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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK HISTORY OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY, VOL. 1 ***

HISTORY
OF THE
ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

COMPILED FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS.

By CAPTAIN FRANCIS DUNCAN, M.A., D.C.L.

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY REGIMENTAL RECORDS;
FELLOW OF THE GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON,
AND THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.



VOL. I.—TO THE PEACE OF 1783.

WITH A PORTRAIT.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1872.

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ALBERT BORGARD.

FIRST COLONEL OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE,
K.G., G.C.B., K.P., G.C.M.G.,
COLONEL OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY,
THIS
HISTORY OF ITS SERVICES
IS RESPECTFULLY, AND BY PERMISSION,

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION.

A FURTHER reorganization of the Royal Artillery, involving alterations in the nomenclature of Batteries, having taken place since the publication of the Second Edition, the Author has deemed it desirable to issue a Third, with tables added to Appendix C, in the Second Volume, which will enable the reader to keep up the continuity.

These frequent changes are embarrassing to the student of history, but in the present instance the change has been distinctly advantageous in an administrative point of view.

WOOLWICH.

October, 1879.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

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THE unexpected favour accorded to the first edition of this work having already rendered a second necessary, the author has taken the opportunity of making many corrections and additions, and of embodying the indices of both volumes in one. The history, as it now stands, represents the services of the Corps in detail as far as the year 1815, and gives a summary of the services of those batteries now in existence, which represent the troops and companies of the old Royal Horse Artillery, and of the nine senior battalions of the Royal Artillery. The tables at the end of both volumes will also assist the reader in tracing the antecedents of every battery in the Regiment.

The author takes this opportunity of expressing his gratitude to his brother officers for the cordial sympathy and encouragement which he has received from them during his labours, and his hope that the noble narrative commenced by him will not long remain unfinished. The importance of completing the record of the Corps' services in the Crimea and India, while the officers who served in these campaigns are yet alive, is very apparent; and the author would respectfully suggest that any documents throwing light upon these services, which are in the possession of any one belonging to, or interested in the Corps, should be deposited for safe keeping, and for reference, in the Regimental Record Office at Woolwich.

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March 2, 1874.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

AMONG the uneducated, discipline is created by fear, and confirmed by habit. Among the educated, the agency at work is more complicated. Sympathy with the machine of which the individual finds himself a part, and a reasoning apprehension of the necessity of discipline, are mingled with a strong feeling of responsibility; and, as in the former case, habit steps in to cement the whole. Of all these agents, the noblest is undoubtedly the sense of responsibility, and the highest duty of a military commander is to awaken this sense where it does not exist, and to confirm and strengthen it where it does.

Two means may be employed to ensure this end. First: let the importance of his duty be impressed on the individual, and let the value in a military sense of what might seem at first sight trivial be carefully demonstrated. Let it be explained that neglect of some seemingly slight duty may disarrange the whole machine; and that for this reason no duty, in a soldier's eyes, should appear slight or trivial. Second: let an *esprit de corps* be fostered, such as shall make a man feel it a shame to be negligent or unworthy.

History has a power to awaken this *esprit*, which it is impossible to overrate. Its power reaches the educated and the uneducated alike; it begets a sympathy with the past, which is a sure agent in creating cohesion in the present; for the interest which binds us to our predecessors binds us also to one another. In this cohesion and sympathy is to be found the most sublime form of true discipline.

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HISTORY
Of THE
ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

IN the summer of 1682, for the space of nearly three months, an old man might have been seen pacing daily up and down near the Ordnance Offices in the Tower of London, growing shabbier day by day, more hopeless and purposeless in his gait, yet seeming bound to the place either by expectation or command.

At last with trembling hand he prepared for the Honourable Board of Ordnance the following quaint petition:—

"The humble Petition of John Hawling, Master Gunner of His Majesty's Castle of Chester."

"SHEWETH:—

"That y^e Petitioner being commanded up by special order from the office hath remained here y^e space of 13 weeks to his great cost and charges, he being a very poor and ancient man, not having wherewithal to subsist in so chargeable a place.

"He therefor most humbly implores y^r Hon^{rs} to take his sad condition into your Honours' consideration, and to restore him to his place again, y^e he may return to his habitation with such commands as your Hon^{rs} shall think fitt to lay upon him.

"And your Petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray."

To which Petition the Honourable Board returned the following peremptory answer:—

"Let y^e Petitioner return back to Chester Castle, and there submit himself to Sir Jeffrey Shakerley, Governor, in y^e presence of Sir Peter Pindar and Mr. Anderton, and obey y^e orders of y^e Governor and Lieut.-Governor of y^e said castle, and upon his said submission and obedience, let him continue and enjoy his former employment of Master Gunner there, so long as he shall so behave himself accordingly."

John Hawling, this poor and ancient man, was one of the small class of Master Gunners, and Gunners of Garrisons, who with the few fee'd Gunners at the Tower, represented the only permanent force of Artillery in those days in England. Their scientific attainments as Artillerists were small, and their sense of discipline was feeble. To take a very superficial charge of Ordnance Stores, and to resent any military interference, such as at Chester seems to have driven John Hawling into mutiny, but at the same time to cringe to the Board, which was the source of their annual income, represented in their minds the sum and substance of their duties. And taking into consideration John Hawling's offence, his advanced years, and his petition, we do not err in taking him as a representative man.

In the House of Commons, on the 22nd of February, 1872, the Secretary of State for War rose to move the Army Estimates for the ensuing year. These included provision for a Regiment of Artillery, numbering—including those serving in India—34,943 officers, non-commissioned officers, and men.

Although divided into Horse, Field, and Garrison Artillery, and including no less than twenty-nine Brigades, besides a large Depôt, this large force, representing the permanent Artillery Force of Great Britain, was one vast regiment—the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

To trace the growth, from so small an acorn, of so noble a tree, is a task which would inspire the boldest author with diffidence: and when the duty is undertaken by one who has had no experience in historical writing, he is bound to justify himself to his readers for his temerity.

When the writer of the following pages assumed, in January, 1871, the duties of Superintendent of the Royal Artillery Regimental Records, he found a method and order established by his predecessor, Major R. Oldfield, R.A., all the more remarkable when compared with the chaos too often prevailing in Record offices. The idea immediately occurred to him that if ever a History of the Regiment were to be written—a book greatly wanted, and yet becoming every day more difficult to write—here, in this office, could it most easily be done. This feeling became so strong in his mind, that it overcame the reluctance he felt to step into an arena for which he had received no special training.

The unwillingness felt by him was increased by the knowledge that there was in the Regiment an officer, Colonel F. Miller, V.C., who was eminently qualified for writing such a History. Other and more pressing duties had, however, prevented that officer from undertaking a work which he had once contemplated; but of the many documents and books which the author of the following pages has made use of for his purpose, none has been more valuable than an exhaustive pamphlet published some years ago by Colonel Miller for private circulation, and his recent edition of Kane's list of Artillery officers, with its comprehensive Appendix.

It has been said above that the writing of this History has been every year becoming more difficult. The statement requires explanation, as the difficulty is not caused so much by the accumulation—continually going on—of modern records, which might bury the old ones out of sight, as by a change in the organization of the Regiment which took place some years ago, and which sadly dislocated its history, although possibly improving its efficiency. In the year 1859, the old system which divided the Regiment into Companies and Battalions, with permanent Battalion Headquarters at Woolwich, was abolished; and Companies serving in different parts of the Empire were linked together in Brigades, on grounds of Geography, instead of History. Companies of different Battalions serving on the same station were christened Batteries of the same Brigade, and the old Battalion staff at Woolwich became the staff, at various stations, of the Brigades newly created. The old Companies, in donning their new titles, lost their old history and began their life anew. Every year as it passed made the wall which had been built between the present and the past of the Regiment more nearly approach the student's horizon, and the day seemed imminent when it would be impossible to make the existing Batteries know and realize that the glorious History of the old Companies was their own legitimate property.

The evil of such a state can hardly be described. The importance of maintaining the *esprit* of Batteries cannot be overrated. And *esprit* feeds and flourishes upon history.

Nor can Battery *esprit* be created by a *general* Regimental history. The *particular* satisfies the appetite which refuses to be nourished upon the *general*. The memory which will gloat over the stories of Minden, Gibraltar, or Waterloo, will look coldly on the Regimental Motto "Ubique." Therefore, he who would make the influence of history most surely felt by an Artilleryman must spare no labour in tracing the links which connect the Batteries of the present with the Companies of the past. For the Battery is the unit of Artillery: all other organization is accidental. Whether the administrative web, which encloses a number of Batteries, be called a Battalion or a Brigade system, is a matter of secondary importance. It is by Batteries that Artillerymen make War; and it is by Batteries that their history should be traced.

With this feeling uppermost in his mind, the author of these pages has endeavoured on every occasion to revive the memories which will be dear to the officers and men of Batteries—memories which ran a risk of being lost with the introduction of a new nomenclature. On such memories an *esprit de corps*, which no legislation can create, will blossom easily and brilliantly; and no weapon for discipline in the hand of a commander will be found more true than the power of appealing to his men to remember the reputation which their predecessors earned with their lives.

This first volume will give the present designation, the past history, and the succession of Captains of the whole of the Companies of the seven Battalions formed during the last century and of the old troops of the Royal Horse Artillery. In the succeeding volumes, the same course will be pursued with regard to the later Battalions.

These stories will be all the more precious now, as the importance of the Battery as a tactical unit has been so distinctly recognized by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge within the last few months, and its responsibility and value as a command have been so recently and generously marked by the present Secretary of State for War.

The author does not pretend to underrate the difficulties of the task which he has undertaken—difficulties which cannot be realized by those who see merely these inadequate results of his labours. Not the least was the difficulty of knowing where to begin. The Regimental organization is comparatively recent; and had he confined his labours to the last one hundred and sixty years, his task would have been greatly lessened, and yet he might have said with literal truth that he had written a History of the Royal Artillery. But surely in any History worthy of the name there were antecedent circumstances which could not be left unnoticed, such as the circumstances which brought about the birth of the Regiment, the blunders and failures which marked the old system in England as wrong and foolish, and the necessity, which gradually dawned, of having in the country a *permanent*, instead of a *spasmodic* force of Artillery.

Repudiating, therefore, the notion that the Regiment's History should commence with its first parade, how far was he to penetrate in his antiquarian researches? There was a danger of wearying his reader, which had to be avoided fully as carefully as the risk of omitting necessary information, for a history—to be useful in awakening *esprit de corps*—should be *read*, not shelved as a work of reference. It is in this part of his labours that the author has to appeal for the greatest indulgence, because writing, as he has generally done, with all his documents and authorities round him for reference, he may unconsciously have omitted some details most necessary to the reader; or with some picture clearly present to his own mind as he wrote, he may have given light and shade which had caught his own fancy, and omitted the outlines without which the picture will be almost unintelligible.

Of the many to whom he is indebted for assistance he feels called upon to mention specially the Secretary of State for War, by whose permission he had unlimited access to the Ordnance Library in the Tower; Colonel Middleton, C.B., Deputy Adjutant-General of the Royal Artillery; General McDowell, commanding the troops in New York; Lieutenant A. B. Gardner, of the United States Artillery; and the Committees of the Royal Artillery and United Service Institutions.

The works which the author has consulted are too numerous to mention, but among those which were most useful to him were Drinkwater's 'Siege of Gibraltar,' Murdoch's 'History of Nova Scotia,' Browne's 'England's Artillerymen,' Clode's 'Military Forces of the Crown,' the Reports of the House of Commons, the Records of the Royal Military Academy, Kirke's 'Conquest of Canada,' Rameau's 'La France aux Colonies,' Cust's 'Annals of the Wars.'

Among the mass of MSS. through which he had to wade, the valuable manuscript notes connected with the 'History of the Royal Artillery,' arranged by the late Colonel Cleaveland, deserve special mention. The skeleton of this work, however, was furnished by the old Record Books of the Battalions, deposited in the office of which the author is Superintendent.

In the succeeding volumes, the advantage of being able to use the old letter-books of the head-quarter offices of the Royal Artillery will be apparent. But there was no head-quarter staff for the Regiment up to the time where this volume finishes; so that the student has, up to that date, to depend greatly on men like General James Pattison and Forbes Macbean, who placed on record, in their diaries and letter-books, valuable and interesting information connected with the Regiment during their service, which would otherwise have been hopelessly unattainable.

The value of such a History as this, if the writer has not utterly failed in his object, cannot be better shown than in some words addressed by one of our most distinguished Artillery officers (Sir E. C. Warde) to an audience at the Royal Artillery Institution a few months ago. The family affection which he urged as the model for Regimental *esprit* cannot be better fostered than by reviving the stories of our predecessors' gallant deeds and scientific excellence. As a Regiment, we are now large almost to unwieldiness, and conflicting interests and tastes tend to diminish the desired sympathy and cohesion. And, as in the crowded pit of a theatre before the performance commences, there is elbowing, and crowding, and wrangling for place, yet when the curtain rises all is hushed and quiet,—there is room for every one,—and the look of selfishness is exchanged for one of interest and pleasure,—so, among our great numbers, although there must be many and diverse interests and tastes, yet we all become as one as we gaze on the great dramas in which those of us have acted who have gone before.

The words used by Sir Edward Warde were as follows:—"It has ever been our pride, as a corps, to be regarded as one family; and if one member of it, in any remote part of the world, in any way distinguished himself, it was felt universally that he had reflected credit and honour on the whole corps. And so, *vice versa*. Should we not, then, extend those feelings as they apply to private families, in which members embrace *different* professions? One becomes a soldier,

another a sailor, a third enters the Church, a fourth goes up for the bar, and so on; and if any one gain honour and distinction, all equally feel that such honour and distinction is reflected upon the whole family, and all equally glory and rejoice in it. So should it be with us. Some of us take special interest in the *personnel*, as it is well known to you all that I have done throughout my career; but is that any reason why I should not take an interest—aye, and a warm interest—in the success of those brother officers who pursue scientific researches, and seek honour and distinction in the pursuit of literature, and in endeavouring to raise the character of our corps as one from which highly scientific attainments are expected? No, indeed; the very reverse should be our guiding rule; and I can conceive no position more honourable than that held for so many years by our highly distinguished brother officer, Sir Edward Sabine. Let us, then, feel that we *are* one family, and let us rejoice in the success of every one of its members, whether they are so fortunate as to gain distinction in the field, in the siege, or in literary and scientific pursuits; and by so doing may we hope, not only to maintain our present high reputation, but to increase it as time goes on."

CHAPTER I. THE MASTERS-GENERAL OF THE ORDNANCE AND THEIR HONOURABLE BOARD.

HERE are many reasons why the Masters-General of the Ordnance must interest the student of the History of the Royal Artillery. In the days before the Regimental organization existed, all Artillery details came under the care and superintendence of the Masters-General; and to a distinguished one of their number does the Regiment owe its formation. The interest becomes deeper and closer after that date; for in addition to the general superintendence which had already existed, the Master-General had now a special interest in the Royal Artillery, in his *ex officio* capacity as its Colonel.

And whatever objections may be urged against the Board of Ordnance, the Royal Artillery, save in one particular, has always had abundant and special reason for regarding it with affection and gratitude. The almost fatherly care, even to the minutest details, which the Board showed to that corps over which their Master presided, was such as to awaken the jealousy of the other arms of the service. Had their government not been of that description which attempts to govern too much, not a word could be said by an Artilleryman, save in deprecation of the day when the Board of Ordnance was abolished. Unfortunately, like a parent who has failed to realize that his children have become men, the Board invariably interfered with the duties of the Artillery under whatever circumstances its officers might be situated. No amount of individual experience, no success, no distance from England, could save unhappy Artillerymen from perpetual worry and incessant legislation. The piteous protests and appeals which meet the student at every turn give some idea of the torture to which the miserable writers had been exposed. The way, also, in which the Board expressed its parental affection was often such as to neutralize its aim. It was rare indeed that any General Officer commanding an army on service made an appointment of however temporary or trivial a nature, which had to come under the approval of the Board, without having it peremptorily cancelled. Even in time of peace, the presence in every garrison of that band of conspirators, known as the Respective Officers—who represented the obstructive Board, and whose opinion carried far more weight than that of the General commanding—was enough to irritate that unhappy officer into detestation of the Honourable Board and all connected with it.

It has been declared—and by many well able to judge, including the Duke of Wellington himself—that in many respects the Board of Ordnance was an excellent national institution and a source of economy to the country. It may be admitted that in its civil capacity this was the case, and the recent tendency to revive in the army something like the Civil Branch of the Ordnance proves that this opinion is general. But, if we take a more liberal view than that of mere Artillerymen, we must see that the military division of its duties was only saved from exposure and disgrace by the fact that the bodies of troops over which it had control were generally small and scattered. The command of the Royal Artillery, now that it has attained its present numbers, could not have remained vested in the hands of a Board constituted as the Board of Ordnance was. What General Officer could have hoped to weld the three arms of his division into any homogeneous shape, while one of them could quote special privileges, special orders, and sometimes positive prohibition, from a body to which they owed a very special obedience? The Royal Artillery may indeed have lost in little comforts and perquisites by the abolition of the Board of Ordnance, but in a military point of view, in proficiency, and in popularity, the Regiment has decidedly been a gainer.

While admitting, however, the advantages, nay, the necessity of the change which has taken place, the long roll of distinguished soldiers and statesmen who have successively held the office of Master-General of the Ordnance is too precious an heirloom in the eyes of an Artilleryman to let pass without special notice and congratulation.

From 1483, the earliest date when we can trace one by name, down to the days of the Crimean war, when the last Master-General died in harness, the brave, gentle Lord Raglan, the list sparkles with the names of men who have been first in Court and field, and who have deserved well of England.

Their duties were by no means honorary in earlier times, although during the last fifty years of the Board's existence the chief work fell upon the permanent staff, and the visits of the Master-General were comparatively rare and ceremonious. If any one would learn what they had to do in the seventeenth century, let him go to the Tower, and examine the correspondence of Lord Dartmouth, the faithful friend and servant of Charles II., a professional Artilleryman and James II.'s skilled Master-General to the last. He created order out of chaos in the Department of the Ordnance, under Charles II., and so admirable were his arrangements, that on King William ascending the throne, he issued a warrant ratifying all previous orders, and leaving the details of the management of the Ordnance unaltered. In the autumn of 1688, Lord Dartmouth's office—never a sinecure—became laborious in the extreme. Daily and hourly requisitions reached him from the excited King and his Ministers, for the arming of the ships and the Regiments which were being raised in every direction. Authority was given to raise more gunners, as if experience could be created in a moment and the science of Artillery begotten in a man's mind, without previous study, for "twelve-pence by the day." To Chatham the Master-General hurries to superintend the fitting-out of the men-of-war, and next day, for the same purpose, to Sheerness, where he finds a despatch from the trembling Privy Council, ordering him to fill six merchant ships with fireworks to accompany the King's fleet, as fire-ships against the enemy. A terrible life did poor Lord Dartmouth lead at this time. Sometimes his letters are written from on board ship in the river, sometimes from his cabin in the 'Resolution,' at Portsmouth; very frequently from Windsor, where James anxiously kept him near his person, plying him now with questions and now with contradictory orders. Sometimes we find him writing at midnight, ordering his loving friends, the principal officers of the Ordnance, to meet him next day at the Cockpit, in Whitehall; at other times he swoops down unexpectedly on the bewildered officials in the Tower. In the old, quiet days, his correspondence was distinguished by an almost excessive courtesy; but now, in these days of fever and in the depth of his anxiety, it almost disappears; orders are issued like minute-guns; explanations of delay are fretfully demanded; and a bombardment is incessant of peremptory inquiries as to the state of His Majesty's ships and stores.

His Lieutenant-General, Sir Henry Tichborne, has a hard place of it at this time. With so energetic a Master at the Board, his work hitherto has been of the lightest, and his head seems now to reel under the change. For a few weeks he holds out, but by the end of November in that eventful year matters came to a crisis with poor Sir Henry. He can no longer attend the meetings of the Board; a violent fit of the gout prevents him, which he carefully warns his colleagues will, in all likelihood, continue some time: and with a piteous prayer that, out of the small sum in hand, the Board will pay the salaries of the "poor gunners, as subsisting but from day to day," Sir Henry's name disappears from the Board's proceedings, and the History of the Ordnance knows him no more.

After this time the Honourable Board seems, when its Master was absent, to have enacted the part of the Unjust Steward, for we find various debts remitted to creditors who could not pay, and not a small issue of debentures to those whose friendship it was desirable to retain. All through the records of their proceedings at this time is to be traced, like a monotonous accompaniment in music, the work of that immovable being the permanent clerk. From the dull offices in the Tower issue the same solemn Warrants, appointing this man an Ordnance labourer at six-and-twenty pounds a year, and that man a gunner at twelve-pence a day, just as if no Revolution were at hand, and no foreign foe were menacing the very existence of their King and Honourable Board together. Lord Dartmouth may be guilty of curt and feverish memoranda, but the permanent clerk never moves out of his groove, nor shall posterity ever trace any uneasiness in his formal work.

And then comes the sudden gap in all the books; the blank pages more eloquent than words; the disappearance of the familiar signature of Dartmouth; and the student takes up a fresh set of books where England took up a fresh King.

The duties of the Master-General, and the various members and servants of the Board of Ordnance, were first reduced to a systematic form in Charles II.'s reign, while Lord Dartmouth was in office. The Warrant defining these was confirmed by James II. on the 4th February, 1686; by William III., on the 8th March, 1689; by Queen Anne, on the 30th June, 1702; by George I., on the 30th July, 1715; and by George II., on the 17th June, 1727.

Although some alterations were made by George III., they were very slight, and rendered necessary by the occasional absence of the Master-General and by the creation of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich—the Cadets attending that institution being placed in a very special manner under the care and superintendence of the Master and Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. The orders under which the Board worked up to the beginning of this century were, therefore, practically those instituted during Lord Dartmouth's term of office; and in examining them, one cannot fail to be struck with their exhaustive anticipation of every circumstance which might arise for consideration.

The Master of the Ordnance, as he was originally called—sometimes also termed the Captain-General of the Artillery—received, in 1604, the title of Master-General; and was considered one of the most important personages in the realm. Since the great Marlborough held the office, it has seldom been given to any one not already possessed of the highest military rank: but this was not always the case. Lord Dartmouth was plain Colonel Legge when first appointed, and the social, as well as military rank of his predecessors, was sometimes far from exalted. It became, therefore, necessary to attach to the office some relative military status: and accordingly we find a Warrant issued by James II., bearing date the 13th May, 1686, directing that the Master-General of the Ordnance should always have "the rank, as well as the respect, due to our youngest Lieutenant-General: and that our will and pleasure is, that he command in our Garrisons as formerly, but do not take upon him the charge or command as a Lieutenant-General in the field, without our especial commission or appointment." The command in the Garrisons referred to in the Warrant is in allusion to the Master-Gunners and Gunners of the various Garrisons, whose allegiance to the Board of Ordnance, as being, in fact, custodians of the Ordnance Stores, was always insisted on.

The relative rank awarded to the Master-General entitled him, when passing through any Camp or Garrison, to a guard of 1 officer, 1 sergeant, and 20 men; the guards were compelled to turn out to him and the drums to beat a march; and the officers and soldiers of the Regiments he passed had to turn out at the head of their respective camps. In the old pre-regimental days, when the Master-General took the field in time of war, in his official capacity, he was attended by a Chancellor, thirty gentlemen of the Ordnance, thirty harquebusiers on horseback, with eight halberdiers for his guard, two or three interpreters, a minister or preacher, a physician, a master-surgeon and his attendant, a trumpeter, kettledrums, and chariot with six white horses, two or three engineers, or more if required, and two or three refiners of gunpowder. These kettledrums do not seem to have been used in the field after 1748. They were used by the train of Artillery employed in Ireland in 1689, and the cost of the drums and their carriage on that occasion, was estimated at 158*l.* 9*s.* As the reader comes to compare the wages of the drummer and his coachman—4*s.* and 3*s.* per diem respectively—with the pay given to other by no means unimportant members of an Artillery train, he will realize what a prominent position these officials were supposed to hold. The drummer's suit of clothes cost 50*l.*, while a gunner's was valued at 5*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* Even the coachman could not be clad under 15*l.*—nearly three times the cost of a gunner's clothes.

Prior to the date of King Charles's Warrant, the pay of the Master-General had been very fluctuating, being considerably affected by fees, and even by sales of places in the department. By that Warrant, however, it was fixed at a certain sum, inclusive of all perquisites, and the amount would appear to have been 1500*l.* per annum. This remained unchanged until the formation of the Cadet Company, when the annual sum of 474*l.* 10*s.* was added to the Master-General's salary, in his capacity as Captain of the Company, and charged in the Regimental accounts of the Royal Artillery. Considerable strides in the direction of further augmentation were afterwards made, more especially in 1801, until we find Lord Chatham, in 1809, drawing no less than 3709*l.* per annum as Master-General of the Ordnance.

There was an order forbidding any increase to the establishment of the Ordnance without the King's sign-manual, but it speedily became a dead letter; and changes were frequently made without authority, involving additional expense, and covered by something akin to supplementary estimates. In fact, the Parliamentary Commission which sat in 1810 to inquire into the various departments of the Ordnance ascertained that both in matters of *personnel* and *matériel* the power of the Master-General in his own department was simply unfettered. That it was not more frequently abused speaks well for the honesty of the department, and the honour of its chief officers.

The Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance at the meetings of the Board was like the Deputy-Chairman of a Company. His powers were in abeyance when the Master was present: although there were one or two cases in which his signature was required as one of the quorum necessary to legalize the business transacted. His office was created by Henry VIII., the designation of General being added subsequently. Until the days of Sir Christopher Musgrave he had an official residence in the Minories; and on its being taken from him he received in lieu the annual allowance of 300*l.* Another perquisite of the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance was the ground called, as the old deed expresses it, "Y^e old Artillery Garden situate near y^e Spittle in y^e parish of St. Buttolph, Bishopsgate:" but this also being taken away from him, he was allowed, in March, 1683, the large manor-house and grounds commonly known as the Tower Place at Woolwich, together with the Warren, &c., where the Royal Arsenal now stands, a name given on the occasion of the visit paid to it by George III. in the spring of 1805. The use of this property by the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance was, however, trammelled by the following conditions:—"That the proving

of great guns should go on as heretofore in Woolwich: that the Government should have full control over all wharves, magazines, cranes, &c., and that a dwelling for the Master-Gunner of England should be allowed in the said Mansion-house, and lodging for ten fee'd gunners in the adjoining houses, and also for such Ordnance labourers as might be necessary."

The proper salary of the Lieutenant-General at first was 800*l.* per annum, supplemented, as mentioned above, by 300*l.* in lieu of a house; but rising like the pay of the other officers of the Board, we find in 1810, that it amounted to 1525*l.*, besides an allowance for stationery. The Parliamentary Committee which sat in 1810 and 1811 suggested the abolition of the office of Lieutenant-General—a suggestion which was ultimately carried out in 1831. It was revived for a short time during the Crimean war, Sir Hew Ross holding the appointment during the absence at the seat of war of the Master-General, Lord Raglan; but this was a contingency which the Committee had foreseen, and was prepared to meet.

In examining the individual, apart from the collective, duties of the principal officers of the Ordnance, we find that the Lieutenant-General had the supervision of the military branch, and acted as a sort of Adjutant to the Master, who looked to him for all information connected with the various trains of artillery at the Tower and elsewhere. These he was bound always to have fit and ready to march: he had to direct and superintend the practice of the Master-Gunner of England, Firemaster and his mates, Fireworkers and Gunners, and acquaint the Master with their proficiencies; and also to see that all officials connected with the Department did their several duties.

The other four principal officers of the Ordnance were the Surveyor-General, the Clerk of the Ordnance, the Storekeeper, and the Clerk of the Deliveries, any three of whom formed a quorum. At the beginning of the present century the salaries of these officials were respectively 1225*l.*, 825*l.*, 725*l.*, and 1000*l.* with a further annual sum of 200*l.* to the Clerk of the Deliveries during war. The whole of the principal officers were allowed 25*l.* a year for stationery, besides certain patent fees varying from 5*l.* 15*s.* in the case of the principal Storekeeper, to 18*l.* 5*s.* in that of the Clerk of the Deliveries. The departmental expenses were swollen by an army of public and private secretaries, clerks, and attendants.

As the work of the Lieutenant-General lay with the *personnel*, so that of the Surveyor-General lay with the *matériel*. On him lay the responsibility of superintending all stores, taking remains, and noting all issues and receipts.

The Clerk of the Ordnance had, in addition to the ordinary correspondence of the department, to look after salaries, debts, debentures, and bills falling due, and generally to perform, on a large scale, the duties of a modern book-keeper. If we may judge by the correspondence on financial matters which is to be found among the Ordnance Records, there must have been many a Clerk of the Ordnance whose days and nights were haunted by visions of bills falling due which could not be paid. During the times of the Stuarts, the poverty of the office was sometimes as terrible as the shifts to which the Board had recourse were pitiable.

Money seems to have been more plentiful during the reign of William III.; but when Queen Anne came to the throne, England's continental wars drained the Ordnance exchequer woefully; and while most of their debts were only paid in part, many were never paid at all. An amusing incident of the Board's impecuniosity occurred in 1713. An expedition to Canada having taken place, the gunners and matrosses employed were found after a time to be sadly in want of clothing. The Commissary of the Ordnance on the spot, being without funds, drew a bill on the Honourable Board for 140*l.*, which instead of selling as usual to the merchants, he disposed of to one of the gunners, apparently a man of means, and destined ever after to be immortal, Mr. Frederick Price.

The bill, in due course, reached the Tower, but only two-thirds of the amount were paid. Mr. Price naturally remonstrated; but as the proceeding seems not to have been unusual, the Board took no notice. So the injured gunner petitioned the Queen, and a courteous letter from the Treasury speedily reached the Tower, in which a nice distinction was drawn between Mr. Price's case and that of the merchants, who had been similarly treated, "who had been great gainers as well by the exchange as by the stores and provisions which they had sold." The Board admitted the force of the reasoning, and the creditor got his own again.

The duties of the storekeeper are expressed by his title, and involved close and frequent personal inspection of stores, as well as great clerical labour.

The Clerk of the Deliveries had to draw all proportions for delivering any stores, and to keep copies of all orders or warrants for the proportions, and journals vouched by the persons who indented for them. He had to compare monthly the indents taken for all deliveries of stores with the Storekeeper's proportions; and had to attend, either in person or represented by one of his sworn clerks, at all deliveries of stores, and when taking *remains* of ships.

The Treasurer of the Ordnance, who had to find heavy personal securities, was one of the most important of the remaining officers attached to the Board.

So much for the individual duties of the principal officers of the Ordnance, duties which, it must be admitted, were generally well and conscientiously performed. Their acts, in their collective capacity, are more open to criticism. Although the Master-General could act independently of the Board, when he chose, and had full power of dismissing or suspending any of the officers, reporting the same to the Sovereign, he generally worked by means of the Board and, with his consent, their acts were perfectly legal and binding without his presence. His personal influence appeared chiefly in matters of patronage and promotion, and, after the foundation of the Royal Military Academy, it appeared in a very marked way in all matters connected with its government. But, with these exceptions, the actions of the Board which were most public, and call for most comment, are those which are to be traced to it in its collective capacity; and, as we shall see in the course of this History, their joint acts were often characterized by a pettiness, a weakness, and a blindness worthy of the most wooden-headed vestry of the nineteenth century. It is marvellous how frequently men who, when acting by themselves, display the utmost zeal and the strongest sense of responsibility, lose both when associated with others for joint action, where their individuality is concealed. The zeal seems instantly to evaporate: their sense of justice gets blunted by the traditions of the Board of which they have become members; and even the most radical—after a few useless kicks and plunges—soon settles into the collar, and assists the team to drag on the lumbering vehicle of obstruction and unreason. The power over a Board which is exercised by its permanent clerks is not the less tyranny because it is adroitly exercised, or because the tyrants are necessary evils. If an *individual* is put at the head of a department, self-esteem assists a sense of duty in making him master the details, and ensure the proper working of the machine. But when he finds himself merely one of several shifting and shadowy units whose individualities are lost, and whose faults are visited upon an empty abstraction instead of on themselves, he speedily in mere sympathy becomes like them; and, like them, he bows to the customs and precedents quoted by the permanent officials with an ill-disguised contempt for those to whom these precedents are unfamiliar. Then follows the unresisting signature of documents placed before the Board by clerks who have no idea of anything beyond their office walls—who imagine the world was created for them, not they for the world, and who believe and almost say, that the very members of the Board are there merely to be the channels of their offensive and dictatorial opinions. There has been in all ages in this country an officialism which cannot look beyond the letter of the law, whose representatives decline to enter into argument, to consider the circumstances of a case, or to make allowance for emergencies:—whose minds prefer sinning in a groove to doing right out of it: and whose conduct would often appear malicious, were not malice too active a feeling to enter into their cold and contracted bosoms.

This officialism was often rampant in the Ordnance; nor with the extinction of that Honourable Board can it be said to have vanished from England's administration.

As in the history of every corporation, there were at the Ordnance fits of economy and extravagance. The extravagance always began at the Tower, the centre of the Board's official centre and kingdom; the economy away at the circumference, among poor gunners at distant stations, among decaying barracks and fortifications crying out loudly for repair. It seems destined to be the motto of departments in every age, "Charity begins at home: economy abroad." After the peace of Utrecht, there was a determined resolution on the part of the Government to retrench,—a wise and praiseworthy resolution, if the method to be adopted were judicious. The Treasury communicated with the Ordnance: and the Tower having made plausible promises to Whitehall, the Honourable Board met to see what could be done. Starting with the official postulate, so characteristic of English departments, that their own salaries were to be untouched, the field of their labour was in proportion contracted. Ultimately they decided to economize in Scotland: they reduced all the stores there; voted no money for the repair of the fortifications or barracks; and, regardless of past services, they reduced the gunners in various garrisons.

From the far north a plaintive appeal meets the student's eye. It is from one John Murray, who had been Master-Gunner of Fort William for nineteen years, and who in this fit of economy had been ruthlessly struck off the establishment. Verily, ere many months be over, honest John shall have his revenge!

From Scotland, the Board turned to the Colonies, and reminded them that they must pay for their own engineers and gunners, if they wished to keep them. A committee sat to inquire how the American dependencies could be made to pay for themselves,—the beginning of that official irritation which culminated in the blaze in which we lost them altogether; and in the mean time demands for stores were neglected. One unhappy Governor wrote that he had under his command a company of troops which for fifteen years had received no fresh bedding: and "many of the soldiers were very ill, and in y^e winter ready to starve." A special messenger was sent to lay the matter before the Board; but, he having been recalled by domestic reasons before succeeding in his prayer, the Board adroitly pigeon-holed his petition for four years; and, in the language of a subsequent letter, "For want of bedding, many of y^e soldiers have since perished."

But ere long came the inevitable swing in the other direction. Queen Anne died; King George had not yet landed at Greenwich; there was agitation and conspiracy among the adherents of the Stuarts, and Scotland was simmering with rebellion. Then did the fearful Privy Council send letter after letter to the Ordnance urging them to find arms for 10,000 men for Scotland, or for 5000, or even for 4000; but from their diminished stores even this small body could with difficulty be armed. A train of artillery was ordered to march, and could not: everything was starved, and in chaos; and its commander, Albert Borgard, wrote, "Things are in such confusion as cannot be described." Orders were sent to man and defend Fort William, the now desolate scene of John Murray's nineteen years; and General Maitland, on reaching it, reported that "the parapets want repairing: there are no palisadoes; without an engineer to help me, I can but make the best of a bad bargain." He had to advance the money himself: "Who pays me," he wrote, "I know not." By next messenger he asked for a little gunpowder, a few spades, pickaxes, and wheelbarrows, all rather useful articles in a fortification, but which had vanished under the breath of economy. There were no gunners, he wrote, to work the guns; and he requested that the hand-grenades which were coming from Edinburgh might be filled and fitted with fuzes before they should be sent to him, "for we have none here that understand this matter well." Of a truth, John Murray had his revenge!

The principal gate of the fortress was so rotten and shattered that it could not be made use of, and was of no defence at all. There never had been any gate, the General wrote, to the port of the ravelin; and unless the platform could be renewed, it would be impossible to work the guns. "And," he adds in a well-rounded period, "the old timber houses in which the officers of the Garrison are lodged, and also the old timber chapel, are all in such a shattered pitiful condition, that neither the first can be lodged in one, nor the Garrison attend divine service in the other without being exposed to the inconvenience of all weathers."

Nor was General Maitland singular. From Dumbarton Castle Lord Glencairn wrote to the Board, "We not only want in a manner everything, but we have not so much as a boat. And, besides, the Garrison wants near four months' pay." From Carlisle the Governor wrote that there were only four barrels of powder in the garrison, a deficiency of every species of stores, and only four gunners, "three of which are superannuated." Most of the gun-carriages were unserviceable, and the platforms wanted repairing. There was haste and panic at Portsmouth, as empty stores and unarmed ships warned the Board what work there was before them. And from Chester, Mr. Asheton, the zealous governor just appointed, reported, "The guns are all here, but not the carriages, so that the stores, &c., would be of service—not prejudice—to an enemy." The only men there who were capable of doing any work were forty *invalids*; and he therefore begged for assistance in men and stores, "in order" he wrote, "that I may be capable of doing my country service by maintaining the rights of our gracious Sovereign King George against all Popish Pretenders whatsoever."

As the guns of the Tower blazed out their welcome to the King, the smoke must have clouded over such an accumulation of testimony in the Ordnance offices hard by, proving that there may be an economy which is no economy at all, as might almost have penetrated the intelligence of a Board. This period in the history of the Ordnance is unsurpassed, even by the many blundering times which, in the course of these volumes, we shall have to examine, down to that day in the year of grace 1855 when, "from the first Cabinet at which Lord Palmerston ever sat as Premier, the Secretary at War brought home half a sheet of paper, containing a memorandum that the Ordnance—one of the oldest Constitutional departments of the Monarchy ... was to be abolished."¹¹

In the early days of the Ordnance Board, its relations with the navy were more intimate than in later years. The gunners of the ships were under its control, and had to answer to it for the expenditure of their stores. In this particular, as in most details of checking and audit, the Board was stern to a degree, and not unfrequently unreasonable. In 1712, the captain of a man-of-war, sent to Newfoundland in charge of a convoy, found the English inhabitants of the Island in a state of great danger and uneasiness, and almost unprotected. At their urgent request, he left with them much of his ordnance and stores before he returned to England. With the promptitude which characterized the Board's action towards any one who dared to think for himself, it refused to pass the captain's or

gunner's accounts, nor would it authorize them to draw their pay. Remonstrance was useless; explanations were unattended to: the lesson had to be taught to its subordinates, however harshly and idiotically, that freewill did not belong to them, and that to assume any responsibility was to commit a grievous sin. It actually required a petition to the Queen and the Treasury before the unhappy men could get a hearing, and, as a natural consequence, an approval and confirmation of their conduct.

The arming of all men-of-war belonged to the Ordnance; indeed, the office was created for the Navy, although, in course of time, Army details almost entirely monopolized it. Although obliged to act on the requisitions of the Lord High Admiral, their control in their own details, and over the gunners of the ship as regarded their stores, was unfettered. The repairing of the ships, and to a considerable extent their internal fittings, were part of the Board's duties; but it is to be hoped that the technical knowledge of some of their officials exceeded that possessed by the Masters-General. A letter is extant from one of these distinguished individuals, written on board the 'Katherine' yacht, in 1682, to his loving friends, the principal officers of the Ordnance. "I desire" he wrote, "you would give Mr. Young notice to proceed no further in making y^e hangings for y^e great bedstead in y^e lower room in y^e Katherine yacht, till ye have directions from me."

But the Naval branch of the Board's duties is beyond the province of the present work. Of the Military branch much will be better described in the chapters concerning the old Artillery trains, the Royal Military Academy, and in the general narrative of the Royal Artillery's existence as a regiment. A few words, however, may be said here with reference to their civil duties, once of vast importance, but, with the naval branch, swallowed up, like the fat kine of Pharaoh's dream, by the military demands which were constantly on the increase, and were fostered by the military predilections of the Masters and Lieutenants-General. 25

The civil duties have been well and clearly defined by Clode in his 'Military Forces of the Crown,' vol. ii. He divides into duties—1. As to Stores; 2. As to Landowners; 3. As to the Survey of the United Kingdom; 4. As to Defensive Works; 5. As to Contracts; and 6. As to Manufacturing Establishments.

Of the first of these it may be said that their system was excellent. Periodical returns were taken (the oldest extant being dated April, 1559), and a system of issues and receipts was in force which could hardly be improved upon.

In their capacity as Landowners, the members of the Board were good and cautious stewards; but as buyers of land, their characteristic crops up of thinking but little of other men's feelings or convenience. Perhaps their line of action in this respect can be best illustrated by an anecdote which comes down over many years in the shape of an indignant and yet pitiful remonstrance. It was in good Queen Anne's time, and the Board had formed a scheme for fortifying Portsmouth. They appointed Commissioners to arrange the situation of the various works, and to come to terms with the landowners. These gentlemen did their duty; and, among others, one James Dixon was warned that some land on which he had recently built a brewhouse would be required for the Board's purposes. A jury was empanelled, and assessed the value of the whole at 4000*l*. When James Dixon built his brewhouse, he had borrowed money on mortgage: the interest would, he believed, be easily paid, and the principal of the debt gradually reduced by the earnings of the brewery. But after the jury sat, not a drop of beer was brewed: no orders could be taken, with the fear hanging over him that he must turn out at any moment; nor could he introduce additional improvements or fixtures after the assessment had been made, as he would never receive a farthing for them over the first valuation. Little knowing the admirable system of official management in which an English department excels, he sat waiting for the purchase-money. One month passed after another: Christmas came, and yet another, and another, and the only knocks at James Dixon's door were from the angry creditor demanding his money. At last, after waiting four years,—the grey hairs thickening on the unhappy brewer's head,—the knock of a lawyer's writ came; and before the Master of the Rolls his miserable presence and story were alike demanded. The narrative ends abruptly with a petition from him for six months' grace. Even then hope was not dead in him; and he babbled in his prayer that "he was in hopes by this time "to have redeemed it out of the 4000*l*. agreed to be paid y^e Petitioner as aforesaid."

In the course of our story we shall find many such lives crushed beneath the wheels of an official Juggernaut. Alas! that Juggernaut is still a god!

'The Survey of the United Kingdom' will be the most honourable vehicle for transmitting to posterity the story of the Board's existence; for, although not yet completed, to the Board is due the credit of originating a work whose national value can hardly be over-estimated. The defensive works erected under the Ordnance already live almost in history, so rapidly has the science of fortification had to move to keep pace with the strength of attack. Their contracts showed but little favouritism, and, on the whole, were just: they included everything, from the building of forts to the manufacture of gunpowder and small arms; and, in peace and war, they reached nearly over the whole civilized world. With this extensive area came the necessity for representatives of the Board at the various stations,—who were first, and wisely, civilians, three in number; afterwards, most foolishly, owing to the increasing military element at the Board, two soldiers, the commanding officers of Artillery and Engineers, and one civilian. And as no man can serve two masters, it was soon apparent that the military members could not always serve their local General and their absent Board; discipline was not unfrequently strained; jealousy and ill-will supervened; and when the death of the Board sounded the knell of the Respective officers, as they were termed, there can be no doubt that it removed an anomaly which was also a danger. Under the new and existing system, the commanding officers of Artillery and Engineers occupy their proper places: they are now the advisers of their General, not his critics: and the door is opened for the entry of the officers of the scientific corps upon an arena where civilian traditions are unknown or powerless. 26 27

Of the manufacturing departments of the Ordnance, what has to be said will come better in its place in the course of the narrative.

In summing up, not so much the contents of this Chapter, which is necessarily brief, as the study of the Board's history, the following are the ideas presented to the student's mind:—The Board of Ordnance formed a standard of political excellence,—which it endeavoured to follow when circumstances permitted,—of financial and economical excellence, which it planted everywhere among its subordinates for worship, but which was not allowed the same adoration in its own offices in the Tower. It saved money to the country legitimately by an admirable system of check and audit—illegitimately too often by a false economy, which in the end proved no economy at all; it obstructed our Generals in war, and hampered them in peace: it was extravagant on its own members and immediate retainers to an extent which can only be realized by those who study the evidence given before the Parliamentary Commission of 1810-11. Jobbery existed, but rarely secret or underhand; and its extensive patronage was, on the whole, well and fairly exercised. And although every day shows more clearly the wisdom of removing from under the control of a Board that part of our army, the importance of which is made more apparent by every war which occurs, yet the Artilleryman must always remember with kindly interest that it was to this board and its great Master (Marlborough) that his Regiment owes its existence, that to it we owe a nurture which was sometimes too detailed and careful, but under which we earned a reputation in many wars; and that, after a long peace, it placed in the Crimea, for one of the greatest and most difficult sieges in history,—difficult for other reasons than mere military,—the finest siege-train of Artillery that the world has ever seen. In command of the English Army, during this war, the Board's last Master died; and in the list which preceded him, and with which this chapter closes, will be found names which would almost atone for the worst offences ever committed by the Board over which their owners presided. 28

The most recent list of these distinguished officials is that published in Kane's 'List of Officers of the Royal Artillery.' In it all the Masters before the reign of Henry VIII. are ignored, as being merely commanders of the Artillery on expeditions or in districts. But this seems somewhat stern ruling. Undoubtedly Henry VIII. reorganized the Ordnance Department, and defined the position of the Master, as never had been done before, and the sequence of the Masters from his reign is clear and intelligible. But before his time there were not merely Masters of the Ordnance on particular expeditions, but also for life; and there were certainly Offices of the Ordnance in the Tower. It has, therefore, been thought advisable in the following list to prefix a few names, which seem deserving of being included, although omitted in 'Kane's List.'

The earliest of whom there is any record is

RAUF BIGOD, who was appointed on 2nd June, 1483, "for life." His life does not, however, seem to have been a very long one, for we find

Sir RICHARD GYLEFORD, who was appointed in 1485.

Sir SAMPSON NORTON was undoubtedly Master of the Ordnance, appointed in 1513, as has been proved by extant MSS.

The next one about whom there is any certainty would appear to be the one who heads 'Kane's List'—

Sir THOMAS SEYMOUR, who was appointed about 1537. Other lists show Sir Christopher Morris as Master at this time; but there seems little doubt that he was merely Lieutenant of the Ordnance, although a distinguished soldier, and frequently in command of the Artillery on service. [29]

If one may credit 'Dugdale's Baronage,' the next in order was

Sir THOMAS DARCIÉ (afterwards Baron Darcie), appointed in 1545: but if so, he merely held it for a short time, for we find him succeeded by

Sir PHILIP HOBY, who was appointed in 1548.

'Grose's List' and others interpolate Sir Francis Fleming, as having been appointed in 1547; but this is undoubtedly an error, and his name wisely rejected by the author of 'Kane's List,' where it is placed, as it should be, in the list of Lieutenants of the Ordnance. There is a folio of Ordnance accounts still in existence, extending over the period between 29th March, 1547, and the last day of June, 1553, signed by Sir Francis Fleming, as *Lieutenant* of the Ordnance.

The next in rotation in the best lists is

Sir RICHARD SOUTHWELL, Knight, shown by 'Kane's List' as appointed in February, 1554, and, by certain indentures and Ordnance accounts which are still extant, as being Master of the Ordnance, certainly in 1557 and 1558.

The next Master held the appointment for many years. He was

AMBROSE DUDLEY, Earl of Warwick, and can be proved from indentures in the possession of the late Craven Ord, Esq., which are probably still in existence, and from which extracts were made in 1820 by the compiler of a manuscript now in the Royal Artillery Library, to have been appointed on the 19th February, 1559, and to have held the office until 21st February, 1589, over thirty years.

Possibly owing to the difficulty of finding any one ready to undertake the duties of one who had had so much experience—a difficulty which occurred more than once again—the office was placed in commission after 1589, probably until 1596. From 'Burghleigh's State Papers' we learn that the Commissioners were, the LORD TREASURER, the LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, the LORD CHAMBERLAIN, and VICE-CHAMBERLAIN SIR J. FORTESCUE. [30]

On 19th March, 1596, ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX, was appointed Master of the Ordnance, and held the appointment until removed by Elizabeth, in 1600. No record of a successor occurs until the 10th September, 1603, when

CHARLES, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE, was appointed. He died in 1606, and was succeeded by

LORD CAREW, appointed Master-General throughout England, for life, in 1608. He was created Earl of Totnes in 1625, and died in 1629. From a number of Ordnance warrants and letters still extant, there can be no doubt that he held the office until his death. For a year after, until 5th March, 1630, we learn, from the Harleian Manuscripts, that there was no Master-General. On that date

HOWARD LORD VERE was appointed, and held office until the 2nd September, 1634, when

MOUNTJOY, EARL OF NEWPORT, was appointed.

Then came the troubles in England—the Revolution, the Commonwealth, and at last the Restoration. Lord Newport seems to have remained Master-General the whole time; for on Charles II. coming to the throne, he issued directions specifying, "Forasmuch as the Earl of Newport may, by Letters Patent from our Royal Father, pretend to the office of our Ordnance, We, for weighty reasons, think fit to suspend him from said charge, or anything belonging thereto; and Our Will is that you prepare the usual Bill for his suspension."

On the 22nd January, 1660, a most able Master-General was appointed, whose place the King afterwards found it most difficult to fill. He was

Sir WILLIAM COMPTON, Knight, and he remained in office until his death. By letters patent, on the 21st October, 1664, specifying that he had not determined with himself to supply the place of office of his Master of the Ordnance, then void by the death of Sir William Compton, and considering the importance of his affairs at that time to have that service well provided for, the King appointed as Commissioners to execute the office of Master of the Ordnance [31]

JOHN, LORD BERKLY OF STRATTON, }

Sir JOHN DUNCOMBE, Knight, }

and }

THOMAS CHICHELEY.

This Commission lasted until the 4th June, 1670, when the last-named Commissioner (now Sir THOMAS CHICHELEY, Knight), was appointed Master of the Ordnance, and in the warrant for his appointment, which is now in the Tower Library, there is a recapitulation of the names of previous Masters, which includes one—placed between Sir Richard Southwell and the Earl of Essex—which does not appear in any other list, but which one would gladly see included—

Sir PHILIP SIDNEY.

After the death of Sir Thomas Chicheley, the office was again placed in Commission, the incumbents being

Sir JOHN CHICHELEY, son of the late Master,

Sir WILLIAM HICKMAN, and

Sir CHRISTOPHER MUSGRAVE, the last-named of whom afterwards became Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. This Commission lasted from 1679 to 8th January, 1682, when the celebrated

"GEORGE, LORD DARTMOUTH," became Master, having held the office of Lieutenant-General under the Commission from 1st July, 1679, as plain Colonel George Legge. He remained in office until after the Revolution of 1688, when he forfeited it for his adherence to the King. His successor, appointed by William III. in 1689, and afterwards killed at the Battle of the Boyne, rejoiced in the following sounding titles:

FREDERICK, DUKE DE SCHOMBERG, Marquis of Harwich, Earl of Brentford, Baron of Teys, General of their Majesties' Forces, Master-General of their Majesties' Ordnance, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Count of the Holy Roman Empire, Grandee of Portugal, General of the Duke of Brandenburg's forces, and Stadtholder of Prussia.

After his death, the Master-Generalship remained vacant until July, 1693, when it was conferred upon

HENRY, VISCOUNT SIDNEY, afterwards Earl of Romney, who held it until 1702. He was succeeded, almost immediately on Queen Anne's accession, by her favourite, [32]

JOHN, EARL OF MARLBOROUGH, who held the appointment until he fell into disgrace with the Queen, when he resigned it, with his other appointments, on 30th December, 1711. He was succeeded by

RICHARD, EARL RIVERS, who, after six months, was followed, on 29th August, 1712, according to the British Chronologist, or on the 1st July, 1712, according to Kane's List, by

JAMES, DUKE OF HAMILTON, who was killed in a duel in November of the same year.

For two years the appointment remained vacant, but in 1714 it was again conferred upon

JOHN, now DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, who held it until his death, in 1722. He was succeeded, as follows, by

WILLIAM, EARL OF CADOGAN, on 22nd June, 1722, and by

JOHN, DUKE OF ARGYLE AND GREENWICH, on 3rd June 1725.

At this period there is an unaccountable confusion among the various authorities. The 'British Chronologist' and the 'Biographia Britannica' make the list run as follows:—The Duke of Argyle and Greenwich was succeeded, in 1740, by John, Duke of Montague, and resumed office again, for three weeks, in 1742, when, for the last time, he resigned all his appointments, being again succeeded by the same Duke of Montague, who continued to hold the office until 1749, when he died.

'Grose's List,' on the other hand, makes the Duke of Argyle's tenure of office expire in 1730, instead of 1740, and makes no allusion to his brief resumption of the appointment in 1742, and 'Kane's List' has followed this. It is possible that for the brief period that he was in office the second time, no letters patent were issued for his appointment, which would account for its omission in most lists; but the difference of ten years in the duration of the first appointment is more difficult to account for. There is no doubt that, in 1740, the Duke of Argyle resigned all his appointments for the first time, but it is not stated whether the Master-Generalship was one, although it has been assumed. On the other hand, he might have been away during these ten years to a great extent, or allowed his officers of the Ordnance to sign warrants, thus giving an impression to the casual student that he no longer held office. The manuscript in the Royal Artillery Library, already referred to, bears marks of such careful research, that one is disposed to adopt its reading of the difficulty, which is different from that taken by Grose's and Kane's Lists, and agrees with the other works mentioned above. [33]

After the death of the Duke of Montague, the office remained vacant until the end of 1755, when it was conferred upon

CHARLES, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, who held it until his death, on 20th October, 1758.

During the vacancy immediately preceding the appointment of the last-named Master-General, Sir J. Ligonier had been appointed Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and for four years had performed the duties of both appointments,—acted as Colonel of the Royal Artillery, and Captain of the Cadet Company. A few months after the death of the Duke of Marlborough—namely, on the 3rd July, 1759—he was appointed Master-General, being by this time

FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT LIGONIER. He was succeeded, on the 14th May, 1763, by

JOHN, MARQUIS GRANBY, who held it until 17th January, 1770, when we find that he resigned all his appointments, except the command of the Blues. For nearly two years the office remained vacant, and on the 1st October, 1772, it was conferred upon

GEORGE, VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND, whose tenure of office extended over nearly the whole of that anxious period in the history of England which included such episodes as the American War of Independence and the great Siege of Gibraltar. The sequence of the remaining Masters may be taken from Kane's List, and is as follows:—

CHARLES, DUKE OF RICHMOND, K.G.	Appointed	1	Jan.	1782
GEORGE, VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND	Re-appointed	1	April	1783
CHARLES, DUKE OF RICHMOND, K.G.	Re-appointed	1	Jan.	1784
CHARLES, MARQUIS CORNWALLIS	Appointed	15	Feb.	1795
JOHN, EARL OF CHATHAM, K.G.	Appointed	18	June	1801
LORD MOIRA	Appointed	14	Feb.	1806
JOHN, EARL OF CHATHAM, K.G.	Appointed	4	April	1807
HENRY, EARL MULGRAVE	Appointed	5	May	1810
ARTHUR, DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G.	Re-appointed	1	Jan.	1819
HENRY, MARQUIS OF ANGLESEY, K.G.	Re-appointed	1	April	1827
VISCOUNT BERESFORD, K.G.	Re-appointed	28	April	1828
SIR JAMES KEMPT, G.C.B., G.C.H.	Re-appointed	30	Nov.	1830
SIR G. MURRAY, G.C.B., G.C.H.	Re-appointed	18	Dec.	1834
R. H., LORD VIVIAN, G.C.B.	Re-appointed	4	May	1835
SIR G. MURRAY, G.C.B., G.C.H.	Re-appointed	8	Sept.	1841
HENRY, MARQUIS OF ANGLESEY, K.G.	Re-appointed	8	July	1846
HENRY, VISCOUNT HARDINGE, G.C.B.	Re-appointed	8	March	1852
FITZROY, LORD RAGLAN, G.C.B.	Re-appointed	30	Sept	1852

On the abolition of the Board of Ordnance, the command of the Royal Artillery was given to the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces at that time, FIELD-MARSHAL VISCOUNT HARDINGE, G.C.B. His successor (appointed Colonel of the Royal Artillery on the 10th May, 1861, and at this date holding that office) was H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G., &c. &c., now Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief.

1. Clode.

CHAPTER II. THE INFANCY OF ARTILLERY IN ENGLAND.

THE term Ordnance was in use in England before cannon were employed; and it included every description of warlike weapon. The artificers employed in the various permanent military duties were called officers of the Ordnance.

The first record of cannon having been used in the field dates from Henry III.; and with the increasing skill of the founders the use of cannon speedily became more general. But the moral influence of the guns was far beyond their deserts. They were served in the rudest way, and their movements in the field and in garrison were most uncertain, yet they were regarded with superstitious awe, and received special names, such as "John Evangelist," the "Red Gun," the "Seven Sisters," "Mons Meg," &c. In proportion to the awe which they inspired was the inadequate moral effect produced on an army by the loss of its artillery, or by the capture of its enemy's guns.

In the earliest days cannon were made of the rudest materials,—of wood, leather, iron bars, and hoops; but as time went on guns of superior construction were imported from France and Holland. The first mention of the casting in England of "great brass cannon and culverins" is in the year 1521, when one John Owen began to make them, "the first Englishman that ever made that kind of Artillery in England." The first iron guns cast in this country were made by three foreigners at Buckstead in Sussex, in the year 1543. In this same year, the first shells were cast, for mortars of eleven inches calibre, described as "certain hollow shot of cast iron, to be stuffed with fireworks, whereof the bigger sort had screws of iron to receive a match, and carry fire to break in small pieces the same hollow shot, whereof the smallest piece hitting a man would kill or spoil him." The following table^[2] gives the names, weights, and charges of the guns which were in general use in the year 1574. There were, in addition to these, guns called Curtaux, Demicurtaux, and Bombards:—

NAMES.	Weight.	Diameter.	Weight of Shot.	Scores of Carriage.	Charge of Powder.	Height of Bullet.
	lbs.	inches.	lbs.		lbs.	inches.
1. Robinet	200	1¼	1	..	½	1
2. Falconett	500	2	2	14	2	1¼
3. Falcon	800	2½	2½	16	2½	2¼
4. Minion	1100	3¼	4½	17	4½	3
5. Sacre	1500	3½	5	18	5	3¼
6. Demi-culverin	3000	4½	9	20	9	4
7. Culverin	4000	5½	18	25	18	5¼
8. Demi-cannon	6000	6½	30	38	28	6¼
9. Cannon	7000	8	60	20	44	7¾
10. E. Cannon	8000	7	42	20	20	6¼
11. Basilisk	9000	8¾	60	21	60	8¾

Among the earliest occasions recorded of the use of Artillery by the English, were the campaigns in Scotland of Edward II. and Edward III.; the capture of Berwick by the latter monarch in 1333; his campaigns in Flanders and France in 1338-39-40; his siege of Vannes in 1343; his successful raid in Normandy in 1346; the battle of Cressy on the 26th August in that year, when the fire of his few pieces of cannon is said to have struck a panic into the enemy; the expedition to Ireland in 1398; Henry IV.'s defeat of the French in Wales, in 1400; another successful siege of Berwick in 1405; the capture of Harfleur in 1415; and the battle of Agincourt on the 25th October of that year; the sieges of Tongue and Caen in 1417; of Falaise and other towns in Normandy in 1418; concluding with the capitulation of Cherbourg and Rouen after protracted sieges, stone projectiles being thrown from the cannon with great success; the engagements between Edward IV. and Warwick, when Artillery was used on both sides; the expedition to France in 1474, and to Scotland in 1482, when yet another successful siege of Berwick took place, successful mainly owing to the Artillery employed by the besieging force; the capture of Sluis, in Flanders; and the attack on Calais and Boulogne in 1491. In the sixteenth century may be enumerated the expedition to Flanders in 1511, in aid of the Duchess of Savoy; the Siege of Téroouenne and Battle of the Spurs in 1513; the Siege of Tournay; the Battle of Flodden Field, where the superior accuracy of the English Artillery rendered that of the Scotch useless; the descent on the coast of France and capture of Morlies in 1523; the Siege of Bray and Montedier in 1524; the siege of Boulogne in 1544; the expedition to Cadiz under the Earl of Essex in 1596, and that to the Azores in 1597. In the next century, during the Civil War, and in all Cromwell's expeditions, the use of Artillery was universal; and the part of the century after the Restoration will be alluded to in a subsequent chapter.

The use, therefore, of Artillery by the English has existed for centuries; but,—regarding it with modern eyes, its application would better deserve the term *abuse*. Nothing strikes the student so much as the absence of the scientific Artillery element in the early trains; and this feeling is followed by one of wonder at the patience with which our military leaders tolerated the almost total want of mobility which characterized them. Not until the last decade of the eighteenth century was the necessity of mobility officially recognized, by the establishment of the Royal Horse Artillery; and it took half a century more to impress upon our authorities that a Field Battery might not unreasonably be expected to move occasionally faster than a walk.

It is difficult, in reviewing such a period as the last fifteen years have been in the history of Artillery in England—so full of improvements in every way—to single out any one of these as more worthy of mention than the rest; but when posterity comes to review it dispassionately, the improvement in equipment and mobility of our Field Artillery will most probably be considered the prominent feature of the time. And these are the very qualities which for centuries remained in England unimproved and stagnant. The eighteenth century saw Artillery conducted by drivers, not under military discipline, nor marked by distinctive costume; who not unfrequently fled with their horses during the action, leaving the gunners helpless, and the guns at the mercy of the enemy. In this year, 1872, our drivers go into action unarmed, it being considered that the possession of defensive weapons might distract their attention from their horses. But we do not commit the old error of using men not under martial law. A driver who, on an emergency, finds himself with his whip merely to defend him, may possibly feel aggrieved: but however far he may run away, he cannot escape the embrace of the Mutiny Act, and is as liable to punishment as the man who deserts before the enemy, after his country has sent him into the field armed from head to foot.

In the very earliest days of Artillery in England, the number of gunners borne on permanent pay on the books of the Ordnance bore a very small proportion to the artificers so borne. With the increasing use of cannon, an increase in the number of artillerymen took place, but by no means *pari passu*: and, as towns in England became gradually fortified, a small number of gunners in each was found to be necessary to protect and take care of the stores, and to fire the guns on high days and holidays. In 1344, although no fewer than 321 artificers and engineers were borne on the books of the Ordnance in time of peace, only twelve gunners and seven armourers appear. In 1415, at the Siege of Harfleur, there were present 120 miners, 130 carpenters, and 120 masons; but only 25 master, and 50 servitor gunners—the latter corresponding probably to the matrosses of a later date. At the Siege of Tongue, in 1417, no less than 1000 masons, carpenters, and labourers were present, but only a small number of gunners. At this time, the driving of the guns, the placing them in position, and shipping and unshipping them, devolved on the civil labourers of the trains, and there was a military guard to escort the guns on the march. The gunner's duty seems to have been a general supervision of gun and stores, and the laying and firing it when in action. He was the captain of the gun in war—its custodian in peace. After the fifteenth century there was a marked increase in the number of artillerymen in the trains, although still totally inadequate. For example, in the train ordered on service in France, in 1544, where the civil element was represented by 157 artificers, 100 pioneers, and 20 carters, there were no less than 2 master-gunners, 264 gunners, and a special detachment of 15 gunners, for the guns placed immediately round the King's tent. The principal officers of the Ordnance also accompanied the expedition.

There was a distinction between the gunners of garrisons and those of the trains, as regarded the source of their pay, or rather its channel. At first, both were paid from the Exchequer; but after the proper establishment of an Ordnance Department at the Tower, the gunners of the various trains were paid by it, the others receiving their salaries as before. The company of fee'd gunners at the Tower of London differed from the gunners of other garrisons in receiving their pay from the Ordnance directly. It must not be imagined, however, that the gunners of garrisons were beyond the control of the Board of Ordnance because their pay was not drawn on the Ordnance books. Not merely had the Master of the Ordnance the nomination of the gunners of garrisons, but the power also of weeding out the useless and superannuated. The instance given in the Introductory Chapter of this volume, shows how directly they were under the Board in matters of discipline; and although, as a matter of Treasury detail, their pay was drawn in a different department, a word from the Ordnance Office could stop its issue to any gunner in any garrison who was deemed by the Board to have forfeited his right to it in any way. It was not until 1771, long after the formation of the Royal Artillery, that these garrison gunners were incorporated into the invalid companies of the regiment; and at the present date they are represented by what is called the Coast Brigade of Artillery. The pay of the old gunners of garrisons depended on the fort in which they resided. Berwick, for example, as an important station, was also one in which the gunner's pay was higher. In the reign of Edward VI. we find the average pay of a master-gunner was 1*s.* a-day, and of the gunners, from 4*d.* to 1*s.* Later, the pay of the master-gunner was raised to 2*s.* a-day, and that of the gunners rarely fell below 1*s.* In time of war, the pay of the gunners of the trains far exceeded the above rates. The senior master-gunner was styled the Master-Gunner of England. From 2*s.* a-day, which was the pay of this official in the sixteenth century, it rose to 160*l.* per annum, and ultimately to 190*l.* His residence and duties lay originally in the Tower, and chiefly among the fee'd gunners at that station; but after Woolwich had attained its speciality for Artillery details, quarters were allotted to him there in the Manor House. Among the oldest Master-Gunners of England whose names are recorded may be enumerated Christopher Gould, Richard Webb, Anthony Feurutter^[3] or Fourutter,^[4] Stephen Bull, William Bull, William Hammond, John Reynold, and John Wornn—all of whom held their appointments in the sixteenth century, and the majority of them by letters patent from Elizabeth. From the fact that in the wording of their appointments two of the above are particularized as soldiers by profession, it would appear that the others were not so; and it is more probable that they were chosen for their knowledge of laboratory duties, and of the "making of pleasaunt and warlike fireworks."

The company of fee'd gunners at the Tower, which might be supposed to have had some military organization, really appears to have had little or none. Their number in Edward VI.'s reign was 58, with a master-gunner; but gradually it was increased to 100, which for many years was the normal establishment. They were supposed to parade twice a week, and learn the science of gunnery, under the Master-Gunner of England; but their attendance was so irregular, and their ignorance of their profession so deplorable, that a strong measure had to be adopted, to which allusion will be made in a later chapter. Colonel Miller, in his researches among the warrants appointing the gunners, found some venerable recruits—who can hardly have been of much value in the field—of ages varying from sixty-four to ninety-two. There is no doubt that these appointments were frequently sold, or given in return for personal or political services, without any regard to the capability of the recipient. The clerks at the Ordnance Office had their fees for preparing these men's warrants, whose wording of the duties expected of the nominee must have frequently read like a grotesque satire. The situations were desirable because they did not interfere with the holders continuing to work at their trades near the Tower; and if the gunners were ordered to Woolwich for the purpose of mounting guns, or shipping and unshipping stores, they received working pay in addition to their regular salaries. It was from their ranks that the vacancies among master-gunners and gunners of garrisons were almost invariably filled.

When a warlike expedition had been decided upon, the Master of the Ordnance was informed what size of a train of Artillery was required; but he was permitted to increase or decrease its internal proportions as he thought fit. To him also was left the appointment of all the officers and attendants of the train; and, with the exception of any belonging to the small permanent establishment, it was understood that the services of any so appointed were only required while the expedition lasted. This spasmodic method of organizing the Artillery forces of this country was sufficient to account for the want of progress in the science of gunnery, and the equipments of our trains, which is apparent until we reach the commencement of the eighteenth century. But it took centuries of stagnation, and of bitter and shameful experience, to teach the lesson that Artillery is a science which requires incessant study, that such study cannot be expected unless from men who can regard their profession as a permanent one, and the study as a means to an end; and that, even admitting the possibility of such study being carried on by men in the hope of occasional employment, it would be too theoretical, unless means of practice and testing were afforded, beyond the power of a private individual to obtain. Nor could habits of discipline be generated by occasional military expeditions, which, to an untrained man,

are more likely to bring demoralization; it is during peace-service that the discipline is learnt which is to steady a man in the excitement and hardships of war. As samples of the trains of Artillery before the Restoration, the following, of various dates, may be taken: and an examination of the constituent parts will well repay the reader.

The first is a train in the year 1544, already alluded to, and which was commanded by the Master of the Ordnance himself, Sir Thomas Seymour.

1. TRAIN OF ARTILLERY *ordered on Service in 1544.*

	Pay per diem.		
	£	s.	d.
Sir Thomas Seymour, Master of the Ordnance	1	6	8
Sir Thomas Seymour, Conduct money at 4 <i>d.</i> a mile.			
Sir Thomas Seymour, Coat money for 20 servants at 4 <i>d.</i> each.			
A horse-tent.			
Sir Thomas Darcie, Master of the Armoury	1	0	0
Sir Christopher Morris, Lieutenant of the Ordnance	0	10	0
A clerk for him, Robert Morgan	0	2	0
6 servants, each	0	0	6
Burnardyne de Vallowayes } Master-Gunners, each	0	4	0
John Bassett } Master-Gunners, each			
209 Gunners, each	0	0	7
157 Artificers, each	0	0	8
Chief conductor of the train	0	6	0
A clerk to him	0	2	0
John Verney, overseer of the King's great mares for the train of Artillery	0	4	0
William Heywood, assistant to him	0	1	0
Thomas Mulberry } guides of the said mares, each	0	1	0
Harry Hughes } guides of the said mares, each			
6 conductors of the Ordnance			
20 Carters, each	0	0	6
William Rayherne, Captain of the Pioneers	0	4	0
100 Pioneers, each	0	0	8

John Rogers, of the privy ordnance and weapons.
 15 Gunners appointed to the brass pieces about the King's tent.
 55 Gunners appointed to the shrympes, with two cases each.
 4 carpenters.
 4 wheelers.
 3 armourers.
 Charles Walman, an officer employed to choose the gunpowder.

N.B.—The pioneers received 2*s.* a piece transport money from Boulogne to Dover, and conduct money from Dover to their dwelling-places—4*d.* a mile for the captain, and ½ *d.* for every pioneer.

Harl. MS. 5753.

2. *Establishment of a Small Train of Artillery in 1548.*

- 1 Master of Artillery.
- 1 Lieutenant of ditto.
- 1 Master-Gunner.
- 15 Gunners at 1*s.* per diem.
- 12 Gunners at 8*d.* per diem.
- 80 Gunners at 6*d.* per diem.
- 2 Gunners at 4*d.* per diem.

3. *Establishment of a Train of Artillery in the year 1618.*

- 1 General of Artillery.
- 1 Lieutenant of ditto.
- 10 Gentlemen of ditto.
- 25 Conductors of ditto.
- 1 Master-Gunner.
- 136 Gunners.
- 1 Petardier.
- 1 Captain of miners.
- 25 Miners.
- 1 Captain of pioneers.
- 1 Surgeon.
- 1 Surgeon's-mate.

4. *Establishment of a Train of 22 pieces of Ordnance in the year 1620.*

- 1 Master of the Ordnance.
- 1 Lieutenant of ditto.
- 9 Gentlemen of ditto.
- 1 Master-Gunner.
- 3 Master-Gunner's Mates.
- 3 Constables or Quarter-gunners.
- 124 Gunners.

5. *Establishment of a Train of 30 pieces in the year 1639.*

- 1 Master of the Ordnance.
- 1 Lieutenant of ditto.
- 1 Comptroller.
- 4 Gentlemen of the Ordnance.
- 1 Master-Gunner.
- 30 Gunners.
- 40 Matrosses.

It will be seen that in Tables 2, 3, 4, and 5, the Artillery element is alone given. Nor are the proportions of the trains, and their constituent parts, such as to enable us to draw any fixed law from them. They are merely interesting—not very instructive. Table 1, on the other hand, is both interesting *and* instructive. The appearance of medical officers in the train of 1618, and of matrosses—a species of assistant-gunner—in that of 1639, will not have escaped the reader's notice.

In the next chapter we shall find that the presence of a man like Lord Dartmouth, and his predecessor, Sir William Compton, at the Ordnance, reveals itself in the greater method visible in the Artillery arrangements; and with the introduction of Continental artillerists, under William III., comes a greater experience of the value of Artillery, which nearly brought about, in 1698, that permanent establishment which was delayed by circumstances until 1716.

2. This table is reproduced from the MSS. of the late Colonel Cleaveland.

3. Feurutter, according to Colonel Miller.

CHAPTER III.
THE RESTORATION, AND REVOLUTION OF 1688.

45

THE first step, of course, on the restoration of Charles II., was to undo everything in the Ordnance, and remove every official bearing the mark of the Protectorate. Having filled the vacant places with his own nominees, he seemed to consider his duty done, and, with one exception, the official history of the Ordnance for the next few years was a blank. The exception was the Company of Gunners at the Tower, which from 52, in 1661, rose to 90 in the following year, 98 in 1664, and then the old normal number 100.

But the work in the Department done by the Master-General, Sir William Compton, although not of a demonstrative character, was good and useful, and prepared the way for the reformations introduced by his more able successor, Lord Dartmouth. The Master-Gunners of England were now chosen from a higher social grade than before. In 1660 Colonel James Weymes held the appointment, followed in 1666 by Captain Valentine Pyne, and in 1677 by Captain Richard Leake. A new appointment was created for Captain Martin Beckman—that of Chief Firemaster. His skill in his department was rewarded by knighthood, and he held the appointment, not merely until the Revolution of 1688, but also under William III., having apparently overcome any scruples as to deserting his former masters. A Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, Jonas Moore by name, was appointed in 1669, who afterwards received permission to travel on the Continent to perfect himself in Artillery studies, for which purpose he received the sum of 100*l.* a year.

The names of the Ordnance in the various fortifications in England during the reign of Charles II. were as follows:—

BRASS ORDNANCE.

46

Cannon of 8.
Cannon of 7.
Demi-cannon.
24 prs.
Culverings.
12 prs.
Demi-culverings.
8 prs.
6 prs.
Sakers.
Mynions.
3 prs.
Falcon.
Falconett.
Brass baces of 7 bores.
Inch and ¼ bore, and 7 other sizes.

IRON ORDNANCE.

Cannon of 7.
Demi-cannon.
24 prs.
Culverings.
12 prs.
Demi-culverings.
8 prs.
6 prs.
Sakers.
Mynions.
3 prs.
Falcon.
Falconett.
Rabonett.

BRASS MORTAR PIECES.

18½ in.^[5]
16½ in.
13¾ in.
9 in.
8¾ in.
8 in.
7¾ in.
7¼ in.
6½ in.
6¼ in.
4½ in.
4¼ in.

IRON MORTAR PIECES.

12½ in.
4¾ in.

Taken from Harl. MS. 4244.

The reader will observe the immense varieties of mortars, and the large calibres, compared with those of the present day. They were much used on board the bomb-vessels; but it is difficult to see the advantage of so many small mortars, varying so slightly in calibre.

From an account of some new ordnance made in 1671, we find that iron cannon of 7 were 10 feet long, and weighed on an average 63 cwt., or 9½ feet long, and weighing from 54 cwt. to 60 cwts. Iron culverings of 10 feet in length averaged 43 cwt. in weight, and demi-culverings of the same length averaged in weight about 35 cwt. Iron falconetts are mentioned 4 feet in length, and weighing from 300 to 312 lbs.

The King, having occasion to send a present to the Emperor of Morocco, not an unfrequent occurrence, selected on one occasion four iron demi-culverings, and three brass demi-cannon of 8½ feet long, with one brass culvering of 11½ feet. A more frequent present to that monarch was gunpowder, or a quantity of muskets.

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The salutes in the Tower were fired from culverings and 8-pounders, and were in a very special manner under the command of the Master-General himself. As little liberty of thought was left to the subordinates at the Tower as possible. Warnings of preparation were forwarded often days before, followed at intervals by reminders that the salute was not to be fired until a positive order should reach the Tower from the Master-General.

The letter-books at the Tower teem with correspondence and orders on this subject, and the Master-General seemed to write as many letters to his loving friends at the Tower about a birthday salute, about which no mistake could well occur, as he did about a salute of another kind, albeit a birthday one, when on the 10th June, 1688, "it pleased Almighty God, about ten o'clock of the morning, to bless his Majesty and his Royal Consort, the Queen, with the birth of a hopeful son, and his Majesty's kingdom and dominions with a Prince: for which inestimable blessing" public rejoicing was invited. It was a false tale which the guns rang out from the Tower:—only a few months, and the hopeful babe was a fugitive with its ill-fated father, and remained an exile for his life.

"He was indeed the most unfortunate of Princes, destined to seventy-seven years of exile and wandering, of vain projects, of honours more galling than insults, and hopes such as make the heart sick."^[6]

At this time, Woolwich was gradually increasing in importance as an Artillery Depôt, and in 1672 the beginning of the Laboratory was laid, 70 feet long, "for receiving fireworks."

In 1682 Lord Dartmouth was appointed Master-General, and from this date until the Revolution the student of the Ordnance MSS. recognizes the existence of a master-spirit, and a clear-headed man of business. In 1683 he obtained authority from the King to reorganize the whole department, and define the duties of every official—a task which he performed so well that his work remained as the standard rule for the Board until it ceased to exist. His physical activity was as great as his mental: not a garrison in the kingdom was safe from his personal inspection; and the results of his examination were so eminently unsatisfactory as to call forth orders which, while calculated to prevent, had the effect also of revealing to posterity abuses of the grossest description. Not merely was neglect discovered among the storekeepers and gunners of the various garrisons—not merely ignorance and incapacity—but it was ascertained to be not unusual for a Master-Gunner to omit reporting the death of his subordinates, while continuing however to draw their pay. Lord Dartmouth's measures comprised the weeding out of the incapable gunners; the issue of stern warnings to all; the bringing the Storekeepers (who had hitherto held their appointments by letters patent from the Exchequer) under the immediate jurisdiction of the Board of Ordnance; the increase of the more educated element among the few Artillerymen on the permanent establishment, by the appointment of Gentlemen of the Ordnance, "lest the ready effects of our Artillery in any respect may perhaps be wanting when occasion shall be offered;" the appointment of Engineers to superintend the fortifications, with salaries of 100*l.* a year, under a Chief Engineer, Sir Bernard de Gomme; the encouragement of foreign travel and study; and the creation of discipline among the gunners at the Tower. Among the various causes of regret which affected Lord Dartmouth after the Revolution, probably none were more felt than the sorrow that he had been unable to complete the reformation in the Ordnance which he had so thoroughly and ably commenced.

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As a specimen of a train of Lord Dartmouth's time may be taken the one ordered to march on 21st June, 1685, to join Lord Feversham's force at Chippenham, and to proceed against the rebels. It consisted of

	Pay per diem.		
	£	s.	d.
Comptroller	0	15	0

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His clerk	0	3	0
Commissary of the Artillery	0	10	0
His two clerks	0	6	0
Paymaster of the Train	0	8	0
His clerk	0	3	0
Master of the Waggon	0	10	0
Two assistants	0	8	0
Commissary of the draught horses	0	8	0
Two assistants	0	8	0
Gentlemen of the Ordnance, three at 5s. each	0	15	0
Purveyor	0	5	0
Provost-Marshall	0	6	0
Two assistants	0	10	0
Master-Gunner	0	5	0
Two Mates at 3s.	0	6	0
32 Gunners at 2s.	3	4	0
32 Matrosses at 1s. 6d.	2	8	0
Conductors, six at 2s. 6d.	0	15	0
Chirurgion	0	4	0
His Mate	0	2	6
Tent-keeper	0	4	0
His assistant	0	1	6
Master-Smith	0	4	0
Two Smiths	0	4	0
One Farrier	0	2	6
Master-Carpenter	0	3	0
Four Carpenters at 2s. each	0	8	0
Master-Wheelwright	0	3	0
Two Wheelers	0	4	0
Master Collar-Maker	0	3	0
One Collar-maker	0	2	0
Master-Cooper	0	2	6
Gunsmith	0	1	6
Captain of the Pioneers	0	4	0
One Sergeant	0	2	0
One Corporal	0	1	6
One Drummer	0	1	0
20 Pioneers	1	0	0
118 Drivers at 1s. each	5	18	0
Total per diem	£22	9	0

The guns used were brass Falcons and iron 3-pounders.

On examining the comparative pay of the various ranks, the Provost-Marshall seems to be well paid, ranking as he does in that respect with the Surgeon, and the Captain of the Pioneers. But if we may judge of the discipline of his train from one incident which has survived, his office can have been no sinecure. We find on the 23rd December, 1685, the King and Privy Council assembled at Whitehall, discussing gravely some conduct of certain members of the train, which had formed matter of complaint and petition from his Majesty's lieges. Four unhappy farmers had had a yoke of oxen pressed from each—the day after the rebels had been defeated—to bring off the carriages of the King's train of Artillery (then immovable, as might have been expected), and the animals had been made to travel as far as Devizes, forty miles from their home. One of the farmers, William Pope by name, had accompanied the train, in order that he might bring the oxen back. On applying for them at the end of the journey, the conductor "did abuse William Pope, one of the petitioners, by threatening to hang him for a rebel, as in the petition is more at large set forth." So the farmers now prayed to have their oxen, with the yokes and furniture, or their value, restored to them.

As the King in Council was graciously pleased to refer the complaint to Lord Dartmouth, with a view to justice being done, the reader need not doubt that the petitioners went away satisfied.

The details, contained in the Ordnance books, of the camp ordered by the King in 1686 to be formed at Hounslow, give the first intimation of that distribution of the Artillery of an Army, known as Battalion guns, a system which lasted in principle until 1871, although the guns ceased to be subdivided in such small divisions a good many years before. As, however, until 1871, the batteries had to accommodate themselves to the movements of the battalions near them, it may be said with truth that until then they were really Battalion guns. James II. ordered fourteen regiments to encamp at Hounslow with a view to overawing the disaffected part of the populace; but the effect was to reveal instead the unmistakable sympathy which existed between the troops and the people; so the camp was abruptly broken up. The Battalion guns were brass 3-pounders, under Gentlemen of the Ordnance, with a few other attendants, and escorted *to their places by the Grenadiers of the various Regiments*. Two demi-culverins of 10 feet in length, and six small mortar pieces, were also sent from the Tower to the camp.

In 1687, uneasiness was felt about Ireland, and large quantities of stores were assembled at Chester, for ready transit to that country if required. A large issue of mortars for that service was also made, the calibres being 14¼, 10, and 7 inches, and the diameters of the shells being respectively a quarter of an inch less. Among other guns which occur by name in the Ordnance lists of this year, and which have not yet been mentioned, are culverin drakes of 8 feet in length; saker-drakes of the same; and saker square guns also 8 feet long.

In the spring of 1688, his fatal year, King James was advised by Lord Dartmouth to send a young Gentleman of the Ordnance to Hungary to the Emperor's camp to improve himself in the art military, "to observe and take notice of their method of marching, encamping, embattling, exercising, ordering their trains of Artillery, their manner of approaching, besieging, or attacking any town, their mines, Batteries, lines of circumvallation and contravallation, their way of fortification, their foundries, instruments of war, engines, and what else may occur observable; and for his encouragement herein he was allowed the salary of 1*l.* per diem, besides such advance as was considered reasonable."

A long and difficult lesson was this which Richard Burton had to learn, and ere it should be mastered the Sovereign who encouraged him should be gone from Whitehall.

It was on the 15th of October, 1688, that undoubted advice reached the King that "a great and sudden invasion, with "an armed force of foreigners, was about to be made, in a hostile manner, upon his kingdom;" and although it is not contemplated to describe the campaigns of the pre-regimental days, a description of the train of Artillery with which he proposed to meet the invasion, and which was prepared for the purpose, cannot fail to be interesting. It is the most largely officered train which we have as yet met; and it was announced that, should the King accompany it at any time himself, it should be further increased by the presence of the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, the Comptroller-General, the Principal Engineer, the Master-Gunner of England and his Clerks, the Chief Firemaster and his Mate, the Keepers and Makers of the Royal Tents and their Assistants. Exclusive of these, whose presence was conditional, the following was the *personnel* of

James II.'s Artillery Train to Resist the Invasion of 1688.

The reader will observe that in this train the Master-General is not included, even in the contingency of the King's accompanying it himself. Lord Dartmouth had another duty to perform. He had been appointed Admiral of the Fleet which was to engage, if possible, the immense number of vessels which accompanied William to England. The winds fought against Dartmouth. First, he was kept at the mouth of the Thames by the same east winds that wafed the enemy to their landing-place at Torbay; and when, at last, able with a fair wind to follow down the Channel in pursuit, just as he reached Portsmouth, the wind changed: he had to run into that harbour, and his opportunity was lost—an opportunity, too, which might have reversed the whole story of the Revolution, for there was more loyalty to the King in the navy than in the army,—a loyalty which was whetted, as Macaulay well points out, by old grudges between the English and Dutch seamen; and there was in James's Admiral an ability and an integrity which cannot be doubted. Had the engagement taken place, and the King's fleet been successful, it does not require much experience of the world's history to say that the Revolution would have been postponed for years, if not for ever, for it is marvellous how loyal waverers become to the side which has the first success. Nor is this the first or only case on which a kingdom, or something equally valuable, has hung upon a change of wind. How history would have to be re-written had James Watt but lived two centuries earlier than he did!

The Lieutenant-General who was to command the train was Sir Henry Shore, who had been appointed an Assistant and Deputy at the Board to Sir Henry Tichborne. The latter was, doubtless, the Lieutenant-General, whose presence would also have been required had the King in person accompanied the train.

A LIST OF THE PROPER PERSONS, MINISTERS, AND ATTENDANTS,
OF THE TRAYNE OF ARTILLERY, VIZ.—

	Pay per diem.		
	£	s.	d.
Lieutenant-General Conditional	3	0	0
His Secretary Conditional	0	5	0
A clerke under him Conditional	0	4	0
Comptroller General Conditional	2	0	0
His two clerks at 4s. each Conditional	0	8	0
Comptroller to the Trayne	0	15	0
His clerke	0	4	0
Adjutant to the Trayne	0	10	0
Commissary of Ammunition for the Trayne and Army	0	10	0
His two clerkes at 3s. each	0	6	0
Paymaster	0	8	0
His clerke	0	4	0
Comptroller of the B. Trayne	0	10	0
His clerke	0	2	0
Engineer	0	10	0
His clerke	0	4	0
Waggon-master	0	10	0
His assistant	0	4	0
Commissary of the draught horses	0	8	0
His assistant	0	4	0
Gentlemen of the Ordnance, four at 5s. each	1	0	0
Quartermaster	0	5	0
Surveyor	0	5	0
Provost Marshall	0	6	0
His two assistants at 2s. 6d. each	0	5	0
Firemaster to the Trayne	0	5	0
His mate	0	4	0
Four assistants at 3s. each	0	12	0
Chief Bombardier	0	3	0
12 Bombardiers at 2s. each	1	4	0
Chief Petardier	0	3	0
Four Petardiers at 2s. each	0	8	0
Master Gunner of the Trayne	0	5	0
His two mates at 3s. each	0	6	0
Gunners, 30 at 2s. each	3	0	0
Matrosses, 40 at 1s. 6d. each	3	0	0
One Battery Master	0	10	0
His two assistants at 4s. each	0	8	0
One Bridge Master	0	8	0
His six attendants at 3s. 6d. each	1	1	0
A Tinman	0	3	6
Chief Conductor	0	5	0
Conductors to the Trayne and Army, 10 at 2s. 6d. each	1	5	0
Chyrurgeon	0	4	0
His mate	0	2	6
His Majesty's Tent keepers and makers Conditional.			
Their two assistants at 3s. each Conditional.			
A Tent keeper and maker	0	4	0
His assistants	0	2	8
A Messenger to attend y ^e Principall officers of y ^e Trayne	0	4	0
Ladle maker	0	4	0
Master Smith	0	4	0
Master Farryer	0	4	0
His four servants at 2s. each	0	8	0
Master Carpenter	0	4	0
His three servants at 3s. each	0	9	0
Master Wheelwright	0	4	0
His four servants at 2s. 6d. each	0	10	0
Master Collar-maker	0	4	0
Two servants at 2s. each	0	4	0
Master Cooper	0	4	0
One servant	0	2	6
A Gunsmith	0	4	0
His servant	0	2	0
Captain of the Pyoneers	0	5	0
Sixty Pyoneers at 1s. each	3	0	0
Two Sergeants at 2s. each	0	4	0
Two Corporalls at 1s. 6d. each	0	3	0
Two Drummers at 1s. 6d. each	0	3	0
Two servants to y ^e Master Smith	0	4	0

(Signed) DARTMOUTH.

The reader will observe that the position of the medical officers of a train was still a very degraded one, relatively speaking, in point of pay. The surgeon ranked with the ladle-maker, the chief artificers, and the messenger; while his assistant received the same remuneration for his services as did the servants of the master wheelwright and master cooper. The presence, in this train, of an Adjutant and a Battery Master, is worthy of note, and also the intimation that then, as now, on service, the Artillery had to take their share in the transport of the small-arm ammunition of the Army.

History moved rapidly now. After James's flight and a brief interregnum, the Ordnance Office moves on again with spirit under the new Master-General, the Duke de Schomberg. Judging from the vigorous conduct displayed by him during his brief career at the Board, one cannot but regret that it was so soon cut short. One little anecdote reveals the energy of the man's character, and enlists the sympathy of that part of posterity—and the name is Legion!—which has suffered from red tape and routine. There was naturally a strong feeling in Scotland against the new King. Presbyterianism itself could not dull the beating of the national heart, which was moved by the memories of the old line of Monarchs which had been given to England, whose gracious ways almost condoned their offences, and whose offences were easily forgotten in this their hour of tribulation.

Men, guns, ammunition, and transport were all required for Edinburgh and Berwick; but between the demand and the supply stood that national buffer which

seems to be England's old man of the sea—a public department. For transport the Master-General had to consult the Admiralty, who, being consulted, began to coil the red tape round the Master's neck, and nothing more. He entreats, implores, and prays for even one ship to carry special engineers and messages to the Forth; but the Admiralty quietly pigeon-holes his prayers in a style worthy of two centuries later. The Duke will have none of it: he writes to the Board to give up this useless correspondence with a wooden-headed Department; to take his own private yacht, and carry out the King's service, without delay. Would that, to every wearied postulant, there were a private yacht to waft him out of the stagnant pool which officialism considers the perfection of Departmental Management, and in which he might drift away from the very memory of pigeon-holes and precedents!

As might be expected, volumes of warrants, at this time, reveal the changes made among the officials of the Ordnance. The preparing of a warrant implied a fee; it is not to be wondered at, therefore, that they were many. No office under the Ordnance was too low to escape the necessity of a warrant. There were chimney-sweeps to the Ordnance who have been made immortal by this necessity, paviours, druggists, messengers, and labourers. All must be made public characters, because all must pay. Sex is no protection. Candidates for Ordnance appointments who belong to the fair sex cannot plead shyness and modesty in bar of their warrants. So that Mary Pickering, who was reappointed *cooper* at the Fort of Upnor, near Chatham, and Mary Braybrooke, appointed *turner* at the same time, have come down to posterity for the fee of ten shillings, when fairer and nobler maidens have been forgotten.

There are many Dutch, German, and even French names among the new officials appointed for the Board's service. But reappointments are, by no means, rare, if the old incumbents would but change their allegiance. Among the changes introduced by the Duke de Schomberg was one by which not merely were there gentlemen of the Ordnance for the Tower and the various trains, but also "for the out parts:" and if there were no heavier duties for them to perform than those specified in their warrants, they must have had a very easy time of it, and earned their forty pounds a year without much labour. According to their warrants, their duty was to see that "all y^e aprons, beds, and coyves belonging to their Majesties' Traynes of Artillery at y^e outposts do remain upon the guns and carriages." If this were really all they had to do, the old gunners of garrisons might have done it quite as well for half the money.

The difficulty of getting arms for the troops which were being raised for service in Ireland alarmed the Board greatly. Very strong measures had to be taken: penalties were threatened on every one who kept arms concealed, or failed to bring them to the Board; and a house-to-house search was authorized. Gunsmiths were forbidden to sell to private individuals, and commanded to devote all their energies to manufacturing arms for the Board, and yet the need was sore. Horses, also, had to be bought, and could with difficulty be obtained; and such as were procured could not bear the test of examination. So bad were they, that at last the Master-General inspected in person not merely the horses bought for the Artillery, but also the persons who bought them. At his first inspection he found them all faulty—rejecting some because they were too slight, some because they were lame, and one because it was an old coach-horse. With the difficulty of getting horses came also the difficulty of procuring forage. The contract for the horses of the Traynes for Chester and Ireland reached the unprecedented sum of fifteen pence per horse for each day.

To add to the other troubles of the new Board, the Chief Firemaster and Engineer (Sir Martin Beckman), with all the keenness and zeal of a renegade, kept worrying it about the state of the various Forts and Barracks; whose defects, he assured the Board, he had repeatedly urged on the two preceding monarchs, but without avail, on account of the deficiency of funds. "Berwick," he begged to assure the Board, "is getting more defenceless every year, and will take 31,000*l.* to be spent at once to prevent the place from being safely insulted." For six years past he assured the Board that Hull had been going to ruin: the earthworks had been abused by the garrison, who had suffered all sorts of animals to tread down the facings, and had, in the night-time, driven in cattle, and made the people pay money before they released them; and when they turned the cattle and horses out, they drove them through the embrasures and portholes, and so destroyed the facings, that, without speedy repair and care, his Majesty would certainly be obliged to make new ones.

The bomb-vessels also occupied the attention of the Board. More practical Artillerymen were required than could be granted without greatly increasing the permanent establishment. So a compromise was made; and a number of men were hired and appointed *practitioner* bombardiers, at the same rate of pay as others of the same rank, viz. 2*s.* per diem, but with the condition that the moment their services were no longer required they would be dispensed with.

There were calls, also, from the West Indies on the sore-pressed Board. A train of brass Ordnance was sent there, to which were attached the following, among other officials:—A Firemaster, at 10*s.* a day; a Master-Gunner, at 5*s.*; Engineers, at various rates, but generally 10*s.*, who were ordered to send home frequent reports and sketches; Bombardiers, at 2*s.* 6*d.*; and a proportion of Gunners and Matrosses, at 2*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* per diem respectively, whose employment was guaranteed to them for six months at least.

As if the Admiralty, the horsedealers, the West Indies, Scotland, Ireland, and unseasonable zeal were not enough, there must come upon the scene of the Board's deliberations that irrepressible being, the "old soldier." The first Board of William and Mary was generous in its dealings with its officials almost to a fault. This is a failing which soon reaches ears, however distant. Several miners absent in Scotland, hoping that in the confusion the vouchers had been mislaid, complained that they were in arrears of their pay, "whereby," said the scoundrels, "they were discouraged from performing their duties on this expedition." Enquiries were made by the Board, and in the emphatic language of their minute, it was found "that they *lied*, having been fully paid up."

When the time came for the Duke to shake off the immediate worries of the office, as he proceeded to Chester and to Ireland, his relief must have been great. With him he took the chief waggon-master to assist in the organization of the train in Ireland, leaving his deputy at the Tower to perform his duties. The suite of the Master-General on his ride to Chester included six sumpter mules with six sumpter men, clad in large grey coats, the sleeves faced with *orange*, and "the coats to be paid for out of their pay."

Only two more remarks remain to be made. The proportion of drivers to the horses of William's train of Artillery in Ireland may be gathered from an order still preserved directing a fresh lot of horses and men to be raised in the following proportions: one hundred and eighty horses; thirty-six carters, and thirty-six boys.

Next, the dress of the train can be learned from the following warrant, ordering:—

"That the gunners, matrosses, and tradesmen have coats of blew, with Brass Buttons, and lyned with orange bass, and hats with orange silk Galoome. The carters, grey coats lyned with the same. That order be given for the making of these cloaths forthwith, and the money to be deducted by equal proportions out of their paye by the Treasurer of the Trayne."

(Signed) "SCHOMBERG."

From a marginal note, we learn that the number of gunners and matrosses with the train was 147, and of carters, 200; these being the numbers of suits of clothes respectively ordered.

It was with this train to Ireland that we find the first notice of the kettledrums and drummers ever taking the field.^[7]

5. The brass 18½-in. mortars were used at the Siege of Limerick in 1689, and in the porch of the cathedral in that city one of the shells is still to be seen. An interesting account of Artillery details at that siege is to be found in Story's 'History of the Wars in Ireland.'

6. Macaulay.

7. Miller.

CHAPTER IV. LANDMARKS.

IN the chaotic sea of warrants, correspondence, and orders which represents the old MSS. of the Board of Ordnance prior to the formation of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, there are two documents which stand out like landmarks, pointing to the gradual realization of the fact that a train of Artillery formed when wanted for service, and disbanded at the end of the campaign, was not the best way of making use of this arm; and that the science of gunnery, and the technical details attending the movement of Artillery in the field, were not to be acquired intuitively, nor without careful study and practice during time of peace.

The first relates to the company of a hundred fee'd gunners at the Tower of London, whose knowledge of artillery has already been described as most inadequate, and whose discipline was a sham. By a Royal Warrant dated 22nd August, 1682, this company was reduced to sixty in number by weeding out the most incapable; the pay, which had up to this time averaged sixpence a day to each man, was increased to twelve-pence; but in return for this augmentation, strict military discipline was to be enforced; in addition to their ordinary duties at the Tower, they were to be constantly exercised once a week in winter, and twice a week in summer by the Master-Gunner of England; they were to be dismissed if at any time found unfit for their duties; and a blow was struck at the custom of men holding these appointments, and also working at their trades near the Tower, by its being distinctly laid down that they were liable for duty not merely in that Fortress, but also "in whatever other place or places our Master-General of the Ordnance shall think fit."

This was the first landmark, proclaiming that a nucleus and a permanent one of a trained and disciplined Artillery force was a necessity. Money was not plentiful at the Ordnance Board under the Stuarts, as has already been stated; so as time went on, and it was found necessary to increase the educated element,—the fireworkers, petardiers, and bombardiers,—it was done first by reducing the number of gunners, and, at last, in 1686, by a grudgingly small increase to the establishment.

In 1697, after the Peace of Ryswick, there was in the English service a considerable number of comparatively trained artillerymen, whose services during the war entitled them to a little consideration. This fact, coupled with the gradual growth in the minds of the military and Ordnance authorities of the sense of the dangers that lay in the spasmodic system, and the desirability of having some proportion of artillerymen always ready and trained for service and emergency, brought about the first—albeit short-lived—permanent establishment, in a regimental form, of artillery in England. The cost of the new regiment amounted to 4482*l.* 10*s.* per annum, in addition to the pay which some of them drew as being part of the old Ordnance permanent establishment. But before a year had passed, the regiment was broken up, and a very small provision made for the officers. Some of the engineers, gentlemen of the Ordnance, bombardiers, and gunners were added to the Tower establishment, and seventeen years passed before this premature birth was succeeded by that of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

But this landmark is a remarkable one; and in a history like the present deserves special notice. Some of the officers afterwards joined the Royal Artillery; most of them fought under Marlborough; and all had served in William's continental campaign either by sea or land. Two of the captains of companies, Jonas Watson and William Bousfield, had served in the train in Flanders in 1694, and Albert Borgard, its adjutant, was afterwards the first Colonel of the Royal Artillery.

The staff of the little regiment consisted of a Colonel, Jacob Richards, a Lieutenant-Colonel, George Browne, a Major, John Sigismund Schmidt, an Adjutant, Albert Borgard, and a Comptroller: of these the first four had been serving on active service in Flanders. There were four companies, very weak, certainly, and containing men paid both on the old and new establishments. Each contained 1 captain, 1 first-lieutenant, 1 second-lieutenant, 2 gentlemen of the Ordnance, 2 sergeants, and 30 gunners. Of these the gentlemen of the Ordnance and 15 gunners per company were on the old Tower establishment. The names of the captains not mentioned above were Edward Gibbon, and Edmund Williamson.

There were also in the Regiment six engineers, four sub-engineers, two firemasters, twelve fireworkers, and twelve bombardiers.

When the regiment was reduced, the captains received 60*l.* per annum, the first and second lieutenants 50*l.* and 40*l.* per annum, the firemasters 60*l.*, and the fireworkers 40*l.* These officers were described as belonging to the new establishment, in contradistinction to the old.

The time had now come when there was to be an establishment of Artillery in addition to these, whose school and arena were the campaigns of a great master of war, one who was to be the means, after a victorious career, of placing the stamp of permanence on what had as yet had but an ephemeral existence,—the regimental character as applied to Artillery forces in England.

CHAPTER V. MARLBOROUGH'S TRAINS.

ALTHOUGH the description of campaigns which occurred before the regimental birth of the Royal Artillery is beyond the purpose and province of this history, yet so many of the officers and men who fought under the great Duke of Marlborough, or served in the various trains equipped by his orders for Gibraltar, Minorca, and Nova Scotia, afterwards were embodied in the regiment, that the reader must greet with pleasure any notice of the constitution of these Trains, as being in all probability typical of what the early companies of the Regiment would be when attached to Ordnance for service in the field.

The Duke of Marlborough was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance almost immediately after the accession of Queen Anne, and until the day of his death he evinced the warmest and most intelligent interest in everything connected with the Artillery Service.

The reader will remember that one of the first acts of Queen Anne was to declare war against France, with her allies the Emperor of Germany and the States-General. The declaration of war was not formally made until the 4th May, 1702, but preparations had been going on for a couple of months before with a view to commencing hostilities. On the 14th March, 1702, the warrant for the Train of Artillery required for the opening campaign was issued to the Earl of Romney, then Master-General. The number of pieces of Ordnance required was fixed at 34, including 14 sakers, 16 3-pounders, and 4 howitzers: and the *personnel* considered adequate to the management of these guns consisted of two companies of gunners, one of pioneers, and one of pontoon men, in addition to the requisite staff, and a number of artificers. Each company consisted of a captain, a lieutenant, a gentleman of the Ordnance, six non-commissioned officers, twenty-five gunners, and an equal number of matrosses. At this time the fireworkers and bombardiers were not on the strength of the companies as was afterwards the case. Two fireworkers and eight bombardiers accompanied this train.

The pioneers were twenty in number, with two sergeants, and there was the same number of pontoon men, with two corporals, the whole being under a Bridge-master. The staff of the train consisted of a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, a comptroller, a paymaster with his assistant, an adjutant, a quartermaster, a chaplain, a commissary of horse, a surgeon and assistant-surgeon, and a provost-marshal. The kettledrummer and his coachman accompanied the train. There were also present with this train a commissary of stores with an assistant, two clerks, twelve conductors, eight carpenters, four wheelwrights, three smiths, and two tinnen.

The rates of pay of the various attendants are again worthy of note. The master carpenter, smith, and wheelwright got a shilling daily more than the assistant-surgeon, who had to be happy on 3s. per diem; the provost-marshal and the tinnen each got 2s. 6d.; the clerks and the gentlemen of the Ordnance were equally paid 4s.; the chaplain, adjutant, and quartermaster received 6s. each; a lieutenant received the same, and a fireworker 2s. less. The pay of the higher ranks was as follows:—Colonel, 1l. 5s.; lieutenant-colonel and comptroller, each 1l.; major, 15s.; and paymaster, 10s. The gunners received 1s. 6d.; matrosses, pioneers, and pontoon-men, each, 1s.

It was the month of June, 1702, before this train landed in Holland, and on the 30th of that month it joined the Allied Army at Grevenbrouck, having had an addition made to it of four guns before leaving England. The pay of the train amounted to 9289l. 5s. per annum; and the ammunition with which they commenced the campaign consisted of 3600 rounds, of which 3000 were round shot, and 600 canister or case. They also carried 31 boxes of small hand-grenades, and 754 grenades of a larger description. The conduct in the field of this train was admirable. During the whole campaign of 1702, their fire is described as having been carried on with "as much order, despatch, and success as ever before was seen."

And then, in the luxurious way in which war was made in those days, the army went into winter quarters.

For the campaign of 1703, it was decided to augment the train of Artillery, and a warrant to that effect was issued to the Ordnance on the 8th February, 1703. The only difference in the *personnel* of the train was the addition of five gunners to each company, they now outnumbering the matrosses for the first time. The addition to the guns consisted of six demi-culverins.

In March of this year, the Board of Ordnance was also called upon to fit out two bomb-vessels for service in the Channel; and as the bomb-service remained long after the Regiment existed, it may be interesting to the reader to learn the armament of these vessels. It consisted of three 13-inch brass sea-service mortars, one vessel carrying two. For ammunition they carried 1200 shells and 40 carcasses,—besides 248 barrels of powder. The Artillerymen on board were represented by three fireworkers, six bombardiers, and two artificers; but as provision was made for ten, not eleven, "small flock bedds, bolsters, rugs, and blankets," it is to be presumed either that one of the number was above the necessity of sleep, or that a certain socialism existed in the matter of beds, which admitted of the individual on duty adjourning to the bed vacated by the man who relieved him.

In a later warrant of the same year, when a larger number of these vessels was ordered to the Mediterranean, a Firemaster at 8s. per diem was placed over the fireworkers, and a few conductors of stores were added.

A further addition was made in 1704 to the train in Holland, showing the increased appreciation of the services of the Artillery. It consisted of six brass culverins and four 3-pounders, with two gentlemen of the Ordnance, sixteen gunners, and sixty of their assistants, the matrosses. Two more artificers were also added.

An idea of the Artillery train under Marlborough's own command can be obtained from the above dry details, and when compared with the proportions of Artillery in the armies of more recent times, Marlborough's train excites a smile. The value of Artillery in the field had not yet been learned, while the cumbrous nature of its equipment was painfully present to every General. Not until Napoleon came on the scene did Artillery assume its proper place in European armies; not until the Franco-German War of 1870 did it assume its proper place in European opinion.

But equally interesting with the details of the train which Marlborough commanded are those of the trains, which, as Master-General of the Ordnance, he prepared for expeditions and services under other commanders, in the stormy time which was hushed to rest by the Peace of Utrecht.

When the expedition to Portugal, ordered in 1703, but which did not take place till the following year, was decided on, the armament selected consisted merely of five brass sakers, and one 5¼-pounder.

For this small battery, a somewhat eccentric detail of attendants was ordered, characterized by the marked absence of Artillery *officers*. They were as follows:—One commander, styled commander-in-chief, with a daily pay of 1l.; six engineers, with 10s. each; a commissary of stores, five bombardiers, twenty gunners, and ten miners. The absence of matrosses in this detail is also remarkable. The deficiencies in this train soon became apparent, for in 1705 we find it was reinforced by a captain, a lieutenant, a fireworker, a surgeon, and forty-two matrosses, with a proportion of non-commissioned officers. And with the reinforcement came six mountain 3-pounders—guns, which from this time and for many years were familiarly known as grasshoppers.

Among the other musty warrants of this time, calling upon "our entirely-beloved Master-General of the Ordnance, John Duke of Marlborough," to furnish various trains and necessities, one short one on the 3rd October, 1704, has a peculiar interest. Intelligence had just been received of the capture of Gibraltar by Sir George Rooke, and it became necessary to send, for the better protection of the Rock, a few guns, and some men familiar with their use. In this year, 1872, seven Batteries of Artillery, each numbering 160 men when complete, are considered necessary, the lesson not having yet been forgotten, which was taught by the great siege, when five weak companies were all the Artillery in the garrison, and gunners had to be improvised out of the ranks of the Infantry. But the force during the great siege was lavish compared with that deemed sufficient at first "for the better defence of y^e said place." One chief engineer, Talbot Edwards by name, a storekeeper and his clerk, two fireworkers, six bombardiers, and fifty-five gunners, were at first deemed sufficient Artillery force for the defence of a place whose chief means of protection lay in its guns. Half-a-dozen brass 13-inch mortars, and four-and-twenty guns on ship carriages, varying from 6-pounders to 24-pounders, constituted the armament sent from England.

In April of the following year the Master-General was called upon to furnish a train for that romantic expedition to Spain under the brilliant Earl of Peterborough, the services of which afterwards at the capture of Barcelona called forth such commendation. It was a very small one. In a corps of 5000 men the following was the proportion of Artillery:—One colonel, one adjutant, two engineers, a commissary, a paymaster, four conductors, one master-gunner, four sergeants, four corporals, ten gunners, one firemaster, one fireworker, two bombardiers, two carpenters, three wheelwrights, two smiths, and a collar-maker. Mortars on travelling carriages were used by this train, and a considerable number of sets of men-harness which accompanied it suggests the idea that the services of the other troops, or the peasantry, were enlisted, when necessary, to move the train from place to place.

In May, 1706, 11,000 men under the command of Earl Rivers were ordered to sail from Plymouth on a wild and futile scheme for the invasion of France. The following was the proportion of Artillery considered necessary for this force by the Board over which Marlborough presided. The guns were forty-six in number, including twenty 24-pounders, six culverins, four 12-pounders, four demi-culverins, and six sakers. There were also sixty small coehorn mortars.

To man the train, the following was the detail: a colonel, four engineers, two sub-engineers, a paymaster, a surgeon, with an assistant, a captain, a lieutenant, two gentlemen of the Ordnance, three sergeants, three corporals, thirty-two gunners, and sixty-four matrosses, a lieutenant of miners, and seventeen men, a firemaster, three fireworkers, and twelve bombardiers, a commissary, clerk of the stores, twelve conductors, three smiths, three wheelwrights, five carpenters, two coopers, a collar-maker, two farriers, and fifteen carters. In this train the lieutenant of miners and the chief carpenter, received each 4s. a day, while the assistant-surgeon with his 3s. remains ranked with the farriers, cooper's mate, and collar-maker.

The list of stores is too long for reproduction here. But it included 200 sets of single harness for men, and four sets of harness for fifty men to each set. Tumbrils and waggons innumerable were ordered; 400 wheelbarrows, 2000 palisadoes, 1600 horseshoes, tents, single and double beds, and an assortment of artificers' tools such as would enrich a colony. Altogether it was an appalling catalogue. The ammunition for the train included 22,000 round shot, 2400 mortar-bombs, 800 case-shot, and 3000 barrels of powder. For the Infantry 46 tons of musket-shot were carried, and 100,000 flints.

In 1707, it was resolved to reduce the trains formerly under the directions of Lords Galway, Peterborough, and Rivers, into one field train for service in Spain, and as the Board of Ordnance reported that they had no money for the subsistence of the train, the commissioners of the Treasury were ordered to pay the cost out of the 500,000l. voted by Parliament with a view to "strengthening the Army of the Duke of Savoy for making good our alliances with the King of Portugal, and for the more effectual carrying on the war of the recovery of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria." *Tempora mutantur*: what ministerial eloquence would be able to charm money out of a House of Commons now for such a purpose? The following was the detail of the combined train:—one colonel, and one lieutenant-colonel, receiving the same pay, 1l. 5s. per diem; one major, at 15s.; one comptroller, at 1l.; one paymaster, at 8s. and an assistant at 3s. 6d.; an adjutant, quartermaster, commissary of horse, and wagon-master, each at 6s.; a surgeon, at 5s., and two assistants, at 3s.; two captains, two lieutenants, two gentlemen of the Ordnance, six sergeants, six corporals, forty gunners, eighty matrosses, four drummers, ten engineers, a fireworker, two bombardiers, twelve conductors, and twenty-one artificers. There was also a provost-marshal with two assistants.

Only one more train requires to be mentioned. After the legislative union between Scotland and England, it was decided by the Board of Ordnance to establish a small permanent train, called the train for North Britain, at Edinburgh, Stirling, and Fort William. As mentioned in the first chapter of this book, the last-named place did not derive the benefit that was contemplated at the formation of this train. From the nature of the Ordnance sent to Scotland, the absence of conductors and matrosses, and the presence of storekeepers and gunsmiths, it is evident that a field train, in the sense of one for service in the field, was not contemplated. The defence of the fortresses at the three places named was all that was intended, combined with the supervision of the Ordnance Stores which might be deposited in them.

The capture of Minorca during the war involved a small train for Port Mahon in that Island; and another was required for Annapolis in 1710.

After the Peace of Utrecht, the Ordnance Board found that in addition to its small peace establishment in England there were four trains to keep up permanently, whether in peace or war, which were not required before. These were the trains of North Britain, Gibraltar, Port Mahon, and a joint train for service in Placentia and Annapolis.

The *raison d'être* of the trains at the first three of these places has already been given. To explain the circumstances under which the other places became a

charge on the Ordnance will require another chapter.

CHAPTER VI. ANNAPOLIS.

On the Nova Scotian side of the Bay of Fundy, immediately opposite the City of St. John, New Brunswick, there is a narrow inlet of the sea, walled by perpendicular and densely wooded hills. A few scattered cottages, belonging to fishermen, speck the deep green of the forest, as the traveller passes up this narrow channel, known by the unphonious name of Digby Gut. Digby is a small picturesque village, immediately inside the channel, which here opens out into a wide basin, large enough to float mighty navies, and beyond description beautiful. In the spring of 1604, a French Protestant, M. de Monts, first discovered this harbour of safety, and one of his comrades, Potrin-court by name, was so enchanted by its beauties, that he applied to the French monarch for a grant of the surrounding district. At the end of the basin, furthest from the entrance and at the mouth of a river, now called the Cornwallis river, he built a Fort and a village, to which he gave the name of Port Royal. The history of this little village has been one of marvellous interest; and until the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was written in letters of blood. Since it finally became the property of England, its existence has been a peaceful one; and now, alas, the mouldering ramparts, the tumbling, grass-grown walls of the old fort, and the windowless, stairless barrack, proclaim in unmistakable language the advent of a new colonial epoch, and the retreat of British troops before that new enemy—expense. The train required for its defence, after its final capture, was one of the arguments used in favour of creating a permanent force of Artillery in England; and for more than a century this village of Port Royal, or Annapolis, has been entwined in the history of the Royal Artillery.

If all historical researches were pursued in such beautiful localities, the historian would be the veriest sybarite of literature. By the tumbling fortifications now stands one of the loveliest villages on the face of this world. The river, at whose mouth it is built, wanders through a valley, which, in summer, is like a dream of beauty. Rich *intervalle* land on either bank, covered with heavy crops of every kind; fields and gardens studded with apple-trees, planted by the old French inhabitants; grapes in heavy clusters growing and ripening in the open air, and clean, white churches and cottages studding the landscape for miles; all unite in forming a picture, like the Utopia which haunts the dreamer's mind. The garden of Canada—an Artilleryman may well rejoice that so lovely a spot had a share in the birth of the corps to which he belongs.

The early history of the place may be summed up in a few words. In 1606, an addition to the little colony was made of more French emigrants; cultivation of the soil, and the breeding of cattle occupied the peaceful inhabitants; and they lived in perfect amity with the surrounding Indians. Difficulties having arisen about the original charter, Potrin-court went to France, and secured from the King the grant of the territory: subject, however, to a distasteful condition, that he should take two Jesuit priests with him on his return. He did so; but made them as uncomfortable as he could, and in 1613, they left him to join a settlement, also near the Bay of Fundy, vowing vengeance against him in their hearts. Although England and France were at peace, a sea rover from Virginia, named Argoll, came with his ship, and pillaged the Jesuits' new home, killing one, and making the other prisoner. Fired by his success, and urged and guided by the revengeful priest, he next fitted out an expedition against Port Royal, and succeeded in destroying the fort, and scattering the settlers, some of whom joined the neighbouring Indian tribes. During the next few years, more French immigrants settled in a scattered, unmethodical way, over the province of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as it was called; and some coming to Port Royal, the little colony commenced to revive.

But in 1627, Kirke's fleet sailed from England to destroy the French settlements in Nova Scotia; and among others, he ravaged unhappy Port Royal. And from this time dates the struggle in America between France and England, which lasted a hundred years. In 1629, it may be said, that we had added Nova Scotia to our possessions; but in 1632, we gave it back to France; Charles I. having been in treaty with the French King, even while our expedition in America was at work, and having consented to let the French have Quebec and all our recent American conquests back again. In 1655, Cromwell recovered Port Royal, by means of an expedition he sent for that purpose, under one Major Sedgwick. The fort had by this time been strengthened and armed; but it had to surrender to the impetuosity of our troops. Much labour and money was now spent on the fortifications by the English, but all to no purpose, for by the treaty of Breda, Charles II. ceded Nova Scotia to the French again. Certainly, the Stuarts were cruel to our colonies; and it required all the enterprise of our merchants, and all the courage and skill of our seamen and fishermen to resist utter extinction under the treatment they received. The day was to come—and to last for many a year, when a worse evil than the Stuarts was to blight our colonies—the nightmare of the Colonial Office. As the former was the positive, so it was the comparative degree of colonial endurance. Is it true that a superlative degree is coming on them now? Is it true, that in our Statesmen's minds there exists a coldness, an indifference to our colonies, which in time of trial or danger will certainly pass into impatience, and anxiety to be free from colonial appendages?

If it be so, then, indeed, the superlative degree of blundering and misery is approaching; but the misery, like the blundering, will be found this time, not in the colonies, but in England.

For sixteen years after the treaty of Breda, Port Royal was left comparatively undisturbed; the French population reaching, in the year 1671, 361 souls; 364 acres having been brought under cultivation, and nearly 1000 sheep and cattle being owned by the settlers.

In 1680, however, the English again, for the fifth time, obtained possession of it; and again lost it. After its recapture, and before 1686, considerable additions had been made to the fortifications by the French; and in the treaty of that year between France and England, it was resolved—a resolution which was never kept—that although the mother countries might quarrel, their respective American subjects might continue to maintain mutual peaceable relations. After the Revolution of 1688, war broke out in Europe once more between France and England, and their American children followed suit. Port Royal being the headquarters for the French ships attracted the attention of Sir William Phipps, who after capturing and pillaging it abandoned it again to the French.

And the treaty of Ryswick again officially announced that the whole of Nova Scotia was French territory.

In 1699, and again in 1701, considerable labour was devoted by the French to strengthening the works of Port Royal; an increase to the garrison was made from France, and the militia in the surrounding settlements were carefully trained and armed.

Every difficulty was interposed by the French governors between the settlers and the New England merchants, who were mutually eager for trade. Exasperated by prohibitory duties on their wares, the latter first tried smuggling, and then hostile expeditions. One such was made from Boston in 1704; and although Port Royal made a successful resistance, much damage was done to the surrounding country.

In 1707, two expeditions were made from New England, and a large force of militia accompanied them. They were convoyed by a man-of-war, and would undoubtedly have captured the place, had it not been for the personal energy of Subercase, the French governor, who rallied the neighbouring inhabitants, and drove back the English, thoroughly dispirited. On the second occasion, the English attempted to float their artillery up the river with the tide by night, and attack the fort from the land side. The rise and fall of the tide in the Bay of Fundy and its inlets are very great, often reaching sixty feet. The French governor, seeing the enemy's design, lit large fires along the banks of the river, and exposed the drifting boats with the English guns on board to the view of the artillerymen in the fort, who opened a fire which utterly prevented the English from advancing further, or effecting a landing. By the 1st of September, the New Englanders were utterly foiled and dispirited, the object of the expedition was frustrated, and the fleet weighed anchor and returned to Boston. After these two attempts, rendered unsuccessful by the marvellous tact and energy of one man, Port Royal enjoyed comparative rest, and the leisure of the inhabitants was devoted to strengthening the works during the next two years.

Before describing the circumstances of its final capture, let some explanation be given of the incessant war which went on for so many years between the French and English colonists in North America. It was not a burning interest in the European questions agitating the parent countries that animated their Western children; the parent quarrels were an excuse, but not a reason, for their mutual aggression; and the absence of such excuse did not ensure peace in America. The cause lay in the two feelings which prompt most wars: thirst for revenge and love of trade. The way in which the last acted has already been hinted at. There was undoubtedly a market among the French colonists, which was all the New England merchants could desire; and so ready were the French peasants to trade, that no prohibitory action of their rulers could conceal their desire, although in a great measure it might prevent its gratification. The knowledge of this made the New Englanders frantic. They were men of immense energy, as they are now; they were of magnificent physique, made for war and hardship; and they rebelled against any obstacle to what they deemed their legitimate wishes. Their anger became intolerance; their intolerance became aggressive; and the result was first smuggling, then privateering, and finally war.

But another motive was thirst for revenge. And why? Was there not room on this vast continent for both nations to plant any wandering or surplus children, without the vile passions seeking place, which thrive in the hot-bed of crowded, neighbouring, and rival states? Here the old poet's words come in most truly: "Cœlum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt."

National jealousies were reproduced: the French allied themselves in Canada with the Indians, and incessant incursions were made thence by them on the English colonies. Hardly a child grew up in New England who did not know of some hideous tragedy in the domestic life of his immediate neighbours, if not in his own family; from infancy one of the articles of his creed was detestation of the French; and this feeling found ready and revengeful expression whenever opportunity offered. But revenge is not always true in its aim, is indeed often woefully blind; and too often when maddened with thoughts of cruelty and outrage on his wife or sisters—and what thoughts stir the Anglo-Saxon more fiercely?—he would avenge himself wildly and recklessly on victims who mayhap were innocent. And so the ghastly vendetta crossed from hand to hand, from one side to the other, and hardly a year passed without its existence being attested by tales of horror and of blood!

But the end for Port Royal was approaching, an end which was to mean defeat, but was to ensure a lasting peace. In 1709, news reached the Governor of an intended attack on a large scale in the ensuing spring by the English; and as his garrison had recently been much reduced by disease, he wrote, strongly urging its reinforcement either from France, or from the French post at Placentia, in Newfoundland. Apparently, his request was not complied with; and after a gallant, and almost heroic resistance, Port Royal capitulated in the following year to the expeditionary forces under the command of Colonel Nicholson, comprising regular troops from England, militia from New York, and a strong train of Artillery,—the whole being supported by a powerful fleet. On the 2nd October, 1710, the capitulation was signed; and, out of compliment to the Queen, the name of the village was changed to Annapolis.

A fortnight after the expedition left England for New York and Boston, *en route* to Port Royal, a Royal Warrant was issued establishing a Train of Artillery to garrison Annapolis. It will thus be seen that so confident was the English Government of the success of the expedition, that the new name for Port Royal had already been fixed, and arrangements made for a permanent garrison. The acquisition of Newfoundland followed; the French garrison of Placentia were allowed with many of the inhabitants to go to the Island of Cape Breton, where they fortified a place which will occupy a prominent part in this volume, Louisbourg; and the year 1713 saw, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Acadia or Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland formally surrendered to the English.

The train of Artillery formed to garrison Annapolis, and its adjunct ordered three years later for Placentia, were two of the permanent trains used as arguments in 1716 for establishing a fixed Artillery Regiment which could feed these foreign garrisons—arguments which in that year brought into existence the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

The Artillery garrison ordered for Annapolis in 1710, comprised a captain, a lieutenant, a surgeon, 4 non-commissioned officers, 11 gunners, 40 matrosses, an engineer, a storekeeper, 3 bombardiers, and 2 armourers.

That for Placentia was smaller and differently constituted. It consisted of an engineer, a master-gunner, 20 gunners, a mason, a smith, a carpenter, and an armourer.

The cost of the Annapolis train was 1964*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* per annum: that of the Placentia train was 1259*l.* 5*s.* After the Regiment was created, these two trains or garrisons were generally furnished by the same company, and mutually met each other's deficiencies or demands. For many years, these places appeared in the Ordnance estimates, not merely as items in the expense of maintaining the Artillery and Engineers, but also as requiring considerable sums for fortifications. Occasionally the number of men was reduced, as in 1725, when at Placentia there were only 1 lieutenant and 8 gunners; and at Annapolis, 1 lieutenant, 2 bombardiers, 4 gunners, and 7 matrosses. But the amount spent on the fortifications remained for years very considerable. Up to the year 1759, the average spent on this item annually at the two places was 3000*l.* and 1000*l.*; but in 1747 and 1748, evidently exceptional years, the expenditure rose to 10,000*l.* and 6000*l.* respectively. In 1759, a large sum appears to have been spent in transporting to Nova Scotia the guns and stores taken from the French at

Louisbourg. After 1759, Annapolis gradually dwindles down as a military station, being dwarfed by Halifax, whose Artillery expenses in that year alone amounted to nearly 40,000*l*.

For a century longer, Annapolis retained the special distinction of giving the title of Governor, with a considerable income, to the officer commanding the troops in the maritime provinces of British North America. But its martial glory has now altogether faded; gradually diminishing in numbers, its garrison at length consisted of the solitary barrack sergeant, who is the "last man" of every military epic; and now even he has departed. The old Fort is a ruin, the barracks crumbling and unsightly; but, in spite of the pain one feels at first witnessing this modern indifference to ancient story,—this forgetfulness of the memories which in stately procession troop through the student's mind,—this feeling is soon obliterated as one turns to gaze on happy homesteads and blooming gardens, and on contented faces which meet one at every turn as one wanders over the fertile country, away even to that "Bloody Creek," where, in one of their many engagements, some thirty Englishmen met a cruel death, by an unexpected attack made by some Indians.

Where are the Indians now? A few drunken, demoralized creatures hang about some of the towns; two or three only have retained their love and instinct for the chase; and before many years shall have passed away, Acadia shall know the Mic-mac no more!

CHAPTER VII. THE BIRTH OF THE REGIMENT.

THE hour had come,—and the man! The Duke of Marlborough was again at the head of the Ordnance, and was both capable himself of detecting the faults of the existing system, and of critically comprehending any suggestions for its improvement which the Board might lay before him.

Never had the old system so completely broken down as during the rebellion in Scotland in 1715. The best practical Artilleryman in the pay of the Ordnance had been sent in command of the train—Albert Borgard; but two years' rust since the peace of Utrecht had so tarnished any brightness which Artillery details in England had gained in the friction of the preceding campaigns, that Borgard's task was a hopeless one. Suspicions have been cast upon the loyalty of the Duke of Argyle, who commanded the King's forces in Scotland, and certainly, at first sight, his contradictory orders to the Artillery excite astonishment. But it is more probable that the key to his management of this arm lay in the impossible task of creating order out of what Borgard himself described as "such confusion as cannot be expressed." In the month of December, the train was ordered to Scotland; it was February before they anchored in the Firth of Forth. The first orders received by Borgard from Argyle, were to send his ships and guns away to Innerkithen, and march his officers and "artillery people" to Stirling. On arriving there, he was ordered to take command of a very confused train of field-pieces, which had been ordered up from the Castle of Edinburgh. Part of this train he succeeded in getting as far as Dundee, where orders were sent him to take the whole back again to Edinburgh *by water*. In the following March, his enforced idleness was brought to an end by orders he received to send back his vessels with the guns, which had never been shipped, to London. He and his men were then to be available for other service.

Such a gross case of inability to furnish, within any reasonable time, Artillery for service in the field, followed by such uselessness and confusion, could not be overlooked, nor allowed to pass without an effort at improvement for the future. Public admission of defects in a Department cannot be expected; and when consciousness of their existence is present in the minds of the officials, their manner is to suggest a remedy, but to evolve the evil, which the remedy is to cure, either from other sources, or from their own imaginations. The student, who turns from the ghastly tale of incompetence and blundering in 1715, to see what steps the Ordnance Board took to prevent its recurrence, need not, therefore, be surprised to find a very slight allusion to their own blunders, and a gushing catalogue of the benefits which will result from the adoption of their new suggestions. In fact, in their letter of 10th January, 1716, to the Master-General, the members of the Board use language of virtuous and indignant protest; and instead of alluding to the recent failures, they talk of the hardships which the existing system had wrought upon their office. It is, perhaps, ungracious to criticise too closely the language used when suggesting a really important and valuable innovation; but when we find the foreign establishments of Annapolis and Placentia, of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, quoted as the arguments in chief for a change, which would probably never have been suggested but for the conspicuous failure of the preceding year, the temptation is irresistible to draw the mask from the face of complacent officialism.

Summing the case up in a few words, it may be said that the annual cost of that part of the military branch of the office of the Ordnance which the Board proposed gradually to abolish at this time, including the foreign establishments at the places above mentioned, amounted to 16,829*l*. The Regimental establishment, which it was now proposed to substitute by degrees, consisting of four companies with an adequate staff, would, on the Board's calculation, cost only 15,539*l*.

The main reduction was to be obtained by allowing the North Britain establishment, which cost annually 1200*l*., gradually to become extinct, the duties to be performed by the new companies. The foreign establishments were also to be supplied in the same way. Of course, it was not pretended that all this could be done at once. But as vacancies occurred in the existing establishment, the money would go to furnish men for the cadres of the new companies, which it was proposed at once to create. And by removing the Artillery officers and the 120 gunners now on the old establishment to the rolls of the new companies, the skeletons would have a little flesh and blood from the commencement.

The details of the other economies suggested by the Board, and the list of officials whose places it was not proposed to fill when vacant, naturally excite the curiosity of the student. Surely, this time at least, a little self-denial will be practised by the Honourable Board; some superfluous clerks and secretaries will be lopped off; and after their protest against those members of the military branch who never go on duty without having heavy travelling charges and extra pay, surely we shall find some economy practised by the Honourable Board, whose members revel in these very items. Alas! no. Tradition is too strong; and self-preservation is their first instinct. There are storekeepers in Edinburgh and Fort William, whom distance will prevent from personal remonstrance; a percentage of their wretched income can safely be taken. And as for those whose offices are ultimately to be extinguished, they themselves can have no personal grievance, and posterity can look after itself. So, engineers, and firemasters, and petardiers, are marked for destruction; and the Board's sacrilegious hand is raised against the Master-Gunner of England himself!

It was on the 26th day of May, 1716, that the Regimental Baby was born. It was smaller than had been expected; but it has proved a healthy and long-lived child, and, as its nurse might have said, it has grown out of all knowledge. Only two companies—without any staff—were given at first, at an annual cost of 4891*l*. But, in Colonel Miller's clear language, "considering that these two companies were never reduced, and that the remaining two, as well as the field-officers, were added within a few years, there can be no hesitation about taking this as the starting-point for any *Regimental Records* of the Royal Artillery."

In December, 1716, the Board was able to inform the Master-General of the success of the scheme: the two companies were nearly complete; but the dream of feeding the foreign establishments could not be realized, from the fact that only half its proposal had, as yet, been carried into effect. So it was obliged to request, that arrangements for these should be made for the present, elsewhere than from the two companies at home. Ere many years had passed, the whole of the scheme recommended by the Duke of Marlborough was at work; in 1722, a Colonel was given to the Regiment; and in 1727, we find a Lieutenant-Colonel and a Major, as well as four complete companies; but in the years of comparative quiet which followed, no further augmentation took place. It was not until the year 1740, that we find two more companies were added to the Regiment.

The name of the Lieutenant-Colonel in 1727, one we have already met with, and who had seen much service, was Jonas Watson. That of the Major was James Petit. He also had seen considerable service; but neither of them in that respect could approach the brave and experienced officer to whom the command of the Regiment was given by George I., in 1722, and emphatically renewed by George II., in 1727, the celebrated Albert Borgard.

CHAPTER VIII. ALBERT BORGARD.

NOT a statesman, not over-refined, and no scholar, a mere soldier of fortune—yet brave, and honest, and true—Albert Borgard deserves more than a passing notice in a history of the Regiment which he was the first to command.

He was by birth a Dane. Born in 1659, he commenced his life as a soldier when sixteen years of age, and until the day of his death, on the 7th February, 1751, at the age of ninety-two years, he never had a thought beyond his profession and his duty. The diary appended to this chapter gives in his own words the best summary of his career which can be written. For *naïveté* and modesty, it can hardly be surpassed. The compression into two or three lines, of events on which most men would enlarge with effusion; and the simple narrative of wounds and hardships, as if such were the ordinary circumstances of war, and unworthy of special comment, cannot fail to strike the most superficial reader. The only sentence that gives us pain is the plaintive allusion to one who supplanted him with the Board of Ordnance, as Consulting Artilleryman and Engineer. He was so devoted to his profession, that anything which looked like putting him on one side hurt him beyond expression. There is a time in the lives of many active men, when they realize painfully that others are growing up who can outstrip them in work, or who have modern ideas and appliances which it is now too late for them to learn. The pain of such a discovery is, perhaps, the most acute that a man can feel.

From that date, Borgard devoted himself to his men. Living in the Warren at Woolwich, constantly among them, he was incessant in urging them to master the details of their profession. Being devoted himself to all laboratory work, his order-books are full of instructions to the cadets and young officers, to devote their leisure to practical lessons in that department. And he encouraged any who might succeed in making any good "Firework" to bring it to him for inspection and approval. He was a strict disciplinarian; and some of the punishments he awarded would astonish modern soldiers. But he was essentially honest, incapable of falsehood or meanness, and if every man in this worthy world were, like him, brave and honest and true, what a Paradise it would be!

He commenced his military career in the service of the King of Denmark. He went from that, in 1689, to the King of Prussia's service; served in Hungary in 1691; and was induced by William III. to join the English service in the following year. At the termination of hostilities he and one other foreigner, named Schlunt, whose name appears in the list of officers of the short-lived regiment of 1698, were the only Artillerymen other than English, who were selected to proceed to England for permanent employment.

In 1702, he went as Major in the expedition to Cadiz, and carried on a successful bombardment with the five bomb-vessels under his command. In the following year he volunteered for service under Marlborough, but, after a few months in Flanders, he was recalled to proceed to Spain with the expedition under Sir George Rooke and the Duke de Schomberg, which escorted the Archduke Charles, who had just been proclaimed by his father, King of Spain. Until the year 1710, he was engaged in all the hostilities which were now carried on in Spain, and of which his diary gives a summary. In 1705, at the siege of Valencia, which was taken by the English under Lord Galway, (who had been appointed to the command in place of Schomberg), he lost his left arm; and in 1710, he was wounded in the leg by a round shot, and taken prisoner.

But his first service with the Royal Artillery, after its existence as a regiment, was in 1719, when he went in command of the Artillery of Lord Cobham's force against Spain, and successfully bombarded Vigo. The troops, 4000 in number, embarked in a squadron of five men-of-war under Admiral Mighells, and coasting from Corunna to Vigo, were landed two or three miles from the town. The garrison of Vigo withdrew to the citadel, spiking the guns in the town; but so heavy and well-directed was the fire of the English, that they soon capitulated.

The whole of the Artillery arrangements, both in preparing and handling the train, had been under Colonel Borgard's sole control. Judging from the entry in his diary, he was far more pleased by the success of his inventions and improvements in the *matériel* of his train, than by the surrender of the enemy.

As this was the first train of Artillery to which the Royal Artillery Companies were attached on active service, it has been considered desirable to give some details as to its constitution.

First, as to *personnel*.—It was commanded by Colonel Borgard, assisted by a major, a captain, three lieutenants, and four fireworkers. The medical staff, a surgeon and his assistant, received a little more remuneration than in former trains; their daily pay—which to a modern ear has a very legal sound—being respectively 6s. 8d. and 3s. 4d. There were seven non-commissioned officers, twenty gunners, forty matrosses, two drummers, and ten artificers. Engineers, conductors, drivers, and clerks were also present; and on account of the particular nature of the service on which the expeditionary force was to be engaged, ten watermen and a coxswain were included among the attendants of the train.

Next, as to *matériel*.—Borgard selected for his purpose four 24-pounders, four 9-pounders, and six 1½-pounders, brass guns, all mounted on travelling carriages, with a proportion of spare carriages for the first and last, spare limbers for the second, and spare wheels for all. He also took a number of brass mortars, six ten-inch, and two eight-inch, besides thirty Coehorn and twelve Royal mortars. The ammunition comprised 9800 round shot, 180 grape, 3800 mortar shells, 1000 hand-grenades, and 100 carcasses for the ten-inch mortars. Two bomb-vessels, each carrying a thirteen-inch mortar, and with two fireworkers, four bombardiers, and an artificer on board, accompanied the expedition, and were also under Colonel Borgard's command.

The citadel capitulated on the 10th October, 1719, and a large quantity of guns and stores fell into the hands of the English. The first occasion, therefore, on which the Royal Artillery as a Regiment was represented on active service was completely successful. The expedition returned to England in November.

One more incident remains to be enlarged upon ere we leave the gallant officer to tell the story of his own life. In 1716, when attending an experiment at the Foundry in Windmill Hill, where some brass guns were being recast, he was wounded in four places by an explosion which took place, and by which seventeen of the bystanders lost their lives. The accident had been foretold—so the story goes—by a young Swiss named Schalch, who was thereupon invited, after his prophecy was fulfilled, to assist the Board of Ordnance in selecting a suitable place near London where all the guns required for the service might be cast.

Young Schalch's hands were rather tied in the matter; for he was limited to a radius of twelve miles round London. Had this not been the case, it is hardly probable that he would have named as the *Depôt* for national Artillery Stores, and as the National Arsenal—both of which he must have foreseen the place of his selection would become—a place so exposed as Woolwich. As it was, however, being limited to so small an area, his selection was a natural one for other than the reasons which would first occur to him, as it already had a special connection with Artillery manufactures, and with that Board under whose orders he was to work.

Few countries, and fewer Boards, have ever had a more faithful servant than he proved. As Superintendent of the Foundries, which were built at his suggestion, he lived for sixty years, "during which time not a single accident" occurred.^[87] The Royal Artillery may well be proud of such a man, who, although not in the Regiment, was so intimately connected with it by the nature of his duties; and as all the management of the various departments in the Arsenal is in the hands of officers of the Regiment now, there is no better model for them to study than this father, so to speak, of Woolwich Arsenal. And the interest which must be felt in him for his own skill and services is increased by the knowledge that no less than six of his descendants have held commissions in the Royal Artillery.

Appended to the chapter will now be found the diary of Borgard, to which allusion has so often been made, copied from a manuscript in the Royal Artillery Regimental Library. In addition to the short account of his services, it contains lists of the various battles and sieges in which he took part, and the dates of his various commissions.

"An Account of the Battels, Sieges, &c., wherein Lieutenant-General Albert Borgard hath served, with what time and station, and in what Prince's service, as also the dates of his commissions during the time of his being in the English service, viz.—

"In the KING OF DENMARK'S SERVICE.

1675. "Served as a cadet in the Queen's Regiment of Foot, and was at the siege of Wismar (a town in the territories of Mecklenburg), then belonging to the Sweeds, which was taken by the Danes in the said year in the month of December."

1676. "Was ordered from the Army with a Detachment of Foot on board the Fleet. A battle was fought with the Sweeds near Oeland in the Baltick, the 11th of June, wherein the Danes obtained a compleat victory. With the aforesaid Detachment in the month of July we landed in Schonen, and joyned the Danish Army at the Siege of the Castle at Helsingborg, which place the Danes took from the Sweeds in the said month by capitulation.

"Marched from thence, and was at the Siege of the Town and Castle of Landskroon. One night the Sweeds made a great sally out of the Town with Horse and Foot; the Danes beat them back, and followed them into the town and took it sword in hand. The Castle after some days' bombardment was taken by capitulation.

"In the month of August, we marched from Landskroon to Christianstat, which town was taken from the Sweeds, sword in hand, some days after it was invested, without opening trenches. The Garrison did consist of near 3000 men, which were all cut to pieces. Liberty for three hours' time was granted to the soldiers to plunder the town, where there was found a great deal of riches and treasure.

"In the latter end of August, I was one of the 4000 men of the Army which marched from Christianstat to besiege the Town Halmstat. Upon their march they were intercepted and totally defeated by the Sweeds, of which number not above 700 men made their escape.

"In the month of September, several young men that were well recommended were taken out of the Foot Regiments to be made gunners of y^e Artillery, of which I was one of the number, and served as such in the great Battle of Lund (in the month of December) between the Sweeds and the Danes, which continued from sun-rising to sun-setting. This was counted a drawn battle, because both Army's Artillery remained in the field that night.

1677. "I likewise served as a gunner in the Battle fought between the Sweeds and the Danes, near Sierkiobing or Ronneberg, two leagues from Landskroon, in the month of July, where the Sweeds had a compleat victory. In the latter end of the same month I was ordered from Schonen with more gunners to the Siege of Mastraud, in Norway. In the month of July, the Town with a little Fort was attacked and taken sword in hand, and two other Castles near the same place were taken by capitulation. In the latter end of August we marched with a body of the Norwegian Army, and fell in the night-time on the Sweeds at Odewald, beat them, and took from them twelve pieces of cannon, and all their baggage.

1678. "In the month of September, a great Detachment of the Danish Army, where I was one of the number, was ordered in the expedition to the Island of Lauterugen, in the Baltick. We landed on the said Island, though we mett with great opposition from the Sweeds. We beat them and obliged them to retire to Stralsund.

1679. "I was made a Fireworker, and ordered on a survey of the Island of Sealand, in Denmark.

1680. "I with another Fireworker was ordered to Berlin in exchange of two Brandenburgher Fireworkers, sent to Denmark to learn the difference of each nation's work relating to all sorts of warlike and pleasaunt Fireworks.

1681. "I was ordered to go from Berlin to Strasburg to perfect myself in all things relating to Fortification.

1682. "I was ordered back again from Strasburg to Gluckstadt, in Holstein, where I was made Ensign in the Queen's Regiment of Foot.

1683. "I was made a Lieutenant in the same Regiment, and ordered with the Duke of Wirtemberg, who went a voluntier to the relief of Vienna, in Austria, where I was in the Battle fought by the Germans and Poles against the Turks the 11th day of September. The Turks were totally defeated with the loss of their Artillery and greatest part of their baggage.

1684. "I was ordered with several other engineers under Colonel Scholten's command to fortifie a place called Farrell, in the County of Oldenburg.

1685. "I was ordered by the aforesaid Duke of Wirtemberg, who went a voluntier to Hungary, and was both of us at the Siege of Niewhausel and the Battle of Grau in the month of August. The Germans beat the Turks, and took twenty-three pieces of cannon, with some of their baggage, and some days after the battle, Niewhausel was taken sword in hand.

1686. "I went as a voluntier to Hungary, and was at the Siege of Buda, and was recommended to Colonel Barner, Commander of the Imperial Artillery, who employ'd me during the Siege, in the Artillery service. The lower town was taken in June without opposition. The upper town and castle were taken sword in hand in the month of September. Here I got so much plunder that paid for all my campaign done in Hungary as a voluntier.

1687. "I was made a Lieutenant in the King of Denmark's Drabenten Guards, and was employed as Engineer in the new Fortifications made at Copenhagen.

1688. "I quitted the Danish Service on account of some injustice done me in my promotion, and went as volunteer to Poland. I was well recommended to his Polish Majesty. I was in the action that happen'd at Budjack, when the Poles beat the Tartars, and killed and took prisoners to the number of 2400. Here I took for my share two Tartars prisoners, which had near cost me my life, by reason I would not deliver them over to a Polish officer.

"In the KING OF PRUSSIA'S Service.

1689. "In the month of January I was made a Lieutenant in the Prussian Guards, and the same year went with my Colonel, Baron Truckis, who made a campaign as volunteer on the Rhine. I was in the month of March in action of Niews, a little town between Keyserwart and Cologne, where the Brandenburgers totally beat the French and took all their baggage. In the month of June I was at the Siege of Keyserwart, which place the Brandenburgers, after some days' bombardment, took from the French by capitulation. In the month of July we marched with the Army from Keyserwart to invest the town of Bonn, which place was without intermission eight nights and days bombarded, and totally destroyed. After the bombardment it was kept blockaded till the month of September. In this bombardment I commanded two mortars ordered me by Colonel Wyller, commander of the Prussian Artillery. In the month of August I went from Bonn to Mentz, a town besieged by the Emperour's and Allies' Army. In the taking of the Counterscarps or Glacies of this place, it cost us near 4000 men, by which means the town was obliged to capitulate. In the month of September the Duke of Lorrain went with 10,000 men from Mentz, to reinforce the Allies' Army at Bonn. By his arrival there the attack was regularly carried on, in which service I was employed as Engineer, under the direction of Colonel Gore, who had the direction of the trenches carried on by the Dutch forces. The Counterscarps or Glacies, with a ravelin and a counter-guard, were taken sword in hand with the loss of 3000 men. The enemy was beat into the town, which obliged them in two days' after to capitulate.

1691. "In the month of March 8000 of the Prussian troops were ordered to Hungary. The company to which I belonged was included in this number. We joined the Emperour's Army in the month of June, and we fought a Battle with the Turks at a place called Solankeman, where we beat them totally, and took upwards of 100 pieces of cannon, with a great part of their baggage, in the month of August.

1692. "I quitted the Prussian service, and agreed with Count de Dohna for a Company of Foot, in a Regiment of Foot he was to raise for the service of the Emperour. After some weeks spent in raising men for my company, the capitulation broke off, because the Emperour would not agree to the terms stipulated with the said Count. In the month of April I went from the city of Dantzick to Holland, and from thence in company with some Danish volunteers to y^e Siege of Namur. After the siege I went from Namur to the English and Allies' camp at Melle, and from thence I marched with the Army to the camp at Genap, where in the month of July I entered as Firemaster into the English Artillery, under the command of Colonel Gore.

"In the ENGLISH Service.

1692. "I marched with the English Artillery to the Battle of Steenkirke, and after the battle was ordered with a Detachment of Fireworkers to joyn at Ostend those Artillery people which came from England under the command of Sir Martin Beckman. From Ostend we marched to Tourney, from thence to Dixmud, and at last to quarter at Ghent.

1693. "I was commanded with a Detachment of Fireworkers and Bombardiers to Liege, and from thence back again to Nearhespe, where we fought the battle of Landen, and where our Army was beat, and sixty-three pieces of English cannon lost. After the battle I was ordered with a detachment of Fireworkers to Sasvangand, in order to embark the great Artillery for a secret expedition; after some days' labour was ordered back again to the Army encamped at Nuioven, from thence into Flanders.

1694. "I went with my Lieutenant-Colonel Browne to the Siege of Huy, which place we took from the French in the month of September, by capitulation.

1695. "I was ordered with some mortars to follow the Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded a detachment of the Army at Fort Knock invested by the said Duke. From thence I was ordered with a detachment of the Artillery to the Siege of Namur, which place I bombarded with twelve great mortars, and did throw about 4000 bombs (into the town, Cohorn's Work, and Terra Nova), before the siege was over. The town capitulated in August, and Cohorn's Work and Terra Nova in September.

1696. "Nothing material was done this year but making intrenchments, marching, and counter-marching with the Army.

1697. "This year was like the former till we encamped at Brussels, where the cessation of arms was proclaimed.... In the month of September the Army marched into quarters, where the greatest part of the Artillery people were ordered to England, foreigners excepted, who were all discharged except myself and one by name Schlunt. I was ordered to embark all the English Artillery remaining in Flanders to be sent to England. I myself went with the last embarkation in the month of February."

1698 to 1701. "I remained in England without being in any action.

1702. "I was made Major to the Artillery in the bomb vessels sent on the expedition to Cadiz, under the command of His Grace the Duke of Ormond and Admiral Rooke. In this expedition I bombarded with five bomb vessels, first, St. Catharina, with such success that it capitulated. I also bombarded with some land mortars the Fort Matagorde. At our arrival at Vigo, I bombarded with three bomb vessels Fort Durand, which was taken sword in hand by the land forces. The Fleet entered and broke the boom which was laid over the entrance of the harbour near the said Fort, took and destroyed all the ships of war, galleons, &c., to the number of thirty-seven.

1703. "Went as volunteer to Flanders. After some months' stay was recalled to England in order to command the English Artillery ordered to Portugall, with this present Emperour, being at that time King of Spain. Two of the transports laden with stores under my command were lost in the great storm in the Downs, where myself then rode, and was afterwards obliged to go to Portsmouth to repair the damage we had received by that storm.

1704. "Nothing material done with the Army but marching and counter-marching.

1705. "I was at the Siege of Valencia d'Alcantra, which the English took from the Spaniards sword in hand. At this siege, in building the Battery, I had my left arm shot to pieces.

1706. "I was at the Siege of Alcantra, which place the English and Allies took by capitulation in the month of April. Here I received a contused wound on my left breast. Marched from thence to Corea and Plazencia. Both towns declared for King Charles, and from thence marched to the Bridge of Almaraz, and so back to Corea and to Ciudad Rodrigo, which place we besieged and took by capitulation in the month of May. Marched from thence to the Town Salamanca, which place declared for King Charles: from thence to Madrid, which likewise declared for King Charles, where we encamped ten days. From Madrid we marched to Guadalaxara; from thence to Guadraka, where I cannonaded in the month of August for two days together the Duke of Berwick's Army; from thence marched back to Guadalaxara, and so on to St. Jonne, from which place we retreated into the kingdom of Valencia, where the enemy followed us close till we had got over the pass at Raguna.

1707. "In the month of April we marched from Valencia to the Battle of Almanza, where our Army was totally routed, and the remaining part retreated to Toroza in Catalonia. In this battle we lost all the Portuguese Artillery, and most part of the Artillery people were taken prisoners or cut to pieces; and I had the misfortune to lose all my baggage.

1708. "I commanded the Artillery on the expedition with Major-General Stanhope to the Island of Minorca, where we landed in September, and after I had built my battery by which I dismounted the cannon of two of the enemy's towers built in the line, the Castle of St. Phillip capitulated in the latter end of October. The whole Island, at our landing, declared for King Charles, and after having been three months in regulating the Artillery, I returned back to Catalonia in the month of February, 1708-9.

1709. "Marched with the Artillery to Villa Nova de la Barkia, on the River Segra, where I bombarded for some days the enemy's Army, and after our Army had passed the river, they took the town Balaguar, after two days' siege, by capitulation.

1710. "In the month of July I was at the Battle of Almenar, where our Army in less than two hours beat the enemy and encamped in the place of the field of battle for some days...." "From the camp at Almenar we marched to besiege the Castle Moncon. We possessed ourselves the first night of one of the enemy's works that covered their bridge laid over the Cuica river, and continued there some days, and at last was obliged to leave the place...." "In August, marched from thence and passed the said river near Traga in pursuit of the enemy to the place of Saragoso, where we fought a battle on the 20th August, got a compleat victory, and took the greatest part of the enemy's Artillery. Here I received four wounds, and had upwards of eighty men killed and wounded on my battery, and above 300 Artillery mules hamstringed. From this place our Army pursued the enemy, and marched to Madrid, which declared a second time for King Charles. Two months after, I was carried thither, and from thence ordered to Toledo to put that Artillery, &c., we had taken from the enemy in order; and after some days' stay was ordered to destroy the said Artillery, and march to joyn part of the Army in camp at St. Jonne, from whence we marched in the month of December, and joyned the whole Army near Villa Viciosa, where we fought a battle the 10th December with the loss of all our Artillery, and were obliged to retreat into the Kingdom of Arragon. I was wounded with a cannon-shot in my left leg, lost all my baggage, and was taken prisoner in the town of Siguenca.

1711. "I obtained leave upon my parole to go to England, to be cured of my wound; and after my arrival had the good fortune to be exchanged for another Colonel belonging to the enemy.

1713. "I made pleasure fireworks which were burnt on River Thames in the month of August, over against Whitehall, on the Thanksgiving Day for the Peace made at Utrecht.

1715. "In the month of December I was ordered with a train of Artillery to Scotland, and arrived in the month of February in the Firth of Forth by Leith, where I was ordered by His Grace the Duke of Argyle to send the vessells with the Artillery to a place called Innerkithen till further orders, and to march with all the officers and Artillery people from Edinburgh to Stirling. At Stirling I was ordered by His Grace to take upon me the command of fifteen pieces of cannon ordered from Edinburgh, &c., for field service, which was in such confusion as cannot be expressed; part of which Artillery I brought so far as the town of Dundee, where I was ordered to bring the Train back again to Edinburgh by water.

1716. "In the month of March I was ordered by General Cadogan, in His Grace the Duke of Argyle's absence, to send the vessells with the Artillery back again to London, and the Train people to march from thence. On our arrivall at London, I was ordered by the Board of Ordnance to lay before them tables and draughts of all natures of brass and iron cannon, mortars, &c., which was done accordingly and approved of. After the said draughts, two 24-pounder brass cannon were ordered to be cast by Mr. Bagley in his Foundry at Windmill Hill, at the casting of which I was ordered to be present. In the founding, the metal of one of the gunns blow'd into the air, burnt many of the spectators, of which seventeen dy'd out of twenty-five persons, and myself received four wounds.

1717, 1718. "The Board came to a resolution to regulate what was wanting to compleat Artillery for sea and land service. I had an order to lay before them draughts of all natures of carriages, wheels, trucks, grapes, and matted shot, and all sorts of bombs both great and small for land and sea service, with a great many other things relating to an Artillery too tedious to mention, which they approved of. I likewise laid before the Board the ill-state of the Laboratory, which the Board order'd me to put in some better order, and to be at as little expence as possible, which I did accordingly.

1719. "I was ordered on the expedition to Vigo, which place I bombarded with forty-six great and small mortars of my own projection, which answered their intended end, of which my Lord Cobham, and the rest of the general officers can give a better account than myself, by which bombardment the Castle of Vigo was obliged in the month of October to surrender.

1720 to 1722. "I attended the Service, as formerly, at all surveys, &c., relating to the Artillery till such time Colonel Armstrong was made Surveyor, after which time, notwithstanding His Majesty's signification to me for regulating the Artillery for sea and land service, I was never consulted in anything relating to the said service.

"His late Majesty was graciously pleased to renew my old commission as Colonel, and to give me the command of the Regiment of Artillery established for His service, consisting of four companies."^[9]

DATE OF LIEUT.-GENERAL BORGARD'S COMMISSIONS, AND BY WHOM SIGNED.

Order of Commissions.	IN WHAT STATION.	Date of Commission.		By whom Signed.
1	Served one campaign in the Artillery in Flanders as Firemaster, having no Commission			
1	Firemaster	March,	1693	Lord Sidney.
2	Captain and Adjutant	1 Jan.,	1695	Lord Romney.
3	Engineer	27 March,	1698	
4	Major of the Artillery	4 April,	1702	Duke of Marlboro'.
5	Major and Commander-in-Chief to Portugal Both of these Commissions lost at the Battle of Almanza.		1703	
6	Lieut.-Colonel of Artillery Both of these Commissions lost at the Battle of Almanza.		1704	
7	Colonel of Foot Both of these Commissions lost at the Battle of Villa Viciosa.	14 April,	1705	Lord Galloway.
8	Colonel of Artillery Both of these Commissions lost at the Battle of Villa Viciosa.	27 Nov.,	1706	
9	Chief Firemaster of England	9 Aug.,	1712	Lord Rivers.
Signification	Assistant to the Surveyor of the Ordnance	25 April,	1718	H.M. King George I.
10	Colonel of Artillery renewed	1 April,	1722	Duke of Marlboro'.
11	Ditto	1 Oct.,	1722	Lord Cadogan.
12	Brigadier-General	1 March,	1727	H.M. King George I.
13	Ditto	16 June,	1727	H.M. King George II.
14	Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Artillery	1 Nov.,	1727	Ditto.
15	Major-General	28 Oct.,	1735	Ditto.
16	Lieut.-General	2 July,	1739	Ditto.

ABSTRACT OF ALL THE SIEGES
LIEUT.-GENERAL BORGARD *has been present at from the year 1675.*

Year.	No.	
1675	1	The Town of Wismar, in Mecklenburg.
1676	2	The Castle of Helsinburg, in Schonen.
1676	3	The Town and Castle of Landskroon, in Schonen.
1676	4	The Town of Christianstadt, in Schonen.
1677	5	The Town of Mastraud and Castles, in Norway.
1685	6	The Town of Niewhensell, in Hungary.
1686	7	The Town and Castle of Buda, in Hungary.
1688	8	The Town of Haminie Podolski, in Poland.
1689	9	The Town of Keyserwart, on the Rhine.
1689	10	The Town of Bonn, on the Rhine: two slight Wounds.
1689	11	The Town of Mentz, on the Rhine.
1692	12	The Town and Castle of Namur, taken by the French.
1694	13	The Town and Castle of Huy.
1695	14	The Town and Castle of Namur, retaken by King William.
1702	15	Fort St. Catherine, near Cadiz. Bombarded and took.
1702	16	Fort Malagar, near Cadiz. Bombarded.
1702	17	Fort Duran, near Vigo. Bombarded.
1705	18	The Town and Castle of Valencia d'Alcantra. Wounded.
1706	19	The Town of Ciudad Rodrigo.
1706	20	The Town of Alcantra. Slight Wound.
1708	21	Fort St. Philip's, in Minorca.
1709		Bombarded the enemy's camp at Villa Nova de la Barkea, in Catalonia.
1709	22	The Town of Balaguer, in Catalonia.
1719	23	Bombarded the Castle at Vigo, which surrendered after some days' bombardment.

ABSTRACT OF THE BATTLES
LIEUT.-GENERAL BORGARD *has been present at from the year 1675.*

Year.	No.	
1676	1	Oeland, in the Baltic.
1676	2	Halmstadt, in Holland.
1676	3	Lund, in Schonon.
1677	4	Ronneberg, near Landskroon.
1677	5	Oddewall, in Norway.
1678	6	Whitlow, in the Isle of Ruggen, on the Baltic.
1683	7	Vienna.
1685	8	Graun, in Hungary.
1688	9	Budjack, in Tartary.
1689	10	Neys, near Dusseldorp.
1691	11	Salankeman, in Sclavonia. Wounded.
1692	12	Stemkirk, in Brabant.
1693	13	Neerhespe, or Landen, in Brabant.
1705	14	Brozus, in Spain.
1706	14	Cannonaded the enemy at Guadraca, in Spain.
1707	15	Almanza, in Spain. Here I lost my baggage.
1710	16	Almenar, in Spain.
1710	17	Saragosa, in Spain. Three wounds.
1710	18	Villa Viciosa, in Spain. Here I was wounded, lost my baggage, and was taken prisoner.
1715	18	Went on the Expedition to North Britain.

8. Browne's 'England's Artillerymen.'

9. *N.B.*—It was not until November, 1727, that these four companies were fully completed. They were, however, decided upon at the date referred to in Colonel Borgard's diary.

CHAPTER IX. TWENTY YEARS. 1722-1741.

TWENTY years, during which Englishmen made no conquests; but during which they had "peace, ease, and freedom; the Three per Cents, nearly at par; and wheat at five- and six-and-twenty shillings a quarter."^[101]

Twenty years, during which England's army did not exceed 26,000 men; when there was actually a war of succession in Europe, and our rulers did not interfere; during which our King could go to Hanover for a couple of years, and the coach of the State move on steadily and without interruption in his absence; and during which our only alarms of war were two in number, and speedily disappeared.

It was a favourable childhood for the Regiment; it gave time for the old establishments to dwindle away, and the new one to acquire consistency and strength with the funds which thus became available at the Ordnance; instruction to officers and men could be deliberately and systematically given; discipline could be learnt; the fortifications could be armed; and the defects of the original scheme of organization in the Regiment could be ascertained and quietly remedied, instead of being more rudely exposed in time of war.

Only three events occurred between 1722 and 1741, which are worthy of comment; but there are details connected with the every-day life of the Royal Artillery during that period, which, though unworthy of being called events, yet cannot but be interesting to the student.

The first was the camp at Hyde Park, in 1723, which was attended by a train of Artillery.

The second was in 1727, when the Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar; a siege, however, which only lasted four months.

The third was in the same year, when the States-General of Holland, becoming nervous lest an attempt should be made on the Netherlands, called upon England to hold in readiness the contingent of 10,000, which she was bound by treaty to furnish, if required. For this, a train of Artillery was ordered to be prepared, and although not required, pacific counsels having prevailed in Europe, its constitution is worthy of mention.

In the camp at Hyde Park, held the year after the Regiment obtained its Colonel, probably for the amusement of the Londoners, there was a train of Artillery of twenty pieces of Ordnance, comprising two 6-pounders, four 3-pounders, and fourteen 1½-pounders. This battery was horsed by seventy-six horses, but the detail to the various natures of Ordnance cannot be traced. The officers and men attached to the battery were as follows: 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 fireworker, 2 sergeants, 4 corporals and bombardiers, 20 gunners, 40 matrosses, and two drummers.

The Infantry was called upon to furnish a guard over the guns when parked, of twenty-five men. Six regiments of Dragoons, and twelve of Infantry of the Line, attended the camp.

In 1727, the bad feeling, which had for some time existed between England and Spain, produced an open rupture. A force of 20,000 Spaniards besieged Gibraltar, opening their trenches on the 11th of February. By means of reinforcements from England and Minorca, the garrison was increased to 6000 men, and the bomb-vessels, which were sent from England and from other parts of the Mediterranean, rendered great assistance by enfilading the enemy's entrenchments. The siege was raised on the 23rd June, having only lasted four months, during which time the Spanish loss had been great, while that of the English had been inconsiderable. With the reinforcements from England had come some guns and stores, which assisted to make the fort more easily defended, its previous armament having been but indifferent. Colonel Jonas Watson commanded the Royal Artillery during the siege, having arrived for that purpose from England, accompanied by Captain Hughes and some young officers. The force under his command was two hundred in number. The only Artillery officer killed during the siege was Captain-Lieutenant Holman.

In this the first defensive operation in which the Royal Regiment of Artillery was engaged—as in its first offensive at Vigo—it was on the successful side. And in both cases, it not merely represented, but it was the principal arm of the English forces. The next event, the third proposed to be chronicled, took place in the same year. The train which it was deemed probable would have to proceed to Flanders was for field, not garrison service. It comprised four 6-pounders, twelve 3-pounders, and eight 1½-pounders. There were also six Royal mortars to be provided. A complete company of Artillery—with the exception of the cadets of the company, and nine of its bombardiers—attended the train, and 12 artificers and 22 pontoon-men, under a bridgemaster, were also ordered to accompany it. Conductors and commissaries were also included. Unless, however, it was proposed to enlist foreign Artillerymen into the British service, on landing in the Continent,—the staff of the train seems certainly excessive.

For a total of 140 of all ranks—smaller than a single battery now—the following staff was detailed: 1 colonel, 1 comptroller, 1 paymaster, 1 adjutant, 1 chaplain, 1 quartermaster, 1 commissary of stores, 1 waggon master, 1 surgeon, 1 assistant-surgeon, 1 assistant provost-marshal, 1 kettledrummer and his coachman.

These, then, were the three military events of most note during the twenty years ending in 1741; and they are certainly not such as to affect the peaceable reputation of the period. An unhappy expedition to the West Indies, under Lord Cathcart, was ordered in 1741, but as it was not completed until later, it can be alluded to more fully in a succeeding chapter.

But the domestic life of the Regiment during this time requires description. The rank of Captain-Lieutenant had been introduced in 1720, and the third and fourth Lieutenant of a company were called Lieutenants and Fireworkers, the conjunction being speedily dropped. The strength of a company was during this period as follows:—

	Captain.	
	Captain-Lieutenant.	
	First Lieutenant.	
2	Second Lieutenants.	
4	Fireworkers.	
3	Sergeants.	
3	Corporals.	
12	Bombardiers.	
25	Gunners.	}
5	Cadet-Gunners.	}
43	Matrosses.	}
5	Cadet-Matrosses.	}
2	Drummers.	

The annual pay of each company amounted to 2956*l.* 10*s.*

It was in 1727, that the Regiment was increased to four complete companies. The siege of Gibraltar suggested an augmentation which the declining numbers on the old establishment admitted of the Board carrying out. On this taking place, the staff requisite for the Regiment was added, and Colonel Borgard was styled Colonel-Commandant.

The staff consisted, in addition to the Colonel, of a Lieutenant-Colonel—Jonas Watson; a Major—William Bousfield; an Adjutant, a Quartermaster, and a Bridge-Master. To meet the demand for the more scientific element in the new companies, one Second Lieutenant and one Fireworker per company were transferred from the old, and the number of bombardiers and gunners in each reduced to eight and twenty respectively. The matrosses, as being more easily obtained, and requiring less special training, were increased to sixty-four per company; and from this time vacancies among the gunners were filled by the most deserving matrosses.

The large number of junior officers and of bombardiers in each company was intended to meet the demands of the bomb-service, which even in this peaceable time were very heavy: more especially for the bomb-vessels in the Mediterranean. It created, however, an evil which must always be found in a profession where the junior ranks so greatly outnumber the senior, and where the prizes are so few, while the candidates are many;—the evil of slow promotion and even stagnation, and in their wake, discontent, loss of zeal, and, at last, indifference. So soon did this manifest itself, that by reducing the number of junior officers, and increasing that of the seniors, it has been repeatedly attempted to remedy it; the last attempt being so recent as during the tenancy of the present Secretary of State for War—Mr. Cardwell. But this remedy has its limits. There are duties to be performed suitable only to inferior military rank, and the performance of which, by senior officers, would have the effect of degrading the rank to which they may have attained. A considerable proportion of an army's officers, therefore, must always hold inferior military rank; but whether the evil which accompanies stagnation in their ranks is to be remedied by increase of pay in proportion to service, or by enforced retirement in the upper ranks, is one of those questions which it is not for the historian to argue.

The Captains of the four companies of the Regiment after the augmentation were

Captain JAMES RICHARDS,
Captain THOMAS HUGHES,
Captain JAMES DEAL,
and Captain THOMAS PATTISON.

The first-mentioned two were at Woolwich with their companies, although compelled to furnish detachments for Scotland and the bombs; the third was at Gibraltar, and the fourth in Minorca. Special establishments still existed for Annapolis and Placentia. The pay per diem of an Artillery Captain was 10*s.*

It was in Minorca that the question of the military precedence of Artillery officers was first authoritatively settled. The officers of the four Infantry Regiments stationed there having refused to sit on courts-martial on the same terms as the officers of the train, the matter was referred to England, and by order of the King the Secretary at War informed the commandant at Port Mahon that whenever any of the Artillery were being tried, the officers of the train were to sit and vote with other officers of the Army, according to the dates of their commissions.

The objection taken by the Infantry officers was doubtless based on the fact that until 1751 the commissions of Artillery officers under the rank of field officer were signed by the Master-General, not by the King. This decision, however, settled the point effectually; and ten years later there is a record of the trial by court-martial in London of a deserter from the Artillery in which all the members of the Court were officers of the Guards, and the president belonged to the Artillery.

Among the places which were supplied with additional armament during this time of rest were Berwick, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Hull, but the charge of the Ordnance and Stores still remained in the hands of the master-gunners and gunners of Garrisons, numbering at this time respectively 41 and 178. The value of these officials may be estimated by a description of certain accepted candidates for the appointment in 1725, who were "superannuated and disabled gunners, who have served long and well, and being too feeble for active service, are subsisted until they can be placed in the garrisons."

An augmentation to the companies was commenced in 1739, but not completed until the following year, when one new company was raised; the strength of the companies at home being increased to 150, and of those at Minorca and Gibraltar to 100. It was 1741 before the distribution of the companies at home was finally arranged; for it was found necessary to divide the three into four, for purposes of relief and detachment. At this time,—the end of the twenty years, the strength of the Regiment at home, in addition to the companies abroad, amounted to thirty-five officers, eighty non-commissioned officers, of whom fifty-six

were bombardiers, twenty miners, ninety-two gunners, thirty-two pontoon-men, 184 matrosses, and eight drummers.

There were also sixteen cadet-gunners, and sixteen cadet-matrosses, the number in each of the four home companies having been reduced to four. It was from the cadets that the lieutenant-fireworkers were generally, although not always, chosen. The employment of officers of that rank on board the bomb-vessels without superior officers above them rendered it necessary often to promote non-commissioned officers, whose experience would enable them to carry on such an independent service, better than the young and inexperienced fireworkers, just promoted from among the cadets. The discipline among these young gentlemen may be gathered from the marginal remarks of the commanding officer on the muster-rolls of the two companies at Woolwich in 1739. After alluding to one officer as having been lame for six months, and to another as having lost his memory, and done no duty for seven years, he comes to the cadets of the companies. Out of the whole number of sixteen, there is a remark against the names of no less than nine, "I know not where they are," and against another, "A very idle fellow!" The remaining six were detached, two at Portsmouth, one in the Tower, one on board the bombs, and only two at Woolwich.

There is in the same list a remark made against the name of one, Captain-Lieutenant George Minnies, which might justly have been made against others of the same rank in later days, if indeed it may not also have to be made again, "old and worn-out in the service."

The end of this period brings us near to that time when the Regiment, having quitted the nursery, so to speak, entered the school of war, which was provided for it in Flanders. Before, however, tracing its story then, it will be well to describe some little matters connected with the foundation and early history of an institution which was founded in 1741, the last of our twenty years, to meet a want, which the above comments of the commanding officer must prove most distinctly to have existed.

[10.](#) Thackeray.

CHAPTER X. FOUNDATION OF THE ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY.

FROM what was mentioned in the last chapter, it will be seen that there were cadets long before there was an Academy. Although, however, this institution is of a date so long posterior to the formation of the Regiment, and although by many of the practical officers serving when it was founded, who had acquired their knowledge in the school of experience, it was looked upon very coldly, as a useless and undesirable innovation,—yet no History of the Royal Artillery would be complete without some reference to its early days. For, although often mismanaged, and even now almost paralysed as an Artillery school by the marvellous arrangement under which the best Artillery scholars are invited to join the Royal Engineers, it has yet acquired such a hold upon the affections of those who have been there, as to ensure it a prominent place among our Regimental Records.

The warrant founding the Academy was issued in 1741. The cadets then in the Regiment were to be instructed there, but not these only; it was to be available for the professional education of all "the raw and inexperienced people belonging to the military branch of the Ordnance." At first, the sum proposed to be voted annually for its support was merely 500*l.*, but this was almost immediately doubled, and before 1771 it had reached 1364*l.* 14*s.* From the very first the practical and theoretical schools were distinct. The former was attended not merely by the cadets, but also by all officers and men off duty; the latter by all above the rank of bombardier, as well as any below that rank who had evinced any special talent, or capacity for study. In the Theoretical School, pure and mixed mathematics were taught; in the Practical School, the various gun drills, fortification, laboratory duties, &c. Once a year there was performed before the Master-General, or his lieutenant, "a great and solemn exercise of Artillery, in which exercise those who were best advanced in the several classes shot with different pieces of Ordnance at several marks according to their different proficiencies, or produced some other specimen of their diligence and application in their study of fortification, drawing, &c.; when he who best distinguished himself in each class was presented with some prize of honour—if an engineer, officer, or cadet—or some pecuniary premium, if a private man, as an encouragement."

It will thus be seen that from the earliest days there was no finality in the education acquired by a cadet at the Academy. His training was not supposed to cease when he was commissioned. It is well to remember this at a time when there are not wanting men to decry the continuous education of Artillery officers, and to express perfect contentment with the amount of Artillery education obtained at the Academy.

Probably these very men who deem Artillery an exact and finite science to be mastered by a boy in his teens, would be the first to protest against the idea that a man could master the intricacies of the stable, without many years of progressive and practical experience. Chemistry as applied to the service of Ordnance, dynamics, metallurgy, might be sufficiently conquered at the Academy, or might be conscientiously dispensed with, but the perambulation of a horse infirmly might go on for a lifetime, and yet a man's education be incomplete.

The best friend to his corps is the man who denies and scorns such a theory. National predilections have made and will continue to make the horsing of the English Artillery the best in the world, but the gun must not be lost sight of in devotion to the horse. And this once recognized, from that moment an Artilleryman, to be conscientious and progressive, must be studious. At the altar of science he should be the most regular votary; for gunnery, to be perfect, draws incessantly and largely upon science.

In the early days of the Regiment, an officer might master in a short time the requisite details for working his guns. In the present day, an Artilleryman is unworthy who fails to watch every scientific advance which may increase the power of his weapons, and raise the tone of his corps. And to enable the officers of the Regiment to do their duty in this respect, no effort for continued exertion and study should be spared; mutual interchange of ideas should be fostered; and the main use of Artillery as an arm should not be concealed behind a veil of pipeclay and harness-polish. The merits which these last-named agents are calculated to foster will come almost spontaneously: it is the study of the higher uses, and of the scientific progress of Artillery over the world, which requires persuasion and encouragement.

The Academy, as we have said, was founded in 1741. Not until four years later was the cadet company formed. During the interval, as before the institution of the Academy, the cadets were under no discipline worthy of the name; they wore no uniform, and were so outrageous in study, that one of the occupations of the officer on duty in the Warren was occasionally to visit the Academy, and prevent the masters from being ill-used, and even pelted. When, in June 1744, the Regiment was inspected by the Duke of Cumberland, a disorderly mob, without officers, or even uniform, drawn up on the right of the line, represented the cadets of the Royal Artillery. Let no man say that ceremonial inspections are useless. Defects, which are not apparent in every-day life, stare one in the face, as one stands behind the individual whose office it is to criticize. The readiest critic is he who is most interested on such an occasion. He is not the most demonstrative; he is glad beyond measure if the blot escapes the inspecting eye; but he remembers. And to such a man remembrance means remedy. Next January, the cadets were no longer a mob; they were no longer unofficered: they were clothed, but they were not yet in their right mind.

It may be said of the Cadets of the olden time, that they were veritable sons of Ishmael; their hands were against every man, and every man's hand against them. They were the parents of their own legislation; *à priori* law-making was unknown; and not a statute was passed that had not been anticipated by the offence it was intended to curb. The cadets' ingenuity in evading detection was equalled by their talent in inventing new methods of annoyance. This talent was too often aided by the connivance of the newly-commissioned officers, whose sympathies were more with the law-breakers they had left than the law-insisters they had joined. Hence came threats fulminated against an intimacy between cadets and young officers, which made such intercourse all the sweeter; nor was it effectually put an end to until the Academy was removed from the Barracks in the Warren to a secluded spot at the foot of Shooter's Hill. The extreme youth of the cadets in the earlier days of the Academy, coupled with the very different views then in vogue as to educational discipline, produced a system of government which was harsh and penal. The Royal Military Academy has gone through two stages—the era of stern restriction, and that of comparative liberty. The swing of the pendulum is as certain in military as in civil life. From the days of black holes and bullying, the reaction to liberty, confidence in a cadet's honour, thoughtfulness for his comfort, and a system of punishment not degrading nor unsuited to his age, were inevitable, and have come. So far, indeed, has the pendulum swung, that the young officer must occasionally look back with regret on the greater comfort and the absence of responsibility which were characteristic of the older life. The absence of degrading punishments has been brought about, in great part, by the system of competition for cadet-ships, which, commencing with the practical class in 1855, has now for many years been universal. Young men from public schools, or from private tutors under whom they had to study *proprio motu*, and without the spur of discipline, could not be submitted to the same restraints as the mere boys who were cadets in the earlier days of the Academy. Nor does their absence lessen the sense of discipline which is necessary in a military body. The sympathy of numbers is the strongest wall against which a recalcitrant member can dash his head, and the result to the head is proverbial. And among educated youth, past the stage of mere boyhood, reasonable restraint and discipline can always be enforced with full confidence in the support of the governed.

The extreme youth of the cadets, in the early Academy days, is the key to the many ludicrous laws and anecdotes which have come down. For many years the average age of the cadets was between twelve and fourteen years, and old heads cannot be expected on young shoulders. As a matter of fact, old heads were not to be found; and the history of the Academy, over a hundred years ago, is one of the most comic narratives which can be perused. The incessant war going on between the Gulliver of authority and the Lilliputians of defiance, who so frequently got poor Gulliver on his back,—the laughable use of unaccustomed power by cadet corporals, bewildered by their position,—and the grandiloquent appeals of Governor after Governor to the feelings of rebellious youth, all combine to make up a rare picture. We meet threats against cadets who shall pass an officer without pulling off their hats, or who shall stay away from church, or shall play during the hours of study. So fond were the boys of bathing, more especially after it had been forbidden, that no punishment could deter them, until ingenious authority decided that any cadet found swimming in the Thames should be taken out and carried naked to the guard-room. Special punishments were devised for those who should wear officers' uniforms for the purpose of getting past the guard at the Warren gate, and for those who should break out over the wall after tattoo, or spoil the furniture, or write upon the walls. Nor is it merely the extreme youth of the cadets which is revealed by these orders; it is their incessant repetition, month after month, day after day, that makes the student detect the utter want of discipline that existed. A record remains of a cadet who was expelled for striking and maltreating another on parade, in presence of an officer, and "refusing to make any concession, although urged to do so by the Lieutenant-Governor." Two others are described in an official report as "scabby sheep, whom neither lenity will improve, nor confinement to a dark room and being fed on bread and water." These two, having openly displayed contempt of orders and defiance of authority, were dismissed ultimately from the Academy. Another, on whom the same penalty of expulsion fell, rather checkmated the authorities by taking with him his cadet's uniform and warrant, which enabled him to create such disturbances in the town of Woolwich, that he had to be threatened with the civil power if he did not give up the one and discontinue wearing the other.

But in the orders which it was found necessary to issue can be read most succinctly the account of life among the earlier cadets.

"The Gentlemen Cadets are now strictly forbid to cut or carve their names, or initial letters of names, on any part of their desks, or any way to spoil them.... They are not to spoil their own locks, or those of any other Gentlemen Cadets, by attempting to open them with wrong keys.... The Lieutenant-Governor expects that henceforward no Gentleman Cadet will be guilty of ever attempting to open or spoil any of the desks or drawers of the Inspectors, Professors, or Masters, or of any other Cadet, or even attempt to take anything out of them under the name of *smouching*, as they may be fully assured such base and vile crimes will be pardoned no more. The Gentlemen Cadets are, likewise, forbid from leaping upon or running over the desks with their feet; and the Corporals are expected, not only to keep a watchful eye to prevent any disorder in the Academy, but, by their own good behaviour, to set an example to others."

Shortly after this order a remonstrance is published, arguing that "the cadets have been guilty of a habit of making a continued noise, and going about greatly disturbing the Masters in their teaching; also, when the Academy ends, by shutting their desks with violence, and running out of the Academy hallooing, shouting, and making such a scene of riot and dissipation, greatly unbecoming a Seminary of learning, and far beneath the name of a Gentleman Cadet; and, lastly, during the hours of dancing, several of the Under Academy, whose names are well known, behave at present in so unpardonable a manner when dancing, by pulling, and hauling, and stamping, that the Master is thereby prevented from teaching. Hence the Lieutenant-Governor assures the gentlemen that those, who are anyways found guilty of such conduct for the future will be immediately sent to the Barracks, and receive such *corporal* punishment as their crimes deserve."

Yet again in stately language, it is reported that "it had come to the ears of the Lieutenant-Governor that of late the Corporals have inflicted a mode of punishment entirely inconsistent with the Rules and Regulations of the Academy—namely, that of making the Gentlemen kneel down on both knees, with uplifted hands, in the attitude of prayer; at other times placing them in painful and ridiculous postures, rather tending to excite laughter than to inflict punishment. The Lieutenant-Governor henceforward forbids all such modes of proceeding, as also that of striking the Cadets. On the contrary, when any Cadet is thought deserving of punishment, the Corporals may order them to stand sentinel, or report them to the Master on duty, or, with his leave, march them to the Barracks, and report them to the Commanding Officer in writing, who may punish them according to their crimes. On the other hand, the Lieutenant-Governor expects the Gentlemen Cadets to obey the Corporal's commands equally the same as any other superior officer, subordination being the most essential part of military duty. Lastly, the Lieutenant-Governor expresses the highest satisfaction in the genteel behaviour of the Company during the hours of dancing, in a great measure owing to the care of the present Corporals."

These extracts are sufficient proof of the youth and unruly habits of the earlier cadets. Courts-martial among them were far from uncommon; and cases of disturbance worthy of the name of mutiny are also recorded. Yet, in the very earliest days of the Academy, officers joined the Regiment who entered with such spirit and zeal into their duties, that they called forth special commendation from their commanding officers. In Flanders, in 1747 and 1748, Colonel Belford and Major Michelson warmly acknowledged the assistance they received from the young officers in their arduous attempts to impart to the Artillery Train a more military appearance than had hitherto distinguished it. And when, some years later, we find this very Colonel Belford protesting against the officers who joined from the Academy, and wishing that Institution were "detached as a Repository for Captain Congreve's curiosities, and that a number of fine young fellows were appointed as Cadets to every Battalion, and such as were fit for every duty to go upon all commands," we must bear in mind that, so great had the demand for officers been in the years immediately preceding his complaint, that the cadets had hardly any time to spend at the Academy—three or four months only being far from unusual, and, therefore, that the fault lay not so much in the system as in its neglect. A lad of eighteen years of age will be able to acquire even discipline in a very short time, because he is able to understand its necessity, and he soon becomes a creature of habit in this as in other matters. But a boy is always, either from restlessness or mischief, chafing against restraint, and takes longer time to subdue. The extreme youth of the earlier cadets prevents

surprise at the ludicrous state of discipline which prevailed, and creates wonder that the officers who joined so young, after such a training, were so good as they proved. If the truth were known, we should, doubtless, find that, while their intellectual training commenced at the Academy, their real discipline did not commence until they joined the Regiment.

Not merely did the exigencies of the service curtail the stay of the earlier cadets at the Academy, but the abuses and jobbery which were rife in the last century rendered it possible for cadets to be at the Academy without any previous education at all. With a proclamation hanging on the wall that the Institution was created for teaching the "Mathematics," we find piteous Masters protesting against the presence of cadets who could neither read nor write. There were cadets,—not in the Academy, but away in their homes,—drawing pay as such almost from their cradle; and not until the Academy had been a considerable time in existence was this abuse put an end to. Before the formation of the Company of Cadets, the pay of a Cadet Gunner was 1s. 4d. per diem; that of a Cadet Matross was 1s. When the company was formed, all cadets received the higher rate; and ultimately, although not until twenty years had passed, the pay was raised to 2s. 6d. When enrolled in a company, military duties were expected of them which were never dreamt of before: they carried arms, and mounted guard, the post where the cadet-sentry was placed being generally over the commanding officer's quarters. The officers of the company—in addition to the Master-General, who was its captain—were a Captain-Lieutenant, whose daily pay was 1l. 3s. 6d.; a First Lieutenant, with 5s.; a Second Lieutenant, with 4s.; and a Fireworker, with 3s. But it was not for some time after its formation that the officers of the company were borne as supernumeraries in the Regiment. A Drum-major was also on the strength of the company.

The number of cadets in the company, which had been almost immediately increased from forty to forty-eight, varied with the demands on the Academy during different wars. At the end of last century, and the beginning of the present, so heavy were the wants of the Regiment, and of the East India Company's service, that accommodation for cadets had to be sought for in the various private schools in Woolwich and its vicinity, and even in the Military College at Marlow. With the opening of the new Academy in 1806 this necessity gradually disappeared, the Government accommodation being sufficient.

Besides the cadets of the company, the Academy was attended by supernumeraries in the earlier days, who were permitted to study there pending vacancies. Certain students, also known as gentlemen attendants, who did not meditate joining the Army, but attended for general education, were permitted to avail themselves of the services of the Academy Masters by paying the annual sum of thirty guineas. Classics were taught as well as mathematics, at the schools in the Warren; and, in fact, Woolwich was used by these gentlemen attendants, much as West Point is used in America by students who recognize the value of the education imparted there, but do not contemplate entering the military profession.

This suggests allusion to the Academy Masters in the olden time. It must be admitted that, in point of discipline and obedience to authority, the example set by the Masters to the pupils was far from beneficial. They resented military interference. They brooded over real and fancied slights. They absented themselves without permission; and their letters to the Lieutenant-Governor were not unfrequently impertinent. The case was at one time serious. But "Custodiet quis custodiet ipsos?" At last a man was found to bell the cat; a man of whom we shall hear again—who was Lieutenant-Governor in 1776, before going to command the Artillery in America—James Pattison. A letter which he addressed to the Mathematical Masters on the 1st April, 1777, shows the line he adopted; and tells the whole story without any explanation being necessary.

"GENTLEMEN,—I have received your letter of 27th March, and the reply I have at present to make to it is principally to correct two essential mistakes contained in the four lines which compose the letter. You say, that at my *request*, you have subjoined your opinion on the mode of education in the Academy, and desire me to present it to the Master-General in *your names*.

"The case in my manner of stating it is *this*. I signified to you the Master-General's being not well pleased at the slow progress made by the Gentlemen Cadets in the Mathematics, and asked if you thought there was room for any beneficial alteration in the method of teaching in your department. Upon which you expressed great discontent at the printed rules you are prescribed to teach by, condemning them as being very defective and absurd, and mentioned several amendments you wished might be allowed to take place. I thereupon *required*, not *requested*, you to represent them to me in writing, that I might be able to lay them, if expedient, before the Master-General; *not* meaning, as you seem to *conceive*, to be merely the porter of them in your names.

"As to the temporary suspension of teaching Latin in the Lower Academy, it being by the Master-General's orders, his lordship will judge how far the manner in which you think proper to reprobate the measure is becoming. I have only to say that, as that branch of learning is not in either of your departments, it was no part of my directions to you to give an opinion on it.

"I have, &c.,
"JAMES PATTISON."

But not merely on matters of public and official importance did the masters test the patience of the authorities. Another letter, also, like the one given above, deposited in the Royal Artillery Record Office, gives a glimpse at the private worries over which the Academy Masters brooded—and which they inflicted on the Lieutenant-Governors. Two Professors had adjoining quarters in the Warren, adjacent to the wall bounding the road to Plumstead, and a long way from the Warren gate. From one of these quarters there was a communication through the wall to the town—from the other there was not. The occupant of the latter dwelling was, in consequence, a miserable and ill-used man; it was another case of Ahab and Naboth's vineyard—and he waxed sick as he thought of his hardship.

So, appending to his letter an elaborate map of the Warren, he addressed the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject, begging either for a right of way through his neighbour's house, or for a new communication for his own. So quaintly does he argue his cause, that his words are reproduced for the amusement of the reader.

"For want of such a ready communication with the town of Woolwich, with regard to my Family, I am subject to much inconvenience. For, the way by the gate of the Warren makes the distance to and from my house so great, that I can't have the necessary provisions brought to me as other people have, by Bakers, Butchers, Milkmen, &c., without great additional expense, and many not even for that at any rate. So that I am obliged to send my servants round about by all that way, on all occasions, to bring in all things necessary to the Family. This is not the worst of it; for all kinds of Family necessaries not being constantly to be bought in the shops in such a place as Woolwich, many things are brought only occasionally and cried about the streets, when it is matter of no small grief that such things as may then be much wanted in the family can be heard to be cried immediately behind the house, without a possibility of coming at them, but by going half a mile round about, when perhaps the servants can be least spared to go, and when they do go, it is ten to one they are disappointed by the crier then being gone quite out of sight and hearing. And besides all this, it is not always that I can prevail on my good and sober female servants to be willing so frequently to go through by the Warren gate, as it is next to an impossibility that such persons can pass so many soldiers as are generally there assembled, without sometimes being subject to recounters disagreeable to them."

The Lieutenant-Governor, who had not merely official troubles with the Masters to vex him, but had also to listen to such harrowing domestic details as those just given, was not a man to be envied. Even a hundred years later, as the student comes on this plaintive picture, his imagination begins to work, and he sees, tearing his hair in his study, the ill-fated teacher listening to the well-known cry, just over the Warren walls, which told him that some much-loved delicacy was there—so near and yet so far.

These pages, concerning the early days of the Academy, suggest the difference between those days and the present. And in thoroughly analysing that difference, the feeling grows stronger that two changes are inevitable. Inevitable, because the principle of justice is involved; but difficult to bring about speedily, on account of the strength of Academy traditions. So long ago as 1792, these traditions were strong enough to defeat a scheme for liberalizing the scientific officering of the Regiment. Again, in 1855, the same traditions urged many to oppose a similar change. And yet, as sure as anything can be, the moment that the Universities realize that their sons are debarred from entering the Artillery and the Engineers, by conditions as to age, and by the long technical Academy curriculum, from that moment an agitation will commence, which will sweep all obstructions away. In the early days of the Academy, the cadets acquired all the education they ever had, under its roof; not merely technical, but general. But in these later days, the cadet enters the Academy at a more advanced age, and with a sound and liberal education. Is it absolutely necessary that he should spend so long a time as he does there, on the technical part of his schooling? Would not the officers of the corps be of a much higher scientific tone, if they spent a longer time at the University, and a shorter at the Academy? While admitting the fact that from the Academy there have come officers who have so pressed forward with the great army of Science, that they have become Captains and Generals in its ranks, it would be flattery to say that the Academy could ever be a rival to the Universities, although it might certainly be an honoured and useful helpmate. When it is remembered that an officer remains for months in a state of professional pupilage after he obtains his commission, in addition to the time spent at the Academy, the question instinctively rises: "Is there not a danger of the technical part of education receiving more than its fair share?" For although it is easy to add the technical to the general, it is not easy to reverse the operation; and in the division of a young man's training life, which is now made in preparing the officers of the Scientific Corps, there is a danger lest we may produce, to a certain extent, scientific soldiers; but not what is also wanted in the Artillery of these days—scientific and highly educated *men*.

The other change which must come is in the officering from one source, of two corps, which are at once sister and rival. At the time the Academy was founded, it was never imagined that the small Engineer element then in our service was to develop itself into the large regiment which now exists. Nor was it ever believed probable, that one of the two Scientific Corps would have such pecuniary advantages over the other, as to tempt many into its ranks who might otherwise have been indifferent. But both these events having taken place, the Artilleryman, who sees the best cadets tempted away every year to the sister corps, may with justice ask whether he is not paying somewhat dearly for the relationship. Without any violent divorce, there must come some friendly separation before many years are over; and it is more likely to be friendly, if the difficulty is looked in the face at once, instead of having it urged in language of harsh misfortune hereafter. The only way of maintaining the present system with justice would be by equalizing the pecuniary prospects of officers in both corps; but this would be more difficult than the obvious remedy suggested above. At present, the case stands thus:—in order that Engineer officers may acquire the amount of Artillery education which will be necessary for them hereafter, they are educated under the same roof with the future officers of the Artillery; and the highest and most accomplished cadets in each class are invited to join the Royal Engineers. This invitation, being backed by parents who have a natural eye to their children's future income, is very generally accepted.

In this plain statement of facts, he who runs may read a grievance to the Royal Artillery, which may develop itself into a Regimental, if not a national misfortune.

CHAPTER XI. A STERNER SCHOOL.

THE same year which saw the foundation of the Royal Military Academy witnessed the commencement of a seven years' schooling, which was to leave an indelible mark on the Regiment. In the West Indies and in Flanders, as well as in the disturbances at home in 1745, officers and men learnt lessons, and acquired an *esprit de corps*, to which they had hitherto been strangers. It is at once pleasing and amusing to read in the old order-books, framed at Woolwich during the years between the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the commencement of the Seven Years' War, reminders of the school of war and discipline represented by the years between 1741 and 1748. "The same as we wore in Flanders" was a favourite way for describing a particular dress for parade. And the word "we" is poetry to the student, who is searching for signs of an awakening Regimental *esprit*.

No history of a Regiment like the Royal Artillery could be compressed into any reasonable dimensions, if every campaign in which it was engaged were described in detail. It must suffice to sketch the campaigns, but to paint in body colours the Artillery's share. The gradual increase of the proportion of this arm; the occasions on which it more particularly distinguished itself; the changes in dress and equipment; and the officers whose services in the successive campaigns were most conspicuous; these are the details which will form the foreground of the Regiment's History. But even these are so numerous that most careful sifting will be required to prevent the story from becoming wearisome.

The same year, then, which saw the warrant issued for the foundation of the Royal Military Academy saw also the despatch to the West Indies of one of the most formidable expeditions, both in a naval and a military sense, which had ever left the shores of England. The squadron consisted of 115 vessels, well armed and manned, and the troops were in number over 12,000. The Royal Artillery was commanded by Colonel Jonas Watson—a brave and experienced officer, who did not live to return to England, being killed at the bombardment of Carthagena,—and was divided into trains for service on shore, and detachments for service on board the numerous bomb-vessels which formed part of the squadron.

The troops were to have been commanded by Lord Cathcart, but unfortunately this officer died of fever, on the arrival of the expedition at Dominica, and his successor, General Wentworth, was totally unfit for the duties which devolved upon him. To this circumstance, and the want of harmony between him and the naval commander, Admiral Vernon, the ultimate failure of the expedition was due. Notwithstanding additional reinforcements from England, so reduced was this force in two years by disaster and disease, that not a tenth part returned to England; "and thus ended in shame, disappointment, and loss, the most important, most expensive, and the best concerted expedition that Great Britain was ever engaged in, leaving this melancholy proof, that if dissension is the misfortune of a State, it is the ruin of any military undertaking."^[1]

In reading the accounts of this expedition, more especially of the attack on Carthagena, there is a positive relief in turning from the passages relating to the quarrels between the naval and military commanders to those painful but proud episodes, in which the obedience and bravery of the troops and seamen were so gloriously manifested; and although the first service of the Royal Artillery on the Western side of the Atlantic was neither profitable nor pleasant, it can be studied with satisfaction, as far as their performance of their duties and endurance of hardship are concerned. As for the blunders which were committed by the commanders, the blame must lie with them, not with the executive.

To return, however, to Europe. The war of the Austrian succession had commenced, and England felt obliged to support Maria Theresa, which she did partly by a grant of money, and partly by sending an expedition to Flanders under the aged Earl of Stair. The force employed amounted to 16,000 men; and the Artillery comprised a considerable staff, three companies, and thirty guns, 3-pounders.

At this time the Regiment was distributed as follows:—One company at Minorca, one in Gibraltar, one at Newfoundland, two at Woolwich, and three in Flanders.

Although the Artillery was at Ghent in July, 1742, no military operations were carried on that year, owing to the backwardness of the Dutch to fulfil their part of the contract; and the English lay in Flanders, inactive until the following year.

The commanding officer of the Royal Artillery, at first, was Colonel Thomas Pattison, and the following is a nominal list of the combatant officers who served under him:—

Major GEORGE MICHELSON,
Captain WILLIAM SUMPTER,
Captain WITHERS BORGARD,
First Lieutenant JAMES PATTISON,
Captain THOMAS FLIGHT,
Second Lieutenant SAMUEL CLEAVELAND,
Lieutenant-Fireworker JOHN NORTHALL,
Lieutenant-Fireworker NATHANIEL MARSH,
Lieutenant-Fireworker THOMAS BROADBRIDGE,
Lieutenant-Fireworker EDWARD BULLOCK,
Adjutant JOSEPH BROOME.

In November, 1742, Captain James Deal was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel to the train; Lieutenant Archibald Macbean was appointed Bridge-master; and Lieutenant Charles Stranover joined as Lieutenant of Miners.

The number of non-combatants was very great, and the total strength of the companies amounted to eighteen non-commissioned officers, sixty-four gunners, 140 matrosses, four drummers, and twenty pioneers.

On the 10th February, 1743, the train left Ghent to join the Allied Army, which was effected on the 16th May. King George met the army on the 19th June, and on the 27th was fought the Battle of Dettingen. The Artillery share in this engagement was small, the chief points of note in the battle being the gallantry of King George and of the Duke of Cumberland, and the obstinate bravery of the infantry, to which—coupled with the blunder of the Duc de Grammont—the victory was due. The hardships suffered by the Allies before the battle had been excessive, nor were they removed by success; so it was considered advisable to fall back on their supplies instead of following the enemy. The guns present with the Royal Artillery at the battle were 3-pounders, twenty-four in number.

In the following year, 1744, and also in 1745, considerable augmentations to the officers with the train had been made, many having become available by the return of the expedition from the West Indies. Among others, Colonel Jonathan Lewis was appointed Second Colonel to the train: and Captains Borgard, Michelson, and Desaguliers, Lieutenants Charlton, Bennett, and Macbean, and, somewhat later, Major William Belford, joined it. The last-named officer was appointed Major to the train, in room of Michelson deceased.

In 1744, many of the British troops had been recalled, on account of an expected invasion of England; and so greatly did the French Army in Flanders outnumber that of the Allies, that no resistance could be made to its advance, and nothing but a diversion on the part of the Austrians, which made the French King hasten to the defence of his own kingdom, prevented the complete subjugation of Holland.

In 1745, the Artillery marched with the army from Ghent, leaving on the 13th April. The Artillery marched in rear of the Army in the following order:—First, a sergeant and six miners, two and two; a tumbril drawn by three horses with miners' tools; two four-horse waggons, containing Colonel Lewis's baggage; a front guard of twenty-four gunners and matrosses; a sergeant and two drummers; Lieutenant Pattison marching in front, and Lieutenant Macbean in rear; the kettle-drum; Colonel Lewis and Captain Michelson on horseback; the flag-gun, a heavy 6-pounder, on a field-carriage and limber drawn by nine horses; nine more 6-pounders, drawn as above, but by seven horses; one spare 6-pounder carriage and limber, drawn by seven horses; twelve covered tumbrils with stores, each drawn by three horses; four howitzers with five horses each; one spare howitzer-carriage and limber, also with five horses; six covered tumbrils with stores, with three horses each; ten 3-pounders on "galloping carriages," with four horses each; a travelling forge cart with three horses; twenty-three powder tumbrils; and three covered waggons with officers' tents, baggage, &c., with three horses each. The remaining officers and men marched on the flanks of the waggons and guns, a gunner marching by every gun, with a match. A Regiment of infantry formed the escort, the grenadier company marching in front, the remainder in rear. It should have been mentioned that in 1744, an increase to the armament of the train had been made, comprising ten heavy 6-pounders and four 8-inch howitzers; and in 1745 another company arrived from Woolwich.

Some of the orders issued by the Duke of Cumberland, who was in command of the Army at this time, are curious: "It is strictly ordered by His Royal Highness that none presume to shoot or hunt, whether officer or private, officers' servants or huntsmen; this to be a standing order." Again: "Besides the going out of the Provost, there are fifty Hussars ordered to patrol in the front and rear of the camp, and to cut to pieces every man that they may find beyond the limits of the camp."

At Fontenoy, such of the guns as were engaged did good service, more especially those attached to Ligonier's column, which preceded its advance, dragged along by ropes, and doing great execution. Had the Dutch troops fought as well as the British, Fontenoy would have been a victory for the Allies, instead of a defeat. The loss of the Royal Artillery was small compared with that of the English infantry. It comprised Lieutenant Bennett, one sergeant, one gunner, and four matrosses killed; one conductor, two sergeants, one corporal, six gunners, and thirteen matrosses wounded; two gunners and four matrosses missing.

The guns actually present on the field comprehended ten 6-pounders, twenty-seven 3-pounders, six 1½-pounders,—recently sent from England—and four 8-inch howitzers.

The officers present at the Battle of Fontenoy were Colonel Pattison, Lieut.-Colonel Lewis, Major Belford, Captains Michelson, Mace, Desaguliers, Flight, Captains-Lieutenant Ord, Leith, Brome, and Johnson, and Lieutenants Pattison, Campbell, Cleaveland, Tovey, Stranover, T. Smith, McLeod, Macbean, Charlton, Strachey, Northall, Maitland, Hussey, Pike, B. Smith, Bennett (killed), Mason, Durham, Knox, Farquharson, Worth, and Lindsay. Many of these had joined the train just before the battle.

The strength of the Allied Army did not exceed 53,000 men; that of the French—under Marshal Saxe, and inspired by the presence of the King and the Dauphin—approached 80,000. Of the British troops 4000 were killed and wounded, besides 2000 Hanoverians. Fontenoy was a defeat, but hardly one which can be said to have tarnished in the slightest the British Arms.

The Duke of Cumberland withdrew his forces in good order. On the march, an order which is extant shows a novel means of confining prisoners: "The sergeant of miners is to make a black hole *under ground*, and the carpenter to make a door to it with a padlock; always to be clean straw for the prisoners; and if any sergeant or corporal suffer anything to go in to them, but bread and water, they shall be tried for disobedience of orders."

In October, the rebellion in Scotland had created such an alarm that the whole of the Artillery in Flanders, now amounting to four companies, was recalled to England.

Prior to their return, however, news had reached the Allied Army, near Brussels, of the successful result of the Siege of Louisbourg by the New England troops, and, as a symptom of rejoicing, a review of the Army was ordered by the Duke of Cumberland, which is mentioned by General Forbes Macbean in his MS. diary, on account of a circumstance which can best be described in his own words: "The Army was drawn up in order of battle, and reviewed by the Duke: the Park of Artillery was formed in great order on a fine extensive plain near Vilvorden: the four companies of Artillery under arms, drawn up, two on the right, and two on the left of the park: Colonel Pattison, Lieut.-Colonel Lewis, and Major Belford, posted themselves on horseback in front of the park, when they saluted His Royal Highness as he passed, by dropping their swords. The other officers, carrying fuses, only took off their hats as he passed them."

At this time—in 1745—a company was sent to garrison Louisbourg, and another was sent to Newfoundland, the Regiment at this date having been increased to

ten companies.

The interlude of the Scotch rebellion, which involved the recall of the companies from Flanders, does not require detailed mention. There was a good deal of what Albert Borgard would have called useless marching and counter-marching in England. The Artillery was successful at Carlisle and Culloden; very unsuccessful at Falkirk. At Prestonpans, the guns were not served by the Royal Artillery, but by seamen. At Falkirk, the guns were hard and fast in a bog, and were not once in action. As soon as the peasant drivers, who had been engaged with the horses, saw the Royal Army waver, they promptly fled; and of the eight guns which had accompanied the King's troops, seven fell into the hands of the enemy. At Culloden, the victory may be said to have been won by the Artillery. In the words of Sir Edward Cust, "the guns were so exceedingly well plied that they made dreadful lanes through some of the clan regiments. It was with extreme difficulty that the men could be kept in their places to stand this murderous fire." The Artillery was under the command of Colonel Belford. Only one company of the Regiment was at Culloden, the remaining five on home service being at Woolwich, whence in the preceding winter they had furnished detachments for service in England at Chester, Carlisle, and Newcastle. The guns employed during the rebellion were 6-pounders, 3-pounders, and howitzers.

It is with pleasure that one turns from the story of civil war, always painful, rarely glorious, to Flanders again, where two companies were ordered immediately after the suppression of the rebellion. But before doing so, it is impossible to avoid mentioning a coincidence which is somewhat singular. As in the Scotch rebellion of 1715, the disastrous unwieldiness, and the indifferent equipment of the Artillery trains on the old spasmodic principle, forced upon the country the idea of a permanent force of Artillery, so in the Scotch rebellion of 1745, the disaster of Falkirk forced upon the public attention the folly of a Field Artillery with no assured mobility. In a contemporary article in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' quoted by the author of 'England's Artillerymen,' this feeling found expression; and as to one Scotch rebellion the Regiment may be said to owe its birth, so to another it may date the first step in advance made by that portion of it intended for service in the field. This coincidence suggests many questions to the student. Is public opinion necessary to bring about military reform? And is English public opinion on military questions only awakened when civil or other war thrusts military blunders in a very prominent and personal way before public attention? These questions may be answered partly in the affirmative, and partly in the negative.

It is undoubtedly a consequence of military training, to produce, in a man's mind, more of an inclination to make the best of what is, than to suggest change and improvement. And, further, as change for the better generally implies expense; and as the heads of military, as of other public departments, have a particular horror of anything involving increased outlay, it follows that suggestions in that direction, made by their own subordinates, are received with scant favour, and the would-be reformers are deterred in every way from pursuing their inclinations. But the public owes no allegiance to its officials; and the wildest schemes from an outsider receive an attention denied to the most practical suggestions from those in the employment of a department. Although, therefore, the public is often the father of military advances, it must not hastily be assumed that this is owing to a want of originality in military men.

Again, although civil war in England demonstrated military defects in a very special way, it must not be assumed either that these defects had not been apparent to soldiers before, or that so strong a measure as civil war was necessary to enlist public opinion. Apart from the cause above mentioned, which would deter an officer from recommending change, it must not be inferred that the same delicacy was shown to the peasantry of other countries, where transport was required for the Artillery, as to those who were called upon in England for assistance. Martial law, which would have been rarely, if ever, enforced upon English peasantry by English commanders, was freely exercised abroad; and, with this exercise, the want of mobility was not so frequently allowed to appear. And with regard to the necessity of an actual, bitter home-experience being required to awaken public opinion, the recent Franco-German war proves the contrary. The reports of the value of Artillery in that campaign were sufficient, without actual and personal observation, to awaken in the public mind a strong and unanimous resolution to perfect that arm in England, such as no government could have dared to thwart. When backed by public opinion in England, a Government will gladly make changes involving expense, and in fact, to refuse to do so would be folly; but when that public opinion, even if foolish and ignorant, is against change or expense, or even indifferent on the subject, the military reformer within the ranks of the Army may as well beat the air as urge his suggestions. All these considerations have to be borne in mind when studying the history of Army reforms.

The two companies which went to Flanders in 1746, were under the command of Colonel Lewis; Captain Borgard, Michelson acting as Major; Lieutenant Brome as Adjutant, and Lieutenant Stranover as Quartermaster. The number of subaltern officers with the companies seems excessive, being no less than ten, besides three Captain-Lieutenants; but a means of employing them was adopted this year, by distributing the fourteen 3-pounder guns, which were with the companies, among the seven battalions; two to each battalion under a Lieutenant. This arrangement was ordered on the 20th July, 1746; but it is soothing to the student to find on the 23rd of the following month this pernicious custom suspended, and the battalion guns ordered to join the reserve.

In 1747, there were five companies in Flanders, three having been added to the Regiment; and the following was the armament in their charge: six heavy 12-pounders; six heavy 9-pounders; fourteen heavy and twelve light 6-pounders: fourteen heavy 3-pounders: two 8-inch howitzers; and six Royal mortars.

In 1748, in addition to the above, thirty-two light 6-pounders were sent for use with the battalions.

At the battle of Roncoux, the want of Artillery was sorely felt by the British, the more so, as the enemy was in this arm particularly strong; and doubtless this led to the great increase made in 1747, both in men and guns.

The arrival of Colonel Belford to command the Artillery in the winter of 1746, and during the rest of the campaign, produced a marked and beneficial effect. Colonel Pattison and Major Lewis were allowed to retire on full-pay, in January 1748, on account of old age and infirmities: and their younger successors devoted themselves to giving a military appearance to the companies under their command. In this they were greatly assisted, not merely by the improved and better educated class of officers, now joining from the Academy; but also by an accidental circumstance which swelled the ranks with many well-trained soldiers. It is mentioned as follows by old General Macbean: "About this time, three Regiments of Cavalry being reduced to Dragoons, and the troopers having it in their option to remain as Dragoons or be discharged, many of them chose the latter; and above two hundred of them enlisted into the Artillery. From this period, the Regiment improved much in appearance, and in the size of the men, neither of which had been hitherto much attended to; but receiving at once so many tall men in the corps may be said to have given rise to the change that has taken place in regard to the height, strength, and figure of the men which now compose it." Among other means of training and disciplining the men under his command during the tedious months when the Army was in winter quarters, Colonel Belford devoted much time to practising them in the use of small-arms, and in infantry manœuvres, never yet practised in the Regiment. So successful was he, that the Duke of Cumberland reviewed the companies; on which occasion the gunners of the companies, with their field staffs, formed upon the right as a company of grenadiers; and the matrosses, with their muskets, as a battalion. There are not wanting, in the nineteenth century, men who wish that Colonel Belford's zeal had taken some other direction; who think the use of Artillerymen, even on field-days, as infantry, is a misuse; and who would remove the carbines from the Garrison Artillery, in order that more time might be allowed for their own special and varied drills. There are even scoffers, who say that the presence of a body of men in the garrison under his command, armed and equipped like infantry, is more than a General Officer can bear; that he is never at rest until he sees this body swelling his Brigade by another battalion; and that he inspects it in infantry details more minutely than in those of its own special arm. Whatever ground there may be for these complaints, there can be no doubt that Colonel Belford was innocent of any desire to divert his men from their own work: and merely availed himself of this, as of other means of disciplining and training them into habits of smartness and obedience. And among other things which he borrowed from the infantry, besides their drill, was that of an Officer's Regimental Guard over the Artillery Park, in addition to the guard furnished by the Line Regiments, a more important item than it would at first sight appear to be.

Two Courts-martial, one upon an officer, and one upon a gunner, are mentioned here, as probably interesting to the reader. Lieutenant McCulloch, having been tried and found guilty by a General Court-martial, of disobedience to Colonel Belford's orders, was suspended for the space of three months, and ordered to make the following submission: "I am very sorry I am guilty of a neglect of my duty, and I do particularly ask Colonel Belford's pardon, and will, for the future, avoid being guilty of a thing of the like nature." Having complied with the submission, and Colonel Belford having requested that the remaining part of the sentence might be remitted, the Duke of Cumberland, being highly pleased with the conduct of the Artillery at the recent battle of Val, was pleased to accede to the request.

The gunner, who was tried, had been guilty of insubordination towards a sergeant, and being formally convicted by a Regimental Court-martial, was sentenced to be "reduced in pay and duty for one month to matross, ride the gun, ask the sergeant's pardon at the head of the Regiment, and that the difference of his pay be employed for the use of the sick."

In reading the accounts of this war between the Allies and the French, one feels how just was the remark of Louis XV. after Val, that the "British not only paid all, but fought all." On them fell all the brunt of every engagement, and the discussion and misunderstanding which so often prevailed among the Allied commanders had no effect upon the bravery of the British troops. At Val, the Artillery had thirty men killed, Major Michelson, Lieutenants McLeod, Farrington, Dexter, Stephens, Pedley, and nineteen men wounded; and twenty-five taken prisoners. They received the special thanks of the Duke for their conduct during this obstinate and bloody engagement.

The next thing that strikes one is the cool and able generalship of Marshal Saxe. He had superior numbers under his command; nor did he suffer from divided counsels, but these advantages do not conceal his military talent.

Next, to the student's mind, the absurdly luxurious way of making war then prevalent suggests itself, if the term can be applied to any contest where loss of life was so great. It was, indeed, a game at which the leaders played; and in the quiet of their systematic winter-quarters they devised and matured new moves for the coming season. How changed is modern warfare! What a different system is to be read in the stories of the trenches before Sebastopol, or the winter encampment of the Germans round Paris!

The war gradually filtered itself away into the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. After Val came the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, where fourteen men of the Royal Artillery were killed; then came winter quarters at Breda; then came preparations for a new campaign in 1748; although peace was in every one's mind, and the plenipotentiaries to conclude it had already met; then came the siege of Maestricht, with its Quixotic ending; and at last came peace itself. A peace which brought profit neither to England nor to France; which could not obliterate the long list on the rolls of each nation which war had entered in the books of death; which, if possible, only made the folly of the contest more apparent; and which, while it ceased the actual roll of cannon, and crossing of bayonets, did not stop the pulsation of hatred in each nation's breast, which was to throb with increasing vigour, until a new and more bitter war should gratify the unsmothered longings of each. A peace which—with the solitary exception of Prussia—seemed to do good, or bring rest to none but unhappy Flanders, the battleground of Europe, the victim in every international contest.

But a peace, also, which closed for a time that sterner school of discipline in which the Royal Artillery had now for years been studying; in which there had been officers such as Macbean, Desaguliers, Phillips, and Pattison, learning lessons, which were to bear fruit in yet grimmer warfare, both in Europe and America; and on whose black-boards—blank in this respect, when the war commenced—there had now been indelibly inscribed the words, that "an Army without Artillery is no Army at all!"

Before closing this chapter, there are one or two points connected with the Artillery in the field, which deserve mention. First, the amount of ammunition which was carried in the field with each gun was as follows:—100 round-shot, and 30 rounds of grape; with the exception of the long 6-pounder guns, which carried 80 round-shot, and 40 grape. Second; the stores and ammunition were issued direct by the Commissaries to the officers commanding Brigades of guns, *i.e.* Batteries—on requisition—who had, however, to make their own cartridges, and fix the wooden bottoms to the round-shot and grape, after receipt. The wooden bottoms were made by the artificer, called the turner; and were fastened by the tinman. Another of the tinman's duties was the manufacture of the tubes—and of boxes to contain them. Third; luxurious in one sense, as the war was, it had its hardships, as the following extract will show:—August 27th, 1746. —"Arrived at camp after a most difficult march, the Artillery constantly moving for four days and three nights without encamping—nearly starved; through woods, over mountainous country, with the bottoms full of rapid little rivers and deep marshes. Almost all the horses lost their shoes, and men and horses nearly starved. 3rd September.—Marched from the camp at 3 A.M., and crossed the Maise, 170 yards broad, over the pontoon bridges, near Maistricht. The bridges were commenced laying at one o'clock in the morning, and were completed by seven, when the heads of the column made their appearance. The French army was in order of battle on the heights of Hautain, opposite to Visel, where he supposed we were to pass, with a design to fall upon us when we were partly crossed the river. 5th September.—The enemy attacked our light troops posted opposite to Visel, on the Maise, and handled them very roughly; those that were not killed, being forced into the river, where they were drowned." Lastly, it is to be noted that, as in all our later wars before they have lasted any time, the ranks were thinned by disease and death, and there was a difficulty in replenishing them, even with *recruits*. It is to be hoped that the system of

reserves recently organized in the English Army will in future mitigate this evil.

On the return of the Army to England in 1748, three companies of Artillery were reduced; the officers being gradually brought in, as vacancies occurred. Among other customs brought by the companies from Flanders was that of employing fifers as well as drummers: "the first fifers in the British Army having been established in the Royal Regiment of Artillery at the end of this war, being taught by John Ulrich, a Hanoverian fifer, brought from Flanders by Colonel Belford, when the Allied Army separated."^{11,12}

So much for the school of discipline in Europe. But there had been a class-room opened in the East, to which the Regiment sent some pupils. Admiral Boscawen had been ordered to the East Indies, in command of a mixed naval and military force, including a company of the Royal Artillery, under Major Goodyear. The force of the enemy, and the strength of his defences, had been underrated; and it cannot be said that the expedition was very successful. The ordnance which accompanied the Artillery consisted of twelve 6-pounders, six 3-pounders, two 10-inch, three 8-inch, fifteen 5½ inch, and twenty-five 4¾-inch mortars, all of brass. It was at the siege of Pondichery that these guns were used, a siege which lasted from the 11th of August to the 6th of October, 1748, when Admiral Boscawen was compelled to raise it after a loss of over 1000 men. The Royal Artillery lost, out of a total of 148 of all ranks, no less than forty-three, including Major Goodyear, who fell, mortally wounded, during the siege, his leg being carried away by a round-shot.

A stop was put to the hostilities by the declaration of peace, but the presence of Admiral Boscawen enabled him to ratify, in a prompt manner, that part of the treaty which restored Madras to the English. Many men of Major Goodyear's company were allowed, in 1749, to volunteer for the East India Company's service.

But this expedition has an interest to the Artilleryman beyond the military operations. Before sailing, Admiral Boscawen asserted his intention, in spite of Major Goodyear's remonstrances, of filling up, as Commander-in-Chief, any vacancies which might occur in the company of Artillery.

The Board of Ordnance was appealed to, and most warmly protested against such an interference with its prerogative,—declaring that none of the appointments made by the Admiral would be recognized by the present or any succeeding Master-General. Doubtless, the Board was right; and Admiral Boscawen, being anxious to retain the favour of all under his command, let the matter drop. With a seniority corps, essentially detached when on service, it was absolutely necessary that promotion should be general, not local. At the same time, the restraint of the Board was irksome—not the less so because just; and the feeling could never be agreeable to a commander, that serving under him were those who owed a special allegiance to another. As time went on, and the military department of the Ordnance increased, this irritation would become more general, and the points of difference between Generals and the Board would multiply.

The wisdom of the change which put Generals and the Ordnance Corps under one head might have been proved by *à priori*, as it has been by *à posteriori* reasoning; and this trifling episode between Admiral Boscawen and the Board is interesting, as showing that, thirty years after the Regiment had been called into existence, the Dual Government of the Artillery was already producing natural consequences. But it is also interesting, as manifesting the affection which the Board already evinced for the child they had begotten—an interest sometimes too paternal, but never unlovely.

An excellent letter from the principal officers of the Ordnance is extant, urging the claims to Army Rank of the officers of the Artillery, which had been again questioned by some belonging to the other arms of the service. The difficulty was, in a very few years, settled by the King, in place of the Master-General, signing the commissions of Artillery officers; but this letter from the Board is interesting, as pleading, on grounds of justice and in language far warmer than could have been expected, the claims of the corps which they had created. The letter bears date 24th February, 1744, and, after quoting the decision in favour of Artillery officers arrived at by the King in 1724, and confirmed in 1735, and mentioning two Courts-martial held in 1737 and 1742, at which officers of Artillery sat with those of the other arms, according to date of Commission, goes on to say that, notwithstanding these facts, there are not wanting those who deny any military status to Artillery officers in the field. The writers then state a case, to show the absurdity of the view objected to:—"If a Captain of Artillery, with a number of guns and Artillery people, should happen to be escorted by a Lieutenant of a Regiment on Foot, with a number of men belonging thereto, the Captain (according to the sentiments of those with whom we differ) must take his orders from the Lieutenant, which he would, with reason, think a great hardship; for the Lieutenant would not obey one whom he deems to be no more than a titular Captain, and who, he is taught to believe, has no rank in the Army. And if the said Lieutenant should be killed, and the command devolve to the eldest sergeant, according to the notion before mentioned, the Captain of Artillery must take his orders from the said Sergeant of Foot,—the consequence of which is so obvious, that we need not enlarge upon it."

"But further, my Lord, should this opinion prevail, it would be a total discouragement to the officers of Artillery, as well as highly prejudicial to His Majesty's Service."

"The ordinary duty and discipline of the officers and private men of the Artillery is, in every respect, the same with that of every other Regiment of the Army. The qualifications of Artillery officers are not acquired by practice only, but are the result of long study and application. They must be proficient in several sciences, and Masters of several arts, which is not required from other officers. They are subjected to the Articles of War, and all the penalties of the Act for Mutiny and Desertion, and are equally a part of His Majesty's Forces with any other Regiment of the Army. The service of the Artillery is generally understood to be more dangerous and severe than any other; and although they are an essential part of one and the same Army, yet if they bear no rank in it, but at Courts-martial only, they are in a worse situation and under greater difficulties and discouragements than any part of the Army; for, let their service have been ever so long,—their conduct and bravery ever so conspicuous and meritorious,—they can only rise gradually and slowly in their own little corps, if they have no rank in the Army, and can never be promoted in any other, which is the usual and almost only reward of distinguished merit in other officers."

While sympathizing with the spirit which animated the writers of the above, one may differ as to the nature of the reward they sought for meritorious officers of Artillery, in promotion into the other arms. For more than forty years after this letter was written this reward was one which was coveted by the senior officers of the corps for the younger members. Doubtless, the intention was to obtain a promotion for them which could not be found in the stagnation of a seniority corps. But, to the modern Artilleryman, the promotion which involved separation from the Regiment for whose duties he had been specially trained would be but a doubtful reward.

¹¹. Cust.

¹². Macbean's MSS.

CHAPTER XII. WOOLWICH IN THE OLDEN TIME.

LIFE in the Barracks in the Warren, where the Artillery at Woolwich were stationed, with the exception of one company, which was detached at Greenwich whenever the Warren was overcrowded, can be gathered from the Standing Orders which survive in the old MS. order-books in the Royal Artillery Regimental Library and Royal Artillery Record Office. A few of these orders, extracted from the books whose contents extend over the period between 1741 and 1757, cannot fail to be interesting.

The establishment of each company at the commencement of that period was as follows:—One Captain, one Captain-Lieutenant, one First Lieutenant, one Second Lieutenant, three Lieutenant Fireworkers, three Sergeants, three Corporals, eight Bombardiers, twenty Gunners, sixty-four Matrosses, and two Drummers—in all, one hundred and seven.

The uniform dress of the officers was a plain blue coat, lined with scarlet, a large scarlet Argyle cuff, double-breasted, and with yellow buttons to the bottom of the skirts; scarlet waistcoat and breeches—the waistcoat trimmed with broad gold lace,—and a gold-laced hat. The Sergeants' coats were trimmed, the lappels, cuffs, and pockets with a broad single gold lace; the Corporals' and Bombardiers' with a narrow single gold lace; the Gunners' and Matrosses', plain-blue coats; all the non-commissioned officers and men having scarlet half-lappels, scarlet cuffs, and slashed sleeves with five buttons, and blue waistcoats and breeches; the Sergeants' hats trimmed with a broad and the other non-commissioned officers' and men's with a narrow gold lace. White spatterdashes were then worn. The Regimental clothing was delivered to the non-commissioned officers and men once a year, with the exception of the Regimental coats, which they only received every second year; receiving in the intermediate year a coarse blue loose surtout, which served for laboratory work, cooking, fatigue duties, &c. The arms of the officers were fuseses without bayonets, and not uniform. The sergeants, corporals, and bombardiers were armed with halberds and long brass-hilted swords; "the gunners carried field-staffs about two feet longer than a halberd, with two linstock cocks branching out at the head, and a spear projecting between and beyond them (great care was paid to keeping these very bright); a buff belt over the left shoulder, slinging a large powder-horn, mounted with brass over the right pocket; and the same long brass-hilted swords as worn by the non-commissioned officers. The matrosses had only common muskets and bayonets, with cartouche-boxes."^[13]

The variations in the dress of the Regiment which subsequently were made will be noted in their proper places.

A few of the orders issued by General Borgard are given to show the interior economy of the Regiment in 1743 and subsequent years:

March 13, 1743. "That the corporals and bombardiers do not drink with any of the private men."

March 29, 1743. "That if any non-commissioned officer or gunner make himself unfit for the King's duty, either by drinking, whoring, or any other bad practice, he will send them to the Hospital at London for cure, and discharge them out of the Regiment."

January 30, 1744. "That no man go out a-shooting, on any account whatever."

August 15, 1744. "The Captains to advertise all their deserters in the newspapers."

October 29, 1744. "That none of the people go three miles out of quarters without a passport, in writing, from the Captain or officer commanding the Company to which they belong."

February 15, 1745. "That neither non-commissioned officers, cadets, nor private men go a-shooting, either in the Warren or Country, without leave of their officer who commands the company to which they belong."

April 18, 1746. "That none of the non-commissioned officers strike any of the men, on any pretence whatsoever; but in case they are guilty of any misbehaviour, confine them prisoners and report them to the commanding officer. That the Sergeants, Corporals, and Bombardiers enrol in duty all alike."

July 22, 1746. "That the Sergeants and Corporals go round all the Public-houses in Town, and acquaint them that it is the General's orders that they trust none of the Train people on any account whatever."

October 20, 1746. "That none of the men carry their victuals from the Baker's or any other weight on their Regimental Hats. That the Orderly Sergeants and Corporals make these orders known to the same."

November 21, 1746. "That the Captains have all their men provided with a knapsack, two pair of shoes, three pair of stockings, and three shirts and stocks each."

March 2, 1747. "That none of the men be suffered to go to work in their Regimental coats, but either in frocks or surtouts."

March 16, 1747. "The men who are taken sick and sent to the Infirmary are to be paid only 3s. 6d. per week, which money is to be paid the nurse for subsistence; The remainder of their pay to be kept until they are recovered."

June 16, 1747. "That none of the officers turn any of their horses to graze in the Warren."

January 8, 1749. "That none of the Lieutenants go to London, stay all night out of quarters, change his guard, or any other duty without the General's or Commanding Officer's leave; that they first apply to their Captain or Commanding Officer of the Company to which they belong for his consent to be absent, which if obtained, they may then apply to the commanding officer, and not before; that if any officer change his guard or other duty without leave, or does not attend the Parade exactly at the Hour of Mounting, or the proper time when visiting the Barracks, or any other duty is to be done, that the Adjutant report the same directly to the Commanding Officer in quarters."

February 27, 1749. "The Roll to be called in the Barracks at nine o'clock at night, in presence of the Officer on Guard, who is to have a Report made to him in writing of those absent. Immediately after the Roll is called the Orderly Corporals are to go into Town, and each go round their men's quarters (those in private lodgings as well as those billeted in Public-houses), and make a report to the Officer of the Guard of those who are absent. The Orderly men are then to go to their Rooms, and the Sergeant of the Guard to lock both Barrack doors, and bring the keys to his officer, who is to send the Sergeant to open the doors at *Reveillé* beating in the morning. The officer shall confine any of those men who are found absent if they come in during his Guard, and report them to the Commanding Officer at his being relieved. But, in case they do not come in during his Guard, he is to leave their names with the relieving officer. If the orderly men find any men absent from quarters over night, they are to go early next morning to see if they are come home, and, if they find they are, to bring them to the Guard in order to be examined by the officer and give reasons for being absent the night before. If the orderly men, in going round, find any man drinking in Public-houses where they are not quartered, they are to order them home, which if they refuse to comply with, are to bring them directly to the Guard, and confine them for disobeying orders."

April 1, 1749. "The Orderly Corporals are to report to their respective Captains all non-commissioned officers and private men who do not parade for church, in order to their being stopped a day's pay, according to the Articles of War; and if any man is seen to quit his rank after marching from the parade, and does not go to Church, he shall be punished the same as if he had not paraded, of which the non-commissioned officers who go to Church are to report at their return to the Orderly Corporals, and they to the Captains."

There was immense excitement in Woolwich in the spring of 1749. A great firework, made at Woolwich, was to be exhibited in the Green Park, and the Regiment, for the first time, was to be reviewed by the King. The Order-books bristle with threats and admonitions, and some of them reveal a power in the Commanding Officer of which he has long been deprived.

April 16th, 1749. "The officers and men to be under arms to-morrow both morning and afternoon. The officers to endeavour as much as possible to perfect themselves, both in taking posts and saluting. The captains to see that their companies march strong, and in as good order as possible, on Tuesday morning at seven o'clock, in order to their being reviewed on Wednesday by the King. Every man to parade with his arms and accoutrements as clean as hands can make them; and in case any of their clothes want mending or buttons, the person so offending shall be severely punished. And the first man that is seen drunk, or the least in liquor, he shall be immediately brought to y^e halberts, and there receive 300 lashes, and afterwards be drummed out of the Regiment with a rope about his neck. The guard to mount to-morrow in black spatterdashes, and the officers in boots."

After order. "That all the cadets who desire to see the fireworks be under arms at five o'clock in black spatterdashes, and their officers in boots, in order to march by Lambeth to the Green Park. They are to take white spatterdashes in their pockets to appear in."

The discipline among the cadets may be comprehended from the following order:—

October 10, 1840. "Complaints having been made to the Board that the following persons belonging to the Company of Gentlemen Cadets in the Royal Regiment of Artillery have been very negligent of their duty, viz., Francis Volloton, Archibald Douglas, &c. &c. And that Francis Volloton has been absent above twelve months, and not so much as attended the muster, and has otherwise misbehaved himself. It is the Board's orders that the said Francis Volloton be broke, and the rest suspended from their pay till they show cause to the contrary."

A previous order to that just quoted shows that boyishness was not confined to the Cadets. An order, twice issued, appeared on

July 23, 1749. "That none of the men play at long bullet on Plumstead Road, of which they are all to be acquainted."

August 26, 1749. "When any of the men die or desert, the Captain of the company is to put down the day in the muster-roll against his name, and the money to be left in the agent's hands from the day such men died or deserted for recruiting others in their room."

March 14, 1750. "The Captains or commanding officers of companies are to observe that henceforward no man is to be enlisted under five feet nine inches without shoes."

March 30, 1750. "The Sergeant of the Guard is not to suffer any non-commissioned officer or private man to go out of the Warren gate unless they are dressed clean, their hair combed and tied up, with clean stockings, and shoes well blacked, and in every other respect like soldiers. The cooks are excepted during their cooking hours, but not otherwise."

May 9, 1750. "No subaltern officer is for the future to have a servant out of any of the companies."

July 17, 1750. "The commanding officers of companies are ordered by the general to provide proper wigs for such of their respective men that do not wear their hair, as soon as possible."

July 25, 1750. "Each company is to be divided into three squads. The officers and non-commissioned officers to be appointed to them to be answerable that the arms, accoutrements, &c., are kept in constant good order, and that the men always appear clean."

July 25, 1750. "Joseph Spiers, gunner in Captain Desagulier's company, is by sentence of a Court-martial broke to a matross, and to receive 100 lashes; but General Borgard has been pleased to forgive him the punishment."

A General Court-martial was ordered to assemble at the *Academy* to try a matross for desertion. The Court, which assembled at 10 A.M. on the 20th October, 1750, was composed of Lieutenant-Colonel Belford as President, with nine captains and three lieutenants as members.

November 3, 1750. "Sergeant Campbell, in Captain Patison's company, is by sentence of a Regimental Court-martial reduced to a Bombardier for one month, from the date hereof, and the difference of his pay to be stopped."

The death of General Borgard took place in 1751, and he was succeeded by Colonel Belford. This officer was most energetic in drilling officers and men, and in

compelling them to attend Academy and all other instructions. Even such an opportunity as the daily relief of the Warren guard was turned to account by him; and the old and new guards were formed into a company for an hour's drill, under the senior officer present, at guard mounting. From one order issued by him, it would seem as if the authority of the captains required support, being somewhat weakened perhaps, as is often the case, by the oversight and interference in small matters by the colonel; for we find it was necessary on March 2, 1751, to order "That when any of the Captains review their companies either with or without arms, all the officers belonging to them were to be present."

Colonel Belford's weakness for the carbine is apparent in many of his orders.

April 1, 1751. "All the officers' servants who are awkward at the exercise of the small arms to be out every afternoon with the awkward men, and the rest of them to attend the exercise of the gun."

A most important official must have been expected in the Warren on the 5th August, 1751, for we find orders issued on the previous evening, as follows:

"The Regiment to be under arms to-morrow morning at nine o'clock. The commanding officers are to see that their respective men are extremely well-powdered, and as clean as possible in every respect. The guard to consist to-morrow of one Captain, two Lieutenants, two Sergeants, four Corporals, and forty men. The forty men are to consist of ten of the handsomest fellows in each of the companies. The Sergeant of the Guard to-morrow morning is not to suffer anybody into the Warren but such as shall appear like gentlemen and ladies."

February 7, 1752. "For the future when any man is discharged he is not to take his coat or hat with him, unless he has worn them a year."

April 6, 1752. "The officer of the Guard is for the future to send a patrol through the town at any time he pleases between half an hour after ten at night and one in the morning, with orders to the Corporal to bring prisoners all the men of the Regiment he finds straggling in the streets. The Corporal is likewise to inspect all the alehouses, where there are lights, and if there are any of the men drinking in such houses, they are also to be brought to the Guard; but the patrol is by no means to interfere with riot or anything that may happen among the town-people."

April 20, 1752. "When any man is to be whipped by sentence of a court-martial, the Surgeon, or his Mate, is to attend the punishment."

February 6, 1753. "The officers are to appear in Regimental hats under arms, and no others."

February 19, 1753. "The officers appointed to inspect the several squads are to review them once every week for the future; to see that every man has four good shirts, four stocks, four pair of stockings, two pair of white, and one pair of black spatterdashes, two pair of shoes, &c.; and that their arms, accoutrements, and clothes are in the best order. What may be required to complete the above number is to be reported to the commanding officer and the Captains. The officers are likewise to see that the men of their squads always appear clean and well-dressed like soldiers; and acquaint their Captains when they intend to review them."

February 20, 1753. "The Captains are to give directions to their Paymasters to see that the initial letters of every man's name are marked with ink in the collar of their shirts."

April 5, 1753. "The Captains or commanding officers of companies are not to give leave of absence to any of their recruits or awkward men."

April 29, 1753. "It is Colonel Belford's positive orders that for the future, either the Surgeon or his Mate always remain in quarters."

May 23, 1753. "No non-commissioned officer or private man to appear with ruffles under arms."

June 15, 1753. "No man to be enlisted for the future who is not full five feet nine inches without shoes, straight limbed, of a good appearance, and not exceeding twenty-five years of age."

January 2, 1754. "No officer to appear under arms in a bob-wig for the future."

October 19, 1754. "When any of the men are furnished with necessaries, their Paymasters are immediately to give them account in writing of what each article cost."

October 28, 1754. No Cadet is for the future to take any leave of absence but by Sir John Ligonier, or the commanding officer in quarters."

November 8, 1754. "In order that the sick may have proper airing, one of the orderly Corporals is every day, at such an hour as the Surgeon shall think proper, to collect all those in the Infirmary who may require airing, and when he has sufficiently walked them about the Warren, he is to see them safe into the Infirmary. If any sick man is seen out at any other time, they will be punished for disobedience of orders."

March 17, 1755. "All officers promoted, and those who are newly appointed, are to wait on Colonel Belford with their commissions as soon as they receive them."

July 20, 1755. "If any orderly or other non-commissioned officer shall excuse any man from duty or exercise without his officer's leave, he will be immediately broke."

August 1, 1755. "As there are bomb and fire-ship stores preparing in the Laboratory, the officers who are not acquainted with that service, and not on any other duty, will please to attend, when convenient, for their improvement."

August 8, 1755. "It is ordered that no non-commissioned officer or soldier shall for the future go out of the Warren gate without their hats being well cocked, their hair well-combed, tied, and dressed in a regimental manner, their shoes well blacked, and clean in every respect.... And it is recommended to the officers and non-commissioned officers, that if they at any time should meet any of the men drunk, or not dressed as before mentioned, to send them to the Guard to be punished."

February 13, 1756. "The Captains are forthwith to provide their respective companies with a knapsack and haversack each man."

February 16, 1756. "For the future, when any Recruits are brought to the Regiment, they are immediately to be taken to the Colonel or commanding officer for his approbation; as soon as he has approved of them, they are directly to be drawn for, and the officers to whose lot they may fall are forthwith to provide them with good quarters, and they are next day to be put to the exercise."

March 16, 1756. "The Captains are to attend parade morning and afternoon, and to see that the men of their respective companies are dressed like soldiers before they are detached to the guns."

March 30, 1756. "It is recommended to the officers to confine every man they see dirty out of the Warren, or with a bad cocked hat."

March 31, 1756. "The officers are desired not to appear on the parade for the future with hats otherwise cocked than in the Cumberland manner."

April 2, 1756. "It is the Duke of Marlborough's orders that Colonel Belford writes to Captain Pattison to acquaint General Bland that it is His Royal Highness's commands that the Artillery take the right of all Foot on all parades, and likewise of dragoons when dismounted."

May 1, 1756. "It is Colonel Belford's orders that no non-commissioned officer, or private man, is to wear ruffles on their wrists when under arms, or any duty whatsoever for the future."

About this time, a camp was ordered to be formed at Byfleet, where the Master-General of the Ordnance was present, and as many of the Royal Artillery as could be spared. Most of the Ordnance for the camp went from the Tower, and the following disposition of the Artillery on the march from London to Byfleet may be found interesting.

ADVANCED GUARD:—Consisting of 1 non-commissioned officer and 12 matrosses.

	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Non-commissioned Officers.	Miners.	Gunners.	Matrosses.	Fifers.	Drummers.
Miners' Front Guard: consisting of	1	3		5	40	..	..	2
Front Guard	1	2		5	..	..	45	2
Eleven 24-pounders	1	2		4	..	11	11	1
Fourteen 12-pounders	1	2		4	..	14	14	..
Twenty 6-pounders	1	3		8	..	20	20	1
Six 3-pounders	1	1		2	..	6	6	..
Six Royal Howitzers	1	1		8	..	6	..	..
Forty-three Ammunition Waggon	1	2		6	..	..	86	..
Twenty-two Ammunition Carts	1	2		4	..	..	44	..
Two spare Carriages, and one Forge Cart	..	..		1	..	..	6	..
Four Waggon, Intrenching Tools, Triangle Gyn	..	..		..	..	..	8	..
Twenty-seven Baggage-Waggon	..	1		6	..	..	54	..
Ten pontoons, and one spare Carriage	..	..		5	40	..	..	1
Rear Guard	..	1		2	..	..	24	2

Giving a total of 29 officers, 61 non-commissioned officers, 57 gunners, 330 matrosses, 80 miners, 7 fifers, and 12 drummers.

This train of Artillery left the Tower in July, and remained in Byfleet until October, practising exercises in mining, and the usual exercises of Ordnance, under the immediate eye of the Master-General himself, the Duke of Marlborough, who marched at the head of the train, and encamped with it. An interesting allusion to a custom long extinct appears in the orders relative to the camp. We find certain artificers detailed for the flag-gun and the flag-wagon. The former was always one of the heaviest in the field; and the custom is mentioned in 1722, 1747, and in India in 1750. Colonel Miller, in alluding to this custom in his valuable pamphlet, expresses his opinion that the flag on the gun corresponded to the Queen's colour, and that on the wagon to the Regimental colour, the latter probably bearing the Ordnance Arms. The guns had been divided into Brigades, corresponding to the modern Batteries. Four 24-pounders, five 12-pounders, five 6-pounders, and six 3-pounders, respectively, constituted a Brigade. The howitzers were in Brigades of three. The discipline insisted upon was very strict. Lights were not allowed even in the sutler's tents after ten o'clock; no man was allowed to go more than a mile from camp without a pass; officers were not allowed to appear in plain clothes upon any occasion; strong guards were mounted in every direction, with most voluninous orders to obey,—orders which seem occasionally unreasonable. The Captain of the Guard had to see the evening gun fired, and was made "answerable for any accident that might happen"—a somewhat heavy responsibility, as accidents are not always within the sphere of control, where the executive officer's duties are placed. Whenever the weather was fine, all the powder was carefully aired, and all articles of equipment requiring repair were laid out for inspection. The powers of the commanding officers of companies in granting indulgences to their men were curtailed. No artificer was allowed to be employed at any time on any service but His Majesty's, without the leave of the Duke of Marlborough himself, or the commandant in the camp; and should any officer excuse a man from parade he was to be put in arrest for disobedience of orders.

Colonel Belford revelled in the discipline of the camp. It brought back to his mind the old days in Flanders when he worked so hard to imbue his men with a strict military spirit, and, with the Master-General by his side, he felt renewed vigour and keenness. The Regiment was attracting greater attention every year; augmentations were continuous. The year before the Byfleet camp was formed, six companies had been added: this year there were three more; and in 1757,

four additional companies were to be raised. The King had reviewed the Regiment, and the Duke of Cumberland came to Woolwich every year to inspect and encourage. Who can tell whether the new organization of 1757, which divided the Regiment into Battalions and accelerated the stagnant promotion, did not come from the long days of intercourse at Byfleet between Colonel Belford and the Master-General? The opportunities offered by such a meeting must have been priceless to a man who was so fond of his Regiment. Nothing is so infectious as enthusiasm; and we learn from Colonel Belford's orders and letters that he was an enthusiastic gunner. The early History of the Regiment is marked by the presence in its ranks of men eminent in their own way, and perfectly distinct in character, yet whose talents all worked in the same direction, the welfare of their corps. Who could be more unlike than Borgard and his successor, Colonel Belford? And yet a greater difference is found between the scientific Desaguliers, and the diplomatic and statesmanlike Pattison, the model of a liberal-minded, high-spirited soldier. These four men are the milestones along the road of the Regiment's story from 1716 to 1783. They mark the stages of continuous progress; but there the parallel fails. For they were no stationary emblems. Their whole life was engrossed in their Regiment. To one, discipline was dear; to another, military science; to another, gunnery, and the laboratory; and they drew along with them in the pursuits they loved all those whose privilege it was to serve under them. It was in a small and distinct way a representation of what the Regiment in its present gigantic proportions would be, if the suggestions quoted in the commencement of this volume were heartily adopted by all who belong to it. Out of the faded pages and musty volumes which line the walls of the Regimental Record Office, there seems to come a voice from these grand old masters, "Be worthy of us!" To them, their corps was everything; to its advancement every taste or talent they possessed was devoted. With its increased proportions, there has now come an increased variety of tastes, of learning, and of accomplishments; and the lives of our great predecessors in the corps read like a prayer over the intervening years, beseeching us all to work together for the Regiment's good.

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If variety of taste is to produce opposition in working, or dissipation of strength and talent, what a cruel answer the Present gives to the Past! But, if it is to raise the Regiment in the eyes, not merely of military critics, but of that other world of science, across whose threshold not a few Artillerymen have passed with honour, then the variety of tastes working together, and yet independently—conducting to the one great end—is the noblest response that can be made to those who showed us in the Regiment's earliest days how to forget self in a noble *esprit de corps*.

13. Macbean's MSS.

A NUMBER of interesting events can be compressed into a chapter, covering the period between the end of the war in Flanders and the year 1755.

The dress and equipment of the Regiment underwent a change. In 1748, the last year of the war, the field staffs of the gunners, their powder horns, slings, and swords, and the muskets of the matrosses were laid aside, and both ranks were armed with carbines and bayonets—thus paving the way for the step taken in the year 1783, when the distinction between the two ranks was abolished. The non-commissioned officers retained their halberds until 1754, when they were taken from the corporals and bombardiers, who fell into the ranks with carbines. In 1748, black spatterdashes were introduced into the Regiment, for the first time into any British corps. In 1750, the sergeants' coats were laced round the button-holes with gold looping, the corporals, bombardiers, and the privates having yellow worsted looping in the same way. The corporals and bombardiers had gold and worsted shoulder-knots; the surtouts were laid aside, and complete suits of clothing were issued yearly.^[14]

At the end of the war, the Regiment consisted of ten companies, and for the first time, reliefs of the companies abroad were carried out, those at Gibraltar and Minorca being relieved by companies at Woolwich. The strength of the Regiment remained unchanged until 1755, when six new companies were raised, making a total of sixteen, exclusive of the Cadet company.

The year 1751 was marked by several important Regimental events. The father of the Regiment, old General Borgard, died; and was succeeded by Colonel Belford. The vexed question of the Army rank of Artillery officers was settled by the King issuing a declaration under his Sign-Manual, retrospective in its effects, deciding "the rank of the officers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery to be the same as that of the other officers of his Army of the same rank, notwithstanding their commissions having been hitherto signed by the Master-General, the Lieutenant-General, or the principal officers of the Ordnance, which had been the practice hitherto." From this date all commissions of Artillery officers were signed by the sovereign, and countersigned by the Master-General of the Ordnance.

This year also saw the abolition of an official abuse dating back before the days of the Regiment's existence. Up to this time, all non-commissioned officers, gunners, matrosses, and even drummers, had warrants signed by the Master-General, and countersigned by his secretary, for which a sergeant paid 3*l.*, a matross or drummer, 1*l.* 10*s.*, and the intermediate grades in proportion.

This was now abolished, with great propriety, as an old MS. says, "as no one purpose appears to have been answered by it, but picking of the men's pockets." Doubtless, there were in the Tower officials who would not endorse this statement; and who were of opinion that a very material purpose was answered by it.

In February of this year, also, the officers of the Regiment entered into an agreement for the establishment of a fund for the benefit of their widows, no such fund having as yet existed. Each officer agreed to subscribe three days' pay annually, and three days' pay on promotion; but this subscription apparently was felt to be too high, or it was considered proper that some assistance should be rendered to the fund by the Government, for in 1762 a Royal Warrant was issued, directing one day's pay to be stopped from each officer for the Widows' Fund, and that one non-effective matross—in other words a *paper* man—should be mustered in each company, the pay of such to be credited to the fund. By this means it was hoped that the widow of a Colonel Commandant would obtain 50*l.* per annum; of a Lieutenant-Colonel, 40*l.*; of a Major, 30*l.*; of a Captain, 25*l.*; of a Lieutenant, Chaplain, or Surgeon, 20*l.*; and of a Lieutenant-Fireworker, 16*l.* But, either the officers would not marry, or the married officers would not die, for in 1772 another warrant was issued, announcing that the fund was larger than was necessary, and directing the surplus to be given as a contingent to the Captains of companies. It is somewhat anticipating matters, but it may here be said that a few years later the officers of the Regiment again took the matter into their own hands, and formed a marriage society, membership of which was nominally voluntary, but virtually compulsory, until about the year 1850, after which it failed to receive the support of the corps, its rules not being suited to modern ideas. On 13th May, 1872, these rules were abrogated at a public meeting of the officers at Woolwich, and the society, with its accumulated capital of 50,000*l.*, was thrown open on terms sufficiently modern and liberal to tempt all who had hitherto refrained from joining it. At that meeting, the original charter of the society, signed by the officers serving in the Regiment at the time, was submitted to their successors, and there was a dumb eloquence in the faded parchment with its long list of signatures, which it would be impossible to express in words.

It has already been stated that Colonel Pattison and Major Lewis had been permitted to retire on full pay, on account of infirmity. The source from which their income was derived, and the use to which it was devoted after their death, can best be described in Colonel Miller's words: "To this purpose there was appropriated the pay allowed for two timmen and twenty-four matrosses, the number of effective matrosses being reduced from forty-four to forty in each company, whilst forty-four continued to appear as the nominal strength. At the death of Jonathan Lewis, a warrant dated 25th September, 1751, approved of the non-effectives being still kept up, and directed the sum of 273*l.* 15*s.* a year (15*s.* a day) then available to be applied thus:—173*l.* 15*s.* to Colonel Belford (as colonel commandant), and 100*l.* to Catherine Borgard, widow of Lieutenant-General Albert Borgard, towards the support of herself and her two children, who were left unprovided for. When Colonel Thomas Pattison died, a warrant dated 27th February, 1753, directed that the annuity to Mrs. Borgard should in future be paid out of another source, and applied the balance of the fund derived from the non-effective timmen and matrosses to increasing the pay of the fireworkers from 3*s.* to 3*s.* 8*d.* a day."

"In 1763 the increased pay of the fireworkers was entered in the estimates, and the pay of colonel commandant was raised to 2*l.* 4*s.* a day."

During the period to which this chapter refers, a review of the Regiment by the King took place in the Green Park; and as it was thought worthy of entry in General Macbean's diary, and shows the way in which the Regiment was formed upon such an occasion, it may not be deemed out of place in this work. There were five companies present besides the Cadets, and the numbers were as follows:—Field officers, three; Captains, five; Captain-Lieutenants, six; four First, and seven Second Lieutenants; Lieutenant-Fireworkers, seventeen; one Chaplain, one Adjutant, one Quartermaster, one Bridge-master, one Surgeon and his Mate, fifteen Sergeants, fifteen Corporals, one Drum-Major, ten Drummers and six Fifers, forty Bombardiers, forty-eight Cadets, ninety-eight Gunners, and 291 Matrosses. The companies were formed up as a Battalion; three light 6-pounders being on the flanks, and the Cadets formed up on the right as a Battalion.

Although there was peace for England in Europe up to 1755, there was no lack of expeditions elsewhere. Besides Jamaica and Virginia, which demanded guns and stores, Artillery was required for the East Indies and America. It was for service in the former country that the augmentation of four companies with an additional Major was made in March, 1755.

They were raised and equipped in thirty days, and embarked immediately, the Board giving permission to Major Chalmers, who was in command, to fill up any vacancies which might occur, by promoting the senior on the spot. These companies were in the pay of the East India Company, and formed part of the expedition under Clive and Admiral Watson. One of the companies was lost on the passage, only three men being saved. It was Captain Hislop's company, but that officer had been promoted while serving in the East Indies, and it was commanded on the voyage by the Captain-Lieutenant, N. Jones. As soon as the disaster was known in England, another company was raised, and on its arrival in India Captain Hislop assumed the command. This officer had gone out with five officers, sixty men, and twelve cadets, and a small train of Artillery, attached to the 39th Regiment, under Colonel Aldercon. His new company was the last of the Royal Artillery which served in Bengal, until the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny.^[15]

The expedition to America was the ill-fated one commanded by General Braddock. The detachment of Royal Artillery was only fifty strong; it left England under the command of Captain-Lieutenant Robert Hind, with two Lieutenants, three Fireworkers, and one cadet; and on its arrival in America was joined by Captain Ord, who assumed the command. This officer had been quartered with his company at Newfoundland; but at the request of the Duke of Cumberland he was chosen to command the Artillery on this expedition. The guns which accompanied the train were ten in number, all light brass guns—four being 12-pounders, and six 6-pounders. The civil attendants of the train were twenty-one in number, including conductors and artificers; and there were attached to the train—attendants not generally found in such lists—"ten servants, and six necessary women." There were also five Engineers, and practitioner Engineers.

The melancholy fate of this expedition is well known. The detachment of Artillery was cut to pieces at Fort du Quesne, on that ghastly July day in 1755; the whole ten guns were taken; but Captain Ord himself survived to do good service years after, on the American continent. It will be remembered by the reader that George Washington fought on this occasion on the English side, and displayed the same marvellous coolness and courage, as he did on every subsequent occasion.

But events were ripening at Woolwich for great Regimental changes. A small subaltern's detachment left for Dublin, which was to be the parent of the Royal Irish Artillery, a corps which will form the subject of the next chapter. In 1756, a company of miners was formed for service in Minorca, which, on its return to Woolwich, was incorporated into the Regiment, and two other companies having been raised in the same year, and four additional in 1757, there was a total, including the companies of miners and cadets, of twenty-four companies. The largely increased number of company officers, in proportion to the limited number of those in the higher grades, made the prospects of promotion so dismal, that the Regiment was divided into two Battalions, each of which will receive notice in subsequent chapters.

14. Cleaveland's MSS. Macbean's MSS.

15. Brown.

CHAPTER XIV. THE ROYAL IRISH ARTILLERY.

THE Ordnance Department in Ireland was independent of that in England until the year 1674, when Charles II., availing himself of the vacancy created by the death of the then Irish Master-General—Sir Robert Byron—merged the appointment in that of the Master-General of England; and the combined duties were first performed by Sir Thomas Chicheley. This officer appointed, as his deputies in Ireland, Sir James Cuff and Francis Cuff, Esq. The Masters-General of the Irish Ordnance, whom we find mentioned after this date, were subordinate to the English Masters-General, in a way which had never previously been recognized.

Even after the amalgamation, however, the accounts of the Irish and British Departments of the Ordnance were kept perfectly distinct. When ships were fitted out for service in the Irish seas, their guns and stores were furnished from the Irish branch of the Ordnance. All gunpowder for use in Ireland was issued by the English officials to the Irish Board on payment; and the lack of funds, which was chronic at the Tower during the reigns of the Stuarts, was not infrequently remedied by calling in the assistance of the Irish Board. Tenders for the manufacture of gunpowder having been received, and the orders then given having been complied with, it was no unusual thing to pay the merchants with Ordnance Debentures, and to ship the powder to Ireland in exchange for a money payment. The correspondence between the two Boards throws light upon the way in which money was found for the English fortifications, and also gives us the value of gunpowder at various times. For example, in August, 1684, one thousand barrels were shipped to Ireland; and the sum received in payment—2500*l.*—was ordered to be spent on the fortifications at Portsmouth.

Some of the debentures issued to the creditors of the English Ordnance, in lieu of money, were on security of the grounds in the City of London, called the Artillery Grounds, and carried interest at the rate of two per cent.: others were merely promissory notes issued by the Board, which bore no very high reputation, nor were they easily convertible into money. From certain correspondence in the Tower Library, during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., it would appear that the Board could not be sued before the Law Courts for the amount of their debts;—the letter-books of that period teeming with piteous appeals from the defrauded creditors.

One unhappy man writes that in consequence of the inability of the Board to meet his claims, he "had undergone extreme hardships, even to imprisonment, loss of employment, and reputation." Another in the same year, 1682, writes, that "he is in a very necessitous and indigent condition, having not wherewithal to supply his want and necessity; and he doth in all humility tender his miserable condition to your Honours' consideration."

During periods of actual or expected disturbance in Ireland, stores for that country were often accumulated in Chester, and on the Welsh coast, ready for shipment; from which it may be inferred, that the arrangements in Ireland for their safe keeping were inadequate.

The formation of a battalion of Artillery on the Irish establishment was not contemplated until the year 1755, when, on the requisition of the Lord-Lieutenant, a party of twenty-four non-commissioned officers and men of the Royal Artillery, under the command of a First Lieutenant, left Woolwich for Dublin, for that purpose. This detachment, having received considerable augmentation and a special organization, was in the following year styled "The Artillery Company in Ireland," the commissions of the officers being dated the 1st of April, 1756. The company consisted of a Major, a Captain, one First and one Second Lieutenant, three Lieutenant-Fireworkers, five Sergeants, five Corporals, one hundred and six Bombardiers, thirty-four Gunners, one hundred and two Matrosses, and two Drummers. The large number of Bombardiers suggests a special service, probably in the bomb-vessels, for which this class was employed. Major Brownrigg, the commandant of the corps, was replaced in 1758, by Major D. Chevenix, from the 11th Dragoons. Two years later, the company was considerably increased, and was styled the "Regiment of Royal Irish Artillery." It had now a Colonel-in-Chief, and another *en seconde*, a Lieutenant-Colonel commandant, a Major, four Captains, four First and four Second Lieutenants, and four Lieutenant-Fireworkers. The Masters-General of the Irish Ordnance were *ex officio* Colonels-in-Chief of the Irish Artillery. The following is a list of those who held this appointment during the existence of the corps: James, Marquis of Kildare, Richard, Earl of Shannon, Charles, Marquis of Drogheda, Henry, Earl of Carhampton, and the Hon. Thomas Pakenham.

Reductions were made in the Regiment at the conclusion of peace in 1763, and again in 1766; but they were chiefly confined to weeding the Regiment of undersized men. In 1774, the rank of Lieutenant-Fireworker was abolished, three years later than the same change had been made in England. In 1778, the Regiment was augmented from four to six companies, the total of the establishment being raised from 228 to 534; and from that date the senior first lieutenant received the rank of Captain-Lieutenant. A further addition of seventy-eight gunners raised the total to 612, and caused an increase in the number of officers, four Second Lieutenants being added in 1782.

In August, 1783, an invalid company was added, consisting of a captain, first and second lieutenant, one sergeant, two corporals, one drummer, three bombardiers, four gunners, and thirty-nine matrosses, and with a few additions to the marching companies raised the establishment to 701. But in three months, a most serious reduction can be traced, not in the cadres, nor among the higher commissioned ranks, but among the subalterns, and the rank and file, and the total fell to 386.

By the monthly returns for October, 1783, we find that the title of matross, although retained in the invalid company, was otherwise abolished; the private soldiers being now all designated gunners. From 1783 to 1789, the establishment remained at 386; and in 1791, it was the same. The returns for the intermediate year have been lost.

In 1793, recruiting on a large scale can be traced, and we find, that in October, 1794, by successive augmentations, the establishment had reached a total of no less than 2069 of all ranks, organized into one invalid and twenty marching companies. By a King's letter, dated 20th May, 1795, these were constituted into two Battalions, the company of invalids remaining distinct. This gave an addition of thirteen Field and Staff Officers, and three Staff Sergeants, raising the total establishment from 2069 to 2085. Each company consisted of 100 of all ranks—except the invalid company, which remained at a total of fifty-three, until 1st October, 1800, when it was raised to 100—and the strength of the Regiment reached its maximum, 2132.

This establishment continued, until the 1st of March, 1801, when, in anticipation of the amalgamation with the Royal Artillery, eight companies, with a proportion of Field Officers, were reduced, followed next month by a reduction of two more.

On the 1st April, 1801, the remaining ten marching companies, with Field and Staff Officers, were incorporated with the Royal Artillery, and numbered as the 7th Battalion of that corps. By General Order of 17th September, 1801, the invalid company was transferred to the battalion of invalids on the British establishment.

It was a singular coincidence that the officer of the Royal Artillery, who forty-six years before had left Woolwich to organize the first company of the Royal Irish Artillery, should, on the amalgamation, have been the Colonel commandant of the new Battalion. Lieutenant-General Straton had proceeded, in May, 1755, to Ireland, for the former purpose, and he rejoined the Royal Artillery on the 1st April, 1801, as Colonel commandant of the 7th Battalion. He died in Dublin on the 16th May, 1803, after a service of sixty-one years.

At the time of the amalgamation, six of the companies were stationed in Ireland, and four in the West Indies. The Irish Artillery was not exempt from foreign service, and the conduct of the men abroad was as excellent as it always was during the times of even the greatest civil commotion. When, however, they left Ireland on service, their pay became a charge on the English Office of Ordnance; and in the Returns from their own head-quarters we find that any men who might be in England, pending embarkation, were shown as "on foreign service."

The first employment of the Irish Artillery abroad was during the American war. In March, 1777, seventy men embarked, under the command of an officer of the Royal Artillery, and did duty with that corps in a manner which called forth the highest commendations from the officers under whom they served. The Master-General of the Ordnance, Lord Townsend, in a letter to the officer commanding the Irish Artillery, dated 23rd of December, 1777, alludes to these men in the following terms: "I am informed that none among the gallant troops behaved so nobly as the Irish Artillery, who are now exchanged, and are to return. I am sorry they have suffered so much, but it is the lot of brave men, who, so situated, prefer glorious discharge of their duty to an unavailing desertion of it."

The conduct of the Irish Artillery, both in America and in the darkest period of their service, in the West Indies, contrasts so strongly with that of the men enlisted in Ireland for the Royal Artillery at the same time, that evidently the recruiting for the latter corps must have been grossly mismanaged, or, what is more probable, the national corps obtained with ease the best men, while the refuse of the country was left to the recruiting sergeants of the Royal Artillery. In the correspondence of General Pattison, who at one period of the American war commanded the Royal Artillery on that continent, the language employed in describing the recruits enlisted in Ireland, and sent to join the 3rd and 4th Battalions in America, would be strong in any one, but is doubly so, coming from an officer always most courteous in his language, and by no means given to exaggeration.

Three companies of the Irish Artillery embarked for the Continent in 1794, and served in Flanders and the Netherlands, under the Duke of York. But, as has already been hinted, the most severe foreign service undergone by the corps was in the West Indies. In 1793, three companies embarked for these islands, and took honourable part during the following year, in the capture of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Lucia, as well as in the more general operations.

Their strength, on embarkation, had been 15 Officers and 288 non-commissioned officers and men. In less than two years, only forty-three of the men were alive, and of the officers, only four returned to Europe. It accordingly became necessary to reinforce the companies by drafts from Ireland; and in addition to these, two other companies sailed in the winter of 1795; thus bringing the total strength serving in the West Indies to 500 of all ranks. In less than two years, a further reinforcement of 176 officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, was found necessary to repair the ravages of the climate upon the troops; and apparently further drafts in the following year were only avoided, by transferring the head-quarters of one of the companies to the home establishment, and absorbing the men in the others. Four of the companies were still in the West Indies, when the amalgamation took place.

Certain details connected with the organization of the Irish Artillery, immediately prior to their incorporation with the Royal Artillery, remain to be mentioned. On the 19th September, 1798, Lord Carhampton, then Master-General of the Irish Ordnance, notified to the officer commanding the corps, that the formation of the Artillery in Ireland into *Brigades* had been decided upon; the Brigades to be distinguished as heavy and light. The establishment of a Heavy Brigade was to include four medium 12-pounders, and two 5½-inch howitzers;—of a Light Brigade, four light 6-pounder Battalion guns. The former was to be manned by forty-eight non-commissioned officers and men, the latter by thirty-seven—of the Regiment; while the guns and waggons were to be horsed and driven by the Driver Corps. This improved organization superseded the system of Battalion guns; for while, in September, 1798, one hundred of the Irish Artillery were returned as being attached to these, in November only thirty-seven were so employed; in the following January, only four; and in March, 1799, all were finally withdrawn. The additional gunners from the Militia, who had, at the date of the new organization, been 213 in number, were gradually reduced by its operation, and in the monthly return for September, 1799, they disappear altogether.

It was at first proposed that the 12-pounders and the howitzers of the Heavy Brigades should be drawn by four horses, and the 6-pounders of the Light Brigades by three; but subsequently a 4½-inch howitzer having been added to each Light Brigade, the number of horses to each gun was apparently increased from three to four, and the total number of horses to each Heavy Brigade was seventy-three;—to each Light Brigade, fifty-one. The "two leading horses were ridden by Artillerymen, and the gun was driven by a driver."¹⁶¹ This arrangement applied also to the ammunition waggons. The harness-maker, wheeler, and smith, each rode a spare horse with harness on.

While the guns had four horses, the howitzers in Heavy Brigades had but three, and in Light Brigades only a pair. The Driver Corps furnished to each Heavy Brigade 1 officer, 1 quartermaster, 3 non-commissioned officers, and 26 privates; to each Light Brigade, 5 non-commissioned officers and 14 privates. For the information of the general reader, it may be stated that the Brigades of the Irish Artillery were analogous to the present Field Batteries; the modern Brigade of Artillery meaning a number of Batteries linked together for administrative purposes.

In January, 1799, there were twenty-five Brigades in Ireland, and at this point they remained until the amalgamation with the Royal Artillery. Although it is not probable that they were all horsed at that date, there were no less than 1027 officers and men at the appointed stations of the Brigades, and in the language of an old document in the Royal Artillery Record Office, "the New Irish Field Artillery had not only form, but consistency."

In addition to these Brigades of Field Artillery, the Regiment was divided into detachments—generally eight in number,—stationed in the chief harbours, garrisons, and forts, for service with heavy ordnance. The invalid company was scattered over the country, many of the non-commissioned officers and men being totally unfit for service. The Regiment was actively employed in the field during the Rebellion; "and it must be recorded to the honour of the Royal Irish Regiment of Artillery, that though exposed to every machination of the disaffected, and to the strongest temptations, they preserved throughout an unsullied character, and manifested on all occasions a true spirit of loyalty, zeal, and fidelity to His Majesty's service and Government."¹⁷

The dress of the Royal Irish Artillery was as follows:—Blue coat with scarlet facings, cuff and collar gold embroidered; yellow worsted lace being used for all beneath the rank of corporal; gold-laced cocked hat, black leather cockade, white cloth breeches, with short gaiters and white stockings in summer, and long gaiters in winter. The non-commissioned officers and men wore their hair powdered and clubbed. In 1798 jackets were introduced according to the pattern adopted for the Army; and the gold lace was removed from the cocked hats.

At the date of the amalgamation the Regiment was armed with cavalry carbines,—the bayonet and pouch, containing from sixteen to eighteen rounds, being carried on the same belt. A cross belt was also worn to which the great-coat was suspended, resting on the left hip. At an earlier period, the Regiment had been armed with long Queen Anne's fusils, which were replaced, when worn out, by arms of various patterns, until at length the cavalry carbine was adopted.

One cannot but be struck—in studying the history of this national corps of Artillery—with the rapidity of its formation, and its attainment of high discipline and professional knowledge,—keeping pace in its career of half a century with the constant changes, with which even in those days this arm was harassed; nor can one read without pride and interest those pages of loyalty at home, gallantry on service abroad, and patient endurance under suffering and disease in the West Indies,—at once as fatal as active war, and yet destitute of the excitement which in war enables the soldier willingly to undergo any hardship.

¹⁶. MS in Royal Artillery Record Office.

¹⁷. MS. in Royal Artillery Record Office.

CHAPTER XV.
FIRST BATTALION.—THE HISTORY AND PRESENT DESIGNATION OF THE COMPANIES.

IN the beginning of the year 1757, the Regiment consisted of nineteen companies, with four field officers. On the 2nd April four additional companies were added, giving a total of twenty-four companies, inclusive of the Cadet Company.

But there was no organization in existence corresponding to the Battalion, or present Brigade, system. The number of company officers was very great, being no less than 140 at the end of 1756; and as there were only four field officers, the prospect of promotion to the younger men was very disheartening. By introducing the Battalion system, and dividing the companies in some way which should give an excuse for an augmentation in the higher ranks, stagnation would be less immediate, and discontent among the junior ranks postponed. Charles, Duke of Marlborough, being then Master-General, approved of this change, and the Regiment was on the 1st August, 1757, divided into two Battalions, each having three field officers, and a separate staff. The strength of the Regiment, after this change had been introduced, was as follows:—

No. of Companies, 24:—

One Colonel-in-Chief, and one <i>en seconde</i>	2
Field Officers	6
Captains and Captain-Lieutenants	48
Subaltern Officers	117
Chaplain	1
Medical Officers	3
Bridge-master	1
Adjutants	2
Quartermasters	2
Gentlemen Cadets	48
Non-commissioned Officers	322
Gunners	460
Matrosses	1472
Drummers and Fifers	47
Total	2531

The recruiting of Battalions was always carried on by means of parties scattered over England and Scotland, but the men so obtained were liable to be transferred to other Battalions, whose wants might be greater. This system, which still obtains, prevents, and perhaps wisely, any great Battalion, or Brigade *esprit de corps*. The real *esprit* should be for the Regiment first, and then for the Battery. The organization, by whatever name it may be called, which links a certain number of Batteries together for special purposes, has never been allowed the official respect which is paid to the Battalion system in the Infantry. In the absence of such respect, and in the knowledge that the men who might receive their instruction in one Brigade or Battalion were liable to transfer to another, immediately on the completion of their drills, is to be found the reason why both in the days of Battalions and Brigades there has been no *esprit* found strong enough to weaken that which should exist in every Artilleryman's mind for his Regiment at large, instead of for a detail of it. At the same time, the transfer system can be carried to an injurious extent. The instruction of recruits is more likely to be thorough, if the instructor feels that he himself is likely to retain under his command those whom he educates. The consciousness that the "*Sic vos non vobis*" system is to be applied to himself must diminish to a certain extent his zeal in instruction. And therefore while no one should be allowed to imagine that his own Battery or his own Brigade is to be considered before the Regiment at large, there can be no doubt that the Dépôt system for feeding the Regimental wants is far less cruel than that by which volunteers are called, or transfers ordered, from one portion of the Regiment to another.

The establishment of the 1st Battalion varied very much with the signs of the times. Before the Peninsular War, its greatest strength was in 1758, the year after its formation, when it consisted of 13 companies, and a total of 1383 of all ranks. In 1772, it fell to 8 companies, with a total of 437; but during the American War of Independence, it reached a total of 1259, divided into 11 companies. After the peace of 1783, it was again reduced, falling to a total of 648, in ten companies. During the Peninsular War, the average strength of the Battalion was 1420, the number of companies remaining the same; but as only one company of the Battalion served in the Peninsula, its increased numbers were evidently intended to assist in feeding the companies of other Battalions. After Waterloo it was greatly reduced, and for the next thirty years, its average strength was 700, in 8 companies. In 1846, it rose to a total of 842, and on the outbreak of the War with Russia, in which no fewer than five companies of the Battalion were engaged, further augmentations took place, the totals standing during the war as follows: in 1854, 1208; in 1855, 1336; and in 1856, 1468.

The names of the various Captains who have successively commanded the companies of the 1st Battalion, down to the introduction of the Brigade system, and the new nomenclature in 1859, are given in the following pages, as far as the state of the Battalion Records will admit. The list of the various military operations in which they were severally engaged is also given; and the names which the companies received at the reorganization referred to. It has been thought advisable to give this now in a short but complete form, but in studying the various campaigns, the services of the companies alluded to will occasionally receive more detailed notice.

It is to be remembered that the history of these companies is the legitimate property of the Batteries, which represent them. It is hoped that the publication of their antecedents in this way will not merely interest those in any way connected with them, but will create a feeling of pride which will materially aid discipline, and check negligence. It is believed that with such a past to appeal to as many of the Batteries will find they have, a commander will find a weapon in dealing with his men more powerful than the most penal code, for in each line there seems to be a voice speaking from the dead, and urging those who are, to be worthy of those who have been.

**No. 1 COMPANY, 1st BATTALION,
Now "F" BATTERY, 9th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1796	Expedition to Saint Domingo.
1809	Expedition from Jamaica to Saint Domingo.
1854	Expedition to Crimea, and siege of Sebastopol.
<hr/> List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859. <hr/>	
1757	Captain Robert Hind. * * * * *
1779	Captain David Scott.
1788	Captain S. P. Adye.
1790	Captain William Cuppage.
1790	Captain John Rogers.
1796	Captain Wiltshire Wilson.
1797	Captain George F. Keohler.
1801	Captain Thomas Franklin.
1805	Captain Thomas B. P. Hardy.
1814	Captain Sir Hy. Onslow, Bart.
1817	Captain John Taylor.
1821	Captain George Cobbe.
1829	Captain George J. Belson. * * * * *
1841	Captain Lewis E. Walsh.
1842	Captain C. B. Symons.
1848	Captain J. W. Collington.
1851	Captain George Graydon.
1856	Captain George Colclough.
1859	Captain S. Freeling.
1859	Captain J. F. Pennyquick.

**No. 2 COMPANY, 1st BATTALION,
Now "B" BATTERY, 1st BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1793	Action of St. Amand, 8th May.
1793	Siege of Valenciennes.
1793	Battle of Lincelles on 18th August.
1794	Battle of Cambray on 24th April.
1794	Battles of Ostend on 5th May.
1794	Battle of Tournay on 10th, 18th, and 22nd May.
1797-1801	Detachments of the Company served on board the Bombs.
1804	Ditto.
1805	Expedition to Hanover.
1807	Siege of Copenhagen.
1809	Battle of Talavera on 27th July.
1810	Battle of Almeida on 27th August.
1812	Siege of Burgos on 20th October.
1813	Siege of Saint Sebastian.
1855	Expedition to Crimea, and siege of Sebastopol from June 1855.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1771	Captain Thomas Simpson.
1774	Captain Agar Weetman.
1782	Captain Edward Abbott.
1782	Captain Thomas Hosmer.
1793	Captain Jesse Wright.
1793	Captain George Glasgow.
1794	Captain James Winter.
1795	Captain Henry Shrapnel.
1803	Captain Josh. W. Tobin.
1807	Captain John May.
1815	Captain James Lloyd.
1819	Captain John Chester.
1825	Captain John C. Petley.
1834	Captain Charles Dalton.
1834	Captain John W. Spellen.
1836	Captain P. W. Lawlor.
1838	Captain Thomas R. Cookson.
1839	Captain George Charleton.
1840	Captain Hugh Morgan.
1843	Captain W. W. D'Arley.
1851	Captain J. R. Domvile.
1852	Captain F. A. Campbell.
1855	Captain H. P. Newton.
1858	Captain G. H. A. Forbes.

**No. 3 COMPANY, 1st BATTALION,
Now "7" BATTERY, 2nd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1779	Taking of Saint Lucia.
1779	In the Island of Grenada; a Detachment taken prisoners.
1793-1795	A Detachment served with the Army on the Expedition to Holland.
1797-1801	Detachments of this Company served on board the Bombs.
1801	Taking of Madeira.
1809	Expedition from Jamaica to Saint Domingo.
1855	Expedition to Crimea, and siege of Sebastopol, from June, 1855.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1769	Captain John Williamson.
1782	Captain Simon Parry.
1785	Captain William Grant.
1785	Captain Thomas Blomefield.
1793	Captain Charles Terrott
1800	Captain John Quayle.
1806	Captain Henry Deacon.
1807	Captain James Armstrong.
1825	Captain W. M. G. Colebrooke.
1837	Captain W. C. Anderson.
1846	Captain Charles J. Dalton.
1854	Captain Miller Clifford.

No. 4
COMPANY, 1st BATTALION,
Now "3" BATTERY, 5th BRIGADE.

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1759	Battle of Minden.
1796	General Doyle's Expedition to the Isle of Dieu on the French coast.
1804	Detachments served on board the Bombs.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

* * * * *

1759	Captain David Hay.
1781	Captain Alexander Dickson.
1781	Captain Jesse Wright.
1793	Captain Thomas Hosmer.
1795	Captain Archibald Robertson.
1802	Captain Robert Lawson.
1802	Captain Thomas Downman.
1804	Captain H. M. Farrington.
1820	Captain Thomas J. Harrison.
1820	Captain Henry Light.
1821	Captain James P. St. Clair.
1822	Captain Henry Light.
1823	Captain Thomas Van Straubenzee.
1826	Captain Charles E. Gordon.
1839	Captain W. H. Bent.
1846	Captain George Sandham.
1852	Captain R. Blackwood Price.
1854	Captain Barclay Lawson.

**No. 5 COMPANY, 1st BATTALION,
Now "4" BATTERY, 13th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1759	Battle of Minden.
1793	Siege of Valenciennes.
1793	Battle of Lincelles.
1794	Battle of Cambray.
1794	Battle of Ostend.
1794	Battles of Tournay.
1797-1800	Detachment served on board the Bombs.
1799	Expedition to the Helder.
1801	Battle of Alexandria, and other actions in Egypt. ^[18]
1805	Expedition to Hanover.
1858	India during the Mutiny.

N.B.—This Company formed part of the Army of Occupation in France, 1815-1818.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1758	Captain William Phillips.
1759	Captain George Charleton.
1766	Captain Griffith Williams.
1779	Captain Alexander J. Scott.
1779	Captain Francis Downman.
1781	Captain Jesse Wright.
1782	Captain Thomas Brady.
1782	Captain Alexander Dickson.
1782	Captain Richard Chapman.
1783	Captain James Frost.
1783	Captain John D. Goll.
1790	Captain James Winter.
1795	Captain William Mudge.
1794	Captain William Borthwick.
1802	Captain George B. Fisher.
1803	Captain George Scott.
1803	Captain William Leake.
1803	Captain Turtliff Boger.
1806	Captain John Dyer.
1812	Captain Richard Jones.
1814	Captain Stephen Kirby.
1815	Captain William Lloyd.
1825	Captain Alfred Thompson.
1828	Captain Jno. W. Spellen.
1834	Captain Charles Dalton.
1844	Captain Alexander Tulloh.
1849	Captain G. J. L. Buchanan.
1854	Captain John Desborough.

**No. 6 COMPANY, 1st BATTALION,
Now "6" BATTERY, 2nd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

This Company served during the American War of Independence, but the actions in which it was engaged cannot be traced with precision.

1855 Expedition to Crimea, and siege of Sebastopol, from June, 1855.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1771	Captain David Standish.
1780	Captain Thomas Brady.
1782	Captain Francis Downman.
1790	Captain John Smith.
1795	Captain George Scott.
1796	Captain Robert King.
1802	Captain Francis Rey.
1808	Captain Charles H. Godby.
1815	Captain William Lloyd.
1815	Captain Stephen Kirby.
1819	Captain William Cleeve.
1826	Captain Christopher Clarke.
1828	Captain Hassel R. Moor.
1838	Captain John R. Hornsby.
1840	Captain Henry Stanway.
1846	Captain Francis Dick.
1851	Captain G. J. Beresford.
1852	Captain Henry Aylmer.
1854	Captain A. F. F. Lennox.

**No. 7 COMPANY, 1st BATTALION,
Now "4" BATTERY, 5th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1776	Action on Lake Champlain, in America.
1794	Battles of Cambray, Ostend, and Tournay.
1797	Detachments of this Company served on board the Bombs.
1799	Expedition to the Helder.
1801	Battle of Alexandria. ^[19]
1807	Siege of Copenhagen.
1815	Surrender of Guadaloupe.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1763	Captain John Carter.
1768	Captain William Gostling.
1779	Captain Thomas Hosmer.
1780	Captain Stephen P. Adye.
1782	Captain Edward Abbott.
1788	Captain C. F. Scott.
1788	Captain David Scott.
1791	Captain George Wilson.
1794	Captain George Bowater.
1799	Captain John Lemoine.
1802	Captain Andrew Schalch.
1803	Captain Percy Drummond.
1803	Captain Benjamin Fenwick.
1804	Captain George Forster.
1805	Captain Oliver Fry.
1805	Captain Charles Egan.
1806	Captain James P. Cockburn.
1813	Captain Richard S. Brough.
1822	Captain J. W. Kettlewell.
1832	Captain Forbes Macbean.
1837	Captain H. G. Jackson.
1840	Captain R. W. Story.
1847	Captain Hon. R. F. Handcock.
1848	Captain Henry A. Turner.
1855	Captain H. P. Newton.
1855	Captain F. A. Campbell.

**No. 8 COMPANY, 1st BATTALION,
Now "A" BATTERY, 11th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1759	Battle of Minden.
1796	Surrender of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice.
1796	Taking of Saint Lucia.
1803	The next capture of the above Islands, &c.
1809	Capture of Martinique.
1810	Surrender of Guadaloupe.
1815	Surrender of Guadaloupe.
1855	Expedition to Crimea, and siege of Sebastopol.
1858	East Indies during the Mutiny.

N.B.—At the reduction in 1819, the Men of a company of the 10th Battalion were drafted into this company.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1759	Captain Forbes Macbean.
1780	Captain Thomas Blomefield.
1785	Captain William Grant
1794	Captain John Arbuthnot.
1796	Captain Lawrence H. Newton.
1803	Captain John Sheldrake.
1804	Captain Charles Keane.
1813	Captain Edward C. Whinyates.
1813	Captain William N. Ramsay.
1814	Captain George Jenkinson.
1814	Captain Henry Light.
1815	Captain George Cobbe.
1819	Captain T. A. Brandreth.
1828	Captain James Fogo.
1841	Captain R. G. B. Wilson.
1843	Captain J. M. Savage.
1852	Captain D. W. Pack Beresford.
1854	Captain A. F. Connell, who held the command until the introduction of Brigade System.

18. By General Orders of 31st October and 1st November, 1803, the Officers, non-commissioned Officers, and Men of this Company were permitted to wear the "Sphinx" and "Egypt," on their Regimental Caps; but the distinction was a personal one, and not granted to the companies to be perpetuated.

19. By General Orders of 31st October, and 1st November, 1803, the Officers, non-commissioned Officers, and Men of this Company were permitted to wear the "Sphinx," with "Egypt," on their Regimental Caps; but the distinction was a personal one, and not given to the companies to be perpetuated.

CHAPTER XVI.
THE SECOND BATTALION.—THE HISTORY AND PRESENT
DESIGNATION OF THE COMPANIES.

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FORMED in 1757, at the same time as the 1st Battalion, the 2nd Battalion at first included companies in all parts of the world—the East Indies, America, Gibraltar, and England. The Cadet Company belonged to it, and was one of the twelve which constituted the Battalion; but in 1758 another service company was added, making it, in respect of service companies, equal to the 1st Battalion.

Its strength in 1758 amounted to a total of 1385, divided into thirteen companies. This strength was reduced in the following year by the transfer of three companies to assist in the formation of the 3rd Battalion. One company was again added in 1761, and two taken away when the 4th Battalion was formed in 1771. During the American War two companies were again added, and the greatest strength of all ranks was 1145. In 1793 and 1794 it approached 1300; and during the Peninsular War its average strength was 1460. While the Crimean War lasted the Battalion consisted of eight companies, and its strength was as follows:—In 1854, 1216; in 1855, 1344; and in 1856, 1480.

The distinctive mark of this Battalion was the fact, that the only Artillery present during the memorable siege of Gibraltar belonged to it.

The early services of the companies are difficult to trace. One company, under Captain Hislop, was present at the defence of Fort St. George, Madras, when besieged by the French, in October, 1758. In November of the same year a company of the Battalion, under Captain P. Innes, embarked with General Barrington's expedition, for the attack of the Island of Martinique. This expedition was unsuccessful, but the troops were then ordered against Guadaloupe, which was taken on 1st May, 1759. In February, 1759, the siege of Fort St. George was raised by the French, Captain Hislop's Company receiving great praise for its conduct during the defence.

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**No. 1 COMPANY, 2nd BATTALION,
Now "7" BATTERY, 21st BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1779-1783	Siege of Gibraltar.
1801	Detachments in Egypt, present at Battle of Alexandria, and later actions.
1809	Expedition to Walcheren.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1782	Captain Joseph Eyre.
1782	Captain Charles Abbott.
1793	Captain James M. Hadden.
1793	Captain James Boag.
1800	Captain Thomas Charleton.
1806	Captain Joseph D'Arcy.
1825	Captain Richard T. King.
1837	Captain Charles Manners.
1840	Captain Charles H. Nevett.
1848	Captain C. J. Wright.
1855	Captain M. A. S. Biddulph.

**No. 2 COMPANY, 2nd BATTALION,
Now "2" BATTERY, 12th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1761	Siege of Belleisle.
1779-1783	Siege of Gibraltar.
1801	Detachments in Egypt, present at Battle of Alexandria, and later actions.
1810-1812	Cadiz, during siege.
1812	Carthage, and operations in South of Spain.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1782	Captain Philip Martin.
1783	Captain Edward Stephens.
1794	Captain William Bentham.
1795	Captain William Collier.
1796	Captain Daniel Gahan.
1802	Captain Robert Wright.
1806	Captain Patrick Campbell.
1825	Captain Robert S. Douglas.
1831	Captain Peter D. Stewart.
1841	Captain W. H. Hennis.
1850	Captain W. B. Gardner.
1855	Captain A. E. H. Anson.

**No. 3 COMPANY, 2nd BATTALION,
Now "7" BATTERY, 10th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1779-1783 Siege of Gibraltar.
1809 Detachments served in Expedition against St. Domingo.
1854 Detachments furnished for siege of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

* * * * *

1782 Captain George Groves.
1782 Captain Alexander Shand.
1793 Captain James Butler.
1794 Captain Edward Stehelin.
1801 Captain William Dixon.
1808 Captain Marcus Roe.
1810 Captain Dugald Campbell.
1828 Captain Zachary C. Bayly.
1836 Captain Daniel Bissett.
1837 Captain John M. Stephens.
1837 Captain Edmund Sheppard.
1839 Captain William Lemoine.
1840 Captain G. James.
1840 Captain T. O. Cater.
1847 Captain G. Gambier.
1850 Captain T. A. Shone.
1852 Captain R. H. Crofton.
1856 Captain J. C. Childs.

**No. 4 COMPANY, 2nd BATTALION,
Now "D" BATTERY, 1st BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1779-1783	Siege of Gibraltar.
1801	Detachments in Egypt, present at battle of Alexandria, and later actions.
1854	Expedition to Crimea, and siege of Sebastopol, from December, 1854.
List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
	* * * * *
1772	Captain Vaughan Lloyd.
1782	Captain Robert Garstin.
1793	Captain Henry T. Thomson.
1801	Captain Ralph W. Adye.
1803	Captain J. Vivion.
1815	Captain James E. Grant.
1817	Captain Robert H. Birch.
1825	Captain Henry W. Gordon.
1837	Captain James S. Law.
1842	Captain William Fraser.
1848	Captain Henry Poole.
1852	Captain S. D. Broughton.
1857	Captain D. S. Greene.
1857	Captain R. K. Freeth.

**No. 5 COMPANY, 2nd BATTALION,
Now "8" BATTERY, 3rd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1779-1783 Siege of Gibraltar.

1809 Detachments served in Expedition against St. Domingo.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

* * * * *
1782 Captain James Dunbar.
1782 Captain Jacob Schalch.
1789 Captain John Ramsay.
1794 Captain Charles N. Cookson.
1803 Captain W. Henry Gardner.
1803 Captain A. Y. Spearman.
1808 Captain Nathl. W. Oliver.
1808 Captain William Lloyd.
1815 Captain Charles H. Godby.
1826 Captain Alexr. McLachlan.
1840 Captain Wm. Furneaux.
1847 Captain J. A. Wilson.
1848 Captain Anthony Benn.
1855 Captain C. G. Arbuthnot.
1855 Captain A. R. Wragge.

**No. 6 COMPANY, 2nd BATTALION,
Reduced on 1st March, 1819.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1807 Expedition to Copenhagen.

1809 Expedition to Walcheren.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

* * * * *

1782	Captain Joseph Walton.
1782	Captain John Fairlamb.
1782	Captain Ralph Wilson.
1790	Captain W. P. Smith.
1796	Captain George Wulff.
1799	Captain Spencer C. Parry.
1805	Captain Thomas Francklin.
1807	Captain Robert H. Birch.
1808	Captain Thomas Paterson.

**No. 7 COMPANY (afterwards No. 6), 2nd BATTALION,
Now "G" BATTERY, 8th BRIGADE.**

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

* * * * *

1782	Captain George Fead.
1792	Captain Thomas R. Charleton.
1799	Captain William Cox.
1805	Captain William Millar.
1805	Captain William Payne.
1816	Captain James S. Bastard.
1817	Captain J. F. Fead.
1821	Captain H. B. Lane.
1826	Captain Charles G. Napier.
1826	Captain Thomas Scott.
1834	Captain William A. Raynes.
1843	Captain G. M. Glasgow.
1848	Captain H. J. Morris.
1851	Captain A. G. W. Hamilton.
1854	Captain A. C. Pigou.

**No. 8 COMPANY (afterwards No. 7), 2nd BATTALION,
Now "5" BATTERY, 2nd BRIGADE.**

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1782	Captain Alexr. McKenzie.
1782	Captain George Groves.
1782	Captain Abraham Witham.
1794	Captain Edward Stehelin.
1794	Captain Charles Nevelle.
1802	Captain Thomas Dodd.
1813	Captain Abraham Paul.
1814	Captain Francis Knox.
1819	Captain Joseph Brome.
1821	Captain Frederick Gordon.
1826	Captain Wm. E. Maling.
1833	Captain Wm. Saunders.
1834	Captain J. R. Colebrooke.
1840	Captain E. Trevor.
1845	Captain A. Shuttleworth.
1852	Captain M. O. Nixon.

**No. 9 COMPANY, 2nd BATTALION,
Reduced 1st February, 1819.**

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

* * * * *

1782	Captain Thomas Paterson.
1790	Captain John Macleod.
1793	Captain Thomas Desbrisay.
1799	Captain William Robe.
1800	Captain Robert Wright.
1802	Captain Daniel Gahan.
1804	Captain George Forster.
1804	Captain Benjamin Fenwick.
1812	Captain David Story.

**No. 10 COMPANY (afterwards No. 8), 2nd BATTALION,
Now "A" BATTERY, 14th BRIGADE.**

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1782	Captain Thomas Davis.
1783	Captain F. M. Dixon.
1793	Captain Charles Robison.
1803	Captain John Dyer.
1804	Captain George Desbrisay.
1814	Captain Thomas J. Harrison.
1819	Captain Thomas Paterson.
1825	Captain Courty. Cruttenden.
1826	Captain Hamelin Trelawney.
1831	Captain Thomas Grantham.
1843	Captain T. C. Robe.
1851	Captain Evan Maberley.
1856	Captain J. E. Thring.

CHAPTER XVII. DURING THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

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At this time the Regiment well deserved the motto it now bears, "Ubique." The feeling uppermost in the mind of one who has been studying its records between 1756 and 1763 is one of astonishment and admiration. Only forty years before, the Royal Artillery was represented by two companies at Woolwich; now we find it serving in the East and West Indies, in North America, in the Mediterranean, in Germany, in Belleisle, and in Britain, and yet it was by no means a large Regiment. In 1756 it contained eighteen companies, and by the end of the war it had increased to thirty, exclusive of the cadets; but when we reflect on the detached nature of their service, we cannot but marvel at the work they did. If England must always look back with pride to the annals of this war, so also must the Royal Artilleryman look back to this period of his Regimental History with amazement and satisfaction. It was a wonderful time,—a time bristling with ubiquitous victories,—a time teeming with chivalrous memories—Clive in the East, and Wolfe in the West—British soldiers conquering under Prince Ferdinand at Minden, under Lord Albemarle at the Havannah, under Amherst at Louisbourg, and under Hodgson at Belleisle,—English Artillerymen winning honours and promotion from a foreign prince in Portugal; and at the end, when the Peace of Paris allowed the nations to cast up the columns in their balance-sheet, England, finding Canada all her own, Minorca restored to her, and nineteen-twentieths of India acknowledging her sovereignty. It was a golden time: who can paint it? Who can select enough of its episodes to satisfy the reader, and yet not weary him with glut of triumph? And shall it be by continents that the deeds of our soldiers shall be watched? or on account of popular leaders? or by value of results?

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With much thought and hesitation it has been resolved in this work to choose subjects for complex reasons. Who can think of England's Field Artillery without thinking, at such a time as this was, of Minden?—of her siege Artillery, without remembering Belleisle? And yet what would the History of the Regiment at such a period in England's annals be, if the names of Phillips, Macbean, and Desaguliers were unspoken?

Happy coincidence that enables the historian to combine both,—that bids him, as he writes of Minden, write also of Phillips, who was the head, and Macbean, who was the hand, of the corps on that proud day; and as he tells of the wet and miserable trenches at Belleisle, with the boom of its incessant bombardment, tell also of him, the brave, the learned Desaguliers, wounded, yet ever at his post! But is this all? The Seven Years' War, without America having a chapter given—America, which was the cradle of the war, as it was the scene of its greatest triumphs! Where shall we turn to choose on that continent some scene which shall be noble and pleasant to tell, and shall not wander from the purpose of this work? The mind clings instinctively to Wolfe, eager to narrate something of the Regiment's story over which his presence shall shed a lustre, in memory as in life. Quebec is eagerly studied, reluctantly laid aside, for on that sad and glorious day only a handful of Artillerymen mustered on the Plains of Abraham. So the student wanders backward from that closing scene, and on the shores of that bay in Cape Breton where Louisbourg once stood in arms, he finds a theme in which Wolfe and this Regiment, whose history he fain would write, were joint and worthy actors. And what prouder comrade could one have than he who was the Washington of England in bravery, in gentleness, in the adoration of his men?

These three episodes of the war, therefore, have been selected for separate mention. In the present chapter the general outline of the war will be glanced at, and domestic occurrences in the Regiment described.

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The Seven Years' War owed its immediate origin to the quarrels in America between England and France. Under the impression that the time was favourable for recovering Silesia, which had been awarded to Prussia at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Austria secured Russia, Saxony, and Sweden as allies, and ultimately France; while Prussia obtained the alliance of England. The commencement of the war was unfavourable to England. Minorca and Hanover fell into the hands of the French, and remained so until the end of the war. But they were avenged by the victories of the British troops under Prince Ferdinand at Crevelt and Minden; and by the victories of the King of Prussia over the Austrians at Prague and Rosbach. The capture of Belleisle by the English compensated, to a certain extent, for the loss of Minorca. The capture of Louisbourg, Quebec, Montreal, and ultimately the whole of Canada, added lustre to the English arms in the West, as that of Pondicherry did in the East; while even Africa contributed its share to English triumph, in the capture of Senegal from the French.

It was not until 1758 that the first Artillery was sent to Germany. It was increased in the following year, and a further reinforcement was sent in 1760, increasing the whole to five companies. Two companies were sent to America in 1757, to swell the Artillery force already there, with a view to the reduction of Louisbourg and the subjugation of Canada. Two, besides a number of detachments, were at Belleisle in 1761; the company at Gibraltar was increased by another; two companies were sent to Portugal after France had formed the Treaty known as the Family Compact; four were in the East Indies; two companies, besides a number of detachments, accompanied Lord Albemarle to the Havannah; and a detachment went to Senegal. This summary—not including the numerous detachments on board the bomb-vessels—is sufficient to give some idea of the ubiquitous duties performed by the Regiment during this time.

The increase in the number of companies which took place during the Seven Years' War was accompanied by the formation of another Battalion (the Third), whose history will therefore, be given in proper chronological place.

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Although three episodes have been selected for more detailed mention than the others, it would not be just to omit all notice of the other events which occurred in the Regiment's history at this time. Turning to the East, there are many pages in the old records which speak eloquently, though quaintly, of service done at this time by the corps in India. A mixed force, under the command of Captain Richard Maitland, R.A., was ordered by the Governor of Bombay to proceed, in February, 1759, against the City and Castle of Surat. Captain Maitland's and Captain Northall's companies were present with the force, but the last-named officer died of sunstroke on the march. "The first attack," writes Captain Maitland, "that we made was against the French garden, where the enemy (Seydees) had lodged a number of men. Them we drove out, after a very smart firing on both sides for about four hours, our number lost consisting of about twenty men killed and as many wounded. After we had got possession of the French garden, I thought it necessary to order the Engineer to pitch upon a proper place to erect a battery, which he did, and completed it in two days. On the battery were mounted two 24-pounders and a 13-inch mortar, which I ordered to fire against the wall, &c., as brisk as possible. After three days' bombardment from the batteries and the armed vessels, I formed a general attack, driving the enemy from their batteries, and carrying the outer town, with its fortifications. The same evening I commenced firing from the 13 and 10-inch mortars on the inner town and castle, distant 500 and 700 yards. The continual firing of our batteries caused such consternation, and the impossibility of supporting themselves caused the Governor to open the gates of the town, and offering to give up the castle if I would allow him and his people to march out with their effects. We got possession without further molestation." Captain Maitland, who seems to have been more proficient with his sword than his pen, died in India in 1763.

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The scene changes to Manilla; and on a faded page the student reads how a company of Artillery arrived off that island on the 23rd September, 1762, with General Draper's force, and made good their landing next morning with three field-guns and one howitzer. By the 26th the batteries were ready for heavier ordnance; and eight 24-pounders were placed in one, and 10 and 13-inch mortars in another. And here the dim page is illumined by a sentence dear to the student's heart:—"The officers of Artillery and Engineers exercising themselves in a manner that nothing but their zeal for the public service could have inspired." On the 5th October, so violent had been the fire of the Artillery, that the breach appeared practicable; and at daylight on the morning of the 6th, after a general discharge from all the batteries, the troops rushed to the assault. The Governor and principal officers retired to the citadel, and surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion.

Again the scene changes. On the 5th March, 1762, Lord Albemarle's expedition left Portsmouth for the Havannah. The Royal Artillery consisted of Captain Buchanan's and Captain Anderson's companies, with Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonels Leith^[20] and Cleveland, Captain-Lieutenant Williamson as a Volunteer, and Lieutenants Lee, Lemoine, and Blomefield for duty on board the bomb-vessels. On reaching Barbadoes news is received of the capitulation of Martinique to General Monckton's force, and the fleet steers for that island. Here large reinforcements from America meet them, including Captain Strachey's company, which brings the strength of the Artillery up to 377 of all ranks. On the 6th June the expedition reaches Havannah, and a landing is effected six miles to the eastward of the Moro, which it is resolved to besiege first. And here the story becomes a purely Artillery matter. Two batteries were opened—one against the Moro, at 192 yards distance, called the grand battery, and one for howitzers, to annoy the shipping. Repeated and unsuccessful sallies were made by the enemy; and still battery after battery was made and opened by the English. On the 1st July four batteries opened fire—from twelve 24-pounders, six 13-inch, three 10-inch, and 26 Royal mortars. On the 3rd July another was completed; and on the 16th sixteen additional guns were brought into play and so well served that the besieged were reduced to six guns. But there were other enemies than man to contend with. Twice the Grand Battery took fire, and the second time it was entirely consumed. Fresh provisions became scarce, and water equally so. No words can paint what followed better than the short sentence which meets the student's eye:—"The scanty supply of water exhausted their strength, and, joined to the anguish of dreadful thirst, put an end to the existence of many. Five thousand soldiers and three thousand sailors were laid up with various distempers."^[21] On the 22nd,—a lodgment having been effected on the glacis,—it was found necessary to have recourse to mining; and on the 30th the mines were sprung and the place carried by storm. Fresh batteries were now formed, and the guns of the Moro turned against the town. On the 11th August forty-five guns and eight mortars opened on the town with such fury, that flags of truce were soon hung up all round the town, and on the following day the articles of capitulation were signed; the principal gates of the town were taken possession of; the English colours were hoisted; and Captain Duncan took possession of the men-of-war in the harbour.^[22]

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The death vacancies in the Artillery, which were very numerous, had been filled up on the spot by Lord Albemarle, who not merely gave the promotions, but also made first appointments as Lieutenant-Fireworkers from among the cadets and non-commissioned officers present with the companies. The whole of these promotions were ratified by the Board in the following year; but an opportunity was taken at the same time of informing the Regiment that "Lieutenant-Colonel Cleveland's brevet is not to allow of his ranking otherwise than as Major in the Regiment," although his pay would be that of the higher rank.

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Yet again and again, from east to west and west to east, do the scenes in the Regimental drama at this time change. From Newfoundland we hear of a gallant band of fifty-eight Artillerymen under Captain Ferguson, with a train of no less than twenty-nine pieces, being present with Colonel Amherst at the recapture of that island, after its brief occupation by the French. And from Portugal comes a letter from Lord London in October, 1762: "In the action of Villa Vella, Major Macbean, with four field-pieces, joined, having used the greatest diligence in his march. The force retiring, Major Macbean's guns formed part of the rear-guard, which he conducted so effectually, that hardly any shot was fired that did not take place among the enemy.... Major Macbean of the Artillery is an officer whose zeal and ability, upon this and every other occasion, justly entitle him to the warmest recommendations I can possibly give him."

In the mean time, what was going on in England?

An unsuccessful expedition was ordered in July, 1757, to Rochfort, in which Captain James's company was engaged. On its return in October the Company was sent to Scarborough.

On the 5th June, 1758, we find 400 Artillerymen with sixty guns forming part of an expedition against St. Malo under Charles, Duke of Marlborough; but little was done except destroying a large number of French vessels. The subsequent attack and capture of Cherbourg was more successful, and the number of guns taken from the enemy enabled the Government to get up a display in London—utterly out of proportion to the actual danger and loss incurred by the troops, but intended to gratify the populace—which may be described in a few words. "The cannon and mortars taken at Cherbourg passed by His Majesty, set out from Hyde Park and came through the City in grand procession, guarded by a company of matrosses, with drums beating and fifes playing all the way to the Tower, where they arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon. There were twenty-three carriages drawn by 229 horses, with a postilion and driver to each carriage in the following manner:—The first, drawn by fifteen grey horses, with the English colours and the French underneath; seven ditto, drawn by thirteen horses each; nine ditto by nine horses each; three ditto by seven horses each; one ditto by five horses; then the two mortars, by nine horses each."

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And at Woolwich, what was going on? Promotion was brisk, with death so busy all over the world; officers got their commissions when very young; and the age of the cadets fell in proportion. Hence we feel no surprise that the legislation for these young gentlemen occupies a considerable part of the order-books of the period. But the remaining orders are not destitute of interest. One, dated 1st October, 1758, introduces a name which has been familiar to the Regiment ever since in the same capacity: "R. Cox, Esq., is appointed Paymaster to the Royal Regiment of Artillery." The division of the Regiment into Battalions rendered many orders necessary. It was now for the first time laid down that the quartermasters were responsible for the clothing and equipment until handed over to the captains. A separate roster was kept for detachments, which, however, was not to interfere with officers accompanying their own men, when the whole company moved. Promotion from matross to gunner was ordered never to be made without submitting the case to the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, in

the same manner as the promotion of non-commissioned officers. No non-commissioned officer was to be recommended for promotion who had not written in full for the examination of his Captain the names and different parts of guns and mortars, their carriages and beds, and also a full description of a gun. And at every parade the Captain of the week was to take care that the men were made acquainted with the names of all the different parts of a gun and carriage, and of a gun, and once a day to mount and dismount a gun. Every man was supplied with three rounds of ball-cartridge, without which he was never to go on duty; when discharged, an English gunner received a fortnight's pay; a Scotchman received a month's, provided he had been enlisted in Scotland; no Irishman was on any account allowed at this time to be enlisted for the Royal Artillery; no recruit was permitted leave of absence until he had been dismissed drill; no man on guard was to "extort money from any prisoner on any pretence whatsoever;" no man was to pull off his clothes or accoutrements during the hours of exercise; no pay-sergeant was allowed to pay the men in a public-house; the drummers and fifers were, when on duty, always to wear their swords; any pay-sergeant lending money *at a premium* to any of the men was to be tried and reduced to the rank of matross, and any man consenting to be imposed upon in this respect would receive no further advancement in the Regiment. No men were allowed to enter the Laboratory in their new clothing. Every recruit for the Regiment at this time received a guinea and a crown as bounty, provided he were medically fit, 5 feet 9 inches in height, and not over 25 years of age.

Many of the orders would lose their quaintness, if curtailed.

November 19, 1758. "Complaint having been made of the Greenwich guard for milking the cows belonging to Combe Farm, the Sergeant of that guard to be answerable for such theft, who will be broke and punished if he suffer it for the future, and does not take care to prevent it."

Jan. 6, 1759. "The Paymasters of each company are to clear with the nurse of the hospital once a week. No man is to be allowed within the nurse's apartment."

March 19, 1759. "The sentries to load with a running ball, and when the Officer of the Guard goes his rounds, they are to drop the muzzles of their pieces to show him that they are properly loaded."

June 14, 1758. "In drilling with the Battalion guns the man who loads the gun is to give the word 'Fire,' as it is natural to believe he will not do it till he believes himself safe; and he who gives the word 'Fire' is not to attempt to sponge until he hears the report of the gun."

With regard to officers, the order-books at this time divided their attention pretty equally between the Surgeon and his mate, who had a playful habit of being out of the way when wanted, and that favourite theme, the young officers. Much fatherly advice, which in more modern times would be given verbally, was given then through the channel of the Regimental order-book. Nor was the system more successful, if one may judge from the frequent repetitions of neglected orders. Various orders as to dress were given, from which we learn that boots for the officers and black spatterdashes for the men were the ordinary covering for their extremities on parade—white spatterdashes with their six-and-thirty buttons being reserved for grand occasions. It was a very serious crime to wear a black stock,—white being the orthodox colour—and the lace from the officers' scarlet waistcoats was removed at this period. Very great attention was paid at this time to perfecting the officers, old and young, in the knowledge of laboratory duties, nor was any exemption allowed. From the order-books of this date, also, we learn that officers' servants were chosen from among the matrosses; and that, on a man becoming a gunner, he ceased to be a servant. Nor was a matross allowed to be made gunner until a recruit was found to fill his vacancy in the lower grade. As now, the practice prevailed then, whenever a man in debt was transferred from one company to another, of making the Captain who received the man reimburse the Captain who handed him over, repaying himself by stoppages from the man's pay.

With this general glance at the Regiment during the Seven Years' War, the History will now proceed to a somewhat fuller examination of the three important episodes in that War, which have been selected.

N.B.—Good service was rendered at Guadaloupe in 1759 by a Company under Major S. Cleaveland, and at Martinique in 1762 by two Companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Ord.

[20.](#) Lieutenant-Colonel Leith was killed subsequently at the bombardment of Havannah, while in command of the Artillery.

[21.](#) Cleaveland's MSS.

[22.](#) Afterwards Lord Camperdown.

THE year in which the Regiment was divided into two Battalions witnessed the commencement in America of military operations which were to result in the complete removal of French authority from Canada.

Captain Ord's company, which had suffered so grievously at Fort du Quesne in 1755, having been reinforced from England, was joined in 1757 by two companies under Colonel George Williamson, and a large staff of artificers, the whole being intended to form part of an expedition against the French town of Louisbourg in Cape Breton, now part of the province of Nova Scotia. It was to be Colonel Williamson's good fortune to command the Royal Artillery in America until, in 1760, the English power was fully established on the Continent.

When the English captured Annapolis and Placentia in the beginning of the 18th century, the French garrisons were allowed to settle in Louisbourg, which place they very strongly fortified. Its military advantages were not very great, had an attack from the land side been undertaken, for it was surrounded by high ground; but it had an admirable harbour, and it was very difficult to land troops against the place from the sea side of the town. The harbour lies open to the south-east, and is nearly six miles long, with an average depth of seven fathoms, and an excellent anchorage. There was abundance of fuel in the neighbourhood, both wood and coal; in fact, the whole island was full of both; and there were casemates in the town which could greatly shelter the women and children during a bombardment. Generally some French men-of-war were in the harbour; and in 1757, when the siege was first proposed to be undertaken, so strong was the French fleet at Louisbourg, that the English commanders postponed their operations until the following year. Had our statesmen been better acquainted with geography, it is probable that at the Peace of Utrecht, when Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were authoritatively pronounced to be English territory, Cape Breton would have also been included; but being an island, and separate from Nova Scotia although immediately adjoining it, the French did not consider that it fell within the treaty, and clung to it, as they always had to the maritime provinces of Canada.

The siege of 1758 was not the first to which Louisbourg had been subjected. In 1745 an expedition had been fitted out from Massachusetts—the land forces being American Militia under Colonel Pepperell, and the naval contingent being composed of English men-of-war under Commodore Warren. The amicable relations between the naval and military commanders tended greatly to bring about the ultimate success.

The American Militia were badly trained, and far from well disciplined, but they were brave, headstrong, and animated by strong hatred of their old enemies the French. Powerful as Louisbourg was (it was called the Dunkirk of America) the Americans did not hesitate to attack it, and they were justified by the result. On the 30th April, 1745, the siege commenced; on the 15th June, M. Du Chambon, the Governor of Louisbourg, signed the capitulation.

For a year after this, the town was occupied by the American Militia; but a garrison which included a company of the Royal Artillery was then sent from England, and remained until 1748, when by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle Louisbourg was restored to the French. The sum of 235,749*l.* was paid by England to her American colonies, to meet the expenses of the expedition whose success had now been cancelled by diplomacy, and if to this sum be added the expenses of the Navy, and the cost of garrisoning the place for three years, we shall find that at least 600,000*l.* must have been expended to no purpose.

Time went on; treaties were torn up; and Louisbourg was again the object of English attack. It is this second siege which is the one considered in this chapter; for none of the Royal Artillery were present at the first; the Artillery which fought on that occasion being militia, commanded by an officer who fought against England during the subsequent War of Independence. An indirect interest certainly is attached to that siege in the mind of one studying the annals of the Royal Artillery; for had it been unsuccessful, Annapolis with its little garrison would have been exposed to another assault. From private letters in possession of the descendants of a distinguished Artillery officer—Major-General Phillips—the perilous condition of that town during 1745 can be easily realized. Large bodies of French, and of hostile Indians, were in the immediate neighbourhood, making no secret of their intention to attack Annapolis in force, should the English siege of Louisbourg be unsuccessful. With the news of its capture, the danger to Annapolis disappeared. These local wars between the French and English settlers proved an admirable school for instructing the New Englanders in military operations; nor was it foreseen that the experience thus acquired would be turned against the parent country. Distraction in America helped England in her wars with France in Europe; and such distractions were easy to raise among colonists whose mutual hatred was so great. It was never imagined that the tools which England thus used against France were being sharpened in the process for use against herself in the stern days which were coming on. Colonial rebellion seemed impossible; colonial endurance was believed to be eternal; it was hoped that patriotism and sentiment would be stronger than any hardship, and would condone any injustice. But when the day came when colonists asked the question "Why?" for the Imperial actions towards them, the parental tie was cut, and the lesson taught in the school of local warfare—the lesson of their own strength—became apparent to the children.

The siege of Louisbourg, in 1758, has a threefold interest to the military reader; in connection with the conspicuous services of the Royal Artillery on the occasion; in relation to the story of the gallant Wolfe, who acted as one of the Brigadiers; and in the fact that this was the last place held by the French against England, on the east coast of America. Ghastly for France as the results of the Seven Years' War were, perhaps none were felt more acutely than this loss of Canada, with its episodes of Louisbourg and Quebec. Louis the Well-beloved was sinking into a decrepit debauchee; and in the East and in the West his kingdom was crumbling away. The distinctive characteristics, even at this day, of the French population of Canada, which have survived more than a century of English rule, give an idea of the firm hold France had obtained on the country; and the strength of that hold must have made the pang of defeat proportionately bitter.

Lord Loudon was to have commanded the expedition; and in 1757 the necessary troops and ships were concentrated at Halifax, now the capital of Nova Scotia. But on learning that there were 10,300 of a garrison in Louisbourg, besides fifteen men-of-war and three frigates, he abandoned the idea of an attack, and sailed for New York, leaving garrisons in Halifax and Annapolis.

In the following year, the idea was revived; and General Amherst left Halifax for Louisbourg with a force of 12,260 men, of whom 324 belonged to the Royal Artillery. The naval force consisted of 23 ships of the line and 18 frigates; and the number of vessels employed as transports was 144.

The Artillery train included 2 Captain-Lieutenants, 6 First Lieutenants, 5 Second Lieutenants, and 4 Lieutenant-Fireworkers; besides a staff consisting of a Colonel, an Adjutant, a Quartermaster, and two medical officers. There were no less than 53 non-commissioned officers, to a total rank and file of 63 gunners and 163 matrosses.

The Regiments engaged were as follows:—the 1st Royals, 15th, 17th, 22nd, 28th, 35th, 40th, 45th, 47th, 48th, 58th, two battalions of the 60th Royal Americans, and Frazer's Highlanders. There were eleven officers of miners and engineers, and they were assisted during the siege, and at the demolition of the fortifications, by selected officers from the Infantry Regiments. General Amherst was assisted by the following Brigadiers:—Whitmore, Lawrance, and James Wolfe.

The following guns were taken with the Artillery:—

Brass.

26	24-prs. guns.
18	12-prs. guns.
6	6-prs. guns.
1	3-pr. gun (sent by mistake).
2	13-inch mortars.
2	10-inch mortars.
7	8-inch mortars.
10	5½-inch mortars.
30	4¾-inch mortars.

Iron.

8	32-prs. guns.
25	24-prs. guns.
4	6-prs. guns.
1	13-inch mortar.

There were also two 8-inch and four 5½-inch howitzers. Over 43,000 round shot, 2380 case, 41,762 shell, besides a few grape and carcasses, and 4888 barrels of powder accompanied the train.

The fleet was commanded by Admiral Boscawen, assisted by Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, and Commodore Durell. It consisted, as has been said, of no less than 23 ships of the line, and 18 frigates. Even the harbour of Halifax, Nova Scotia, which has been the witness of so many historical scenes, never saw a finer sight than when on Sunday the 28th May, 1758, this fleet, accompanied by the transports, sailed for Louisbourg. All the arrangements for the embarkation and the siege had been made by Brigadier Lawrance, at Halifax, even down to such details as the prescription of ginger and sugar for the troops, for the purpose of neutralizing the evil effects of the American water—an evil which must certainly have existed in the Brigadier's imagination. But just as they left the harbour, and reached Sambro' Point, they met a vessel from England with General Amherst on board, commissioned to take command of the expedition, as far as the military forces were concerned. The cordial relations between him and Admiral Boscawen assisted, to a marked extent, in bringing about the success of the enterprise.

The orders issued to the troops were intended to excite them to anger against the enemy, at the same time that they should inculcate the strongest discipline. The quaintness of some of them renders them worthy of reproduction. "No care or attention will be wanting for the subsistence and preservation of the troops, such as our situation will admit of. There will be an Hospital, and in time it is hoped there will be fresh meat for the sick and wounded men.... The least murmur or complaint against any part of duty will be checked with great severity, and any backwardness in sight of the enemy will be punished with immediate death. If any man is villain enough to desert his colours and go over to the enemy, he shall be excepted in the capitulation, and hanged with infamy as a traitor. When any of our troops are to attack the French regular forces, they are to march close up to them, discharge their pieces loaded with two bullets, and then rush upon them with their bayonets; and the commander of the Highlanders may, when he sees occasion, order his corps to run upon them with their drawn swords.... A body of light troops are now training to oppose the Indians, Canadians, and other painted savages of the Island, who will entertain them in their own way, and preserve the women and children of the Army from their unnatural barbarity. Indians spurred on by our inveterate enemy, the French, are the only brutes and cowards in the creation who were ever known to exercise their cruelties upon the sex, and to scalp and mangle the poor sick soldiers and defenceless women. When the light troops have by practice and experience acquired as much caution and circumspection, as they have spirit and activity, these howling barbarians will fly before them.... The tents will be slightly intrenched or palisaded, that the sentries may not be exposed to the shot of a miserable-looking Mic-Mac, whose trade is not war, but murder.... As the air of Cape Breton is moist and foggy, there must be a particular attention to the fire-arms upon duty, that they may be kept dry, and always fit for use; and the Light Infantry should fall upon some method to secure their arms from the dews, and dropping of the trees when they are in search of the enemy."

After a favourable passage, the fleet anchored in Gabreuse Bay, on Friday the 2nd June. This bay is about three leagues by sea from Louisbourg harbour, and to the southwest of it. Here it was resolved to attempt a landing; but for days the elements fought for the French. Incessant fogs and a tremendous surf rendered the enterprise hopeless, until Thursday, the 8th June. The landing was ultimately effected under the fire of the ships; the leading boats containing the four senior companies of grenadiers, and all the light infantry of the force, under General Wolfe, whose courage and skill on this occasion were conspicuous. With a loss of 111 killed and wounded, they succeeded in driving the enemy back, and the other regiments were able to land. A change of weather prevented the landing of Artillery, baggage, and stores, so that the troops were exposed for the night to great discomfort. The spirit of the men under Wolfe on this occasion was remarkable. Boats were swamped, or dashed to pieces on the rocks; many men were drowned; and all had to leap into the water up to the waist; but nothing could restrain their ardour. Not merely did they drive the enemy back, but they captured 4 officers and 70 men, and 24 pieces of Ordnance.

From this day until the 19th, when the Royal Artillery opened upon the town from a line of batteries which had been thrown up along the shore, the operations of the army were weary and monotonous in the extreme. With the exception of Wolfe's party, which was detached to secure a battery called the Lighthouse Battery,—an undertaking in which he succeeded, the duties of the troops consisted in making roads, and transporting from the landing-place guns, ammunition, and stores. In all the arrangements for the investment and bombardment, Colonel Williamson was warmly supported by General Amherst; and the Admiral lent his assistance by landing his marines to work with the Artillery, and by sending four 32-pounders with part of his own ship's company, for a battery whose construction had been strongly recommended. It was nearly ten o'clock on the night of the 19th, when the English batteries opened on the shipping and on the Island Battery. This last was a powerful battery commanding the entrance to the harbour, and with a double ditch to the land side to strengthen it. It was the chief obstacle to the English movements, and smart as our fire was, it returned it with equal warmth. A battery of six 24-pounders was thrown up at the lighthouse for the sole purpose of attempting to silence this particular battery; and on the 25th it succeeded. The fire on the rest of the fortifications of Louisbourg was marvellously true, and incessant; and as of late years they had been somewhat neglected, and in many places sea-sand had been used with the mortar in their construction, the effect of the English fire was more rapidly apparent.

One precaution had been taken on this occasion by the French, which had been omitted by them in 1745, as they had too good reason to remember. When compelled to evacuate the Grand Battery, they set fire to it, and rendered it utterly useless; so that the course pursued by the English in the former siege, when they turned the guns of the battery against the town, could not be repeated. The effects of the English fire in the siege of 1758, when the Royal Artillery was represented, were thus described by a French officer who was in the town:—"Each cannon shot from the English batteries shook and brought down immense pieces of the ruinous walls, so that, in a short cannonade, the Bastion du Roi, the Bastion Dauphin, and the curtain of communication between them, were entirely demolished, all the defences ruined, all the cannon dismounted, all the parapets and banquettes razed, and became as one continued breach to make an assault everywhere."^[23]

An attempt was made by the Governor of Louisbourg to procure a cessation of fire against a particular part of the works, behind which he said was the hospital for the sick and wounded. As however, there were shrewd reasons for believing that not the hospital, but the magazine, was the subject of his anxious thoughts, his request was refused, but he was informed that he might place his sick on board ship, where they would be unmolested, or on the island under our sentries. These offers, however, were not accepted.

The fire of the enemy's Artillery slackened perceptibly about the 13th July, and continued getting feebler, so that in a fortnight's time an occasional shot was all that was fired. At the commencement of the siege there were in Louisbourg 218 pieces of ordnance, exclusive of 11 mortars; but such was the effect of the English fire, not merely in dismounting and disabling the guns, but (as the deserters reported) in killing and wounding the gunners, that some days before the 27th July, when the capitulation was signed, the French reply to our Artillery fire was simply *nil*. The gallantry of the French commandant, the Chevalier de Drucour, was undoubted; but he was sorely tried by the fears and prayers of the unhappy civil population, to whom military glory was a myth, but a bombardment a very painful reality. Madame de Drucour did all in her power to inspire the troops with increased ardour; while there were any guns in position to fire, she daily fired three herself; and showed a courage which earned for her the respect both of friend and enemy. But misfortunes came fast upon one another. A shot from the English batteries striking an iron bolt in the powder magazine of the French ship 'Entreprenant,' an explosion followed, which set fire to her, and to two others alongside, the 'Capricieuse' and 'Superbe.' The confusion which ensued baffles description; and not the least startling occurrence was the self-discharge of the heated guns in the burning ships, whose shot went into the town, and occasionally into the other two men-of-war which had escaped a similar fate to that which befell the three which have been named. Four days later, on the 25th July, a party of 600 British sailors entered the harbour, boarded the only two ships which remained, the 'Prudent' and 'Bienfaisant,' set fire to the former, which had gone aground, and towed the latter out of the harbour to the English fleet.

Their batteries being destroyed, the fortifications one vast breach, their ships of war burnt or captured, and there being no prospect of relief, the French commander had no alternative but capitulation. He first proposed to treat, but was informed in reply, that unless he capitulated in an hour the English fleet would enter the harbour and bombard the town. So, after a little delay, he consented, on condition that the French troops should be sent as prisoners of war to France.

The articles of capitulation were signed on the 27th July, 1758, and immediately three companies of grenadiers took possession of the West Gate, while General Whitmore superintended the disarming of the garrison.

The expenditure of ammunition by the Royal Artillery during the siege was as follows:—13,700 round shot, 3340 shell, 766 case shot, 156 round shot fixed, 50 carcasses, and 1493 barrels of powder. Eight brass, and five iron guns were disabled; and one mortar.

Of the English army, 524 were killed or wounded; and at the capture of the place, there were 10,813 left fit for duty. The total strength of the French garrison, including sailors and marines on shore, at the same date, was 5637 of all ranks, of whom 1790 were sick or wounded.

After the capitulation many of the English men-of-war moved into the harbour; and the demolition of the fortifications by the Engineers and working-parties was methodically commenced. The approach of the winter, and the heavy garrison duties, suspended the work for a time; and it was not until the 1st June, 1760, that the uninterrupted destruction of the works was commenced, under Captain Muckell of the Company of Miners, assisted by working parties from the infantry, of strength varying according to the work, from 160 to 220 daily. The miners and artificers numbered a little over 100. The whole work was completed on the 10th November, 1760, there having been only two days' intermission, besides Sundays, one being the King's birthday, and the other being Midsummer Day. The reason for keeping this latter day is thus mentioned in a MS. diary of the mining operations at Louisbourg, now in the Royal Artillery Record Office, which belonged to Sir John Ligonier:—"According to tradition among the miners, Midsummer was the first that found out the copper mines in Cornwall, for which occasion they esteem this a holy day, and all the miners come from below ground to carouse, and drink to the good old man's memory."

The fortifications of Louisbourg have never been rebuilt; and with the disappearance of its garrison its importance vanished. Cape Breton and the Island of St. John, now called Prince Edward's Island, fell into English hands almost immediately, and have never since been ruled by any other. The former is now part of Nova Scotia; its capital is no longer Louisbourg, but Sydney; and its French population has vanished—being replaced, to a great extent, by Highlanders from Scotland.

Although the purpose of this work has made the Artillery part of the army's duties the most prominent in the chapter, it cannot be denied that, to the ordinary reader, Wolfe is the centre of attraction. The time was drawing near when the brave spirit which animated him at Louisbourg was to fire his exhausted and weary frame, and raise him from his sickbed to that encounter on the Plains of Abraham, which his own death and that of his opponent were to render famous for all time. And the fire which then breathed life for the moment into his own frame inspired the men under his command at Louisbourg. The foremost duties, the posts of danger, were always his; and with such a guide his followers never failed. On one evening in June he was issuing orders to his division, which was to be employed during the night in bringing up guns to a new and exposed post. It was necessary to warn the men that the fire of the enemy would be probably warmer than usual, to check the working-parties: but with simple confidence, he said, "He does not doubt but that the officers and soldiers will co-operate with their usual spirit, that they may have at least their share in the "honours of this enterprise." Of a truth, he who asks his men to do nothing that he will not do himself,—who trusts them, instead of worrying and doubting them,—and who holds before his own eyes and theirs that ideal of duty which is of all virtues the most God-like, is the man to *lead* men; and such a man was Wolfe.

Louisbourg and Quebec—two words—yet on Wolfe's grave they would mean pages of heroism.

²³. Murdoch.

CHAPTER XIX. MINDEN,—AND AFTER MINDEN.

CERTAIN Goths and Vandals, connected with the Board of Ordnance in 1799, issued an order granting permission for the destruction of many old documents which had accumulated in the Battalion offices at Woolwich since the year 1758. Had these been vouchers for pecuniary outlay, it is but just to the Honourable Board to say that this permission would never have been granted. But as they referred merely to such trumpery matters as expenditure of life, and the stories of England's military operations, no reluctance was displayed, nor any trouble taken to distinguish between what might have proved useful, and useless to posterity. A gap consequently occurs in the official records of the 1st and 2nd Battalions, which increases twentyfold the labours of the student.

The Battle of Minden was fought during the years represented by that gap, and the difficulties to be overcome in tracing the identical companies of the Royal Artillery which were engaged can only be realised by the reader, who has himself had to burrow among old records and mutilated volumes. The main purpose in this history being to strengthen the *Battery* as well as the *Regimental esprit*, it was of the utmost importance that the Companies, which did so much to decide the contest on that eventful day, should be discovered with certainty, for the sake of the existing Batteries who are entitled to their glory, by virtue of succession; and—to make certain that no hasty conclusions have been arrived at—it has been thought desirable to give the data on which they have been based.

Minden was fought in 1759. Fortunately, a fresh distribution of the companies in the two existing Battalions took place in the preceding year; and the names of the officers in each company are given at length in Cleaveland's MS. notes.

Now three companies are known to have been present at Minden. Of one, Captain Phillips', there is fortunately no doubt. It was then No. 5 Company of the 1st Battalion; and after long and glorious service became on the 1st July, 1859, No. 7 Battery, 14th Brigade, when that change in the nomenclature of the companies took place, which is always baffling the student. On the 1st January, 1860, the exigencies of the service required yet another christening, and it became, on transfer, No. 4 Battery of the 13th Brigade, which it now is. This Battery was undoubtedly present at Minden.

The tracing of the other two companies is not so easy. It is on record that one was commanded by Captain Cleaveland. In 1758, this officer was in command of No. 2 Company of the 2nd Battalion, but in the winter of that year he exchanged with Captain Tovey, of the 1st Battalion, and almost immediately marched with his new company to join the Allied Armies on the Continent. This was then No. 4 Company of the 1st Battalion; and as Captain Cleaveland exchanged into it on the 30th October, 1758, and was in Germany with his Company in the beginning of December, (no second exchange having taken place,) there can be little doubt that another of the Companies at Minden was No. 4 Company of the 1st Battalion, now designated No. 3 Battery of the 5th Brigade.

Judging from a mention of Captain Drummond in one of Prince Ferdinand's despatches, the third company present at the battle would at first sight appear to have been No. 6 of the 2nd Battalion, commanded by Captain Thomas Smith,—Captain Drummond being at that date his Captain-Lieutenant. But there is no mention of Captain Smith in any of the despatches; and as there is a very frequent and most honourable mention of Captain Forbes Macbean, who was undoubtedly present in command of one of the companies, it would appear that Captain-Lieutenant Drummond must have been transferred to some other company for this service. Fortunately the Records of the 1st Battalion—generally a wilderness at this time—contain a key to the solution of the difficulty, for they show that Captain Forbes Macbean (on his promotion on 1st January, 1759, the very year that Minden was fought) took command of No. 8 Company of the 1st Battalion, now A Battery, 11th Brigade. As he never exchanged, and is specially mentioned as having *taken his company* to Germany, this may be assumed with certainty to have been the third of the companies present at Minden.

A little confusion has been caused by the mention of Captain Foy in Prince Ferdinand's General Order after the battle; and one writer, generally marvellously accurate, assumes that he commanded one of the companies engaged. But, in the first place, he was then merely a Captain-Lieutenant, and much junior even to Captain Drummond, and, in the second, he was then holding a special appointment, namely, that of Bridge-master to the Artillery. Although he and Captain Drummond had undoubtedly each charge of some guns during the battle, he was certainly not there with his Company. Indeed, in a contemporary notice, we find that this officer proceeded *alone* to join the Allied Army in the capacity named above. He held a similar appointment in America afterwards for nine years, and died in that country in 1779.

The two most prominent of the Artillery officers present at Minden were Captain Phillips, who commanded, and Captain Macbean; and both deserve more than passing notice. The former joined the Regiment as a cadet gunner in 1746, became Lieutenant-Fireworker in the following year, Second Lieutenant in 1755, and First Lieutenant in 1756. When holding this rank, he was appointed to the command of a company of miners raised in 1756 for duty in Minorca, but no longer required after the capitulation of Port Mahon. Instead of disbanding them, however, the Board of Ordnance converted them into a company of Artillery, and added them to the Regiment. Greatly to the indignation of the officers of a corps, whose promotion then, as now, was by seniority, Lieutenant Phillips was transferred with the company, as a Captain, without having passed through the intermediate grade of Captain-Lieutenant. If the end ever justifies the means, this job on the part of Sir John Ligonier, then Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, was justified by Captain Phillips' subsequent career both in Germany and in America. A minor point in connection with this officer is worthy of mention. He was the first to originate a band in the Royal Artillery—not a permanent one, however—the present Band only dating as far back as 1771, when the 4th Battalion was formed, and with it the nucleus of what has developed into probably the best military band in the world. Captain Phillips died—a general officer—in Virginia, in the year 1781, from illness contracted on active service.

Forbes Macbean, the next most worthy of mention, began his career in the Regiment, as a Cadet Matross, and died in 1800 as Colonel-Commandant of the Invalid Battalion. He was present at Fontenoy, as has already been mentioned; in Germany during the campaign of which Minden was part; in Portugal, where he reached the rank of Inspector-General of the Portuguese Artillery; and in Canada, in the years 1778-9, as commanding the Royal Artillery. He is mentioned in Kane's List, as having been the second officer in the Regiment who obtained the blue ribbon of Science, the Fellowship of the Royal Society—an honour borne by a good many in the Regiment now, and valued by every one who appreciates its position as a scientific corps.

The battle of Minden was the first during the operations in Germany of the Allied Army under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, at which special notice was made of the English troops.

These operations commenced in 1757, the year in which Prince Ferdinand assumed the command of the Allied Army, and terminated in 1762. On the 8th March, 1758, Prince Ferdinand captured Minden from the French—a town situated on the river Weser, about 45 miles W.S.W. from Hanover; and retained possession of it until July, 1759, when it was retaken from General Zastrow and his Hessian troops by the French under M. de Broglie.

During this interval, however, the Allied Army had been strengthened by the arrival of the following Regiments from England, sent by King George, as Elector of Brunswick-Luneberg, viz., *Cavalry*: Horse Guards Blue, Bland's, Howard's, Inniskillen, and Mordaunt's. *Infantry*: Napier's, Kingsley's, Welsh Fusiliers, Home's, and Stuart's.

These were afterwards joined by the North British Dragoons, and Brudenel's Regiment of Foot. The Artillery which first accompanied this force consisted of a Captain, six subalterns, and 120 non-commissioned officers and men, but in 1759 it was reinforced to a total strength of three companies. At first nothing but light 6-pounders had come, for use as battalion guns, and had this state of matters remained unaltered, this chapter need never have been written. But with the reinforcements of 1759 came also twenty-eight guns of heavier calibre, and the Artillery was now divided into independent Brigades or Batteries, with a proportion merely of battalion guns; and as it now ceased to march in one column, as had formerly been the case, the great kettledrums were no longer carried with the companies.

In July, 1759, the French re-occupied Minden; and, outside the town, Prince Ferdinand was encamped with his Army, the right resting on Minden Marsh, the left on the Weser, but on a somewhat extended arc, and with intervals so great as to appear dangerous. He resolved to make a stand against the French, who had been considerably strengthened and were now under the command of M. de Contades. The French Commander had obtained permission from Paris to attack the Allies, and on the evening of the 31st July he issued the most detailed orders to his army as to the hours of movement, disposition of the troops, and order of battle. Prince Ferdinand anticipating the movements of the French, had issued orders for his army to march at 5 A.M. on the morning of the 1st August, moving in eight columns towards Minden, thus narrowing the arc on which they would deploy, and proportionately diminishing the intervals. By the hour the Allies marched, the French, who had moved two hours before, were drawn up in order of battle, and at 6.30 A.M. the Allied Army was similarly formed. The appearance of the armies now was that of the arcs of two concentric circles, Minden being the centre, and the French Army being on the inner and smaller arc. The French had confidence in superior numbers—in the protection of the guns of the fortress in case of retreat—and in the prestige of recent successes. Their commander had boasted of his intention of surrounding Prince Ferdinand's army, and sending their capitulation to Paris. His plan was to make a powerful attack on General Wangenheim's corps, the left of the Allied Army, and somewhat detached from the main body; which he hoped to turn. But, as the event turned out, Wangenheim's division did not change its position during the whole engagement. About 7 A.M. a French battery commenced harassing the English Artillery, as it advanced in column of route on right of the Allied infantry; but as soon as possible Captain Macbean brought his battery—known as the heavy brigade—into action, and soon silenced the enemy's fire. Although he had only ten medium 12-pounders, manned by his own and Captain Phillips's companies—and two of these were disabled during this Artillery duel—he succeeded in overcoming a battery of thirty guns. While he was thus engaged, the celebrated attack of the British infantry on the French cavalry was taking place. The British, accompanied by the Hanoverian Guards, and Hardenberg's Regiment, marched for some 150 paces, exposed both to a cross fire from the enemy's batteries, and a musketry fire from the infantry; but, notwithstanding their consequent losses, and their continued exposure on both flanks, so unshaken were they, and so courageously did they fight, that in a very short time the French cavalry was routed. It is doubtful if their gallantry has ever been exceeded. Captain Macbean, being now at leisure, advanced his battery, came into action to the left, and—first preventing the French cavalry from reforming—followed by opening fire upon the Saxon troops who were now attacking the British infantry. The value of this assistance was very great.

On the left of the Allies, the Artillery fire was equally successful, and the Hanoverians and Hessians greatly distinguished themselves. Notwithstanding the unhappy and severely expiated blunder of Lord George Sackville, in failing to obey the orders for advancing his cavalry, before 10 A.M. the French army fled in confusion. At this time, Prince Ferdinand advanced the English guns on the right, as close to the morass as they could be taken, to prevent the French from returning to their old camp on the Minden side of Dutzen; and in this he completely succeeded,—the enemy being compelled to retire behind the high ground, with their right on the Weser. The victorious army encamped on the field of battle, and on totalling their losses, they were found to amount to 2800 killed and wounded, 1394 of that number being British. The French lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, between 7000 and 8000; besides 43 cannon, 10 pairs of colours, and 7 standards.

The Royal Artillery had present on this memorable day in addition to Captain Macbean's heavy brigade, two light 12-pounders, three light 6-pounders, and four howitzers, under Captain-Lieutenant Drummond; and four light 12-pounders, three light 6-pounders, and two howitzers, under Captain-Lieutenant Foy. There were also twelve light 6-pounders with six British battalions. Captain Phillips commanded the whole three companies at the battle.

The two points which strike one most after the perusal of the accounts of this engagement are the stolidity and nerve of English infantry under fire, and the advantage of independent action on the part of Field Artillery.

Minden was a cruel blow at the system of battalion guns. And although battalion guns have long disappeared, the mere concentration of them into batteries was not enough, while those batteries had to accommodate their movements to those of the battalions to which they were attached. Billed ordnance—with a range double that of the infantry weapon—had been in existence for years; and yet general officers at reviews and field-days made the batteries keep with the battalions;—advancing, retiring, dressing together, as if the only advantage of a gun over a rifle was the size of the projectile, and not also increased range. It seemed never to dawn upon their understanding that by bringing their Artillery within range of the enemy's infantry fire, as by their system they certainly did, they would ensure for their batteries, after half an hour's engagement, a ghastly paraphernalia of dead horses and empty saddles. It was not until the year 1871, that an order was issued by one who is at once Commander-in-Chief of the Army, and Colonel of the Royal Artillery, giving to field batteries in the field that inestimable boon, comparative freedom of action. The lesson was a long time in learning; and one of the best teachers was one of the oldest—this very Battle of Minden—which, in the words of one who took part in it, was of such importance in its results, that it "entirely defeated the French views, disconcerted

all their schemes, and rescued Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse from the rapacious hands of a cruel ambitious, and elated enemy."

On the day after the battle, Prince Ferdinand issued a General Order, thanking the army for their gallantry, and particularizing, among others, "the three English Captains, Phillips, Drummond, and Foy;" and on discovering that he had omitted mention of Captain Macbean, he wrote the following letter to him in his own hand.

"To Captain MACBEAN, of the British Artillery.

"SIR,—It is from a sense of your merit, and a regard to justice, that I do in this manner declare I have reason to be infinitely satisfied with your behaviour, activity, and zeal, which in so conspicuous a manner you made appear at the battle of Thonhausen, on the 1st of August. The talents you possess in your profession did not a little contribute to render our fire superior to that of the enemy, and it is to you and your Brigade that I am indebted for having silenced the fire of a battery of the enemy, which extremely galled the troops, and particularly the British infantry.

"Accept then, sir, from me the just tribute of my most perfect acknowledgment, accompanied by my most sincere thanks. I shall be happy in every opportunity of obliging you, desiring only occasions of proving it; being with the most distinguished esteem,

"Your devoted and entirely affectionate servant,
(Signed) "FERDINAND,
"Duke of Brunswick and Luneberg."

Subsequently, as a further proof of his appreciation of the services of the Royal Artillery at Minden or Thonhausen, as the battle was also named, the Prince directed the following gratuities to be presented to the senior officers:—

To	Captain William Phillips	1000 crowns.
	Captain Forbes Macbean	500 crowns.
	Captain Duncan Drummond	500 crowns.
	Captain Edward Foy	500 crowns.

The story of the remaining operations of the Allied Army, in so far as they bear upon the services of the Royal Artillery, may be briefly stated. In 1760, two additional companies were sent to Germany, the Regiment having in the interim been augmented by a third battalion. The British guns now with the army were as follows:—eight heavy, twelve medium, and six light 12-pounders; thirty light 6-pounders; three 8-inch, and six Royal mortars. Before the end of the war the armament was changed to eight heavy, six medium, and four light 12-pounders; twenty-four heavy, and thirty-four light 6-pounders; eight 8-inch, and four Royal howitzers. Captain Macbean is the prominent Artillery officer during the rest of the campaign: except, perhaps, at Warberg, where, on the 30th July, 1760, Captain Phillips astounded every one by bringing up the Artillery at a gallop, and so seconding the attack as utterly to prevent the enemy, who had passed the Dymel, from forming on the other side; and by the accuracy and rapidity of his fire, converting their retreat into a precipitate rout. Perhaps it was young blood that prompted this unexpected action; for, as has already been stated, he was but a boy compared with most captains; if so, it contributes somewhat to atone for Sir John Ligonier's favouritism. More than thirty years were to pass before Horse Artillery should form part of the British army, and show what mobility it was possible to attain; and more than a century ere Field Artillery should reach the perfection it now possesses, a perfection which treads closely on the heels of the more brilliant branch. During the Seven Years' War, so unwieldy was the movement of Artillery in the field, that this little episode, which makes modern lips smile, was thought worthy of a record denied to events which would now be considered far more important.

Although more than two years passed between the Battle of Minden and the conclusion of peace, the custom which then prevailed of armies going into winter-quarters curtailed the time for active operations; and even when the forces were manœuvring, much of the time was spent in empty marching and counter-marching. At Warberg, as at Minden, the heaviest loss fell upon the English troops, of whom 590 were killed or wounded; their gallantry—more especially in the case of the Highlanders and grenadiers—being again conspicuous. Among the trophies taken on this occasion from the enemy were ten guns.

The fortune of war changed repeatedly; and the British troops received further reinforcements, including three battalions of the Guards. Lord George Sackville having been cashiered was succeeded in the command of the English contingent by the Marquis of Granby; and a cheerful feeling prevailed among the troops, since the news had arrived of the conquest of Canada.

On the 12th February, 1761, Captain Macbean received the brevet rank of Major, and was ordered to proceed with a brigade of eight heavy 12-pounders, to join the Hereditary Prince near Fritzlar, on the following day. This town was garrisoned by 1200 French troops under M. de Narbonne; and Major Macbean—having been entrusted with the command of the whole Artillery of the Prince's army—commenced the bombardment on the 14th, placing his batteries within 300 yards of the wall, and advancing some light pieces even nearer, to scour the parapet with grape. As, however, he had no guns heavier than 12-pounders, and the walls were made of flint, his fire, although hot and steady, made little or no impression; nor could he do much damage to the gates, which were barricaded with felled trees, and immense heaps of earth and stones.

The Hereditary Prince, although expressing himself pleased with Major Macbean's dispositions, was evidently impatient to take the city; so Major Macbean suggested shelling it with howitzers, a suggestion which was approved of. So successful was the fire, that in about an hour's time the enemy capitulated, being allowed to march out with the honours of war.

Major Macbean received the Prince's special thanks; and the town was ordered to pay him 4000 crowns in lieu of their bells, a perquisite in those days of the commanding officer of Artillery, when a siege was crowned with success.

From this time, matters looked well for the Allies. On the 25th June, 1761, news reached the army of the reduction of Belleisle; and in October, 1762, tidings of the British successes at the Havannah arrived. On both occasions, a *feu de joie* was fired. On the 1st November, 1762, Cassel capitulated; a signal victory was gained over the combined Austrians and Imperialists, near Freytag, by Prince Henry of Prussia, which filled the Allied camp with joy; and on the 14th November, word reached the army that the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Fontainebleau. On the 24th December, Prince Ferdinand wrote to King George, congratulating him on the peace, and asking permission to quit the army, where his presence was no longer necessary; and at the same time he announced to the British troops, that the remembrance of their gallantry would not cease but with his life; and that "by the skill of their officers he had been enabled at the same time to serve his country, and to make a suitable return for the confidence which His Britannic Majesty had been pleased to honour him with."

On the 13th January, 1763, the thanks of the House of Commons was conveyed to the British troops for "their meritorious and eminent services;" and on the 25th January, their homeward march through Holland commenced; through the provinces of Guelderland, Nimeguen, and Breda, to Williamstadt, where they took ship for England.

And, as sleep on the eyes of the weary, so peace descended for a time on those towns and hamlets by the Weser and the Rhine, which had been for so many years unwilling pawns on the great chess-board of war.

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CHAPTER XX.
THE THIRD BATTALION.—THE HISTORY AND PRESENT DESIGNATION
OF THE COMPANIES.

NOT very long after the Battle of Minden, and while the lessons of the war were urging on the military world the increasing importance of Artillery, the Board of Ordnance resolved to increase the Royal Artillery still further. This was done by transferring five companies from the existing battalions, and by raising five others; the ten being combined into the Third Battalion with a staff similar to that of the other two. Each company of the battalion consisted of a Captain, a Captain-Lieutenant, a First and Second Lieutenant, 3 Lieutenant-Fireworkers, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals, 8 bombardiers, 20 gunners, 62 matrosses, and 2 drummers; making a total of 105 per company.

The total of all ranks, on the formation of the battalion, was 1054. At the end of the Seven Years' War, the battalion was reduced to 554; but as the troubles in America became visible, it was again increased; and in 1779, the establishment of all ranks stood at 1145. At the peace of 1783, it fell to 648; rising, however, in 1793, during England's continental troubles, to 1240. It reached its maximum during the Peninsular War, when its strength was no less than 1461 of all ranks. In the year 1778, when the 4th Battalion was raised, two companies were taken from the 3rd; but they were replaced in 1779.

For thirty years after the reductions made in 1816, the average strength of the battalion was 700; but from that time it gradually rose until, at the commencement of the war with Russia, it stood at 1128, and in the following year it reached 1220.

There is a little obscurity as to the services of this battalion during the American War of Independence. One set of documents claims for Nos. 1 and 6 Companies, no inconsiderable share in the earlier part of the campaign; another asserts that to the 4th Battalion alone does all the credit, which the Artillery during that war especially merited, belong. The truth seems to be, that, in 1778, two companies of the 3rd Battalion were in America, and were engaged in several battles; but that in 1779, the men of these companies were drafted into those of the 4th Battalion, and their officers returned to England.

The fusion was not, however, complete; for we find traces of No. 1 Company of the 3rd Battalion in America so late as 1781, when a detachment of it was present at Guildford Court-house.

No fewer than seven companies of the battalion were engaged in the West Indies in the last decade of the eighteenth century; five companies served in the Peninsula, four being present at the Battle of Corunna; eight companies served on the Walcheren expedition; and four companies—Nos. 2, 4, 7, 9—were present at the Battle of Waterloo. At this battle detachments of Nos. 5 and 6 Companies were also present.

At the commencement of the Crimean war, although the strength of the battalion was considerable, it only consisted of eight companies, two having been reduced in 1819; and of these eight, no fewer than six took part in the war.

Appended is a list—as in the case of the 1st and 2nd Battalions—showing, in anticipation, the various military operations in which the companies of the 3rd Battalion were engaged—the succession of Captains, as far as can be traced down to 1859—and the nomenclature introduced in that year, when Battalions and Companies became Brigades and Batteries.

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**No. 1 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Now "A" BATTERY, 4th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1776-1783.	American War of Independence, including:— Capture of Charlestown, South Carolina, January, 1778. Defeat of Rebels on Rhode Island, 29th August, 1778. Expedition on the Acushuet River, 5th September, 1778. Battle of Guildford Court-house, 15th March, 1781.
1791-1802.	West Indies. Present at the taking of the Island of Tobago, April, 1793. Martinique, 23rd March, 1794. Saint Lucia, 4th April, 1794. Guadaloupe, 12th April, 1794. Saint Lucia (2nd time), April, 1796. Trinidad, February, 1797. Porto Rico, 2nd May, 1797. Surinam, August, 1799.
1809	Walcheren Expedition, and Siege of Flushing, July, 1809.
1813-14	Peninsula. Present at the Siege of Tarragona, June, 1813.
1854	Crimea. Affair on the Bulganak.
1854	Crimea. Affair at Mackenzie's Farm.
1854	Battle of Alma, Sept., 1854.
1854	Battle of Balaclava, Oct., 1854.
1854	Battle of Inkerman, Nov., 1854.
1855	Siege and Fall of Sebastopol, 8th Sept., 1855.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1757	Captain John Innes.
1779	Captain Thomas Johnson.
1781	Captain James Dunbar.
1783	Captain Charles Smith.
1790	Captain Francis Whitworth.
1796	Captain Lawrence H. Newton.
1798	Captain John Sheldrake.
1804	Captain Alexander Campbell.
1814	Captain John Briscoe.
1825	Captain Archibald M. Maxwell.
1826	Captain Charles Blachley.
1831	Captain John Gordon.
1843	Captain W. H. Pickering.
1851	Captain H. J. Thomas.
1854	Captain C. H. Morris.
1856	Captain H. Bent.

**No. 2 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Now "7" BATTERY, 13th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1791-1802	West Indies. Present at the taking of the Island of Tobago, April, 1793. Martinique, 23rd March, 1794. Saint Lucia, 4th April, 1794. Guadaloupe, 12th April, 1794. Saint Lucia (2nd time), Apr., 1796. Trinidad, February, 1797. Porto Rico, 2 May, 1797. Surinam, August, 1799.
1809	Walcheren Expedition, and Siege of Flushing.
1813-1818	Holland, Netherlands, and France, including:— Bombardment of Merxham. Storming of Bergen-op-Zoom. Engagement with French Shipping off Fort Frederick, on 21st March, 1814. Quatre Bras. Battle of Waterloo.
1855	Expedition to Crimea, and Siege of Sebastopol.
1858	East Indies. Disembarked at Bombay, on 9th September, 1858.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1761	Captain Benjamin Stehelin. * * * * *
1781	Captain Orlando Manley.
1793	Captain Abram Du Vernet.
1801	Captain George B. Fisher.
1801	Captain Joseph Heaven.
1801	Captain Frederick Griffiths.
1802	Captain Henry Eveleigh.
1806	Captain Thomas Rogers.
1825	Captain William Miller.
1826	Captain Daniel M. Bouchier.
1829	Captain W. H. Stopford.
1841	Captain John Somerville.
1842	Captain Theophilus Desbrisay.
1850	Captain James W. Domville.
1850	Captain T. B. F. Marriott.
1855	Captain A. C. Gleig.
1856	Captain R. E. F. Craufurd.

**No. 3 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Now "2" BATTERY, 13th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1805	Expedition in Hanover.
1807	Siege of Copenhagen.
1809	Walcheren Expedition, and Siege of Flushing.
1815-1818	In position at Waterloo, but not engaged. Siege of Cambrai, 24th June, 1815.
1826	Expedition to Portugal, under Lieut.-General Sir W. H. Clinton, until April, 1828.
1857	East Indies. Disembarked at Madras, 6th November, 1857.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1761	Captain Duncan Drummond. * * * * *
1782	Captain James Sympson.
1787	Captain John Reid.
1790	Captain Bailey Willington.
1797	Captain William Spicer.
1804	Captain Joseph Brome.
1806	Captain George Cobbe.
1806	Captain John Taylor.
1808	Captain William Holcroft.
1830	Captain Robert F. Romer.
1841	Captain Frederick A. Griffiths.
1843	Captain E. N. Wilford.
1848	Captain W. M. H. Dixon.
1854	Captain Richard Gregory.
1857	Captain Joseph Godby.

**No. 4 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Now "4" BATTERY, 3rd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1799	Holland.
1807	Siege of Copenhagen.
1808	Expedition to Sweden.
1809	Battle of Corunna.
1809	Walcheren Expedition, and Siege of Flushing, July, 1809.
1815-1818	Battle of Waterloo.
	Holland and France, to Nov. 1818.
1826	Expedition to Portugal, under Sir W. H. Clinton; returned to England, March, 1828.
1855	Expedition to the Crimea, and Fall of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1764	Captain Edward Foy.
1779	Captain James Wood.
1786	Captain Richard Dysart.
1795	Captain William H. Walker.
1798	Captain George Ramsay.
1799	Captain William Millar.
1803	Captain Percy Drummond.
1805	Captain Charles Younghusband.
1814	Captain Frederick Gordon.
1815	Captain Charles Egan.
1817	Captain Cyprian Bridge.
1832	Captain William E. Jackson.
1836	Captain Philip Sandilands.
1844	Captain Thomas Knatchbull.
1844	Captain Arthur Gosset.
1845	Captain Percy Benn.
1852	Captain G. B. Shakespear.
1854	Captain Mortimer Adye.

**No. 5 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Now "B" BATTERY, 11th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1801	Expedition to Egypt, and Battle of Alexandria.
1809	Battle of Corunna.
1813	Battle of Vittoria.
1813	Siege of Sebastian, July and August, 1813.
1855	Expedition to Crimea, and Fall of Sebastopol.
1858	East Indies. Disembarked at Calcutta, 16th January, 1858.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1764	Captain Josiah Jeffreys.
1777	Captain Richard Chapman.
1782	Captain Francis M. Dixon.
1783	Captain Robert Douglas.
1794	Captain John A. Schalch.
1794	Captain William Bentham.
1801	Captain Robert Beevor.
1808	Captain George Beane.
1812	Captain Thomas Hutchesson.
1830	Captain William Bell.
1841	Captain John Bloomfield.
1841	Captain W. B. Ingilby.
1841	Captain Robert Burn.
1849	Captain P. H. Mundy.
1851	Captain J. W. Ormsby.
1854	Captain P. F. G. Scott.
1854	Captain F. B. Ward.
1857	Captain E. E. Dynelly.
1858	Captain S. M. Grylls.
1858	Captain G. C. Henry.

**No. 6 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Now "7" BATTERY, 3rd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1776-83	American War of Independence:— Defeat of the Americans on Rhode Island, 29th August, 1778. Expedition on the Acushnet River, September, 1778. Expedition to Horseneck, in Connecticut, February, 1779. Engaged at the Capture of Charlestown, South Carolina, 1780.
1791-1802	West Indies. Present at the Capture of the Island of Tobago, April, 1793. Martinique, 23rd March, 1794. Saint Lucia, 4th April, 1794. Guadaloupe, 12th April, 1794. Saint Lucia (2nd time), Apr., 1796. Trinidad, February, 1797. Porto Rico, May, 1797. Surinam, August, 1799.
1808-9	Expedition to Peninsula, and Battle of Corunna.
1813-1818	Holland, Netherlands, and France, including:— Bombardment of Antwerp, and Bombardment of Maubeuge (attached to Saxon Army).
1855	Expedition to Crimea, and Fall of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1759	Captain Thomas Smith.
1771	Captain Peter Traile.
1782	Captain John Downing.
1797	Captain John Godfrey.
1798	Captain Edward W. Drosier.
1805	Captain Robert Truscott.
1814	Captain Arthur Hunt.
1831	Captain William Brereton.
1837	Captain John R. Hornsby.
1838	Captain H. R. Moor.
1840	Captain Henry Stanway.
1840	Captain John R. Hornsby.
1846	Captain D. E. Wood.
1848	Captain G. A. F. De Rinzy.
1855	Captain H. A. Vernon.

**No. 7 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Now "3" BATTERY, 7th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1790-1802	West Indies. Present at the taking of the Island of Tobago, April, 1793. Martinique, 23rd March, 1794. Saint Lucia, 4th April, 1794. Guadaloupe, 12th April, 1794. Saint Lucia (2nd time) 4th April, 1796. Trinidad, February, 1797. Porto Rico, May, 1797. Surinam, August, 1799.
1809	Walcheren Expedition, and Siege of Flushing.
1815	Campaign of Waterloo.
1815-18	Holland and France, including the Siege of Cambrai, 24th June, 1815.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1763	Captain Thomas Howdell.
1771	Captain Ellis Walker.
1782	Captain Edward Fage.
1793	Captain F. L. Deruvynes.
1796	Captain George W. Dixon.
1800	Captain Joseph McLean.
1806	Captain John Matthews.
1808	Captain William Cleeve.
1808	Captain George W. Unett.
1825	Captain William D. Jones.
1828	Captain John E. G. Parker.
1829	Captain W. D. Jones.
1837	Captain Reynolds Palmer.
1837	Captain Charles Otway.
1846	Captain Alfred Tylee.
1854	Captain R. O'Connell.

**No. 8 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Now "D" BATTERY, 4th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1791-1802	West Indies. Present at the taking of the Island of Tobago, April, 1793. Martinique, 23rd March, 1794. Saint Lucia, 4th April, 1794. Guadaloupe, 12th April, 1794. Saint Lucia (2nd time), 4th April, 1796. Trinidad, February, 1797. Porto Rico, May, 1797. Surinam, August, 1799.
1807	Siege of Copenhagen.
1809	Battle of Corunna.
1809	Walcheren Expedition: engaged several times.
1854	Battle of Alma.
1854	Battle of Inkerman.
1855	Siege and Fall of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1762	Captain Charles Torriano.
1773	Captain William Borthwick.
1782	Captain Joseph Barnes.
1794	Captain George Lewis.
1801	Captain Charles Newhouse.
1804	Captain Charles H. Fitzmayer.
1806	Captain John W. Kettlewell.
1808	Captain William Stewart.
1808	Captain Edward Wilmot.
1809	Captain Robert Douglas.
1811	Captain George Turner.
1814	Captain Henry Bates.
1829	Captain Forbes Macbean.
1835	Captain Richard Hardinge.
1845	Captain John Gore.
1846	Captain J. W. Ormsby.
1846	Captain George Maclean.
1847	Captain J. W. Fitzmayer.
1854	Captain C. T. Franklin.

**No. 9 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Reduced 1819.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1791-1802	West Indies. Engaged at the taking of the Island of Tobago, April, 1793. Martinique, March, 1794. Saint Lucia, April, 1794. Guadaloupe, April, 1794. Saint Lucia (2nd time), April, 1796. Trinidad, February, 1797. Porto Rico, May, 1797. Surinam, August, 1799.
1807	Siege of Copenhagen.
1809	Walcheren Expedition and Siege of Flushing.
1815	Battle of Waterloo.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1759	Captain John Dovers.
1771	Captain William Johnstone.
1779	Captain James Sowerby.
1793	Captain Edward Howorth.
1793	Captain John Wilks.
1799	Captain John Duncan.
1803	Captain Charles C. Bingham.
1803	Captain Peter Fyers.
1813	Captain Lewis Carmichael.
1814	Captain Charles F. Sandham.

**No. 10 COMPANY, 3rd BATTALION,
Reduced 1819.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1791-1802	West Indies. Engaged at the taking of the Island of Tobago, April, 1793. Martinique, March, 1794. Saint Lucia, April, 1794. Guadaloupe, April, 1794. Saint Lucia (2nd time), April, 1796. Trinidad, February, 1797. Porto Rico, May, 1797. Surinam, August, 1799.
1809	Expedition to Walcheren, and Siege of Flushing.
List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1758	Captain William McLeod. * * * * *
1779	Captain David Vans.
1780	Captain William Tiffin.
1782	Captain Alexander Mackenzie.
1791	Captain Frederick Irwin.
1793	Captain Samuel D. Edwards.
1796	Captain Richard Hamilton.
1804	Captain Henry Marsh.
1813	Captain John Chester.
1816	Captain Thomas V. Straubensee.

CHAPTER XXI. THE SIEGE OF BELLEISLE.

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ALTHOUGH the History of the Royal Artillery is the history of England's campaigns since the existence of the Regiment, there are occasional chapters in these wars more interesting to the Artilleryman, than to the ordinary military student, or the general reader. There have been events which have had no perceptible effect on the progress of the campaigns, and yet are indissolubly woven in our Regimental annals. Of such events the siege of Belleisle is a type.

During the Seven Years' War, England made various diversions—in addition to those in America and the East Indies—to distract the French in their operations against the Allied Army in Germany. One of these was the attack on the Island of Belleisle on the west coast of France, between Port Louis and the mouth of the Loire. It was devised in the hope of inducing the French to detach some of their forces from Germany, for the defence of their own coasts; but in this respect it failed. Another motive, which inspired the English Government, was that they might gratify the lust for conquest, which at that time animated the people, whetted instead of satiated by their successes in the East and in the West.

To a certain extent, it succeeded in this; but after counting the cost of the victory, it required the most exaggerated statements on the part of the Ministry to reconcile the nation to the expenditure of life and money caused by the Siege of Belleisle, if indeed it can be said ever to have been reconciled.

The English nation has characteristics, which are displayed at every stage of its history. Lavish during war in order to gain its ends, it is disposed to be penurious during peace; and the favourite stalking-horse to power then is a profession of economy. The whole of Europe stood amazed at the readiness with which the English nation granted enormous supplies for the carrying on of the war ending in 1762; and this had perhaps as much effect as military success in persuading the French to consent to the disastrous conditions of the Peace of Paris. It may be said that, as a nation, the English sink political differences during war, and show a union almost peculiar to themselves. The only case in which war and political differences existed simultaneously to any great extent was during the American War of Independence; the reasons then were exceptional, and the result fatal.

As a consequence of political union, comes a demand for vigorous administration; and the success of Mr. Pitt's ministry was due to his knowledge of this. The Siege of Belleisle was an illustration of this knowledge. It cannot be said that in time of peace the English insist on such administrative vigour; in fact, vigorous action in the head of a department is viewed with distrust and suspicion more frequently than with admiration. It is by remembering considerations such as these that a military operation such as is now to be described can be understood, almost valueless in its political results, expensive in its conduct, and—in a military point of view—worthless, save in so far as it strengthened (as only success can do) the *esprit* and courage of the Army.

But to the Artilleryman this siege has an interest far above political considerations; it was one of the earliest schools for developing that which is the most scientific, albeit less brilliant branch of the Regiment,—Siege Artillery. And it was suitable that the man who commanded the siege-train on this occasion should be one eminent afterwards in the scientific as well as the military world: a Fellow of the Royal Society as well as a practical soldier: a fit predecessor to the many who have since distinguished the Regiment by their learning—Brigadier Desaguliers.

The Artillery present at the siege consisted of two companies from Portsmouth, Captain Tovey's and Captain Hind's, with about seventy miners; besides eleven detachments for battalion guns, and others for service on board the bomb-vessels.

There were no less than thirty-seven Artillery officers employed in the expedition. Of these, Captain-Lieutenant Muckell was killed, and the following were wounded: Brigadier Desaguliers, Lieutenant N. Kindersley,—the Acting Adjutant, Lieutenant E. Williams, and Lieutenant-Fireworker A. McKenzie. The following is a list of the officers who did duty in the trenches, in addition to those named above:—

Captain	A. TOVEY.
Captain	R. HIND.
Captain-Lieutenant	WILLIAMS.
Captain-Lieutenant	STEHELIN.
Captain-Lieutenant	JONES.
Captain-Lieutenant	GROVE.
Captain-Lieutenant	MARTIN.
Lieutenant	WILSON.
Lieutenant	WALKER.
Lieutenant	ROGERS.
Lieutenant	SCOTT.
Lieutenant	WALKER.
Lieutenant	PEARSE.
Lieutenant	BRIETZCHE.
Lieutenant	GOWEN.
Lieutenant	TURNER.
Lieutenant	SCHALCH.
Lieutenant	LAWSON.
Lieutenant	PARRY.
Lieutenant-Fireworker	ROSAT.
Lieutenant-Fireworker	SKOTTOWE.
Lieutenant-Fireworker	MAYNE.

There were also two medical officers attached to the Artillery.

When, in the early part of 1761, preparations for an expedition on a large scale were commenced at Portsmouth, it was imagined that the destination of the fleet was either the East or West Indies. The vessels were provisioned for twelve months; there were no less than 35 transports; and the only difficulty that spectators and gossips had to overcome was the fact that an immense number of flat-bottomed boats, capable each of carrying 60 men, was to form part of the fleet. Those were days when newspaper reporters and interviewers were not licensed as now; and when inquisitive members of Parliament had to content themselves with very evasive replies.

In addition to a powerful fleet and Artillery, no less than fifteen battalions of infantry and three troops of Burgoyne's horse accompanied the expedition. The command of the troops was given to Major-General Studholm Hodgson, with several Brigadiers to assist him, some of whom bore names which we shall meet again during the War of Independence, Howe, Burgoyne, and Carleton. The fleet was under the command of Commodore Keppel; and it was intended that much of the work should be done by it, as the nation had of late been somewhat outspoken as to the inaction of the navy, nor were Admiral Byng and Minorca forgotten.

When the fleet first sailed from Portsmouth on the 29th March, 1761, Captain Tovey commanded the Artillery; but on the 5th April Colonel Desaguliers was ordered by the King to proceed (with the rank of Brigadier) to Portsmouth: the miners were ordered to the same place to join Captain Hind's company; the whole to proceed without delay to Belleisle, whither it was now known the expedition had gone. The gallant Brigadier was no sluggard; at midnight on the 6th April—those were not the days of railways—he reached Portsmouth, sent word to Captain Hind to have his company ready at a moment's notice, went himself on board the 'Blais' transport on the afternoon of the 7th, and sailed at daybreak the following morning.

The same energy displayed itself on his reaching Belleisle. The expedition had already met with misfortune. An attempt had been made on the 8th April to land 300 men on the south-east of the island, after a heavy and apparently successful bombardment from the fleet; but the enemy charged them with superior numbers before they could form, and took them all prisoners, besides inflicting a loss on some detachments which landed to assist them, of 37 killed and 76 wounded.

A heavy gale followed, in which 20 boats were lost and many vessels driven to sea; the introduction to a continuation of frightful weather which lasted during the whole siege. On the 12th April, Brigadier Desaguliers arrived; learnt what had taken place; immediately ordered the battalion guns to be placed in the Ordnance boats,—ready to accompany the troops on the next attempt at a landing, coming into action so as to enable the infantry to form up on the shore; got his warrant as commanding the Royal Artillery published in orders; appointed Captain-Lieutenant Stehelin his Brigade Major; and volunteered to reconnoitre the island for a landing-place.

On the 22nd, Captain Hind's company, with the miners, some other troops, and an immense quantity of Artillery stores, reached Belleisle. It had by this time been resolved to attempt a landing near the place, where the first had failed; but with a view to deceiving the enemy, the newly-arrived troops were ordered to get into the ship's boats, and make a feint of landing at the Point of Sauzon. The feint succeeded; the fear of their landing detained a large body of the enemy whose presence would have been invaluable in checking the real landing, which was now effected, under cover of the fire from the fleet, and assisted by the panic which was created among the enemy by the appearance on their flank of a number of men who had climbed up some difficult precipices, at a little distance from the spot where the main body landed.

In addition to a body of 900 marines, which landed with the other troops, the Commodore collected 500 from the ships, and landed them; and as the Colonel of the Marines, McKenzie, had been wounded, the command of this large body devolved upon a Captain named Collins, who on account of the responsibility of his position received the rank of Major.

For some days the weather was so tempestuous that it was impossible to land the heavy guns, or Artillery stores; and the enemy was enabled to strengthen his position unmolested. The bomb-vessels stood close in to the shore, and plied the Citadel, but without much effect. Picquets of 500 men were on duty every night in the English camp; the inhabitants of Palais, the capital of the Island, were strictly watched; and a village in a good position was taken and set fire to, from which circumstance it was always after this time called "the Burnt Village." The Artillerymen were hard at work making their batteries and parallels, assisted by large working parties from the Line; and every officer in the Army who knew anything of engineering was invited to submit his name with a view to employment at an increased rate of pay. The trench work was not a favourite duty with the infantry, even after working-pay was allowed for it; and Brigadier Desaguliers had to make the strongest representations on the subject to General Hodgson. The men did not dislike idling and loafing about the trenches; it was the spade-work which was unpopular; and this led to an amusing order being issued, that any Artillery officer who found a man near his post, idling or curious, was to "lay hold of him, and make him work for 12 hours."

The town of Palais was soon occupied by the English troops, and being near the Citadel, to which the enemy had withdrawn, it afforded excellent cover for the English marksmen, whom the reluctance of the enemy to fire on the town left quite unmolested.

The armament for the batteries had at length been landed and mounted, although not without the greatest difficulty. The Brigadier had at this time, and later on, repeatedly to acknowledge the assistance he received from the Navy, between which and the Artillery there was then, as now, a strong *entente cordiale*.

And now commenced the regular siege:—Sebastopol in miniature; daily and nightly bombardments; the trenches flooded with rain; and Artillerymen so

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reduced in numbers as to be without the requisite rest or relief. Three important batteries were opened against the Citadel, known respectively as the 16-Gun, the 10-Gun, and the 4-Gun Batteries. Mortar batteries were made, as the siege progressed, containing two 13-inch, three 10-inch, and six 8-inch land-service mortars; two 13-inch, and two 10-inch sea-service mortars; besides fifteen Royal mortars, and ten Coe-horn's. The guns in the batteries were heavy 24-pounders, medium 12-pounders, and 8-inch and 4½-inch howitzers. There were a few 3-pounder guns, and the Battalion guns, which were 6-pounders. Although it is somewhat anticipating matters, it may here be mentioned that the expenditure of ammunition by the Artillery during the siege amounted to 1500 barrels of powder, 17,000 shot, and 12,000 shell.

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The infantry had been divided into three brigades, with a total of all ranks of 6254, exclusive of Artillery, Marines, and Burgoyne's horse, the last-named being chiefly employed in duties of transport and foraging. The duties, which were very heavy, were taken alternately by brigades. The marines did duty *in corps*, and had to find 378 men for various guards every day.

When Palais was taken, the bells of the churches became, according to custom, the property of the commanding officer of Artillery. A piteous letter, however, was written to him by the priests, pleading the poverty of their parishes, the destitution of many members of their congregations, and the precarious livelihood earned by the most fortunate, concluding by offering 300 livres in ransom for their bells. "So miserable and wretched," wrote the Rector of Palais, was his parish since the bombardment—more so even than before, when no repairs could be executed without the assistance of private charity, that the Church would be unable to exist, did the Commandant of Artillery act on his rights with rigour." They therefore prayed him to leave the bells untouched, that the services might be notified to the people; and to suffer them to be redeemed by the sum above mentioned: with which request Brigadier Desaguliers complied.

Various interesting occurrences took place early in the siege. On the 2nd May, some guns under cavalry escort were ordered to occupy a village on the left of the English camp, which had given considerable annoyance. So warm, however, was their reception, that the cavalry withdrew, with some precipitation. The guns pressed on, nevertheless, unsupported, for about 700 yards, cannonaded the village, and dislodged the enemy. Artillery in a village, without escort, was a strong temptation; and towards night, 300 men made an attempt to cut them off from the main body. The gunners were awake, withdrew their guns behind some rising ground about 1450 yards from the Citadel, and kept their assailants at bay. Next morning, General Hodgson visited the spot, and was so charmed with its natural advantages that he ordered it to be entrenched, and strong batteries mounted. The same was done at this time in front of the Burnt Village, about 900 yards from the Citadel.

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The enemy did not content himself with answering the English cannonade. Sorties were frequent; and on one dark night, Major-General Crawford and his staff, taken unawares, were made prisoners in the trenches. Many more would have met the same fate, but for the presence of mind of the gunners in charge of two light field-pieces which happened to be in the trenches that evening. They were charged by several hundred men, including a spiking party, but with well-aimed and frequent volleys of grape, the gunners utterly routed them.

The fire of the enemy was by no means contemptible; in fact, until a number of their guns were dismantled, it was both admirable and effective. On one occasion, a sergeant and thirteen men in the trenches were killed by the explosion of one of the enemy's shells; and so numerous at last were the casualties among the Artillery, that the Brigadier had to apply for 200 men from the infantry to assist in working the guns. There was great difficulty in obtaining even that number: the duties of the camp were hard; and the importance of keeping the Artillery ranks at a siege well filled was not yet fully understood. But with the progress of the siege, came an increase of wisdom; and, before long, not a requisition from the Brigadier was unattended to.

All the available sea-service mortars had been landed from the ships; but a few vessels of lighter draught stood in to attack the Citadel from the sea with their guns. The effect produced was but slight, perhaps because—as an old diary of the siege says—"There were no Artillery people, either officers or men, aboard."

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The English works were gradually approached to within musketry range of the Citadel; and to enable the working parties to carry on their duties without molestation from the enemy's marksmen, a heavy and somewhat wasteful fire was kept up from the batteries, which had at length to be put a stop to by the Brigadier, for reasons of economy.

That the fire of the English Artillery was effective, was ascertained from prisoners, who said, "Que c'étoit un feu infernal, et qu'on ne voyoit ni ciel, ni terre;" and, when on parole in the town of Palais, a favourite joke among the French prisoners, when they saw an Artillery officer approaching, was to run behind the nearest cover, shouting "Gare la bombe! Gare la bombe!"

When the second parallel was opened, the Navy commenced landing some 32-pounders to arm a battery which some amateur engineers had made, and as additional mortar batteries had also been constructed, the works were now so extensive, that the Artillery was utterly unable to man them all. General Hodgson, accordingly, issued a standing order that as many men from the infantry as Brigadier Desaguliers should require were to be given, and while employed with the Artillery, their pay and allowances were to be made equal to those of the matrosses.

After the occupation of Palais by the British troops, much trouble was caused by drunkenness among the men, and its concomitants, absence and insubordination. The Provost-Marshal was at last ordered to live there, and got very extensive powers. *Inter alia*, he was permitted "to hang any soldiers committing any kind of irregularities; above all to lay hold of any soldier whom he found drunk on duty, and when he became sober to hang him without trial."

When the civil officials of Palais had occasion to come into the trenches on business, they were always blindfolded while there. Their business was generally of a commercial nature: they were ready to accept English money for their wares, but were anxious to be the appraisers of the value of the foreign coins. At last, it was necessary to publish in orders a standard, regulating the comparative values of French and English specie,—the guinea being valued at 24 livres; and if any tradesman was found cheating in this respect, he was made liable to confiscation of his goods, and corporal punishment.

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As the siege approached its end, many of the redoubts near the Citadel fell into the hands of the British; and the duties of the officers of Artillery became somewhat lighter. It is pleasant to find that, instead of availing themselves of their comparative leisure, they all immediately offered their services as engineers, an offer which was greedily accepted.

The Ordnance stores were sadly reduced, and the Navy had not another round to spare; so that fresh requisitions had to be sent to England more than once. Pending a reply, a very strict economy was enjoined; firing in volleys was forbidden, and single rounds were directed to be fired day and night at stated intervals. Twenty-four rounds per gun was laid down as the daily maximum; but an exception was permitted, should the Citadel seem to be on fire, in which case even volleys were allowed. Even to the end, when the number of available guns in the Citadel was much reduced, the fire of the enemy was excellent; twice the English magazines were blown up, and only five days before the capitulation a most severe loss was inflicted on the besiegers, Brigadier Desaguliers himself being among the wounded.

The enemy was able by means of subterranean passages and signalling to keep up a constant communication with the mainland. Nor did he confine himself to these. An apparently innocent and respectable old lady was found traversing the English lines one morning under suspicious circumstances. She was questioned without success. Her profession—she said—was simple; she was a washerwoman, and in the exercise of her vocation had she been seized. A stronger measure was taken: the old lady was searched. Her countenance fell as the operation commenced; fell yet more as dozens of letters were produced from hidden places, containing piteous appeals for assistance from the beleaguered citizens. But even yet she protested her innocence, her astonishment, and her trade; and, yet protesting, with a rope round her neck, she was led away. Whether the rope was afterwards tightened or not, the story does not tell.

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Breaching batteries were opened in front of the second parallel and of the town of Palais, the latter at a distance of 230 yards from the Citadel. It was armed with 24-pounders by the Artillery in a single night, although the guns had to be dragged over frightful roads from the landing-place, and without any appliances for diminishing the labour. The zeal and willingness of the men were unmistakable. Yet a third breaching battery was opened to the left of St. Sebastian's Church, about 380 yards from the Citadel; and the guns of the original 16-gun battery were also brought into play to assist in making the breach. At first the energies of the Artillery were confined to a breach which was attempted in the Redan du Havre, between the Bastion du Gouvernement and the Bastion du Cavalier ou du Roy. But a second breach was afterwards commenced in the latter of these Bastions. Powerful enfilading batteries of howitzers and 12-pounders were opened at the same time, whose fire proved most efficacious, as was seen after the capitulation by the number of damaged and dismantled guns along the faces of the works. From the end of May to the 7th June, the day when the Citadel surrendered, there was daily and hourly expectation of submission by the Garrison. The prisoners who were taken at this time all agreed in saying that the commandant merely waited for a breach being made, before he should capitulate. Not merely was the enemy's fire becoming daily weaker, but the ammunition was evidently falling short, *wooden* shot being not unfrequently fired by him.

Mining had been commenced by the English, a shaft having been sunk under a house in Palais, and a passage commenced under the ditch—which was wet at high water—towards the Redan du Havre. The miners also made several attempts by night, when the tide was out, to cross the ditch and enlarge the breaches made by the batteries, but without much success, the enemy being alert, and throwing hand-grenades among them as they crossed.

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On the 4th June, the King's birthday, a tremendous fire was kept up from all the batteries, and additional ammunition having arrived from England, the Brigadier gave permission for thirty rounds per gun, instead of twenty-four, being fired from the ordinary batteries—no limit being placed on the number to be fired from the breaching batteries. The mortar batteries were now kept silent, the powder being more profitably employed for the guns firing against the breaches.

On the morning of the 7th June, no less than ninety-three pieces of ordnance were in use against the Citadel, and on this day the long-expected white flag was seen, and an officer came out to make the best terms he could for the garrison.

These were, briefly, that the Citadel with all its stores should be handed over to the British troops: that the French garrison should be provided with transport to the nearest French port; that the sick and wounded left behind should be treated in the same manner as the British soldiers; and that the inhabitants of the island should be allowed full permission to worship according to the rites of the Roman Catholic religion. Further, in consideration of the gallant defence made by the Chevalier de St. Croix and his troops, they were permitted to march out of the Citadel with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, lighted matches, and three pieces of cannon with twelve rounds each; and each soldier carrying fifteen rounds of ammunition in his cartouche box.

An inventory of the Ordnance and stores was at once taken by Brigadier Desaguliers; and on a garrison for the island being decided on, the following Artillery officers were selected to remain behind, and form part of it:—Captain Hind, Captain-Lieutenant Martin, Lieutenant Rogers, and Lieutenant-Fireworkers Rosat, Skottowe, and Mayne. The remainder of the Artillery embarked on Christmas Day, 1761, for England.

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Among the orders issued during the siege, which enable one to form an idea of the weather which prevailed, is one directing the hides of all animals killed for the troops to be taken to the trenches for the use of the Artillery in making their expense-magazines water-tight.

From an old order-book in the Royal Artillery Library the discipline of the troops after the siege, and the means taken to enforce it, may be ascertained. Three men of the 75th Regiment having been found guilty of drunkenness and absence from the King's works, received 300 lashes each, and were debarred from employment on the works again. Two men of Colonel Morgan's Regiment having been convicted of disorderly behaviour were sentenced to receive 200 lashes each "on their bare backs;" and another, in the 19th Regiment, received 100 lashes for drunkenness and disobedience. A man in Crawford's Regiment, who had been convicted of prevarication on a court-martial by which one of his officers was tried, was sentenced to receive 500 lashes; but as it appeared by the evidence that he had been under pressure and undue influence by the prisoner at the time, the sentence was remitted.

There seems to have been a want of zeal on the part of the chaplains, if one may judge from the following order:—"Palais, 26 November, 1761. Whenever any patient dies in any of the Grand Hospitals, the principal surgeon attached to the Hospital where the patient dies is immediately to send a written report of his death, and the time he would have him interred, to the visiting chaplain then in waiting, who is, conformable to a former order of Major-General Hodgson, to attend the corpse at the grave, and read the burial-service over it. General Hodgson is extremely concerned that he has occasion to repeat the latter part of this order, and expects for the future that he shall not hear any complaints on this subject."

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It may be mentioned, in concluding this chapter, that at the Peace of 1763 Belleisle was returned to the French in exchange for Minorca, which England had lost at the commencement of the Seven Years' War.

At the conclusion of the war in 1763, the reductions in the Regiment were carried out on a different system from that which had hitherto prevailed. At the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, entire companies had been reduced, and the establishment of the remaining companies was left unchanged. Now, the cadres of the three Battalions with their companies remained, but the establishment of the latter was materially reduced. Besides the Cadet company, there were now thirty others; and the total in each company of all ranks—as it had been twenty years before—107. But the following reduction was now ordered—one Lieutenant-Fireworker, one Sergeant, one Corporal, four bombardiers, twelve gunners, and thirty-two matrosses per company, reducing the total from 107 to 57, a fifer having been added to each. The supernumerary fireworkers were put on half-pay, and brought in as vacancies occurred,—the last being absorbed in 1767.

From 1763 to 1771 was a singularly uneventful period in the history of the Regiment. One Battalion was quartered in America, its head-quarters being at Woolwich; the companies of another were divided between Gibraltar and Minorca, and the third was in Great Britain. The companies in the East Indies remained as before until 1765. A relief of the 2nd by the 1st Battalion took place towards the end of this time; and the companies at home were periodically relieved as at present. One peculiarity, however, existed then, which does so no longer. When two or more companies were required from Woolwich for out-stations at home, the Captains were ordered to meet at the Commandant's office, and draw lots for their destinations. As a means of silencing grumblers, it was certainly advantageous.

Although England was at peace, other countries had their troubles; and Portugal, being in distress as regarded her Artillery, applied during this time for the services of Captain Macbean, who had served her so well before, and various other officers of the Regiment. The request was granted: the officers being made supernumerary, their promotion going on, but their pay coming from the Portuguese Government. Captain Macbean reached the highest rank in the Portuguese service, and all the others received the strongest commendations.—One—Captain-Lieutenant Yorke—died in Portugal: the same officer, who, as a subaltern, with a handful of men, managed to get a gun up the heights above Quebec, when Wolfe made his famous and successful attack.

This was not the first instance of a Foreign Government paying the compliment to the Royal Artillery of asking assistance from its ranks. In 1744, the King of Sardinia asked and obtained the services of five officers and twenty-four men of the Royal Artillery, who were on board the bomb-vessels in the Mediterranean; and they served with distinction in his Army until taken prisoners at the capture of Montalban and Montleuze.

Some changes in the dress of the officers were made during this time. In 1768 white waistcoats, instead of scarlet, and white breeches were adopted both for officers and men. In 1770, swords were substituted for the fuses which had hitherto been the arms of the officers, and the same sword exercise was adopted as was in use among dragoons. At the same time, the Regiment adopted the German mode of wearing the sash round the waist, instead of over the right shoulder, as hitherto. Epaulettes were also substituted for laced shoulder-knots. The non-commissioned officers and men wore their hair plaited, and turned up behind with a black ribbon or tape, three quarters of a yard long, in a *bow-knot* where tied; and if any men were debarred by nature or accident from wearing their hair sufficiently long, they were compelled to wear a false plait—anticipating by a century the present custom of the other sex.

The letter-books of this time are chiefly devoted to correspondence on matters connected with clothing, promotion and reliefs. On the first named subject, the correspondence with Major James, who commanded at New York, is particularly voluminous.

Promotion was slow; and when accelerated by retirement of officers, the system pursued was peculiar. For example, it was decided to remove Captain-Lieutenant Rogers to the half-pay list. His half-pay,—six shillings per diem, was to be augmented by two shillings from the Board of Ordnance; but—by an ingenious arrangement, whereby the Lieutenant, Second Lieutenant, and Lieutenant-Fireworker, who got promotion, were made to remain on their old rate of pay, six shillings and fourpence per diem was saved towards Captain Rogers' half-pay, and the Board had only to find the daily sum of one shilling and eightpence. At this time, in the year 1765, the Board placed the responsibility of the men's clothing on the Colonels of Battalions, declining any further interference. The wisdom of the change—except in so far as it saved trouble to the Honourable Board—was questionable; for some Colonels took a very liberal view of their discretion and power in the matter, going so far even as to alter the *colour* as well as the shape of the various articles of their men's uniform.

An excellent and hospitable officer, General Williamson, now commanded at Woolwich; and one of his invitations to his friends is so quaint as to be worthy of reproduction:—"July 25th, 1767. The gentlemen of twenty years' acquaintance are desired to meet General Williamson, and dine at 'The Bull' on Shooter's Hill, on Monday next, 1st August, their names to be sent to Dr. Irwin. Dinner on table at three o'clock." The General had a son in the Regiment, at this time in New York, who was as great a favourite as his father.

This time of peace was beneficial to the Royal Military Academy. More time was devoted to the curriculum, and inducements to proficiency held out successfully to the cadets. The King and Queen paid a visit to the Academy, among the other lions of Woolwich. It was on this occasion that "their Majesties saw many curious firings; among the rest a large iron cannon, fired by a lock like a common gun; a heavy 12-pounder, fired 23 times in a minute, and spunged every time by a new and wonderful contrivance, said to be the invention of Dr. Desaguliers, with other astonishing improvements of the like kind."^[24] In 1765, a most formal examination of the cadets had taken place in presence of the Master-General and principal officers of the Ordnance, and many other important officials, including the President of the Royal Society, who expressed their satisfaction with the "noble institution," and distributed gold and silver medals to the most distinguished cadets. In a hundred years, one who had been himself a cadet at the Royal Military Academy, and for many years an honoured officer in the Royal Artillery, Sir Edward Sabine, would occupy the chair filled by one of the visitors on that day, and be one of the most popular Presidents of the Royal Society.

The names of the following officers appear during this peaceful time, as in command of companies:—Captains Foy, Drummond, and Stehelin, at Minorca; Torriano, Innes, and Butler, at Gibraltar; Jeffery, Phillips, Smith, Carter, and Howdell, at Woolwich. In America, we trace companies commanded at different times by Captains Martin, Williams, Farrington, Hay, Ferguson, Webdall, Lewis, Dover, Walton, Winter, Carlisle, and Gillespie. The stations on that continent which were the head-quarters of the companies included New York, Pensacola, Quebec, Halifax, Pittsburg (Louisbourg), Montreal, and Placentia in Newfoundland. There were also detachments at Boston, Crown Point, Fort Ontario, and Niagara.

An amusing narrative of the service of a bombardier and two matrosses who were permitted to accept employment from the Emperor of Morocco may prove an interesting conclusion to this short chapter. It is based upon a manuscript in the Royal Artillery Library, framed by the bombardier himself, one John Turner by name, who had been called upon to make a report of his doings during his absence, and who certainly even on his own showing had a keen eye to the main chance. The ineffable conceit of the man, his firm impression that Emperors and Princes only existed to give him his daily pay and rations, and his exalted notion of his position as a bombardier in the Royal Artillery, can only be realized by a complete perusal of the manuscript. But even if curtailed, the narrative cannot fail to amuse.

John Turner was quartered at Gibraltar. He was a fair scholar, had a good opinion of himself, and was a bombardier. In the summer of 1769, the Emperor of Morocco sent a request to the Governor of Gibraltar for an Artilleryman to explain certain matters in gunnery, and to act as a tutor in the military art to the young Prince, his son. In 1872, it is probable that for such an appointment candidates would be innumerable, and would embrace even General Officers among their numbers. Possibly in Gibraltar, the Emperor was not very highly esteemed; be that, however, as it may, Bombardier John Turner was selected. He was to receive thirty-five dollars per month, besides certain other advantages, and this fact was very present to his mind during his absence. At first, a circumstance which occurred vexed John Turner's soul sorely: the wind having detained him some days, the Governor was relieved by one who would not assume the responsibility of letting him go, without an order from England. Until November the honest man was kept fretting and pining, but in the end he was rewarded not merely by the permission to go himself, but by an order to take with him two matrosses, who greatly swelled his importance. On the 3rd of December, he and his comrades landed about six miles from Tetuan, whither they were conveyed on mules and lodged in a house where they were treated "beyond their expectation." It was but seldom that in this respect John Turner's expectations were exceeded. He had a letter to the Governor, which he insisted on presenting; and with much presence of mind, on the morning after his arrival, he demanded an advance of money for himself and comrades. This was granted; but, as he plaintively wrote, it was made the subject of much misrepresentation, and he was reprimanded by his superiors in Gibraltar, on the story reaching them. The fact was, he innocently said, that he had borrowed some money on his note of hand in Gibraltar, "to clear some little obligations under which we lay," and the note met him at Tetuan, where he was led to believe he would be put in funds to pay it. On the 17th, the party left in great state "with an Alcayde and three horsemen for our guard, hired horses to ride on, and mules to carry our baggage and camp equipage." They encamped every night near some village, and the inhabitants were compelled to bring them food, and find sentinels for their baggage, under pain of being taken as rebels to the Emperor, for which purpose chains were carried by the escort. The good bombardier describes in his report at some length the nature of the food, some of which he was pleased to consider very good eating. At last they reached the place where the young Prince was encamped, and from that moment John Turner became an old man of the sea to that unhappy youth, and when he had any complaint to make would go nowhere but to head-quarters. His early interviews with the Prince, and every word that passed between them are duly chronicled. He accompanied him to Mequinez, and immediately sought the Emperor's Secretary, to whom he had letters. The frank manners of that official at first charmed John; but he soon found him to be but "a master of the French address, joined to all the villainies of the Court of Morocco, and a Jew in the very essence of the word." In a few days he had an interview with the Emperor himself, who in the course of conversation asked to see his instruments. It may interest the modern Artilleryman to know what a bombardier's instruments were in the year 1770. Those which John produced were his "quadrant, perpendicular, and Gunter's scales, together with a case of mathematical instruments."

The unfortunate bombardier never saw his instruments after he once let them into the young Prince's hands, and this called forth very severe strictures from him on princely nature. "Plundering," he writes, "is what these Princes are taught from their infancy."

The Emperor having expressed a wish to see the three Artillerymen throw a shell, they complied. The mortar was of a different calibre from any they had ever seen, nor did they know anything about the range; fortunately, however, they made a good guess, and the Emperor was much pleased with the practice. He ordered them a daily supply of provisions, "which order, however, was never complied with but in part."

From this moment John's domestic troubles were very great. While he had enough meat he never abused it; but when his allowance was cut short, he described it as "carrion meat." He was quartered in a Jew's house, and the Jew plundered him sorely, depriving him of the best part of his provisions. He said little, but thought a good deal; and receiving no satisfaction from the Imperial Secretary, demanded to see the Prince, who came to him immediately. "I acquainted him how ill we were treated with regard to provisions, and as our money was all gone begged of His Royal Highness to take some method that we might be better supplied. He asked whose fault it was. I answered, 'The Chief of the Jews.' He ordered our interpreter to go and tell him that if he did not find us everything, as his father had ordered, he would cut off his head, and burn his body; and desired, whenever we found him in the least deficient, to call a guard of Moors, and bring the Chief of the Jews to him, and we should see him executed. He then dismissed us, and we went home, and almost as soon as we went there one of the Prince's black servants came with the Chief of the Jews, and a halter about his neck, and told us by the interpreter that he was ordered to bring him there, and give him fifty bastinados in our presence, which he did, notwithstanding we offered to buy off the punishment with six ounces."

The climax of John Turner's narrative is when he describes a day's shell practice with the Prince in presence of the Emperor, when the powder of the country, of whose strength John was ignorant, was used. The young Prince made good practice with it, but as he would not impart the secret of its strength, the Artillerymen made very indifferent shooting. His Majesty remonstrated, making invidious comparisons, which roused John Turner into reminding the Emperor with due deference that he came there to instruct His Majesty's subjects in the *English* method of practice, not to be instructed by the Prince—he being master of his business before he came there.

Another day's practice followed: The Prince hit the mark with one of his shells, the bombardier did not. It was a painful circumstance; but the conceit of John Turner did not fail him. He first blamed the powder, and then asserted that, notwithstanding his failure to hit the mark, his general practice was infinitely superior to that of his Royal pupil. And he submitted a chart of the day's shooting in support of his statement.

It is but fair to say that Bombardier Turner was most conscientious in performing another duty which was enjoined upon him, the construction of a small

laboratory. He writes with the greatest scorn of the native artificers, but he succeeded in making them do what he wished. Just, however, as he had overcome the main difficulties, his peace of mind was disturbed by his two chronic wants, lack of money and scarcity of provisions. This time he resolved to write to the Emperor himself; and endeavoured to get some one to translate his remonstrances into Arabic with that view. He failed, however, and had to content himself with the Prince, whose life, by means of his interpreter, he was able to make a burden to him.

The reader of his report is not surprised to find that after a very short time his services were dispensed with, and he was directed to return to Gibraltar. A man who insists on afflicting royalty with the most trivial complaints becomes a very unwelcome inmate of a despotic Court.

So John and his comrades started, grumbling to the last, and his conceit and self-importance manifesting themselves at every stage of the journey. Carefully mentioning that he was still allowed an Imperial escort, he points out another instance of shabby treatment to which he was exposed. It should be mentioned that when the horses requisite for his comfort were not forthcoming, the gallant bombardier always declined to move. On one evening he was informed that the requisite cattle would be ready next morning. "Our things being ready by the time," he writes, "I went to see the cattle that was prepared for us. I found only four mules barely sufficient to carry our baggage. I enquired where I and the two men were to ride, and was informed—on the top of the baggage. I said that since I had been in the country I was never asked to travel in this manner; neither did I think His Majesty would be pleased if he knew how we were treated; and, moreover, not any of *my* baggage should be moved until three saddle-horses should be brought for me and my companions. He said, as for me, I might ride on one of his horses, but I absolutely refused, adding it was equally my duty to take care of those men as of myself, and until I saw cattle enough to carry us and our baggage, I would not stir from the place, unless it was to return and acquaint the Emperor of our usage."

It is sufficient to say that on this, as on every similar occasion, the bombardier carried his point.

The day arrived when they were to take ship from Tetuan to Gibraltar. To the very last his pecuniary difficulties haunted him. They were directed to attend at a notary's office to receive their pay. A sum far inferior to what he considered his due was offered him. "I informed them," he writes, "that that was not near the sum that was due to us; but was given to understand that if I did not accept that, I might possibly get none; and rather than run that hazard, as I knew them capable of any meanness, I took what was offered, and gave a receipt in part payment. We were likewise out of this short payment obliged to pay our interpreter; but this I did with less reluctance, as I had been informed by Mr. Rodway, Master-Wheeler, of Gibraltar, that whenever he went to Mequinez by order of Government, he always paid his interpreter himself, but that the money was always returned to him at Gibraltar." The exquisite delicacy of the hint at repayment, embodied in an official report, cannot be surpassed.

In days long after John Turner's career was finished, the spectacle has been witnessed of an invaded country straining every nerve, and practising every self-denial, to procure the withdrawal from its occupied districts of the enemy's troops. It is questionable, however, whether its eagerness was equal to that which must have been felt on all sides when that memorable event occurred which it has been attempted to describe,—the invasion of Morocco by a bombardier.

In the year 1770, the Regiment suffered from two evils: one, the chronic slowness of promotion which has always afflicted it; the other, an inability to carry out the foreign reliefs with so small a number of companies at home. To meet these evils a remedy was devised, which shall be treated in the next chapter—the formation of another Battalion.

24. Cleaveland's MSS.

CHAPTER XXIII.
THE FOURTH BATTALION.—THE HISTORY AND PRESENT
DESIGNATION OF THE COMPANIES.

THIS Battalion was formed on the 1st January, 1771, by drafting six companies from the Battalions already in existence, which were thus reduced from ten to eight companies, and by the formation, in addition, of two new companies. At the same date, eight companies of invalids were formed from the men on out-pension, two of which were attached to each Battalion, but were not borne upon the effective strength. These eight companies were consolidated in 1779 in one invalid battalion, with a regular staff, and effective companies were raised for the other battalions, in their stead.

On its first formation, the companies of the 4th Battalion were very weak, consisting each of 1 Captain, 1 Captain-Lieutenant, 2 First Lieutenants, 2 Second Lieutenants, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, 4 bombardiers, 8 gunners, 52 matrosses, and 2 drummers. The staff of the Battalion consisted of a Colonel-Commandant, a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major, an Adjutant, a Quartermaster, and a Chaplain. Colonel Ord, the first Colonel-Commandant, had greatly distinguished himself in North America in 1759 and 1760; and it was a happy coincidence that he should receive the command of a battalion whose services in that country were destined to be so brilliant. These services will receive more appropriate mention in the chapters connected with the American War of Independence, and with the gallant officer who commanded it during that war, General James Pattison.

But two of the companies received special marks of distinction which deserve to be mentioned. One, No. 1 Company, now No. 4 Battery, 7th Brigade, was singled out after the battle of Vaux, in 1794, for its gallant conduct during the day, and the whole Army was formed up to see it march past the Duke on the field of battle. Another company, No. 10, received a special mark of distinction for its gallantry during the second American War, and more especially at the capture of Fort Niagara. By General Order of 7th October, 1816, it was permitted to wear on its appointments "in addition to any badges or devices which may have been hitherto granted to the Royal Regiment of Artillery" the word "Niagara." This company subsequently fell a victim to change and reduction. It was reduced in January, 1819, after a service of forty years, having been one of the two companies formed in 1779 to replace the invalid companies of the Battalion. It was reformed at Woolwich on the 16th August, 1848; and on the 3rd November in that year it became No. 6 Company of the 12th Battalion. In 1859, when the Brigade system was introduced, it became No. 9 Battery of the 6th Brigade; on the 1st April, 1865, it was transferred to the 12th Brigade as No. 8 Battery; and on the 1st February, 1871, by reduction, it ceased to exist as such. It is a matter of regret that the pruning-knife should be applied to the companies which have a distinctive history.

The 4th Battalion afforded a precedent—although not a happy one—for the Brigade system as applied to the Royal Artillery. It was the only battalion which ever went on service with its head-quarter staff. Experience soon proved that it would have been better to leave that appendage—as was customary—at Woolwich. The Battalion letter-books teem with complaints as to clothing, recruiting, and pay, which might have been obviated by having at home the usual battalion officials, whose duties were connected with these details. With the companies detached over the American continent, and the head-quarters virtually imprisoned in New York, the confusion was endless, and the natural results excite a smile as the student reads of them. For the officials at the Board of Ordnance exercised the same paternal interference over the distant staff, as if they had been in Woolwich. The time occupied by correspondence across the Atlantic, rendered necessary by the stupidity and the curiosity of the Ordnance officials, told heavily against the comfort of the companies, and the peace of mind of their Captains. The circumlocution between London and New York, New York and all the stations on the continent where detachments of the Battalion were stationed, and back again to the Tower, was at once ludicrous and irritating. And the trouble caused by the absence from England of those who would have interested themselves in procuring suitable and creditable recruits cannot be realized save by those who have waded through the letter-books of the period. The companies were fettered to a beleaguered head-quarters, which in its turn was tied and bound to a distant department, nor was allowed the slightest independence of action. The result may easily be imagined. Questions which could have been decided in a few minutes, if those interested could have met, grew every day more complicated and unwieldy by the correspondence at long and uncertain intervals in which the Board of Ordnance revelled.

The services of the companies will now be given, in the same manner as those of the other battalions. There are few lists more noble than that of the military operations in which No. 1 Company was engaged. The battery—No. 4 of the 7th Brigade—whose history this is, may well be proud of such noble antecedents. The revival of these may prove a means of awakening a pride in its ranks which will be the strongest aid to discipline, the most powerful incentive to progress.

The succession of Captains of the various companies, as far as the somewhat mutilated records on this point will admit, will also be given, down to the time when the nomenclature of the companies was changed, since which date, so recent, no difficulty will be found in continuing the lists.

**No. 1 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
Now "4" BATTERY, 7th BRIGADE.**

<u>Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.</u>	
1775	Battle of Bunker's Hill.
1776	Siege of Boston.
1776	Battle of Brooklyn, and capture of Horan's Hook.
1776	Occupation of New York.
1776	Battle of White Plains.
1776	Capture of Fort Washington and Fort Lee.
1776	Expedition against Charleston.
1777	Operations in the Jerseys under Lord Cornwallis.
1777	Affair of Westfield: defeat of Americans.
1777	Battle of Brandywine: ditto.
1777	Occupation of Philadelphia.
1777	Battle of Freehold Court: defeat of Americans.
1777	Capture of Savannah, and defeat of American General Howe—detachments only present.
1779	Capture of Stoney Point on the Hudson.
1779	General Matthews' successful raid in Virginia.
1780	Capture of Charlestown, and operations in North Carolina.
1781	Detachments were present at Yorktown when Lord Cornwallis capitulated.
1793	Expedition to the Netherlands under H. R. H. the Duke of York: present at Siege and Capture of Valenciennes.
1793	Affair of Lincelles.
1793	Siege of Dunkirk.
1793	Affairs of Lannoy and Marchiennes.
1794	Severe engagement at Vaux. (The Company thanked in General Orders, and marched past the Duke on the field of battle.)
1794	Affairs of Cateau and Landrecy.
1794	Retreat from Lannoy, &c.
1794	Engagement of 22nd May. This Company was specially thanked by H.R.H. the Duke of York.
1794	Retreat to Bremen. This Company was continually engaged, and suffered great loss.
1799	A small detachment of the Company accompanied the Expedition to the Netherlands.
1807	Siege of Buenos Ayres.
1811	Battle of Albuera.
1813	Battle of Vittoria.
1813	Battle of the Pyrenees.
1814	Passage of the Gave de Menton, near Villa Franca.
1814	Battle of Orthes.
1814	Battle of Toulouse.
1814	Various affairs with the Americans in Canada during 1814.
1839	Disturbances in Canada. This Company performed the Winter March to Quebec.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1786	Captain W. O. Huddlestone.
1790	Captain Thomas Trotter.
1795	Captain John Burton.
1804	Captain James Hawker.
1812	Captain Stewart Maxwell.
	* * * * *
1824	Captain William Butts.
1824	Captain Thomas Cubitt.
1832	Captain Frederick Arabin.
1837	Captain R. S. Armstrong.
1846	Captain Hugh Manley Tuite.
1854	Captain Charles Taylor Du Plat.
1856	Captain M. B. Forde.

**No. 2 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
Now "6" BATTERY, 3rd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1775	Battle of Bunker's Hill.
1776	Siege of Boston.
1776	Battle of Brooklyn, and capture of Horan's Hook.
1776	Occupation of New York.
1776	Battle of White Plains. Specially thanked in General Orders.
1776	Capture of Forts Washington and Lee.
1776	Expedition against Charleston.
1777	Operations in the Jerseys under Lord Cornwallis.
1777	Affair of Westfield: defeat of Americans.
1777	Battle of Brandywine: ditto.
1777	Occupation of Philadelphia.
1777	Affair of Germantown: defeat of Americans.
1778	Evacuation of Philadelphia.
1778	Battle of Freehold Court: defeat of Americans.
1778	Affairs in North Carolina.
1778	Capture of Savannah.
1779	Capture of Stoney Point on the Hudson: Detachment only present.
1779	General Matthews' successful raid in Virginia.
1780	Capture of Charlestown, and operations in North Carolina.
1781	Detachments were present at Yorktown when Lord Cornwallis capitulated.
1813	Second American War: present at the affairs of Sackett's Harbour, Goose Creek, and Chrystler's Farm.
1814	Expedition to Plattsburg under Sir George Prevost.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1786	Captain John Lemoine.
1791	Captain William Collier.
1795	Captain J. A. Schalch.
1801	Captain Charles Godfrey.
1805	Captain William Hall.
1806	Captain P. Durmford.
1806	Captain Charles C. Bingham.
1812	Captain P. M. Wallace.
	* * * * *
1828	Captain J. A. Chalmers.
1835	Captain A. MacDonald.
1840	Captain Thomas O. Cater.
1840	Captain George James.
1848	Captain Thomas Elwyn.
1850	Captain A. J. Taylor.
1852	Captain A. H. Graham.
1857	Captain W. W. Barry.

**No. 3 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
Now "8" BATTERY, 2nd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1775	Defence of Quebec against Americans under General Arnold.
1777	Battle of Brandywine.
1777	Occupation of Philadelphia.
1777	Defeat of Americans at Germantown.
1778	Ditto at Battle of Freehold Court, after Evacuation of Philadelphia.
1778	Detachments present at Capture of Savannah.
1779	Detachments present at Capture of Stoney Point on the Hudson.
1780	Capture of Charlestown, and operations in North Carolina.
1795	Cape of Good Hope: Expedition under General Craig.
1801	Siege and Capture of Alexandria, and expulsion of French from Egypt (detachments only).
1807	Expedition against Madeira.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1786	Captain F. M. Keith.
1790	Captain J. H. Yorke.
1796	Captain George Koehler.
1797	Captain W. Wilson.
1802	Captain Edward Hope.
1803	Captain W. Scott.
1812	Captain W. R. Carey.
1815	Captain E. C. Wilford.
1817	Captain James Addams.
1825	Captain E. T. Michell.
1835	Captain Thomas Dyneley.
1837	Captain W. Elgee.
1846	Captain Henry S. Tireman.
1847	Captain S. P. Townsend.
1849	Captain St. John T. Browne.
	* * * * *

**No. 4 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
AFTERWARDS "8" BATTERY, 1st BRIGADE.
*Reduced 1st April, 1869.***

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1775	Battle of Bunker's Hill.
1776	Siege of Boston.
1776	Battle of Brooklyn, and Capture of Horan's Hook.
1776	Occupation of New York.
1776	Battle of White Plains. Specially thanked in General Orders.
1776	Capture of Forts Washington and Lee.
1776	Expedition against Charlestown.
1777	Operations in the Jerseys under Lord Cornwallis.
1777	Affairs of Peek's Hill and Westfield.
1777	Battle of Brandywine, and occupation of Philadelphia.
1778	Evacuation of Philadelphia by British, and defeat of Americans at Germantown.
1778	Battle of Freehold Court.
1778	Detachments present at Capture of Savannah.
1779	Detachments present at Capture of Stoney Point on the Hudson.
1779	Ditto during General Matthews' raid in Virginia.
1780	Capture of Charlestown, and operations in North Carolina.
1793	Expedition to Flanders under H.R.H. the Duke of York: present at every engagement during the Campaign, and specially mentioned in General Orders.
1808	Present with the Army in Portugal until the Battle of Corunna, when it returned to Gibraltar.
1839	Canadian Rebellion.
1856	Expedition to Crimea, but arrived a few days after the fall of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1786	Captain W. Houghton.
1790	Captain F. Laye.
1797	Captain B. Young.
1804	Captain Hon. W. H. Gardner.
1805	Captain F. Smith.
	* * * * *
1823	Captain Thomas Cubitt.
1826	Captain William Butts.
1829	Captain John Dowse.
	* * * * *
1841	Captain R. L. Cornelius.
1844	Captain W. Y. Fenwick.
1844	Captain Henry Poole.
1848	Captain William Fraser.
1850	Captain A. G. Burrows.
1855	Captain J. F. E. Travers.

**No. 5 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
Now "B" BATTERY, 9th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1775	Battle of Bunker's Hill.
1776	Defence of Boston.
1776	Battle of Brooklyn.
1776	Capture of Horan's Hook.
1776	Occupation of New York.
1776	Battle of White Plains. (Thanked in Orders.)
1776	Capture of Fort Washington and Fort Lee.
1777	Operations in the Jerseys under Lord Cornwallis, and action near Westfield.
1779	Capture of Stoney Point on the Hudson.
1779	General Matthews' raid in Virginia.
1780	Expedition to South Carolina.
1794	War in Flanders, including actions at Alost and Malines, and defence of Nimeguen.
1796	Capture of St. Lucia, St. Vincent's, and Grenada.
1803	Capture of St. Lucia and Tobago.
1804	Capture of Demerara.

N.B.—A detachment of this Company embarked on board Lord Nelson's fleet from Barbadoes to assist in working the guns.

1809-1810	Capture of Martinique and Guadeloupe.
1815	Occupation of Paris.
1842 to 1848	Engaged at Cape of Good Hope in the operations against the insurgent Boers and Kaffirs.
1855	Siege of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1786	Captain Charles Wood.
1787	Captain George Abson.
1792	Captain Ashton Shuttleworth.
1795	Captain Robert Hope.
1802	Captain W. Wilson.
1804	Captain W. Payne.
1805	Captain W. Millar.
1805	Captain Charles Youngusband.
	* * * * *
1823	Captain G. C. Coffin.
	* * * * *
1836	Captain E. Sheppard.
1837	Captain J. M. Stephens.
1840	Captain G. G. Palmer.
1841	Captain Henry Pallisser.
1848	Captain W. H. Elliot.
1855	Captain G. H. L. Milman.

**No. 6 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
Now "1" BATTERY, 6th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1775	Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Chambly, and St. John. (The whole Company, with the exception of 9 men, was taken prisoner at this time, and remained so until April, 1777.)
1779	Capture of Stoney Point, on the Hudson.
1779	Raid in Virginia under General Matthews.
1780	Battle of Camden.
1780	Operations under Lord Cornwallis.
1781	Battle of Cowpens.
1781	Battle of Guildford Court-house.
1781	Surrender of Yorktown.
1798	Expedition to Minorca.
1808	Operations in Portugal and Battle of Vimiera.
1809	Battle of Corunna.
1813	Battle of Vittoria.
1813	Battle of Pyrenees.
1813	Siege and capture of St. Sebastian. ^[25]
1814	Battle of Toulouse.
1815	Occupation of Paris.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1783	Captain R. Lawson.
1793	Captain J. Wilson.
1794	Captain J. Bradbridge.
1797	Captain H. Framingham.
1804	Captain George Skyring.
1811	Captain W. Morrison.
	* * * * *
1826	Captain P. Faddy.
	* * * * *
1839	Captain R. Kendall.
1845	Captain George Markland.
1852	Captain H. P. Goodenough.
	* * * * *

**No. 7 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
Now "6" BATTERY, 10th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1778	Capture of Sunbury in Georgia.
1778	Affair of Brier Creek.
1779	Repulse of Americans at Stono Ferry.
1781	Defence of Pensacola.
1812	Canada during second American War.
1855	Siege of Sebastopol. (The captain of the Company, Captain Fitzroy, was killed in the trenches.)

N.B.—A detachment of this Company accompanied their Captain, F. R. Chesney, in his scientific researches along the Euphrates and Persian Gulf.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1786	Captain Thomas Hare.
1790	Captain T. Seward.
1796	Captain C. W. Thornton.
1797	Captain E. Trelawney.
1799	Captain G. Wulff.
1804	Captain W. Caddy.
1817	Captain C. Bridge.
1817	Captain A. Bredin.
1820	Captain George Turner.
1825	Captain W. Greene.
1830	Captain F. R. Chesney.
1842	Captain D. Thorndike.
1850	Captain John Henry Lefroy.
1854	Captain A. C. Hawkins.
1855	Captain S. Robinson.
1855	Captain A. C. L. Fitzroy.

**No. 8 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
Now "E" BATTERY, 1st BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1775	Battle of Bunker's Hill.
1776	Defence of Boston.
1776	Battle of Brooklyn.
1776	Capture of Horan's Hook.
1776	Occupation of New York.
1776	Battle of White Plains. (Thanked in Orders.)
1776	Capture of Fort Washington and Fort Lee.
1777	Operations in the Jerseys under Lord Cornwallis, and affair of Peek's Hill.
1777	Action near Westfield.
1777	Battle of Brandywine, and occupation of Philadelphia.
1778	Evacuation of Philadelphia, and Battle of Freehold Court.
1778	Detachment present at Capture of Savannah.
1779	Capture of Stoney Point on the Hudson.
1779	General Matthews' raid in Virginia.
1780	Capture of Charlestown, and operations in North Carolina.
1781	Detachments present at Surrender of Yorktown.
1803	War in Ceylon, ending in total defeat of the native king of Kandy.
1811	Expedition against Java, and capture of the Island.
1854	Siege of Sebastopol. (The Captain of the Company, A. Oldfield, was killed in the trenches.)

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

	* * * * *
1786	Captain Patrick Ross.
1791	Captain S. Rimington.
1799	Captain James Hook.
1802	Captain E. V. Worsley.
1809	Captain J. T. Robison.
1811	Captain R. F. Cleaveland.
1819	Captain C. F. Sandham.
1822	Captain N. W. Oliver.
1826	Captain P. Walker.
1827	Captain C. Cruttenden.
1833	Captain W. B. Dundas.
1837	Captain A. O. W. Schalch.
1837	Captain R. B. Rawnsley.
1842	Captain G. Durmford.
1844	Captain J. H. St. John.
1844	Captain G. H. Hyde.
1854-55	Captain A. Oldfield.
1856	Captain W. T. Barnett.

**No. 9 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
(Afterwards 4th Company, 11th Battalion),
Now "H" BATTERY, 4th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1812 | Second American War. Engaged on board the gunboats on the Canadian lakes, and on various outpost duties, receiving special mention in Orders. |
| 1815 | Formed part of the Duke of Wellington's Army, but took no active part, proceeding no further than Valenciennes. |
| | Reduced in 1819 and reformed in 1848, when it was transferred to the 11th Battalion as No. 4 Company. It served during the Crimean War, and was present at the
Battle of Alma.
Battle of Inkerman.
and was constantly employed in carrying ammunition into the trenches. |

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

- | | |
|------|--|
| | * * * * * |
| 1783 | Captain James Winter. |
| 1790 | Captain T. Brady. |
| 1793 | Captain R. Hamilton. |
| 1800 | Captain R. Wright. |
| 1800 | Captain W. Robe. |
| 1806 | Captain T. J. Forbes. |
| 1808 | Captain J. S. Sinclair.
Reduced in 1819.
Reformed in 1848. |
| 1848 | Captain W. S. Payne. |
| 1848 | Captain T. B. F. Marriott.
(Transferred to 11th Battalion.) |
| 1849 | Captain W. R. Nedham. |
| 1854 | Captain J. Turner. |
| 1855 | Captain H. A. Smyth. |

**No. 10 COMPANY, 4th BATTALION,
AFTERWARDS "8" BATTERY, 12th BRIGADE,
Now "5" BATTERY, 12th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1812-13	Second American War. Engaged in nearly every operation on the American frontier, repeatedly mentioned in Orders, and by General Order was permitted to wear the designation "Niagara."
1815-16	Present with the Duke of Wellington's Army, but took no active part, remaining in garrison at Tournay.
1855	Crimea.

N.B.—No. 8 Battery, 12th Brigade, R. A., was *nominally* reduced on 1st Feb., 1871: but as No. 5 Battery of that Brigade was *really* reduced, and the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, of No. 8 Battery were transferred to No. 5, it seems just to perpetuate No. 8 Battery. The arms, books, &c., of No. 8 were also transferred to No. 5.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1783	Captain W. Godwin.
1787	Captain B. Marlow.
1794	Captain William Borthwick.
1794	Captain George Glasgow.
1800	Captain R. Dickinson.
1806	Captain E. Curry.
1808	Captain William Holcroft.
1816	Captain Joseph Brome. Reduced in 1819. Reformed in 1848.
1848	Captain H. S. Rowan. Became 6th Company 12th Battalion in November, 1848.
1854	Captain Hamley.
1858	Captain Macdougall.
1859	Captain Boothby.

²⁵. At the capture of St. Sebastian, ten men of this Company volunteered for the storming party, and were instrumental in deciding the fate of the attack by the gallant style in which they turned two of the enemy's guns upon the garrison, driving the defenders from the works.

For a few years after the formation of the Fourth Battalion, the History of the Regiment contains little that possesses more than domestic interest. It was the stillness which precedes a storm.

In 1775, the Titanic contest commenced, in which England found herself pitted against France, Spain, and her own children.

From that year, until 1783, the student of her military history finds his labour incessant. America and Europe alike claim his attention; the War of Independence, and the Sieges of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, furnish a wealth of material for his examination.

But before entering on these, the ground must be cleared and the regimental gossip between 1771 and 1775 must be chronicled.

During that time, the relief of the battalion serving in America—by the 4th—took place, and on the latter fell all Artillery duties performed at the commencement of hostilities in that country. As the war developed, the 4th Battalion was reinforced by four companies of the 3rd, whose men—and also the Lieutenant-Fireworkers—were gradually absorbed into the 4th Battalion. At the same time, four companies of the 1st and 3rd Battalions, under the gallant Phillips, were ordered to America, and formed part of the force commanded by the ill-fated Burgoyne. During this decade, between 1770 and 1779, five companies of the 2nd Battalion relieved those at Gibraltar, and were the only Artillery present at that memorable siege, which sheds a lustre over this unhappy period in the national history.

Woolwich saw a good many changes at this time. The barracks in the Warren were inadequate to meet the wants of the Regiment, now that it had received so many augmentations. Some ground on the Common was, therefore, purchased by the Board, and the foundation laid of barracks, large enough to accommodate a battalion of eight companies. The building was completed, and the barracks inhabited, early in 1776.

Modifications in the dress of the Regiment took place; and the evil results of the liberty granted to the Colonels of Battalions with regard to their men's clothing manifested themselves to such a degree, that in March, 1772, an order was issued, forbidding any alteration in the clothing of the men, or uniform of the officers, without the previous knowledge and approbation of the Master-General.

From various Battalion Orders issued at this time, we learn that the officers had now to provide themselves with plain frocks, and plain hats with a gold band, button, and loop; and that the accoutrements of the men, which had hitherto been buff, were now changed,—becoming what they are at present—white. The dress for a parade under arms was as follows:—The men, in white breeches, white stockings, black half-spatterdashes, and their hair clubbed;—the officers, in plain frocks, half-spatterdashes, and queues, with white cotton or thread stockings under their spatterdashes, and gold button and loop on their plain hats. When the officers were on duty, they were ordered to wear their hair clubbed, and their hats cocked in the same manner as those of the men. The hats of the men were worn with the front loops just over the nose. Black stocks were utterly forbidden, white only being permitted to be worn, either by officers or men.

On the 22nd June, 1772, a Royal Warrant was issued, deciding that Captain-Lieutenants in the Artillery and Engineers should rank as Captains in the Army. Those who were then serving, were to have their commissions as Captain, dated 26th May, 1772; and those who might be subsequently commissioned, from the date of their appointment. The title of Captain-Lieutenant was abolished, and that of Second Captain substituted, in 1804.

In 1772 and 1775, the regiment was reviewed by the King—on both occasions at Blackheath. The inspections were very satisfactory; in 1772, "The corps went through their different evolutions with great exactness, though greatly incommoded by the weather, and obstructed by the prodigious concourse of people, which was greater than ever was known on any like occasion." In addition to these reviews, the King visited Woolwich in state in 1773, for the purpose of inspecting the new foundry and boring-room. In the latter, he saw a 42-pounder bored with a new and wonderful horizontal boring-machine. He saw many curious inventions; among others, a light field-piece, invented by Colonel Pattison, "which, on emergencies, might be carried on men's shoulders," and which was tried, "to the great amazement of His Majesty." He also went to the Academy, where he breakfasted; and then inspected the companies which happened to be in Woolwich, with whose manœuvres he expressed the utmost satisfaction. The review was marred by an accident which occurred. "Colonel Broome, in parading in front of the Regiment, before His Majesty, on a very beautiful and well-broke horse, but very tender-mouthed, checked him, which made the horse rise upon his hind-legs, and fall backwards upon his rider, who is so greatly bruised, that his life is despaired of."^[26]

In 1772, the officers, whose extra pay on promotion had been taken to make up the half-pay of Captain-Lieutenant Rogers, complained of the injustice, and their remonstrances were attended to. A warrant was issued on the 4th August, 1772, directing a vacancy of one Second Lieutenant to be kept open in one of the invalid companies, the pay to be employed towards Captain Rogers's half-pay.

It is impossible to stigmatize too harshly the system of non-effectives, borne for various purposes on the strength of the Regiment, in which the Board of Ordnance delighted. It was at once deceitful and unbusinesslike. If the purposes were legitimate, they should have formed the subject of a separate vote. At the risk of wearying the reader, a recapitulation will be given of the non-effectives in the Regiment at this time, and the purposes for which they were borne upon the establishment. There were thirty-two marching companies in the Regiment, and eight of invalids. On the muster-roll of each company, a dummy—so to speak—was borne, whose pay went to the Widows' Fund; another per company, for what was called the Non-effective Fund, and a third, whose pay went to remunerate the fifer. In addition to this, ten dummies were borne, whose pay went to swell General Belford's income, in the form of command pay; and nine were utilized for the band.

In short, out of 1088 matrosses, shown as the establishment of the marching companies, no less than 115 had no existence; and in the invalid companies, a Second Lieutenant and 16 matrosses were equally shadowy. If we examine the purposes for which the fund called the non-effective fund existed, shall we find them to be irregular, or such as could not be made public? Not at all; the charges on this fund were legitimate, and a separate vote might and should have been taken, particularizing them. They were to meet the expenses connected with recruits, deserters, and discharged invalids, as well as certain contingent charges, connected with the command of companies. Why then the mystery, and deceit practised upon the public? If the senior officer of Artillery was deserving of higher pay on account of his services or responsibility, why not openly say so, instead of showing to the country, as part of the Artillery establishment, ten men who had no existence? The wickedness and folly of such a means of keeping accounts could only have emanated from such a Department as the Board of Ordnance.

Mention has been made of recruiting expenses. Certain regulations which were in force at this time may be interesting to the reader. Levy money was not allowed to the recruiting officer in cases where the recruits were not approved by the commanding officer, but their subsistence after enlistment until rejection, was admitted. If a recruit deserted before joining, no charge whatever was admitted against the fund. But if he died between enlistment and the time when he should have joined, all expenses connected with him were admitted on production of the necessary vouchers and certificates. When the non-effective fund was balanced, which was done annually on the 30th June, 5*l.* was credited to the accounts of the coming year, for each man wanting to complete the establishment, in order to meet the expenses of the recruits who would be enlisted to fill the vacancies.

A word, now, about the invalids. They were for service in the garrisons; at first, merely in Great Britain, but ultimately also abroad, for in 1775, when the war in Massachusetts was assuming considerable proportions, the company of the 4th Battalion, which was quartered in Newfoundland, was ordered to Boston; and the two companies of invalids, shown as belonging to that battalion, and then quartered at Portsmouth, were ordered to Newfoundland for duty. Men over twenty years' service were drafted from the marching to the invalid companies, instead of being discharged with a pension; and the companies were officered from the regiment, appointments in the various ranks being given to the senior applicants.

In 1779, two additional invalid companies were added, and the ten were consolidated into one battalion, effective companies being given to the other battalions in their room.

The staff of the Invalid Battalion consisted of a Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, a Major, and an Adjutant; and the establishment of each company was as follows:—a Captain, a First and Second Lieutenant, 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 1 Drummer, 3 Bombardiers, 6 Gunners, and 36 Matrosses. Although this battalion was fifth in order of formation, and was frequently called the Fifth Battalion,—the real Fifth Battalion, the services of which are sketched in the end of this volume, was not formed until much nearer the close of the eighteenth century.

In 1772, a Military Society was founded at Woolwich for the discussion of professional questions. It was originated by two officers at Gibraltar—Jardine and Williams—extracts from whose letters to one another, when the idea occurred to them, are quaintly amusing. Lieutenant Jardine writes:—"I have been thinking that there must be a good deal of knowledge scattered about in this numerous corps. Could it not be collected, concentrated, and turned to some effect? We have already in this country all kinds of Societies, except Military ones. I think a voluntary association might be formed among us (admitting, perhaps, Engineers and others) on liberal principles, viz., for their own improvement and amusement, where military, mathematical, and philosophical knowledge, being the chief object of their enquiries, essays, &c., might thus be improved and propagated. They might thus communicate and increase their own ideas, preserve themselves from vulgar errors, and keeping one another in countenance, bear up against the contempt of pert and presumptive ignorance. If it increased in numbers, and grew into consequence, they might in time bring study and real knowledge into fashion, and, retorting a juster contempt, keep mediocrity, and false or no merit, down to their proper sphere."

His correspondent, who was then on board a transport, and wrote under difficulties, eagerly entered into the scheme, but for reasons stated could not go into details. "I have many things," he writes, "in my head, but our band (consisting of geese screaming, ducks quacking, hogs grunting, dogs growling, puppies barking, brats squalling, and all hands bawling) are now performing a full piece, so that whatever my pericranium labours with, it must lie concealed until I arrive at Retirement's Lying-in Hospital, in Solitude Row, where I shall hope for a happy delivery."

The friends reached Woolwich that year; and in October the society was formed. There happened to be many among the senior officers who sympathized with the promoters, notably Generals Williamson and Desaguliers, and Colonels Pattison and Phillips. The meetings took place at 6 P.M. on every Saturday preceding the full moon; and were secret, in order that an inventor might communicate his discoveries without fear of their appropriation. With the author's consent, however, papers might be published. The carrying-on of experiments was one of the main purposes which animated the society. At the present day, when the idea which animated the promoters of the old society has blossomed into a Literary and Scientific Institution, unparalleled in any corps in any land, which not merely encourages and develops the intelligence and literary talent of its members, but aids, in the highest degree, to lift the corps out of mediocrity into science,—these old facts connected with the infant society have a peculiar interest. The year 1872 may look back to 1772 with filial regard.

On the 8th July, 1773, the 4th Battalion arrived in New York—with the exception of one company, which went to Newfoundland.

Within a very brief period, the political atmosphere in that country became hopelessly overcast, and with the outbreak of the storm at Boston, in 1775, commences at once the active history of the American War, and of the Royal Artillery during that war, which is to be treated by itself. But parallel with that long and disastrous campaign, and occupying a period extending from 1779 to 1783, was the great siege of Gibraltar. To prevent an interruption in the thread of the American narrative, it is proposed to anticipate matters, and passing over the years 1775 to 1778, when the eye of the student can see nothing but America, proceed at once to the consideration of the siege, and then return to an uninterrupted consideration of the Artillery share in the American War from 1775 to the Peace of 1783.

²⁶. Colonel Cleaveland's MSS.

CHAPTER XXV. THE GREAT SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.

"Neither, while the war lasts, will Gibraltar surrender. Not though Crillon, Nassau, Siegen, with the ablest projectors extant, are there; and Prince Condé and Prince d'Artois have hastened to help. Wondrous leather-roofed floating-batteries, set afloat by French-Spanish *Pacte de famille*, give gallant summons; to which, nevertheless, Gibraltar answers Plutonically, with mere torrents of red-hot iron,—as if stone Calpe had become a throat of the Pit; and utters such a Doom's-blast of a No, as all men must credit."—CARLYLE.

THE year 1779 saw England engaged in war on both sides of the Atlantic, with bitter and jealous enemies. Her struggle with the revolted colonies offered a tempting opportunity to France to wipe out her losses during the Seven Years' War,—and to Spain, to wipe out the disgrace which she felt in the possession of Gibraltar by the English. France, accordingly, espoused the cause of the Americans; and Spain, under pretence of the rejection of an offer of mediation between England and France, proposed in terms which could not be accepted, immediately declared a war, which had been decided upon from the day of the disaster at Saratoga, and for which preparations had been progressing for some time without any pretence of concealment.

The Royal Artillery in this year consisted of thirty-two *service* companies, and eight *invalid*. The augmentation referred to in the last chapter did not take place until the end of the year. Of this number, one-half—sixteen companies—was in America; one company in Newfoundland; three in the West Indies; three in Minorca; and five in Gibraltar:—a total abroad of twenty-eight service companies out of thirty-two. Nor was it a foreign service, so weary and uneventful as it sometimes is now: it was a time when England was fighting almost for existence, and every company had to share the dangers. Should such a rising against England ever occur again, the Regiment could not select as its model for imitation anything nobler than the five companies which were in Gibraltar during the great siege.

They were the five senior companies of the 2nd Battalion, and they still exist, under the altered nomenclature, as,—

No. 7 Battery,	21st Brigade	Intermediately in the 6th Brigade.
2 Battery	12th Brigade	
7 Battery	10th Brigade	
D Battery	1st Brigade	
8 Battery	3rd Brigade	

At the commencement of the siege, Colonel Godwin was in command of the Artillery; but he returned to England in the following year, on promotion to the command of the Battalion, and died in about six years. He was succeeded by Colonel Tovey, the same officer who had been present with his company at Belleisle; and who, having had practical experience of Siege Artillery of the attack, was now to head a train of Artillery of the defence, in which duty and command he died. On his death, which happened at a most exciting period of the siege, he was succeeded by Major Lewis, whose conspicuous gallantry and severe wounds earned for him a well-deserved Good Service Pension.

The strength of the Artillery was wholly inadequate to the number of guns on the Rock. It amounted to a total of 25 officers, and 460 non-commissioned officers and men; whereas, at the termination of the siege, the following was the serviceable and mounted armament:—

Guns.—Seventy-seven 32-pounders; one hundred and twenty-two 24-pounders and 26-pounders; one hundred and four 18-pounders; seventy 12-pounders; sixteen 9-pounders; twenty-five 6-pounders; thirty-eight 4-pounders and 3-pounders.

Mortars.—Twenty-nine 13-inch; one 10-inch; six 8-inch; and thirty-four of smaller natures.

Howitzers.—Nineteen 10-inch, and nine 8-inch.

One of the first steps taken by the Governor, General Elliott, was to attach 180 men from the infantry to the Artillery, to learn gunnery, and assist in the duties of the latter. The regiments in garrison were the 12th, 39th, 56th, and 58th, also the (then) 72nd regiment. The (then) 73rd and 97th regiments joined during the siege. There were also 124 Engineers and artificers, and three regiments of Hanoverian troops. The total strength of all ranks in June 1779, was 5382; but it increased before the siege was over—by means of reinforcements from England—to 7000.

A few statistics connected with the Artillery and their duties may, perhaps, with advantage be prefaced to the account of the siege.

The amount of ammunition expended between September 1779 and February 1783, was as follows:

Shot	57,163
Shell	129,151
Grape	12,681
Carcasses	926
Light Balls	679

In all 200,600 rounds, and 8000 barrels of powder.

The preponderance of the number of shell over shot was caused by the use, during the siege, of shell from *guns*, with reduced charges—as well as from mortars and howitzers; suggested by Captain Mercier, of the 39th Regiment, and found so successful, as almost to abolish the use of shot during the first two years. In the year 1782, however, the value of red-hot shot against the enemy's fleet and works was discovered; the amount of shot expended rapidly increased; and while there was hardly a battery without the means at hand for heating them, there was also a constant supply, already heated, in the chief batteries.

The batteries from which the Artillery generally fired on the land side were those known collectively as Willis's; but when the fleet, and especially the hornet-like gunboats, commenced annoying the garrison, the batteries towards the sea had also to be manned, and the duty became so severe, that at times the fire had to be slackened, literally to allow the men to snatch a few hours' sleep.

The proportion in the Royal Artillery of killed and wounded was very great. According to the records of the 2nd Battalion, the list was even heavier than that given by Drinkwater in his celebrated work; but even accepting the latter version as correct, it stood as follows:—

Out of a total of 485 of all ranks, there were:—

Killed	23
Died of wounds	8
Totally disabled	13
Wounded	116
Died of sickness	36
Total number of casualties	196

The officers who were killed were Captain J. Reeves and Lieutenant J. Grumley. The former commenced his career as a matross, and received his commission at the Havannah in 1762; the latter was a volunteer, attached in 1778 to the Artillery in Gibraltar, and commissioned in 1780; who enjoyed his honours for a very short time, being killed in the bombardment of the 13th of September, 1782. The officers who were wounded were Major Lewis, Captain-Lieutenant Seward, Lieutenants Boag, Willington, Godfrey, and Cuppage. Of these, Lieutenant Boag was twice wounded during the siege. He, like Captain Reeves, had commenced his service as a matross; nor was his promotion accelerated by brevet or otherwise on account of his wounds, in the dull times of reduction and stagnation, which followed the peace signed at Versailles in 1783. He was at last appointed Major in 1801. Retiring two years later, after a service of forty-five years, he died, as he had lived, plain James Boag,—unnoticed, forgotten, as the great siege itself was, in the boiling whirl which was circling over Europe, fevering every head and heart.

Two valuable inventions were made during the siege by Artillery officers, to increase the efficacy of their fire. By means of one, a gun could be depressed to any angle not exceeding 70°—a most important invention in a fortification like Gibraltar.

The other discovery—if it may be called so—was in an opposite direction. The nightly bombardment, in 1781, by the enemy's gunboats not merely caused great damage and loss of life, but also an annoyance and irritation out of proportion to the injury inflicted. Governor Elliott resolved to retaliate in similar fashion, and to bombard the Spanish camp, which it was hoped to reach by firing from the Old Mole Head. On it was placed a 13-inch sea-service mortar, fired at the usual elevation but with a charge of from twenty-eight to thirty pounds of powder; and in the sand alongside, secured by timber, and at an angle of 42°, five 32-pounders and one 18 pounder were sunk, and fired with charges of fourteen and nine pounds of powder respectively. The results were most satisfactory,—alarming and annoying the enemy, and in proportion cheering the garrison.

It was impossible that a siege of such duration could continue without the importance and responsibility of Artillery officers becoming apparent. This fact produced an order from the Governor, which saved them from much interference from amateur Artillerymen in the form of Brigadiers. The officers commanding in any part of the Fort were forbidden to interfere with the officers of Artillery in the execution of their duty, nor were they to give orders for firing from any of the batteries without consulting the officer who might happen to be in charge of the Artillery.

The life of the garrison during this weary siege was, as might be expected, monotonous in the extreme. The distress undergone, the want of provisions felt by all ranks, from the self denying Governor downwards,—the hoping against hope for relief,—the childish excitement at every rumour which reached the place;—the indignation at what seemed a cruel, unnecessary, and spiteful bombardment;—and the greater fury among the troops, when, among other results of the enemy's fire, came the disclosure in the damaged houses and stores of the inhabitants, of large quantities of wine and provisions, hoarded through all the time of scarcity, in the hope that with still greater famine the price they would bring would be greater too;—all these are told with the minuteness of daily observation, in the work from which all accounts of the siege are more or less drawn.

The marvellous contentment with which the troops bore privations, which they saw were necessary; the good-humour and discipline they always displayed, save on the occasion just mentioned, when anger drove them into marauding, and intoxication produced its usual effect on troops; the extraordinary coolness and courage they displayed during even the worst part of the bombardment, a courage which was even foolhardy, and had to be restrained; all these make this siege one of the noblest chapters in England's military history.

Although the blockade commenced in 1779, it was April, 1781, before the bombardment from the Spanish lines, which drove the miserable townspeople from their houses for shelter to the south of the Rock, can be said to have regularly commenced. When it did commence, it did so in earnest; shells filled with an inflammable matter were used, which set the buildings on fire; and a graphic description of a bombarded town may be found in Drinkwater's pages. "About noon, Lieutenant Budworth, of the 72nd Regiment, and Surgeon Chisholme, of the 56th, were wounded by a splinter of a shell, at the door of a northern casemate in the King's Bastion. The former was dangerously scalped, and the latter had one foot taken off, and the other leg broken, besides a wound in the knee.... Many casks of flour were brought into the King's Bastion, and piled as temporary traverses before the doors of the southern casemates, in which several persons had been killed and wounded in bed.... In the course of the day, a shell fell through the roof of the galley-house, where part of the 39th and some of the 12th Regiments were quartered; it killed two, and wounded four privates.... In the course of the 20th April, 1781, the Victualling Office was on fire

for a short time; and at night, the town was on fire in four different places.... On the 21st, the enemy's cannonade continued very brisk; forty-two rounds were counted in two minutes. The Garrison Flag-staff, on the Grand Battery, was so much injured by their fire, that the upper part was obliged to be cut off, and the colours, or rather their glorious remains, were *nailed* to the stump.... On the 23rd, the wife of a soldier was killed behind the South Barracks, and several men wounded.... On the 24th, a shell fell at the door of a casemate in the King's Bastion, and wounded four men *within* the bomb-proof.... The buildings at this time exhibited a most dreadful picture of the results of so animated a bombardment. Scarce a house north of Grand Parade was habitable; all of them were deserted. Some few near Southport continued to be inhabited by soldiers' families; but in general, the floors and roofs were destroyed, and only the shell left standing.... A shell from the gunboats fell in a house in Hardy Town, and killed Mr. Israel, a very respectable Jew, with Mrs. Tourale, a female relation, and his clerk.... A soldier of the 72nd Regiment was killed in his bed by a round shot, and a Jew butcher was equally unfortunate.... The gunboats bombarded our camp about midnight, and killed and wounded twelve or fourteen.... About ten o'clock on the evening of 18th September, a shell from the lines fell into a house opposite the King's Bastion, where the Town Major, Captain Burke, with Majors Mercier and Vignoles, were sitting. The shell took off Major Burke's thigh; afterwards fell through the floor into the cellar—there it burst, and forced the flooring, with the unfortunate Major, to the ceiling. When assistance came, they found poor Major Burke almost buried among the ruins of the room. He was instantly conveyed to the Hospital, where he died soon after.... On the 30th, a soldier of the 72nd lost both his legs by a shot from Fort Barbara.... In the afternoon of the 7th October, a shell fell into a house in town, where Ensign Stephens of the 39th was sitting. Imagining himself not safe where he was, he quitted the room to get to a more secure place; but just as he passed the door, the shell burst, and a splinter mortally wounded him in the reins, and another took off his leg. He was conveyed to the Hospital, and had suffered amputation before the surgeons discovered the mortal wound in the body. He died about seven o'clock.... In the course of the 25th March, 1782, a shot came through one of the capped embrasures on Princess Amelia's Battery, took off the legs of two men belonging to the 72nd and 73rd Regiments, one leg of another soldier of the 73rd, and wounded another man in both legs; thus four men had seven legs taken off and wounded by one shot."

And so on, *ad infinitum*. The daily life was like this; for although even worse was to come at the final attack, this wearying, cruel bombardment went on literally every day. On the 5th May, 1782, the bombardment ceased for twenty-four hours, for the first time during thirteen months.

As in the time of great pestilence, after the first alarm has subsided, there is a callous indifference, which creeps over those who have escaped, and among whom the familiarity with Death seems almost to have bred contempt, so—during this long siege—after the novelty and excitement of the first few days' bombardment had worn off, the men became so indifferent to the danger, that, when a shell fell near them, the officer in charge would often have to compel them to take the commonest precautions. The fire of the enemy became a subject of wit even, and laughter, among the men; and probably the unaccustomed silence of that 5th of May, when the bombardment was suspended, was quite irksome to these creatures of habit, whose favourite theme of conversation was thus removed.

Among the incidents of the bombardment, there was one which demands insertion in this work, as the victim—a matross—belonged to the Royal Artillery. Shortly before the bombardment commenced, he had broken his thigh; and being a hearty, active fellow, he found the confinement in hospital very irksome. He managed to get out of the ward before he was cured, and his spirits proving too much for him, he forgot his broken leg, and falling again, he was taken up as bad as ever. While lying in the ward for the second time under treatment, a shell from one of the gunboats entered, and rebounding, lodged on his body as he lay, the shell spent, but the fuzze burning. The other sick men in the room summoned strength to crawl out of the ward before the shell burst; but this poor fellow was kept down in his bed by the weight of the shell, and the shock of the blow, and when it burst, it took off both his legs, and scorched him frightfully. Wonderful to say, he survived a short time, and remained sensible to the last. Before he died he expressed his regret that he had not been killed in the batteries. Heroic, noble wish! While men like these are to be found in the ranks of our armies, let no man despair. Heroism such as this, in an educated man, may be inspired by mixed motives—personal courage, hope of being remembered with honour, pride in what will be said at home, and, perhaps, a touch of theatrical effect,—but, in a man like this brave matross, whose courage has failed even to rescue his name from oblivion, although his story remains—the heroism is pure and simple—unalloyed, and the mere expression of devotion to duty, for duty's sake. And this heroism is god-like!

This was but one of many heroic actions performed by men of the Royal Artillery. Another deserves mention, in which the greatest coolness and presence of mind were displayed. A gunner, named Hartley, was employed in the laboratory, filling shells with carcass composition and fixing fuzes. During the operation a fuzze ignited, and "Although he was surrounded by unfixed fuzes, loaded shells, composition, &c., with the most astonishing coolness he carried out the lighted shell, and threw it where it could do little or no harm. Two seconds had scarcely elapsed, before it exploded. If the shell had burst in the laboratory, it is almost certain the whole would have been blown up—when the loss in fixed ammunition, fuzes, &c., would have been irreparable—exclusive of the damage which the fortifications would have suffered from the explosion, and the lives that might have been lost."^[27]

Yet again. On New Year's Day, 1782, an officer of Artillery in Willis's Batteries, observing a shell about to fall near where he was standing, got behind a traverse for shelter. The shell struck this very traverse, and *before* bursting, half buried him with the earth loosened by the impact. One of the guard—named Martin—observing his officer's position, hurried, in spite of the risk to his own life when the shell should burst, and endeavoured to extricate him from the rubbish. Unable to do it by himself, he called for assistance, and another of the guard, equally regardless of personal danger, ran to him, and they had hardly succeeded in extricating their officer, when the shell burst and levelled the traverse with the ground.

This great siege of Calpe, the fourteenth to which the Rock had been subjected, divides itself into three epochs. First, the monotonous blockade, commencing in July, 1779; second, the bombardment which commenced in April, 1781; and third, the grand attack, on the 13th September, 1782.

The blockade was varied by occasional reliefs and reinforcements; and was accompanied by an incessant fire from the guns of the fortress on the Spanish works. The batteries most used at first were Willis's, so called (according to an old MS. of 1705, in the Royal Artillery Record Office), because the man who was most energetic, when these batteries were first armed, bore that name. When the attacks from the gunboats commenced, the batteries to the westward—the King's Bastions and others—were also employed. The steady fire kept up by the Artillery, its accuracy, and the improvements in it suggested by the experience of the siege, were themes of universal admiration; and the many ingenious devices, some of them copied by the enemy, by which, with the assistance of the Engineers, they masked, strengthened, and repaired their batteries, form a most interesting study for the modern Artilleryman. The incessant Artillery duel, which went on, made the gunners' nights as sleepless frequently as their days; for the hours of darkness had to be devoted to repairing the damages sustained during the day. Well may the celebrated chronicler of the siege talk of them as "our brave Artillery,"—brave in the sense of continuous endurance, not merely spasmodic effort.

At the siege of Belleisle, described in a former chapter, the failing ammunition of the enemy was indicated by the use of wooden and stone projectiles. The latter were used by the Royal Artillery at Gibraltar, but for a different reason. To check and distract the working-parties of the enemy, shell had been chiefly employed by the garrison; and the proficiency they attained in the use of these projectiles can easily be accounted for, when it is remembered how soon and how accurately every range could be ascertained; how eager the gunners were to make every shot tell; and how exceedingly important it was to check the continued advance of the enemy's works. For variety's sake, it would seem, for there was no need to economize shell at this time—in pure boyish love of change, the Artillerymen devised stone balls, perforated so as to admit of a small bursting-charge, and a short fuzze; and it was found that the bursting of these projectiles over the Spanish working-parties caused them incredible annoyance.

Although the fire of the garrison during the first epoch of the siege was the most important consideration, and its value could hardly be overrated, as to it alone was any hope due of prolonging the defence until help should come from England,—it was not the only distinctive feature of this time. It was during the blockade that the garrison was most sorely tried by the scarcity of food. And in forming our estimate of the defence of Gibraltar, it should never be forgotten that the defenders were always the same—unrelieved, without communication with any back country; and with hardly any reinforcements to ease the heavy duties. The 97th Regiment, which arrived during the siege, was long in the garrison before it was permitted, or indeed was able, to take its share of duty; and the hard work, as well as the hard fare, fell upon the same individuals.

The statistics, given so curtly by Drinkwater, as to the famine in the place, enable us to realize the daily privations of the troops. At one time, scurvy had so reduced the effective strength of the garrison, that a shipload of lemons which arrived was a more valuable contingent than several regiments would have been. In reading the account of this, with all the quiet arguments as to the value of lemon-juice, and its effect upon the patients, one cannot but wish, that in every military operation there were artists like Drinkwater to fill in the details of those pictures, whose outlines may be drawn by military commanders, or by the logic of events, but whose canvas becomes doubly inviting through the agency of the other industrious and unobtrusive brush. Modern warlike operations suffer from an overabundance of description; but the skeleton supplied by official reports, and the frequent flabbiness of those rendered by newspaper correspondents, produce a result far inferior to the compact picture presented by a writer at once observant and professional.

In a table, at the end of Drinkwater's work, crowded out of the book, as if hardly worthy of mention, and yet most precious to the student now, we find some of the prices paid for articles of food during the siege. Fowls brought over a guinea a couple; beef as much as 4s. 10d. per pound; a goose, 30s.; best tea as high as 2l. 5s. 6d. per pound; eggs, as much as 4s. 10½d. per dozen; cheese, 4s. 1d. per pound; onions, 2s. 6d. per pound; a cabbage, 1s. 7½d.; a live pig, 9l. 14s. 9d.; and a sow in pig, over 29l.

The high price, at times, of all vegetables, was an index of the existence of that terrible scourge—scurvy.

Some very quaint sales took place. An English cow was sold during the blockade for fifty guineas, reserving to the sellers a pint of milk each day while she continued to give it; while another cow was purchased by a Jew for sixty guineas, but in so feeble a state, that she dropped down dead before she had been removed many hundred yards. The imagination fails in attempting to realize the purchaser's face—a Jew, and a Gibraltar Jew; but can readily conceive the laugh against him among the surrounding crowd, their haggard faces looking more ghastly as they smiled. Although Englishmen take their pleasure sadly, they also bear their troubles lightly. An English soldier must be reduced indeed, ere he fails to enjoy a joke at another man's expense, and this characteristic was not wanting at Gibraltar.

The second epoch—the Bombardment—was at first hardly believed to be possible. The fire of the garrison was directed against an assailant and a masculine force; but a bombardment of Gibraltar meant—in the minds of its defenders—a wanton sacrifice of women and children; a wholesale murder of unwelcome inhabitants, who could not escape, and to whom the claims of the conflicting Powers were immaterial. The wailing of women over murdered children, of children over wounded parents; the smoking ruins of recently happy homes; the distress of the flying tradespeople and their families, seeking safety to the southward of the Rock, and abandoning their treasures to bombardment and pillage; all these told with irritating effect upon the troops of a country whose sons are chivalrous without being demonstrative. In days coming on—in terrible days which many who read these pages may have lived in and seen, English troops shall clench their hands, and set their teeth with cruel hardness, as they come upon little female relics—articles of jewellery or dress—perhaps even locks of hair, scattered in hideous abandonment near that well at Cawnpore, whose horrors have often been imagined—never told. To those who have seen this picture, the feelings of the beleaguered garrison in Gibraltar will be easily intelligible, as they stumbled in the town over a corpse—and that corpse a woman's. No wonder that when the great rally took place, historical as much for its boldness as its success, there was an angry desperation among the troops, which it would have taken tremendous obstacles to resist. It was a brave morning, that 27th of November, 1781, when "the moon's nightly course was 'nearly run,"^[28] and ere the sun had risen, a little over 2000 men sallied forth to destroy the advanced works of the enemy—an enemy 14,000 strong—and works, three-quarters of a mile from the garrison, and "within a few hundred yards of the enemy's lines, which mounted 135 pieces of heavy artillery."^[28] The officers and men of the Royal Artillery who took part in the sortie, numbered 114; and were divided into detachments to accompany the three columns of the sallying force, to spike the enemy's guns, destroy their magazines and ammunition, and set fire to their works. It was the last order issued in Colonel Tovey's name to the brave men whom he had commanded since the promotion of Colonel Godwin. For Abraham Tovey was sick unto death; and as his men were parading for the sortie, and the moon was running her nightly course—his was running fast too. Before his men returned, he was dead. For nearly half a century he had served in the Royal Artillery—beginning his career as a matross in 1734, and ending it as a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1781. He died in harness—died in the command of a force of Garrison Artillery which has never been surpassed nor equalled, save by the great and famous siege-train in the Crimea.

The troops for the sortie paraded at midnight, on the Red Sands, under Brigadier-General Ross. They consisted of the 12th Regiment, and Hardenberg's—two which had fought side by side at Minden—and the Grenadiers and light infantry of the other regiments. There were also, in addition to the Artillery, 100 sailors, 3 Engineers, with 7 officers and 12 non-commissioned officers, overseers, 40 artificers, and 160 men from the line as a working party. A reserve of the 39th and 58th Regiments was also in readiness, if required.

On reaching the works, "The ardour of the assailants was irresistible. The enemy on every side gave way, abandoning in an instant, and with the utmost precipitation, those works which had cost them so much expense, and employed so many months to perfect.... The exertions of the workmen, and the Artillery, were wonderful. The batteries were soon in a state for the fire faggots to operate; and the flames spread with astonishing rapidity into every part. The column of fire and smoke which rolled from the works, beautifully illuminated the troops and neighbouring objects, forming altogether a *coup d'œil* not possible to be described. In an hour, the object of the sortie was fully effected."^[29]

The third epoch, culminating in the grand attack on the 13th September, 1782, is deeply interesting. The fate of Minorca had released a number of Spanish troops, to act against Gibraltar; and large French reinforcements had arrived. On the land side, there were now "Most stupendous and strong batteries and works, mounting two hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and protected by an army of near 40,000 men, commanded by a victorious and active general, the Duke de Crillon; and animated by the immediate presence of two Princes of the Royal Blood of France." From the sea, the Fort was menaced by forty-seven sail of the line—"Ten battering-ships, deemed perfect in design, and esteemed invincible, carrying 212 guns; besides innumerable frigates, xebecs, bomb-ketches, cutters, gun and mortar-boats, and smaller craft for disembarking men."^[29]

It was during the bombardment immediately preceding the grand attack, that Major Lewis was wounded, and Lieutenant Boag received his second wound, the latter in a singular manner. He was in the act of laying a gun, when a shell fell in the Battery. He immediately threw himself into an embrasure for safety when the shell should explode; but when the shell burst, it *fired the gun under whose muzzle he lay*. Besides other injury, the report deprived him of hearing, and it was very long ere he recovered. Another officer of the Artillery, Major Martin, had a narrow escape at the same time, a 26-pounder shot carrying away the cock of his hat, near the crown.

The 26-pounder was a very common gun, both in the Rock and in the enemy's land-batteries; but as it was not used on board their ships, and to prevent them returning the shot of the garrison against themselves, all the 26-pounders were moved to the seaward batteries, and fired against the ships, guns of other calibres being employed against the land forces.

The battering ships, with their supposed impregnable shields, were the mainstay of the enemy's hopes; but the use of red-hot shot by the garrison made them after a time perfectly useless.

When the cannonade was at its highest pitch, on the day of the grand attack, "the showers of shot and shell which were directed from the enemy's land-batteries, the battering-ships, and, on the other hand, from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a scene of which, perhaps, neither the pen nor pencil can furnish a competent idea. It is sufficient to say that four hundred pieces of the heaviest Artillery were playing at the same moment: an instance which has scarcely occurred in any siege since the invention of those wonderful engines of destruction."^[30]

At first the battering-ships seemed to deserve their reputation. "Our heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, whilst the 32-pound shot seemed incapable of making any visible impression upon their hulls.... Even the Artillery themselves at this period had their doubts of the effect of the red-hot shot.... Though so vexatiously annoyed from the Isthmus, our Artillery totally disregarded their opponents in that quarter, directing their sole attention to the battering-ships, the furious and spirited opposition of which served to excite our people to more animated exertions. A fire, more tremendous, if possible, than ever was therefore directed from the garrison. Incessant showers of hot balls, carcasses, and shells of every species flew from all quarters; and as the masts of several of the ships were shot away, and the rigging of all in great confusion, our hopes of a speedy and favourable decision began to revive."^[31]

Towards evening, signs of great distress and confusion were visible on board the ships, and the Admiral's ship was seen to be on fire. But not until next morning did the garrison realize how great was their advantage. In the meantime the fire was continued, though less rapidly; and "as the Artillery, from such a hard-fought day, exposed to the intense heat of a warm sun, in addition to the harassing duties of the preceding night, were much fatigued; and as it was impossible to foresee what new objects might demand their service the following day; the Governor about six in the evening, when the enemy's fire abated, permitted the majority of the officers and men to be relieved by a piquet of a hundred men from the Marine Brigade; and officers and non-commissioned officers of the Artillery were stationed on the different batteries, to direct the sailors in the mode of firing the hot shot."^[31]

During the night, several of the battering-ships took fire, and the scenes on board were terrible. Next day "three more blew up, and three were burnt to the water's edge;" and of the only two remaining, one "unexpectedly burst out into flames, and in a short time blew up, with a terrible report," and the other was burnt in the afternoon by an officer of the English navy.

"The exertions and activity of the brave Artillery," says Drinkwater, "in this well-fought contest, deserve the highest commendations.... The ordnance and carriages in the Fort were much damaged; but by the activity of the Artillery, the whole sea-line before night was in serviceable order.... During this action the enemy had more than three hundred pieces of heavy ordnance in play; whilst the garrison had only eighty cannon, seven mortars, and nine howitzers in opposition. Upwards of 8300 rounds, more than half of which were hot-shot, and 716 barrels of powder, were expended by our Artillery.... The distance of the battering-ships from the garrison was exactly such as our Artillery could have wished. It required so small an elevation that almost every shot took effect."

On the 13th, the day of the attack, Captain Reeves and five men of the Royal Artillery were killed: Captains Groves and Seward, and Lieutenant Godfrey, with twenty-one men, were wounded.

It was, indeed, as Carlyle says, a "Doom's-blast of a No," which the Artillery of Gibraltar answered to the summons of this grand attack.

After the failure of the attack, the enemy did not discontinue their old bombardment, nor did the gunboats fail to make their nightly appearance, and molest the inhabitants longing for rest. The Governor accordingly directed the Artillery to resume the retaliation from the Old Mole Head with the highly-elevated guns against the enemy's camp. The command of the Royal Artillery now lay with Colonel Williams, an officer who joined the service as a cadet-gunner in 1744, and died at Woolwich in 1790.

The work of the Artillery in the interval between the grand attack and the declaration of peace was incessant, day and night.

On the 2nd February, 1783, exchange of shots ceased; and letters were sent by the Spanish to the Governor announcing that the preliminaries of peace were signed at Paris. From this date, courtesies were constantly exchanged. It was on the occasion of a friendly visit of the Duke de Crillon to the Fort, that on the officers of Artillery being presented to him he said, "Gentlemen! I would rather see you here as friends, than on your batteries as enemies, where you never spared me."

The siege had lasted in all three years, seven months, and twelve days; and during this time the troops had well earned the expressions used with regard to them by General Eliott, when he paraded them to receive the thanks of the Houses of Parliament,—"*Your cheerful submission to the greatest hardships, your matchless spirit and exertions, and on all occasions your heroic contempt of every danger.*"

To the Artillery, for their share in this matchless defence, there came also the commendation of their own chief, the Master-General of the Ordnance, then the Duke of Richmond. The old records of the Regiment seem to sparkle and shine as one comes on such a sentence as this:—"His Majesty has seen with great satisfaction such effectual proofs of the bravery, zeal, and skill by which you and the Royal Regiment of Artillery under your command at Gibraltar have so eminently distinguished yourselves during the siege; and particularly in setting fire to, and destroying all the floating batteries of the combined forces of France and Spain on the 13th September last."

There was so much in the Peace of 1783 that was painful to England, not so much in a military as in a political point of view, but undoubtedly in the former also, that one hesitates to leave this bright spot in the history of the time, and to turn back to that weary seven years' catalogue in America, of blunders, dissensions, and loss. It was one and the same Peace which celebrated the salvation of Gibraltar, and the loss of our American Colonies. A strong arm saved the one: a foolish statesmanship lost the other. But be statesmen wise or foolish, armies have to march where they order; and the history of a foolish war has to be written as well as that of a wise one.

It was October, 1783, ere the companies of the Royal Artillery which had been present at the Great Siege returned to Woolwich on relief. The next active service they saw was in Egypt in 1801, when three of them, Nos. 1, 2, and 4 Companies of the Second Battalion, were present with Abercromby's force at the Battle of Alexandria, and during the subsequent operations.

To serve in one of these companies is to serve in one whose antecedents as Garrison Artillery are unsurpassed. Their story is one which should be handed down among the officers and men belonging to them: for they have a reputation to maintain, which no altered nomenclature can justify them in allowing to become tarnished.

There is no fear of courage being wanting; but the standard from which there should be no falling away is that of conduct and proficiency, worthy of the old proficiency maintained under such harsh circumstances, and of the old conduct which shone so brightly in the "*cheerful submission to the greatest hardships.*"

²⁷. Drinkwater.

²⁸. Drinkwater.

²⁹. Drinkwater.

³⁰. Drinkwater.

³¹. Drinkwater.

THE military importance of the capture of Minorca from the English in 1782 was not, perhaps, such as to warrant a separate chapter for its consideration. But the defence of St. Philip's Castle by the English against the combined forces of France and Spain was so exceptionally gallant, their sufferings so great, and the zeal and courage of the Artillery, especially, so conspicuous, that something more than a passing mention is necessary in a work of this nature.

The siege lasted from the 19th August, 1781, to the 5th February, 1782. General Murray was Governor, and Sir William Draper, Lieutenant-Governor. The strength of the garrison at the commencement of the siege was 2295 of all ranks; at the end of the siege, this number had been reduced to 1227, but so many of these were in hospital, that the whole number able to march out at the capitulation did not exceed—to use the Governor's own words—"600 old decrepit soldiers, 200 seamen, 170 of the Royal Artillery, 20 Corsicans, 25 Greeks, Moors, &c."

In a postscript to the official report of the capitulation the Governor says:—"It would be unjust and ungrateful were I not to declare that from the beginning to the last hour of the siege, the officers and men of the Royal Regiment of Artillery distinguished themselves. I believe the world cannot produce more expert gunners and bombardiers than those who served in this siege." This alone would make imperative some notice of this siege in a narrative of the services of the Corps.

In the Castle of St. Philip's, there were at the commencement of the siege 234 guns and mortars. At the end, no less than 78 of these had been rendered unserviceable by the enemy's fire. The batteries were almost demolished, and the buildings a heap of ruins.

The following officers of the Royal Artillery were present:

Major WALTON.

Captains: FEAD, LAMBERT, SCHALCH, PARRY, and DIXON.

First Lieutenants: IRWIN, WOODWARD, LEMOINE, NEVILLE, and BRADBRIDGE.

Second Lieutenants: HOPE, WULFF, and HAMILTON.

In addition to the Artillery the garrison was composed of two Regiments of British, and two of Hanoverian troops.

The commandant of the enemy's forces was the Duke de Crillon, the same officer who after the capitulation of St. Philip's proceeded to command at the Siege of Gibraltar. He drew upon himself a well-merited rebuke from General Murray, whom he had endeavoured to bribe, with a view to the immediate surrender of the Castle; a rebuke which he felt, and answered with great respect and admiration.

There is in the Royal Artillery Record Office a journal kept during the siege by Captain F. M. Dixon, R.A., from which the following details are taken, many of which would lose their force if given except in the writer's own words. The siege commenced on the 20th August, when there was nothing but confusion and disorder within St. Philip's, to which the troops had retired; but the enemy did not commence firing on the Castle until the 15th September. The English had not been so quiet; they commenced firing at a great range on the 27th August, and with great success. At the request of the Duke de Crillon, all the English families had been sent out, in humane anticipation of the intended bombardment. Desertion from the enemy was frequent at first; and as the siege progressed it was occasional from the British troops. When a deserter was captured, he received no mercy.

The most deadly enemy of the garrison was scurvy. Hence an order on the 7th November, 1781, for an officer and six men per company to be told off daily to gather pot-herbs on the glacis. Anything of a vegetable nature brought a fabulous price; tea was sold at thirty shillings a pound; the number of sick increased every day, the men concealing their illness to the last rather than go to hospital, and very frequently dying on duty from sheer exhaustion:—"Our people," says the diary, "do more than can be expected, considering their strength; the scurvy is inveterate.... 108 men fell sick in two days with the scurvy.... I am sorry our men are so very sickly; our people fall down surprisingly, we have not a relief.... The Hanoverians die very fast: there is no fighting against God.... Our troops increase vastly in their sickness;" and so on. Among those who fell a victim during the siege was Captain Lambert, of the Artillery.

So heavy were the duties that even the General's orderly sergeants were given up to diminish the burden; and when the capitulation was resolved upon, it was found that while the necessary guards required 415 men, there were only 660 able to carry arms, leaving, as the Governor said, no men for piquet, and a deficiency of 170 men to relieve the guard. Against this small force, entrenched in what was now a mere heap of rubbish, there was an enemy, whose lowest number was estimated at 15,000, and was more likely 20,000.

Some of the enemy's batteries were armed with 13-inch mortars. When the British ammunition ran short, the shells of the enemy which had not burst were returned to them, and in default of these, stone projectiles were used with much effect.

On the 12th December, 1781, the following batteries had been opened against the Castle:—

Hangman's Battery,	containing	8	guns and 4 mortars.
Beside Battery,	containing	15	guns.
Dragoon Battery,	containing	15	guns.
Burgos's Battery,	containing	28	guns.
Swiss Battery,	containing	14	to 16 guns.
America Battery,	containing	14	to 16 guns.
Murcia Battery,	containing	14	to 16 guns.
A small Battery,	containing	6	mortars.
Assessor's Battery,	containing	6	guns.
Cove Battery,	containing	6	guns and 3 mortars.
George Town Battery,	containing	6	guns and 4 mortars.
French Battery,	containing	12	guns.
St. Geordi Battery,	containing	6	guns and 3 mortars.
Russian Hospital,	containing	26	guns.
A Battery on the road to Philipet Cove,	containing	10	guns.

But the above list does not exhaust the number which ultimately directed their fire on the Castle. New batteries were prepared without intermission, hemming in with a deadly circle the devoted garrison. Some extracts from Captain Dixon's diary will give some idea of the fire to which the place was subjected:—

January 6th, 1782. "A little before seven o'clock this morning they gave three cheers and fired a *feu de joie*; then all their batteries fired upon us with great fury, which was equally returned by our brave Artillery. Our General declared he had never seen guns and mortars better served than ours were."

January 7th, 1782. "Such a terrible fire, night and day, from both sides, never has been seen at any siege. We knew of 86 brass guns and 40 mortars against us.... Our batteries are greatly demolished; it is with great difficulty that we can stand to our guns."

January 9. "All last night and this day they never ceased firing, and we as well returned it. You would have thought the elements were in a blaze. It has been observed they fire about 750 shot and shell every hour. Who in the name of God is able to stand it? We hear they have 200 guns in their park."

January 10. "The enemy had 36 shells in flight at the same time. God has been with us in preserving our people: they are in high spirits, and behave as Englishmen. Considering our small garrison, they do wonders. Our Generals constantly visit all the works.... A great number of shells fell within the limits of the Castle.... A shell fell in the General's quarters, wounded Captain Fead of the Artillery, and two other officers."

January 11. "The enemy keep up, if possible, a fiercer fire than yesterday. A man might safely swear, for six days past, the firing was so quick that it was like a proof at Woolwich of 200 cannon. About a quarter past six, the enemy began to fire shells, I may say innumerable."

January 19. "Never was Artillery better served, I may say in favour of our own corps."

January 20. "This night shells meet shells in the air. We have a great many sick and wounded, and those that have died of their wounds.... Our sentries have hardly time to call out, 'A shell!' and 'Down!' before others are at their heels."

January 24. "The Artillery have had hard duty and are greatly fatigued. The scurvy rages among our men."

The casualties among the small garrison, between the 6th and 25th of January, 1782, included 24 killed, 34 died, 71 wounded, and 4 deserted.

January 28, 1782. "They fire shot and shell every minute. The poor Castle is in a tattered and rotten condition, as indeed are all the works in general.... The Castle and every battery round it are so filled by the excavations made by the enemy's shells, that he must be a nimble young man who can go from one battery to another without danger. The Castle, their grand mark, as well as the rest of the works, are in a most shocking plight."

On the 4th February, a new and powerful battery of the enemy's, on a very commanding situation, being ready to open fire, a white flag was hoisted, the drums beat a parley, and an officer was sent out with the proposed terms of capitulation; which were ultimately amended and agreed to. By the second Article of the Treaty, "in consideration of the constancy and valour with which General Murray and his garrison have behaved by their brave defence, they shall be permitted to march out with shouldered arms, drums beating, matches lighted, and colours flying, until they get towards the centre of the Spanish troops." This was done at noon on the following day, between two lines of the Spanish and French troops. So pitiable and deplorable was the appearance of the handful of men who marched out that the conquerors are said to have shed tears as they looked at them. In the official report of General Murray, he alludes to this, saying that the Duke de Crillon averred it to be true. When the men laid down their arms, they declared that they surrendered them to God alone, "having the consolation that the victors could not plume themselves upon taking a hospital."

Captain Schalch was the senior officer of Artillery left to march out at the head of the dwindled and crippled remnant of the three companies. Of them, and their comrades of the other arms, the Governor said in a final General Order, dated at Mahon, 28th February, 1782, that he had not words to express his admiration of their brave behaviour; and that while he lived he should be proud of calling himself the father of such distinguished officers and soldiers as he had had the honour to command.

So ended the Train of Artillery for Port Mahon, which the reader will remember was one of those quoted in 1716 as a reason for some permanent force of Artillery at home. Since 1709, with a short interval in the time of the Seven Years' War, a train had remained in Minorca; but now, overpowered by numbers, the force of which it was a part had to evacuate the island. It was a stirring time for the Foreign establishments, as they were called in pre-regimental days: that in Gibraltar was earning for itself an immortal name; those in America were within the clouds of smoke and war which covered the whole continent; and this one had just been compelled to die hard. Of the four, which were used as arguments for the creation of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, only one remains at this day—that at Gibraltar. Those at Annapolis and Placentia have vanished before the breath of economy, and the dawn of a new colonial system; and in this brief chapter may be learnt the end of the other, the Train of Artillery for service at Port Mahon.

N.B.—It is worthy of mention, that during this siege, three non-commissioned officers, Sergeants-Major J. Swaine, J. Shand, and J. Rostrow, were commissioned as Second Lieutenants in the Regiment, by the Governor, for their gallantry. They were afterwards posted to the Invalid Battalion.

THESE are few campaigns in English history which have been more systematically misunderstood, and more deliberately ignored, than the American War between 1775 and 1783. The disadvantages under which the British troops laboured were many and great; they were not merely local, as in most English wars, but were magnified and intensified by the unpopularity of the campaign at home, by the positive hostility of a large party, including some of the most eloquent politicians, and by the inflated statements of the Government, which made the tale of disaster—when it came to be known—more irritating and intolerable.

Soldiers will fight for a nation which is in earnest: British soldiers will even fight when they are merely the police to execute the wishes of a Government, instead of a people. But in the one case they are fired with enthusiasm,—in the other, their prompter is the coldest duty.

The American War was at once unpopular and unsuccessful. When it was over, the nation seemed inspired by a longing to forget it; it was associated in their minds with everything that was unpleasant; and the labour of searching for the points in it which were worthy of being treasured was not appreciated. English historians have always been reluctant to pen the pages of their country's disasters; and their silence is at once characteristic of, and thoroughly understood by, the English people. There has, however, been a species of self-denying ordinance laid down by English writers, and spouted *ad nauseam* by English speakers, in which the whole blame of this war is accepted almost greedily and its losses painted in heightened colours as the legitimate consequences of national error. England was to blame—taxation without representation undoubtedly is unjust; but were American motives at the outset pure? It may readily be granted that after the first shedding of blood the resistance of the colonists was prompted by a keen sense of injury such as might well animate a free and high-spirited people; but, before the sword was drawn, the motives of the Boston recusants no more deserve to be called worthy, than the policy of England deserves to be called statesmanship.

England, with the name, had also the responsibilities of a mighty and extended empire. Her colonies had the name and the advantages, without the responsibilities. The parent was sorely pressed and heavily taxed, to protect the children; the children were becoming so strong and rich that they might well be expected to do something for themselves. The question was "How?" It is only just to say that when the answer to the question involved the defence of their own soil by their own right hand, no more eager assistants to the Empire could be found than our American colonists. But when they were asked to look beyond their own shores, to contribute their share to the maintenance of the Empire elsewhere—perhaps no bad way of ensuring increased security for themselves—the answer was "No!" They would shed their blood in defence of their own plot of ground; but they would not open their purses to assist the general welfare of the Empire.

The colonial difficulty in more recent times has been met by presenting to the colonies the liberty desired by the old American provinces, but at the same time throwing on them to a great extent the duty of their own defence. It is a mere suspension of the difficulty, well enough in theory, but which must break down in practice. While the parent has the sole power of declaring war, and of involving in its area distant children, innocent and ignorant of the cause, she can no more throw off the duty of their defence than she can bury herself beneath the waves that chafe her coasts. But, for the present, it affords a tolerable compromise. In the future, unless our rulers can spare time from the discussion of such petty measures as the Ballot, for the consideration of a question which involves the national existence, the Colonial Question is as certain again to face us as a difficulty, as it did in 1775. Then, the system which seemed most natural to the rulers of England was to accept the duty of the Empire's defence, but to insist on the colonies contributing to the cost. Unwise as this step was, the colonies being unrepresented in the Taxing Body, it might have been borne, had it not interfered with certain vested, although ignoble rights. The collection of the new revenue required imperial cruisers to enforce it: and these vessels sorely interfered with the habits and customs of the merchants of Massachusetts, who were the most systematic smugglers. With what petty matters are the beginnings of great revolutions entwined! The sensuality of Henry VIII. was a means to the religious reformation of England: the selfishness of the Boston traders was the note which raised in America the thirst for independence. It is an easy thing to raise a cry which shall at once carry with it the populace, and yet smother the real issues. And this was done in Boston. Up to the commencement of military operations, it is difficult to say which is the least enticing subject for contemplation, the blind, unreasoning, unaccommodating temper of the English Government, or the selfish, partisan, ignoble motives of those who were really the prime movers of the Revolution, although soon dwarfed and put out of sight by the Frankenstein which their cunning had called into existence. It is almost a relief to the student, when the sword is drawn: he has then to deal with men, not schemers; he has then pictures to gaze at of an earnest people fighting for independence, or, on the other hand, an outnumbered army fighting for duty; and he has then such figures to worship as that purest and noblest in history, George Washington, for the proper revelation of whose character the losses of that war's continuance may be counted to all time as a clear gain. What a grim satire it reads as one finds this god-like man a puppet in the hands of those who were as incapable of understanding his greatness as of wielding his sword! Wellington in Spain, worried by departmental idiocy in England, was an object of pity, but his troubles are dwarfed by those under which a weaker man than Washington would have resigned in disgust. It is pleasant to read of the gallant way in which the Royal Artillery acquitted itself in the American War: but no encomium from an English General has greater value than that of Washington, who urged his own Artillery to emulate that of his enemy: and in all the satisfaction which such praise from Washington, as an enemy, must beget, there is mingled a feeling of pride that it should have been in a school of war, where Washington was a comrade, instead of an enemy, that he had taken the first lessons in the science of which he proved so great a master.

It is to be regretted that the silence of the one country's historians on the subject of the American War is not compensated by the undoubted loquacity and grandiloquence of the other's. The student is equally baffled by the former, and bewildered by the latter. Perhaps the pride and boasting of the young country is natural: perhaps it was to be expected that ere long the fact would be forgotten that without the assistance of France and Spain to distract England, their independence could never have been achieved; but when coupled with this forgetfulness, comes an exaggeration of petty encounters into high-sounding battles, and of defeats like that of Bunker's Hill into something like victories, to be celebrated by national monuments, the student may smile complacently at the enthusiasm of the conquerors, but must regret the dust which is thrown in his eyes by their boasting and party-feeling.

There are fortunately two comparatively temperate writers, who were contemporary with the war, and took part in it on opposite sides, Stedman and Lee,—the latter being the officer who commanded the celebrated Partisan Legion (as it was called), on the American side; and in endeavouring to arrive at the truth as to the war, the student cannot do better than adhere to them.

The war, like the siege of Gibraltar, divides itself into epochs. The first, and most northerly, embraces Massachusetts and Canada; the second concentrates itself round New York, with the episode of Saratoga; and the third and last, derives its main interest from the operations in the South, culminating in the disastrous capitulation of Yorktown. In tracing the services of the Artillery during the various stages, we shall have a glimpse of nearly every operation of importance which occurred during the war.

Although the 4th Battalion was not the only representative of the Royal Artillery in America during the war—the 1st and 3rd Battalions also being represented—its commanding officers, Colonels Cleaveland and Pattison, who served on the Staff of the Army as Brigadiers, were in command of the Artillery on the Continent; and, therefore, in tracing the services of the corps, the records of the 4th Battalion form the best groundwork. When hostilities commenced, in Massachusetts, the head-quarters of the battalion were in Boston. General Gage, who commanded the troops, had failed to conciliate the colonial representatives. On the 25th February, 1775, he sent a party of infantry and marines to seize some guns which he understood were in the town of Salem; but on their arrival, they found that the guns had been removed. On the evening of the 18th April, in the same year, he sent a similar body—about 900 strong—to the town of Concord on a like errand, and here the first blood of the war was shed. Great mismanagement was displayed on the part of the English commander, and a very decided hostility on the part of the colonists, ultimately rendering a retreat necessary. The troops commenced retiring on Lexington, under an incessant, although irregular fire from the militia and peasantry; and luckily, on their arrival at that town, they met a reinforcement under Lord Percy, sent to their assistance, and accompanied by two field-guns. This was the first appearance of the Royal Artillery in the war. Under the fire of the guns, the troops were able to continue their retreat comparatively unmolested; but before they reached Boston, they had sustained a loss of no less than 273 killed, wounded, and prisoners. This number was considered sufficient to justify the Americans in honouring the conflicts which occurred, by the high-sounding titles of the "Battles of Concord and Lexington." Effective as the fire of the English guns was, complaints were made, probably in self-defence, by the commanding officer of the troops, that the Artillery were inadequately supplied with ammunition on the occasion. A strong remonstrance was immediately addressed by Colonel Cleaveland to the Master-General of the Ordnance, stating the true facts. "I find it has been said in England, that ammunition was wanting for the two guns which went with the Brigade to Lexington—that they had only 24 rounds per gun. I had a waggon with 140 rounds on the parade, and Lord Percy refused to take it, saying it might retard their march, and that he did not imagine there would be any occasion for more than was on the side boxes."^[32]

On the 17th June, 1775, the Battle of Bunker's Hill, as it is called, although Breed's Hill was the real scene of operations, (Bunker's Hill, which was intended to be fortified, being considerably more distant from Boston,) was fought; and in the batteries on Cop's Hill, and with the guns actually on the field, five companies of the 4th Battalion were present—Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 8. Eight field-guns were actually in action; but twelve accompanied the attacking force—four light 12-pounders, four 5½-inch howitzers, and four light 6-pounders. The attack was made under the fire of the guns, "The troops advancing slowly, and halting at intervals to give time for the Artillery to produce some effect."^[33] In these words, the recently exploded traditions are apparent, which wedded the Artillery to the infantry during an engagement, instead of allowing it independent action. One statement is made by Stedman, generally a most accurate writer, which it is difficult to reconcile with Colonel Cleaveland's official report. "During the engagement," writes the former, "a supply of ball for the Artillery, sent from the Ordnance Department in Boston, was found to be of larger dimensions than fitted the calibres of the field-pieces that accompanied the detachment; an oversight which prevented the further use of the Artillery." In opposition to this statement, Colonel Cleaveland's report to the Master-General may be quoted. "At Bunker's Hill, I sent sixty-six rounds to each gun, and not more than half was fired."^[34] Had the reason been that given by Stedman, Colonel Cleaveland was too truthful a man to omit mentioning it. The Battle of Bunker's Hill was the Inkermann of the American War. The British lost 1054 killed and wounded; the enemy admitted a loss of 449. The latter had the advantage of an elevated and entrenched position; the former fought in heavy marching order—on a hot summer day—and had to ascend a steep hill in the face of a heavy and continuous fire. The loss fell most heavily on those who met hand to hand; the Artillery met with but little casualty. According to the 4th Battalion records, Captain-Lieutenant Lemoine, Lieutenant Shuttleworth, and nine matrosses were wounded; according to Colonel Cleaveland's MSS., this number was increased by Captain Huddlestone, whom he includes among the wounded.

The English plan of attack was faulty, and the defence of the Americans was admirable; but these facts merely rendered the victory of the English troops more creditable. It was a barren victory—perhaps, even, an injurious one. It did not save Boston from the blockade, which from this day became more thorough, and it certainly encouraged the American militia, who found with what effect they could fight against those regular troops from whom they had hitherto shrunk a little, with a species of superstitious dread.

But it was not the less a complete victory, a soldiers' victory, by sheer hard and close fighting; and, even more, an officers' victory—for at one time nothing but the energy and gallantry of the officers would have rallied the troops, reeling under a tremendous fire.

In the meantime, the rebels or patriots, as they were called respectively by enemies and friends, resolved to invade Canada. Nos. 3 and 6 Companies of the 4th Battalion were scattered over the provinces, and on the lakes, in detachments. On the 3rd May, 1775, a small body of the Americans, (who had already possessed themselves of artillery,) attacked with success Crown Point and Ticonderoga. In November, the posts of Chambly and St. John were also taken, and with the exception of one officer and eight men, the whole of No. 6 Company was now captive, and remained so until exchanged on the 7th April, 1777. Two men belonging to the company were killed at St. John. The capture of these posts placed at the disposal of the Americans a quantity of guns, ammunition, and stores, of which they had stood sorely in need: and the supply was largely increased by the fortunate capture of an ordnance transport from Woolwich, heavily laden with a valuable cargo.

On the 25th September, an ill-judged and unsuccessful attack was made on Montreal by a small force of rebels, in which their commander was taken prisoner; but later in the year—a more formidable demonstration being made by a force under General Montgomery—the Commandant, General Carleton, withdrew to Quebec: and Montreal fell into the enemy's hands. Part of No. 3 Company was made prisoner on this occasion.

The siege of Quebec was the next episode in the Canadian part of the war. It was totally unsuccessful; and the gallant commander of the Americans—General Montgomery, who had fought under Wolfe at the same place—was killed. The Artillery present in Quebec belonged to No. 3 Company, 4th Battalion; but they were very few in number. They were under the command of Captain Jones, whose services on the occasion received the highest praise. A sort of blockade of the town was kept up by General Montgomery's successor—Arnold,—but it was indifferently conducted; and as soon as a man-of-war was able to get up through the ice, General Carleton sallied out and routed the American forces in a most thorough manner. Very little more was done in Canada during the war. The loyalty of the inhabitants was unmistakable; and it cannot fail to surprise one who remembers for how very brief a time the French Canadians had been under British rule. Even later in the war, when the French fleet came to render active assistance to the Americans, and the Admiral appealed to the French colonists to rise, his appeal was unsuccessful. Either the British rule had already become popular, because, on the whole, kind and just; or the sympathies of the French Canadians—although, perhaps, not with the English—were still more averse from the American cause, which was associated in their minds with the old New England enemies who had waged with them such an incessant border-warfare. The loyalty of Canada is one of the marvels of English history. It seems unalienable, as it certainly is unselfish. Tested, sixteen years after its conquest, by the great American War; and again in the present century by the second American War; tried sorely by a too paternal Colonial Office, which retarded its advancement, its hindrance made all the more plain by the spectacle, across the frontier, of the American Republic attaining a marvellous wealth and development; exposed to risk from enemies whom it did not know, and in quarrels in which it had no share, merely on account of its connection with England; suffering, without indemnity, loss of life and of treasure by invasion from lawless banditti, who thought to strike England through her dependency; chilled by neglect, and depressed by words which, if they had any meaning at all, insinuated that she was a burden to the parent, and half suggested to her to take her leave, and to quit the Empire of which she had been so staunch a member;—tested, tried, endangered, suffering, and neglected, the loyalty of Canada remains undimmed. It is, as has been said, a marvel! Let England take heed that she do not underrate this treasure of a people's tried affection.

In the meantime, while Canada had been invaded by the rebels, their army, under Washington, had gradually surrounded Boston, and established a very thorough blockade—causing great hardship and suffering to the troops. On the 2nd and 3rd of March, 1776, they established batteries to the east and west of the town, which the Royal Artillery vainly endeavoured for fourteen days to silence; and ultimately it was decided to evacuate Boston, and retire to Halifax, Nova Scotia, to prepare for an attack upon New York later in the year, and with large naval and military reinforcements from England.

The evacuation of Boston was conducted in good order, and without loss. Washington ceased firing on the troops, on receiving notice from the English general—Howe—that if the bombardment continued, he would set fire to the town, to cover his retreat; and the men, guns, and stores, were placed on board the transports with regularity, and without interruption—but not without great labour. Colonel Cleaveland reported to the Board of Ordnance, that on the evening of the 6th March, 1776, he had received orders to use every despatch to embark the Artillery and stores. "The transports for the cannon, &c., which were ordered to the wharf, were without a sailor on board, and half stowed with lumber. At the same time, most of my heavy cannon, and all the Field Artillery, with a great quantity of ammunition, was to be brought in from Charleston, and other distant posts. I was also obliged to send iron ordnance to supply their places, to keep up a fire on the enemy, and prevent their breaking ground on Forster Hill. On the fifth day, most of the stores were on board, with the exception of four iron mortars and their beds, weighing near six tons each. With great difficulty I brought three of them from the battery, but on getting them on board the transport, the blocks gave way, and a mortar fell into the sea, where I afterwards threw the other two.... Two of my transports were manned with four marines, and a few Artillery, who understand something of sailing." The guns which were left in the town were the oldest, and were left for use, if necessary, in covering the final embarkation of the troops. One hundred and fifty vessels were employed in transporting the army and its stores to Halifax; and with the army were Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 8 Companies of the 4th Battalion, Royal Artillery, under Colonel Cleaveland, who, having recently received the Army rank of Colonel, received also now the local rank of Brigadier. During the last few months of his stay in Boston, he had been much occupied in planning the Artillery share in the coming summer campaign, and in making the necessary demands on the authorities at home. He obtained permission to purchase 700 horses at Halifax and Annapolis; and a remonstrance made by him about the "wretches whom he had to hire as drivers" at two shillings per day, succeeded in procuring for him a draft of trained drivers from England. Four companies of the 3rd Battalion had joined before he left Boston, but not before he was sorely in need of their services, for he literally had not a relief for the men whom he had to keep constantly on duty. Two more companies were ordered from England to the South; four companies under Colonel Phillips were ordered to Canada, to take part ultimately in Burgoyne's wild expedition; and two more were embarked for service along the coast in bomb-vessels. A large number of 3-pounders, mounted on wheel-carriages devised by Captain Congreve, had arrived, and a larger number was promised. They were found infinitely more convenient than those Colonel Cleaveland already had, and arranged so as to be carried on the backs of horses and mules. Captain Congreve's ingenuity displayed itself in many ways, and called forth repeated expressions and letters of praise and commendation from Colonel Cleaveland. Doubtless the favourable reports made by that officer did much to procure for him—in 1778—from Lord Townsend, then Master-General of the Ordnance, the new appointment of Founder and Commandant of the Royal Military Repository. The grounds attached to that institution are now used solely for instruction in the management of heavy ordnance, but when it was first opened, the sharp turns and steep inclines in the roads of the Repository Grounds were made use of in training the drivers to turn and manage their horses. Captain Congreve—afterwards Sir William Congreve—was a very distinguished and able Artillery officer, but it was not he, but his son, who invented the well-known Congreve rocket.

The officer who went in command of the companies of Artillery ordered for service in the South was Major Innes, an officer who commenced his career as a matross, and ended it as Commandant of the Invalid Battalion in 1783.

Colonel James commanded the detachments on board the bombs, and was much praised for the accuracy of his fire at the unsuccessful attack on Fort Sullivan, near Charlestown, South Carolina, in June, 1776. He also commenced his career as a matross—in the year 1738—and died as a Colonel Commandant, in 1782.

Several cadets were sent out to fill vacancies as they might occur, instead of promoting non-commissioned officers. While doing duty, awaiting these vacancies, they received pay as Second Lieutenants.

Among the guns sent out for the campaign of 1776 were some light 24-pounders with travelling carriages, some 12-pounders, an immense number of light 3-pounders with Congreve's carriages, and some mortars for pound-shot. It was intended by the English Government, that this campaign should be decisive; and the fleet, army, and Artillery were very powerful. Lord Howe commanded the fleet, and his brother commanded the army; and they had full powers to treat with the rebels with a view to a cessation of hostilities, provided they should submit. The army left Halifax in June, 1776, and landed on Staten Island on the 3rd July; the whole of the Artillery being disembarked by the 7th of the month. Here they were joined by Sir Henry Clinton's forces from the South, and by Lord Howe and his fleet from England. A large force of Hessians and Waldeckers also joined them; and on the 22nd August, the army crossed to Long Island without molestation. The Americans were encamped at the north end of the island, where the city of Brooklyn now stands—protected behind by batteries, on the left by East River, and on the right by a marsh. A range of wooded hills separated the two armies, the passes being in the possession of the rebels. On the 27th, the Battle of Long Island—or Battle of Brooklyn, as it is indifferently called—was fought. The share taken by the Artillery in this victory, was—owing to the nature of the ground, and the hurried retreat of the Americans within their lines—but small. There were forty guns present: six with Lord Cornwallis's brigade; fourteen with General Clinton in the van; ten with the main body under Lord Percy; and four 12-pounders with the 49th Regiment in rear. The loss consisted of but three killed—Lieutenant Lovell, a sergeant, and a bombardier. So difficult were the 3-pounder guns on truck carriages found either to be moved or carried, that Brigadier Cleaveland sent them on board ship, and replaced them with those mounted on Congreve's carriages. From the loyalist farmers on Long Island, an additional hundred horses were bought for the Artillery, and eighty two-horse waggons, with drivers, hired for the conveyance of ammunition and stores.

One of the greatest blots on Sir William Howe's generalship was his omission to follow up the victory he won on Long Island. Had he done so, his troops being flushed with victory, and the enemy being disheartened and disunited, it is possible that he might have put an end to the war. By means of his apathy or neglect, Washington's troops were able to cross over to New York unmolested. Before attacking New York, the English commander considered it desirable to destroy a very strong redoubt, at a place called Hell Gate, mounted with a considerable number of guns to prevent communication, should it be attempted by the British troops, from the East River into the Sound. Four batteries were accordingly erected by the Royal Artillery on the opposite shore, mounting three 24-pounders, three heavy and three medium 12-pounders, and ten small mortars. As it eventually happened, the landing of the British in New York was made at a spot where the Hell Gate redoubt would have been useless; but it was satisfactory to find, on entering it afterwards, the enemy's guns dismounted, and the works so shattered, that the troops might have marched in with little or no impediment. In the Brigadier's report on this occasion, he said, "The distance was near 700 yards, and though the enemy threw a number of shells from six mortars, we had only on this occasion two men killed, and one lost an arm. It is with infinite satisfaction that I can say, that whenever the Artillery is employed, they have not only the approbation of the Commander-in-Chief, but the whole army, for their behaviour."

The British landed on Manhattan Island, under the fire of the ships; and in the precipitate retreat to the heights of Haarlem, the Americans lost their artillery, and many stores, and Washington nearly despaired of ever succeeding with such troops as he had under his command. But it was not enough to obtain possession of New York, unless the rebel forces could be dislodged from the powerful position they occupied in the north of the island; and to do this, an engagement on no small scale was necessary, and was commenced on the 27th October, 1776. Its opening was called the Battle of the White Plains; and viewing it from the Artillery point of view, it may be described as follows (bearing in mind that it was only the opening scene of a series of engagements, all intimately connected, and resulting in the scattering of Washington's forces, their expulsion from New York Island, and almost from the Jerseys; the capture of Forts Washington and Lee, and the complete command of the Lower Hudson):—The attack of the 27th October on the White Plains commenced with a cannonade on the enemy's left wing, with nearly thirty guns, manned by the Royal Artillery. On the 28th, the attack of the Hessian troops was covered by six light 12-pounders; and General Knyphausen publicly thanked the officers and men who were attached to them. In the attack on Fort Washington in the beginning of November, the Royal Artillery had thirty-four guns in action to cover the troops. The Guards and Light Infantry who were engaged in the attack crossed the East River in boats under the protection of batteries erected for the purpose. The hill they had to ascend from their landing was exceedingly rugged and steep, and the boats in which they crossed were exposed to the fire of two of the American batteries. To silence these, the batteries above-mentioned were built, and armed with four medium 12-pounders, fourteen light 6-pounders, four howitzers, and two mortars. With this armament, the rebel fire was soon silenced, with the exception of one 3-pounder, which was sheltered by a rock, and which did considerable damage. A battalion of the rebel forces which was marching for the defence of the hill was also entirely broken and dispersed by the well-directed fire of the Royal Artillery, under which the Guards and Light Infantry landed, and gained the hill without losing a man. The 42nd Regiment, which landed at another place, was covered by four 6-pounders; and six guns advanced with Lord Percy, from the lines at New York, and gained the heights of Haarlem, every gun being engaged. In this attack, the Artillery is described as having been powerful and well-served; officers and men received public acknowledgment in General Orders, and from the Master-General; and in answering the latter's commendations, Brigadier Cleaveland felt justified in saying: "The officers and men under my command have shown an unwearied application to the service, and deserve everything I can say in their favour.... The good opinion your Lordship is pleased to form of the conduct and superior abilities of the British Artillery when engaged, does them the highest honour, and I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship, that both officers and men have been emulous during the course of the campaign in deserving it."

The attack on the fort was too powerful to be resisted, so it capitulated. Lord Cornwallis, with a large body of men immediately crossed the North River, to attack Fort Lee, but it was abandoned by its garrison on the 18th November, and all the guns and stores fell into the hands of the English.

The English now overran the Jerseys, and the following guns were present with the Royal Artillery during the raid: four light 12-pounders, fourteen 6-pounders, eight 3-pounders, and two 5½-inch howitzers. This was a very critical period for the American cause, almost as much so as for the Battle of Long Island. "During these operations, the New York Convention was greatly alarmed lest the numerous forces (*i.e.* loyalists) of the State should rise in arms, and openly join the British forces. Often obliged by the movements of the armies to change its locality, that body sat successively at Haarlem, King's Bridge, Philip's Manor, Croton River, and Fishkill; some of the time, to guard against surprise, with arms in their hands. A committee was appointed for inquiring into, detecting, and defeating conspiracies. That committee had funds at its disposal, a special armed force, and unlimited powers. Many Tories were seized by its orders and sent into Connecticut for safe-keeping, their personal property being forfeited to the use of the State.... Some of the New York Militia (in Washington's camp) refused to do duty. They were offered—they said—peace, liberty, and safety, and what more could they ask."^[35] While not underrating the energy of a people who could attain their end in spite of such difficulties, it is healthy reading occasionally, in the midst of flabby orations as to the uprising of a united people, to examine passages like that just quoted. A large substratum of loyalty existed yet, which had to be kept down by a sort of reign of terror; and although, as we shall see, the loyal diminished greatly in numbers as the war went on, the fact remains that the rebellion was not a national conception, but a party manoeuvre, which secured by dexterous management the assistance of many pure and noble men, and ultimately—assisted by war—received the co-

operation of the mass of the people. The war bound the people together by an instinct of self-defence, apart from the reasons which had brought it about; and once committed to a cause, men are as ingenious in inventing, often unconsciously, arguments in its favour, as they are enthusiastic in defending their opinions.

The gloom of the American cause in the end of 1776 was brightened by a surprise of some German troops at Trenton, by Washington, who took the whole prisoners, to the number of about 1000. This success did much to re-animate the rebels, and gave a new life to their prosecution of the war.

The year 1777 was destined to be the most eventful year of the whole campaign. The British had formed a plan, whose aim was as good as its execution was foolish. Prior, however, to its commencement, Washington made an attack on two regiments, the 17th and 55th, near Princeton, which is described in Brigadier Cleaveland's despatch to the Board of Ordnance in the following words:—"The most particular action that has happened since Washington's recrossing the Delaware, was an attack made by him with 4000 men, upon the Battalion of the 17th Regiment at Princeton, in which action the 17th has gained great honour, and their Lieutenant-Colonel, Mawhood, great reputation. The heavy fire of the enemy at the first of the attack obliged the Regiment to retire, under cover of four 6-pounders advantageously posted. Here the Regiment formed, and made a general charge upon the enemy, whom they forced wherever they advanced, leaving a piece of cannon behind them. Colonel Mawhood observing the enemy increasing greatly in their numbers, thought proper to march from Princeton, where we were obliged to leave two 6-pounders, all the horses belonging to the guns being shot, and the axletree of the other carriage broke by firing." At this affair, Lieutenant Desaguliers, and nine men of the Royal Artillery were killed. These active movements of Washington had the effect of making both General Howe and Lord Cornwallis withdraw their forces from Trenton and Princeton, and spend the rest of the winter near New York,—on Long Island, and in the neighbouring parts of New Jersey.

The plan of operations formed by the British Commanders under instructions from home is well and succinctly described by the American writer, Lee: "It contemplated the annihilation of resistance in all the country between the Lakes and Albany; undisturbed possession of the Hudson River (thus severing the Union), and the conquest of Pennsylvania, whose capital (Philadelphia) was the metropolis of the American States." To carry out this plan, it was resolved that one British army should march from Canada, and another from New York, whose meeting would complete the separation of the Eastern from the Western States, north of New York. Two blunders were committed in this scheme. The first was the appointment of General Burgoyne to command the northern force, instead of General Carleton, who was well acquainted with the country; the second was the employment of a northern army at all. New York was in English hands, and the mastery of the sea was as yet undisputed. Had New York been made the base of operations, and an army been sent up the Hudson, with its communications with New York maintained by the navy, the separation of the States would have been assured. But when General Burgoyne with his 7000 men left Canada, and plunged into the American forest, he cut his communications with the base of his operations, and his case became more hopeless every mile he advanced. That it was not want of gallantry, but infamous strategy, which brought on the Sedan-like Convention of Saratoga, may be seen by the most cursory study, and is eloquently acknowledged in the following words by Lee, who, though an enemy, was not blind to the courage of his opponents:—"Where is the General who ever more prodigally risked his life in his country's cause, than the unfortunate Burgoyne? Where the army which more bravely executed its leader's will, than did that which he conducted? What danger was avoided? What effort unessayed? What privation not submitted to? What difficulties not encountered? But all terminated in disaster; and the army, from whose prowess so much was expected, yielded to its equal in courage, to its superior in number." The American army, under General Gates, was a little over 13,000 strong; Burgoyne's force did not exceed 5700[at the date of the capitulation. The interest to the Artilleryman, in the details of this expedition, is unaffected by its disastrous termination. From commencement to termination, order-books,^[36] despatches, and regimental records, speak in terms of enthusiasm of the courage of the Artillery, and their gallant commander—Major-General Phillips—who, although only a Regimental Major, held the higher Army rank by brevet, and was second in command of the whole force. Of the service of the Artillery at the Battle of Stillwater, Cust, in his 'Annals of the Wars,' writes, "The Artillery did wonders;—and of the retreat of the 7th October, the same author says, "Phillips and Riedesel were now ordered to cover the retreat, and the troops retired, hard pressed, but in good order; the Artillery, under Major Williams, doing good execution, but *all* the horses having been disabled, six of the guns were obliged to be abandoned." Stedman, in his account of the Battle of Stillwater, says, "During the action, Major-General Phillips contrived to convey through a thick part of the wood, some British Artillery, which was of essential service. Captain Jones of this corps, who fell in this action, was particularly distinguished." But the most valuable comment is that made by General Phillips himself, after the termination of the campaign; in a report made by him from Albany on the 22nd October, 1777, to Lords Townsend and Amherst. "I have to report to you, my Lords, that the Corps of Artillery which I commanded has acted during the campaign with the greatest spirit, and has received the entire approbation of General Burgoyne, and the applause of the army. In the action of the 19th September, the Artillery was of infinite use; and a brigade commanded by Captain Jones, with Lieutenants Hadden and Reid, was particularly engaged, and maintained their post to the last, although in doing of it *every man, except five, was either killed or wounded*. Captain Jones was killed.

"In the affair of October 7th, Major Williams kept a battery in action, until the Artillery horses were all destroyed, and his men either killed or wounded; being unable to get off their guns, he was surrounded and taken, with two officers, Lieutenants York and Howorth, the latter wounded. Captain Blomefield, my Major of Brigade, was also wounded on the 7th instant, at Major Williams' battery. I cannot sufficiently commend the activity, zeal, and spirit of the officers. The same gallant spirit remained to the last day, when the Convention was signed. I had the honour to deliver a message to the Lieutenant-General from the Corps of Artillery, that they were as ready as ever to undergo any hardships, or to undertake any difficulties, for the King's service. Under this description, allow me to recommend the corps to your Lordship's protection, and humbly request that you will represent their conduct to His Majesty." The men of the Irish Artillery, who were referred to in a former chapter as having taken part in the American War, formed part of the force under General Phillips, and it was their conduct during this expedition that allusion was made by the Master-General in the despatch there quoted.

The story of this disastrous expedition is short and simple. Having left his Canadian quarters in June, Burgoyne invested Ticonderoga on the 1st July, captured it on the 6th, pursued the flying garrison with gunboats on the lakes, as well as in forced marches by land, and utterly scattered them. Leaving the lakes in the end of July, he marched for the Hudson; but as he already felt the want of supplies, it was the 13th of September before he crossed that river, and took up his position at Saratoga. On the 19th September, the Battle of Stillwater was fought—in which the English were left masters of the field—the 9th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 47th, and 62nd Regiments being engaged, and behaving with the greatest valour. On the 7th of October, a forward movement made by Burgoyne was defeated, and it was during his retreat on that day that—as stated above—Major Williams' battery behaved so well. Affairs were now desperate: the Indians were deserting, and the enemy increasing in numbers every day; supplies of all sorts were short, nor was there any means of obtaining them; the actually effective British troops did not exceed 3500; and there was an opposing force, said to amount to 16,000 men: there was no appearance of the long-expected army from New York under Sir Henry Clinton; and even if Burgoyne succeeded in retreating to Canada, he might greatly embarrass Clinton, by enabling Gates' and Washington's armies to unite; but retreat became soon impossible. At last, with only three days' provisions left, he opened negotiations with General Gates, and on the 17th the Convention was signed, and this wild, baseless expedition met its natural and disastrous termination.

This was the signal in Europe for action among England's enemies. From this day, France and Spain made no secret of their resolution to join the Americans; and to this extraneous evil was added the indignation of the English people with the Government. Even those who opposed the war were indignant with the authorities: ready critics, although backward in assistance. The affair at Trenton was more valuable, as far as the Americans themselves were concerned: it came at a time of great depression, and reanimated their drooping spirits: but as far as other nations could judge, the surrender of Burgoyne was most important, and decided two at least to take an active instead of a passive share in the war.

But in the mean time what were the troops doing at New York? And in the first place, what were Colonel Cleaveland, and the companies under his command, doing? They were becoming sadly diminished in numbers, and the theme of all Colonel Cleaveland's letters was the same—a cry for more men from England. "The demand for Artillerymen," he wrote "is so great that the smallest body of infantry wish not to move without them. I must therefore entreat your Lordship to give us every possible addition to our Corps... From the small number of Artillerymen in quarters, and no assistance to be had from the army, I am obliged to hire seamen to act as labourers, and find they do more work than any other men I can employ."

At the very time he was writing thus, he was being pressed by the Commander-in-Chief to increase the number of guns for the field during the summer campaign; to form batteries of iron 24-pounders and brass 12-pounders on travelling carriages; and to buy as many horses as he could, instead of trusting to those which were pressed for service as required. His patience and the wants of the army being unable to wait for the deliberate movements of the English Ordnance officials, he at last obtained permission from the Commander-in-Chief to enlist three hundred men in New York, "although," he wrote, "these will be very insufficient to man the cannon for the field,—and we therefore most ardently wish for more Artillery from England." He clothed the recruits with the last year's clothing for the 4th Battalion, demanding an additional supply from England in its room. By the correspondence of this time, it appears that the men had no greatcoats except a few for use on sentry, which were kept in the guard rooms. The severity of the winter made it necessary to demand a supply, as the men were much exposed. This appeal was made in the year 1777, and was granted in the year 1786—the matter having taken nine years to penetrate the official brain. Even then it was only granted in part—to the extent of ten per company, increased two years later to fifteen, as the idea became more comprehended by the authorities.

By the 1st of June, 1777, an extra supply of four hundred horses was obtained; the batteries were all ready, and by the middle of the month the campaign commenced. The object of Sir William Howe was to draw off Washington from a strong position which he held, enabling him to prevent his opponents from rendering assistance to Burgoyne, and also from advancing on Philadelphia. Every feint was attempted without success; and at last the British General resolved on a genuine invasion of some part south of New York, which would compel Washington to move. During the month of June, only one engagement of any importance took place, at Westfield, between the British under Lord Cornwallis and 3000 Americans under Lord Stirling, in which the latter were defeated with a loss of three guns. At this action, the detachments of Artillery who were present belonged to the 4th Battalion. By the way, a peculiar service for the Royal Artillery to perform is mentioned by Stedman as having been carried out on the 6th July in this year. "The American galleys were destroyed near Skenesborough during Burgoyne's expedition by Captain Carter, of the Artillery, who commanded a Brigade of *gunboats*. He gave chase, and pursued them with such speed, that he captured several of their largest galleys, and obliged them to set the remainder on fire with a considerable number of their bateaux."

On the 23rd July 1777, Sir William Howe embarked his army—leaving Sir Henry Clinton in command at New York—and sailed for the south. Until the 22nd August he kept his intended destination a secret, and baffled Washington's speculations, but on that day news came that he had entered Chesapeake Bay, so the American General marched to meet him. On the 25th August Howe disembarked his troops, and marched inland. To prevent the English reaching Philadelphia, the Americans who had been within a very few miles of their enemies, fell back, and occupied the heights beyond the Brandywine river. On the 11th, the English attacked the American position, moving in two columns, one under Lord Cornwallis, the other under General Knyphausen. The former column crossed the river at an unexpected point, and mounting the hill under a heavy protecting fire of Artillery drove the Americans into the woods. General Knyphausen had some severe fighting also, and ultimately succeeded in getting across.

This was the Battle of Brandywine, in which the Americans admitted a loss of 300 killed, 600 wounded, and 400 prisoners, besides 11 pieces of Artillery. The English had 8 officers and 74 men killed, and a little over 400 wounded. The Royal Artillery lost 5 killed—Lieutenant Shand, 2 sergeants, and 9 rank and file wounded. A small engagement, equally favourable to the British, and in which the 42nd and 44th Regiments greatly distinguished themselves, took place on the 18th September, and on the 25th Lord Cornwallis took possession of Philadelphia. Writing from that city on the 28th November to Lord Germaine, Sir William Howe said, "Much credit is due to Brigadier-General Cleaveland and to the officers and men of the Corps of Artillery."

While in Philadelphia, Brigadier Cleaveland heard that he was to be superseded by Brigadier Pattison who had been appointed to the 4th Battalion *vice* Colonel Ord, who had died in the preceding April. The first time that General Pattison is mentioned as having taken active part in the war was on the 22nd October, 1777, when the British troops took possession of the Fort of Red Bank—on which occasion he commanded the Artillery: but General Cleaveland had not ceased to do duty, for he commanded the Artillery at the successful attack on Mud Island on the 16th November, an attack which succeeded in "removing all the obstacles to the free navigation of the Delaware by the British fleet."^[37]

After Lord Cornwallis had entered Philadelphia, and while the great body of the British troops were encamped under Sir William Howe, at a village called Germantown, about six miles from Philadelphia, Washington made a sudden attack upon them early in the morning of the 4th October. Although at first successful, it did not long continue so. Failure of punctual co-operation, according to Lee's account, and the brave stand made by the 40th Regiment, soon changed the current of events: and Washington was ultimately obliged to retire with a loss of at least 1000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. In speculating on the causes of this defeat, Lee uses language such as few other American writers would use, and such as few living Americans would care to hear. But it is

perhaps all the more valuable. "The defeat must be attributed," he says, "to the yet imperfect discipline of the American army: to the broken spirit of the troops, who, from day to day, and from month to month, had been subjected to the most trying and strength-wasting privations, through the improvidence or inability of Government: to the inexperience of the tribe of generals, and to the complication of the plan of assault—a complication said to have been unavoidable."

It was before superior numbers that the British evacuated Boston: to superior numbers Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga: and now the superiority of numbers being in the other direction, the Americans were defeated in every action during this part of the campaign. Defeated, but, it must be admitted, not disheartened, for the losses round Philadelphia were forgotten in the blaze of triumph which accompanied the capitulation of Burgoyne's force; and the growing intensity of the American feeling will be realized from a letter, which will be quoted in the next chapter, written in the very place where their losses must have been most palpably real.

It was necessary to throw up field-works round the British camp, which after the battle of Germantown was brought nearer Philadelphia, and also to erect works to secure the command of the river. The Artillerymen were largely employed in building and arming these; and one of them was the scene of a gallant action on the part of a detachment, which is mentioned both by Stedman and Lee, and also appears in the MS. Record Book of the 4th Battalion. According to the last-mentioned authority, some detachments of Nos. 4, 5, and 8 Companies were employed in constructing batteries on Provenge Island, in the Delaware, for the reduction of an American post on Mud Island, when a party of the 10th Regiment, under Major Vatap, which covered the works, abandoned them on the advance of the enemy, and the whole of the guns fell into their hands, but owing to the gallantry of the detachment of Artillery, the enemy was obliged to retire, the guns were retaken, and the batteries again occupied. Stedman in telling this circumstance mentions that the Artillerymen were under the command of a subaltern, to whose gallantry the recapture of the batteries was due: and Lee adds, "I believe this conduct of Major Vatap (who abandoned most shamefully the Artillery) is the single instance of dastardly conduct among the British officers during the war."

Sir William Howe spent the winter at Philadelphia with his army—of which eight companies of the Royal Artillery formed part. The same hesitation or dilatory disposition which prevented him following up his successes on Long Island induced him to spend many valuable months in idleness now. France and America had now formed an alliance, and it was very important that energetic action should be taken by the British troops in America before the arrival of the French fleet. But the opportunity was lost by the supineness of Sir William Howe; and although he was a man who had endeared himself to his troops, there can be no doubt that when he resigned the command in May, 1778, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton, he was replaced by one who was equal to him as a soldier, and far superior in energy and activity. The first step taken by the new commander was to evacuate Philadelphia, and withdraw the army to New York. Every difficulty was thrown in his way by Washington, and a severe and indecisive engagement was fought during his retreat, which is known as the Battle of Monmouth or of Freehold Court-house. Both sides claimed the victory, but as Clinton's movement towards New York was not interrupted by it, it may be inferred that he had not the worst of the encounter. Four companies of the Artillery were engaged, and their fire was true and severe: one officer, Lieutenant T. L. Vaughan, was killed. On the 30th June, the English army reached Sandyhook, where they found Lord Howe's fleet; and early in July they passed over to New York. The conduct of the Artillery during the return from Philadelphia to New York may be learnt from the following order, issued by General Pattison:—"The very handsome and obliging terms in which the General Officers and others have repeatedly spoken of the appearance, discipline, and good order of the Corps of Artillery, and particularly of the conduct, care and attention of all the officers who have been detached with the several Brigades and Battalion guns, cannot fail to be highly pleasing and satisfactory to the Brigadier-General. He therefore takes this occasion to give them his best thanks, and to express further his entire approbation of the regularity and observance of duties that have been shown by all ranks during the late march, and of the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they have undergone the great fatigue of it."

During this retreat from Philadelphia, the Artillerymen were for the first time relieved of carrying their knapsacks and ammunition pouches, which were carried for them on the waggons. They carried their arms, except when actually fighting their guns, and had six cartridges in a small bag in their pockets.

A short summary of the occasions in 1778, after the evacuation of Philadelphia, when individual Artillerymen distinguished themselves, may be extracted from the pages of that most conscientiously and laboriously written work, Browne's 'England's Artillerymen;' with any requisite additions from other sources.

In July, 1778, Rhode Island was attacked by the American General Sullivan, supported by the French fleet. The island was garrisoned by 5000 British troops under Sir Robert Pigott, including a company of the Royal Artillery under the command of Lieut.-Colonel John Innes, an officer who, as has already been mentioned, commenced his career as a matross in 1736, and died in 1783, in command of the Invalid Battalion. The severe labour and exposure cheerfully undergone by the Artillery on this occasion were specially mentioned by Sir Robert in his despatches announcing the total defeat of the American scheme. The loss of the Artillery amounted to thirty-three killed and wounded. In September, 1778, General Grey sailed for Bedford, to destroy a nest of privateers, and was accompanied by some Artillery under Captain Scott, who blew up the American fort. In November a body of troops, with a detachment of Artillery under Lieutenant Ralph Wilson, sailed for Savannah in Georgia, a place which was speedily taken. From General Pattison's letter-books, it is easy to see that this operation gave great satisfaction in New York: considerable stores were taken; and the province of Georgia reduced. An officer of the Royal Artillery bearing the same surname as he who commanded at Rhode Island, Lieut.-Colonel Alexander Innes, was made Governor of Savannah, and afterwards sent home to the King with despatches. He had greatly distinguished himself during the attack.

This was the last operation of any consequence in 1778. The Army remained concentrated at New York, and the prisoners of war who had been taken by the Americans at Burgoyne's capitulation remained prisoners still. A few of the officers had been exchanged for American officers; and, in this way, General Phillips, of the Artillery, ultimately became available for duty. General Pattison, who still commanded the Artillery, and was with the head-quarters of the army, received a special mark of favour from Sir Henry Clinton in July, 1779, being appointed Commandant of the City and Garrison of New York. It may not be uninteresting to the reader to learn what sort of place New York was in 1779, under a gunner's government, and an attempt to describe it will now be made.

[32.](#) MSS. R. A. Record Office.

[33.](#) Stedman.

[34.](#) MSS. R. A. Record Office.

[35.](#) Hildreth's 'History of the United States.'

[36.](#) During recent researches in America, the author found an old order-book taken by the Americans when Burgoyne surrendered, containing the most favourable notices of the Royal Artillery under his command.

[37.](#) Cust.

CHAPTER XXVIII. THE GUNNER WHO GOVERNED NEW YORK.

At the foot of Broadway, in New York (the principal street during the American War, as it is yet, although eclipsed in point of size by those known as Avenues,) there was, and there is, a small patch of turf giving its name to the surrounding houses, and known as the Bowling Green.

On this Green there used to stand a statue, in lead, of His Majesty King George III., erected by a mob, to celebrate a victory over His Majesty's Government in a dispute in which they believed they had the King's sympathy; and on this Green, in July, 1776, this same statue lay prostrate, thrown down by a similar mob, in anger because their wishes had been thwarted. It was their boast afterwards that forty-two thousand bullets were made out of King George's statue to fire at King George's soldiers. But although the mob ran riot in the city on that day, it must not be imagined that there was no loyalty in New York. There was, among all the respectable classes, a feeling of shame and sadness, which showed itself in the closed churches and darkened windows, and, later on, in the joyous welcome which the British troops enabled them openly to give to the representatives of the British connection. New York, for many reasons, was more loyal than any other part of the revolted colonies, and there were many opportunities of displaying this in the period of its occupation by the British forces,—an occupation which, commencing in 1776, continued uninterruptedly for over seven years, until the war was at an end, and the colonies were lost.

Near this Bowling Green lived, during the British occupation, most of the military officials; and among others, in the years 1779 and 1780, lived James Pattison, Colonel in the Royal Artillery, Major-General in His Majesty's forces in America, and Commandant of the City and Garrison of New York. And the narrative of James Pattison's life is one which must occupy a very prominent place in a History of the Regiment to which he belonged.

He was the second son of a merchant in London, who owned the estate at Woolwich and Plumstead, known as the Burrage Estate. He married a daughter of the celebrated Albert Borgard, and was repeatedly selected for appointments requiring great tact and firmness, two qualities which he possessed in an eminent degree. Among others, he was, as a Lieutenant-Colonel, appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Royal Military Academy, and did more than any of his predecessors, or most of those who have succeeded him, to introduce a proper discipline among the Cadets and their instructors, while, at the same time, he raised the tone of the institution, and asserted, to an unheard-of extent, its independence of the authorities of the Woolwich garrison.

He served with distinction in Flanders, and at the end of the Seven Years' War he was chosen to command the companies selected for service in Portugal. When so employed, he won the respect of all by his dignified firmness and courtesy, and laid the foundation of an affection towards himself from the officers serving under him which never even waned. On his staff in Portugal was a subaltern bearing a name honoured then as now in the Artillery,—Adey. Lieutenant S. P. Adey was afterwards, as a Captain-Lieutenant, aide-de-camp to General Pattison when in command of the Royal Artillery in New York, and was a most able and energetic staff officer.

In 1769 Colonel Pattison was sent to Venice to superintend the organization of the Venetian Artillery. From private letters, which are still in existence, it would appear that he had a very difficult task, not so much with the Artillerymen as with the authorities, who were disposed to break faith with him. But as he simply threatened to resign if they did not keep their promises, he obtained what he wanted; and it may be said of James Pattison that he never wanted more than justice.

General Pattison, as has already been mentioned, succeeded Colonel Cleaveland in the command of the Fourth Battalion of the Royal Artillery in America. He succeeded one who was a soldier, but no statesman,—who conceived that the utmost expected of him was to despise and defeat any enemy who might be opposed to him. General Pattison was equally sensible of his duty as far as military operations were concerned; but he went beyond his predecessor in the liberal and statesmanlike views he took of the state of America. In his official reports, it is needless to say, he did not enter into details beyond his province; but his private correspondence is a mine of wealth to the student of the great American War, and it has been placed at the disposal of the compiler of this work by the representatives of the family. The following letter is a dispassionate and valuable contribution to the history of those stirring times, and reveals at once the able character of the writer and the state of the American Colonies. In writing to his brother from Philadelphia, in December, 1777, he says:

"I wish it was in my power to give you very pleasing accounts of the state of affairs in this distracted country; but, indeed, it is almost a distracting consideration for anyone who knows them, as we do by *experience*, to think of them. Ministers have been deceived, and have never known the true state of this country; if they had, they never would have entered into a war with it. I own I had very mistaken notions myself when in England of reducing America to obedience by conquest. I have totally changed my sentiments, not that I would wish them to be known but to yourself, as it might not be prudent for me to declare them; but I will confess to *you* that, by what I have seen and heard, I am fully of opinion that all the efforts Great Britain can make will never effectually conquer this great continent, in which, notwithstanding all that has been said of *friends* to Government here, and *friends* to Government there, yet there is scarcely one to be met with from one end of it to the other. We have not only armies to combat with, but a whole country, where every man, woman, and even child is your enemy, and, in fact, do in one shape or another act as such. One Royal Army has been already obliged to do what is not in our History to be met with,—to lay down their arms, and surrender prisoners of war; another Army at New York in a state of alarm; and the Grand Army here penned up within the narrow limits of two or three miles, and cut off from all provisions, but what must be gained by fighting for with large foraging parties sent out from time to time for that purpose. In short, unless thirty thousand men more, added to the thirty thousand we already have, can be sent hither early in the year, the wisest thing would be to get rid of the contest in the best manner you can, and, if it was possible to persuade them to revoke their Declaration of Independence, then to make one general Act of Oblivion—give up entirely the point of taxation, and restore the whole country to the state it was in 1763. These are my politics, though I would not wish them to be known. I am much afraid the prosecution of the war must prove ruinous and destructive to Great Britain."

These words have a special value, as coming from one whose official position in command of the Artillery gave him favourable opportunities for forming an opinion. Happily, among British officers, opinions never interfere with the performance of duties, however hopeless; and it will be found that no one was more energetic than General Pattison, both at Philadelphia and in his command at New York. At the same time, we learn from this letter three things—the success of the cry against England commenced in Massachusetts, and swollen by hasty and foolish treatment on the part of England; the falsehood of the Government statements at home; and the great difficulties which embarrassed the English Army in its operations, even thus early in the war.

But in this chapter the condition of New York during the British occupation is the subject of consideration; and perhaps it cannot be better realized than by imagining oneself in the company of the gallant General, as he went his daily rounds. Hanging about in the vicinity of his house are orderlies, in different costume; the gunner, in full dress, with his gold-laced cocked-hat, with *black* feather, as was the custom then in the 4th Battalion, his hair clubbed and powdered, white stock, white breeches, and white stockings, and armed with a carbine and a bayonet; or, perhaps, in the marvellous undress invented for the Battalion by Colonel Cleaveland—a blue jacket and brown trousers. Among the others is also to be seen an occasional negro, in no particular uniform at all, one of a company of Virginian blacks enrolled for duty with the Artillery and in the Ordnance Yard. In the recent American Civil War many hard things were said of the Northerners for declaring the slaves of the rebels to be free, at a time when the women and children of the South were in their homes alone and unprotected. It is but fair to say that the example followed was our own. During the War of Independence the same course towards the rebels was taken by the British, and an influx of runaway slaves in New York was the result. This, coupled with the decided immigration of Loyalists from other districts, accounts for the great rise in the population of New York during the British occupation, which increased from 17,000 to 30,000. The newspapers of the time teem with advertisements announcing the sale of slaves, but from the fact above mentioned it is evident that they can only apply to the slaves of Loyalists. Some of them are so grotesque as to be worthy of reproduction:

"To be sold, a strong, healthy mulatto girl, about fifteen years of age. Has been used to household work and the care of children. She has both had the small-pox and the measles. For further particulars, apply to Mr. Stevens, *Livery Stable Keeper*, Little Queen-street."

"To be sold, a young negro wench, who has had the small-pox, can cook very well, nineteen years old, and sold for no fault. Lowest price, 70*l*."

And—"For sale, a fine negro boy and a billiard-table."

Doubtless, if one looked in at the places of auction, the poor girl "who is accustomed to the care of children" would be found crying her heart out, while thinking of the charge from which she has been torn, and dreading the unknown future before her; while poor little Sambo would be seen showing his white teeth over the table which has been the dusky marker's little world, and from which he has found that he is not to be separated.

The newspapers of the time, in which the above advertisements appear, are an interesting study. From them one gets an admirable picture of the city during the British occupation—of the business, amusements, and daily routine. One is soon reminded that New York was under martial law. The statute price of the loaf always headed the column, by order of the Major-General commanding, followed by terrible threats against the farmers on Long Island if they did not bring their hay, without further delay, to the city for sale. Notices to the refugees from rebel districts, informing them where they could obtain work, were regularly inserted, for the Commandant would have no idlers in the place. Authority for lotteries was occasionally notified, the proceeds to go to the aged and invalid poor; and theatrical advertisements were frequent.

The Garrison Dramatic Club, whose profits went to assist the soldiers' wives, was composed of officers of the Garrison, who were assisted in their performances by young ladies—daughters of New York merchants—whose parts were played, according to the critics of the time, "with great propriety, spirit, and accuracy." The receipts of the Club in one year, amounted to 9,500*l*., all of which, after deducting unavoidable expenses, was spent in charity.

The rules of the theatre were somewhat arbitrary. Not merely had the places to be secured and paid for before the day of performance, but the takers were compelled to send their servants at half-past four in the afternoon to keep their seats until the curtain rose at seven. It must have been a ludicrous sight during these two hours and a half—that dusky audience with nothing to hear, those crowded spectators with nothing to see.

One of the chief actors in the club was Major Williams, of the Artillery, who was also Brigade-Major of the Garrison. In the Library of the Historical Society in New York there is yet to be found frequent and favourable mention of this officer's rendering of Macbeth and Richard III.

Possibly an undue value may easily be attached to the opinions of an audience which was, doubtless, more or less, composed of the actors' friends; but it has been recorded that nothing was so popular,—no wit, humour, or buffoonery so welcome, even to the rebels during the performance.

The newspapers of the day were the 'Mercury,' published on Monday; 'Robertson's Loyal American Gazette,' on Thursday; and the 'General Advertiser,' on Friday. But there was one more reliable, and more generally read, than any of these,—the 'Gazette,' published every Wednesday and Saturday, by a man called Rivington, famed for his hospitality and as a *bon vivant*, but who proved eventually to be a traitor. About 1781 he began to see that, under the influence of the French Alliance and dissension in England, the rebel cause was brightening. While, therefore, still continuing to utter the most loyal sentiments in his journal, he supplied the enemy, in rather an ingenious way, with all the latest intelligence. Being a bookbinder as well as publisher, and being wholly unsuspected, he was permitted to send books to the Jerseys and elsewhere for sale. In the binding of the books were concealed despatches for Washington, who was thus supplied with the latest news from New York and England.

From advertisements in the various newspapers, the price of tea during the British occupation would appear to have averaged 18*s*. per lb.; corn varied with the punctuality or otherwise of the convoys from Ireland,—a strange thing to read of in days when America is known as the grain-producing country of the world; and claret, from some reason or other, was cheap and plentiful. There are, in the Royal Artillery Record Office, permit-books of General Pattison's from which the filial affection of the subalterns in the Garrison can be gauged by the amount of claret they received permission to send from New York to their anxious parents.

But, returning to No. 1 Broadway, on the Bowling Green, where the General lived, let the reader accompany him on his rounds. His chestnut horse is at the door, and Captain Adey and Captain-Lieutenant Ford, his Quartermaster, are waiting for him. The house in which he lives was formerly occupied by Sir Henry Clinton, now the Commander of the Forces, and afterwards by General Robertson, the immediate predecessor of General Pattison as Commandant of New York. The next house, No. 3 Broadway, had been occupied by Sir William Howe, on the first occupation of New York by the English forces in 1776, and was destined to be the residence of the arch-renegade, Arnold.

The General is a wiry, muscular man, of about fifty-four years of age;—his staff were mere boys, and yet he outlived them both. The characteristic which struck every one most was his courtly urbanity: every hat which was raised by passers-by was courteously acknowledged; and for every one whom he knew there was a pleasant, kindly word. He looks even brighter and more cheery this morning than usual, and, judging from the barely-suppressed merriment of his staff—when he is not looking—there is evidently some cause for cheerfulness. The joke is this. If James Pattison excels in one thing more than another, it is in correspondence. Last night had found him in a good vein, and his staff are still chuckling over some letters which they had copied this morning. Let three be selected, with a judicious blending of love and war, and let preference be given to the first. The General was, in the strongest and most benevolent sense, a father to his officers; there was no one in whose affairs he was not ready to take an interest; and his sympathy with all under his command is visible in every line of his correspondence. As the student sits among his letter-books, in the Dryasdust Record Offices looking out on the muddy Thames, there are times when, out of the yellow pages and faded writing, there seems to shape itself a figure, which, even at this distance of time, has such a lovable reality about it, that he seems to have known it as a dear friend. In return for the interest the General felt in and showed for his officers, he asked but one thing—their confidence; and the extent of his private correspondence shows that he did not ask in vain.

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But there had been an exception,—unconscious, perhaps, but not unnoticed. A giddy subaltern had fallen in love. The General hardly expected to be told of this. In those days, as now, it might be predicated of subalterns that "tis their nature to!" But this youth resolved to marry, and did not tell his resolution. He was away in Florida; there were no regular posts; perhaps the General might not approve of it; and, besides, those sweet hours of bliss were too dear to be interrupted by extraneous correspondence. So he was married. At first all was happiness. Love was still in every room of the cottage; and the General, like everything else, was forgotten. But there came a day when, in that little cottage, there were "Rooms to let," for Love had taken umbrage at a threadbare ruffian, called Poverty, who had taken up his abode. So, like the Prodigal Son in the Parable, the mournful subaltern remembered his General, and, writing a doleful letter as to the expenses of the married state, suggested a happy arrangement by which his income might be improved. To which the General had overnight penned the following reply. The reader will bear in mind that the General, like St. Peter, was himself also a married man.

"DEAR SIR,

"The letter you favoured me with gives me, at last, an opportunity of congratulating you upon your marriage. I am very sensible it is a state which must be attended by extraordinary expenses, and wish it was in my power to enable you, with perfect ease, to defray them. I would even adopt the mode you propose, of appointing you Quartermaster, if I thought the good of the service required; but as it does not appear to me necessary for every detached company to have a staff annexed to it, I am sure you will have the goodness to excuse my incurring any extraordinary charges upon Government which I could not properly justify.

"I am, with regard, &c., &c."

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Another letter which the General had written was to a friend at Woolwich, who superintended the recruiting for the Battalion, which was then much below its establishment. In answer to repeated remonstrances, a few handfuls of men from the other Battalions were sent,—not the best, it is to be feared, if human nature then were like human nature now; and, at last, recruits being no longer obtainable in England, the experiment was tried of recruiting in Ireland, and the first draft was sent to the 4th Battalion. At this time the Irish Artillery, afterwards the 7th Battalion of the Royal Artillery, enjoyed a separate existence, and secured the best recruits in Ireland. The refuse only remained for the Royal Artillery, and the following is the graphic language used by the gallant General in describing the new levies as they landed in New York.

"The drafts have arrived, four having deserted, and one died upon the passage. I should not have been very much afflicted if many of those who landed here had saved me, either by death or desertion, the pain of looking at them, for such warriors of 5 feet 5½ inches I never saw raised before for the service of Artillery.... I presume the reason why so few stand of arms accompanied them was the consideration of these whippers-in and postillions of fellows being unable to bear them: but I must try how far the strength of these diminutive warriors is equal to carry *muskets cut down*, for they shall never appear, while I command them, otherwise than as soldiers.... Hard times, indeed, and great must be the scarcity of men, when the Royal Artillery is obliged to take such reptiles. I would they were back in the bogs from which they sprang."

In less than a hundred years, had the General lived, he would have seen many of even a worse stamp landing here, to swell the army of New York Rowdies,—men who poison the blood of the American commonwealth, making the great Republic break out into hideous and pestilent sores, which in the eyes of the world deface and hide the beauties it so undoubtedly possesses.

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The third and last letter to be quoted is a more serious one; and is addressed to the Right Honourable the Board of Ordnance, at this time very wooden-headed, very obstinate, very devoted to every form of circumlocution. Their officials loved then to snub, and carp, and disallow; to trust on the festive board at any joyous time some hideous skull of pigheaded queries; and to look with suspicion on any one who dared to think for himself. The officials of the Ordnance have passed away; but who shall say that the type is extinct?

Ah! this gunner who governed New York! He had his rough hours with the rebels, and with the citizens, and with his motley army, but the roughest were when the convoys coming in brought the usual budget of stupendous idiocy, written by clerks who knew not, probably, whether America lay to the east or the west of the Tower, but who felt that their duty was to be to the conscientious officer an eternal nightmare.

The good General, who thought of England's interests before anything else, had recently given permission for the pay of the men to be drawn by bills on Messrs. Cox and Mair, the rate of exchange at the time being such as to leave a handsome surplus to the Government on the sale of the bills. But no sooner did the members of the worshipful Board hear of this, than each particular hair stood on end on each individual head, and a letter was despatched to the General reprimanding him for daring to think of himself. Fortunately Messrs. Cox and Mair protected the bills: but no more were drawn, and the General's scheme for saving his country's money was ruthlessly butchered. As luck would have it, the same mail brought to the General letters of commendation from the King and all in authority; and the confirmation of the rank of Major-General, bestowed on him by Sir Henry Clinton for service in the field. This enabled him to quote the satisfaction expressed by others with his conduct, in the commencement of his letter to the Board, thus giving a point to his next dignified sentences, acknowledging their rebuke. "These marks, my Lord and gentlemen, of your displeasure, and the never having received the honour (notwithstanding my unwearied endeavours to deserve it,) of *your* declared approbation in any instance since I have been entrusted with the direction of your affairs in this service, cannot fail to give me the most sensible mortification. The extensive and complicated command I have is sufficiently onerous of itself, but under the present circumstances the weight becomes less supportable. I should, therefore, be exceedingly glad if I might be permitted to transfer it over to abler hands, who might probably be more fortunate in giving fuller satisfaction."

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It is unnecessary to say that the brainless scribes in the Tower were a little quieter after this, and more sparing of their senseless criticism.

Before doing anything else, the General's custom during his morning's ride was to look at the batteries near his house, known then as Fort George and Grand Battery. The former was a regular fortification, and the latter mounted 94 guns. They were situated where the Castle Garden—for the reception of emigrants—and the South Ferry House now stand. They commanded the river between New York and Brooklyn heights, and New York and Staten Island. The fortifications on Brooklyn heights, especially Fort Stirling, had been immensely strengthened by General Pattison, and not a point on New York Island was left unarmed by him. He availed himself of many breast-works and trenches, and of large works like Fort Independence, which the Americans had built when they contemplated the defence, instead of the evacuation of New York: and he strengthened them in the most laborious and efficient manner. To his efforts more than any other's, was the fact due that the City remained unmolested during the whole war. His labours and duties were enormous. His command being co-extensive with the North American continent, he would one day receive demands for powder and guns from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the next day from Florida, or from Captain Traill in Virginia. Captain Traill was one of those men to be met with even now in the Artillery, a man with a grievance. He had been made *local* Major, and had applied without success to have the rank made substantive. He took his revenge out of the Government by demanding stores in the wildest manner. The first thing he always did on arriving at a new station was to send in requisitions, as if he were going to fortify Gibraltar.

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The soreness on Captain Traill's part appears in other ways in the records of the time. A young gentleman, named Black, who, according to the custom in those days, had carried arms in his company with great distinction, refused a commission in the Artillery offered him by the Master-General, and accepted one instead in Lord Rawdon's New York Volunteers. It is easy to imagine the lad going to his Captain for advice, and finding him brooding over the unfortunate Majority, or calculating how next to worry the authorities with store-demands. And having imagined this, it is not difficult to imagine what the Captain's advice would be.

While talking of stores, it is worthy of mention that at one time so heavy had been the demands on the General from out-stations, particularly from Halifax, which was reduced to barely seven rounds a gun, that there were only 476 barrels of powder left in the whole city and district of New York, under British rule. There was, as is apparent from contemporary correspondence, not a little anxiety on the subject in the Commandant's office.

Although General Pattison was saved much laborious and unpleasant correspondence by having a very competent staff, he occasionally took the pen himself in official differences, even with his regimental subordinates. One, Captain William Johnstone, had entered a remonstrance showing that two of the officers posted to his company were prisoners in the hands of the rebels, and the other two were in England. Had he remained content with a bare statement of facts, he would have done well, but he went on to make insinuations; and after also disparaging the men who had been sent to his Company with the last draft, he concluded by hinting that the climate of Pensacola, where he was stationed, disagreed with him. To whom the General: "As to the idea which you think proper to throw out, and which I cannot but think an extraordinary one, of officers endeavouring to get out of their commands, no such applications have ever been made to me; consequently, I cannot have granted the improper indulgences you allude to; but with respect to indulgences to officers under my command, I must desire to be considered the best judge how far they may be bestowed, consistent with the good of the service.... The men whom you think so bad were not picked out, but impartially drafted; and if any of them carry the marks of bad behaviour on their backs, I hope the end will be answered by their correcting it for the future, and that their good conduct under you will be the means of soon wearing them out.... I am very sorry that the climate of Pensacola disagrees with you so much, but hope that you will soon recover your health."

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The reader will now be good enough to accompany the General up Broadway, towards Hester Street, in the Bowery, then one of the extreme streets yet built in New York, and near the spot where the British landed on 16th September, 1776, to occupy the city. It was close to the place where St. Mark's Church now stands; and at that date was marked by the existence of the house of the last Dutch Governor of New York, built of yellow brick, imported from Holland, now unfortunately destroyed. In Hester Street lived Mrs. Douglas, the young wife of as brave a subaltern of Artillery as ever stepped. The General had just received a despatch from Sir Henry Clinton, then engaged in operations up the Hudson, in which young Douglas's bravery, coolness, and skill had been mentioned in the highest terms. Before writing to his subaltern to express the satisfaction he derived from such a report, the General hastened to tell the good news to Mrs. Douglas; thus killing two birds with one stone, for it enabled him to add to his letter a postscript which he knew young Douglas would value, giving all the latest news from his home. It was this thoughtfulness which endeared him to his officers; it is from such little data as this that the student learns how lovable as well as able this gallant officer was. The day shall come—and not so far distant—when the General shall stop in the same street at a door not much farther on, but his face shall be sad, and his step slow, as he mounts the staircase to tell of a young husband lying under the turf near Charlestown, wounded to death in the battle, and dying with his wife's name on his lips, and love for her in his glazing eye. As he enters the room, there shall be that in his face which a woman's wit shall too quickly read, and the cry of a broken heart shall echo on the old man's ears for years to come!

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Leaving Hester Street the General rode towards Ranelagh House, then a species of Tea Gardens, out of the city, but only a little east of the present intersection of Anthony Street and West Broadway. About twenty-five years before the British occupation of New York, to which this chapter refers, this house was the residence of Major James, of the Royal Artillery, a man of great taste and considerable private means. He went on one occasion on leave to England; and, during his absence, the celebrated Riot on the arrival of the Stamps took place. A mob, which took the name of the "Sons of Liberty," having first burnt the Lieutenant-Governor in effigy, and broken his Coach of State to pieces, went off playfully to Major James's unprotected house, burned his valuable library and large collection of works of art, and ruined his beautiful garden. A few months later, it became a public-house, kept by one John Jones, who sent fireworks off in the evening, and by day and night gratified the thirst of the Sons of Liberty. It was a curious heaping of coals of fire, that a few years later it should fall to this very Major James—after a six weeks' passage from Plymouth, to bring the joyful news of the repeal of the Stamp Act. Ranelagh House had become during the War a great place for recruiting for the various Regiments raised for the King's service in New York. During General Pattison's command, no less than 4000

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Loyalist Volunteers were doing duty in the city, and 3000 more were away on duty in the South. Some statistics regarding these volunteer corps may be interesting. The New Jersey Gentlemen Volunteers, embodied—as the recruiting notices said—"during this wanton rebellion," received each 20 dollars bounty, and "everything necessary to complete a gentleman soldier;" Lord Rawdon's Ireland Volunteers received each 30s. bounty; and men were tempted to enlist into Colonel Simcoe's Queen's Ranger Hussars by the promise of "an elegant horse, cloathing &c., to the amount of 40 guineas: the bringer to get 2l. 2s." Men enlisting into the regular army got one guinea bounty; and on one occasion when men were wanted for regiments in the West Indies, the married men of New York were tempted by the offer of 5s. a week for the husband, 3s. 9d. a week for his wife, and 2s. 6d. a week for each child, over and above prize-money.

Side by side with these various notices, as well as on every public place and in every newspaper, an intimation was to be found, characteristic of the General's method and accuracy, calling upon any one who had any claim against the Royal Artillery, or the Ordnance, to submit it without delay. This same method is visible in all his internal civil arrangements, showing that he possessed admirable qualifications for the post of Home Secretary as well as General. He ordered every stranger on arrival in the city to report himself on pain of suspicion; the citizens had to form a nightly watch in their respective wards, subject to 24 hours' imprisonment, or 1 dollar fine, if absent, in addition to making up the duty; each chimney had to be swept once a month under penalty of a 5l. fine; a certain number, only, of public-houses was licensed, on the recommendation of the principal officers of the Army and Navy, or of respectable inhabitants; and any one selling liquor without a licence was fined 5l. and the money given to the poor. All carmen were obliged to have licences; and if any one overcharged his fare, he was fined 40s., one half going to the poor, and the other half to the informer.

A favourite punishment for misdemeanours and theft was banishment beyond the lines, accompanied by further severe punishment if the offender should return. The inhabitants were liable to confinement in the main-guard, but their cases had to be inquired into by the civil magistrates before 11 A.M. on the following day. Negro slaves and others deemed worthy of corporal punishment were sent to a court-martial; and able-bodied offenders were not unfrequently sent on board the Admiral's Fleet.

The General's arrangements for the various ferries were excellent, and all the profits went to the poor. Boatmen had to take out licences, and in event of overcharge they were punished in the same way as the carmen. Auctioneers had not merely to provide themselves with licences, but also to find sureties to the amount of 5000l. New York currency. And at any meeting of the vestry which concerned the disbursement of public money, the Mayor was compelled to be present, and make a report to the Commandant, as well as to see that his wishes were complied with.

A good deal of trouble arose from what was called the Neutral Ground, extending some 30 miles above the Island of New York, and not included in the lines of either army. It was a fertile and populous country, but much infested by bands of plunderers, called cow-boys and skimmers. The cow-boys lived within the British lines, and bought, or stole, cattle for the use of the troops. The rendezvous of the skimmers was within the American lines. They professed to be great patriots, making it their ostensible business to plunder those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the State of New York. But they were ready in fact to plunder any one, and the cattle they thus obtained were often sold to the cow-boys in exchange for dry goods from New York. It was when traversing this neutral ground, that the unfortunate Major André was captured. By the way, the General in his morning's ride passed the house where André was to dine the evening before he should start on his ill-fated journey. It was an old Dutch house which remained standing until 1850, near the present intersection of 2nd Avenue and 34th Street; and was occupied during the British occupation, as an officer's quarter, by Colonel Williams of the 80th Regiment.

In continuing his ride, the General went to Greenwich, a village situated at that time a mile and a half out of the city, but now in the very heart of it, where the German troops in English pay were stationed. Of all the mistakes made by England in that war—and they were many—the hiring of mercenaries to fight the Americans was perhaps the greatest. It irritated many loyal men into rebellion, and gave a union and cohesion to the disloyal, such as they never otherwise would have gained. Nor were the mercenaries very valuable as soldiers; they were discontented and quarrelsome; and to their want of vigilance was the irreparable disaster of Trenton wholly due. Even to this day, the Americans talk most bitterly of their being hired by the English to shoot down their own flesh and blood; and there can be no doubt that more soreness was due to this circumstance, than to any other connected with the war. Apart, however, from the general question, there was no Commanding officer whose management of the foreign troops displayed so much tact, as General Pattison. Whether it were on duty, or on such occasions as the celebrated ball given by him on the King's Birthday in 1780, which he opened with the wife of the German Baron who commanded at Greenwich, his courtesy and tact were always exerted to cement differences, or allay grievances.

Returning homewards from Greenwich, the General rode through a great many burnt streets, burnt by incendiaries the night after the English occupied New York, and at a fire which took place later;—past not a few churches which had been converted into prisons, riding-schools, and hospitals, for at times the sickness in the city was very great;—past Vauxhall, where Sir Peter Warren lived; past the house in Hanover Square where Prince William stayed, when sent out by the King in compliment to his American subjects; and past the dwelling of that most princely of dinner-givers, honest Admiral Walton. As he rode along, he passed printed anathemas on the walls against privateering, and notices of 20 guineas reward from the Government, and 10 guineas additional from the insurance offices, for the discovery of any man who should have seduced a soldier on board a privateer. There were no less than 5000 New Yorkers engaged during the war in this lawless occupation. It was certainly adding insult to injury, after the sleepless nights they sometimes caused to the General, but the owners of a very fast privateer had actually the impertinence to name their ship after him.

On his way home he rode into the Ordnance Yard, where a few words of comfort had to be spoken to the men whose wages were so disproportionate to those of ordinary civil labourers, that not merely were they discontented, but they could hardly live at all. Ordinary labourers in the city got 5s. a day, and skilled artisans could earn as much as 12s. and 15s.; but in the Ordnance Yard the average wage was only 3s. a day and a ration, and in vain had the General urged on the Board of Ordnance to sanction some approximation to the wages of the other labourers in New York. While men could be got with ease near the Tower of London for 3s. a day, the Board of Ordnance might as well have been expected to pay more in America, as their clerks to learn geography.

The General having now returned to Broadway, let two or three instances be mentioned, in which he prominently figured during his command at New York, before closing this chapter.

The first shall be the only instance in which the General ever showed any symptom of insubordination. He forgot the soldier in the gunner. On the last day of May, 1779, he accompanied Sir Henry Clinton, the Commander-in-Chief, to within 3 miles of Stony Point on the Hudson; and as Artillery became necessary in carrying out the proposed attack, General Pattison was ordered to take command of the troops. During the night—a dark, moonless night—the Artillery for the service was got up, and the batteries completed by five o'clock in the morning, notwithstanding great difficulties, arising from a bad landing-place and a very steep precipice. Orders were then given to commence firing on the enemy's works, and, notwithstanding the great distance, the fire was soon seen to have been effectual. Sir Henry Clinton therefore sent instructions to the General to cease firing, but the General's blood was up. The range had been got to an inch and he hungered to go on; so instead of ceasing fire, he sent back an earnest request to be allowed a few more rounds. Very soon, however, a white flag was seen; and in a few minutes it was known that the whole rebel force had surrendered.

The next sketch may be said to show the culminating point of the General's career as Commandant of New York. The winter of 1779 was the hardest, it is believed, ever recorded in that city. The water was frozen between New York and Staten Island, and guns were carried over on sleighs. It was an anxious time. The insular advantages of New York disappeared before this unexpected high-road of ice; the Jerseys were swarming with Washington's troops; and as nearly the whole of the regular forces had gone from New York to Charlestown on special service, the General dreaded an attack which he might be unable to resist. Notwithstanding the croaking of many advisers, he called out, and resolved to arm, the inhabitants, to test the sincerity of their professions of loyalty, and to ascertain whether his rule in the city had been a successful one. To those who assured him that it was a rash measure, he answered that he felt confident that the number of doubtful characters was but trifling, and as those few would be blended in the ranks with the many who could be relied on, they would be less capable of doing mischief under arms, than if "left to lurk in their dwellings."

And the event proved that he was right. In a few hours he had 4300 loyal volunteers between 17 and 60 years of age, armed at their own expense, until arms could no longer be bought, when they received them from the King's stores; he had merchants of the city standing sentry on his own house; and so fired were the naval officers by his energy, that they landed all the sailors they could spare, and put them under his orders. In return, the General courteously named a new battery which he was building, the Royal Naval Battery, and gave it to the sailors to man. And the result was that the city remained unmolested.

The anxiety the General suffered during the winter of 1779 aggravated a complaint from which he had been suffering for some time, which he describes in his diary as "a stubborn disease which no medicine can allay," and he began to feel that rest and change were necessary. So he applied for, and obtained, leave of absence to go home for the benefit of the Bath waters; but so reluctant was he to leave his post that it was late in the autumn of 1780, before he actually sailed. During the few months immediately preceding his departure his correspondence is a mixture of explanations to the authorities at home of the reasons for his return, and entreaties to his officers to write to him at Bath, and keep him posted in all the news of the war. During the three years of his command he had got everything into such admirable order, that its transfer to his successor was simpler than could have been expected from its complicated and extensive nature. He received a perfect ovation on his departure, both from the civil and military part of the population; and the dear old man had hardly sat down in Bath, before he wrote off to all his old friends of the 4th Battalion.

In all that General Pattison did—whether on duty or not—he was essentially conscientious and hard-working. And these are the two qualities which rule the world. George Macdonald—in his lecture on Milton—said that on rising from a study of the poet's works, he felt that he had been gazing on one who was, in every noble sense of the word, *a man*. And the student of General Pattison's letters and orders feels also, in quitting the dusty tomes and faded letters, that he has been conversing with a true, a noble man.

A brief notice of his death will suitably close this chapter. He lived to be a very old man. Twice he was appointed Commandant of Woolwich, a command less onerous than that which he held in America, but still a prize to which every Artillery officer looks forward. At last on a March morning in the year 1805, that stubborn disease which indeed no medicine can allay, that old, old disease, death, stole into Hill Street, Berkeley Square, and touched on the shoulder, in his 82nd year, the gallant old soldier, a chapter in whose life has just been alluded to.

It was a year of note for England. War was going on in the East and in the West, and success had attended the English arms in both. Europe was bristling with armed men, whom the genius and the dread of Napoleon had produced; and in England alone, besides a gigantic regular army, 325,000 volunteers had rallied to protect the soil against a not improbable invasion. The cost of the army that year was over fourteen millions, in addition to which over four millions were voted for the Ordnance; and no less than four and a half millions more for the support of the militia and volunteers fell upon the groaning taxpayers. Nearly everything in England was taxed, and this year saw the taxes increased. A man's pension, office, personal estate, and everything that could be called a luxury was heavily mulct; if a legacy were left him, it shrank wofully in the process of reaching him; his profession or trade was made but another excuse for picking his pocket; if he smoked, the tax-gatherer waited round the corner; if he took snuff, the same relentless visitor called upon him; and yet, after all, the revenue of the country fell far short of its expenditure. The horrified fund-holder saw Consols quoted at 58, and yet Parliament borrowing right and left to make the two ends meet. Twenty-four millions were borrowed by annuities, and twelve millions by Exchequer bills; and driven to his wits' end by want of funds, the Chancellor of the Exchequer started lotteries to raise the wind.

A year of note in England. It was the year when Trafalgar was fought, and a country wept in the hour of victory for a life that could not be spared. A year when men were Titans; a fit year for a soldier to live; no unfit one in which he could die who had done to the very last his duty.

In March, 1805, the old General passed to his rest. Perhaps, as he lay dying, his mind wandered to the Far West, where so important a part of his career had been passed; to the Hudson, bound then in the grip of winter; to the trees at West Point waving their naked arms in the wind, as if praying for summer; to New York spreading in peace as it never could have spread in war; to that great country, destined to be greater yet, but ah! never to be so pure as in those days of its infancy as a Republic, whose people were listening—even as he died—to the words addressed to them by their new President, words of soberness and peace, such as Washington himself would have loved.

And so the old man went to sleep.

BEFORE summing up the Artillery share in the American War of Independence, a glance may be taken at the domestic life of the Regiment at this time. From the date when the Regimental feeling first developed itself, there has always been a body of officers whom taste, opportunity, or ability has singled out to express the hopes, schemes, or resolutions, which may have existed among the officers at large for the welfare of the Corps. The centre of the Regimental life which has found its expression in such men has always been Woolwich. In the earlier days of the Regiment this was natural, as its head-quarters and its commanding officer were at that station: in later times, when the Regiment became too large for the supervision of one man, the head-quarters of the Battalions were concentrated there; and after the appointment of a Deputy-Adjutant-General of the Royal Artillery, his office remained at Woolwich for many years, the centre of administration of the whole corps. The large force of Artillery always at Woolwich, the manufacturing departments, and the numerous Regimental establishments, such, for example, as the Royal Artillery Institution, and the Department of Artillery studies, conspire at the present day to render Woolwich more than ever the centre of the Regiment's intellectual and domestic life.

In the correspondence between officers at out-stations and at head-quarters, at various times in the Regiment's history, may be read much that is interesting of Regimental schemes and wishes. The great domestic event during the American war was undoubtedly the formation of the Invalid Battalion, thus ridding the four service Battalions of their invalid companies, and giving them effective men instead. The promotion given by the augmentation gave also great satisfaction to the officers, and in no place was it hailed with more delight than in America. Although the Invalid Battalion was not formed until 1779, its formation had been part of a scheme which had entered into the consideration of the thoughtful officers of the Regiment for some years. In a letter from General Pattison, at New York, to Captain Blomefield, at Woolwich, the scheme is thus alluded to. "I have just time, and that is all, to acknowledge and thank you for your obliging communication of the new arrangement for the Corps of Artillery. I began to despair of that plan, after lying dormant so long, ever taking place. You will, I am sure, do me the justice to believe that its being brought to light again, and carried into execution, affords me the truest satisfaction, and I very sincerely congratulate you upon the event. I hope, too, it is a prelude to something still better, *and that the next step will be to form the four Battalions into as many Regiments, to consist of two Battalions each;* and then I think the young officers need not be very solicitous to get into the Line." This is a very interesting quotation; and shows that the idea which has frequently been entertained, although happily never carried out, of dividing the Regiment into small Regiments with independent promotion, is at least a century old. Division of a different description may soon be necessary; a more thorough separation of the Garrison Artillery from the Horse and Field Artillery; but a division into several Regiments would have few good results, and many evil. That the division, which it is said above may become necessary, has never been effected, is demonstrative of the strength of the Regimental feeling, which could tolerate so many anomalies, rather than admit the small end of the wedge of separation. As science progresses, Siege and Garrison Artillery wander farther away every day from the Field branch of the Arm; and the difficulty of ensuring the necessary proficiency in officers who are changed repeatedly from one service to another wholly distinct, as well as the natural tendencies of young officers towards the mounted branches, may some day compel the issue of the long deferred edict of divorce. That such divorce is practicable without infringing on the Regimental system is as firmly believed by those who have given the subject their consideration, as that the duties of the various branches would be better performed, were the officers to realize that they would be retained in their performance during the whole of their professional lives. Embarrassing details, and individual hardships, might terrify a military reformer from undertaking the task; but such hardships are inevitable in every reform, and it is the duty of a conscientious and statesmanlike reformer to master details, instead of being mastered by them.

A century ago, the anxiety for a division of the Regiment which animated not a few thoughtful officers was inspired by the longing to create a promotion in the junior ranks, which would stimulate zeal, and remove the despair which was creeping over them. Not a few subalterns during the American War, who distinguished themselves, asked and obtained as their reward commissions in the Line. The elder officers might well become anxious, and look hungrily for any scheme which would deter their younger comrades from abandoning a service to which they did honour. And in this anxiety we may read an explanation of the almost undue delight which the creation of the Invalid Battalion, and eight additional service companies, with the consequent promotion, produced.

Not that in the Fourth Battalion there was not another minor reason for rejoicing. Its head-quarter staff had accompanied the Battalion almost from the commencement of the War; and there was no one at home to give the same attention to the recruiting, as would have been paid by the Battalion's own staff. The creation of two new service companies, to remain at Woolwich as a *Dépôt* for the companies abroad, would, it was hoped, ensure more care in recruiting, and, as General Pattison wrote ironically, "my friends will not be put to the trouble of sending me any more drafts of *picked* men." The recruiting accounts for the various companies would also be expedited, for under the existing arrangement it too often happened, as the General wrote, that "the Agents have been prevented by more important affairs from bringing to any settlement the concerns of those, who are at 3000 miles' distance."

But there were more pleasing subjects of correspondence between Woolwich and the out-stations than recruiting or promotion. There was a genuine desire springing up in the hearts of the more thoughtful officers for a more scientific training, a desire which was daily acquiring strength, and whose mere existence ensured success; for those who sought it for others, endeavoured by their own exertions to secure it for themselves. At this time in the Regiment's history the feeling attained strength and certainty that to be a scientific corps was as high an aim as to win battles. Armed science was felt to be the aim of study. Something higher than mere gallantry, something more durable than brilliancy or *dash*, was felt to be necessary in officers of Artillery. Inventive genius was encouraged in the professional field; individual talent was coaxed and rewarded; and to the ordinary Regimental *esprit*, without which a military life would be a mere Valley of Dry Bones, was added scientific enthusiasm. There was, doubtless, much haziness as to ways and means; much uncertainty as to the details of the closer alliance which it was felt should exist between the corps and the scientific world; but there was enthusiasm, and a readiness to employ any aids already existing, which would certainly ensure success. The foundation of the Royal Military Repository; the establishment of such Government works as those at Waltham Abbey; the closer connection between the Royal Laboratory and the Regiment by the appointment of Captain Congreve as the Controller of the former,—all combined to give increased life and strength to the scientific tendencies which might otherwise have languished. The feeling which was to find strong and eloquent expression from distinguished, although unprofessional lips, nearly a century later, in the same Woolwich where it had been born, was certainly, albeit dimly, in existence then. With what a ring did the words now to be quoted echo in the old birthplace of the Regiment! How grandly did they give shape and consistency to the dreams which for a hundred years had been haunting those to whom their profession was dear!

"The two classes," said the eloquent speaker,^[38] "which will have an increasing—it may be a preponderating—influence on the fate of the human race for some time, will be the pupils of Aristotle and those of Alexander,—the men of science and the soldiers. In spite of all appearances and all declamations to the contrary, that is my firm conviction. They, and they alone, will be left to rule, because they alone—each in his own sphere—have learnt to obey. It is, therefore, most needful for the welfare of society that they should pull with, and not against, each other,—that they should understand each other, respect each other, take counsel with each other, supplement each other's defects, bring out each other's higher tendencies, counteract each other's lower ones. The scientific man has something to learn of you, which I doubt not that he will learn in good time. You, again, have something to learn of him, which you, I doubt not, will learn in good time likewise. Repeat—each of you according to his powers—the old friendship between Aristotle and Alexander; and so, from the sympathy and co-operation of you two, a class of thinkers and actors may yet arise, which can save this nation, and the other civilized nations of the world, from that of which I had rather not speak, and wish that I did not think, too often and too earnestly.

"I may be a dreamer; and I may consider, in my turn, as wilder dreamers than myself, certain persons who fancy that their only business in life is to make money,—the scientific man's only business to show them how to make money,—and the soldier's only business to guard their money for them. Be that as it may, the finest type of civilized man which we are likely to see for some generations to come will be produced by a combination of the truly military with the truly scientific man. I say, I may be a dreamer; but you at least, as well as my scientific friends, will bear with me, for my dream is to your honour."

But to return to the operations of the Army in America. In the last chapter allusion was made to the successful attack made on Stony Point, on the Hudson, by the British troops from New York, in which General Pattison took a prominent part. Very shortly afterwards a dashing attempt was made by the Americans to retake it. The post was considered to be safe against any sudden surprise; but at midnight, on the 15th July, 1779, a bold and daring attempt was made to retake it, and it was carried by storm in less than twenty minutes. The number of the assailants was stated by themselves not to exceed six hundred, under Brigadier Wayne. The garrison was nearly equal in strength, and commanded by Colonel Johnson, of the 17th Regiment, an officer of considerable experience and reputation; yet the enemy, advancing in two or three columns from different points, was in a few minutes master of the place. The Commandant of New York, in his report of the occurrence to Lord Townshend, said: "It must, in justice, be allowed to General Wayne's credit, as well as to all acting under his orders, that no instance of inhumanity was shown to any of the unhappy captives. No one was unnecessarily put to the sword or wantonly wounded. Our loss in killed is not yet ascertained, but it is thought to be trifling, and the number of wounded amounts only to one Captain, four subalterns, and about eight-and-thirty men, of whom is one corporal of the Artillery. The rebels assert that they had only four men killed. Our loss in prisoners is a very serious one—almost the whole of the 17th Regiment, two companies of the 71st (Grenadiers), about sixty of the Loyal American Corps, and, I am particularly grieved to say, one Captain, one subaltern, four non-commissioned officers, thirty-nine privates, and one drummer of the Artillery. One subaltern (Lieutenant Roberts) made his escape by getting to the shore, and swimming near a mile to the 'Vulture' Sloop of War."^[39]

As soon as they obtained possession of the work, the Americans turned the guns of the fort against the opposite post of Verplank's Point, occupied by the 33rd Regiment, Ferguson's Corps, and part of the Loyal American Battalion. Part of the rebel force, under General Macdougall, threatened an attack upon the east side, and repeatedly attempted to force the piquets, but without success, for Colonel Webster and the troops under his command behaved with great spirit. Reinforcements from the camp and from Philipsburg soon arrived; and the enemy, somewhat hastily, evacuated Stony Point, demolishing the works as much as possible, and carrying off all the brass guns and stores in a large armed galley, mounting one 32-pounder and eight 4-pounders, which they sent down the river for the purpose. Fortunately, the wind was against the vessel on her return; and Lieutenant Douglas, of the Artillery, who was in command of a detachment at Verplank's Point, opened fire on her with such success from an 18-pounder gun, that, after being hulled several times, she was run on shore to prevent her sinking, and then set on fire. Lieutenant Douglas, as was mentioned in the last chapter, and his detachment, were honoured by the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief for their good behaviour. "Endeavours were afterwards used to recover the cannon, but as they did not succeed it was presumed that the rebels with their usual industry found some means, under favour of the night, to convey them up the river. Upon the enemy evacuating Stony Point, we once more took possession of it, with the 42nd, 63rd, and 64th Regiments. Captain Ferguson is made Governor, and it is now fortifying with a close work, which it had not before. The Army is since fallen back again from Dobbs's Ferry to its former camp at Philipsburg."^[40]

The next event worthy of mention is that described by the Commandant of New York as "a most extraordinary attempt to take by assault the post of Paulis Hook, that has been occupied by the King's troops ever since they took possession of New York." This story has been told by American writers, but it will be equally interesting to English and American readers to have placed before them the official report of the occurrence, made by General Pattison to Lord Townshend. "Paulis Hook," wrote the gallant General, "is on the Jersey shore, opposite to this town, and considered as an appendage to it. I am sorry to say the enterprise, bold as it was, succeeded but too well, and little to the honour of the defendants. That your Lordship may judge of the strength of this post from its natural situation and from the works raised for its protection, I send the enclosed plan, which will show how far it ought to have been out of the reach of insult. The troops allotted to garrison it were the 4th Battalion of Skinner's Provincial Brigade, under the command of Colonel Buskirk, and a part of the Invalid Battalion. Major Sutherland, of the Invalid Battalion, was the Commandant. On the preceding day it was determined that Colonel Buskirk should march out a detachment that evening, with the design of surprising a party of 100 rebels near the English neighbourhood. As the garrison would thereby be much weakened, the Major applied to me for a reinforcement for that night of a Captain and forty men, which I complied with, and sent them from the Hessian Regiment of Knyphausen. At half-past three o'clock the next morning advice was brought to me that,—firing of musketry being heard at Paulis Hook,—it was probably attacked, but having (soon after the command was given me of this garrison) established with Major Sutherland the signal he was to make in case he should be attacked in such force as to require succour from hence,—namely, to fire two pieces of cannon and to hang out three lights,—and being informed that no cannon had been heard or lights seen, I concluded that Buskirk was on his return, and that some small party had been harassing his rear, the firing at that time having nearly ceased. However, I immediately sent over to know what was the real state of the post. Upon the return of the messenger, I was filled with astonishment at receiving a letter from Major Sutherland, saying that the enemy, having got through the abattis, had taken the right-hand and centre block-houses and the principal fort, but that the round redoubt, in which was himself, with a Captain and twenty-five Hessians, had been defended; that the left block-house was likewise safe; and that the enemy had retreated, carrying off with them the guards of the two block-houses, which (though almost

impregnable, except by cannon) were shamefully abandoned, the detachment of Artillery from the fort, and such officers and soldiers as were in their barracks. He further added that he was under great apprehensions of Colonel Buskirk's corps being cut off. I, thereupon, without loss of time, sent over the flank companies of the Guards, with 100 men from the Brigade, and nearly the same number of Hessians, with a party of Artillery, under the command of the Field Officer of the day, Lieutenant-Colonel Cosmo Gordon. The light infantry were pushed forward about ten miles; and Colonel Buskirk, after the *coup manqué*, made his retreat good to Paulis Hook, without any loss, bringing four prisoners,—and the Guards likewise took a Captain and six prisoners on their march. What is nearly as extraordinary as the enterprise itself and the success of it is, that the enemy, though in full possession of the fort, did not spike a gun, destroy the ammunition, or do the least injury to any of the buildings. The strength of the garrison at the time it was assaulted was about 200; and, by the returns I have received, there were, *killed*, four sergeants, two corporals, and three privates; *wounded*, two sergeants; and, *taken or missing*, four subalterns, seven sergeants, five corporals, and ninety-seven privates. Lieutenant Cockburne, who was the Artillery officer on duty there, says that a soldier came to the hut where he slept, within thirty yards of the fort, to give him the alarm; that he instantly flew towards the fort, but found the enemy masters of it, whereupon he ran to the block-house, and thereby saved himself from being taken prisoner. The Commander-in-Chief was pleased to order a Board of two Brigadier-Generals and three Field Officers to assemble the day following, to inquire into the cause of the affront suffered at Paulis Hook on the morning of the 19th August, 1779, and to report to him thereupon; and yesterday, having received the opinion of the Board, he gave orders for putting Major Sutherland in arrest, and for him to prepare to take his trial before a Court-martial, upon a charge of 'general misconduct as Commandant of Paulis Hook on the morning of the 19th inst.'" Major Sutherland was ultimately acquitted.

The demand for Artillery officers became so great that the Cadets who were attached to the companies in America were commissioned as Second Lieutenants in the autumn of 1779, by Sir Henry Clinton, as Commander-in-Chief, "to entitle them to sit at Courts-martial and to command as officers." This step, combined with the removal of many officers, who were absent on sick leave, to the new invalid companies, their places being filled with effective officers, rendered the force in America more efficient than it had been at any previous period of the war.

With the year 1780 commenced what may be called the Southern epoch of the War of Independence, whose opening scene was successful for the British arms, being the capture by Sir Henry Clinton of Charlestown, South Carolina. Previous to removing so large a portion of the New York garrison to assist in his offensive operations, Sir Henry determined to evacuate Rhode Island, bringing the troops—British and Hessians—with Artillery and stores, to New York. Private intimation was given to Lieut.-Colonel Innes, who commanded the Artillery on the island, and he was thus able to make the necessary preparations for the removal of stores, ammunition, and horses. With such care and assiduity did he perform the duty, that when the troops reached New York on the 27th October, 1779, the whole of his guns, stores, and horses—with the exception of twenty—came with them. The armament of Rhode Island, which was thus added to the defences of New York, consisted of 20 field-guns, 9 howitzers, 17 mortars, and 72 iron guns of various calibres. From want of vessels to convey it, over 1300 tons of hay were left on the island, a commodity which could ill be spared. The enemy made no attempt to molest the troops, either during their embarkation or their retreat.

Notwithstanding the increase just mentioned to the armament of New York, the Commandant was unable with the guns at his command to arm the new fortifications which he had been making. There is a memorandum in the Record Office of the purchase by him of ten 12-pounder iron Swedish guns for the new fortified lines near Fort Knyphausen, from the North to the East River. These guns were exposed to a careful proof, and were bought at the rate of 16*l.* per ton.

It was immediately after the departure of Sir Henry Clinton's force for Charlestown that the intense frost occurred, mentioned in the last chapter as having closed the navigation of New York, and deprived it of its insular advantages. It had the effect of satisfactorily testing the loyalty of the inhabitants, and of adding another proof of General Pattison's ability and energy. In a report made by him to Sir Henry Clinton, dated the 21st February, 1780, he sketches the plan he had resolved on in case of attack; and as it is an interesting contribution to the History of the War, part of it is now given:—"As General Knyphausen and General Tryon were pleased to approve of my disposition of part of the garrison and militia troops for the internal defence and security of the city and its vicinity, I take the liberty of enclosing a copy of it. If the enemy had crossed over at Harlem, or on the North River anywhere to the south of the line of McGowan's Pass, the 42nd Regiment, the Brigade of Losberg, and the two Anspach Battalions, were to have advanced to positions which General Knyphausen had fixed upon, from Colonel Clerke's house to the circular Redoubt on the East River, and several light field-pieces were fixed upon sleighs, ready to march to wherever they might be wanted. In the Foundry Redoubt I placed a 24-pounder and two 6-pounders, with a 13-inch mortar, as commanding a long reach of the North River; and in the new Star Fort near it were added three small mortars.

"The cannon upon the Fort and batteries were kept loaded; the guard at your Excellency's quarters, as well as all the others along the North River, from the time of the ice being passable, were doubled every evening; and a night piquet of a Captain and fifty men put on board the 'Earl Cornwallis,' Ordnance transport, which was so placed at the Hay Magazine Wharf that her guns bore up and down the river. An armed galley which lay near had also every evening an officer and twenty-five seamen on board.... I had almost forgot to mention a little Corps formed from the Baggage and Store Guards left in town, which might be useful, if collected together. I therefore put them under the orders of Major Small, and they made—with those he had of the 84th Regiment—upwards of 200 men. I am sorry to have trespassed so much upon your Excellency's time by giving this long detail, but think it my duty, Sir, to inform you of the several steps and precautions which have been taken for discharging the important trust your Excellency was pleased to honour me with.... I persuade myself that the recent proofs of loyalty among so numerous a body of His Majesty's subjects in this town cannot fail to be acceptable to your Excellency, and I shall be happy if the endeavours I have used to give vigour and exertion to it are so fortunate as to be honoured with your approbation. All the Captains of the City Militia, in order to render it as useful as possible, have agreed to and subscribed certain regulations (of which I enclose a copy), for punishing delinquents and for keeping in repair and in good condition all their arms, &c.; and in order to their being instructed in the use of them, they are to be out every Saturday in the afternoon, and the Associated Volunteer Companies every Sunday. I would therefore presume to hope, Sir, if your Excellency shall please to approve of their continuing embodied, that in a short time so respectable a force as 4000 men in arms, with some knowledge in the use of them, may be capable of giving such protection to this city, as may make a garrison of less strength sufficient in general for the defence of it."^[41]

In a subsequent letter to Lord George Germaine, General Pattison writes as follows:—"I will entreat your Lordship's permission to recite further proof, since the Militia were embodied, of their readiness and goodwill to aid and assist the public service—a piece of justice I owe them. About ten weeks ago the commanding Engineer applied for a daily working party from this garrison of 500 men for completing the *hither* line of defence, agreeable to the orders that were left with him by Sir Henry Clinton, from the North to the East River. As that number could not be given without making the duty of the troops too severe, I sent a requisition to the Associated and Militia Companies to furnish a daily quota of 300 men for the purpose of raising one of the new projected Redoubts. They most readily acquiesced, and after thirty days' labour finished the work in a very complete manner, and with as much cheerfulness as they began it—*taking neither pay nor provisions*—and having thus raised a monument to their own credit, I called it the Citizens' Redoubt, which the Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to confirm. A more recent instance of their good disposition to answer one of the useful ends of their being put into military array was shown upon the late move which General Knyphausen made into the Jerseys. It was then thought necessary to take over such a force as reduced my garrison to 700 men. The ordinary guards could not with any safety or propriety be lessened below 400. I was therefore under the necessity of calling upon the Militia to act upon that occasion. They most willingly complied, and furnished 150 men with officers in proportion for many days together, which, though attended with loss by quitting their several avocations, was productive of no murmur or discontented expressions, and I had often the pleasure to see citizens of large property standing sentinels over public stores and magazines."

These extracts are interesting to the ordinary reader, as descriptive of New York during the British occupation; and especially interesting to the Artilleryman as evincing the great tact with which General Pattison must have governed the city. The services of the inhabitants were not merely acknowledged warmly by Sir Henry Clinton, but also by the King.

Let the reader now turn for a moment to the military operation which had been the main cause of the reduction of the New York garrison—the Siege of Charlestown, in South Carolina.

The Artillery on this expedition was commanded by Major Traile, or Traile, an officer who has already been mentioned, and who died, as a Major-General, in 1795. The fleet, with the transports, reached Tybee on the 1st February, 1780, after a succession of storms;—on the 9th they sailed for North Ediste; and having reached it on the following day, the Grenadiers and Light Infantry landed on John's Island, and on the 27th the whole army crossed without opposition to James's Island. One of the transports, conveying guns and stores, and a detachment of Artillery under Captain Collins, foundered at sea during a gale, but fortunately the crew and the troops were picked up by a privateer. The stores, which were considerable, including 1000 barrels of powder, had to be replaced from New York without delay.

As far as can be ascertained from the records, the guns used in the siege were 24-pounders and 18-pounders; but a number of 6-pounders and 3-pounders accompanied the force, to be employed in the subsequent field operations. It was the 1st April before Sir Henry Clinton commenced to erect his battery, which he did at a distance of 800 yards from the town: and by the 19th April the second parallel "had been carried to 150 yards from the main works, and the (English) batteries had acquired a manifest superiority over those of the besieged."^[42]

The services of the fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot had been eminently useful. On the 9th April he had availed himself of a fair wind and flowing tide, and had passed Fort Moultrie—a strong fortification on Sullivan's Island—which was intended to defend the entrance to the bar. This step took the Americans by surprise. As Lee writes, the uniformly credited opinion that the American naval force could successfully stop the enemy from passing the bar—inasmuch as their ships would have to be lightened, taking out their guns and other incumbrances—was at the moment of trial found fallacious. "It was discovered that the American frigates could not approach near enough to oppose the passage of the bar with any kind of success; and we necessarily abandoned without a struggle this point of defence so much relied on."^[43] The summons to surrender immediately followed; and the answer was that "duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity." General Lincoln was in command of the garrison—an able and courageous officer, and one who possesses additional interest in the eyes of Royal Artillerymen from the fact that he was subsequently exchanged for their brave brother officer, General Phillips, of whom more will have to be said in this chapter.

The siege was conducted sternly and without intermission. In the words of the American historian "the answer was no sooner received than the British batteries commenced the dire assault, which continued without intermission." The investiture of Charlestown, by extending his operations to the north of Cooper's River, was Sir Henry Clinton's next object. By detaching 1500 men under an excellent officer Lieut.-Colonel Webster, and another whose reputation as a dashing officer has lived longer among his enemies than his friends, Lieut.-Colonel Tarleton, he completely succeeded in his purpose. Further reinforcements from New York enabled Clinton to strengthen this belt—which prevented the retreat of the Charlestown garrison—and Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the forces on the land side. Then followed in rapid succession the surrender of Mount Pleasant, Lempriere, and Wando posts, and Fort Moultrie itself. "Soon followed the completion of the third parallel, which placed the garrison at the mercy of the besiegers. Unwilling, from motives of humanity, to increase the hardships of the unfortunate, the British Admiral and General a second time demanded surrender. Lincoln, now, from necessity, yielded up his army; but still, anxious to save the militia and inhabitants from captivity, he excepted them in his assenting answer, which exception being declared inadmissible, the negotiation ceased. Reluctantly Sir Henry Clinton renewed the contest by opening the batteries of the third parallel, and pushed his works under their fire to the brink of the canal, which by a sap to the dam was drained.... The inhabitants became assured that the concluding scene could not long be deferred, and though heretofore devoted to the defence of the town, now with one accord supplicated General Lincoln to relinquish the exception made in their favour, and to accept the terms proffered. The amiable Lincoln could no longer hesitate in stopping the effusion of blood. He communicated to Sir Henry Clinton his readiness to lay down his arms upon the conditions before offered. Highly honourable was the conduct of the British commanders. They did not press the unfortunate, but agreed that the terms before rejected should form the basis of capitulation, which being soon prepared, signed, and ratified, Charlestown was surrendered on the 12th May, 1780, six days after the parallel was finished."^[44]

Daring, or rather immediately after, the siege, a painful occurrence took place, which is thus alluded to in a report from the officer commanding the Royal Artillery:—"Although your Lordship is doubtless in possession of all the essential particulars relative to the reduction of Charlestown, I nevertheless beg leave to enclose the copy of the return I received from Major Traile of the killed and wounded during the siege of that town. I most sincerely regret the loss of that valuable officer, Captain Collins, as well as the rest who shared his unhappy fate. The misfortune was owing to the incautious proceedings in collecting and assorting the arms of the rebel prisoners in a house where a quantity of powder happened to be lodged. Besides the officers and soldiers, there was a conductor of stores and several artificers who perished by this accident."^[45]

The rejoicings in New York on receipt of the intelligence of the fall of Charlestown are thus described in the Commandant's official report:—"We were made happy in the fullest degree by the glad tidings of the surrender of Charlestown and its garrison. So universal a joy was spread on the occasion in this city as was never known before; and if there be any who do not really feel it, they at least affect to express it. Permit me, Sir, with the most heartfelt satisfaction to offer my congratulations upon this glorious event."^[45]

In writing to Major Traill, General Pattison said:—"The encomium you give of the good behaviour of the officers and men of the Artillery during the siege of Charlestown cannot fail to be very agreeable to me. I sincerely regret the loss of poor Collins, and all who shared his unhappy fate. The escape young Macleod had upon that occasion was very fortunate."^[45]

In a very short time after the fall of Charlestown, South Carolina was cleared of rebels by the English troops, and Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command.

The state of affairs in America at this time cannot but awaken comment and speculation in the student's mind. The speculation may be idle, but it is instinctive. What was the state of the rebel army at this time? of the rebel Government? of the rebel fleet? Let their own historian—so often quoted here—reply. The army was demoralized, neglected, almost mutinous. The Government was imbecile, interfering, and incapable. As to naval operations, Lee's own words were as follows:—"Every attempt made by the naval force of the enemy during the war succeeded: ... and many such operations took place." And yet we lost our colonies.

New York was ours,—thoroughly, loyally ours, in spite of all that American writers may say. Canada was ours; then, as now, loyal and true. The great Middle and Western States did not exist, which now so swell the strength of the great Republic in riches and in muscle. And yet we lost our colonies.

Our fleets more than matched their foes; our soldiers fought then as well as they have ever fought since. The Peninsula, the Crimea, India itself, cannot show in their annals more determined courage than was shown in the English ranks between 1775 and 1781. And yet we lost our colonies.

Where was the weak place in our harness? God help us! it was where it will be again if Englishmen do not take care; if Englishmen do not sink class and party differences when the word is given to fight; if Englishmen do not remember that a nation is weak when disunited, and its army at such a time is weaker still.

There was another weak point, and to it we must now come in our narrative. Our Generals during this great war were brave; they were even in their way able; and, as we have seen, they were frequently successful. But they were in presence of a Master. Pettiness, obstinacy, blundering, on the part of his Government might vex and weary Washington; reluctance and timidity on the part of his allies might at times nearly ruin his plans; but his courage, his skill, his confident hope, survived and surmounted all obstacles. If one reckons up the qualities which make a General, we shall find he possessed them all. Patriotism—it was his almost to an exaggerated extent; for, having once adopted a view which he considered patriotic, he did not care to reason. Enthusiasm—would God that every man who draws a sword for England had but one-half of that which swelled Washington's bosom! Purity of motives—who can think of the scenes which are now historical, when he would have resigned the power he had so justly earned, without feeling (even after all these years) that he is in the antechamber of a man who was pure and above reproach? And skill—if any man doubts it, let him think of that scene at Yorktown to which this chapter slowly leads. To see one's schemes mature so surely and so happily is the highest reward for his exertions for which a General can hope; and as in this case it implied that independence for his country which had been his sole and unselfish aim, one can conceive Washington ready, even then, to resign his command and sheath his sword.

He was to America what Wallace was to Scotland, and Garibaldi to Italy; but he had a larger sphere of action than the former, and a more statesmanlike mind than the latter.

With dissension at home, and Washington against them in the field, who can wonder that, in spite of continued courage and spasmodic success, our armies failed to secure our colonies?

There was an acting-bombardier in the Royal Artillery, named Richard Atkinson Boddy, who died at Woolwich on the 18th January, 1837. Animated by the same desire which has filled the breast of many an Artilleryman, to commemorate in some durable form the services of his corps, Bombardier Boddy commenced to make extracts from all military histories which touched on the subject which he had so strongly at heart. A manuscript volume of such extracts was left by him at his death, and was thus alluded to in his will:—"To the library of the non-commissioned officers of the Royal Artillery I bequeath a manuscript book of the services of many of the officers, written by myself. In the event of the dissolution of the library, I will that the book do revert to my father."

Among the extracts contained in this volume are three, referring to the operations in America subsequent to the capture of Charlestown, and describing in detail the affairs known as Camden, Ninety-six, and Guildford.

Before proceeding to other operations, the result of Bombardier Boddy's industry will be communicated to the reader. And if by means of this work any tribute can be paid to the memory of a non-commissioned officer, whose *esprit*, diligence, and unselfish labour are well worthy of imitation, not merely will justice have been done, but others may be inspired to follow his example. There is no rank in the service in which men may not do something,—not merely to add to, but also to commemorate, the distinction of the corps in which they serve. In the case of the Royal Artillery this has been emphatically proved, not merely by the industrious labourer now mentioned, but also by one already quoted, the author of 'England's Artillerymen.'^[46]

The Battle of Camden was fought on the 16th August, 1780. Lord Cornwallis commanded the English troops, whose total strength did not exceed 2000. General Gates—who had received General Burgoyne's submission at Saratoga—commanded the Americans, who were nearly 6000 in number. The Royal Artillery was represented by two subalterns (one of whom, Lieutenant William Marquis, died on the 15th October of wounds received during this action), two sergeants, and fifteen men. In spite of the disparity of strength, so complete was the victory of the English that 1000 of the enemy were killed or wounded; the pursuit by Colonel Tarleton and the English cavalry extended as far as twenty-two miles; the whole of the enemy's artillery, a large number of waggons, and 2000 stand of arms were captured; and "of the 6000 men who composed Gates's army, not sixty could have again been collected."^[47] The English regiments which most distinguished themselves were the 23rd, 33rd, and 71st, under Colonel Webster; and the heaviest loss fell upon the 33rd. Four guns were present with the Royal Artillery; but on account of the small number of gunners, men from the Line or volunteers must have assisted in working them. The total number of casualties on the English side was as follows—*killed*, 70; and *wounded*, 250.

The affair called "Ninety-six" in the MS. volume referred to is identical with that known as the "Battle of Cowpens." On this occasion the British were totally defeated, with a loss of their guns, two in number. Fortunately for the Royal Artillery, almost equal satisfaction can be obtained from this defeat as from many victories. Lord Cornwallis, in his despatch to Sir Henry Clinton, wrote as follows:—"In justice to the detachment of Royal Artillery, I must here observe that no terror could induce them to quit their guns, and they were all killed or wounded in defence of them." This engagement took place in January, 1781.

The last of the three actions mentioned in the extracts referred to, is that known as the "Battle of Guildford." It was a victory for the English arms, but a most expensive one. Nearly one-third of the Royal Army was left *hors de combat*. The Royal Artillery lost only Lieutenant Augustus O'Hara and one gunner killed, and four men wounded. Lord Cornwallis could not afford to follow up the victory; and although he captured the enemy's artillery, and the American losses far exceeded that of the English, there is no doubt that from this day the American spirits rose, and Lord Cornwallis's position became serious. The Battle of Guildford was fought in March, 1781. The American force was 5000 strong, but about one-half was composed of militiamen, who were of little use, and who fled to their homes after the battle. The total strength of the British force did not exceed 2400 of all ranks. Soon after the battle, Cornwallis had to commence a retreat.

It was in this battle that Lieutenant Macleod of the Royal Artillery—afterwards Sir John Macleod—behaved with a skill and gallantry which Lord Cornwallis never forgot. If the commendation of his own commanding officer must have been agreeable, how much more that of his enemies! Lee in describing this battle, of which he says, "On no occasion, in any part of the world, was British valour more heroically displayed," singles out young Macleod more than once for conspicuous notice. On one occasion he says that one battalion, which at a critical period had been driven back with slaughter, had "its remains saved by the British Artillery."

Leaving now these three engagements, the reader is requested to turn to an operation in the war, in which the *Commander* of the English forces was an Artilleryman.

In the beginning of 1781 Major-General Phillips, of the Royal Artillery, who had been a prisoner since the convention at Saratoga, was exchanged for the American General Lincoln. He was immediately appointed, by Sir Henry Clinton, to the command of a force of 2000 men to watch the French and prevent them from sailing for the south. He was then ordered to Virginia, to join General Arnold's force, which had been ravaging the country almost unopposed, but which was now in a somewhat hazardous position. On effecting the junction with Arnold, General Phillips assumed the command of the united force, numbering now about 3500 men. It was a change for the better in every way. Arnold was disliked by all under his command, for they never could forget that he was a traitor; and as a soldier he was in every way inferior to Phillips. Among the regiments forming the force for the service on which Phillips was to be engaged in Virginia were the 76th, 80th, Simcoe's Queen's Rangers, some German troops, and Arnold's American Legion. On the 19th April General Phillips proceeded up James River to Barwell's Ferry, and on the 20th he landed at Williamsburg, a body of the enemy's militia retiring on his approach. On the 22nd he marched to Chickahominy; and on the 25th,—early in the forenoon,—he set his army in motion for Petersburg, reaching it in the evening. A small encounter with some militia took place when within a mile of the town, in which the rebels were defeated, with a loss of 100 killed and wounded. Lee, in his 'Memoirs of the War in the Southern Departments,' writes very severely of the way in which untrained militia were exposed by the American Government to the attacks of regular troops. His strictures, and the lesson he draws from the experiences of this raid in Virginia, are worthy of quotation at a time when it is becoming more generally recognized in England that the profession of arms is one requiring special training as much as any other. "What ills," he writes, "spring from the timidity and impotence of rulers! In them attachment to the common cause is vain and illusory, unless guided, in times of difficulty, by courage, wisdom, and concert.... Whenever the commitment of our militia in battle with regulars occurs, the heart of the writer is rent with painful emotions, knowing, as he does, the waste of life resulting from the stupid, cruel policy. Can there be any system devised by the wit of man more the compound of inhumanity, of murder, and of waste? Ought any Government to be respected which, when peace permits the substitution of a better system, neglects to avail itself of the opportunity? Were a father to put his son, with his small sword drawn for the first time, against an experienced swordsman, would not his neighbours exclaim, 'Murderer! vile murderer!' Just so acts the Government, and yet our parents are all satisfied, although whenever war takes place, their sons are to be led to the altar of blood. Dreadful apathy! shocking coldness to our progeny!"

In Petersburg, and, indeed, wherever the British troops went in Virginia, all military stores belonging to the rebels were destroyed, and the warehouses with their cargoes of tobacco and flour were systematically burnt. Lee is very severe in his description of this method of warfare, very bitter in his denunciations of the human vultures who follow conquering armies, and very ironical in his allusions to the tobacco war carried on by the English; and yet, in the same breath, he admits that no human foe went out to meet them and give them battle; that everywhere there was, on the part of the Americans, "a fatal want of preparation, of military apparatus, and of system." Wanton and purposeless devastation is strongly to be deprecated in war; but was this raid a purposeless one? The garrison of New York had been woefully weakened, and the English troops in the south were at times dangerously divided. If the American armies could not be drawn apart to meet the English by hope of victory, perhaps they might be tempted by the hope of saving Virginia from this "so dreadful visitation, precursor of famine and of plague."^[48] Doubtless there was this strategic purpose in the Virginian raid, just as there was later in the raid in Connecticut, by which Clinton hoped to tempt Washington back from that dreaded march which culminated so triumphantly for him at Yorktown.

Again, even admitting irregularities and excesses not to be justified by strategy (although this need only be done for the sake of argument, so much exaggeration is there in the American accounts of this expedition), were there not special reasons which might lead one to expect them? Who filled the ranks of the American Loyalist Regiments which fought under Phillips and Arnold? They were men who had lost everything for their King, whose homes had been confiscated, and who had been outlawed and execrated by their countrymen because, forsooth, they had come to a different opinion on a political question. Were these the men to walk through the enemy's country with dauntless step and gloved hand? There is something brutalizing in war under the most favourable conditions; but when the combatants commence with feelings of hatred and thirst for revenge, he would indeed be a rare disciplinarian who could prevent an occasional outbreak in the course of a continued and successful campaign.

On the 27th April, 1781, General Phillips, with his force, marched for Chesterfield Court-house, and detached General Arnold to a place called Osborne's. According to some accounts, the two forces had again met before the circumstance occurred which is now to be related; but, according to a manuscript book in the Royal Artillery Record Office, it was while some guns were attached to General Arnold's detached force. It is not very material, but as it is to the credit of the regiment whose services these pages commemorate, one would rather believe that General Phillips,—an Artilleryman himself,—had been in command, than General Arnold. Some armed vessels had been collected in James River for a special purpose by the Americans, and either the whole or part of Phillips' force marched with a view to secure them. In reply to a summons to surrender, the Commodore replied that he was determined to defend himself to the last extremity.

Two 6-pounders and two 3-pounders (the latter called "grasshoppers" in Lee's account, a favourite nickname for these guns, although sternly forbidden to be used in any official returns to the Commanding Officer of Artillery) were then taken to the banks of the river, with a detachment of the Royal Artillery, under Captain Fage and Lieutenant Rogers. The King's troops were exposed to the fire of the 'Tempest,' twenty guns; the 'Renown,' twenty-six; the 'Jefferson,' fourteen; and several smaller vessels. Some few hundred Militia also kept up a fire from the other bank of the river. It does not say much, for the American fire to find it recorded that not a single English soldier was hurt. The fire of the Royal Artillery seems to have been of a very different description. According to one account, so effectual was it, that, in a very short time, the ships were obliged to strike their colours, and the Militia were driven from the opposite shore. From want of boats the English were unable to secure their prizes; and the Americans made their escape, scuttling some of their vessels and setting fire to others. The loss of the enemy, according to this account, was very great, "owing to the well-directed fire of the British Artillery." Lee's account is as follows: "Quickly two sixes and two grasshoppers were brought to bear upon the Commodore; when he as quickly scuttled and set fire to his vessels, escaping, with his crew, to the northern banks of the river,—one way of 'holding out to the last extremity,' but not that commonly understood by the term." Among the many services in which the Artillery was engaged during the American War, perhaps none were quainter than this successful duel between four light field-pieces and an armed squadron of no inconsiderable strength, supported by troops on shore.

On the 29th April General Phillips marched, with the main body, in the direction of Manchester, which he reached on the following day, and where he destroyed a quantity of stores. General Arnold went, with the remainder of the troops, up the river in boats. Although the Marquis de la Fayette, with a considerable force, was at Richmond, and saw what was being done, he made no attempt to stop the damage; and on the following day General Phillips returned to Osborne's, where the engagement with the ships had taken place. Here he became seriously unwell, with a bad form of fever; and although he lingered to the 13th May, he was unable to perform any active duty, and was carried about in a vehicle until unable longer to leave his couch. The army had reached Petersburg before he died. This place is described by Lee as "the great mart of that section of the State which lies south of the Appomattox, and of the northern part of North Carolina, standing upon its banks about twelve miles from City Point, and, after the destruction of Norfolk, ranking first among the commercial towns of the State." To the Royal Artilleryman this Virginian town will always have a peculiar interest, as having been the scene of the death of as brave and honourable a soldier as ever served in the Regiment. From the glorious day at Minden, his professional career of more than one-and-twenty years had been one of credit to his corps, honour to himself, and usefulness to his country. He had been thirteen years in the Regiment before the Battle of Minden, so that his total service when he died exceeded thirty-four years. He was beloved by all who served with him, and was a model for Artillerymen to imitate, in gallantry, ability, and *progress*. He was eminently a progressive officer.

With September, 1781, came the commencement of the operations which virtually terminated the war. Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis held different opinions as to the mode of prosecuting the war in Virginia: the former devoting his energies to the defence of New York; the latter anxious for increased numbers with which to carry on offensive operations. The Home Government was eager to secure some point on the southern coast, where the Army and Navy could mutually assist one another, and such a point Cornwallis was ordered by Sir Henry Clinton to secure. The place ultimately selected by him was a village called Yorktown, on a peninsula between James and York Rivers, along with the adjoining village of Gloucester, on the other bank of York River. This position he fortified to the utmost of his power, and communicated with Sir Henry Clinton at New York, with a view to reinforcements being sent to his assistance. Washington had completely deceived Clinton, and had induced him to believe that New York, not Virginia, was the object of the proposed operations of himself and his French allies. Taken by surprise by the sudden movement to the South now made by Washington and his forces, Clinton endeavoured to recall him by invading Connecticut, but without success; and having received an urgent letter from Cornwallis on the 23rd September, he called a Council of War, and on the 24th he wrote, promising to start about the 5th October with 5000 troops and twenty-three men-of-war to relieve him. Had he fulfilled his promise, a great disaster would have been spared; but instead of leaving on the 5th, it was not until the 19th,—the very day that Cornwallis, after a weary fortnight's expectation, had been obliged to surrender,—that he left Sandyhook; nor did he arrive off the Capes of Virginia until the 24th.

Of the gallantry of Cornwallis and his troops there has never been any question. He did not surrender until his ammunition was expended, his defences crumbled under the enemy's fire, and hope of succour completely fled. Of the gallantry of that portion of his troops in which the reader of these pages is most interested, he himself thus wrote in his official despatches: "Captain Rochford, who commanded the Artillery, and, indeed, every officer and soldier of that distinguished Corps, have merited, in every respect, my highest approbation."

The force of Royal Artillery present at the capitulation of Yorktown amounted to 167 of all ranks. The largest number whom Lord Cornwallis had commanded during his Virginian campaign did not exceed 233, with fifty additional German Artillerymen. But, in addition to casualties before the investment of Yorktown, the loss to the Royal Artillery during the time between the 27th September and the 19th October,—the date of the capitulation,—was as follows:—

Killed	24
Wounded	21
Missing	2

There were also nineteen sick, in addition to the wounded, on the day the garrison surrendered.

In this crowning point of the American War the defenders were as much outnumbered as Sir Henry Clinton was out-manceuvred by Washington. It is impossible to praise too highly the tactics of the latter General on this occasion. The difficulties with which he had to contend were numerous. A spirit of discontent and insubordination had been manifested during the past year among his troops; there was a Loyalist party of no mean dimensions in the South; in Pennsylvania he could reckon on few active supporters; and New York,—stronger now than ever, after six years of British occupation,—seemed hopelessly unattainable. Worse than all, however, the French Admiral was nervous, and reluctant to remain in so cramped a situation with so large a fleet. Had he carried out his threat of going to sea, instead of yielding to Washington's earnest entreaties and remonstrances, the capitulation would never have taken place. Lee's description of the scene on the day the garrison marched out is doubly interesting, as being that of a spectator: "At two o'clock in the evening the British Army, led by General O'Hara, marched out of its lines with colours cased and drums beating a British march. The author was present at the ceremony; and certainly no spectacle could be more impressive than the one now exhibited. Valiant troops yielding up their arms after fighting in defence of a cause dear to them (because the cause of their country), under a leader who, throughout the war, in every grade and in every situation to which he had been called, appeared the Hector of his host. Battle after battle had he fought; climate after climate had he endured; towns had yielded to his mandate; posts were abandoned at his approach; armies were conquered by his prowess—one nearly exterminated, another chased from the confines of South Carolina beyond the Dan into Virginia, and a third severely chastised in that State, on the shores of James River. But here even he, in the midst of his splendid career, found his conqueror."

"The road through which they marched was lined with spectators, French and American. On one side the Commander-in-chief, surrounded by his suite and the American staff, took his station; on the other side, opposite to him, was the Count de Rochambeau in like manner attended. The captive army approached, moving slowly in column with grace and precision. Universal silence was observed amidst the vast concourse, and the utmost decency prevailed; exhibiting in demeanour an awful sense of the vicissitudes of human fortune, mingled with commiseration for the unhappy.... Every eye was turned, searching for the British Commander-in-chief, anxious to look at that man, heretofore so much the object of their dread. All were disappointed. Cornwallis held himself back from the humiliating scene, obeying emotions which his great character ought to have stifled. He had been unfortunate, not from any false step or deficiency of exertion on his part, but from the infatuated policy of his superior, and the united power of his enemy, brought to bear upon him alone. There was nothing with which he could reproach himself: there was nothing with which he could reproach his brave and faithful army: why not then appear at its head in the day of misfortune, as he had always done in the day of triumph? The British General in this instance deviated from his usual line of conduct, dimming the splendour of his long and brilliant career.... By the official returns it appears that the besieging army, at the termination of the siege, amounted to 16,000 men, viz. 5500 Continentals, 3500 militia, and 7000 French. The British force *in toto* is put down at 7107; of whom only 4017 rank and file are stated to have been fit for duty."

With this misfortune virtually ends the History of the American War,—certainly as far as the Royal Artillery's services are concerned. Another year, and more, was to pass ere even the preliminaries of the Treaty of Independence should be signed; and not until 1783 was Peace officially proclaimed: but a new Government came into power in England in the beginning of 1782, one of whose political cries was "Peace with the American Colonies!"; and Rodney's glorious victory over the French fleet on the 12th April in that year made the Americans eager to meet the advances of the parent country.

Sir Henry Clinton resigned in favour of Sir Guy Carleton, and Washington remained in Philadelphia. The companies of Artillery were detailed to proceed to Canada, Nova Scotia, the West Indies, and a proportion to England, on the evacuation of New York, which took place in 1783; the Treaty of Peace having been signed on the 3rd September in that year at Versailles. The same Treaty brought peace between England and her other enemies, France and Spain, who had availed themselves of her American troubles to avenge, as they hoped, former injuries.

As far as comfort and satisfaction can be obtained from the study of an unsuccessful war, they can be got by the Royal Artilleryman in tracing the services of his Corps during the great war in America. Bravery, zeal, and readiness to endure hardship, adorn even a defeated army; and these qualities were in a high, and even eminent degree, manifested by the Royal Artillery. In the blaze of triumph which is annually renewed in America on the anniversary of their Declaration of Independence, Americans do not, it is hoped, forget that, whether England's cause was just or not, her soldiers were as brave as themselves.

A few words may here be introduced with reference to such of the officers of the Regiment as were engaged in this war, and afterwards obtained high professional reputation. A summary of their services may be taken from the valuable Appendix to Kane's List. In addition to General Pattison, whose career has already been sketched, the following officers may be mentioned:—

1. Major-General THOMAS JAMES, an officer who held a command during the early part of the War of Independence; who wrote a valuable work on Gibraltar, entitled "The Herculean Straits;" and who died in 1780, as a Colonel-Commandant.
2. Lieut.-General S. CLEAVELAND, an officer who has already been mentioned as having commanded the Royal Artillery during the American War, prior to the arrival of General Pattison; who had previously served in the West Indies and at the capture of the Havannah; and who died in 1794, also in the rank of Colonel-Commandant.
3. Lieut.-General F. MACBEAN, an officer frequently mentioned in this volume, as having been present at Fontenoy, Rocour, Laffeldt, Minden, Warberg, Fritzlär, and in Portugal. He was appointed to the command of the Royal Artillery in Canada, in 1778; was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1786; and died in 1800, as Colonel-Commandant of the Invalid Battalion.
4. Major-General W. PHILLIPS has already been repeatedly noticed in this volume, and his death during the war already recorded.
5. General Sir A. FARRINGTON, Bart., served in America from 1764 to 1768, and from 1773 to 1783, having been engaged in most of the engagements during the war, up to the Capture of Philadelphia, after which he commanded the Artillery in Halifax, Nova Scotia. "He commanded the Royal Artillery at Plymouth in 1788-9, at Gibraltar in 1790-1, at Woolwich 1794-7 and in Holland in 1799. He was D.C.L. of Oxford, and in consideration of his long and valued services he was created a Baronet, on the 3rd October, 1818. He served in three reigns, for the long period of sixty-eight years, being at the time of his death the oldest officer in the British service, retaining the use of his faculties, and performing the functions of his office to the last."^[49]
6. Lieutenant-General THOMAS DAVIES is thus mentioned in Kane's List: "He saw much service in North America during the operations connected with the conquest of Canada. At one time (while a Lieutenant) he commanded a naval force on Lake Champlain, and took a French frigate of eighteen guns after a close

action of nearly three hours. Lieutenant Davies hoisted the first British flag in Montreal. He served as Captain of a Company in the most important actions of the American Revolutionary War. During his long service he had command of the Royal Artillery at Coxheath Camp; also at Gibraltar, in Canada, and at Plymouth. He was also two years Commandant of Quebec." This officer joined as a cadet in 1755, and died as a Colonel-Commandant in 1799.

7. General Sir THOMAS BLOMEFIELD will receive more detailed notice when the story of the Copenhagen expedition, in 1807, comes to be written in these pages. His services during the American War are thus summarised by Kane's List: "In 1776, Captain Blomefield proceeded to America as Brigade-Major to Brigadier Phillips. Among his services at this period was the construction of floating batteries upon the Canadian Lakes; and he was actively engaged with the army under General Burgoyne until the action which preceded the unfortunate convention of Saratoga, when he was severely wounded by a musket-shot in the head. In 1780 Captain Blomefield was appointed Inspector of Artillery, and of the Brass Foundry.... From this period (1783) dates the high character of British cast-iron and brass ordnance. Major-General Blomefield was selected, in 1807, to command the Artillery in the expedition to Copenhagen, and received for his services on this occasion the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and a baronetcy." He died as a Colonel-Commandant on 24th August, 1822.

8. Major-General ROBERT DOUGLAS has already been mentioned for his gallantry as a subaltern during the American War. In 1795 he was appointed Commandant of the Driver Corps, an office which he held until 1817. He died at Woolwich, in 1827, as a Colonel-Commandant of a Battalion.

9. Lieutenant-General Sir JOHN MACLEOD has already been mentioned in connection with the Battle of Guildford, and will receive more detailed notice in the next volume, his own history and that of his Regiment being indissolubly woven together. It may here be mentioned, however, that, "on his return from America, he was placed on the Staff of the Master-General; and from this time till his death he was employed in the important duties of the organization of the Regiment, and of the arrangement and equipment of the Artillery for all the expeditions (of which there were no fewer than eleven) during this period. He held successively the appointments of Chief of the Ordnance Staff, Deputy-Adjutant-General, and Director-General of Artillery. He commanded the Royal Artillery during the expedition to Walcheren in 1809. In 1820 George IV., desirous of marking his sense of his long and important services, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and invested him with the Grand Cross of the Royal Guelphic Order."³⁸⁰ The whole of his official letter-books, during the time he was Deputy-Adjutant-General of Artillery, are deposited in the Royal Artillery Record Office, and afford a priceless historical mine to the student. His letters are distinguished by rare ability and punctilious courtesy.

10. General Sir JOHN SMITH, who had been in Canada since 1773, was taken prisoner by the rebels, at St. John's, in November, 1775. In 1777 he was exchanged, served under Sir William Howe, and was present at Brandywine Creek, Germantown, the Siege of Charlestown, and at Yorktown. He commanded the Artillery under Sir Ralph Abercromby in the West Indies in 1795; accompanied the Duke of York to Holland in 1799; and served at Gibraltar from 1804 to 1814, being Governor of the place at the conclusion of his service. He died as Colonel-Commandant in July, 1817.

Lastly may be mentioned Lieut.-General Sir EDWARD HOWORTH, one of the officers taken prisoner at Saratoga. He commanded the Royal Artillery in later years at the battles of Talavera, Busaco, and Fuentes d'Onore. He died as Colonel-Commandant of a Battalion in 1821.

The reader will now enter upon a region of statistics, which, at the date of the publication of the present work, possess a peculiar interest.

Quickened as promotion had been by the extensive active service, and proportionate number of casualties in the Regiment, between 1775 and 1782, it was still unsatisfactory; and with a future of peace, it was certain to become more so. It was necessary to introduce some remedy, and, in doing so, the Board of Ordnance adopted wisely the principle pursued in later times by the late Secretary of State for War, Mr. Cardwell, and made an organic change in the proportions of the various ranks, instead of accelerating promotion in a temporary, spasmodic way, by encouraging unnecessary, impolitic, and costly retirements. Mr. Cardwell, in 1872, when shadowing forth his views on this subject to the House of Commons, was unconsciously maturing the scheme commenced by the Ordnance in 1782—commenced, but never completed—for the Temple of Janus was not long shut after 1783; and war postponed for many years the necessity of accelerating a promotion which had ceased to be stagnant. The dullness which followed 1815 was relieved periodically by augmentations to the Regiment in the form of other battalions; but the relief was only temporary, and a darker shadow than ever loomed on the Regimental horizon, when Mr. Cardwell took office. His remedy was complex; but included, in a marked manner, the idea, born in 1782, of reducing the number of officers in subordinate positions, and increasing the proportion of field officers.

By a Royal Warrant, dated 31st October, 1782, His Majesty was pleased on the recommendation of the Board of Ordnance to declare that "the present establishment of our Royal Regiment of Artillery is in respect to promotion extremely disadvantageous to the officers belonging thereto, and that the small number of field officers does not bear a due proportion to that of officers of inferior rank." With a view to "giving encouragement suitable to the utility of the said corps, and to the merits of the officers who compose it," His Majesty decided that on the 30th of the following month the existing establishment should cease, and another be substituted, of which the two prominent features were—as will be seen by the annexed tables—a very considerable increase in the number of field officers, and the reduction of one second lieutenant in each company. It was also decided that the second lieutenants remaining over and above the number fixed for the new establishment should be borne as supernumeraries until absorbed, and that stoppages should be made in the following manner to meet the expenses of their pay, viz.:

	£	s.	d.
From each of the two junior Second Colonels, 4s.	0	8	0
From each of the two junior Second Lieutenant-Colonels, 2s.	0	4	0
From each of the two junior Second Majors, 5s.	0	10	0
From each of the six junior Captains, 4s.	1	4	0
From each of the six junior Captain-Lieutenants, 1s. 4d.	0	8	0
From each of the six junior First Lieutenants, 8d.	0	4	0
	£2	18	0

The annual total of this stoppage—amounting to 1058*l.* 10*s.*—was in the first instance applied to the payment of the supernumerary second lieutenants, and any surplus that might remain was ordered to be divided annually on the 31st December (in proportion to their pay) among the several officers who were at the time contributing towards it; and it was directed that as soon as the number of second lieutenants should be reduced to one per company, the stoppages should cease to be made.

The effect of the alteration in the proportion of officers in the various ranks is very distinctly shown by Colonel Miller in his pamphlet. Previous to the change, the proportion of company to field officers had been as 21 to 1; now it became as 8½ to 1.

The following tables show (1) the establishment and cost of the Regiment in 1782 prior to the introduction of the new system; and (2) the proposed establishment, which came into force on the 30th November, 1782. The number of company officers—five per company—then fixed, remains, to this day, unchanged in the Horse and Field Artillery; but a subaltern per company or battery in the Garrison Artillery was reduced by the late Secretary of State for War, thus further improving the proportions of the field and company officers:—

1782.—PRESENT ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY.

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.

	Pay per diem.			Pay per annum.			
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
The Master-General of the Ordnance. Colonel.							
The Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.							
Lieutenant-Colonel.							
4 Colonels-Commandant	44 <i>s.</i> each.	8	16	0	3212	0	0
4 Lieutenant-Colonels	20 <i>s.</i> each.	4	0	0	1460	0	0
4 Majors	15 <i>s.</i> each.	3	0	0	1095	0	0
4 Adjutants	5 <i>s.</i> each.	1	0	0	365	0	0
1 Surgeon-General		0	8	0	146	0	0
4 Surgeons' Mates	3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each.	0	14	0	255	10	0
4 Quartermasters	6 <i>s.</i> each.	1	4	0	438	0	0
1 Bridge-master		0	5	0	91	5	0
4 Chaplains	6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> each.	1	6	8	486	13	4
1 Apothecary-General		0	0	0	0	0	0

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MASTER-GENERAL'S COMPANY OF GENTLEMEN CADETS.

1 Captain		1	6	0	474	10	0
1 Captain-Lieutenant		0	6	0	109	10	0
1 First Lieutenant		0	5	0	91	5	0
2 Second Lieutenants	4 <i>s.</i> each.	0	8	0	146	0	0
60 Gentlemen Cadets	2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> each.	7	10	0	2737	10	0
1 Drum-Major		0	1	4	24	6	8
1 Fife-Major		0	1	4	24	6	8

67 —

COMPANY OF ARTILLERY.

1 Captain		0	10	0	182	10	0
1 Captain-Lieutenant		0	6	0	109	10	0
2 First Lieutenants	5 <i>s.</i> each.	0	10	0	182	10	0
2 Second Lieutenant	4 <i>s.</i> each.	0	8	0	146	0	0
4 Sergeants	2 <i>s.</i> each.	0	8	0	146	0	0
4 Corporals	1 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> each.	0	7	4	133	16	0

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9	Bombardiers	1s. 8d. each.	0	15	0	273	15	0
18	Gunners	1s. 4d. each.	1	4	0	438	0	0
73	Matrosses	1s. each.	3	13	0	1332	5	0
2	Drummers	1s. each.	0	2	0	36	10	0
116	---							
1044	Nine Companies more the same		73	10	0	26827	10	0
For service in Jamaica.								
116	One Company more the same		8	3	4	2980	16	8
SECOND BATTALION.								
1160	Ten Companies of Artillery the same as the 1st		81	13	4	29808	6	8
THIRD BATTALION.								
1160	Ten Companies of Artillery as above		81	13	4	29808	6	8
FOURTH BATTALION.								
1160	Ten Companies of Artillery as above		81	13	4	29808	6	8
A FIFTH BATTALION OF INVALIDS.								
FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.								
1	Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant		1	0	0	365	0	0
1	Major		0	15	0	273	15	0
1	Adjutant		0	5	0	91	5	0
3	---							
COMPANY OF INVALIDS.								
1	Captain		0	10	0	182	10	0
1	First Lieutenant		0	5	0	91	5	0
1	Second Lieutenant		0	4	0	73	0	0
1	Sergeant		0	2	0	36	10	0
1	Corporal		0	1	10	33	9	2
1	Drummer		0	1	0	18	5	0
3	Bombardiers	1s. 8d. each.	0	5	0	91	5	0
6	Gunners	1s. 4d. each.	0	8	0	146	0	0
36	Matrosses	1s. each.	1	16	0	657	0	0
51	---							
459	Nine Companies more the same		32	15	6	11962	17	6

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1782—PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT
OF ARTILLERY.

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			FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.			Pay per diem.			Pay per annum.		
			£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Master-General of the Ordnance. Colonel.											
Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance.											
Colonel, second.											
4	Colonel-Commandants	44s. each.	8	16	0	3,212	0	0			
4	Second Colonels	24s. each.	4	16	0	1,752	0	0			
4	Lieutenant-Colonels	20s. each.	4	0	0	1,460	0	0			
4	Second Lieutenant-Colonels	17s. each.	3	8	0	1,241	0	0			
4	Majors	15s. each.	3	0	0	1,095	0	0			
4	Second Majors	15s. each.	3	0	0	1,095	0	0			
4	Adjutants	5s. each.	1	0	0	365	0	0			
1	Surgeon-General		0	8	0	146	0	0			
4	Surgeon's Mates	3s. 6d. each.	0	14	0	255	10	0			
4	Quartermasters	6s. each.	1	4	0	438	0	0			
1	Brigade-Major		0	5	0	91	5	0			
4	Chaplains	6s. 8d. each.	1	6	8	486	13	4			
42	---										

MASTER-GENERAL'S COMPANY OF GENTLEMEN CADETS.

1	Captain		1	6	0	474	10	0
1	Captain-Lieutenant		0	6	0	109	10	0
1	First Lieutenant		0	5	0	91	5	0
2	Second Lieutenants	4s. each.	0	8	0	146	0	0
60	Gentlemen Cadets	2s. 6d. each.	7	10	0	2,737	10	0
1	Drum-Major		0	1	4	24	6	8
1	Fife-Major		0	1	4	24	6	8
67	---							

COMPANY OF ARTILLERY.

1	Captain		0	10	0	182	10	0
1	Captain-Lieutenant		0	6	0	109	10	0
2	First Lieutenants	5s. each.	0	10	0	182	10	0
1	Second Lieutenant		0	4	0	73	0	0
4	Sergeants	2s. each.	0	8	0	146	0	0
4	Corporals	1s. 10d. each.	0	7	4	133	6	8
9	Bombardiers	1s. 8d. each.	0	15	0	273	15	0
18	Gunners	1s. 4d. each.	1	4	0	438	0	0
73	Matrosses	1s. each.	3	13	0	1,332	5	0
2	Drummers	1s. each.	0	2	0	36	10	0
115	---							
1035	Nine Companies more the same		71	14	0	26,170	10	0

1259

For service in Jamaica.

115	One Company more the same		7	19	6	2,907	16	8
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SECOND BATTALION.

1150	Ten Companies of Artillery the same as the 1st		79	13	4	29,078	6	8
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THIRD BATTALION.

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1150	Ten Companies of Artillery as above	79	13	4	29,078	6	8
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FOURTH BATTALION.

1150	Ten Companies of Artillery as above	73	13	4	29,078	6	8
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FIFTH BATTALION—INVALIDS.

FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.

1	Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant	1	0	0	365	0	0
1	Major	0	15	0	273	15	0
1	Adjutant	0	5	0	91	5	0

3 —

COMPANY OF INVALIDS.

1	Captain	0	10	0	182	10	0
1	First Lieutenant	0	5	0	91	5	0
1	Second Lieutenant	0	4	0	73	0	0
1	Sergeant	0	2	0	36	10	0
1	Corporal	0	1	10	33	9	2
1	Drummer	0	1	0	18	5	0
3	Bombardiers	1 s. 8d. each.	0	5	0	91	15
6	Gunners	1 s. 4d. each.	0	8	0	146	0
36	Matrosses	1 s. each.	1	16	0	657	0

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459	Nine Companies more the same	32	15	6	11,962	17	6
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5337		£406	16	4	148,488	1	8
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Proposed Establishment	£148,488	1	8
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Present Establishment	147,393	1	8
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Increase	£ 1,095	0	0
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With the Peace of 1783 came a reduction in the Regiment from 5337 of all ranks to 3302, with a saving to the country of the difference between 148,488*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*, the cost of the old establishment, and 110,570*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, the cost of the new. But the reduction and the saving were not effected at once. Every allowance was made for existing claims and interests; and for the first year after the Peace of Versailles, a charge was allowed of 129,373*l.* 11*s.* Two schemes were submitted by the Board for carrying out the required reductions: one left the number of non-commissioned officers untouched; the other reduced it by one-half and spared the privates, who now were to receive the title of gunner universally, that of matross being abolished. The first scheme was approved, but only as a temporary measure, and many of the details were left optional to the captains of companies. In the words of the Royal warrant, "If in any company the commanding officer and captain should choose to keep all the four sergeants, the four corporals, the nine bombardiers, and the eighteen gunners, he will of course have but twenty-two matrosses to retain, and must discharge the remainder, as each company is to consist only of sixty men, whether non-commissioned officers or privates (including three contingent men), besides the two drummers, so that a company wishing to preserve its present sergeants, corporals, bombardiers, and gunners, will be composed of as follows, viz.:-"

Sergeants.	4
Corporals.	4
Bombardiers.	9
Gunners.	18
Matrosses.	22
Contingent men.	3
Drummers.	2
Total.	62

"But a company choosing to discharge any of their present sergeants, corporals, bombardiers, or gunners, will have so many more matrosses to keep, and all future vacancies of sergeants, corporals, bombardiers, or gunners will be supplied by matrosses only, until the establishment is brought to

Sergeants.	2
Corporals.	2
Bombardiers.	3
Matrosses to be called Gunners.	50
Contingent men.	3
Drummers.	2
Total.	62

"It is further intended that fifteen men of each company should be artificers in the following proportion, viz.:-"

Carpenters.	4
Smiths.	5
Collar-maker.	1
Wheelers.	4
Tailor.	1
Total.	15

"The captains are therefore to endeavour to preserve in each company as many men of those trades as will make up the number required; and should there be in any of the companies more of one trade than the complement, they will be set down as men to be transferred to some other company that may be in want of them. These fifteen artificers, with ten labourers from each company, are to be employed as such at Woolwich, and at the different outposts or garrisons where they may be stationed, and will receive the following extra pay, viz.:-"

Smiths.	One at 2 <i>s.</i> per diem. Two at 1 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> per diem. Two at 1 <i>s.</i> per diem.
Wheelers.	One at 2 <i>s.</i> per diem. Two at 1 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> per diem. One at 1 <i>s.</i> per diem.
Carpenters.	One at 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per diem. Two at 1 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> per diem. One at 1 <i>s.</i> per diem.
Collar-maker.	One at 1 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> per diem.
Tailor.	One at 1 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> per diem.

and the labourers at 9*d.*, for so many days as they work, which will be four in each week, the other two days being reserved for their being trained as Artillerymen. The other twenty-five men per company are to do all the duty of the Regiment.

"Such men as are entitled to go to the Invalids are to receive the pension, and whom the officers may wish to have discharged will, of course, receive that provision.

"If any of the sergeants, corporals, bombardiers, or gunners, who from their services are not entitled to the Invalids or pension, should wish to be discharged, and can take care of themselves, they should be parted with in preference to matrosses, as the difference of their pay will be a saving to Government, and the establishment will approach so much the nearer to what it is intended to be. It is not, however, meant that men under this description, whom the officers may wish to keep should be discharged, but only such as they can spare without prejudice to their companies...."

(Signed) "RICHMOND."

All honour to the Duke of Richmond! No Master-General ever penned a more considerate and kindly Warrant, and none ever more fully realized the speciality of the Artillery service. "Without prejudice to their companies:" here is the true Artillery unit officially recognized. No word of battalions: these were mere paper organizations, devoid of all tactical meaning. History in the end always preaches truth; and at the close of a seven years' season of very earnest war, the uppermost thought in the mind of his Grace—the Colonel *ex officio* of the Royal Artillery—was the welfare of *the companies*.

The pruning-knife had to be used, for the taxpayers of England were yet staggering and reeling under the burden of wide-spread and continuous hostilities; but it was to be used with all tenderness for the susceptibilities of the true Artillery unit, and of the captains through whom the needs of that unit found expression.

The reductions having been decided upon, the following was the first distribution of the Regiment after the Peace of Versailles:—

FIRST BATTALION.—Six companies were ordered to Gibraltar to relieve the five belonging to the Second Battalion, which had been stationed there during the Siege. Four companies went to the West Indies, and one was reduced.

SECOND BATTALION.—The whole ten companies of this battalion were ordered to Woolwich.

THIRD BATTALION.—The companies were directed to be stationed as follows: five at Woolwich; one at the Tower; two at Portsmouth; one at Plymouth; and one at Chatham.

FOURTH BATTALION.—Three companies of this battalion were stationed in Jamaica, four in Canada, two at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and one in Newfoundland.

Besides various small detachments in Great Britain, the Invalid Battalion had to find the Artillery part of the garrisons of Jersey, Guernsey, Newcastle, and Scotland. It will be observed that Ireland is not mentioned, that country being garrisoned by the Royal Irish Artillery, which still enjoyed a separate existence.

On a November night in 1783, a large gathering of Artillery officers took place at the 'Bull' Inn, on Shooter's Hill, to welcome Colonel Williams and the officers who had served during the Great Siege of Gibraltar, on their return to England. Among those present were officers who had served in the Regiment during the Seven Years' War, in the American War of Independence, in the East and West Indies, and in Minorca, besides those guests whose deeds had attracted such universal admiration. This convivial meeting seems a fit standpoint from which to look back on the years of the Regiment's life and growth between 1716 and 1783. From the two companies with which it commenced, it had now attained forty *service*, and ten *invalid* companies; and instead of pleading—as was done in its infancy—inability to find men for the foreign establishments, it was able now to furnish Artillery for Canada, Gibraltar, and the West Indies, to the extent of twenty companies, besides finding drafts for the service of the East India Company, one of which had left only a few nights before this gathering to welcome the Gibraltar heroes.

Already the motto—not to be given until 1832—had been earned; already *Ubique* represented the services of the corps; already *Quo fas et gloria ducunt* represented the aspirations of its members.

Much jealousy had been displayed by the other arms of the service; but it merely served to consolidate the scattered Regiment, and to awaken as decided a Regimental *esprit*, as existed in smaller and less distributed corps. The decisions on points of difference had almost invariably been in favour of the Royal Artillery: in 1756 the Artillery were directed to take the right of other troops on parade; and every argument as to the status of the officers was answered in their favour up to 1751, when all doubt on the subject was removed, and all discussion ceased, by the King instead of the Master-General signing their commissions.

On every occasion when the services of the corps were required, the zeal and ability of officers and men were readily acknowledged; and their conscientiousness in duty was as conspicuous as their knowledge of their profession. And with this sense of duty and professional skill, came that loveable feeling so well described in the words quoted in the introductory chapter of this volume. "It has ever been our pride, as a corps, to be regarded as one family; and if one member of it, in any remote part of the world, in any way distinguished himself, it was felt universally that he had reflected credit and honour on the whole corps." In this gathering among the woods on Shooter's Hill, on that November night, this Regimental feeling found expression.^[51]

Many of the readers of this volume are doubtless familiar with the beautiful interior of the new Garrison Church at Woolwich, the Walhalla of the Royal Artillery. Over the communion table, memorial windows have been placed by the officers of the Regiment, "To the glory of God, and in commemoration of the services of their Corps during the great wars with France and Russia." As autumn deepens into winter, and the twilight comes down during the evening service, many must have noticed how with the dying light all the figures in the painted windows sink away in shadow and darkness, with the exception of the centre figure, whose pale form—ghastly pale as Rubens' Dead Christ in Antwerp Cathedral—seems to start out from the darkness, and become more distinct as the others fade away.

Is the simile far-fetched—it certainly is not irreverent—to say that, as out of the gathering chancel-gloom He, the great emblem of affection and duty, seems to come and linger among his worshippers, so out of the twilight of the receding years there seems to stand amid all the dimness and uncertainty of details—the confusion of figures—the forgetfulness of even great facts, a grand eloquent figure of Duty, learnt in stern warfare, impressed in no idle peace, and loved in exact proportion as the heart became inspired by increasing *esprit*, and enlarged by unselfish pride?

Duty needs not love, nor encouragement, to make it noble; but a warm blush comes into the marble cheek, and a quickened pulse to the strong heart, when affection and duty go hand in hand, and the two great lessons of the God-man—love and obedience—blend unconsciously into one.

During the sixty-seven years of the Regiment's existence, at the date when this chapter concludes, this blending had gradually and surely been effected; the fierce and selfish spirit of the pre-regimental trains had disappeared, and an unselfish ambition had taken its place.

Who shall say that in the sympathy of numbers there is not a power incalculable? And who can say that in its highest sense this sympathy can be attained without either a common object, a common charge, or a common danger? If the Regimental system failed in all else in military life, it succeeds in answering these three requisites. A common object—the attainment of a glory which can be common and yet personal; a common charge—the great legacy of former glory, which a man would be a craven if he let the breath of scorn approach; and a common danger, which on service shall knit every man to his neighbour, and in after times shall bind them together again by sympathies and memory.

At times, indeed, the gloom may be great; the twilight may deepen with unnatural and unexpected rapidity; but even among beaten, and dying, and darkening figures, *one* must ever stand out in a Corps which has learnt true discipline—a figure which twilight cannot shroud, and which even disaster itself at times may illumine, which not even monotonous routine, nor seemingly valueless tasks can dim—the eternal and divine figure of Duty.

38. Canon Kingsley, at the R.A. Institution, on October 3rd, 1871.

39. MS. Correspondence of General Pattison, R.A.

40. Official MS. Correspondence, Commandant's Office, New York.

41. MSS. in R. A. Regimental Library.

42. Cust.

43. Lee.

44. Lee.

45. MSS. in R. A. Library.

46. Browne, now Bandmaster of the Royal Horse Artillery.

47. Cust.

48. Lee.

49. Kane's List.

50. Kane's List.

51. It may be interesting to state here that on the 5th October, 1783, the first Committee was chosen to establish a regular Regimental Mess in the new barracks on the Common. The entrance subscription was fixed at 1*l.* 1*s.* Hitherto the officers had messed in two public-houses in Woolwich, known jocularly as the "Bastion," and "Redan." The new mess-room—afterwards a chapel—was where the Recreation Rooms now are.

CHAPTER XXX.
HISTORY, SUCCESSION OF CAPTAINS, AND PRESENT DESIGNATION
OF THE TROOPS AND COMPANIES BELONGING TO THE ROYAL
HORSE ARTILLERY, THE FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH BATTALIONS.

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ALTHOUGH the Royal Horse Artillery, and the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Battalions were formed subsequently to the Peace of 1783, it has been considered desirable to insert a summary of the services of the troops and companies in this volume, without prejudice to a more detailed statement which will be given in the succeeding volume, when their formation will be notified in due chronological order. The Seventh Battalion brings the reader to the commencement of the present century, later than which time it has not been deemed necessary, in this volume, to go.

Commencing with the Royal Horse Artillery, it may be mentioned, shortly, that it was formed on the 1st January, 1793, and at first consisted of two Troops, A and B. On the 1st November in the same year C and D Troops were added, followed, on the 1st November, 1794, by E and F Troops. In September 1801, G Troop was formed, in Ireland, out of some detachments serving in that country; and in June, 1804, H Troop was raised at Woolwich. On 1st February, 1805, I Troop was formed at Colchester, and K Troop at Ballinasloe; L Troop at Woolwich in July of the same year, and M Troop also in 1805, although there is a little uncertainty as to the month. There were also two Rocket Troops, but there is considerable difficulty in tracing their exact history. According to the records of the Royal Horse Artillery, the Second Rocket Troop was formed before the First; but in this particular, as in another presently to be mentioned, these records are inaccurate. The following would appear to be the true statement of the case. In June 1813, some Rocket detachments, under Captain R. Bogue, were ordered to Germany, and were present at the Battle of Leipsic. In 1814 a Rocket Troop was formed at Woolwich, under the command of Captain W. G. Elliot; and *on the same day* Captain E. C. Whinyates was appointed to the command of the Second Rocket Troop *vice* Bogue, *killed at Leipsic*. Now, the Battle of Leipsic was fought in October—1813, and Captain Whinyates' appointment was dated the 2nd March 1814. It would appear, therefore, that the two Rocket Troops were formed *together*, out of *existing detachments*, and that the one formed at Woolwich was named the First, while that formed out of the detachments on the Continent was called the Second. Although the detachments present at Leipsic became the Second Rocket Troop, they were present at that battle not as a troop, but as detachments; and as the troop was reduced on 31st July 1816, their Leipsic services, by some mistake, were afterwards credited to the First Rocket Troop, which would actually appear to have received permission to wear "Leipsic" on its appointments in commemoration of the services, not of itself, but of the defunct troop.

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In 1847 rocket carriages were given to all the troops, and the remaining Rocket Troop became I Troop of the Royal Horse Artillery.

In addition to the Second Rocket Troop, D Troop also was reduced in 1816; and, in spite of strong remonstrances,—among others, from the late Sir Robert Gardiner, then Captain of E Troop,—the titles of all the troops below D were changed, E, F, G, H, and I becoming respectively D, E, F, G, and H. The injury and inconvenience caused by this alteration of nomenclature have proved very great. K, L and M Troops were reduced at the same time, but being the juniors, their reduction did not affect the lettering of the others.

In January, 1819, B and G Troops were reduced; but on this occasion no alteration was made in the designations of the other troops. B Troop was reformed on the 1st 1855, as a reserve half-troop, under a Second Captain, and was augmented to a full troop in the following year. G Troop was reformed at Woolwich on the 1st December, 1857, and also K Troop on the same day.

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On the 1st July, 1859, with the introduction of the Brigade System, came an alteration in the titles of the troops, which were now designated as Batteries of the Horse Brigade. In 1862, on account of the amalgamation with the East India Company's Artillery, the old Royal Horse Artillery became the First Horse Brigade of the Royal Artillery; and in 1864, to enable the Indian reliefs to be carried on without sending the whole of the old Horse Artillery abroad at one time, the First Horse Brigade was divided into A and B Brigades of the Royal Horse Artillery.

At the date of this work (1872) the following list shows the present designations of the old troops, as they stood in 1859:—

A Troop is now called	A Battery A Brigade
B Troop is now called	B Battery A Brigade
C Troop is now called	C Battery A Brigade
D Troop is now called	A Battery B Brigade
E Troop is now called	B Battery B Brigade
F Troop is now called	C Battery B Brigade
G Troop is now called	D Battery A Brigade
H Troop is now called	D Battery B Brigade
I Troop is now called	E Battery B Brigade
K Troop is now called	E Battery A Brigade

The military operations in which these batteries have been severally engaged, and their succession of Captains, will now be given. The more detailed history given of A Troop—"The Chestnut Troop"—is attributable to the labour taken by its Captain, the late Sir Hew Ross, who completed the records of its active service with his own hand.

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**A TROOP, R.H.A.,
Now "A" BATTERY, A BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1798	The affairs of Ross, Wexford, and Vinegar Hill, June.
1799	Egmont-op-Zee on 19th September.
1799	Near Alkmaar on 6th October.
1809	Retreat from Talavera on 3rd August.
1810	Action in front of Almeida in the Duas Casas on 20th July.
1810	Action on the Coa on 24th July.
1810	Battle of Busaco on 27th September.
1811	Action at Pombal on 11th March.
1811	Action on the Plain in front of Redinha on 12th March.
1811	Action in front of Casal Nova on 13th March.
1811	Action at Foz d'Arouce on the Ceira on 15th March.
1811	Action at Sabugal on the Coa on 3rd April.
1811	Battle of Fuentes d'Onore on 5th May.
1811	Action in front of Mortagoa on the right bank of the Agueda on 10th July.
1812	Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, January.
1812	Siege of Badajoz, April.
1812	Affair in front of Salamanca on 16th June.
1812	Action at Castrejou on the Guavena on 18th July.
1812	Battle of Salamanca on 21st July.
1812	Action on the Huebra on 15th November.
1813	Affair in front of Salamanca in the advance on Vittoria on 22nd May.
1813	Affair near Burgos in the advance on Vittoria on 12th June.
1813	Affair at St. Millan and Osmo on 18th June.
1813	Battle of Vittoria on 21st June.
1813	Daily affairs with the French between 22nd and 27th June.
1813	Action before Pampeluna at daybreak when the French lost the only two guns they brought from Vittoria, on 25th June.
1813	Actions in the Pyrenees on 26th, 27th and 28th July.
1813	Heights of San Marcial near Yrun on 31st August.
1813	Attack on La Rhune Mountain and its chain of heights in the Pyrenees on 10th November.
1813	Passage of the Nivelle on 10th November.
1813	Passage of the Nive on 9th December.
1813	Battle of St. Pierre de Grube, near Bayonne.
1814	Passage of the Gave d'Oléron.
1814	Battle of Orthes on 27th February.
1814	Action in front of La Reole on the right of the Gavonne on 14th March.
1814	Affairs in front of La Reole, almost daily, between 14th March and 14th April. ^[52]
1815	Battle of Waterloo, June 17th and 18th, and capture of Paris.
1855	Siege of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1793	Captain R. Lawson.
1794	Captain T. Judgson.
1801	Captain G. A. Wood.
1806	Captain H. D. Ross.
1825	Captain W. Cator.
1837	Captain M. Louis.
1837	Captain W. Dunn.
1841	Captain W. Bell.
1842	Captain T. G. Higgins.
1846	Captain H. G. Teesdale.
1852	Captain A. J. Taylor.
1854	Captain A. T. Phillipotts.
1855	Captain C. S. Henry.
1857	Captain F. B. Ward.
1858	Captain G. le M. Tupper.

**B TROOP, R.H.A.,
Now "B" BATTERY, A BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1798	Affairs of Ross, Wexford, and Vinegar Hill.
1808	Affair of Sahagun.
1809	Affair of Benavente.
1809	Battle of Corunna.
1855	Siege of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1793	Captain J. Macleod.
1795	Captain W. H. Horndon.
1800	Captain B. Bloomfield.
1806	Captain T. Downman.
1810	Captain N. W. Oliver.
1819	<i>Reduced 28th February.</i>
1855	<i>Reformed 1st May.</i>
1855	2nd Captain, W. B. Saunders.
1856	Captain G. V. Johnson.
1859	Captain L. G. Paget.

**C TROOP, R.H.A.,
Now "C" BATTERY, A BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1798	Affairs of Ross, Wexford, and Vinegar Hill.
1808	Affair of Sahagun.
1809	Affair of Benavente.
1809	Battle of Corunna.
1854	Affair on the height of Bulganak and battle of the Alma.
1854	Battle of Balaclava.
1854	Battle of Inkerman.
1855	Affair of Eupatoria on 23rd and 27th October. (Specially thanked by Officer commanding French cavalry.)
1855	Siege of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1793	Captain E. Howorth.
1799	Captain E. Trelawney.
1801	Captain G. A. Wood.
1801	Captain F. Griffiths.
1806	Captain H. Evelegh.
1811	Captain E. Wilmot.
1819	Captain J. May.
1825	Captain J. Chester.
1831	Captain C. Blachley.
1833	Captain T. Dyneley.
1835	Captain E. T. Michell.
1838	Captain H. Blachley.
1841	Captain W. B. Ingilby.
1847	Captain E. C. Warde.
1854	Captain G. C. R. Levinge.
1854	Captain H. J. Thomas.
1856	Captain H. F. Strange.

D TROOP, R.H.A.,
Reduced 31st July, 1816.

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1810	Battle of Busaco.
1811	Affair at Almeida.
1811	Battle of Albuera.
1811	Affair at Usagre.
1811	Affair at Aldea de Ponte.
1812	Affair at San Munoz.
1812	Action of Ribera.
1812	Ford of the Yeltes.
1813	Battle of Vittoria.
1813	Battle of the Pyrenees.
1814	Battle of Orthes.
1814	Battle of Toulouse.
1815	Battle of Waterloo.
1815	Capture of Paris.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1793	Captain J. M. Hadden.
1800	Captain G. W. Dixon.
1804	Captain T. Downman.
1806	Captain G. Lefebure.
1813	Captain G. Beane.
1815	Captain A. C. Mercer.

**E TROOP, R.H.A.,
Became D on that Troop being reduced in 1816,
Now "A" BATTERY, B BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1812	Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.
1812	Siege of Forts of Salamanca.
1812	Action on Heights of St. Christoval.
1812	Battle of Salamanca.
1813	Affair of Morales de Toro.
1813	Battle of Vittoria.
1813	Battle of the Pyrenees.
1814	Battle of Orthes.
1814	Battle of Toulouse.
1815	Battle of Waterloo.
1815	Capture of Paris.
1858	Indian Mutiny, including affair at Waskully.
1858	Action at Terapoor.
1859	Action at Burode.
1859	Affair of Beora.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1794	Captain W. Cuppage.
1796	Captain G. Scott.
1803	Captain G. B. Fisher.
1806	Captain R. Macdonald.
1813	Captain R. W. Gardiner.
1816	Captain R. Macdonald.
1823	Captain R. Jones.
1825	Captain T. Dyneley.
1833	Captain C. Blachley.
1840	Captain H. Pester.
1846	Captain J. E. Dupuis.
1853	Captain Hon. R. C. H. Spencer.
1855	Captain J. J. Brandling.
1855	Captain H. L. Gardiner.
1858	Captain L. G. Paget.
1859	Captain G. V. Johnson.

**F TROOP, R.H.A. (afterwards E),
Now "B" BATTERY, B BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1813	Battle of Vittoria.
1813	Siege of St. Sebastian.
1813	Passage of the Bidasoa.
1813	Passage of the Nive.
1814	Affair at Bayonne.
1815	Battle of Waterloo.
1815	Capture of Paris.
1858	Indian Mutiny, including affair at Secundra Gunge.
1858	Affair at Futteypore Chersey.
1858	Siege of Lucknow.
1858	Affair at Arrah.
1858	Jugdeespore.
1858	Rampore Kussea.
1858	Sundry affairs in Oudh against the rebels.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1794	Captain J. Butler.
1801	Captain E. Trelawney.
1802	Captain G. Cookson.
1803	Captain A. Duncan.
1809	Captain J. W. Smith.
1825	Captain G. Turner.
1828	Captain T. A. Brandreth.
1828	Captain G. Cobbe.
1834	Captain W. Saunders.
1839	Captain P. Sandilands.
1842	Captain J. Bloomfield.
1848	Captain D. E. Wood.
1854	Captain E. Price.
1855	Captain J. R. Anderson.
1858	Captain W. A. Middleton.

**G TROOP, R.H.A. (became F in 1816),
Now "C" BATTERY, B BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1807	Battles of Village of Reduccion, and Buenos Ayres.
1815	Battle of Waterloo.
1815	Capture of Paris.
1858	Action of Secundra, East Indies.
1858	Siege of Lucknow.
1858	Affairs (various) against rebels in Oudh.
1858	Sultanpore.
1858	Fyzabad.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1801	Captain G. B. Fisher.
1802	Captain W. Borthwick.
1803	Captain A. S. Frazer.
1815	Captain A. Dickson.
1823	Captain A. Munro.
1825	Captain E. Y. Walcott.
1837	Captain W. Dunn.
1837	Captain M. Louis.
1842	Captain A. Macbean.
1848	Captain W. R. Gilbert.
1855	Captain C. C. Young.
1855	Captain C. L. D'Aguilar.
1858	Captain Hon. D. McD. Fraser.

**H TROOP, R.H.A. (became G),
Now "D" BATTERY, A BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1809	Siege of Flushing.
1815	Battle of Waterloo.
1815	Capture of Paris.

N.B.—Captain W. Norman Ramsay, who commanded this Troop at Waterloo, was killed there in action.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1804	Captain A. Macdonald.
1815	Captain Wm. Norman Ramsay.
1815	Captain J. May.
1819	<i>Reduced 31st January.</i>
1857	<i>Reformed 1st December.</i>
1857	Captain H. P. Newton.

**I TROOP, R.H.A. (became H in 1816),
Now "D" BATTERY, B BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1810	Affair of Maacal de Chao.
1810	Affairs of Granga and Cerejos.
1810	Affair of Bassacona.
1810	Action of Celerico.
1810	Affairs of Moita and Mortiago.
1810	Battle of Busaco.
1810	Actions of Plain and Ford of Mondego.
1810	Action at Leyria.
1810	Action at Rio Mandarillo.
1810	Action at Alcoentre.
1810	Action at Quinta de Formes.
1810	Affair at Canigada.
1811	Action at Pombal.
1811	Action at Redinha.
1811	Action at Cayal Nova.
1811	Action at Foz d'Arouce.
1811	Action at Miranda de Corvo.
1811	Affair of Maceira.
1811	Affair of Sampayo.
1811	Affair of Bassacova.
1811	Affair of Celerica.
1811	Affair of Pega.
1811	Action of Sabugal. Drove the rear-guard of the French across the frontier.
1811	Affair at Almeida.
1811	Battle of Fuentes d'Onor.
1811	Affair of Nave d'Avere.
1811	Affair of Fuentes de Guinaldo.
1811	Action of Aldea Ponte.
1812	Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.
1812	Affairs of Llerena.
1812	Siege of Badajoz.
1812	Affairs at the front of Salamanca and at the Tormes.
1812	Affairs at Villares de la Reina.
1812	Affair on the Heights of St. Christoval.
1812	Siege of the Forts of Salamanca.
1812	Affairs of Rueda and Villa Nova.
1812	Action of Castrejou.
1812	Action above Carnizal.
1812	Affair of Castellanas.
1812	Battle of Salamanca.
1812	Affair at Aldea Mayor.
1812	Action at Tudella.
1812	Affairs at Duennas, Torquemada, and Villaverde.
1812	Siege of Burgos.
1812	Affairs of San Munoz and Osma.
1813	Battle of Vittoria.
1813	Siege of St. Sebastian.
1813	Capture of St. Sebastian.
1813	Action at passage of Bidassoa.
1813	Battle of Nivelles and passage of the Nive.
1813	Affair at front of Bayonne.
1813	Passage of the Adour.
1814	Investment of Bayonne.
1815	Battle of Waterloo, 16th, 17th and 18th June.

N.B.—This Troop received in Cavalry Division Orders, October 6th, 1810, the best thanks of Lieutenant-General Sir Stapleton Cotton, for the zeal and activity displayed on the 5th October, 1810, and at all times during the retreat from the frontier. In the Duke of Wellington's Despatches of the 16th March and 2nd April, 1811, its good services were acknowledged at Pombal, Redinha, and Sabugal. In the Duke of Wellington's Despatches of the 7th April, 1811, to the Minister of War at Lisbon, its services at Pega were mentioned, and crossing the frontier on the retreat of the French at Val de Mula.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1805	Captain W. Millar.
1805	Captain R. Bull.
1823	Captain E. C. Whinyates.
1830	Captain Hon. W. Arbuthnot.
1841	Captain F. Warde.
1847	Captain E. F. Grant.
1854	Captain P. H. Mundy.
1855	Captain J. Turner.

**K TROOP, R.H.A.,
Now "E" BATTERY, A BRIGADE.**

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1805	Captain C. Godfrey.
1808	Captain F. Walker.
1814	Captain Wm. Norman Ramsay.
1815	Captain G. Jenkinson.
1816	<i>Reduced 31st July.</i>
1857	<i>Reformed 1st December.</i>
1857	Captain C. G. Arbuthnot.

L TROOP, R.H.A.,
Reduced 31st July, 1816.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1805	Captain N. Foy.
1813	Captain R. Macdonald. ^[53]
1816	<i>Reduced 31st July.</i>

**M TROOP, R.H.A.,
Reduced in 1816.**

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1805

Captain Hon. W. H. Gardner.

**1st ROCKET TROOP (afterwards I TROOP),
Now "E" BATTERY, B BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1854	Affair at the Heights of Bulganak.
1854	Battle of Alma.
1854	Affair at Mackenzie's Farm.
1854	Battle of Balaclava.
1854	Battle of Inkerman.
1855	Siege of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1814	Captain W. G. Elliott.
1828	Captain C. C. Dansey.
1837	Captain T. F. Strangways.
1846	Captain N. T. Lake.
1852	Captain G. A. Maude.
1855	Captain J. J. Brandling.

**2nd ROCKET TROOP,
Reduced 31st July, 1816.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1813	Battle of Gorde, ^[54]
1813	Battle of Leipsic.
1815	Battle of Waterloo.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1813	Captain R. Bogue, ^[55]
1814	Captain E. C. Whinyates.

FIFTH BATTALION.

On the 14th August, 1794, an augmentation of five companies to the Royal Artillery was sanctioned, to be called, after organization, the Fifth Battalion. The companies were formed,—two at Plymouth and three at Woolwich,—by transfers from other battalions. Major-General Duncan Drummond was appointed Colonel *en seconde*; the first Lieutenant-Colonel was Edward Williams; and the Major, Robert Douglas. Captains Rogers and Miller commanded the companies formed at Plymouth, and Captains Hutton, Harding, and Sproule, those at Woolwich. The following was the strength of the five companies:—

10 Captains and Captain-Lieutenants.
12 Lieutenants, 15 being the normal number.
2 Staff Sergeants.
20 Sergeants.
45 Corporals and Bombardiers.
5 Drummers.
324 Gunners.

On the 6th March, 1795, five additional companies were added to the battalion; and the total number of companies remained ten until the year 1819, when Nos. 7 and 8 were reduced; Nos. 9 and 10 becoming respectively Nos. 7 and 8.

No very great augmentation to the strength of the battalion took place during the earlier years of its existence, except in the year 1804, when a second Colonel was added, and also twenty men per company. The services of the companies were very varied and distinguished, including the Campaigns in Egypt, Cape of Good Hope, South America, Spain, and Holland.

Annexed is the history of each Company's active service, and the succession of Captains up to the introduction of the Brigade System:—

**No. 1 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION,
Now "F" BATTERY, 1st BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1814 Castine, North America.

1854 Expedition to the Crimea, and Fall of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1794 Captain Henry Rogers.

1802 Captain Charles Gold.

1803 Captain Henry Phillott.

1814 Captain Hon. H. Gardner.

1822 Captain Edward Walsh.

1825 Captain A. F. Crawford.

1837 Captain W. Lemoine.

1838 Captain Edmund Sheppard.

1840 Captain W. B. Ingilby.

1842 Captain J. Bloomfield.

1842 Captain P. H. Sandilands.

1846 Captain W. F. Williams.

1855 Captain H. A. B. Campbell.

**No. 2 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION,
Now "D" BATTERY, 8th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1815	Capture of Guadaloupe.
1855	Detachments embarked for Expedition to the Crimea, and Fall of Sebastopol.
<hr/> List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1794	Captain James Miller.
1802	Captain J. H. Carncross.
1809	Captain Robert Douglas.
1811	Captain J. Chamberlayne.
1811	Captain F. Campbell.
1828	Captain J. Gray.
1841	Captain E. Morgan.
1844	Captain R. J. Dacres.
1852	Captain John Travers.
1858	Captain W. B. Saunders.

**No. 3 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION
Now "2" BATTERY, 2nd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1805	Expedition to the Cape of Good Hope.
1806	Capture of the Cape.
1806	First Expedition to the River Plate.
1806	Capture of Buenos Ayres.
1806	Second Expedition to River Plate.
1807	Siege of Monte Video.
1810	Expedition to the Isle of France.
1826	Expedition to Portugal.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1794	Captain Henry Hutton.
1802	Captain Alexander Watson.
1809	Captain Edward Wilgress.
1827	Captain William Dunn.
1837	Captain J. L. Smith.
1846	Captain W. H. Askwith.
1855	Captain G. Colclough.
1855	Captain F. W. C. Ord.
1858	Captain O. B. B. Woolsey.

**No. 4 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION,
Now "3" BATTERY, 2nd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1805	Expedition to Hanover.
1808	Expedition to Portugal and Spain.
1808	Battle of Roleia. ^[56]
1808	Battle of Vimieiro.
1809	Battle of Corunna.
1812	Expedition to the Adriatic.
1813	Siege of Tarragona.
1851-3	Kaffir War.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1794	Captain John Harding.
1802	Captain Henry Geary.
1808	Captain Robert Carthew.
1809	Captain James St. Clair.
1809	Captain R. J. J. Lacy.
1827	Captain H. Jackson.
1838	Captain F. Macbean.
1841	Captain T. A. Lethbridge.
1861	Captain H. R. Eardley-Wilmot. ^[57]
1852	Captain Hon. G. T. Devereux.
1858	Captain W. N. Hardy. ^[58]
1858	Captain R. J. Hay.

**No. 5 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION,
Now "1" BATTERY, 5th BRIGADE,**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1801	Expedition to Egypt.
1801	Siege of Alexandria.
1809	Expedition to Walcheren.
1809	Siege of Flushing.
1815	Expedition to Holland and France.
1815	Detachments present at the Battle of Waterloo.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1794	Captain F. M. Sprowle.
1803	Captain S. G. Adye.
1812	Captain C. Ilbert.
1816	Captain Thomas Greatley.
1817	Captain William Roberts.
1825	Captain R. B. Hunt.
1832	Captain F. Wright.
1840	Captain H. Slade.
1841	Captain H. G. Ord.
1841	Captain R. Tomkyns.
1848	Captain C. L. Fitzgerald.
1858	Captain C. R. O. Evans.

**No. 6 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION,
Now "3" BATTERY, 3rd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1800	Expedition to Egypt.
1801	Siege of Fort Aboukir.
1801	Battle of Alexandria.
1801	Siege of Alexandria.
1813	Expedition to Holland and France.
1815	Battle of Waterloo.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1795	Captain John Wood.
1802	Captain A. Y. Spearman.
1803	Captain Richard Buckner.
1803	Captain Jno. S. Williamson.
1808	Captain Richard Buckner.
1811	Captain W. G. Elliott.
1813	Captain Charles Tyler.
1818	Captain B. T. Walsh.
1822	Captain Hon. H. Gardner.
1823	Captain A. C. Mercer.
1835	Captain Jos. Hanwell.
1847	Captain T. A. Shone.
1847	Captain C. Gostling.
1851	Captain M. C. Marston.
1855	Captain P. F. G. Scott.
1858	Captain P. D. Margesson.

**No. 7 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION,
*Reduced in 1819.***

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1801	Expedition to Egypt.
1801	Siege of Alexandria.
1809	Reduction of Fort Dasaix and Island of Martinique. ^[59]
1810	Expedition to Guadeloupe.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1795	Captain George Cookson.
1799	Captain I. Wood.
1802	Captain A. Y. Spearman.
1803	Captain Hon. H. Gardner.
1804	Captain Brooke Young.
1808	Captain Samuel Reynell.
1814	Captain Chris. Wilkinson.

**No. 8 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION,
*Reduced in 1819.***

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1799	Expedition to Holland.
1805	Expedition to Hanover.
1809	Capture of Martinique.
1810	Expedition to Portugal.
1810	Taking of Matagoiad.
1811	Battle of Barosa.
1813	Battle of Vittoria.
1814	Operations against Fort Erie.
1814	Defence of the Log Bridge.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1795	Captain P. Riou.
1803	Captain H. Owen.
1815	Captain S. J. Rawlinson.

No. 9 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION

(Became No. 7 in 1819),| Now "A" BATTERY, 9th BRIGADE.

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1805	Expedition to Cape of Good Hope.
1806	Capture of Cape of Good Hope.
1806	First Expedition to River Plate.
1806	Siege of Buenos Ayres.
1810	Expedition to Isle of France.
1810	Capture of Isle of France.
1855	Expedition to the Crimea.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1795	Captain J. F. S. Smith.
1803	Captain A. J. Clason.
1815	Captain Henry Bates.
1819	Captain R. Jones.
1823	Captain T. G. Browne.
1836	Captain B. Willis.
1846	Captain J. G. Walker.
1853	Captain R. B. Adair.
1855	Captain G. T. Field.

**No. 10 COMPANY, 5th BATTALION
(Became No. 8 Company in 1819),
Now "5" BATTERY, 5th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1799	Expedition to Holland.
1809	Expedition to Portugal.
1812	Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo.
1812	Siege of Badajoz.
1812	Capture of the French Works at Alviarez.
1812	Reduction of French fortified posts at Salamanca.
1812	Siege of Burgos.
1813	Siege of St. Sebastian.
1814	Siege of Bayonne.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1795	Captain B. Stehelin.
1802	Captain Gother Mann.
1804	Captain R. W. Unett.
1808	Captain Edward Wilmot.
1808	Captain Frederic Glubb.
1813	Captain H. Trelawney.
1816	Captain John Briscoe.
1819	Captain Francis Power.
1823	Captain W. G. Power.
1827	Captain S. Kirby.
1834	Captain George Pringle.
1840	Captain A. R. Harrison.
1844	Captain F. Weller.
1845	Captain N. T. Lake.
1847	Captain J. McCoy.
1855	Captain H. Clerk.
1857	Captain W. L. Dumaresq.

SIXTH BATTALION.

By a General Order, dated 22nd July, 1799, four companies of Artillery were raised, and added to two already existing, which were designated the East India Detachment, to form half a battalion; and on the 8th October in the same year a further augmentation was made, consisting of two companies, and a Colonel-Commandant. The addition of a Colonel *en seconde* and two Lieutenant-Colonels completed the organization of what was now known as the Sixth Battalion of the Royal Artillery. The Staff of the Battalion on its formation stood as follows:—

Colonel-Commandant	Major-General P. Martin.
Colonel <i>en seconde</i>	George Feade.
1st Lieut.-Colonel	Edward Fage.
2nd Lieut.-Colonels	John Barnes, Bayley Willington.
Captain-Lieutenants	Ralph W. Adye, Adjutant. Andrew Schalch, Quartermaster.

The companies, their stations, and commanding officers were as follows:—

Companies.	Captains.	Stations.
No. 1.	Brevet-Major E. Lemoine	Cape of Good Hope.
2.	Captain W. Skyring	Cape of Good Hope.
3.	R. Evans	Woolwich.
4.	D. Meredith	Woolwich.
5.	W. Millar	Woolwich.
6.	B. Bloomfield	Plymouth.
7.	G. Salmon	Woolwich.
8.	A. Schalch (promoted by augmentation)	Woolwich.

An augmentation of one Major and two companies to the battalion,—Nos. 9 and 10,—took place in December, 1800.

The companies called above "The East India Detachment," which formed the nucleus of the Sixth Battalion, embarked at Woolwich for India on the 19th April, 1791. They left that country for the Cape of Good Hope in 1798, arriving in October of that year, and remained until incorporated in the newly-formed battalion, in 1799. They are now C Battery 11th Brigade, and No. 6 Battery 5th Brigade. Prior to 1799, although part of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, they belonged to no battalion.

The following was the strength of the battalion in various years:—

Year.	Strength of all Ranks.
1800	990
1801	1071
1802	914
1803	1215
1804	1259
1805	1415
1806	1398
1807	1480
1808	1476
1809	1484
1810	1484
1811	1524
1812	1562
1813	1565
1814	1230
1815	1130
1816	870
1817	786
1818	700
1819	604
1820	567
1821	601

From this date until 1847 the average strength of the battalion was 650.

Year.	Strength of all Ranks.
1847	956
1848	847
1849	890
1850	883
1851	940
1852	1028
1853	1081
1854	1218
1855	1375
1856	1317
1857	1502

The following was the dress of the battalion at its formation, in 1799, as also of the whole Regiment, except the Horse Artillery: the officers wore blue cloth double-breasted coats, with scarlet lappels; the field officers had two epaulettes, the company officers only one, which they wore on the right shoulder; white kerseymere breeches; long black leather boots, fastened to the back part of the knee of the breeches by a black strap and buckle; and a cocked-hat, with gold-loop and button, and white feather. The non-commissioned officers and men wore blue cloth coats, single breasted, laced in front and on the cuffs and flaps; the staff-sergeants and sergeants with gold lace, and the rank and file with yellow worsted lace. The staff-sergeants wore two gold bullion epaulettes; the sergeants two gold-laced straps; the corporals two fringe epaulettes; the bombardiers one fringe epaulette on the right shoulder; the gunners two worsted straps.

The changes in dress during the succeeding years will be noted in the succeeding chapters of this work.

Annexed is the list, as in former cases, of the various companies, their successive Captains, and the military operations in which they were engaged. In the Sixth Battalion, as in the Horse Artillery, considerable confusion was created by the reduction, in 1819, of Nos. 5 and 8 companies, and the consequent altering of the numbers of Nos. 6, 7, 9, and 10 to Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 respectively. The reduction of the two junior companies, instead of Nos. 5 and 8, would have rendered the student's task a far easier one.

No. 1 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION
(One of the old East India Detachment Companies),
Now "C" BATTERY, 11th BRIGADE.

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1806	Siege of Buenos Ayres.
1807	Expedition to La Plata.
1855	Expedition to the Crimea and Fall of Sebastopol. ^[60]

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1799	Captain Edmund Lemoine.
1804	Captain Nathaniel Foy.
1806	Captain C. C. Bingham.
1807	Captain P. Durnford.
1826	Captain W. Bentham.
1832	Captain I. Whitty.
1843	Captain G. H. Hyde.
1844	Captain J. H. St John.
1846	Captain R. R. Fisher.
1849	Captain W. J. Smythe.
1855	Captain E. Moubray.
1856	Captain J. Singleton.

No. 2 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION
(One of the old East India Detachment Companies),
Now "6" BATTERY, 5th BRIGADE.

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1814 Expedition under the command of Sir John Sherbrook: present at the capture in the Penobscot.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1799	Captain W. Skyring.
1806	Captain George Crawford.
1824	Captain E. C. Wilford.
1827	Captain R. Douglas.
1829	Captain E. Sabine.
1841	Captain A. Macbean.
1842	Captain W. J. Stokes.
1845	Captain James Turner.
1851	Captain H. W. Montessor.
1856	Captain H. L. F. Greville.

**No. 3 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION,
Now "4" BATTERY, 2nd BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1811	Peninsula.
1812	Siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo.
1812	Siege and capture of Badajoz.
1858	Expedition to China and capture of Canton.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1799	Captain Robert Evans.
1806	Captain George Massey.
1808	Captain H. F. Holcombe.
1817	Captain Charles Egan.
1818	Captain F. Gordon.
1819	Captain D. Story.
1831	Captain R. C. Molesworth.
1842	Captain Sir H. Chamberlain, Bart.
1843	Captain R. G. B. Wilson.
1848	Captain P. R. Cocks.
1855	Captain G. Rotton.

**No. 4 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION,
Now "B" BATTERY, 8th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1854	Expedition to the Crimea and Fall of Sebastopol.
List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1799	Captain David Meredith.
1806	Captain H. Hickman.
1807	Captain C. Baynes.
1817	Captain W. D. Nicolls.
1819	Captain J. S. Sinclair.
1826	Captain D. Bissett.
1836	Captain Z. C. Bayly.
1841	Captain C. R. Dickens.
1842	Captain H. Williams.
1848	Captain G. D. Warburton.
1853	Captain H. Lempriere.
1854	Captain A. R. Wragge.
1855	Captain C. G. Arbuthnot.
1857	Captain C. W. Elgee.

**No. 5 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION,
*Reduced in 1819.***

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1806	Expedition to River La Plata.
1807	Siege and capture of Monte Video. ^[61]
1807	Present at Buenos Ayres but not engaged.
1814	Capture of Genoa.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1799	Captain William Millar.
1805	Captain Charles Godfrey.
1806	Captain A. Dickson.
1809	Captain Richard Dyas.
1818	Captain J. P. Cockburn.

**No. 6 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION
(Became No. 5 on that Company being reduced in 1819),
Now "C" BATTERY, 8th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1806	Expedition to Calabria, present at the Battle of Maida.
1806	Siege and Capture of Scylla Castle.
1807	Expedition to Syracuse.
1809	Capture of Ischia and Prociola.
1854	Expedition to the Crimea.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1799	Captain Benjamin Bloomfield.
1801	Captain John Harris.
1807	Captain Thomas Gamble.
1819	Captain H. F. Holcombe.
1819	Captain T. Gamble.
1826	Captain H. C. Russell.
1837	Captain J. H. Freer.
1846	Captain J. W. Ormsby.
1851	Captain P. H. Mundy.
1854	Captain J. J. Brandling.
1854	Captain A. Thompson.

No. 7 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION
(Afterwards No. 6 Company),
Now "F" BATTERY, 8th BRIGADE.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1799	Captain George Salmon.
1807	Captain Charles Egan.
1817	Captain H. Holcombe.
1826	Captain C. C. Dansey.
1829	Captain A. Cameron.
1838	Captain J. U. Colquhoun.
1846	Captain F. Eardley-Wilmot.
1847	Captain R. B. Burnaby.
1849	Captain G. E. Turner.
1849	Captain G. R. Barker.
1854	Captain N. E. Harison.
1854	Captain J. L. Elgee.

**No. 8 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION,
*Reduced in 1819.***

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1799	Captain Andrew Schalch.
1802	Captain G. Bowater.
1804	Captain C. C. Bingham.
1805	Captain Francis Power.

No. 9 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION
(Afterwards No. 7),
Now "C" BATTERY, 9th BRIGADE.

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1855-6 Crimea.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1801	Captain George A. Wood.
1802	Captain P. W. Colebrooke.
1807	Captain H. P. Grant.
1812	Captain W. T. Skinner.
1822	Captain Charles Gilmour.
1832	Captain H. L. Sweeting.
1843	Captain T. P. Flude.
1844	Captain H. Stow.
1850	Captain C. J. B. Riddell.
1855	Captain J. G. Boothby.

No. 10 COMPANY, 6th BATTALION
(Afterwards No. 8 Company),
Now "5" BATTERY, 3rd BRIGADE.

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1811	Capture of Java.
1815	Capture of Kandy.
1855	Expedition to Crimea and Fall of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1801	Captain R. E. H. Rogers.
1805	Captain C. E. Napier.
1813	Captain W. H. C. Benezet.
1816	Captain Jno. W. Kettlewell.
1819	Captain L. Carmichael.
1824	Captain D. Grant.
1836	Captain B. H. Vaughan Arbuckle.
1846	Captain H. J. Morris.
1848	Captain G. M. Glasgow.
1849	Captain W. J. Crawford.
1855	Captain F. W. Hastings.
1858	Captain C. L. D'Aguilar.

SEVENTH BATTALION.

The Seventh Battalion of the Royal Artillery was formed on the 1st April, 1801. The Act for the Union between England and Ireland received the Royal assent on the 2nd July, 1800, and came into force on the 1st January, 1801. From this measure arose, as has been mentioned in a former chapter, the incorporation of the Royal Irish Artillery with the older Corps; and it was transferred as the Seventh Battalion of the Royal Artillery, consisting, at the date of transfer, of ten companies, with a proportion of Field and Staff officers. The incorporated officers took rank according to the dates of their respective commissions; but they were also allowed the option of retiring on full pay, or of taking commissions in the Line. The non-commissioned officers and gunners who were approved for transfer received each a bounty of three guineas.

The following table shows the proportion of ranks, total numbers, and rates of daily pay, in the Battalion when first formed.

	Daily pay each.		
One Colonel-Commandant	2	4	0
One Colonel	1	4	0
Three Lieutenant-Colonels, each	1	0	0
One Major	0	15	0
Ten Captains, each	0	10	0
Ten Captain-Lieutenants, each	0	7	0
Twenty First Lieutenants, each	0	6	0
Ten Second Lieutenants, each	0	5	0
One Adjutant	0	5	0
One Quartermaster	0	6	0
Forty Sergeants and two Staff Sergeants	Pay of various rates.		
Forty Corporals, each	0	2	3¼
Seventy Bombardiers, each	0	1	10¼
980 Gunners, each	0	1	3¼
30 Drummers, each	0	1	3¼

Some of the companies were in the West Indies when the transfer was effected; and on reference to the appended list it will be seen that much of the active service of the Seventh Battalion was carried on in these islands. It was in connection with West Indian service that the Battalion obtained a distinctive mark, as containing among its companies one known always, until the Brigade system was introduced, as

"THE BATTLE-AXE COMPANY."

The story of the circumstances under which this title was earned is worthy of reproduction. The company in question was originally No. 8 of the 7th Battalion, but in the year 1819, No. 7 Company being reduced, No. 8 became No. 7. Under the altered nomenclature of 1859, it became and now is

No. 2 BATTERY, 5TH BRIGADE.

In the year 1808 the company was quartered in Halifax, Nova Scotia. In December of that year it was ordered on an expedition for the capture of Martinique; forming part of the force under Sir George Prevost, which included the 7th Fusiliers, 8th King's, and 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

The force arrived at Martinique on the 30th January, 1809, and remained brigaded together during the attack, quite distinct from the West Indian division under General Maitland, which had arrived in company with Admiral Cochrane and his fleet. On the 2nd February, 1809, the French met the Halifax brigade under General Prevost, about half-way between the bay where they landed and the town, but were driven back with considerable loss. In one day, this company prepared and armed a battery of six 24-pounders, and four 10-inch mortars, and opened fire on the day following. On the 24th February the Garrison capitulated, for "the British Artillery was so well served, that most of the Fort guns were quickly dismounted."^[62] The officers of the company were assembled by the General to consult as to what should be bestowed on the company as a reward of bravery and good conduct. It was first contemplated to give a one-pounder French gun, beautifully mounted, but the officers, knowing that the company was about to return to Halifax, and a war with America likely to take place, when they would be unable to take the gun with them, chose an axe and a brass drum. A brass eagle was affixed to the axe, which was always carried by the tallest man in the company, who in virtue of his office was permitted to wear a moustache.

This version of the story was committed to paper by one who was present with the company at Martinique, Master-Gunner Henry McElsander, who joined it three years after the amalgamation, and remained in it until promoted to be Sergt.-Major at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. It is completely corroborated by the Records of the Seventh Battalion, from which the further history of the company may be obtained. It returned to Halifax in April, and remained in that station until May, 1813, when it sailed for Quebec. It served in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 in Canada. In the winter of the former year it was collected in Kingston, Upper Canada, watching the enemy. Acting-Bombardier James Keating, being detached with seven gunners to Michilimackinac, distinguished himself in an affair with the enemy, and his conduct was rewarded by a commission from the Provincial Government. The company was present at the operations against Fort Erie in August, 1814, and at the enemy's attack on the English position before that place on the 17th September. It was also engaged in the defence of the Log Bridge on the Chippawa. The two officers present with the company during these hostilities, Captain Walker and Lieutenant Carter,^[63] were specially mentioned in despatches, and received permission to wear "Niagara" on their appointments. The company returned to Woolwich in 1823, and in 1831 again proceeded on foreign service to the West Indies, whence it returned in 1837. Its only additional foreign service prior to the introduction of the Brigade system was at Gibraltar, where it served from January, 1845 to January, 1851, and to which station it again proceeded in May, 1855.

The history, present designation, and succession of Captains, of all the companies, will now be given.

**No. 1 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION,
Now "C" BATTERY, 1st BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1803	Capture of the French, Danish, and Dutch possessions.
1809	Reduction of Fort Dasaix.
1809	Reduction of Martinique.
1810	Expedition to Guadeloupe.
1855	Expedition to the Crimea.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1794	Captain George Lindsay.
1804	Captain Edmund Curry.
1804	Captain H. Douglas.
1804	Captain Richard S. Brough.
1812	Captain George Forster.
1816	Captain J. Bettesworth.
1817	Captain Charles Gilmour.
1821	Captain W. T. Skinner.
1829	Captain James Evans.
1831	Captain Francis Haultain.
1843	Captain John Dyson.
1844	Captain J. Sydney Farrell.
1844	Captain Hy. H. D. O'Brien.
1846	Captain H. C. Stace.
1854	Captain E. H. Fisher.

**No. 2 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION,
Became 1 Company, 3rd Brigade; was afterwards reduced; the
non-commissioned officers and men being formed into
"I" BATTERY, 1st BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1809 Battle of Corunna.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1795	Captain Robert Thornhill. * * * * *
1810	Captain Blaney T. Walsh.
1818	Captain Charles Tyler.
1820	Captain Charles G. Alms.
1821	Captain Stephen Kirby.
1827	Captain William G. Power.
1835	Captain R. Andrews.
1845	Captain John Low.
1851	Captain John F. Cator.
1852	Captain J. B. Dennis.
1857	Captain W. E. M. Reilly.

**No. 3 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION,
Now "3" BATTERY, 12th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1815	Expedition to Guadaloupe.
1843	Served in the several Campaigns in the Kaffir Wars.
<hr/> List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1800	Captain O. Jackson.
1804	Captain C. H. Fitzmayer. * * * * *
1819	Captain J. P. Cockburn.
1822	Captain J. St. Clair.
1827	Captain J. Longley.
1833	Captain P. V. England.
1843	Captain R. Shepherd.
1845	Captain C. H. Burnaby.
1853	Captain R. C. Romer.
1856	Captain C. N. Lovell.

**No. 4 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION,
Now "A" BATTERY, 1st BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1809 Battle of Corunna.
1815 Expedition to the Netherlands: engaged in the reduction of the French fortresses in the north of France.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1801 Captain Edward Pritchard.
1807 Captain Blaney T. Walsh.
1808 Captain Adam Wall.
1818 Captain James E. Grant.
1819 Captain R. F. Cleaveland.
1828 Captain Hon. W. Arbuthnott.
1830 Captain George B. Fraser.
1842 Captain H. Stow.
1844 Captain T. P. Flude.
1851 Captain H. P. Christie.
1856 Captain H. Bent.
1856 Captain C. H. Morris.

**No. 5 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION,
Now "3" BATTERY, 6th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1815 Expedition to Guadaloupe.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1801	Captain L. O'Brien.
1802	Captain A. Duncan.
1803	Captain Frederick Walker.
1808	Captain Thomas Masson.
1811	Captain Alexander Tulloh.
1820	Captain Stephen Kirby.
1821	Captain C. G. Alms.
1822	Captain R. Gardiner.
1829	Captain Henry Blachley.
1838	Captain Mark Evans.
1846	Captain W. E. Heitland.
1847	Captain E. W. Crofton.
1854	Captain J. C. Childs.
1856	Captain R. H. Crofton.
1858	Captain G. R. C. Young.

**No. 6 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION,
Now "D" BATTERY, 11th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1809	Engaged at Vouga River.
1809	Engaged at Redouda Egrega.
1809	Engaged at the Passage of the Douro.
1809	Expedition to Spain. Battle of Talavera.
1810	Battle of Busaco.
1810	Battle of Sobral.
1811	Battle of Foz d'Arouce.
1811	Battle of Fuentes d'Onor.
1812	Expedition to Spain.
1813	Battle of Castella.
1813	Siege of Tarragona.
1813	Blockade of Barcelona.
1855	Expedition to Crimea, but did not disembark.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1801	Captain James Gilbert.
1804	Captain C. F. Napier.
1804	Captain C. D. Sillery.
1809	Captain G. Thompson.
1814	Captain J. Briscoe.
1817	Captain H. Trelawney.
1826	Captain C. Cruttendon.
1827	Captain J. Darby.
1837	Captain A. W. Hope.
1846	Captain W. B. Young.
1850	Captain Edward Price.
1854	Captain R. W. Brettingham.
1855	Captain Hon. D. M. Fraser.
1858	Captain F. W. Hastings.

**No. 7 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION,
Reduced 1st March, 1817.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1809 Reduction of Fort Dasaix.

1809 Reduction of the Island of Martinique.

1810 Expedition to Guadaloupe.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1801 Captain Thomas Dodd.

1801 Captain Charles Neville.

1802 Captain Charles Gold.

1809 Captain J. A. Clement.

**"The Battle-Axe Company."
No. 8 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION
(Became No. 7 on that Company being reduced),
Now "2" BATTERY, 5th BRIGADE.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1809 Capture of the Island of Martinique.

1813-14 Campaigns in Canada, including operations against Fort Erie, and the engagement on the Chippawa in defence of the Log Bridge.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1801 Captain James Viney.

1808 Captain Richard Dyas.

1808 Captain William Stewart.

1809 Captain R. J. J. Lacy.

1809 Captain James St. Clair.

1821 Captain H. Light.

1822 Captain J. St. Clair.

1822 Captain J. P. Cockburn.

1825 Captain S. Rudyerd.

1837 Captain J. Eyre.

1846 Captain F. Dunlop.

1854 Captain J. C. W. Fortescue.

1856 Captain H. Heyman.

No. 9 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION
(Became No. 8 on that Company being reduced),
Now "K" BATTERY, 4th BRIGADE.

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.

1803	Engaged in the capture of the enemy's possessions in West Indies from the recommencement of hostilities.
1810	Expedition to Guadeloupe.
1855	Expedition to the Crimea and Fall of Sebastopol.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.

1801	Captain R. W. Unett.
1802	Captain G. Mann.
1806	Captain James Power.
1823	Captain J. E. Grant.
1832	Captain W. R. E. Jackson.
1837	Captain P. Sandilands.
1839	Captain H. R. Wright.
1846	Captain G. R. H. Kennedy.
1854	Captain A. C. Hawkins.

**No. 10 COMPANY, 7th BATTALION,
Reduced 1st February, 1819.**

Battles, Sieges, and other Military operations in which this Company has been engaged.	
1803	Engaged in the capture of the enemy's possessions from the recommencement of hostilities.
1810	Expedition against Guadaloupe.

List of Captains who have successively commanded the Company, as far back as can be traced, down to introduction of Brigade System, in 1859.	
1801	Captain C. Walker.
1808	Captain G. W. Unett.
1810	Captain W. Cleeve.

N.B.—In the lists of the Captains who commanded the various companies, the names and titles borne by them at the date they commanded have alone been given. Very many of these officers afterwards received distinguishing titles and orders,—but it would not have been historically correct to anticipate their receipt of such honours.

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- [52.](#) The Peninsular operations in which this Troop was engaged are copied from Sir Hew Ross's MSS.
- [53.](#) This officer was transferred to D Troop on the reduction of L Troop.
- [54.](#) Lieutenant T. F. Strangways commanded at this action.
- [55.](#) This officer commanded when it consisted merely of Rocket detachments, and was not yet organized into a Troop. He was killed at Leipsic.
- [56.](#) Captain Geary was killed in command of the Company at Roleia.
- [57.](#) Killed in action during Kaffir War.
- [58.](#) Captain Hardy was killed at the relief of Lucknow.
- [59.](#) Detachments of the Company had been previously employed in the several captures of the enemy's possessions in that quarter since the recommencement of hostilities in 1803.
- [60.](#) *N.B.*—This was the only battery engaged at the Battle of the Tchernaya.
- [61.](#) Thanked in Orders by Sir S. Achmuty.
- [62.](#) Cust.
- [63.](#) Lieutenant Carter had been taken prisoner by the enemy's fleet on Lake Ontario in 1813, and was closely shut up to be hanged in retaliation for deserters. He succeeded, however, in making his escape, and after travelling 1500 miles of country, joined his company previously to the opening of the campaign of 1814.

ROYAL WARRANT. Dated 22nd August, 1682.

CHARLES R.

Whereas our Royal progenitors established the number of 100 gunners with a yearly fee payable out of the Exchequer and finding that divers of them were such as were not taught nor trained up in the practice and knowledge of the Art of Gunnery but men of other Professions and that by reason of their receiving their fees by virtue of their patents out of the Exchequer they did not attend according to their duties as well for performance of Our Service as to be exercised and trained up in that Art by Our Master Gunner at such time as they were required thereunto and also that the places of such Gunners and Mattresses were commonly bought and sold to such as would give most money though very unfit for the said Employments whereby great inconveniences and disappointments were occasioned for prevention whereof We thought fit to Authorize Sir William Compton sometime Master of Our Ordnance, by Our Warrant under Our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, dated 2nd January, in the twelfth year of Our Reign from time to time to grant his Warrant to such person or persons as he should find fit and able to be Entertained as fee'd Gunners in Our Service and Order that the future payments of their respective fees should be placed upon and made good to them out of Our Ordinary and entered into the quarter books of Our Office and likewise We did empower Sir Thomas Chicheley late Master of Our Ordnance by Our like Warrant bearing date 16th January in the 22nd year of Our Reign to cause Our Master Gunner or such other person as he should think fit to examine all the Gunners and Mattresses then employed within Our Kingdom of England Dominion of Wales or town of Berwick-on-Tweed commanding them to be subject to him and the Successive Masters of Our Ordnance for the time being and that if he should find any of the said Gunners or Mattresses unfit or unable to execute their several places he or they should remove or cause them to be removed or dismissed from their said employment and after such removal or after the death resignation or voluntary departure of any such Gunner or Mattross to commissionate and empower such Gunners or Scholars as should be certified by Our Master Gunner of England to be able to execute the duty of a Gunner or Mattross in the place or places of such as should by him or them be removed or be dead or have voluntarily resigned without any fees or reward except Common Fees:—

And whereas on the 8th day of February last the Lords appointed a Committee to inspect and examine the present state and condition of the Tower have represented unto Us that whereas the number of the Gunners which belong to the Office of the Ordnance is One hundred whose pay is sixpence per day each and many of them of other trades and not skilled in the Art of Gunnery and that it was their opinion that if this number were reduced to sixty effective men whose pay might be twelve pence per diem and they required to lodge in the Tower and duly exercised that it would be much more useful for Our Service. Upon due consideration of all which We have thought fit to dissolve the said number of One hundred Gunners and do declare they are hereby dissolved and that the said number from henceforward shall be reduced to the number of sixty effective men and no more and we do by these empower authorize and appoint Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor George Legge Esq. Master-General of Our Ordnance to elect sixty good able experienced and sufficient men for Gunners and three Mates to Our Master Gunner of England to be chosen out of the best Gunners or fittest or ablest men for Our Service and to allow each Gunner twelve pence per diem and to each Mate 2s. 6d. per diem.

And to the end that the said Gunners and Masters may be bound to a more strict performance of their duty Our Will and Pleasure is and We do hereby Authorize and empower Our said Master-General of Our Ordnance from time to time to grant his Warrant to such person or persons as he shall choose qualified as aforesaid for whose encouragement We hereby direct and appoint that the said allowance to the said Gunners of twelve pence per diem and to the said Mates of 2s. 6d. per diem be placed and made good to them out of Our Ordinary of Our Said Office of Our Ordnance and that an order thereunto shall be entered into the quarter books of the said Office without paying any fees or reward excepting only the Ordinary fees for drawing and recording the said Warrants or Commission in Our said Office. And We further require and direct that the said Gunners to be chosen as aforesaid be constantly exercised by Our Master Gunner of England once a week in winter and twice a week in summer and to be kept to their duty either in Our Tower of London or in whatever other place or places they shall by you Our Master General of Our Ordnance be thought fit to be disposed hereby requiring and commanding all the said Gunners and Mates to observe and obey such Orders and directions as shall be given unto them by Our said Master General or by any other Master General of Our Ordnance for the time being or the Lieutenant General of Our Ordnance and the principal Officers of Our Ordnance in your Absence for the better behaviour of themselves in Our Service. And We do hereby further Authorize and empower you the said George Legge M.G.O.R.O. and the Successive Masters of the said Office for the time being if he or they shall find the said Gunners or Mates unfit or unable to execute their several and respective places from time to time to remove or cause them to be removed and dismissed from their said several and respective places and to place others fitly qualified for such Employment in their several and respective places.

And as for all other Gunners of Garrisons Forts Castles Blockhouses or Bullworks or Traines that are or shall be appointed You are to govern yourself as by Our Warrant bearing date 6th January 1671 &c. &c.

By His Majesty's Command.
(Signed) CONWAY.

To Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor
GEORGE LEGGE Esq. M.G.O.

Royal warrant establishing a Regimental Train of Artillery, to be composed of officers and men who had served on the old and new Establishments, and chiefly to find employment for Artillerymen who had served under William III. in his trains in Flanders.

WILLIAM R.

Whereas Wee have thought fitt to dismiss as well the Trayne of Artillery that hath Served Us during the late Warre in Flanders as also the several Traynes that have been employed in Our Service by Sea, Yet that such persons as have served Us well and faithfully during the Warr might have some reasonable provision made for their subsistence in time of peace And for having a Trayne of Artillery in greater readiness to march upon any occasion for the necessary defence of Our Realme and Dominions Wee have thought fitt to direct that a Small Trayne of Artillery should be composed of such persons as had served Us well in y^e said Trayne during the Warr. And the Annexed Scheme of such a Trayne of Artillery having been accordingly prepared and laid before Us for Our approbation. Wee have perused and considered thereof and do hereby approve of and establish y^e same to be entertayned in Our Service and kept in Our pay in time of peace untill such tyme as Wee shall think fitt to signify Our further pleasure therein. Our Will and Pleasure therefore is And Wee do hereby authorize and direct y^e out of such money as shall at any time be paid into the Treasury of Our Ordnance on account of Land Service to cause the severall sums and yearly allowances mentioned in y^e said Annexed Scheme amounting in y^e whole to Four Thousand Four Hundred Eighty-Two Pounds and Tenn Shillings to be paid to the respective Officers Engineers Gunners and others therein mentioned the said allowances to commence from the fifth day of this instant May and to be continued during Our pleasure And Wee do hereby further Authorize and Empower y^e as often as any Occasion shall happen on this Our Establishment by the Decease of any person now placed there upon or otherwise to fill up the same with such persons as have served in any of the above mentioned Traynes and could not at present be provided for or with such other persons as shall apply themselves to study the Mathematicke and duly qualify themselves to serve as Engineers Fireworkers Bombardiers or Gunners on Our said Establishment. And for so doing this shall be as well to y^e as the Auditors of Our Imprest and all other Our Officers therein concerned a sufficient Warrant Given at Our Court at Kensington this 24th day of May 1698 in y^e tenth year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.
JA. VERNON.

To HENRY, Earle of ROMNEY, M.G.O.

A Regimental Trayne of Artillery to consist of Field Officers and four Companies of Gunners wth Engineers, Firemasters, Fireworkers, and Bombardiers as followeth:—

	Pay per annum.		
	£	s.	d.
Collonel			
Lieutenant-Collonel addition to his pay on y ^e old Estab ^t	55	5	0
Major addic ^o n vt supr ^t	50	0	0
Comptroler addic ^o n vt supr ^t	45	5	0
Adjutant	60	0	0
FIRST COMPANY.			
Captaine	100	0	0
First Lieutenant	60	0	0
Second Lieutenant	40	0	0
2 Gents of the Ordnance p ^d on the old Estab ^t .			
2 Sergeants at 1 ^s 6 ^d p. diem each	54	15	0
15 Gunners paid on the old Estab ^t .			
15 Gunners more at 12 ^d each p. diem	273	15	0
SECOND COMPANY.			
Captaine	100	0	0
First Lieutenant	60	0	0
Second Lieutenant	40	0	0
2 Gents of Ordnance at £40 p. annum each	80	0	0
2 Sergeants at 1 ^s 6 ^d each p. diem.	54	15	0
15 Gunners p ^d on the old Estab ^t .			
15 Gunners more at 12 p. diem.	273	15	0
THIRD AND FOURTH COMPANIES: Same as Second.	1217	0	0
ENGINEERS.			
6 Engineers at 100 p. ann. each	600	0	0
4 Sub Engineers at 50 p. ann. each	200	0	0
2 Firemasters at 100 p. ann. each	200	0	0
12 Fireworkers at 40 p. ann. each	480	0	0
12 Bombardiers at 36 ^d 10 ^s p. ann. each	438	0	0
Total	£4482	10	0

NAMES OF OFFICERS OF WILLIAM'S PEACE TRAIN. 1698.

Colonel.	
Lieutenant-Colonel	George Browne.
Major	John Sigismund Schlundt. (Succeeded by Major John Henry Hopeke on 1st Feb. 1699.)
Controller	James Pendlebury.
Captain	Albrecht Borgard. Adjutant.
Captains	Jonas Watson. Edward Gibbon. Edmund Williamson. William Bousfield.
Firemasters	John Lewis Schlundt. Robert Guybon.
1st Lieutenants	Ralph Wood. Thomas Rashell. Peter Gelmuyden.
2nd Lieutenants	George Brittenstein. Joseph Durdero. Andrew Bonnell. Edward Glover. George Spencer. Roger Colburne.
Engineer Captains	Lewis Petit Des Etans. Daniel Sherrard. Albrecht Borgard. George Conrade. Isaac Francis Petit.

On 14th Feb. 1699, an addition to the Regt. was made of—

		£
6	Engineers at £100 each p. ann.	600
4	Sub at 50 each p. ann.	200
6	Gent. of Ord ^{ce} at 40 each p. ann.	240
12	Bomb ^{rs} at 36 10 each p. ann.	438

(S^d. ROMNEY.)

ROYAL WARRANT for the establishment of two Companies of Artillery, dated 26th May, 1716. These companies were never reduced, and represent the infancy of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

GEORGE R.

Whereas Our Right Trusty and Right entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor John Duke of Marlborough Master General of Our Ordnance hath laid before Us a representation of Our Principal Officers of Our Ordnance setting forth the inconveniences and defects of the present Establishment of the Military Branch of Our said Office amounting to 16,829*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* and therewith a scheme showing that a greater number of Gunners Engineers and other proper Officers may be maintained for less than the present expense. And whereas by Our Warrants of the 27th November 1715 two Companies of Gunners and Mattrosses were raised for the service of Our Artillery sent upon the late Expedition to North Britain and having been found always necessary that a sufficient number of Gunners with proper Officers should be maintained and kept ready for Our Service. And whereas it has been represented unto Us by Our said Master General of Our Ordnance that there are several salaries now vacant of the present old Establishment which are not useful and that other savings may be made by which part of the two said Companies may at present be maintained. It is our will and pleasure that the said vacancies and savings be immediately applied for the payment and maintenance of one Sergeant three Corporals thirty Gunners and thirty-two Mattrosses being such as have served well abroad during the late Wars and are not otherwise provided for and as other salaries shall become vacant in the said military branch that you apply the same to complete the pay of the rest of the Officers and others according to the annexed list, which with their respective pays We do hereby approve and establish and for so doing this shall be as well to you as to the Auditors of Our Imprest and all other Officers concerned a sufficient Warrant. Given at Our Court of St. James's this 26th day of May 1716 in the second year of Our reign.

By His Majesty's Commands
 (Signed) JAMES STANHOPE.

To Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor JOHN
 DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, *Master-General of Ordnance.*

Establishment for two Companies of Artillery with their respective pays and employments:—

	Per diem.	Per annum.	
Captain	10 <i>s.</i>	£182	10 0
First Lieutenant	6 <i>s.</i>	109	10 0
Second Lieutenant	5 <i>s.</i>	91	5 0
Third Lieutenant and Fireworkers	4 <i>s.</i>	73	0 0
Fourth do. and Fireworkers	3 <i>s.</i>	54	15 0
3 Sergeants, each	2 <i>s.</i>	109	10 0
3 Corporals, each	1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	91	5 0
3 Bombardiers, each	1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	91	5 0
30 Gunners, each	1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	730	0 0
50 Mattrosses	1 <i>s.</i>	912	10 0
One Company more, same rate		2,445	10 0
		-----	-----
Total		£4,891	0 0

APPENDIX No. 4.

An account of the Master Gunners and other Gunners upon the Establishment of Guards and Garrisons for the year 1720, with a proposal for some alterations more advantageous to the Service, without exceeding the sum granted for that purpose:—

	Establishment 1720.		New Proposal.	
	Master Gunners.	Gunners.	Master Gunners.	Gunners.
Berwick	1	6	1	6
Blackness	1	1	1	1
Calshott Castle	1	3	1	2
Carlisle	1	3	1	3
Chester	1	3	1	2
Clifford's Fort	1	4	1	4
Dumbarton	1	1	1	1
Dartmouth	1	1	1	2
Edinburgh Castle	1	3	1	3
Gravesend and Tilbury	2	10	2	12
Guernsey	1	4	1	4
Hull and Blockhouse	1	6	1	6
Hurst Castle	1	3	1	2
Holy Island	0	2	1	1
Jersey	1	8	1	8
Landguard Fort	1	6	1	3
St. Maw's	1	1	1	1
Pendennis	1	2	1	2
Plymouth and St. Nicholas' Island	2	18	2	18
Portland Castle	1	3	1	2
Portsmouth	1	23	3	19
Sheerness	1	13	1	16
Scilly Island	1	8	1	6
Scarboro' Castle	1	2	1	1
Stirling	1	3	1	3
Tower of London	1	4	1	4
Fort William	1	4	1	2
Upnor	1	6	1	12
Cockham Wood	1	4	1	1
Gillingham	1	4	1	2
Windsor	1	2	1	1
Sandham Fort	1	2	1	2
Yarmouth	1	4	1	4
Carisbrook	1	2	1	3
Cowes	1	3	1	3
White Hall	1	..	1	8
North Yarmouth	1	2	1	2
Total	38	174	41	172

Establishment of the year 1720, compared with that proposed for the year 1721:—

ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE YEAR 1720.

38 Master Gunners at 36 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> each per annum	£1,387	0	0
174 Gunners at 18 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> ditto	3,175	10	0
More 6 <i>d.</i> per diem for eight of the 3rd Gunners in N. Britain	73	0	0
Extra allowance to Gunners at Whitehall.	100	7	6
	-----	-----	-----
	£4,735	17	6

ESTABLISHMENT PROPOSED FOR THE YEAR 1721.

41 Master Gunners at 36 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> each	£1,496	10	0
172 Gunners at 18 <i>l.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> each	3,139	0	0
Extra allowance to Gunners at Whitehall.	100	7	6
	-----	-----	-----
	£4,735	17	6

APPENDIX No. 5
CHAP. XXIII.—Page 251.
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY, MARCH 15TH, 1771.

No.	FIELD AND STAFF OFFICERS.	Per diem.			Total per diem.			Per annum.			Total per annum.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	Master-General of Ordnance. Colonel.												
1	Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. Colonel <i>en seconde</i> .												
4	Colonels-Commandant, each 44s. per diem.	8	16	0				3,212	0	0			
4	Lieutenant-Colonels each 20s. per diem.	4	0	0				1,480	0	0			
4	Majors each 15s. per diem.	3	0	0				1,095	0	0			
4	Adjutants each 5s. per diem.	1	0	0				365	0	0			
1	Surgeon-General	0	8	0				146	0	0			
4	Surgeons' Mates each 3s. 6d. per diem.	0	14	0				255	10	0			
4	Quartermasters each 6s. per diem.	1	4	0				435	0	0			
1	Bridge-master each 5s. per diem.	0	5	0				91	5	0			
4	Chaplains each 6s. 8d. per diem.	1	6	8				486	13	4			
1	Apothecary-General	0	6	0				109	10	0			
		—	—	—	20	19	8	—	—	—	7,658	18	4
MASTER-GENERAL'S COMPANY OF GENTLEMEN CADETS.													
1	Captain each 26s. per diem.	1	6	0				474	10	0			
1	Captain-Lieutenant each 6s. per diem.	0	6	0				109	10	0			
1	First Lieutenant each 5s. per diem.	0	5	0				91	5	0			
2	Second Lieutenants each 4s. per diem.	0	8	0				145	0	0			
48	Gentlemen Cadets each 2s. 6d. per diem.	6	0	0				2,190	0	0			
1	Drum-Major	0	1	4				24	6	8			
1	Fife-Major	0	1	4				24	6	8			
		—	—	—	8	7	8	—	—	—	3,059	18	4
											10,718	16	8
FIRST BATTALION COMPANY OF ARTILLERY.													
1	Captain each 10s. per diem.	0	10	0				132	10	0			
1	Captain-Lieutenant	0	6	0				109	10	0			
1	First Lieutenant	0	5	0				91	5	0			
2	Second Lieutenants each 4s. per diem.	0	8	0				146	0	0			
2	Sergeants each 2s. per diem.	0	4	0				73	0	0			
2	Corporals each 1s. 10d. per diem.	0	3	8				66	18	4			
4	Bombardiers each 1s. 8d. per diem.	0	6	8				121	13	4			
8	Gunners each 1s. 4d. per diem.	0	10	8				194	13	4			
34	Matrosses each 1s. per diem.	1	14	0				620	10	0			
2	Drummers each 1s. per diem.	0	2	0				36	10	0			
		—	—	—				—	—	—			
								1,842	10	0			
7	Companies more the same	31	10	0				11,497	10	0			
		—	—	—	36	0	0	—	—	—	13,140	0	0
COMPANY OF INVALIDS.													
1	Captain	0	10	0				182	10	0			
1	First Lieutenant	0	5	0				91	5	0			
1	Second Lieutenant	0	4	0				73	0	0			
1	Sergeant	0	2	0				36	10	0			
1	Corporal	0	1	10				33	9	2			
2	Bombardiers	0	3	4				60	16	8			
4	Gunners	0	5	4				97	6	8			
31	Matrosses	1	11	0				565	15	0			
1	Drummer	0	1	0				18	5	0			
		—	—	—				—	—	—			
		3	3	6				1,158	17	6			
1	Company more the same	3	3	6				1,158	17	6			
		—	—	—	6	7	0	—	—	—	2,317	15	0
SECOND BATTALION.													
8	Companies of Artillery, the same as the 1st				36	0	0	13,140	0	0			
2	Companies of Invalids the same as the 1st				6	7	0	2,317	15	0			
THIRD BATTALION.													
8	Companies of Artillery, the same as the 1st				36	0	0	13,140	0	0			
2	Companies of Invalids the same as the 1st				6	7	0	2,317	15	0			
FOURTH BATTALION.													
8	Companies of Artillery, the same as the 1st				36	0	0	13,140	0	0			
2	Companies of Invalids the same as the 1st				6	7	0	2,317	15	0			
					—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Total				£198	15	4	—	—	—	£72,549	16	8
					—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

N.B.—The above establishment has been given, as representing the state of the Regiment a century previous to the publication of this work.

8	9	5	9	1/7/59	E	9	1/10/61										
1	10	1	10	1/7/59													
2	10	2	10	1/7/59													
3	10	3	10	1/7/59													
4	10	4	10	1/7/59													
5	10	5	10	1/7/59													
6	10	4	12	1/7/59													
7	10	8	9	1/7/59	H	9	1/10/61	H	14	1/10/69							
8	10	1	12	1/7/59													
1	11	2	4	1/7/59	B	4	1/10/61										
2	11	5	13	1/7/59													
3	11	5	4	1/7/59	E	4	1/10/61										
4	11	8	4	1/7/59	H	4	1/10/61										
5	11	6	4	1/7/59	J	4	1/10/61										
6	11	2	14	1/7/59	B	14	1/8/62	D	14	1/3/63							
7	11	6	13	1/7/59													
8	11	7	5	1/7/59	Y	17	1/10/67										
1	12	5	12	1/7/59				N.B.—No. 8 Batt. 12th Brigade, R.A., became No. 5 Batt. 12th Brigade on 1/2/71.									
2	12	7	7	1/7/59													
3	12	8	5	1/7/59	8	17	1/10/67	Reduced		1/2/71							
4	12	7	4	1/7/59	G	4	1/10/61										
5	12	5	14	1/7/59	E	14	1/8/62										
6	12	9	6	1/7/59	8	12	1/4/65	5	12	1/2/71							
7	12	10	6	1/7/59	8	7	1/4/63	Reduced		1/2/71							
8	12	2	6	1/7/59													
1	13	8	6	1/7/59	8	21	1/1/69	Reduced		1/2/71							
2	13	1	13	1/7/59													
3	13	4	6	1/7/59													
4	13	2	7	1/7/59													
5	13	2	11	1/7/59	B	11	1/8/62	E	11	1/3/63							
6	13	3	11	1/7/59	C	11	1/8/62	F	11	1/3/63							
7	13	5	6	1/7/59													
8	13	6	6	1/7/59													
1	14	5	7	1/7/59													
2	14	6	7	1/7/59													
3	14	4	11	1/7/59	4	14	1/10/61	D	14	1/8/62	Reduced		1/3/63				
4	14	5	11	1/7/59	6	14	1/10/61	F	14	1/8/62							
5	14	2	13	1/7/59	5	11	1/10/61	E	11	1/8/62	G	11	1/3/63				
6	14	9	14	1/7/59	8	14	1/10/61	G	14	1/3/63							
7	14	6	11	1/7/59	F	11	1/8/62	G	19								
8	14	3	13	1/7/59													
Augmentation		9	4	1/12/59	I	4	1/1/62	9	2	1/10/67							
		10	4	1/12/59	K	4	1/1/62	A	8	1/4/66	H	11	1/8/67	Reduced		1/	
Augmentation		1	15	1/4/60				Augmentation				I	1	1/2/71			
		2	15	1/4/60							K	1	1/2/71				
		3	15	1/4/60							C	4	1/2/71				
		4	15	1/4/60							I	4	1/2/71				
		5	15	1/4/60							I	11	1/2/71				
		6	15	1/4/60							K	11	1/2/71				
		7	15	1/4/60							I	14	1/2/71				
		8	15	1/4/60	Reduced		1/2/71				K	14	1/2/71				

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