of the beleaguered British garrisons in the Transvaal, *which had all held out to the end*, informing them of the terms, and wagon-loads of supplies were also sent with them to re-victual these posts. They were to withdraw these garrisons, which were to rejoin their respective Headquarters. Captain A. H. G. Anton, 94th, was sent to release us, and arrived on March 28th 1881. In due course, the wounded were all conveyed to Pretoria. The wounded were ordered to move down country as quickly as possible in order that they might be out of the Transvaal before the date of the termination of the Armistice, in accordance with its terms.

* It seems incredible that, notwithstanding the strong recommendations of his superiors, this officer never received any sort of recognition for the splendid and devoted services he rendered immediately after the battle and for three months during which he was in charge of the wounded prisoners' camp. Some years after (1890) General Hume received a letter from him, asking him to back up an appeal he was making for an enhanced pension. He said he was going blind and was about to be invalided out of the Service. This infliction had been greatly aggravated by his wound, and was largely due to the strenuous work, deprivations and hardships he had endured whilst he had been in charge of the camp of wounded. (*General Hume's Narrative.*)

This was duly carried out, and all arrived safely at Newcastle, Natal, in due course."

In 1881, after the peace, a party from the battalion proceeded to Pretoria and at Bronkhorst Spruit erected headstones over the graves of their fallen comrades. Solid walls to protect the burial place were erected and trees and flowers planted. The Bishop of Pretoria also attended and consecrated the burial place. In July, 1900 (as recorded in Vol. I, p. 320), the 1st Battalion The Connaught Rangers, then marching to Pretoria, halted at Bronkhorst Spruit and visited the graves, and also repaired the boundary wall where it had fallen down.

Captain J. Mitchell-Elliot, Paymaster of the regiment, having come out of the action unwounded was, as has been said, marched off to Heidelberg immediately after the action with most of the unwounded N.C.O.'s and men. He was murdered by the Boer escort which was later sent with him and Captain F. R. H. Lambart, 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers, by the Boer authorities, to point out to them the drift over the Vaal River which would take them into the Orange Free State. The following narrative of what took place, summarized from Captain Lambart's report, is given by Major-General Molyneux, a personal friend of Captain Elliot, in his book *Campaigning in South Africa and Egypt*, at pp. 211-13.

"Captain Elliot was taken prisoner with some forty men of the 94th, and conducted to Heidelberg, where he found Captain F. R. H. Lambart of the 21st Fusiliers also a prisoner. The latter had been to the Orange Free State on duty, buying horses, and on returning, was captured by the Boers and his horses stolen. On December 24th, the two officers were offered the choice of remaining prisoners or of giving their word of honour that, if conducted to the Orange Free State under escort and then released, they would not bear arms again during the war. They chose the latter alternative, and were informed by Mr. Bok, Secretary to the South African Republic, in the presence of Mr. P. Joubert, Commandant-General, that on the 27th they, with their private property, would be escorted by two Boers to the nearest drift over the Vaal River, 25 miles off. The Boers led them astray to a drift at the junction of the Vaal and Klip rivers: here was a punt capable of holding two persons only, into which they were ordered to get, leaving the carriage behind and swimming the horses. They asked to be taken back to the Boer camp rather than to be put across with no means of conveyance further. The escort then disappeared, and the officers drove along the river-bank towards the proper crossing at Spencer's Drift. On the way they were met by two other armed Boers who gave them an official letter from Mr. Bok, which stated that they had broken their parole and must be guided by the escort. The

local commandant, on their arrival, ordered them to start at once, in the darkness, for Spencer's Drift. The officers, who knew the way, soon saw they were again being misled, and protested: whereupon, the escort being now suddenly increased to eight men, they were ordered to cross the river where they then stood. As it was pitch dark, with occasional flashes of lightning, and the river in flood, they asked at least to be allowed to wait till morning. 'Cross at once,' was the reply of the Boer commandant. They entered the water: the horses fell, were got up, and then fell again, turning the cart over on its side. The officers struck out for the further bank, when the Boers fired a volley at them. Poor Elliot was shot dead: a second volley was fired at Lambart, but he, after a hard struggle, managed to reach the opposite bank, and, though frequently fired at, escaped untouched in the darkness."

It was stated at the subsequent trial of the men who formed the escort in charge of Captain Elliot on the charge of murder that the Boer who fired the shot which killed Captain Elliot was himself killed by a stroke of lightning on that same night, and this was actually put forward as a plea for the acquittal of the others and accepted by the court, the judge and jury, all of which were Boers.

No protest was made by the British authorities, and no steps taken to obtain a re-hearing or proper trial.

CHAPTER LXV

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR : DECEMBER 1880-APRIL 1881. THE DEFENCE OF THE GARRISON AT STANDERTON, PRETORIA, MARABASTADT AND LYDENBURG. THE "V.C." WON BY CORPORAL J. MURRAY AND PRIVATE J. DANAGHER. THE 94th BECOMES THE 2nd BATTALION THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. RETURN OF THE BATTALION FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

1880-1881

THE battalion, at the time of the disaster at Bronkhorst Spruit and throughout the South African War afterwards, had companies in garrison at Standerton, Pretoria, Marabastadt and Lydenburg. On December 20th, the day of the disaster at Bronkhorst Spruit, C and D Companies under Captain G. Froom and Lieutenant J. A. Davidson, while on the march to meet Head-quarters and A and F Companies at Pretoria, received a warning message by letter from Captain H. F. G. Champion, who was at Standerton with H Company. A party of three Boers had two days previously met the detachment and handed Captain Froom a letter forbidding his further advance. Captain Froom's reply was that the march would be continued, on which the Boers disappeared. Suspicious-looking horsemen in the distance were then seen riding parallel with the column and making signals, and also the smoke of signal fires on adjoining heights. Following on that came Captain Champion's message, whereupon Captain Froom decided to push direct for Standerton, 30 miles off, as the nearest British garrison on his route. The Vaal River was crossed at daybreak on December 21st in the midst of a severe thunderstorm, and, marching on rapidly, Standerton was reached and H Company joined that evening. A letter from the Horse Guards in London was afterwards received by Captain Froom thanking him and the party under his orders for their conduct on the occasion. As communication from outside had now practically ceased, Captain Froom decided not to attempt to continue his march to Pretoria. He thereupon turned his attention to constructing a strong laager at Standerton against a surprise attack. Major W. E. Montague then arrived from Pietermaritzburg on January 24th and took command of the garrison of Standerton. Under Major Montague's direction redoubts and outworks were constructed in addition, and, in the result, the garrison



BRONKHORST SPRUIT.

December 1880.



were able successfully to hold Standerton against a greatly superior force with comparatively slight casualties until the Armistice of March 1881 was signed. The strength of the Standerton garrison was: 94th, three companies, 7 Officers and 250 N.C.O.'s and Men; 58th Regiment, one company, 1 Officer and 75 N.C.O.'s and Men; Mounted Infantry and Volunteers, 40 men.

Major Montague had been directed to proceed to Standerton by Major-General Colley, commanding in Natal, shortly after the Boers declared the Transvaal a Republic, on December 14th 1880. He was given orders to fortify and hold the place until the General himself arrived with his main forces. The Boers attempted unsuccessfully to turn Major Montague back with threats; but, having heard on the way of the treacherous attack at Bronkhorst Spruit, he pushed on, at all speed, and got through to his destination. On arrival, he mustered the three Companies of the 94th and addressed them, telling them of what had occurred, as to which no news had as yet reached Standerton. The account of the fate of their comrades was listened to with angry murmurs and exclamations. "When I came to the Colonel's reported death," describes Major Montague in a personal narrative of events in the campaign, "the whole broke out in a strange chorus of ejaculations, almost sobs from many, followed by a cry for revenge almost savage in its intensity. At the tale of the white flag and the treachery that came close on its display, with my warning against its repetition, a whisper went round like wildfire; the words I told them seemed like an order. White flags just then would have fared badly at the hands of those stern-faced men round me, clutching their rifles." The gallant little garrison improvised a heliograph out of looking glasses procured in the town, and manufactured a wooden big gun, the sight of which, on being prominently mounted, kept the Boers at a distance. Sniping, however, at the improvised defences from neighbouring kopjes went on continuously. Sorties were successfully made and the besieging enemy, who at times numbered several hundred men, were kept at bay throughout. General Colley's defeat at Laing's Nek and the final disaster at Majuba prevented outside aid reaching Standerton throughout the campaign, and the British flag was kept flying victoriously until the Armistice ended hostilities.

At Pretoria G Company and E Company, with the Mounted Infantry troop of the battalion, all under Major F. B. Campbell and Lieutenant J. de C. O'Grady, the force numbering 150 of all ranks, formed part of the garrison, of which the 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers formed the majority. During the Siege of Pretoria, in a sortie on January 16th 1881, two Victoria Crosses were won by Private J. Danagher and Corporal J. Murray, both of E Company of the 94th, serving with the Mounted Infantry troop

of the battalion. The two men, while the troop was covering the retirement back to the town after the sortie, galloped out into the open for 500 yards under a heavy fire and brought in a comrade in the troop who had fallen from his horse severely wounded.

The Fort at Marabastadt was held throughout the war by B Company, under command of Captain E. S. Brook, who, on the conclusion of hostilities, was highly commended by Brigadier-General Bellairs, Commanding the Transvaal District, for the manner in which he "had performed his duty and the courage shown by him and all under his command."

At Lydenburg the small garrison of the station consisted of one junior Officer and fifty N.C.O.'s and Men. The detachment had been left in garrison there on December 5th by Lieut.-Colonel Anstruther when setting out on his ill-fated march for Pretoria. The Lydenburg garrison held their own against greatly superior numbers until the Armistice, when Captain A. H. G. Anton arrived and took command. Major-General Redvers Buller, V.C., C.B., in a letter, and Brigadier-General Bellairs, C.B., in District Orders, specially commended "the gallant and effective stand made by this small band." For service at Lydenburg H.M. Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle at a later date, personally presented the Medal for "Distinguished Conduct in the Field" to Corporal Morris Whalen of the 94th.

Two officers of the 94th (Captain A. H. G. Anton and Lieutenant C. S. Miller), with two privates employed as their soldier servants, were present at Majuba on February 27th 1881. All four were wounded; Captain Anton slightly, and the other three severely. Lieutenant Miller was also made a prisoner by the Boers and was detained at Heidelberg until the termination of hostilities.

A draft from England of fifty-seven N.C.O.'s and Men, under Lieutenant Adams-Connor, which arrived on December 26th was moved up to Newcastle and formed part of the garrison there during the continuance of hostilities. Lieut.-Colonel James Browne also arrived a little later, re-joining from leave in England. He assumed the command of the battalion on arrival at the end of the year. Head-quarters were re-formed at Newcastle, where also Lieut.-Colonel Browne took charge of the garrison as Commandant.

The 94th remained distributed at stations in the Transvaal after the conclusion of hostilities from April to November 1881. Head-quarters, comprising four Officers and 185 N.C.O.'s and Men, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel J. Browne, left Newcastle on May 26th for Standerton on the Vaal River and were stationed there, together with the three companies, C, D, and H, which had held the place during the siege. A draft

from England of 120 N.C.O.'s and Men joined at Standerton. Two of the companies, D and H, under Major Montague, were detached in June to join a Flying Column under Major-General Redvers Buller, sent temporarily to occupy Potchefstroom, the garrison of which had, through Boer treachery, capitulated during the war. The British flag was, by arrangement with the Transvaal Government, re-hoisted and remained flying over the place until the ratification of the Convention as to British suzerainty over the Transvaal had been signed and the evacuation of Boer territory by the British took place. The Flying Column returned to Standerton on June 26th, leaving a small force to occupy Potchefstroom as temporary garrison. Head-quarters continued at Standerton until November.

Between April and June, B Company, the garrison of Marabastadt in the war, moved to Pretoria where the half company which had been holding Lydenburg joined as part of the British force of occupation. The Pretoria detachment joined Head-quarters at Standerton in September on Pretoria being evacuated by the British. A third detachment of the 94th, comprising ex-prisoners of war (eighty-nine N.C.O.'s and Men), was, between May and October 1881, stationed at Harding.

Medals for the Zulu War were received at Standerton on July 12th and distributed to Head-quarters and the companies there by Lieut.-Colonel Browne. The medals for the detachments were sent at the same time for distribution to Pretoria and Harding. The medals for Distinguished Service in the Field awarded to Colour-Sergeant and Orderly-Room-Clerk H. Maistré and Sergeant-Master-Tailor J. Pearce, who had carried the Colours at Bronkhorst Spruit and fallen wounded while doing so, were received at Standerton on November 5th, the day the battalion started on its march back into Natal. The medals were presented to the two N.C.O.'s by Lieut.-Colonel Browne next day, November 6th.

It was while the 94th were at Newcastle, in April 1881, that the news was received of the approaching extinction of its time-honoured number, and that within a few weeks it was to assume the title of 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers. Ever since 1873, it should be noted, the Depôt had been at Armagh, and the men of the battalion had been Irish. The announcement was made in G.O. 41, dated April 11th 1881, to the effect that "changes in the organization, titles, and uniform of the Infantry of the Line and Militia had been approved and would come into effect on July 1st." The Infantry from that date would be "organized in Territorial Regiments of Four Battalions," of which the 1st and 2nd were to be Regulars and the 3rd and 4th Militia. All were to bear a Territorial Designation in common, corresponding with the localities with which they were connected. All Distinctions, Mottoes, Badges and Devices, hitherto

borne by either of the 1st or 2nd Battalions were to be borne by both, and the facings and officers' lace of all battalions were to be the same.

By G.O. 41, The Connaught Rangers were constituted in two regular and four militia battalions :—

- 1st Battalion—88th Foot (Connaught Rangers).
- 2nd Battalion—94th Foot.
- 3rd South Mayo Militia.
- 4th Galway Militia.
- 5th Roscommon Militia.
- 6th North Mayo Militia.

By G.O. 70 of June 30th the following modification, as regards the Militia battalions, was announced :—

3rd { South Mayo Militia } were to be amalgamated under the designation 3rd Battalion The Connaught
and 6th { North Mayo Militia } Rangers. This was, however, not carried out till 1889.

The Regimental Head-quarters and the Depôt of The Connaught Rangers was fixed at Galway, with the number "88." Facings were to be Green and Lace, Shamrock pattern. The 94th had had their Depôt at Armagh from 1873 to 1881.

By G.O. 57 of 1881 the Battle Honour "South Africa" was granted for the operations between 1877-1879.

Leaving Standerton and quitting the Transvaal on November 5th, Head-quarters and the battalion, under Lieut.-Colonel Browne, marched for Natal, arriving at their destination, Richmond Road Camp, 8 miles from Pietermaritzburg, on November 21st. While there the battalion was inspected on January 4th 1882 by Lieut.-General the Hon. L. Smyth. The Lieut.-General, in a letter to the Commanding Officer, expressed his "entire satisfaction with the battalion in all respects." He also said, in speaking to the Commanding Officer at the close of the inspection, that "in physique and appearance on parade the battalion was the finest he had seen for many years."

1882

Richmond Road Camp not being considered healthy, and providing also an insufficient water supply, the battalion was moved from there on January 12th 1882. Orders having at the same time been received for the battalion to leave South Africa shortly and return home, it proceeded by troop train to Pinetown to await embarkation. From Pinetown Head-

quarters and seven companies were conveyed by train to Durban on March 24th and embarked for Ireland on board the s.s. *Dublin Castle*. The transport sailed the same day. The embarkation strength of the battalion was 699 of all ranks. Owing to there not being accommodation on board for the whole battalion, one company followed three days later on board the *Kinfauns Castle*. The two vessels reached Queenstown on April 20th and 24th respectively.

The embarkation strength in detail was: in the *Dublin Castle*, 3 Field Officers, 4 Captains, 8 Subalterns, 1 Staff Officer (Quartermaster), 580 Rank and File, 19 Women and 42 Children; on board the *Kinfauns Castle*, 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns, and 100 Rank and File.

Head-quarters and seven companies (A, B, C, D, E, G, H) embarked on board the *Dublin Castle*, the following being the officers returning in that ship: Lieut.-Colonel Browne, Commanding; Lieut.-Colonel Montague, C.B.; Major G. Froom; Captains—H. F. Champion, A. H. Anton, H. R. A. Ellis, W. H. Burke; Lieutenants—H. J. A. Davidson, F. H. Carroll, A. D. Campbell, G. E. Massy, C. J. Carden, F. G. Jones, C. Hale, H. J. McLoughlin (Adjutant); Captain P. Lacy (Quarter-Master). The officers returning in the *Kinfauns Castle* with E Company were, Captain C. N. Jones; Lieutenants E. S. Combe and R. A. G. Egerton, the latter officer promoted from Conductor for saving the Colours at Bronkhorst Spruit.

CHAPTER LXVI

APRIL 1882-JANUARY 1897. STATIONS IN IRELAND, 1882-7, PORTSMOUTH AND ALDERSHOT, 1888-9. AN EXPERIMENTAL MARCH BY OFFICERS WITH THE SLADE-WALLACE EQUIPMENT. MALTA AND CYPRUS, 1890-5. MEETING WITH THE 1st BATTALION. EGYPT, 1895-7.

1882

HEAD-QUARTERS and the seven companies first landed, arrived at the Curragh at midnight on April 30th 1882. They were joined at the Curragh on April 25th by the company which had followed from Durban in the *Kinfauns Castle*. On May 10th Corporal Morris Whalen received the Distinguished Conduct Medal personally from the hand of H.M. Queen Victoria, at Windsor Castle and, also at Windsor Castle on the same day, the Queen decorated Corporal Murray with the V.C. On August 22nd, Private Danagher was presented with the V.C. by Earl Spencer, K.G., the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, at the Curragh before the Commander of the Forces in Ireland and the entire garrison of the Curragh. After the presentation Private Danagher was called forward to stand beside the Viceroy at the saluting point as the troops marched past.

A draft of volunteers from the battalion, under Captain C. N. Jones, proceeded in July to join the 2nd Battalion The Royal Irish for Special Service in the Egyptian campaign against Arabi Pasha. Captain Jones fell in action at Tel-el-Kebir on September 13th.

The battalion was inspected at the Curragh on September 22nd 1882 by Major-General Lord Clarina, Commanding the Dublin District. On receiving his report the Duke of Cambridge, as Commander-in-Chief, made the following remark: "Considering the great difficulties under which the battalion has laboured, its present condition is very creditable to its Commanding Officer, Lieut.-Colonel Browne."

1883

Head-quarters and three companies left the Curragh for Fermoy on March 2nd. Detachments of the battalion had previously been sent to



(Back Row) Capt. A. H. Wood. Lieut. F. G. W. Jones. Lieut. A. D. Campbell. Capt. F. H. Carroll. 2nd Lieut. P. A. Rutherford. 2nd Lieut. R. H. Townshend.
 (Middle Row) Capt. A. W. D. Maclean. Capt. H. R. A. Ellis. Lieut. W. H. C. Long. Lieut. E. S. Combe. Lieut. and Adj. J. J. F. Hume. Capt. H. F. G. Campion. Capt. W. H. Burke (Paymaster). Lieut. C. W. Bowlby. Capt. A. H. G. Anton. Lieut. G. Fox (Quartermaster). Lieut. C. S. Miller.
 (Front Row) Lieut. H. G. McLaughlin (on ground). Lieut. C. Hall. Bt.-Lieut.-Col. E. S. Brook. Lieut.-Colonel J. Browne (commanding). Major G. Froom. Lieut. C. J. Carden. Lieut. H. G. Adams-Connor.

LIEUT.-COLONEL J. BROWNE AND OFFICERS, 2nd BATTALION.

Fermoy.
 September 1884.

Galway, Haulbowline, Bantry, Listowel and Mitchelstown. These continued to be stationed there during the year, with reliefs at intervals.

1884

The battalion was inspected at Fermoy on August 20th by Lieut.-General Sir Thomas Steele, K.C.B., Commanding the Forces in Ireland. By the Lieut.-General's desire it was notified in Regimental Orders that "he was very much pleased and could not help expressing his pleasure in the warmest terms at the steadiness of the men under arms and at the manner in which they behaved on parade. . . . It reflected the greatest credit on Lieut.-Colonel J. Browne, Commanding the Battalion, and all under his command concerned in the training of the men."

The detachment at Haulbowline, Bantry and Listowel having previously rejoined Head-quarters at Fermoy, a detachment was sent to Clare Castle in September and another in December to Cahirciveen. In September also, in response to instructions from the Horse Guards, a party of volunteers, under Lieutenant C. J. Carden, numbering twenty-five N.C.O.'s and Men proceeded to Aldershot to join a Mounted Infantry force being equipped there for the forthcoming Nile Expedition for the relief of General Gordon.

Two Royal Humane Society bronze medals were awarded in October to Lance-Corporal M. Martin and Private J. Carty of the battalion for saving the lives of civilians in a boating accident on the River Blackwater at Fermoy.

1885

A Guard of Honour of three officers and 100 rank and file, under Major G. Froom, was sent with the Queen's Colour to Ballyhooly Station on April 13th to receive their Royal Highnesses The Prince and Princess of Wales (later their Majesties King Edward and Queen Alexandra) on the occasion of their visit to the Earl and Countess of Listowel at Convamore Castle. A second Guard of Honour of like composition and strength under Captain A. H. G. Anton, again with the Queen's Colour, was furnished by the battalion at Ballyhooly Station on April 16th on the departure of their Royal Highnesses.

Detachments were sent in June and July to Camden Fort, Queenstown Harbour, to Waterford, and to Duncannon Fort, Co. Wexford. Head-quarters and four companies, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel J. Browne, moved by rail on July 28th to Templemore, Co. Tipperary, relieving the 2nd Royal Welch Fusiliers.

The detachment of Mounted Infantry volunteers returned from the Nile Expedition on August 6th; strength twenty-one N.C.O.'s and Men.

Lieutenant Carden had previously returned home invalided. One man was killed at Abu Klea on January 17th 1885, and another died of wounds received at Metemmeh on January 19th. Of the total detachment seven had been wounded, three at Abu Klea and four at Metemmeh. In compliance with an order from the Horse Guards, Sergeant C. Small proceeded to Windsor Castle on November 25th and was presented by H.M. Queen Victoria with the Medal for "Distinguished Conduct in the Field" at Abu Klea.

The Bronze Medal of the Royal Humane Society was presented by Colonel Browne at a full-dress parade to Private Kickham of the battalion for saving the life of a comrade in a boating accident at Cahirciveen in the previous May.

Lieut.-Colonel Wm. Edward Montague, C.B., was appointed to the command of the battalion in December, 1885.

1886

Beyond detachment reliefs there is nothing to record for this year. Head-quarters continued at Templemore throughout the period.

1887

Head-quarters and the battalion (twenty-four Officers and 612 N.C.O.'s and Men), under the command of Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Bunbury, who had succeeded Colonel Browne during July, moved from Templemore to Dublin and on August 1st embarked in H.M. troopship *Himalaya* for Portsmouth, arriving there on August 3rd.

1888

While the battalion was stationed at Portsmouth, on March 14th, two officers of the battalion, Major L. G. Brooke and Lieutenant H. Gore, carried out a special test march with the Slade-Wallace equipment, at that time under trial in the Army. Accompanied by Lieutenants Lascelles of the Rifle Brigade and Menzies of the South Lancashire Regiment, all four, in private's uniform and wearing the full equipment, marched from Portsmouth to London. They carried a soldier's full kit in marching order, also with rifles and sixty rounds of ball ammunition. None of the officers had trained for the march, or had made previous tests of carrying a pack. Leaving Cambridge Barracks, Portsmouth, on Wednesday, March 14th, they marched 35 miles to Fareham and halted there for the night. Next day they marched to Aldershot, where Lieut.-General Sir Archibald Alison and his Head-quarters Staff inspected the officers, expressing great surprise that the equipment had not rubbed or galled during the march.

From Aldershot the four officers marched on the same afternoon to Egham, 24 miles from Fareham, where they made their second night's halt. On the Friday, March 16th, they continued to London, 20 miles, where at 3.30 p.m. they reported at the Horse Guards and were specially inspected by Lord Wolseley and Sir Redvers Buller together with other officers of the Head-quarters Staff. The Slade-Wallace equipment proved completely satisfactory and gave no trouble all through the three days' march of 79 miles.

Head-quarters and the battalion (twenty-one Officers and 635 N.C.O.'s and Men) proceeded from Portsmouth to Aldershot on April 18th. The establishment by an Army Order of May 7th was raised to forty-eight Sergeants and 880 Privates.

1889

The battalion had been little more than a year and a quarter at Aldershot when in July 1889 orders suddenly came to leave England for Egypt. Serious trouble of a political nature had unexpectedly arisen with the Khedive and it appeared possible that military measures would have to be undertaken. The battalion was with one of the Field Columns on manœuvres when, on the evening of July 10th, a telegram recalled it to Aldershot conveying orders for immediate embarkation. The orders were carried out within thirty-six hours and on July 13th the battalion, twenty-three Officers and 924 N.C.O.'s and Men, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Bunbury, were on board H.M. Troopship *Himalaya* at Devonport.

Malta was reached on July 22nd, but on arrival the battalion was ordered to stand fast and join the garrison, instead of proceeding, as had been arranged, to Alexandria. The Black Watch, who had been stationed at Malta, had been sent to Egypt instead. The battalion on disembarkation took up quarters in Verdala Barracks and St. Clement's, Cottonera. It remained there until November 2nd, when it moved to Pembroke Camp and the Island of Gozo—four companies being stationed at each place.

1890

Lieut.-Colonel Spencer Acklom joined at Malta on April 16th and took over the command of the battalion. He had been promoted Lieut.-Colonel on January 15th, vice Lieut.-Colonel Bunbury. A parade in review order of the troops at Pembroke Camp took place on September 29th for the presentation of Royal Humane Society medals and certificates for gallantry in rescuing the occupants of two Maltese sailing boats, capsized in a gale off Pembroke, to four officers of the battalion and two

privates, by Major-General Hales Wilkie, Commanding the Infantry Brigade, Malta. The four officers, who each received a certificate, were Lieutenant A. J. B. Church and Second-Lieuts. W. C. Nicholson, A. G. Pritchard, and G. A. Kemball. The men, who each received the Society's bronze medal, were Privates J. Staunton and P. M'Cormack. The two men had swum out to the rescue; the officers, who were further off, had rowed out. The battalion returned to Verdala Barracks from Pembroke Camp and Gozo on December 18th.

During 1890 the establishment of the battalion was fixed at twenty-eight Officers and 921 N.C.O.'s and Men—a total strength, all ranks, of 1,012.

1891

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief, being then at Malta visited the battalion at Verdala Barracks accompanied by Lieut.-General Smyth, the Governor of Malta, Major-General Hales Wilkie and Staff. His Royal Highness made a minute inspection of the men's barrack-rooms and messes and afterwards lunched with the officers. He expressed himself as very much pleased with the appearance of the men and the cleanliness of their barrack-rooms. The Guard of Honour at the barracks was under the command of Captain Maclean, with Lieutenants Gore and Murray.

The historic first meeting of the 1st and 2nd Battalions of The Connaught Rangers since the two battalions were united in one regiment in 1881, took place at Malta, as recorded in Vol. I, p. 241,* on December 5th. The 2nd Battalion was in Verdala Barracks when H.M. Indian Troopship *Serapis*, with on board the 1st Battalion, anchored for a few hours to coal on the way home from Aden. Officers and N.C.O.'s of the 1st Battalion landed in the forenoon and visited corresponding ranks of the 2nd Battalion at Verdala Barracks, re-embarking in the afternoon, on which the *Serapis* weighed anchor and proceeded for Portsmouth and by rail to Pembroke Dock, the latter place being the destination of the 1st Battalion.

1892

The battalion moved from Verdala Barracks to Fort Manoel on January 2nd, relieving the 1st Royal West Kent Regiment. During March two drafts were received from the 1st Battalion in England, totalling eighty-two N.C.O.'s and Men, the second draft coming out under the command

* As the 88th and 94th, the two battalions had served together in the Third Division under Picton in the Peninsular War; and earlier in that war the 94th and the original 2/88th of 1804 had served together at the defence of Cadiz during the siege of 1810.



(Back Row) Sergeants Carew, Ablett, James, Kearns, Tracey, Carter, Clarke, Joyce, Rock, Smith, O'Galligan, Croke.
(Third Row) Sergeants Scott, King, Morin, Fitzpatrick, Smith, Sparks, Gaffney, Murphy, Turbott, Considine, Holland, Garside.
(Second Row) Sergeants Cook, Ismay, Pioneer Harris, Power, Pepper, McManns, Glacken, Pepper.
(First Row) Sch.-Mr. O'Connor. Sergeant Owens. Colour-Sergeants Hamilton, Harley, Troy, Halligan, Curran, Meaney, Casey. Sergeants Stanway, Doody.
(Front Row) Sergt.-Drum. Ablett. Band Sergt. Reid. Band-Mr. Evans. Capt. and Adj. Adams Connor. Major Brooke. Sergt.-Major McNally. Q.M.S. Jamieson.
 Q.M.S. McClelland. Amry.-Sergt. Rafferty. Sergt.-Mr. Tailor Pearce.

MAJOR L. G. BROOKE, CAPT. AND ADJT. H. G. ADAMS CONNOR,
WARRANT OFFICERS AND SERGEANTS, 2nd BATTALION.

Malta—Verdala Barracks.

June 1891.

of Captain J. S. M. Lenox-Conyngham. A third draft of fifty-two N.C.O.'s and Men, also from the 1st Battalion, joined on September 22nd. Four companies of the battalion, B, C, F and G, under the command of Major Champion, moved from Verdala Barracks to the Island of Gozo on September 28th and five days later, on October 3rd, Head-quarters with A, D, E and H Companies (13 Officers, 2 Warrant Officers, and 527 N.C.O.'s and Men), left Malta in H.M. Troopship *Himalaya* for Cyprus. They arrived on October 7th and proceeded next day to Polemedia Camp. The half-battalion was inspected at the camp on October 13th by Major-General W. Allan.

1893

Lieut.-Colonel and Colonel E. S. Brook arrived in Cyprus on April 11th and took over command of the battalion, vice Lieut.-Colonel S. Acklom, who had been placed on half-pay on 8th February 1893.

The half-battalion was largely employed in road-making during the first half of the year, until, in June, Head-quarters moved from Polemedia Camp to the hill station at Troödos and took up their summer quarters there under canvas. At Troödos musketry was completed up to 500 yards, the limit of the range. Road-making in the neighbourhood was carried on also at Troödos, where a road, the first ever existing for wheeled traffic, was constructed by the battalion. Major-General Allan, the G.O.C. Troops in Cyprus, to mark his appreciation of the excellent work done, in honour of The Connaught Rangers gave the road the name of "Hibernia Road."

Head-quarters and the battalion moved down to Polemedia Camp again for the winter months at the end of October, by which time the construction of a road had been completed for wheeled traffic between the port of Limasol and Troödos Camp, with intermediate heliograph signal stations.

1894

A draft of 100 rank and file from the 1st Battalion, under the command of Captain G. H. Ford-Hutchinson, joined on February 26th. On March 21st and 22nd Major-General Allan made his annual inspection and expressed commendation of the battalion in all particulars. H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief, commented on the report as "generally satisfactory," adding that he was "glad to observe the improvement in the battalion under Colonel Brook."

Major-General Allan quitted the command in April, on which Colonel E. S. Brook assumed temporarily the command of all troops in Cyprus. The battalion again moved up to summer quarters at Troödos in May.

An interesting incident of the stay of the battalion at Troödos in the

summer of 1894 was a naval visit by a party of Warrant and Chief and 1st Class Petty Officers of H.M.S. *Trafalgar*, *Camperdown* and *Hood*. It was paid on the invitation of the Warrant Officers and N.C.O.'s of the battalion, with the permission of Colonel Brook and also the Admiral commanding a squadron of the Mediterranean Fleet, then cruising in the Levant. The naval visitors were invited to spend three days in Troödos Camp and rode up the 38 miles' distance from Limasol on mules, being finally escorted into camp by the Sergeant-Major and a party of N.C.O.'s of the Rangers. The next two days were spent in day excursions and evening smoking concerts, and on the morning of the third day the naval visitors rode back, headed, on starting from the camp, by the band and accompanied by some of the officers, the road out of camp also being at the same time lined by N.C.O.'s and Men of the battalion who gave their guests a hearty farewell. As a token of appreciation of the event the Officers of the three battleships presented a silver cigar box, with an Elephant figure representing the badge of the regiment, to the Officers' Mess of the battalion, and the Warrant and Petty Officers presented a Silver Cup to the Sergeants' Mess.

Head-quarters and the battalion moved down from Troödos—in which neighbourhood the companies had been, as in the previous year, largely employed in road-making—between October 28th and November 1st, returning to Polemedia Camp.

Within a few days of their arrival, on November 12th, a rainstorm of unprecedented violence (6 inches of rain falling within twelve hours) burst over the district round Limasol, resulting in widespread floods and a sudden rise of the River Garilla which inundated the town and caused loss of life. A hundred and fifty houses were destroyed by the floods and wholesale drowning took place of mules, oxen and sheep, the bodies of which had to be buried by the troops on the waters subsiding. A working party of one captain, six subalterns and 150 men was also told off daily to clear the streets and pull down the walls of wrecked houses for the safety of the population. In recognition of the assistance rendered by the battalion a letter was sent by the High Commissioner of Cyprus to Colonel Brook, thanking him "for the prompt and ready action taken by him in the disaster" with thanks "to all ranks of the battalion for the cheerful and willing manner in which they carried out the disagreeable work they were called on to perform." With the letter was enclosed a resolution of grateful thanks passed at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Limasol.

During the work of clearing up Limasol the Rangers' working parties worked in close co-operation with landing parties from H.M. Cruiser *Arethusa*, in the course of which a special comradeship became established between officers and men of the battalion and of the ship.

1895

The battalion left Cyprus for Egypt early in 1895. On February 14th the four companies hitherto at Malta, B, C, F and G, under Major Carpenter, arrived at Limasol in the hired transport *Jumna*. They were joined on board by Head-quarters and A, D and H Companies, under the command of Colonel Brook, after which the transport proceeded for Alexandria. One company, E, under Captain G. H. Ford-Hutchinson, remained in Cyprus at Polemedia, until the following October, on the 13th of which month it rejoined the battalion at Alexandria. The battalion, after disembarking at Alexandria on February 15th, was distributed as follows: Head-quarters and four and a half companies, under Colonel Brook, at Mustapha Pasha, seven miles from Alexandria, two companies at Ras-el-Tin, and a half-company at the Red Barracks, Alexandria.

The battalion was inspected by Major-General K. G. Henderson, C.B., on February 25th. On May 1st khaki clothing was taken into wear for officers and men, officers wearing white uniform at Mess. Two drafts, respectively of 170 and 162 N.C.O.'s and Men from the 1st Battalion, joined on March 9th and October 14th. On November 14th Major-General Henderson inspected the battalion for the second time and in November the battalion left Alexandria for Cairo, the right half battalion leaving on the 23rd, and Head-quarters with the left half battalion on the 27th. Head-quarters and D, F, G and H Companies were quartered at Kasr-el-Nil Barracks, A and G at Abbassiyeh, and B at Pyramids Camp. The battalion was inspected at Cairo by Major-General Knowles, C.B., on December 24th.

1896

On March 3rd a draft of one Officer (Second-Lieut. E. Yeldham) and seventy-six N.C.O.'s and Men from the 1st Battalion joined at Cairo.

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, who, after his retirement from office as Commander-in-Chief, was visiting Egypt, inspected the battalion in the outer square of Kasr-el-Nil Barracks on March 5th. The Duke dined with the officers and, on his return to the Continental Hotel, the subalterns took the horses out of the carriage and with drag-ropes drew it to the hotel, finally giving His Royal Highness three cheers, replied to by the Duke with a few words expressive of great pleasure at the compliment.

Parties of officers and men were detached at the end of March on special service to Wady Halfa and Girgeh for duty on the line of communications in connection with the Dongola Expedition.

The Duke of Connaught's Cup, presented to the Army Rifle Association, was won on December 15th by the officers' team of the 2nd Battalion The

Connaught Rangers, the team comprising Colonel E. S. Brook, Captain H. Gore, Lieutenants R. R. Challenor and F. J. Byrne, Lieutenant and Adjutant H. A. Thompson, and Second-Lieutenant H. W. Gough.

1897

The battalion was inspected at Cairo on January 9th and 18th by Major-General Knowles, parading 808 strong, with twenty-two Officers. At the conclusion of the parade the General complimented the battalion on its steadiness and smart appearance, and expressed himself pleased to see that the regiment "could drill as well as march and shoot." He finally wished the battalion all Good Luck in their forthcoming tour of service in India, for which destination orders had been received a short while before.

The officers of the battalion who proceeded to India were as follows: In Command, Colonel E. S. Brook; Major J. J. F. Hume; Captains C. W. Bowlby, A. G. V. Chichester, G. L. Hobbs, S. J. Murray; Lieutenants F. W. Lawson, H. R. G. Deacon, R. R. Challenor, F. J. Byrne, O. D. Blunt; Second-Lieutenants C. H. Mesham, R. W. Harling, H. W. Gough, H. M. Hutchinson, A. L. Keogh, E. Yeldham, H. A. Thompson (Adjutant), W. A. Hamilton (Paymaster-acting). There accompanied the officers four ladies, together with four children.

On board the transport which took the battalion to India were also thirteen soldiers' wives, with twenty-one children.



(Back Row) Capt. G. L. Hobbs. 2nd Lieut. C. H. Mesham. 2nd Lieut. A. L. Keogh. 2nd Lieut. H. M. Hutchinson. Lieut. E. F. Despard. Lieut. R. R. Challenor. Lieut. T. H. Falkiner. Lieut. W. A. Hamilton.

(Standing) Lieut. F. W. Lawson. Capt. G. H. Ford-Hutchinson. 2nd Lieut. H. W. Gough. 2nd Lieut. R. W. Harling. Major A. H. Wood. Capt. C. W. Bowlby. Lieut. H. R. G. Deacon. Lieut. O. D. Blunt.

(Seated) Capt. H. Gore. Capt. A. G. V. Chichester. Major F. Carpenter. Colonel E. S. Brook. Lieut. and Adj. H. A. Thompson. Capt. H. G. K. Matchett. Major J. J. F. Hume.

(On Ground) 2nd Lieut. K. G. Crockett. 2nd Lieut. A. Wise.

COLONEL E. S. BROOK AND OFFICERS, 2nd BATTALION.

Cairo.

1896.

CHAPTER LXVII

JANUARY 1897-DECEMBER 1907. STATIONS IN INDIA : MEERUT ;
NASIRABAD AND NEEMUCH ; AHMEDNAGAR ; POONA.

1897-1898

THE move to India took place on January 25th, when the battalion, strength twenty-one Officers and 717 N.C.O.'s and Men, left Cairo for Suez in two troop trains. It embarked next day in the transport *Britannia*, which sailed that afternoon for Bombay.

Bombay was reached on February 5th and the battalion proceeded by rail to Meerut where it arrived on February 13th. Head-quarters and six companies were quartered in cantonments at Meerut, two companies being detached to Delhi.

On August 21st Captain Hobbs, with Lieutenants Church, Deacon, Byrne and Gough, left the battalion for Rawal Pindi, to serve with the 1st Royal Irish. They rejoined the battalion on October 21st.

Colonel E. S. Brook and Captain and Adjutant H. A. Thompson proceeded on November 1st to take up appointments with the Tochi Field Force ; Colonel Brook as G.O.C. 3rd Brigade, with the rank of Brigadier-General, and Captain Thompson for duty as his orderly officer. Colonel Brook rejoined the battalion on January 23rd 1898 with Captain Thompson, who, however, on February 9th 1898 left for Peshawar to join the Tirah Expeditionary Force on commissariat and transport duty. Captain E. A. Grubbe proceeded on November 22nd 1897 on field service on the frontier with the East Yorkshire Regiment, returning to the battalion on March 3rd 1898. A number of N.C.O.'s and Privates were similarly detached between August 1897 and February 1898 on special field service with the transport and on the line of communications and as hospital orderlies.

The annual inspection of the battalion was held on January 11th 1898 by Colonel Brownrigg, A.A.G., as Officer Commanding Troops in the Meerut District. On February 8th Major C. E. Harman was promoted Lieut.-Colonel and appointed to command the battalion, vice Colonel E. S. Brook, who retired on half-pay on the completion of his extended period of command.

1899-1900

The battalion was inspected by Major-General Sir Bindon Blood, K.C.B., Commanding the Meerut District, on January 28th. On February 14th a draft of 163 N.C.O.'s and Men joined the battalion.

The 1st Battalion, it should be noted, landed in South Africa for the War in December 1899.

The battalion was inspected on November 5th 1900 by Major-General Sir Bindon Blood, who reported the men's turn-out as "excellent." Four companies, under command of Major Grubbe, left Meerut on December 1st, proceeding by rail to Nasirabad and Neemuch, two companies being stationed at each place. A draft of fifty-one N.C.O.'s and Men, under the command of Second-Lieutenant F. F. I. Kinsman, joined at the end of December 1900.

1901

Head-quarters with the rest of the battalion, which had remained at Meerut until March 1901, left there for Nasirabad and Neemuch on March 14th. The battalion was inspected at Nasirabad on April 16th by Major-General Sir R. Westmacott, K.C.B., who expressed himself as "much pleased with the physique and turn-out of the battalion."

Major A. W. D. Maclean died at the Station Hospital, Nasirabad, on May 20th, to the extreme regret of all ranks. In notifying his death in Orders the Commanding Officer said this: "Major Maclean had endeared himself to all. In his death the battalion has suffered the loss of a most highly talented and efficient officer."

The battalion was inspected at Nasirabad on July 24th by Major-General Sir R. Westmacott. On November 4th it was inspected by Colonel Abbott, Colonel on the Staff, Commanding at Nasirabad. A draft of twenty N.C.O.'s and Men joined at Nasirabad on December 12th.

A bounty of £10 per man, with a furlough for two months to England, or £16 10s. if no furlough was taken, was offered at the end of the year 1901 to men who were willing to extend their service, instead of taking their discharge during the South African War. It was accepted by 258 N.C.O.'s and Men under the rank of sergeant.

1902

A draft for the 1st Battalion in South Africa, comprising 150 N.C.O.'s and Men, under Lieutenant J. C. MacSwiney, left Nasirabad on February 4th. It was composed of men who had seven years' service and had not taken the bounty offered in the previous year.

The arrival of the draft from the 2nd Battalion and its subsequent service are noted in Volume I.

The battalion was inspected by Colonel Abbott at Nasirabad on February 28th and March 1st. On March 12th a draft of seventeen Men joined. News of the death of Captain R. R. Challenor, of The Lancashire Fusiliers, who had served with the battalion for eight years until his promotion into The Lancashire Fusiliers, was received at Nasirabad on April 8th.

On April 11th 150 N.C.O.'s and Men from the 1st Battalion in South Africa joined at Nasirabad, under the command of Lieutenant J. C. MacSwiney, who had taken out the draft sent to South Africa by the 2nd Battalion on February 4th. On 8th February, Major A. H. Wood was promoted Lieut.-Colonel to succeed Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Harman in the command of the battalion.

Head-quarters and the battalion (including the Neemuch detachment) under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Wood left Nasirabad for Ahmednagar at the end of April in relief of The Welch Regiment. On July 21st the battalion was inspected at Ahmednagar by Brigadier-General Ventris, Commanding the Poona District. Captain C. H. Mesham died in the Station Hospital, Ahmedabad, of diphtheria on August 5th.

Medals for service in South Africa were presented on parade on October 22nd to Lieutenants A. Wise and M. H. C. De C. De B. Wickham and 120 N.C.O.'s and Men, the medals in thirty-seven cases bearing five clasps.

The following District Order (No. 1529) was promulgated on November 1st—

“The G.O.C. Poona District desires to congratulate The 2nd Connaught Rangers on the high place they won in the Annual Inspection in Army Signalling for the year 1902.”

On November 17th a party of thirty-seven N.C.O.'s and Men, under Lieutenants A. Wise and F. F. I. Kinsman, were sent to South Africa in charge of repatriated Boer prisoners from the prisoner-of-war camp at Ahmednagar. The two officers and the escort returned to Ahmednagar on December 31st.

The battalion was inspected on December 3rd by Major-General Ventris, Commanding the Poona District.

A draft of thirty-nine N.C.O.'s and Men from the 1st Battalion in South Africa, under Second-Lieutenant C. J. O'Sullivan, joined at Ahmednagar on December 7th.

1903-1904

Medals for service in South Africa were presented at Ahmednagar on January 31st to forty N.C.O.'s and Men. In the following April, medals

for service in West Africa and South Africa were presented to Captain A. L. Keogh and two Men. A further presentation of South African War Medals was made to thirty-two Men on June 7th. On July 29th H Company under Captain Gore with two subalterns and ninety-five N.C.O.'s and Men, proceeded to Satara to relieve a company of The Royal Scots. The detachment returned from Satara on February 14th 1904 on Satara being abandoned as a station for British troops. A draft from the Dépôt of seventy-three N.C.O.'s and Men joined the battalion on February 29th 1904.

The battalion was inspected on March 12th 1904 by Major-General G. L. R. Richardson, C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E., Commanding the Poona District. A second draft of eighty-three N.C.O.'s and Men joined from the Dépôt on October 25th.

1905

The battalion was inspected by Major-General Richardson in the first round of Lord Kitchener's War Tests on January 9th, 10th and 11th. It was adjudged first in the tests of the regiments of the Sixth Division. The battalion was inspected on February 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th by the Western Command Board, comprising Major-General Denning, C.B., D.S.O., Colonel J. A. Bell, A.A.G. Sixth Division, and Lieut.-Colonel Fearon, in the second round of Lord Kitchener's War Tests.

The battalion was inspected on April 18th and 19th by Colonel S. C. H. Monro, C.B., Commanding the Ahmednagar District, and on August 28th, 29th and 30th by Major-General Wodehouse, who expressed himself as follows after the inspection: "The 2nd Bn. The Connaught Rangers are a very fine regiment, the men are smart and well manœuvred. The interior economy of the regiment appears excellent and the comfort of the men seems thoroughly well cared for." The inspecting General added this: "He is sure that when a portion of the regiment goes down to Bombay to receive their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales they will by their conduct and appearance do credit to themselves as an Irish Regiment. Considering that the regiment has been so long isolated, its condition does credit to Colonel Wood and all ranks."

The battalion was inspected on October 19th by the Commander-in-Chief in India, Lord Kitchener, who expressed his "entire approval" of the appearance of the battalion.

Head-quarters, with the band and drums, the Colours and 201 N.C.O.'s and Men, and the latter composed of N.C.O.'s and Men selected from all companies, under the command of Colonel Wood, proceeded to Bombay on November 3rd for duty in connection with the forthcoming Royal Visit



(Back Row) Lieut. E. Yeldham, 2nd-Lieut. Hon. M. de Courcy, Lieut. F. F. I. Kinsman, 2nd-Lieut. C. F. Underhill, Capt. A. L. Keogh, Lieut. Gilbert Thompson, Lieut. M. F. Walsh, Lieut. P. J. Gout (I.A. attd.).

(Middle Row) Lieut. Brown (I.A. attd.), Capt. H. A. Thompson, Capt. H. Gore, Major J. J. F. Hume, Lieut.-Colonel A. H. Wood, Major J. S. M. Lenox-Conyngham, Capt. T. H. Falkiner, Captain G. L. Hobbs, Lieut. C. Smyth (Quartermaster), Lieut. G. D. Eykyn (I.A. attd.).

(Front Row) Lieut. George Brooke, 2nd-Lieut. Biggs (I.A. attd.), 2nd-Lieut. Palmer (I.A. attd.), Lieut. Vere Hunt (I.A. attd.), 2nd-Lieut. Bruce (I.A. attd.), 2nd-Lieut. E. G. Hamilton, 2nd-Lieut. John R. Leader, Capt. A. Wise, Lieut. A. H. B. Wright, Lieut. B. Maydwell (I.A. attd.).

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. H. WOOD AND OFFICERS, 2nd BATTALION.

1905.

Under the Wellington Tree, outside Fort Ahmednagar.



WARRANT OFFICERS AND N.C.O's, 2nd BATTALION, AT THE DUNGEONS,
SERINGAPATAM.

1906.

to India of the Prince and Princess of Wales (now their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary). The following letter was received on November 9th by the Commanding Officer from Brigadier-General R. M. Greenfield, Commanding the Bombay Brigade: "H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was pleased to express his satisfaction at the turn-out of the Guard of Honour mounted at Government House by your battalion and remarked that they were an extremely fine body of men." The troops returned to Ahmednagar on November 22nd.

The battalion on December 13th marched to take part in the Poona Divisional Manœuvres, returning on December 20th.

During the year 1905 four drafts joined the battalion: on February 10th, March 8th, October 26th, and December 29th. The first draft comprised fifty-seven N.C.O.'s and Men, under Second-Lieutenant T. F. V. Foster; the second comprised twenty-two N.C.O.'s and Men; the third fifty-one N.C.O.'s and Men, under Captain S. J. Murray; the fourth fifty N.C.O.'s and Men.

1906

The battalion was inspected on January 11th, 12th and 13th by Brigadier-General S. C. H. Monro, C.B., Commanding the Ahmednagar Brigade. The battalion marched to Dongargaon (12 miles) for the inspection, returning on January 13th.

Brevet-Colonel A. H. Wood relinquished the command of the battalion on February 8th on the termination of his period of command. Lieut.-Colonel J. J. F. Hume was now appointed to the command of the battalion.

At the Bombay Presidency Rifle Association meeting, held at Poona at the beginning of February, the battalion won the following:—General Sir Archibald Hunter's prizes; Major-General G. L. R. Richardson's prize; The Ghorpuri Stakes; The Extended Order Competition.

The Major-General Commanding the Sixth (Poona) Division made the following comments on the inspection report of the battalion for 1905, issued in March 1906—

"I have seen a great deal of this battalion and the more I see of them the more they impress me. In Lord Kitchener's Test last year they did remarkably well. The then Commanding Officer, Colonel Wood, has vacated the command quite recently but has bequeathed to Lieut.-Colonel Hume a battalion worthy of its traditions. The regiment is well officered, well drilled and has splendid material in its ranks. The 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers is fit for service."

The Commander-in-Chief in India, Lord Kitchener, made the following remarks on the review report of the battalion: "Very satisfactory. I am glad to see such a marked improvement in musketry."

Lieutenant J. R. Leader of the battalion died of enteric fever in the Station Hospital, Ahmednagar, on April 10th.

Pioneer-Sergeant J. Bridges won the Bengal-Punjab Rifle Association Championship, the Viceroy's Badge and Rs. 500, with the Viceroy's Silver Medal for British Infantry, at the Bengal-Punjab Rifle Meeting at Meerut in December 1906.

A bounty of £15 was offered to seventy men of the battalion for extension of Colour service to complete eight years who had enlisted for three years' Colour service and were due to return home during the Trooping Season of 1906-7.

Three drafts from England joined the battalion in 1906:—Forty N.C.O.'s and Men under Captain A. L. Keogh on March 24th; thirty-seven N.C.O.'s and Men on November 29th; thirty-eight N.C.O.'s and Men on December 27th.

The battalion was inspected by Colonel A. W. Forbes, 34th Poona Horse, officiating in command of the Ahmednagar Brigade on December 8th.

Opportunity was taken, while the battalion was stationed at Poona, to visit Seringapatam, where little more than a century before the predecessors of the 2nd Battalion, the Scotch Brigade, won the battle-honour "Seringapatam," the first and oldest of the distinctions on the Colours.

An illustration shows a party of N.C.O.'s inspecting the dungeons of Seringapatam in which many British officers and soldiers died as prisoners to Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sahib.

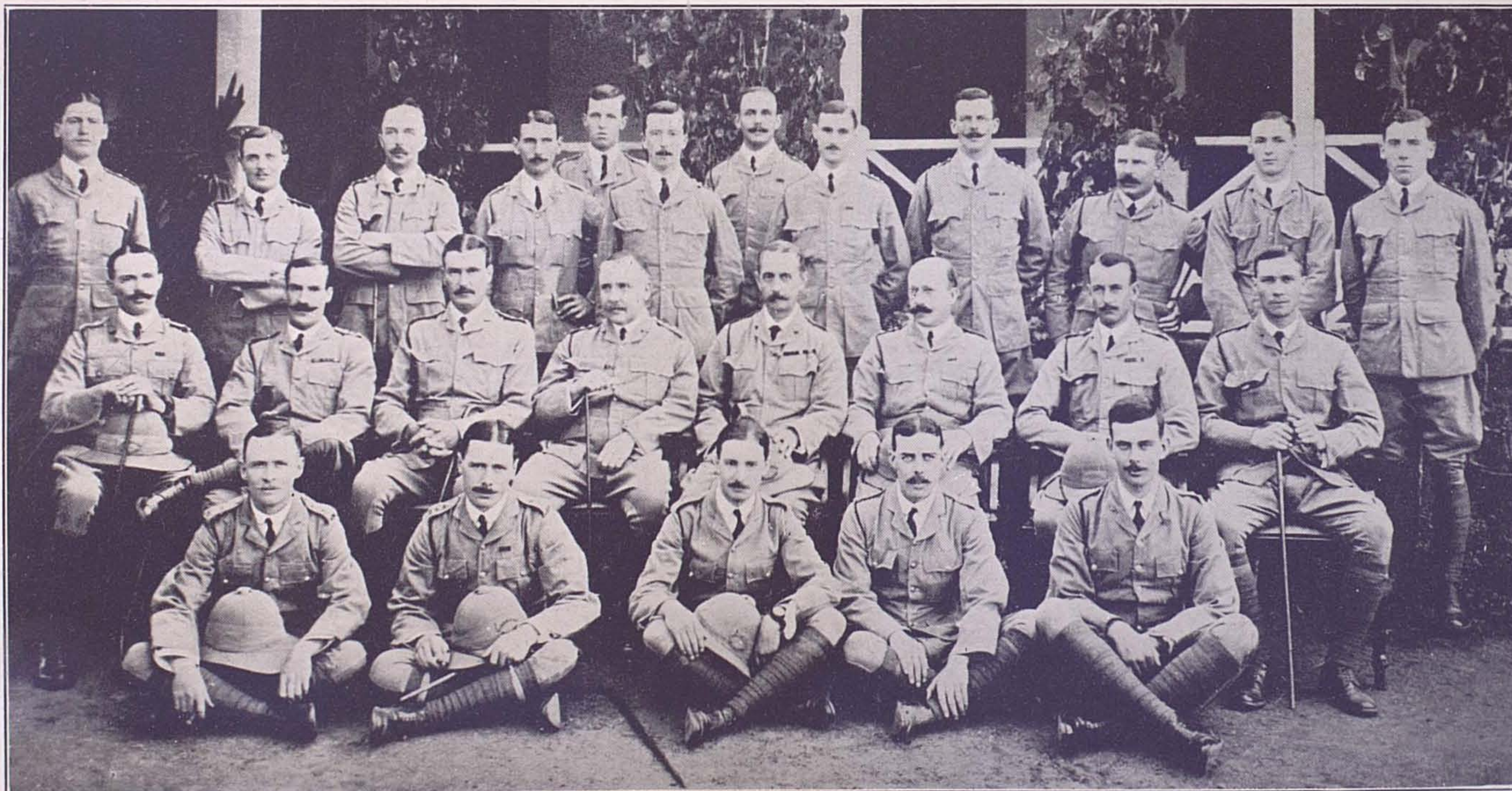
Another illustration shows some of the officers, while the battalion was at Ahmednagar, at the tree under which Wellington is said to have breakfasted on the morning after the storming of the fort at Ahmednagar in 1803.

On December 24th the battalion, less E and H Companies, previously sent forward under Major G. H. Ford-Hutchinson, left Ahmednagar for Poona by route-march, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel J. J. F. Hume. After a halt at Chass from Christmas Day to December 29th, the march was resumed, the battalion arriving at Poona on January 2nd 1907.

1907

From Poona the battalion proceeded on January 16th to Peringhat for Divisional Manœuvres, returning on January 21st.

The sending in advance of E and H Companies, numbering four Officers and 217 N.C.O.'s and Men, had been directed in order that they should



(Standing) Lieut. J. Fraser. Capt. L. J. Comyn. Capt. E. Yeldham. Lieut. A. H. B. Wright. Lieut. W. G. S. Barker. Capt. G. Thompson. Lieut. G. F. Callaghan. Lieut. M. H. C. de C. de B. Wickham. Lieut. W. W. Roche. Lieut. C. Smyth (Quartermaster). Lieut. F. W. M. Leader. Lieut. J. E. Hume.

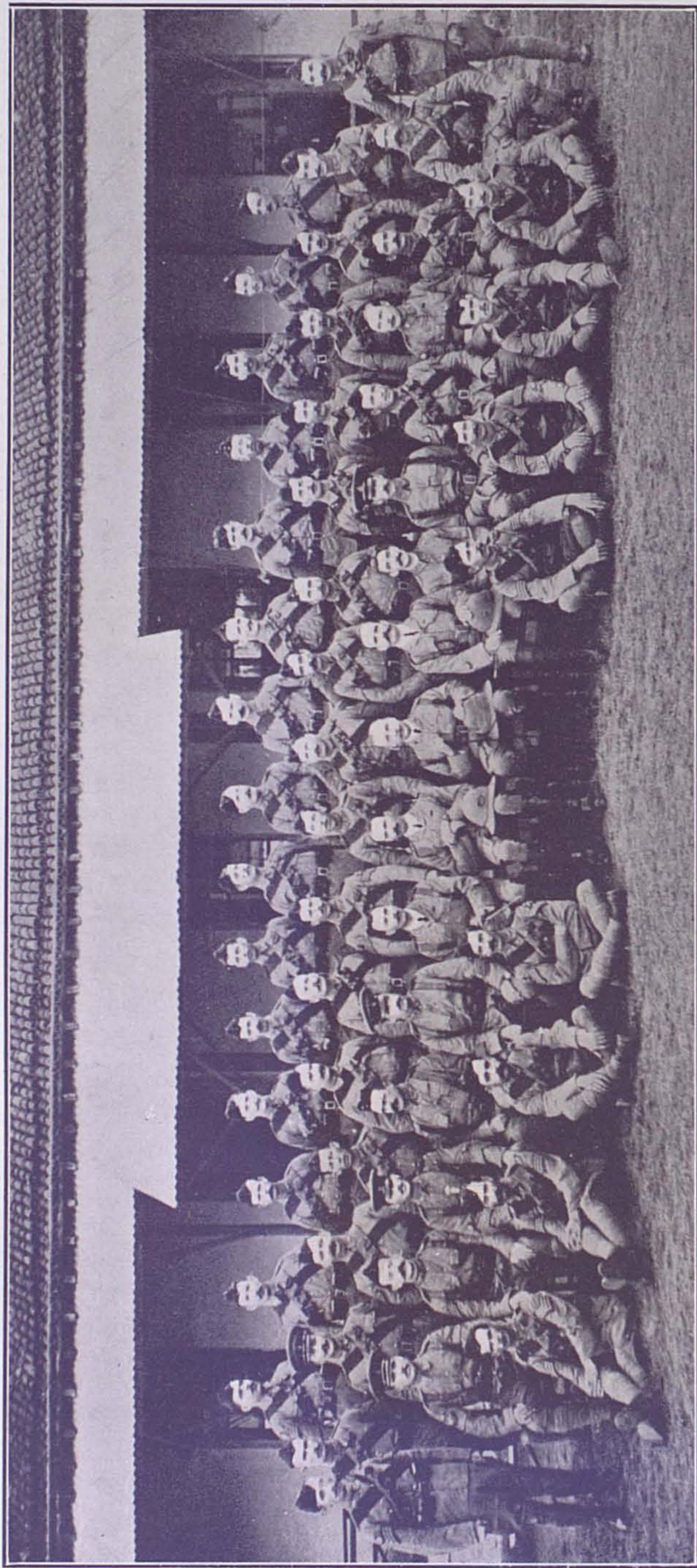
(Sitting) Capt. J. C. MacSwiney. Capt. A. L. Keogh. Major J. S. M. Lenox-Conyngham. Colonel J. J. F. Hume. Major G. H. Ford-Hutchinson, D.S.O. Capt. A. S. Hog. Capt. O. F. Lloyd. Lieut. R. J. Waller.

(On Ground) Lieut. H. R. P. Dickson. Lieut. T. B. G. F. Eames. Lieut. H. Wilberforce Bell. Lieut. T. F. V. Foster. Lieut. F. M. Carpendale.

LIEUT.-COLONEL J. J. F. HUME AND OFFICERS, 2nd BATTALION.

Poona.

February 1908.



LIEUT.-COLONEL J. J. F. HUME, WARRANT OFFICERS AND SERGEANTS, 2nd BATTALION.

Poona,
February 1908.

proceed beyond Poona to the manœuvre area to construct trenches in connection with a special defence scheme. Before the troops engaged in the operations returned to quarters each unit taking part was informed in a Divisional Order "that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has expressed his satisfaction at the zeal and willingness shown by the troops and the good work they have done. He considers that the scheme set has been ably worked out and that many valuable lessons can be learnt from the inspection of the defences."

A draft from England of eighty-seven N.C.O.'s and Men, under Lieutenant A. H. B. Wright, joined the battalion on January 31st.

It was announced in February that the battalion had taken the sixth place in The Queen Victoria Cup Competition, winning a prize. In May the announcement was made in Western Command Orders that the battalion were the winners for 1907 of the following four trophies of the Bombay Presidency Rifle Association: The William Watson Memorial Challenge Cup; The Napier Memorial Challenge Shield; The Gillespie Cup; and The Rosseter Cup. In expressing his congratulations, Lieut.-General G. L. R. Richardson, G.O.C. of the Sixth (Poona) Division, said this in a Divisional Order: "The success achieved by the 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers in winning all (four) Challenge Cups presented for competition for British Troops is a splendid record, and one that this distinguished regiment will be deservedly proud of." Lieut.-General Richardson added this further in a letter to Lieut.-Colonel Hume: "It is a record that any regiment may justly be proud of. This result can only have been attained by real hard work. . . . I hope you will tell the regiment how proud I am to have them in my command." In May also it was notified that Pioneer-Sergeant J. Bridges was the winner of the Bronze Jewel for 1906-7 presented to India by the Army Rifle Association.

Two companies of the battalion were on detachment at Kirkee between May 30th and December 16th.

1908

The battalion proceeded to Loni-khand on January 13th for Infantry Tests and Brigade Training, returning to Poona on January 25th, after which, between January 29th and February 21st, it took part as a unit of the Poona Brigade in the Sixth (Poona) Division concentration at Poona.

CHAPTER LXVIII

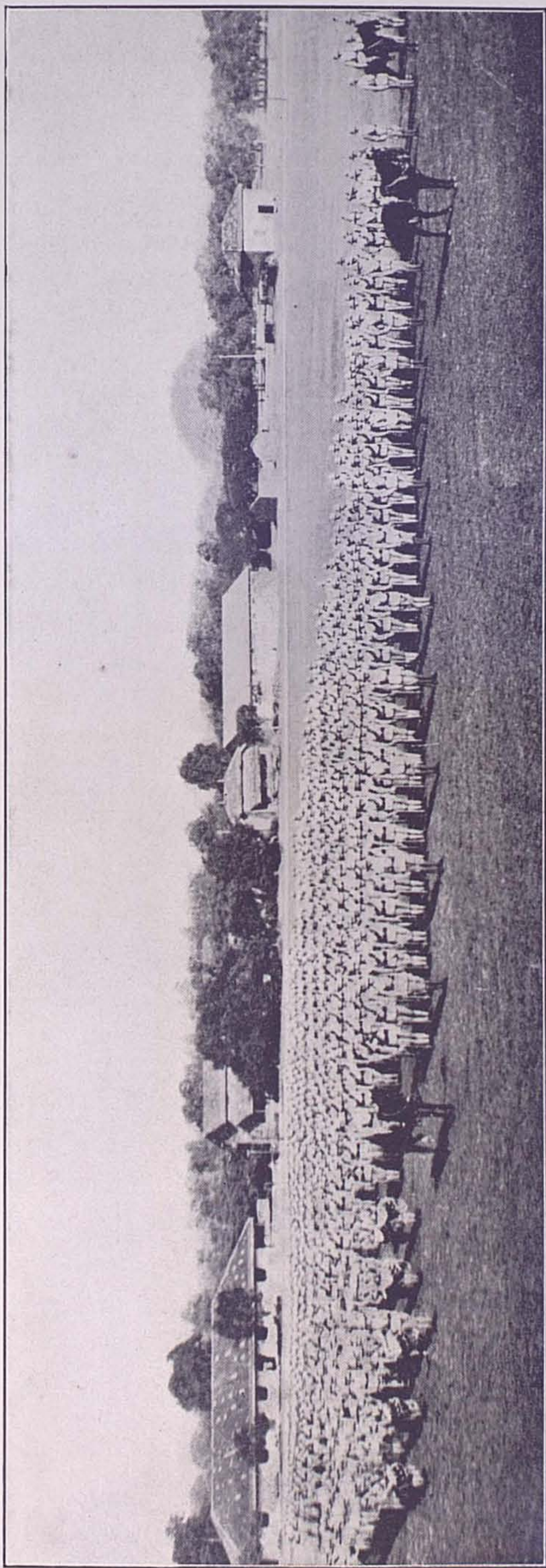
JANUARY 1908-DECEMBER 1913. STATIONS IN IRELAND. SERINGAPATAM MEDALS SENT BY THE INDIA OFFICE. THE BATTLE HONOUR "PYRENEES" GRANTED TO THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. NEW COLOURS PRESENTED BY H.M. THE KING AT DUBLIN. THE OLD COLOURS DEPOSITED IN RENMORE CHAPEL, GALWAY. ORGANIZATION OF THE BATTALION IN FOUR COMPANIES. TO ALDERSHOT.

1908

HEAD-QUARTERS and the battalion (seventeen Officers, two Warrant Officers and 278 N.C.O.'s and Men), under the command of Lieut.-Colonel J. J. F. Hume, left Poona for Bombay for embarkation for Great Britain on March 4th. The embarkation took place on March 8th on board H.M. Troopship *Plassy*. Southampton was reached on March 27th and the battalion disembarked to proceed to Ireland, to Tipperary. On quitting Poona 600 N.C.O.'s and Men were left behind for transfer to the 1st Battalion. These, under the command of Major S. J. Murray, proceeded from Poona on March 9th for Bombay whence they took passage in the R.I.M.S. *Dufferin* to Karachi and joined the 1st Battalion.

Brigadier-General W. P. Pulteney, C.B., D.S.O., Commanding the 16th Infantry Brigade, inspected the battalion on April 8th.

On July 16th the battalion, strength twenty-six Officers and 438 N.C.O.'s and Men, under Lieut.-Colonel J. J. F. Hume, left Tipperary for Kilworth Standing Camp to take part with other units in a Brigade scheme of mobile column operations. The operations took place on July 16th, 17th and 18th and at the close the battalion marched back to Kilworth Camp, some of the companies having covered 45 miles in twenty-four hours. The Brigadier, in a congratulatory letter to the Commanding Officer on July 19th, desired that all ranks of the battalion should be informed of his commendation "of the cheerful and satisfactory manner in which they had carried out the exhausting operations of the 16th-18th July." Major-General L. W. Parsons, C.B., Commanding the Sixth Division, also wrote to the Commanding Officer stating that "it was a great satisfaction to him to notice the good physique of, and the endurance exhibited by, the men, many of whom were very young soldiers."



POONA—THE 2nd BATTALION.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. F. Hume in command.
February 1908.

On October 21st a letter was sent to the Secretary of State for India by Lieut.-Colonel Hume to the effect that it had come to his knowledge that the India Office were in possession of some medals formerly issued to commemorate the Siege and Capture of Seringapatam, and desired that the Secretary of State would hand over a specimen to every regiment which took part at the capture. Colonel Hume consequently asked that such a favour should be conferred on the 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers. The India Office replied on November 14th to the effect that the Secretary of State was pleased to present to the 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers four specimens of Seringapatam medals, in silver-gilt, silver, copper and tin, which were forwarded with the reply. The Seringapatam Medal, as was stated in a subsequent letter from the India Office, had been originally awarded in silver-gilt to General Staff and Field Officers, in silver to Captains and Subalterns, in copper-bronze to N.C.O.'s, and in tin to Privates, and a specimen of each was furnished to the battalion.

During 1908 the following drafts joined at Head-quarters from the Depôt at Galway: On May 14th, forty-five N.C.O.'s and Men; on June 19th, twenty-five Recruits; on July 17th, seventeen Recruits; on September 25th, twenty-nine Recruits and two Duty Men; on October 24th, thirty Recruits; on November 14th, thirty Recruits; on December 9th, twenty-nine Recruits.

1909

A section of mounted infantry, comprising two Officers and thirty-six N.C.O.'s and Men, proceeded to Longmoor Camp for instruction at the School of Mounted Infantry, on January 4th, returning to Tipperary on March 17th. A second mounted infantry section of one Officer and thirty-five N.C.O.'s and Men proceeded to the M.I. School at Longmoor Camp on June 2nd, returning on October 2nd, on completion of the course.

The battalion was inspected in January by Major-General W. P. Pulteney, C.B., D.S.O., Commanding the 16th Infantry Brigade.

On February 3rd a letter was received from the Army Rifle Association notifying that the battalion were the winners of Hopton Challenge Cup and prize of £50. The winning team comprised Lieutenant W. G. S. Barker and nineteen N.C.O.'s and Men. The Battalion Rifle Club, with permission of the Commanding Officer, expended the £50 in providing medals for the members of the team and also a replica of the Hopton Challenge Cup, which was placed in the officers' mess.

Lieut.-Colonel J. J. F. Hume was gazetted Brevet-Colonel on February 9th.

A draft of thirty-two N.C.O.'s and Men for the 1st Battalion in India,

under Major G. L. Hobbs, was inspected by Major-General Pulteney on February 12th and left Tipperary for Southampton on February 15th.

The following Farewell Order to the battalion was issued by Major-General Pulteney on March 31st, on his quitting the command of the 16th Infantry Brigade on promotion to Major-General:—

“Major-General Pulteney desires to place on record his appreciation of the loyal support he has received from all ranks on every occasion during his period of command, also of the excellent work done by the battalion during brigade training and manœuvres last season.”

Brigadier-General F. C. Carter, C.B., who succeeded General Pulteney in the command of the 16th Infantry Brigade, inspected the battalion on June 21st and 22nd. Colonel Egerton, Commandant of the School of Musketry, Hythe, inspected the battalion in musketry on July 2nd.

The Army Championship and the Gold Jewel of the Army Rifle Association were won by Sergeant McNama of the battalion at Bisley on July 9th.

The battalion, strength eighteen Officers and 476 N.C.O.'s and Men, under command of Brevet-Colonel J. J. F. Hume, left Tipperary on August 5th, *en route* to Kilworth Camp, for musketry field practice. The battalion after that proceeded on August 23rd to Aglish Camp, Cappoquin, for brigade and divisional training. It returned to Tipperary on September 11th, at the conclusion of the divisional manœuvres.

The following Irish Command Order was published on September 9th: “Recruiting for The Connaught Rangers is to cease in the command, except in the 88th Recruiting Area.” A supplemental order on October 4th added that “Recruiting for The Connaught Rangers is now confined to their own Special Reserve only.” The strength of the battalion in October 1909 was 751 N.C.O.'s and Men, or twenty-six below establishment, but there were at the Regimental Dépôt ninety-one line recruits of the battalion.

The battalion was inspected on October 29th by Major-General C. T. E. Metcalfe, C.B., Commanding the Sixth Division. General Metcalfe had formerly served as an officer of the battalion.

Pattern 1908 web equipment was taken into general wear by the battalion on October 31st.

A draft to the 1st Battalion in India comprising 124 N.C.O.'s and Men embarked at Southampton on November 12th.

Four drafts joined the battalion during the year, as follows: On March 3rd, twenty Recruits from the Dépôt; on May 19th, twenty-two Recruits; on September 10th, forty-six Recruits; on December 11th, twenty-seven Recruits.

1910

Brevet-Colonel J. J. F. Hume, on the completion of his service in command of the battalion, was succeeded on February 8th by Lieut.-Colonel J. S. M. Lenox-Conyngham, who had been promoted Lieut.-Colonel on that date.

Major W. S. Sarsfield, who had exchanged with Major G. L. Hills, took over command of the Dépôt on the 23rd February, 1910.

On March 17th recruiting was opened in No. 11 District for the regiment, the standard of height being 5 feet 3 inches and upwards.

On June 7th the battalion, strength twenty-one Officers and 390 N.C.O.'s and Men, under Lieut.-Colonel Lenox-Conyngham, proceeded by route-march to Kilworth Camp for musketry, returning on June 11th.

On June 13th Lieutenant W. W. Roche, with twenty-one N.C.O.'s and Men, left Tipperary for London, to take part in the Army Pageant in Fulham Palace grounds, in which Lieutenant Roche impersonated General Picton, the historic leader of the Third Division (which included both the 88th and 94th) in the Peninsular War. The party returned on July 6th.

The battalion was inspected by Brigadier-General F. C. Carter, C.B., Commanding the 16th Infantry Brigade, on August 9th.

On August 20th, the battalion, strength twenty-three Officers and 625 N.C.O.'s and Men, proceeded to Moore Park, Fermoy, for brigade and divisional training, to be followed by the Irish Command manoeuvres in Co. Carlow. The march from Tipperary to Moore Park, 28 miles, was carried out in one day, not a man falling out on the way. The battalion left Moore Park for the manoeuvres on September 5th. At the close it joined the 14th Infantry Brigade and marched to the Curragh, its next station, arriving there on September 18th.

Previous to the battalion quitting the manoeuvre area, on September 16th, Major-General Pulteney, then Commanding the Sixth Division, held a farewell parade of the battalion, at which he addressed it as follows: "Colonel Lenox-Conyngham, Officers and N.C.O.'s and Men, I come to see you this morning to say 'Good-bye.' I have had you under me when commanding the 16th Brigade and also when commanding the Sixth Division. When I first saw you, after your arrival from India two and a half years ago, you had a lot of seasoned soldiers amongst you. I noticed then your adaptability in everything, and to-day, although there have been a lot of changes, I notice the same cheerfulness and willingness in getting things done, and thoroughness in everything you do. I wish you 'Good-bye' and 'Good luck' and I should like to command you again."

The battalion remained in camp at the Curragh until October 5th,

when it moved into Beresford Barracks, vacated by the 2nd Royal Sussex Regiment.

On October 3rd, one Officer and thirty-five N.C.O.'s and Men proceeded to Longmoor for instruction in mounted infantry duties.

It was announced in Army Order No. 218 of 1910 that His Majesty had been pleased to approve of The Connaught Rangers being granted the battle honour "Pyrenees." Both battalions took part in the series of actions covered by that name, as is related in this volume and in Vol. I.

Brigadier-General W. Douglas, Commanding the 14th Infantry Brigade, inspected the battalion in review order on December 16th.

Drafts joined the battalion during 1910 as follows: On January 15th, 26 Recruits from the Dépôt; on February 22nd, 11 Men from the 1st Battalion in India; on June 21st, 11 Recruits from the Dépôt; on July 29th, 6 Recruits from the Dépôt.

1911

The battalion won the Annual Senior National Championship of the Cross-Country Association of Ireland at the meeting held at Dublin on March 11th, and on April 12th the battalion won the All Ireland Military Cross-Country Championship for the third time in succession.

The battalion, strength twenty-one Officers and 491 N.C.O.'s and Men, under Lieut.-Colonel Lenox-Conyngham, proceeded on June 7th to Donard by march-route for musketry, returning to the Curragh on June 17th.

The battalion was inspected by Brigadier-General Douglas on June 20th.

On June 20th Captain L. W. P. de Hochepped-Larpent, Lieutenant W. G. S. Barker and fifty N.C.O.'s and Men, proceeded to London for duty in connection with the Coronation of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary. The party was employed in lining Whitehall. It returned to the Curragh on June 24th. Lieut.-Colonel J. S. M. Lenox-Conyngham, Major and Brevet-Colonel W. C. G. Heneker, D.S.O., A.D.C., Captain L. W. P. de Hochepped-Larpent, Lieutenant and Quarter-master J. T. Gorman, Sergeant-Major Bruen and Private Malone received Medals as personal gifts from His Majesty to commemorate the Coronation. On July 3rd the following I.C.O. was published.

"The Commander of the Forces has received the following from Field-Marshal Viscount Kitchener of Khartoum, G.C.B., etc.: 'Will you kindly convey to all those under your command who were on duty in London in connection with the Coronation on 22nd and 23rd June, my high appreciation of their steadiness on parade. The behaviour of the troops was excellent, no irregularity having been brought to notice.'"



A WAYSIDE HALT.

The 2nd Battalion on the March from The Curragh to Donard Camp.

1911.

The battalion, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Lenox-Conyngham, on July 6th proceeded by march-route to Dublin for duty in connection with the forthcoming visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen. Halting *en route* for one night at Kill, Dublin was reached on July 7th and the battalion encamped with the other troops in Phoenix Park. On July 8th the battalion marched through the streets of Dublin and lined a portion of Nassau and Clare Streets on the State entry of Their Majesties. On July 11th the King held a Levée at Dublin Castle at which Lieut.-Colonel Lenox-Conyngham and the Officers of the battalion attended.

The 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers received new Colours at the hands of His Majesty on July 11th on the "Fifteen Acres," at the close of the Royal inspection of the troops. After the march-past the battalion, together with four other battalions,* came forward to the Saluting Base to receive the new Colours. The Colours of The Connaught Rangers were blessed by the Very Rev. Canon Burke, P.P., assisted by the Rev. Father Farrington. The King's Colour was handed to His Majesty by Colonel W. C. G. Heneker, D.S.O., A.D.C., and received back by Lieutenant W. G. S. Barker; the Regimental Colour was handed to the King by Major J. C. H. Raven and received back by Lieutenant G. R. Fenton.

His Majesty then handed the following address to the Commanding Officer:—

"Lt.-Colonel Lenox-Conyngham, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers.

"It gives me great pleasure to present you with new Colours to-day. On such an occasion it is well to recall your past history. To-day, by clinging jealously to your traditions and by honouring the achievements of bygone days, you maintain and foster the Military Spirit which is the very life-blood of a regiment.

"Your Colours record the services of the Regiment in all parts of the world. It gained marked distinction in India, the Peninsula, and in South Africa.

"I confidently entrust these new Colours to your keeping, convinced that should ever the opportunity arise, you and your successors will add fresh records to those of which you are justly proud."

The battalion at the close of the Royal visit left Dublin on July 11th, and halting for the night at Kill, reached the Curragh on July 13th.

The 3rd, Special, Reserve Battalion was also present at the review.

His Majesty, in a Royal message from Dublin Castle on July 11th to

* 1st Battalion The King's Regiment (Liverpool); 2nd Battalion The King's Own Scottish Borderers; 2nd Battalion The South Lancashire Regiment; 2nd Battalion The Manchester Regiment.

General Sir N. G. Lyttleton, expressed "entire satisfaction with the smart appearance and the steadiness under arms of all on parade. I greatly appreciate the excellent manner in which the presentation of Colours to five different regiments was arranged."

At the All Ireland Army Athletic Meeting, held at the Curragh on July 14th and 15th, the Championship Cup was won by the battalion for the third time in succession. At the All Ireland Army Rifle Meeting, in the week ending August 20th, the battalion won the Sergeants' Cup for the second year in succession.

Brigadier-General Douglas, Commanding the 14th Infantry Brigade, carried out his annual inspection on September 2nd.

On September 7th the battalion marched to Collinstown, encamping there until September 16th, to carry out brigade training. On the 16th the battalion marched to Knockacarrigan for divisional training, but owing to Labour troubles a return was made to the Curragh on September 19th.

In consequence of the Labour troubles, detachments of two Officers and fifty N.C.O.'s and Men each were sent to Portarlington, Kildare and Newbridge railway stations to guard the railway line on September 23rd and subsequent days. There was, however, no disturbance and all detachments had returned to Head-quarters by the first week of October.

On October 2nd, an Officer and thirty-five N.C.O.'s and Men were sent to Longmoor Camp for mounted infantry training. The party returned on January 31st 1912. On the 15th November 1911, Lieut.-Colonel J. S. M. Lenox-Conyngham was placed on the half-pay list. Colonel Heneker thereupon temporarily assumed the command. Captain H. F. N. Jourdain joined the battalion on the 19th October as Senior Major from the Dépôt.

A portion of the battalion, strength twelve Officers and 258 N.C.O.'s and Men, under the command of Colonel Heneker, D.S.O., A.D.C., proceeded by train from the Curragh to Galway on November 28th for the purpose of depositing the 1862-1911 Colours of the battalion in Renmore Roman Catholic Chapel. On arrival at Galway the battalion marched through the town and halted in Eyre Square, where an address of welcome was presented by the Urban District Council on behalf of the inhabitants of Galway.

Colonel Heneker having suitably replied, the march was continued to Renmore Barracks, where, after being trooped on the barrack square, the Colours were brought to the Regimental Chapel, and laid upon piled drums and blessed by the Chaplain, the Revd. Father Newell, P.P.

The troops were then addressed by Colonel Heneker, who related in summary form the services of the battalion under the Colours to be laid up. They had been presented, said he, forty-nine years before by Sir

Sydney Cotton at Jullundur. They had been carried in the Zulu War at Ulundi, and at the storming of Sekukuni's stronghold. They had been with A and F Companies at Bronkhorst Spruit, borne on that occasion by two staff-sergeants, Maistré and Pearce. After the action they had been stripped from the staves and hidden under Mrs. Fox as she lay wounded, being later taken to Pretoria by Conductor Egerton and Sergeant Bradley who walked with them, concealed under their clothing, to deliver the rescued Colours at Pretoria to the care of the Commanding Officer of the 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers. The Royal Scots Fusiliers kept them wrapped round their own Colours, and, at the close of the war, handed them over to Lieutenant J. J. F. Hume of the 94th, the only surviving officer of the two Bronkhorst Spruit companies. Replaced on the Colour staves, which Lieutenant Hume had been able to preserve in the interim, the Colours had been borne ever since by the battalion.

Colonel Heneker, after his address, formally handed the Colours to Major Sarsfield, Commanding the Dépôt, who then asked the Revd. Father Newell to accept them and place them on the walls of the Regimental Chapel.

The Colours were now borne into the chapel by the Colour party, "Auld Lang Syne" being played as the procession passed into the chapel. The Colours were finally placed at each side of the chapel in receptacles specially prepared for them.*

The troops then returned to Renmore Barracks, where, after being hospitably entertained, the return was made to the Curragh.

Lieut.-Colonel A. W. Abercrombie succeeded to the command of the battalion on November 15th 1911, but did not join the battalion until the close of the year.

The following drafts joined the battalion during 1911: On March 1st, 15 Recruits from the Dépôt; on May 29th, 12 Recruits from the Dépôt. Drafts to the 1st Battalion in India were sent as follows: On January 5th, 122 N.C.O.'s and Men; on November 15th, 77 N.C.O.'s and Men.

1912

On January 2nd the battalion commenced an experimental mobilization which continued until January 6th. An inspection was then made by Major-General W. P. Campbell, C.B., Commanding the Fifth Division, and Brigadier-General W. Douglas, C.B., D.S.O., Commanding the 14th Infantry Brigade, who both expressed complete satisfaction.

Lieut.-General Sir Edward Hopton, K.C.B., Colonel of The Connaught

* This stand of Colours was surreptitiously removed, together with a stand of Colours of the 4th Battalion, one night in 1916 by some persons unknown, and no trace of them has since been obtained.

Rangers, died in Herefordshire on January 19th. The battalion was represented at the funeral on January 23rd by five Officers, one Warrant Officer, and seven Sergeants. Major and Lieut.-Colonel W. C. G. Heneker, D.S.O., A.D.C., left the battalion on promotion to the 2nd Battalion The North Staffordshire Regiment.

Major-General W. L. Dalrymple, C.B., was appointed Colonel of The Connaught Rangers in succession to Lieut.-General Sir Edward Hopton on January 20th 1912. General Dalrymple held the regimental Colonelcy from then onwards until the disbandment of The Connaught Rangers on July 31st 1922. He was thus the last officer to hold the position of Colonel of The Connaught Rangers.

The annual inspection of the battalion was held by Brigadier-General Douglas on April 13th.

The following was received by the Commanding Officer from the Brigade Major: "The Brigadier-General desires me to inform you that he was very pleased with the manner in which N.C.O.'s and Men paraded in review order . . . and the very satisfactory state of the barracks, kits and feeding arrangements. He was particularly pleased with the dash evinced by the men in bayonet fighting, and by your arrangements for encouraging a fighting spirit with appliances for the use of the bayonet."

During the year 1912 the following drafts joined the battalion at the Curragh: On April 22nd, 17 Recruits from the Depot; on June 26th, 47 Recruits. Two drafts were sent to the 1st Battalion in India—on February 29th, 2 N.C.O.'s and 79 Men, and on September 19th, 2 N.C.O.'s and 75 Men.

1913

Major W. S. Sarsfield joined the battalion from command of the Depot at Galway, and Major H. F. N. Jourdain proceeded to take up command of the Depot at Galway on 23rd February in relief of Major W. S. Sarsfield.

A party of one Officer, one Warrant Officer, and three Other Ranks proceeded to London to attend the funeral of Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, K.P., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., on March 31st.

On April 16th the battalion won the All Ireland Army Cross-Country Championship for the fifth time in succession. The Brigadier-General Commanding the 14th Infantry Brigade complimented the battalion on its achievement in Brigade Orders.

On September 16th a Special Army Order was published directing the adoption in infantry battalions at home and abroad of a four-company organization, with effect from October 1st.



THE CURRAGH, IRELAND—THE 2nd BATTALION.

Lieut.-Colonel A. W. Abercrombie in command,
24th April 1912.

The 2nd Bn., The Connaught Rangers, was reorganized accordingly as follows :—

- A Company (Captain L. W. P. de Hoche-pied-Larpent), formed from B and H Companies.
- B Company (Captain C. J. O'Sullivan), formed from C and G Companies.
- C Company (Captain H. J. Nolan-Ferrall), formed from A and F Companies.
- D Company (Captain T. G. Ruttledge), formed from D and E Companies.

The battalion left the Curragh for Aldershot on September 23rd, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie ; strength, twenty-six Officers, two Warrant Officers, and 604 N.C.O.'s and Men.

The following drafts joined the battalion in 1913 : On October 31st, 25 Recruits from the Dépôt ; on December 9th, 23 N.C.O.'s and Men from the 1st Battalion in India. Drafts for the 1st Battalion in India were sent as follows : on February 12th, 80 N.C.O.'s and Men ; on October 22nd, 60 N.C.O.'s and Men ; on December 19th, 55 N.C.O.'s and Men.

1914

The few months between the arrival of the battalion at Aldershot in the late autumn of 1913, and the outbreak of the Great War in August 1914, when the 2nd Connaught Rangers crossed to France with the first troops of the British Expeditionary Force, were uneventful.

In June 1914 a party of eight of the officers of the 2nd Battalion proceeded from Aldershot to the Isle of Wight and acted as pall-bearers at the funeral at Whippingham Church of Major G. L. Hobbs of the 1st Battalion (then in India) who died, whilst home on sick leave, at Osborne, on June 2nd. A party of N.C.O.'s of the battalion accompanied the officers and bore the coffin to the grave.

CHAPTER LXIX

THE GREAT WAR : AUGUST-DECEMBER 1914.

MOBILIZATION. THE RETREAT FROM MONS. LE GRAND FAYT. THE ADVANCE FROM THE MARNE. IN ACTION AT ORLY, COUR DE SOUPIR, TILLEND. TRANSFERRED TO THE YPRES SECTOR. ACTION AT LANGE-MARCK. THE ATTACK OF THE PRUSSIAN GUARD. WITHDRAWAL AND AMALGAMATION WITH THE 1st BATTALION.

THE 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers, in August 1914, on the outbreak of The Great War, formed part of the 5th Infantry Brigade of the Second Division, then commanded by Lieut.-General Sir Archibald Murray, which was stationed at Aldershot. The Infantry of the Second Division comprised the 4th (Guards) Brigade; the 5th Infantry Brigade; and the 6th Infantry Brigade. Brigadier-General R. Scott-Kerr, M.V.O., D.S.O., commanded the 4th (Guards) Brigade; Brigadier-General R. C. B. Haking, C.B., the 5th Infantry Brigade; and Brigadier-General R. H. Davies, C.B., the 6th Infantry Brigade.

Lieut.-General Sir Douglas Haig, G.C.B. (now Field-Marshal Earl Haig), was the G.O.C. at Aldershot in August 1914, and proceeded to France, on the British Expeditionary Force crossing, in command of the 1st Army Corps, comprised of the First and Second Divisions.

The Second Division was under Major-General C. C. Monro, C.B. (now General Sir C. C. Monro, Bart., K.C.B.), to whom Sir Archibald Murray handed over the command on being appointed Chief of the General Staff to Sir John French, the Commander-in-Chief.

The order to mobilize was received by the 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers at Aldershot at 3 p.m. on August 4th. At the time, the battalion, with the other units of the command, was on divisional training near Frensham, under Sir Archibald Murray, and was in very fit condition. The strength of the unit was 30 Officers and 527 Other Ranks. The arrangements worked smoothly, and by August 7th, the third day of the mobilization, 351 Reservists had joined. All were at once put through courses of drill and musketry. During the next two days two drafts of reservists, respectively 236 and 48 Other Ranks, joined. More reservists in smaller

numbers then arrived, and, mobilization having been reported complete, on August 13th, the ninth day from the order for mobilization, the battalion, in accordance with orders, entrained in two parties for the port of embarkation, leaving Aldershot at 9.50 and 11 a.m. The mobilization had been carried out without a single hitch, and the trains left Aldershot and arrived at Southampton punctually. The party proceeding by the first train comprised A and B Companies, under Lieut.-Colonel A. W. Abercrombie. The party by the second train comprised C and D Companies, under Major W. S. Sarsfield. After waiting about the docks all that day the cross-Channel passage started at midnight. Boulogne was reached at 5.30 p.m. on August 14th, the battalion crossing in two vessels: Head-quarters, A, B and D Companies, with the regimental transport, on board the S.S. *Herschel*; C Company, and horses, on board the S.S. *Seahound*. The 2nd Bn., The Royal Irish, were also on board the *Herschel*.

THE SECOND DIVISION

G.O.C.,

Major-General C. C. Monro

Cavalry :—

15th Hussars ("B" Squadron).

Royal Artillery :—

34th Brigade R.F.A. (22nd, 50th, 70th Batteries).

36th Brigade R.F.A. (15th, 48th, 71st Batteries).

41st Brigade R.F.A. (9th, 16th, 17th Batteries).

44th Howitzer Brigade R.F.A. (47th, 56th, 60th Batteries).

35th Heavy Battery, R.G.A.

Royal Engineers :—

5th Field Company.

11th Field Company.

2nd Signal Company.

Infantry :—

4th Brigade :

2nd Grenadier Guards.

2nd Coldstream Guards.

3rd Coldstream Guards.

1st Irish Guards.

5th Brigade :

2nd Worcestershire.

2nd Oxford and Bucks L.I.

2nd Highland L.I.

2nd Connaught Rangers.

6th Brigade :

1st K. Liverpool.

2nd S. Staffordshire.

1st R. Berkshire.

1st King's Royal Rifle Corps.

The officers proceeding to France with the battalion were :—

Head-quarters :

Lieut.-Colonel A. W. Abercrombie (commanding).
Major W. S. Sarsfield (second-in-command).
Captain E. Yeldham (Adjutant).
Lieutenant C. F. Dryden (Q.M. and Transport Officer).
R.S.M. : J. J. Bruen.

A Company :

Captain L. W. P. de Hochepped Larpent.
Captain E. G. Hamilton.
Lieutenant W. P. Lambert (3rd Bn.).
Second-Lieutenant R. A. de Stacpoole.
Second-Lieutenant R. L. Spreckley.
Second-Lieutenant L. N. Aveling (3rd Bn.).

B Company :

Major H. M. Hutchinson, D.S.O.
Lieutenant R. M. H. Henderson.
Lieutenant F. D. Foott (3rd Bn.).
Second-Lieutenant G. R. C. Brook.
Second-Lieutenant G. Allen.

C Company :

Major W. N. S. Alexander.
Captain W. W. Roche.
Lieutenant R. I. Thomas.
Lieutenant G. E. de Stacpoole (3rd Bn.).
Second-Lieutenant V. A. Lentaigne.

D Company :

Captain C. J. O'Sullivan.
Captain F. W. M. Leader.
Lieutenant J. Fraser.
Second-Lieutenant R. B. Benison (Signalling Officer).
Second-Lieutenant C. A. C. Turner.
Second-Lieutenant J. L. Hardy.
Second-Lieutenant H. M. Swifte.

Lieutenant W. G. S. Barker (Machine-gun Officer).
Lieutenant C. F. Blacker (Divisional Cyclists).

This was the general situation on the Western Front, when the battalion took the field, within the first week after the Rangers landed in France, and up to August 22nd when active operations opened on the British

section of the Front. The British Expeditionary Force had arrived in France on the twelfth day after the Germans declared war on France. Already the enemy were invading Belgium in great force, aiming at an immediate thrust at Paris. The rôle appointed to the B.E.F. was to prolong the French line from the neighbourhood of Maubeuge to the north-west, so as primarily to prevent the Germans from carrying out a wide turning move round the Allied left flank, that was already threatening. The Germans immediately in front of the British were then pushing forward southward towards Charleroi. The advanced British forces, on August 22nd when their part in the campaign opened, had reached Mons.

The British 1st Army Corps, Sir Douglas Haig's command, extended its front along the Mons-Beaumont road; the 2nd Army Corps (General Smith-Dorrien) was in front of Mons and along the Mons-Condé Canal. Cavalry were posted between the two corps and near Binche. The position was the best available in the immediate circumstances, but the line was considered as forming an undesirable salient, and it was proposed only to hold on to that line for delaying the German advance. If it became advisable to fall back, a second and more satisfactory and straighter line was to be taken up, at a short distance in rear. The Allies were as yet quite unaware of the real strength of the approaching Germans. Sir John French had been given to understand by General (since Marshal) Joffre that "one or at most two of the enemy's Army Corps with perhaps one Cavalry Division" were in front of him. As a fact, at that moment the 1st German Army (Von Kluck) was already nearing Mons, four corps, the Ninth, Third, Fourth and Second Corps, in order from east to west, with the Second Corps west of Condé. The German Second Cavalry Corps was moving about midway between Tournai and Douai. In rear of Von Kluck, and coming up, was the German Fourth Reserve Corps.

On arrival at Boulogne the battalion marched to the camp there, the troops having a great reception from the French populace. August 15th was spent in camp, and during the day the King's Message to the Army was circulated. The weather was dry and intensely hot. On August 16th the battalion left Boulogne at 9 a.m. and entrained for the area of concentration, all proceeding in one train for Busigny. The Rangers marched from there to Mennevret where, between midnight and 2 a.m. on the 17th, they went into billets. Captain E. G. Hamilton had been sent on in advance to arrange billets at Mennevret. He found the inhabitants very friendly and everything was ready for the battalion on arrival. A halt from August 17th to August 20th, inclusive, was made at Mennevret, drills and route-marches being carried out continuously. The weather continued very hot, and the reservists, who formed a considerable proportion of the battalion,

were severely tried by it.. They were however steadily getting into condition.

The battalion left Mennevret on August 21st and marched to La Croise, where again it billeted. The day was again a very hot one and the march trying. All along the way the country people were most kind to the troops as they passed, bringing fruit and chocolate and flowers, which they distributed at every halt.

On August 22nd the battalion paraded at 3 a.m. and marched to Pont-sur-Sambre, where billets were reached at 1.15 p.m. Here, notes Major Allen, "the men had their first issue of pay. The rations did not arrive until after dark and a scratch meal of tea and bread was all that could be obtained, what supplies of bread could be bought in the village being purchased. On the rations at length arriving after nightfall, the meat was immediately put on the fires, but just as the meal was ready to serve out the order to fall in was given. The men hurriedly put what they could into their mess-tins and fell in." About 4 p.m. there was a report of German cavalry being in the vicinity and B Company was sent off to guard bridges a short distance off. The report however proved to be false. The other companies of the battalion did not move off until after midnight, and then, B Company having rejoined, all continued marching, with the usual hourly halts, until shortly before noon on August 23rd. The route taken was by Malplaquet and Genly to Bougnies, where the march ended and the battalion went into billets for a few hours. The frontier between France and Belgium was crossed near Bougnies. Heavy firing was heard some way off in front during the morning and forenoon. The firing was the shelling of Mons by the enemy, the brunt of the attack falling on the Third Division of the 2nd Army Corps along the line of the Canal. At Bougnies every one had tea, after which, at 5.30 p.m., the battalion again moved forward, with orders to entrench a position at cross-roads two miles to the north of Bougnies. Digging commenced about 6 p.m. and was continued all night.

"Every one," writes Captain E. G. Hamilton in a letter, "was very keen at the idea of meeting the enemy and we were all in the best of spirits. On the evening of the second day we heard the sound of the guns and later on we could see the shells bursting. The Second Corps were engaging the enemy in front and we were moving up to reinforce them. My battalion was in support on a ridge some mile and a half behind the front line. We had a splendid view of the battle from where we were entrenched. The evening before was a perfect summer evening, and it was a wonderful sight to see the shells bursting. At first we could not make out the heavy German howitzers—one saw columns of black smoke rising as high as a

church steeple, and then came the sound of terrific explosions. We thought it must be land mines, but in reality it was a shell that afterwards became known as 'Black Maria,' or 'Coal Box,' and various other names.

"Of course we could see nothing of what our cavalry was doing, but we saw some of the infantry fighting. On a plateau to our left front we saw long lines of Germans attacking some British infantry who were in trenches. We could also see British supports moving up, and the enemy were either killed or driven back by the heavy rifle fire. At about 9 a.m. the infantry commenced to retire. All the guns, except those detailed for the rearguard, had already withdrawn during the night. We were told that we were to form part of the rearguard, and it was somewhat unnerving to see all the troops moving back. At about 11 o'clock the enemy started shelling our ridge. . . . About 12 o'clock we were one of the last regiments on the field. The Germans did not come directly for us, but passed to our left flank. We had to retire and moved in extended order over about one and a half miles of open wheat-fields. We were actually the last battalion to leave the battlefield, and were by then almost surrounded by the enemy. We came now under what was then considered heavy shell fire. The German field artillery was not very good. Most of their shells went high, and we had only about a dozen men hit. Late in the afternoon we passed through the Guards Brigade, who had taken up and entrenched a second position.

"This was the beginning of the retirement from Mons. That night we stopped at Bavai. We started off again early next morning, having spent the night in a field."

Captain de Hocheplé Larpent was killed on August 25th and Captain E. G. Hamilton took over command of A Company.

The following additional details of events and incidents between August 22nd and 24th are from notes supplied by other officers of the battalion, with information recorded in the *War Diary*.

During the day on August 23rd Lieutenant C. F. Blacker and the cyclists of the battalion were in action and suffered a number of casualties. Lieutenant Blacker himself was severely wounded by a shell fragment and died a few days afterwards.

Shortly before daybreak (August 23rd) the battalion was directed to cease digging and to prepare to retire, as the position was to be evacuated. No one knew why the retirement was necessary and various rumours were flying about. Nothing of the reason for falling back reached the Rangers until August 27th. The necessity was, it would appear, because of the surrender of Namur by the Belgians, and the defeat and retreat of the two French armies posted on the right of the British force. At the time the

reason was—so it has been stated—only known to a few Staff Officers at G.H.Q.

This had also taken place. While the Rangers were entrenching, about midnight on August 23rd, at the cross-roads two miles north of Bournies, the 5th Infantry Brigade was suddenly ordered to detach three battalions to reinforce the Third Division at Frameries, where an enemy attack was believed to be imminent. The 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers was retained to fortify the position near Bournies on the other three battalions of General Haking's brigade starting for Frameries. These last however found on reaching Frameries that the alarm was baseless, and during August 25th they rejoined the Rangers and the 5th Infantry Brigade was again complete.

While the battalion was entrenching near Bournies the Germans began shelling in the neighbourhood. They did considerable damage to the battalion transport, blowing one water cart to pieces and so shaking the other as to make it useless, besides destroying the wagons carrying the "dixies." The loss of these last caused inconvenience and delay during the subsequent retreat, as, owing to their loss, all the rations had to be cut up into one-man portions instead of being cooked in bulk in the "dixies." Further, the lack of a water supply accompanying the battalion led to men continually falling out to fill their water-bottles wherever possible.

The battalion, during the early hours of August 24th, after the digging-in had been given over, remained in the position until between 10 and 11 a.m. that day. Two companies, A and B, being considered by Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie as unduly exposed, were withdrawn soon after daylight to a ridge a little further back and extended and lay down there. "While marching back," remarks Major Allen, "Private Tilly, the mess waiter, was ready with a dixie of tea. Each officer who passed dipped his mess-tin in and thus got a drink of tea, which constituted breakfast."

In the course of that forenoon troops which had been engaged in advanced positions began to fall back past where the Rangers were in reserve. Some units were considerably disorganized, but others were in good order. "A great contrast," notes Major (then Second-Lieut.) Allen, "was furnished by the retirement of The Royal Irish and the Middlesex Regiment. These two battalions, which had had heavier casualties than any other, closed up and marched off in fours, as if on parade.

"When all the troops in the locality had gone back, the Rangers commenced retiring. First C and D Companies came back to A and B Companies. Then the enemy started shelling with shrapnel. It looked very unpleasant, coming as it did from two distinct directions—from the rear and from one flank. Fortunately the shrapnel burst too high and caused

few casualties. The retirement was carried out in perfect order. When C and D had got back to A and B, the whole battalion withdrew in *échelon* of companies. The shrapnel followed the retirement for some time, for upwards of an hour; still bursting too highly. Then it gradually ceased. Just before the battalion formed column of route, Lieutenant Barker and his machine-gun section were sent to the support of The Royal Irish, who were again engaged. After being away for a short time, Lieutenant Barker rejoined the battalion."

The Rangers, as they fell back, were in line with the 4th (Guards) Brigade. At that time, in the absence at Frameries of the other three battalions of the 5th Infantry Brigade, the Rangers formed an independent unit, so to speak.

After a short halt the battalion continued its retirement, moving by way of Quévy-le-Petit, Blaregnies, Malplaquet, to La Longueville, where it arrived shortly before dark and bivouacked for the night after a good meal. "By this time," notes Major Allen, "every one was pretty tired, having marched most of Saturday-Sunday night, all Sunday, dug most of Sunday-Monday night, retired over stubble fields on Monday morning, marched the rest of Monday. We now had our first full meal for the three days, since Saturday."

The stand made at various points by the units comprising the 1st Army Corps during August 23rd and 24th enabled the 2nd Army to withdraw safely to a new line, Quarouble-Dour-Frameries. General French on the evening of the 23rd had first been informed of the fall of Namur, the main pivot in the Allied general defensive line, and also that the 4th and 5th French Armies, on the right of the British Expeditionary Force, had been defeated in action and were falling back. The nearest French force, the French 5th Army, had already retreated several miles, leaving the British right flank completely exposed. Orders for a general retirement were at once issued and after enabling the 2nd Army Corps to withdraw safely, the 1st Army Corps during the night of August 23rd and the next day, also fell back.

To pass southwards beyond the obstacle of the Forest of Mormal, directly in rear—a mass of difficult woodland, traversed, it was understood, by few roads, and extending for ten miles from north to south and six miles across—the dividing of the 1st and 2nd Army Corps had to be risked. The 1st Army Corps followed what roads were available along the eastern side of the Forest of Mormal, moving to the vicinity of Maroilles and Landrecies: the 2nd Army Corps marched west of the Forest, covered on the rear and west flank by the cavalry to the vicinity of Le Cateau-Hancourt. The eastern roads used by the 5th Infantry Brigade and the

rest of the 1st Army Corps were also the route followed by crowds of civilian fugitives from Maubeuge and the district round, as well as the troops and transport, and were continually being blocked, so that the average rate of marching was hardly two miles an hour.

The battalion moved off at 5 a.m. on August 25th, and, after joining company once more with the other three battalions of the 5th Infantry Brigade, with them entrenched a position at Pont-sur-Sambre. It was only held for a short time, and vacated about 5 p.m., when the 5th Infantry Brigade was ordered to continue its retirement. The brigade at nightfall bivouacked to the west of Laval.

"We came to Pont-sur-Sambre," says Lieut.-Colonel E. G. Hamilton in the letter previously referred to, "and were ordered to take up and entrench a position on the N. of that town, guarding the bridges over the river. We were however only there for some three or four hours when we were again ordered to retire. It was rather pathetic the marching through the town. Only three days before we had halted there on our way up to Mons, and had been given a great send-off by the people of the place. Most of them had fled by the time we came back, and those who had not already gone were packing up a few possessions in frantic haste. We got very little rest that night, arriving at our destination at about 10 p.m. We moved off again at midnight. All night long we heard sounds of heavy gun and rifle fire and could see the flashes quite distinctly. Later, we heard that it was the Guards Brigade holding up the enemy, who made frantic efforts to cross the river, or canal, at Landrecies. The Germans, then full of contempt for the 'miserable little British Army,' attacked the bridges in massed formation, but by morning nearly 1,000 of them were dead, whereas the Guards Brigade had suffered comparatively few casualties. At 12 o'clock we moved off and were again detailed as rear-guard for our column."

The following incident took place near Laval on August 25th, on an alarm of approaching German cavalry being suddenly given. "At about 6 p.m.," describes Major Allen, "the 5th Brigade was marching in column of route near Laval, the Rangers being in a deep cutting at the moment. Suddenly there appeared a galloping Frenchmen who raced down the column full-tilt shouting something that was quite unintelligible. At the same moment rifle fire was heard from somewhere in front, and the column halted. We stood wondering what had happened. Word was next passed for the machine-gun section to go to the head of the column, which it did at the double. More rifle firing now followed, but there was no word as to what it meant. Immediately on that a bugle, somewhere in front, sounded the 'Charge.' The 2nd Bn. Worcestershire Regiment, who were

next ahead of the Rangers, turned left and the Rangers turned right, climbed up the side of the cutting and then formed up along the top and charged with fixed bayonets across an open field. It was said that one company saw a few German cavalry, but no one else saw them. The best part of two hours elapsed before the column was once more formed up on the road. From the German point of view the affair was a complete success in that a very small cavalry patrol disorganized and delayed an entire brigade for two hours and added considerably to their fatigue by getting them to charge. From the brigade's point of view, or rather that of the officer who ordered the 'Charge' to be sounded without making apparently an effort to find out the numbers of the enemy, perhaps the less said the better.

"The march was then resumed towards Landrecies, where the brigade was under orders to billet. By the time the Rangers were nearing there it was dark and raining. Heavy rifle firing was heard from that direction and the battalion moved into a field near Noyelles and bivouacked, to wait while an officer went to find out what was happening. On his return, about 2 a.m. on August 26th, he reported that a considerable fight was taking place in Landrecies, between the 4th (Guards) Brigade and a large force of the enemy. The battalion, chilled, wet and hungry, fell in together with the rest of the brigade, and moved off once more. The men stumbled on, rather than marched, back along the road to Laval by which they had come. Near Laval, a short time before dawn, the battalion halted, the wearied men lying down by the sides of the road or in the streets of the village and going to sleep for as long as might be—hardly an hour."

The brigade was on the move again at 2 a.m. on August 26th, but its services not being required at Laval the march proceeded by way of Taisnières towards Le Grand Fayt, the neighbourhood of which village the Rangers, as rearguard battalion, reached about 1 p.m.

What took place on August 26th at and in the vicinity of Le Grand Fayt can only be related in separate narratives, the battalion in its encounters on that day being more or less divided and having to engage in separated portions. Events have thus to be taken in detail:—first, as recorded in the *War Diary*, which account appears, in practically identical words, also in the official *History of the Great War* (Vol. I, pp. 204–5); then in the form of accounts by officers of the battalion, dealing with events within their personal experience.

The statement in the *War Diary* and *History of the Great War* is as follows:—

"On the morning of the 26th August 1914 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers, under command of Lieut.-Colonel A. W. Abercrombie,

was detailed to act as a rearguard to cover the retirement of the 5th Infantry Brigade from Petit Landrecies through Marbaix to Le Grand Fayt. Colonel Abercrombie informed the officers of the battalion that the enemy had occupied Landrecies during the night, and that it was the intention of the brigadier to take his brigade into billets at Le Grand Fayt.

“At about 6.30 a.m. the rearguard moved off and took up successive positions in the normal manner until its arrival at Taisnières. At this point one company moved to cross-roads one mile south of Taisnières, the other three companies following the main body to Marbaix. At about half a mile south-west of Marbaix the transport of the main body was blocked by a French force which was passing across the column from west to east. One company remained in rear of the column, and the remaining two companies joined the company which had marched on the western road, and the head-quarters of the battalion, which were formed up on the Maroilles–Marbaix road, one mile south of Taisnières. About this point a force of French infantry was in position and was entrenching, and from this point French cavalry patrols were scouting the roads in various directions. This was at about 12.45 p.m. Colonel Abercrombie sent a message to Brigade Head-quarters that he would remain in this position till 3 p.m., and then march to Le Grand Fayt, unless he received orders to the contrary. He was informed by the French cavalry that there was no enemy in the vicinity, and having disposed men to watch the various approaches, he allowed the battalion to rest.

“At 3.15 p.m. rifle firing was heard from the direction of Marbaix, and immediately afterwards a patrol of French cavalry galloped in with the information that about two hundred of the enemy with a machine gun were ‘quite close.’ Colonel Abercrombie immediately sent one platoon, supported by one platoon, towards Marbaix. Colonel Abercrombie accompanied this force himself. These platoons had proceeded about 600 yards towards Marbaix when a sudden heavy fire from artillery and a machine gun was opened on one road upon which they were advancing. The remainder of the force, with the machine-gun section, was then ordered to the high ground south of the Marbaix–Maroilles road, with instructions to push forward and gain a position from which fire could be opened. Owing to the close nature of the country and the high hedges, which rendered control and intercommunication most difficult, companies and platoons got somewhat mixed up, but all pushed forward under heavy shell fire, endeavouring to locate the enemy. After about one hour the firing ceased. Second-Lieutenant Benison was sent by the C.O. to Le Grand Fayt with a message to Brigade Head-quarters informing the Brigade Head-quarters of the situation. This message was never delivered, as Second-Lieutenant

Benison was unable to find the Head-quarters of the Brigade, which had withdrawn.

“Between 5 and 6 p.m. company commanders, who had lost touch with the C.O., withdrew with as many men as they could collect. They moved through Le Grand Fayt on Barzy. Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie, with the machine-gun section and about one hundred men, remained on the position until about 6 p.m., when he retired on Le Grand Fayt. Having received no information to the contrary, Colonel Abercrombie believed that the head-quarters of the brigade were still at Le Grand Fayt. On approaching the village he was informed by an inhabitant that the British troops had withdrawn but there were no enemy in the place. When passing through the village heavy rifle fire was suddenly opened by a strong force of the enemy, concealed in the houses and enclosures. The men took up all possible cover and were ordered to extend through the fields and retire. This order was carried out under a heavy fire from front and flanks, and in as good order as was possible in such conditions.”

The proceedings of A Company on August 26th are thus related by Lieut.-Colonel E. G. Hamilton, then commanding that company as captain.

“By 5 a.m. (August 26th) we had reached the point where we were to make a stand, but there was no sign of the enemy following us up so we retired slowly to a series of positions suitable for defence. At 12 noon, I retired my company from one of these positions, where, in my turn, I had been holding the rearmost line. Marching my company along the road and through other companies who were taking up positions farther back, I eventually came up with the rear of the transport. At 2 p.m. everything was still quiet, and at 3 o'clock we entered Le Grand Fayt, which was in a hollow. The colonel, with three companies, was then holding the ridge above the town. I went to see him at about 2.45 and he stated that French cavalry had reported all clear to our rear. He sent me into Le Grand Fayt to arrange billets. It was a beautiful summer's afternoon and it was difficult to believe that we were engaged in a desperate struggle to extricate ourselves from a dangerous position, but the Germans were constantly trying to turn our left flank and cut us off from our lines of communication.

“At 3.30 another officer and myself were sitting on a bridge over the stream which runs through the village, when, without the slightest warning a shell burst within fifty yards of us. In five minutes what had appeared to be a peaceful hamlet became a positive inferno. The enemy shelled the place for over half an hour. Fortunately the tail of the transport had just passed through, or the Field Ambulance, which was at the rear of it, must have suffered.

"Mr. Fraser and I tried to get back to where we had last seen the colonel, but the only road was blocked by a German patrol, who were exchanging shots with a French post; so, perforce, we had to join the one company which was still behind the column."

Major Allen, as a subaltern of B Company on August 26th, gives this account.

"B Company, under Major H. M. Hutchinson, D.S.O., with Lieutenants J. Fraser and Turner, was the rear company of the battalion and was withdrawn about 2 p.m. Two companies of the battalion, C and D, had previously passed through B Company, apparently with orders to rejoin battalion head-quarters. Major Hutchinson, however, did not consider that the divisional train, near by, should be left without an escort and therefore he remained near the convoy. As B Company was moving back the Brigade-Major came up and asked Major Hutchinson if he knew where General Haking, the Brigadier, was. Major Hutchinson did not know, and himself asked where Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie was. The Brigade-Major did not know, and he then rode away. The incident serves to show how at that juncture nobody knew where anyone else was, or what was happening. B Company continued its march by itself until about 3 p.m. when the men lay down by the side of the road to rest and got something to eat. Shrapnel firing by the enemy now began, apparently on Marbaix village, and also considerable rifle and machine-gun firing was heard.

"Major Hutchinson, on that, sent Lieutenant Fraser, who had got a horse from somewhere, back towards Marbaix to see what was happening. Shortly after Lieutenant Fraser had left, some 3,000 French Territorials of their rearguard came stampeding down the road in panic; having thrown away their rifles, and shouting as they ran, 'Les Prussiens, les Prussiens! Sauvez vous, Sauvez vous!' B Company sat watching them pass, the men exchanging remarks on the scene among themselves.

"Lieut. Fraser returned without being able to get information as to the whereabouts of the other companies of the battalion. Owing to the enclosed nature of the country it was impossible to discover anything. The French runaways cleared off and no further firing being heard, Major Hutchinson decided to continue his retirement. Shortly afterwards a battery of French 75's came up and began to fire, at apparently Marbaix. This stopped the German pursuit in that quarter and the retirement continued unmolested until a village (Barzy) was reached at dusk. Here B Company were able to halt and have a meal, after which most of the men got some sleep."

This meanwhile was happening with C and D Companies. Lieut.-

Colonel Abercrombie and battalion head-quarters, with C and D Companies, on August 26th until the afternoon held a position, as the *War Diary* records, on the Maroilles-Marbaix Road, a mile south of Taisnières. The Commanding Officer then moved on Le Grand Fayt, where, as far as he could learn, Brigade Head-quarters still were.

As described by Captain (then Second-Lieutenant) Turner of D Company, the machine-gun section and a platoon of D Company followed Head-quarters as a covering force, in rear, and were immediately in action with the enemy by themselves. The account is as follows:—

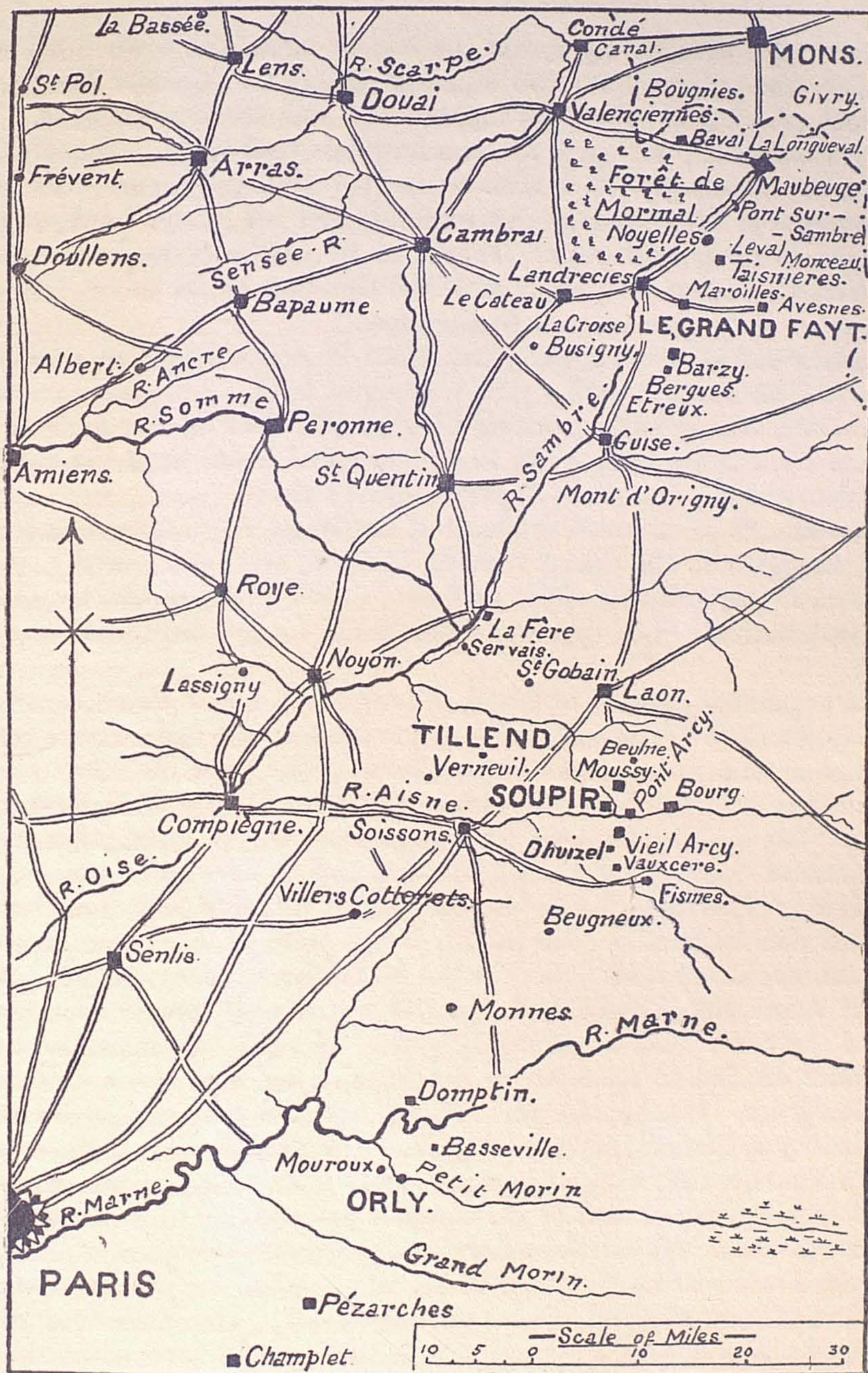
Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie, with Captain W. W. Roche, Lieutenant Hardy and about one hundred men of C Company, moved off towards Le Grand Fayt, with, following and to cover the retirement, a platoon of D Company under Captain F. W. M. Leader and Second-Lieutenant Turner and the machine-gun section under Lieutenant Barker. Within a few minutes the covering rear-party was attacked. It was at the time, owing to the very close nature of the country, overspread with orchards and thick hedges everywhere, very difficult to discover what kind of force was attacking. Heavy firing was then heard to the right rear of Captain Leader's party, which told that those in advance with Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie had also been attacked. Captain Leader, on that, decided to hold on where he was as long as he possibly could. The enemy attacking him however soon proved too numerous to withstand successfully. They were apparently two battalions of Germans. The enemy were found to be advancing on a much wider front than Captain Leader's small force could occupy, and it proved impossible to hold the assailants off. The enemy seized some farm buildings, not a hundred and fifty yards from where the party were lining one side of the road. Fighting hard for upwards of two hours, until dark, the Ranger detachment was in the end overpowered and all but annihilated. Captain Leader himself was killed outright with a bullet through the heart. Lieutenant Barker, having fired the last round from the one machine gun he had left, destroyed it and took command of the party. The tripod of his other gun had been lost owing to the man with it being killed. Lieutenant Barker led a very gallant attempt at a charge and counter-attack, but was brought down with a bullet in the thigh. A few moments later Second-Lieutenant Turner, who took Lieutenant Barker's place, was stunned and disabled by an enemy bullet from in rear which hit him in the middle of the back. When Second-Lieutenant Turner recovered all was over and the enemy in possession. With no officer left the last of the party had been overpowered. Nearly three-quarters of the detachment were either dead or wounded. The few surviving men, made prisoners, were marched away a little later,

leaving Lieutenants Barker and Turner and half a dozen wounded men lying on the field. They received first aid from a German Medical Officer, but had to remain out until next day. An ambulance then picked them up and they were taken to a field hospital at Avesnes.

Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie with the Head-quarters party and the small force of about a hundred Other Ranks, mostly of C Company, accompanying the Commanding Officer, was, as Captain Roche (now Major) states, on approaching Le Grand Fayt village between 6 and 7 p.m., informed by one of the inhabitants that the British troops had withdrawn, and that there were no Germans in the village. The information was false.

“When entering the village heavy rifle fire was opened suddenly by a strong force of the enemy, concealed in houses and enclosures. Major Sarsfield, with Lieutenant G. E. de Stacpoole, succeeded in making their way through the village, and by taking a by-road eventually rejoined the other companies of the battalion. Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie, with Captain Roche, Lieutenant Hardy and some fifty men also got through the village. They then took up a position about five hundred yards to the west of Le Grand Fayt, which they held until about 7.30 p.m. The position was then outflanked on the right by the enemy and thereupon became untenable. Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie now ordered the party to retire, but he had no instructions as to his next course, nor knowledge in what direction the rest of his battalion were to be found. In those circumstances he moved off to the north-west, the direction in which he had been previously going.

“At 8.30 p.m. the party were again fired at by the enemy from a wood on the south; but, as it was now becoming dark, there was no halt and they pushed on. At 11 p.m. a peasant informed Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie that English troops were in Maroilles, a small town about a mile distant. That place was made for, and, on entering Maroilles, the party was met by Colonel Thompson, R.A.M.C., in charge of two ambulances, which were just then evacuating the place. Colonel Thompson informed Colonel Abercrombie that there had been fighting in the town on the previous day and the enemy had been driven off. Seeing the worn-out condition of the party Colonel Thompson suggested that the best thing to do was to put the men into a house he had been using as a hospital, where there was plenty of food. English troops, he said, were expected to be back in Maroilles next morning. Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie and thirty men then went into a house that had been used as a French hospital; and Captain Roche, Lieutenant Hardy and nineteen men into the house that had been used as an English hospital.



THE RETREAT FROM MONS.



"The men were hardly inside the houses when the town filled with Germans, who entered from two different directions. Colonel Thompson, who had gone off to rejoin his ambulances, was made a prisoner. The enemy however did not enter the two hospitals that night, although they billeted in the village. At 6 a.m. on August 27th the enemy discovered the presence of Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie and his party, together with five men of other regiments. They had to surrender and were made prisoners, afterwards proceeding with the Germans as far as St. Quentin. From there they were sent off to Germany."

Captain Roche and his party remained in concealment in outhouses of the English hospital until 7 p.m. on August 27th. Although numerous forces of the enemy kept marching through Maroilles all day none of the Germans apparently entered the English hospital house until the evening. They then made prisoners of Captain Roche's party.

The German force which attacked at Le Grand Fayt, according to Dr. Vogel, Chaplain to the Guard Cavalry Division, who was near by, in his published Diary, consisted of the 1st Guard Cavalry Brigade and the Garde-Schützenbataillon. The cavalry, Vogel adds, fought dismounted in the action.

The remaining portions of C and D Companies, under Major Alexander and Captain C. J. O'Sullivan, while at the cross-roads, came under enemy shell fire shortly after Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie with his party moved away. At the same time the Germans opened fire on Le Grand Fayt village. The shelling went on for upwards of half an hour, after which all quietened down. Major Alexander thereupon, between 5 and 6 p.m., withdrew to Le Grand Fayt. A few French infantry were found there and just about to retire. No British troops were in Le Grand Fayt at the time, nor could information be got as to the whereabouts of Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie—who had not yet apparently got to the village—or of any other units of the 5th Brigade. In those circumstances Major Alexander decided to retire on to Beaurepaire, by way of Le Petit Fayt and Cartignies. Beaurepaire was reached about 8 p.m. and found to be occupied by a French Infantry Brigade. The French Brigadier informed Major Alexander that a large German cavalry force with infantry in motors were following close in rear of the Rangers and that he himself was going to retire at once. Major Alexander, in consequence, withdrew in company with the French to Le Nouvion, which was reached about midnight. It was then raining and the men were fagged out. The Rangers marched through Le Nouvion to a bivouac a mile south of the town and there the wearied party lay down and slept.

As a result of the fighting on August 26th, six Officers and two hundred

and eighty Other Ranks of the Battalion were ultimately found to be missing. The names of the Officers were: Lieut.-Colonel A. W. Abercrombie, Captains W. W. Roche and F. W. M. Leader, Lieutenants G. Barker, G. L. Hardy and C. A. C. Turner. Lieut.-Colonel Abercrombie died in Germany on November 5th 1915. Lieutenant Barker was invalided to England and died a few months later. Lieutenant Turner was invalided to Switzerland. Lieutenant Hardy in 1918, on his ninth attempt, escaped to Holland. He lost a foot while serving in France a short time before the Armistice.

Resuming the narrative of after events with the companies of the battalion not involved with head-quarters at Le Grand Fayt and Maroilles, Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton in his account as to A Company says this: "It was not until 9 o'clock that night that we halted at a village (Barzy) for the night. At 11 o'clock we were warned by a French staff officer that the place was practically surrounded, so we again took to the road with two battalions of our brigade, not knowing in the least where to go to."

The two battalions in question were the 2nd Bn. Worcestershire Regiment and the 2nd Bn. Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry. These had reached Barzy during the afternoon of the 26th, when the 5th Infantry Brigade Head-quarters withdrew from Le Grand Fayt, unknown to the 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers, then serving as rearguard at the cross-roads, two miles north of Le Grand Fayt.

"One battalion of the brigade," continues Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, "was missing and three companies of my own regiment. However, the last railhead was considered a safe place to go to, so we set out for Boué, only to find it deserted. We thereupon tramped on to the next station, Étreux, where we found most of our division. I shall never forget that night. I could not ride my horse as I fell asleep the moment I got up. I even fell asleep walking—to be awakened by bumping into the men in front of me, most of whom were also half asleep. Some of them fell out and lay down on the road—it exhausted all one's vocabulary of entreaty and abuse, and even called for a liberal use of the boot, to get them up again. Even so, in spite of our efforts, I am afraid some half-dozen were left behind. We arrived at Étreux at 5 a.m. (August 27th) and threw ourselves on the ground and slept till 8. At 9 o'clock we started again on the long weary march to Mont d'Origny, arriving there at 8 p.m. Just before reaching Guise we saw a small column of British troops moving along a road which eventually joined ours. You can imagine our joy when we discovered that it consisted of three hundred of our regiment under Major Alexander, who had escaped from the *débacle* of the night before. . . . At Origny we had a fairly good night's rest and there the other battalion (2nd Highland



Light Infantry) that was missing joined the brigade, having escaped from the Germans owing to the thick morning mist and the promptitude of its commanding officer."

The party of C and D Companies under Major Alexander and Captain O'Sullivan, who had reached Le Nouvion after midnight on August 26th and halted a mile beyond, were able to obtain a few hours' rest during the early hours of August 27th. At daybreak on August 27th Major Alexander sent Second-Lieutenant Lentaigne back into Le Nouvion to try and get some food for the men, who had had nothing for the last thirty-six hours. The French brigade was just then evacuating the place and in consequence Major Alexander decided to make for Guise, where he hoped to regain touch with the rest of the 5th Infantry Brigade. The route was by Esqueheries, Dorenge and Iruin until when nearing Guise Major Hutchinson and B Company were met. From Guise the companies of the Rangers marched at 2 p.m. to the vicinity of Mont d'Origny. There they went into billets. Major Sarsfield joined at Mont d'Origny and took over charge, and men came dribbling in throughout the night.

B Company, who, as related, had reached Barzy late on the 26th, had been aroused from sleep by a French trooper bringing the intelligence that the enemy were again approaching. Major Hutchinson passed the information on to the Worcestershires and the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire L.I. in the village, and the wearied were again shortly afterwards on the move. The route now taken was by Étreux, where about daybreak the Royal Munster Fusiliers were passed. It was a few hours before the Munster's ill-fated fight. Major Alexander and Captain O'Sullivan's companies were joined near Guise by Major Hutchinson and B Company and all proceeded to Mont d'Origny to billets. During August 27th the companies were assembled and re-formed at Mont d'Origny, and by that evening the Rangers were again a united unit.

On August 28th the 5th Infantry Brigade, more or less reorganized, marched off at 7 a.m. The road lay along the east bank of the River Sambre, by Ribemont, and Hanregicourt, to La Fère, and thence on to Servais, where the brigade rested and passed the whole of August 29th. "At Servais," notes Lieutenant Brook (now Captain), "it was possible to get at our valises and get a change of clothing. This was the first time we had had our baggage since leaving Mennevret."

Early on August 30th the battalion, together with the 5th Brigade, left Servais. It marched by Coucy-le-Chateau to Ternay, a small hamlet about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Soissons, and bivouacked there for the night. On August 31st the battalion retired north of Soissons by Pommiers, where the Aisne was crossed. Thence the march continued to Cutry. The

battalion went into billets at Cutry until about 6 p.m. and then moved off and took up an outpost position to the north-east of Cutry.

"Outposts," notes Lieut.-Colonel O'Sullivan, "were called in between 2 and 3 a.m. on September 1st and the battalion retired *via* Cutry, Cœuvres, Sancy to Villers Cotterets; north of Villers Cotterets the Rangers passed through the Irish Guards, who were forming the rearguard and taking up a position. The day was very hot and told on a number of men who were very done up, but just south of Villers Cotterets some A.S.C. wagons were met with into which the most-done-up men were placed for conveyance.

"We continued our march by Boursonne, Thury, La Villeneuve and Antilly. As Betz was approached," says Lieut.-Colonel O'Sullivan, "information was received that German cavalry were in the village. I was sent forward with some men to report but found no enemy. The place had been deserted, except by a few of its inhabitants. These said that enemy cavalry had been there earlier in the day but had left. As nothing of the rest of the 5th Brigade had been seen since the previous night, Major Sarsfield, about 6 p.m., on September 1st, bivouacked the battalion on the road, about half a mile south of Betz. This was about 6 p.m. There we remained until about 10 p.m., when orders came to rejoin the 5th Brigade, stated to be at Antilly. The battalion thereupon moved off at 10.30 p.m. back there through Betz along the road by which we had come to Antilly."

The battalion moved off again in the general retirement at daybreak on September 2nd, and once more passed through Betz close by where they had first bivouacked on the previous evening—a wearisome and useless tramp to and fro. The way next led through Acy-en-Moultion, near where the Rangers, with the 2nd Bn. Highland Light Infantry, took up a position south-east of Vincy Manoeuvre. The Allied armies by then had fallen back to the line of the Marne. The expected attack at Vincy on September 2nd did not take place, and, after holding the position for some hours, it was reported that the Germans had suspended their advance in that direction, and were now moving south-east. The battalion then resumed the march and eventually went into bivouac at Chauconin.

On September 3rd the Rangers marched through Meaux, and then turned east through Trilport and Montceaux, finally going into billets near Petit Courroix.

On September 4th, as German forces were again moving in that direction, the battalion retired about a mile and lay all day in a position of readiness. There was a good deal of shelling during the afternoon, but no enemy infantry attack was attempted. The battalion, at dusk, withdrew to a neighbouring village (called Paris), near which it bivouacked.

Next day, September 5th, there was a further retirement to the vicinity of Marles. The battalion acted as rearguard as the brigade retired, but again no fighting took place.

The B.E.F. had at length reached the limit of its retreat. On September 5th, the Allied counter-offensive was ordered to open. Air reconnaissances reported what appeared to be a change in the enemy's plans, and that the direct move of the Germans on the French capital was suspended. The German main columns facing the British Army were changing direction to the south-east, apparently making a flank march in front of the British forces. The British, Von Kluck rashly concluded, had been so reduced in strength and disorganized as to be out of action for the present.

The battalion *War Diary* for September 6th thus records events: "At 6 a.m. Battalion moved due east and took up a position about Champlet. Remained in position till 6 p.m. when the enemy retired. The force followed in pursuit and halted for the night."

The battalion after going forward for about two miles at 6 a.m. on September 6th, lay all day by the edge of a wood near Champlet. It was then made known to all ranks that the retreat was over and that the enemy were definitely falling back. After waiting all day for orders to move forward the battalion, about 6 p.m., advanced a short distance until it halted for the night at Pézarches.

"It was surprising," says Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, "how cheerful every one was. I suppose we did not realize at the time what a critical position we were in. The authorities were always cheerful and breathed an air of cheery optimism. One evening we were retiring and the next morning we were advancing even quicker than we had retired. The enthusiasm can better be imagined than described: one night we were wondering whether the French would attempt to hold Paris, and the next morning we were chasing the enemy as fast as our legs would carry us."

The advance continued during September 7th to Rebaix. On every side signs were met with of the enemy's retreat in disorder. One detail that every one noticed was the quantity of empty champagne bottles thrown down along the sides of the road. And in the wrecked cottages and hamlets passed, evidences of vile brutality and bestiality were visible in every quarter. During the afternoon the battalion was informed that if they pushed on they might cut off a certain retreating German force. Every effort was made to do so, but luck did not come the battalion's way that day.

The advance northward continued and on September 8th the Rangers, with the Second Division, were in action north of Pézarches. The Germans

made a stand, until, towards 3 p.m., they were finally shelled out of their positions, and the British again moved in pursuit. The Rangers were detailed as advanced guard to the 5th Infantry Brigade, on that being sent forward to assist the Third Division in crossing the Petit Morin.

The 4th (Guards) Brigade first had a brisk encounter in crossing the Petit Morin, where a German rearguard was making a stubborn defence. To help them the Worcestershire Regiment and Highland Light Infantry of the 5th Infantry Brigade were sent forward. The other two battalions of the 5th Infantry Brigade, The Connaught Rangers and the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, then advanced to La Tretoire, crossed the little river and turned to the west to assist the Third Division, who were engaged near Orly. A party of The Connaught Rangers captured Orly. About the same time the Third Division crossed the river and took over the occupation of the village. In the encounter Second-Lieutenant G. Allen and two men were wounded.

Second-Lieutenant (now Captain) Allen gives details of what took place. The 4th (Guards) Brigade were leading the Second Division and had a fight at La Tretoire with a German rearguard, whom they drove out of the village and were following up through the neighbouring woods. The 2nd Battalion Worcestershire Regiment were sent on to seize the bridge over the Petit Morin, about a mile from La Tretoire. They did so "and were sitting round the bridge when we passed through them." By that time the Guards were out of sight, engaged in advance in the woods. The Rangers, crossing the bridge pushed up half a mile beyond, to where a cross-road to Orly joined the road from the bridge and La Tretoire. At that point Major Hutchinson called up Second-Lieutenant Allen. General Haking, the Brigadier, was also there. The Brigadier showed Second-Lieutenant Allen a map and pointed out the course of the road to Orly, telling him to go along that road for about a mile where he would find a bridge—between where they then were and Orly, which was to be "made good." Lieutenant Allen was to attack as he could count on having the entire Brigade just behind him. It was then between 2 p.m. and 2.30 p.m.

Second-Lieutenant Allen moved off with his platoon in single file on both sides of the road, and a point of three men ahead. On both sides of the road were thick woods, in which remained a number of straggling Germans, who were sniping continuously. The platoon took its way for about three-quarters of a mile and then emerged into the open where the three men in advance were fired on and doubled back to report. Second-Lieutenant Allen now made his men lie down in the ditches on both sides

of the road, while he took a look round. He sighted a force of Germans, about half a battalion, on top of a hill in front. They marched away however immediately. Next, he sighted German skirmishers to his front, half left, on the far side of the river, firing at some objective in the woods, unseen from the Rangers' party. Second-Lieutenant Allen examined the *terrain* in front and on all sides, but there was no sign of any bridge. A number of enemy machine guns were in the vicinity but concealed under cover, and it was impossible to locate them.

"As I couldn't see any bridge," describes the officer, "only a village which was obviously occupied, I thought we had better have a dash at the village (Orly). I therefore led the platoon back a few yards to get out of sight in the woods, extended, and then we rushed out all together. This meant that we came in from the flank and behind the village—the defenders were, roughly, facing towards the Petit Morin."

The Rangers' platoon came in "almost from behind the Germans who were across the river." Second-Lieutenant Allen and men on both sides of him were wounded a moment later, when the platoon was about a hundred yards from a hedge, running at right angles to their line of approach and a little way in front of Orly. It was then about 3.15 p.m.

Immediately on that the men of the platoon lay down and commenced firing. The firing apparently surprised and disconcerted the enemy, for "the Germans on the far side of the stream commenced to retire almost immediately." Sergeant O'Brien, who took charge on his officer being wounded, "soon rushed on and disposed the platoon in a lump round the end houses of the village. As the Germans retired across the open space in front of the *estaminet*, O'Brien and our men jumped out and shot them at point blank range. Some of our men got into the houses and took a few Germans prisoners.

"All the Germans in the village had been slain or had surrendered and Sergeant O'Brien had several prisoners, including an officer. Sergeant O'Brien then sent out for the wounded and had them brought up to the *estaminet* in Orly. There I was much struck by the number of Germans dead, all 'Garde-Schütze.' [It had been the 'Garde-Schütze,' who had had the principal part in the overpowering of Colonel Abercrombie's ill-fated detachment at Le Grand Fayt. Thus the Rangers at Orly exacted retribution.] Major Hutchinson and B Company now came up from the woods behind, together with A Company, in support.

Four days later, on September 13th, before attacking at the bridge over the Aisne at Pont D'Arcy, General Haking, the Brigadier, gave the Rangers a message from Major-General Monro, Commanding the Division, to the

effect that he was "extremely pleased with the conduct of the battalion at Orly."

The General Orders for September 9th were to press forward across the Marne between Nogent and La Ferté-sous-Jouarre and attack the left and rear of the enemy on the River Ourcq. It was hoped to cut off the Germans defending the Marne at La Ferté. The thickly wooded country north of the Marne, however, made it difficult to keep touch and maintain direction, and progress consequently was very slow. On September 9th the Rangers, together with the 5th Infantry Brigade, roused at 6 a.m. but did not actually move until 9 a.m. They then joined the main body and marched for the Marne at Charly. Before reaching the river, at Pavant, the brigade was ordered back and directed to entrench a position on the south bank of the river. In the evening they were ordered to resume the march. They crossed the Marne at Charly Bridge. The Germans, it was found, had prepared the bridge for defence, but had not attempted to hold it, or to destroy it. Dompnin, nine miles from the previous night's bivouac, was reached at about 8 p.m., and there the Rangers again bivouacked.

"The first time our brigade came up with the retreating enemy," says Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, "was on the Marne. The Germans were holding all the crossings with their rearguards—each crossing being protected by five hundred or six hundred men with machine guns and one or two guns. These small forces gave a lot of trouble and gained many valuable hours for the Germans. Fortunately for us, near the bridge that we were to cross there was a big chateau with a very fine cellar. The Germans discovered this, and next morning our advanced guard walked over the bridge and took five hundred very drunk Germans prisoners."

On September 10th, the battalion marched off at 5 a.m., in the direction of Monnes. The brigade came upon the enemy near Bussiares, where the 6th Infantry Brigade was in action. The Second Division deployed for action, the 5th Infantry Brigade being ordered to advance on the right of the 6th Brigade and attack the enemy on a ridge beyond. The Germans, although they were not in great strength, made a fairly stiff resistance until 3 p.m., and then withdrew. The division then re-formed into the line of their original advance, with the 5th Infantry Brigade as advanced guard. The Rangers were the second battalion in the column. After a short advance the enemy attempted another stand, but their guns were silenced by the heavy artillery with the division and fell back. On reaching the village of Monnes, towards 5 p.m., the 5th Brigade took up position in advance of the Second Division and the Rangers found the outposts for the night near the village.

The battalion marched off on September 11th at 5 a.m., the brigade's

limit of advance for the day being Beugneux, eleven miles distant. The 5th Infantry Brigade again acted as advanced guard to the division, but no engagement took place that day. Beugneux was reached at 1 p.m. and the troops halted there and bivouacked. Heavy rain fell during that night.

On September 12th the battalion moved off at 5 a.m., the 5th Brigade, as before, acting as advanced guard. On the way, a German force was sighted moving from the west, and as the brigade neared them offered resistance. The brigade thereupon deployed for attack, but the enemy, as the artillery came into action against them, again fell back. A few prisoners were taken, mostly Landwehr and Uhlans of the Guard. The brigade then continued its advance and at 7.30 p.m., after dark and in pouring rain, the objective of the day's march, Vieil D'Arcy, sixteen miles from Beugneux, was reached. One company was detailed for outposts, the remainder going into billets. Again during the night rain fell heavily.

"The Engineers," says Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, speaking of A Company's proceedings on September 12th, "on the brigade coming to another small stream over which all the bridges had been destroyed, made a temporary crossing with planks and by utilizing the remains of a bridge. I was left behind with my company to assist the Field Company in building a proper trestle bridge. This took until 9 o'clock at night to finish." I then received a message ordering me to rejoin my battalion at Vieil Arcy, some six miles away. It was a pitch-black night and pouring with rain. The officer who ordered me to rejoin gave me the route I was to follow. I followed the route for some three miles and then found that one of the roads suddenly turned into a track, and finally ended at a small farm in the middle of a black wilderness. I had either to take my company across country and try to strike another road, or else go all the way back again. I chose the former alternative and took a bearing with my compass. After about an hour's floundering in mud and water up to our knees, we eventually struck the right road, all wet to the skin. And so we remained for the rest of the night, for, when we reached the place where the battalion was, we found them all in two small farms, with absolutely no room for us. . . . The next day I discovered that the officer who gave me the route mistook a line, which was really a boundary line, for a track."

The battalion was under arms for the crossing of the Aisne at daylight on September 13th. D Company, under Captain C. J. O'Sullivan (now Lieut.-Colonel), was ordered to attack the enemy who were holding the north bank of the river at Pont D'Arcy and secure the crossing there. The Germans, however, retired after some firing, whereupon D Company

advanced to the river bank where it was found that the bridge had been blown up and wrecked. The Aisne was in flood, but, describes Lieut.-Colonel O'Sullivan, "some of the girders of the broken bridge were showing above water. The crossing was at once taken in hand, and, as best they could, the men crawled across by the broken girders. The first man over was Private Hayes. On the whole company crossing, they deployed and dug in. There they held on all day, covering the construction of a pontoon bridge and being continually shelled by the Germans, happily with but few casualties." In the evening, about 5 p.m., the rest of the brigade crossed the Aisne.

Speaking of the experiences of A Company, at the crossing of the Aisne, Lieut.-Colonel E. G. Hamilton says: "the fine girder bridge had been cut in two places. The sappers placed ladders down one side, then planks across to the other broken end, which was in the water, and ladders up again on the farther side. We crossed the improvised bridge in single file. We were the leading battalion that day and I think I am right in saying we were the first British regiment to cross the Aisne. It was many hours before a pontoon bridge was put up. We had no food that day from five in the morning until about six or seven in the evening when our energetic mess-sergeant arrived with some sandwiches. The enemy were shelling the bridge at the time, nevertheless Sergeant M. crossed it and found out where we were."

The details of the engagement at La Cour de Soupir on September 14th, in which the battalion was principally concerned, are thus recorded in the *War Diary*.

After the passage across the Aisne had been secured and the bridge at Pont D'Arcy re-established, the Rangers, during the evening of September 13th, were ordered to the village of Soupir; to take up a position on its outskirts, facing north and west. At the same time the other battalions of the 5th Infantry Brigade took up a position south of Beaulne, with the flanks of the brigade bent back N.E. of Verneuil and N.W. of Moussy.

Operation Orders were then received by the battalion at 1 a.m. on September 14th from the Brigadier, that the 4th (Guards) Brigade and the 36th Brigade R.F.A. had been ordered to cross the river at 6.30 a.m., and march *via* Soupir to Croix-sans-Tête. The Rangers were directed, as soon as these troops had passed through them, to close on Moussy. The Commanding Officer of the Rangers, however, considering that he would be better placed to assist the 4th (Guards) Brigade at La Cour de Soupir farm, further on, at the head of the valley by which the 4th (Guards) Brigade was to advance, decided to move there at once. He reached La Cour

de Soupir at 5.30 a.m. and halted there, sending forward pickets to Croix-sans-Tête and other points on the front and flanks. No signs of the enemy were visible. The Commanding Officer then, early in the morning, received a message from H.Q., 5th Infantry Brigade brought by motor cyclist instructing the Commanding Officer not to leave his position until the 4th (Guards) Brigade were up and had securely occupied the high ground about Croix-sans-Tête. On that taking place the Rangers were to close on Moussy.

Shortly after this, about 10.30 a.m., before the main body of the 4th (Guards) Brigade were at hand, sudden warning was given of the near and rapid approach of a considerable force of enemy infantry with guns. The battalion was under arms immediately, and took post to defend the position just as the Germans attacked. The assailants were supported by artillery and the attack was vigorously pressed. The enemy came on against the centre and left of the position, advancing over open ground, with boldness and in large numbers. At the same time another force endeavoured to turn the position by pushing round through the adjacent wood. The enemy were held fast in front, but, in spite of heavy losses, they made serious progress in the turning movement on the right. The Rangers holding the position close to the farm buildings on the west, suffered heavy casualties in holding off the enemy and the Germans eventually succeeded in getting within a hundred yards of the farm buildings. Then, fortunately, just as things were looking dangerous, two companies of the Coldstream Guards, who had hastened up on hearing the firing, opportunely reached the farm. One company of these was forthwith sent forward to reinforce each flank of the position. The reinforcement checked the Germans. Although the attack continued to be pressed at intervals, the arrival of the remainder of the 4th (Guards) Brigade forced the enemy back and enabled the position to be made secure. The attack temporarily ceased in an unexpected manner. The enemy in their front line suddenly put up their hands and surrendered, the prisoners numbering some two hundred and fifty of all ranks. A second attack, as fresh Germans began to come up in numbers, took place late in the day and continued until dark, after which the enemy gave over and fell back to their original position before the first attack.

The casualties of the Rangers in the action at La Cour de Soupir were heavy in all ranks. The following were the casualties among the officers. Killed: Lieutenant R. I. Thomas and Second-Lieutenant R. L. Spreckley. Wounded: Major H. M. Hutchinson, D.S.O., Captain C. J. O'Sullivan, Lieutenant J. Fraser (died of wounds), Second-Lieutenants H. M. Swifte, V. A. Lentaigne, L. N. Aveling.

The following accounts amplify the narrative as given in the *War Diary*, and, in spite of the risk of repetition in certain details, should find a place here.

After the Aisne had been crossed the Rangers spent the remainder of the day, to quote Lieut.-Colonel E. G. Hamilton's account of A Company's proceedings, "in hasty trenches we dug along the bank of a canal running parallel to the river. Nothing very exciting happened—the Germans shelled us to a certain extent, but as we were in the river valley, and they were some way back from the high ridge overlooking the river, they could not see us and their firing was somewhat wild.

"In the evening we heard that it was likely that the enemy would counter-attack next day as General Von Kluck had received large reinforcements. When it was dark we moved up to the village of Soupir, which was just under the ridge. Half the battalion was on outposts that night and at 4 a.m. on the 14th we advanced up the side of the ridge to the plateau on top."

"The battalion," as Lieut.-Colonel O'Sullivan of D Company describes, "arrived at Soupir between 8 and 9 p.m. No enemy were encountered and the village was found practically deserted. The few remaining inhabitants said that the Germans had evacuated the place only a short while before. There was heavy firing going on in the direction of Soissons. We bivouacked on the lower slopes of a hill to the north of Soupir." Major Sarsfield then ordered Captain O'Sullivan to "climb Soupir Hill next morning before daylight and hold the farm at La Cour de Soupir."

"We moved off before daybreak (September 14th)," continues Lieut.-Colonel O'Sullivan, "and I sent Second-Lieutenant Benison and his platoon ahead to find out if the Germans still held the farm of La Cour de Soupir. He reported no enemy in the farm, so we occupied it. The owner of the farm informed us that the Germans had been there until late on the previous evening. We were the first British troops he had seen. At first he thought we were Germans and treated us accordingly, but later, when we convinced him of his mistake, he did his best for us."

The rest of the battalion arrived about 5 a.m. and occupied the farm buildings and ground to the east and west of the farm. They had breakfast there and received a mail, as Captain Brook says.

"We sent out scouts to get in touch with the enemy immediately on arrival," adds Lieut.-Colonel O'Sullivan. "About 9 o'clock some of the scouts returned and reported that a large body of the enemy was advancing to attack us. Shortly afterwards heavy rifle and artillery fire opened on us and the enemy's infantry appeared. I was knocked out about 10 a.m."

The following detailed narrative of the combat at and round the farm-

house and buildings of La Cour de Soupir and the post taken by A Company is thus related by Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton.

"We were told to remain in observation at La Cour de Soupir until the Guards Brigade had passed through our line. The rest of our own brigade was about two miles to our right. We arrived at our position about 5 a.m. and put out observation posts. There was no sign of the enemy, but we could hear very heavy infantry firing about a mile to our left. At about 8 o'clock it began to pour with rain, so the men were all put into the barns and stables of the very big farm where our head-quarters were situated. The good lady of the farm very kindly cooked some breakfast for the officers and we had just finished when an excited N.C.O. from one of the posts rushed in to say that the enemy were advancing in thousands. Every one rushed out to join his company and the C.O. hastily issued some orders. One company was to go out to the left of the farm, one to the right, and one in front, the fourth to remain in the farm in reserve.

"I had to take my company out to the left, where the ground was absolutely flat—not even a friendly ant-heap was to be found. We got out into line under a slight and inaccurate fire from the Germans. When the company was all lined out, I lay down in the middle of it and found that we could not fire on the enemy without raising ourselves up on our elbows. So we had to advance to about twenty yards where there was a very slight rise. We got there all right and then the fight began in real earnest. The Germans had a regiment of three battalions against us, but they did not all come into action at first. We knew that the Guards Brigade was coming up soon—some of their scouts had already arrived in our firing line.

"I think that the first German attack was made with two battalions and machine guns. They also had some guns in action. Unfortunately we had neither guns nor machine guns at first. By 9 o'clock we were in the midst of the hottest fight so far witnessed in the battalion. We had no cover of any description and the ground was perfectly flat for eight hundred or nine hundred yards in front of us and for five hundred or six hundred yards behind us, until one reached the steep ground leading down to the river valley. About three hundred yards to our left flank there was a small tributary valley running down to the main valley.

"We kept up the fire fight for about an hour. The German fire was not very accurate, but, even so, we suffered fairly severely. They attempted to advance by short rushes of small parties at a time, but did not succeed in getting on very far.

"It was the first time that most of us had been under a really heavy

infantry fire. There was one constant crackle of the firing, and the hiss of the bullets was like the hiss of steam escaping!

"At about 10 o'clock the company on our right, which had lost its commander and most of its officers, was forced back to a wood, so that both my flanks were exposed. Shortly after this we found that we were being fired at from the direction of our left flank, so we had to retire to a position further back. I ordered the left half-company to retire, and as soon as they got up the German fire became simply appalling. The right half-company, with which I myself was, kept up as rapid a fire as we could until the other half had got back about a hundred yards. Then they got down and opened fire whilst we retired. In this way we got back about three hundred yards to where there was some cover of sorts, and there we started improving the cover with our entrenching tools. It is surprising that we did not lose more men whilst falling back, but the enemy's fire, although very heavy, was very inaccurate. I suppose they got excited and fired wildly; however, whatever the cause, we had very few men hit.

"At about 11 o'clock the Guards began to arrive. A battalion of the Coldstreams moved up to where I was, and deploying as if they were on a field day, they advanced to counter-attack the Germans. By 12 o'clock the whole of the Guards' Brigade was in action, and also the whole of the Germans, the equivalent of a brigade. We had now five battalions to their six. We were also, by now, being supported by our guns.

"I controlled the remains of my company and moved off under cover to rejoin the remainder of the battalion in the wood to the right of the farm. I met one of the other companies in the wood and we went back to the farm. The Guards Brigade had now taken on the fight and drove the enemy back to where they had started from. One of our companies which had been in support also took part in the counter-attack. Great numbers of the Germans surrendered and by dark we had taken nearly three hundred unwounded prisoners, besides two hundred wounded.

"As far as could be ascertained, there were about six hundred German dead on the ground within three hundred yards of the farm, and there must have been many more farther away. The Germans entrenched themselves that night and so did the Guards, and the two lines remained the same until the British left the Aisne.

"Our own losses had been severe that day: in killed and wounded they amounted to about two hundred and fifty, of whom eight were officers. Poor Mr. Spreckley, one of my subalterns, was killed. Early in the day he was wounded; he went back to the farm and was bandaged; he returned to his platoon and was wounded again. After having his second

wound dressed, he returned again, but unfortunately was killed by a shell. He fully deserved the Military Cross that he was awarded.

"About 5 o'clock," continues Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, "I and two or three other officers went back to the farm. There were some one hundred and fifty wounded men of my own regiment there and about two hundred and fifty of the Guards Brigade, besides two hundred Germans. In a house belonging to the farm were some twenty wounded officers and six wounded German officers. Dead men were lying about in the yard, and just outside the gate of the courtyard there was a whole pile of dead. When it got dusk I went out to where my company had been to see if there were many of them there. I found about eighteen of them, all dead and all in a straight line—the line we had occupied early in the morning. About three hundred yards in front of them were piles and piles of German dead. In one spot, about the size of a small room, there were at least twenty. They must have been caught in a bunch by a machine-gun, or by shrapnel. About two hundred yards from the farm there were a lot of dead—Guardsmen, men of my own regiment, and Germans, all mixed together. About two hundred Germans had thrown down their arms and started to walk in, holding their hands up. Our men rushed forward to seize them, when suddenly the German supports opened a heavy fire on the whole mass, knocking out about fifty of their own men and about the same number of ours.

"That night we moved down to the village (Soupir) again and went into billets—for a well-earned rest and sleep. The next day we were congratulated by our Brigade Commander and by the Divisional Commander on the behaviour of the battalion in the fight."

The battalion rejoined the 5th Infantry Brigade on September 15th. With it the battalion left Soupir village at 9 a.m. on September 15th for Verneuil. There it remained in position of readiness until 7 p.m., after that going into billets. The battalion moved from its billets at 5 a.m. on the 16th and again took up position of readiness until 6 p.m. It then took up a position on the southern spur of Beaulne Hill, by Tillend, for the night. No attack however took place, and on September 17th the battalion moved back from position in the firing line to a covered position in rear. The enemy meanwhile kept up shelling from dawn to dusk, but the casualties in the battalion were fortunately only one killed and four wounded.

During September 18th the Rangers remained in position all day, being heavily shelled for practically all the time and suffering casualties. Towards evening, the enemy artillery fire intensified and the battalion had to evacuate its trenches. While that was taking place Major W. S. Sarsfield was mor-

tally wounded by a shell splinter, and four Other Ranks were killed. Major Sarsfield died two days later. The battalion now moved to a covered position north of Verneuil, on the main road. It moved forward again on the evening of the 19th and re-occupied trenches in the firing line, with the 2nd Bn. Highland Light Infantry in support. The threatened attack by the enemy at that point did not however take place.

It had been arranged that the trenches were to be evacuated next morning before daylight—about 4.30 a.m. on September 20th. They had been dug at night and next day it was found that they were absolutely on the skyline and very conspicuous. They were therefore not occupied by day unless an attack was expected. Just as the evacuation, however, was about to take place a party of Germans were discovered moving across the front from west to east. They were fired at and quickly retired, but others then came in sight and continued to advance until beaten back. The evacuation was suspended and the position continued to be held under artillery fire all day. The casualties on September 18th comprised four officers: Lieutenants G. R. Fenton and R. M. H. Henderson, and Second-Lieutenants R. B. Benison and R. A. de Stacpoole, with thirty-five Other Ranks killed and wounded.

Reinforcements were sent up from the Highland Light Infantry at 10 p.m. that night, and on their arrival the remaining officers of the Rangers withdrew the battalion in good order to a position where it was halted in reserve.

Describing what took place on September 18th, Lieut.-Colonel E. G. Hamilton gives these details: "There was an advanced post about one hundred and fifty yards in front of the trenches. Each battalion took it in turn to hold this with one company. It fell to the lot of my company to hold it on this occasion, and a very warm twenty-four hours we had. The position consisted of a series of big caves surrounded by gravel-pits. These pits were used as fire-trenches. When we got there in the evening the whole of the area inside the post was covered with shell-holes; this warned us to expect a lively time—and we certainly had it.

"We manned the trenches all night, and at 4.30 in the morning the enemy commenced to attack. We drove them back easily enough, but they kept up a constant fire on us. At about 7 o'clock they started to shell us, but as they only used shrapnel they did very little damage. At 9 o'clock they bombarded the trenches behind us, which were held by the rest of my regiment and by another regiment. They used some very heavy shell for this and blew in the trenches in several places. At the same time, under cover of this fire, they again attempted to advance. Fortunately, for some reason or another they did not shell the advanced post, so we

again drove them back. Poor Mr. de Stacpoole was shot through the head and died in half an hour. About half an hour after that, Mr. Fenton was killed ; also shot through the head.

" So I only had one subaltern left. The bombardment of the trenches behind us was so heavy that they had to be evacuated. As we were a hundred and fifty yards in front of them, this naturally upset my company, but they behaved very well and stuck to their posts. It was a very critical time, as the enemy were constantly massing in front, and I thought a bombardment, followed by an assault, would start any minute. Eventually I got another officer with fifty men as reinforcements, and although the Germans made repeated attempts to advance to some dead ground near our position, we drove them back each time. They must have suffered very heavily, as they had a hundred and fifty yards of open to cross and their attempts were made in the most reckless fashion. Not one of them succeeded in getting even half-way across. We were relieved by a company of The Highland Light Infantry about midnight.

" Except for the death of the two officers, our casualties were not heavy, being only fifteen out of the two hundred men I had up there. On rejoining the battalion I heard that it had suffered during the bombardment—two officers and about forty men being killed and over fifty wounded.

" We were moved back a couple of miles for a rest the next morning.

" Our rest was spent in digging second-line trenches, which were to be used in case of emergency. They were never needed. In spite of repeated attacks and the expenditure of much gun ammunition, the Germans did not succeed in taking one yard of the ground that the British Army had won."

On September 21st the battalion moved back at 3.30 a.m. for the position occupied in reserve and returned to bivouac east of Verneuil. It moved away at 8 p.m. in brigade to Dhuizal, where, on arrival, the Rangers went into bivouac and then into billets.

The battalion remained at Dhuizal from September 22nd to October 1st. It marched on October 2nd to Soupir and billeted there until October 6th, on which day it moved to Bourg, arriving at 7 p.m. At Bourg the Rangers remained in Divisional Reserve until October 13th. On the evening of that day, at 8 p.m., the battalion proceeded to Vauxcere, whence it marched next morning to Fismes, to entrain with the other battalions of the 5th Infantry Brigade for another section of the Front.

It had become necessary to transfer the British Expeditionary Force from the Aisne area to the north-west, to the Ypres district, in which direction the enemy were moving large forces to outflank the Allied forces towards the sea. The general transfer had begun early in October. The 1st Army Corps was the last to leave the Aisne area.

The Rangers under the command of Major Alexander—Captain E. G. Hamilton took over duty as Adjutant—started by train from Fismes at 3.20 p.m. on October 14th and, travelling by Boulogne, Calais and St. Omer, arrived at Hazebrouck at 1.30 a.m. on the 16th. There it detrained, and after billeting at Morbeque marched with the rest of the brigade twelve miles to Godewaersvelde. It was a raw and chilly day and on arrival the battalion went into billets there until October 19th. It then, again crossing the Belgian frontier, moved to Poperinghe, 7 miles. There, a draft of 280 Other Ranks joined, together with Captain J. P. M. Ingham and Second-Lieutenant M. J. Kenny (4th Battalion), Second-Lieutenants W. W. W. Reilly (2nd Battalion), and L. N. Aveling (3rd Battalion). On October 20th the battalion marched to a bivouac near Boesinghe where Captain H. J. N. Davis rejoined from temporary duty as an R.T.O. 1st Corps for the movement from the Aisne.

The Rangers arrived to take part at the outset of the First Battle of Ypres.

On the 21st, a cold, raw day, the 5th Infantry Brigade, together with the 1st Army Corps, was engaged in a general attack near St. Julien and Langemarck. The Fifth Brigade, on the left of the 4th (Guards) Brigade, was heavily engaged as it advanced on its principal objective, Poelcapelle, and during the action encountered very stubborn resistance. In the end, the 1st Army Corps was compelled to hold up its forward move between noon and 1 p.m. and confine itself to consolidating and holding the ground gained, in order to fend off the incessant German attacks in greatly superior force to which it was subjected during the two days and nights following.

In the attack on October 21st, C and D Companies of The Connaught Rangers were principally engaged in a position taken up between the 2nd Worcesters and the 4th (Guards) Brigade, where they entrenched under heavy shell fire. The enemy had begun shelling at 9 a.m., immediately the advance of the brigade started. Casualties were four killed and thirty wounded. A and B Companies were in brigade reserve. After one o'clock the fight became stationary and remained so for the rest of the day.

At about 6 p.m. the area was heavily shelled by the Germans. One of the enemy H.E. shells hit a small *estaminet*, about a thousand yards behind where C and D Companies were stationed, in which Battalion Headquarters had been established. The Commanding Officer, Adjutant, and some four other officers were in the house at the time. The shell landed in an adjoining room and wrecked half the building and blew down the roof. All in the house were thrown down by the explosion, but, fortunately, none were seriously hurt. During the bombardment all the rations

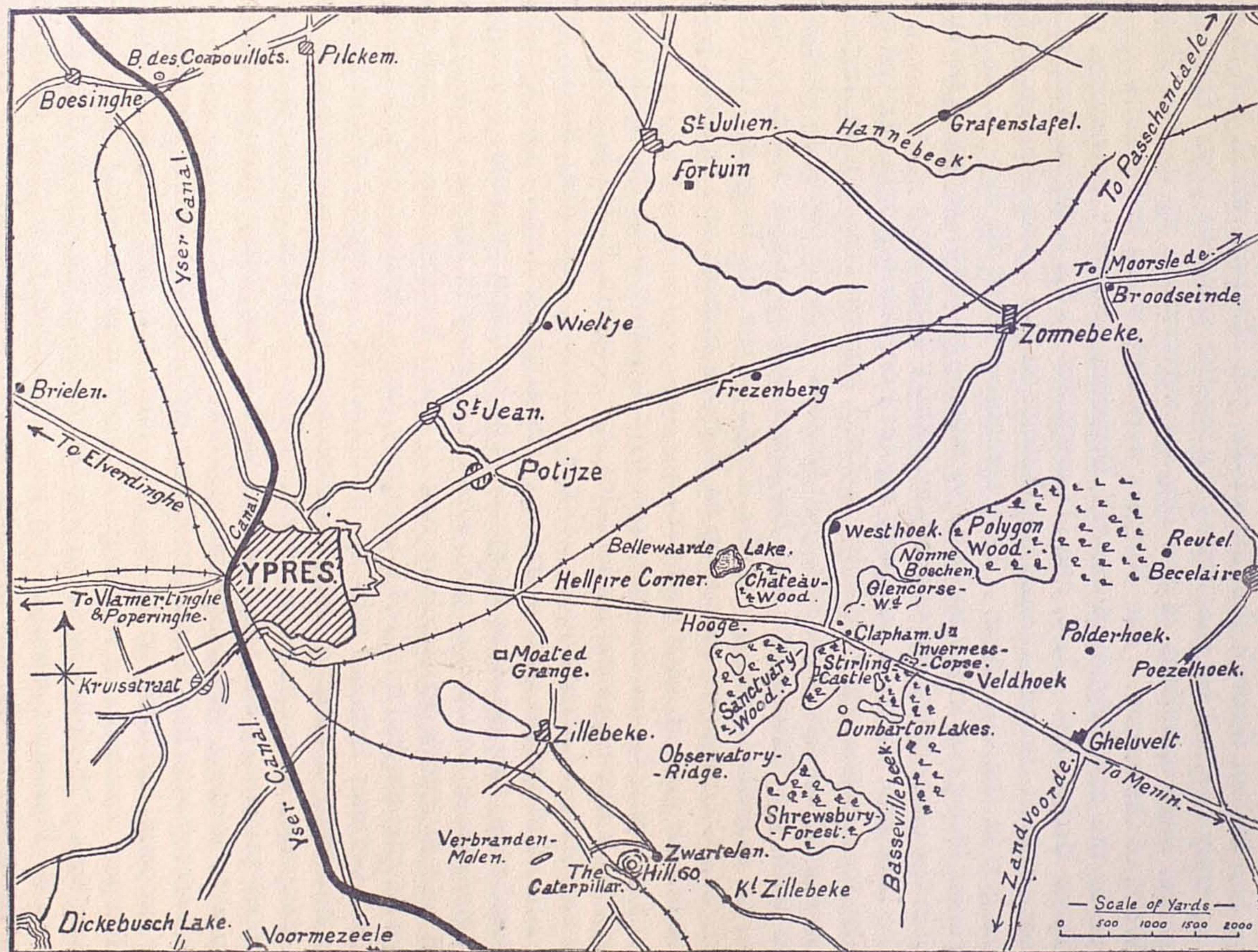
and other stores, which had been laid out in a barn ready to be taken up to the companies in the trenches, were blown up.

On October 22nd, while C and D Companies maintained their position in the forward trenches A and B entrenched in rear in brigade reserve. Casualties were three killed and five wounded. There was comparatively little infantry firing, nor from artillery on the 5th Brigade front during the forenoon, nor did the German guns become seriously active until the late afternoon when a fairly heavy infantry attack was made by the enemy on trenches near the St. Julien-Poelcapelle road, eventually beaten back with severe loss to the assailants.

On the 23rd, C and D Companies continued in the trenches where they were heavily shelled, losing nine killed and twenty wounded, mostly in C Company. A and B Companies had moved into St. Julien on the previous night. The Germans at 5.30 p.m. repeated their infantry attack in force, in swarms of dense masses, principally to the east of the main road, and in places forced their way forward close to our trenches, but again they were repulsed and ran back. At 10 o'clock that night the 5th Infantry Brigade were relieved by French troops. C and D Companies then marched to St. Julien and rejoined A and B Companies; after which the battalion moved to Halte, a mile and a half from Ypres.

On arrival at Halte the battalion was informed that it would probably remain there for twenty-four hours, and possibly forty-eight hours. That, however, did not prove to be the case. The battalion got into billets at 6 a.m. (October 24th) and had breakfast at 7 a.m. An hour later, at 8 a.m., orders were received for it to be in readiness to move at two hours' notice. Within a quarter of an hour of that, at 8.15 a.m., the battalion was ordered to fall in. It moved off east at 9 o'clock along the Menin Road. As the Rangers marched forward they heard very heavy gunfire in front, and later met large numbers of wounded men belonging to the 7th Division.

"After getting no rest the previous night," as Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton relates, "we were all somewhat tired and not in the best spirits: the prospects of what was ahead of them did not appear very cheerful! In fact, to put it bluntly, we were all somewhat anxious. When we were well within the area of shell fire the Corps Commander—Sir Douglas Haig—with one staff officer and one orderly carrying his Corps Commander flag—overtook us. He rode quietly on ahead of us as though nothing unusual was happening. I remember noticing how immaculately he was turned out and how cool and unconcerned he looked. I don't know whether his action was designed in order to create an effect, but it certainly had the effect of bucking us all up and steadying our nerves."



FLANDERS—THE YPRES AREA.

The battalion, with the brigade, was being hastily marched off east along the Menin road in consequence of sudden information that the enemy had broken through the line of the 7th Division, which had been very severely handled by the enemy during the previous days' fighting. On arrival three battalions of the Brigade were rushed up to clear Polygon Wood of the enemy. The Rangers were sent south to Veldhoek, as a reserve to the 21st Brigade of the 7th Division, who were entrenched on the Ypres-Menin road. A, C, and D Companies of the Rangers were sent to cross-roads at the 9th kilometre milestone on the Ypres-Menin road to fill the gap in the line there. They remained there all day—C and D Companies losing two killed and five wounded—and then, at night, moved to rejoin the other battalions of the 5th Infantry Brigade.

The battalion, which A Company rejoined on October 25th, moved on that day to the western edge of Polygon Wood, where it remained in Brigade reserve during the 25th and 26th. On October 27th the Rangers changed places with the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry and moved to trenches in support of the King's of the 6th Brigade. On the 28th B and C Companies moved up to Molenaaresthoek and relieved part of the 6th Brigade in their trenches.

On October 29th the Rangers took over trenches from the Berkshires in daylight, suffering casualties in doing so. Captain F. H. Jackson was killed and Second-Lieutenant J. J. Bruen wounded. Of Other Ranks, ten were killed and sixteen were wounded. The Highland Light Infantry held the trenches on the right of the Rangers. The battalion continued to occupy the same trenches on October 30th, with C Company in support in Polygon Wood and D astride of Becelaire road. While holding the trenches on the 31st, a platoon and a half of C Company, under Lieutenant F. H. Saker, attacked German trenches near by in support of a company of the Berkshires who were advancing along the Becelaire road. The enemy were in greatly superior force and in the encounter Lieutenant Saker was wounded and made prisoner. Six Other Ranks were killed, thirty were wounded, thirty were missing, including some prisoners.

The enemy attacked the portion of the line held by A and D Companies—D Company had relieved B—on November 1st, but were kept back. The Rangers' casualties in repelling the attack were ten killed and thirty-five wounded. The following letter was sent on November 1st by Brigadier-General R. Fanshawe, commanding the 6th Infantry Brigade, thanking Major Alexander for the way in which the Rangers had held their ground while acting with the 6th Brigade. It was received on November 3rd, and ran as follows:—"I congratulate you and your battalion on the gallant way in which they have held their own in the trenches without receiving

any reinforcements under the heavy shell fire we have had the last few days. I am sorry I cannot relieve them, but our reserves will have to be used to make our side strong enough on our right where success will be decisive. A French column will be near to-night, but it is not available for anything except attack. However it will make it safe to-night."

The Rangers continued to hold their section of the line against frequent infantry attacks and heavy shelling by the enemy throughout the day on November 2nd. At one time the Germans managed to make a partial lodgment in a portion of trench held by B Company with half companies of A and D, but were dislodged and driven out. In the fighting Lieutenants H. B. W. Maling and A. T. C. Wickham were killed and Captains H. H. Brooke and A. W. P. T. Whyte were wounded. In the end the three companies, A B and D, were commanded by Lieutenants F. D. Foott and L. N. Aveling. The battalion was relieved in the trenches at night by the Highland Light Infantry.

During the day on November 3rd the battalion remained in reserve and then at 9 p.m. it moved up and relieved the French in trenches to the right of the Rangers' former trenches. The following day (November 4th) was quiet, except for enemy shells by which two men were wounded.

November 5th was also a quiet day until nightfall. The Germans then made a heavy attack under cover of the dark on the centre of the part of the line held by B Company. The enemy advanced in force but were driven back except a few men who managed to establish themselves within ten yards of the line. The Rangers' casualties in the fighting were Second-Lieutenant A. Winspear and four Other Ranks killed: Lieutenant F. D. Foott and Second-Lieutenants T. Cheadle and W. N. Montgomery and thirty Other Ranks wounded.

On the two following days, while holding the same trenches, the battalion was subjected to constant sniping and heavy shelling. A part of B Company's section of trench was blown in during November 7th. The enemy had possession of a building, a house, within a few yards of the trench, until, at night, a gun was brought and the enemy dislodged. Lieutenant Aveling was wounded during the day. A draft of forty-seven Other Ranks joined that evening.

The enemy on November 8th made two attacks on the Rangers' trenches—one at dawn, the second in the evening, but were beaten back on each occasion. All day they kept up heavy shelling, in the course of which Lieutenant Laughnan, R.A.M.C., was wounded. The battalion was relieved at night by the Worcestershire Regiment. It moved again next morning and went into "dug outs" at the north-west corner of Polygon Wood,

where during November 10th it remained resting. While there Lieutenant Moore, R.A.M.C., joined for duty.

"C Company under Captain Davis," notes Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, "moved up to the south-west corner of Polygon Wood on the 10th or early next morning, and was there when the fighting on the 11th started. The remainder of the battalion was in dug-outs near the north-west corner of Polygon Wood.

The 1st Infantry Brigade was holding the line between Polygon Wood and Nonne Bosschen Wood. "Early in the morning," continues the account, "we heard a very intense bombardment taking place, but we were still in mobile reserve and did not occupy any trenches. Suddenly someone came running in to say that the Germans had broken through. The battalion was moved forward to meet the Germans, whom we could see advancing between the two woods. The Highland Light Infantry on our left, also in reserve, opened fire on the enemy, and so did we. It may have been for that reason that the attack edged off and went through the Nonne Bosschen Wood. Some of the Rangers, and some of the 5th Company Royal Engineers moved further forward towards the Nonne Bosschen Wood and continued to fire into the enemy's flank.

"Eventually we saw the enemy emerge from the wood and make for Westhoek, about eleven hundred yards behind the wood. Had they got there they would have been right through the British position in that sector. It was then that we had one of the few strokes of luck during the early stages of the war. The ground sloped downwards for about five hundred yards from the wood and then gently upwards towards the village. Fortunately there was a whole brigade of Field Artillery (18-prs.) and a group (one brigade) of French 75 mm. guns just north of the village. All these guns could and did fire over open sights at the Prussian Guards who continued to advance in more or less close formation. Some thirty guns firing at point-blank range as fast as they could was a very inspiring sight for us. The enemy suffered very heavy casualties and eventually withdrew back to the Nonne Bosschen Wood.

"A counter-attack on them was organized, in which some of the Rangers took part, but the enemy had had all the fight knocked out of them and did not offer much resistance.

"Two days later the Rangers were told off to search the wood for wounded. We collected over twenty wounded Germans, although several previous searches had been made.

"An officer of the 9th Brigade R.F.A. (the one referred to above) had an exciting day. He was in the wood before the Prussian Guard attacked, doing F.O.O. and came in for a lot of the shelling. When the enemy

broke through he hid in a dug-out—the wood was then being heavily shelled by us. Then the enemy were driven out past his dug-out, and after that the wood was again heavily shelled by the enemy guns.”

According to the *War Diary*, as the enemy advanced towards Nonne Bosschen Wood, C Company, under Captain H. J. N. Davis, moved up to the south-west corner of Polygon Wood to secure the right flank of the King's Regiment. In the final infantry counter-attack, the 2nd Battalion Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry, with the Northamptonshires on the right and, on the left, part of the Highland Light Infantry and Connaught Rangers with some of the 5th Field Company R.E. were engaged. The Rangers' casualties that day are recorded as Captain R. H. C. Gilliatt (attached from the Leinster Regiment) wounded, fifteen Other Ranks killed, fifty Other Ranks wounded.

The battalion moved on November 12th behind Polygon Wood into Brigade Reserve. It remained in Brigade Reserve until November 16th, during which interval drafts of forty-nine and twenty-nine men respectively joined.

On November 16th the 5th Infantry Brigade moved into Corps Reserve, the Rangers billeting at Bellewaarde Farm. They stayed there until November 20th when they marched to Bailleul and went into billets until November 24th. On the 24th the battalion marched to billets at Hazebrouck, from which place, on November 26th it proceeded *via* Merville, Lacon and Bethune to Gorre. At Gorre on the same day the 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers became amalgamated with the 1st Battalion of the Regiment at Le Touret on December 5th, as recorded in Vol. I (pp. 450–1), where the effective strength of each battalion and the names of the officers are recorded.

Thenceforward to the end of the War the identity of the 2nd Battalion becomes merged in the senior battalion.

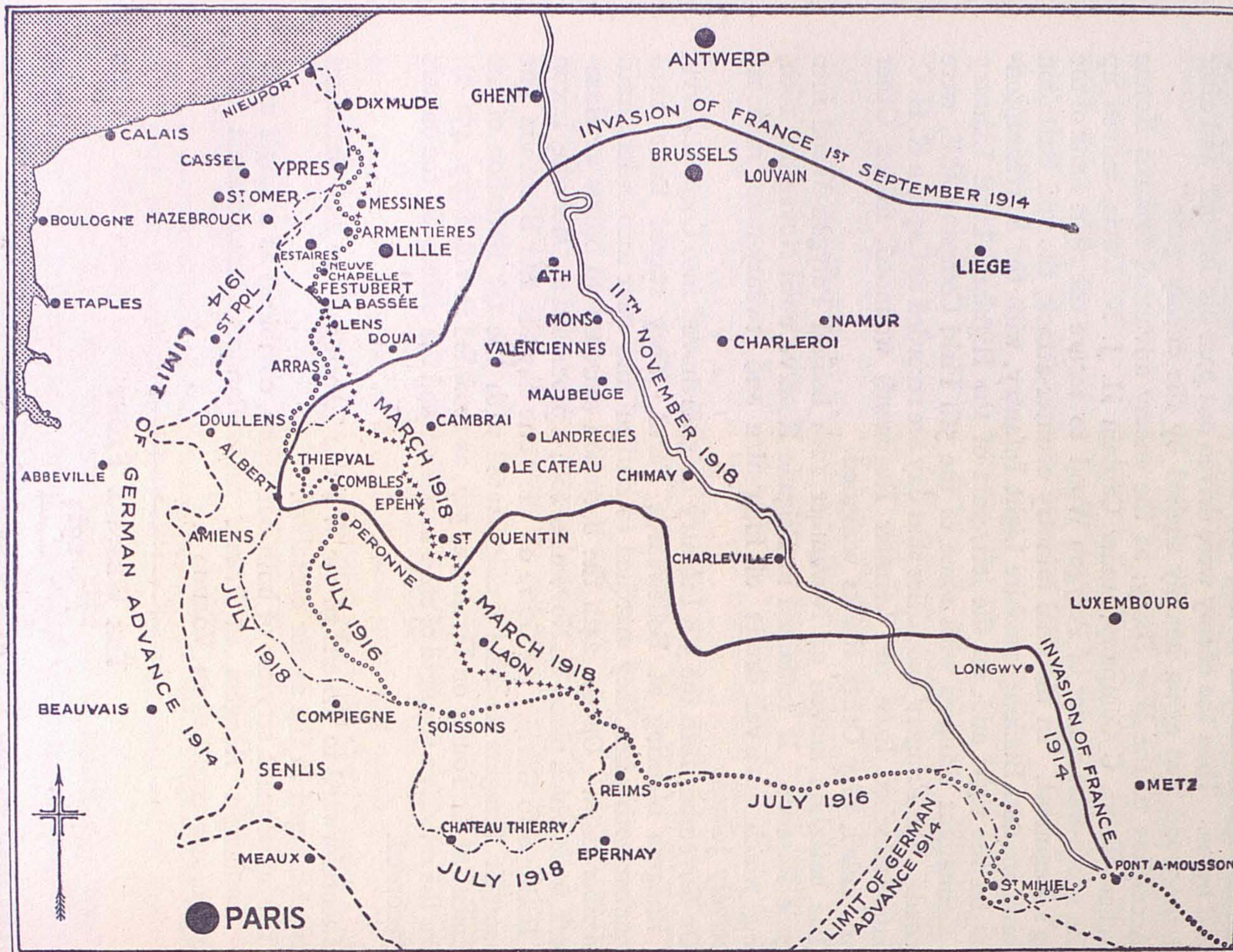
The subsequent services of both battalions, combined as a single unit, The Connaught Rangers, in France and Flanders, Mesopotamia and Palestine, are recorded in Volume I.

THE WESTERN FRONT

1914

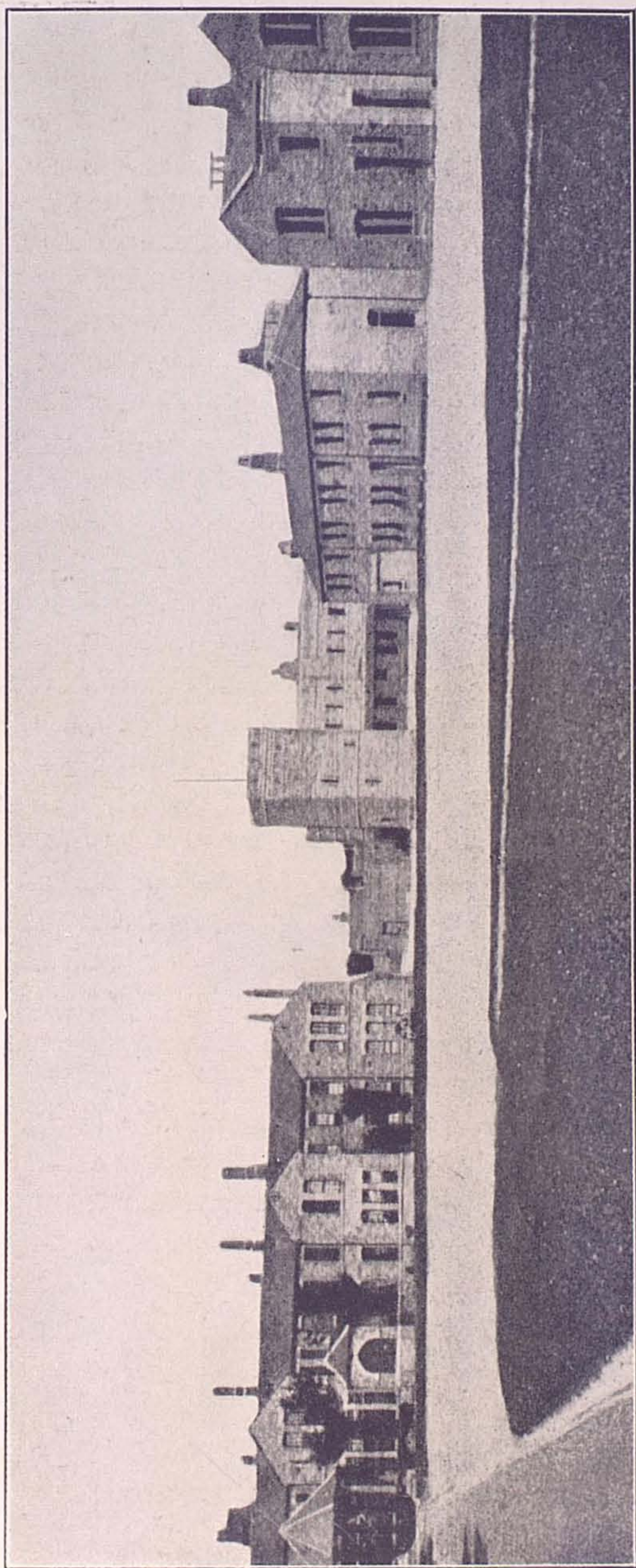
The map on the following page depicts approximately the German invasion, and the original trench-line taken up and held by the British.

The subsequent general advances (and retirement) are also portrayed.



THE WESTERN FRONT.

1914-1918.



THE DEPOT.

Renmore Barracks,
GALWAY.

CHAPTER LXX

1919-1922

THE 5th (SERVICE) BATTALION CONVERTED INTO THE 2nd (REGULAR) BATTALION. RETURN FROM FLANDERS TO DOVER. SERVICE IN UPPER SILESIA. NEWS OF DISBANDMENT. RETURN HOME.

1919-1920

THE 2nd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, was reconstituted early in 1919 from the 5th (Service) Battalion, as a special and unique testimony to the distinguished services of the 5th Battalion on three Fronts during the Great War, on Gallipoli, in Palestine and in France. The historic event took place on February 8th 1919, at Huy, a place memorable in the old time annals of the ancestors of the regiment, the ancient Scots Brigade, as is recorded in the earlier part of this Volume.

On February 8th the 5th Battalion, under the command of Major F. F. C. Davies, paraded at 10 a.m. on the Ceremonial Parade Ground, at Huy, the Divisional Commander being present. The General addressed the battalion, and informed them that "in view of their good work it had been decided to convert the 5th Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, from a Service Battalion into a Regular Battalion. From that day the 5th Battalion would be designated the 2nd Battalion." The transformation ceremony was carried out—a circumstance of unique historic interest—in exactly the same manner as that on Tower Hill, London, in 1661, when General Monck's regiment of Cromwell's Army at the Restoration was converted into His Majesty's Coldstream Regiment of Guards.

The General gave these orders:—"5th Battalion, Connaught Rangers, Ground Arms!"—"2nd Battalion, Connaught Rangers, Take up Arms!" So the transfer was effected.

As far as history records, it would appear that in no other instance, except that of the Coldstream Guards just mentioned, has a like ceremony ever taken place.

The Colours arrived from the dépôt at Galway after the transfer had taken place.

At that time the general demobilization was in progress and the battalion had been recently reduced to two company strength, A and D being formed into No. 1 Company and B and C into No. 2. The battalion moved from Huy to Seilles on February 11th, to Ohey on the 15th and to Natoye next day, the usual training being carried on meanwhile at these places while demobilization proceeded. On February 14th, 210 Other Ranks were sent to the Concentration Camp, and on the 15th, 120 more left. The battalion continued at Natoye, being gradually reduced to cadre, until May 9th. The cadre then left Natoye for the United Kingdom, landing at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The battalion as it re-formed was stationed at Dover during the second half of 1919, and throughout 1920 until the spring of the following year. Lieut.-Colonel W. A. Hamilton was in command from July 1919, with Major (Lieut.-Col. from March 20th 1920) H. F. N. Jourdain, C.M.G., as Second-in-Command. Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton retired from the Service in March 1921 (see Vol. I, p. 568), and Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain took over the command of the battalion. The latter officer held it thenceforward to the end—to the disbandment, being retained on full pay until August 16th 1922, and was the last Commanding Officer of the Rangers.

On May 31st 1919, sixteen Officers and 204 Other Ranks of the 3rd Battalion were transferred at Dover to the 1st Battalion, and on June 22nd the remainder of the *personnel* were absorbed with the 2nd Battalion.

Progress in bringing the 2nd Battalion up to the traditional efficiency of The Connaught Rangers made rapid and satisfactory advancement at Dover. One ceremonial incident of the stay of the battalion while quartered there at this period was the finding of the Guard of Honour in November 1919 on the occasion of the landing of M. Poincaré, then French President, on a State Visit to England. The Rangers, with a naval Guard of Honour from Chatham, received the French President, and the band of the Rangers played the *Marseillaise* as M. Poincaré came ashore. Another incident of like nature was the furnishing of a Guard of Honour by the battalion when the Shah of Persia landed at Dover on his visit to His Majesty King George.

1921

A new field of service unexpectedly opened for the 2nd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, during its closing year of existence. Orders were received on May 26th 1921 for the battalion to prepare for a short move, as it was termed, to Upper Silesia. A somewhat complicated political situation had arisen in Eastern Europe as a result of territorial frontier re-arrangements under the Treaty of Versailles, which required the presence of British troops in Eastern Europe, with other Allied contingents, in order

to keep the peace and prevent the Germans and Poles on the new frontier from attacking each other. The situation was an outcome of the plebiscite held in March 1921 in Upper Silesia. The plebiscite showed the districts north and west of the River Oder as pro-German, the Central Districts as equally divided in their sympathies, the districts in the south as entirely Polish. The townspeople everywhere favoured the Germans, the villages and country districts had Polish preferences. Everywhere at the same time there were local jealousies, which culminated in May 1921 in a Polish insurrectionary movement led by Korfanty.

A British force had been quartered in Upper Silesia previous to April 1921, but it had then been withdrawn, leaving the French and Italian contingents to maintain order by themselves. It was considered that the plebiscite would mean peace and things settle down speedily. Instead of peace however a new civil war had broken out between armed bands of Poles under Korfanty on one side and German "Security Forces" on the other, with the result that the French and Italian garrisons found themselves powerless to keep the two apart. Early in May, in consequence, a brigade of British troops was ordered to Upper Silesia and the Rangers were told off to one of the units.

The composition of the British Force under orders was as follows:—

G.O.C. :

Major-General Sir W. C. G. Heneker, K.C.B., D.S.O.

1ST BRIGADE.

Colonel-Commandant A. G. Wauchope, C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O.

1st Bn. The Royal Irish Regiment.

3rd Bn. The Middlesex Regiment.

2nd Bn. The Connaught Rangers.

2ND BRIGADE.

Colonel-Commandant A. B. Kennedy, C.M.G., D.S.O.

2nd Bn. The Black Watch.

1st Bn. The Durham Light Infantry.

2nd Bn. The Leinster Regiment.

The entire British force was to be stationed in the vicinity of Oppeln.

The battalion left Dover in two parties on May 30th. The first party consisted of eleven Officers and 218 Other Ranks under the Commanding Officer, Lieut.-Colonel H. F. N. Jourdain, C.M.G. It comprised Headquarters, the Drums and Signallers, and A and B Companies, and set off from barracks at 9 a.m., crossing to Ostend, which was reached at 3.15 p.m. The Drums of the Royal Irish Fusiliers and the Band of the Royal West

Kent Regiment played the party through Dover, and at the pier the Colonel-Commandant of the 12th Infantry Brigade and officers of the regiments in garrison were present to see them off. The second party, under Major H. M. Hutchinson, C.M.G., D.S.O., nine Officers and 165 Other Ranks, comprising C and D Companies, the machine-gun platoon and the band, left barracks at 2 p.m. on the same day. They were played to the pier by the band of the Royal Irish Fusiliers and were seen off by the Brigade Commandant and officers of the garrison as with the first party.

The two half battalions proceeded by separate troop trains from Ostend to Cologne, which was reached by both on May 31st. Detraining at Cologne the companies took up temporary quarters for twenty-four hours in the so-called Reception Camp, a German factory, four storeys high, used as a hospital during the war.

Orders were then received for the battalion to proceed direct to Oppeln in Upper Silesia next day, and on June 1st the Rangers entrained for their destination, again in two parties. The first, as before under Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain, comprised A, B and D Companies with the Band, Drums, Signal Section and Transport, numbering twelve Officers and 359 Other Ranks. The second party, under Major Hutchinson, comprised C Company, the Machine-gun platoon and Transport, and numbered ten Officers and ninety Other Ranks. The Transport was temporarily taken over from the Royal West Kent Regiment at Cologne. The two trains left at 12.30 a.m. and 8.26 a.m. on June 1st.

Oppeln was reached by both parties on June 4th, after a pleasant journey up the Rhine valley to Mainz and thence by Frankfort, Leipzig, and Breslau. At the last stations and along the line near Oppeln the country people began to be very demonstrative, cheering and waving hands and hats. At Oppeln, where the battalion detrained, the two parties re-united. The Rangers as they marched through the streets of the town to Czarnowanz, a village five kilometres off, their billeting station, were heartily welcomed, the people again showing themselves very friendly, as also the Czarnowanz people did on arrival there. The local German *Sicherheits Polizei* too appeared ready to help and were quite friendly. The march was a trying one, as the weather was hot and sultry, but all were in their billets after a heavy day's work by 7 p.m. Most of the men were able to bathe in the river during the evening. On the way, near Czarnowanz, the battalion passed the bivouac of the 1st Bn. Royal Irish, one of the battalions in the same brigade, commanded by Colonel Moir.

The next day, Sunday, June 5th, was passed quietly at Czarnowanz. During the day the Brigade Commander, Brigadier-General A. G. Wauchope, C.M.G., D.S.O., Commanding the 1st British Upper Silesian Brigade, of

which the Rangers formed part, came to see the battalion and expressed himself much pleased. General Heneker, G.O.C. British Upper Silesian Forces, also came over in the evening. Orders were received at Czarnowanz for the battalion to move early next day (June 6th) to Gleiwitz, to take up a line there in order to keep the German and Polish lines apart. General Heneker informed Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain that the object was to stop the Germans pushing through from the west into the eastern industrial area of Poland.

The move took place on June 6th as ordered, the battalion marching to Czarnowanz station at 3.30 a.m. It entrained at 4 a.m. and the train started at 4.30. At Oppeln the transport was picked up and the train proceeded by Gross Strelitz, Tost-Laband to Gleiwitz. All along the route from Gross Strelitz, destroyed railway stations and blown-up bridges and shelled villages and houses were passed, traces of recent fighting between Poles and Germans. At one or two wayside stations where the train made brief halts armed Polish patrols and irregulars, mostly in ragged clothes, with yellow arm-bands, approached and asked questions of the Commanding Officer as to whether any civilians were concealed in the train, now and again searching the carriages. At Gross Strelitz, from which the Poles had withdrawn on the previous day, most of the people were Germans. It was a curious experience for the battalion to pass through two sets of combatants and for the Commanding Officer to have to interview leaders on both sides.

The whole train journey had been adventurous, as on starting there had been rumours that the train stood a good chance of being blown up, and that the Poles would certainly fire on it. There was, however, nothing of the kind.

Gleiwitz was reached shortly after noon and there the battalion met the 3rd Bn. The Middlesex Regiment, another unit of the 1st British Brigade, which had that morning arrived. The Rangers started from the station to their appointed post, about 12 miles off, early in the afternoon, The Middlesex Regiment leaving Gleiwitz at the same time. A state of siege had been proclaimed at Gleiwitz, but the British troops were authorized to pass through the town. The townspeople received the Rangers very cordially, cheering them through the streets. The area allotted to the charge of the Rangers was reached by seven in the evening, after passing various Polish and French outposts.

The general instructions on leaving Gleiwitz were to take up a position between the Polish and German lines to prevent or stop them fighting—an operation that called for tact and skilful handling.

The sector to be held by the 1st British Upper Silesian Brigade was

occupied in conjunction with French troops. It was divided into three sections. The Northern was in charge of Colonel Moir, of the 1st Bn. The Royal Irish, with his own regiment and a French battalion. The Central section was in charge of Lieut.-Colonel H. F. N. Jourdain, C.M.G., with the 2nd Bn. The Connaught Rangers and two companies of French infantry of the 23rd Bn. Chasseurs Alpains. The Southern section was under Colonel Wright, V.C., C.M.G., D.S.O., with his regiment the 3rd Bn. the Middlesex Regiment, and one company of French infantry. The sections extended along a line of small villages: Butchek-Kaltwasser-Ujest-Rudzinitz-Latscha-Rachowitz-Schierrakowitz-Jakobswalde, touch being kept up by outlying posts and patrols.

The Polish forces had recently been in occupation of the centre section but had evacuated it. They were however not far off and artillery fire and musketry between them and the Germans was heard from the Schloss von Ruffer at Rudzinitz where Head-quarters were established, at no great distance throughout the afternoon of the day that the Rangers arrived. The occupant of the Schloss Ruffer was an elderly Prussian officer, who in former days had seen considerable service with the Leib-Cuirassiers in the Sadowa campaign of 1866, and at Metz and Sedan in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. He was most courteous and friendly throughout the stay of the battalion in the district, during which period the Commanding Officer had his quarters in the Schloss.

A curious attempt was made on the part of the Poles to spread their propaganda by distributing printed papers in English among the men of D Company of the Rangers on June 7th, on D Company taking up billets in a village called Boitschow. The document ran as follows.

‘ TO THE BRITISH TROOPS IN UPPER SILESIA.

‘ The Germans have tried to persuade you that you have been sent to Upper Silesia to crush a rebellion against Great Britain and the other Allied powers. They have painted us as black as possible for their own ends.

DON'T BELIEVE THEM.

We are not rebelling against the authority of the Allies.

We are not Polish regulars disguised as Upper-Silesians.

We are not Bolsheviks.

We are not enemies of Great Britain, France and Italy ; we are their loyal friends and many of us have deserted from the German Army during the Great War to serve in your ranks and help fight the Huns.

We are workmen and farmers bred in the country, who will sooner die than go back to German rule. Our aim is to work in peace and live in a free country.

We have never been treated fairly by Germany and have never been given a fair chance. The only right a "Polish swine," as the Germans call us, ever had was to get less wages than the Germans, pay higher taxes and go and get killed for the Kaiser and Fatherland.

No Pole was ever allowed to better his position in life. We were condemned (*sic*) to live and die as white slaves in order to furnish cheap labour to our German masters. Don't blame us if we are sick of it.

We are not telling you this to try to make you disobey orders. You are soldiers and we know that you must do your duty. We only want you to understand that we are not your enemies and that all we ask for is fair play and freedom from German slavery.'

The companies of the battalion, until the end of June, occupied billets in and about Rudzinitz and in villages in the vicinity of the Schloss, with outlying detachments. Each company provided its own posts and the total front held by the Rangers extended over 12 kilometres. Patrolling was carried out daily all over the area but without encountering armed opposition. Firing was heard in the distance from time to time and reports were constantly being received that the Germans were about to attack the Poles in force, but no collisions took place. The armed parties of Poles which constantly showed themselves, wandering about and foraging and looting the cottages of the peasantry, usually dispersed or withdrew on receiving warning from the patrols, and eventually a proclamation was issued prohibiting the appearance of armed Poles in the districts occupied by the Allied troops.

On June 14th C and D Companies under Major Hutchinson, strength 5 Officers and 140 Other Ranks, were moved to Gross Strelitz, and B Company, strength 3 Officers and 56 Other Ranks, to Ratisbor. Headquarters and A Company, strength 13 Officers and 192 Other Ranks, with 25 Other Ranks attached, continued at Rudzinitz. On their way to Ratisbor B Company, on approaching a section of the German line, was held up by a German battalion, the commander of which was, in the words of the *War Diary*, "offensive and rude, saying that he had orders from his Brigade not to let any Allied troops through." A pass was procured after some delay, but again, shortly afterwards, the Company was peremptorily stopped by 100 Germans with machine-guns and trench mortars who were drawn up aggressively across the road. On the production of the pass eventually the Company, who were accompanying a convoy, were allowed to proceed to their destination.

Elsewhere, the Polish insurgents appeared inclined to assert themselves and openly to resent interference, but being treated with firmness they

soon began to behave themselves with respect. So order was restored throughout the area under the control of the battalion.

The battalion was provisionally attached on June 16th to the 46th French Division, the Head-quarters of which, under General de Brantis, were at Gleiwitz. As a result of the transfer C and D Companies returned to Rudzinitz, whence D Company on June 18th moved to Rachowitz, a former Polish local head-quarters where twenty Poles were still in occupation. Captain A. S. Beard ordered the Poles out and they obeyed quietly. A platoon of C Company on the 19th was sent to occupy the Schloss at Rudnau, owned by the Countess Ballestrom, who had appealed to the Rangers to prevent the Poles returning and destroying the Schloss. A German aeroplane flew over the district during June 19th and dropped propaganda leaflets setting forth the German view of the situation.

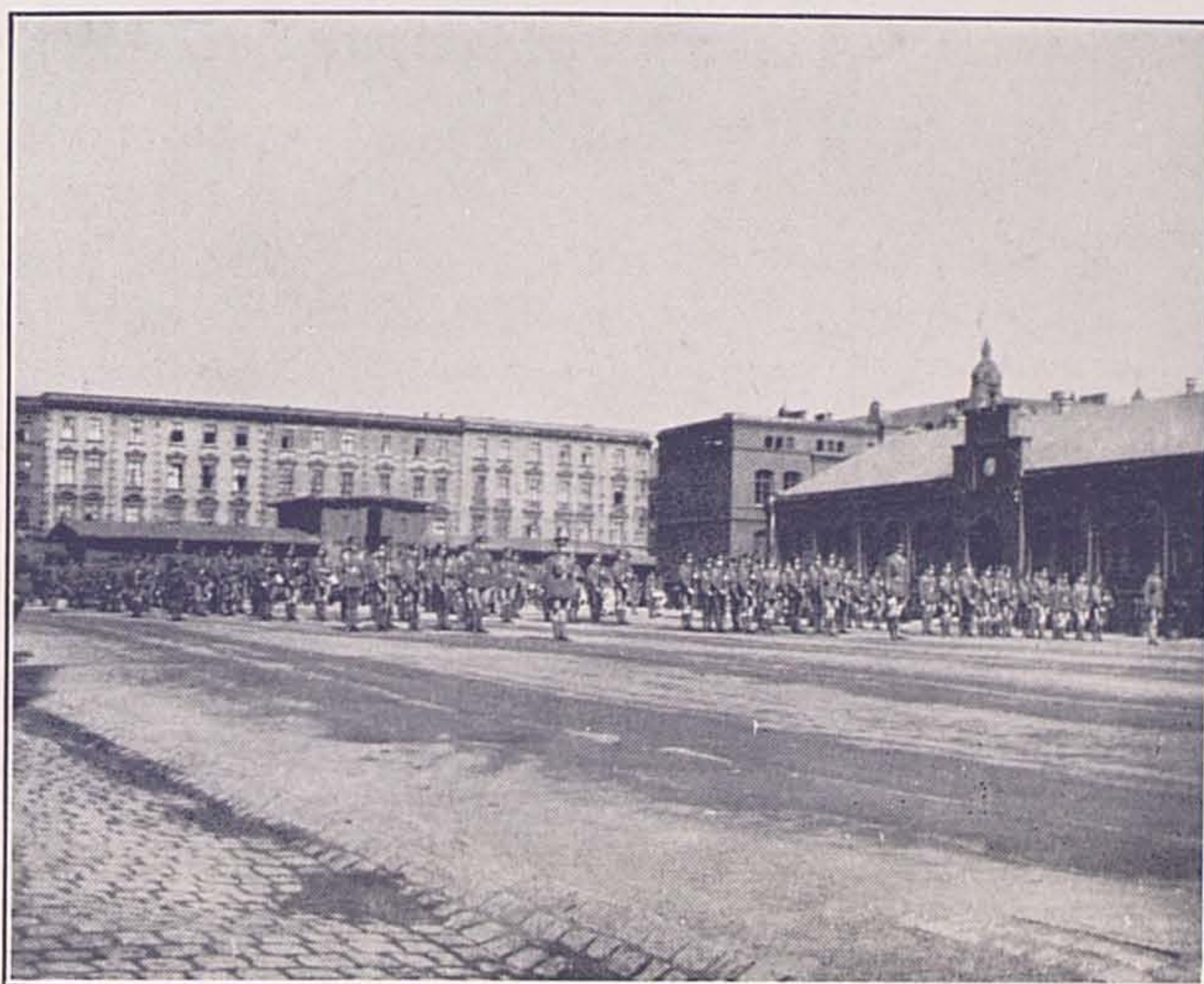
On June 21st Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain was appointed to command the Rudnau and Rudzinitz sub-sector, with, included in the command, two companies of the 23rd Chasseurs Alpins and a squadron of the 12th (French) Hussars, two machine-gun companies and armoured cars.

The local situation in the Rudnau and Rudzinitz sub-sector quietened down during the last week of June, in consequence of the Convention established between the Inter-Allied Commission and the leaders of the Polish Insurgents. The Polish leaders now agreed to withdraw from the disputed territory and disperse their followers, pending the final settlement by the Commission as to boundaries. The last insurrectionary effort in the district had been checked on June 22nd by the prompt action of the Officer-Commanding the Rangers and Major Hutchinson, by preventing an attempt by the local Mayors to call up by proclamation for mobilization all males in the district of the 1901-1892 conscription classes. The Commanding Officer and Major Hutchinson interviewed the Polish authorities and compelled them to cancel and take down the proclamation, and to stop mustering men or levying monetary contributions. It proved a salutary lesson.

On June 27th the Commanding Officer received orders from the French 46th Division for the battalion, with a company of French infantry and a squadron of cavalry, to leave Rudzinitz. It was directed to move to Gross Rauden and Ratisbor, in order to follow up the Polish retirement then in progress. The move was carried out on June 28th, numbers of armed Poles "who did not look pleased to see us" being met on the way. At Gross Rauden it was found that a meeting of the local people had been called to protest against the occupation of the village by the English. It was promptly prevented and the Mayor ordered to take down the proclamation he had issued. He did so and the agitation collapsed.

The Commanding Officer and Head-quarters on arrival were quartered

UPPER SILESIA.



BEUTHEN—TWO COMPANIES, BAND AND DRUMS,
ON PARADE.

1921.



BEUTHEN—MOLTKE BARRACKS.

in the princely historic and stately castle of the Duke of Ratisbor, which the owner had vacated previously.

Patrolling was at once undertaken by parties of cavalry and men of the Rangers in motor-lorries to clear the district of armed Poles. The work was carried on expeditiously during June 29th and 30th and July 1st, and at the end of the third day the district was reported entirely clear.

Orders were next received on July 1st for a move from Gross Rauden to Rybnik, where Head-quarters were to be established while following up the next line of the Polish retreat was carried out. The move took place next day (July 2nd), the march starting at 10 a.m. At Rybnik, where the battalion arrived shortly before 2 p.m., the Polish inhabitants gave the Rangers a remarkably hearty welcome, a number of German damsels offering bouquets of flowers as a token of goodwill. On the battalion taking up billets also a deputation of Polish women waited on the Commanding Officer with a great wreath of red and white flowers. Colonel Jourdain was too busy to receive them and deputed Lieutenant E. A. Smith to do so. On his going out to them they placed the wreath round the officer's neck. As before, patrolling to clear the district and follow up the retreating Poles began on arrival. It was carried out during July 3rd and 4th with complete success, and at the close of the second day no armed Poles remained in the district.

On July 4th the battalion ceased to be under the orders of the French 46th Division and reverted to the 1st British Silesian Brigade again. The Rangers having rapidly and successfully carried out the duty of clearing that part of the country of insurgents, were ordered to move on July 5th to Beuthen, a large mining town of 7,000 inhabitants, still under martial law. The battalion started at 10.45 a.m. in French motor-lorries and after two halts at villages on the way, Beuthen was reached at 6.10 p.m. Owing to Beuthen being under martial law, as said, and the curfew being in force from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., no civilians were in the streets when the Rangers came in, but, as it was learned later, had it not been for the late arrival of the battalion, a great public demonstration of welcome would have been given by the citizens. The Rangers took up their quarters in the large and roomy Moltke Barracks at Beuthen, until the distribution arrangements of detachments were carried out.

On July 7th A Company proceeded to Scharley and C Company to Gross Dombrowka, frontier villages in the "Eastern Area," the district allotted to the supervision of the Commanding Officer. Head-quarters with B and D Companies remained at Moltke Barracks and patrolled the neighbourhood from there. On July 7th also, B and D Companies paraded to keep order along the route of the funeral procession of a French Major,

who had been murdered three days previously. No disturbance occurred. On July 8th C Company was similarly employed during the funeral of a German civilian, in order to prevent an expected demonstration on the part of the populace. No disturbance, however, occurred.

During the next few days there were rumours of a disturbance or "putsch" taking place and arrangements were made to prevent it, but nothing happened. On several occasions also parties of armed Poles tried to cross the districts patrolled by A and C Companies, but were stopped and turned back to the frontier line. Searches for concealed arms were at the same time carried out in villages. Polish flag demonstrations at places within the cleared area were kept in check and stopped. A re-allotment of the companies in the Eastern Area was made on July 13th. A, D and C Companies took up outlying posts on the frontier while B Company remained quartered in Beuthen. D Company on July 19th was temporarily moved and transferred to a French command. On July 23rd Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain took over the Civil command of Beuthen under the state of siege, from Lieut.-Colonel Goodwin of the 3rd Bn. Middlesex.

The Inter-Allied Commissioners, British, French and Italian, among whom were General Le Rond, the President, and Major-General Sir W. C. G. Heneker, K.C.B., D.S.O., G.O.C. of the British forces in Silesia, arrived at Beuthen station on July 26th while on tour. They halted there for nearly an hour, and were received by guards of honour of the 3rd Bn. Middlesex Regiment and 27th Bn. Chasseurs Alpains, whom the Rangers first met at Beuthen, and the bands of The Connaught Rangers and the Chasseurs Alpains.

On July 30th a draft of sixty-nine Other Ranks, under Lieutenants V. E. Benke and W. O'Connor, M.C., left Beuthen for Dover, for leave before proceeding to join the 1st Battalion in India.

Information was received on July 31st that a serious putsch was being organized by the Poles at Beuthen for the night of August 2nd, in connection with a rising at Gleiwitz and elsewhere. In view of an outbreak special precautions were ordered. A defence scheme was prepared in case of attack and A and C Companies were warned by telephone. At Moltke Barracks all the gates were fitted with barbed wire and made secure, and on the night in question all lay down in uniform ready to turn out instantly. Beyond, however, some shots, fired in the town towards midnight, nothing unusual occurred. At Gleiwitz also all remained quiet. The whole of the 1st British Silesian Brigade, however, was kept on the *qui vive* all night.

On August 1st B Company moved out from Beuthen and relieved C Company at Gross Dombrowka, C Company returning to Moltke Barracks.



UPPER SILESIA.
 (The territory in dispute is shown shaded.)

A German named Joschke, arrested at Kreuzberg, who confessed to the murder of the French Major (Commandant Montalégre) on July 4th, was brought in to Beuthen and lodged in the prison under guard of British and French troops. Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain, who in addition to his military command, had, as Officer in Civil charge at Beuthen, while the city was in a state of siege, supervision of the prison guards, was responsible for the safe custody of the man. Sniping at the sentries round the prison from houses in Beuthen was of nightly occurrence at this time and special arrangements had to be made for their security. On August 5th a draft of one Officer (Lieutenant P. J. O'Byrne) and eighty-seven Other Ranks arrived at Beuthen from Dover, bringing up the strength of the battalion to 26 Officers and 421 Other Ranks. On August 26th Major R. L. Payne, D.S.O., and Captain M. E. Fell, M.C., with three Other Ranks, joined the battalion. The prisoner Joschke was taken to Tarnowitz for trial on August 26th under a British and French escort. Major Hutchinson, Lieutenant W. O'Connor and sixteen Other Ranks of the Rangers accompanied the party. The prisoner was brought back that evening and again taken to Tarnowitz for sentence on the 30th. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

During the first half of August there were numerous rumours of impending putsches and disturbances by Poles or Germans, owing to the state of general unrest and uncertainty as to the ultimate decision of the boundary Commission, whose deliberations were considered to be unduly protracted. On August 11th a German in the Allied Intelligence Department in Upper Silesia informed Colonel Jourdain that some Poles had planned a raid to injure the horses of the transport, necessitating the putting out of extra posts. A cypher message was also received from Brigade Head-quarters that a Polish rising was imminent. Nothing however took place. The battalion was, in this connection, ordered from Brigade Head-quarters to be ready to entrain for Tarnowitz on August 12th, but the move, just as the battalion was ready to start, was ordered to be deferred. Fresh orders were then sent for the battalion to be kept ready to start at six hours' notice.

Late that night (August 12th) the Commanding Officer was called to the Orderly Room where he found Major Villiers, the Kreis-Controller of the Beuthen District, and the Adjutant of the battalion. Major Villiers had received information from several sources, Divisional Head-quarters at Oppeln, Brigade Head-quarters at Gleiwitz, the Chief of the Police at Gleiwitz and from elsewhere, that the Poles intended to make a general rising and attack several towns within the next three hours. The British and Italian garrisons at Beuthen and Kattowitz were specially named as places certain to be attacked, and Beuthen in particular was to be the objective of the 8th Posener Regiment and the so-called Beuthen Regiment

of Upper Silesian Infantry. A telegram was further received from Kosen to the effect that the secret orders, issued by the Polish leaders, had been seen and their authenticity was vouched for. All the officers of the battalion were at once called up to the barracks and the inlying picquet and all the men of the companies at Beuthen and the outlying posts, machine gunners and others, stood-to under arms. For one reason or another however the Poles abandoned their design, if it really existed, and no trouble resulted. No disturbance was heard from the barracks, although the Military Police later reported that several shots had been fired in the town. After remaining in position till nearly 5 a.m. the men were dismissed to get a short rest, all except the inlying picquet. On the 14th it was notified from Divisional Head-quarters that the general situation was a little easier, but that there was still serious unrest among the Poles. The battalion was ordered in consequence to be kept ready to move at short notice. The intended move to Tarnowitz was however cancelled on August 15th.

On August 16th it became known that the Supreme Allied Council had shifted the responsibility for delimiting the future boundaries of Upper Silesia to the League of Nations, and after that there came about a general quietening down of the situation everywhere. Both sides blamed the other for the unrest and said they were ready to be peaceable. The Beuthen Poles declared they would not plan or attempt another putsch if the Germans would conduct themselves quietly. The local Germans for their part said they would give no trouble as long as the Poles behaved themselves. The Polish insurgent leader Korfanty now also declared for peace. He announced his readiness to await the final decision quietly and that he "had done with rebellion and putsches." There were no further alarms at Beuthen after that during August, although hardly a night passed without occasional shots being heard in one quarter or another of the town, the result mostly of street brawls among individuals.

The 27th Battalion of the Chasseurs Alpins left Beuthen on September 5th for Gleiwitz, being relieved by the 15th Battalion. The relations between the 27th and the Rangers had throughout been of the most friendly description and the bands of the two regiments had repeatedly played selections of music at each other's head-quarters and barracks. The French greatly appreciated the compliment, and on several occasions the French Commanding Officer expressed to Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain and the officers of the Rangers their admiration of the excellence of the Rangers' band. Equally friendly and intimate relations were at once established between the incoming 15th Chasseurs Alpins and the Rangers.

The state of siege at Beuthen was raised on September 7th, although

it was still maintained elsewhere at places where occasional small disturbances took place from time to time. Colonel Jourdain's control of Beuthen as Civil Governor then terminated. The officers of the 15th Chasseurs Alpains gave a *déjeuner* to the officers of the Rangers and the 3rd Bn. The Middlesex Regiment on the 7th.

On September 12th the French General Naulin, G.O.C. Allied Forces in Upper Silesia, visited Beuthen. He was received by the Brigade Commander, Brigadier-General Wauchope, and the officers of the Rangers and the other regiments of the garrison. In an address that he made General Naulin specially referred to the friendship between the 27th Chasseurs Alpains and the Rangers. General Heneker, he said, had expressed regret that the situation had required the move elsewhere of the Chasseurs. He was sure, however, added General Naulin, that the 15th Chasseurs Alpains and the Rangers would become equally good friends—as speedily proved to be the case.

Not only indeed had the Officers of the Rangers been on the best possible terms with the French Officers, but the Sergeants of both nationalities also had been on exceptionally friendly terms, meeting and dining in one another's messes on more than one occasion.

Owing partly to the uncertainty as to when the battalion would be able to quit the country, arrangements for winter training schemes and courses were taken in hand on September 9th.

On arrival at Beuthen a Cross-Country Team was organized by Lieutenant E. Barry, to have two runs a week. It promptly entered for the British Silesian Force Championship Race, and at the meeting for the Cup, presented by General Heneker, which was held at Tarnowitz on October 27th, the Rangers won it. Football and Hockey teams were formed in September, using the only suitable open spaces, market places and barrack squares, but excellent games and matches were played all the same.

On September 16th the officers of the Rangers gave a dinner at the *Stützenhaus* to the officers of the 15th Chasseurs Alpains, at which also the Commandants of the 23rd and 27th Chasseurs Alpains were present, together with Major Villiers, the Kreis-Controller of the district, and Lieutenant Dodin, the Beuthen town Kreis-Controller. The occasion was a brilliant success. The French officers expressed themselves as specially pleased at having their healths drunk with musical honours. The band of the battalion played and closed the banquet with the National Anthems of Great Britain and France. A few days later (September 22nd) a deputation of French Officers called on the Commanding Officer of the Rangers specially to thank him for the honour of the dinner.

An immense demonstration of some 5,000 Poles took place on the Moltke

Platz, Beuthen, on the afternoon of September 22nd. In anticipation of possible disturbances by people from outside, a party of twenty Rangers was sent out to watch the roads and a party of the Middlesex Regiment were brought in from Michielowitz. The assemblage however was quite orderly and inoffensive, and after two hours dispersed quietly at 5 p.m.

The battalion, on October 2nd, took over the armoured train at Beuthen, Captain R. V. Burke taking charge, with a party of twenty-four Other Ranks, equipped with two machine-guns and two light guns. A guard of one N.C.O. and three men was posted over the train.

In the first week of October reports began to circulate in Upper Silesia that the decision of the League of Nations Council as to the boundaries was about to be announced. It was first expected to be out on October 9th, and in consequence, as the day approached, in case the result was contrary to Polish aspirations, special precautionary measures against disturbances were ordered by Divisional Head-quarters. At Beuthen, where the whole population were in a state of nerves, orders were issued for the Rangers, and other troops in garrison, to be kept in barracks ready for emergencies. The men were allowed out of barracks on the following day, as the report about decision proved unfounded and the people remained quiet.

On October 13th, in consequence of further alleged telegrams in the German press, Divisional Head-quarters again sent instructions for precautionary measures to be taken at Beuthen, and sentries were doubled and special guards posted at the barrack gates. Orders were also received by the Commanding Officer to send the two companies at Scharley and Gross Dombrowka to Lepine, a small place in a district where the people were said to be excited. The two companies, B and C, proceeded there next day, relieving two companies of the 3rd Bn. The Middlesex Regiment, ordered elsewhere. The reports as to the decision of the League of Nations proved baseless and all continued quiet meanwhile.

Then, once more, on October 20th, Divisional Head-quarters sent round another warning and orders to prepare against expected trouble. This time the report as to the Report of the League of Nations was true. The decision was at last to be made known on the following day, October 21st. All the troops at Beuthen were confined to quarters during October 21st from *reveille* until noon on the 23rd, when the confinement to barracks was raised. All had however to be in quarters by 6 p.m. An inlying picquet was retained both during the day and at night. The town remained quiet throughout the period, the population being indifferent.

On October 29th Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain and Officers of the Rangers dined with the 15th Chasseurs Alpins. At the dinner the French Com-

mandant made a most complimentary speech, emphasizing the great kindness he and all under his command received from the Rangers.

November 2nd, All Souls' Day, was kept by the whole garrison at Beuthen with special observances. There was first a service in the Roman Catholic church, which was attended by a detachment of men from the battalion with Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain and Major Hutchinson and other officers. Most of the French officers and several Italian Staff Officers of the Commission attended. The band of the Rangers played the procession to church, and during the service played first the "Faith of our Fathers" and afterwards the "Marche Funèbre." Mass for the dead of the regiments in Beuthen and for relatives of those present that day was said by Father J. N. MacDonald, O.S.B., the Roman Catholic chaplain. During the morning also there was a procession of British, French and Italians to the cemetery, the soldiers of the three nations carrying wreaths. The officers, about forty in number, marched after the bearers of the wreaths, headed by Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain and the French and Italian Commandants, who marched one at each side. About 200 men in all were present. On the wreaths being deposited at the monument to soldiers of the Allies who had died as prisoners-of-war at Beuthen, Father MacDonald said a citation in English, French and Italian and then recited the *De Profundis*. After that the officers and soldiers all marched past the monument and saluted. A party of the Rangers next proceeded to the Lutheran Cemetery, where other wreaths were deposited and a prayer was said by the Rev. A. W. P. Jaggard. The French Commandant expressed special thanks on behalf of himself, his officers and men to the Officer Commanding the Rangers for his presence at the graves of their compatriots.

On November 11th, Armistice Day was observed by the British garrison at Beuthen with a ceremonial parade on the Augusta Victoria Platz, on which the Union Flag was hoisted on a flagstaff. The Rangers, under Major Hutchinson, the 3rd Bn. The Middlesex Regiment, and a platoon of the 15th Chasseurs Alpins were on parade. On the stroke of 11 a.m. the flag was lowered, arms were presented and the two minutes' silence was observed. The massed bands then played "God Save the King" and the *Marseillaise*. Elsewhere in the garrison all guards presented arms and officers and men not on parade stood to attention for the two minutes' silence. The weather on the 11th was bitterly cold, as it had been for the past ten days. The ground was covered with snow and during November 11th more snow fell.

Between November 12th and 21st an epidemic of influenza broke out in the garrison at Beuthen and a number of cases occurred in the battalion. Fortunately they were only of a mild type and the epidemic practically ceased after the 21st.



UPPER SILESIA—POST NEAR SCHARLEY,
ON POLISH FRONTIER.

Polish Police post at other end of Bridge.



UPPER SILESIA—BEUTHEN—OFFICERS IN WINTER KIT.

January 1922.

With the beginning of December twenty-eight days' leave to the United Kingdom was opened for the British Force in Upper Silesia, counting from embarkation and disembarkation at Ostend. Leave to Ireland was not permitted until December 4th. It was subsequently closed again. The Commanding Officer and the Adjutant, Lieutenant E. Fitz H. Lynch, left Beuthen on leave on December 2nd, the duties being carried on during their absence by Major H. M. Hutchinson and Lieutenant F. T. Chamier.

Although the people of Beuthen were orderly as a whole, several cases of attacks by civilians on soldiers going about alone after dark were reported in the first week of December. As a result orders had to be issued that men leaving barracks on pass after 8 p.m. were only to go about in parties of three or more.

The battalion handed over charge of the armoured train to the 3rd Bn. The Middlesex Regiment on December 23rd.

1922

Lieut.-Colonel H. F. N. Jourdain and Lieutenant E. Fitz H. Lynch returned from leave to the United Kingdom on January 4th, and on January 8th Major Hutchinson and Lieutenant F. T. Chamier proceeded on leave.

During January there were rumours of a Polish rising, on account of alleged popular dissatisfaction in connection with new boundary delimitations at various places, and warning messages from Brigade Head-quarters were received at Beuthen. On January 15th, a telegram came directing the Rangers to be prepared for an outbreak and to increase the guards, with other precautions. There was another warning on January 20th, and again one on the 22nd, but on none of the occasions was there any sign of disturbance at Beuthen.

News came to hand on January 22nd that the Regimental Depot was to be moved within the next few weeks from Galway to Dover, and also that the 1st Battalion was to be ordered home from India.

Already rumours had reached Beuthen that the disbandment of the regiment was in contemplation, owing to political considerations and the establishment of a separate Irish Government in the Free State.

The long looked for and hoped for official notification that the 2nd Battalion was to leave Upper Silesia came on February 2nd. It was now definitely communicated that the departure for Dover was to take place in March. A relieving battalion would arrive, the communication stated, about March 20th. A week later, on February 8th, information was received that the 1st Battalion from India was expected to arrive in England also in March. The date was altered later to the middle of April.

Immediately following on that, on February 11th, definite intelligence that The Connaught Rangers were to be disbanded was received—"that," as a private diary puts it, "the old Regiment was doomed officially." The official statement, writes the officer, "was a great blow to all of us and I felt sick at heart all day long. Everyone was dejected. It is a fearful tragedy!"

The day for the departure of the battalion from Beuthen was finally notified on March 1st as the last day of that month, March 31st. On the evening of March 1st also the Rangers gave a dinner, for the second time, to the 15th Chasseurs Alpins, the guests also including Commandant Vergez, D.S.O., and officers of the 23rd, and Commandant Petitpas, D.S.O., and officers of the 27th Chasseurs, together with the staff officers and higher officials at Beuthen. As before, the dinner was a great success and was highly appreciated, in particular by the French officers.

In addition there were present: Captain Poupard, attached Upper Silesian Commission; Lieutenant Dubau, attached Upper Silesian Commission; Captain Carpinetto, Italian Army; Major Villiers, C.M.G., D.S.O., The Royal Sussex Regiment; Captain Selby, in command of the Green Police; and Commandant H. Mellier, 15th Chasseurs Alpins, with his second in command, Captain-Adjutant-Major de la Fenêtre.

Information that the battalion to relieve the Rangers was to be the 1st Bn. The Gloucestershire Regiment, was received on March 3rd.

The following letter from the Officer Commanding the 1st British Upper Silesian Brigade, dated March 16th 1922, was received by the Officer Commanding the battalion, and published as a Special Order of the Day:

" 2ND BATTALION, THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS.

" On the eve of this St. Patrick's Day, I wish to do something more than to merely wish your Regiment Good Luck; I wish also to express my deep sympathy with all Officers, N.C.O.'s and Men of the 2nd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, on the disbandment of their Corps.

" I value the opportunities I have had during the past nine months of knowing the 2nd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, and shall always remember the honour of having had the Regiment in my Command.

" I shall also always bear in mind the part that your battalion played in stopping the fighting and in settling the disorders which we found throughout the country when we first came to Upper Silesia.

" In whatever villages or districts you have been, the people, both Germans and Poles, have rightly looked to you for justice and fair play.

"Your relationship with the French troops posted to the Brigade has been most friendly.

"I wish to add that I feel that the disbandment of a Regiment with a History, Traditions and Record of Service, such as the 2nd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, is a loss, which not only I, but, I am sure, every soldier in the British Army regrets and deplores.

"Though I hope that the majority of Officers, N.C.O.'s and Men will continue to serve in the British Army, I know that this will not compensate you for the disbandment of your Regiment or for the break-up of your Battalion for which feeling and esprit-de-corps are so strong.

"(Sgd.) A. G. WAUCHOPE, Colonel-Commandant,
Commanding 1st British Upper Silesian Brigade."

16.3.22.

The last St. Patrick's Day in the history of the battalion as The Connaught Rangers was celebrated at Beuthen. The battalion paraded for Church at 10.10 a.m. and marched *via* Rossberg to the Church, where Father MacDonald preached. In his sermon Father MacDonald said that the Rangers could look back on the work they had done since 1919 as now completed. Their duty had been well fulfilled, which could not fail to be a lasting satisfaction to all.

Colonel-Commandant Wauchope emphasized his commendation of the Rangers in Upper Silesia a few days afterwards, when he came specially to Beuthen to take farewell of the battalion. "In a country teeming with temptations of every kind, and in a situation calling for tact and discretion from everyone in the battalion from the Commanding Officer down to the latest joined soldier, the Rangers," said the Brigadier, "had always maintained a high standard of discipline and efficiency. They had also kept up a close friendship throughout with the French troops and our other Allies during a most trying period. He desired personally to thank them for their efficient and splendid service which had helped so materially to put down the state of anarchy that had existed when the battalion arrived. He desired warmly to commend the battalion."

There was one more alarm for the Rangers at Beuthen on March 18th, the result of a telephone message from Brigade Head-quarters. An hour before midnight the battalion received orders to be ready to start in half an hour for Zabize, a place between Beuthen and Gleiwitz where, it was stated, the Poles and Germans were fighting. A number of motor lorries, said the message, would be placed at the disposal of the battalion. The "scare" was not entirely credited by the Commanding Officer but the requisite arrangements were made. Then, no further intelligence came,

and after remaining prepared to turn out until 1.30 a.m. (March 29th) things settled down again. In Beuthen itself, between 2 and 3 a.m. on the 19th, there was some firing for about twenty minutes near the barracks—a street fight between local Green Police and the Germeine Wache in which one of the police were killed. Some of the firing was on across the Victoria Augusta Platz, and several bullets were heard to hit the transport stables, fortunately without harming the horses.

The advance party, three officers and thirty men of the 1st Bn. The Gloucestershire Regiment, arrived at Beuthen on the afternoon of March 20th. The battalion was to follow in ten days' time.

The Brigade Commander visited the Rangers on March 24th and on the next day, accompanied by the Commanding Officer, he went out to Scharley to witness a tactical exercise by D Company.

The French 15th Chasseurs Alpins, on the evening of the 25th, gave a farewell dinner to the Officers of the Rangers, at which, also, officers of the 23rd and 27th Chasseurs Alpins were present. After a very successful and cordial dinner a large silver "Cor de Chasse" was brought in and presented on behalf of the Chasseurs in token of comradeship and good fellowship to Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain.

The Horn bore the following inscription :—

"Commandant Mellier,
and the Officers of the 15th Battalion Chasseurs Alpins.
To Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain, C.M.G.,
and Officers of the 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers,
With many thanks for the spirit of excellent friendship
and as a sign of great esteem
in remembrance of
Service together in Beuthen
1921-1922."

The Horn was then filled with champagne and handed round as a loving cup in British fashion.

March 31st was the last day of the Rangers at Beuthen. The relieving battalion, the 1st Bn. The Gloucestershire Regiment, arrived at the station at 10.10 a.m., being met by the Commanding Officer as well as a party of French officers. The Brigade Commander arrived at half-past twelve. He again thanked the Rangers for their good service in Upper Silesia and also for their extremely good behaviour, and wished all ranks the best of good luck in the future. The Brigadier was heartily cheered and soon afterwards, at 1.5 p.m., the Rangers left Moltke Barracks. The German Police as a mark of respect to the Rangers lined the main street



BEUTHEN—THE RETURN TO ENGLAND.

The 2nd Battalion parading at Moltke Barracks, being thanked by the Brigade Commander.

31st March 1922.



BEUTHEN RAILWAY STATION.

Guard of Honour of one hundred men and Band of The 15th Chasseurs Alpins, to The 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers on leaving Upper Silesia.

31st March 1922.

of Beuthen and the battalion was played to the station by the band of the Rangers and the bands of the 3rd Middlesex and the Gloucestershire Regiments. A Guard of Honour of 100 men of the 15th Chasseurs Alpains with the regimental band was mounted at the station. The officers of the Chasseurs Alpains attended at the station with other Allied Officers to bid the Rangers farewell. The train left for Oppeln amidst great cheering, the officers on the platform standing at the salute and the French band playing the National Anthem.

Oppeln was reached at 4.10 p.m., and the battalion detrained there and marched for the night to the Reception Camp.

The battalion, with both the King's and the Regimental Colours, paraded at 9.15 a.m. on April 1st for inspection by General Sir W. Heneker, K.C.B., D.S.O., Commanding the British Forces in Upper Silesia. General Heneker was accompanied by General Naulin, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied troops in Upper Silesia, and the President of the Allied Commission, General Le Rond. At the close of the inspection the French Generals addressed the battalion in English, thanking them for their services and expressing appreciation of the high state of discipline the Rangers had maintained. General Heneker, in his address, expressed his great regret that his own old regiment was going home for disbandment. Its behaviour and discipline while in his Silesian command had been perfect. At the close the battalion gave three cheers for the Allied Commissioners and then marched past in column of route and proceeded to the station again to entrain.

The train left Oppeln at 10.10 a.m.

The Brigade Commander, Colonel-Commandant A. G. Wauchope, C.M.G., D.S.O., made the following Report on the battalion on its departure:

"The difficult duties the Battalion was called on to perform during last summer were invariably well carried out. Good relationship both with the French Battalion with whom the Battalion co-operated, and with the inhabitants, was maintained throughout. The good discipline of the Battalion was maintained in spite of the many temptations in Silesia.

"The difficulties in training were largely overcome by careful organization and the good work of the Officers.

"The small tactical exercises that I have witnessed of this Battalion have always been carefully prepared beforehand and well executed by all ranks."

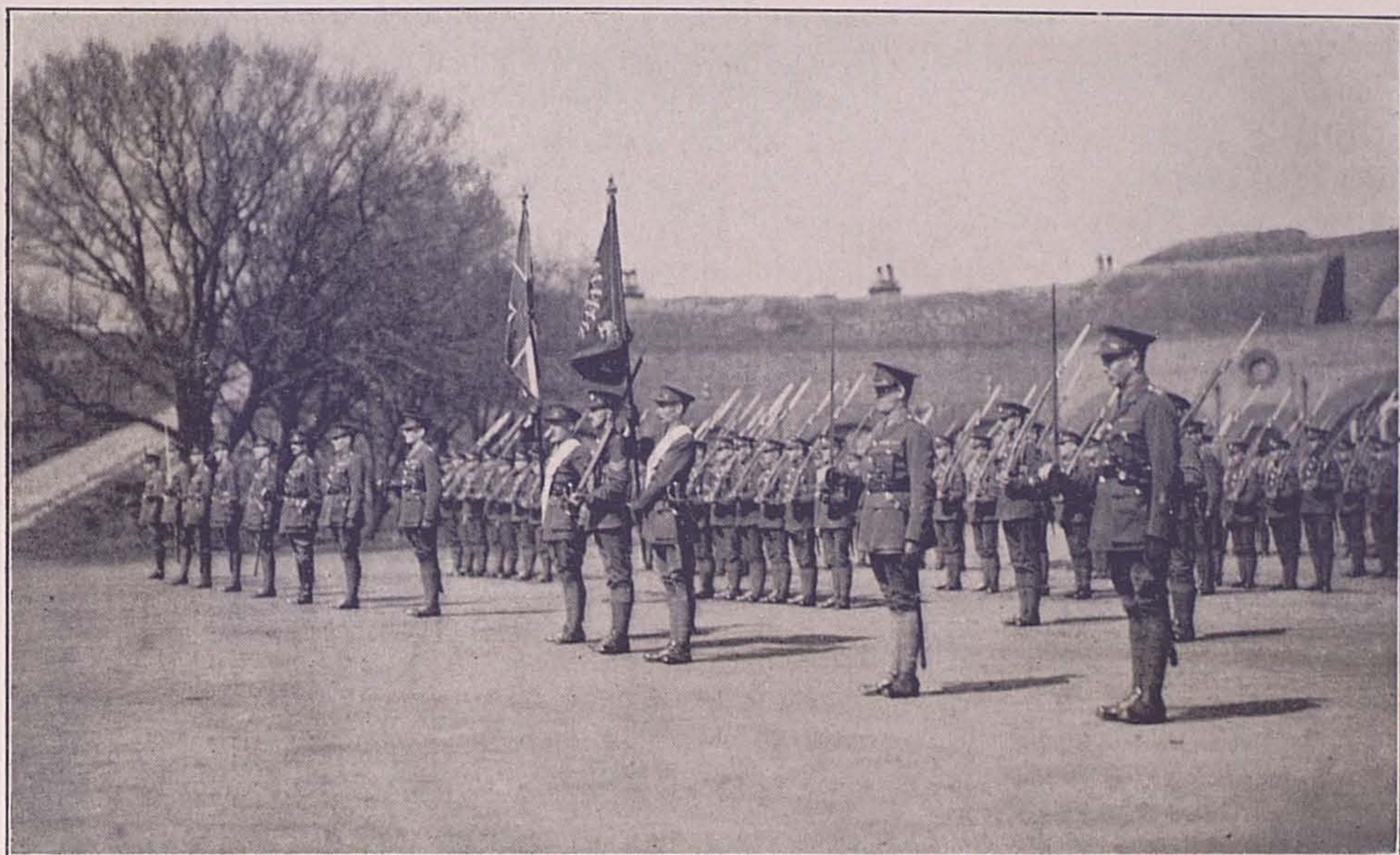
The General Officer Commanding the troops in Upper Silesia also reported as follows:

“The Battalion has done excellently in Upper Silesia and is well commanded.”

The train journey followed the same route as that by which the Rangers had come to Silesia, arriving at Cologne Station on April 3rd at 11.36 a.m. At Cologne the battalion detrained and proceeded for the day to the barracks of the 13th Hussars, by whom the greatest hospitality was shown to the battalion by the officers and all ranks. It was met at the station by General Sir A. Godley, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Commanding the British Rhine forces. He complimented the Rangers on their services in Upper Silesia and said that General Heneker had informed him that he was very grieved at their departure. It left Cologne at 10.30 that night by train for Ostend, where the battalion arrived on April 4th at 9.30 a.m. and embarked in two Channel packets for Dover. Head-quarters with A and B Companies, the Band and Drums, under Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain, crossed in the first boat, which reached Dover after a rough crossing of nearly four hours at 4.30 p.m., proceeding to Connaught Barracks. The second party, the Left Half Battalion, under Major Hutchinson, embarked at Ostend at 2.30 p.m. and reached Dover at 6.30 p.m., also proceeding to Connaught Barracks. The Rangers were met on arrival at Dover by the Brigadier and officers of the garrison, and were played up to barracks by the pipers of The Royal Irish Fusiliers.

The 1st Battalion, which had been serving in India since November 1919, was now also making active preparations for the impending disbandment (Vol. I, pp. 571-574).

On the very day on which the 2nd Battalion arrived at Dover (April 4th) the 1st Battalion, its ranks already much thinned by numerous drafts to other units in India, left Rawal Pindi for home, where, on arrival, it was finally quartered at Shorncliffe.



2nd BATTALION—THE LAST PARADE AT DOVER.

(Inspection by the G.O.C. the 4th Division.)

11th April 1922.



(With Colours) Capt. A. S. Beard. Lieut. H. W. Baker, M.C.
 (Back Row) Lieut. E. Barry. Lieut. F. T. Chamier. Lieut. E. A. Smith, M.C. Lieut. C. E. K. Bagot, M.C. Lieut. T. Kelsey, M.C., D.C.M. Lieut. J. M. Garrett, M.C.
 Capt. R. G. W. Callaghan. Lieut. C. G. Gaden, M.C. Capt. D. H. Wickham. Lieut. E. A. K. Robinson. Lieut. Norris (A.E.C.). Lieut. F. C. Woods.
 (Centre Row) Lieut. E. D. MacCormack. Capt. J. E. Hume, D.S.O. Major H. J. Nolan-Ferrall. Capt. R. V. Burke. Major G. F. Callaghan, M.C. Capt. G. J. B. E. Massy, M.C. Major J. M. B. Wratishaw. Capt. M. E. Fell, M.C. Capt. G. R. C. Brook. Capt. T. Cheadle. Lieut. G. B. Champion. Lieut. P. J. O'Byrne.
 Capt. E. Lindsay-Young. Lieut. and Adj. E. Fitz H. Lynch.
 (Seated) Major and Bt. Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. H. R. Atkinson. Lieut.-Colonel and Qr.-Mr. C. Smyth. Lieut.-Colonel H. Gore. Colonel S. J. Murray, D.S.O.
 Lieut.-Colonel H. F. N. Jourdain, C.M.G. (Commanding). Colonel F. J. Byrne, C.M.G. Major H. M. Hutchinson, C.M.G., D.S.O. Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Worsley-Gough, C.M.G. Major C. J. O'Sullivan. Capt. and Qr.-Mr. C. F. Dryden. Capt. C. A. C. Turner.
 (On Ground) Lieut. H. A. Benke. Lieut. V. E. Benke. Lieut. D. T. McWeeney, M.C. Lieut. F. V. Lyons.

OFFICERS, 2nd BATTALION, PAST AND PRESENT.

Connaught Barracks, Dover.

21st April 1922.

CHAPTER LXXI

1922

IN GARRISON AT DOVER. THE LAST GUARD OF HONOUR OF THE CON-
NAUGHT RANGERS TO H.M. THE KING. RECEPTION OF THE COLOURS
BY THE KING AT WINDSOR CASTLE. DISBANDMENT.

A WEEK after arrival at Dover the battalion was inspected on the Fort Burgoyne parade ground, at noon on April 11th, by Major-General Sir C. D. Shute, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., with Colonel-Commandant Marindin. General Shute expressed himself as much pleased with the battalion in all respects. Colonel Marindin expressed himself delighted with the turn-out and with their arms drill. He further heartily congratulated the battalion on the extremely satisfactory report they had received from both their Divisional and Brigade Commanders in Upper Silesia.

A re-union of about fifty past and present Officers of the battalion took place at Connaught Barracks on April 21st,

At Dover, on May 13th, the 2nd Bn. The Connaught Rangers formed the Guard of Honour to receive His Majesty King George on the occasion of His Majesty's return to England from visiting the War Cemeteries on the Western Front. The Guard of Honour was under the command of Major H. M. Hutchinson, C.M.G., D.S.O. After being received with a Royal Salute, His Majesty inspected the Guard of Honour, accompanied by the Commanding Officer, Lieut.-Colonel H. F. N. Jourdain, C.M.G. Before proceeding to the royal train the King informed the Commanding Officer that he was very much pleased with the Guard of Honour. His Majesty added, with much feeling, that he was exceedingly sorry for the approaching disbandment of The Connaught Rangers, and that he had done all in his power to prevent it taking place. His Majesty further said that he deeply sympathized with all ranks of the regiment. Field-Marshal Earl Haig, who was accompanying the King, congratulated the Commanding Officer on the fine physique of the Guard of Honour.

Detailed instructions were issued on May 25th. The regular *personnel* of the two Militia battalions and the Depot Staff were posted to the 2nd

Battalion, and both Regular Battalions were reduced to cadres of five Officers and seventy Other Ranks.

Then, on May 30th, it was announced that His Majesty the King had been graciously pleased to intimate that he would receive the Colours of the Irish Regiments and to place them in safe keeping in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.

The following letter was received by the Commanding Officer in the first week in June:

From COLONEL-COMMANDANT A. H. MARINDIN, C.B., D.S.O.,
Commanding 12th Infantry Brigade, Dover,
To O.C., 2nd Battalion.

The Constable's Tower, Dover,
4th June, 1922.

MY DEAR JOURDAIN,—

As I hear that a number of your men are going away on Tuesday, and as I shall be away myself till the end of the week, I shall not have the opportunity I hoped to have of seeing your men personally to say good-bye and to thank them for all their loyal service.

I hope, therefore, that you will convey to all ranks my very great sorrow at the disbandment of your historic Regiment. I am very proud to have had it under my command for nearly three years, during all of which time it has shown good discipline, cheerful and loyal service, and an admirable spirit of sport and good fellowship. I only wish I could have it under my command in war.

I trust that those who transfer to other Regiments will carry with them the high traditions of your Regiment and that both they and those who go to Civil life will never forget that once they were "Rangers."

In these days of trouble in Ireland, and of unemployment and distress in the rest of the world, I strongly advise those who can do so to continue serving in His Majesty's Army, and to transfer, if possible, to battalions serving abroad, in India, Gibraltar, Malta, etc. By the time their service is over there may be quieter and more prosperous times at home. If I were commanding a battalion I should be proud to take as many of The Connaught Rangers as cared to come to me, and I am very sure they will receive a good welcome wherever they go. Especially do I advise men who are on the married quarters roll to continue serving. They at all events secure quarters, rations, schooling, etc., for a few years.

I hope you will tell your men that not only I and all other soldiers grieve over the passing of such a fine Regiment, but that His Majesty has expressed in the strongest manner his deep distress at losing his Irish Regiments, and is showing his concern by taking the Colours of

the Regiment into his own custody. I think it is up to us all to hope that these Colours will be the soul on which a resurrected Connaught Rangers will be built.

In conclusion, will you thank all ranks from me for their cheerful and loyal service, and for the friendly feeling they have always shown, and will you give them my best wishes for their prosperity and happiness in the future.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) A. H. MARINDIN.

The date for the reception of the Colours at Windsor Castle was fixed for June 12th. On June 11th the following farewell letter to the Battalion was issued by the Commanding Officer :

SPECIAL ORDER OF THE DAY

By

LIEUT.-COLONEL H. F. N. JOURDAIN, C.M.G.

Commanding 2nd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers.

Dover,

11th June, 1922.

On the disbandment of the Battalion, and after being nearly thirty years in the Rangers, Lieut.-Colonel Jourdain bids all Officers, Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the Battalion good-bye, with deep regret.

He wishes to thank all ranks for their fine loyalty, for their devotion to duty, and for their unfailing support while he has commanded the Battalion.

He will never forget the cheerful courtesy which has always been extended to him by all ranks during his service in The Connaught Rangers.

He wishes to congratulate cordially, and to thank most sincerely, all those who have done so much, both on duty and in the field of sport, to keep up the good name of the Regiment and to maintain in the 2nd Battalion the high reputation for sport and that keen sense of friendly rivalry which have done so much during the past two years, and which has gained such a splendid name for the Battalion in the 4th Division and in the Dover District.

To all ranks he extends his most sincere good wishes for their future, and for their prosperity in the Army or in Civil life.

He will ever be proud of having commanded the 2nd Battalion of The Rangers, which has earned such high and well merited commendation from all the General Officers under which it has served.

(Signed), H. F. N. JOURDAIN, Lieut.-Colonel,

Commanding 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers.

The departure of the Colours of the 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers from Dover took place on June 12th, as related in Vol. I, p. 575. The Colour Party was under the charge of Lieut.-Colonel H. F. N. Jourdain, C.M.G., Commanding the Battalion, with Lieutenants G. B. Champion and C. G. Gaden, M.C., bearing the Colours, and as escort Sergeant-Majors Moraghan, M.C., and Finucane, D.C.M., and Bandmaster Landrock. The streets of Dover were lined, in accordance with a Special Order from Colonel-Commandant A. H. Marindin, C.B., D.S.O., Commanding the 12th Infantry Brigade, by all the available troops in the garrison, together with detachments from the Duke of York's Royal Military School, the Dover College O.T.C., Garrison Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. These lined the streets to the Priory Station where the Colour Party and escort were received by the Colonel-Commandant and Staff and the Mayor and Corporation of the ancient Cinque Port. A Guard of Honour of the 2nd Battalion The Royal Irish Fusiliers was drawn up at the station, and the Colours, after being trooped to the music of the Regimental March, took post in the centre of the Guard of Honour. The National Anthem was then played, and the Colours were dipped in salute. The Colour Party marched on to the platform and entrained, to proceed to Shorncliffe and be joined there by the Colour Party of the 1st Battalion. As the train moved away from Dover platform the band played "Auld Lang Syne" and the Guard of Honour presented arms.

The train with the Colour Parties proceeded to London, where the Colours of the 1st and 2nd Battalions were deposited for the night in the safe keeping of the Scots Guards at Wellington Barracks. They were next morning escorted to Paddington Station for entrainment to Windsor, as is related in detail in Vol. I, p. 576.

The final farewell scene when the Battalions parted from their Colours in St. George's Hall, Windsor Castle, is also described in Vol. I, pp. 576-9.

The official account of the ceremony of handing over the Colours of the Irish Regiments to the care of His Majesty, as set forth in *The Court Circular* of 13th June 1922, may fitly find place here as a record, and runs as follows :

" WINDSOR CASTLE,
Monday, 12th June, 1922.

The King received the Colours of the Southern Irish Regiments which are being disbanded, as follows, this morning :

The Royal Irish Regiment,
The Connaught Rangers,
The Prince of Wales's Leinster Regiment (Royal Canadians),
The Royal Munster Fusiliers,
The Royal Dublin Fusiliers.

His Majesty was also graciously pleased to accept a regimental engraving offered by the South Irish Horse.

Representative detachments of the units were met on arrival at the Great Western Railway station by an escorting party of the 3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards, with their band, and marched to the Castle.

The detachments were formed up in St. George's Hall and received the King, who was accompanied by Field-Marshal the Duke of Connaught (Honorary Colonel of the South Irish Horse, and Colonel-in-Chief of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers), with a Royal Salute, the Colours being lowered and the band of the Grenadier Guards, stationed in the Quadrangle of the Castle, playing the National Anthem.

The Queen, accompanied by the Princess Mary Viscountess Lascelles, and the Viscount Lascelles, Princess Alice and Brigadier-General the Earl of Athlone, the Marquess of Cambridge, Governor and Constable of Windsor Castle, and the Marchionesss of Cambridge and the Lady Mary Cambridge, was present at the ceremony.

Major-General George Jeffreys, General Officer Commanding, London District, was present, and the Members of the Household in Waiting were in attendance.

His Majesty inspected the detachments, and having resumed his place facing the centre of the line, was graciously pleased to address them, after which the Ceremony of the reception by the King of the Colours and of the offering of the South Irish Horse regimental engraving took place.

At the conclusion of the Ceremony the King and the Members of the Royal Family left St. George's Hall, a Royal Salute being given and the band playing the National Anthem."

The words of His Majesty's Address, which were spoken with deep emotion, were these :

" We are here to-day in circumstances which cannot fail to strike a note of sadness in our hearts. No regiment parts with its Colours without feelings of sorrow. A knight in days gone by bore on his shield his coat of arms, tokens of valour and worth. Only to death did he surrender them. Your Colours are the record of valorous deeds in war and of the glorious traditions thereby created. You are called upon to part with them to-day for reasons beyond your control and resistance. By you and your predecessors these Colours have been revered and guarded as a sacred trust, which trust you now confide to me. As your King I am proud to accept this trust, but I fully realize with what grief you relinquish these dearly-prized emblems, and I pledge my word that within these ancient and historic walls your Colours will be treasured, honoured, and protected as hallowed memorials of the glorious deeds of brave and loyal regiments."

The Officers of the detachment had the honour of being invited to luncheon with the King and Queen.

The Warrant Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men of the detachments were also entertained at luncheon at the Castle.

On the return of the Colour Party to Dover, the following letter was received by the Commanding Officer :

“ From MAJOR-GENERAL SIR C. D. SHUTE, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., G.O.C.
4th Division, Colchester, To O.C., 2nd Battalion.

Head-quarters, 4th Division, Colchester,
14th June, 1922.

MY DEAR JOURDAIN,—

I don't like to think that your officers and men are being scattered to the four winds without any word of good-bye from me.

Will you, therefore, convey to them all my sincere sympathy and my great appreciation of the good work which they all have done during the time they have been in the 4th Division.

They have always been smart and well behaved, and have excelled in all games and sports and have been among the best in the Division at musketry, bayonet fighting, boxing, etc.

We shall miss them, and my Staff and I all wish them every possible good luck wherever they may go.

I am sure they will always maintain the honour and tradition of their old Regiment.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) CAMERON SHUTE, Major-General,
Commanding 4th Division.”

Just seven weeks after that, on July 31st 1922, the official disbandment of the Regiment and of the other Irish Regiments took place and the historic career of The Connaught Rangers came to an end.

So the 94th—in turn “ The Scots Brigade ”—“ The 94th Scotch Brigade ”—The 94th—and finally The 2nd Battalion The Connaught Rangers—the gallant defender of this Island Kingdom in many lands, and through the centuries of its existence, came under the ruthless edict of the politician, and in company with its sister Battalion the 88th, disappeared from the British Regiments of the Line on the 31st July 1922.

The name of this gallant Regiment, with the Honours and Badges gained by many a hard-won fight, and its former numbers, still remain in the Army List, a sure testimony to the splendid service it has rendered in the past, and a memorial to the many brave men who have fought and fallen under its banners.

IN LIFE, IN DEATH—“ QUIS SEPARABIT ” ?



DOVER—THE LAST GUARD-OF-HONOUR TO HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V.

13th May, 1922.



CHAPTER LXXII

THE 3RD BATTALION

1661-1922

ORGANIZATION UNDER THE TERRITORIAL ARMY ACTS OF 1881 AND 1908 THE FORMER GALWAY MILITIA. THE MAYO, GALWAY AND ROSCOMMON MILITIA OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. GALWAY MILITIA EMBODIMENT FOR THE CRIMEAN WAR. COLOURS PRESENTED. EMBODIMENTS FROM 1858 TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR. FROM 1902 TO 1908. FORMATION UNDER THE TERRITORIAL ARMY ACT OF 1908. EMBODIMENTS AS A SPECIAL RESERVE BATTALION BETWEEN 1908 AND 1914. EMBODIMENT FOR THE GREAT WAR. STATIONS IN IRELAND AND ENGLAND. THE "V.C." AWARDED TO PRIVATE T. HUGHES. DRAFTS FURNISHED TO THE 1st, 2nd, 5th AND 6th (SERVICE) BATTALIONS.

1661-1854

THIS brief historical summary is necessary.

The Irish Militia were originally formed in county regiments by the Duke of Ormonde as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in the year after the Restoration of Charles II, 1661. In view of the religious differences of the period only Protestants were enrolled. Most of these were called out in the summer of 1666 when France joined Holland in a war against Great Britain, an invasion of Ireland being threatened. Hostilities were however confined to naval operations and the Irish Militia were disembodied after a few weeks. The Irish Militia were again embodied for a short period in 1678 when a fresh war with France appeared certain. Hostilities did not however break out and they were disembodied. They were called out by William III in 1690 for his war in Ireland against James II, but saw little service, being employed mostly on convoy work and for holding passes and supplying garrisons. They were again embodied in Queen Anne's reign, during Marlborough's war in Flanders from 1702 to 1713, but their services were confined to garrison duty.

In 1715, at the time of the Jacobite rising in Scotland against George I, the Irish Militia were embodied for a short period, after which the entire

force was reorganized under an Act passed by the Irish Parliament in the same year. By it the "Governors" of the Irish Counties were authorized to array from time to time "all Protestants between the ages of sixteen and sixty" and hold inspections to see that they were equipped and armed. As hitherto Catholics were not to be called out, owing to the ill feeling in religious matters that still existed throughout the British Isles.

The Act of 1715 continued in force until 1793, when, on the outbreak of the long war with France, a new Irish Militia reorganization took place, in virtue of a special Act of the Irish Parliament (33 Geo. III). Both Catholics and Protestants were now, and henceforward, made liable to militia service. Thirty-eight militia regiments were embodied in 1793, the Mayo, Galway and Roscommon county regiments among them. The total force was fixed at a strength of 21,660 of all ranks, each county providing a legally fixed quota of men. The Irish Militia regiments remained embodied until May 1802; until the signing of the Peace of Amiens. They were re-embodied in April 1803 on the outbreak of the war with Napoleon and remained so until March 1816, the year after Waterloo.

The attempted French descent on the South-West Coast of Ireland in 1796 under Hoche, and the invasion of Connaught by Humbert's force in 1798, brought all three battalions (the Mayo, Galway and Roscommon Militia) into the field. None of the three, however, were engaged in active operations.

All three battalions were on service in the West of Ireland during the years 1803-4-5, when an invasion of Ireland was continually being threatened by a large French force, specially assembled for the purpose at Brest. The French troops for the invasion of Ireland were to make their descent on the South and West coasts concurrently with Napoleon's army at Boulogne crossing the Straits of Dover. The Brest expedition against Ireland was however held fast by the British naval blockade of Brest, and in October 1805 Trafalgar effectually put an end to all French invasion schemes. After that, during the Peninsular War between 1808 and 1814, the Irish Militia formed a source of supply in recruits for Wellington's army in Spain; in particular of course for the Irish Regiments. Figures are unfortunately not now extant as to the drafts of recruits who volunteered from the Mayo, Galway and Roscommon Militia.

A reorganization of the Irish Militia took place in 1809 under an Act (49 Geo. III), passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom sitting at Westminster. The separate Irish Parliament had ceased to exist after the Act of Union of 1801, which abolished the Irish Establishment of the British Army and concentrated military authority in London. The Act of 1809 increased the Irish Militia establishment to a peace strength

of 30,000, of all ranks, with, in time of war, an additional levy of 15,000—making 45,000 in all.

The Irish Militia were not embodied between 1816 and 1855, but a nucleus Permanent Staff was maintained in each county town, where also the regimental armoury was situated. It is stated that in 1820 the Permanent Staff of the Mayo Militia were actively employed in assisting the Civil Power to suppress the "Whiteboy" riots.

By Act 17 Victoria, cap. 50 (1854), passed on the eve of the Crimean War, power was given to the Crown to call out the Irish Militia "whenever a state of war existed between Her Majesty's Government and any Foreign Power," and by Acts 22-23 Victoria, cap. 36 (1859-60) it was laid down that the Irish Militia, in common with the Militia of England and Scotland, "might be employed in any of the three kingdoms in case of threatened invasion." Previously only militia regiments volunteering to serve outside their own country could be so utilized.

The Mayo, Galway and Roscommon Militia, with the rest of the Irish Militia, were embodied between January 1855 and August 1856, during the Crimean War.

1855-1856

The extant records of the Galway Militia commence in January 1855, the actual embodiment in consequence of the Crimean War having taken place at Portumna during the last week of December 1854. Recruiting was carried on entirely within the County of Galway, the Head-quarters of the battalion being fixed at Loughrea, at the special desire of the Colonel, the First Marquess of Clanricarde. From January to August 1855 the battalion continued at Loughrea, with a detachment at Portumna, from time to time sending drafts of volunteers to Line Regiments. On August 3rd the battalion marched to Galway where Head-quarters were established, with a detachment as before at Loughrea.

Colours were presented to the Galway Militia by the Marchioness of Clanricarde on October 19th 1855, the battalion parading for the occasion in Eyre Square, Galway. The Marquess of Clanricarde, as Colonel, was in command, the Guard of Honour being commanded by Viscount Dunlo, son of the Earl of Clancarty.

There was, it is stated in the *Record*, no religious service. At the close of Lady Clanricarde's brief address the band played God Save the Queen and three cheers for the Queen were given by the battalion. Owing to want of space for the ceremony the Colours were not trooped, the battalion marching off after the cheering to barracks. The day closed with a ball at the Railway Hotel given by Lord and Lady Clanricarde, at which, as the

Record states, "all the rank, beauty and fashion not only of Galway, but of Mayo, Clare and King's County were present. No pains nor expense was spared and for years after it was greeted (*sic*) as the most successful ball ever given in Galway. Programmes were got up for the occasion in the old colours of the regiment, Scarlet and Yellow."

The battalion left Galway by rail on October 31st for Athlone, where it was quartered until December 11th 1855. It proceeded thence on December 13th to Kingstown and embarked on board the steam transport *Niagara* * for Liverpool *en route* for Aldershot, where the Galway Militia arrived on December 15th. There were no fewer than twenty-seven militia regiments in the Aldershot Command at this period, five of them Irish. The Galway Militia remained quartered at Aldershot until April 11th 1856, on which date the battalion left the camp to return to Galway, arriving on April 15th.

In his "Letter of Thanks" to the militia regiments on their general departure from Aldershot in the following June, a copy of which was forwarded to the Galway Militia, Lieut.-General W. Knollys, G.O.C. Aldershot District, spoke of the "excellent conduct" of all under his orders. "It is difficult," the general said, "for troops to have given less trouble than has been the case with the Militia who have been quartered at Aldershot. The unvaried zeal of all ranks in doing their duty and the invariable attention the Lieut.-General has experienced in meeting his wishes from the highest to the lowest, it would neither be consistent with Justice nor with his feelings to pass unacknowledged. . . . There has not been one of those twenty-seven Regiments whose general efficiency and capacity for all purposes of Soldiers would not have done credit to any regular Corps in Europe."

The Galway Militia were disembodied on August 4th 1856 in pursuance of instructions from Dublin Castle, directing the disbandment of all the Irish Militia regiments embodied during the Crimean War.

1857-1880

The battalion did not assemble for training in 1857. From 1858 to 1865 the trainings continued regularly each year, the numbers mustered varying between 412 in 1858, the smallest muster, and 701 in 1863, the largest muster. Owing to the disturbed state of the country the battalion did not assemble for training in 1867 and the three succeeding years. The annual training was resumed in 1871 and 1872.

In the latter year (1872) it was notified by a communication from the

* The *Niagara* was the same transport that had taken The 88th Connaught Rangers out to Scutari for the Crimean War in 1854.

Under-Secretary for Ireland that "Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to approve of the Officers of the Galway Militia being permitted to wear on their forage caps the Badge of the Harp and Crown in place of the regulation scroll." The Marquess of Clanricarde, who had been Colonel of the Galway Militia ever since 1838, resigned his commission in 1873, owing to age and failing health, retiring with the rank of Honorary Colonel, which he held down to his death in April of the following year, 1874. On the resignation of Lord Clanricarde the Colonelcy was bestowed on the Earl of Clancarty, who had commanded the battalion as Lieut.-Colonel.

The annual trainings between the years 1873 and 1875 took place at Loughrea instead of Galway, Head-quarters having been moved there on the Marquess of Clanricarde giving up command of the regiment.

The establishment of the Galway Militia was reduced in 1876 by a Horse Guards order of February 18th from ten to six companies.

The battalion was moved to England on July 11th 1876 and proceeded to Horsham and Aldershot where it was attached temporarily to the 3rd Brigade of the Second Army Corps. It returned for disembodiment to Loughrea at the end of July.

The Earl of Clancarty resigned his commission as Lieut.-Colonel Commanding on January 7th 1877, retaining the rank of Honorary Colonel to which he had been appointed on the death of the Marquess of Clanricarde.

The battalion was embodied at Loughrea for annual training under the command of Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Daly in 1878 and the three following years.

1881-1898

From 1881 to 1889 The Connaught Rangers, as a regiment, comprised six battalions; two of Regulars and four of Militia. In 1889 the then existing four Militia battalions were reduced to three, at which number they continued until 1908. The Militia battalions were from 1889 to 1908: 3rd—South Mayo Rifles and North Mayo Militia (amalgamated); 4th—Galway Militia; 5th—Roscommon Militia. The Army Reorganization scheme of 1908 did away with the Militia of the United Kingdom as an institution and transformed the militia units selected for continuation into "Special Reserve" battalions.

By G.O. 41 of 1881, issued on April 11th, the Galway Militia, under the Territorial System then introduced, became the 4th Battalion of The Connaught Rangers. On April 30th Captain S. H. Gardner of the 1st Battalion (until then the 88th The Connaught Rangers) was appointed Adjutant of the 4th Battalion.

The battalion, in consequence of the disturbed state of Ireland, did not assemble for training in either 1881 or 1882. Training was resumed in 1883 and the annual militia embodiments continued without intermission during succeeding years until in 1908 the 4th Battalion became the 3rd Special Reserve Battalion. The trainings from 1883 onwards took place at Renmore Camp, Galway.

Lieut.-Colonel Daly was appointed Honorary Colonel of the 4th Battalion in July 1891. Lieut.-Colonel J. Lynch Staunton took over the command as Lieut.-Colonel and held it until 1905.

Martini-Henry rifles were supplied to the battalion for the first time in 1888, and in 1889 the Valise Equipment was supplied, also for the first time. The distinction of being the best shooting Militia Battalion in the United Kingdom was won by the 4th Battalion The Connaught Rangers in 1890.

New Colours were presented to the battalion at Renmore Camp, Galway, on July 26th 1895, by Lady Anne Daly, wife of the Honorary Colonel of the battalion. In accordance with instructions telegraphed by the Deputy Adjutant-General, Royal Hospital, Dublin, the Colours were presented without any religious ceremony.

The Lee-Metford rifle was supplied to the battalion for the first time in 1897. The battalion left Renmore on August 24th 1898 for England, to take part in the Army Manœuvres of that year on Salisbury Plain. It returned to Renmore Camp for disembodiment on September 10th. The official report on the battalion, issued on leaving Salisbury Plain, stated that "the conduct of the men was exemplary—all that could be desired, and reflected great credit on all concerned. The marching was equal to any Line Regiment." Helmets were supplied to the battalion for the first time on the assembly of the battalion at Renmore for annual training in May 1889. The training was carried out at Oranmore Camp for the first time.

1899-1901

In consequence of the South African War militia reservists of the battalion were embodied in detachments, for permanent service, from December 1899 and during the following year. The services of the battalion were thereupon offered by Lieut.-Colonel J. Lynch Staunton for South Africa or elsewhere. The offer was replied to by the Under-Secretary of State for War on February 5th 1900, and on May 7th 1900 the battalion, strength 9 Officers and 188 N.C.O.'s and Men, was moved to England for service on the Thames defences at Gravesend. It was stationed at Gravesend until October 16th, when it returned to Galway for disembodiment. Drafts

of officers and men from Galway joined the battalion while stationed at Gravesend and the marching-out strength on leaving in October for disembodiment was 13 Officers and 270 N.C.O.'s and Men.

Voluntary training only took place in 1901—at Renmore Barracks—between June 17th and July 12th. For the training 118 N.C.O.'s and Men assembled. Large numbers of Officers and Men were despatched from time to time between 1900 and 1902 to join the 1st Battalion, then in South Africa. They did excellent and most gallant service.

1902-1908

In 1902 the battalion was embodied at Renmore Barracks on June 6th. It moved from there to England, where it was attached to the 7th Brigade, stationed on Perham Down, Salisbury Plain. In his inspection report on the battalion Brigadier-General A. S. Woods, Commanding the 7th Brigade, made the following remarks: “(1) The Camp was kept very clean and tidy and the men always turned out clean and smart on parade; (2) At Manœuvres the men showed great keenness and their work was satisfactory; (3) The Musketry was satisfactory; (4) The Conduct of the men was very good throughout the Training.”

The annual trainings in 1903, 1904 and 1905 were held at Renmore, the battalion in the last-named year being under the command of Lieut.-Colonel J. R. Lopdell, who succeeded Lieut.-Colonel J. Lynch Staunton. The annual training in 1906 took place at Oranmore Camp and that of 1907 at Renmore Camp. At the end of 1907, on December 23rd, the Army Order was issued notifying the disbandment of the existing 3rd (Militia) Battalion of The Connaught Rangers and the conversion of the 4th and 5th (Militia) Battalions into Special Reserve Battalions, re-numbered as the 3rd and 4th, the conversion to be made at the close of the annual training of 1908.

The last Militia training of the 4th Battalion took place at Oranmore Camp between July 6th and August 1st 1908, on which latter date the battalion returned to Renmore Barracks for final disbandment. During the training the rank and file of the battalion were requested to notify whether they desired to join the Special Reserve, to remain militiamen, or to take a free discharge. Of the total of the battalion 192 men elected to join the Special Reserve, ten to remain militiamen, thirteen to take a free discharge.

The 3rd Battalion of The Connaught Rangers dates under that number as a Special Reserve formation from 1908 when the present Territorial System came into force. Previous to 1908 it had been since 1881 the 4th (Militia) Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, in accord-

ance with the Territorial System organization established by G.O. 41 (April 11th) of 1881. The battalion previously bore the title of "The County of Galway Militia." Galway Militia had been the historic designation of the battalion from its first raising in 1661, at the beginning of the reign of Charles II.

Under the reorganization scheme of 1908 on the disbandment of the till then existing 3rd Battalion, the 4th (Galway Militia) Battalion moved up into its place, and the former 5th (Roscommon Militia) Battalion, in like manner, became the 4th (Special Reserve) Battalion.

The 4th (Militia) Battalion was converted into the 3rd (Special Reserve) Battalion on August 2nd 1908. The strength on conversion was 213 Rank and File, including N.C.O.'s of the former militia, but not including the Permanent Establishment. The former 3rd Mayo Militia Battalion was disbanded before the formation of the new 3rd (Special Reserve) Battalion and a number of men from it were drafted into the new 3rd Battalion, which comprised, in addition to these, the men of the former 4th (Militia) Battalion who had elected to transfer to the new 3rd Battalion on conversion. The following officers were also transferred: Lieut.-Colonel W. R. Inglis (Commanding); Major J. C. R. Brewer; Captains—A. C. Lewin, D.S.O., T. Tighe, T. R. B. Clifford, M. I. M. Campbell, A. W. Blockley; Lieutenant G. E. de Stacpoole; Second-Lieuts. C. F. Naylor, M. J. Roche. Captain and Adjutant H. F. N. Jourdain and Hon. Captain and Quartermaster J. McNally were with the battalion on conversion. Captain W. H. King, from the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons, was appointed a captain in the new 3rd Battalion The Connaught Rangers on September 19th.

1909

Lieut.-Colonel Inglis, Major Brewer and Captain Lewin were, on March 31st 1909, respectively granted the Honorary Ranks of Colonel, Lieut.-Colonel and Major. These were the last grants of Honorary Rank to Officers of the Special Reserve, and the practice was thereafter discontinued.

Recruiting for the 3rd Battalion Special Reserve continued to be good during the winter of 1908-9, with the result that, at the commencement of the annual training of 1909 the strength was 395, exclusive of the Permanent Establishment—an increase of 203 since the conversion. The annual training for 1909 took place at Oranmore Camp between June 26th and July 16th. Colonel T. Hope Stavert, Commanding No. 12 District, inspected the battalion on July 14th. During the training of 1909 the battalion was armed with the short rifle for the first time. The Regimental

average for the Musketry year 1909 was 68—the second highest battalion average in No. 12 District. The standard height for recruits in November 1909 was 5 ft. 3 in. and upwards. It was reduced to 5 ft. 2 in. in June 1910.

1910

Major and Hon. Lieut.-Colonel J. C. R. Brewer resigned his commission in March, 1910. Captain and Hon. Major A. C. Lewin, D.S.O., was appointed in the following October to fill the vacancy. The battalion proceeded from Galway to Oranmore Camp for the annual training for 1910 on July 5th. It was inspected by General Sir N. G. Lyttelton, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, and also by Colonel T. Hope Stavert, Commanding No. 12 District, on July 22nd. General Lyttelton expressed his approval of the appearance of the battalion on parade and of the drill of all ranks. Colonel Stavert also gave a very satisfactory report on the training, expressing his pleasure at the great improvement in musketry for the year. The regimental average for musketry of the battalion for 1910 was 89.3; an increase of 21.3 on the average for 1909.

The battalion was disembodied at Galway on July 25th at the close of the annual training.

By Army Order No. 251, issued in October 1910, it was notified that H.M. The King was graciously pleased to approve of the Battle-Honours borne on the Colours or Appointments of the Regular Battalions of Regiments of Infantry of The Line being borne on The Colours or Appointments of the Special Reserve Battalions of the Regiments.

On December 17th 1910 the strength of the battalion, exclusive of the Regular Establishment, was 395 N.C.O.'s and Men—the highest number since the conversion of the battalion.

1911

The strength of the Special Reserve battalion reached 400 on February 18th 1911. The total battalion strength on the same date, including the Regular Establishment and exclusive of Officers, was 491. The annual training for 1917 was held at Oranmore Camp between June 28th and July 24th.

During the period, on July 10th, the battalion, strength 19 Officers and 353 N.C.O.'s and Men, proceeded to Dublin by special train to be present at the Review in the Phoenix Park by H.M. King George V on July 11th. With the 3rd Battalions of The Royal Irish Fusiliers, The Royal Munster Fusiliers and The Royal Dublin Fusiliers, it formed the Special Reserve Brigade (Fifth Division), under Colonel F. F. Hill, D.S.O.,



Commanding No. 11 District. The following Message from His Majesty to the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, General Sir N. G. Lyttelton, was issued in Irish Command Orders on July 12th: "It has given me much pleasure to have had the opportunity of seeing the Troops under your command. I desire to express to you my entire satisfaction with the smart appearance and steadiness under arms of all units." After the return of the battalion to Galway on July 12th a copy of the following letter from Major-General W. Pitcairn Campbell, C.B., Commanding the Fifth Division, to Colonel Hill in regard to the Special Reserve Brigade at the Royal Review, was received by Lieut.-Colonel Inglis. "Will you let all your battalions know how well they marched yesterday. It was extraordinarily good and they swung their arms and carried their rifles as well as almost anyone."

The battalion was inspected on July 21st at Galway by Colonel Stavert, Commanding No. 12 District. The total strength of the battalion (Regular Establishment and Special Reserve) was returned in the Inspection State as: Officers 25; Warrant and N.C.O.'s and Men, 447.

On September 19th 1911, Captain O. F. Lloyd was appointed Adjutant of the Battalion, *vice* Captain H. F. N. Jourdain, who had held the appointment since September 1907, on the latter completing his period of service as Adjutant.

1912

The battalion carried out the annual training at Oranmore between June 24th and July 20th in 1912. The annual inspection by Colonel J. Hope Stavert, Commanding No. 12 District, took place on July 18th. The total strength of the battalion (Regular Establishment and Special Reserve), being returned in the Inspection State as: Officers, 23; Warrant and N.C.O.'s and Men, 520.

1913

The battalion carried out the annual training at Oranmore between June 30th and July 26th. Colonel Scrase Dickens, who had succeeded Colonel Stavert in command of No. 12 District, held the annual inspection of the battalion on July 24th. The total strength of the battalion (Regular Establishment and Special Reserve), was returned at: Officers, 20; Warrant and N.C.O.'s and Men, 465.

Lieut.-Colonel and Hon. Colonel W. R. Inglis relinquished his command of the battalion on August 6th, on the completion of his period of service, and was succeeded in the command by Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Lewin, D.S.O.

1914

The battalion carried out the annual training at Oranmore between June 15th and July 11th 1914. At the annual inspection on July 8th by Colonel Scrase Dickens, Commanding No. 12 District, the total strength of the battalion was returned at (Regular Establishment and Special Reserve) : Officers, 24 ; Warrant and N.C.O.'s and Men, 431.

As the result of the inspection the following was issued :

“ The Commanding Officer has been directed by the Commander of the District to express to all ranks his appreciation of the good work he witnessed in the field at his inspection on the 8th July 1914, as well as his satisfaction at the general efficiency of the Battalion. The Commanding Officer recognizes that this gratifying result has only been obtained through hard work, and he feels sure that all ranks will continue to further maintain their efforts towards further progress.”

Orders for the mobilization of the 3rd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, were received at Galway on the evening of August 4th, 1914, the date of the British Declaration of War with Germany.

The battalion, strength 11 Officers and 424 Other Ranks, proceeded on August 8th by train to Crosshaven, Co. Cork, at the entrance of Cork Harbour, to take charge of the defences there. The Officers with the battalion were : Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Lewin, D.S.O. (in command), Majors H. F. N. Jourdain and A. J. Digan, D.S.O. ; Captains T. Tighe, T. R. B. Clifford, A. W. Blockley, L. J. Comyn ; Second-Lieuts. E. D. Greeves and F. H. Lewin ; Capt. and Adj. O. F. Lloyd, Capt. and Quartermaster J. Rafferty. Crosshaven was reached on August 9th, the battalion going into camp there. On August 10th the following Officers joined the battalion : Lieutenant F. C. Burke, Second-Lieuts. R. D'Arcy, W. F. P. Latham, F. R. S. De La Cour, R. Delacombe, and on August 11th Second-Lieut. I. H. Garvey.

On August 10th Major H. F. N. Jourdain proceeded to Galway to take command of the 5th (Service) Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, then about to be raised for the War.

At Crosshaven work was at once undertaken in the construction of trenches, reserve shelters, and various earthworks, the service being carried out in conjunction with the Siege-Company of the Monmouth (Special Reserve) R.E. In addition the battalion provided outpost detachments on the coast and at certain special defensible points. Company training, route marching, recruit training and musketry were also carried out at the same time with what men were available. While at Crosshaven the battalion was organized on September 1st on the Double Company system, A and E

Company being amalgamated as the new A Company, B and F as B, C and G as C, D and H as D. Three drafts were sent to the 2nd Battalion in France on August 26th and 31st and on September 11th, respectively.

The battalion left Crosshaven for Kinsale on September 14th, proceeding by route march; strength 21 Officers and 460 Other Ranks. Drafts, to make good losses in the field, were sent from Kinsale to the 1st and 2nd Battalions in France in October and November, making a total reinforcement by the end of the latter month of eleven Officers and 570 Other Ranks. At the same time, to supplement the number of Irish recruits available, recruiting for The Connaught Rangers was opened in London. The first party of English recruits joined the 3rd Battalion for training on October 25th.

The following telegram, received by the G.O.C. in Ireland, was notified to the Officer Commanding the battalion on December 3rd:

“ Lord Kitchener and the Members of the Army Council desire to express their appreciation of the manner in which you, and the Fortress Officers and all other officers of reserve units of all arms and services, have met and are meeting the very large demands that have been made for reinforcements. The efforts of all concerned have materially contributed to the success of our arms and the Council have confidence that this invaluable work will be continued at the same high standard.”

An official statement was issued during December of the casualties in action in France and Flanders amongst Officers and Other Ranks who had joined the 1st and 2nd Battalions, recently amalgamated as one unit, from the 3rd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, sent as reinforcements. The numbers as reported to the War Office up to the end of November were as follows: Killed in Action—Other Ranks, twenty-five; Died of Wounds—Other Ranks, eight; Wounded in Action—Other Ranks, sixty-four; Wounded in Action—Officers, three.

The strength of the battalion on December 31st 1914 was stated as 32 Officers and 1,134 Other Ranks, including 268 Recruits joined during December. In all, since the Declaration of War, 1,060 Recruits had joined the battalion. During December also, three Officers joined the British Expeditionary Force.

1915

One company (D), consisting of four Officers and 192 Other Ranks, was detached from Kinsale on January 16th to garrison Charles Fort, Kinsale.

During January drafts numbering one Officer and 130 Other Ranks were sent to join the 1st Battalion in Flanders.

On February 7th it was notified that by instructions from the War

Office, Reserve battalions would be raised to an establishment of 2,080 all ranks, the establishment also including all men under training for drafts. Convalescents from the Expeditionary Force were not to be included, but to be held as supernumerary to the establishment pending despatch to the front when medically fit.

Two Companies, designated E and F, were formed during February. Letter E Company moved into quarters at Charles Fort on February 12th.

The following remarks by the Superintendent of Gymnasia, Irish Command, on recruits of the battalion inspected by him at Charles Fort, were notified to the battalion on February 9th:

“ I saw about 160 under instruction and considered them quite the best type of recruits I had seen. They are of good physique, smart, intelligent, and keenly interested in their work. The C.O. and all officers give every facility for the carrying out of the instruction.”

It was notified on February 9th that Major H. Gore, Reserve of Officers, 3rd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, had been appointed to command the 7th (Service) Battalion, The Royal Munster Fusiliers.

Two new Companies, lettered G and H, were formed on March 26th and 31st and moved into hutments at Charles Fort.

Six Officers and 100 Other Ranks were drafted to the British Expeditionary Force in France during March.

The G.O. Commanding-in-Chief in Ireland, Major-General L. B. Friend, C.B., inspected the battalion at Kinsale on April 21st. The General expressed his “ complete satisfaction and gratification at the high standard of efficiency attained by the battalion.” In notifying the approval of the Inspecting Officer to the battalion the Commanding Officer said that he “ desired to thank all ranks for their constant exertions and the good work by which means only had that satisfactory result been possible.”

During April four Officers joined the Expeditionary Force from the battalion.

Fifteen Officers and 110 Other Ranks left Kinsale between May 1st and 13th to join the Expeditionary Force.

Major-General Vesey J. Dawson, C.V.O., Inspector-General of Infantry, inspected the battalion on May 28th.

On May 29th three additional companies were organized and lettered J, K, L: J Company to consist of all permanently unfit men of the battalion, less those employed; K Company to consist of fit and temporarily unfit Expeditionary Force N.C.O.'s and Men belonging to A, B and C Companies; L Company to consist of similar N.C.O.'s and Men of D, E, F, G and H Companies.

The battalion moved on June 7th from Kinsale to huts at Charles Fort,

Summer Cove. On June 10th the Band of the battalion proceeded to the West of Ireland on a recruiting tour. After its return some weeks later the Commanding Officer received the following letter from the Secretary of the Irish Recruiting Department: "The Director-General of Recruiting for Ireland desires me to place on record his Excellency's high appreciation of the valuable assistance which the Band of your Regiment has rendered to the recruiting campaign during the last month. His Excellency trusts that you will convey his best thanks to the Officers of your Battalion, and in particular to those Officers and Men who accompanied the Band and thus rendered personal help in the cause of recruiting. The Director-General is glad to say that results have been encouraging and His Excellency expresses the firm hope that the movement, which has been initiated with your assistance, will be carried on with the same measure of success in the future."

The battalion was inspected at Charles Fort on June 16th by Brigadier-General W. F. H. Stafford, C.B., Commanding the Queenstown Garrison. The Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, Major-General Friend, C.B., also inspected the battalion at Charles Fort on June 24th.

The strength of the battalion on June 30th was: Officers, 58; Other Ranks, 2,476.

On July 1st a fund was started in the battalion, to which all ranks subscribed, on behalf of the men of The Connaught Rangers prisoners of war in Germany.

The Inspector-General of Infantry, Major-General Vesey J. Dawson, C.V.O., inspected the battalion at Charles Fort on July 16th. On July 21st Brigadier-General R. M. Greenfield, C.B., inspected the Specialists of the battalion, and on the same day the Superintendent of Gymnasia, Irish Command, inspected the recruits at Physical Training. The latter officer reported as follows: "The large party of recruits I saw at Physical Training are quite the best I have inspected. The great majority are above the average physique, while a good many may be classed as far above the average. The exercises were carried out with energy and precision and the men appeared thoroughly interested in their work."

The strength of the battalion on August 7th 1915, one year after mobilization, was: Officers, 67; Other Ranks, 2,857.

On August 10th four Officers and 171 Other Ranks proceeded to Dublin to join the 1st Garrison Battalion, The Royal Irish Regiment, a fifth officer following to join on August 20th.

During August six Officers joined the Expeditionary Force. A draft of 100 Other Ranks also proceeded to join the 5th (Service) Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, at the Dardanelles.

On September 4th Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Lewin, D.S.O., proceeded to join the Mediterranean Expeditionary Force, and take up the command of a battalion of the Wiltshire Regiment. He was succeeded in the command of the 3rd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers by Major A. J. Digan, D.S.O. (promoted on September 6th Temporary Lieut.-Colonel).

Lieut.-Colonel Lewin issued the following farewell letter to the battalion :

“ On the eve of his departure for the Front the Commanding Officer desires to thank all ranks for their unfailing support and loyalty during his period of command, without which this Battalion, now approaching 3,000 strong, could never have reached the pitch of efficiency which he rejoices to know it has attained. He carries with him none but the happiest recollections of his service in the 3rd Battalion and his sincere hope is that it may be his proud privilege at some later date again to command his old Battalion. Meanwhile he feels sure that the same spirit of loyalty and the same devotion to duty which he has prized so highly will be extended to his successor, and with this knowledge he now bids one and all good luck and good-bye.”

The strength of the battalion on September 8th was : Officers, 66 ; Other Ranks, 2,859.

During September a draft of fifty Other Ranks proceeded to the 1st Battalion in France. Two drafts, totalling seven Officers and 400 Other Ranks, proceeded to join the 5th (Service) Battalion at the Dardanelles.

The battalion was inspected on October 13th by Major-General Vesey J. Dawson, C.V.O., Inspector-General of Infantry.

Head-quarters and four companies moved into the barracks at Kinsale from Charles Fort hutments on October 21st and 22nd.

It was announced on October 20th that the Military Cross had been awarded to Captain J. J. Kavanagh of the 3rd Battalion, attached to the 1st Battalion, for “ conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty on September 25th, when on special observation duty in a ‘ crow’s nest ’ in a very exposed building. From 6 a.m. onwards throughout the day, although under a very heavy fire, he continued to send in most valuable information. His post was struck by four direct hits but he only left it to put his orderlies under cover. He showed great nerve and determination.”

During October a draft of thirteen Officers proceeded to join the Expeditionary Force in France for duty with Trench Mortar batteries. A draft of fifty Other Ranks proceeded to the 1st Battalion in France, and a draft of fifty Other Ranks to the 5th (Service) Battalion at the Dardanelles.

The G.O.C. Queenstown Garrison inspected the battalion on November 2nd and presented the D.C.M. to Lance-Corporal Ivens and Private P.

O'Connor of the 3rd Battalion. The Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, Major-General Friend, inspected the battalion at Kinsale on November 10th. Shortly before the inspection a serious accident unfortunately occurred through the premature bursting of a bomb which caused six casualties, two Officers being wounded and four Other Ranks. Lieutenant Lewin and one man, Lance-Corporal Greenwood, succumbed to their injuries. General Friend in a letter to Lieut.-Colonel Digan, after expressing his regret at the accident and inquiring after the wounded, went on to say: "I was very much struck with your companies, not only did the men look well and well cared for, but the instruction and training appeared as good as any I have seen. The whole bearing and discipline of the men on parade was most satisfactory and I congratulate you sincerely on the inspection."

The Superintendent of Gymnasia, Irish Command, inspected the battalion on November 19th and Major-General Vesey J. Dawson, C.V.O., the Inspector-General of Infantry, inspected it on November 24th.

During December a draft of fifty Other Ranks proceeded to the 1st Battalion and a draft of 180 Other Ranks to the 5th (Service) Battalion. Four Officers also joined the British Expeditionary Force in France for duty with the Trench Mortar batteries.

1916

It was notified to the battalion that Captains R. D'Arcy and J. J. Kavanagh had been mentioned in despatches by Field-Marshal Sir John French (later the Earl of Ypres). It was further notified that the Military Cross had been awarded to Captain J. L. Jackson of the 3rd Battalion, attached to the Royal Flying Corps.

Major-General Vesey J. Dawson, C.V.O., inspected the battalion at Kinsale on January 28th, on which occasion he presented Sergeants P. Murphy and Finnegan with the Order of St. George, 4th Class (the Russian equivalent to the "V.C."), awarded to them for gallantry in action while attached to the 1st Battalion by the Russian Government. The battalion was also inspected by the Superintendent of Gymnasia on January 31st.

During January a draft of seven Officers and 400 Other Ranks proceeded to Mesopotamia for the 1st Battalion, and a draft of sixty Other Ranks to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France.

Major O. F. Lloyd completed the tenure of his appointment as Adjutant on February 14th and was succeeded by Lieutenant T. Cheadle.

During February a draft of eighty Other Ranks proceeded to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France, and four Officers and 110 Other Ranks to the 1st Battalion in Mesopotamia.

It was notified that the French *Medaille Militaire* had been awarded to

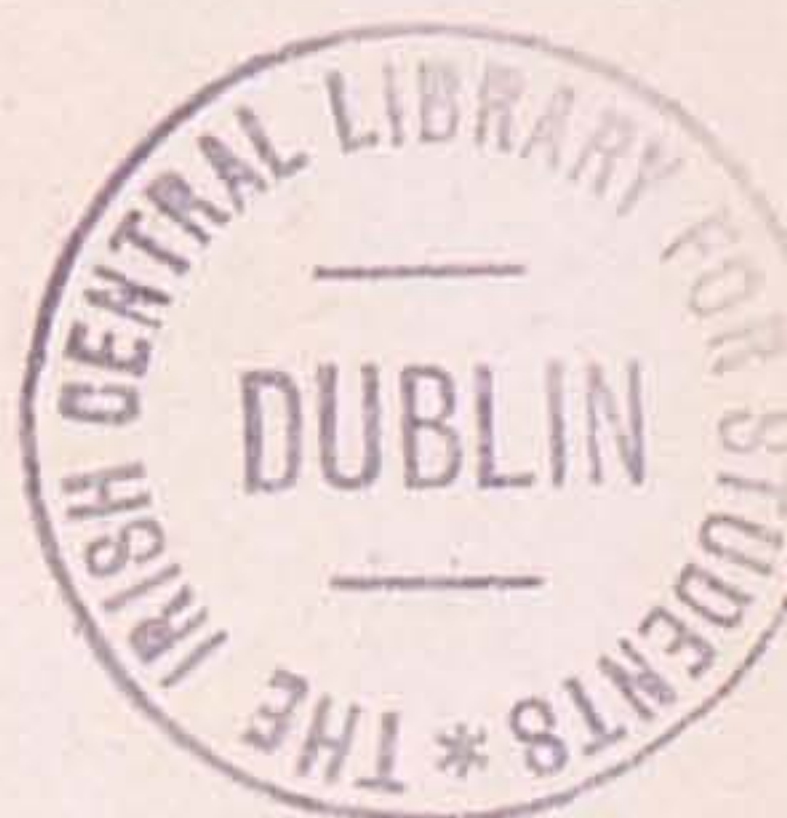
[J. RUSSELL & SONS.



BRIGADIER-GENERAL A. C. LEWIN, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., A.D.C.

Commanded the 3rd Battalion.

Lieut.-Colonel (3rd Battalion), 6th August 1913—5th August, 1918.
Hon. Colonel (3rd Battalion), 10th August 1920, until disbandment.



Private (Acting Corporal) Flynn of the 3rd Battalion, for gallant service performed while serving with the 1st Battalion in France.

The Inspector-General of Infantry, Major-General Vesey J. Dawson, C.V.O., inspected the battalion at Kinsale on March 14th. In a letter to Lieut.-Colonel Digan, the inspecting General said: "It was a great pleasure to me to visit a Battalion which was so well run and where all ranks showed so much keenness." The battalion was inspected by the Superintendent of Gymnasia, Irish Command, on March 30th.

During March a draft of seventy Other Ranks proceeded to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France.

The appointment of Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Lewin, D.S.O., as temporary Brigadier-General, announced in *The London Gazette* of March 22nd, was notified to the battalion.

During April six Officers proceeded to the 1st Battalion in Mesopotamia.

The battalion, between April 25th and May 27th 1916, was employed as one of the units with Nos. 1 and 3 Mobile Columns, engaged in suppressing the Sinn Fein Rebellion. Head-quarters with twenty-six Officers and 558 Other Ranks served with No. 1 Mobile Column in Co. Wexford. The portion of the battalion serving as a unit with No. 3 Mobile Column, numbering twelve Officers and 350 Other Ranks, was employed in the operations in the Bandon and Kinsale districts. The rebels in every case surrendered without resistance and large quantities of arms were collected by detachments from both columns.

The battalion was inspected at Kinsale on May 30th by Brigadier-General A. J. Chapman, C.B., C.M.G., who had succeeded Major-General Vesey Dawson as Inspector-General of Infantry.

During May drafts numbering nine Officers and 150 Other Ranks proceeded from Kinsale to the 6th Battalion in France.

It was notified to the battalion early in June that the C.M.G. had been conferred on Lieut.-Colonel (temp. Brigadier-General) A. C. Lewin, D.S.O., on which the following telegram was sent: "Heartiest congratulations from all ranks 3/ Connaught Rangers." In reply General Lewin telegraphed from Felayieh: "Please convey to all ranks my deep appreciation of their kind message."

During June four Officers and fifty Other Ranks proceeded to the 1st Battalion in Mesopotamia, and three Officers and forty-three Other Ranks to the Expeditionary Force and 6th (Service) Battalion in France.

Owing to a decrease in strength of the battalion, J Company was disbanded on June 30th.

It was notified in *The London Gazette* of June 3rd that Private J. Folan, 3rd Battalion, had been awarded the D.C.M.

On July 17th Major-General B. C. Doran, C.B., Commanding the Southern District, Irish Command, visited Kinsale and presented Distinguished Conduct Medals to three Other Ranks of the battalion, and, in addition, the French *Medaille Militaire* to Corporal T. Flynn.

During July twenty-five Other Ranks proceeded to the 5th (Service) Battalion at Salonika and fifteen Officers and 218 Other Ranks to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France.

The battalion, on July 7th, furnished a draft of 200 Other Ranks transferred to the 3rd Royal Munster Fusiliers for service with the 1st Royal Munster Fusiliers in France.

Owing to the decrease in strength of the battalion, K Company was disbanded on July 29th.

During August drafts, comprising one Officer and seventy-seven Other Ranks, proceeded to the 5th (Service) Battalion at Salonika and one Officer and 240 Other Ranks to the Expeditionary Force in France.

On August 4th 118 Other Ranks were transferred to the 2nd Garrison Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers at Templemore. Owing to the continuous decrease in strength of the battalion, L Company was disbanded on August 25th.

During September seven Officers and thirty-two Other Ranks proceeded to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France.

During October eight Officers and eighty-seven Other Ranks proceeded to the 1st Battalion in Mesopotamia, five Other Ranks to the 5th (Service) Battalion at Salonika, and six Officers for service with the Expeditionary Force in France.

It was notified in *The London Gazette* of November 4th that the M.S.M. had been conferred on Company-Sergeant-Major D. Twohig "in recognition of valuable services in the Field."

The V.C. was awarded by an announcement in *The London Gazette* of November to Private T. Hughes, The Connaught Rangers, for "most conspicuous bravery and determination on two occasions." After being wounded on having his wounds attended to, he returned at once to the firing line, and "seeing a hostile machine gun he dashed out in front of his company, shot the gunner and single-handed captured the gun. Though again wounded he brought back three or four prisoners."

During November fifty-one Other Ranks were drafted to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France, forty-five Other Ranks to the 5th (Service) Battalion at Salonika, and twenty Other Ranks proceeded to India.

It was notified in *The London Gazette* of December 22nd that the C.B. had been awarded to Lieut.-Colonel (temp. Brigadier-General) A. C. Lewin, C.M.G., D.S.O. General Lewin on Christmas Day 1916 sent the following

message to the battalion : " A line to wish you all of the old Battalion a Merry Christmas and the best of luck in the New and succeeding years. We cannot forget the heavy sacrifices our Regiment has been called on to make since this time last year ; but our sorrow is mingled with pride when we remember the gallant manner in which our brave comrades of all ranks have so readily faced the call of duty for the sake of King and Country. They shall not be forgotten in the years to come."

During December drafts of six Officers and 127 Other Ranks proceeded to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France, and one Officer and sixteen Other Ranks to the 5th (Service) Battalion at Salonika. On December 27th eighteen Other Ranks were transferred to the 3rd Garrison Battalion, The Royal Irish Rifles. Major M. I. M. Campbell, who had been awarded the Military Cross for most gallant service, was killed in action in September 1916, to the regret of all ranks.

1917

During January twenty-five Other Ranks were drafted to the Expeditionary Force in France, sixty-nine Other Ranks to the 5th (Service) Battalion at Salonika, and forty-one Other Ranks to India.

During February nineteen Other Ranks proceeded to the 1st Battalion in Mesopotamia, one Officer and thirty-four Other Ranks to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France, and twenty-two Other Ranks to India.

On February 2nd, seventy Other Ranks were transferred to the 2nd Garrison Battalion, The Royal Irish Regiment, and on February 24th fifty Other Ranks to the 1st Garrison Battalion, The Durham Light Infantry.

It was notified in *The London Gazette* of March 12th that the M.C. had been awarded to Captain I. H. Garvey for "conspicuous gallantry in action."

During March five Officers and seventy-eight Other Ranks left to join the Expeditionary Force in France. During March also eighty-nine Other Ranks were transferred to Garrison Battalions of The Royal Irish Regiment and The Durham Light Infantry.

The strength of the battalion on March 31st was 39 Officers and 671 Other Ranks.

During April twenty-five Other Ranks proceeded to the 1st Battalion in Mesopotamia and six Officers and forty-two Other Ranks to the Expeditionary Force in France ; also one Officer to India.

The strength of the battalion on April 30th was 39 Officers and 674 Other Ranks.

During May two Officers and sixty-two Other Ranks proceeded to the Expeditionary Force in France.

The strength of the battalion on May 31st was 41 Officers and 611 Other Ranks.

During June thirteen Officers and eighty-five Other Ranks joined the Expeditionary Force in France.

The strength of the battalion on June 30th was 44 Officers and 570 Other Ranks.

The battalion, strength 23 Officers and 283 Other Ranks, moved by rail to Cork on July 11th to parade with other troops for inspection by the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, Home Forces. The Field-Marshal expressed satisfaction with the general turn-out and steadiness of the battalions inspected and their soldierly bearing.

Drafts totalling six Officers and thirty Other Ranks were sent during July to the 1st, 5th and 6th Battalions respectively in Mesopotamia, at Salonika, and in France. In August drafts of six Officers and thirty-four Other Ranks were sent to the 1st and 6th Battalions, and seven Officers and forty-four Other Ranks proceeded to India.

On September 29th the Commanding Officer, Lieut.-Colonel Digan, presented the Military Medal, the D.C.M. and the Cross of the Russian Order of St. George (4th Class) to Corporal J. Gillen and Privates T. McLoughlin and H. Sharpe.

The Military Cross was awarded to Second-Lieutenant E. R. Clarke in October for the following service: "Though exhausted with heat and thirst, he repeatedly exposed himself to fire whilst reorganizing and getting parties of men under cover. His example did much to help his men to withstand the extreme thirst to which they were subjected."

Drafts, totalling four Officers and sixty Other Ranks, were furnished during September to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France.

It was notified on September 29th that under a new organization the establishment of the battalion would be reduced to two companies from that date. In consequence C and F Companies were disbanded. Two companies only were henceforward to form the battalion.

During October drafts of ten Officers and twenty-three Other Ranks were despatched to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France and nine Other Ranks to the 5th (Service) Battalion in Palestine.

The battalion proceeded from Kinsale to Dublin on November 5th and thence to Pembroke Dock, arriving on November 7th. On November 26th the battalion proceeded to Cosheston Camp, Milford Haven. A party of twenty Other Ranks was despatched from Cosheston to India.

On December 21st the battalion left Cosheston Camp for Newcastle-on-Tyne.

On December 28th, Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Digan, D.S.O., proceeded to

join the British Expeditionary Force in France. The command of the battalion devolved on Major (Lieut.-Colonel) A. W. Blockley temporarily, pending the appointment of a successor to Lieut.-Colonel Digan.

During December drafts of one Officer and forty-two Other Ranks were despatched to the 6th (Service) Battalion in France and seventeen Other Ranks proceeded to India.

1918

Lieut.-Colonel H. F. N. Jourdain, C.M.G., assumed command of the battalion on January 18th, with seniority as from August 19th 1914.

The strength of the battalion on January 31st was 63 Officers and 368 Other Ranks.

It was notified in *The London Gazette* of February 18th that the Military Cross had been awarded to Lieutenant (acting Captain) C. A. Brett and Lieutenant R. H. French for gallantry in action at the Tunnel Trench.

The strength of the battalion on February 28th was 68 Officers and 340 Other Ranks.

On Saturday, March 16th, the battalion, with the 3rd Royal Dublin Fusiliers, at the invitation of the Committee of the Tyneside Irish Brigade, paraded in Eldon Square, Newcastle, where a presentation of Shamrock in honour of St. Patrick's Day was made to each of the Officers and Other Ranks by ladies. The Lord Mayor of Newcastle and Major-General R. A. K. Montgomery, G.O.C. Tyne Garrison, attended. The General presented the D.C.M. to Second-Lieuts. P. F. Duffy and A. F. Jackson, and the Military Medal to Second-Lieut. J. Hindle. On the occasion forty-two Officers and 225 Other Ranks paraded.

During March sixty-six Other Ranks proceeded to the British Expeditionary Force in France and eight Officers to the 6th (Service) Battalion in Palestine.

The strength of the battalion on March 31st was 65 Officers and 310 Other Ranks.

During April seventeen Officers and twenty-six Other Ranks proceeded for service with the Expeditionary Force in France.

The strength of the battalion on April 30th was 55 Officers and 310 Other Ranks.

The battalion moved by train to Dover on May 13th and was accommodated under canvas at Elms Vale Camp. On May 16th, on the demobilization of the 4th Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, seventeen Officers and 113 Other Ranks joined the 3rd Battalion at Dover. The battalion, thus reinforced, was reorganized as a four-company battalion on May 25th.

The strength of the battalion on May 31st was 85 Officers and 530 Other Ranks.

The following complimentary message was received on June 17th: "Major-General Sir W. B. Hickie, K.C.B., late commanding the 16th (Irish Division) and now commanding Dover Garrison, wishes to convey to all Officers and Men of The Connaught Rangers who were present at the Battle of Wytschaete this day last year, his grateful remembrance of their splendid work on that occasion."

The strength of the battalion on June 30th was 85 Officers and 587 Other Ranks.

On July 16th 419 Other Ranks of the 3rd and 4th Battalions, The Durham Light Infantry, arrived at Dover and were taken on the strength of The Connaught Rangers. During the month seven Officers and twenty-eight Other Ranks of the battalion proceeded to France. The total strength of the battalion on July 31st was 82 Officers, 586 Other Ranks The Connaught Rangers, and 418 The Durham Light Infantry (attached).

During August twenty Other Ranks proceeded to the British Expeditionary Force in France.

The strength of the battalion on August 31st was 90 Officers, 660 Other Ranks The Connaught Rangers, 418 Other Ranks The Durham Light Infantry (attached), and 32 Other Ranks H. S. E. Company (attached); a total of 1,110 Other Ranks.

During September twenty Other Ranks proceeded to the British Expeditionary Force in France.

The strength of the battalion on September 30th was 84 Officers, 721 Other Ranks The Connaught Rangers, 418 Other Ranks The Durham Light Infantry (attached), and 30 Other Ranks H.S.E. Co. (attached); a total of 1,169 Other Ranks.

On October 11th the battalion was inspected by General (later Field-Marshal) Sir William Robertson, G.C.B., G.O.C. the Forces in Great Britain.

The battalion moved on October 18th to billets in unoccupied houses in Dover.

The Military Medal and the Serbian Silver Medal were presented on parade by the G.O.C. 1st Dover S.R. Brigade, to Privates Reilly and Dyer of the battalion, and it was also notified that the *Medaille Militaire* had been awarded to Colour-Sergeant J. McIlwain.

During October five Officers and forty-four Other Ranks proceeded to France.

The strength of the battalion on October 31st was 83 Officers, 718 Other Ranks The Connaught Rangers; 408 Other Ranks The Durham Light In-

fantry (attached) ; 30 Other Ranks H.S.E. Company (attached) ; 5 attached from Other Units ; total, Other Ranks, 1,161.

A draft of 275 Other Ranks of the Durham Light Infantry, who had been attached to the battalion, left by rail on November 5th for Southampton, to join The British Expeditionary Force in France.

On November 11th, it was notified that the Armistice had been signed by Germany. An Order of the Day from the G.O.C.-in-C. the Forces in Great Britain, General Sir W. Robertson, was promulgated on November 13th expressing "deep appreciation of the valuable work done throughout the war by all ranks and services of the Forces in Great Britain. . . . All ranks," the Order added, "may feel satisfied with the knowledge that they have faithfully done their duty."

On November 25th the following farewell letter to the Commanding Officer was received from Major-General Sir W. B. Hickie, K.C.B., on relinquishing the command of the Dover Garrison : "My remembrance of my association with The Connaught Rangers both in the field and in Dover are very happy ones, and I thank them all, especially as a Brother Irishman, for their conduct and spirit. I shall always be proud to have had the 6th and 3rd Battalions under my command. To you, personally, I send my thanks for your never-failing loyalty and support."

1919-1922

From November 1918 until the signing of the Treaty of Peace on June 28th 1919 the battalion remained quartered at Dover. On March 11th instructions were received that the 3rd Reserve Battalions of Regiments would revert to the Lower War Establishment. An additional company was also to be formed to provide *personnel* for duties hitherto carried out by the Royal Defence Corps, the establishment of this company to comprise six Officers and 294 Other Ranks. The establishment of the battalion would be thirty-two Officers and 1,024 Other Ranks.

On April 3rd 1919 Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Digan, D.S.O., took over the command of the battalion from Lieut.-Colonel H. F. N. Jourdain, C.M.G.

On May 31st sixteen Officers and 204 Other Ranks were transferred to the Commanding Officer of the 1st Battalion on formation at Grand Shaft Barracks, Dover, and on June 2nd the 3rd Battalion moved from Grand Shaft Barracks to hutments at North Fall Meadow, Dover.

During the first six months of 1919 Officers and Other Ranks joined from service abroad and proceeded on leave of absence or to dispersal centres for demobilization. A draft of sixty Other Ranks, who volunteered for service with the 1st Russian Relief Force, proceeded on May 9th to join head-quarters of that force at Crowborough. It was notified in *The*

London Gazette of June 27th that Lieut.-Colonel and Brevet-Colonel (late temp. Brigadier-General) A. C. Lewin, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., A.D.C., on completion of the tenure of his command had been granted the honorary rank of Brigadier-General.

The strength of the battalion on June 28th 1919, the date of the signing of the Treaty of Peace, was 50 Officers and 501 Other Ranks. The end of the war-period service of the battalion came on July 22nd 1919, on which date the *personnel* of the 3rd Battalion was absorbed into the 2nd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, then under the command of Lieut.-Colonel W. A. Hamilton.

The 3rd (Special Reserve) Battalion was reconstructed in August 1919, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Digan, D.S.O., and on return to the regimental dépôt at Galway was disembodied. On the death in the summer of 1920 of the Honorary Colonel, Colonel Daly, Hon. Brigadier-General A. C. Lewin, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., the former Commanding Officer of the 3rd Battalion from 1913 to 1918, was appointed Hon. Colonel of the 3rd Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, on August 10th 1920.

The battalion ceased to exist on the disbandment of The Connaught Rangers, together with other Irish regiments, on July 31st 1922.

THE PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT

The Province of Connaught, the smallest of the four provinces of Ireland, occupies the mid-western portion of the country, and comprises the five counties, Galway, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo.

The River Shannon forms a natural boundary on the east and south-east.

The total area is 6,845 square miles, whilst the population, according to a recent census, was stated to be approximately six hundred and eleven thousand, a decrease from former years, chiefly due to emigration abroad.

Agriculture is the main industry, the soil being naturally fertile and easily cultivated, and the fisheries offer considerable employment to many of those resident on the coast. (See map, page 501.)

[LAFAYETTE.]



BRIGADIER-GENERAL D. T. HAMMOND, C.B., C.B.E.
4th Battalion, The Connaught Rangers.

Lieut.-Colonel (4th Battalion), 8th November 1899, and Hon. Colonel.

CHAPTER LXXIII

THE 4TH BATTALION

1793-1922

THE ROSCOMMON MILITIA DURING THE WAR WITH THE FRENCH REVOLUTION : ITS ORGANIZATION AND SERVICES. FROM 1816 TO 1855. EMBODIMENT DURING THE CRIMEAN WAR AND INDIAN MUTINY. RECORDS SINCE 1853 MISSING. SUMMARY OF SERVICE TO DISBANDMENT, 1922.

1793-1802

THE history of the 4th Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, down to 1793, in its original form as the Roscommon Militia, has been outlined in the earlier portion of the previous Chapter, where the Irish Militia of former days are referred to. The first records of the battalion now extant commence in 1793, at the beginning of the War with the French Revolution, and at that point the present historical account is taken up.

The order for the embodiment of the corps was issued on August 10th 1793 by the Earl of Westmorland, the then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. It was addressed to the Earl of Kingston (the first Earl) as Lord-Lieutenant of County Roscommon. The battalion was to comprise ten companies, and be raised by ballot, for four years' service. Enlistment by militiamen into the regular army was at that time forbidden. Viscount Kingsborough, eldest son of the Earl of Kingston and later the second Earl, was appointed to command the battalion as Colonel.

The battalion, strength 378 rank and file, moved from Boyle, where it first mustered, to Enniskillen, on October 29th, sending detachments to Omagh and Ballyshannon. It moved from Enniskillen to Cashel in March 1794 and thence in April to Tipperary. It remained five months at Tipperary, with a detachment at Mitchelstown. It returned to Cashel in September, with a detachment at Clonmel. Viscount Kingsborough was a keen and capable officer, and the report after the first recorded inspection of the battalion in October, sent to Dublin Castle, speaks of it as in "a forward state." The section trained for manning the two battalion guns (1 subaltern, 1 sergeant and 30 corporals and privates) is spoken of as "fully

perfected in the artillery duties and exercise." No recruits were admitted under 5 ft. 6 in. in height, nor over 36 years of age.

In July 1795, in consequence of reported French preparations for an invasion of the South of Ireland, half the battalion was ordered to Carlisle Fort, at the entrance to Cork Harbour. It was placed there as garrison, with two companies on detachment at Cloyne, and three at Middleton. The battalion remained in quarters, so distributed, during 1796 and down to the end of that year.

Definite intelligence that a powerful French fleet, convoying a large number of transports with, as reported, several thousand troops on board, under the command of General Hoche, the ablest French leader of the hour, was on the point of sailing from Brest for the South of Ireland, reached Dublin in November 1796. All troops on or within reach of the coast were ordered to stand by, and be placed in a state of readiness to march. The orders to the Roscommon Militia were to hold themselves ready to turn out "at the shortest notice." Officers were to take with them "only what can be packed in a small portmanteau," and men only just necessities portable in their knapsacks, together with "blanket, 2 shirts, 1 pair of leggings and 1 pair of shoes." Among the items of equipment noted were the company camp kettles, which "the men are to carry in turns on the upper part of their packs, and never to carry loose in the hand." So as to be able to travel light, twenty-nine rounds of ball cartridge were to be carried in the pouches per man, and thirty-one rounds per man in ammunition boxes, two per company, in a cart, making up the sixty regulation allowance.

The French men-of-war and transports with 15,000 troops on board were off Bantry Bay in the last week of December, and thither the battalion marched, "starting at a moment's notice." No landing however took place. The enemy's flagship, on board which was the French Commander-in-Chief, Hoche, and his head-quarters staff, had been separated from the main fleet in a gale and failed to arrive. After threatening the coast for a week the French disappeared, and all sailed back to France. Hoche reached Bantry the day after his troops had sailed. A letter conveying the thanks of the Lord-Lieutenant and the Irish Parliament was sent in January to the Roscommon Militia, in common with the other Irish Militia regiments concentrated at Bantry, for having "marched with so much alacrity towards the enemy." The "spirit of the troops and their loyal exertions," continued the letter, "warranted a well grounded hope that the enemy would have repented of his rashness had he ventured to land." As far as the efficiently equipped and disciplined state of the Roscommon Militia was concerned, that confidence would seem to have been justified.

The battalion continued on guard at Bantry, brigaded with the 30th Foot, and the Waterford and Wexford Militia regiments, until the end of January, when, on intelligence coming to hand that the enemy had disembarked their troops at Brest and the British Channel Fleet was off Brest Harbour, the Roscommon Militia returned to garrison duty at Cork Harbour.

In February 1797 there was however a fresh alarm of another invasion of Ireland. It was to be carried out by a large French force, to be escorted by the Brest and Toulon fleets, combined with two Spanish fleets from Cartagena and Cadiz; but the British naval victory off Cape St. Vincent stopped the project. The Roscommon Militia fired a *feu de joie* on the news of St. Vincent being received, as did the other regiments all over Ireland.

The battalion was stationed at Cork with the North Mayo Militia (later merged in the 3rd (Militia) Battalion The Connaught Rangers) throughout the rest of 1797. The other battalions, formed later into the 3rd and 4th (Militia) Battalions of The Connaught Rangers, the South Mayo and the Galway, which had also concentrated at Bantry Bay, were stationed during the year in Co. Cork, at Asheaton, Macroom and Bandon.

Early in 1798, on a third invasion alarm in Ireland, the Light Company of the Roscommon Militia was ordered to join a Light Brigade of four battalions, formed with the light companies of all the thirty-six Irish Militia regiments, together with the Light and Grenadier Companies of the 6th, 30th, 64th and 89th Foot. The Light Brigade was distributed between Kilkenny, Bandon, Blaris and Loughlinstown, and held in readiness to serve as a flying column in case of emergency. The orders to the Roscommon Militia stated that the company from the battalion was to consist entirely of picked men, from 5 ft. 6 in. in height, and under thirty years of age. The officers for the company were to be selected from "such as will be equal to a service in which, in the event of invasion, much exertion may be required."

The battalion and grenadier companies of the Roscommon Militia remained during 1798 at Cork, "kept on the alert with special parades in marching order twice a week, and furnished with camp equipment ready to take the field." A musketry-practice allowance of twenty rounds per man "to fire singly at a mark" was made by the Dublin authorities, with twenty rounds for practice with the battalion guns. Credit for obtaining that was due to the untiring exertions of the Commanding Officer, Viscount Kingsborough, whose labours to bring his battalion up to the highest pitch of efficiency possible were unceasing. Lord Kingsborough succeeded his father, the first Earl of Kingston, in 1797, on which his second son, the Hon.

Robert Edward King (Lord Erris, and later Viscount Lorton), took over executive command as Lieut.-Colonel. Lord Erris, shortly after taking over, compiled a book of "Standing Orders for the Roscommon Militia" and had it printed at Limerick in January 1801. Extracts from a copy of it (a small octavo volume of 72 pages), have been reprinted in the *Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research*, Vol. III, No. 13 (July 1924).

In April 1798 the battalion moved to Doneraile. It continued in the south of Ireland, maintaining order during the Rebellion of May and June 1798, and also held in readiness in the threatened event of an attempt at another French invasion. The outbreak of "'98" affected principally the north and north-western portions of the country, and had been practically suppressed by the end of June. Only the light company of the Roscommon Militia, as part of one of the battalions of the Light Brigade already spoken of, took part in the active operations. Down to the end of June the British Government expected that Bonaparte's expeditionary preparations in the French Atlantic ports and massing of troops in Brittany and in Southern France were intended for an invasion of Ireland, by means of a conjoint naval movement starting from Brest and Toulon. It was not until August that it became known in London that Bonaparte had sailed to capture Malta and invade Egypt. Meanwhile the French troops, previously concentrated with transports at Brest, formed Humbert's expeditionary army which landed in the north of Connaught in the late summer. Humbert's operations were dealt with by troops from England and those quartered in the north of Ireland. The Roscommon Militia and the troops in the south were not employed against the invaders. The final surrender of the French to Lord Cornwallis at Ballinamuck ended the campaign.

A notable and unique incident in the history of the Roscommon Militia was the offer made on January 26th 1799 by Lord Erris, the Commanding Officer, on behalf of the battalion, in a memorial to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland "to serve with the officers in any part of Europe." Lord Cornwallis, who was both Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief, replied expressing "his highest approbation of this Loyal and Patriotic and Spontaneous offer by the Officers, N.C. Officers and Privates of the Roscommon Militia, which would be transmitted to the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State, to be laid before His Majesty."

An acknowledgment from Whitehall was received by the battalion, through the Lord-Lieutenant, stating that the "very spirited offer" of the battalion ("This very commendable and strong proof of zeal for the Defence and Safety of the Empire and Loyalty and Attachment to His Majesty's Sacred Person") had been laid before the King. "His Majesty," wrote the Secretary of State, from London, "had commanded the Lord-Lieutenant

WEEKLY STATE OF HIS MAJESTY'S 30TH OR ROSCOMMON REGIMENT OF MILITIA

COMMANDED BY COLONEL LORD ERRIS.

CASHEL, *July 4th* 1801.

Officers Present.								Effective Rank and File.							Wanting to Complete.	Alterations since last Return.	Re-cruits							
Total	Colonel.	Lieut.-Colonel.	Major.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Staff.	Non-Com-missioned.		Present and fit for duty.	Sick.	On Command.	Recruiting.	On Furlow.	Total.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Inlisted.	Dead.	Discharged.	Deserted.	Not joined.	Present not incorporated.
	Serjeants.	Drummers.																						
1	1	2	7	2	4	23	14	302	79	358	8	747			53	2		1					1	

Capt. Geo. Davy
 Lieut. Thos. Irwin
 Lieut. Wm. Calcutt
 Ens. Alex. Irwin
 Capt. H. Irwin
 Lieut. D. Kelly
 Lieut. T. Poole

} With Light Battalion.
 } at Tipperary.
 at Ardfinan.

Lieut. Willm. Dennis
 Lieut. Robert Gouldsbury
 Lieut. Owen Lloyd, at Clogheen.
 Lieut. Anthy. Lemon, at New Inn.
 Lieut. McArmstrong, at Woodruff.
 Ensign Wm. Griffeth, at Kilanuale.

} at Cahir.

to signify to Colonel King the high sense that His Majesty entertains of the public spirited conduct of the Roscommon Militia at this Important Crisis."

The State of July 1801, given on the previous page, is of interest as giving the strength of the battalion, the names of the officers serving with it, and their distribution on detachment.

The battalion moved to Limerick in 1800. It continued distributed in the South of Ireland during 1801 and until 1802, when the nine-years'-long war with France terminated by the signing of the Peace of Amiens. The order for the consequent disembodiment of the Roscommon Militia was issued on May 5th 1802.

1803-1854

Less than ten months ensued before the Roscommon Militia were again embodied. War with France was renewed in March 1803. On March 25th 1803 the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland issued a Circular Letter calling out the Militia, and the battalion forthwith assembled and proceeded to the South of Ireland, the danger zone, as it was universally known that a French invasion in force had been planned to take place at the earliest opportunity. Unfortunately, all the records of the Roscommon Militia from 1803 to 1816, when the Militia of Great Britain and Ireland were disbanded, are now missing. The only details that are extant refer to the last nine months of the period. They state briefly that on October 23rd 1815, Major Kelly, commanding the battalion, received orders from Dublin Castle to discontinue enrolling recruits, and that on May 11th 1816 the notification of disbandment was received directing the arms and equipment of the men to be handed over to the Ordnance Department.

Since September 1805, it may be added as a general statement, that the volunteering of Irish Militiamen had been authorized for a number of battalions of the Line, which had been specially appointed to receive such recruits up to a certain proportion of the enrolled strength per battalion. No details however are on record in regard to the Roscommon Militia. Also, in 1812, owing to the requirements of the Peninsular War, the laws relating to the Irish Militia were amended to sanction one-fourth of the numbers raised annually being comprised of boys of fourteen years of age, "five feet in height and growing." The boys, it was stated, were "to be raised by beat of drum like other recruits and to receive a bounty on enlistment, of £4, and daily pay at the rate of 10 pence."

During the period 1803-1816, the Roscommon Militia, it is stated, served for two periods in England.

The Permanent Staff of the Roscommon Militia, as with those of other Irish Militia regiments, was retained after the disbandment of 1816, being

thereafter at intervals reduced in numbers down to the re-embodiment of the battalion at the time of the Crimean War, forty years later. There were no militia embodiments in the interim. From 1816 to 1822, the Permanent Staff comprised 1 Adjutant, 1 Quartermaster, 1 Paymaster, 1 Surgeon, 1 Sergeant-Major, 1 Quartermaster-Sergeant, 1 Drum-Major, 40 Sergeants, 50 Corporals, 20 Drummers. In 1822, 14 Sergeants, 18 Corporals and 5 Drummers were discharged, on reduction of strength. In 1829 there was a further reduction, the Permanent Staff being ordered then to consist, in future, of 1 Adjutant, 1 Sergeant-Major, 16 Sergeants, 7 Drummers. In 1835 the establishment was reduced to 1 Adjutant, 1 Sergeant-Major, 6 Sergeants. At that strength it remained, except for the reduction of 2 Sergeants in 1845, until 1854.

1855-1881

The Roscommon Militia were embodied for the Crimean War on January 23rd 1855, and remained embodied until August 25th 1856. The battalion records for the period are missing, but a few details can be gleaned from Dublin Castle and other official documents. The Roscommon Militia, under the command of Colonel Wilson Patten, were at Beggar's Bush Barracks, Dublin, in December 1855, and, on the 20th of the month, embarked at Holyhead for Liverpool, whence they proceeded to Berwick-on-Tweed. There, Colonel Patten, on February 15th 1856, handed over the command to Lieut.-Colonel John Caulfeild. On May 15th 1856, orders were received for the battalion to return to Liverpool and embark for Ireland again. It reached Liverpool on May 19th and, crossing to Dublin, proceeded to Athlone direct. Orders were issued from Dublin Castle on June 9th for the Irish Militia regiments under arms to be disbanded. The Roscommon Militia, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Caulfeild, moved to Roscommon barracks on July 26th and were disbanded on August 25th 1856.

There are again, unfortunately, no extant records of the Roscommon Militia, or of the battalion under its later designations in turn as the 5th and as the 4th Battalion, The Connaught Rangers. All the later records, including those kept during the Great War, were, it would appear, destroyed within the past ten years (since 1916) at Cork.

According to "The Constitutional Force" (by Col. G. J. Hay, C.B., C.M.G., p. 418) the Roscommon Militia were embodied at the time of the Indian Mutiny, between September 19th 1857 and June 8th 1858. The Commanding Officer at this period was, as before, Lieut.-Colonel Caulfeild. New Colours were presented to the Roscommon Militia by Lady Louisa Tenison, the wife of the Lord-Lieutenant of Co. Roscommon, at Kilronan Castle on July 19th 1877. In a newspaper account of the ceremony it is

stated that the old Colours, previous to the presentation of the new Colours, were "marched up to Lady Louisa Tenison's carriage and there and then formally confided to her ladyship's care for laying up in the Great Hall at Kilronan. The new Colours were then presented after consecration."

A stand of Colours of the old Roscommon Militia was laid up, together with other Colours of battalions of The Connaught Rangers, in St. Patrick's Church, Soho Square, London, on September 7th 1922. A full account of the ceremonial on the occasion is given in Vol. I, p. 579.

1881-1922

In 1881, under the Territorial Organization of the Forces of that year, the Roscommon Militia became the 5th Battalion, The Connaught Rangers. It remained so until August 1908, when, on the coming into operation of the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907, it became the 4th (Special Reserve) Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, the hitherto existing 3rd (Militia) Battalion having been, as previously stated, disbanded and partially absorbed into the heretofore 4th and 5th Battalions. At that disbandment a number of men of the former 3rd Battalion volunteered for and were enrolled in the new 4th Battalion. The 5th Battalion, previously, during the South African War, was embodied from December 6th 1899 to October 17th 1900. It furnished several officers and one hundred and thirty-five men to the 1st Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, serving in South Africa.

During the Great War the 4th Battalion was mostly stationed in the South of Ireland, principally in Co. Cork. As with the senior Special Reserve Battalion (the 3rd) it also continually furnished drafts to the battalions of The Connaught Rangers serving overseas in France and Flanders on Gallipoli and in Macedonia, in Mesopotamia and in Palestine. The 4th Battalion was then absorbed into the 3rd Battalion at Dover. It was commanded from the outbreak of the Great War in August 1914 to the close of its career by Lieut.-Colonel (Hon. Colonel and later Brigadier-General) D. T. Hammond, C.B., who also, as Lieut.-Colonel, had commanded the battalion as the 5th (Militia) Battalion from 1899 to 1908, and as the 4th (Special Service) Battalion from 1908 to August 1914.

The following is from *The London Gazette* of December 24th 1921: "4th Connaught Rangers. Lieut.-Colonel and Hon. Colonel (temporary Brigadier-General) D. T. Hammond, C.B., C.B.E., relinquishes his commission on completion of his tenure of command, April 30th, and is granted Hon. Rank of Brigadier-General."

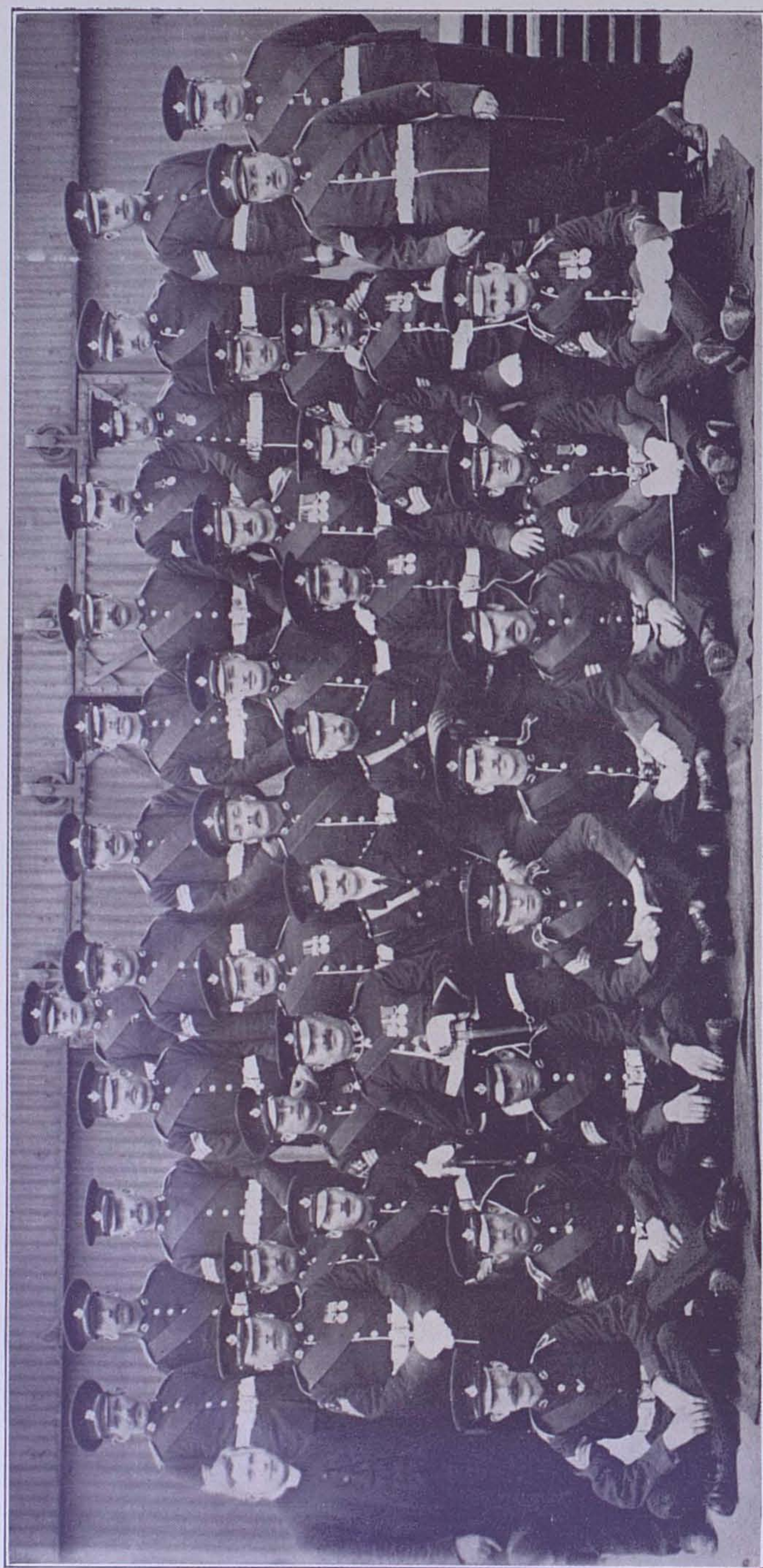
Again re-formed in 1919, the 4th (Special Reserve) Battalion, The Connaught Rangers, passed out of existence on the disbandment of the Regiment in 1922.



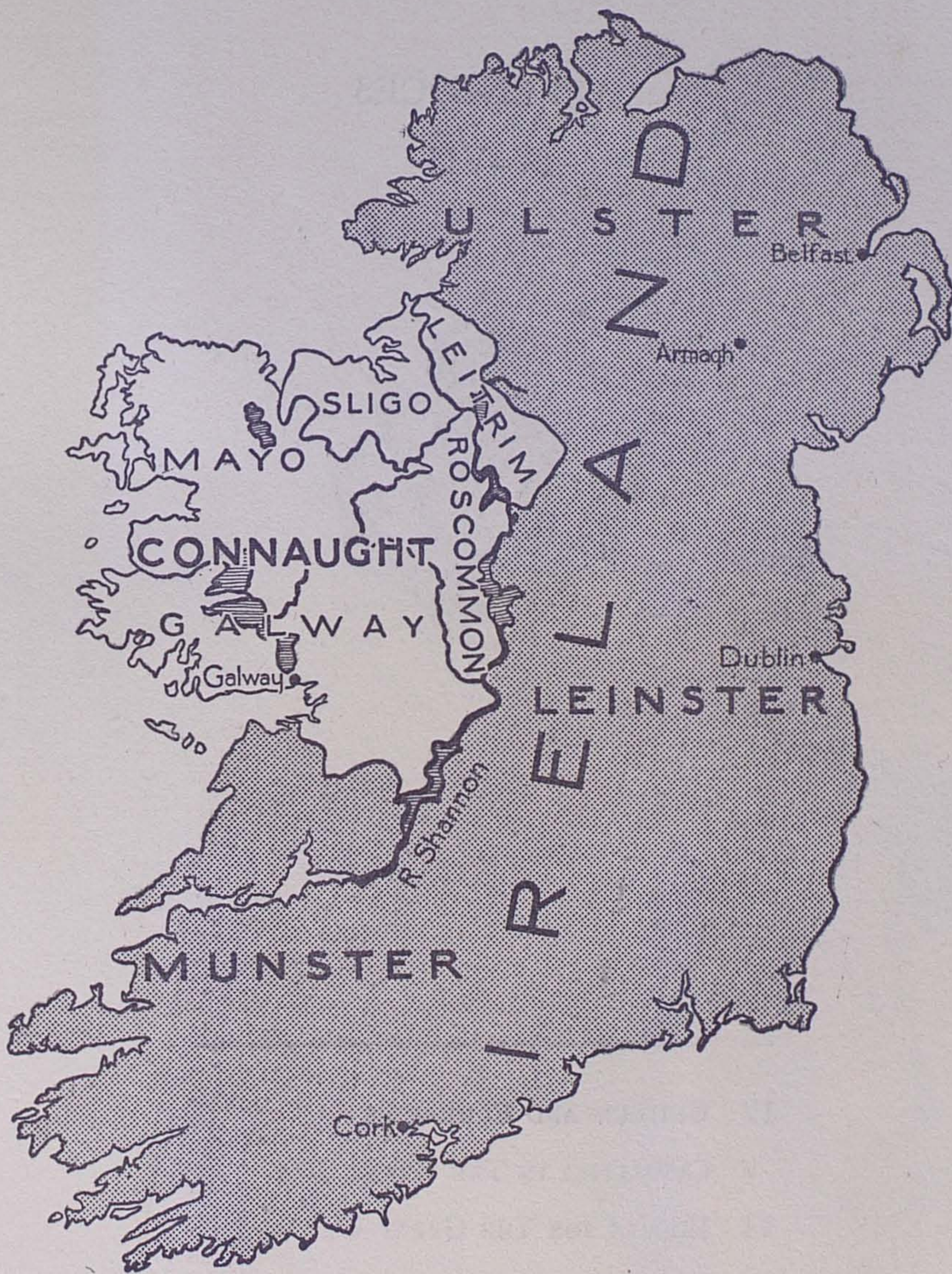
(*Standing*) Lieut. King (4th R.M.F.). 2nd Lieut. P. W. Keating. 2nd Lieut. G. Battersby. Lieut. Place (5th R.M.F.). Capt. King (4th R.M.F.). Capt. F. H. Saker. Lieut. A. T. C. Wickham. Lieut. —. Capt. F. H. Jackson. Capt. C. J. Hughes. Capt. Di. C. de B. Wickham. Capt J. P. M. Ingham.
 (*Seated*) Capt. H. H. Brooke. Capt. and Qr.-Mr. C. Smyth. Major Sir H. C. G. Bellew, Bart. Major and Hon. Lieut.-Col. R. W. G. Harrison. Col. D. T. Hammond, C.B. Capt. and Adj. J. C. MacSwiney. Major W. A. H. Grimshaw. Capt. R. Saker.
 (*On Ground*) 2nd Lieut. M. J. Kenny. 2nd Lieut. Power.

COLONEL D. T. HAMMOND, C.B., AND OFFICERS, 4th BATTALION.

Oranmore,
 1913.



COLONEL D. T. HAMMOND, C.B., WARRANT OFFICERS, AND SERGEANTS, 4th BATTALION.
Oranmore,
1913.



IRELAND.
THE PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

[See p. 492.]

APPENDICES

IV-VII



IV UNIFORM AND EQUIPMENT

V CASUALTIES IN THE GREAT WAR

VI MEDALS FOR THE GREAT WAR

VII BATTLE HONOURS OF THE GREAT WAR



PRIVATE SWEENY.
88th Connaught Rangers.
Circa 1833.

APPENDIX IV

UNIFORM AND EQUIPMENT

By P. W. REYNOLDS

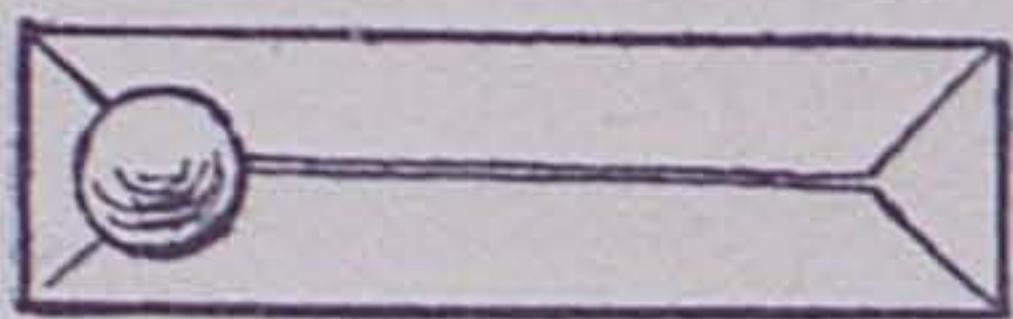
THE 88TH FOOT

WHEN The Connaught Rangers were raised, in 1793, the dress of the British infantry consisted of a cocked-hat, a long coat cut away from the front, somewhat in the manner of the modern "morning coat," a waistcoat, knee-breeches, and black cloth gaiters. There exists, fortunately, a portrait of General John Reid, now in the possession of Edinburgh University, in which he is shown wearing the 88th regimental coat. The outline is sufficient to show the nature of this garment. It is, of course, scarlet; the collar, lapels, and cuffs yellow; the epaulettes and buttons silver (many of the buttons have a distinct 88 on them); the waistcoat white, and also the neckerchief (see Illustration facing p. 88).

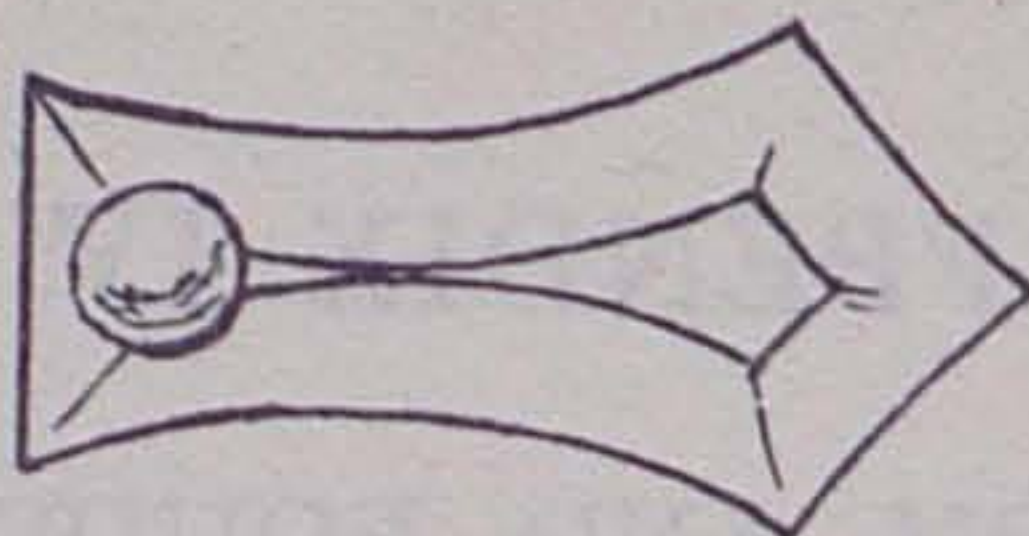
This was worn by all the officers; field officers, and those of the grenadier company, having two epaulettes; battalion-company officers one epaulette only, on the right shoulder; while light-company officers probably had two "wings" instead of epaulettes. On parade, a crimson sash was worn round the waist, under the coat, and a gorget in front of the neck, the sword being suspended in the frog of a shoulder-belt passing over the right shoulder. In full-dress for guards and reviews, gaiters, like those of the men, were regulation for officers; on other occasions knee boots; for levées and evening wear, stockings and buckled shoes. Field officers, naturally, wore boots when dismounted officers had gaiters.

The coats of the other ranks were cut in the same manner as those of the officers, and the buttons on them were also in pairs. Sergeants and rank and file, however, had "loops" or buttonholes of worsted tape to each button. The tape being about half an inch broad, the complete loop was about one inch broad, and from three to five inches long, according to its position on the coat. The tape was plain white for sergeants, but for the men it had a black, a red, and a yellow stripe along it. Besides differences

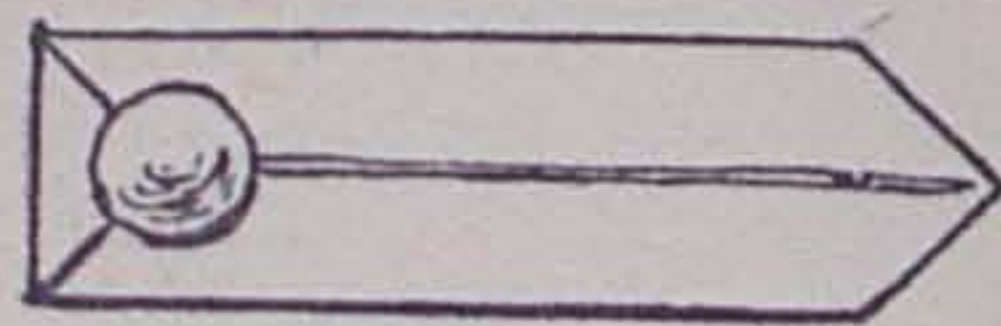
in the stripes or pattern of the laces, a further distinction in dress between different regiments was made by the shape of these loops. Ordinarily, they were made in one of three ways, as illustrated. Those of the 88th were of the variety called "straight point" (which, by the way, was used by fewer regiments than either of the other kinds).



"SQUARE" LOOP.



"FLOWERED" OR
"BASTION" LOOP.



"STRAIGHT POINT" LOOP.

The men's accoutrements comprised a pouch-belt over the left shoulder crossed by a bayonet-belt over the right shoulder. In 1793 these belts were of the regulated width of two inches. As the war progressed, it was found desirable to increase the quantity of ammunition carried by each soldier, and this presently necessitated increasing the breadth of the pouch-belt, the two-inch leather not being able to bear the greater weight without gradually stretching. By the end of the war the breadth had become two and seven-eighth inches. Although this was really necessary for the pouch-belt only, the bayonet-belt and the officers' and sergeants' sword shoulder-belts were made to correspond, for the sake of appearance. The belt passing over the right shoulder had, for all ranks, a "breast plate," which continued as an ornament as long as such belts were worn (until 1855 for infantry in general); and survives, with the belts, in certain Scottish uniforms, to the present day. The patterns of breast plate, in the 88th, are described further on. Sergeants all carried swords, and those of the battalion companies were armed with eight-foot pikes or "halberds," instead of muskets. Bearskin caps were the regulation dress head-dress for grenadier companies, and drummers were to be dressed in reversed colours, and were allowed to bear a good deal of extra lace on their coats, and the lace usually of a special pattern.

The costume was, on the whole, a becoming one, and the cloth gaiter over the shoe was not a bad footgear for the soldier. But the overlapping of this gaiter at the top with the breeches, drawers, and stockings, and the use of a garter for the latter, encumbered the knee too much in marching. Probably this was the reason why Light Infantry, and all infantry in hot climates, frequently adopted a spat-gaiter, reaching only a few inches above the ankle, instead of the long gaiter. The cocked-hat was becoming of an unwieldy size, and the hair-dressing customs were absurd. Grenadiers had the hair plaited, and the end of the plait turned up to the top of the



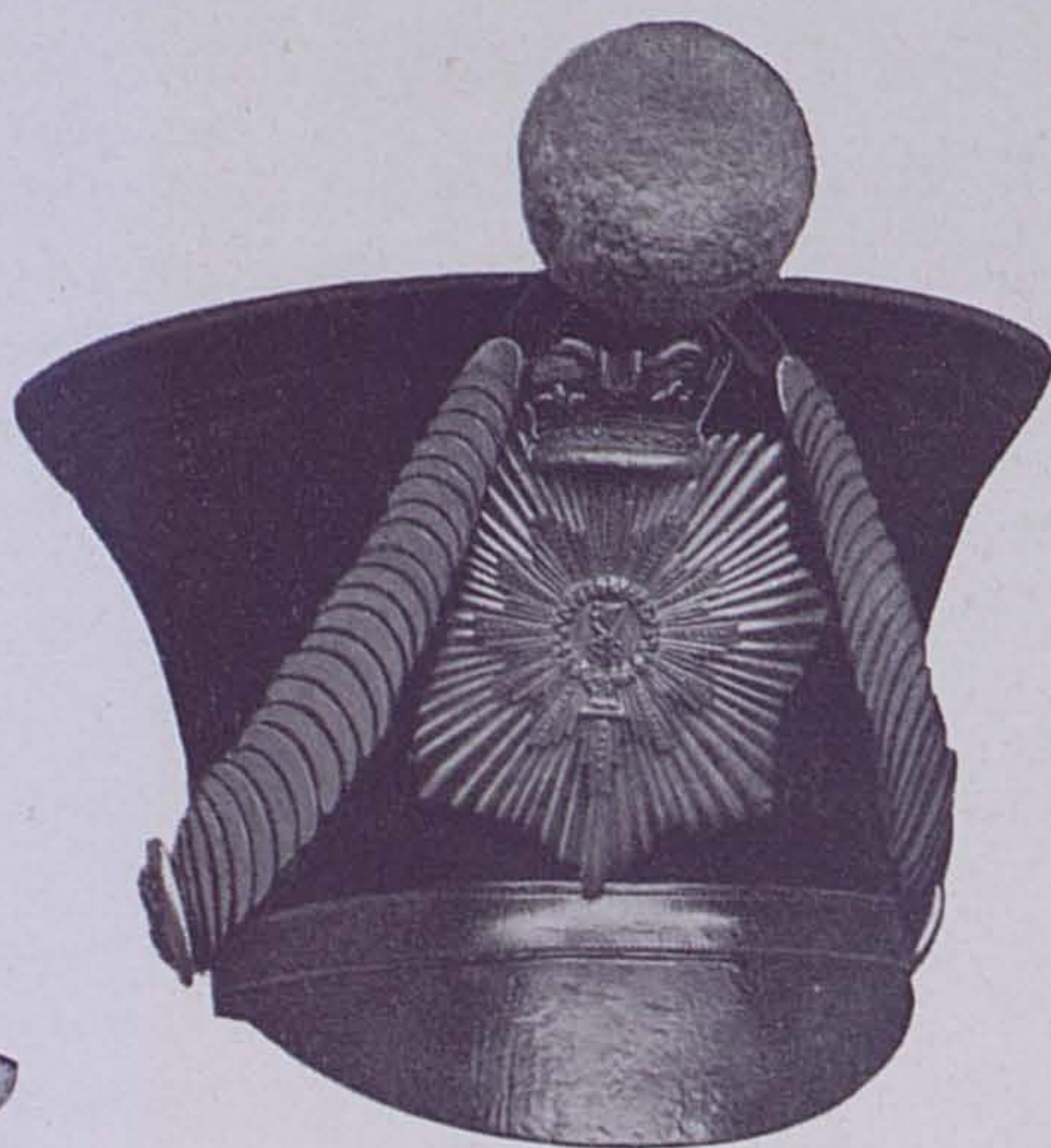
Shako Plate.
1822-1830.

Breastplate Star.
1830-1844.

Shako Star.
1835-1840.

Breastplate.
1817-1822.

Breastplate.
1830-1855.



Shako.
Officer's.
1835-1840.



Shako Plate.
Officer's.
1870-1878.



Shako Plate.
Rank and File.
1870-1878.



Shako Plate.
Battalion Private's.
1839-1855.

— 88TH —

head, under the cap. Other companies wore a long false queue attached to their own hair. Hair-powder was worn on all dress parades, and as this was simply flour sticking to greased hair, in the case of the rank and file, the whole arrangement was most insanitary. An even more striking instance of the extent to which the needs of campaigning were neglected, in the equipment of the army, was that no cloaks or overcoats were provided for infantry, except a few per company for the use of men on sentry at night. The sufferings of the 88th, in consequence of this, in Holland in 1794-5, are referred to in the First Volume of this History (p. 5).

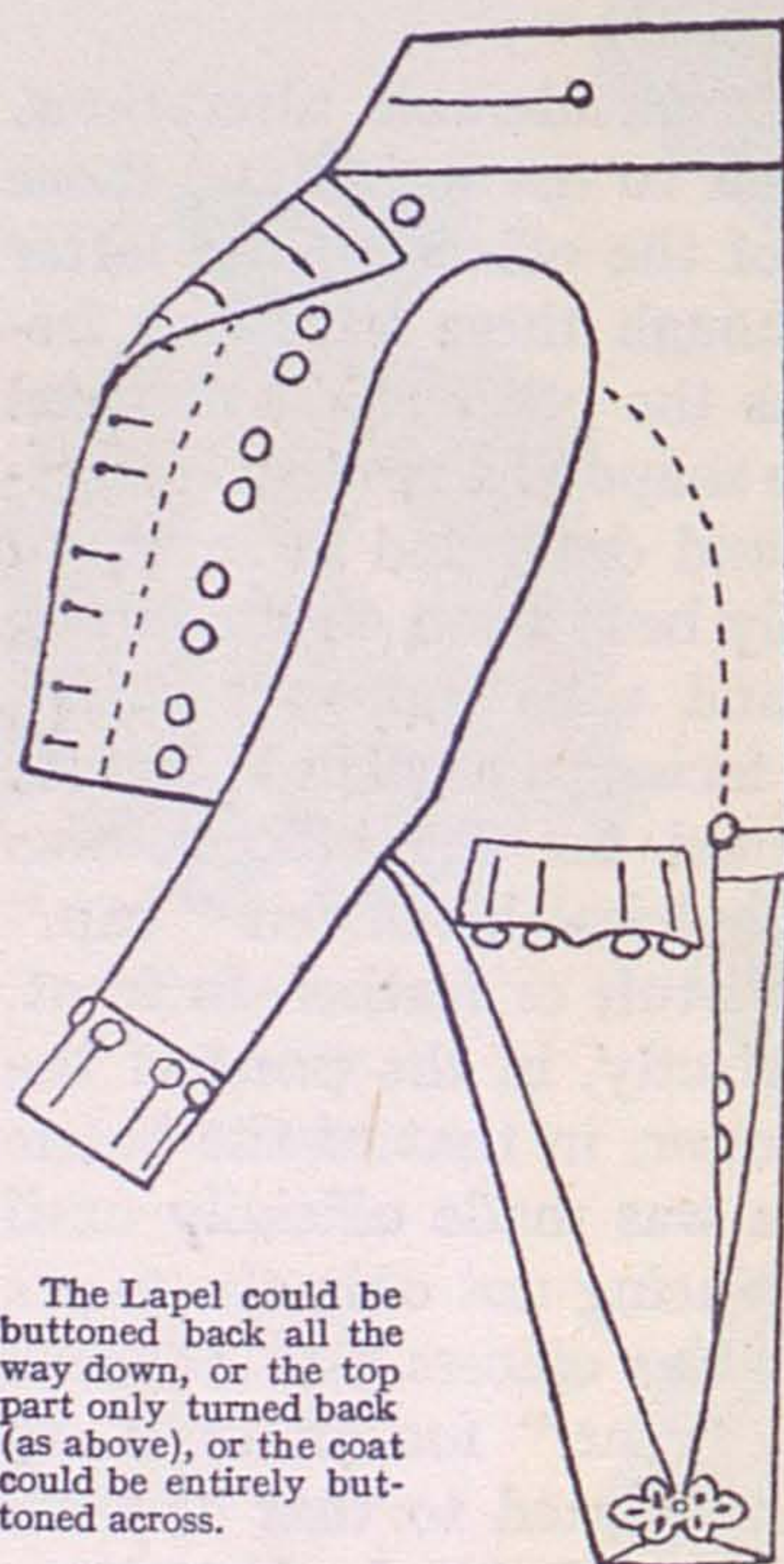
The last few years of the century brought considerable alterations. The coats were made to fasten all down the front to the waist, and those of the men became entirely different to those of the officers. The latter retained a double-breasted coat with lapels (though these were now frequently buttoned over) and long tails; whereas the other ranks received a single-breasted garment, at first very much the shape of a modern lounge-jacket with the two fore corners turned back, and decorated in front, on the red, with the tape loops which had previously been worn on the lapels. Afterwards this became shortened in front, and with narrower skirts, until it assumed the form seen in the illustration facing page 78 in Volume I. Also, in 1800, the cocked-hat, though continued for the officers, was abolished for the men, being replaced by a cylindrical black felt "cap," or shako, with a brass plate, cockade, and small tuft or feather, in front. The resulting costume may be discerned, imperfectly, in the print of the battle of Bussaco (Vol. I, p. 48), and, rather better, in that of the battle of the Pyrenees (Vol. II, p. 262). Little change was made officially until 1812, when a new dress-cap was established, replacing not only the men's 1800 caps, but also the officers' cocked-hats, and as officers also adopted a short-tailed "jacket" in place of the long "coat" for all ordinary occasions, their appearance was a good deal assimilated to that of their men. At the same time grey trousers were made regulation for battalions on active service, and those from which they obtained drafts, at home. In reality, breeches and long gaiters had practically disappeared from the infantry in the Peninsula before this. They wore either grey trousers or, in summer, white linen ones, with spats to correspond.

To this brief sketch of the style of infantry uniform in general, very little definite information can be added to show its application to the 88th Foot in particular. A solitary entry in the "Old Regulation Book" of Buckmaster, the Military tailor, without date, describes the officers' coat as made at some time between 1805 and 1812.

It runs as follows (verbatim):

"88th Reg^t of Foot. Colonel—General J. Reid. Scarlet Coat lined wth white. X flaps 4 holes. 2 each side of back. White turn-backs sewed down, pt in plait. Yellow Lappels 10 holes. Yellow Collar 1 hole and small button each end. Yellow cuffs 4 holes—by 2 all over. White short S.B. cas^e waist^t and Bree^s. N.B. Blue pantaloons trimmed wth broad and narrow braid. Buttons McGowan 38/3. "Silver epaulettes and ornaments—Pitter."

A coat is here shown, made according to this specification (which might



The Lapel could be buttoned back all the way down, or the top part only turned back (as above), or the coat could be entirely buttoned across.

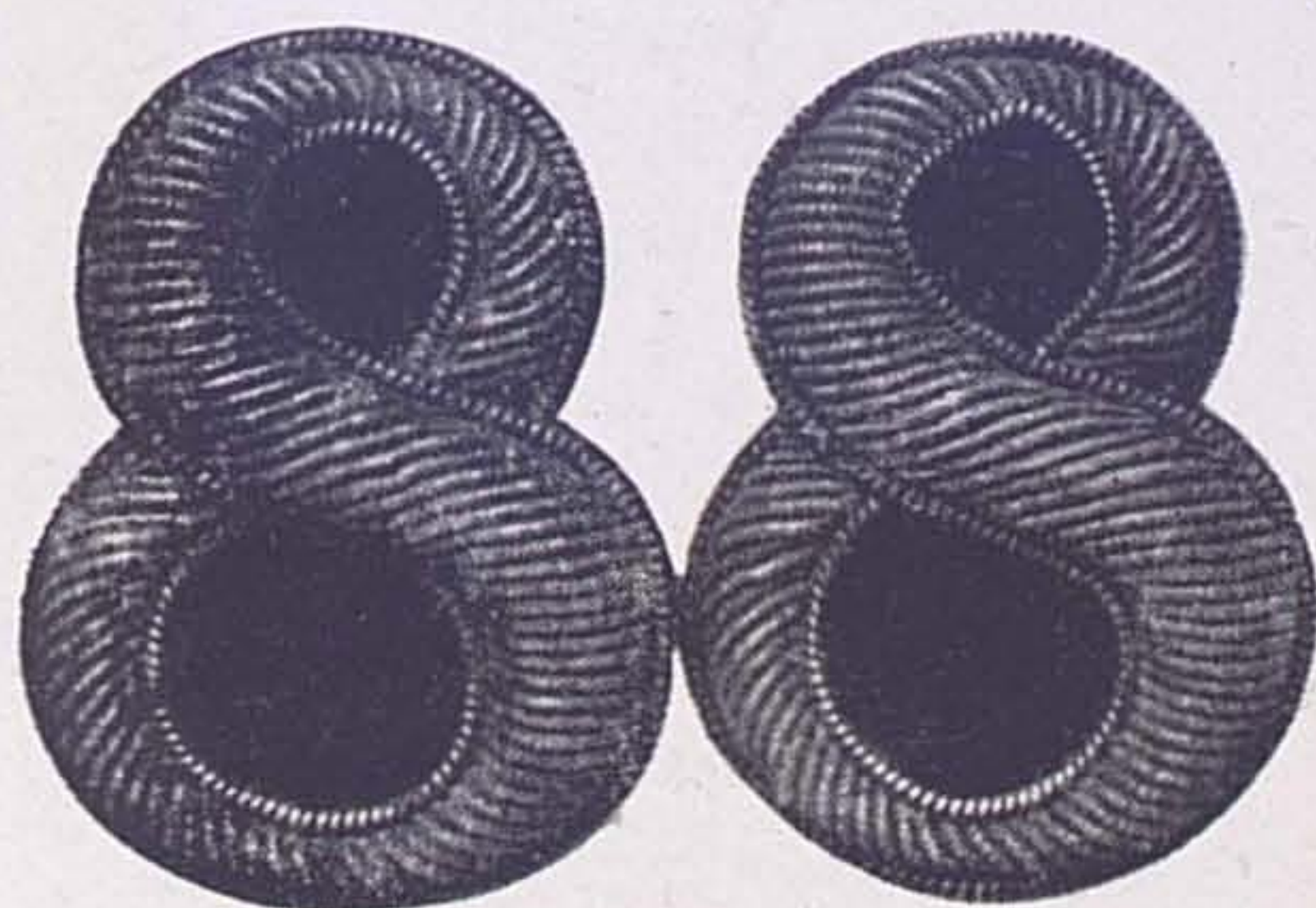
OFFICER'S COAT, CIRCA 1807.

otherwise seem rather cryptic to most readers). "McGowan" and "Pitter" were the firms who supplied the articles mentioned. "38/3" means that thirty-eight large and three small buttons were required. The only other line needing translation should read "white short single-breasted cassimere waistcoat and breeches." The headings of the book were evidently written out in 1805, the entries in it running to a much later date. That General Reid is mentioned as the Colonel does not therefore imply that this entry was made before 1807, though it may have been as early as that. The "holes" were merely of silk twist in this case; and the coat corresponds to that in the portrait of General Reid, allowing for the changes between 1795 and 1807. Officers of the Light Company would have a similar coat, but as a "jacket," with much shorter skirts.

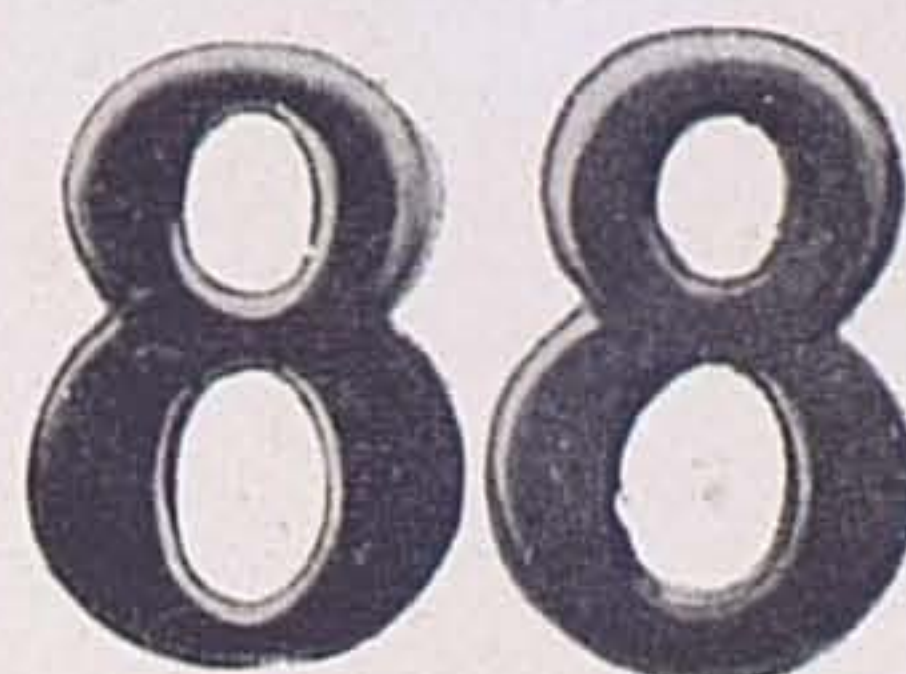
No information has been found as to the modifications of dress, especially of the men, during the varied services of the regiment in different parts of the world. In India, in 1798–1800, white pantaloons and short black gaiters were most likely worn, and possibly the hats were "slouched," that is, the brims were let down so as to afford shade. It would be interesting to know in what head-dress the march was made from Kosseir to the Nile, but nobody seems to have recorded this detail. On the return to England in 1803, the regulation costume would have to be conformed to. In the Peninsula, the chief alterations were in the leg clothing, white trousers (answering pretty nearly to what we now call "trousers") were ordinarily in use, and from 1809 grey ones. As usual, the wear and tear



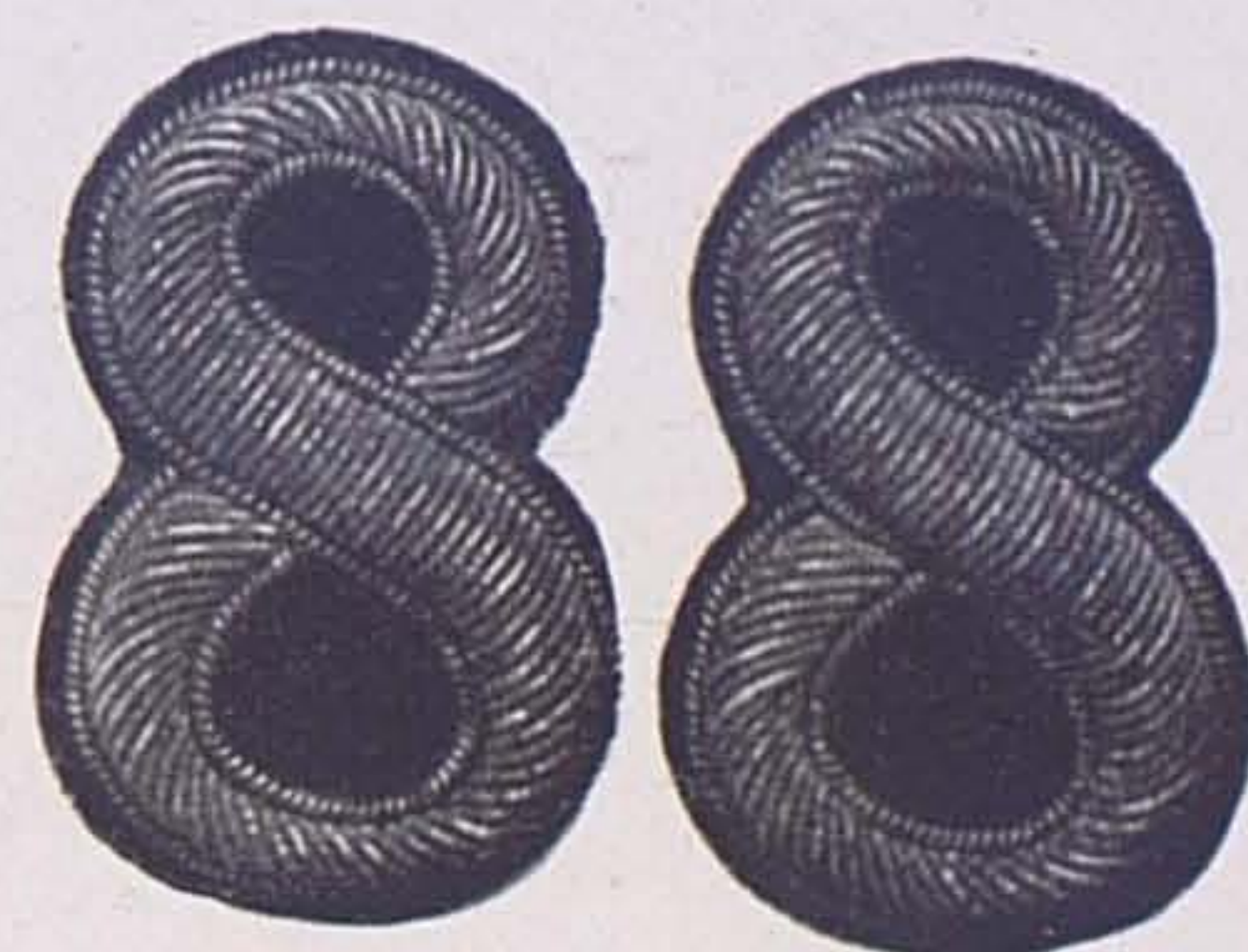
Breastplate.
Circa 1806.



Embroidered Numerals.
Officer's Forage Cap.
Circa 1840.



Numerals.
Rank and File.
1873-1881.



Embroidered Numerals.
Officer's Forage Cap.
Circa 1860.



Sword-Belt Plate.
Officer's.
1856-1881.

— 88TH —



Forage Cap Badge.
Rank and File.
1871-1879.



Collar Badge.
Rank and File.
1873-1881.



Collar Badge.
Rank and File.
1873-1881.



Glengarry Badge.
Rank and File.
1873-1881.

of campaigning, and the difficulties of supply, worked havoc with the appearance of the troops. About November 1810, Grattan declares that hardly two officers were clothed alike: some with grey braided coats, some with brown or blue, "while many from choice, or perhaps necessity, stuck to the 'old red rag.' Overalls, of all things were in vogue, and the comical appearance of a number of infantry officers loaded with leather bottoms to their pantaloons, and huge chains suspended from the side buttons, like a parcel of troopers, was amusing enough. . . . The 'cut down' hat, exactly a span in height, was another rage; this burlesque on a *chapeau* was usually overtopped by some extraordinary-looking feather, while again others wore their hats without any feather at all." Further on, he describes Captain Adair, of the 88th, as setting out on the first march, in the campaign of 1812, in a light blue frock-coat "richly frogged with lace," a green velvet waistcoat, and blue web pantaloons. The lower "Wellington" cocked-hat, the wearing of spurs and riding trousers by company officers (who were encouraged to be mounted on marches); and the use of pelisses and "surtouts," or frock-coats, by infantry officers, are all facts. When Grattan and some other officers arrived at Portsmouth in 1813, he said: "We were all splendidly dressed, with braided coats, handsome forage-caps, rich velvet waistcoats, and our pantaloons bore the weight of as much embroidery as would furnish a good sideboard of plate. But as we landed and saw the garrison of Portsmouth in their white breeches and black gaiters, and their officers in red coats, long boots, and white shoulder belts, we must have appeared to them, as they did to us, like men who formed part of an army of different nations." The excessive splendour of these not too wealthy Irish subalterns may safely be discounted, but it was in the Peninsula that the undress blue frock-coat and forage-cap came into vogue and never entirely disappeared, though it was about fifteen years afterwards that they were officially sanctioned.

An Inspection Report on the 1st Battalion at St. John's (Canada), in 1815, shows that trousers were in use, as one would expect, not breeches; also that more than half the pikes, swords, and sashes for the sergeants (and "fusees" for those of the Light Company) were "wanting"; the drummers had no hangers at all, but had the belts for them; twelve drums were deficient; and no equipment for Pioneers is shown on the returns.

The "Belgic" cap, approved in 1812, and replaced by the shako by an order of August 15th 1815, is seen in the drawing facing page 78 in Volume I. Whether it was ever issued to The Connaught Rangers is not quite certain. The 2nd Battalion, at home, might have received it at any time from 1813 onwards, or might have adhered to the old pattern because drafts had to be furnished to the other battalion. Issues in the Peninsula

were mostly in arrear of the proper dates. There is no evidence as to the 1st Battalion in 1813-14; but no caps at all were received by it in 1815, and over one thousand caps are still shown among the articles "wanting to complete" at the Inspection of May 1816. By October of that year one thousand one hundred and thirty-seven "caps" had been received, and these, presumably, would be the new shakos authorized more than a year before. It is noticeable that no part of this 1816 issue is entered under "grenadier caps," either for sergeants, drummers, or rank and file; so it is pretty clear that fur-caps for grenadiers (discontinued on active service) were not resumed up to 1817. The regimental plates for the various caps are dealt with further on.

Infantry was now supposed to return to the white breeches and black knee-gaiters which had been retained in many units serving in garrisons at home, and which was still the regulation dress. But it does not appear that officers of the Line wore the long gaiters any more. A close-fitting white pantaloon and a Hessian boot seem to have become the established custom for dress occasions. White trousers with white spats were worn by the men in summer and by officers in some orders of dress. A Warrant of September 30th 1817, sanctioned "grey cloth pantaloons" (meaning trousers) at stations "to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope"; and apparently certain other regiments obtained permission to continue the use of trousers. At last an order of June 18th 1823, approved of "the discontinuance of Breeches, Leggings, and Shoes as part of the clothing of the Infantry Soldier, and of Blue Grey Cloth trowsers, and Half Boots, being substituted." "The Dark Grey Trowsers which were formerly supplied at the option of the Colonels are entirely abolished."

Meanwhile the short-tailed jacket of Peninsular cut had been replaced in 1820 by a "coat" (commonly described everywhere but in the Dress Regulations as a "coatee"), except for officers of the Light Companies, and in 1826 these also received the coatee, and the men's coat, which had kept the jacket shape, was assimilated in form to that of the officers. The general tendency at this period was towards increased ornaments in military costume, by which the 88th were not so much affected as many other regiments, as the officers had never worn lace, but they had to increase the size and decoration of their shakos and to adopt a handsomer breast plate to carry the battle honours to which they were now entitled, and silver-lace on their dress trousers.

In June 1820, a change in the pattern of the men's lace was approved, and duly recorded in a Submission Book at the War Office. Instead of the black, red, and yellow stripes, the new lace had simply a black stripe along one edge, which was placed outwards in forming the loops on the coat.

Some time afterwards, probably when the regiment was sent to the Ionian Isles in 1825, a shell-jacket was introduced for the officers. These jackets were at that time not regulation articles at all, but permitted regimentally in hot climates, and the patterns were according to the fancy of the commanding officer. There is no record of the style adopted for the 88th, but it had some lace about it, which was "silver $\frac{9}{16}$ inch check and vellum with black stripe at one side." This obviously corresponded to the lace adopted for the men in 1820. Sergeants, it may be remarked, still continued to wear plain white lace, except the Sergeant-Major and Drum-Major, who had silver.

The increasing expense of officers' equipment, owing to the tendency already referred to, caused the intervention of the Army authorities in 1828, and, in that and the two following years, considerable changes were made with a view to curbing extravagance and bringing all regiments more towards one standard in matters of appearance. The shakos of all ranks, and the coatees of the officers, were reformed on the Prussian model. The lapels, which, from the amount of gold or silver lace which they could be decorated with in laced regiments, were obvious offenders, were abolished, and a double-breasted coatee with the two rows of buttons rather near together was introduced, and a sleeve flap; but this flap and the collar were now to be laced or embroidered in all line regiments. The 88th, therefore, had to adopt lace for the first time, and almost immediately had to change it from silver to gold, pursuant to an Order of September 1830, that gold should be used throughout the regular army. At the same time braided frock-coats were forbidden except in the Foot Guards, and a plain pattern of forage-cap was sealed, in order to get rid of the caps with gold or silver lace in use in some corps; while dark iron-grey trousers, also copied from the Prussians, superseded the blue-grey ones. A few years later these acquired a scarlet piping down the outer seam, but lace was seen no more on infantry officers' trousers for many years. In summer white linen trousers were used for another fifteen years.

Drahonet's painting (at Windsor Castle)* shows the dress of a private of the 88th (Private Sweeny) about 1833, and is reproduced at the beginning of this Appendix.

The frontispiece to Cannon's Record represents the dress of rank-and-file a few years later, when a universal white tape had replaced the regimental coloured laces. Plate No. 24 of "Spooner's oblong series" of military prints (by Lynch, after Hayes) represents the 88th in heavy marching order, looking for their billets, about 1840-42. These figures also wear the broad-topped shako. In 1844 this was replaced by a shako

* From a tracing of the figure by the Rev. Percy Sumner.

slightly smaller at the top than at the base, and the change is illustrated in Hayes' plate of "The Line" (published October 30th 1846; No. 14 of Graves' series), in which the 88th occupy the place of honour as the central group. They are shown in white summer trousers, but a decision had already been promulgated in December 1845, substituting light blue woollen trousers for the linen ones for summer. These are displayed in Plate No. 60 of Ackermann's series (after Martens), published in May 1854, and reproduced as the frontispiece to Volume I of this History. This shows also the altered accoutrement of the foot soldier, a waist-belt having replaced the bayonet-belt.

The Crimean War marks the close of a period in military history, and the new developments affected the clothing and equipment of the troops as well as their tactics and organization. During the period of peace which followed the close of the French war, with a small long-service professional army, under conditions when close and steady movement and formidable appearance had still a real usefulness in battle, the spectacular side of military training was naturally developed to a high pitch. The mechanical precision in manœuvring, combined with unwavering steadiness in the ranks, attained by British infantry in the first half of the nineteenth century, has perhaps never been surpassed, while the mobility of the battalions had been much improved since the 88th was formed. The importance attached to impressive appearance *in the mass* was largely the cause of the huge head-dresses in fashion in all armies, and contributed to that outburst of sartorial magnificence which, as has been mentioned, reached its acme about 1828. For a quarter of a century after the close of the great war the armament of the foot-soldier had remained unchanged. Then, in the early forties, the percussion lock was substituted for the flint, and on the eve of the Crimean War the idea of arming the whole of the infantry with rifles was adopted. The 88th received Minié rifles soon after they landed in the East. Before its service in India in 1858 it had been re-armed with the Enfield rifle.

Most European armies had substituted tunics for coatees before 1850. The British army which embarked for the East was therefore rather old-fashioned in appearance, and singularly little was done in the way of adapting the costume for active service. The Connaught Rangers at first paraded in Bulgaria, apparently, in precisely the same dress as they would have worn in Lancashire. In June, Captain Steevens notes that "the weather was intensely hot, but our heads were protected from the sun by white cap-covers, similar to those worn by the troops in India." These white covers were probably for the shakos, for Lieutenant Wray's diary states, under July 29th, "had our first Division drill here to-day,



PEWTER
R. & F.
1820-30



PEWTER
R. & F.
1830-54



OFFICER'S TUNIC
1854-60



SHELL JACKET
R. & F.
1850-60



OFFICER'S TUNIC
1860-81



OFFICER'S TUNIC
1854-81



PEWTER
R. & F.
1830-54



94TH SILVER
Circa 1817.



OFFICER'S
MESS VEST
1848-1922



OFFICER'S
BLAZER



OFFICER'S
TUNIC
1881-94



OFFICER'S
TUNIC
1894-1902



OFFICER'S
TUNIC
1903-1922

BUTTONS.

88TH — THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. — 94TH





Shako Plate.
Officer's.
1844-1855.



Shako Plate.
Officer's.
1872-1878.

— 94TH —

and for the first time in forage-caps." The only other innovation was that the wearing of moustaches was started by some of the bolder spirits among the infantry, in July, at which time also very short hair was adopted by them, being then considered a sacrifice, but the proper thing for an army "in the field." After some commotion among General officers, the moustaches were directed to be removed; but, on August 6th 1854 an official Order permitted this adornment, which had been previously confined to the mounted services, to the whole army. The landing in the Crimea was effected in the ordinary dress uniform, with uncovered shakos. The men may have had their forage-caps, but not their shell-jackets, and the miserable insufficiency of the kit with which they were thrown ashore has already been adverted to (Vol. I, p. 151). Captain E. H. Maxwell wrote: "I was dressed, I believe, in the identical coat in which I had appeared at a ball at the Tuilleries, which was not very comfortable in a ball-room but was quite unsuited for a wet night in a ploughed field" (Maxwell, p. 74). Steevens also refers to the discomfort of sleeping in a coatee with the epaulettes on.

It was quite possible, of course, to have removed the epaulettes and worn the coatee without them, but the only people who removed them were some of the cavalry regiments, who left off their epaulettes and shoulder-scales (the cavalry being the only arm to which the epaulettes were of some use, as a protection from sword cuts). This dress continued up to mid-October at least. "Our coatees and epaulettes began to look the worse for wear," says Steevens, "and our white belts dirty and stained—in fact we looked a shabby set." Soon forage-caps replaced shakos almost entirely, and the cold compelled the wearing of any extra garments that could be procured out of those provided by the generosity of the public. The costume of an officer for trench duty in the following spring "generally consisted of a shell jacket, over which was worn a short tweed coat lined with fur (a present from Government); a revolver was carried on one side and a field glass on the other; boots up to the knee and a seedy forage-cap completed the dress, which gave the wearer the appearance of First Ruffian in a melodrama" (Steevens, p. 230).

The old over-ornamental uniform perished in the trenches of Sevastopol, in fact. The cry for reform was also the opportunity of the central bureaucratic authority with its unvarying passion for monotony in things sartorial. The new army emerged from the war in long sloppy double-breasted tunics with very loose sleeves, baggy trousers, and plenty of hair on their faces. They were now as much overclothed for a hot climate as they had previously been underclothed for a cold one, but no doubt the dress was a trifle more serviceable. At the same time all visible regimental

distinctions were abolished as much as possible. The breast plates vanished with the shoulder-belts, and the waist-belts for the officers' swords were fastened with a clasp of uniform design, though it bore the number and title. A new shako, a trifle smaller at the top than the previous one, had a star-plate of reduced size, which, for the great majority of regiments, had nothing regimental on it but the number. A few corps were allowed to have their badge in the centre as well as the number, and others retained a badge or scroll on the officers' forage-cap. But battle honours were pretty thoroughly banished from the appointments of the Line; only Rifles, and Highlanders in some cases, keeping them on belt plates. Of course the badges soon began to creep in again.

In 1856 a single-breasted tunic was established instead of the double-breasted one. The dress was then as seen in the photograph facing page 168, Volume I. The only difference between regiments, for the tunic, was in the buttons and the facing colour, which was used for the collar, shoulder-straps, cuffs, and cuff-flaps. All the old variations in the spacing of buttons and shape of loops were abolished. Sergeants received a sword bayonet in place of a sword, and their sashes were worn over the right shoulder instead of round the waist, officers' sashes being henceforth worn over the left shoulder. Officers now had a tunic of the same design as the men's, gold lace (of regimental pattern) being used for the loops on the cuff-flaps, and as an edging to the collar and cuffs; they had no shoulder-straps, only a crimson cord on the left shoulder to retain the sash. The photograph at page 206 of Volume I shows the Rangers in this costume, with forage-caps. The regiment being in India the dress head-dress was a white helmet. The band is seen still in white tunics. Flank companies were abolished about 1859, and in 1861 a smaller cloth shako superseded the 1855 pattern.

The next period of disturbance in infantry uniform was about 1869-73. Pointed cuffs were substituted for cuffs with flaps on the tunics, and the decoration of the skirts was altered. The officers' cuffs and collars were braided according to rank, instead of merely distinguishing Field from Company Officers. This tunic is seen in the photograph facing page 243, Volume I, except that in 1870 it had a small loop of gold, only, on each shoulder, the badges of rank being then worn on the collar, instead of the later regimental badges. The head-dress was a new shako, still smaller than the last and more ornamental, on which the star plate gave way to garter-and-crown plate with laurel-wreath (as shown, page 505). The blue frock-coat, which had undergone various changes of pattern, was replaced by a blue patrol jacket, and steel scabbards were given to company officers. The men received a red serge "frock" for undress instead of the old shell-



Breastplate.
Officer's.
1814-1818.



Cap Badge.
Grenadier Company.
Circa 1850.



Forage Cap Badge.
Officer's.
1874-1881.
— 94TH —



Glengarry Badge.
Rank and File.
1873-1881.





Sword-Belt Plate.
Officer's.
1856-1881.



Waist-Belt Plate.
Rank and File.
1856-1881.

jacket, a glengarry instead of the round forage-cap, and a " valise equipment " instead of the knapsack. With this last, the white pouch-belt over the left shoulder disappeared. Also the white uniform of the bands was discontinued. In 1877 a cloth helmet, with spike, was decided on, to replace the shako, with which the star type of plate was restored. Soon afterwards a drooping peak was substituted for the horizontal one of the forage-cap. The changes of 1872 included the substitution of buttons of a universal pattern for regimental ones in the case of the men. As a compensation, special regimental badges were allowed to be worn on the men's collars. Regiments without special badges were to wear a crown. In 1880 the officers' badges of rank were transferred from the collar to the shoulder-straps, which on the tunic were made larger of twisted gold cord. The collar then acquired regimental badges, more or less similar in design to those worn by the men.

The photograph opposite page 228, in Volume I, of a group of officers in Zululand in 1879, shows an interesting variety of garments. Most of the officers are wearing privates' serge frocks (they can be distinguished from tunics by having no piping down the front), a makeshift device to render the officers less conspicuous. The Quartermaster and Captains Curran and Brind have the braided blue patrol jacket; Lieutenant Wyncoll seems to have the Indian scarlet patrol jacket, recognizable by the ornamentation on the cuff; and Captain Bowen has some kind of plain frock with four buttons only. There are two forage-caps; but most wear the glengarry, which was correct for officers on service. The Infantry Officer's wardrobe contained at least three, frequently four, different patterns of coat or jacket; but when he had to engage in his most essential service, warfare, it was necessary, apparently, to discard them all and borrow from the rank and file.

This brings us to 1881, when the 88th became the 1st Battalion of a new regiment entitled The Connaught Rangers, and although the general costume was not affected, the number disappearing and the badges being combined with those of the other battalion, the further changes are dealt with in a separate section.

REGIMENTAL DETAILS, 88TH FOOT.

A tabular statement attached to a " descriptive view of the clothing and appointments of the Infantry, 22 May 1802 " (MS. in W.O. Library) gives for the:

88th Foot. Facings pale yellow. Breeches white. Men's lace white with 2 black, 2 red, and 1 yellow stripes.

De Bosset's *View of the British Army*, 1803, indicates for this regiment, in a diagram :

Yellow facings. Silver metal for officers. White breeches. Straight-point loops in pairs for the men.

Colonel C. H. Smith's similar diagrams in his *Military Costume of The British Empire*, 1812-13 :

The same as in De Bosset, the men's lace having a black, a red, and a yellow stripe.

Marcuard's diagrams of the officers of the British Army, 1819 :

Shako with silver lace top and bottom, silver chin scales, and round ornament in front ; upright plume ; yellow facings, silver buttons in pairs, silver epaulette, plain yellow silk twist loops to the buttons, 1 button and loop each side of collar.

Cowell's (tailor's) book of officers' uniforms, about 1825 :

Yellow facings. Notched loops by pairs.

Cowell's book of officers' uniforms, 1831 :

Yellow facings. Lace loops by pairs.

Plumes or Tufts for All Ranks.

Grenadier Company : white, as long as worn.

Light Company : green, as long as worn.

Battalion Companies : red below and white above, 1796 to 1829 ; all white 1829 to 1844 ; red and white from 1844 as long as worn.

Band : Red ball-tufts, 1853-56. Other periods, no evidence.

Plates on Dress Head-Dresses.

1800 Cap and 1812 Cap : universal patterns.

Shako, 1816-29. For the Men : probably a small convex circular brass plate, bearing the number, and surmounted by a crown (as was usual, though there is a remarkable absence of specific information as to the men's plates at this period).

For the Officers : No direct evidence. Marcuard's diagram (very small) probably means a circle of lace, with a round plate in the middle of it and crown above, as was worn by many regiments up to 1820 or so ; the lace was usually gold with a crimson stripe. Subsequently the plate was, no doubt, the silver star and ornaments as worn on the centre of the 1829-43 shako plate, with the addition of a crown above the wreath.

Shako, 1829-43. For the Men : until about 1839—universal brass 8-pointed star with crown above, nearly 6½ inches high by 5 broad ; in the centre, within a circular raised rim, 88 in large numerals. The light company probably had a bugle in place of the rim. The grenadiers, when in climates where bearskin caps were not used, must also have had shakos, but the plate for them is unknown. From about 1839, instead of the above, the men had the plate shown in illustra-



Glengarry Badge.
Rank and File.
1881-1890.



Glengarry Badge.
Rank and File.
— 1890-1894.



Glengarry.
Officer's (Silver).
1881-1890.



Cap Badge.
Rank and File.
1894-1903.



Cap Badge.
Officer's and Rank and File.
1903-1922.

— THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. —





Mess Jacket.
Officer's,
1897-1922.



Mess Jacket.
Officer's,
1897-1922.



Forage Cap.
Officer's,
1890-1903.



Tunic Badge (Collar).
Officer's.
1881-1894.



Tunic Badge (Collar).
Officer's.
1881-1894.

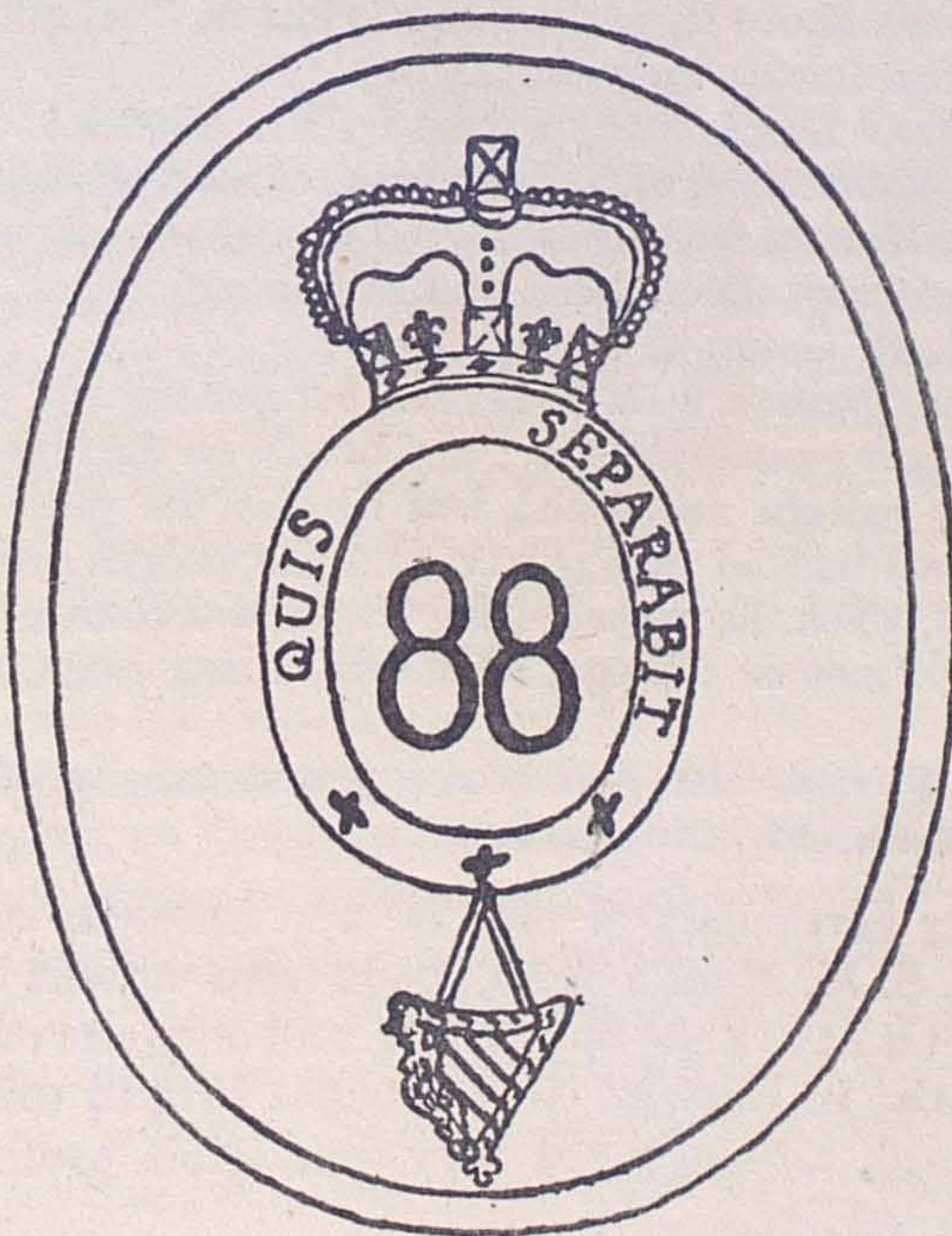
— THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. —

tion facing page 505 with the addition of a small grenade or bugle for the flank companies.

For the Officers : a gilt universal star and crown of the same size and outline as the men's ; superposed thereon a silver star with ornaments and battle honours as shown in the centre of illustration facing page 504.

Shako, 1844-55. For the Men : the same as last worn on the preceding shako.

For the Officers : a star of twelve principal points with crown above ; eleven battle-honours on the rays ; in the centre 88 within the circle inscribed with the title ; outside the circle a wreath of laurel and palm ; the Sphinx above the circle ; scroll with *QUIS SEPARABIT* and the Harp below the circle. Plate all gilt.



Shako, 1855-61. For all ranks : a star of 8 points surmounted by a Crown, in all four inches by three, "88" in centre within a garter with its proper motto. Officers' plate gilt and the numerals mounted on black leather.

(The foregoing "shakos," officially called "caps," were all of silk or beaver for officers, and felt for other ranks ; the following, called by the official spelling "chacos," were of cloth for all.)

Shako, 1861-70. For all ranks : a star and crown of the same design as the last, but reduced in size to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{3}{4}$, and the centre of metal with the numerals pierced. Plate gilt for officers.

Shako, 1870-78. For the Men. (See illustration facing page 505.)

For the Officers. (See illustration facing page 505.)

Blue cloth Helmet, 1878-81. In September 1879, the officers' plate had the same harp and number in the centre as on the preceding shako-plate, and the same scroll with motto, but a garter with its proper motto instead of the circle with regimental title; otherwise the standard pattern.

Cloth Helmet, from 1881 (see illustrations facing page 520).

Breast Plates for the Officers' Sword-Belts.

About 1800 the plate was oval, of polished silver, with a raised gilt metal rim, on the plate a pierced garter or circle with motto QVIS SEPARABIT, 88 within the circle, a Crown above it, and a Harp below it, "all gilt dead colour and cast together." (See tracing on page 515.)

(This is in Goetze's Bench-book, printed by Mr. Almack.)

By 1812 a rectangular plate with the corners rounded off had been substituted. This bore the same devices with the addition of a shamrock wreath outside the garter; but was entirely silver, plate and ornaments alike. (Jennen's bench-book, now with J. R. Gaunt & Sons.)

In 1825, Jennen's pattern book shows a silver rectangular plate with a silver flat-rayed star with gilt mounts thereon; and battles on the rays. This resembled generally the next pattern mentioned, but besides the plate being silver, the centre bore a wreath instead of a garter, and the badges differently arranged.

From July 1831, when the metal of the button was changed, a gilt plate with silver star, and gilt mounts thereon, as shown facing page 504. This lasted until 1855.

Sergeants and privates also had breast plates, usually of brass embossed, but no specimen seems to have survived.

[The following particulars of officers' appointments are taken chiefly from the late Mr. S. M. Milne's notes, made from various lacemen's books. As Mr. Milne's notes have gone to America, and only one or two manuscript copies of them exist in England, it is thought best to print these here as a permanent record, although not very intelligible except to those who have studied the subject.]

Shako Lace : Silver $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch Royals lace (at top) and $\frac{5}{8}$ inch wave (at base) (Webb & Co., no date). 1822 : $2\frac{1}{4}$ inch and 1 inch "figure of eight." Black raised centre rose with regimental button. 1825 : Silver E.I.C. and black silk chain and tassels.

Trouser Lace : 1828 : Silver $2\frac{3}{8}$ inch Life Guards oak, F.S.

Coatee Lace : 1829 : Silver $\frac{1}{2}$ inch French check. 1831 : Gold $\frac{1}{2}$ inch French check with black stripe on one edge.

Epaulettes : 1816 : Silver $2\frac{1}{4}$ inch fine check strap, corded, rounded top; solid plated single-corded crescent, pine purl round. (No date) : $2\frac{1}{4}$ inch fine check

strap, corded on scarlet as Enniskillen, octagon top ; new regulation crescent, Russia mounted.

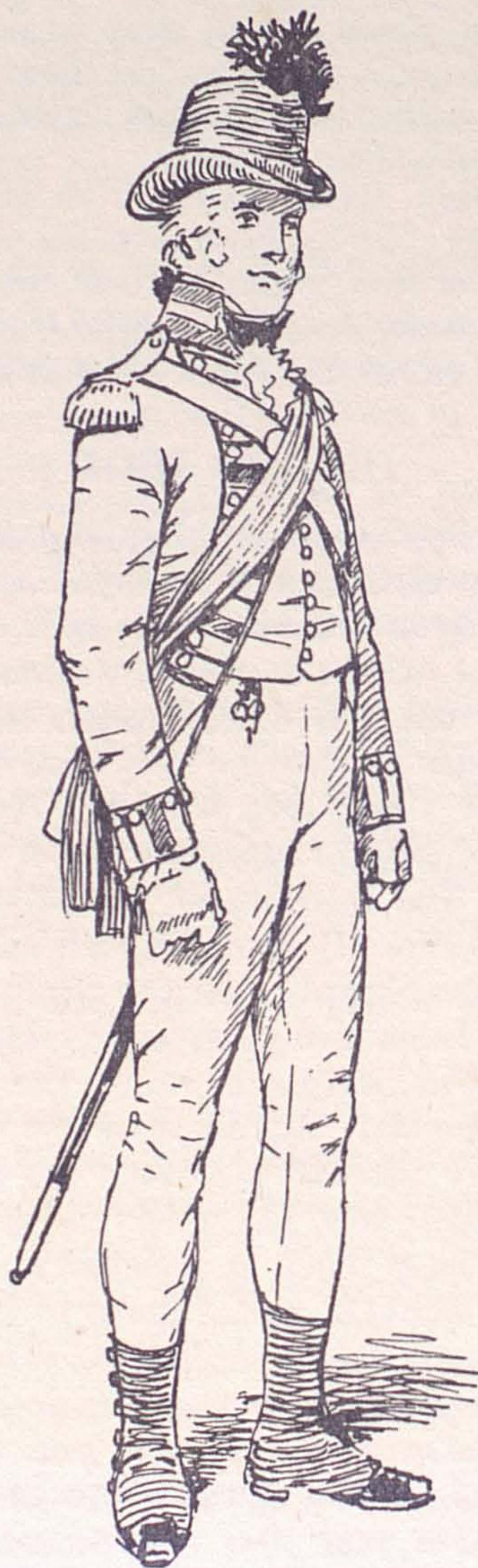
Wings: 1816: Wings plated matted strap on scarlet, one row royal cord round. 1823: Grenadier wings, plated matted chain wings, 13 inch, on scarlet, corded all round necklace bullion, edged scarlet ; gold grenade on scarlet. 1827: New regulation double curb chain wings.

Skirt Ornaments: 1816: Silver crowsfeet on yellow. 1816: silver half-crowsfeet on yellow. 1823: Skirts—silver grenades on scarlet (some entries say on yellow). L.I. as above with bugles. (These refer only to the flank companies.) 1826: silver crowsfeet on yellow, *altered to* silver rough purl shamrocks on yellow, harp in centre, all silver. 1829: silver crowsfeet on yellow.

THE 94TH FOOT.

The battalion raised by Colonel Ilay Ferrier under the title of the Scotch Brigade was apparently clothed and equipped as a Highland corps, and thus differed considerably in dress from the type described under the 88th Foot. The coat, both of officers and men, was much shorter in the skirts, and called a "jacket," but had similar collar, lapels and cuffs ; a white waistcoat was worn under it, and the kilt, hose and shoes completed the costume, with no doubt a feathered bonnet. The great kilt was then in use in the army, the philibeg, or modern form of the kilt, being only used for undress purposes. The question of the tartan worn is discussed in Chapter XLVI, page 156 (Vol. II), where also it is mentioned that the kilt and hose were no doubt discontinued when the regiment went to the Cape in 1796 and thence on to India two years later. Highland officers wore the sash over the left shoulder, instead of round the waist, and therefore had an epaulette on each shoulder, instead of on the right only, as in the rest of the Line. When they adopted the round felt hat and pantaloons with short gaiters, in compliance with the orders for hot climates, their appearance in 1798 must have been much as sketched herewith (page 518). Any new jackets, after that, would be closed down to the waist, both for officers and men. The men's jackets, in fact, became like those of other line regiments. A portrait of Lieut.-Colonel Ferrier, who died in India in command of the 94th, in 1804, shows the green facings and gold lace loops in pairs ; and De Bosset's 1803 Schema shows square loops in pairs for the men.

In April 1809, about a year after the regiment came home, the order was issued discontinuing the Highland dress. The 94th was inspected at Aberdeen in June of that year, the clothing Return being of the ordinary kind, and even showing a proportion of "grenadier caps," which, if of fur, must have been quite new. From this time forward the general changes as to line infantry, noted under the 88th, apply also to this regiment.



OFFICER—THE SCOTCH BRIGADE—INDIA,
1798-1807.

REGIMENTAL DETAILS, 94TH FOOT, 1793-1817,
DOWN TO THE DISBANDMENT OF 1818.

De Bosset's *View of the British Army*, 1803, indicates :
Green facings. Gold metal for officers. Square loops in pairs for the men.
Kilt.

C. H. Smith's similar diagrams, 1812-13, indicate :
The same facings, metal, etc., the men's lace having one red stripe ; but
white breeches instead of kilt.

Plumes for All Ranks.

Grenadier Company : white.
Light Company : green.
Battalion Companies : black feathers on the round hats about 1798 ; later,
red below and white above.

Plates on Head-Dresses.

1800 Cap and 1812 Cap : universal patterns.
1816 Shako : if worn, for the men probably the same as 88th Foot, but with
number "94." For the officers, see note from tailor's book below.

Breast Plates for Officers' Sword-belts.

1807-15. Rectangular plate, Elephant and 94 within oval garter, Crown
above, and "Scotch Brigade" below. (Jennen's Bench Book.)
1815. Rectangular plate, with Elephant and xciv, with Crown and
"Peninsula" above, and "Scotch Brigade" below. (See illustration facing
page 512.)

Other Details from Mr. S. M. Milne's Book.

1813.—Jacket : Nine and a half to twelve yards fine check lace. Skirt
ornaments : two single leaved Thistles on green. Epaulette : Gold fine check
wire strap, round top, corded ; pointed flat feather crescent, rose in centre and
looped all round.

Original entry in tailor's book, without date : Scarlet regimental jacket,
69th green facings, etc. ; 10 gold $\frac{3}{4}$ inch rich vellum loops to lapels by twos, 4
on cuffs, 4 on slashed flaps ; triangle back ; one on collar. Regulation cap :
Dye plate similar to belt plate. Gold epaulette : fine check strap, round top,
corded ; double feathered spangled crescent, lined green. [This appears to refer
to the Scotch Brigade 94th, being a "jacket" with an epaulette, and the
epaulette strap having a rounded top. The 69th facings were then "willow
green," not so dark as afterwards worn by the 94th.]

The new 94th, raised in 1823-4, followed the regulations for line infantry
throughout its career, and the general remarks under the heading of 88th
would apply also to this battalion at the corresponding dates.

REGIMENTAL DETAILS, 94TH FOOT, 1823-1881.

The "Submission Books" at the War Office contain an entry dated December 22nd 1823, obtaining the Royal approval of a "loop" for the 94th Regiment. It is a bastion-shaped loop (see page 504) of white tape with a green stripe near each edge, upon a piece of green cloth.

The "Standing Orders" of the Regiment, printed at Edinburgh in 1824, contain a full description of the officers' dress, mainly adapted from the 1822 Dress Regulations. It shows that at that date officers were to wear plain white pantaloons and Hessian boots in "Dress," and blue-grey trousers, "quite plain and similar to those of the men," in Undress. Officers were permitted to have an undress coatee, made the same as the dress one, but without any lace on the lapels, as these were to be worn buttoned over, showing only the scarlet front of the coat. [The Dress Coat, or "coatee," is seen in the portrait of Sir Thomas Bradford. In 1824 trousers would not have been worn with it when the lapels were shown as in the portrait.]

The "great coat" (i.e. the blue frock coat) was quite plain, in accordance with regulation, and the sword worn with it on a black leather waist-belt. In "Full Dress" officers were to appear as in Dress, with the exception of having breeches, with small regimental buttons and gilt buckles at the knees, silk stockings, shoes with gilt buckles, and without a sash.

Plates on Head-Dresses.

1823 Shako: For Officers: flat engraved silver star, about 4 inches by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, bearing a gilt "94" in centre on a silver ground, within a gilt wreath of roses, shamrocks, and thistles, and surmounted by a small gilt crown.

For Men: probably small round convex plate with number, as mentioned under 88th.

Officers and Men of the Light Company wore, instead of the star, a gilt or brass bugle, according to Regulation.

On Shako, 1829 to 1843: for Officers: the same silver star as before (but without the crown, and with the wreath extended to meet at top), superposed on the universal gilt star.

For Men: as described under 88th Foot, with the regimental number changed.

On Shako, 1844-55: for Officers: as illustration facing page 511, all gilt. The Light Company officers, however, had a bugle round the numerals instead of a garter, and probably the Grenadiers also had a special plate.

For the Men: as described under 88th Foot, with the regimental number changed.

On Shakos, 1855-61 and 1861-69: absolutely regulation, as described under 88th Foot. 1870-78, as illustration facing page 511 for officers, and a similar plate for the men.



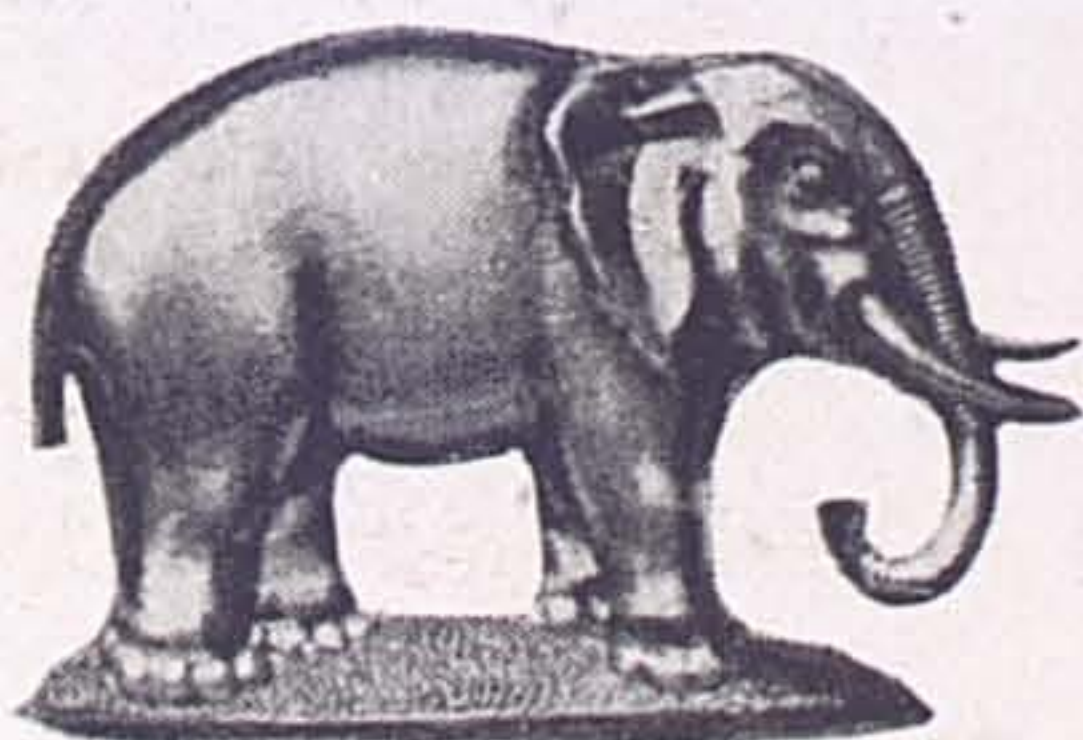
White Mess Jacket.
Officer's.
1907-1914.



Helmet Badge.
Officer's.
1881-1903.
(With Tudor Crown after 1903.)



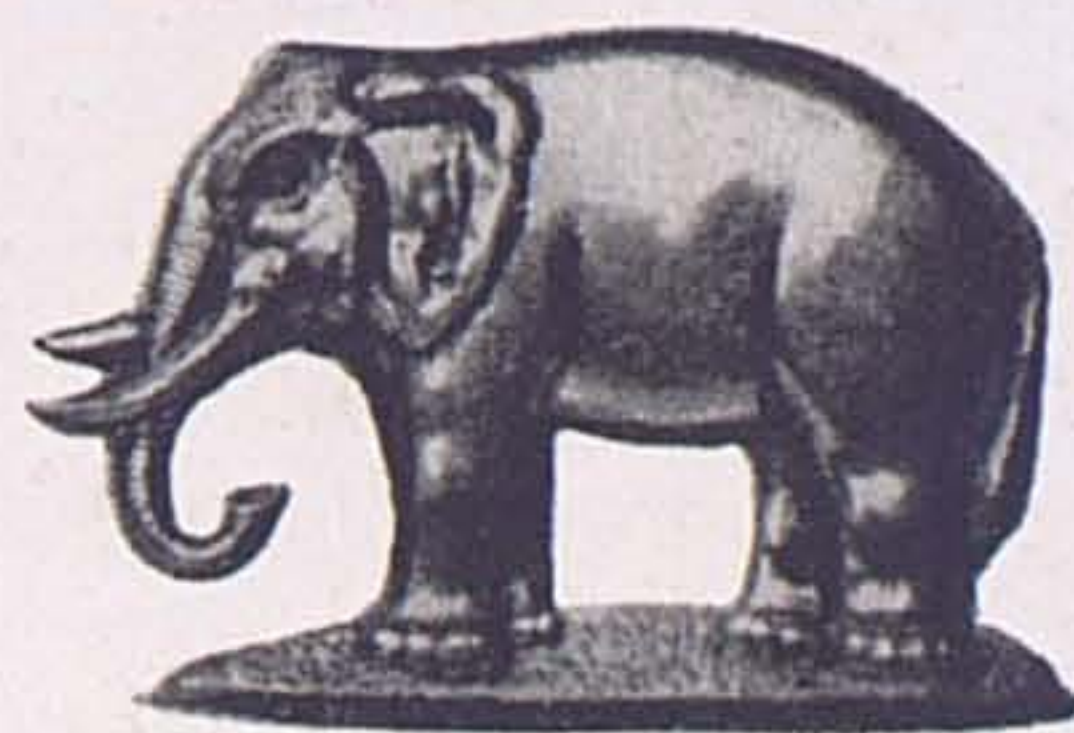
White Mess Jacket.
Officer's.
1907-1914.



Collar Badge.
Officer's Tunic.
1894-1922.
(Silver.)



Helmet Badge.
Rank and File.
1903-1922.
(With Stuart Crown before 1903.)



Collar Badge.
Officer's Tunic.
1894-1922.
(Silver.)

— THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. —



Sword-Belt Plate.

Officer's.

1881-1903.



Sword-Belt Plate.

Officer's.

1881-1903.

— THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. —

On helmet 1878-81: universal patterns; in the case of the officers, gilt 94 on black velvet in centre, and with a silver elephant, about 1 inch long and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, on the bottom ray of the star, close under the garter.

Breast Plate for the Sword-Belts.

Only one pattern seems to have been used from 1823 to 1855, viz., a rectangular gilt plate with crown, wreath, and number, of the same design as on the 1823 shako-plate, but in silver. Messrs. Jennen's book also shows a variation for the Light Company, the large 94 in centre being replaced by a smaller 94 within a bugle; this is dated both 1842 and 1851. The Grenadier officers may therefore probably have had a grenade, bearing 94, within the wreath.

A brass breast plate (sergeant's or private's) in Mr. Milne's collection bore the same ornaments as on the battalion officers', but of course all in brass.

[The following particulars are taken from Mr. Milne's notes, as in the case of the 88th, and from some other sources, and printed here for similar reasons.]

Dress Coat, 1824-29: Scarlet with green facings. Ten square-ended lace loops, by pairs, in each lapel; one each side of collar, 4 by pairs on each cuff, and 4 by pairs on each pocket-flap; 4 loops at back of waist; white kerseymere turnbacks laced, and skirts laced down the pleat from hip to skirt ornament. Lace: gold $\frac{1}{2}$ inch "basket check"; 15 yards required.

Skirt Ornaments: 1824, gold embroidered stars on green, 94 in centre. For Grenadier Company, gold grenades on green. 1828, Light Infantry skirts, bugles on green.

Epaulettes: 1823, gold $2\frac{1}{4}$ inch fine check strap, octagon top, corded as Enniskillen; new regulation crescent. 1825, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inch fine check strap, regulation edge and crescent. [The gold bullions varied a little in length according to rank. Battalion Company Officers wore one on the right shoulder only; the Adjutant had an epaulette-strap on the left shoulder in addition; Field Officers wore a pair.]

Wings: 1824-28, straps, with octagon top, same as for epaulette; the wing-parts scarlet, as in the Foot Guards, edged with $\frac{6}{8}$ or $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch lace; silver grenades or bugles. [The "Standing Orders" mention a "crescent" to the wing, which does not occur in the lacemen's descriptions.]

Shako: 1824—black beaver, bell shape, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep in the crown, with lacquered top 11 inches in diameter; 2 inch gold lace round top, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch round base, of "E.I.C." or "army" pattern; black cockade in front; plate as already described; gilt scales with lion-head studs, either to fasten under chin or meet at top; leather peak $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. Red and white upright hackle, 12 inches long, on twisted wire, with a gilt socket; grenadiers, white hackle; light infantry, green. 1826, feather socket covered with black watch cord.

Trouser-Lace: On white dress trousers, "2 inch gold stripes of plain basket

with half diamond edges." Afterwards (on the blue-grey trousers) "gold $1\frac{7}{8}$ inch Basket, wave edge"; altered again to " $2\frac{1}{4}$ Oak and Thistle, F.S."

Trousers: 1826. A pair green trousers, Dress, gold laced down side-seams and edged with scarlet. Undress, a pair plain mixt milled cassimere trousers. [It is worth notice that the Dress Regulations at this time specified that infantry officers' trousers should be plain, without lace.]

Frame Jacket: [this was the shell-jacket and, being called a "frame" jacket, was probably laced all round like a heavy cavalry stable-jacket] 1828. $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch basket lace; gold cord shoulder-straps as 7th Fusiliers. 1826 Shell jacket for 94th; scarlet jacket, small bolster hips, pointed cuffs, green Prussian collar, cuffs laced round with gold lace; body lined with white silk; no buttons. [After 1829 a regulation shell-jacket replaced these fancy patterns throughout the Army.]

Inspection of the Depôt at Plymouth, October 1828. One negro in the Band of the regiment. "The sergeants of the 94th are recently furnished with a sash, by order, I understand, of Lieut.-Colonel G. W. Patey, and for which they are made to pay out of their own pockets. This fancy sash differs from any I have yet seen, and is quite at variance with what has always been considered the King's Regulation."

The illustration facing page 308 is from a plate in the "Gentleman's Magazine of Fashions" for April 1832, and shows the new costume of 1830.

Mr. R. Ebsworth, who made many sketches of British soldiers from 1850 to 1880, made the following note on a drawing of the bandsmen, etc., in 1854:

"The 94th Foot arrived at Chatham, 1854, after a long time in Madras. The corps, then very weak, moved for a time to do duty at Windsor, the Guards being at Malta, etc. I noticed the green facings were of a peculiar leaden hue (possibly altered by sun). The band played on Windsor Castle Terrace on Sunday afternoons; a very good one under Van Maanen, afterwards Bandmaster of the Scots Fusilier Guards. Drums very plain. Drum-Major had a scarlet scarf-belt, not green. Band instruments all very old-fashioned; they still carried a 'serpent,' black with brass fittings. The regiment in 1854 was then wearing dark blue serge trousers."

The Light Company Officers (in common with those of most other regiments) wore a small black pouch with a white pouch-belt, for a year or two, about 1856. The pouch-flap had a gilt 94 surmounted by a crown. The drummers' regimental lace, discontinued about 1866, had a green stripe along the centre and a red stripe on each edge. The band was still wearing white tunics in February 1873. A diced band was authorized for the shako in 1874, but was not adopted, when the "elephant," and the honours of the old 94th, were granted. When involved in the surprise attack at Bronkhorst Spruit, in December 1880, the companies there were wearing scarlet serge frock, similar in pattern to those seen in the group of 88th officers, Volume I, page 228, with white helmets and white pipe-clayed belts. The costumes in 1874 appear in the two groups as depicted in illustrations facing pages 334 and 335 (Vol. II).



1st Battalion.

1903-1922.

(With Stuart Crown before 1903.)



2nd Battalion.

(Until 1922.)

— THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS—BAND BADGES. —



White Helmet Badge.

India.
1885.



Piper's Badge.
1919-1922.

— THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. —

THE MILITIA BATTALIONS

THE GALWAY MILITIA

The Galway Militia, first regularly established in 1793, was No. 11 on the separate precedence list of the Irish Militia, and in 1833 became No. 91 on the list for the United Kingdom.

The uniform was red, faced with yellow. By 1812 the officers had silver buttons, and silver lace with a black stripe along the centre, the men's lace being white worsted with a black stripe. According to Colonel C. H. Smith's diagrams the men's "loops" were square-ended and at equal distances. About 1817 the officers' coats had silver loops by pairs on the yellow lapels and cuffs, and the collar and back-skirts also laced. By 1829 the black stripe seems to have been discontinued in the officers' lace, which became "vellum" pattern with one edge scalloped. Later, up to 1881, it was silver $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch "French check." The Harp was the badge worn in the centre of the shako or helmet plate from 1861 (and probably earlier) until 1881; also on the officers' waistbelt plate, where it was surrounded by a shamrock wreath. In March 1872, official permission was given for officers to wear the Harp and Crown on their forage-caps in lieu of the regimental scroll.

In 1881 this corps became the 4th Battalion The Connaught Rangers.

THE NORTH MAYO MILITIA

The North Mayo Militia was also placed on a regulation footing in 1793, and became No. 3 on the Irish Militia List, and afterwards No. 120 on the United Kingdom List.

The uniform was red, faced with yellow. The officers' metal was silver (an early breast plate was in the late Mr. R. Day's collection, all silver, with 3 within a star and the inscription "Mayo North"), and the men's lace white with a black stripe, like the Galway Militia, but with bastion-shaped loops at equal distances.

In 1881 the North Mayo became the 6th Battalion Connaught Rangers, and was amalgamated with the South Mayo in 1889.

THE SOUTH MAYO MILITIA

The South Mayo Militia, dating, like the other corps, from 1793, was No. 30 on the Irish List, and afterwards No. 82 on the United Kingdom List. The uniform was red and the facings, according to a manuscript of Colonel C. H. Smith's, about 1800, were yellow, but probably this may have been an error. In 1812 (as shown by Smith in his printed diagrams) and onward to 1855 the facings were white. In 1812 the officers wore gold; their dress coats had ten loops of $\frac{3}{8}$ -inch "vellum" lace on the lapel, and

four on the cuff, all in pairs, one loop each end of collar, and the skirts laced. In 1836 the gold lace must have been changed to silver, in compliance with the order confining gold lace to the Regular Army.

In 1856 the regiment was converted into "Rifles," and the Army List gives their uniform as green, faced black velvet, but later the facings are given as scarlet. They had, of course, black belts and bronzed ornaments for the men. The officers' pouch-belt ornament is shown on Plate facing p. 527.

In 1881 this regiment became the 3rd Battalion The Connaught Rangers; the 6th Battalion (North Mayo) was incorporated into it in 1889.

THE ROSCOMMON MILITIA

The Roscommon Militia was No. 31 on the Irish Militia List, and also dates from 1793. In 1833 it became No. 93 in the United Kingdom List.

The uniform was red, faced with black. In 1811, and probably earlier, the officers' metal was gold, the lace " $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch basket, with two-bar edges," which is also recorded as " $\frac{11}{16}$ -inch basket check lace, same as 3rd Guards." The men's lace (according to Colonel C. H. Smith again) was white with a black stripe, and their "loops" bastion-shaped, at equal distances. The officers' facings were of velvet, as was usual in corps with black facings, and the skirt ornaments Irish Stars (i.e. of the Order of St. Patrick) on black velvet. The battalion had not only a grenadier and a light infantry company, but also a "company of marksmen." A book of Regimental Standing Orders was published in 1801, extracts from which have been reprinted in the Army Historical Research Society's Journal. From this it appears that the coat of the officers was "laced" (some regiments had only silk twist button-holes), that the orders as to the use of white breeches, black gaiters, knee-boots or "three-quarter boots" (Hessians?) for the officers, gorgets, "coloured pantaloons in winter," etc., were in accordance with the general usage in the army at that period. The officers of the Marksmen seem to have had a special kit—"a Light Infantry jacket, buttoned in front like the battalion, with embroidered wings; a round cap with a 'peeke' before, loop and cockade in front, a green turband and a long green feather; the hair platted and turned up behind, white breeches or pantaloons; full dress green cloth pantaloons trimd with gold cord; a black waist belt and a gilt mounted hanger."

About 1852, when the Militia was revived as an organized force, the facings were changed from black to buff. The lace, of course, had been changed from gold to silver in 1836, and had a black stripe along the centre. The Harp and Crown were used as a regimental badge on the officers' breast plates, shako and helmet plates, and waist plates from 1846 at least. During the 1855-6 embodiment, double-breasted tunics were worn, the

men's forage-caps had 93 in front (which was rather uncommon for Militia), and the band wore red hair plumes.

In 1881 this corps became the 5th Battalion The Connaught Rangers.

THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS.

On the creation of the new regiment under this old title, the 88th lost their yellow facings. The scheme provided white facings for English regiments, yellow for Scotch, green for Irish, and blue for Royal Regiments, whatever their nationality. As, however, all the regiments assigned to Ireland, except The Rangers, were Royal or became so in the general changes, this was the only one to wear the national colour. The 94th had the good fortune to retain their facings, already green, on becoming the 2nd Battalion.

The North Mayo and Galway Militia had also to change their facings from yellow to green, and the Roscommon from buff to green, while the South Mayo had to change from a Rifle uniform.

The dress uniform of the infantry underwent no essential change for another twenty years. The cuffs of the men's tunics, and serges, were altered to the plain round form, long known as the "jampot" cuff, so many regiments having it in white; and the collars became of the facing colour throughout, instead of being red with a patch only of the facing, as had become customary for a few years. The officers' blue patrol jacket and round forage-cap with drooping peak also remained in force for a long time. In 1890 the authorities introduced a plain serge frock for the men, entirely red with the exception of the shoulder-straps, which alone were to be of the facing colour. An outcry was raised about this pattern, however, and collar and cuffs of the facing had to be permitted. This resulted in a new irregularity. Since the seventies, shoulder-straps had been red, and remained so on the tunic. On the restoration of facings to the serge frocks, most regiments returned to the red shoulder-straps for them, but others retained the facing-colour strap of 1890. The two line battalions of the same regiment were dissimilar in some cases.

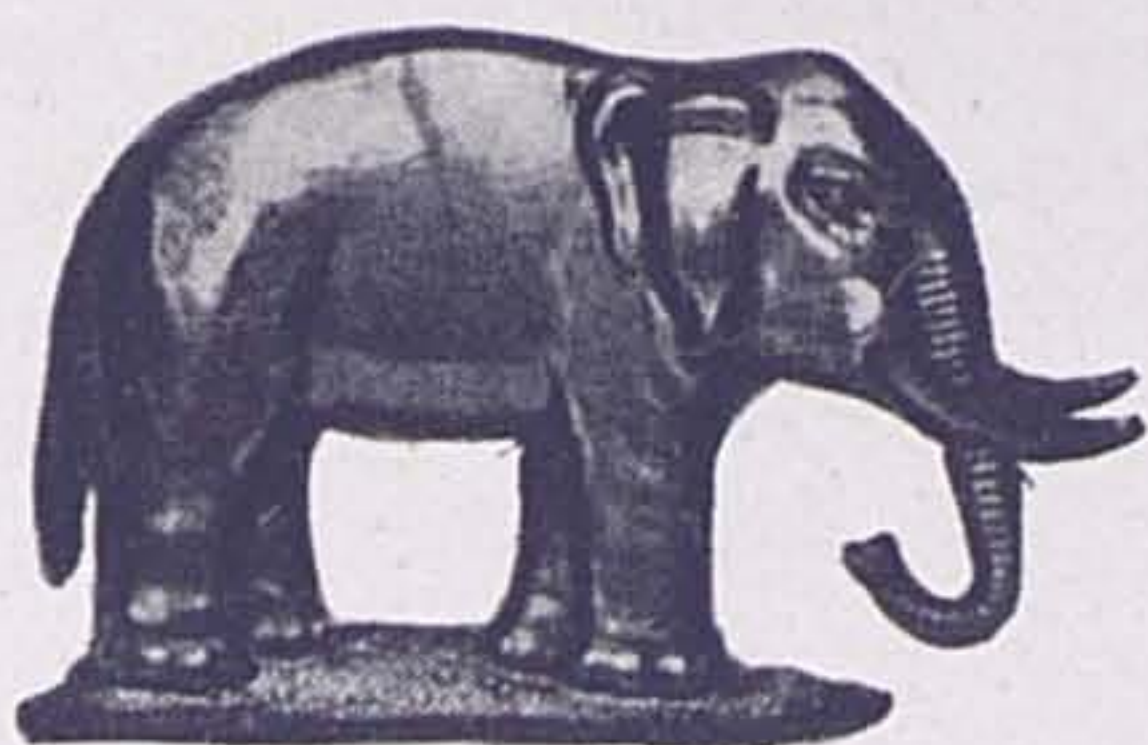
On the introduction of the Territorial system the officers wore a forage-cap, and a glengarry with a silver badge. The latter was abolished about 1889, and the Austrian field-service cap of green, with a thin gold braid was adopted, and worn by all officers up to 1903, when the blue forage-cap with green band and green welts was sanctioned.

The need for a red undress jacket for the use of officers on service had been recognized in South Africa and Egypt, and a scarlet patrol jacket already existed in India. A different pattern of scarlet undress jacket

was, however, authorized for home service towards 1890, although by that time khaki was becoming the usual active-service dress in our small frontier wars. The pattern may be seen in the photograph of 2nd Battalion officers at Cairo in 1896. When the Boer war broke out, no other colour was contemplated for active service there. It was proposed at one time, in the nineties, to substitute the white helmet for the cloth one, and several battalions wore white helmets at home; the shape of these being varied experimentally once or twice. The South African campaigns, however, brought into vogue a drab slouch hat, turned up on one side, and Army Orders in January 1902 prescribed the "felt hat, army pattern, registered," as the "head-dress for service abroad." Some details of the service kits worn in South Africa may be distinguished in the photographs at pp. 245, 248, and 366 of Volume I.

The 1st Battalion wore a slouch hat with green pugaree, and the badge on the side of the hat during 1901-02 on service in South Africa. At the same time the "full or ceremonial uniform," which it was still intended to keep up as well as the "universal service dress," underwent some modifications. The infantry officers' tunics lost the varied braiding according to rank, all having pretty nearly the same decoration as had formerly been used for subalterns, and the skirts were altered. The officers' sash was now to be worn round the waist, the sergeants' sash continuing over the shoulder. A double-breasted blue frock-coat was again adopted for officers' undress; and gold lace sword-slings were introduced, being then worn under the tunic and over the frock-coat for all ranks.

When the 1st Battalion was in Ireland in 1903, the dress uniform was as just indicated, according to the *Digest of Services*, "the helmet remaining as before" (presumably the blue cloth one). The Field Service Dress (the drab cloth coat and breeches) was used for everyday work. Mounted officers wore leggings and dismounted ones puttees. See Plate, Volume I, page 408, for this costume, and the form of the forage-cap, which was of two varieties: one khaki, the other dark blue, with a green band and piping or welts. Officers wore a gold-embroidered harp and crown on the blue forage-cap, the men wore a brass badge on the same. The N.C.O.'s dress uniform is shown facing page 409, their tunics now having pointed cuffs, and slashed flaps and buttons on the skirts. The rather nautical-looking caps were of dark blue with a curved patch of green cloth in front bearing the regimental badge. The men still wore the old dark grey overcoat. On June 14th 1904 puttees were issued to the men, and the leather leggings withdrawn. Also units in possession of the 1888 valise equipment were allowed to carry the greatcoat rolled at the back of the waist-belt (cancelling the instruction for it to be worn on the shoulders similarly



Collar Badge—Tunic.
Rank and File,
1881-1922.



Collar Badge—Tunic.
Rank and File,
1881-1922.



Helmet Badge.
5th (Service) Battalion.
1915-1916.



Shoulder Title.
Officer's.
1907-1914.



Shoulder Title.
India—all Ranks.
1897-1908.



Shoulder Title.
Officer's—Khaki.
1899-1902.



Shoulder Title.
Rank and File.
1913-1922.

— THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS. —



South Mayo Militia.
Officer's Pouch Belt Badge.



Galway Militia.
Glengarry Badge.



Collar Badge.



Roscommon Militia.
Forage Cap Badge.



Collar Badge.

THE MILITIA—SOUTH MAYO, GALWAY, AND ROSCOMMON.
(Before 1881.)

to the old valise). The valise itself had been discontinued. On September 1st 1905 the battalion took into use the new Field Service and Dress Cap, with peak. At Malta, on October 11th 1907, it was fully equipped with the brown leather bandolier equipment. In 1908 authority was given for wearing, in India, the regimental badge as described in the Dress Regulations, in front of the Wolseley-pattern helmet, when the white cover was worn with it; also a khaki patch, embroidered "Connaught Rangers" in green letters, to be worn on the left side of the khaki helmet, not to exceed three inches by two inches in size.

The Wolseley-helmet, the bandolier equipment for the men, and a new style of khaki jacket for officers, with a roll-over collar, showing a khaki shirt collar and regimental necktie, are seen in the two photographs of 2nd Battalion groups in 1908.

It was in 1908, however, that the pattern of "web infantry equipment" was sealed, which was in force, and generally in use, during The Great War.

In 1903 the sleeves of the officers' khaki coat were altered, a flap being added, to bear the badges of rank in drab embroidery, rather lighter than the coat itself.

The Service dress jacket and breeches with puttees and leggings was worn right up to the outbreak of The Great War in 1914, and was adopted and carried on after the reformation of the 1st and 2nd Battalions in 1919 and up to the disbandment in 1922.

The Officers' Mess vest or waistcoat was of green with a thin gold braid, and gold buttons of a special kind, as shown on the plate of Buttons. This Mess vest was of great antiquity, dating from about 1848, but was not officially acknowledged and sealed until the year 1904.

THE MILITIA

Officers of the Militia battalions of the Regiment wore the same uniform as the Line battalions, of the patterns authorized for service at home stations, with the addition of the letter M below the badges of rank on the shoulder-straps (the letter being silver or gilt to correspond to the metal of the badges themselves). The officers' metal was now gold in the militia. As there were no names of battles on the badges, I suppose these were unaltered throughout.

The other ranks also wore the uniform of the corresponding ranks of the line, with the letter M and the number of the battalion on the shoulder-straps. The dress uniform, "tunics" and cloth helmets, however, was not usually issued to the rank and file of militia at all, and all parades were attended by them in the scarlet "frock" and the glengarry or field-service cap.

APPENDIX V

CASUALTIES IN THE GREAT WAR

The complete nominal rolls of both the Officers and Other Ranks of The Connaught Rangers, who were Killed in Action and Died of Wounds or Disease during The Great War, have been published recently, under the authority of H.M. Stationery Office, and are as follows :

OFFICERS

" Officers Died in The Great War, 1914-1919 "
Part I (page 172) Price 7/6

OTHER RANKS

" Soldiers Died in The Great War, 1914-1919 "
Part 69 Price 2/6

(See also Appendix II, Vol. I.)

APPENDIX VI

THE MEDALS FOR THE GREAT WAR

" THE 1914 STAR "

In November 1917, Army Order No. 350 was published, announcing that His Majesty the King had been graciously pleased to signify His pleasure to give a decoration—a Star in bronze—in recognition of the services of such of the military forces of the Crown as had served in France and Belgium under Field-Marshal Sir John French, during the earlier phase of the War, from August 5th 1914, to midnight of November 22nd–23rd 1914.

The riband to be red, white and blue, shaded and watered. No clasp was originally issued with this Star.

In October 1919, Army Order No. 361 was published, announcing that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to approve the issue of a clasp to those who had actually served under the fire of the enemy in France and Belgium between August 5th 1914 and midnight November 22nd–23rd 1914.

In undress and service uniform, when ribands only are worn, the grant of the clasp is denoted by the wearing of a small silver rose in the centre of the riband.

" THE 1914–15 STAR "

In December 1918, Army Order No. 20 of 1919 was published, stating that His Majesty was further pleased to recognize the services rendered by others of His military forces who served in theatres of war between August 5th 1914 and December 31st 1915, both dates inclusive.

This decoration except for the date was in all respects identical (but no clasp) with the " 1914 Star," but those eligible for the former were not to receive this latter Star.

" THE WAR MEDAL "

In July 1919, it was announced in Army Order No. 266 that " His Majesty had been graciously pleased to signify His pleasure that a medal be granted to record the bringing of the War to a successful conclusion, and the arduous services rendered by His Majesty's forces," the medal being in silver and the riband being " centre orange, watered, with stripes of white and black on each side and with borders of Royal blue."

" THE VICTORY MEDAL "

In August 1919, it was given out in Army Order No. 301 that the services of His Majesty's forces were to be further recognized by the grant of a second medal, to be designated " The Victory Medal," which was to be identical in design with that issued by the other Allied and Associated Powers.

The medal was to be of bronze and without any clasps, the riband to be " red in the centre with green and violet on each side, shaded to form the colours of two rainbows."

APPENDIX VII

THE BATTLE HONOURS OF THE GREAT WAR

The first announcement that Battle Honours had been awarded to The Connaught Rangers for The Great War was made in Army Order 129/1924 (April 1924).

The tabulated detail of the Battle Honours allotted, was issued by the War Office on 10th May 1924 (see pages iv. and 603, Volume I).

Army Order 55/1925 (February 1925) notified the cancellation of the above, substituting a revised and complete list, in accordance with that compiled from the War Diaries and Rolls furnished by the Regimental Battle Honours Committee (see page vii., Volume II).

The ten, printed in CAPITALS, which were those selected by the Committee to be borne on the Colours and appointments, are as follows :

" MONS "	" CAMBRAI, 1918 "
" AISNE, 1914 "	" KOSTURINO "
" MESSINES, 1914, '17 "	" SCIMITAR HILL "
" YPRES, 1914, '15, '17 "	" MEGIDDO "
" GUILLEMONT "	" KUT AL AMARA, 1917 "

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